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Shakespeare on the German Wanderbühne in the Seventeenth Century:
Romio und Julieta and Der Bestrafte Brudermord

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Shakespeare on the German *Wanderbühne* in the Seventeenth Century:

Romio und Julieta and Der Bestrafte Brudermord

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Août 2012

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Note

For *Romeo and Juliet* I quote the texts of the First Quarto (Q1, 1597) and the Second Quarto (Q2, 1599). I refer to the act, scene, and line references from Jill L. Levenson's edition. For quotations from *Romeo and Juliet*, the Q2 text is used unless otherwise specified. For *Hamlet*, I quote from Bernice W. Kliman and Paul Bertram's *Three Text Hamlet*, using their Through Line Numbering (TLN) for the Second Quarto (Q2, 1604/05) and the Folio (F, 1623) and the Consecutive Line Numbering (CLN) for the First Quarto (Q1, 1603). For the Q2-passages not found in F, I follow *The Three Text Hamlet*, using references such as TLN 2743+26. I refer to the act, scene, and line references from the two volumes of Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's Arden 3 edition. For quotations from *Hamlet*, the Q2-text is used unless otherwise specified. Unless otherwise noted, I quote Shakespeare's works from the *Oxford Complete Works*, and all translations of primary texts and secondary criticism are my own. I generally give the English translations in the main text; the German originals are provided in footnotes.

INTRODUCTION

– Shakespeare? he said. I seem to know the name.

(Joyce 423)

"Shakespeare is German" proclaimed Shakespeare's Globe Theater in London, when opening its winter season in 2010,¹ emphasizing the long-lasting relationship between the German people and the author they call "unser Shakespeare" ("our Shakespeare"). The Germans have been appropriating Shakespeare for centuries. The German Shakespeare Society, founded in 1864, was actually the first literary society to be founded in Germany.² The love affair between Shakespeare and Germany really began in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Gotthold Ephraim Lessing inaugurated a long tradition of German Shakespeare criticism and Christoph Martin Wieland began translating the first plays. In German Romanticism and even in the quest for a German national identity, Shakespeare continued to play an important role.

The earliest mention of Shakespeare in Germany actually dates from 1682. The scholar Daniel Georg Morhof (1639-91) wrote in his *Unterricht der deutschen Sprache und Poesie* (*Instruction about the German Language and Poetry*): "John Dryden wrote very learnedly about dramatic poetry. The Englishmen that he names are Shakspeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, of whom I

¹ See "*Shakespeare is German* at Shakespeare's Globe".

² See "Warum sind die Deutschen so fasziniert von Shakespeare?".

have seen nothing" (Koberstein 172).³ After some rather oblique references,⁴ the first German translation of a Shakespearean text was published in 1741: *Julius Caesar* by Caspar Wilhelm von Borck, composed in alexandrines (Koberstein 174; Häublein 13). This is how the Shakespeare reception in Germany started – or so the story goes.

Yet, this is not entirely true. Roughly one hundred years before Shakespeare's name first appeared on German pages, his plays were already being performed on German stages. From the 1580s onwards, English actors (the so-called "English Comedians"; see pp. 13-14 below) traveled to and performed on the Continent. Their repertoire consisted of English plays, Shakespeare's among them. In the course of the seventeenth century, these plays were not only translated but also adapted. However, Shakespeare's name was never mentioned in connection to any of these adaptations. This was nothing unusual; not many of the plays that were performed on the German *Wanderbühne* (literally, "wandering or strolling stage") have a known author. Later, towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, German theater turned towards French models, and these early German Shakespeare playtexts were all but forgotten. Only a few decades later, the Germans discovered Shakespeare's plays in their original versions, unaware that his works had furnished the German stage with abundant material a century earlier.

³ "John Dryden hat gar wohl gelehrt von der *dramatica Poesi* geschrieben. Die Engelländer, die er hierinnen anführet, sind *Shakspeare*, Fletcher, Beaumont, von welchen ich nichts gesehen habe." Morhof also names Ben Jonson. Morhof was the first to write a comprehensive overview of recent European literature in German.

⁴ One reference is from 1708 "in connection with a critical essay of Sir William Temple published in France" (Macey 262). In 1740 and 1741, the Swiss scholar Johann Jakob Bodmer wrote about "Sasper" (Becker 141). Gustav Becker believes that the unusual spelling may have been inspired by the Italian poet Antonio Conti, who wrote of "Saspar" in 1726 (140). Bodmer used the spelling "Shakespear" in 1732 (141).

This doctoral thesis presents editions of two of these seventeenth-century German Shakespeare adaptations: *Romio und Julieta*, a version of *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark* (*Fratricide Punished or Prince Hamlet of Denmark*), an early German *Hamlet*. It is important to emphasize that these texts are not simply translations but adaptations. No critical edition and no fully annotated translation of either text exists. The plays were reprinted several times in the course of the nineteenth century. Yet these were mostly transcripts, some including the occasional footnote, others consisting only of extracts. The extant English translations, most of which also date from the nineteenth century, are similarly devoid of any critical apparatus.⁵ For a close and comprehensive study of these texts, scholarly editions are requisite. What is offered here are not German editions of German texts, but editions aimed at English-speaking scholars of Shakespeare in particular and early modern theater in general. Along with new translations into modern English, these editions form the second part – *Texts* – of this thesis. The first part – *Contexts* – offers an extensive historical, theatrical, and textual introduction to the plays.

The English Comedians started traveling on the European Continent, and especially in Germany, in the 1580s (see pp. 27-28 below), and although the number of traveling English actors greatly diminished after the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), their impact was such that their influence on the German theatrical landscape continued to be felt. Of course, "Germany" did not exist in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, but was rather made up of a patchwork of different small states. Yet since those small states shared a common language and culture, I choose to refer to them as "Germany".

⁵ For a list of editions and translations of *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, see p. 177, fn. 10 below.

In fact, German theater did not exist either. Before the arrival of the English Comedians and traveling players of other nationalities, the German theater scene was made up of amateur performances or theatre-like events. These were provided, for instance, by the *Meistersinger*, who organized amateur competitions between singers from artisan guilds. They had a long tradition lasting from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century (*Reallexikon Literaturwissenschaft* 2: 554-55). School theater was also popular: school children read and performed Terence's and Plautus's plays for educational purposes (Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 24). They were taught "eloquence and decent deportment", while both actors and audiences received "sound lessons of conduct and doctrine" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 5). Jesuit drama, referring to the performances of pupils in Jesuit schools, was a subgenre of school drama. The performances were usually in Latin, and their content was predominantly (but not exclusively) moralistic and religious (*Reallexikon Literaturwissenschaft* 2: 196-97). Both Jesuit and school theater continued to co-exist with the itinerant players' performances. Yet these entertainments were originally restricted to holidays (Cohn, *Germany* V-VII), and the "performances were not intended for the sake of the spectators, the performers were themselves the primary object of the plays" (XXXVII). This changed with the English Comedians who played for the general public and demanded an entrance fee. They made acting a profession in its own right. The English have actually been credited with founding the German theater, being of great "importance for the foundation of theater in the modern sense of the word" (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* II).⁶

⁶ "Bedeutung für die Begründung eines Theaters im modernen Sinne des Wortes". See also Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 9.

The English Comedians were extremely popular with Germans of different social standings (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 10).⁷ Hitherto, theatrical representations in Germany had been largely narrative and rather static. The professionalism of the English Comedians and their naturalistic acting and miming constituted a novelty for German audiences.⁸ Because the English initially performed in their mother tongue, their acting was at first largely pantomimic, incorporating music, dance, and acrobatics. Later, this physical component remained an integral part of their plays and performances. The Germans were interested in the kinds of plays the itinerant players had on offer, such as revenge tragedies or romantic dramas (Baesecke 97). The English clearly touched a nerve of the German audiences (98). Contemporary documents illustrate their fame and popularity: the Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria gushes about a performance in 1608: "There is no doubt about it, they really are good actors" (Morris 19).⁹ Similarly, the Englishman Fynes Moryson, who traveled throughout Europe in the 1590s, tells us that "some cheefe marchants Dutch and Flemish" who visited the renowned Frankfurt trade fair "bragg[ed] of the good markett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players" (C. Hughes 304).

In fact, the popularity of the English actors was such that the term "English Comedians" quickly became something of a brand name. The word pair seems to have been amalgamated to a point where the two words became inseparable: there are even extant documents emphasizing

⁷ The preface of the 1620 collection *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* tells us that the English Comedians earned "great praise" from people of high and low status (Brauneck 1: 2, "grosses Lob"). See also Baesecke 14 and 99, Murad 21, and p. 49 below.

⁸ See Baesecke 11; Williams 45; Limon 2.

⁹ "sy sein gewiß woll zu passieren für guete Comedianten" (Morris 14).

"that not all Englishmen were players" (Fredén 100).¹⁰ Around 1600, other entertainment professionals actually profited from being designated as "English Comedians", although they offered bear baiting or "display[ed] ... dwarves" (Cohn, "Köln" 255, 250).¹¹ Since the designation was so popular, I will use the term "English Comedians" throughout.

The title of this doctoral thesis, "Shakespeare on the German *Wanderbühne* in the Seventeenth Century: *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*", needs initial qualification. Titles like that of Albert Cohn's seminal monograph, *Shakespeare in Germany*, may be "misleading", according to Jerzy Limon (x), because the English Comedians did not only tour Germany. Moreover, they had plays by other early modern English playwrights in their repertoire. The performances of the English players were "neither dominated by Shakespeare as an actor, nor by Shakespeare the playwright" (Limon x). Of course "'Shakespeare' these days is a metaphor as well as a man, a belief system and a literary standard as well as a set of works" (Garber 3). Suffice it to say that in the context of this thesis, "Shakespeare" stands for the texts, not the man nor the myth. Although some scholars may harbor "the secret hope" that by "working on Continental material" one may "find the entry that will place Shakespeare on the continent during the lost years" (Schlueter, "Kassel" 252), my point is by no means to locate Shakespeare the man, be it the actor or the author, in Germany. I suspect that few Continental scholars share this secret hope. My approach is textual, not biographical. Limon's second point, that English theatrical activity was not dominated by Shakespeare's work, is also entirely valid. Nevertheless, any field of research necessarily needs to be delimited. As a German-speaking student of

¹⁰ "dass alle Engländer doch nicht Spielleute seien". The cited document is dated 1615.

¹¹ "etliche Zwerg ... sehen zu lassen".

Shakespeare, I choose to focus on Shakespearean texts and German-speaking territories, remaining aware of the fact that "Shakespeare in Germany" only partly covers the subject of itinerant players in early modern Europe.

The time frame of this doctoral thesis begins when the history of the English Comedians began, namely in 1585, and it ends around 1700, when they were last mentioned (see pp. 27-28, 31 below). The last date to be included is 1710, the date which the manuscript of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* bears (see p. 203 below). The term *Wanderbühne* may also be nuanced. Writing about "itinerant players" is potentially misleading, since the English Comedians were not always on the road. They were actually often keen to find patrons (Limon 97) and spent longer periods of time at "noblemen's, ducal, or even royal courts" (6). At times, neither stage nor players were strolling. Although the two designations are sometimes used interchangeably, the English Comedians and the *Wanderbühne* also need to be differentiated. In fact, the German *Wanderbühne* can be said to have evolved from the English Comedians' work and style. The English strolling players' theatrical impact led to the foundation of the Germans' own tradition of itinerant actors. The players of the *Wanderbühne* started their activity around the middle of the seventeenth century and it lasted long into the eighteenth (Meid 328). English actors were only present in Germany until about 1650 (see p. 31 below), although their name and fame did not disappear with them. First versions of *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* were probably taken to the Continent by the English Comedians around 1600, yet the texts edited here were very likely written (or copied) by German *Wanderbühne* actors towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The texts underwent a long process of adaptation which lasted most of the century. Shakespeare's company "adapted the plays in their repertoire to changing conditions of

performance" (Schoenbaum 266). The English Comedians did the same. I am aware that the term "adaptation" is anachronistic when referring to the seventeenth century. In early modern times, adaptations were not undertaken with the aim of consciously reflecting and commenting on the original text as is the case today. Bertolt Brecht once commented on the relationship which modern authors and directors have with Shakespeare's texts: "We can change Shakespeare, if we *can* change him" (qtd. in Pohl).¹² In the twentieth century, let alone in the twenty-first, "changing Shakespeare", adapting his canonical texts, is a deliberate, often provocative undertaking. Although we may today see the early German Shakespeare plays as adaptations, seventeenth-century Germans would not have done so. They would most likely not have known (nor even have heard of) the originals. In early modern Germany, as in early modern England, the process of adaptation did not necessarily include a conscious reference to the original, or particular awareness of the resulting intertextuality. After all, "Shakespeare was himself an active adaptor and imitator, an appropriator" (Sanders 46). When his plays traveled to Germany, the name Shakespeare never appeared in any of the extant documents, be it playtexts, playbills, repertories, accounts by audience members, or official documents from city authorities. The German audiences did not know that they saw adaptations of the "great Shakespeare". They merely enjoyed great plays.

In the complex process of transmission, the playtexts were not only adapted but also translated. The English Comedians switched from English to German in their performances as early as 1600 (see p. 150 below). The texts may thus be called "tradaptations" to borrow a term coined by Michel Garneau (qtd. in Hoenselaars, "Introduction" 16). The playtexts were also

¹² "Wir können den Shakespeare verändern, wenn wir ihn verändern *können*."

translated in a different sense – relocated during the extensive travels of the players which included the addition of local or topical references.¹³ At least during the first decades of this relocation, the processes of translation and adaptation probably went hand in hand.

The early German Shakespeare adaptations currently have a low status in scholarly opinion, even lower than those which "we are gradually learning to rename the 'short' (formerly 'bad') quartos" (Proudfoot 127). The term "bad" quarto owes its origin to the fact that some of Shakespeare's plays, including *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*, were published in more than one early version, the earliest of which were published in quarto format. Since they presented a much shorter text than the others, and given their somewhat garbled nature, they earned the denomination of "bad" quartos. The other, later quartos, which presented a longer and less controversial text, were termed the "good" quartos. In light of more recent scholarly work the "good news about the bad quartos" has been propagated:¹⁴

There is, of course, very little evidence that will reveal to us the nature of a performing text in Shakespeare's theater; but there is a little. There are those notorious 'bad' quartos that seem to derive directly from performing texts ... whose evidence, therefore, in this respect, is not bad, but excellent. If we were less concerned with the authority of texts and more concerned with the nature of plays, these would be the good quartos. (Orgel 4)

If the Shakespearean short quartos are actually "good" because of their proximity to theatrical performances, then the early German Shakespeare adaptations are very good indeed. After all, the

¹³ See, for instance, p. 188 below and note to *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (BB) II.vii.23.

¹⁴ See Urkowitz, "Good news"; Erne, *Literary Dramatist*; Ioppolo; Irace, *Reforming*; Maguire; Orgel; Taylor and Warren.

plays, especially later ones such as *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, had undergone several decades of performance before the extant versions were written down.

There are indeed signs of a reappraisal of the early German adaptations in Shakespeare scholarship. Jonathan Bate values the early German *Titus Andronicus* (printed in 1620) as a performance document "from within, or very shortly after, Shakespeare's own lifetime", which can be used to elucidate staging indications in the Shakespearean text. "If its staging is not Shakespeare's own, it is that of a company as close to him as one is ever going to get" (46). In his Arden edition of the Shakespearean *Titus Andronicus*, Bate discusses the early German *Tito Andronico* in his introduction and uses some of its stage directions for the edited Shakespearean text. Similarly, Peter Holland insists on calling *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "[n]ot lesser but different". The text's "abbreviation speaks of a culture of popular theatre" ("Shakespeare Abbreviated" 32). To my mind, the same can be said of *Romio und Julieta* and other early German Shakespeareana. These texts are an underused resource for the study of early modern drama in general, especially with regards to performance studies, but also for textual studies. My aim is to enable English-speaking Shakespeare scholars to access them.

What could be termed the "modern" (and Continental) reception of early German Shakespeare started in 1811 when Ludwig Tieck, one of the most prominent German translators of Shakespeare's plays to this day, wrote about the subject in his *Altenglisches Theater, oder Supplement zum Shakspear (Old English Theater or Supplement to Shakspear)*.¹⁵ Tieck was the first to analyze the plays in greater detail, yet he actually had at least two predecessors. In 1779

¹⁵ This is not to be understood in the linguistic meaning of "Old English" but refers to early modern times. The term "Supplements" is due to the fact that Tieck published six plays that he ascribed to Shakespeare, in "supplement" to his previously published translations.

Johann Joachim Eschenburg stumbled across the German *Tito Andronico* in the 1620 collection (see pp. 79-83 below), and stated that it was undoubtedly based on Shakespeare's play, but he was entirely at a loss about the English Comedians mentioned in the collection's title: "I can find no notice of them" (7: 334).¹⁶ Most importantly, Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard published *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* in 1781. He preserved the text for posterity by putting a manuscript, which was subsequently lost, into print. Yet his publication contains no scholarly discussion. The laurels for the rediscovery of these theatrical treasures thus go to Tieck. The first English publication on the topic appeared in 1840: W. J. Thoms wrote an essay, paraphrasing Tieck's observations and commenting on the 1620 collection, in the *New Monthly Magazine*, which was later reprinted in his *Three Notelets on Shakespeare* (1865).¹⁷

More recently, Anglophone criticism included Limon's monograph *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe 1590-1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1985). Yet despite efforts by Limon and others "the work of the 'English Comedians' in Germany" still remains "a form of theatre" that is "widely known but hardly read by Anglophone scholars" (Holland, "Printing Performance" 7). The main reason that the topic is still largely unexplored and "hardly read" by Anglophone scholars is that the bulk of the texts and their criticism are only available in German. My thesis therefore presents English scholarly editions of the two most interesting and rewarding of these playtexts (see p. 22 below).

Despite the language barrier the subject has received renewed interest in the English-speaking world. For instance, Lene Petersen's monograph *Shakespeare's Errant Texts*

¹⁶ "ich finde auch sonst keine Nachricht von ihnen".

¹⁷ This publication coincides with Cohn's seminal work *Shakespeare in Germany* and with the foundation of the German Shakespeare Society.

(Cambridge University Press, 2010) deals extensively with both *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and *Romio und Julieta*. Petersen analyzes the parallels of the German texts and the short (or early) Shakespearean quartos with folktales and ballads, finding similar mechanisms operating in both genres.¹⁸

Whereas Bate's consideration of the German *Titus* for his edition of the Shakespearean *Titus Andronicus* may have been something of a novelty, editors of *Hamlet* have been acquainted with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* for quite some time now. The pride of place accorded to the German *Hamlet* in criticism is still an aftereffect of the late nineteenth century when *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was thought to be Shakespeare's source (see p. 215 below). In his Arden 2 edition of *Hamlet* (1982), Harold Jenkins devoted a section of his introduction to the German play (112-22). In their Arden 3 edition (2006), which includes all three *Hamlet*-texts, Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor also make good use of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.¹⁹ For them, the German *Hamlet* adds information about alternative staging practices and sometimes supplements the Shakespearean texts.²⁰

In non-English-speaking Europe there are also a number of recent publications on the topic, for instance, Ralf Haekel's monograph *Die Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland: Eine Einführung in die Ursprünge des deutschen Berufsschauspiels* (2004, *The English Comedians in*

¹⁸ June Schlueter, Anston Bosman, and M. A. Katritzky also recently published a number of articles on the world of the English Comedians.

¹⁹ There are twenty-two references in the two volumes.

²⁰ Note that *Romio und Julieta* is all but ignored by editors of *Romeo and Juliet*. There is no mention of it in Jill L. Levenson's edition, G. Blakemore Evans devotes only a few lines to the German play (*RJ* 28-29), and René Weis accords it half a footnote (57).

Germany: An Introduction to the Origin of German Professional Theater). Haekel describes the social and cultural history of the itinerant companies, their repertoires, and the reception of the texts in seventeenth-century Germany. Additionally, both *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* have recently been translated into Czech (see Scherl [2001] and Polochová [2010]); *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has also been translated into French (Cunéo [2005]).²¹

Part I of this doctoral thesis is divided into four chapters which gradually narrow down on the playtexts edited in Part II. The first chapter, "The English Comedians", presents an overview of the companies that staged *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: their structure, their historical evolution, their travels, their interaction with city authorities, and their employment conditions at courts. The next chapter, "Plays of the *Wanderbühne*", discusses the corpus of texts within which the two edited playtexts can be placed: other early German Shakespeare adaptations, plays that are related to Shakespeare's work, though not based on it (analogues), the drama collections of *Engelische Comedien* (*English Comedies*) of 1620, 1630, and 1670, as well as some key playtexts of the German *Wanderbühne*. Chapter 3, "Theatrical Conditions and Conventions", analyzes the circumstances under which *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* were performed. This includes both the material circumstances, such as stages, scenery, props, effects, and acting, and the theatrical conventions that the playtexts of the *Wanderbühne* shared, namely their brevity, the emphasis on physicality, and the prominence of the clown on the one hand and didacticism on the other. The last chapter, "*Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: From the Shakespearean Page to the German Stage", focuses

²¹ There is an older French translation by Georges Roth (1946), printed in Baty.

exclusively on the two texts. It discusses their history on page and stage, their provenance, and their relationship to the extant Shakespearean texts of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* respectively.

The choice of texts – *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* – is motivated by several factors. The German *Hamlet* is the best known among and possibly the most important of this group of plays. *Romio und Julieta* is similarly rewarding. Both plays date from the end of the seventeenth century and are representative as "late" playtexts of the *Wanderbühne*, but they nevertheless show strong links to the Shakespearean originals. These originals are multiple-text tragedies, and the German plays add to the complex and interesting interplay between the different versions.

"The important thing about an edition is not that it be 'perfect', but that its nature be understood and also its limitations, *especially* its limitations" (Clayton 38). A first limitation is our ignorance of the exact relationship between the edited texts and early modern performances. As D. F. McKenzie put it: "The relation of textual criticism to the realities of theatrical production has always been one of embarrassed impotence" (50). However intrinsically oral and theatrical a given text may be, it can never reproduce the circumstances of a production, let alone of an early modern production. There is little documentation of actual performances on the German *Wanderbühne*. Yet we can look for clues about performances in the texts themselves (see pp. 174-76 below). Additionally, my editions and analysis of *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* include references to some recent stagings of the texts which may help to understand their theatrical nature.

The second limitation (and challenge) lies in producing an English edition of a German text, navigating as it does between early modern German, modern German, early modern English, and modern English. Yet such an edition also offers opportunities. In a recent article, Richard

Proudfoot imagined a Shakespeare edition "for the third millennium", an edition which "would combine facsimiles and modernized texts within a single volume, arranging them in parallel on facing pages and supplying each with its own kind of commentary" (140). Although I do not provide facsimiles, my editions come close to what Proudfoot visualizes: the original German text, with collation and annotation on the left hand side and the "modernized" English text, with collation and annotation on the right. The reader has all the relevant information at a glance, on two facing pages. The "fidelity to the originals" that Proudfoot postulates is found in the German text, whereas the "utility for the modern user" (141) that he also calls for is provided by the annotation and the English translations. The translations are more freely amended than the largely conservative editions of the German originals, where all changes to the text are signaled in square brackets (see also pp. 232 and 235-37 below).

By translating German adaptations of English texts back into English one treads slippery ground. The nineteenth-century translations of *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are often driven by the desire to find the *Ur-Hamlet* in the German text, or to approximate the language of the playtexts to that of Shakespeare as far as possible, to the point where they provide Shakespeare's text instead of offering a translation which remains close to the German original. My translations are not only closer to the original than earlier translations, but they also provide explanatory notes and collations of previous translations, to convey a fuller understanding of the texts.

In sum, my doctoral thesis has two aims: firstly, to present *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* to the scholarly community, in accessible yet critical editions; and secondly, to show that the Shakespeare adaptations that originated on the German *Wanderbühne* need to be read and analyzed in their specific contexts, that they are not just more "bad quartos",

but rather theatrical texts in their own right, whose interesting features can be highlighted, not least through comparison with Shakespeare's plays.

PART I

CONTEXTS

CHAPTER 1

THE ENGLISH COMEDIANS

"Faith, sir, he's led the drum before the English tragedians"

(*All's Well That Ends Well* IV.iii.269-70)

The living and working conditions of the English Comedians in Germany had a bearing on the texts they produced. Since my purpose is mainly that of textual and, to a certain extent, theatrical criticism, I will not go into great detail concerning the complicated history and the paths of the itinerant players, which are often difficult to trace. In fact, "the decentralized nature" of seventeenth-century Germany makes any coherent and complete overview nearly impossible: "we are dealing with ... a mosaic rather than a single, well-composed picture" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 4; see also p. 11 above). I will therefore aim to provide a brief summary and refer to the numerous sources that have dealt with the matter.¹

This chapter provides an introduction to the material and institutional conditions in which *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* were performed. Unfortunately it is often difficult to relate the two playtexts to historical evidence about particular companies, performance dates, or venues. There is, for instance, only one confirmed performance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (see p. 197 below). Yet the playtext of the German *Hamlet* is a valuable document in itself, providing quite an accurate representation of a traveling company performing

¹ See, for instance, Haekel, *Englische Komödianten*; Baesecke; Creizenach, *Schauspiele*; Stříbrný; Limon; Fehr; Meissner, *Englische Comödianten*.

at court.² Evidence of either play having been performed in a city is scant indeed. Fortunately, the performance history of *Romio und Julieta* is better documented than that of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (see pp. 177-81 below). Nevertheless, this overview is supplemented by material about other companies and the performances of other plays.

This chapter includes a historical overview of the companies, as well as a survey of the English Comedians' motives for leaving their native country, and it describes the "administrative" dimension of their performances, that is, their interaction with patrons and city authorities. The focus will further be on the companies themselves, their structure, the hardships of traveling, and the practical side of performance conditions (as opposed to the "theatrical" side described in Chapter 3). Outlining the general context in which the two playtexts came into being will lead to a better understanding of the texts themselves.

1a. Historical Overview

The English Comedians' influence in Continental Europe stretches over a period of nearly a century. The first record of English Comedians on the Continent dates from 1585 in Elsinore, of all places.³ Certain "unnamed English" played in the courtyard of the town hall. At this performance "the press of folk was such that the wall broke down" (Chambers, *Stage 2*: 272).⁴ The earliest recorded performance of English Comedians in the German-speaking countries was

² See also Creizenach, "Tragödie" 26.

³ Andrew Gurr uses this formulation but refers to the visit of the Earl of Leicester's players (*Stage 49*).

⁴ E. K. Chambers does not provide an exact date for the performance, nor does Johannes Bolte (100). We do not know whether Elsinore was visited before or after Leipzig, nor if the same company appeared in both places.

on 19 July 1585⁵ in Leipzig (Grabau 311). The English players usually first arrived in the Low Countries (Brandt and Hogendoorn 378), but this region was "only to be visited en passant",⁶ Germany being "the main object of their travels" (Cohn, *Germany* XXIX).⁷

In October 1585, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, traveled to the Low Countries by order of Queen Elizabeth. His commission was to support the Protestant Dutch against Phillipp II of Spain (MacLean, "Tracking" 264). Leicester brought fifteen players and twelve musicians with him, "as part of [his] splendid courtly retinue" (McMillin and McLean 20).⁸ This was a company "assembled for grand display". In fact, additional members were hired for this excursion (MacLean, "Tracking" 264), among them Will Kemp (Cohn, *Germany* XXII). Some of Leicester's players returned to the Continent again in 1586, including Kemp and Robert Browne (who may or may not be identical with the Robert Browne who appeared on the Continent again in the 1590s; see below). King Frederick II of Denmark kept them "for a long time" (Limon 3).⁹ They were then sent to Christian I, Elector of Saxony, escorted by a German-speaking guide

⁵ While the English Comedians traveled throughout Germany, the Gregorian calendar had only been "partially" accepted, which lead to an "unbearable muddle" of dates (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 114, "theilweise ... unleidlicher Wirrwarr"). I therefore merely reproduce the dates found in my sources.

⁶ Some Dutch actors even "joined the English strolling players on their international tours" (Hoenselaars, "Reception" 75).

⁷ Additionally, the English Comedians visited Scandinavia, Belgium, and France (Schlueter, "Kassel" 252).

⁸ Leicester's players "should not be confused with the English players who performed at Elsinore in 1585 and at Leipzig on 19 July 1585" (MacLean, "Leicester and the Evelyns" 490).

⁹ Thomas Heywood refers to this in his *Apology for Actors*: "the King of *Denmarke*, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his seruice, a company of *English Comedians*, commended vnto him by the honourable the Earle of *Leicester*" (E1r).

