

The Bibliographical Relationship between the Texts of *Troilus and Cressida*

by

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SHAKESPEARE'S *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* survives in two early editions, the quarto (Q) of 1609 and the Folio (F) of 1623. Both editions suffered some disruption at the start of their lives. The original title-page of Q, testifying to its performance by the King's Men, was replaced by a new one, which omitted that testimony; and the printing of the F text was begun, abandoned, and then resumed at the last minute, after some copies of the Folio were already on sale without this play.¹

What is the bibliographical relationship between Q and F? Two landmark papers in the twentieth century, by Peter Alexander in 1928² and Philip Williams in 1950,³ made the claim that an exemplar of Q, marked up with authoritative changes taken from a manuscript, was used to print the F text of the play. This claim has received the near-unanimous assent of scholars, to the extent that Gary Taylor was able to write in 1982 that 'no subsequent investigator has denied this and it is difficult to see how anyone could'.⁴

Alexander and Williams based their conclusion on an analysis of incidentals and errors common to Q and F. Neither of them tested that conclusion against errors that are unique to F. As some editions of the play acknowledge, it does not stand up well when subjected to that test.⁵ Some scholars, notably Taylor, have attempted to solve this problem.

In this paper I present a new analysis of the errors in Q and F. On this basis I argue that the Alexander-Williams conclusion cannot be reconciled to the textual evidence and must be wrong. I also take the opportunity to present an alternative account of the printing of this play in Q and F.

¹ Throughout this paper I have used the account of the printing of Q given in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor with John Jowett and William Montgomery, *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (Oxford, 1987) and by Philip Williams, 'The 'Second Issue' of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609', *Studies in Bibliography*, 2 (1949–50), 25–33; and that of the printing of F given by Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington DC, 1991). For plays other than *Troilus and Cressida* I have relied on the theories of transmission given in *A Textual Companion*.

² Peter Alexander, 'Troilus and Cressida, 1609', *The Library*, IV, 9 (1928–29), 267–86.

³ Philip Williams, 'Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: The Relationship of Quarto and Folio', *Studies in Bibliography*, 3 (1950–51), 131–43.

⁴ Gary Taylor, 'Troilus and Cressida: Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation', *Shakespeare Studies*, 15 (1982), 99–136, p. 99.

⁵ For example see *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Anthony B. Dawson (Cambridge, 2003), p. 248.

The Standard Theory

The theory of transmission given in most modern editions of the play is based on Alexander's and Williams's work. I shall call this 'the standard theory'. In brief the standard theory says that Q was printed in 1609 from a manuscript. In 1623 Jaggard began to reprint Q for the Folio, but work was stopped after only three pages had been printed.⁶ In October or November of that year Jaggard returned to the play, now having access to a manuscript containing a slightly different version of it.⁷ A person, usually called the annotator or the collator, marked up an exemplar of Q with changes to bring it into line with the manuscript, and it was from this annotated quarto that the rest of the play was printed in F.

It is common ground that, excluding the prologue, which is unique to F, the first three pages (33–390) were printed from Q, a conclusion I do not mean to question.⁸ Other Folio plays printed from quarto copy, for example *Romeo and Juliet*, the play completed in F immediately before *Troilus and Cressida* was started, were printed from exemplars that had been marked up with additional stage directions and a few minor corrections from some other source. So it seems likely that the exemplar of Q, from which the printing of *Troilus and Cressida* began was similarly marked up, although the only evidence of this is the stage direction *Enter Pandarus* at 194 which is unique to F and is unlikely to have been added by the apprentice Compositor E who typeset the page.⁹ We may also infer that the whole exemplar must have been marked up, using a manuscript provided by Heminges and Condell since Jaggard could not have known that he would have to abandon printing after only three pages.

F-only Errors — A Problem for the Standard Theory

In *Troilus and Cressida*, as in any other two-text play, we find three types of error:

- F-only error, i.e. an error in F, for which Q gives the correct reading.
- Q-only error, i.e. an error in Q, for which F gives the correct reading.

⁶ William Jaggard died during the printing of the Folio; it was seen through to completion by his son Isaac. I use the name Jaggard throughout this paper without distinguishing between father and son unless it is necessary.

⁷ Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1963), II, 529.

⁸ Act/scene divisions for this play vary between modern editions especially in the last two acts. Through Line Numbering (TLN), as established in the Norton facsimile, is our only stable scheme of reference and I have used it throughout. See *The Shakespeare First Folio: The Norton Facsimile*, ed. by Charlton Hinman (New York, 1968). Even for quotations from Q I have given TLNs from the corresponding lines in F, because the Internet Shakespeare Editions website <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca> provides peer-reviewed transcriptions of Q and F, made by W. L. Godshalk, which are both marked with TLNs from F, making it easy for readers to locate in either text the lines I discuss. In the list of errors in Appendix B I have additionally given the act/scene/line numbers from the Riverside edition.

⁹ All compositor attributions are taken from Wells, Taylor, and others, *Textual Companion*.

- Common error, i.e. Q and F agree on an erroneous reading. This category can include not merely incorrect readings but also correct readings that exhibit a common typographical peculiarity; for example the use of italic type where roman would be expected or vice versa.

Q-only errors are easy for the standard theory to explain, since it can say that the collator recovered the correct readings from the manuscript and wrote them on to his exemplar of Q. Common errors can be explained as being due to the collator's failure to mark up the necessary change on his exemplar of Q. F-only errors are the problem. The standard theory must explain why the collator would cross out a correct reading on his exemplar of Q and replace it with an incorrect one. The Arden 2 editor, Kenneth Palmer, observed: 'What is ... disturbing is that occasionally the F reading, in a part of the text which *ex hypothesi* is set from Q, displays a graphic error of the kind normally to be expected in setting from MS'. Palmer gave three examples (2427, 3170, and 3556) before dismissing the problem by writing: 'From such evidence (and there is not a great deal of it) one cannot usefully begin to determine (or modify) one's notion of how F dealt with its copy ...'.¹⁰

Palmer was able to dismiss the problem because he understated it. Far from there being 'not a great deal' of evidence, there are dozens of F-only errors. Taylor listed 28 of them¹¹ and, as I show in Appendix B, there are many more, 59 by my count. Such a quantity of evidence cannot be brushed aside; a credible textual theory must attempt to deal with it. There have been several such attempts. The Oxford editors and the Folger editors, while basing their editions on the standard theory, offered differing explanations of the F-only errors. W. L. Godshalk stated three hypotheses, each of which is an alternative to the standard theory. More recently the New Cambridge editor, Anthony B. Dawson, has rejected the standard theory and offered a 'dual copy' theory in its place. I shall now discuss these explanations separately to try to show that each one is untenable.

F-only Errors — Taylor's Solution

As part of his editorial work on *Troilus and Cressida* for the Oxford complete works edition of 1986 Gary Taylor confronted the problem of the F-only errors and offered a solution, one which underwent some modification over the years.

Taylor's first statement was given in a paper in 1982; at the time he believed in the so-called Inns of Court theory, advanced in Alexander's paper in 1928, which asserts that the play was written for performance at the Inns of Court in London. Taylor wrote that '[the] epilogue seems clearly directed

¹⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Kenneth Palmer (London, 1982), p. 10.

¹¹ Taylor, 'Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation', p. 106.

to an Inns of Court audience, for which, as almost all critics now agree, the play was originally written';¹² elsewhere in the paper, he refers to 'the Inns of Court version' of the play. He devised a complex theory of transmission involving a manuscript of the original version for the Inns of Court, a revised manuscript, a transcription of that revised manuscript, further revisions for a performance at the Globe theatre, and a collation with Q to produce the copy for F. Taylor's paper contains a stemma showing these stages in transmission. It is not necessary to dwell on the details here because he changed his mind about them while editing the play.

The Inns of Court theory is based, as Dawson notes, on no evidence whatsoever.¹³ It appears that, by the time he finished writing the chapter about this play in the Oxford *Textual Companion*, Taylor had ceased to believe in the theory. In his discussion he describes the evidence for it as 'tenuous'; in a textual note about a line in the epilogue, he writes that 'there has always been something unsatisfactory' about the theory and he appears to abandon it.¹⁴ Nevertheless, and confusingly, the chapter includes, but does not mention, the stemma given in the 1982 paper with its reference to a 'revision for the Globe production'.

In 1993 in his book *Shakespeare Reshaped*, co-written with John Jowett, Taylor disclosed a further change of mind. He wrote that he was 'now inclined to believe that the manuscript behind Folio *Troilus* was a non-authorial literary transcript of the prompt book'.¹⁵ The difference between this formulation of the standard theory and Taylor's earlier one is in the point at which his supposed transcript comes into existence. In the *Textual Companion* formulation a transcription takes place before a prompt book is made; in the *Shakespeare Reshaped* formulation it takes place afterwards.¹⁶

Below I have re-drawn Taylor's stemma based on his final thoughts. To facilitate my discussion of it I have numbered three of the steps.¹⁷

Taylor introduced step 1 so that he could account for the many small differences between the Q and F versions of the play. He supposed that

¹² *ibid.*, p. 103.

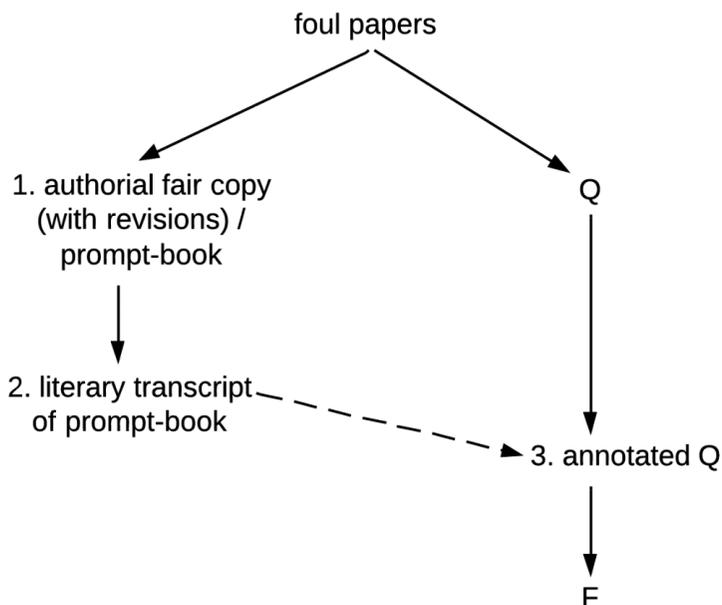
¹³ *Troilus and Cressida*, Dawson (ed.), p. 241.

¹⁴ Wells, Taylor, and others, *Textual Companion*, pp. 424, 438.

¹⁵ Gary Taylor and John Jowett, *Shakespeare Reshaped: 1606–1623* (Oxford, 1993), p. 243.

¹⁶ The difference is not material for my purposes and, in any case, being mindful of the doubts we now hold about the soundness of these categories, I shall avoid basing my own arguments on supposed differences between 'literary' and 'non-literary' transcripts; and between foul papers, fair copies, and prompt books.

¹⁷ Strictly speaking the stemma shows how the play was transmitted to F after printing resumed in the autumn of 1623 when the prologue and lines 391 onwards were printed. As everyone agrees lines 33–390, taking up the first three pages of the play after the prologue, had been printed earlier, directly from Q. The first of these pages was typeset again, but from the earlier printing not from any new source. For that earlier stage of transmission, involving just the first three pages, the stemma (not drawn by Taylor or by me here) is of course much simpler and uncontroversial.



Shakespeare wrote out a fair copy and, in doing so, made revisions.¹⁸ Steps 2 and 3 make up Taylor's solution to the problem of the F-only errors. He argues, at step 2, that a transcript of the prompt book was made by someone other than Shakespeare. This scribe misread the manuscript he was copying to create the F-only errors that Taylor listed in his 1982 paper; for example *Fenne* for *sunne* at 3170. The scribe needs to be someone other than Shakespeare because, of course, Shakespeare would know what the correct readings were. The transcript made by this scribe was highly legible. At step 3 someone marked up an exemplar of Q with changes taken from this transcript. In doing so he was persuaded, by the high legibility of the transcript, to have complete confidence in it and to cross out correct readings in Q and write in the misreadings from the transcript in their place. That, argued Taylor, was how the F-only errors came about. A few years later in his analysis of the textual problems of *Richard III*, but referring explicitly to *Troilus and Cressida*, Taylor put the matter succinctly: '[I]t is difficult to explain such errors except on the assumption that the manuscript itself clearly called for the wrong word'.¹⁹

¹⁸ I have shown the fair copy and the prompt book as a single stage of transmission. Taylor's stemma in the *Textual Companion* showed these as two successive stages, because he was asserting that the prompt-book was made by someone other than Shakespeare. In his final formulation of the theory, as given in *Shakespeare Reshaped*, he no longer needs to assert this and so, for brevity, I have combined the fair copy and prompt book steps of transmission. They may be separated, if desired, without affecting the substance of Taylor's theory.

¹⁹ Wells, Taylor, and others, *Textual Companion*, p. 230.

