

The Tortured Signifier: Satire, Censorship, and the Textual History of *Troilus and Cressida*

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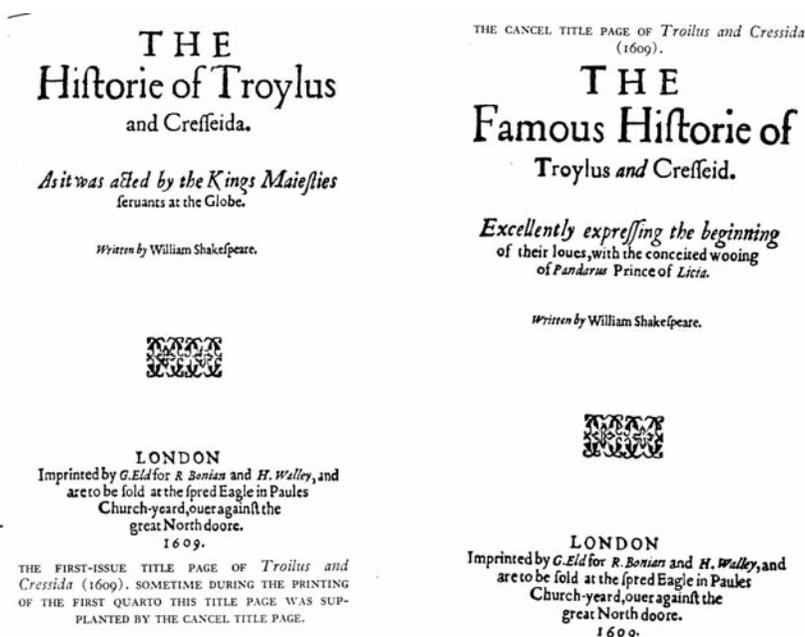


Figure 1: Two Title Pages (S1 and S2) of Q, After Campbell and Quinn, 891.

Why does the 1609 quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* exist in two states, each with a distinct title page (S1 and S2, Figure One)? Surely this textual doubling is the most conspicuous illustration of W.W. Greg's admonition that *Troilus* is a 'play of puzzles, in respect of its textual history no less than its interpretation'.¹ Despite more than a century of speculation, contemporary criticism seems no closer to a satisfying solution. Traditionally, answers have focused on hypothetical market-driven preferences of the publishers, Richard Bonian and Henry Whalley: S1's reference to performance at the Globe theatre is false

because it was ‘unlikely that this play was ever performed to an audience at the Globe’² and the preface to S2 constitutes ‘an assurance that the play was designed for some private occasion or company’.³ Or the publishers supposed that having two different states of the title page would incite publicity and ‘stimulate sales’,⁴ or one publisher, for some unidentified reason, preferred one title page, and the other, another.⁵ Or ‘they decided to avoid a copyright dispute with His Majesty’s Servants by leaving them unnamed either in the title or the epistle’,⁶ or ‘they discovered after printing was under way that the play had held the stage only briefly but had attracted a sophisticated following’.⁷ No wonder that William Godshalk has recently chastised *Troilus* critics for substituting unverifiable speculation for sober interpretation of factual evidence, encouraging a disciplined return to a ‘facts first, then interpretation’ inquiry model.⁸

Hypothetical context — performance venue — has for decades constituted the epicenter of this controversy over the two states of Q. At least since Peter Alexander’s influential 1928 study,⁹ a dominant tradition has regarded S1’s explicit statement that the play was acted at the Globe theatre as a falsehood. By 1970 this view was so well entrenched in the critical literature that Alexander’s theory of an original Inns of Court performance had ‘almost acquired the status of a fact’.¹⁰ Much debated but never confuted, this line of reasoning culminated in William R. Elton’s detailed, comprehensive 2000 argument, based on the play’s legal and philosophical erudition, that the play must have been written for an elite audience at one of the Inns of Court.¹¹

Notwithstanding the persuasiveness of Elton’s premise, it is difficult to understand how internal evidence for the play’s intellectual sophistication, however copious, can substantiate his conclusion, without proof of the unlikely proposition that the Inns of Court held a monopoly on intellectual humor. As Greg long ago remarked, ‘there is no shred of external evidence with which the conjecture [of an Inns of Court performance] can be supported’;¹² more recently, Jarold W. Ramsey effectively critiques the ‘curiously circular logic’¹³ by which speculation on the tastes of the Inns of Court audience takes precedence over empirical investigation, and is then used to prove that the play was suitable for such an audience but not for one at the Globe. On the contrary, survey of the surviving Inns of Court repertoire suggests that *Troilus and Cressida* would

have been something of an oddity as an Inns of Court play in the first decade of the century'.¹⁴

As Ramsay also notes, in an argument that I have not seen answered, significant internal evidence (beyond the S1 title page), testifies against the Inns of Court theory: Pandarus *twice* 'makes clear reference to *women* in the audience',¹⁵ and both references are insults that 'do not square well with the guests assembled for an Inns of Court Revels',¹⁶ even if women had been in attendance (as they sometimes were) at such a venue. Such references seem better calculated to provoke the amusement of a mixed public audience, including Bankside women of lower social class.¹⁷ Most troubling for the Inns venue theory, however, is S1's unambiguous statement that the play is printed 'As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties servants at the Globe' (Figure One). This testimony is corroborated by James Roberts' Feb. 7, 1603 Stationer's Register Entry 'As yt is acted by my Lord Chamberlains Men'¹⁸ – who performed at court, Blackfriars, or The Globe, but only rarely at the Inns of Court.¹⁹ Unfortunately, it would appear that the Inns of Court paradigm, even in the hands of its most able expositors, subordinates analysis of factual evidence to questionable assumptions about the expectations of Elizabethan audiences and the intentions of Elizabethan authors.

A return to the bones of the case may offer opportunity for a more empirical, less circular, interpretation. Logically, S2's omission of reference to the Globe performance (Figure Two) might be explained in one of two ways. It is possible that the printers became sincerely convinced (perhaps through the intervention of a third party) that the play had not been performed at the Globe and altered the title page accordingly (as supporters of the Inns theory *must* conclude). But another scenario seems equally plausible. Although still convinced that the play had been performed at the Globe, as S1 attests, Bonian and Whalley may have been politically constrained to disassociate their publication from this performance. *Why* this might have happened deserves investigation, but it may be best to proceed, first, by inquiring whether any evidence supports such a scenario.