(Bolte 102, 106).¹⁰ The players remained at the court of Dresden until July 1587 (MacLean, "Leicester and the Evelyns" 491-92; MacLean, "Tracking" 265).

Anna Baesecke dates the first public performance (that is, not at a nobleman's estate) to 30 August 1592 in Frankfurt am Main, when a company led by Robert Browne performed there (74).¹¹ Browne is credited with having started "the actual invasion" (Asper, *Hanswurst* 321)¹² of English Comedians in Germany and has been designated as the man who "did most to acclimatize the English actors in Germany" (Chambers, *Stage* 2: 273; see also p. 38 below). After Browne, other companies followed, and the success story of the English Comedians in Germany began. From the 1590s onwards, English strolling players are recorded in cities "as far apart as Strasbourg and Hermannstadt [today's Sibiu] ... Agram (Zagreb), Prague or Pressburg (Bratislava), ... Buda, Riga, Reval (Tallinn) or Warsaw" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 9).¹³

The English players have actually been credited with founding the German professional theater (see p. 12 above). Especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, German actors, at first only students and members of guilds, imitated the English example and became

¹⁰ According to Bolte, the English had to be persuaded to go to the Saxon court because they did not understand the language. Apparently the promise of a high annual salary helped to change their minds (102).

¹¹ John Breadstreet, Thomas Sackville, and Richard Jones were also members of this company. They are said to have performed *Gammer Gurton's Needle* as well as several of Christopher Marlowe's plays on this occasion (Mentzel 23), although there is no reliable evidence for this. Willem Schrickx notes that Elisabeth "Mentzel's theatre history was marred by certain inaccuracies" (*Envoys* 115; see also 195). Most scholars describe Mentzel as unreliable (see Litzmann 7; Hartleb 18; Brand 25).

¹² "Die eigentliche Invasion".

¹³ For maps showing the itineraries of different companies, see the appendices in Herz and Limon xii.

increasingly professionalized, starting to demand entrance fees. Before, the cities and guilds had subsidized amateur performances (Limon 40).¹⁴

After a good twenty years of successful ventures, the Thirty Years' War nearly put a stop to the English activities. During the war, the English Comedians left few traces: John Green returned from England in 1626, bringing "new life" to the stage of the English Comedians (Baesecke 106).¹⁵ Generally, performances were rare at this time, especially in Central and Southern Germany. After the war, "theatrical activities were resumed with vigor", although the English influence slowly waned, while the companies became increasingly "germanized" (Brennecke 11).

German actors had begun joining the companies before the war. A German company of itinerant players may have existed as early as early as 1604: the company who offered to play *Von Romeo vnnndt Julitha* (*Of Romeo and Julitha*) in Nördlingen was led by a *Prinzipal* (the leader of a group of players) called W. Eichelin (see p. 178 below).¹⁶ The name sounds German although Willem Schrickx considers it likely that the company was English (*Envoys* 204). Karl Trautmann suggests that Eichelin may have been the German "Impresario" of an English company ("Rothenburg" 62). After the Thirty Years' War, most troupes that called themselves "English Comedians" only used this name for publicity since they mainly consisted of Germans. Often, only the *Prinzipal* was still English. Other companies prided themselves in being

¹⁴ Limon here refers to Gdańsk. In the town of Elbing, "there may have been a custom of collecting a 'revels' tax for such enterprises from the citizens" (65).

¹⁵ "neues Leben".

¹⁶ As early as 1628, a German *Prinzipal* complained about the competition from the English (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 136).

precisely German companies. In 1648, "Robert Reinhard's" (possibly Reynolds') company, playing in Frankfurt with mainly German members, proudly announced that they had "surpassed the art of the foreigners by far" (Cohn, "Köln" 272).¹⁷ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, written in the second half of the seventeenth century, Carl and his company introduce themselves as "High-German comedians" (II.vii.5; see also note).¹⁸ The King later emphasizes that he wants to "see what the Germans can do" (II.viii.20).¹⁹ After the war, few "new" English companies are recorded. George Jolly (or Joris Joliphus) was the last English *Prinzipal* to come to Germany. He arrived in 1648.²⁰ Towards the end of the seventeenth century, German strolling players wholly took over. The last mention of English players dates from 1697 (Köhler, "Bemerkungen" 417).

The English were not the only companies traveling on the Continent. Yet in Germany they seem to have been the most successful (Limon 4), especially in the first half of the seventeenth century. Companies of other nationalities came, for instance, from the Netherlands, but this was mainly after the Thirty Years' War, when acting had already become professionalized, or from France, especially from the 1660s onwards, when the influence of French drama became stronger (see p. 72 below). Italian *commedia dell'arte* companies also traveled the German-speaking countries from the middle of the sixteenth up to the middle of the eighteenth century (Brandt and Hogendoorn 41).

¹⁷ "die Kunst der Frembden bei weitem überholet".

¹⁸ "hochteutsche Comödianten".

¹⁹ "zusehen, was die Teutschen thun können".

²⁰ "Jolly was the only well-known player" among the English Comedians who became "an important personality of the theatrical scene back in London" (Limon 59).

1b. Reasons for Leaving England

"How chances it they trouaile?"

(*Hamlet*, Q2 TLN 1376, II.ii.293)

The number of actors who chose to travel to the Continent was considerable: roughly ten percent of the known players in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England are recorded on the Continent (Schmidle 63).²¹ Yet the English Comedians' travels to the Continent were by no means "a conscious cultural enterprise, stemming from a desire to propagate and spread English drama on a wider scale" (Limon 4). They left their native country because they counted on monetary profits on the other side of the channel (Brandt and Hogendoorn 6).²² An additional reason for leaving England may have been the frequent closures of the theaters due to plague outbreaks.²³ The increasing competition between the companies, including that of the boys' companies, may also have been responsible. In *Hamlet*, the boys' players, the "little Yases", are said to "carry ... away ... *Hercules* & his load" (F TLN 1386-87, 1407-08, II.ii.336, 358-60), that is, the company playing at the Globe theater, whose sign was "Hercules carrying the world on his shoulders" (Thompson and Taylor, *1603 and 1623* 244). Antitheatrical and "Puritan opposition" is a further plausible cause (Limon 4).²⁴ Another explanation could be the additional marketing value that traveling entailed: a company that had traveled far and wide might advertise

²¹ See Christine Schmidle's survey. She includes musicians, dancers, and fencers (63-78).

²² Limon takes the title for his monograph from Thomas Dekker's comment: "We can be bankrupts (say the players) on this side and gentlemen of a company beyond the sea" (5).

²³ Gurr records "[p]rolonged closures" of the theaters for 1581-82, 1592-93, 1603-04, 1608-09, 1609-10, 1625, 1630, 1636-37, 1640, and 1641 (*Stage* 98).

²⁴ Yet the English players also met with antitheatrical resentments in Germany (see pp. 65-67 below).

its experience.²⁵ This argument was used in petitions: "we, a selected company, have presented, according to our profession, many honorable, merry, also edifying and moral comedies in England, Germany and the Netherlands" (Cohn, "Köln" 272).²⁶ Conversely, a company could propose to increase a nobleman's popularity abroad, functioning as "the abstract and breefe Chronicles of the time" (*Hamlet*, Q2 TLN 1564-65, II.ii.462-63), as is recorded in another application: "We would appreciate this great grace and favour [i.e., being allowed to perform] with grateful hearts, and would know how to praise it in foreign courts" (Limon 62).²⁷ Hamlet supports this idea in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: "there is no greater praise to be gained than through comedians, for they travel far and wide in the world. If something good happens to them in one place, they do not know how to praise it enough in another place" (II.ix.11-14).²⁸

Some companies came to the Continent by special request of a noble patron. Philipp Julius of Pommern-Wolgast (1584-1625) is said to have called a company of about twenty players to his court in 1606.²⁹ His uncle, Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick (see p. 45 below),

²⁵ My thanks go to Paul Yachnin for suggesting this point. See also Schmidle 8, 86.

²⁶ Cologne, 1649 by Joliphus's company. "wir, eine auserlesene Gesellschaft, unserm Beruf nach in England, Deutschland und den Niederlanden viele ehrbare, lustige, auch erbauliche und moralische Comoedien dergestalt präsentirt haben". Note that "in the case of applications to town authorities, the date given always denotes the time when an application was read at a Council, and not when it was written, or submitted" (Limon 160).

²⁷ Gdańsk, 1654. "Solche grosze gnade und gunst, wollen wir mit danckbaren herzen erkennen, undt in der frembde höchlich Zurühen wissen" (Limon 147).

²⁸ "es geschiehet kein größer Lob, als durch Comödianten, denn dieselben reisen weit in die Welt: geschiehet ihnen an einem Orte etwas Gutes, so wissen sie es an einem andern Orte nicht genug zu rühmen".

²⁹ The formulation "the ordered Comedians" allows us to assume that the players were sent for (Meyer 200, "die von E. F. G. bestellte Comedianten").

sent for English Comedians to play at his court in the early 1590s (Meid 100). Prince Vladislaus of Poland (1596-1648) charged the player George Vincent with the task of bringing a whole company of actors and musicians directly from England in 1617 (Limon 100-01).

According to the English traveler Fynes Moryson, the English players that came to the Continent were "some of our cast dispised Stage players" (C. Hughes 304). It is, however, not true that only "second-rate" (Cohn, *Germany* XXII) actors traveled to the Continent. For instance, the Lord Admiral issued a traveling passport in 1591 for the actors of his own renowned company (see p. 50 below). Limon assures us that many other players were "members of notable London companies" (3). For example, Robert Wilson, who accompanied Leicester on his expedition in 1585, was one of the Queen's Men (MacLean, "Tracking" 264). Three other players from this excursion, Thomas Pope, George Bryan, and Will Kemp, later joined the Lord Strange's Men (MacLean, "Tracking" 266). Their names figure in the list of actors in the First Folio (Furness 115).

1c. Companies

Structure

A company was always led by one, sometimes by several *Prinzipale*. The actors received weekly wages, although they sometimes had to wait for their payment, if business was bad (Ludvik 82).³⁰ The size of companies varied. In the early 1590s half a dozen players were "the average

³⁰ This was the case for the Eggenbergische Komödianten once they had become a touring company.

strength" (Limon 10). After 1600, companies consisted of about ten men, sometimes with additional musicians, as well as at least two boys. This was approximately "the size of a typical London company" (Limon 11). The female parts were taken on by women from the 1650s onwards. Musicians and local apprentices served as extras (Marti 14). If a company performed at court, local servants were occasionally called upon to complete the number of mute extras on stage. Sometimes such courtly extras even traveled with the companies (Baesecke 77; Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 66).

In 1680, when Andreas Elenson's company performed a version of *Romeo and Juliet* in Bevern, his company counted seven men, two women (one of them Elenson's wife), and one apprentice, as well as two children (Zimmermann 137-38). The extant text of *Romio und Julieta* requires ten actors, three of them female (see doubling chart, appendix 4a). Elenson's company could therefore have mastered the play without any major adjustments. For a performance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, nine speaking actors and two mutes are required (see doubling chart, appendix 4b). Both plays call for roughly the number of actors that an average company had at their disposal.

A number of students joined the "the adventurous life of the road" of the strolling players, taking on either speaking roles or participating as mute extras (Brandt and Hogendoorn 51). Their knowledge of German was useful for adapting playtexts (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 15; Schubart-Fikentscher 19) and for penning proper petitions for permission to play. Christoph Blümel, "Studiosio Silesiens", whose signature can be found on the manuscript of *Comoedia*

Genandt der Jude von Venetien (see p. 84 below), was one of these students.³¹ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Carl informs Hamlet that his troupe formerly had student members, but that they have left the company: "We are not quite so strong because some students took engagements in Hamburg" (II.vii.14-15).³² There were even a few companies which consisted entirely of students (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 15).

Several of the players' wives and children accompanied them on their journeys (Katritzky, *Women* 270), sometimes helping the company by collecting entrance fees or taking care of props and costumes (271). Once the women set foot on stage, their number in the companies probably increased. Sometimes, the children also took part in the performances, as was the case when Velten's company performed in Bevern in 1680 (Zimmermann 140). According to George W. Brandt and Wiebe Hogendoorn, actresses appeared only once the "gradual rise to a somewhat more respectable status" of the strolling players had begun (51). M. A. Katritzky adds that "the systematic introduction of actresses ... on German-speaking stages was pioneered by visiting English troupes" (*Women* 275). Interestingly, actresses made their way onto the German stage before they were introduced in London in 1660-62 (Katritzky, "English Troupes" 38). The first actresses whose names are recorded in 1653 were part of George Jolly's company: Maria Ursula Cärer and Catharina Faßhauer (Alexander 36). In 1654, Jolly advertised the actresses in his company as a novelty: "rechte Weibsbilder".³³ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*,

³¹ Blümel was born around 1630 and studied in Frankfurt an der Oder. By 1654 he was an actor; his presence is recorded in Ulm in 1654 and in 1660 in Innsbruck (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 61-62; Asper, *Hanswurst* 27-28).

³² "Wir sind zwar nicht so stark, weilten etliche Studenten in Hamburg Condition genommen".

³³ Cohn translates "recht" as "skilful" (*Germany* CIII), but it more likely means "real" (Grimm). Katritzky also translates as "genuine" (*Women* 277).

we learn that Carl's company used to have three female members and now has two, because "one stayed behind with her husband at the court of Saxony" (II.vii.22-23).³⁴ For the performance of the play within the play only three actors are needed, only one of them female. This fictional company is necessarily restricted in size; the same is the case in Shakespeare's play.

Given their precarious conditions of performance, the strolling players are likely to have used doubling for practical purposes, that is "deficiency doubling" (A. C. Sprague qtd. in Thompson and Taylor, "'Your sum'" 113). Records indeed show this was often the case. For instance the actor playing the clown also took on other minor parts (Asper, *Hanswurst* 211). The extant text of *Romio und Julieta* carries this practice one step further: Pickelherring takes on virtually all of the clown and servant roles (see p. 193 below).

Individual Companies and their *Prinzipale*

As was the case in England, groups often split up and reformed, and it is difficult to trace different company histories.³⁵ E. K. Chambers singles out Robert Browne and John Spencer, who were active before the war, as the two most important English *Prinzipale* (*Stage 2*: 288). John Green, whose company performed versions of both *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* in Dresden in 1626, should probably be added. I will briefly introduce the best known *Prinzipale* and trace their careers in Germany.

³⁴ "die eine ist mit ihrem Mann an den Sächsischen Hof geblieben".

³⁵ For a summary up to the 1620s see Chambers, *Stage 2*: 270-94. For the years after 1620, see Cohn, *Germany* XCVI-CIV. See also Herz 1-64 and Limon 149-53.

John Spencer is first mentioned in Germany in 1609 (Rudin, "Klientilismus"). He played at the court of Graz and at the Saxon court, amongst others (Tittman XV). Spencer was known for putting on grand spectacles, with elaborate staging, extravagant costumes, and dancing and music (Limon 113). His large company included an orchestra (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 54). Like other *Prinzipale*, John Spencer has been associated with a particular clown name: John Stockfisch (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* X). He also went down in history for his spectacular conversion to Catholicism (see pp. 64-65 below).

The name **Robert Browne** appears on the list of players who accompanied the Earl of Leicester to the Continent in 1585.³⁶ An actor named Robert Browne is also the leader of the first company who performed publicly, namely in 1592 in Frankfurt am Main (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 51). He has been called the "father of the English Comedians in Germany" (Baesecke 111).³⁷ It is possible that the two are the same person, and that Browne discovered the business options that Continental Europe offered and decided to return with a company of his own a couple of years later.³⁸ In 1595, Browne is recorded as one of Duke Heinrich Julius's players at the court of Wolfenbüttel, together with Thomas Sackville and John Bradstreet. All three appeared in the Lord Admiral's passport of 1591, allowing them safe conduct while traveling (see p. 50 below). He was employed at the court of Kassel in the late 1590s (Herz 14).

³⁶ A Robert Browne is mentioned "more than once" in Henslowe's diary (Schmidle 86).

³⁷ "Vater der E[n]glischen] K[omö]dianten] in Deutschland". See also p. 29 above.

³⁸ "The name of Browne is so common that confusion as to whom we are talking about seems almost inevitable" (Schrickx, "Pickleherring" 135). It may have been the "German" Robert Browne, a former actor of the Worcester's Men, whose family in Shoreditch was wiped out by the plague in 1593 (Schoenbaum 168). See also Brand 32-34 and MacLean, "Leicester and the Evelyns" 491.

Browne left Germany in 1607 and his company was taken over by John Green, who had been "co-manager" before (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 53).³⁹ Browne returned to Germany in 1618 with a new company, advertising plays fresh from the London stage. In the winter of 1619-20 he performed in Prague at the court of Frederick I, the so-called Winter King (Herz 23). Browne died between 1620 and 1622 (Schricks, "Pickleherring" 137).

John Green, to whose company we owe the only recorded performance of a German *Hamlet* in the seventeenth century, is first recorded on the Continent in 1603 (Schricks, *Envoys* 189). He reportedly started out by playing "pretty virgins and women" while he was still part of Browne's company and later took the part of the clown (Herz 25).⁴⁰ By 1607, he was the *Prinzipal* of his own group. For the company's stay at the court in Graz in 1608, see pp. 43-44 below.

In 1616, John Green had joined forces with **Robert Reynolds** to manage the company (Limon 47). Green returned to England in 1620 only to start a new "theater campaign" (Herz 30)⁴¹ on the Continent in 1624 (Schricks, *Envoys* 218). In 1626, the company became "His Highness's the Elector in Saxony's English Comedians, who call themselves Pickelherring's company" (Cohn, "Köln" 266).⁴² Green's company was already acquainted with the Saxon Court, having been in the service of the Elector John George the first in 1617 (Cohn, *Germany* XCV). The six-month stay at the Dresden court in 1626 is meticulously recorded (see p. 74 below). Among other plays, the company performed versions of both *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

³⁹ "Mitdirektor".

⁴⁰ "die feinen Jungfrauen und Weibsen".

⁴¹ "Theaterkampagne".

⁴² "Churf. Drl. in Sachsen Engellendische comedianten, welche sich des bieklingherings compagnia nennen".

Robert Reynolds had probably taken over the leadership of the company, because on 7 March 1626 the company signed in Frankfurt as "Englische Alte Comedianten Johann grünen Compagnie" ("English Old Comedians John Green's Company") which "suggests very strongly that Green must have died shortly before or that the actors' leader was ill at the time" (Schricks, *Envoys* 219).⁴³ Reynolds, who used to be a member of Queen Anne's Men, is definitely recorded as the leader of Green's former company from 1628 onwards (227, 225). After the Thirty Years' War **William Roe** took over the group (Cohn, *Germany* C, CI). It is last mentioned in 1671, when it was "as all other [companies] entirely composed of Germans" (Baesecke 117).⁴⁴

As for the German *Prinzipale* which can be put in relation with *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, **Johannes Velten** (1640-93) came from the Green-Reynolds-Roe company (Baesecke 117). He can be considered one of the most important links between the English Comedians and later German companies. A native of Halle an der Saale, he was the only traveling player with a university degree, having studied in Leipzig and Wittenberg (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 59; Schubart-Fikentscher 19). His company was employed at the court theater in Dresden from 1685 to 1691 (Schubart-Fikentscher 16). Velten has been connected with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* more than once: Johann Christian Spiegelberg, the father-in-law of Conrad Ekhof and probably the penultimate owner of the manuscript of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, founded a company with an actor called Schernitzky, who formerly belonged to Velten's

⁴³ Bärbel Rudin first made this observation (Schindler, "'Englischer Pickelhering'" 85). Reinhold Freudenstein even goes so far as to suggest that there is no proof that this company actually was John Green's (26), with or without their *Prinzipal*.

⁴⁴ "wie alle anderen schließlich ganz aus Deutschen zusammengesetzt".

company (Widmann 17). Additionally, Velten is said to have performed a version of *Hamlet* in Frankfurt am Main in 1686 (see Mentzel 121 and p. 197 below).

Whereas Velten has been associated with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, at least three German companies have a connection to *Romio und Julieta*. The first is that of **Andreas Elenson** (1640/50-c.1706). They performed a version of *Romio und Julieta* in Bevern in 1680 (Zimmermann 139). Elenson followed Velten's style, incorporating French drama into his repertory (Noe XXI). He has been termed "one of the most important representatives" of German theater culture in Northern Germany at the end of the seventeenth century (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 473).⁴⁵

Ernst Hofmann and **Peter Schwarz** founded a company that was to become known as the "Innsbrucker Komödianten" (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 474), because they were employed at the Innsbruck court from 1660 onwards. They worked together with George Jolly's company in 1655 and again in 1657 (Katritzky, "English Troupes" 44). Alfred Noe calls this troupe "the most famous example" (XIX) of a German company.⁴⁶ Helmut G. Asper thinks it likely that Elenson's company was "heir to" the Hofmann-Schwarz company, acquiring some of their playscripts (*Spieltexte* 48).⁴⁷ This company may have been responsible for bringing the manuscript of *Romio und Julieta* to Vienna (see p. 188, fn. 38 below).

Last, but certainly not least, are the Eggenbergische Komödianten, also known as the "Eggenbergische Hofkomödianten" (Schindler, "*Romeo und Julia*" 85) or "Hochfürstlich

⁴⁵ "einer der wichtigsten Vermittler".

⁴⁶ "*bekanntestes Beispiel*".

⁴⁷ "daß die Elensons das Erbe der Hoffmannschen Truppe angetreten haben".

Eggenbergische Hof-Comoedianten" (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 472), led by **Johann Carl Samenhammer**⁴⁸ and **Johann Georg Göttner**. Göttner was *Prinzipal* since 1675; Samenhammer is recorded as *Prinzipal* in 1696. Both were employed at court from 1675 onwards (469, 472). Göttner was also responsible for writing plays himself. He wrote at least six plays (Ludvik 90), was crowned "poeta laureatus" and knighted in 1687 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 470; Zálaha, "Český Krumlov" 51). The company counted ten to eleven members (Ludvik 89). Andreas Elenson was briefly a member in 1676 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 473). There may have been an exchange of repertories, since Elenson's company and the Eggenbergische Komödianten both performed a version of *Romio und Julieta*, in 1680 and 1688 respectively. The latter company played at the court in Český Krumlov (Böhmisch Krumau in German) from 1675 to 1691 (Zálaha, "Český Krumlov" 50-51). When they were dismissed, they became a touring company, which remained active until about 1700 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 470; Ludvik 81). They joined forces again with Elenson in 1693 and 1694 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 476). Yet before their extensive travels, they enjoyed a long period of patronage at court, which the next section will deal with.

1d. Patrons

The English Comedians were usually keen to be under the patronage of a nobleman. Schrickx illustrates the desire to find noble patronage with the example of John Green:

⁴⁸ Alternative spellings are "Sonnenheimer" or "Sonnenhammer" (Ludvik 68).

one of the important incentives for Green in establishing certain circuits in Europe was to enjoy the patronage and financial support of the illustrious house of the Habsburgs whose scions occupied the courts of Brussels, Graz, and Warsaw, at all of which places Green turned up regularly in the course of his itinerant theatrical career. (*Envoy*s 236)

This meant that Green preferred playing in Catholic areas. Additionally, the patronage of the nobility in Poland and Brandenburg helped the actors through the Thirty Years' War (Limon x). Poland in particular "attracted" the players, since the country remained neutral (97). Support, financial or other, could also be obtained from influential families, such as the Fugger family in Augsburg (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 14).

The German nobility had lively relations to Elizabethan England, and Germans frequently visited England. Young gentlemen were sent to London as part of their grand tour (Price 14). For instance, Philip Julius of Pommern-Wolgast traveled to London in 1602 and saw a performance at the Blackfriars (Chambers, *Stage 2*: 46-47). Possibly inspired by what he saw, Philipp Julius had his own company of players in Wolgast by 1606 (Meyer 199; see also p. 33 above). Orlene Murad writes of a "pronounced love of theater" (21) which extended through many parts of Europe. The English Comedians were more than welcome with their German patrons, both for being English and for being comedians.

The time that John Green's company spent at the court of Graz in 1608 is described in the so-called "theater letter" which the Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria wrote to her brother, who later became Emperor Ferdinand II (Morris 12). The young Archduchess was evidently impressed with the performance of the Englishmen, which she praised more than that of the Jesuits' (see p. 12 above), who also contributed to the entertainment. Maria Magdalena stresses the seemliness and decency of the performance, thereby echoing concerns expressed by

town councils, religious authorities, and the players themselves (see pp. 65-67 and 169-71 below): "I cannot tell you, my dear, how pleasurable that was, not the least little bit of love-making in it" (Morris 19).⁴⁹ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the King anxiously enquires about the play to be performed at his court: "What kind of matter is it? There is nothing, I suppose, offensive or rude?" (II.viii.15-16).⁵⁰ In Shakespeare, he asks a similar question, but only once the performance has started and when he has reason to be suspicious: "Haue you heard the argument? is there no offence in't?" (Q2 TLN 2100, III.ii.226-27). Hamlet, like Maria Magdalena,⁵¹ is well acquainted with the company visiting his court and has seen them act before: he even remembers one of the plays performed in Wittenberg and asks them to perform it again.⁵² Like Shakespeare's Hamlet, he instructs Corambus to "treat me these people well" (II.ix.9).⁵³ The English Comedians were fortunate to find a number of patrons who treated them well.

Individual Patrons

In his *Apology for Actors* (1612) Thomas Heywood names several German patrons: "the Duke of *Brounswicke*, and the *Landsgraue* of *Hessen* retaine in their Courts certaine of ours" (Elr), that

⁴⁹ "ich khon E.L. nit schreiben, wie schön sy gewest ist, dann khein pissen von puellerey darin gewest ist" (Morris 14).

⁵⁰ "Was ist es vor eine Materie, es ist ja wohl nicht etwa was Widerwärtiges oder was Unhöfliches?".

⁵¹ Green's company "enjoyed the patronage of various members of Maria Magdalena's family over a number of years" (Morris 16).

⁵² See *BB* II.vii.10-11, 47.

⁵³ "tractiret mir diese Leute wohl". Compare "let them be well vsed" (*Hamlet*, Q2 TLN 1564, II.ii.461-62).

is, English Comedians and "the *German* Princes, the *Palsgraue* [Pfalzgraf = Count Palatine], the *Landsgraue*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, of *Brounswicke*, &c. The Cardinall at *Bruxels* hath at this time in pay, a company of our *English* Comedians" (G3r).⁵⁴ The most important noble patrons will be briefly described here.

Duke **Heinrich Julius** of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1564-1613) was one of the first noblemen in Germany to have a permanent company of players at his court.⁵⁵ He married Princess Elizabeth of Denmark in 1590 and probably saw English Comedians perform in Copenhagen (Cohn, *Germany* XXXIX). Princess Anne of Denmark, the sister-in-law of Heinrich Julius, was married to James VI of Scotland, later James I of England. The Danish-Scottish/English-Saxon connection proved fruitful for the English Comedians (Cohn, *Germany* XXXIX). By 1597, but probably earlier,⁵⁶ Heinrich Julius had hired his own company, including Thomas Sackville and John Bradstreet (Cohn, *Germany* XXXIV). The plays the Duke wrote included parts tailored to Sackville's clown character (see p. 119 below).

Landgrave **Moritz** of Hesse-Kassel (1572-1632), referred to as "the learned",⁵⁷ maintained English actors at his court from 1594 onwards (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* V). The

⁵⁴ Interestingly, Heywood repeatedly uses the formulation "English Comedians". See also p. 28, fn. 9 and pp. 13-14 above.

⁵⁵ A curious sidelight: in Oscar Wilde's "The Portrait of Mr. W. H." the narrator conjectures that the mysterious Mr. W. H., to whom Shakespeare's sonnets seem to be dedicated, was Willie Hughes, an Elizabethan boy actor: "Perhaps he had been one of those English actors who in 1604 went across sea to Germany and played before the Great Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick" (163).

⁵⁶ See also Eckhardt 352-54.

⁵⁷ "Der Gelehrte".

Landgrave wrote a number of plays and acted in his youth (Schlueter, "Kassel" 241). Moritz's company called themselves the "Hessische Comoedianten". They were led by John Green and Robert Browne, and later (in 1608) by Ralph Reeve.⁵⁸ In 1604/05 Moritz built the first theater in Germany, the Ottoneum (see p. 128 below), which English Comedians used until 1613.

In 1609, **Johann Sigismund** (1572-1619), the Elector of Brandenburg, "borrowed" Landgrave Moritz's players for four weeks, for "the festivities which he had arranged in honour of the nuptials of his brother" (Cohn, *Germany* LIX). In 1611, John Spencer was instructed to recruit a new company for the Elector from England or the Netherlands (Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 35). The company stayed with Johann Sigismund until 1613 and was acquitted with a "friendly letter of recommendation" to the Saxon court (36).⁵⁹ There are further records of payments from 1618 and 1619 to English Comedians, including John Spencer under his clown name, "a certain Stockfisch" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 23).