While the standard theory has been endorsed by most recent editions, Taylor's solution to the problem of the F-only errors has not. Kenneth Muir's Oxford edition finds Taylor's stemma 'convincing' but makes no mention of the F-only errors.²⁰ David Bevington's Arden 3 edition discusses Taylor's arguments in detail but does not mention the errors either. R. A. Foakes's Penguin edition finds Taylor's arguments 'persuasive'²¹ but implicitly rejects his solution to the problem of the errors by stating that 'no satisfactory explanation has emerged as to why a compositor should have preferred manuscript readings that made no sense to the correct readings he had in front of him in the printed Quarto'.²² Remarkably Taylor himself makes no mention of the F-only errors problem, let alone his solution to it, in his chapter about this play in the Oxford *Textual Companion*.

Taylor's solution is implausible enough on its face. It supposes that there was a collator, entrusted by Jaggard or by Heminges and Condell to mark up Q using a copied manuscript, who was so unaware that copied manuscripts could contain errors that he repeatedly struck out correct readings in Q and wrote incorrect ones in their place. He did this because, according to Taylor, the manuscript was 'clear'. That is curious logic: if the collator knew that the manuscript that had *been* copied was clearly written, then he might reasonably have inferred that the copy was correct; but he could tell nothing about the correctness of the copy from the fact that *it* was clearly written. Moreover if a clearly written manuscript is available, why go to the trouble of marking up Q at all, causing potential problems in casting-off? Why not print straight from the manuscript? In general we should expect compositors to prefer to work from a quarto rather than a manuscript, but why should that be assumed to be so even when the choice is between, *ex hypothesi*, a clearly written manuscript and a heavily marked-up quarto? We can imagine Heminges and Condell being unwilling to allow Jaggard to print from their prompt book, because it was presumably endorsed with the licence of the Master of the Revels, but they could have had no objection to letting a copy of it be used, particularly since they would receive in return the F text that Jaggard would print from it.

Be that as it may Taylor's solution can be refuted by considering how it fits the evidence of the common errors, something that appears not to have been done before now. In Appendix B, I list the 59 F-only errors, the 54 Q-only errors, and the 50 common errors (of which 5 are common omissions). We may disregard the 6 common errors that occur in the first three pages of F, but that still leaves 44. Another way of saying this is that there are 109 errors in F and 104 in Q; 50 of these are shared by the two texts; and 44 of those are in the part of F that the standard theory supposes was printed

²⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Oxford, 1982), p. 3.

²¹ *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Harmondsworth, 1987), p. 35.

²² *ibid.*, p. 232.

from an annotated exemplar of Q. According to Taylor's stemma, when Q was printed by Eld's compositors in 1609, they misread the foul papers manuscript in 104 places. But the manuscript that came into existence at step 1, having been written by Shakespeare, did not contain any of those misreadings. So how could F, which derives from that manuscript, end up replicating no less than 44 of the 104 errors made years earlier in Eld's workshop? There are four possible explanations:

- i) The collator and the F compositors, between them, replicated the Q compositors' errors by coincidence.
- ii) There was something peculiar about the way Shakespeare wrote the 44 words in question, which caused them to be misread or overlooked twice, once in the manuscript used to print Q and once in the manuscript with which Q was collated for F.
- iii) The manuscripts used for Q and F derived from a common source, a transcript of the play that contained the errors.
- iv) The collator did his job in the way we should expect in practice, which was to read Q first, since that was a printed text, look in the manuscript for the Q readings, and find them, even if they were not there. Blayney wrote, in relation to proof-reading:

We speak of reading proof against copy, and I suspect that many printers did precisely that. What they should have done was to read copy against proof — and there is a very distinct difference. For if the printed and more legible proof is read first, the reader will look for its words in the copy. Whether or not they are there, he will often find them unless the discrepancy is very obvious indeed.²³

A collator is obviously performing a role that is very similar to that of a proof-reader and is liable to make the same procedural error.

We can dismiss i) at once. *Troilus and Cressida* contains more than 27,000 words. If Q and F had thousands of errors each, it would be nothing remarkable if 44 of them happened to coincide. But they have barely more than a hundred errors each. The probability of 44 of these being the same by coincidence alone is negligible. Taylor himself, when writing about *King Lear*, justly pointed out the unsoundness of a textual analysis that relies on coincidence: 'If we . . . allow improbable coincidence to play such a large part in textual transmission, then it is hard to see how textual hypotheses can be constructed at all'.²⁴

Turning to ii), was there something peculiar about Shakespeare's handwriting that caused the 44 words in question to be misread or overlooked twice? For example the word *cunning* was misread as *comming* in both *Troilus and Cressida* (1763) and *All's Well That Ends Well* (2943), and as

²³ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and their Origins*, 1: *Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 202.

²⁴ Wells, Taylor, and others, *Textual Companion*, p. 530.

coying in *Romeo and Juliet* (899). But it was correctly read 70 other times in Folio plays.²⁵ The *seale/zeale* error (2516) occurs nowhere else in the Folio, even though F prints *zeale* 30 other times. F prints *loue* for *come* in *Troilus and Cressida* (1852) but it prints *come* correctly more than 2,000 other times. Viewed as a whole there is nothing about the 44 words to justify a belief that they were particularly liable to be misread or overlooked in Shakespeare's handwriting.

Explanation iii) was noted by Chambers although he did not rely on it writing that 'a few [common] misreadings and abnormal spellings . . . might be derived from a common original . . .'.²⁶ It is a variant of the explanation given by the nineteenth century Cambridge editors Clark and Wright, who suggested that there was once a manuscript that was used to print Q, returned to Shakespeare's possession, revised by him, and later by someone else, and eventually ended up being used to print F.²⁷ We may question why Shakespeare would prefer to work on a manuscript, no doubt soiled in the printing house, when he could have worked much more easily on an exemplar of the quarto that the manuscript had been used to print. We may also question the survival of that manuscript after it had been handled by Eld's workmen in printing Q. As Fredson Bowers suggested '[the] printing of a quarto may be taken as implying the destruction of its manuscript'.²⁸ Even if we suppose Shakespeare to have made his revisions on an exemplar of Q, we still face the improbability that he overlooked so many errors in it. Irrespective of that the bibliographical evidence alone refutes explanation iii), which, as Alexander recognized 'hardly explains those particular Folio errors which seem due to some typographical defect in the Quarto'.²⁹ No explanation of the common errors that involves a single manuscript lying behind both Q and F can account for the bibliographical peculiarities common to them such as the use of roman type where italic would be expected, which Williams found.

We are left with iv). In Taylor's version of the standard theory, then, the collator must exhibit two modes of behaviour. On the one hand he must be careful enough to cross out perfectly sensible words in Q because he thinks he has read different words in his manuscript, often less sensible ones. He has his orders to bring Q into line with the manuscript and he is faithful enough, and sufficiently reassured by the legibility of the manuscript, to go

²⁵ To make the counts given in this paragraph I have used the transcriptions of the Folio texts available from the Oxford Text Archive <<http://ota.ahds.ac.uk>>.

²⁶ E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1930), I, 439.

²⁷ *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by William George Clark and William Aldis Wright, 9 vols (Cambridge, 1863–66), VI, p. x.

²⁸ Fredson Bowers, 'Authority, Copy, and Transmission in Shakespeare's Texts', in *Shakespeare Study Today: The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Lectures*, ed. by Georgianna Ziegler (New York, 1986), p. 15.

²⁹ Alexander, 'Troilus and Cressida', p. 273.

ahead and create the F-only errors. On the other hand he is careless enough to let 44 errors and omissions go uncorrected, even though, *ex hypothesi*, he has a clear manuscript in front of him with the correct text. It is perfectly possible that, in one or two cases, the manuscript did not have the correct text, but we have noted above the improbability that in more than a handful of cases the manuscript would have the same errors as Q by coincidence; so for the majority of the common errors Taylor must blame the collator.

After the above analysis what we are left with in Taylor's version of the standard theory is a 'just so' collator. He is a man who marks up not wisely but too well when we need him to create an F-only error, but is careless when we need him to overlook a common error. We can see just how illusive this collator is by looking at several examples of his presumed work. The passages below are from F. Text in square brackets shows what the collator is presumed by the standard theory to have crossed out on his exemplar of Q and what he is presumed to have written in its place. All other text is the same in Q and F, with common errors shown here in bold. I have not shown Q's differences in punctuation and spelling, as the F compositors can be assumed to have tinkered with that according to their normal practice.

When that the watry pallats taste indeede
 Loues thrice [~~repured~~reputed] Nectar? Death I feare me
 Sounding **distruction**, or some ioy too fine,
 Too subtile, potent, [~~hand~~] too sharpe in sweetnesse,
 (1653-56)

Here we see the collator wrongly changing *repured* to *reputed* at 1654, missing the *distruction/distractio*n error at 1655, but making another wrong change at 1656.

Both merits poyz'd, each weighs no lesse nor more,
 But he as **he**, [~~the~~which] heauier for a whore.
 (2241-42)

The second *he* is an error for *you*, which the collator failed to correct even though he wrongly changed the very next word.

The lustre in your eye, heauen in your cheeke,
 Pleades your faire [~~vsage~~visage], and to *Diomed*
 You shall be mistresse, and command him wholly.
Troy. Grecian, thou do'st not vse me curteously,
 To shame the **scale** of my petition [~~to thee~~towards],
 I praising her.
 (2512-17)

Ignoring the *I* for *In* error on the last line, which is most likely due to the compositor, we see here the collator making a wrong change at 2513, missing the *seale/zeale* error at 2516 but, on the same line, wrongly changing *to thee* to *towards*.

Ther. And any man may [~~sm~~finde] her, if he can take her
 [~~Cliff~~life]: she's noted.
Dio. Will you remember?
Cal. Remember? yes.
 (2986–89)

The collator makes two wrong changes on successive lines but misses the common speech prefix error *Cal* for *Cres* just two lines later.

Dio. Nay, doe not snatch it from me.
Cres. He that takes that, [~~doth take~~rakes] my heart withall.
 (3068–69)

Most scholars agree that the speech on the first line belongs to Cressida; if so, the collator missed the error but still went on to make a wrong change on the next line.

Ther. The Cuckold and the Cuckold maker are at it:
 now bull, now dogge, lowe; *Paris* lowe; now my dou-
 ble hen'd [~~spartan~~sparrow]; lowe *Paris*, lowe; the bull has the
 game: ware hornes ho?
 (3479–82)

The collator fails to correct the *hen'd/horn'd* error at 3481 but wrongly changes the very next word.

The above examples contain 9 readings, which I have classed as F-only errors. One of these, *reputed* at 1654, could plausibly be a blunder by the compositor, and 2 others (at 2242 and 2516) are not on Taylor's list. But the remaining 6 are on his list and they serve as powerful counterexamples to his solution.

To sum up: the collator imagined by Taylor to account for the F-only errors is seen to be only a collator of the mind when we ask, as Taylor did not, how he came to allow so many errors in Q to pass him by, even as he was faithfully replacing correct Q readings with incorrect ones. We cannot rationally believe in such a man and, when he falls, the standard theory falls with him.

F-only Errors — The Folger Editors' Solution

The Folger editors of this play, Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine, put forward what is, on its face, a much more plausible explanation of the F-only errors. They wrote:

Admittedly, no intelligent annotator would have substituted the [F-only errors] for Q's words. However, it is entirely possible that the errors in F originate with the typesetter, not the annotator: study of typesetters' performance in printing quartos of other plays for the Folio shows that they were capable of straying from their perfectly clear printed copy in ways not unlike what we find in [F]. Thus there is no need to qualify or abandon the inference that F was set from an annotated and perhaps interleaved copy of Q.³⁰

³⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York, 2007), p. lvii.

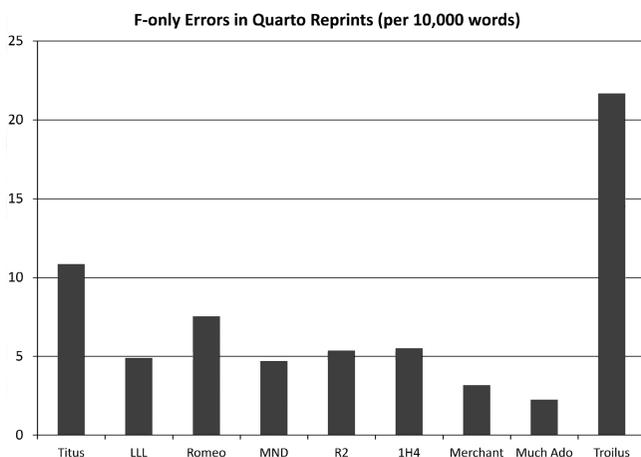
As examples Mowat and Werstine cite *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *1 Henry IV*, but it is clear that they also have in mind other plays similarly printed in F: *Titus Andronicus*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*.