Examination of the two states of the title page immediately casts doubt on the received explanation, even though it is almost always *assumed* to be beyond dispute. If the sole purpose of the new title page was to omit reference to a non-existent Globe performance, the most economical solution (and surely Elizabethan printers were, above all, thrifty businessmen) would have been to delete lines 4–5

**A neuer writer, to an euer
reader. Newes.**



*E*ternall reader, you haue heere a new play, neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the wulger, and yet passing full of the palme comically; for it is a birth of your braine, that neuer under-sooke any thing commicall, vainely: And were but the vaine names of commedies chang'd for the titles of Commodities, or of Playes for Pleas; you should see all those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities, stuck to them for the maine grace of their grauities: especially this authors Commedies, that are so fram'd to the life, that they serue for the most common Commentaries, of all the actions of our liues shewing such a dexteritie, and power of witte, that the most displeas'd with Playes, are pleas'd with his Commedies. And all such dull and heauy-witted worldlings, as were neuer capable of the witte of a Comedie, comming by report of them to his representations, haue found that witte there, that they neuer found in them selues, and haue parted better wittic'd then they came: feeling an edge of witte set vpon them, more then euer they dream'd they had braine to grinde it on. So much and such fauored (alt of witte is in his Commedies, that they seeme (for their height of pleasure) to be borne in that sea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty then this: And had I time I would comment vpon it, though I know it needs not, (for so

¶ 2 much

THE EPISTLE.

much as will make you thinke your tasterne well bestowed) but for so much worth, as euen poore I know to be stuf't in it. It deserues such a labour, as well as the best Commedy in Terence or Plautus. And beleue this, that when hee is gone, and his Commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set up a new English Inquisition. Take this for a warning, and at the perrill of your pleasures losse, and Iudgements, refuse not, ner like this the lesse, for not being sullied, with the smoaky breath of the multitude; but thinke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you. Since by the grand possessors wills I beleue you should haue prayd for them rather then beene prayd. And so I leave all such to bee prayd for (for the states of their wits healths) that will not praise it.

Vale.

Figure 2: Epistle to S2.

(‘As it was acted by the King’s Maiesties servants at the Globe’) from the block. A bare bones title, ‘The Historie of Troilus and Cressida’, would have sufficed to remove all stigma of dishonest promotion. The actual changes are instead more substantive and more suggestive; in fact, they comprehensively inflect the content and rhetorical posture of the altered title page in an identifiable direction.

The S2 title page invites a shift in perspective, one that goes well beyond the mere deletion of the performance venue. On the contrary, it will transform the rhetorical schema of anyone alert to the way paratextual ‘entry codes’²⁰ can function to influence a reader’s reception strategy. Not only have markers that had given the text a ‘local habitation and a name’ in S1 been suppressed in favor of a generic frame of reference, but a topical Southwark has been conveniently universalized, and the play recast as a ‘famous history’ about the life and loves of the ancient and long dead aristocracy of a distant land (‘Excellently expressing the beginning of their loves, and the conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia’). If, as Leah Marcus has suggested, the Jonsonian ambiguities of the 1623 first

folio function to perpetuate ‘Shakespeare’s complicity in the humanist enterprise’²¹ by removing any taint of topical intent, inhibiting local readings to establish a ‘universal’ bard, then it seems that the second state of *Troilus and Cressida* supplies a dress rehearsal for this rhetorical gambit.

The altered title page, of course, forms only one element distinguishing S2 from S1. On the second page of the cancellans (¶2–¶2v) appears an epistle, ‘A never writer, to an ever reader’ (Figure Two), which effects to justify the the S2 title page omission of reference to a Globe production by characterizing *Troilus* as a ‘new play, never stal’d with the Stage, never clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulgar...not...sullied...with the smoaky breath of the multitude’.²²

Post-modern criticism, for all its cultivation of critical sensibility, has failed to interrogate the significance and context of these words, electing instead to follow a tradition which places an unsubstantiated faith in S2’s sincerity while ignoring or misreading the epistle’s admonition to the reader to ‘thank fortune for the [’]scape’ (¶2v) that *Troilus* has made from the ‘grand possessors’ who, if allowed, would have left the reader to ‘pray’— a word with distinctive legal implication²³ — for the play rather than purchase and read it.

One can only agree with Elton’s observation that the epistle ‘was composed in the new knowledge reflected in [S2’s] title page, and may be understood as a means of reconciling the publication’s appeal to its revised circumstances’.²⁴ But surely these revised circumstances cannot be those Elton — who takes Bonian and Whalley’s sincerity for granted²⁵ — supposes. Like so many others, Elton endorses the convenient notion that the ‘grand possessors’— it is rarely mentioned that both phrase and phraseology distinctly echoes the ‘grand censors ‘who ‘now style [plays] such vanities’ (¶2) — must be the King’s Men.²⁶ Taken together, however, the rewriting of S2 paratexts, both title pages and epistle, gives every indication of accomplishing an impressive defensive function that has no necessary connection to what the printers actually believed about the play’s performance history. Reading between the lines, the revisions instead emerge as conspicuous evidence for what Annabel Patterson has termed the ‘hermeneutics of censorship’— subtle traces of an otherwise invisible negotiation between publishers and ‘grand censors’.²⁷

Both external and internal evidence confirm that *Troilus and Cressida* was a likely candidate to provoke controversy of the kind that would leave such traces. By the time of Bonian and Whalley’s

publication, six years had already elapsed since James Roberts' registration, the longest elapsed period between registration and publication (with the exception of *As You Like It*) for any Shakespearean play. Robert's registration had granted provisional right to publish, pending further 'authority'; the authority lacked by Roberts, according to Peter Blayney, was that of ecclesiastical censors determined to 'prevent the publication of unacceptable material and to justify the punishment of anyone who overstepped the line'.²⁸ Evidently these 'grand censors'— as the S2 epistle refers to them — were still active in 1609. Faced with a demand to interrupt the press run or even destroy already printed copies, it appears that Bonian and Whalley preserved their investment by producing a revised title page, supplemented by the enigmatic epistle 'From a Never Writer to an Ever Reader' (Figure Two).²⁹

These bibliographical considerations can serve as the basis for a more nuanced interpretative approach to *Troilus and Cressida* than has been the norm, inviting a reading that is faithful to the local Elizabethan realities that would have shaped the play's reception by a 1602 Bankside audience. It is generally acknowledged³⁰ that the play's tone and genre manifest the vogue of satiric drama that dominated the late Elizabethan drama in the 'war of the theatres' (1600–1603). However, the interpretative implications of this contextualization have been neglected by a Shakespearean discipline as reluctant to consider the topical dimensions of Shakespearean drama as to it has been to entertain substantive doubts about authorship of the plays or cross examine the motives of publishers.³¹

The 1599 Bishop's Ban, the most Draconian censorship decree in over four hundred years of English legal history, among other measures, had not only forbidden by fiat all publication of satires, but also, more surprisingly, obligated *a priori* censorship of *histories* by representatives of the Privy Council.³² As Janet Clare has shown in some detail,³³ the inhibition of histories was precipitated by the suspicion that historical writers conspired to 'parallel the times' by impersonating or 'shadowing' the living. Such a theory formed the basis for the notorious 1601 prosecution (and jailing) of John Haywarde for his *History of the Reign of Henry IV* (1599). Paradoxically, if we are to follow the lead of Oscar James Campbell's *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida* (1938),³⁴ the inhibition of published books such as Haywarde's stimulated the florescence of a wave of theatrical satires which by 1601 had erupted

into the ‘war of the theatres’. In this context, the emendation of S1’s ‘history’ to S2’s ‘famous history’, as well as the new focus on ‘Pandarus, Prince of Licia’,³⁵ would have served the critical function of distancing the text from any accusation of intent to ‘parallel the times’. Presumably, the more ‘famous’ a history, the less likely it is to meddle in contemporary politics, and the less justification it requires from vulnerable authors, editors, or publishers when confronted by suspicions of intent to parallel the times. Such an evasion also accounts for the S2 epistle’s insistent affirmations, including nine uses of the terms ‘Commedie’ and ‘comiccall’ in forty-two lines, that the play is not a history at all, but, rather, a comedy.