The patrons of the Eggenbergische Komödianten were the Duke of Eggenberg, **Johann Christian** (1649-1710) and his wife Maria Ernestine (1649-1719). The company stayed at their court in Český Krumlov for nearly sixteen years. In 1680 Johann Christian started to build a separate theater building in his castle (see p. 130 below). The German court theater in Český Krumlov was "an institution ... without equals throughout the seventeenth century ... whose supraregional importance was tremendous" (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 471).⁶⁰ When Johann Christian

⁵⁸ "The Kassel company divided in 1607, and Green took his members to Graz where they acted in 1607 and 1608" (G. Adams 2-3). See also Limon 120.

⁵⁹ "freundlicher Empfehlungsbrief".

⁶⁰ "eine Institution, die während des 17. Jahrhunderts ... ohne Vergleich, in ihrer überregionalen Wirkung von enormer Bedeutung ... ist".

held court elsewhere, his company traveled with him, mainly for reasons of prestige (478). He sometimes even "lent" his company to other courts (472).⁶¹ The Duke also allowed his troupe to tour alone, for instance during periods of construction works in the court theater (Záloha, "Česky Krumlov" 51).

Employment Conditions at Court⁶²

If a company was employed at a court for longer periods of time, the players received an "annual salary" (Limon 73), sometimes graded according to the parts they performed (Záloha, "Beziehungen" 532). The salaries of the leading members of the company were equivalent to those of lower clerks (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 479). A member of the Eggenbergische Komödianten, Johann Valentin Petzold, who gained fame as the clown Kilian Brustfleck, was, like Shakespeare, rich enough to buy a house in Český Krumlov (479). In addition to actors' salaries, payments for the construction of scenery and for costumes are recorded. Limon reproduces such records for Königsberg from 1611 to 1612 (72-80), and G. Adams for Landgrave Moritz's court at Cassel, from 1597 and 1598 (58, 60). The services of craftsmen are also mentioned in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, when Hamlet instructs the players:

What you lack in wood you can demand of the court master-builder. If you want anything from the armory or if you have not enough clothes, apply to the keeper of the wardrobe or the steward. We wish you to be provided with everything. (II.vii.60-64)⁶³

⁶¹ "entliehen".

⁶² For a selection of documents regarding the interaction of the English Comedians with noble patrons and city authorities see Brandt and Hogendoorn 17-73.

When Elenson played Romio in Bevern in 1680, Duke Ferdinand Albrecht recorded in his diary that the *Prinzipal* "wore the coat we gave him, with the silver points" (Zimmermann 139).⁶⁴ The Eggenbergische Komödianten in Český Krumlov occasionally received payments to buy shoes, gloves, and sometimes even furs. Their accommodation and board was also funded (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 50; Ludvik 91).⁶⁵

In 1669 Johann Georg II of Saxony employed actors as courtly servants, lackeys, or valets, thereby promoting them to positions offering a relatively high status and salary (Schubart Fikentscher 16). Such practices, or even this actual event, may be alluded to in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, where Carl's company lost one of its actresses, because she "stayed behind with her husband at the court of Saxony" (II.vii.22-23).⁶⁶ It remains unclear whether the husband was an actor or a member of court. The Duke of Eggenberg initially employed Göttner as a scribe (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 470). Browne's contract with the Landgrave Moritz from 1596 stipulated that he was to translate German plays into English and to write new plays, elaborating on given topics (Herz 11). Additionally, his contract demanded that he was to educate young men (both

⁶³ "was euch an Behölung mangelt, könnt ihr von dem Schloßbaumeister fordern: steht euch etwas aus der Rüstkammer an, oder habt ihr nicht Kleider genug so meldet euch bey den Quatrober oder Intendanten an, wir wollen, daß euch alles soll gefolgt werden".

⁶⁴ "hat vnseren ihm geschenckten Rock mit den Silbern spitzen an".

⁶⁵ In Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Theatrical Calling*, a fictional account of an eighteenth-century traveling company's adventures (inspired by that of Caroline Neuber), a prince's secretary promises to pay the company's debts at an inn and to provide for their board and lodging. He additionally promises to contribute to their travel budget and assures the women that they will receive presents in the form of dresses and small trinkets (236). To the players' dismay, these promises are not kept.

⁶⁶ "ist mit ihrem Mann an den Sächsischen Hof geblieben".

natives and foreigners) in the histrionic art (Brand 42; Schrickx, *Envoys* 129). In Bevern, Velten's company was responsible for organizing spectacular fireworks (Zimmermann 151). As this illustrates, the English Comedians' tasks at court were not restricted to entertaining the nobility with their acting skills.

The "theater letter" by Maria Magdalena (see p. 43 above) "leaves the reader in no doubt as to the enthusiasm of the young ladies of the court" (Katritzky, *Women* 268). She writes: "The English players came to two of our masques: they had begged so hard to come and see me and the ladies of the court dance in the foreign style" (Morris 16).⁶⁷ Morris notes "the high esteem in which the English players were held at Graz" (22), since they were allowed to attend such courtly festivities. This "high esteem" was not limited to Graz. For instance, "the King of Poland gave an 'allowance'" to the widow of an English actor (Limon 105).⁶⁸ The Duke of Eggenberg also appreciated his actors: he offered his players presents for weddings or baptisms, and he and his wife were godparents to the actors' children (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 479). The Duke of Bevern enjoyed private conversations with the actors. He "conversed about an hour with [Elenson] in the hall ... after the performance" of *Romio vnd Juliette* (Zimmermann 139).⁶⁹ The Duke's wife entertained the *Prinzipalin* and sometimes her children in her rooms in the castle; the same was the case when Velten's company played in Bevern (Zimmermann 139, 142).

⁶⁷ "die Engenlender sein zu 2 unserer Maschcara khommen, dann sy gar hoch gebeten haben, sy möchten mich und das frauenzimmer gern sehen walsch tanzen" (Morris 13); "walsch ... referring only to the Romance nations" (16).

⁶⁸ The pension was accorded to the widow of "the English actor whose stage name was Pickelhering". This was "almost certainly George Vincent" (Katritzky, "English troupes" 40).

⁶⁹ "Wir redeten bei einer stunde mit ihm auf dem gange ... nach der action".

Patents and Letters of Recommendation

After the performance of the play within the play in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has come to an abrupt end, Hamlet assures the actors:

Comedians, only go hence with this conclusion; though you have not finished playing the matter, and it does not please the King, it has pleased us all the same. Horatio shall satisfy you in my behalf. (II.viii.35-38)⁷⁰

The comedians then ask for a "passport" (39),⁷¹ which is granted to them. This mirrors the historical situation. After Elenson's company had performed a version of *Romeo and Juliet* and other plays in Bevern in August 1680 "they asked us for a passport", which was granted to them (Zimmermann 139).⁷² Duke Johann Christian of Eggenberg issued letters of recommendation for Göttner and Samenhammer, when the Eggenbergische Komödianten dissolved in 1691 (Asper, "Kilian" 25). As in early modern England, an official document from a noble patron considerably facilitated both the journeys and the procedure necessary for obtaining permission to perform in public, since the problems associated with vagabonds were similar to those in England (Brandt and Hogendoorn 20). A traveling passport from 1591 signed by Charles Howard, the High Lord Admiral, is extant. It is written in French and bears the names of "Robert Browne, Jehan Bradstriet [Bradstreet], Thomas Saxfield [Sackville], Richard Jones" (Schrickx, *Envoys* 329). This passport, issued in England, was to help the players to perform on the Continent.

⁷⁰ "Comödianten, gehet nur von hier mit diesem Beschluß, ob ihr zwar die Materie nicht zum Ende gespielt, und es dem König nicht behaget, so hat es uns doch wohlgefallen, Horatio soll euch meinewegen contentiren."

⁷¹ "einen Reisepaß".

⁷² "begehrten einen Pas von vns".

Continental authorities and noblemen also issued such documents. Occasionally, a nobleman directly recommended his players to another court, for instance: "The Elector of Brandenburg recommends to the Elector of Saxony one John Spencer, an English instrumentalist, recommended by Franz Duke of Stettin; he stayed some time at court and his music pleased the Elector very well" (Limon 72).⁷³ In sum, letters of recommendation or "passports" were often essential for both traveling and performing.

Performances at Court

The "theater letter" (see p. 43 above) describes a set of performances during the Shrovetide season at the court of Graz in 1608. It is "one of the few first-hand accounts of Elizabethan actors on the Continent" (Morris 12).⁷⁴

since Candlemas we have had two entertainments every single day, either a performance by the English players followed by a sleigh-ride or again a play by them followed by a masque ... the English players ... arrived on the Wednesday after Candlemas, recovered from their journey on the Thursday, and began on the Friday with *The Prodigal Son* (16, 17-18).⁷⁵

⁷³ Letter from Königsberg, 1609. "Churfurst von Brandenburg empfiehlt an den Churfürsten zu Sachsen Johann Spencer, einen englischen Musikum, den Herzog Franz von Stettin empfohlen, der eine Zeitlang am Hofe sich aufgehalten, und dessen Musica dem Churfürsten ziemlichermassen wohlgefallen" (Bolte qtd. in Limon 166).

⁷⁴ In 1608, the actors should probably not be called "Elizabethan".

⁷⁵ "das mir ein tag und alle tag pey [seit] der liechtmesen 2 Pestel [Vergnügungen ...] gehabt haben, eintweders Ein Comedi von den Engellendern und darnach im schlitten gefahren oder Ein Comedi auch von den Engenlender und darnach ein Maschcara ... die Engellender ... sein am mitwoch nach liehtmesen her khommen, haben sy am pfingstag [Donnerstag] außgerast, am freitag nacher haben sy die Comedi *von dem verlornen sohn* gehabt" (Morris 13; the additions in square brackets are hers).

The players performed a play on each of the six subsequent days, among them "one about the Jew"⁷⁶ as well as *Doctor Faustus* (18). Within thirteen days, the Comedians performed ten plays at the court in Graz, for which they received generous payment (22).

When Elenson's company stayed in Bevern in August 1680, they performed six plays (among them a version of *Romeo and Juliet*) on six consecutive days, the first on the day of their arrival (Zimmermann 137-39). The performance of the play within the play in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* also takes place "this very night" (II.vii.17).⁷⁷ Carl declares that this is not a problem, since they are "numerous enough and well practiced" (19).⁷⁸ As was the case in England (Gurr, *Stage* 124), the companies had a repertory of plays at hand which they could perform at short notice.

Special occasions were always a welcome reason for the English Comedians to perform at a nobleman's estate. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Carl explains that his company "had wished to have the good fortune to act at his Majesty the King's wedding" (II.vii.5-6).⁷⁹ Yet their intention was thwarted by a "contrary wind" (II.vii.7),⁸⁰ and they arrived too late (see also p. 54 below). The diary of the Duke of Bevern shows that "no birthday or saint's day of the princely family went by without it being celebrated with a performance or at least a masquerade"

⁷⁶ "die von dem Juden" (Morris 13).

⁷⁷ "diese Nacht".

⁷⁸ "wir sind stark und exercirt genug".

⁷⁹ "hätten gewünscht, das Glück zu haben, auf Ihre Majestät des Königs Beylager zu agiren".

⁸⁰ "der contraire Wind".

(Zimmermann 129).⁸¹ Some of these performances only took place for a restricted courtly audience. When Elenson's company performed a version of *The Spanish Tragedy* on 23 August 1680, "we watched them alone in the theater hall, with our spouse, three children and the court chaplain" (137).⁸² The same may have been the case when a version of *Romeo and Juliet* was performed four days later. Sometimes the servants and their families were allowed to watch, for instance on the Duke's saint's day (150). In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord (BB)*, as in *Hamlet*, the performance of the play within the play is for an exclusive courtly audience, yet the King's retinue is present (see *BB* II.viii.0 SD).

1e. Public Performances in Cities

Traveling

"a company of our *English* Comedians (well knowne) traueilling those Countryes"

(Heywood G2r)

In England, "[t]he public theatre evolved out of the travelling theatre, and remained intimately connected to" it (Stern, *Rehearsal* 47). The English Comedians in Germany were thus used to traveling. They were able to cover between twenty-five and fifty kilometers per day (Noe XIII). A favorite destination was Frankfurt am Main. The Frankfurt fair, held twice a year (Brand 25), was one of the bigger business opportunities for the English Comedians since it was attended by

⁸¹ "kein Geburts- oder Namenstag in der fürstlichen Familie verging, der nicht durch eine Aufführung oder wenigstens eine Verkleidung gefeiert worden wäre".

⁸² "Wir sahen im Comedien Saal, mit vnser gemahlin, dreien kinderen vnd hoffprediger alleine zu".

people "from all over Europe", also because of the international book fair. Additionally, many of the foreigners "could be expected to understand English" (Schricks, *Envoys* 187).

Traveling in early modern times was a difficult and strenuous undertaking. The harsh Continental winters often made traveling nearly impossible, especially in Central and Eastern Europe (Limon 7). In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the actor Carl complains of "the contrary wind" that hindered the players' journey and they "therefore ask [Hamlet's] leave to still represent a story, so that [they] shall not have made [their] long journey entirely in vain" (II.vii.7-9).⁸³ Complaints about the weather and the hardship of travels were frequently used as arguments in petitions (Limon 48). In 1654, an application to the city of Gdańsk asked to take into account "the wet weather, and the long journey" (Limon 61).⁸⁴ In 1649, an English company had a different approach to their complaints about traveling: they could not travel *back home* because of the "bloody war". In England, "not commendable comedies, but rather tragedies, terrifying to the whole world, are not performed but rather happen in reality". Since they could not return home, they were forced to play on the Continent (Cohn, "Köln" 272).⁸⁵ Their application to the city of Cologne, as well as a subsequent petition for prolongation, was successful.

⁸³ "contraire Wind", "ersuchen also an Ihre Hoheiten, ob wir nicht noch eine Historie vorstellen könnten, damit wir unsere weite Reise nicht gar umsonst möchten gethan haben".

⁸⁴ "cesz masze wetters erhilten ...weite weg" (Limon 147).

⁸⁵ "blutige Krieg ... dass daselbst nicht die löblichen Comoedien, sondern vielmehr Tragödien, die der ganzen Welt erschrecklich sind, nicht gespielt werden, sondern in der That vorgehen".

Records confirm that the English also traveled by boat (Limon 80; Zimmermann 152), as they do in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.⁸⁶ The English Comedians otherwise traveled on foot, on horseback, or with wagons to transport their props and sets. In 1614, Spencer emphasizes that he has "several wagons" with him, containing the "accessories for the accoutrement and great preparations of his comedies" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 45).⁸⁷ An "Imperial letter of safe conduct", issued by the Emperor Ferdinand III in 1650, contains information about travel arrangements. It specifies that "the aforementioned company of English Comedians, together with their people, horses and effects" should be allowed "to pass and pass again at all places, by water and by land, freely, safely and without hindrance" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 22). Some of these "hindrances" may have been provided by city authorities, as the next section details.

Interaction with City Authorities

Whenever they performed publicly in a town, the English Comedians had to ask the authorities for permission to perform (Limon 6), as Eichelin did in Nördlingen in 1604, when he wanted to perform *Romeo vnnndt Julitha* and some other plays (Trautmann, "Rothenburg" 60, 62). Petitions were usually put in writing. When William Roe brought a company from England in 1648, the newly arrived players at first performed without the permission of the city fathers. Having been reminded of the usual procedure, they asked to perform "true chronicles, histories and comedies

⁸⁶ Even in England, the London playing companies may have traveled by water, "conceivably even hiring the one boat to carry them all the way round the coast from port to port" (Gurr, "Baubles" 63).

⁸⁷ "Zugehörungen zur austaffierung und grossen Präparation seiner Comoedien auf mehreren Rüstwäglin".

in all seemliness and respectability in the ball house in St Apostel street, for a small fee" (Cohn, "Köln" 269).⁸⁸ The permission to perform was then granted.

In 1600, when actors played "upon the market" in Leipzig, the town authorities charged the Englishmen a "city fee" (Grabau 311).⁸⁹ Initially, the players simply collected money after performing on a makeshift stage (Limon 120). If an enclosed space was available, an entrance fee was collected, and an additional fee might be charged for a seat or place in the gallery (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 127), much like in London's theaters in Shakespeare's time. Occasionally, the actors had to negotiate entrance fees with the city authorities,⁹⁰ who always demanded their share of the profits.⁹¹ The city council sometimes chose to collect the money itself, as was the case in Augsburg and in Nuremberg in 1628 (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 6).⁹² If the town owned a building that could be used as a theatrical venue (such as a fencing house, a tennis court, an inn or even a cloister),⁹³ then the English could rent the building from the city for a fixed fee (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XIX-XX; Brandt and Hogendoorn 17).

⁸⁸ "warhafte Chronik, Historien und Komödien in aller Zucht und Ehrbarkeit im Ballhause auf St. Apostelnstrasse für eine geringe Gebühr".

⁸⁹ "'Städtegeld' ... 'daß sie den Markt hier gespielt'".

⁹⁰ See, for instance, Cohn, "Köln" 250; Brandt and Hogendoorn 18.

⁹¹ This usually amounted to a quarter of the entrance fees (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 6). Yet for a performance in Nuremberg in 1628 the players received only about half of the box office income (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 132).

⁹² Fleming does not provide a date for Augsburg. The town employees also ensured that order was kept during the performance in Nuremberg (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 134).

⁹³ See Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 117, 119, 126; Brandt and Hogendoorn 25.

The "profusion of different currencies" in seventeenth-century Germany and the ensuing "monetary chaos among the German states ... makes it harder [if not impossible] exactly to assess the precise meaning of sums of money involved in contracts, ticket prices, travel costs etc." (Brandt and Hogendoorn 5). We know that around 1600, the comedians charged two or three kreutzers; in 1618 and 1628, four or six kreutzers are recorded (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 6; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XVIII). Occasionally, there seems to have been the custom of giving soldiers free admission (Trautmann, "Rothenburg" 64).⁹⁴ In Nuremberg in 1593, adolescents were also granted a reduced entrance fee (Brand 31). If a performance was well attended, a company could make up to fifty gulden, "which corresponded to the average yearly income of a valet" (Noe XIII).⁹⁵ Watching the famous English Comedians was a pricey affair. By comparison the local companies only demanded half a kreutzer (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XVIII).⁹⁶

A common component of the negotiations between city and comedians were the *Ratsvorstellungen*, performances given to the city council and their relatives free of charge, like the mayor's rehearsals in England.⁹⁷ These performances served the purpose of censorship, as far as this is possible for a performance (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXII; Noe XII). Possibly, the city fathers were also placated by a free show (Schrickx, *Envoyes* 196-97). Sometimes, the comedians offered a repertory list. That given to the city of Nördlingen in 1604 included *Vonn Romeo vnndt*

⁹⁴ This is recorded for John Spencer's company in Rothenburg in 1613.

⁹⁵ "was dem durchschnittlichen Jahresgehalt eines Kammerdieners entspricht".

⁹⁶ Unfortunately, Wilhelm Creizenach does not provide a date, but he seems to be referring to the first half of the seventeenth century.

⁹⁷ See Katritzky, *Women* 268 and Stern, *Rehearsal* 26-27.

Julitha, as well as nine other plays (Trautmann, "Älteste Nachricht" 626).⁹⁸ Wilhelm Creizenach notes that only a few of these lists are still extant because they were generally handed in on a separate sheet of paper (*Schauspiele* XXIII).

The companies often had to endure additional restrictions, such as being obliged to lodge in the inn(s) of the city they were performing in and to buy their victuals on-site (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 7). They also had to pay alms for the poor or for orphans (Alexander 32; Ludvik 77). Similar payments were levied in London in the 1590s, where the theater owners of Southwark had to pay "*poor rates*" (Ruge 46). In Germany, such additional payments were usually demanded if the English players had been particularly successful (Cohn, "Köln" 265). On one occasion, in Cologne in 1618, when the players failed to pay the required sum, their "Bagage" was retained until they complied (262).

In the first half of the seventeenth century the comedians were usually allowed to play for a week or a fortnight at a time, excluding Sundays. This was often prolonged by another week or two, following a petition from the comedians (Limon 27). From the 1640s onwards, four to six weeks of playing time was the rule (Limon 27-28; Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 12). Another aspect of both applications and city records is the stipulation that the English were to perform nothing "scandalous" or "unseemly" (Cohn, "Köln" 254).⁹⁹ An application from the year 1647 to the city of Gdańsk illustrates this: "it is known ... that many comedies ... seek through useful teaching and stories to show how one can avoid all number of sins, and ... encourage the young to exercise

⁹⁸ Among them was "vonn Thisbes vnndt pyramo" (626).

⁹⁹ 1607. "nicht unhoblich oder schandulois". See also p. 169 below.

honour in their daily lives" (Limon 56-57).¹⁰⁰ Even the off-stage behavior of the actors was taken into account. Ralph Reeve actually "submitted diplomas with [his petitions] as proof that his company had behaved decently in the towns previously visited" (Schricks, *Envoys* 215). In 1643, the city authorities of Gdańsk only accepted a company "on condition that they would behave well and not involve themselves in any wrongdoing. If anything of this kind happens, they will lose their freedom forthwith" (Limon 54).¹⁰¹ In this instance, the players were even threatened with a prison sentence should they misbehave. Such precautions were not taken without cause. Several public disturbances involving English actors are recorded (see p. 67 below).

Publicity

Whenever they played in public, the companies advertised their performances by a procession through the town, dressed in flamboyant costumes and accompanied by trumpets and drums (Noe XI). To advertise performances, playbills (*Theaterzettel*, literally "theater notes") were posted around town (Ludvik 77; Trautmann, "Rothenburg" 62). The few extant playbills inform us that, as in England, public performances took place in the afternoon. A *Theaterzettel* of 1688 advertises "D. JOHANNES FAUSTUS / With excellent Pickelherring merriment". It highlights the production's special effects: "Pluto, floating through the air on a dragon", a "pie" out of which "humans, dogs, cats and other animals emerge" and "[f]inally, hell will be presented,

¹⁰⁰ "Wann dann nun aus allen historiend bekand, das etzlichen Comicis (:welche mit nützlichen Lehren Vnd historien dahin trachten Vnd richten, das man daraus sehe, wie man allerhand Laster meiden, Vnd sich dargegen der Jugend Vnd erbarkeit im Leben Vnd wandel befeissigen soll:)" (Limon 144).

¹⁰¹ "iedoch dasz sie sich erbaulich verhalten v keine leichtfertigkeit vorbringen, das wen solches vermercket würde, solen sie der freyheit vnfehlbar verlustigk sein" (Limon 143).

decorated with beautiful fireworks". The performance "will start *precisely* at 3 o'clock" and prospective spectators are advised to "tell one another" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 203).¹⁰² The main play was to be followed by additional entertainment with dancing and comic elements – like the English jigs (see p. 62 below).

The oldest extant playbill of ca. 1652¹⁰³ is noteworthy, because the title of the play it advertises fits *Romeo and Juliet*, as Cohn also points out (*Germany* XCVIII). The reference to a "right merry Comedy" may contradict this notion (but see p. 179 below). The playbill first introduces the company of players, before focusing on a specific play:

Know everybody that a new Company of Comedians have arrived here / who have never been seen before
in this country / with a right merry Pickelherring / who will act daily / fine Comedies / Tragedies /
Pastorals¹⁰⁴ / and Histories / intermixed with lovely and merry interludes / and today Wednesday the 21st of
April¹⁰⁵ they will present a right merry Comedy / called

Love's Sweetness turns into Death's Bitterness.

After the Comedy will be presented a fine Ballet / and laughable Droll.

¹⁰² "D. JOHANNES FAUSTUS / Mit Vortrefflicher Pickelhärings Lustigkeit ... Pluto auf einen Trachen in der Lufft schwebende ... aus einer Pastete Menschen, Hunde, Katzen und andere Thiere hervorkommen ... Zuletzt wird die Hölle mit schönen Feuerwercken außgezieret, präsentiret werden. ... Wird *praecise* umb 3. Uhr angefangen. Einer sage es dem andern".

¹⁰³ Cohn and others erroneously date it to 1628. The exact date and any connection to an actual English company remain uncertain, but it nevertheless counts as the oldest extant *Theaterzettel* (Kurz and Rudin 31-34). Trautmann associates Hans Mühlgraf, a German *Prinzipal*, with it ("Nürnberg" 136).

¹⁰⁴ "Pastorellen" is glossed as "Schäffereyen" because the German people might have been unfamiliar with the term.

¹⁰⁵ The date (at least the number) seems to have been added at a later stage, as is visible in the facsimile printed in Cohn, *Germany*. Some playbills included hand-written additions (see facsimile in Kurz and Rudin 36). See appendix 6, figure 5 for a *Theaterzettel* from 2011, imitating these conventions.

The Lovers of such plays should make their appearance at the Fencing-house in the afternoon at 2 o'clock / where [the play] will begin at the appointed hour *precisely*. (adapted from Cohn, *Germany* plate ii)¹⁰⁶

The wording suggests that playbills were posted on the day of the performance ("today"). The insistence on punctuality could imply that the spectators needed to be reminded to arrive on time or that late arrivals were considered disruptive.

Performances and Audiences

Exact records of audience sizes are hard to come by, but Limon provides some numbers, ranging from "[t]he lowest attendance" at Brunswick in 1614, where "an unidentified English player had no spectators at all"¹⁰⁷ to 3000 in Nuremberg in 1628 (27). This was on the occasion of "the grand opening of the public theatre". During their eight performances for this event, the players had an average of 1600 spectators for each (27). If a performance in Nuremberg in 1612 can be taken as representative, the audience composition was mixed: "there was a great attendance of old and young people, of men and women" (Trautmann, "Nürnberg" 127).¹⁰⁸ In the 1590s,

¹⁰⁶ "Zu wissen sey jederman daß allhier ankommen eine gantz neue Compagni Comoedianten / so niemals zuvor hier zu Land gesehen / mit einem sehr lustigen Pickelhering / welche täglich agirn werden / schöne Comoedien / Tragoedien / Pastorellen / (Schäffereyen) vnd Historien / vermengt mit lieblichen vnd lustigen interludien / vnd zwar heut Mittwochs den 21. Aprilis werden sie praesentirn eine sehr lustige Comoedi / genant. Die Liebes Süßigkeit verändert sich in Todes Bitterkeit. Nach der Comoedi soll praesentirt werden ein schön Ballet / vnd lächerliches Possenspiel. Die Liebhaber solcher Schauspiele wollen sich nach Mittags Glock 2. Einstellen vffm Fechthaus / allda vmb die bestimbte Zeit *praecise* soll angefangen werden." The slashes are in the original. "Glock" is not found in Grimm. It may either be an Anglicism or refer to the sounding of bells ("Glocken"; see Hirrel 166).

¹⁰⁷ The city council took pity on him and gave him "an indemnity of one thaler" (Limon 27).

¹⁰⁸ "dahin ein groß Zulauffen von Alten vnd Jungen, von Man vnd weibs Personen".

Moryson reports that "both men and wemen" were eager to see the English Comedians perform (C. Hughes 304).

Performances in public were generally given in the afternoon, as the extant playbills illustrate (but see p. 138, fn. 35 below). When *Romio vnd Juliette* was performed at court in Bevern in 1680 the performance took place at "two o'clock" (Zimmermann 139).¹⁰⁹ Schrickx cites a diary entry from 1597, where a performance in Strasbourg lasted "from one to four o'clock in the afternoon" (*Envoys* 197). At court, performances could also begin later, since daylight was not necessarily required. The "theater letter" tells us that after a Jesuit's play "we ... had dinner at five o'clock and the English players gave another play" (Morris 19).¹¹⁰ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Hamlet asks the players whether they can "present ... a comedy this very night?" (II.vii.17).¹¹¹ While public performances generally took place in the afternoon, at court they might also begin in the evening.

Three hours seems to have been the average length of a performance. We here have to rely on evidence of performances at court. When *Romio vnd Juliette* was performed in Bevern in 1680, the entertainment lasted three hours, including a postlude of the "comical peasant wedding" (Zimmermann 139).¹¹² The performances often presented a play of serious content followed by a farce or *Singspiel* (a jig) as the playbills illustrate (see pp. 59-61 above). Even the plays performed in schools conformed to the custom of presenting a comic "dessert" (Flemming,

¹⁰⁹ "Vmb 2 Vhr".

¹¹⁰ "umb 5 sein mir nacher ... zu dem essen gangen und haben die Engellender wider ein Comedi gehalten" (Morris 14).