At a qualitative level this explanation is persuasive. But a quantitative analysis shows that it is not correct. I have compared the F-only errors in *Troilus and Cressida* with those in the eight plays listed above. The errors for *Troilus and Cressida* are listed in Appendix B and those for the other plays in Appendix C. The table below shows the numbers of F-only errors for each play. To enable a fair comparison between plays of differing lengths I have calculated the number of F-only errors per 10,000 words. I have counted the number of words in each play from the F texts, including stage directions and speech prefixes.³¹

Table 1

PLAY	NO. OF WORDS	NO. OF F-ONLY ERRORS	F-ONLY ERRORS PER 10,000 WORDS
Titus Andronicus	21,201	23	10.8
Love's Labour's Lost	22,472	11	4.9
Romeo and Juliet	25,234	19	7.5
A Midsummer Night's Dream	17,036	8	4.7
Richard II	22,377	12	5.4
1 Henry IV	25,385	14	5.5
The Merchant of Venice	22,052	7	3.2
Much Ado About Nothing	22,266	5	2.2
Troilus and Cressida	27,225	59	21.7

The difference is even clearer when the numbers are plotted on a graph.



³¹ I have relied on the transcriptions of the Folio texts given by the Internet Shakespeare Editions website.

The numbers for *Titus Andronicus* and *Romeo and Juliet* are higher than for the other plays being compared to *Troilus and Cressida* here. This is almost certainly due to the fact that most of those two plays were typeset by the apprentice Compositor E, who did not work on the other six plays being compared, and who typeset only 265 lines of *Troilus and Cressida*.³² We can see from this that *Troilus and Cressida* is categorically different to the other plays. Its F-only errors are far more frequent than we should expect from the evidence of those plays. The typesetting alone cannot account for the F-only errors we observe in this play.

There is one variant of the Folger editors' explanation which, instead of blaming the compositors generally for the F-only errors, observes that *Troilus and Cressida* was partly typeset by Compositor H, who did not work on any other Folio plays and blames him alone. This theory was advanced by William Searle in 2000.³³ But it too is untenable. Searle does not consider all of the F-only errors, just the 28 listed by Taylor, which he further reduces to 22. Taylor did not need his list to be complete since his aim was to demonstrate that there is a problem and state his solution to it. But Searle was arguing that errors occur disproportionately in the stint of one compositor. So he needed his list to be either complete or at least representative of the whole. It is not: Taylor's list happened to be skewed towards the end of the play, which was largely set by Compositor H.³⁴ Even if Searle's technique were sound his conclusion could not be accepted. He counts 3 errors by Compositor B in 890 lines, against 19 errors by Compositor H in 1965 lines, and regards this as evidence of Compositor H's exceptional incompetence. But that is statistically naïve. The Fisher Exact Test, which is a standard test of statistical significance for this kind of data, shows that the discrepancy Searle relies on could plausibly have come about by chance alone.³⁵ Searle's arguments are also assailable on non-bibliographical grounds, which it is unnecessary to deal with here.³⁶

³² I recognise the risk of circularity in this argument since errors such as these are partly the evidence from which we deduce that Compositor E was the apprentice whom Jaggard had taken on in 1622. However the evidence for what Blayney calls 'his extreme lack of skill' ('First Folio', 11) can be marshalled from plays other than *Titus Andronicus* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

³³ William Searle, 'By Foule Authority: Miscorrection in the Folio Text of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 95 (2001), 503–19.

³⁴ This compositor attribution was made in Gary Taylor, 'The Shrinking Compositor A of the Shakespeare First Folio', *Studies in Bibliography*, 34 (1981), 96–117.

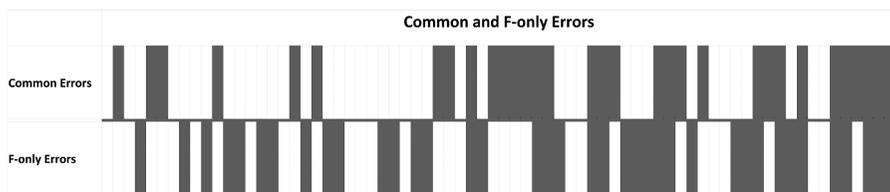
³⁵ For a description of the test see, for example, Sarah Boslaugh and Paul Andrew Watters, *Statistics in a Nutshell* (Sebastopol, CA, 2008), pp. 196–97. The probability given by the test for Searle's data is 0.10, twice the conventional 0.05 ceiling for statistical significance. Unlike the better-known χ^2 (chi-squared) test the Fisher test can be safely used even on small numbers, its only disadvantage being that it is difficult to calculate. Fortunately Microsoft provide an interactive web page which performs the calculation for cases such as this: <http://research.microsoft.com/en-us/um/redmond/projects/mscompbio/FisherExactTest/>.

³⁶ For example he uses circular reasoning deducing Compositor H's incompetence by the F-only errors, but then saying that the F-only errors are 'precisely what we should expect from a not-very-bright compositor ...', Searle, 'By Foule Authority', p. 512.

The Dual-Copy Theory

The standard theory has been rejected by Anthony B. Dawson in his New Cambridge edition, because of its failure to account satisfactorily for the F-only errors. In its place Dawson proposes a ‘dual-copy’ theory.³⁷ According to this some sections of the play in F were set from Q and some from a manuscript, but without Q’s being marked up by reference to that manuscript. The RSC editors, Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen, in their very brief note on the text appear to adopt the same theory, basing their position on what they consider to be the superiority of many Q readings: ‘[W]hy annotate a sound reading in a printed text with an alteration that makes less good sense?’³⁸

Dawson adopts the dual-copy theory because it ‘explains certain features of both texts best’, although he does not develop the point further. Clearly the theory explains the F-only errors, if we suppose that, in the passages where those errors occur, the F compositors were setting from the manuscript and misread it. It similarly explains the Q-only errors if we suppose that the F compositors were setting from the manuscript and read it correctly. Equally clearly the theory explains the common errors, if we suppose that, in those passages, the compositors were setting from Q. But Dawson does not attempt to demonstrate that these explanations are compatible with each other. As I show below they are not.



I call this picture a ‘barcode graph’. I have constructed it solely from the list of errors in Appendix B; it can therefore be reconstructed by any interested reader, using only Excel or a similar program. The thin horizontal band in the middle is an axis for Through Line Numbers in this play, from 1 to 3592. I have arranged the lines into groups of 50, which is slightly less than the number of through lines in one column of a two-column Folio page. The first group represents lines 1 to 50, the second represents lines 51 to 100, and so on. The 3592 lines in the play are thus arranged into 72 groups. Above the horizontal axis each grey vertical bar tells us that there is at least one common error in the lines that group represents. Similarly below the axis each grey vertical bar tells us that there is at least one F-only error in the lines that

³⁷ *Troilus and Cressida*, Dawson (ed.), p. 250.

³⁸ *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 23.

group represents. For example we see from the absence of grey bars that the first group, covering lines 1 to 50, contains no common or F-only errors, while the second group contains only common errors. In the last six groups, covering lines 3301 to 3592, every group but one has both common and F-only errors.

As Dawson acknowledges, and as this barcode graph shows, there is ‘no discernible pattern’ here.³⁹ On the contrary the two types of errors are mingled throughout the text. If the dual-copy theory were correct the pattern shown in the graph could only have come about if the Folio compositors had switched from Q to manuscript, and back again, dozens of times, sometimes switching after setting only a few lines from one copy. Such a procedure would be hugely inefficient and it would pose considerable problems in casting-off and, as Dawson acknowledges, in proof-reading. It is difficult to believe that an experienced printer such as Jaggard would allow such a procedure. The conclusion must be that the dual-copy theory is wrong.

Godshalk’s Hypotheses

In arguing for dual copy, Dawson was following a suggestion made in a paper by W. L. Godshalk in 1995. The paper offers three hypotheses, with the implication that each one explains the F-only errors (which Godshalk called ‘Strange Mistakes’).⁴⁰ The dual-copy theory was what Godshalk called Hypothesis One. I shall now consider the other two, both of which are variants of the standard theory.

Hypothesis Two says:

Folio *Troilus and Cressida* was set from a scribal transcript of a Quarto that had been used by Shakespeare’s company as a promptbook. Shakespeare had made some revisions and corrections in this Quarto promptbook, possibly for a revival of the play at Blackfriars.⁴¹

There are three problems with this hypothesis which, taken together, are fatal to it:

- It supposes that Shakespeare wrote his revisions on an exemplar of Q, but it requires him to overlook dozens of errors, spread throughout the text, leaving them uncorrected, to become our common errors.
- Godshalk does not say how this hypothesis explains the F-only errors. The supposition must be that Shakespeare chose some words that were correct in his exemplar of Q and wrote alternative words to take their place, in most cases words that are graphically similar to the ones he was replacing. These words were then misread by the scribe to give us our

³⁹ *Troilus and Cressida*, Dawson (ed.), p. 250.

⁴⁰ W. L. Godshalk, ‘The Texts of *Troilus and Cressida*’, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 1.2 (1995). This is a web-only journal: <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/01-2/godsshak.html>>, para. 15.

⁴¹ Godshalk, ‘The Texts’, para 21.

F-only errors. For example, at 396, Shakespeare replaced Q's *an eye* with some unknown word that the scribe misread as *money*, which is the reading we find in F. It is possible that Shakespeare revised some words so as to replace them with new words that are graphically similar.⁴² It is certainly possible that his handwriting could have been misread a few times. But it is quite a stretch to believe that both these things happened together dozens of times in one play.

- The hypothesis can explain the bibliographical peculiarities common to Q and F, found by Williams, only by supposing that the scribe copied not just the words written on Shakespeare's exemplar of Q, but also switched his handwriting between Secretary and italic hands in line with the roman and italic types in Q.

Hypothesis Three says:

A scribe was given a playhouse manuscript and the task of preparing a fair copy for the press. For one reason or another the scribe also obtained an exemplar of the Quarto, which influenced his production in both detail and form. The resulting fair copy was a conflation of the Quarto and a playhouse manuscript.⁴³

This hypothesis can explain the F-only errors by supposing that the scribe misread the manuscript he was copying and did not trouble to check the reading in Q. It can explain the common errors by supposing that the scribe read Q first and either did not check the manuscript or, influenced by the Q reading, thought that the manuscript reading was the same. These explanations are satisfactory on their own, but they are not compatible with each other. I have already shown, when considering Taylor's formulation of the standard theory, that it required the collator to behave in contradictory ways, sometimes on the same line. The same counterexamples and reasoning I offered there serve here to weigh against this hypothesis. Finally the hypothesis cannot explain the bibliographical links between Q and F any more plausibly than Hypothesis Two could.

'That We Come Short of our Suppose so Farre'

The analysis in the sections above demonstrates that the F-only errors, the common errors, and the bibliographical links between Q and F, are, in combination, fatal to the standard theory no less than to the several alternatives, including the dual-copy theory, which have been offered in its place.

⁴² E. A. J. Honigmann's *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965) is usually cited to show that authors sometimes revise words to replace them with graphically similar words. But Honigmann demonstrated that this occurs; he neither suggested nor demonstrated that it occurs dozens of times in one play.

⁴³ Godshalk, 'The Texts', para. 22.

We might end our enquiry at this point, albeit with the unsatisfying conclusion that we cannot explain how this play was transmitted to the Folio. However I shall venture to go further and offer a new theory of transmission, which fits the evidence better. The starting point is to ask, as I did at the start of this paper: What is the bibliographical relationship between Q and F? In Appendix A I review the evidence provided by Williams for his claim that 'F was indeed set up from a copy of Q'⁴⁴ and show that it is less strong than he claimed. Nevertheless some of it is strong enough that it cannot reasonably be explained except by acknowledging that there is indeed some bibliographical relationship between Q and F.

Where Williams (and, before him, Alexander) went wrong was in supposing that the relationship must be that F was typeset from an exemplar of Q. Strictly speaking that conclusion does not follow from the evidence they collected. If two printed texts share features such as common errors and bibliographical peculiarities, it does not necessarily mean that the later text was printed from the earlier one. It could also mean that both were printed from a common ancestor, which we do not possess.

With that hint, my account of the alternative theory I offer here begins with the entry in the Stationers' Register made on 7 February 1603: 'Mr Robertes. Entred for his copie in full Court holden this day · to print when he hath gotten sufficient authority for yt. The booke of Troilus and Cresseda as yt is acted by my lo: Chamblens Men'.⁴⁵

The Q₀ Theory

We do not know if Roberts got sufficient authority and printed a quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1603. The theory I offer below is founded on the premise that he did. I shall try to show that this premise is the key that unlocks the puzzle of how this play came to be transmitted to us in the Folio. For brevity I shall call this lost quarto Q₀ and I shall refer to the theory as the Q₀ theory. Godshalk speculated that a quarto might have been printed in 1603, but he did not develop the thought further.⁴⁶ Much earlier, in 1948, G. B. Harrison may have had the same thought when he wrote, without further elaboration:

From certain similarities in the setting of the two texts, it seems either that the folio text was printed from a copy of the quarto carefully but not uniformly corrected from a playhouse copy, or that both texts derive from a common original.⁴⁷

The idea underlying the theory is that if Q and F both derive from Q₀ — in other words, if they are siblings rather than parent and child — then it

⁴⁴ Philip Williams, 'Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*', p. 143.

⁴⁵ *Troilus and Cressida*, Palmer (ed.) (London, 1982), p. 1.

⁴⁶ Godshalk, 'The Texts', para 3.