At least since Campbell (1938), it has been an accepted axiom of *Troilus* criticism that the play, in some manner which is rarely given satisfactory specification, engages the discourse of the 1601–3 Poetomachia that was incited, at least in part, by the imposition of the 1599 Ban. And, indeed, there is no better witness to Shakespeare’s acute awareness of the Aristophanic tradition of *vetus comoedia*, a genre committed to parodying known individuals instead of generic vices, than this play. In the ‘closet drama’ of Achilles and Patroclus, as retold by Ulysses, this pair of Greek shirkers can think of nothing so hilarious – so we are informed by the intelligence of Ulysses – as gratuitous parody, by name, of their respectable elders:

Vpon a lazie bed the live-long day
 Breakes scurrell iests
 And with ridiculous and sillie action,
 Which (slanderer) he Imitation calls,
 He pageants vs. Some-time great *Agamemnon*,
 Thy toplesse deputation he puts on,
 And like a strutting Player, whose conceit
 Lyes in his ham-string, and doth thinke it rich
 To heere the wooden dialogue and sound,
 Twixt his strecht footing and the scoafollage,
 Such to be pitied and ore-resting seeming,
 He acts thy greatnesse in....

.....at this fustie stuff,

The large *Achilles* on his pressed bed lolling,
 From his deep chest laughs out alowd applause,
 Cries Excellent; ‘tis *Agamemnon* right!
 Now play me Nestor, hem and stroke thy beard,
 As he being dressed to some Oration...

(1.3.151–171; Griggs 18)

Shakespearean scholars have been remarkably slow to ask whether it is conceivable that Shakespeare is *doing* what he is writing about – indulging in the parody of not just of vices but of individuals. This is all the more surprising in view of the tradition, going back to contemporaneous testimony in the Parnassus plays, hinting that Shakespeare’s Ajax is a parody of Ben Jonson.³⁶ It is true that the ‘old historicist’ William Elton elaborated the theory in 1948, concluding for several tangible reasons that ‘it was difficult to conceive of a better choice for a satire on Jonson than Ajax’³⁷ and that such a parody would have been ‘easily recognizable’ by contemporary audiences. Unfortunately, his has been to a great extent a forgotten voice crying in a wilderness where few have dared to tread, for fear of being identified as advocates of a ‘topical’ Shakespeare.

But Thersite’s complaint that while ‘the elephant’ Ajax ‘beats’ him, he can only ‘rail’ in return, sounds remarkably like a comical staging of the notorious quarrel in which, as Jonson boasted to William Drummond, he ‘beate [John] Marston and took his pistoll from him’:³⁸

Ther. Shall the Elephant *Ai*ax carry it thus? he beates me, and I raile at him: O, worthy satisfaction! Would it were otherwise: that I could beat him, whilst he raild at me...

(2.3.2–5; Griggs 33)

Pursuing this line of reasoning will reveal a stratum of topical humor, related to the Bishop’s Ban and the theatrical responses to it, that remains invisible without a ‘new historical’ context. By 1602, *Troilus*’ most probable *terminus ad quem*, the quarrelsome rivals Jonson and Marston had become the war’s two chief protagonists and would therefore be natural targets of a satire by an author who had ‘carefully studied *Cynthia’s Revels*...and *The Poetaster*’³⁹ in preparation for entering the fray. Thersites, for his part, employs the disease-ridden, sexualized rhetoric of the Puritan satirists, of whom Marston was, from a theatrical perspective, the most conspicuous. Wishing on Patroclus

the rotten diseases of the south, the guts griping, ruptures: loads a gravell in the back, lethergies, could palsies, rawe eies, durtrotten livers, whissing lungs, bladders full of imposthume, sciaticaeas, limekills ith’ palm, incurable bone-ach, and the riveled fee-simple of the tetter,

(5.1.17–23; Griggs 74)

he nevertheless announces that Achille's friend

will give me any thing for the intelgence of this whore: the parrot will not do more for an almond than he for a commodious drab

And, in a parody of the apocalyptic rhetoric of Protestant extremism concludes that

Lechery, lechery, still wars and lechery, nothing else holds fashion,
a burning devil take them.

(5.2.214–18; Griggs 81)

Perhaps the most revealing topical passage, however, involves the 2.1 exchange of verbal and physical insults between the two combatants:

Ther. I shall sooner raile thee into wit and holinesse; but I thinke thy horse will sooner cunne an oration without booke, then thou learn praier without book, thou canst strike, canst thou? A red murrion ath thy Iade's tricks.

Aiax. Tode-stool? learn me the proclamation.

Ther. Doost thou thinke I have no sence, thou strikest me thus?

Aiax. The proclamation.

Thers. Thou art proclaim'd foole, I think.

.....

Aiax. I say the proclamation.

(2.1.15–31; Griggs 24–25)

Jonson's characterization in other contemporary texts of the poetomachia provides compelling confirmation. The persona of the blunt, confrontational Ajax, even from this brief excerpt, so well fits Jonson's reputation, as chronicled by James. P. Bednarz⁴⁰ and Alvin Kernan⁴¹ among others, as to form an unmistakable caricature. Kernan sees Marston's *Histriomastix* Chrisoganus, accepted with virtual unanimity as a representation of Jonson,⁴² as a 'mere pedant ... so bookish, so contrary to common sense, and so loaded with Latin tags that it seems a parody on [Jonsonian] arguments'.⁴³ To Bednarz, Marston's 'translating-schollar' captures Jonson's 'characteristic belligerence and self-aggrandizement, his work's chronic dependence on scholarship (mocked as mere translation), and his poverty'.⁴⁴ Everard Guilpin's 1598 satire of Jonson as 'Chrisoganus', the inspiration for the character of the same name in