¹¹¹ "diese Nacht eine Comödie präsentiren?".

¹¹² "Possirliche baweren-hochzeit". See also Schrickx, *Envoys* 197.

Barockkomödie 23).¹¹³ Alternatively, a ballet was performed after the main entertainment. This is the case in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: "There is to be held for you before supper a comedy by the Germans and after the meal a ballet by our own people" (II.viii.2-4).¹¹⁴ When Green's company performed in Graz in 1608, the entertainments were also two-fold (Morris 13).

The duration of the entertainments in Bevern leads Asper to conclude that the texts must have been severely cut or that the delivery must have been quite fast-paced (*Spieltexte* 44).¹¹⁵ The text of *Romio und Julieta* is indeed shorter than the Shakespearean original. A satirical poem about the Frankfurt fair suggests that a public performance may have lasted up to four hours (see p. 66 below). Of course, the poet might merely have been exaggerating to make his point. Indeed, "four" could also mean "a few".¹¹⁶ Yet according to Michael J. Hirrel, in early modern London "[t]he time available for theatrical events could, and regularly did, approach four hours" (181). This time slot also included other, "incidental forms of entertainment" (160), such as jigs, music, or acrobatics (176). Additional entertainment was also common in early modern Germany, although the duration of the entire entertainment seems to have been around three hours.

¹¹³ "Nachtisch".

¹¹⁴ "es soll vor der Abendtafel Ihr von den Teutschen eine Komödie und nach der Tafel von unsern Landskindern ein Ballet gehalten werden". See also note to *BB* II.viii.2-4.

¹¹⁵ In England, the speed of delivery may have been higher in early modern times than it is today (Erne, *Literary Dramatist* 140).

¹¹⁶ "four appears as a typical number for a small group" (Grimm, "vier erscheint ... als typische zahl für eine kleinere gruppe"). The same was true in early modern English: four was "not necessarily a precise figure: *four* could be used to mean 'several'" (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 249).

The performance duration of the plays themselves can, to a certain extent, be deduced from the length of the texts. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is quite a short play, with only about 11,000 words, as opposed to the 34,000 words of the Second Quarto (Q2) of *Hamlet*. *Romio und Julieta* is about 18,000 words long, that is, roughly thirty percent shorter than the Second Quarto (Q2) of *Romeo and Juliet*, with approximately 27,000 words; the First Quarto (Q1) being about twenty percent shorter than Q2 (Levenson 103), with approximately 22,000 words. A performance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* takes about one and a half hours,¹¹⁷ so *Romio und Julieta* might actually have taken the "two houres trafficque of our Stage" (*Romeo and Juliet*, Q2 A2r, 0.12).¹¹⁸

Religion and Antitheatricality

Especially during the Thirty Years' War, matters of religion were of vital importance for the itinerant players. The actors "were both able and obliged to move among faiths as freely as among cities, languages and cultures" (Bosman, "Intertheater" 577). The most spectacular instance of English Comedians "moving freely among faiths" is the conversion of twenty-four people in Cologne in 1615. John Spencer converted to Catholicism not only with wife and children, but with his entire company (Cohn, "Köln" 260). Father Franciscus Nugent, a Capuchin,¹¹⁹ was credited with this miraculous conversion, having instructed the players in the

¹¹⁷ This was the case for Schmidle's production in 2010 (see p. 200 below), as well as for a performance in Heidelberg in 1920 (Stahl, "BB" 158).

¹¹⁸ See also Erne, *Literary Dramatist* 147, 192.

¹¹⁹ The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has an entry for "Nugent, Lavalin [*name in religion* Francis] (1569–1635), Capuchin friar". He was, however, not an Englishman as Cohn suspects, but an Irishman who traveled

Catholic faith. After this *coup de théâtre*, Spencer was made a citizen of Cologne and his company was allowed to play "instructive and edifying plays" during the Carnival period, as long as he remained constant to the "true Catholic faith" (Cohn, "Köln" 260-61).¹²⁰

Der Bestrafte Brudermord contains a few explicit references to religious or rather denominational matters, for instance, the Queen says: "Had I not taken in marriage my brother-in-law, my former husband's brother, I would not have maneuvered the crown of Denmark out of my son's hand. ... Had not the pope allowed me such marriage, it would never have happened" (III.vi.13-15, 17-18).¹²¹ This not only provides a clear distinction to Hamlet's connections with Wittenberg, but also implies that at least parts of the German *Hamlet* were written with an anti-Catholic audience in mind.¹²²

As was the case in England, the actors could not always avoid conflicts with the religious authorities. One example of a virulent antitheatrical dispute is recorded in an extensive exchange of letters. Duke Philipp Julius of Pommern had called a company of about twenty English Comedians to his court in Wolgast and apparently treated them "much better" than "according to their desert" (*Hamlet*, Q2 TLN 1568, 1570, II.ii.465-67). In 1606 they were accommodated in

to France and Belgium in the early seventeenth century. "[I]n August 1610 he was sent to make a Capuchin foundation on the lower Rhine. Cologne was the first site." He left the Rhineland again in 1615 (Fennessy).

¹²⁰ "lehrsame und erbauliche Stücke", "so lange er bei dem wahren katholischen Glauben beständig verbleibt".

¹²¹ "Hätte ich meinen Schwager, meines vorigen Gemahls Bruder, nicht zu der Ehe genommen, so hätte ich meinem [Sohn] nicht die Krone Dännemark aus der Hand gespielt. ... Hätte mir der Pabst solche Ehe nicht erlaubt: so wäre es auch nimmer geschehen".

¹²² Other instances in the play support this: see notes at II.iv.16-18 and III.ii.6, and note to German text at III.xi.9. See also Schmidle 36.

the princely lodgings at great cost (Meyer 199). The actors were to perform at the castle church in Loitz. The court chaplain Hagius vehemently objected to this, especially since the performances were in English, a language which he did not understand (see p. 150 below). He attacked the "Papist, Calvinist and Zwinglian" "foreigners" (202, 203).¹²³ Reportedly ("because I, thank God, did not see it myself"), they presented "all kinds of unseemly, troublesome and entirely unchristian things". Their music was "worldly and incited carnal lust" (204).¹²⁴ Apart from the language problem, the antitheatrical arguments were similar to those in England.

An extract from the poem "A discourse of the Frankfurt fair and its diverse merchants, good and bad" (1615) seems to support the antitheatrical fears of the religious authorities:

The English Comedians

Have more people than the preachers

They rather stand there for four hours, listening

Than to go to church for one hour, where with ease

They quickly fall asleep on the hard bench (qtd. in Cohn, *Germany* XC)¹²⁵

To protect people from such temptations, care was usually taken that the English Comedians' performances were not scheduled at the same time as religious services (Creizenach, *Schauspiele*

¹²³ "die Calvinischen und Bebstischen Auslender", "Bebstisch, Calvinisch vnd Zwinglisch". Limon translates "Bebstisch" by "Baptist" (83), but it more likely means "Papist" (see also Rudin, "Klientilismus").

¹²⁴ "denn ich es, Gotlob selber nicht gesehen ... allerlei unzüchtige, ergerliche vnd ganz vnchristliche Ding vorgebracht ... Ire weltliche vnd zu fleischlicher wollust angerichte Music".

¹²⁵ My translation. "Die Englische Comedianten / Haben mehr Leuht den Predicanten / Da lieber 4. stund stehn hören zu / Dan ein in die Kirch, da sie mit Ruh / Flux einschlaffen auff ein hart banck" ("Ein Discurs von der Frankfurter Messe, vnd jhrer vnderschiedlichen Kauffleuten gut vnd boss").

XXIII). Often, performances were prohibited altogether on Sundays and holidays, in both Catholic and Protestant regions (Marti 14).

Apart from such religion-based accusations, traveling players were generally held in low esteem (Schubart-Fikentscher 17), as was the case in England. Antitheatrical sentiments were strengthened by several records of English players causing nuisances or uproar by indecorous behavior. Especially George Jolly is recorded as "hot-tempered and violent" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 15).¹²⁶ In 1655 he wounded Christoph Blümel, one of his main actors, and in 1660 he was banned from the city of Nuremberg for a similar incident (Alexander 31-32). Two years later Blümel himself was imprisoned for "fornication" with the daughter of an innkeeper (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 15).¹²⁷ Moryson refers to similar disreputable amorous adventures: "many young virgines fell in loue with some of the players, and followed them from citty to citty till the magistrates were forced to forbid them to play any more" (qtd. in Limon 2).¹²⁸ To forestall any disturbances, the University of Halle addressed multiple applications to the town authorities shortly after its foundation in 1694, asking them not to allow actors into the city (Schubart-Fikentscher 32). According to Flemming, the introduction of actresses did not help to improve the reputation of the players (*Wanderbühne* 15).

This chapter has given an overview of the conditions in which the English Comedians lived and worked. The English companies not only brought Shakespeare to Germany, but also helped to found the German national theater. Among their accomplishments are several

¹²⁶ "jähzorni[g] und brutal".

¹²⁷ "Unzucht".

¹²⁸ Limon cites the 1925 edition of Charles Hughes's book, which I have not been able to get hold of. The passage is also quoted in Katritzky, *Women* 269.

performances of versions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* throughout the seventeenth century.

The itinerant players helped to shape the texts, and their journeys and experiences are to a certain extent still reflected in the playtexts themselves.

CHAPTER 2

PLAYS OF THE *WANDERBÜHNE*

"[S]i l'on aime vraiment les textes, on doit bien souhaiter, de temps en temps, en aimer (au moins) deux à la fois."

(Genette 557)¹

From the large repertories of the numerous companies of English Comedians some playtexts are still extant, whereas other plays are only mentioned in repertory lists or playbills. This chapter gives an overview of the texts that are relevant when studying Shakespeare on the German *Wanderbühne* and more particularly *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. It presents the most important playtexts and their relevant dates (regarding printed editions, recorded performances, and entries in repertories), as well as modern editions and translations, and critical work on the subject. The relationship of the German plays to Shakespeare's texts and other English Renaissance literature is also analyzed. It should be emphasized that most of these texts are not (at least not primarily) readerly texts, and that the large majority of them were never intended as such. We are not dealing with literary masterpieces that can be set side by side with the Shakespeare canon,² but with theatrical texts that were by-products of stage productions. The

¹ "One who really loves texts must wish from time to time to love (at least) two together" (qtd. in Sanders, prefatory material).

² Simon Williams epitomizes the offended Shakespearean scholar when he complains: "It is difficult, to be quite honest, to summon up great enthusiasm for the early German adaptations of Shakespeare" (37). I will aim to supply some of this missing enthusiasm.

aim of the English Comedians was by no means the "arbitrary destruction of literary forms" but rather to create plays for the theater (Baesecke 19).³

Most of these texts originated post- and not pre-performance. This theatrical context should be kept in mind while analyzing the texts.⁴ Creizenach summarizes: "It was not the English dramatic poetry which influenced German poets, but the English art of acting which influenced the German theater" (*Schauspiele* I).⁵ The English Comedians left few traces in German literature, but they entirely reshaped the German theatrical tradition (see p. 12 above). In addition, the instability of the early modern dramatic text has been widely acknowledged in recent scholarship.⁶ These findings should be kept in mind when approaching the early German playtexts.

³ "daß es sich bei den Komödiantenstücken nicht nur um willkürliche Zerstörung literarischer Formen, sondern um Theaterstücke handelte". See also Schmidle 24.

⁴ The strong dichotomy between literary and theatrical texts has been put into question, especially for Q1 *Hamlet*, by Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, on the basis of commonplace markers in printed playtexts. They advocate that Shakespeare's contemporaries saw no "contradiction between the literary status of plays and their theatricality" (409). Early modern readers conferred literary status upon theatrical drama by marking commonplaces in the playtexts (414). Petersen also notes that "it is highly unprofitable to insist on a segregation ... of the literary and the oral dimension of composition" (xvii).

⁵ "Es wirkte nicht die englische dramatische Poesie auf die deutschen Dichter, sondern die englische Schauspielkunst auf das deutsche Theater."

⁶ To give but one recent example: James Purkis speaks of the "fluid textual condition of the early modern dramatic text" (qtd. in Kidnie, *Problem of Adaptation* 152).

2a. Historical Overview

Cohn proudly states that "the Germans became acquainted with the greatest masterpieces of Shakespeare through the medium of the stage, nearly a century and a half before any other nation" (*Germany* LXXVI).⁷ Actually, on the seventeenth-century German *Wanderbühne* very few plays were "original German creations" but were rather "directly or indirectly derived from English, French, Dutch, Italian or Spanish sources" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 9).⁸ This means that seventeenth-century German drama was not a continuation of German sixteenth-century literature but instead incorporated many foreign impulses (Ketelsen 221). To a certain extent, a similar break occurred in the next century, when the author and theater critic Johann Christoph Gottsched, supported by the *Prinzipalin* Caroline Neuber, advocated a clear cut with the past German tradition and turned towards French examples (Baesecke 152, 154; Koberstein 171).

Creizenach believes that after 1612 (when Shakespeare is generally believed to have retired from the theater) few new English plays were added to the repertory of the *Wanderbühne* (*Schauspiele* LXIII). Yet Baesecke argues that the famous 1626 Dresden repertory is "richer and different"⁹ in comparison to the previous ones (106). She sees a turning point here, when any connection to the old religiously grounded German drama disappears and the "entertainment purpose" of the *Wanderbühne* takes over (106).¹⁰ The *Weimarer Verzeichnis*,¹¹ the largest extant

⁷ This is only partly true; see p. 28, fn. 7 above.

⁸ Most of Shakespeare's plays could of course not be termed "original creations" either.

⁹ "reichhaltiger und anders".

¹⁰ "Unterhaltungszweck".

¹¹ This "Index from Weimar" contains a total of 160 plays. It was most likely written down by a citizen of Nuremberg, possibly Johann Wilt, whose name appears in another part of the manuscript. Its *terminus ad quem* is 1710. It was discovered in a library in Weimar, hence the name (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 142).

list of plays from the period, also suggests that the English influence was still present at the end of the seventeenth century (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 143).

Yet, in the second half of the seventeenth century, audiences, especially courtly and bourgeois audiences, preferred French plays. Whereas Shakespeare was the major contributor to repertories in the first half of the century, Molière took over in the second half. Yet his interludes were usually preferred to the full-scale plays (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 58, 17). In the 1670s and 1680s, many *Prinzipale*, such as Elenson and Velten, incorporated French plays into their repertories. They were easily available in print, either in the original version or in Dutch translations (Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 27). However, as Flemming notes, the French material was used "for German purposes" in a way that had nothing of the submissiveness of the eager student that was prevalent in the eighteenth century (*Barockkomödie* 29).¹² In the seventeenth century, when adapting foreign material, the German writers used the theatrical know-how they had acquired from the English Comedians. In sum, Shakespeare's guest appearance on the German stage ended roughly a century after it began. The Germans were to re-discover his works in print a few decades later.

2b. Repertories

Before moving on to the texts themselves, a note on repertories may be of use. The number of plays in the repertory of a given company varied. Eichelin had ten plays on offer in 1604 in Nördlingen (Trautmann, "Älteste Nachricht" 626). In 1626, Green's company proposed nearly thirty plays at the Dresden court. Velten "impressed the Elector Palatine" with eighty-seven plays

¹² "des Deutschen ... Zwecke".

(including the *Possen*, that is, farces) in 1679 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 480).¹³ In *Peter Squentz*, twelve plays are offered to the royal audience (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 19-20).

The titles of plays were slippery entities. "Even when printed notices were used, the play so announced was not always identified by its name – if it had a name – but more often by a capsule synopsis of the action that was to be shown" (Murad 27-28). Plays were often merely "described as plays 'about' this and that" (28). When Hamlet wants Carl's company to perform a particular play in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the two men require some time to find out which play Hamlet has in mind:

HAMLET ... you acted a matter in Wittenberg about the King Pir, pir – it pirs so.
 CARL Ah, it is perhaps about the great king Pyrro?
 HAMLET So I think, but I do not actually know it.
 CARL If your Highness will only name some characters or would report something of the
 content.
 HAMLET It was thus that one brother murdered the other in the garden.
 CARL Then it will be this matter. Does not the king's brother pour a poison into the king's ear?
 HAMLET Right, right, it is the very same one (II.vii.47-56)¹⁴

The adaptive practices of refashioning an old play into something that sounds new were of course also current in Shakespeare's England. All of the above does not make it easier to trace early modern English plays on the German stage.

¹³ "imponierte dem pfälzischen Kurfürsten".

¹⁴ "HAMLET ... ihr agirtet dazumahlen eine Materie in Wittenberg von dem König Pir Pir – es pirt sich so. / CARL Ach es wird vielleicht von dem grossen König Pyrro seyn? / HAMLET Mich dünkt es, doch weiß ich es eigentlich nicht. / CARL Wenn Ihro Hoheit nur noch etliche Personen nennen, oder etwas von dem Inhalt melden wollten. / HAMLET Es war so, daß ein Bruder den andern im Garten ermordet. / CARL So wird es doch diese Materie seyn. Gießt des Königs Bruder nicht dem Könige einen Gift in das Ohr? / HAMLET Recht, recht, eben dieselbe ist es".

The (un)reliability of repertory lists is suggested by *Peter Squentz*, where the Prince knows that from the long list of plays which the *Prinzipal* presents to him, the company is in fact only able to perform the last play (Act II, Gryphius, *Squentz* 20-23; see also pp. 89-90 below). Detailed repertory lists from different performances throughout the seventeenth century are reprinted in Emil Herz (65-70) and Creizenach (*Schauspiele* XXVII-XXXI). The first extant repertory list from the seventeenth century dates from 1604, and the last from 1685.¹⁵ To conclude this section, I will provide what is possibly the most famous repertory of the time, the list of thirty plays which Green's company performed in Dresden between 31 May and 4 December 1626, eleven of which were performed twice. Both a version of *Hamlet* and one of *Romeo and Juliet* figure prominently among them.

Comedy of the Duke of Mantua and the Duke of Verona (performed twice), *Comedy of Christabella*, *Tragedy of Romeo and Julietta* (twice), *Comedy of Amphitrione*, *Tragicomedy of the Duke of Florence* (twice), *Comedy of the King of Spain and the Viceroy in Portugal* (twice), *Tragedy of Julio Cesare*, *Comedy of Crysella*, *Comedy of the Duke of Ferrara* (twice), *Tragicomedy of Somebody and Nobody*, *Tragicomedy of the King of Denmark and the King in Sweden*, *Tragedy of Hamlet a Prince in Denmark*, *Comedy of Orlando Furioso*, *Comedy of the King in England and the King in Scotland* (twice), *Tragedy of Hieronymo Marshall in Spain*, *Tragicomedy of Hamann and the Queen Ester*, *Tragedy of the Martyr Dorothea* (twice), *Tragedy of Dr. Faust*, *Tragicomedy of the King in Arragona*, *Tragedy of Fortunato*, *Comedy of Josepho Jew of Venice* (twice), *Tragicomedy of the Dexterous Thief* (twice), *Tragicomedy of a Duke of Venice*, *Tragedy of Barrabas*, *Jew of Malta* (twice), *Tragicomedy of the Old Proculo* (twice), *Tragedy of Lear, King of England*, *Tragicomedy of the Godfather*, *Comedy of the Lost Son*, *Comedy of the Count of Angiers*, *Tragedy of the Rich Man*¹⁶ (see Cohn, *Germany* CXV-CXVI)

¹⁵ The *Weimarer Verzeichnis* is a late addition (see pp. 71-72 above).

¹⁶ *Comoedia von Hertzogk von Mantua vnd den Hertzogk von Verona*, *Comedia von der Christabella*, *Tragoedia von Romeo vnd Julietta*, *Comoedia von Amphitrione*, *Tragicomoedia von Hertzogk von Florentz*, *Comoedia vom König in Spanien vnd den Vice Roy in Portugall*, *Tragoedia von Julio Cesare*, *Comoedia von der Crysella*,

Among the thirty play titles we find five that most likely refer to plays by Shakespeare.¹⁷ These and others will now be analyzed in more detail.

2c. Extant Shakespeare Adaptations¹⁸

The texts of six German *Wanderbühne* plays based on Shakespeare survive: *Eine sehr klägliche Tragödia von Tito Andronico* (A Very Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico, an early *Titus Andronicus*); *Das Wohlgesprochene Uhrtheil, oder Der Jud von Venedig* (The Well-Spoken

Comoedia vom Hertzog von Ferrara, Tragicomedia von Jemandt vnd Niemandt, Tragicomoedia von König in Dennemark vnd den König in Schweden, Tragoedia von Hamlet einen printzen in Dennemarck, Comoedia von Orlando Furioso, Comoedia von den Koenig in Engelandt vnd den Koenig in Schottlandt, Tragoedia von Hieronymo Marschall in Spanien, Tragicomoedia von dem Hamann vndt der Koenigin Ester, Tragoedia von der Mürtherin Dorothea, Tragoedia von Dr. Faust, Tragicomoedia von einem König in Arragona, Tragoedia von Fortunato, Comoedia von Josepho Juden von Venedigk, Tragicomoedia von den behendigen Dieb, Tragicomoedia von einem Hertzogk von Venedig, Tragoedia von Barrabas, Juden von Malta, Tragicomoedia von dem alten proculo, Tragoedia von Lear, König in Engelandt, Tragicomoedia von Gevatter, Comoedia von verlohren Sohn, Comoedia von den Graffen von Angiers, Tragoedia vom reichen Mann.

¹⁷ Max J. Wolff deduces that the company must have had connections to the Globe and its repertory (103). Schrickx credits the actor Robert Browne with bringing such playtexts to the Continent. However, he notes, "Browne belonged to ... the Admiral's men, who were the rivals of the Chamberlain's men, Shakespeare's company, which explains the comparative paucity of Shakespearian plays in the repertoires that have survived in continental archives" ("Wolfenbüttel" 160). See also p. 123 below.

¹⁸ The following sections are partly indebted to Creizenach, who gives an extensive and detailed list of repertoires, plays, and authors (*Schauspiele* XXVII-LIX); I retain only those entries from Creizenach's list which seem plausible. See appendix 5 for an overview.

Judgment or the Jew of Venice, based on *The Merchant of Venice*);¹⁹ Andreas Gryphius's *Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz* (*Absurda Comica or Mister Peter Squentz*, featuring the *Pyramus and Thisbe* sequence from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*); *Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen* (*The Art of all Arts to Make a Wicked Wife Good*, based on *The Taming of the Shrew*); *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*; and *Romio und Julieta*. Additionally, a plot summary (or "argument") of a performance of *King Lear* has been preserved.

Another seven Shakespearean plays appear in performance records or repertory lists. There are, for instance, a few references to *The Comedy of Errors*. It has a twin in Jakob Ayrer's *Comedia von zweyen Brüdern auss Syracusa, die lang einander nicht gesehen hetten vnnd aber von Gestalt vnd Person einander so ehnlich wahren, das man allenthalben einen vor den andern ansahe*, printed in 1618 (Asper, *Hanswurst* 381, *Comedy of Two Brothers from Syracusa, Who had not Seen Each Other for a Long Time but were so Similar in Stature and Personality that One was Constantly Taken for the Other*). However, this play was not based on Shakespeare's comedy, since Ayrer had no knowledge of Shakespeare's plays (von Leixner 285). A performance of a play "of the four identical brothers" took place in Dresden in 1660 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXV, "von den 4 gleichen Brüdern"). A play that was most probably based on Shakespeare, entitled *Wunderliche Verwirrung, entstanden von zween gleichen Persohnen vnd deren Dieneren* (*Wonderful Confusion Resulting from Two Same Persons and their Servants*) was performed by Velten's company in Bevern on 12 October 1680 (Zimmermann 147). The extant list of characters closely resembles Shakespeare's *dramatis personae*: the Duke of Ephesus, "Antiphotus of Syracusa", "Antiphot[us] of Epheso", the corresponding Dromios, a merchant, Adriana, Luciana, Angelo, a goldsmith, "Cortisana", a jailer, "D. Pintsch", an

¹⁹ Two slightly different manuscripts of this play are extant; see p. 84 below.

"abbess", and an executioner (Zimmermann 147).²⁰ These details can be found in Duke Ferdinand Albrecht's diary, where he further notes that "Antiphotos" was a "twin and quite like his brother in his clothes and beard, as well as his hair and face" (147).²¹ Finally, a play called *Die 2 einander gleich sehente Brüder* (*The 2 Brothers that Looked Alike*) features in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 151).

Julius Caesar must have been quite popular. Although no playtext is extant, there are numerous recorded performances: 1626 and 1631 in Dresden, 1627 in Torgau,²² 1651 in Prague,²³ and 1660 in Güstrow²⁴ and Lüneburg²⁵ (Herz 67-68). There is a lengthy entry in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis* of a play called: *Der 1. römische keiser Julius Cesar wie derselbe von seinen besten freunden Cassio und brutto mit 23 tödtlichen wunden hingerichtet wird* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 149, *The 1. Roman Emperor Julius Cesar, how He is Executed by his Best Friends Cassio and Brutto, with 23 Deadly Wounds*).

The only recorded event that can be related to *Othello* is a performance of a *Tragicomoedia vom Mohren zu Venedig* (*Tragicomedy of the Moor of Venice*) at the Carnival in Dresden in 1661 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIII). Creizenach points out that "tragicomedy"

²⁰ "Antiphotos von Syracusa ... Antiphoto von Epheso ... Abbtissin".

²¹ "Zwilling vnd gantz ähnlich seinem Bruder in habit vnd bart auch Haaren und gesicht".

²² *Die Tragikomödie von Julio Caesare* (Herz 67, *The Tragicomedy of Julio Caesare*).

²³ *Von Julio Caesare, dem ersten erwählten römischen Kaiser* (Herz 68, *Of Julio Caesare, the First Elected Roman Emperor*).

²⁴ *Die Tragoedia von Cajo Julio Caesare* (Herz 68, *The Tragedy of Cajo Julio Caesare*).

²⁵ *Vom Romischen Kayser Julio Caesare, wie er auf dem Rathause zu Rom erstochen wirt* (Herz 68, *Of the Roman Emperor Julio Caesare, how he was Stabbed in the City Hall of Rome*).

need not imply a happy ending, since other plays with a "bloody ending" also bore this designation (*Schauspiele* XLIII).²⁶

To conclude the list: there was a performance of *Timon of Athens* in 1671 in Thorn by school children (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 62). Velten had a version of *Richard III* in his repertory when playing in Bevern in 1680: *Der Englische Erbes Rebell, Haupt-Tagicomædia* (Zimmermann 147, *The English Heir Rebel, Main Tragicomedy*). The list of actors and characters includes "King Edoardus of England", "Richardus, his finally recognized son; the intrigues were all his", "Edmond, Duke of Glocester" and "Elisabeth, the daughter of the King".²⁷ An operatic version of *The Winter's Tale* may be behind an entry in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis* *Die glücklich wider erlangte Hermione, singent* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 149, *The Happily Regained Hermione, Singing*), which Johannes Meissner dates to 1695. Finally, a *Tragikomödie vom Ritter Arsidos (Tragicomedy of the Knight Arsidos)*, which was performed in Dresden in 1650, may be related to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIV).

For the two plays edited in this thesis – *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and *Romio und Julieta* – a detailed comparison to the respective Shakespearean texts, as well as their textual histories, can be found in Chapter 4. I will now focus on the remaining extant German Shakespeare adaptations of the seventeenth century, in roughly chronological order.

²⁶ "blutigem Ausgang".

²⁷ "König Edoardus aus Engeland ... Richardus sein zu letzt erkanter Sohn, davon alle die Intrigues ... Edmond Hertzog von Glocester ... Elisabeth des Königes tochter".

Titus Andronicus

The first Shakespearean adaptation to be printed in Germany was *Eine sehr klägliche Tragoedia von Tito Andronico, und der hoffertigen Kayserin, darinnen denckwürdige actiones zu befinden* (Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* 1: 369, *A most Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico and the Haughty Empress, Wherein are Found Memorable Events*),²⁸ in the collection of 1620 (see pp. 99-103 below). Performances are recorded for 1666 in Lüneburg – with puppets – and for 1699, probably in Linz (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 12-13).²⁹ For the first performance, there is no hint as to which text might have been used. Regarding the 1699 performance, Creizenach suggests that the surviving plot summary³⁰ points towards the Dutch version *Aran en Titus* by Jan Vos³¹ – and not the German 1620-text. *The abominable Tragœdia and true Historia, entitled the Famous Roman General Titus Andronicus and the Cruel Tyrant Aran, General of the Gothic Moors*³² was

²⁸ Translation adapted from Cohn, *Germany* 160. The play is printed in German and English in Cohn (*Germany* 157-236), in German in Creizenach (*Schauspiele* 17-52) and in Marti (360-95), and in English in Brennecke (18-51).