⁴⁷ *Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (New York, 1948), p. 656.

becomes possible for us to explain all of the errors without requiring our scribes, collators, or compositors to behave in ways not evidenced for any other play in the Folio. In outline the Q₀ theory is as follows:

- Appendix B lists the 163 errors found in Q or F or both. We suppose that Q₀ was badly printed, in 1603, from a manuscript and it introduced all or most of these errors.
- We suppose that, in 1609, an exemplar of Q₀ was used to print Q.
- Appendix B shows that there are 59 F-only errors. These errors must have been corrected when Q was printed from Q₀, because otherwise they would have been reproduced in Q and would not be F-only errors.
- Some of the 59 corrections made in Q may have been made by intelligent guesswork. But this could not have been the case for many of them. For example *violenteth* for *no lesse* at 2392 is not a correction likely to have been made in the printing house. So these corrections must have been made by collating the exemplar of Q₀ with an authoritative manuscript.
- In 1623 the first three pages of this play in F were printed from an exemplar of Q, before printing was abandoned.
- When printing resumed later in the year, it was not from Q but from a (different) exemplar of Q₀.
- The 54 Q-only errors must have been corrected when the rest of F was printed. Many of the corrections made in F were not obvious ones — for example, *co-act* for *Court* at 3112 — and must have been made by collating Q₀ with an authoritative manuscript.
- The 50 common errors were errors in Q₀, which were not corrected in the printing of Q or of F.

The Q₀ theory requires two collations, by different people at different times: once for the printing of Q, and once for the printing of F. For clarity I shall call these people the ‘Q collator’ and the ‘F collator’. Each of them collated his exemplar of Q₀ with a manuscript provided to him. The two manuscripts used for the collations could not have been the same, nor could they have been copies of the same manuscript: there are too many differences between Q and F to support such a belief. So Q and F have come down to us through the collation of Q₀ with two different manuscripts.

In the following section I consider how well the Q₀ theory fits the evidence of the errors. In a later section I consider other matters, such as the double rejection of Pandarus, which, while not part of the theory, appear to be able to be explained in a manner consistent with it.

Collations with Q₀ and the Errors

The Q collator chosen by Bonian and Walley worked from an exemplar of Q₀ and a manuscript. He successfully marked up corrections for what later became the F-only errors; that is, for the errors listed in Appendix B as

F-only, he found the correct readings in the manuscript and corrected his exemplar of Q_o. The collator is likely, unless he was quite exceptionally disciplined, to have read words from Q_o and then compared them with the manuscript; in other words, to make the natural mistake of reading proof against copy rather than copy against proof. Having been influenced by what he had read in Q_o, he sometimes found what he was looking for in the manuscript, rather than the correct readings that were actually there. This explains how he overlooked the common errors; they remained in the marked-up Q_o and were duly printed in Q. This explanation is identical to the one I gave earlier when I asked how the standard theory could explain the common errors. The problem there was that the standard theory needed the collator to be two different people at once: slavish to the manuscript in order to produce the F-only errors, but also careless enough to allow the common errors to pass. It also required the manuscript to be reassuringly legible. We have no such problem with the Q_o theory, which requires only an ordinary manuscript and an ordinary collator of the kind we should expect, being led by Q_o, because it was easier to read and therefore allowing himself to miss the common errors.

What of the Q-only errors? Since the F-only errors were a fatal problem for the standard theory, symmetry suggests that Q-only errors should be similarly fatal to my theory, since it posits a collation stage in the printing of Q. But it is not so. The pivotal difference is that each collator in the Q_o theory has in front of him an exemplar of Q_o containing *incorrect* readings. He reads these, looks for them in the manuscript, and sometimes thinks he finds them. By contrast the collator presumed by the standard theory had an exemplar of Q containing *correct* readings (for the F-only errors), but nevertheless went ahead and replaced them with incorrect ones from the manuscript. To sum up this point the Q_o theory is able to explain all three kinds of errors. The standard theory can explain the Q-only errors, and then either the F-only errors or the common errors, but not both. In neither collation posited by the Q_o theory is a collator required to replace a correct reading by an incorrect one.

A few examples will illustrate the above explanation. Consider line 3481, which I used earlier as a counterexample to Taylor's solution: it contains a common error (*hen'd* for *horn'd*) and an F-only error (*sparrow* for *spartan*) on successive words. Taylor's collator was required to read two successive words (*hen'd spartan*) in his exemplar of Q, one incorrect (*hen'd*) and one correct (*spartan*). He was required to fail to correct *hen'd*, but replace the correct *spartan* with the incorrect *sparrow*. By contrast the Q_o theory requires its Q collator to do something much more plausible: read two incorrect words (*hen'd sparrow*) in his exemplar of Q_o, successfully correct one of them (*sparrow* to *spartan*) but, for the other one (*hen'd*), influenced by what he has read in Q_o, misread his manuscript as if it had the same

incorrect word in it and therefore leave it unchanged. Later in the transmission process the F collator in the Q_o theory is required to do nothing more improbable than overlook both errors, perhaps by not collating the line at all.

Among other examples, we may note line 1763, where we suppose that the Q_o compositor had misread *Cunning* as *Comming*, an error which, as I have noted above, is also found in *All's Well That Ends Well*. Both the Q and F collators overlooked the error and the misreading was duly printed in Q and F. At 2392 we suppose Q_o printed *no lesse*, which the Q collator corrected to *violenteth* but the F collator did not, making it an F-only error. At 3112 we suppose Q_o printed *Court* for *co-act*. The Q collator overlooked the error but the F collator corrected it, giving us our Q-only error.

It is also easy to see how the bibliographical links between Q and F found by Williams are explained. Both texts were printed from differently marked-up copies of the same quarto, Q_o. We should expect some bibliographical features of Q_o to survive through into a reprint and many others not to survive. This is precisely what we see with Q and F. As I demonstrate in Appendix A the quarto and Folio texts share only a few bibliographical links, not nearly as many as Williams claimed. In reprinting their copies of marked-up Q_o Eld's and Jaggard's compositors obliterated many of Q_o's bibliographical peculiarities, but preserved some. Among those a few are common to Q and F and Williams found them.

As an example consider the word 'Troy'. I have noted in Appendix A that this word occurs more than 50 times in Q and F, almost always in roman type. The Q_o compositors happened to print it in italics 8 times at 1212, 1471, 1608, 1820, 1993, 2301, 2329, and 2545 (and perhaps even in one or two other places). When printing Q from Q_o Eld's compositors standardized to roman type in 2 of these 8 places and retained the italic in 5 places (line 2545 does not occur in Q). By contrast when printing F Jaggard's Compositor H, who typeset all eight lines, followed his copy, Q_o, and reproduced the italic type. In this way some but not all of Q_o's bibliographical peculiarities were reproduced in both Q and F, to give us the false impression that F was printed from Q.

The Abandonment and Resumption of Printing in F

We do not know why printing was abandoned after the first three pages of this play had been printed in the Folio. Hinman wrote that 'Henry Walley, who owned the copyright, forbade the inclusion of this play in the Jaggard volume'.⁴⁸ Jaggard had started reprinting the Q text in anticipation of an

⁴⁸ Hinman, *Printing and Proof-Reading*, II, 526.

agreement with Walley (Bonian having died) but had to abandon the play when no such agreement was reached. I do not mean to question this explanation, which is the only plausible one we have.

William Jaggard died sometime before 4 November 1623 and his son Isaac inherited the business.⁴⁹ He and Edward Blount went to Stationers' Hall on 8 November to register the plays that were new in the Folio (which, on that day, did not include *Troilus and Cressida*). They paid for the register to be searched for previous years and were rewarded with the discovery of prior entries, by James Roberts for *As You Like It* and by Blount himself for *Antony and Cleopatra*. William Jaggard had bought Roberts's business in 1606 so Isaac Jaggard was now the legal owner of Roberts's entry, and of course Blount still owned the other entry, so the two men recouped the search fee by having to pay a shilling less to register the Folio. To find Roberts's entry for *As You Like It* the clerk would have had to go as far back as 1600, so there can be little doubt that he would also have found Roberts's registration of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1603.

It is completely unsurprising that, by 1623, neither William nor Isaac Jaggard remembered Roberts's entries for *As You Like It* and *Troilus and Cressida*, if indeed they had become aware of them at all when William Jaggard bought Roberts's business in 1606. Blount had registered *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1608 but had evidently forgotten about it by 1623. But, at the latest by 8 November 1623, Jaggard became aware that Roberts had entered *Troilus and Cressida* six years earlier than Bonian and Walley and that he now had the legal benefit of the entry.

The standard theory explains that a manuscript of the play was now found; or, at least, that it had been found at some time in the months between the abandonment and the resumption of printing. It does not explain how Heminges and Condell had failed to find the manuscript at the start of printing. After all they had managed to find manuscripts in the archives for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Comedy of Errors*, two plays written much earlier than *Troilus and Cressida*. (Alternatively if a variant of the standard theory says that the manuscript had been available even when Jaggard started reprinting Q, then it cannot explain why the manuscript's differences with Q become much more numerous after the point in the text at which printing had been abandoned earlier, except by invoking a remarkable coincidence.) Greg wrote that the discovery of the

⁴⁹ All the information in this paragraph is taken from Blayney ('First Folio').

Troilus and Cressida manuscript and Roberts's entry would, in combination, have allowed Jaggard 'to snap his fingers at Walley'⁵⁰ and print the play from the manuscript. Blayney is more cautious. He tells us that it is more likely that the discovery of Roberts's entry would have persuaded Walley to agree a compromise and allow Jaggard to print the play without disputing copy-right at the court of the Stationers' Company.⁵¹

The Qo theory can offer a simpler explanation. On 8 November 1623 when he discovered Roberts's entry at Stationers' Hall, Jaggard's business was still operating from Roberts's old premises. It would have been entirely natural for him to go back to those premises and carry out a search to see if he could find an exemplar of Qo. Until that day there would have been no reason for him to suppose that Qo even existed, let alone that he might find it, but now there was. Roberts had been a printer who was entrepreneurial enough to register plays in the hope of finding publishers for whom to print them. Jaggard would have had reason to hope that Roberts had retained an exemplar of Qo at his premises, in case he was called upon to do a reprint. The Qo theory supposes that Jaggard looked for and found an exemplar of Qo on or soon after 8 November 1623.

As Blayney observes it is unlikely that Roberts's entry would have given Jaggard the right to print the play. Even if it did the right would have been to reprint what Roberts had printed, not what Bonian and Walley had printed. Even possessing a slightly different version of the play in manuscript would not have sufficed; as Bevington wrote, that would have been a 'flimsy justification'⁵² But, according to my theory, once Jaggard discovered an exemplar of Qo he had all he needed. He had a claim to the play predating Walley's and a printed text of his own that predated Q. He had no need to compromise with Walley at all. He had no need to use Q again but could print the play from Qo instead. So when printing resumed in November 1623 no further use was made of Q. The rest of the play was typeset from the exemplar of Qo that Jaggard had found.

That exemplar of Qo was marked up by the person I have called the F collator, by reference to a manuscript. There is no need to suppose that any new manuscript was found. I have argued earlier in this paper that some manuscript must have been used to mark up Q before the first three pages were printed, however lightly. We may suppose that the same manuscript was

⁵⁰ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford, 1955), p. 449. Blayney simplifies Greg's point by attributing to him the opinion that, after the discovery of Roberts's registration, Jaggard could 'reprint *Troilus* without further ado', 'First Folio', p. 21. In fact Greg made it clear that the mere discovery of the registration was not enough, 'The Printing of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* in the First Folio', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 45 (1951), p. 276. He envisaged the discovery of a manuscript to coincide with the discovery of the registration.

⁵¹ Blayney, 'First Folio', p. 21.

⁵² *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by David Bevington (Walton-on-Thames, 1998), p. 405, n. 3.

now used to mark up Qo. Why was the marking-up done at all? A comparison of quartos and the Folio for other plays shows that no play in F is a straight reprint. Heminges and Condell arranged for every quarto exemplar they used to be at least lightly marked up with corrections. If, as I have suggested, Qo contained a high number of errors it would be natural for it to be corrected from the manuscript before it was used.

That is as far as we can go with the evidence we have but a mystery still remains. Even after the whole of the play had been printed in F there was a 'detectable delay' before the prologue was printed, on a new cancel leaf for which the first page of the dialogue had to be typeset again, becoming the very last words to be printed in the book.⁵³ Why was the prologue not printed with the rest of the play? Tiffany Stern has shown that prologues were not always kept with the manuscripts of the plays and were sometimes separately published.⁵⁴ Perhaps the prologue of this play was not part of the manuscript Jaggard's collator had been given and was found at the last moment. Or perhaps Heminges and Condell balked at seeing the last page of *Romeo and Juliet* crossed out by hand on the recto of the page whose verso contained the opening dialogue of *Troilus and Cressida*. That is what they would have seen if they had examined one of the Folios that were on sale during the delay.⁵⁵ If so they may have persuaded Jaggard to print the opening dialogue again, on the verso of a cancel leaf, with the prologue, in a large font size, being used to fill what would otherwise have been white space on the recto. It makes for a nice symmetry that the play whose only surviving quarto began life with a cancelled title-page should also be the one whose prologue was printed on a cancel leaf at the last possible moment.