Marston's play, portrays him as 'a satirist who is both physically and psychologically deformed, a grotesque of nature who further distorts himself through his excessively belligerent posturing' in a berserk example of Renaissance self-fashioning'.⁴⁵ Certainly the deformed 'Elephant' Ajax in this passage, like Guilpin's Chrisoganus, fulfills the image of a berserker,

Runn[ing] into the street,
Each one to put in fear that he doth meet.⁴⁶

Thersites on the other hand strikes a 'palpable hit' when he taunts Ajax with the former actor Jonson's reputation for bookish pedantry, in the line 'thy horse will sooner *con an oration* than thou learn a prayer *without book*'. The same aspect of Jonson's persona is manifested in the conspicuous iteration of the curious word 'proclamation', repeated three times and as the prime topic of his dispute with Ajax. Although this repetition has apparently passed without notice in the critical literature,⁴⁷ it bears every hallmark of comedic intent. Although ostensibly referring to Hector's challenge to Achilles, it may at least be worth a footnote that in 16th century London (known to the antiquarians as 'Troynovant'), the word 'proclamation' is regularly employed to signify a royal edict, including those governing regulation of the press.⁴⁸ And what, really, could be wittier than this? A character that any Elizabethan theatergoer would recognize as a thinly veiled parody of the learned but quarrelsome Ben Jonson, rails at a Marston-Thersites to 'learn me the proclamation' – that is to say, recite the Bishop's ban on satire! No wonder that the anonymous author of the S2 epistle confidently predicts that even 'heavy-witted' readers will find themselves 'feeling an edge of wit set upon them more than ever they dreamed they had brain to grind it on..'. (§2).

To acknowledge Ajax as a theatrical parody of Jonson is, however, only to peel the first layer of the satiric onion. Seen through the 'new historicist' lens of a gritty Bankside performance venue, a world of disturbing possibilities, commensurate with the play's troubling tone, will emerge to enliven Shakespeare's text. Consider, for example, the curious epilogue of Pandarus (Figure Four), in which he announces his reticence to make a public 'will', lest some 'galled goose of Winchester would hiss' (5.10.55). Is it merely a coincidence that this controversial speech – doubtless among the most peculiar in

My loue with words and errors still she feedes,
 But edifies another with her deedes. *Exeunt.*
Enter Therfites; excursions.
 Therfi. Now they are clapper-clawing one another: He

My loue with words and errors still she feedes;
 But edifies another with her deedes.
Pand. Why, but heare you?
Troy. Hence brother lackie; ignomie and shame
 Pursue thy life; and lett eye with thy name.
A Larum. Exeunt.

Enter Therfites in excursion.

Ther. Now they are clapper-clawing one another, He

Figure 3: In Q (Above), Pandarus exits without provocation from Troilus (5.3); F (Below) duplicates his new exit cue, 'Hence Brother/Broker' at both 3331 (illustrated) and 3570 (After Apfelbaum, 193).

the entire Shakespearean canon – is attended by one the most vexing bibliographical anomalies in the 1623 folio?

In the 'most commented on textual problem in *Troilus and Cressida*',⁴⁹ a couplet appearing only once and in a logical position in Q ('Hence brother lackey...') is duplicated in F (Figure Three). Q prints the couplet, which precipitates Troilus' exit so that Pandarus can deliver his epilogue alone on the stage, only near the very end of the play in 5.10; F follows Q by printing it in this penultimate position (F. l. 3570), but also prints it as the last lines of 5.3 (f. l. 3331). The implication of this textual anomaly is inescapable: some ancestral exemplar of F omits the epilogue and has Pandarus exit in 5.3.

As Apfelbaum observes, the critical controversy over the meaning of the textual discrepancy reveals the close connection between premises about authorship, aesthetics, and bibliography: 'The questionable authority of F's repetition has also been particularly useful to commentators who have judged Pandarus' final address to

the audience distasteful, supporting the opinion that Shakespeare would not end the play with such a scandalous speech'.⁵⁰ For many readers, as Apfelbaum implies, Pandarus' speech elicits revulsion, based at least in part on the generic vulgarity of its overt references to prostitution and venereal disease – and this in turn activates a romantic impulse to attribute the epilogue to someone, anyone, except 'our Shakespeare'.

Such reactions, I suggest, preserve a mirror of the original controversy which gave rise to the surviving textual variants – through a simple and easily understood process of textual transmission and emendation. Those who disapprove of Pandarus' speech read in F's duplication a sign that the Shakespearean Ur-text lacked the epilogue, ending instead with Troilus' words of dismissal, and that Pandarus' speech is the irresponsible interpolation of a clown who has spoken 'more than was set down for him' by the honest and inoffensive Shakespeare. In light of the evidence of the two states of the quarto, a more likely explanation, which imports no metaphysical ghostwriters from the grave to instruct us in bibliography or salvage our authorial fantasies, is that the duplicated passage is the result of the imperfect collation of two genuinely authorial copy-texts by F compositors. The first copy text, ancestral to Q, preserved the epilogue; the other never had the epilogue, and forced an earlier exit for Pandarus at ll. 3331.

The bibliographical evidence supports such an interpretation. As is well known, the folio printing of *Troilus and Cressida* was suspended and then resumed, apparently due to 'difficulties over copyright'.⁵¹ The more closely we examine these circumstances in light of the present theory, the more revealing this suspension becomes: According to the analysis of A. Walker, the initial pages represent only minor modifications, all based on Q, but 'from the point where printing was resumed, the F. text takes on a very different character', and after this resumption 'many corrections of Q errors plainly rested on the use of an authoritative manuscript'.⁵²

The implications of this scenario for solving the enigma of F's duplications could not be more striking. Even if, as is usually argued, the printing hiatus resulted from a dispute over copyright, the *consequence* was that F's compositor started with one copy text (Q) and finished with two, *the second being a manuscript with sufficient independent authority to be used to correct the actual or perceived errors of Q*. Thus, the contradictions in the surviving copy texts are

readily explained on the theory that the new copy text⁵³ contained Pandarus' exit at 5.3 but did not contain the epilogue. The imperfect redaction of these two texts by F compositors, who were either careless or uncertain as to the correct text⁵⁴ and therefore felt obliged to preserve both, however illogically, accounts for the textual anomalies of F without any need to invent multiple authors merely to exonerate 'our Shakespeare' from any taint of scandal.⁵⁵

We are left with the question of why the textual history of *Troilus and Cressida* should preserve evidence – both in its paratexts and in the copy text of the play itself – of such a concerted attempt to disassociate the play from a Bankside production at the Globe, when so much evidence – from the SR entry and S1's title page to the epilogue itself – points to the conclusion that such performance *must* have occurred, at least once. This enigma is closely associated with the play's controversial epilogue, which has always been linked in the minds of critics with the Bankside venue – even those supporting the Inns of Court theory – because of its overt allusions to prostitution and sexually transmissible diseases.