²⁹ According to Asper this performance was by the Eggenbergische Komödianten ("Kilian" 33).

³⁰ *Tragoedia genannt Raache gegen Raache. Oder der streitbare Römer Titus Andronicus* (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 12, *Tragedy called Revenge against Revenge. Or the Warlike [or quarrelsome] Roman Titus Andronicus*). The plot summary corresponds to Vos's play (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 15). It is printed in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 12-15. The names of the characters largely agree with Shakespeare's.

³¹ *Aran en Titus, of Wraak en Weerwrack: Trevrspel van Jan Vos* (1641). For a discussion, see W. Braekman, who concludes that "Vos's play may be regarded as an amalgamation of elements drawn from [Shakespeare] as well as from [the German play]" (10: 63). It was so popular that ten editions followed until 1661 (Cohn, *Germany* CXIII). Geoffrey Bullough thinks it "likely that both continental plays descended from Shakespeare's play" (6: 6).

³² Or "Gothic Moorish General".

performed by Velten's company in Bevern in 1680 (Zimmermann 149).³³ The Eggenbergische Komödianten had a play called "Titut" in their repertory in 1685 (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 51), and one about "die weisse mohrin" (Ludvik 84, "the white female moor"). The *Weimarer Verzeichnis* lists a play called *Der mörderische gotthische mohr sampt desen fall und End* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 150, *The Murderous Gothic Moor, with his Fall and End*). All of the above might be related to the Shakespearean *Titus*.

The 1620 *Tito Andronico* is "undoubtedly"³⁴ (Fredén 364) based on Shakespeare.³⁵ Haekel believes that Cohn's assumptions about a lost English *Ur-Titus*³⁶ (on which both the Shakespeare play and the German play would be based) are not founded (Cohn, *Germany* CXII-XCIII; Haekel, "Erzählerische Elemente").³⁷ There is some evidence of such an *Ur-Titus* in England before 1594, possibly even before 1592 (Marti 16-17, 24-25; Bate 69-70). A play called *Tittus and Vespacia* premiered in 1592, according to Henslowe's diary. Interestingly, in the German *Tito Andronico* Titus's son is called Vespasian (Marti 18; but see p. 83, fn. 46 below). June Schlueter argues that the German play is based on this lost play ("Peacham Drawing" 183). Creizenach postulates that at least one other (now lost) version of Shakespeare's *Titus* must have

³³ "die abscheuliche *Tragædia* vnd wahre *historia*, tituliret: Der Berühmte Römische General Titus Andronicus vnd grausamer Tyran Aran Gottischer Mohren General".

³⁴ "unzweifelhaft".

³⁵ Or rather on the play that Shakespeare and George Peele most probably co-authored (see Vickers 148).

³⁶ For the popularity and problematic of *Ur*-plays, see p. 106 below.

³⁷ Creizenach agrees with Cohn, but stresses that this *Ur-Titus* was also by Shakespeare – a point which Cohn does not make explicit (*Schauspiele* 4-5).

been performed by the English Comedians (*Schauspiele* 15).³⁸ Markus Marti also conjectures that the English Comedians may have been familiar with several (English) versions of the text (34).³⁹

The main differences between the German text and the English original are as follows:⁴⁰ firstly, the beginning is drastically simplified. The killing of the Empress's son Alarbus is omitted and the tragedy is thereby deprived of its primary revenge motive.⁴¹ This is related to a shift in emphasis: "The revenge tragedy has thus become a play about pride" (Fredén 408).⁴² Pride ("Hoffahrt"), or *superbia*, is strongly accentuated throughout the German version,

³⁸ One piece of evidence is that Titus's daughter is called Lavinia in the 1699-plot summary, but that this name appears neither in Vos, nor in the 1620-version. Due to this similarity, Creizenach surmises that this lost version was closer to Shakespeare's play than the extant *Tito Andronico*.

³⁹ For a diagram of the different *Titus*-texts (the "Titus-Komplex" as Marti terms it [24]) and their relationships, see Marti 25. He suggests that an (unknown) Italian novella was at the origin of *Tittus and Vespacia* which in turn was the source for Shakespeare's *Titus*. He sees a clear line of descent from the Shakespearean play to the German *Tito Andronico*. Marti nevertheless adds that the differences between the original and the German adaptation may be due to "Shakespeare's revisions" from a (now lost) first version to the second (still extant) version (31, "Shakespeares Revision").

⁴⁰ For a detailed comparison see Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 6-10 and Marti 31-35. The Shakespearean character names with their German equivalents are: Saturninus – Emperor, Lucius – Vespasianus, Marcus – Victoriades, Lavinia – Andronica, Bassianus – Andronica's (unnamed) husband, Aaron – Morian, Tamora – Ætiopissa (Queen of the blackamoor-country, but explicitly "beautiful and white" [my translation, Cohn, *Germany* 161, "*schön vnd weiss*"]), Chiron and Demetrius – Helicates and Saphonus.

⁴¹ According to Marti, Shakespeare makes Titus a more complex character through the "Alarbus-episode". In the German play, by contrast, he remains an obedient servant to the emperor for four acts (31, "Alarbus-Episode").

⁴² "Aus der Rachetragödie ist also ein Spiel vom Hochmut geworden."

especially that of the empress and of her consort Morian.⁴³ Their cruelties and wrongdoings are recounted at length to ultimately culminate in the "just" punishment for their sins. This motif can be found in many plays of the *Wanderbühne* (see pp. 169-71 below). Haekel therefore defends the German *Tito* as "not a degenerated version of Shakespeare's play but rather a translation into an entirely new functional context" where the dramatic laws of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* reign (*Englische Komödianten* 234).⁴⁴

Secondly, Titus's twenty-one dead sons and his killing of Mutius are omitted, as is the "rivalry for rule of Rome" and the "opposing factions", possibly because they require "large numbers of soldiers" (Bate 44). Thirdly, Lavinia's/Andronica's husband does not appear until Act III. According to Haekel, he is the "best example" of certain Shakespearean elements which have lost their function but are nevertheless retained in the German adaptation. He loses his name in the German version, only bears the designation "husband", and "his sole ... purpose" is "to be murdered on stage" (*Englische Komödianten* 234).⁴⁵ Creizenach suggests that any additions must necessarily have originated in the common source play whose existence he advocates (*Schauspiele* 10-11; see pp. 80-81 above).

⁴³ The change of name from Aaron to Morian makes the bearer's characteristics more explicit: while "[a]n Elizabethan audience would have known that the biblical Aaron had an eloquent, persuasive tongue" (Bate 125), the German audience would have been aware of the "moor" ("Mohr") in "Morian".

⁴⁴ "keine degenerierte Version des Shakespearedramas, sondern seine Übersetzung in einen völlig neuen Funktionskontext". The term *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* (literally "main and state plays") was coined by Gottsched in the eighteenth century. It referred to the plays of the *Wanderbühne*, mainly those of the end of the seventeenth century. The *Hauptaktion* is distinguished from the comic postludes, and *Staat* refers to the political or historic content of the plays (*Reallexikon Literaturgeschichte* 1: 619).

⁴⁵ "beste Beispiel ... Gemahl ... einzige ... Funktion ... auf der Bühne ermordet zu werden".

Furthermore, in Shakespeare, Aaron sets up a complicated plot to ensnare Lavinia's brothers and accuse them of murdering her husband. This results in the execution of the two. In the German version, the reason for their conviction remains blurred and the two never set foot on stage – only their heads are brought on. As Morian tells Vespasianus:⁴⁶ "so upon my advice she [i.e., the Empress] caused your two brothers to be imprisoned upon some trivial pretence" (Act VII, in Cohn, *Germany* 220).⁴⁷ Andronica is ravished and mutilated after her father's hand is cut off, whereas Lavinia experiences her sad fate before Titus's mutilation. The German version does not include the so-called "fly-scene" (III.ii) which was first printed in the Folio (1623). Since *Tito Andronico* was printed in 1620, it must derive from one of the quartos (Q1 [1594], Q2 [1600] or Q3 [1611]). The play has recently received critical attention in Bate's Arden edition of Shakespeare's *Titus*.⁴⁸ He concludes that "[a] modern-day small company wanting to perform a 'reduced' *Titus* could learn a lot from it" (45).⁴⁹

⁴⁶ This character is first introduced as "the partizan of Titus", "but towards the end he is suddenly transformed into his son and avenger, who at the conclusion obtains the crown" (Cohn, *Germany* CXII).

⁴⁷ "liess derhalben ewren zween Brüderen, durch mich vnnd durch Angebung meines Rechtes gefangen nehmen, vmb gar nichtiger Vrsachen willen" (Cohn, *Germany* 219). Unless otherwise stated, the translation of *Tito Andronico* is that of Moritz Lippner in Cohn, *Germany*.

⁴⁸ Marti complains that "many editors overlook or pass over this early adaptation" (15, "Viele Herausgeber übersehen oder übergehen diese frühe Adaption"). In his Cambridge edition (1994), Alan Hughes devotes a single sentence to the German version (15-16). For Bate's discussion of *Tito Andronico*, see p. 18 above and pp. 147-49 below.

⁴⁹ See also Cohn, *Germany* CXII. The number of characters is reduced to twelve. Marti believes that the play was performed with eight actors and some extras (32-33).

The Merchant of Venice

There are two extant manuscripts of a play loosely based on *The Merchant of Venice*: one in Karlsruhe, dated "before 1699" (Brennecke 107), entitled a *Comoedia Genandt der Jude von Venetien* (*Comedy called the Jew of Venetia*), henceforth abbreviated as *Jew*, by Christoph Blümel "Studiosio Silesiens" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 204);⁵⁰ and one in Vienna, entitled *Comoedia Genandt Dasz Wohl Gesprochene Urtheil Eines Weiblichen Studenten oder der Jud von Venedig* (*Comedy called the Well-Spoken Judgement of a Female Student or the Jew of Venice*), henceforth abbreviated as *Judgement*.⁵¹ This latter manuscript names no author but bears the statement "Je n'ay pas fait Cela" ("I did not make this") on its titlepage (Brennecke 107), indicating that the manuscript is scribal and not holograph, and that the scribe expressly declines responsibility for the text (Weiß 57). Meissner relates it to court performances in Dresden in the 1680s (*Englische Comödianten* 105). Both titles recall the entry into the Stationers' Register from 1598, where Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* is listed as "A Booke of the Marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwise called the Jewe of Venyce" (Meissner, *Englische Comödianten* 103). Thomas Dekker's lost *Jew of Venice* may also have influenced the German versions – but this must remain a conjecture. Another ghost-text that comes into play is *The Iew*, which is only mentioned in Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (D2v). This leaves us in "a labyrinth of speculation", as Ernest Brennecke put it (106).

⁵⁰ Bolte believes that since Blümel calls himself a student, the manuscript must date from early on in his acting career (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 62). This conflicts with the dating of the manuscript to the 1680s. If Blümel was born around 1630, he would have been quite an old student at the time. The extant manuscript may also be a transcript of Blümel's earlier original. See also p. 36, fn. 31 above.

⁵¹ *Judgment* is printed in German in Meissner (*Englische Comödianten* 131-89) and in English in Brennecke (111-89). *Jew* is printed in Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 204-76.

A performance of a play *Of the Jew* (*Von dem Juden*) is recorded as early as 1607 in Passau (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XL), although this (and subsequent performances) might also refer to Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*. Further performances were recorded in Graz (1608),⁵² in Dresden (1626, when the same company, namely Green's, also performed *The Jew of Malta*; and 1674), and in Halle (1669)⁵³ (Brennecke 106-07). A *Jud von Venetien* (*Jew of Venetia*) was performed in Český Krumlov in 1688 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 477).

The plots of *Jew* and *Judgment* are largely similar.⁵⁴ As for the characters, Bassanio turns into the Prince of Cyprus. Since there is no Antonio figure, the Prince signs the bond himself. In *Judgment*, the Jew is called "Barrabas, afterward called Joseph"⁵⁵ (Brennecke 111), like in Marlowe's play, and in *Jew*, he is called Josephus. Unlike in Marlowe and Shakespeare, the Jew has no daughter. Portia's equivalent is called Anciletta, although certain parts of the plot liken her to Bianca in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Nerissa becomes Franciscina, the clown's female counterpart;⁵⁶ her bawdy humor reminds one of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. Pickelherring, the clown, is the Prince's servant; he substitutes for Lancelot and Graziano.

⁵² According to Schrickx, the play performed in Graz was *The Jew of Malta*, "because of the fact that the company [which performed it, namely John Green's] originated from the Admiral's men" ("Wolfenbüttel" 166).

⁵³ Brennecke and others erroneously date this performance to 1611 (Rudin, "Klientilismus").

⁵⁴ In Act I of *Judgement*, Pickelherring reads out nonsensical petitions to the King, which is not the case in *Jew*. The scene divisions are not the same. There are more stage directions in *Jew* during the double love scene in Act III, but in *Judgement*, the stage directions are more detailed. Some words are rearranged, but usually only by a few lines. Only in *Jew* is there a reference to Padua. In *Judgement*, a list about what is needed to perform the play is added at the end; see also p. 135 below.

⁵⁵ "Jud Barrabas Hernach Joseph" (Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 131).

⁵⁶ The name is taken from the clown's female companion in the *commedia dell'arte* (Fredén 214).

At the beginning of the play the Prince decides to expel the Jews from Cyprus because they have amassed such wealth, and because "[w]hat they have recently undertaken at Malta is well known"⁵⁷ – a clear reference to Marlowe's text (I.i.67, in Brennecke 113). The Prince receives permission from his father to go to Venice, on the condition that he only takes one servant (Pickelherring) and pretends to be a nobleman.⁵⁸ The Jew, in disguise, is hired as a servant on the Prince's boat.

In Venice, Ancilletta and her father Florello receive two suitors, Grimaldi⁵⁹ and Santinelli. Ancilletta is to choose between them, but refuses to do so.⁶⁰ Once the Prince has arrived in Venice, he and Ancilletta fall in love, as do Pickelherring and the maid Franciscina. Throughout, the servants comically mirror their masters' love-relationship. In a plot element parallel to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Prince plans to disguise himself as a French doctor in order to gain access to Ancilletta, who will pretend to be sick. In the meantime, the Prince sends Pickelherring to the Jew to procure costumes for them, so they can act as a doctor and his servant, and to borrow 2,000 ducats. The reason for borrowing the money is different than in Shakespeare: the Prince has lost all his money in gaming. A bond is signed, as in Shakespeare, including the pound of flesh instead of interest. Contrary to Shylock, whose motives initially remain diffuse, we know that this Jew really wants to kill the Prince.⁶¹ In the meantime the

⁵⁷ "man Weiss wass sie neulich zu Malta Vorgenohmen haben" (Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 133).

⁵⁸ These plot elements are also found in *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (see pp. 108-11 below).

⁵⁹ Grimaldi is also the name of one of Annabella's suitors in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*.

⁶⁰ This situation can be likened to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* where Emilia is to choose between Palamo and Arcite and she declares herself unable to do so because "They are both too excellent" (III.vi.285).

⁶¹ The villainy of the Jew is further heightened by two points: he knows that the Prince will receive no money within the set deadline, and he plans to use a poisoned knife when extracting his due.

rejected suitors decide to try their luck with other women; as in *The Taming of the Shrew* Grimaldi plans to marry a widow.

Ancilletta and Franciscina dress up as students in order not to be recognized in the city. The reason for their disguise thus markedly differs from the one in Shakespeare. Having again lost all his money in gambling, the Prince sends Pickelherring to borrow another 1,000 ducats, whereupon the Jew has the Prince arrested. At court, the Duke asks the Jew for mercy, offering him the money with generous interest, but he refuses. Unexpectedly, Ancilletta and Franciscina arrive in disguise. Unlike Portia, Ancilletta does not ask the Jew for mercy. Another difference to Shakespeare is that in the German version, the Prince would be able to save himself by revealing his true identity. Yet he does not dare to go against his father's wishes, who had asked him to remain incognito. Ancilletta's solution is the same as in Shakespeare: not one drop of blood may be shed. Here, the Jew is "only" beaten and thrown out of the courtroom. His punishment is much lighter than in Shakespeare – at least from a modern point of view; a forced conversion may have been deemed an act of mercy in early modern times (Halio 11). The ring plot is omitted, and the play ends with an alliance being forged between Cyprus and Venice against the Turk, like in *Othello*.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

One of the few *Wanderbühne* plays whose author is known is *Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz* (*Absurda Comica or Mister Peter Squentz*) by Andreas Gryphius. He was one of the most important poets and playwrights of the German Baroque.⁶² *Peter Squentz* was first printed in 1658, a second edition followed in 1663 (Gryphius, *Squentz* 51-52). Although Gryphius is the

⁶² See Michael 203 and p. 120 below.

author of this piece, his enigmatic preface to the reader is signed by (the fictional) Philip-Gregorio Riesentod.⁶³ The preface not only states that the play was repeatedly performed but also that the person who first brought it to the stage was Daniel Schwenter, a mathematician and scientist.⁶⁴ A "friend" of Riesentod then "furnished" the play, "increased" the characters, and had it performed with one of his tragedies (5).⁶⁵ This friend is, of course, Gryphius himself. Such confusing editorial fictions were popular in baroque Germany (69). Gerhard Dünnhaupt and Karl-Heinz Habersetzer believe that neither Schwenter's nor Gryphius's immediate source was Shakespeare, but that they were acquainted with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (MND) through the performances of the English Comedians (66). The *Pyramus and Thisbe* story was well known in Germany at the time (Brennecke 54; Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 46).

The short play is largely identical with the mechanicals' episodes from Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, excluding Puck's intervention. It has no direct connection to the droll *The Merry Conceited Humours of Bottome the Weaver* (1662),⁶⁶ whose printed version followed the first appearance in print of *Peter Squentz*. Furthermore, the droll includes the fairies and Bottom's "translation" (see MND III.i.113), which Gryphius's play does not.

⁶³ Gryphius used this pseudonym more than once (Killy 4: 400).

⁶⁴ Daniel Schwenter is indeed recorded as the author of *Peter Squentz* in an eighteenth-century literary encyclopedia (Brennecke 56). Schwenter died in 1636 and Cohn deduces that a version of the play must have reached Germany beforehand (*Germany* CXXX).

⁶⁵ "Freunde ... ausgerüstet ... vermehret". This tragedy is "presumably *Carolus Stuardus*", according to Dünnhaupt and Habersetzer (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 5, "vermutlich *Carolus Stuardus*"). Yet the play "stands well enough on its own" (Michael 203).

⁶⁶ See Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXVIII. Schwendter died in 1636 before the droll was printed (Koberstein 169).

Apart from Peter Squentz (Shakespeare's Quince), the cast counts four craftsmen, one of whom is called "Bulla Butäin", echoing "bully Bottom" (*MND* III.i.7). The comic figure Pickelherring – here the "King's merry counsellor" (Brennecke 72)⁶⁷ – joins the actors and plays Piramus. The royal audience consists of King, Queen, Prince, and Princess, attended by a marshal. The first act, where the technicalities of the performance are discussed and the roles distributed, corresponds to I.ii and III.i.1-97 of Shakespeare's play. As in Ovid, the lovers are to meet at a spring, and Thisbe will be scared away by a lioness. In contrast to both Shakespeare and Ovid, the lioness is to stain Thisbe's mantle with blood by giving birth to whelps (Gryphius, *Squentz* 11). Act I resembles Shakespeare's text quite closely, although the order of the textual elements is not the same. Another difference is that the motivation for playing before the King is merely that he is "a great lover of all sorts of merry tragedies and splendid comedies" (Act I, adapted from Brennecke 74).⁶⁸ The actors are nevertheless financially rewarded at the end of the play.

In the second act, roughly corresponding to Shakespeare's V.i.1-84, Peter Squentz presents his repertory to the royal household. *Piramus and Thisbe* figures last on the list: "A pretty play, merry and sad, short and long, horrible and pleasant, of Piramus and Thisbe, with nothing behind nor before, never before acted nor printed, by Peter Squentz schoolmaster here"⁶⁹ (Act II, adapted from Brennecke 80). The Prince (rightly) suspects that "the poor wretches know

⁶⁷ "des Königes lustiger Rath" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 7).

⁶⁸ "ein grosser Liebhaber von allerley lustigen Tragoedien und prächtigen Comoedien" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 10).

⁶⁹ "Ein schön Spiel lustig und traurig / kurtz und lang / schrecklich und erfreulich von Piramus und Thisbe hat hinten und vorn nichts / niemals vor tragiret und noch nie gedrucket / durch Peter Squentz Schulmeistern daselbst" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 19-20; the slashes are in the original).

none but the last one, since they particularly highlighted it" (Act II).⁷⁰ And so *Piramus and Thisbe* is indeed chosen.

The third act (corresponding to Shakespeare's V.i.85-363) presents the performance itself. The actors make mistakes ("Säue", that is, "sows" [Act III, in Brennecke 86]) throughout (see also pp. 160-61 below). The performance includes a song by the fountain (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 38), "an early seventeenth-century composition" (Brennecke 70), performed by Master Lollinger, the "Meister Sänger" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 7; see also p. 12 above). When the spectators demand that the lion should give birth to his young ones on Thisbe's cloak, the actors explain that "Master Klipperling felt that he had no cubs in his belly, so he couldn't hatch any out"⁷¹ (Act III, in Brennecke 98). After the epilogue the King decides to give the actors fifteen gulden for each "sow" they made, "but not for the comedy" (Act III, in Brennecke 104).⁷²

Performances are recorded in Dresden (1659 and 1672), Torgau (1680), and, possibly, in Frankfurt am Main in 1679 (Cohn, *Germany CXVIII*; Michael 197; Mentzel 107).⁷³ The play *Vonn Thisbes vnndt Pyramo* (*Of Thisbes and Pyramo*) listed in the 1604 repertory from Nördlingen and Rothenburg (Trautmann, "Älteste Nachricht" 626) probably has no direct relationship to Gryphius's work. Cohn thinks it "very unlikely" that the complete version of A

⁷⁰ My translation. "Es scheint die guten Schlucker können keine als die letzte / darumb sie denn solche sonderlich außgestrichen" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 20).

⁷¹ "Meister Klipperling vermeinte / er hätte keine junge Löwen in dem Leibe / derowegen könnte er auch keine außhecken" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 42).

⁷² "wir bekommen nur Tranckgeld für die Säue / und für die Comoedi nichts" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 50).

⁷³ The record of the Frankfurt performance goes back to Mentzel and must be digested with some care (see p. 29, fn. 11 above).

Midsummer Night's Dream was ever part of the English Comedians' repertoire (Germany CXXXI).

King Lear

King Lear seems to have been quite popular; there are at least six recorded performances between 1626 and 1692 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLII).⁷⁴ However, as an entry from a repertory list by Michael Daniel Treu⁷⁵ (Lüneburg, 1666) illustrates, the play's ending was not necessarily tragic: "Of King Liar from England, a matter where the disobedience of children against their parents is punished, but obedience is rewarded".⁷⁶ This suggests a happy ending, as in the anonymous *King Leir* (ca. 1592, printed 1605).

⁷⁴ *Tragoedia von Lear, König in Engelandt* (*Tragedy of Lear, King in England*); *Tragicomoedie vom König Lear und seinen 2 Töchtern* (*Tragicomedy of King Lear and his 2 Daughters*); *Der von seinen ungeratenen 2 töchteren bedrübte könig Liart von Engellant* (*Weimarer Verzeichnis, King Liart of England, Aggrieved by his 2 Wayward Daughters*); a cobbler asked for permission to stage some plays in Augsburg in 1665, among them a "comedy" about *König Lier auß Engellandt* (*King Lier of England*), but his petition was rejected (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLII-XLIII). The Eggenbergische Komödianten had a play entitled "Lier" in their repertory in 1686 (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 52).

⁷⁵ Or "Drey" (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIII).

⁷⁶ "Von dem Konnich Liar auß Engelandt, ist eine materien, worin die ungehorsamkeit der Kinder gegen ihre Elder wirt gestraffet, die Gehorsamkeit aber belohnet" (Baesecke 124). Creizenach believes that the performance at a banquet in Dresden in 1676 must have had a conciliatory ending, since "a representation of Shakespeare's ending during a festive banquet would have been too much even for the strong nerves" of the nobility (*Schauspiele* XLIII, "eine Darstellung des Shakespeareschen Schlusses während einer Festtafel wäre wohl auch für die starken Nerven der früheren Geschlechter etwas zu viel gewesen").

A plot summary from a performance of *König Lear aus Engelland* (*King Lear of England*) in Breslau (1692) also concludes on a positive note (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 347-52). The characters' names mainly correspond to those in Shakespeare, and the plot is largely parallel to *King Lear*, with some changes: the fool has been cut, anticipating the disfavor the clown was to fall into in the next century (see p. 143 below). Cordelia does not lose her part of the kingdom because she refuses to voice her love for her father, but because she declares that she does not want any of his land while he is still alive. There is no scene on the cliffs of Dover; we merely have "Gloster ask[ing] Edgard, because he recognizes him by his language, to be taken into his company"⁷⁷ (IV.viii, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 351). However, this contradicts the last scene where Gloster dies of happiness when Edgard reveals that he is alive and well. Cordelia is to be strangled "with her own garter"⁷⁸ (V.xii, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 352). Both Gondril and Regina (Regan) commit suicide, while Lear and Cordelia survive.

This German version seems to be based on the Folio's *Tragedy of King Lear*. Scene xvii, unique to the Quarto *History of King Lear*, where the current political situation is discussed and Cordelia's meeting with her father is reported, does not appear. The mock-trial in scene xiii of the Quarto is similarly omitted. Moreover, Cordelia enters "as Queen of France ... with soldiers" (V.iv, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 351)⁷⁹ as she does in the Folio: "*Enter with a drummer and colours, Queen Cordelia, Gentlemen, and soldiers*" (IV.iii.0 SD). While the titles listed above may suggest a relationship to the anonymous *King Leir*, the extant plot summary has little in

⁷⁷ "Gloster bittet den Edgard, weil er ihn an der Sprache erkennt, ihn in seine Gesellschaft zu nehmen."

⁷⁸ "mit ihrem eigenen Strumpff-Band".

⁷⁹ "als Königin von Franckreich ... mit Soldaten".

common with Shakespeare's source, in which the Gloucester subplot is missing and where no one dies.

The Taming of the Shrew

A remarkable play entitled *Kunst über alle Künste, ein bös Weib gut zu machen* (*Art of all Arts, to Make a Wicked Wife Good*) was printed in 1672 (Köhler, *Kunst* VI).⁸⁰ This text is based on *The Taming of the Shrew* (*Shrew*). Copies are extant in Vienna and Weimar. The Vienna copy seems to be from a different (probably later) edition, without any substantial changes (VII).

The plot line closely follows that of Shakespeare's play, and only a few passages which the plot can do away with are omitted. The cuts suggest a consistent abridgment.⁸¹ Some passages are transposed (see XXIII-XXIV). The play is divided into five acts, but not into scenes. A few instances are slightly altered, for example, Sabina and Johannes do not "construe" Latin as Bianca and Lucentio do (III.i.40), but Johannes teaches Sabina about verse meter, specifically the "*dactylus*" (Act III, in Köhler, *Kunst* 93-94) in order to mask their courting. Another example is that Adrian (Vincentio) actually faints when he is led to believe that his son

⁸⁰ The full title reads: [*The*] *Art of All Arts To make a Wicked Wife Good. Formerly practiced by an Italian cavalier: But now felicitously imitated by a German nobleman, and presented in a very funny comedy full of antics* (Köhler, *Kunst* V-VI, *Kunst über alle Künste Ein bös Weib gut zu machen. Vormahls Von einem Italiänischen Cavalier practiciret: Jetzo aber Von einem Teutschen Edelman glücklich nachgeahnet, und In einem sehr lustigen Possen-vollem Freuden-Spiele fürgestellt*). The play is reprinted by Reinhold Köhler in parallel with the Shakespearean text; the passages not found in the German play are omitted. He edited and amended the text, and omitted three "extremely dirty passages" (XXXVIII, "besonders schmutzige Stellen").

⁸¹ For instance, the passages with Lucentio's fake father are severely shortened, as are the references to Bianca's and Lucentio's wedding taking place off stage (IV.v, IV.vi, and III.iii in *Shrew*).

has been killed (Act IV, in Köhler, *Kunst* 188; compare *Shrew* V.i.80-83). As is typical of the *Wanderbühne* plays, the situation is graphically and physically enlarged (see pp. 157-61 below). Sometimes, the German text offers explanations for what happens in Shakespeare's play. For instance, the servant Veit explains Catharina's beastly behavior towards Sabina (Bianca) to Theobald (Baptista): "because Miss Sabina has suitors and she has none, although she is older and more mature than she is"⁸² (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 52).