Qo and the Inns of Court Theory

This section of my paper — and only this section — is based on the premise that there was a performance of this play at the Inns of Court. I shall show that this premise helps us to develop a more detailed transmission narrative that fits well with the evidence. For brevity we may use the term 'public version' for the version of the play performed at the Globe and the term 'private version' for the one assumed here to have been performed at the Inns of Court.

We begin by observing that Q and F are clearly different versions of the play. Applying Occam's razor, we infer that one must be the public version and the other the private version. The epistle printed in Q tells us that the play was 'neuer stal'd with the Stage'. If the words are true then they clearly cannot apply to the public version, but they may apply to the private version.

⁵³ Blayney, 'First Folio', p. 21.

⁵⁴ Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 4.

⁵⁵ Blayney, 'First Folio', p. 23.

Performance at the Inns of Court would not count as a performance on the stage. Moreover the epistle's claim that the play was 'neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger' does not exclude the possibility that it was clapper-clawed with the palms of the learned, while 'not being sullied, with the smoaky breath of the multitude' is consistent with an indoor rather than an outdoor performance since the breath of groundlings standing in the open air at the Globe on an English winter's day could be said to be 'smoky'. This suggests that Q, which contains the epistle, is the private version.

Next consider the 'double rejection' of Pandarus. Towards the end of the play, after his disillusionment with Cressida, Troilus angrily dismisses Pandarus. In the Folio text this rejection occurs twice. The first is at the end of scene V.3:

Troy. Hence brother lackie; ignomie and shame
Pursue thy life, and liue aye with thy name.
(3329–30)

These lines are repeated, with the *brother/broker* error avoided, in the last scene of the play just before Pandarus speaks the epilogue:

Troy. Hence broker, lackie, ignomy, and shame
Pursue thy life, and liue aye with thy name.
(3570–71)

Clearly the two rejections could not have been intended to appear in the same version of the play: Shakespeare wrote one rejection for the public version and one for the private. Q contains just the second of these rejections so we may infer that, in the private version, Pandarus was dismissed at the very end of the play; but in the public version he was dismissed a few scenes earlier. It follows from this that, as Taylor also suggests, the printing of the second rejection in F was an error of transmission and that it and the epilogue were intended to be in the private version only. This claim is supported by Pandarus's announcement in the epilogue that 'my will here shall be made', a remark that would be more apt if spoken at the Inns of Court.

Coghill argued convincingly that Pandarus has a dramatic function in scene V.3, the first rejection, which is to deliver Cressida's letter to Troilus, but no such function in the last scene.⁵⁶ Moreover his presence at the gates of Troy, where V.3 is set, is more plausible than his presence on the battlefield in the last scene. Admittedly Shakespeare's company did not use realistic scenery, but they did take care to provide compensating visual and auditory signals to the audience; for example, alarums and excursions in battle scenes. Is it credible to imagine Shakespeare being artless enough to establish a battlefield scene in the audience's imaginary senses but then bring

⁵⁶ Nevill Coghill, *Shakespeare's Professional Skills* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 89–91.

Pandarus on stage to contradict it? Yes but it is easier to imagine that it was not his original intention and came about through hasty adaptation for an impending private performance. These considerations lead us to infer that the first rejection was in the earlier version of the play. The second rejection came about because Shakespeare wanted to bring Pandarus on to speak the epilogue to the Inns of Court audience. So F, the public version of the play was earlier than Q, the private version.

Coghill thought that the 'Prologue arm'd', who appears only in F was arming himself against the Inns of Court audience and that the prologue and the epilogue were a pair, written by Shakespeare in anticipation of an unfriendly crowd.⁵⁷ If this were so we should expect to find both the prologue and the epilogue in the private version and neither one in the public version. But we find the prologue only in F and, as we have noted, the epilogue should have been only in Q. We may infer from this that the prologue was written for the public version, F, and the epilogue for the private version, Q.

Did the lost Q₀ print the public or the private version? Suppose for a moment that Q₀ was the public version. If so it would have contained the prologue and we must explain the prologue's absence from Q by saying that the manuscript, with which Q₀ was collated to produce the copy for Q, must have been the private version, the version without the prologue. So the manuscript, with which Q₀ was collated several years later to produce the copy for F, must have been the public version. But then we cannot explain how the epilogue came to be in F since the epilogue was only in the private version. From this argument by *reductio ad absurdum* we deduce that Q₀ must have been the private version of the play.

W. R. Elton noted and discussed the conjecture that John Marston, who had lived at Middle Temple until 1606 and was a very close friend of Henry Walley's, may have provided to him a manuscript of the play that had once been presented to someone at the Inns.⁵⁸ We may develop the conjecture a little further to help us solve the puzzle of the two title-pages of Q. Suppose that, in 1609, Bonian and Walley had obtained an exemplar of Q₀ and had appointed George Eld to reprint it. We know that they had succeeded in registering the play in their own names, the previous registrant James Roberts being dead.⁵⁹ We may be fairly confident that the title-page of Q₀ made a claim to its performance by Shakespeare's company. If we look at the

⁵⁷ Coghill, *Shakespeare's Professional Skills*, p. 93.

⁵⁸ W. R. Elton, 'Textual Transmission and Genre of Shakespeare's *Troilus*', in *Sonderdruck Literatur als Kritik des Lebens Festschrift zum 65* (Heidelberg, 1975), p. 68.

⁵⁹ Bonian and Walley registered their title on 28 January 1609. According to DNB Roberts had died in 1606.

twenty-one Shakespeare plays other than *Troilus and Cressida* that were published in quarto form (that is, the eighteen included in the Folio plus *Edward III*, *Pericles*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*) we find that only two first quartos, 1 *Henry IV* and 2 *Henry VI*, fail to refer to performances of the play on their title-pages.⁶⁰ Whether the performing company was named as the Lord Chamberlain's Men or the King's Men depends on whether Q₀ was printed before or after 19 May 1603 when James I took the company into his patronage.⁶¹ Even if the title-page of Q₀ referred to the Lord Chamberlain's Men, Bonian and Walley or Eld could have changed it to the King's Men since the former name was long out of use in 1609. Suppose that, as the printing of Q was getting underway, Walley mentioned it to his friend Marston. If Marston knew of the existence of a presentation copy of the play, in the possession of someone at the Inns, he may have arranged for it to be lent to Walley to help him correct the many errors in the exemplar of Q₀ that was being used to print Q. Bonian and Walley used the manuscript to have that exemplar marked up with corrections. But they also realised that they had a 'private' manuscript in their hands and they saw a marketing opportunity, to offer their customers not merely a reprint but something more exclusive.⁶² It was to seize this opportunity that they changed the title-page and commissioned the epistle, which made a point of stressing the play's exclusivity.

Williams wrote that 'the time at which it was decided to cancel the original title-page can be determined with some precision. The decision must have been made after outer A had been printed but before either forme of M had been printed'.⁶³ The Q₀ theory allows us to pinpoint this event, with even greater precision, to the interval between the printing of sheet A and the completion of typesetting for sheet B. The first F-only error, which is certainly a misreading, occurs just six lines after the end of the first three pages in F (*money* for *an eye* at 396). This suggests that by the time they came to print the line in Q that corresponds to 396 in F, Eld's compositors were already typesetting from a marked-up exemplar of Q₀ not the unannotated exemplar they had started with. This line occurs on page B₂ in Q. This in turn suggests that Bonian and Walley received the manuscript from Marston and decided to make use of it at the very latest by the time that B₂ was fully typeset.

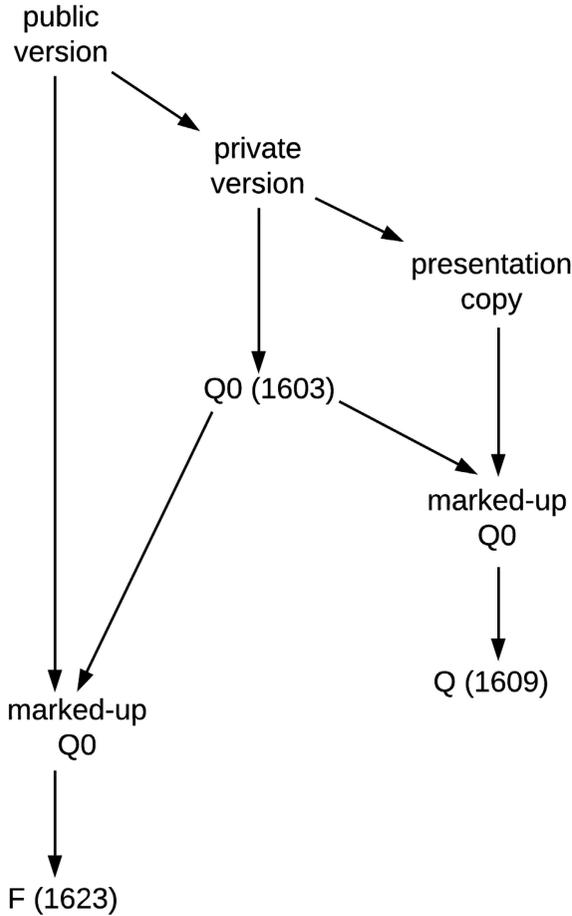
⁶⁰ Photographic facsimiles of all early quartos of Shakespeare's plays may be viewed at the British Library website <<http://www.bl.uk/treasures/shakespeare/homepage.html>>.

⁶¹ S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford, 1977), p. 250.

⁶² Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 3 writes that, in their two-year partnership, Bonian and Walley published other works with the same 'elitist emphasis on wit and classicism displayed in the preface to *Troilus*'. I am indebted to the reviewer of this paper for drawing my attention to Lesser's book.

⁶³ Williams, 'Second Issue', p. 30.

We may represent the above narrative by the following stemma:



Bonian and Walley collated *Q*₀ with a manuscript, also of the private version, to correct its many errors. But Heminges and Condell, or Jaggard, collated *Q*₀ with a manuscript of the public version. So the *F* text consists of words from the public version overlaid on to the private version. The collation was probably done in a hurry, since, by November 1623, Jaggard would have wanted to complete the project, the Folio being already on sale without this play. Hinman found that ‘there is not much basis in fact . . . for the argument that post-cancellation *Troilus* was finally, in the eleventh hour, rushed into print with all possible speed’.⁶⁴ That there is no bibliographical

⁶⁴ Hinman, *Printing and Proof-Reading*, II, 529.

evidence of a rush does not of course prove that no pressure was placed on Jaggard's collator. If anything we may think that Jaggard was able to take his usual time to print this play because the collation had been completed very quickly. With this insight we may explain several cruxes in the F text.

Consider again the double rejection. When the F collator reached the end of what is scene V.3 for us, he found in his manuscript the two lines making up Troilus's first rejection of Pandarus (3329–30, as quoted above) since that manuscript was the public version. But these lines were not in his exemplar of Q_o, since that was the private version. He duly marked up the lines in Q_o and they were printed in F. He had already added several other lines to Q_o, to give us the passages that are unique to the Folio, so he was accustomed to doing this. When he came to the end of the play he found, in the Q_o text, Troilus's speech vowing revenge followed by the entry of Pandarus, Troilus's other rejection lines, and the epilogue speech. But his manuscript came to an end with the revenge speech since it was a manuscript of the public version. So he simply stopped collating leaving the second rejection and the epilogue in his exemplar of Q_o. That is how the double rejection came to be printed in F.

In Troilus's and Cressida's parting scene, we find the following contradictory lines in F, providing an entry for Æneus just before he speaks from within.

Enter Æneus.
Æneas within. My Lord, is the Lady ready?
 (2434–35)

Q makes more sense, lacking the entry direction. Similarly Ulysses's speech in praise of Troilus begins in F:

Vlis. The yongest Sonne of *Priam*;
 A true Knight; they call him *Troylus*;
 (2657–58)

The phrase 'they call him *Troylus*' does not occur here in Q but occurs later in the speech in both Q and F so the repetition in F is, like the double rejection, puzzling. I shall not add to the extensive scholarly commentary on these passages in F except to observe that they may be easily explained by the theory I have given in this section: they are the results of a hasty collation between two different versions of the play.

The Lost Quarto and its Quality

There is nothing particularly improbable about the notion that a Shakespeare quarto was printed in his era but did not survive into ours. No exemplar of *Love's Labour's Won* is known to us. *Cardenio*, if it was ever printed, has likewise perished. We did not know about Q_I of *Hamlet* until the nineteenth century. We did not know about Q_I of *Titus Andronicus* until

the twentieth century and only one exemplar is known to survive. Only one sheet from one exemplar of the earliest known quarto of *1 Henry IV* has survived (usually called Q₀, although the Oxford editors chose to call it Q₁).⁶⁵ From the reference on its title-page to its being ‘Newly corrected and augmented’, some scholars are prepared to infer that the earliest surviving quarto of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* is not the first, but was preceded by a bad quarto now lost.

Roberts was a printer so it is perfectly possible that, having entered a play in the Stationers’ Register, he went on to print it as well. It is not something we can take for granted. Blayney wrote that ‘James Roberts had something of a habit of entering plays provisionally, selling them, and leaving the buyers to obtain the necessary authority’.⁶⁶ Roberts had entered *As You Like It* on 4 August 1600 but, as far as we know, he did not print it. We know he did not print Q₁ of *Hamlet*, although he had entered the play on 26 July 1602. However he did print Q₂ of *Hamlet* for Nicholas Ling in 1604, and Q₁ of *The Merchant of Venice* for Thomas Heyes in 1600, so it is possible that he also teamed up with a publisher for *Troilus and Cressida* in 1603 and printed it.