Surely, however, something beyond mere nastiness is at stake in producing these highly particularized signs of *Troilus*' inhibition. Shakespeare's play bristles with sexual innuendo and nasty hyperbole of the sort that must have rocked the world of the penny groundlings on Bankside. What made the epilogue different? It is a question perhaps best answered with another question. The revised title page (Figure One) supplies an intriguing clue to the importance of Pandarus as a factor influencing the generation of S2. Why should the S2 title page go out of its way to *replace* notice of a Bankside performance with reference to 'Pandarus, prince of Licia' while simultaneously revising the play's genre from 'history' to 'famous history'? The sensitivity to the Pandarus persona revealed on the S2 title page implies that impersonation, not vulgarity *per se*, may have been the real problem. As we have seen, the author of *Troilus and Cressida* is so familiar with the themes and methods of the Old Comedy that he substitutes theatrical satire for homosexuality as the sin of the rambunctious tentmates Patroclus and Achilles and pillories his fellow playwrights Jonson and Marston as vainglorious warriors wrangling over the Bishop's Ban.

Literary scholarship traditionally posits a more or less impermeable barrier between textual and interpretative studies. Scholars are conditioned to avoid any 'dextrous changing' in the

shape of our inquiry or shifting of our scene from bibliography to interpretation or visa-versa. However, such disciplinary policing may be unhelpful for apprehending the uncannily close relationship between the textual history and literary values of *Troilus and Cressida*. Ironically, Shakespeare's play is saturated with signs of the crisis of representation that had prompted the imposition of the Bishop's Ban only a few years before its registration. For instance, Thersite's sardonic doggerel on Cressida: 'A proof of truth she could not publish more, unless she say my mind is now turned whore' (5.2.113–14) not only self-referentially alludes to the politics of publication, but also invokes reference to the notorious oath *ex officio* imposed by Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, by means of which accused persons 'were bound, on their oath, to answer questions against themselves, and thus become their own accusers'.⁵⁶

By extracting the play from its Bankside performance venue and stressing that Pandarus is a long dead 'Prince of Licia' in a 'famous history', S2 de-topicalizes a play fraught with signs of contemporary parody, a play in which the personified elite of Elizabethan England 'become their own accusers' with comic predictability. Indeed, from the Elizabethan (or even early Jacobean) perspective, the publisher's gambit may be comprehensible if we consider the particular topical implications of Pandarus, the character most intimately implicated in these changes. As the powerful Master of the Court of Wards, the Elizabethan institution responsible not only for raising and educating orphaned sons of the aristocracy, managing their estates, and overseeing the inquisition *post mortem*, but also arranging and profiting from their marriages, there can be little doubt that William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–1598), is the most obvious target of Shakespeare's satire, even four years after his death. Burghley's nepotistic arranged marriages – his own daughter Anne to her 'adoptive' brother, Burghley's ward, Edward de Vere Earl of Oxford (1550–1604); Burghley's ward Southampton (1573–1624) to de Vere's daughter Elizabeth (1575–1626); and many more – were infamous.⁵⁸

Although opposed to the oath *ex officio*, the Puritan sympathizer Burghley has also been regarded as chiefly responsible for directing the practice of Elizabethan torture⁵⁹ – primarily, it would seem, against Catholics suspected of plots against the state. As Burghley doubtless understood, torture is an extension of politics by other means, and in *Troilus and Cressida*, when there is sex and politics, torture is never far distant. When Pandarus consummates the covert

marriage of the lovers, his service, recalling the dictum of Robert Cecil that the operations of government are like the secrets of lovers,⁶⁰ employs the language of the *arcana domus* – the ‘secrets of the [royal] household’, of which Tacitus, recently translated into English by Sir Henry Sayville, had furnished influential historical precedent.⁶¹ The liaison of the title characters is to be a momentous secret underwritten by a penalty more terrible than the forced confession of Whitgift’s controversial oath: ‘Whereupon I will show you a chamber and a bed, which bed, *because it shall not speak of your pretty encounters, press it to death*’ (3.3.207–9; emphasis added). According to Anne Barton, the phrase ‘press it to death’, alludes to the Tudor practice of torture used for felony defendants who refused to plead, of pressing to death with weights.⁶²

Like the two states of the title pages, and the duplicated couplet, Pandarus’ epilogue (Figure Four), especially the strange lines

Some two monthes hence, my will shall here be made
It should be now, but that my feare is this,
Some gauled goose of Winchester would hisse
(5.10.52–54; Griggs 91)

has been the subject of copious interpretative speculation. A long tradition, perpetuated in the notes of every edition of the play, tells us that a ‘goose of Winchester’ is a prostitute with venereal disease.⁶³ But what, then, are we to make of the passage of *1 Henry VI* in which an outraged Gloucester, having been threatened by the Bishop of Winchester with a papal vengeance for his obstinate heresy, cries out to his men to hang the offending churchman: ‘Winchester goose, I cry, a rope! a rope!’ (1.3.53)?

Can Pandarus have in mind a more formidable opponent than a sick Bankside prostitute? Is his railing instead directed against a person of some authority, perhaps the Bishop of Winchester,⁶⁴ who was the most powerful censoring authority on Bankside, or even, by extension, the entire authority of the established Church of England? If so, would that not provide an incentive – for the Privy council, the Lords Spiritual, the Courts of Equity as solicited, and indeed the entire governing apparatus of the late Elizabethan or early Jacobean society – to place immediate and terrible pressure to bear on the hapless publishers of Q1, inducing them by every conceivable pressure to disassociate their publication from the Bankside performance venue that supplies the necessary context for such a