Throughout, the text is astonishingly close to the English original,⁸³ although it is written in prose. The major differences are the exclusion of the induction⁸⁴ and the fact that the names of all characters are changed to German equivalents, usually with a comic connotation. The only exception is Katherine, a name not foreign to German ears. Quite a bit of local color is added throughout the text. Hartman (Petruccio) lives in Worms instead of Verona and goes to Frankfurt instead of Venice to buy clothes for the wedding. A number of German proverbs and expressions further enhance the transposition into a German context. "Now, by Saint George" (II.i.233) becomes "Nun bei S. Velten" (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 71), an often invoked saint on the *Wanderbühne*.⁸⁵

⁸² "weil Jungfer Sabina Freier hat und sie keine, da sie doch älter und reifer ist als sie." All translations of this text are my own.

⁸³ Köhler points out some particularly noteworthy passages, to name but two: "ein Bewegling" (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 67) – "a moveable" (II.i.197), and "ein loszleibig Camisol" (Act IV, in Köhler, *Kunst* 170) – "a loose-bodied gown" (*Shrew* IV.iii.132).

⁸⁴ The omission of Christopher Sly strongly suggests that *Kunst über alle Künste* is not based on the 1594 Quarto, *The Taming of a Shrew*, which contains several sequences involving Sly that are not found in the Folio text. The German play begins with a prologue, spoken by the "patient Job" (Köhler, *Kunst* 5, "der geduldige Hiob").

⁸⁵ See note to German text of *Romio und Julieta* (*RuJ*) II.v.87.

One character has been added: Sibylla Flöhpelz (meaning "fleas-fur"), a maid in Theobald's (Baptista's) household and a female counterpart to the clown. The equivalent to Grumio is called Wurmbrand ("an insult", according to Grimm).⁸⁶ This addition allows for further (sometimes coarse) comic and courting scenes between the two clown figures. One interesting exchange between Sibylla and Catharina – of which there is of course no equivalent in Shakespeare – tells us that the marriage has not yet been consummated during the initial "taming period" in Hartman's lodgings (Act IV, in Köhler, *Kunst* 158-59).

Another noteworthy change is that Catharina is not abbreviated to "Käthchen", the equivalent of "Kate" in Shakespeare translations since Eschenburg and Schlegel/Tieck,⁸⁷ but rather to "Trine" (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 65). Remarkably, after the initial "Trine"-speech (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 66; compare *Shrew* II.i.185-90), Hartman does not use the diminutive as often as Petruchio does, whose consistent disrespect for Katherine's real name is emphasized. This difference is symptomatic of a general shift in the relationship between the two. During their initial encounter in Shakespeare, Petruchio asserts, "For I am he am born to tame you, Kate" (II.i.270), whereas in the German play he attenuates this statement: "for I am, dearest Catharina, born to show you everything that is good, to tame you with kindness" (Act II, in Köhler, *Kunst* 77).⁸⁸ Hartman later confesses in a soliloquy that he truly loves his wife (Act III, in Köhler, *Kunst* 145). Catharina similarly concedes, while she is waiting for Hartman's appearance on their

⁸⁶ "schimpfwort".

⁸⁷ I have only been able to track down Eschenburg's 1779 edition and the 1875 edition by Schlegel/Tieck, but am assuming that the name was the same in the earlier editions.

⁸⁸ "dann ich bin, liebste Catharina, darzu geboren, dasz ich dir alles guts erweisen, dich mit Freundlichkeit zähmen ... soll".

wedding day: "If only the monster returned, I would gladly give him my best words and force myself to kindness against my nature" (Act III, in Köhler, *Kunst* 105).⁸⁹

The turning point adds a *clin d'oeil* by Catharina. In Shakespeare's version, when Petruchio reproaches Katherine for calling the old man a young maiden (as he bade her), she says:

Pardon, old father, my mistaking eyes

That have been so bedazzled with the sun

That every thing I look on seemeth green (*Shrew* IV.vi.46-48).

In the German version, she adds a few words: "My lord, pardon the error. The rays of the sun which have been transformed into the moon have so blinded my face that I cannot recognize black or white" (Act IV, in Köhler, *Kunst* 179-80).⁹⁰ What feminist critics might hope for in Shakespeare becomes explicit in the German play: Catharina accepts Hartman's game and she plays back at him. A slightly different ending continues this explicit complicity.

Catharina's final speech is drastically shortened. She merely announces "I will tame them", that is, the two other women, and then vows to improve her behavior towards her father (Act V, in Köhler, *Kunst* 209).⁹¹ Her forty-three line tirade in Shakespeare (V.ii.141-84) is reduced to: "I will briefly tell us all: You men, love your wives, and you women, obey your husbands" (Act V, in Köhler, *Kunst* 211).⁹²

⁸⁹ "Käme doch nur das Unthier wieder, ich wolte ihm gern die besten Worte geben und mich wider meine Natur zur Freundlichkeit zwingen."

⁹⁰ "Mein Herr verzeihe meinen Irrthum, die in den Mond verwandelte Sonnenstrahlen haben mein Gesicht so verblendet, dasz ich, was weisz oder schwarz, nicht erkennen kann."

⁹¹ "Ich will sie schon bändigen."

⁹² "So will ich es uns allen kurz sagen. Ihr Männer, liebet eure Weiber, und ihr Weiber, gehorchet euren Männern."

In his afterword, the adapter informs us that this play was often performed, that it is of "Italian origin",⁹³ and that he wrote it down from memory, altering it at will (Köhler, *Kunst* VIII). Baesecke and Reinhold Köhler consider this impossible, given the close textual resemblance to Shakespeare (Baesecke 119; Köhler, *Kunst* VIII). Their skepticism taps into the controversy about memorial reconstruction. Memorial reconstruction is one possible explanation to account for different versions of a given text (for instance the so-called "bad" quartos). The theory is not undisputed: an actor or spectator would have written down from memory what he (or, less likely, she) spoke or heard in the theatre. The product would then be a memorially reconstructed text.⁹⁴ "[T]here is such evidence of the practice of memorial reconstruction in the case of plays by other playwrights, by Sheridan in England (*The School for Scandal* in 1777) for example, and in Spain by ... Lope de Vega" around 1620 (Clayton 27). However, many of the texts that are supposed to have originated in this fashion bear traces of adaptation that seem to have a different origin – for instance revisions, changes in the plot, character names etc. Laurie Maguire has dispelled the belief that the practice was as widespread as had previously been held, by analyzing dozens of plays and concluding that a large number of them were precisely *not* memorial reconstructions. Yet, she also concludes that "Elizabethan memory was undoubtedly better than ours, but perhaps its aims were different". Where today we expect "memorisation" of a text, in the Renaissance, one may have been satisfied with "remembering" a text, though not necessarily accurately, or word for word (148).

⁹³ "von Italiänischem Ursprunge". This may be a reference to Shakespeare's source, Ariosto's *I Suppositi*.

⁹⁴ "According to W. W. Greg, memorial reconstruction denotes 'any process of transmission which involves the memory no matter at what stage or in what manner.' By such a definition nearly all Renaissance playtexts are culpable in one degree or another" (Marcus 137).

According to Köhler, the adapter of the German *Taming of the Shrew* must have had a playscript at hand (*Kunst* VIII). Baesecke believes that the author is German (119), which seems plausible given the highly idiomatic language and intricate style of the text. Interestingly, Köhler has identified two other plays by the same author⁹⁵ who nevertheless remains anonymous. Remarkably, the author insists on this anonymity in the afterword of one of these plays: "The reader need not know my name: for a cat can be called Mignon, Weinzchen, Heinz, Murner, Novaya Zemlyan, or Australian: if only it is good at catching mice" (Köhler, *Kunst* XXX).⁹⁶ The author, a "nobleman" according to the title page (V), was educated and knew Latin and French and his classics.⁹⁷

Based on the author's statements in the afterword of *Kunst über alle Künste*, Baesecke doubts that the play was ever performed in the form it was printed (118). Yet, some versions of *The Taming of the Shrew* were performed in 1658, on a school stage in Zittau (Köhler, *Kunst* IX), and in Dresden in 1672 and 1678 by Velten's company.⁹⁸ It figures in a repertory list of the "Churpfälzische Compagnie" (from the court of Mannheim) of 1667: "Die tolle Hochzeit von der böß Katharina" (Asper, *Spieltexte* 147-48, "The mad wedding of the wicked Katharina").

⁹⁵ Namely *Der Pedantische Irrtum* (1673, *The Pedantic Error*) and *Alamodisches Technologisches Interim* (1675, *Technological Alamode Interim*). For the full titles see Köhler, *Kunst* XXVI-XXVII. The two plays are sequels and the author explicitly refers to himself as the author of one play in the paratext of the other one. His authorship of *Kunst über alle Künste* is also mentioned there (XXIX).

⁹⁶ "Meinen Namen ... hat der Leser nicht nöthig zu wissen: dann ein Kätzchen Mignon, Weinzchen, Heinz, Murner, Novazemblisch oder Australisch mag genennet werden: wann es nur wol mauset."

⁹⁷ "Edelman". Socrates, Cicero, and Seneca are explicitly mentioned (Köhler, *Kunst* 5, 85).

⁹⁸ *Die wunderbare Heurath Petruvio, mit der bösen Catharina* (*The Wonderful Marriage of Petruvio with the Wicked Catharina*) and *Von der bösen Katharina* (*Of the Wicked Catharina*) (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XL).

Johannes Bolte cites a plot summary from a performance in Görlitz in 1678 with a similar title, "Die Wunderbare Heyrath Petruvio mit der bösen Katharinen" (qtd. in Herz 83, "The wonderful wedding of Petruvio with the wicked Katharina") by Christian Funcke (Blinn 219). The names of this version are identical to those in Shakespeare, except for the change of Petruccio's name to Petruvio.⁹⁹ Some version with the original Shakespearean names must thus have been performed in Germany.

To conclude this overview of Shakespeare adaptations, Creizenach lists the following "pseudo-Shakespearean" plays: *The London Prodigal*,¹⁰⁰ *A Yorkshire Tragedy*,¹⁰¹ and the popular *Mucedorus* (*Schauspiele* XLIV),¹⁰² which was performed in Dresden in 1630 and 1631.

2d. *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620)

The earliest printed versions of Shakespearean texts appeared in the 1620 collection *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, namely *Tito Andronico* and the *Tragædia von Julio und Hyppolita*, which bears resemblances to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (see pp. 111-12 below). The English translation of the full title of the collection is as follows: *English Comedies and Tragedies, that is, very beautiful, excellent and select, sacred and worldly comic and tragic plays, together with the Pickelhering, which on account of their fanciful inventions, entertaining and partly true*

⁹⁹ The name Petruvio also appeared in the 1672 production.

¹⁰⁰ Creizenach lists two occurrences in repertory lists (*Schauspiele* XLIV).

¹⁰¹ A play called *Von dem unbarmherzigen Vater* (*Of the Unmerciful Father*) was performed in Güstrow in 1660 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIV).

¹⁰² *Mucedorus* may be identical with the *Tragicomoedia von einem König in Arragona* (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIV, *Tragicomedy of a King in Arragona*).

*stories, have been acted and presented by the English in Germany at royal, electoral, and princely courts, as well as in the foremost imperial, coastal, and commercial towns; never before printed, but now published to please all lovers of comedies and tragedies, and others, and in such a manner as to be easily performed in turn,*¹⁰³ *and presented for the delight and invigoration of the spirit. Printed in the year 1620* (adapted from Bosman, "History" 194).¹⁰⁴ The collection contains six comedies, two tragedies, two "Pickelherring plays", and six "Singspiele" (comparable to English jigs), five of which are accompanied with musical scores and in all of which Pickelherring plays the main part.¹⁰⁵ In line with the subtitle, the collection was often simply referred to as the "Pickelherring" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 62).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Or "so they can again easily be prepared for acting".

¹⁰⁴ "Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien Das ist: Sehr Schöne / herrliche vnd außerlesene / geist= vnd weltliche Comedi vnd Tragedi Spiel / Sampt dem Pickelhering / Welche wegen ihrer artigen *Inventionen*, kurtzweilige auch theils warhafftigen Geschicht halber / von den Engelländern in Deutschland an Königlichen / Chur= und Fürst= lichen Höfen auch in vornehmen Reichs= See= vnd HandelStädten seynd agiret vnd gehalten worden / vnd zuvor nie im Druck auß= gangen. An jetzo / Allen der Comedi und Tragedi Lieb= habern / vnd Andern zu lieb vnd gefallen / der Gestalt in offenen Druck gegeben / daß sie gar leicht darauß Spielweiß; widerumb angerichtet / vnd zur Ergetzlichkeit vnd Erquickung des Gemüths gehalten wer= den können. Gedruckt im Jahr M. DC. XX." (Brauneck 1: prefatory material; the slashes are in the original).

¹⁰⁵ The plays are: *Comoedia von der Königin Esther und hoffertigen Haman* (Comedy of the Queen Esther and the Proud Haman); *Comoedia von dem verlornen Sohn in welcher die Verzweiflung und Hoffnung gar artig introduciret werden* (Comedy of the Prodigal Son in which Despair and Hope are Cleverly Introduced); *Comoedia von Fortunato und seinem Seckel und Wünschhütlein Darinnen erstlich drey verstorbene Seelen als Geister darnach die Tugendt und Schande eingeführet werden* (Comedy of Fortunato and his Purse and Wishing Cap In which are Introduced First Three Deceased Souls as Ghosts then Virtue and Disgrace); *Schöne und lustige triumphierende Comoedia von eines Königes Sohne auß Engellandt und des Königes Tochter auß Schottlandt* (Beautiful and Merry Triumphant Comedy of a King's Son from England and the King's Daughter from Scotland); *Kurtzweilige lustige*

Although the author or compiler is not mentioned in the work itself and any publication details have been omitted, Gustaf Fredén has shown that the person responsible was probably Friedrich Menius and that the book was printed by Gottfried Groszen in Leipzig (Schrickx, *Envoys* 118; Fredén 4).¹⁰⁷ Cohn asserted that the collection was not the work of actors, for "why should they have put [these plays] on the stage in such a cruelly mutilated state?" (*Germany* CV).¹⁰⁸ Rudolph Genée surmised that the basis for the collection were presumably notes taken

Comoedia von Sidonia und Theagene (*Entertaining and Merry Comedy of Sidonia and Theagene*); *Schöne lustige Comoedia von Jemand und Niemand* (*Beautiful and Merry Comedy of Somebody and Nobody*) (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 121-28; translations adapted from Cohn, *Germany* CVIII). The two Pickelherring plays are: *Ein lustig Pickelherrings Spiel von der schönen Maria und alten Hanrey* (*A Merry Pickelherring's Play Of the Fair Maria and the Old Cuckold*) and *Ander lustig Pickelherrings Spiel darinnen er mit einen Stein gar lustige Possen machete* (*A Second Merry Pickelherring's Play in Which he Makes Merry Antics with a Stone*) (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 130; translations adapted from Cohn, *Germany* CVIII). For a detailed description of the collection, see Creizenach, *Schauspiele* LXVIII-LXXVI.

¹⁰⁶ The word "Pickelhering" is printed in comparatively large font on the title page.

¹⁰⁷ Flemming notes that Große (or Groszen) was a printer of good standing, which vouches for the importance of the collection (*Wanderbühne* 33). Yet Bosman points out that "the widespread assumption that the volume was printed in Leipzig lacks conclusive evidence" ("History" 194).

¹⁰⁸ Others suppose that the book was the product of "an indiscretion" connected to the dissolution of Green's company and his return to England (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 34, "einer Indiskretion"; Baesecke 19-20). Herz firmly connects the collection with Green. He bases his assumption on the similarity between the 1608 manuscript of *Jemand und Niemand* (*Somebody and Nobody*) and the text of the same play printed in the 1620 collection (71). Yet Flemming doubts Green's authorship of the manuscript (see p. 117 below). The collection is listed under "GREEN, JOHN [pseud.] and ROBERT BROWNE, eds. *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*. Frankfurt: n. p., 1620" in Julie Stone Peters's *Theatre of the Book 1480-1880* (459). She does not comment on the attribution or the place of publication.

down during performances (37-38). Fredén concluded that these plays did not come into being for a future production, but were rather referring backwards, to a staging that Menius had seen and was aiming to retell: "his manner of proceeding is that of a narrator, not that of a dramatist" (159).¹⁰⁹ For instance, "he provided stage directions, compulsively" (Schlueter, "Fortunatus"). They are often unclear and "unnecessarily elaborate" (Fredén 160);¹¹⁰ they narrate events that are not, or cannot, be performed, or they (re)narrate what has just or is about to happen (Fredén 163). Menius may have tried to retell performances of the English Comedians he had seen in Wolgast (Limon 88). Fredén's theory of authorship is further supported by the fact that the entire collection is infused with Low German expressions and words (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 145), which is consistent with Menius's place of birth in Mecklenburg. Anston Bosman, who remains skeptical with regard to these theories, emphasizes that one should at least be wary of calling the 1620 collection only German or only English; it should not be read "in one distinct national narrative" ("History" 198). Bosman's concept of "intertheater" ("Intertheater" 565) instead aims to take into account the "complex collaboration of actors, managers, scribes, and printers that was necessary for the anthology to be produced at all" ("History" 198). This is certainly true, and I agree with Haekel that the author's identity is only of minor importance when considering the theatrical value of the book (*Englische Komödianten* 120).

In accordance with the prologue addressing the "dear gracious reader" (Brauneck 1: 1),¹¹¹ Baesecke contends that the collection was intended for, and found, a large readership (105). However, there is proof that some of these plays were performed (though possibly in versions

¹⁰⁹ "Seine Vorgangsweise ist die des Erzählers, nicht die des Dramatikers."

¹¹⁰ "unnötig ausführlich".

¹¹¹ "GUnstiger lieber Leser".

different from the plays printed here), and repeatedly so (Genée 41).¹¹² As Flemming points out, the stage directions allowed amateurs to perform the plays themselves (*Wanderbühne* 61). This seems to have been the intention, as the title page declares that the plays were published "in such a manner as to be easily performed" (Bosman, "History" 194).¹¹³ Whether it was used for reading or for amateur performances, the 1620 collection was so popular that a second edition followed in 1624 which only differed in small variants and corrected some misprints (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* LXIX).¹¹⁴

2e. *Liebeskampff* (1630) and *Schaubühne* (1670)

In 1630, a similar publication appeared, entitled *Liebeskampff*. In English, the full title reads: *Conflict of Love, or the Second Part of the English Comedies and Tragedies, in which are Found Most Excellent and Select Comedies and Tragedies, Never Printed Before* (Cohn, *Germany* CXIII).¹¹⁵ Menius may also have authored (or compiled) this collection (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 117). Yet "it contains little English matter" among its eight plays (Cohn, *Germany* CXIII). This may be one reason for the lack of critical attention the collection has received.

¹¹² A group of students performed a play "from the Pickelherring" in Bautzen in 1628 (Köhler, "Bemerkungen" 415, "auss dem Pickelhering").

¹¹³ "daß sie gar leicht darauß Spielweiß" (Brauneck 1: prefatory material).

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the collection's stage directions, see pp. 143-44 below.

¹¹⁵ "Liebeskampff Oder Ander Theil der Engelischen Comædien vnd Tragædien / In welchen sehr schöne außleresene Comædi vnd Tragædi zu befinden / vnd zuvor nie in Druck außgegangen." (Brauneck 2: prefatory material; the slashes are in the original). The remainder of the title is the same as that of the 1620 collection. For a description of the volume, see Creizenach, *Schauspiele* LXXVI-LXXXII.

Baesecke notes: "its form and content did not correspond to the style current on the *Wanderbühne* in 1630" (116).¹¹⁶ She believes that strolling players only came in contact with this collection after the Thirty Years' War. Flemming agrees that it does not contain any extant repertory pieces and suggests that it was "produced by a not uneducated but little talented author in Thuringia" (*Wanderbühne* 62).¹¹⁷

In 1670, a third collection was printed in Frankfurt am Main in three volumes (Cohn, *Germany* CXIV), entitled *Schaubühne*. The full title in English is: *The Stage of the English and French Comedians on Which are Represented the Most Beautiful and Newest Comedies as they have been Acted and Represented a Few Years ago in France, Germany and other Places* (adapted from Cohn, *Germany* CXIV).¹¹⁸ This collection did not originate "in the hands of actors" either (W. Richter, qtd. in Baesecke 152).¹¹⁹ Two of the plays are based on Spanish originals and twelve on French ones, including five by Molière, who was popular at the time (Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 32, 28). Yet most of the plays are merely reprints from the collections of 1620 and 1630 (Genée 53). Noe emphasizes that the three volumes were oriented mainly towards readers and amateur performers (93). According to Koberstein, the collection

¹¹⁶ "entsprachen nach Inhalt und Form nicht dem 1630 herrschenden Stil des Wandertheaters".

¹¹⁷ "von einem nicht ungebildeten Autor in Thüringen ohne größere Begabung gefertigt".

¹¹⁸ "Schau=Bühne Englischer und Frantzösischer Comödianten / Auff welcher werden vorgestellt die schönsten und neuesten Comödien / so vor wenig Jahren in Frankreich / Teutschland und andern Orten bey Volckreicher Versammlung seynd *agiret* und *präsentiret* worden" (Brauneck 3: prefatory material; the slashes are in the original). The remainder of the title is again the same as that of the 1620 collection.

¹¹⁹ "nicht aus den Händen von Schauspielern".

nevertheless provided models for the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* that were performed with actors or marionettes until "well into the eighteenth century" (171).¹²⁰

Plays from the 1670 collection were indeed performed, especially the French texts (Baesecke 152). When Velten played in Bevern in 1680, the Duke repeatedly notes that "the postlude" given "was from the printed *English Comedies*", for instance, one entitled *Die Köstliche Lächerlichkeit* (*The Exquisite Ridiculousness*), that is, a version of Molière's *Les Précieuses ridicules*.¹²¹ He even cites the correct page number: "p. 145" (Zimmermann 144). At another performance "the postlude was the last from the printed English comedies [i.e., the third volume of the 1670 collection], called *Der Verwirrte Ehemann* [*The Confused Husband*]" (Zimmermann 148-49).¹²² This goes to show that the Duke was well acquainted with the printed collection, that its plays were read and, at least occasionally, performed.

2f. German Plays on the *Wanderbühne*

German Plays Related to but not Based upon Shakespeare

Two plays by Jakob Ayrer prominently figure here: *Comedia von der schönen Sidea* (*Comedy of the Fair Sidea*, its plot has similarities with that of *The Tempest*) and *Comedia von der Schönen Phänicia* (*Comedy of the Fair Phänicia*, which resembles *Much Ado about Nothing*). Yet neither

¹²⁰ "bis tief in das achtzehnte Jahrhundert herein".

¹²¹ "Das Nachspiel war aus den gedruckten Englischen Comœdien, genandt: Die Köstliche Lächerlichkeit."

¹²² "Das Nach-spiel war das letzte aus den gedruckten Englischen Comœdien, genandt: der Verwirrete Ehemann."

This refers to Molières "George Dandin or the Confounded Husband" (Zimmermann 148, "Georg Dandin oder der verwirrete Ehemann").

play is based upon Shakespeare (Genée 23). There is no proof of Ayrrer's plays ever having been performed; they were only printed in 1618 (28). *Sidea* was actually written before its Shakespearean counterpart (von Leixner 284).

According to Tieck, *Sidea* shares an unknown English source with Shakespeare's *Tempest* (*Deutsches Theater* 1: XXII).¹²³ He makes the same claim for *Phänicia* and *Much Ado* (1: XXII). Oddly enough, this seems to be Tieck's opinion on every German play that has a remote connection to Shakespeare. The explanation that there was an *Ur-play* for every pair of plays (one Shakespearean, the other the German adaptation) is often and with great fervor recurred to, also by Creizenach (see pp. 80-81 above). Max J. Wolff even postulated an *Ur-Romeo* (102). The most famous of all *Ur-plays* is the *Ur-Hamlet*. Although it is no longer extant, there is evidence that an early *Hamlet* play existed (see p. 215 below). Yet there is not much reliable evidence for the other *Ur-plays* that have been conjured up in the criticism of early German Shakespeare.

The full title of Ayrrer's *Phänicia* (c.1593-1605 [Bullough 2: 68]) in English is: *Mirror of Maidenly Virtue and Honour: Comedy of the Beautiful Phänicia and Count Tymbri of Golison from Arragon, and How They Fared in their Honorable Love until They got Married. With 17 Persons and in 6 Acts* (Cohn, *Germany* 80).¹²⁴ Although it has been related to Shakespeare's

¹²³ *Sidea* can further be related to the *Tragædia von Julio und Hyppolita* (printed in the 1620 collection), which in turn has been likened to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 129; see also pp. 111-12 below).

¹²⁴ *Spiegel Weiblicher zucht vnd Ehr. Comedia, Von der schönen Phoenicia und Graf Tymbri von Golison auß Arragonien, wie es jhnen in jhrer Ehelichen Lieb gangen, biß sie Ehelich zusammen kommen. Mit 17 Personen vnd hat 6 Actus* (Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* 1: 252). The play is printed in extracts and with an English translation in

Much Ado about Nothing, what the two plays share can be found in their common sources, Bandello's novella of *Timbreo di Cardonan*¹²⁵ and Belleforest's retelling of it (Genée 23; Bullough 2: 68). Bandello's tale and *Phänicia* generally agree against *Much Ado About Nothing*. This is, for instance, mirrored in the names of the characters. Moreover, the equivalent of Don John (called Gerando in the German play) is in love with Hero's counterpart Phänicia, as is Bandello's Girondo. As in Bandello, the Claudio figure (Tymbor in the German version, Timbreo in Bandello) does not personally disrupt the wedding ceremony, but sends a messenger beforehand (in *Phänicia*, the wedding preparations have, however, already started).

Phänicia is entirely written in verse. It features a prelude with Venus and Cupid, who plot to make Tymbor fall in love. The plot largely follows Bandello. An addition is Jahn, the clown figure. He has a prominent role and takes part in two slapstick subplots. An interesting near-parallel with Shakespeare's play is the fact that there is a Hero substitute in the "balcony scene", which here takes place in a garden. Instead of Margaret – in a substitution typical for the English Comedians – we have the clown Jahn in disguise.¹²⁶ In Bandello, the future husband only witnesses his rival "purposefully enter[ing] the house 'as if he had a mistress within'" (McEachern 9).

Cohn (*Germany* 77-112) and in its entirety in Tieck (*Deutsches Theater* 1: 252-322). Tieck prints "Phönicia" in the title but alternates between "Phönicia" and "Phänicia" in the text. I adopt Cohn's "Phänicia".

¹²⁵ *Timbreo and Fenicia* in Bullough (2: 112).

¹²⁶ However, Jahn is unaware of what he is doing, and he resigns his service as soon as he finds out.

To turn to *Sidea*, the full title in English reads: *Comedy of the Beautiful Sidea, how She Fared until her Wedding, with 16 Persons, and has 5 Acts* (Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* 1: 323).¹²⁷ Like *Phänicia*, *Sidea* is written in verse. The resemblances to *The Tempest* are minor. Two sovereigns, Ludolff and Leudegast, are at war. Ludolff is defeated and he and his daughter Sidea are exiled in a forest. Both father and daughter possess magic powers. Ludolff succeeds in capturing Leudegast's son Engelbrecht. Sidea and Engelbrecht fall in love and decide to flee and get married. After some complications, the fathers agree to the wedding and peace is restored. Whereas Prospero can command Caliban, Ludolff is able to conjure and command a devil called Runcifal, who can predict the future. The clown figure is called Jahn Molitor, the miller. He features in a subplot but is also involved in the main plot. The play further includes a dance by "several devils" (Act IV, in Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* 1: 352).¹²⁸

Apart from Ayrer's two comedies, the anonymous play *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (*Conflict of Love and Virtue*) also has some Shakespearean echoes.¹²⁹ It was printed in 1677 for the birthday celebrations of the Duchess Christine of Brunswick (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 71); two extant copies are located in Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick.¹³⁰ What Meissner terms "a curious

¹²⁷ My translation. *Comedia Von der schönen Sidea, wie es ihr biß zu irer Verheurattung ergangen, Mit 16 Personen, vnd hat 5 Actus*. *Sidea* is printed in Cohn, along with an English translation (*Germany* 1-76) and in Tieck (*Deutsches Theater* 1: 323-65).

¹²⁸ "etliche Teuffel".

¹²⁹ The play is reprinted in German in extracts in Meissner (*Englische Comödianten* 112-26), in its entirety in Creizenach (*Schauspiele* 71-124), and in English in Brennecke (195-245).