We suppose that Q₀ contained all or most of the errors listed in Appendix B. In a play of 27,225 words (in F), 163 errors is approximately 6.0 errors per 1,000 words. Is this ratio plausible? It is on the high side but it is within the range of possibility. Our closest comparison is with Q₂ of *Hamlet*, printed by Roberts the year after I suppose him to have printed Q₀ of *Troilus and Cressida*. Q₂ *Hamlet* contains 137 errors in 30,631 words, a ratio of 4.5 errors per 1,000 words. Q₁ of *King Lear* has a higher ratio, 165 errors in 25,978 words, or 6.4 errors per 1,000 words. If the Q₀ theory is correct then, among other things, it tells us that the lost Q₀ was more error-strewn than Q₂ *Hamlet*, but a little better than Nicholas Okes’s Q₁ *King Lear*.⁶⁷

Croydon

⁶⁵ Wells, Taylor, and others, *Textual Companion*, p. 329.

⁶⁶ Blayney, ‘First Folio’, p. 21.

⁶⁷ It would be extravagant to provide here a complete list of the errors I have counted in Q₂ *Hamlet* and Q₁ *King Lear*. Readers may consult critical editions. I have consulted the collations in the conservatively-edited *Riverside* texts of both plays.

APPENDIX A

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LINKS BETWEEN Q AND F

Philip Williams's paper 'Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: The Relationship of Quarto and Folio' is a classic of Shakespearean bibliography. It was praised almost immediately after publication by Greg, who wrote that 'the patience and ingenuity of an American professor [has] finally settled the vexed question of the actual copy used [to print F]'.⁶⁸ The paper purports to provide what Greg later called 'full bibliographical proof' that Q was used in the printing of F.⁶⁹ Williams's paper was a distillation of material from his unpublished doctoral dissertation. It has been duly cited in every detailed account of the transmission of this play. However it has been rarely checked; indeed, the only critical examination of it that I have found is in Anthony Dawson's New Cambridge edition.⁷⁰ Dawson does not discuss all of Williams's evidence, but he challenges enough of it to make good his claim that the bibliographical links between Q and F are much less strong than has been supposed.

Williams makes his case by presenting three categories of evidence: the use of roman and italic types, speech headings, and spellings.⁷¹ But, as Dawson notes, he omits to provide enough context for his evidence. To some extent, Dawson misrepresents Williams's argument as being that the F compositors were paying close attention to Q's incidentals.⁷² That is not Williams's point; rather, it is that the compositors, while following their preferences as they usually did, were sometimes influenced by the incidentals of Q and that we can discern this influence when both texts agree on an unusual incidental detail. But we need to judge Williams's theory by considering all his evidence in context. I do so below and try to show that it is much less strong than it appears to be. I have replaced the act/scene/line numbers cited by Williams with Through Line Numbers.

It is normal practice in Q and F to print proper names in italics, in both text and stage directions. So when we find them both using roman type instead Williams regards it as evidence of Q's influence on F. At 3171 both texts print Neptune in roman type. At first glance this example appears persuasive, because the same speech contains mentions of Vulcan, Venus, and Mars all duly printed in italics. But F also prints Neptune in roman type at 501 even though Q does not, displacing Williams's presumption that the use of roman type for this word is an indicator of quarto influence. Williams also notes that Sol is printed in roman type in both texts, at 548. He may be right to regard this as evidence of quarto influence but, given the example of Neptune just discussed, that is far from certain.

⁶⁸ Greg, 'The Printing', p. 282.

⁶⁹ Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, p. 340.

⁷⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, pp. 248–50.

⁷¹ Philip Williams also considers two other categories of evidence: lineation and common errors. But the lineation evidence is very unconvincing and he did not include it in his subsequent paper, 'The 1609 Quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* and its Relation to the Folio Text of 1623' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1948). The common errors evidence consists of 5 examples, of which 1 occurs in the first three pages of F and 1 is not regarded as an error at all by modern editors. The other 3 examples are good and they serve to supplement the impressive evidence of common errors, which had already been given by Alexander.

⁷² *Troilus and Cressida*, Dawson (ed.), p. 249.

At 1205 and 1888 the F stage directions ‘Enter Thersites solus’ and ‘Enter Achilles and Patroclus in their tent’ give the entrants’ names in roman type, as Q does. In a footnote Williams says that these ‘can be explained only by assuming that the compositor followed his copy’. But this is not so. As Williams notes, in the Comedies section of the Folio alone, roman type is used for proper names in stage directions in three other plays: *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. All these plays were printed from manuscript so it is clear that the F compositors were capable of using roman type in this way without quarto influence.

Williams understates the evidence for his strongest example. He notes that the word Troy occurs more than 50 times in Q and F, almost always in roman type. He gives 3 instances where Q prints the word in italics and F does the same (1608, 1820, and 1993). There are 2 other instances, which he did not note: 2301 and 2329. These 5 instances are the only ones where Q prints the word in italics;⁷³ in each case F does likewise. F has only 3 other occurrences of the word in italics (disregarding the prologue, which is unique to F and printed wholly in italics). One of these, 2545, is also in a passage unique to F and the other 2, 1212 and 1471, are printed as roman type in Q. This is strong evidence of a bibliographical link: the sample is large and Q and F print the word in italics in less than 10 per cent of that sample, so the chance of the close correspondence between them being merely coincidental is small.

We may disregard Williams’s last example of a correspondence in the use of italics, *Autumne* at 281, since this occurs in the first 3 pages of F, for which there is no doubt that F was printed from Q, but which tells us nothing about what kind of copy was used when printing resumed.

Speech headings provide the second kind of evidence that Williams presents, but it is highly misleading. He notes that F generally prints speech headings for Pandarus as ‘Pan.’ and gives 7 examples where it prints ‘Pand.’ instead, each time matching Q. He claims that this shows the influence of Q on F. But a complete view of the data undermines his argument. The following table shows how often each speech prefix for Pandarus occurs in Q and F.⁷⁴

Table 2

PREFIX	QUARTO	FOLIO
<i>Pan.</i>	76	127
<i>Pand.</i>	40	14
<i>Pan:</i>	22	0
<i>Pa.</i>	1	11
<i>Pand:</i>	1	0
<i>Panda:</i>	1	0

⁷³ As scholars have noted Q actually prints Troy in these 5 instances, not *Troy*. But, since F prints the word in the expected roman type elsewhere in the dialogue, it is reasonable to infer quarto influence for its use of italics in these 5 instances.

⁷⁴ In several cases my counts differ from Williams’s, apparently because he overlooked some evidence. That is very understandable since he was working without the benefit of computers.

The prefix '*Pand.*' occurs 14 times in F at 270, 297, 305, 309, 327, 388, 1575, 1831, 2279, 3311, 3313, 3315, 3328, and 3569. Williams lists the 7 of these that match Q, but he does not mention the 7 that do not. Since F prints '*Pand.*' as often in disagreement with Q as in agreement, it is not clear that quarto influence is the most likely explanation.

Williams applies the same technique to Patroclus,⁷⁵ writing that his name is 'usually' abbreviated as '*Patr.*' in F. The following table shows the speech prefixes for this character in Q and F:

Table 3

PREFIX	QUARTO	FOLIO
<i>Patr.</i>	12	22
<i>Pat.</i>	7	9
<i>Patro.</i>	17	6

In F the prefix '*Pat.*' occurs at 943, 966, 973, 1287, 1344, 2874, 2881, 2892, and 2902. Of these only the last 4 are matched in Q; in other words, F prints '*Pat.*' more often in disagreement with Q than in agreement, displacing the presumption of quarto influence. Williams is on slightly surer ground with the prefix '*Patro.*', which occurs in F at 1257, 1311, 2135, 2579, 2583, and 2886. Of these the first is on a line that does not occur in Q but 4 out of the other 5 are indeed matched in Q.

Williams repeats the argument with Diomedes, whose speech prefixes are as below:

Table 4

PREFIX	QUARTO	FOLIO
<i>Dio.</i>	15	42
<i>Diom.</i>	19	14
<i>Dio:</i>	20	0

He argues that the '*Diom.*' prefix in F is evidence of Q's influence. It occurs 14 times in F and 11 of these are matched in Q. Although the numbers are small, this is more persuasive evidence than for Pandarus and Patroclus.

Calchas speaks only 4 times in the play, at 1849, 1866, 2975, and 2977, though both Q and F wrongly assign Cressida's speech to him at 2989. Williams notes that, for the third of these speeches, both Q and F use the speech prefix '*Chal.*'. But he does not mention that F also uses the same prefix in the fourth speech whereas Q does not. This is wafer-thin evidence.

⁷⁵ This evidence is given only in Williams, 'The 1609 Quarto', p. 199, not in 'Relationship' as well.

Next Williams looks at cases where characters' names are given in full in speech prefixes. His most misleading example is Ajax for whom he writes: 'In Q the Speech-heading for Ajax is sometimes written out in full. In F it is usually abbreviated *Aia*. F uses the longer form ten times, in each case reproducing the full form found in Q'.⁷⁶ This sounds impressive until we observe that Q uses the full form almost all the time not 'sometimes' as Williams says. Of 50 speeches given to Ajax in Q 46 use his full name as the prefix. So any use of the full form in F is almost bound to match Q, even if the F compositors had never set eyes on it. In any case the name being only four characters long, the use of the full form in F can hardly be considered of much significance.

Williams's other examples for Nestor, Priam, and Paris, are suggestive without being very persuasive. Nestor's name is used in full in speech prefixes only twice by Q. F matches one of these (486) and does not match the other (598). For Priam the full name is used by Q in speech prefixes 5 times (985, 1085, 3269, 3279, and 3306). The last 4 of these are matched in F, but the name is short and so we would expect it to be given in full from time to time. Finally Q gives Paris as the speech prefix 10 times (1532, 2170, 2179, 2221, 2226, 2243, 2251, 2385, 2490, and 2535) and 2 of these (1533 and 2490) are matched in F, being the only instances where F uses the full name as a prefix. But, given the shortness of the name, there is nothing remarkable in its being given in full in F from time to time.

The last category of evidence presented by Williams is of spellings he claims are significant. The evidence given in his paper is slight; it is presented at greater length in his dissertation.⁷⁷ He writes: 'The use of final *ie* for *y* in polysyllables is not a characteristic spelling of the compositors of either Q or F. Seventy-two such spellings, however, are found in Q; the compositors of F reproduce forty-six of these spellings'. He then lists the 72 words, observing the matching *ie* spellings in Q and F; for example the spellings 'curtesie' and 'courtesie' at 1309, 2643, and 3448. But Williams is wholly mistaken about the significance of this. Far from being 'not a characteristic' the *ie* spelling is generally preferred by Folio compositors. The spelling 'curtesie' occurs 44 times among all Folio plays, the spelling 'courtesie' 27 times, and the spellings 'curtesy' and 'courtesy' never. Similarly Williams regards it as significant that F uses the spelling 'fiftie' at 316, matching Q. But even if we disregard the fact that this occurs in the first three pages of F, which we know were reprinted from Q, it is of no significance because 'fiftie' is the majority spelling in the Folio, occurring 20 times in all plays, against only 11 times for 'fifty'. Of the 72 words listed by Williams the *ie* spelling is the majority spelling, sometimes the exclusive spelling, for 69. The three exceptions are 'heauy', 'safety', and 'vnity'; even for these the *ie* spelling occurs many times in F. In summary matching *ie* spellings are no evidence at all for Q's influence on F.

Williams is on firmer ground when he considers *O/Oh* spellings.⁷⁸ Q uses the *O* spelling 65 times and the *Oh* spelling 24 times, while the figures for F are 71 and 17

⁷⁶ Williams, 'Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*', p. 141.

⁷⁷ Philip Williams, 'The 1609 Quarto', pp. 203–09.

⁷⁸ Williams, 'The 1609 Quarto', pp. 206–07.

respectively.⁷⁹ There are 87 common occurrences of the word in Q and F; for these the spelling differs between Q and F in only 9 cases: at 940, 1704, 2400, 2402, 2455, 2464, 2473, 2648, and 3054. Of these no less than 5 occur on just one Folio page, ¶¶2^v, which may be because it was being set from manuscript owing to a defect in the Q exemplar. Be that as it may only 9 spelling differences in 87 uses of the word is good evidence for Q influence on F.

As Dawson points out some of Williams's work on spellings has been vitiated by subsequent compositor studies.⁸⁰ For example his argument that the *do* and *go* spellings by 'Compositor A' are signs of Q influence on F is inapplicable, since scholars now think that Compositor H typeset the relevant lines. We do not know Compositor H's spelling preferences since his work has been detected nowhere except in this play.

Williams does not note one very strong piece of bibliographical evidence, presumably because it had already been noted by Alexander.⁸¹ Achilles is mentioned 82 times in Q and 84 times in F, in speeches and stage directions. In both Q and F the spelling is always 'Achilles', except at 1295 where both texts print 'Achillis'.