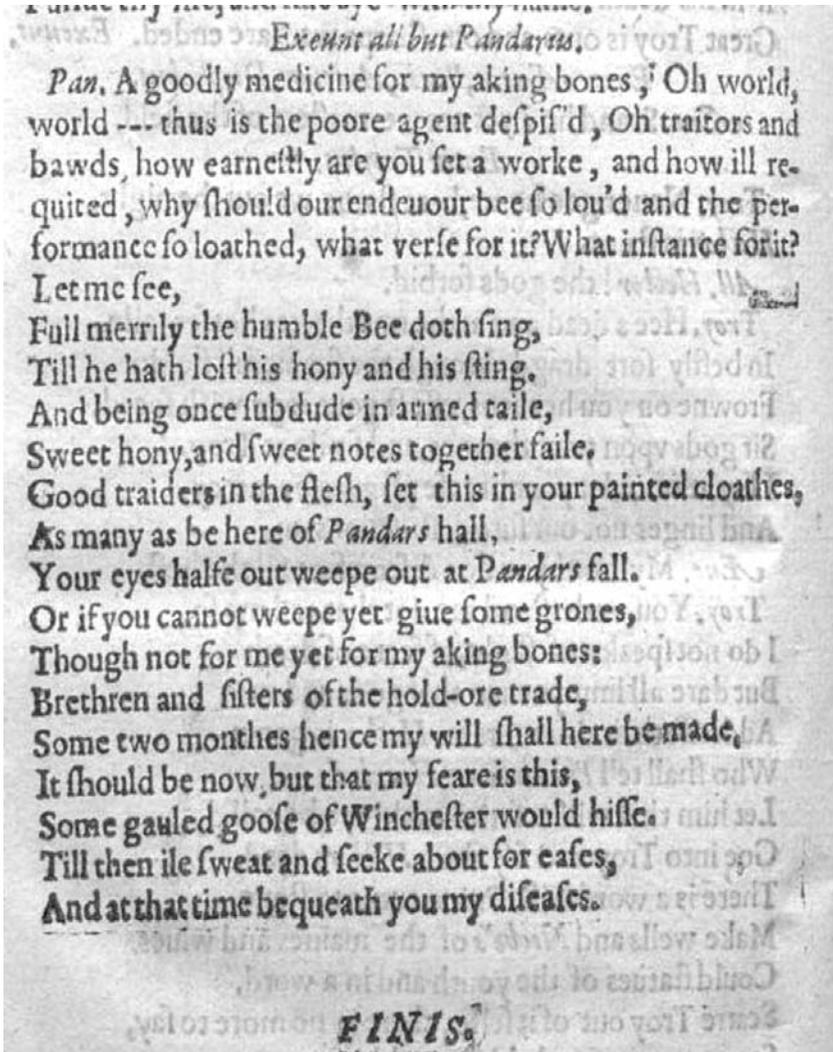


Figure 4: Pandarus' Epilogue, from S2.

meaning, or else not only see their stock go up in flames but face the full wrath of the law – a wrath which extended in such cases well beyond fines, to imprisonment, the destruction of presses and typefaces, and in the most extreme cases, mutilation or execution? Certainly it must be acknowledged that such a narrative accounts for the observable features of the two states of Q far more comprehensively than any other. S1 naively announces the play's true theatrical history, while S2 hastily strips away the offending topicality and stitches together an overt protestation of plausible

deniability, pretending to offer for sale a play ‘Never clapper-clawed with the palmes of the vulgar,’ and ‘Not sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude’ (¶2v).

To summarise, the theory presented here for the first time is that censorship, together with an original but controversial Bankside performance venue, played a long ignored or even suppressed role in shaping both the literary and bibliographical features of *Troilus and Cressida*, including the variant title pages, the S2 preface, Pandarus’ enigmatic prologue, and the duplicated couplet.⁶⁵ That one theory can illuminate such a variety of textual phenomenon constitutes a striking illustration of theoretical robustness. Indeed one is forced to wonder why an explanation not only so authoritatively grounded both in Shakespeare’s own text, but also in *the content, form, and history* of the play’s editorial paratexts, could have been ignored for three centuries of Shakespearean editions. The mystery is only compounded by the fact that the key element of the interpretation was first proposed in 1877 by the German scholar Th. Bruns, who draws attention to the parallel with *I Henry VI* 1.3, arguing that there ‘the word can be nothing other than a reference to the Bishop of Winchester,’ and that the reference is the same in *Troilus*.⁶⁶ Bruns goes on to suggest, on analogy with the epilogue to *II Henry IV*, that that the ‘will’ to which Pandarus refers is the promise of a new play.

The fate of this observation is telling. It is not just that the implication of the politicization of the epilogue – which stages, if Bruns is right, a direct defiance of the most powerful censor on Bankside (and by extension the entire ecclesiastical and secular bureaucracies of censorship) – has been ignored. It has not even been possible to discuss these implications, because the textual basis for them has routinely been ignored or sidestepped with *ad hoc* interpretation that fails to follow the entire unambiguous logic of the epilogue’s critical lines. John Dover Wilson,⁶⁷ usually an astute commentator on topicalities, does not say a word about the difficult phrase ‘gauled Goose of Winchester.’ Harold N. Hildebrand and T.W. Baldwin,⁶⁸ wielding the authority of the *New Variorum* to help define what was to become an unquestioned orthodoxy, incorrectly attribute to Bruns the view that the term refers to a prostitute! K. Deighton, more cautiously, paraphrases the line as ‘*some one* suffering from the venereal disease, who would be galled by my words’;⁶⁹ Kenneth Palmer references the *I Henry VI* parallel, but follows the path authorized by Hildebrand and Baldwin’s misinterpretation of Bruns,

seeing the line as unproblematically referring to ‘an infected prostitute from the Southwark stews’.⁷⁰ Anne Barton is frank enough to acknowledge that the phrase ‘Winchester goose’ came to be applied to prostitutes because ‘the Brothels in Southwark were under the jurisdiction’ – as, of course, were the theatres – ‘of the bishop of Winchester’.⁷¹ But neither Barton nor any other English speaking critic of whom I am aware has dared to even acknowledge the persuasive logical force of Bruns argument identifying the “Goose” with the Bishop and the “will” with the promise of a new play.

As Joseph Lenz has documented in copious detail, ‘a predominant metaphor for the practice of theater in Shakespeare’s age was prostitution’.⁷² From this perspective, we can begin to appreciate the comic potency of Pandarus’ defiant promise of a new ‘will.’ If the recognition of Ben Jonson and John Marston in such characters as Ajax and Thersites constituted a comical *divertissement* that censoring authorities might safely allow under the radar, the spectacle of a decrepit, diseased, and dying ‘Pandarus of England’, having arranged a secret marriage between the title characters, and threatened their bed sheets with death by torture, now flouting his defiance of the Southwark authorities, *in persona auctoris*, with promise of a sequel, would have been sufficiently inflammatory to arouse official inhibition. In 1603, the association between disease and theatre that is so prominent in the epilogue, would have been especially pointed; London was then wracked by a savage outbreak of the plague, eventually killing 33,000 and leading to the usual closure of the public theatres, by a March 19 edict from the privy council.⁷³ It is not difficult to see how well the epilogue fits these circumstances if we follow the insight of Th. Bruns and take Pandarus’ use of the word ‘will’ as reference to a theatrical sequel and the ‘galled goose’ as the Bishop of Winchester.

Given the length of his service to the Elizabethan state and the transitional problems incurred by his death, an even more potent valency is revealed by considering the potent political implications of a satiric public reading of Burghley’s ‘will’ – in the sense of his posthumous political influence. Especially in 1602–3, when relatively fond memories of Burghley’s reign as Principle Secretary were being replaced by widespread discontent with the Machiavellian tactics of his son Robert, and an aura of apocalyptic license grew as ordinary citizens watched and waited for the Queen’s imminent demise, ordinary theatergoers might well flock to witness

such a scene. It is not difficult to see how such a doubly subversive staging could have roused both the Anglican establishment and the Privy Council to a hissy fit. And if such a reaction did take place, it would certainly account for the observable traces of a censorship battle – from the registration troubles of 1603 to the revisions of S2 or the F composers’ confusion over the copy text – that are deposited in the play’s textual history.