¹³⁰ Paul Zimmermann notes that the play was in all likelihood produced in the printing house of the Bevern castle. The printer was Johann (or Johannes) Heitmüller. Zimmermann even thinks it likely that the Duke himself was responsible for adapting the text, inserting "opera-like interludes" (121-22, "opernhafte Einlagen").

dramatic monster" (*Englische Comödianten* 126)¹³¹ and Creizenach a "curious literary-historical document" (*Schauspiele* 66)¹³² is not actually an adaptation of Shakespeare, although it may be based on the same source as *Twelfth Night*, namely the Apolonius and Silla story in Barnabe Riche's *Riche his Farewell to Militarie profession* (1581).¹³³ The characters' names in the German play recall those of Riche's *Apolonius and Silla*. Alternatively, as Creizenach (*Schauspiele* 57-69) and Herz (121-22) advocate, both *Twelfth Night* and *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* may draw on a lost English play that was based on Riche. Creizenach points out some instances that are both in Shakespeare and in the German play, but not in Riche. According to Creizenach, "it would not be very likely that the English Comedians dramatized an English novella" in Germany (*Schauspiele* 58).¹³⁴ Brennecke more cautiously suggests that such a common source existed and "that the German play derived from it. Whether it had anything to do with Shakespeare is still an unsettled matter" (192). *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* also resembles *Der Jud von Venedig* (*The Jew of Venice*): Brennecke draws parallels between the scenes where a young male traveler admires the city of Venice, between "Pickelherring's regrettable conduct during [a] sea voyage and his subsequent mortification" in each play, and between the conditions the Kings set for their sons' travels, namely to travel only for a year, incognito, and with only one servant (193).

A lost play called *Vom König von Cypern und Herzog von Venedig* (*The King of Cyprus and the Duke of Venice*) might be identical with *Tugend- und Liebesstreit*, since Apolonius is the

¹³¹ "merkwürdige dramatische Monstrum".

¹³² "merkwürdige litterarhistorische Urkunde".

¹³³ See also Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 137.

¹³⁴ "es wäre doch nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn die englischen Komödianten auf deutschem Boden eine englische Novelle dramatisiert hätten".

Duke of Venice, and Silla's father the King of Cyprus. Creizenach believes that *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* derived from *Vom König von Cypern und Herzog von Venedig* (*Schauspiele* 65). *Vom König von Cypern und Herzog von Venedig* was performed in 1608 in Graz (Herz 122). Herz agrees with Creizenach and adds another play into the equation: *Die Verlierung beider Königlichen Kinder aus Cypern, worin Pickelhäring sehr lustig sich erzeiget* (*The Loss of Two Royal Children of Cyprus, where Pickelherring Proves to be Very Funny*), performed between 1654 and 1663 in Güstrow. Its title accurately describes (at least part of) the action of *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (Herz 122). It should be noted that in the 1677 text of *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* the title is repeatedly alluded to: both Silla (I.ii and IV.ii, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 82, 83, and 109) and Agalanta (IV.viii, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 113) lament being torn between love and virtue. The title explicitly appears in III.vi: "Oh, conflict of love and virtue, whither wilt thou take me?" (adapted from Brennecke 228).¹³⁵

Tugend- und Liebesstreit was performed around the time when it was printed, namely on 30 October 1677 in the "newly built theatre for comedies and tragedies" of the castle of Bevern (Brennecke 195). Creizenach notes that the title resembles that of the 1630 collection: *Liebeskampf* (*Schauspiele* 69). To briefly compare *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* with *Twelfth Night*: the story largely follows Riche's plot. Silla disguises herself as a man to follow Apolonius. She is accompanied by her servant Pedrona (adapted from Riche's Pedro). Her brother Silvio goes in search of her. Silla reaches Venice (Constantinople in Riche) alone and is taken into Apolonius's services. She takes on her brother's name, Silvius. Apolonius sends him/her to his admired Agalanta with a letter and a ring. Agalanta promptly falls in love with the disguised Silla. When Silla leaves, having refused the advances, her brother Silvius appears and submits to Agalanta's

¹³⁵ "O tugend und Liebestreit zu was wirstu mich noch bringen!" (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 107).

wooing. His justification for this behavior is noteworthy: "Some one must certainly live here who resembles me and bears my name and who without doubt took the 300 ducats from my servant ... since she [Agalanta] pleases me and he has stolen my gold, ... I'll steal his lady" (IV.ix, in Brennecke 238).¹³⁶ In an episode absent from Riche's story but paralleling *The Comedy of Errors*' IV.iii, Silvius's servant Julius delivers 300 ducats to Silla, mistaking her/him for his master.¹³⁷ The confusions are speedily resolved in the last scene. Apolonius laments Agalanta's hardheartedness and wishes for Silla's presence; she promptly reveals herself. The other couple appears and a double wedding is held immediately, again in contrast to Riche. Interestingly, the Duke's beloved is in mourning in both Riche and Shakespeare, but not in the German play (Herz 121). One small textual detail (absent from Riche) may be of interest: a "*Viol di gamba*" appears in the German play (III.v, in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 103); it can be linked to the "viol-de-gamboys" in *Twelfth Night* (I.iii.23-24).

Another play to be mentioned in this context is the equally anonymous *Tragödie von Julio und Hyppolita* (*Tragedy of Julio and Hyppolita*),¹³⁸ published in the 1620 collection, which has been likened to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. One clear difference between the two plays is obviously genre. In contrast to Shakespeare's comedy, the three protagonists in *Julio und Hyppolita* are killed or commit suicide. The plot of the brief play is as follows: Romulus is engaged to Hyppolita and leaves to ask for his parents' consent to marry her. In the meantime his

¹³⁶ "Es wohnet allhier gewiß einer, der mir gleichet, und meinen Nahmen führet, und ohne Zweiffel von meinem Diener die 300 Ducaten empfangen ... weil sie mir wohl gefället, und er mich umb das Geld gebracht, ich wil Ihn wieder umb die Dame bringen" (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 117).

¹³⁷ This episode may have been inspired by Shakespeare's source for *The Comedy of Errors*, Plautus's *Menaechmi*.

¹³⁸ The play is printed in German and English in Cohn (*Germany* 113-156). Bullough reprints extracts from Cohn's English translation, terming it an "analogue" to Shakespeare's play (1: 260-66).

friend Julius convinces Hyppolita and her father, with the help of forged letters, that Romulus has decided to abandon Hyppolita and is engaged to someone else. After some wooing and coaxing, which takes up the largest part of the play, Julius succeeds in marrying Hyppolita. Romulus returns, learns about the deceit, and kills Julius at the wedding feast. Hyppolita, still unaware of Romulus's true inclinations, commits suicide. Romulus stabs himself "to bear her company in innocence and death alike" (Act IV, in Cohn, *Germany* 154).¹³⁹ After having cleared his name, Hyppolita's father decides to become a hermit and spend the rest of his life in mourning.

German Adaptations of Other Early Modern English Plays

The English Comedians brought not only Shakespeare's plays with them on their travels. Although my focus is mainly Shakespearean, some other early modern English plays that were performed on the *Wanderbühne* are also noteworthy. The first recorded play in German "with which English players may be associated" (Limon 160) is *Elisa* by Philip Waimer (1591, Gdańsk). Limon relates it to *The Reign of King Edward the Third*, which was printed five years later in England and is now commonly attributed in part to Shakespeare. The author of the German play, which was also known as *Edward III*, may have seen the English play onstage beforehand. A play entitled *Von Konnich Eduardo tertio aus Engeland, wird sonst genandt: Der beklagliche Zwank* (*Of King Eduardo Tertio from England, otherwise called the Deplorable Constraint*) appears in Treu's repertory in Lüneburg in 1666 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXX-XXXI).

¹³⁹ "will ich jhr in der Vnschuldt vnnd Tode, gleicher Gesellschaft leisten" (Cohn, *Germany* 153).

Christopher Marlowe, whose style lent itself to the English Comedians because they "needed to satisfy the desire for spectacle" (Wölcken 7),¹⁴⁰ contributed the popular *Doctor Faustus*,¹⁴¹ *The Jew of Malta*, and, probably, *The Massacre at Paris*.¹⁴² Marlowe's *Jew* can be related to several performances of a play called *The Jew*, which could equally have been based on Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, on Dekker's (lost) *Jew of Venice*, or on the equally lost *Iew* mentioned in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*.¹⁴³ There are, however, two confirmed performances that explicitly refer to *The Jew of Malta*.¹⁴⁴ At least one performance must have included a memorable dance, since in 1646 we have a record of "a dance for 8 people after the manner in which the English danced in *The Rich Jew of Malta*" (Herz 75).¹⁴⁵ Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* also appears in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis: Der grosse weltshrecken tamerlanes*

¹⁴⁰ "das Spektakelbedürfnis der Zuschauer ... zu befriedigen".

¹⁴¹ At least nine performances are recorded between 1608 and 1688 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXIII; Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 202-03). For a playbill, see pp. 59-60 above. *Faustus* is recorded in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis: Das abscheuliche leben und der schreckliche todt Dr. Johan Fausts des berühmten Erzzaubers* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 149, *The Horrible Life and the Terrible Death of Dr. Johan Faustus, the Famous Arch-Magician*). A version of the play performed with puppets dates from the late seventeenth century (Mahal 120). The Eggenbergische Komödianten performed a *Doktor Faust* in the 1680s (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 52).

¹⁴² *Von der parisischen Hochzeit (Of the Parisian Wedding)* was performed in 1666 in Lüneburg and *Die blutige Hochzeit oder die zwei zwiespältigen Heuser (The Bloody Wedding or the Two Discordant Houses)* in 1660 in Güstrow (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXIII). Murad points out that the playscripts of the performances predating 1633 (when Marlowe's play was first published) "may have been substantially different from *The Jew of Malta* as it is now known" (61).

¹⁴³ See discussion p. 84 above.

¹⁴⁴ *Tragödie von Barrabas, Juden von Malta (Tragedy of Barrabas, Jew of Malta)* in Dresden 1626 and *Von dem reichen Juden von Maltua (Of the Rich Jew of Maltua)* in Prague in 1651 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXII).

¹⁴⁵ "ein Tanz von 8 Personen auf die Art wie bei dem reichen Juden von Malta von den Engländern getantz worden".

samt desselbigen stürzung und fall (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 146, *The Great Terror to the World, Tamerlane, with His Overthrow and Fall*),¹⁴⁶ and a play called *Tamerlan* was part of the repertory of the Eggenbergische Komödianten in 1685 (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 52), though it was probably not based on Marlowe's original (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 482).

Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* was popular. Versions of it were performed at least four times between 1601 and 1660 (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 127) and it further appears in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis*.¹⁴⁷ Ayrer wrote a play called *Tragedia, von dem Griegischen Keyser zu Constantinopel vnd seiner Tochter Pelimperia mit dem gehengten Horatio* (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 127, *Tragedy of the Warlike Emperor of Constantinople and his Daughter Pelimperia with the Hanged Horatio*), although "out of anxious consideration for the Emperor, Ayrer ... changed the locality from Spain to Greece" (Thoms 15). As usual, Tieck believed that Ayrer's play is not based on Kyd's directly but on an older play performed around 1570 (*Deutsches Theater* 1: XXVIII). Lukas Erne states that "Ayrer's adaptation is based on Kyd's original, unrevised play" (*Spanish Tragedy* 127). Caspar Stieler also adapted the story: his *Bellemerie* was printed in 1680. Additionally, there is an anonymous *Comoedia von Jeronimo Marschalck in Hispanien* (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 127, *Comedy of Jeronimo, Marshall in Spain*), dated to the

¹⁴⁶ There are reports of "several plays of 'Mr. Christopher Marlowe, [who is] very famous on the island'" having been performed at the autumn fair in Frankfurt in 1592, along with *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (Mentzel 23, "mehrere Stücke des 'dort im Inselland gar berühmten Herrn Christopher Marlowe'"). Mentzel reportedly took this information from the "travel book" of a merchant from Wurtemberg who had journeyed to the "island" and knew the English language – but she gives no reference for this account (23, "Reisebüchlein ... nach 'dem Inselland'"). For Mentzel's unreliability, see p. 29, fn. 11 above.

¹⁴⁷ *Der tolle marschalck aus spanien* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 147, *The Mad Marshall from Spain*).

1660s, extant in a manuscript that belonged to Treu's company. Finally, there may be a reference to Kyd's *Solyman and Perseda* in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis*.¹⁴⁸

Further performance records reflect a fairly heterogeneous picture of early modern English plays. We have evidence of Robert Greene's *Orlando Furioso* having been staged;¹⁴⁹ and there are two recorded performances that may have been based on Henry Chettle's *Patient Grissil*.¹⁵⁰ A version of Thomas Dekker's *Fortunatus* was one of the few plays to have its adaptations printed (namely, in the collections of 1620 and 1670),¹⁵¹ and the prologue to Dekker's *If This Be not A good Play, the Devil's in It* was used for a German puppet play of *Doktor Johannes Faust* (Günzel). Heywood's *King Edward IV* (parts 1 and 2) also left performance records.¹⁵² An adaptation of his *The Rape of Lucrece* may be preserved in the German *Tragoedia von der Römischen Lucretia* (Limon 50, *Tragedy of the Roman Lucrece*). A

¹⁴⁸ Entry number 1 begins as follows: *Der von den tirkischen keiser solyman um seine tugent und sieges Ehr beneidete groß vezir osman ...* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 145, *The Great Vizier Osman, Envied for his Virtue and Victory by the Turkish Emperor Solyman ...*).

¹⁴⁹ Four performances are recorded between 1626 and 1660 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXIV). The play is listed in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis*: *Der rasente orlando, sampt den Nerischen sackerpan desen schelmerei und straffe* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 146, *The Raging Orlando, with the Foolish Sackerpan, his Roguery and Punishment*).

¹⁵⁰ *Comoedia von der Crysella* (*Comedy of Crysella*) in Dresden in 1626 and *Die geduldige Chrysilla* (*The Patient Chrysilla*) in Torgau in 1671 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XXXV).

¹⁵¹ See Haekel *Englische Komödianten* 124. Two performances are recorded for 1608 and 1626 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLV).

¹⁵² *Von ein khinig auß engelandt, der ist in eins goltschmitt weib verliebt gewest, und hat sie entfiert ...* (*Of a King of England who was in Love with the Wife of a Goldsmith and Abducted her ...*) was performed in 1607 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLV).

manuscript in the library of Gdańsk entitled *Tiberius und Anabella* is an adaptation of John Marston's *Parasitaster* (Limon 77).¹⁵³ Versions of Lewis Machin's *The Dumb Knight* were also performed,¹⁵⁴ and a manuscript entitled *Philole und Mariana* is extant in Gdańsk (Limon 77). Ayrer wrote a version of the play, entitled *Comedia vom König in Cypern, wie er die Königin in Franckreich bekriegen wolt und sie zu der Ehe bekam* (*Comedy of the King in Cyprus, how he Wanted to Wage a War against the Queen in France and Got her in Marriage*). Interestingly, the record of only one of Beaumont and Fletcher's works survives, namely that of *The Maid's Tragedy*.¹⁵⁵ Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* was performed on at least three occasions and is listed in the *Weimarer Verzeichnis* (Meissner, "Englische Komödianten" 148; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLVIII-XLIX); his play *The Great Duke of Florence* was performed in 1661 and possibly (twice) in 1626 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLIX).¹⁵⁶ Finally, George Peele's (lost) *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the Fair Greek*¹⁵⁷ was performed by John Spencer's company in 1611, with elaborate and expensive scenery and costumes: *Die Türkische Triumphkomödie* (*The Turkish Triumph-comedy*). The subject was adapted by Ayrer in his play *Vom Regiment vnnd*

¹⁵³ *Von Annabella eines hertzen tochter von Ferrara* (*Of Annabella a Duke's Daughter of Ferrara*) was performed in 1604 and *Comoedia vom Hertzog von Ferrara* (*Comedy of the Duke of Ferrara*) in 1626 and, possibly, in 1684 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLVII).

¹⁵⁴ Performances are recorded in 1613 (*Von Philole und Mariana* [*Of Philole and Mariana*]) and possibly in 1660 (*Untrew schlegt seinen eignen Herren* [*Infidelity Beats its Own Master*]) (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLVIII).

¹⁵⁵ Performances are recorded for 1651 and 1678 (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLVIII).

¹⁵⁶ The plot corresponds to that of the anonymous *A Knack to Know a Knave* (printed in 1594) and any performances could also be related to this play.

¹⁵⁷ See http://www.lostplays.org/index.php/Turkish_Mahomet_and_Hiren_the_Fair_Greek,_The (6 Dec. 2011).

schändlichen Sterben des Türckischen Keisers Machumetis ... (Of the Reign and Disgraceful Death of the Turkish Emperor Machumetis ...).

This list is not exhaustive. The surviving documents only paint an incomplete picture of the textual and theatrical situation in seventeenth-century Germany. It nevertheless seems noteworthy that Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton are conspicuously absent from any surviving performance records. Elizabethan plays seem to have been adapted far more frequently than Jacobean or Caroline plays. This may in part be due to the fact that the first and largest wave of English Comedians arrived on the Continent in the 1590s. It seems that London-focused or satirical plays were less appreciated than the more spectacular tragedies or romantic stories.

A number of anonymous English plays also found their way onto the German stage. The most prominent of these – *Niemand und Jemand*, adapted from *Nobody and Somebody* – actually has two extant versions: a manuscript from 1608 and the printed version in the collection of 1620 (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 129).¹⁵⁸ The Graz version "included references to suit the new audience" (Schrickx, *Envoys* 231). Although the Graz manuscript credits "Studiösisimus Joannes Grün" with the authorship of this play, Flemming scoffs that "at most the flourishes under his name" are John Green's work (*Wanderbühne* 333).¹⁵⁹

German Plays and Playwrights on the *Wanderbühne*

The English Comedians and the later German companies did not only perform plays of English origin. There were a number of German plays that circulated throughout the seventeenth century. The earliest of these were often based on biblical sources. A cursory glance at the dramatic

¹⁵⁸ The play was performed in Graz in 1608 and in Dresden in 1626 (Herz 66).

¹⁵⁹ "höchstens die Schnörkel unter seinem Namen".

literature of the time might best be given by naming a few authors. Their precursor was **Hans Sachs** (1494-1576). He was the first to write "dramatic poetry" (Genée 6)¹⁶⁰ in the sixteenth century, namely for performances of the *Meistersinger* (see p. 12 above). He was, however, not able to transform his work into anything resembling lively drama. Sachs's works are "stories or novellas, set into dialogue" (Tieck, *Alt-Englisches Theater* 1: XII).¹⁶¹ In his texts, "nothing happens in front of the spectators' eyes"; everything is narrated (Baesecke 25).¹⁶²

Next in line is **Jakob Ayrer** (1543-1605), a notary from Nuremberg. His work was partly inspired by the English Comedians; for instance, his plays incorporated comic episodes "after the English design" (Genée 22).¹⁶³ He also adopted some of their themes (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 152). Ayrer's collected works were printed in 1618. This collection was meant to provide playtexts, so that everyone could perform them "in the new English manner" (Genée 31).¹⁶⁴ Two of his plays can be related to Shakespeare, *Sidea* and *Phänicia* (see pp. 105-08 above), although they are not based on Shakespeare's texts. Ayrer's version of *The Spanish Tragedy* is also noteworthy (see p. 114 above). Nevertheless, Ayrer's work ultimately had little influence on the theatrical world of the seventeenth century (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 152).

A writer with more influence was **Heinrich Julius** of Brunswick, who was born in the same year as Shakespeare (1564) and died three years before him (1613). Flemming sets him "at

¹⁶⁰ "dramatische Dichtungen".

¹⁶¹ "Geschichten oder Novellen, in Dialog gesetzt".

¹⁶² "es geschieht aber nichts vor den Augen der Zuschauer".

¹⁶³ "nach englischem Muster".

¹⁶⁴ "auf die neue englische Manier".

the beginning of the history of German Baroque comedy" (*Barockkomödie* 37).¹⁶⁵ He was not only a playwright who was strongly influenced by the English Comedians, but he also supported them as one of their first patrons (see p. 45 above). Heinrich Julius's work shares some characteristics with the plays of the English Comedians: his plays were no longer only based on the Bible, but also on Italian novellas (Genée 16-17; Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 68). He wrote in prose, the comic figure played an important role, and the moral message was heavily emphasized (see pp. 170-71 below).

Heinrich Julius's clown figure was usually called Jan Bouset and was most probably tailored to Thomas Sackville (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 66). Yet, Heinrich Julius abstained from crude humor (68). His clown figure often spoke in different regional dialects (67). The duke signed his plays with the acronym "Hibaldeha" (or a variation thereof), formed from the first letters of his full Latin title: "Henricus Julius Brunsvicensis Ac Luneburgensis Dux Episcopatus HALberstadensis" (Geneé 10). The plays *Vincentius Ladislaus* (about a *miles gloriosus*-figure) and *Susanna* (of which two versions are extant [Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 142]) are amongst his well-known works. *Von einem Buler und Bulerin* (*Of an Adulterer and an Adulteress*) shares a plot element with Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* (III.iii), namely the hiding of a lover in a casket (III.iii, in Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 299). Heinrich Julius could be described as a "reformer" (Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 152).¹⁶⁶ His dramatic work shows how quickly the English Comedians influenced the German dramatic production (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 69).

¹⁶⁵ "An den Anfang einer Geschichte der deutschen Barockkomödie".

¹⁶⁶ "Neuerer".

An author of the following period was **Andreas Gryphius** (1616-64), originally Andreas Greif, and one of the most famous dramatists of the German Baroque. He lived through the Thirty Years' War, and this is sometimes mirrored in a certain pessimism apparent in his works (Killy 4: 401). Most of his plays were written for the school theater (Killy 4: 402). He was influenced by Dutch and, towards the end of his life, also by French drama (Baesecke 149; Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 27). Gryphius traveled to France and Italy in 1644-46 (Flemming, *Gryphius* 39-75), where he may have gained inspiration for his plays. His relationship to the English Comedians and to the *Wanderbühne* is mainly apparent in his comedy *Peter Squentz* (see pp. 87-91 above), which happens to be his best-known work nowadays (Killy 4: 403). His plays include tragedies such as *Leo Armenius*, *Katharina von Georgien*, *Cardenio und Celinde*, *Carolus Stuardus*, and *Papinianus*, and comedies such as *Horribilicribrifax Teutsch*¹⁶⁷ or *Das verliebte Gespenst* (*The Enamored Ghost*). Gryphius signed a number of translations and was a renowned poet. He was famous during his lifetime, both within and beyond the German-speaking countries (Killy 4: 400).

A representative author who lived towards the end of the century is **Christian Weise** (1642-1708). Although he was not primarily known as a playwright, he wrote about sixty plays (Killy 12: 213) for the school theater in Zittau, of which he was the director (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 64). The fact that his students constantly needed new plays to perform may account for his prolificacy. Most of his works were performed between 1680 and 1690 (Genée

¹⁶⁷ A marriage contract, appended to the play, contains an interesting intertextual detail: among the witnesses' signatures we find "Peter Squentz". The elaborate description of his coat of arms includes "in the bottom right field a stage on which *Piramus and Thisbe*" is being performed (Ketelsen 126, "in dem untersten Felde zur rechten ist ein Schauplatz / auff welchem *Piramus und Thisbe*"; the slash is in the original).

51). Weise had a version of *The Taming of the Shrew* performed in 1705.¹⁶⁸ He incorporated elements of the *commedia dell'arte* and the Pickelherring figure into his plays (Killy 12: 214). Weise was also a rhetorician and a poet (Killy 12: 212).

This chapter has provided an overview of playtexts that traveled with the English Comedians and across the *Wanderbühne*. To conclude, I will take a look at how Shakespeare's plays were transformed in the course of these travels.

2g. Transmission and Adaptation

"Thou art translated." (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* III.i.113)

Although critics in the nineteenth century still imagined a solitary adapter or even "author" (Wolff 99),¹⁶⁹ it seems very likely that most of the anonymous plays were the product of collaborative efforts. Many different people – actors, writers, scribes, printers – shaped a text over time. The text went through many hands, mouths, and ears, undergoing several stages of adaptation. Indeed, many plays reappeared in the repertory of the *Wanderbühne* over the course of a century (Asper, *Spieltexte* 20). Accordingly, "no [single] author could or needed to be or would want to be mentioned" (Murad 29).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Two manuscripts are still extant in the Christian-Weise-Bibliothek in Zittau (B47[1] and B50a). For a summary, see Köhler, *Kunst* XIV-XV. The plot differs slightly from Shakespeare's, for instance, Catharina only reveals herself to be a shrew after the wedding, and her taming is also physical: she is rocked and bound in a cradle, and the soles of her feet are brushed until she gives in. Blinn credits Weise with the authorship of this play (219).

¹⁶⁹ "Verfasser".

¹⁷⁰ An exception is Christoph Blümel, who signed the manuscript of *Der Jude von Venetien*. Yet even Gryphius's *Peter Squentz*, whose authorship is undisputed, has a complicated history of origins. Heine lists ten plays which

It is true that certain passages in the early German adaptations of Shakespeare's plays are so close to the English originals that one is very much inclined to picture a translator, pen in hand, and with an open book or manuscript in front of him (or less likely her). However, other passages of the same plays seem to exclude precisely this kind of process. Too much material in the plays has been omitted, transposed, added, or adapted to the new contexts in which they were performed. In the case of the early German *Wanderbühne*, the concepts of translation and adaptation seem to be inextricably linked. Even if the processes did not take place at exactly the same time, each text must have undergone both stages at some point in its existence, possibly even repeatedly so (see also pp. 16-17 above).

Yet how exactly the early German Shakespeare adaptations came into being is not easily explained. The following narratives are possible: when the English players traveled onto the Continent, they brought with them English plays (Shakespeare's among them), in print, in manuscript, in their memories, or in a combination of several of the above. They then adapted the plays, adding material from German and foreign sources, as well as topical references.

Creizenach lists the following instances where the traveling players must have used manuscript versions of playtexts because adaptations were performed in Germany before the English plays first appeared in print. Ayrer's *Comedia von König in Cypren* (*Comedy of the King of Cyprus*) was written before 1605, although Machin's *Dumb Knight*, on which Ayrer's play seems to be based, was only entered in the Stationers' Register in 1608 and printed shortly afterwards (J. Adams 413). Similarly, Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* was printed in 1633, but a *Tragoedia von Barrabas, Juden von Malta* (*Tragedy of Barrabas, Jew of Malta*) was performed

were signed by their author or adapter, and a further five which only bear initials. However, none of them can be clearly dated before 1700 (6-7).

in Dresden in 1626. Thirdly, Peele's *Mahomet* was never printed but (versions of it) were nevertheless performed in Germany (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* LXVIII; see p. 116 above).

Evidence of English printed plays that circulated in Germany in the seventeenth century is hard to come by (Fabian and Spieckermann 299). However, we know from a list of his possessions that the English Comedian Thomas Sackville owned not only a copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, but also a copy of "The Workes of Beniamin Jonson" (Asper, *Hanswurst* 11), proving that at least one English Comedian owned printed copies of English plays. However, no adaptations of Jonson's plays have survived.

The players may have brought over printed (or manuscript) playtexts from England with the purpose of performing them in Germany, as one record of "an unnamed troupe" of itinerant players "in Saint-Omer, France in 1599" illustrates: they represented "'several *comedies* and *moralities* of which they have exhibited the printed books'" (Peters 7). Such practices may have been facilitated by a trade in secondhand plays that is recorded for London (Knutson, "Player"). Playscripts traveled with an actor from one company to another (Knutson, "Repertory" 469). In the late 1580s, Richard Jones sold not only "playing apparelles" but also "playe books" to Edward Alleyn (Brand 12). It may therefore be conceivable that English actors bought playtexts in London and brought them to the Continent. Green's "extensively refurbished repertory" in Dresden in 1626, including a version of both *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, led Martin Wiggins to assume that "[w]hatever the reason for [Green's] interlude in England, one of the things he must have done there was some business with the King's Men" (29). The same may have been true when Browne returned to Germany in 1618, after having spent nearly ten years in England (see p. 39 above).

In Germany, a large and renowned book fair, which was part of the equally important trade fair in Frankfurt (Brand 25), offered the opportunity to acquire a copy of, for instance, Shakespeare's First Folio (Kastan 60).¹⁷¹ There were actually complaints in the second half of the seventeenth century that bookshops were filled with the translations of Protestant English texts, though not of dramatic works (Price 21-22).