To sum up, Williams's evidence is not as overwhelming as has been supposed, but it is enough to prove that there is a bibliographical relationship between Q and F.

APPENDIX B LIST OF ERRORS IN Q AND F

This appendix lists the errors found in Q or F. I have disregarded merely typographical errors (for example *our Grecian prat* for *our Grecian part* in Q at 3512) and, more generally, errors that can be characterized as compositorial blunders. For example, at 323, Q prints 'for it has beene a great while going by'. In F this appears as 'For is has beene a great while going by'. The *it/is* error in F is almost certainly a blunder by the compositor, not a misreading, while the *great/grcat* error certainly is so. Therefore, I have not counted either as an error. As in other plays there are many such errors in both texts, often consisting of dropped words. They are of evidential value for some purposes but not here, since I am concerned only to list errors that are plausible as misreadings.

It is possible that some scholars will think that I have left out a few readings that they regard as errors. For example I have given *batch* at 2876, common to both texts, the benefit of the doubt although many editors since Theobald have regarded it as an error and emended it to *botch*. It is certain that at least a few readings on my list will be regarded by some as not errors at all. For example in Ulysses's famous oration, at 569–70, Q prints 'each thing melts / In meere oppugnancie', while F prints 'each thing meetes / In meere oppugnancie'. The F reading has its supporters: it has been adopted by Gary Taylor in the Oxford complete works edition and by David Bevington in his Arden 3 edition (both editions are based on F, which Taylor and Bevington regard as the revised text). But, as Bevington acknowledges, *meetes* could be a misreading of the more difficult *melts*, which word and its synonyms are

⁷⁹ Williams purports to give 21 *Oh* spellings from F, but that is because he overlooks the *Oh* spellings at 82 and 220 and wrongly lists as *Oh* the *O* spellings at 2400, 2402, 2455, 2464, 2473, and 2648.

⁸⁰ *Troilus and Cressida*, Dawson (ed.), p. 249.

⁸¹ Alexander, 'Troilus and Cressida', p. 271.

'recurrent metaphors in Shakespeare for dissolution of identity',⁸² the topic that Ulysses is partly addressing in these lines. Therefore I have regarded *meetes* as an error in F rather than as an authorial variant between Q and F.

As the above examples show opinions differ about whether any given reading really is an error. There must be few readings anywhere in Shakespeare that some commentator has not attempted to defend, so the criterion for including a reading in this list cannot be that it is unanimously regarded as an error. For example Taylor wrote that his 28 errors were 'unanimously rejected by modern editors'.⁸³ That was in 1982. By 2000 four of the 28 had been accepted in scholarly editions.⁸⁴ A unanimity requirement, even among only modern editions, would create a 'race to the bottom' and would be almost bound to cause us to underestimate the number of errors. As a matter of logic it seems to me that accepting one reasonable list of errors is likely to bring us closer to the truth than taking only the overlapping elements of many reasonable lists.⁸⁵ Fortunately the list below is long enough that, even if the reader removes a few items from it that he or she regards as authorial variants rather than errors, the remainder will constitute adequate evidence with which to test the transmission theories I discuss in this paper.

The table below gives 163 errors, which can first be summarized in a 'balance sheet' as follows:

Table 5

Q-only Errors	54	
Add Common Errors	50	
	Errors in Q	104
F-only Errors	59	
Add Common Errors	50	
	Errors in F	109
	<i>Deduct</i> Common Errors (to avoid double-counting)	(50)
	Total Errors in Q and F (listed below)	163

In the table below an entry in <brackets> indicates that the bracketed word or phrase is presumed to have been omitted. For common errors I have saved space by not giving the presumed correct readings; for these readers may consult critical editions. Among the 59 F-only errors listed here, 27 of the 28 on Taylor's list are included and marked with an asterisk (unlike Taylor, but like Foakes and Bevington I have not regarded the *the/you* variant at 2625 as an error). Remarkably one word in Q, *Calcho*'s at 2210, contains both a Q-only error ('o' for 'a') and a common error (apostrophe in the wrong place).

⁸² *Troilus and Cressida*, Bevington (ed.), p. 359.

⁸³ Taylor, 'Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation', p. 105.

⁸⁴ Searle, 'By Foule Authority', p. 508.

⁸⁵ In any case it is often not possible to be sure which readings an editor has regarded as errors. For example if an edition is based on the Q text, then the collation does not usually state whether the editor thought the F reading was an error or an authorial variant. The problem is worse for *Troilus and Cressida* since many editions of it are avowedly eclectic.

Table 6

TLN	RIVERSIDE REF.	QUARTO	FOLIO	F COMPOSITOR	Q PAGE	ERROR TYPE
60	I.1.26	yea	you	H	A2	Q-only
65	I.1.31	then	then	H	A2	Common
65	I.1.31	she is	she is	H	A2	Common
72	I.1.37	a scorne	a-scorne	H	A2 ^v	Common
188	I.2.29	purblinde	purblinded	E	A3 ^v	F-only
192	I.2.34	disdaine	disdained	E	A4	F-only
242	I.2.86	will	will	E	A4 ^v	Common
252	I.2.96	<the>	<the>	E	A4 ^v	Common
284	I.2.129	thee	thee	E	B1	Common
332	I.2.179	llion	llium	E	B1 ^v	Q-only
396	I.2.239	an eye	money	B	B2	F-only*
452	I.2.294	Then	That	B	B3	F-only
482	I.3.27	broad	lowd	B	B3	F-only
492	I.3.36	ancient	patient	B	B3 ^v	Q-only
508	I.3.51	fled	fled	B	B3 ^v	Common
512	I.3.54	Retires	Retyres	B	B3 ^v	Common
520	I.3.61	the	thy	B	B3 ^v	Q-only
522	I.3.63	and the hand	and the hand	B	B3 ^v	Common
569	I.3.110	melts	meetes	B	B4 ^v	F-only
577	I.3.118	their	her	B	B4 ^v	F-only
619	I.3.159	vnsquare	vnsquar'd	B	C1	Q-only
625	I.3.165	hem	hum	B	C1	F-only
713	I.3.252	seat	sence	B	C2	Q-only
727	I.3.262	restie	rusty	B	C2 ^v	F-only
731	I.3.267	feeds	seekes	B	C2 ^v	F-only
765	I.3.301	proue	pawne	B	C3	F-only*
765	I.3.301	troth	truth	B	C3	F-only
770	I.3.305	sir	first	B	C3	Q-only
878	II.1.19	ath thy	o'th thy	B	C4	Common
899	II.1.43	<in thy head>	<in thy head>	B	C4 ^v	Common
901	II.1.45	thrash	thresh	B	C4 ^v	F-only
955	II.1.100	at	out	B	D1	Q-only
959	II.1.105	their	their	B	D1	Common
964	II.1.111	<wit>	<wit>	B	D1	Common

Table 6 (continued)

TLN	RIVERSIDE REF.	QUARTO	FOLIO	F COMPOSITOR	Q PAGE	ERROR TYPE
967	II.1.114	brooch	Brooch	B	D1	Common
975	II.1.122	first	fift	B	D1	Q-only
997	II.2.14	surely	surety	B	D1 ^v	Q-only
1031	II.2.47	Sets	Let's	B	D2	Q-only
1032	II.2.48	hare	hard	B	D2	F-only*
1041	II.2.56	madde	made	B	D2	F-only
1055	II.2.70	soild	spoyl'd	B	D2 ^v	F-only
1056	II.2.71	siue	same	B	D2 ^v	F-only*
1071	II.2.86	be	he	B	D2 ^v	Q-only
1201	II.2.210	shrike	strike	H	D4	Q-only
1282	II.3.79	sate	sent	H	E1	F-only
1310	II.3.106	flexure	flight	H	E1 ^v	F-only*
1346	II.3.141	entertainē	enter you	H	E2	Q-only
1401	II.3.193	liked	titled	H	E2 ^v	Q-only
1409	II.3.203	push	pash	H	E2 ^v	Q-only
1419	II.3.212	tell	let	H	E3	Q-only
1430	II.3.223	praiers	praises	H	E3	Q-only
1450	II.3.242	Fam'd	Fame	H	E3	F-only*
1457	II.3.249	boord	bourne	H	E3 ^v	Q-only
1474	II.3.264	call	cull	H	E3 ^v	Q-only
1476	II.3.266	hulkes	bulkes	H	E3 ^v	F-only*
1484	III.1.6	notable	noble	H	E3 ^v	F-only
1509	III.1.33	inuisible	inuisible	H	E4	Common
1593	III.1.121	oh ho	oh ho	H	F1	Common
1598	III.1.126	hey ho	hey ho	H	F1	Common
1654	III.2.22	repured	reputed	H	F1 ^v	F-only
1655	III.2.23	distruction	distruction	H	F1 ^v	Common
1656	III.2.24	tun'd	and	H	F1 ^v	F-only*
1698	III.2.67	teares	teares	H	F2	Common
1701	III.2.72	safer	safe	H	F2 ^v	F-only
1706	III.2.76	Nor	Not	H	F2 ^v	F-only
1722	III.2.92	louer part	crowne it	H	F2 ^v	Q-only
1722	III.2.92	affection	perfection	H	F2 ^v	Q-only
1763	III.2.132	Comming	Comming	H	F3	Common

Table 6 (continued)

TLN	RIVERSIDE REF.	QUARTO	FOLIO	F COMPOSITOR	Q PAGE	ERROR TYPE
1792	III.2.160	age	aye	H	F ₃ ^v	Q-only
1842	III.2.208	<with a bed>	<with a bed>	H	F ₄	Common
1852	III.3.4	loue	loue	H	F ₄	Common
1925	III.3.73	vs'd	vs'd	H	G ₁	Common
1962	III.3.110	married	married	H	G ₁ ^v	Common
1967	III.3.115	man	may	H	G ₁ ^v	F-only
1980	III.3.128	obiect	abiect	H	G ₂	Q-only
1989	III.3.137	fasting	feasting	H	G ₂	F-only
1993	III.3.141	shriking	shrinking	H	G ₂	F-only
2013	III.3.160	him,most	hindmost	H	G ₂	Q-only
2015	III.3.162	[line not in Q]	neere	H	G ₂	F-only
2017	III.3.164	passe	past	H	G ₂	Q-only
2021	III.3.168	the	the	H	G ₂ ^v	Common
2030	III.3.178	goe	goe	H	G ₂ ^v	Common
2036	III.3.184	That	Then	H	G ₂ ^v	Q-only
2036	III.3.184	once	out	H	G ₂ ^v	F-only*
2080	III.3.225	ayre	ayrie ayre	H	G ₃	F-only
2169	IV.1.0	<i>Autemor</i>	<i>Anthenor</i>	H	G ₄	Q-only
2189	IV.1.17	Lul'd	But	H	G ₄ ^v	Q-only
2210	IV.1.38	<i>Calcho's</i>	<i>Calcha's</i>	H	G ₄ ^v	Common
2210	IV.1.38	<i>Calcho's</i>	<i>Calcha's</i>	H	G ₄ ^v	Q-only
2242	IV.1.67	he as he	he as he	H	H ₁	Common
2242	IV.1.67	the	which	H	H ₁	F-only
2261	IV.2.4	kill	kill	H	H ₁ ^v	Common
2269	IV.2.10	ioyes	eyes	H	H ₁ ^v	F-only*
2273	IV.2.13	tediously	hidiously	H	H ₁ ^v	F-only
2291	IV.2.31	<i>chipochia</i>	<i>Chipochia</i>	H	H ₁ ^v	Common
2314	IV.2.54	Who	Who	H	H ₂	Common
2392	IV.4.4	violenteth	no lesse	H	H ₃	F-only*
2397	IV.4.9	drosse	crosse	H	H ₃	F-only*
2408	IV.4.24	strain'd	strange	H	H ₃	F-only*
2427	IV.4.41	one	our	H	H ₃ ^v	F-only*
2440	IV.4.54	my throate	the root	H	H ₃ ^v	Q-only
2468	IV.4.78	[word not in Q]	Flawing	H	H ₄	F-only

Table 6 (continued)