No wonder, then, that poor James Roberts in 1603 got no authority to print it. Nor should it then be a surprise that, six years later, just as Bonian and Whalley were at last cranking out the final sheets, some ‘galled goose of Winchester’ let loose a hiss that didn’t die down until the hapless printers had excised all mention of a Bankside performance and supplied an elaborately disingenuous preface, chiefly aimed to satisfy every reader that Pandarus – after all, why single him out for special comment on the title page of S2? – was merely a balding ‘Prince of Licia’, re-enacting an innocuous ‘famous history’ that just happened to be filled with Elizabethan theology, diseases, and secrets.

Notes

1. W.W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, Oxford: The University Press, 1955, 338.
2. Peter Alexander, ‘*Troilus & Cressida*, 1609’. *The Library*, 4th series, IX: 277–78 (1929), 279.
3. *Ibid.*, 279.
4. Phillip Williams, ‘The ‘Second Issue’ of Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609’, *Studies in Bibliography II*: 25–33 (1949), 31.
5. Williams, *ibid.*
6. Jarold W. Ramsey, ‘The Provenance of *Troilus and Cressida*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 21:3 (Summer, 1970), 223–240, 237.
7. Ramsay *ibid.*
8. William Godshalk, ‘The Texts of *Troilus and Cressida*’, *Early Modern Literary Studies* 1:2 (1995) 2.1–54. <<http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/01-2/godsshak.html>>
9. Alexander, *op. cit.*
10. Ramsey, *op. cit.*, 224.
11. W.R. Elton, *Shakespeare’s Troilus and Cressida and the Inns of Court Revels* (Ashgate, 2000).
12. *First Folio* 340, cited in Godshalk *op. cit.*, 3.
13. Ramsay, *op. cit.*
14. *Ibid.*, 226.
15. *Ibid.*, 232.

16. *Ibid.*, 233.

17. Such an audience who would doubtless be less habituated to the protocols of female honor that would have prevailed among an elite female audience at the Inns, and hence less likely to take offense at being likened to prostitutes.

18. E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930. I: 438).

19. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, 227–228. According to Ramsay’s census, from 1605 (the earliest extant records) until 1620, the King’s Men played only five times at the Inner Temple. The reason was financial. Inns of court performances typically earned players around £5 per performance, half what they could earn at court or in the public theatre; as the premier company of the realm, the LC/King’s Men only played the Inns under rare circumstances, probably involving politically induced financial incentives above and beyond the venue’s usual fee.

20. The useful concept is from Patterson, Annabel, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England*. University of Wisconsin: Reprint, 1991.

21. Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. (University of California, 1990), 41.

22. Unless otherwise specified, *Troilus* quotations are from the facsimile by William Griggs. *Shakespeare’s Troilus and Cressida: The First Quarto, 1609*. (London: Photolithographic facsimile, 1886).

23. See OED III.c, ‘in the formal ending of a petition to the Sovereign, to Parliament, a petition in Chancery’ (II: 2267). For a more extended discussion of the legal language of the epistle, see W.R. Elton, ‘Textual Transmission and Genre of Shakespeare’s *Troilus and Cressida*’, *Sonderdruck Literatur Als Kritik Des Lebens Festschrift Zum 65*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer (1975: 63–82), 68.

24. W.R. Elton, *op. cit.* 65.

25. ‘The epistle’s correction seems deliberately intended to erase, as misleading or untrue, the previous assertion’ of the Globe performance by the King’s Men (Elton, *ibid.*, 64).

26. When taken together the two phrases seem unlikely, to say the least, to refer to the King’s Men, who could be considered ‘grand censors’ only by wrenching the usual meanings of those terms. The phrase more naturally refers to someone of real censoring authority, who might have been in possession of manuscript copies and/or had the power to restrain publication: The Lord Chamberlain of the Household (the Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk), or his deputy the Master of the Revels (then Edmund Tylney), or Shakespeare’s patrons, William (who in 1615 became Lord Chamberlain, after many years angling for the position), or his brother (the other patron of the 1623 folio), Phillip Herbert, the husband of Elizabeth de Vere, all seem plausible candidates, although the repeated phrase ‘grand’ seems less likely to be used of Tylney than the others.

27. Patterson, *op. cit.*

28. Peter W.M. Blayney, ‘The Publication of Playbooks’, in *A New History of Early English Drama*, eds. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press), 383–422, 397; qtd in Lucas Erne. *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.

29. Who would have complained? And why? Without further evidence it is impossible to offer more than a hypothesis, but among the obvious constituencies would be the Privy Council, The Lords Spiritual and their ecclesiastical censors, or even private parties through

chancery suit – any of which would be more likely applications for the term ‘grand censors’ than would the King’s Men. Ultimately, even if the phrase could be applied to the latter, the source of the trouble would have been the same – only scandalous content that would have aroused the ire of Ecclesiastical censors or the Privy Council could have motivated the King’s Men to disassociate themselves from the play.

30. Oscar Campbell, *James. Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare’s Troilus and Cressida*. (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1938); ‘Troilus and Cressida’, in *Shakespeare’s Satire*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943); Abbie Findlay Potts. ‘*Cynthia’s Revels, Poetaster, and Troilus and Cressida*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 5:3 (Summer, 1954): 297–302.

31. See, for example, J. Thomas Looney, ‘*Shakespeare Identified in Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*’, (London: Cecil Palmer, 1920); Charlton Ogburn, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality*, (Little & Brown, 1984); or, most recently Mark K. Anderson, ‘*Shakespeare By Another Name: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*’, (New York: Gotham Books, 2005).

32. Clare, Janet. ‘*Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority*’: *Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 62.

33. Clare, 60–95.

34. Campbell, op. cit.

35. Did Ben Jonson remember this ruse years later in *Staple of News* when he had the newsmonger Thomas Barber praise the clever gambit of the King’s men ‘for their various shifting of their Scene’ and ‘dextrous change o’ their persons to all shapes’(3.2.202)?

36. J.B. Leishman, *The Three Parnassus Plays*. (London: Ivor Nicholson, 1949); 337, 59–60.

37. William Elton, ‘Shakespeare’s Portrait of Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida*’ *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 63 (1948): 744–746, 746.

38. C.H. Herford, and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, *Ben Jonson, Vols. I and II: The Man and His Work*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925), I 136.

39. Potts, 297.

40. James P. Bednarz, ‘Representing Jonson: “Histriomastix” and the Origin of the Poet’s War’, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 54: 1 (Winter 1991), 1–30.

41. Alvin Kernan, ‘John Marston’s Play, *Histriomastix*’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 19 (1958): 137–138.

42. According to Bednarz, those who have accepted the identification include E.K. Chambers, Philip Finkelpearl, Anne Barton, and David Riggs (2) – in addition, of course, to Kernan and Bednarz himself.

43. Bednarz, op. cit., 2.

44. Bednarz, op. cit., 9.

45. Bednarz, op. cit., 4.

46. D. Allen Carroll, *Skialetheia or A Shadow of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1974), 48.

47. The phrase is not glossed in any of the following: Riverside (1974); Quiller-Couch and Wilson (1974); Pelican (1977); Palmer (1982); Bate and Rasmussen (2007).

48. See Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.* Vol. 1. (London: Privately Printed, 1875). 13, 98, 138, 476, 498, 510, 512, 520, and 546 for examples.

49. Roger Apfelbaum, *Shakespeare’s ‘Troilus and Cressida’: Textual Problems and Performance Solutions*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 192.

50. *Ibid.*, 196.

51. Alice Walker, ed. *Troilus and Cressida*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 122.

52. *Ibid.*, 123.

53. Or *visa versa* – the order of the two texts cannot really be determined.

54. Or, more intriguingly, had been ordered to ‘correct’ Q’s audacities with an alternative text, carried out their orders on a ‘work to order’ basis, sacrificing logic to the higher good of preserving a more authentic text than one that would have deleted Pandarus’ epilogue.

55. Those who would argue for the non-authorial character of the epilogue must climb a slippery slope, against all the objective evidence. Not only must they multiply entities by positing a second author, but they must explain why, if the manuscript copy text was authoritative and Q was not, the compositors would not have followed the manuscript, as they did in some many other instances, by simply eliminating the epilogue.

56. William Maxwell Hetherington, *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*. Online reprint by the Center for Reformed Theology and Apologetics. <http://www.reformed.org/books/hetherington/west_assembly/chapter_1.html>. Accessed 2/14/06.

57. The marriage did not materialize, and Southampton forfeited the enormous sum of £5000 as penalty to the lady’s grandfather, also his own guardian. Perhaps more strikingly than any other example, this transaction aptly symbolizes the power of the institution to accrue profit from ‘pandering.’

58. It may be relevant that numerous historically engaged critics (including George Russell French, E.K. Chambers, Lilian Winstanley, John Dover Wilson, Joel Hurstfield, and A.L. Rowse), have seen in the character of Polonius in *Hamlet* a reasonably transparent parody of Cecil. See Mark Alexander, ‘Polonius as Lord Burghley: A Short Journey Through the History of the Arguments’ (<<http://www.sourcetext.com/sourcebook/essays/polonius/corambis.html>>), for an excellent summary of the case. Hamlet, of course, taunts Polonius with being a ‘fishmonger’, an epithet that has a double satiric significance: generically the term was slang for a pimp (hence the connection to Pandarus); more specifically, Burghley was credited with introducing ‘civil lent’ into Elizabethan society as a way to compensate for the depression of the fisheries (and consequent decline in shipping, with national security implications) brought about by the atrophy of the traditional observance in the newly Protestant nation.

59. Given the impulse to sanitize Burghley’s role in such unsavory practices, it is not surprising that his involvement with torture is relatively unknown. Yet, according to the prolific historian Augustus Jessopp, in *The Great Lord Burghley* ((The Historical Monograph Series), ed. Barnard, F.P., 1904): ‘After careful examination of a considerable body of evidence ready to our hands, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cecil must be held, in the main, responsible for the systematic use of torture, during the last thirty years of the Queen’s reign, as a means of literally wrenching from men under accusation such information as might implicate themselves or others, and which was used by the prosecution as evidence against the accused’. Curtis C. Breight, in *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era*. (New York: St. Martin’s P, 1996), as reviewed by Chris Fitter, ‘Review of Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era,’ *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.1 (May, 1998): 8.1–4 <http://www.humanities.ualberta.ca/emls/04-1/rev_fitt.html>, argues that that ‘the Cecilian regime developed surveillance and terror to reinforce domestic control: the extension of treason laws, creation of Provost Marshalls, expansion of judicial torture, invention of an espionage network, fabrication of pseudo-

plots, staging of kangaroo-court treason trials, springing of mass house-to-house searches in London producing huge and detailed intelligence documents, and sustained promotion of both propaganda and paranoia (executions reached 800 per year by the last years of the reign), were all manifestations of an aggressively expansionist state apparatus.'

60. Cited in David Womersley, 'Sir Henry Sayville's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts', *Review of English Studies*, XLII (1991) 167: 313–342.

61. See Womersley for a discussion of the large impact this translation had on late Elizabethan and early Jacobean culture.

62. Anne Barton, 'Troilus and Cressida', in *The Riverside Shakespeare*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 471.

63. The term of course can also mean a syphilitic swelling in the groin, and some critics have not been beyond proposing this meaning for Pandarus' usage, an interpretation that reduces the passage to babble.

64. Thomas Bilson was Bishop of Winchester from 1597–1616. I have been unable to discover any further possibly relevant details about his role as Bankside censor.

65. Only a literary magician like 'Shakespeare' could so well match his text to his times. In *Troilus and Cressida*, shabby human realities are edified into public myth, and the truth is sacrificed before the altar of an abstract and ultimately puritanical ideal of honor. The play's 'double vision' both records, and is complicit in, these foundational lies. All evidence suggests that the manuscript from which the extant copy-texts were set was composed by a very definite sort of 'ever' author, one self-consciously participating in the late Elizabethan discourse of censorship – writing *about* myth, memory, and censorship, using the paradigm of received narrative to compose the satire of his own age. Ironically, his text fell afoul of the very historical processes it records. Like Pandarus' 'pretty bed,' it was held up to the scrutiny of the censors, who demanded that it speak. When they received no reply, they knew something was wrong. But in true English style, they didn't have the heart to torture the book itself; they just scrubbed the paratexts, and would now 'pray' for all to be well.

66. Th. Bruns, 'Der Epilog zu *Troilus und Cressida*', *Jahrbuch Der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft* (Wiemar 1877) 12: 222–227: 'An dieser Stelle [in *I Henry VI*] kann sie nichts anderes bedeuten als die im Bezirk des Bischofs von Winchester...folglich darf man die Bezeichnung auch in *Troilus* eben so verstehen' (224).

67. John Dover-Wilson, ed., *Troilus and Cressida*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 229.

68. Harold N. Hildebrand and T.W. Baldwin, eds. *The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Troilus and Cressida*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953), 317.

69. K. Deighton, ed. *The Arden Shakespeare: Troilus and Cressida*, (London: Methuen, 1906), 202. My emphasis.

70. Kenneth Palmer, ed. *The Arden Shakespeare: Troilus and Cressida*, (London: Methuen, 1982), 303.

71. Barton, op. cit., 491.

72. Joseph Lenz, 'Base Trade: Theater as Prostitution,' *English Literary History* (1993), 833–855.

73. E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), IV: 335.