TLN	RIVERSIDE REF.	QUARTO	FOLIO	F COMPOSITOR	Q PAGE	ERROR TYPE
2469	IV.4.79	portion	person	H	H4	Q-only
2513	IV.4.119	vsage	visage	H	H4 ^v	F-only*
2516	IV.4.122	seale	seale	H	H4 ^v	Common
2516	IV.4.122	to thee	towards	H	H4 ^v	F-only
2548	IV.5.0	<i>Calcas</i>	<i>Calcas</i>	H	I1	Common
2563	IV.5.13	yond	yong	H	I1	F-only
2565	IV.5.15	too	toe	HI	1	Q-only
2589	IV.5.37	<i>Patr.</i>	<i>Patr.</i>	H	I1 ^v	Common
2596	IV.5.43	nor	not	H	I1 ^v	Q-only
2604	IV.5.48	then	then	H	I1 ^v	Common
2633	IV.5.73	<i>Aga:</i>	<i>Aga.</i>	H	I2	Common
2653	IV.5.92	breath	breach	H	I2	F-only*
2697	IV.5.133	day	drop	H	I2 ^v	Q-only
2708	IV.5.143	(O yes)	(O yes)	H	I3	Common
2746	IV.5.178	earth	Oath	B	I3 ^v	Q-only
2827	IV.5.255	stichied	stythied	B	I4 ^v	Q-only
2875	V.1.4	curre	core	B	K1	Q-only
2884	V.1.14	box	boy	B	K1	Q-only
2898	V.1.31	sleiue	Sleyd	B	K1	F-only
2899	V.1.32	toslell	tassell	B	K1	Q-only
2920	V.1.54	be	Brother	B	K1	Q-only
2923	V.1.56	bare	Brothers	B	K1 ^v	Q-only
2924	V.1.58	faced	forced	B	K1 ^v	Q-only
2926	V.1.60	her's	hee is	B	K1 ^v	Q-only
2927	V.1.61	day	Dogge	B	K1 ^v	Q-only
2932	V.1.66	hey-day	Hoy-day	B	K1 ^v	F-only
2986	V.2.10	sing	finde	H	K2	F-only*
2987	V.2.11	Cliff	life	H	K2	F-only*
2989	V.2.13	<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Cal.</i>	H	K2	Common
3018	V.2.41	distruction	distraction	H	K2 ^v	Q-only
3041	V.2.59	lo	lo	H	K3	Common
3068	V.2.81	<i>Dio:</i>	<i>Dio.</i>	H	K3	Common
3069	V.2.82	doth take	rakes	H	K3	F-only*
3093	V.2.102	<i>Ther:</i>	<i>Ther.</i>	H	K3 ^v	Common

Table 6 (continued)

TLN	RIVERSIDE REF.	QUARTO	FOLIO	F COMPOSITOR	Q PAGE	ERROR TYPE
3112	V.2.118	Court	co-act	H	K ₃ ^v	Q-only
3116	V.2.122	th,attest	that test	H	K ₃ ^v	F-only
3117	V.2.123	were deceptions	had deceptious	H	K ₄	Q-only
3130	V.2.134	spoile	soyle	H	K ₄	Q-only
3141	V.2.144	By-fould	By foule	H	K ₄	F-only*
3149	V.2.152	<i>Ariachna's</i>	<i>Ariachnes</i>	H	K ₄	Q-only
3154	V.2.157	finde	fiue	H	K ₄	Q-only
3164	V.2.167	<as>	<as>	H	K ₄ ^v	Common
3170	V.2.173	sunne	Fenne	H	K ₄ ^v	F-only*
3297	V.3.85	destruction	distraxion	H	L ₂	Q-only
3301	V.3.89	yet	yes	H	L ₂	F-only*
3341	V.4.10	stale	stole	H	L ₂ ^v	F-only*
3347	V.4.16	began	began	H	L ₂ ^v	Common
3378	V.5.6	<i>Polidamas</i>	<i>Polidamus</i>	H	L ₃	F-only*
3379	V.5.7	<i>Margarelon</i>	<i>Margarelon</i>	H	L ₃	Common
3383	V.5.11	<i>Cedus</i>	<i>Cedus</i>	H	L ₃	Common
3384	V.5.12	<i>Thous</i>	<i>Thous</i>	H	L ₃	Common
3395	V.5.22	scaling	scaled	H	L ₃	Q-only
3397	V.5.24	strawy	straying	H	L ₃ ^v	F-only*
3415	V.5.41	lust	luck	H	L ₃ ^v	Q-only
3437	V.vi.7	thy	thy	H	L ₃ ^v	Common
3481	V.vii.11	hen'd	hen'd	H	L ₄	Common
3481	V.vii.11	spartan	sparrow	H	L ₄	F-only*
3504	V.viii.7	darkning	darking	H	L ₄ ^v	F-only
3543	V.x.7	smile	smile	H	M1	Common
3556	V.x.20	Could	Coole	H	M1	F-only*
3582	V.x.46	cloathes	cloathes	H	M1 ^v	Common

APPENDIX C

LIST OF F-ONLY ERRORS IN QUARTO REPRINTS

For each of the 8 Folio plays that textual scholars believe were reprinted from lightly marked-up quarto copy, I list below the F-only errors i.e. errors in F for which the quarto had an arguably correct reading. In compiling the lists I have relied on the collations given in the Oxford *Textual Companion*. As with *Troilus and Cressida* I have disregarded F-only errors that look like sophistications or misguided corrections or the indifferent variants that compositors produce when carrying several words in their heads at once. The following examples of readings not counted by me as F-only errors are all taken from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, believed to have been printed from an exemplar of Q2 (the falsely-dated Pavier quarto of 1619).

Table 7

TLN	Q2	F	Reason for not counting as an F-only error
194	Demetrius loues your faire	Demetrius loues you faire	Misguided Correction
570	Thou toldst me they were stolne vnto this wood	Thou toldst me they were stolne into this wood	Sophistication
2141	and hang'd himselfe in <i>Thisbies</i> garter	and hung himselfe in <i>Thisbies</i> garter	Indifferent Compositorial Variant

In the lists below the first reading is that of the quarto from which the Folio text is generally believed to have been printed; the second reading is the one in F. For brevity I have given only the Through Line Numbers, keyed to the Folio text.

Titus Andronicus. 121 earthy] earthly; 155 not] me; 180 drugges] grudges; 253 sute] sure; 283 thy] my; 401 vouch] vouch'd; 410 till] tell; 558 aboue] about; 620 petties] pretty; 862 the] thy; 983 earthy] earthly; 1074 scrowle] scowle; 2034 Mistriship] Mistership; 2088 seede] foode; 2123 Be bold] Behold; 2317 thy] the; 2318 thy] my; 2342 *Epeons*] *Eptons*; 2366 plie] play; 2429 knew] know; 2429 supposd] suppose; 2503 Empresse] Emperous; 2506 I feare] If ere

Love's Labour's Lost. 443 that] what; 638 repaide] repaie; 672 faire] farther; 681 foole] soule; 749 you] out; 1319 before] being; 1439 euer] *euery*; 2041] speakers] keepers; 2240 peckes] pickes; 2488 picke] pricke; 2767 instance] instant

Romeo and Juliet. 525 dreame] dreampt; 726 learnt] learne; 986 farther] further; 1062 and] rest; 1501 loue] lou'd; 1638 out] our; 1642 but] not; 1775 with] which; 1866 dispute] dispaire; 1868 I, Iuliet thy] Iuliet my; 1958 of] or; 2174 thy] the; 2188 hate] hauce; 2223 tide] ride; 2342 straines] streames; 2416 feare] care; 2497 life] fire; 2726 vnaccustomd] vccustom'd; 2852 aloofe] aloft

A Midsummer Night's Dream. 169 remote] remou'd; 356 colour] colour'd; 440 hast] wast; 455 *Antiopa*] *Atiopa*; 701 interchained] interchanged; 1027 haunted] gaunted; 1287 hee'l] Sir; 1356 *Hel.*] *Her.*

Richard II. 264 set] sit; 325 plated] placed; 326 formally] formerly; 366 earthly] earthy; 368 vigor] rigor; 602 smiles] soules; 762 chasing] chafing; 932 Ramston] *Rainston*; 1470 beards] beares; 1653 tracke] tract; 1792 you deserue] you deseru'd; 2562 held] had

1 *Henry IV.* 68 Staind] Strain'd; 215 match] Watch; 364 bore] bare; 368 termes] tearme; 430 bare] base; 482 starue] staru'd; 485 weare] wore; 564 waspe-stung] Waspe-tongu'd; 727 purchase] purpose; 953 farther] further; 1556 topples] tombles; 2312 tearme] Dreame; 2406 fazd] fac'd; 2935 lies] likes

The Merchant of Venice. 390 ye] he; 509 terms] teames; 902 seale] steale; 1158 peasantry] pleasantry; 1983 fretten] fretted; 2051 curelesse] endlesse; 2115 Court] course

Much Ado About Nothing. 811 don] on; 1087 Gentlewomen] Gentlemen; 1823 beate] beare; 2457 rime] time; 2460 nor] for

APPENDIX D

ALTERNATIVES TO THE SUPPOSED COLLATION FOR Q

The foregoing text was improved by the generous and constructive comments I received from the anonymous reviewer at The Library. This appendix was written in response to a specific suggestion by the reviewer, for which I am grateful.

The Q₀ theory supposes that Bonian and Walley caused their exemplar of Q₀ to be collated with a manuscript, to correct its errors before using it to publish Q. Collation with a manuscript, for both Q and F, is posited by the theory to explain the errors that occur in only one text. There are 113 of these i.e. the 54 Q-only errors and the 59 F-only errors. As the reviewer justly points out there is no known precedent for using such a collation procedure to print a Shakespeare quarto, a consideration that weighs against my theory. As an alternative to collation the reviewer suggested that the presumed differences between Q₀ and Q might be accounted for by a combination of press correction in Q₀ and editorial annotation on the exemplar of it that was used to print Q. I now consider these possibilities.

Suppose that copies of Q₀ were sold containing sheets in a mixture of their incorrect and correct states, as we know was done for surviving quartos such as Q itself.⁸⁶ Now the argument cannot be that, for Q, an exemplar of Q₀ was used containing sheets that had had the F-only errors corrected but the Q-only errors not corrected while, for F, it was the other way round. This would have been impossible since we can easily deduce that many formes in Q₀ must have contained both Q-only and F-only errors.⁸⁷ So the argument must be that, during the press correction stage of Q₀, the F-only errors were corrected while the Q-only errors and the common errors

⁸⁶ See *Troilus and Cressida*, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, ed. by H. N. Hillebrand and T. W. Baldwin, (London, 1953), pp. 323–27.

⁸⁷ Since, for the purposes of this appendix, Q is a reprint of Q₀, the distribution of text between the formes must have been almost the same for both quartos and so the errors in Q₀ must have been located on the same formes as in Q. As can be deduced from the quarto page signatures given in Appendix B, each of the following formes in Q contains both a Q-only error and a line containing what is an F-only error in F: A (inner), B (inner), C (outer), D (inner), D (outer), E (inner), E (outer), F (inner), F (outer), G (inner), G (outer), H (inner), I (inner), I (outer), K (inner), K (outer), L (inner), and L (outer). So these formes in Q₀ must have contained both Q-only and F-only errors.

were overlooked. An exemplar of Q₀ containing the corrected sheets was used to print Q in 1609, explaining why it contains the Q-only errors and common errors, but not the F-only errors. In 1623 the exemplar of Q₀ used by Jaggard had its sheets in their uncorrected state. The collator marked up corrections for what we call the Q-only errors, but he overlooked those for the F-only errors and the common errors. In this way we can explain the errors in both Q and F without invoking a collation stage for Q.

This is an attractive theory, but how plausible is it? It requires 59 substantive press corrections during the printing of Q₀, one for each of the F-only errors. We have seen much worse. Greg counted no less than 148 substantive press variants among the surviving copies of Q₁ *King Lear*.⁸⁸ But that quarto is an anomaly. A much better comparison is with Q₂ *Hamlet*, which was printed by James Roberts in 1604. This was the year after our theory requires him to have printed Q₀, so we may suppose that the standard of workmanship was about the same for both quartos. Q₂ *Hamlet*, a longer play than *Troilus and Cressida*, contains only 26 press variants,⁸⁹ a much lower number than the 59 we are comparing it to. This discrepancy between the observed extent of variation in Q₂ *Hamlet* and the presumed extent in Q₀ does not encourage the belief that press correction in Q₀ was responsible for eliminating the F-only errors.

Sonia Massai has recently argued that publishers annotated the quartos they were intending to reprint to a much greater extent than has been acknowledged.⁹⁰ She gives persuasive examples from publications by Andrew Wise and Thomas Pavier; for example the improvement of speech prefixes in 1 *Henry IV*, the changing of the order in which the ghosts appear in *Richard III*, and the correction of factual errors in 2 *Henry VI*. It is possible to argue that Bonian and Walley were able to annotate their exemplar of Q₀ to eliminate some of the F-only errors; and that this may have been in addition to the press correction in 1603, which, *ex hypothesi*, eliminated the rest. However the focus of the annotations that Massai detects in other quartos is what she calls 'the fictive world of the play', the stage business, the characters, and the story being told.⁹¹ Glancing at the list of F-only errors in Appendix B it does not appear that many of them are of the kind for which we should expect publishers to mark up corrections without collation with a manuscript.

Perhaps all we can say is that one or more of press variation, editorial annotation, and collation combined to ensure that Q corrected many of the presumed errors in Q₀. It is an unusual theory but, as the chequered printing history of both its surviving witnesses tells us, *Troilus and Cressida* is an unusual play.

⁸⁸ W. W. Greg, *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear': A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry* (London, 1940), p. 15.

⁸⁹ Gabriel Egan, 'Press Variants in Q₂ Hamlet: An Accident on N(outer)', forthcoming, *Studies in Bibliography*. Even those 26 variants may over-represent the extent of press correction by Roberts since Egan argues that 10 of them were probably motivated by a mechanical accident to the N (outer) forme.

⁹⁰ Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge, 2007), chapters 3, 4.

⁹¹ Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, p. 103.