Flemming points out that the "real repertory plays of the *Wanderbühne*" hardly ever made it into print (*Wanderbühne* 34).¹⁷² Sometimes playtexts were printed as presents for the nobility, accompanying a performance at court, as was the case with *Tugend- und Liebesstreit*, printed in 1677 for the birthday celebrations of the Duchess Christine. Manuscript copies were made for the same purpose. This is how the Graz manuscript of *Nobody and Somebody* (1608) is thought to have originated (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 34). A troupe of comedians offered a dedicated copy to the Duke's mother at the court of Wurttemberg in Stuttgart in 1698/99 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 486), and Elenson's company presented two playscripts bound in yellow silk to Emperor Leopold I at the occasion of his second wedding in 1673 (Asper, *Spieltexte* 47). The extant manuscript of *Romio und Julieta* may have had a similar origin.

Concerning the Eggenbergische Komödianten, we know that the actors themselves were responsible for buying or copying dramatic texts. They bought at least two "books of 'comedies'" (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 51)¹⁷³ immediately after they were hired in 1675 and copied at least

¹⁷¹ The Frankfurt fair was held twice a year, in spring and fall (Brand 25). The fair made "a trade in English books" possible, "albeit on a limited scale" (Fabian and Spieckermann 300). Of the seven copies of the First Folio located on the European Continent today, at least four were acquired only after 1800 (West 255-63, 282-83). I have not been able to ascertain the provenance of the remaining copies.

¹⁷² "richtige Repertoirestücke der Wanderbühne". Köhler agrees (*Kunst* XII).

¹⁷³ "zwei Büchlein von 'Komödien'".

four other plays (Záloha, "Beziehungen" 531). These books were bound in Český Krumlov. Until the group dissolved in 1691, dozens of plays were copied by hand (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 51). When two actresses of the company, one of them the daughter of the *Prinzipal* Göttner, married and moved to Vienna at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they brought "original manuscripts and copies" of playbooks with them as their dowry (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 486).¹⁷⁴

It seems likely that actors' parts were written out, as was the case in England (see Palfrey and Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts*). There is only a little evidence, such as a few plays written in two hands, where the hand changes with each cue (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 34). According to Tiffany Stern, twelve "medieval and early modern parts" are to be found in Germany ("Actors' Parts" 497). Bärbel Rudin refers to actors' parts having been produced and used at the theater in Český Krumlov ("Hoftheater" 487; "Textbibliothek" 86). Most playtexts, such as *Romio und Julieta*, seem to have been copied by a scribe (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 34).

An interesting by-product of seventeenth-century stage productions, mainly those performed in schools, were plot summaries. The origin of these "arguments" were in the "plays of Terence, Seneca and Plautus, which are regularly preceded by an *argumentum* (themselves copying the Greek plays of Euripides and Aristophanes that were fronted with a 'hypothesis')" (Stern, *Documents* 63). The "Teutsche Argumenta" ("German arguments") were intended mainly for the spectators of Latin plays. Stern refers to two arguments printed in Latin and German in 1630, both for a production in Latin (75). However, these plot summaries also appeared in German for German productions. They then probably fulfilled a similar function to the programs

¹⁷⁴ "Spielbücher ... Originalmanuskripte und Abschriften".

in today's theatres.¹⁷⁵ An argument of a German *King Lear* from 1692 and one from a version of *Titus Andronicus* from 1699 are extant (reprinted in Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 347-52 and 12-15). In Bevern, an entertainment for the birthday celebrations of Duke Ferdinand Albrecht was accompanied by "*carmina*", which were occasional prints, produced directly in the courtly printing house (Zimmermann 126). When a company asked for permission to perform in a city, they occasionally seem to have padded out their repertory lists with "Synopses"; at least this was the case when the Eggenbergische Komödianten applied to the city of Augsburg in 1695 (Asper, "Kilian" 30).

This overview of textual material – be it Shakespearean, pseudo-Shakespearean, or non-Shakespearean, German, English, or of other origins – gives an impression of the diversity of the playtexts and of their evolution over the decades. The overview is by no means comprehensive, especially since many playtexts have either been lost or have not enjoyed any scholarly investigation. This chapter has placed *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* within the context of its textual peers. An awareness of the corpus of the *Wanderbühne* playtexts will further an understanding of my two primary texts.

¹⁷⁵ Stern reports that arguments served as "something akin to a primitive theatre programme" on the early modern English stage (*Documents* 2). In England, these were only given out at "special, court or first performances" (6). They catered for a "literate audience's desire to have productions footnoted, edited and explained" or were regarded as "a printed 'souvenir'". In any case, "[a]rguments positively 'advertised' productions during performance and after it" (66).

CHAPTER 3

THEATRICAL CONDITIONS AND CONVENTIONS

In order to analyze the early German Shakespeare adaptations it is crucial to situate them within their context. Whereas the practical and administrative side of the performance conditions has been dealt with in Chapter 1, this chapter provides the theatrical context for *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the conditions the English Comedians performed in, the theatrical conventions the plays conformed to, as well as the process of change they underwent over the decades.

3a. Theatrical Conditions

"This world is a theater, where all persons dissemble, disguise and
mask themselves, and the spectators enjoy the pleasant deceit"

(Inscription in the theater hall in the castle of Bevern [Zimmermann 118])¹

¹ "Diese Welt ist ein Schauspiel, da sich alle Persohnen verstellen, verkleiden und verlarven; und erlustigen sich die Zuseher mit den angenehmen Betrug."

Theaters and Playing Spaces²

In the 1580s and 1590s, the first English players had no elaborate technology at their disposal, whereas later companies often did (Limon 2). Once the companies were established, the degree of technical sophistication depended on whether a company was performing at court, with a fully equipped theater, or on a simpler makeshift stage in a town square. A brief survey of early theater buildings may be useful.

The first purpose-built theater in Germany was erected in Kassel in 1604-05 by Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel. He called the building "Ottoneum" after his favorite son, Otto (Tittmann XVIII). For the construction, the Landgrave may have taken advice from the English actor Robert Browne, whose company he employed at the time (Brandt and Hogendoorn 25). The Ottoneum was "essentially an English theater" (G. Adams 24). English actors played there until 1613, and it was also used for student representations (1). This indoor theatre featured a half-moon stage (Schlueter, "Kassel" 249) which contained two trap doors, a backstage area, and benches shaped amphitheatrically to seat about 475 commoners, as well as approximately 150 seats in the orchestra for the nobility (G. Adams 7, 8, 15, 19, 21). The building had three entrances, "one for the lords, one for the players, and one for the commoners" (Schlueter, "Kassel" 249).

A fencing school opened in Gdańsk around 1610, built to house different kinds of entertainment.³ It might have served as a venue for performances of a version of *Hamlet* if the performance dates of 1616 and 1669 could be verified (see pp. 197-98 below). The fencing

² Regarding the following sections, relating to the stage, scenery, props, costumes, effects, etc., it should be noted that there are, of course, many similarities with the early modern English stage.

³ See Limon 44-45 for an illustration.

school was built of wood and, at least by 1646, it had galleries to seat the audience, as well as room for people standing "around the stage" (Limon 131). An estimated 3000 spectators could fit into this building; it thus had roughly the size of a "'typical' London playhouse" (131-32). Before 1646 a stage was erected for each performance, since the space was also used for animal baiting and other entertainments. In 1646, machinery for opera productions was installed.

At court, it was common to use a large hall for theatrical performances if a separate theater building did not exist. This is illustrated by Hamlet's instructions to Carl and his company in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: "Then go, get the stage ready in the great hall" (II.vii.60).⁴ The theater hall at the court of Bevern, where a version of *Romeo and Juliet* was performed in 1680, featured a device to have "people speak from the clouds" (Zimmermann 119).⁵ The hall had sayings and rhymed couplets in several languages inscribed on its walls, the ceiling, and the doors (115-18). It featured a central pillar painted to resemble a palm tree (118). The stage was separated into two parts by a curtain (118-19). Other than this, little is known about this playing space.

The only theater in which a performance of one of the plays edited here is recorded, and about which detailed information is available, is the one in Český Krumlov. Johann Christian von Eggenberg set up a theater in the "Hirschensaal" ("Hall of stags") of his castle in 1675 (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 44). Like Hamlet's castle in Denmark, Johann Christian's residence had a hall used for theatrical entertainment. It was furnished so as to accommodate a stage and

⁴ "So gehet hin, machet das Theater fertig in dem großen Saal." Creizenach notes that the players' sequence of the German *Hamlet* mirrors the theatrical conditions in Germany of the second half of the seventeenth-century ("Tragödie" 26).

⁵ "dass Personen aus den Wolken reden konnten".

room for spectators. Twenty different backdrops were painted (45). The Duke hired a company of actors and bought a large stock of props and cloths for their exclusive use (46). Nevertheless, this theater had been intended as an interim-playing space from the beginning (47).

In 1680, the construction of an independent theater building was undertaken, where *Romio und Julieta* was performed in 1688.⁶ The building was designed by the actor Johann Christoph Pernecker and was entirely built of wood. The audience space included an open balcony that was transformed into a gallery in 1685 (47). According to plans drawn in 1670, the space reserved for the audience was actually smaller than the stage itself. Between auditorium and stage, a space was reserved for the musicians.⁷ There was also a backstage area (49). Initially, the theater had four backdrops, among them a garden (of which *Romio und Julieta* makes much use, see p. 181 and p. 197, fn. 66 below). In 1685, a painter was hired to produce pieces for different sets: "seven clouds, seven waves, a shore, twelve water animals, a whale, a prison, twenty-two sheep, and three turtles" (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 49).⁸ The building even incorporated lodgings for the actors, who had hitherto rented rooms in the city (478).

Both *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, with its internal, textual evidence, and *Romio und Julieta*, with external, documentary evidence point towards excellent theatrical spaces that were available at court. The picture that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* draws of the theatrical infrastructure provided for a company of itinerant players at court – Hamlet wishes the

⁶ The still extant and beautifully preserved baroque theater in Český Krumlov was only built in 1766 (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 471).

⁷ See "Eggenberg Castle Theater". For an illustration see *Teatralia* 126.

⁸ "sieben Wolken, sieben Wasserwellen, ein Ufer, zwölf Wassertiere, einen Walfisch, ein Gefängnis, zweiundzwanzig Schafe und drei Schildkröten".

comedians "to be provided with everything" (II.vii.63-64)⁹ – was realized when *Romio und Julieta* was performed in Český Krumlov in the 1680s.

Stage and Scenery

Such lavish decorations and scenery were close to ideal performance conditions for the itinerant players. Yet the stage set up while traveling stood in stark contrast to this: the most basic kind of stage consisted of a platform with a curtain at the back.¹⁰ Such a stage could have been used when a company wanted to perform *Von Romeo vnnndt Julitha* in Nördlingen in 1604 (see p. 178 below). If a stage was erected, a trapdoor might have been incorporated, as well as additional side curtains (Tittman XIX). Sometimes the actors had no scaffold and only a fence separated them from the audience (Petersen 52).

In interior spaces or courtyards, the hangings from the galleries could form side curtains for the stage (Mauermann 110). The curtains provided openings for the actors to enter and exit (Tittman XXIII). Stage directions such as "*they re-enter on the other side*" (*Sidea* Act III, in Cohn, *Germany* 33)¹¹ imply that there were two stage "doors". One direction in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* also hints at this: "FRANCISCO *and watch come forward, give the word from the other side*" (I.iii.6 SD).¹² Additionally, a middle curtain was used for certain productions, dividing the stage into two parts, front and back (Cohn, *Germany* 83; Noe XIV). Stage directions

⁹ "daß euch alles soll gefolgt werden".

¹⁰ For an illustration, see Gurr, *Stage* 140.

¹¹ My translation. "*Sie ... kommen zur andern seiten wieder rein*".

¹² "FRANCISCO *und Wache heraus, geben das Wort auf der andern Seite*."

such as "*Here is presented an altar in a temple*" (BB III.i.0 SD)¹³ may imply the use of a middle curtain for something akin to the discovery space on the Shakespearean stage.¹⁴ Indications such as "forest in front, room at the back" also point towards a stage divided into two distinct parts (*Carl XII*, in Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 42).¹⁵ A curtain, though not necessarily a middle curtain, is used in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* when Corambus hides, coughs, and is killed "behind the tapestry" (III.iv.5-7 SD, III.v.14 SD-16 SD). The King and Corambus may also hide behind a curtain when they eavesdrop on Hamlet and Ophelia (II.iii.22 SD). An off-stage space is implied in *Romio und Julieta* when Julieta's supposedly dead body lies out of sight, and the Nurse and Pickelherring exit and return to report what they have seen (V.iii.38 SD-61).

More elaborate stages included two levels. Even in the early play *Tito Andronico*, Titus "looks down from above" (Act VII, in Cohn, *Germany* 223),¹⁶ and in *Phänicia*, "the ladies ascend the battlements, and look down from them" (Act I, in Cohn, *Germany* 83).¹⁷ Most inns and some castle halls featured a gallery, used for actors and musicians (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 48).

¹³ "*Hier präsentirt sich im Tempel ein Altar.*" Both temple and altar could be painted on a backdrop curtain. *1 St Patrick for Ireland* by James Shirley also contains the stage direction "*An altar discovered*" (Ichikawa 209-10).

¹⁴ Yet Alan C. Dessen reminds us that although "[a]n entrance *in the woods, in a garden* [etc.] may suggest onstage greenery ... any sense of the woods, garden" etc. may also be generated "by the entering actor's costume, hand-held properties, and dialogue" ("Stage Directions" 524).

¹⁵ "'vorne Wald, hinten Zimmer'".

¹⁶ My translation. "*siehet von oben hinunter*".

¹⁷ "Indessen geht das gantz Frauenzimmer auff die zinnen, sehen oben herab" (Tieck, *Deutsches Theater* 1: 257).

When the Eggenbergische Komödianten performed in the riding school in Linz in the 1670s, a "theatre and galleries"¹⁸ out of wood were erected for them (Asper, "Kilian" 27-28).

Backdrops for setting the scene were few in number yet multi-purpose (Noe XV). For instance, *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may have shared a backdrop when both plays were performed by the same company in 1626 in Dresden (see p. 197, fn. 66 below). Additionally, the stage could include not only a trapdoor, but also characters or properties entering "from above", "in a machine", as Night does in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (0.0 SD, Persons of the Prologus).¹⁹ Such "flying machines" are recorded in the second part of the seventeenth century. Opera productions in Gdańsk were using one as early as the 1640s (Limon 132), and the theater of Gotha had one for its opening production in 1683, adding a second one four years later, which reportedly carried eleven actors (Dobritzsch 181, 36). The Ottoneum theater had a "cage in which the actors ride up and down" (G. Adams 48).²⁰ In the court theater at Český Krumlov, two men were responsible for lights and scene changes during the performances (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 50), which suggests a fair amount of technical equipment.

As these descriptions illustrate "one should beware of the illusion that primitiveness and penury reigned [on the stage of] the traveling companies" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 45).²¹ This was especially the case if a noble patron funded the performances. Yet the actors could also make do with a bare stage, only supported by ornate costumes and symbolic props, as did

¹⁸ "Aufrichtung eines Theatri und der Ränge".

¹⁹ "von oben", "in einer ... Maschine".

²⁰ For another flying machine, see p. 59 above.

²¹ "Jedenfalls muß man sich vor der Einbildung hüten, als ob bei den Wandertruppen Primitivität und Armseligkeit geherrscht hätte." See also Limon 41.

traveling players in England (Gurr, *Stage* 86). One item which was always present was the throne, like the "state" on the Shakespearean stage (Gurr, *Stage* 235). It included several steps leading up to it, enough space to seat two actors, and a canopy (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 45). Such a throne was very likely used for *Romio und Julieta* to seat the Prince in the first scene, as well as for the numerous scenes of state in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (I.vii, Act II, III.x, IV.ii-IV.vii, V.iv.-V.vi). In the last scene, the King "*steps down from the throne*". Later, the stage direction merely refers to a "*chair*" (V.vi.27 SD, 38 SD),²² which suggests that the throne reflected in this part of the text may have been of a simpler nature.

Properties and Costumes

Stage properties played an important role on the *Wanderbühne*, for two main reasons. Firstly, the initial language divide could be more easily overcome with visible and symbolic props. Secondly, props were easier to transport than an entire set and could help to "set the scene" during performances on the road. The use of props in Shakespeare's originals is often further developed in the German adaptations (Baesecke 29). Since the two playtexts edited here came into being towards the end of the seventeenth century, props and costumes are less important in these texts than in plays from the beginning of the century. Yet there are a few instances where stage properties are used for symbolic purposes.

In *Romio und Julieta*, Romio tears the list of Capolet's guests into pieces when he finds out that Rosalina is invited to his enemy's house (I.iv.60 SD). In Shakespeare, the prop is not involved in such a symbolic action. Another instance is the exchange of rings before the

²² "*tritt vom Thron*", "*Stuhl*".

marriage ceremony, which is absent from Shakespeare.²³ In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, a "Kleinod" (II.iv.1, most likely a jewel) replaces the "tokens" in the First Quarto (CLN 861, vii.140) and the "remembrances" in the Second Quarto and the Folio (TLN 1748, III.i.92). The unnamed objects in Shakespeare have become concrete in the German adaptation, adding a possible sexual connotation to the object in question (see note to German text of *BB* II.iii.19).

A few property lists for stage productions have survived, for instance that of *Der Jud von Venedig* (*The Jew of Venice*): "What is needed for the comedy. Throne, table, quill, ink, paper, doctor's garment, servant's garment" (Meissner, *Englische Comödianten* 189).²⁴ Here the indispensable throne figures prominently at the head of the list. The manuscript version of *Papinian* in the Austrian National Library also includes such a list, featuring, among other things, "2 heads" and a "monument" (2v).²⁵ One of the latter also appears in *Romio und Julieta*. If one leaves aside the monument and the garden setting in *Romio und Julieta* (I.ii) no large or complex properties are needed for its performance. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* calls for more complicated scenery: the flying machine for Night in the prologue, a device to produce lightning (III.vi), as well as, possibly, a temple and an altar (III.i). Apart from these, the requirements are simple. With some minor adjustments, both plays can easily be performed with a limited number of props and virtually no set.

Like props, costumes could also have a symbolic function. The disguise or unmasking of a character often takes place on stage (Baesecke 32). In *Tito Andronico*, Morian shows his new

²³ See long note to *RuJ* III.x.

²⁴ "[Wass] man zu der Comoed Braucht. Thron[,] Tisch, Feder, Tinte, Papier, Doctors Kleidt, Dieners Kleid". Yet this list is incomplete: a knife, a bed, and several other properties are also needed.

²⁵ "2 köpffe / Monument".

status as the Empress's paramour by taking off an "*old mantle*" and revealing his more splendid clothes underneath (Act I, in Cohn, *Germany* 168; see p. 157 below).²⁶ In reverse fashion, in *Der Jud von Venedig* (*The Jew of Venice*), Pickelherring progresses from "a Magister", to a "Licentiate", to a "Doctor Superlativissimus" by putting on one by one "the doctor's dress", a false beard, and a cap (III.v, in Brennecke 150).²⁷

The general importance of costumes, as well as their "variety and brilliancy" is often emphasized (Cohn, *Germany* CXXXVI). The Eggenbergische Komödianten were renowned for their "beautiful adornments and clothing" (Ludvik 82).²⁸ Again, *Romio und Julieta* provides us with external evidence. In the 1680 performance in Bevern, as Duke Ferdinand Albrecht informs us, the *Prinzipal* played Romio and "wore the coat we gave him, with the silver points" (Zimmermann 139).²⁹ From the text, we learn that Romio wears a "red gown" (II.iii.81)³⁰ to the Capolet feast; this may be a reference to the same garment. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Ophelia talks about dresses (III.ix.5, 14 and III.xi.23), although these may be imagined clothing rather than actual costumes.

Hamlet's criticism of the players is instructive in this respect:

²⁶ The opening stage direction tells us that Morian is wearing "*plain black garments over his splendid clothes*" (my translation, "*Morian, welcher schwartz vnd geringe Gewandt vber seine prechtige Kleider gezogen*", in Cohn, *Germany* 161).

²⁷ "Doctor Kleidt ... ich Bin erst Magister ... ietzt bin ich ein Licentiat ... Vnd ietzt bin ein Docter Superlativissimus" (in Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 160).

²⁸ "schöne Auszier und Kleidungen"; record from 1696.

²⁹ "hat vnseren ihm geschenckten Rock mit den Silbern spitzen an". "Spitzen" could also be translated as "lace".

³⁰ "Rothe[s] kleid".

you had with you some lads who wore good clothes but black shirts and some who wore boots but no spurs. ... there were also a few who wore silk stockings and white shoes, but on their heads they had black hats, which were full of feathers, with about as many feathers below as above. I think they must have gone to bed with them instead of nightcaps; that's bad and is easily changed.³¹ (II.vii.25-26, 32-36)

In contrast to his Shakespearean counterpart, the German Hamlet spends more time speaking about the mismatched and inappropriate costumes of the players than about their acting skills. This underlines the general importance of costumes on the *Wanderbühne*. The costumes were actually the most precious items a company owned³² and could be pawned in times of financial difficulties (Noe XV).³³

Lighting, Music and Dancing, and Special Effects

Indoor performances may well have been staged with darkened auditoriums. An account of a performance in Frankfurt in 1658 tells us that it was "so dark inside, that one could see no one except on the stage", much to the grief of one spectator, because it prevented him from reading a letter from his loved one (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* L).³⁴ There are earlier records of performances by candle light, for instance at the court in Wolgast in 1613 (Fredén 107). In the

³¹ "ihr hattet etliche Bursche bey euch, die hatten gute Kleider an, aber schwarze Hemden, etliche hatten Stiefeln an, aber keine Sporen. ... da waren auch etliche, die hatten seidne Strümpfe und weisse Schuh an, aber auf dem Haupte hatten sie schwarze Hüte, die waren voll Federn, unten bald so voll, als oben die Plomaschen waren, ich glaube sie musten anstatt der Schlafmützen damit in den Betten gelegen haben, das steht so schlimm, und ist leicht zu ändern". See also note to *BB* II.vii.33-34.

³² This was also the case in England (Dessen, "Staging Matters" 40).

³³ This was taken up in the framing plot of *Romio und Julieta. Und Picklhäring* (see p. 186 below).

³⁴ "so dunkel drin, daß man niemand schier alß uff dem Theater, kennen kann".

court theater at Český Krumlov, two men were responsible for lights during the performances, both on stage and in the audience (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 50). For public performances, the actors had to organize the lighting themselves. When the Eggenbergische Komödianten played in Augsburg in 1696, they complained of the small profits they had made, due to large expenses, partly constituted by "lights" (Ludvik 79).³⁵

Effects were sought whenever possible. This was again partly due to the initial importance of the visual, but also because the spectacular attracted spectators. Siegfried Mauermann summarizes the effects as being mainly "noise, music, blood, and fire" (113).³⁶ The first two were often created backstage,³⁷ for instance to announce or to underscore a battle scene.

Music was also incorporated into the narrative of the play: for instance, Romio has his boy play a song under Julieta's window in *Romio und Julieta* (*RuJ* II.v.14-21). Baesecke points out that music and dance tend to be more important in the German adaptations than in Shakespeare's plays (36-37). *Romio und Julieta* is again a case in point. Whereas in Shakespeare, the two lovers do not dance together and only speak to each other after the dance, in the German play, their first meeting is constituted precisely by a dance (II.iii.4 SD-6).

Yet in the same play, music is also used as a backdrop. This was often the case for sad or melancholic moments (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 26). *Romio und Julieta*'s last scene opens with: "*Sad music. JULIETA lies in the monument*"³⁸ (V.iv.0 SD). The direction is repeated: "*Music.*

³⁵ "und lichter auch unkosten erfordern". This suggests that performances also took place at night (see p. 62 above).

³⁶ "Lärm, Musik, Blut und Feuer".

³⁷ Music also came "from 'within'" on the Shakespearean stage, "at least up to the end of the sixteenth century" (Gurr, *Stage* 182).

³⁸ "*Traurige Music[.] JULIETA ligt in Monument[.]*"

JULIETA *awakes in the monument*"³⁹ (V.iv.74 SD). This might suggest that the music fades out only to be taken up again when Julieta wakes up. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Night "ascends" to "Music" (0.49 SD) at the end of the prologue.⁴⁰ On the other hand, like in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the guards hear trumpets that signal the new King's reveling (for instance, I.i.25 SD). As the two plays illustrate, music was either incorporated into the plot or occurred outside the narrative frame of the play.

The actors were often accomplished dancers, fencers, and acrobats. Acrobatics, such as rope dancing or leaping, were particularly popular towards the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ On the London stage, acrobatics feats, dancing, music, and songs may also have preceded the performance of a play (Hirrel 176). There are not many records of acrobatics in early modern German playtexts, probably because these acts were not scripted,⁴² but audience accounts speak their admiration. A poem from 1597 reads:

I must praise too the leaper's art,
Because so very high he springs,
And also for some other things.
His manner is so full of graces
In dancing, and in all his paces,
To see it's really a delight,

³⁹ "Music. JULIETA *Erwacht im Monument*[.]"

⁴⁰ "fährt auf. Music".

⁴¹ See Katritzky, *Women* 264; Holland, "Shakespeare Abbreviated" 31; Bosman, "Intertheatre" 569.

⁴² One instance can be found in *Comoedia von der Königin Esther und Hoffertigen Haman* (*Comedy of the Queen Esther and the Proud Haman*, printed in the 1620 collection) where the clown's son shows off his acrobatic skills and the father ridicules himself by trying to imitate him (Baesecke 34; Act II, in Brauneck 1: 38-39).

And then his hose too sit so tight.⁴³ (Marx Mangoldt, *Marckschiffs Nachen*, qtd. in Cohn, *Germany LX*)

Apart from acrobatics, the *Wanderbühne* offered elaborate special effects whenever possible. One such effect is recorded in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: just after Hamlet has murdered Corambus, the "GHOST walks over the stage" followed by "Lightning" (III.vi.0 SD).⁴⁴ Records in the castle theater in Gotha were used to reconstruct how this effect may have been achieved: the spores of *lyco podium clavatum* (club moss) were lit inside a metal pipe; this produced bright sparks. About a quarter of a pound of spores was needed for one bolt of lightning.⁴⁵ An effect that may have been used in *Romio und Julieta* is "a basin in which water gushed in front of the spectators' eyes".⁴⁶ This was built for the court theater in Český Krumlov (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 47) and may be alluded to when Julieta speaks of "the little rushing brooks that break their course between the pebbles" (I.ii.3).⁴⁷ The fact that these effects were praised in the playbills (see pp. 59-61 above) goes to show how important they were for the *Wanderbühne*.

⁴³ "Den Springer ich auch loben soll, / Wegen seines hohen Springen, / Vnd auch noch anderer Dingen: / Höfflich ist in all' seinen Sitten, / Im tantzen vnd all seinen Tritten. / Dass solchs fürwar ein Lust zu sehen, / Wie glatt die Hosen jhm anstehen."

⁴⁴ "GEIST geht über das Theater. geblitzet."

⁴⁵ My thanks go to Helga Franck, guide at the Ekho Theater, for this information.

⁴⁶ "Becken ... in dem vor den Augen der Zuschauer Wasser aufsprudelte".

⁴⁷ "rauschenden bächlein die ihren lauff zwischen den kißelsteinen zerbrechen". Capolet later speaks of "fountains" (I.iii.79, "springende wässer").

Acting and Improvisation

The English Comedians' professionalism and their naturalistic⁴⁸ acting and miming seem to have constituted a novelty for the German audiences (see p. 13 above). Earlier German dramatic performances provided narrative declamation rather than lively acting (Baesecke 74; Bosman, "Intertheater" 568). The English Comedians were praised for the "gracefulness of their gestures" and for their "delicateness in speech" (preface to *Engelische Comedien*, in Brauneck 1: 2).⁴⁹ Their dramatic acting, which seemed self-evident to the visiting Englishman Fynes Moryson, was marveled at by German audiences (Baesecke 14).⁵⁰

Like in England, improvisation was mainly the clown's job (Stern, *Documents* 245). Unfortunately the surviving texts can tell us little about the lively and undoubtedly dazzling nature of these extemporizations. However, the clown's improvisations were not entirely spontaneous, but consisted of a number of acts (both physical and verbal) which were repeated and adapted as required (Asper, *Hanswurst* 123, 140). Such routines are reflected in a number of phrases and scenes that reappear in several plays.

For instance, a passage from *Romio und Julieta* involving Pickelherring has a striking resemblance to a passage from *Tragico Comedia Von Conte de Monte Negro* (*Tragico Comedia of Conte de Monte Negro*):

⁴⁸ Note the use of the word "naturel" ("naturally") by Duke Ferdinand Albrecht when referring to "a water nymph [who] sang from the waves"; this "was so *naturally* presented" (Zimmermann 150, "eine Wasser Nympe sang aus den Wellen, so *naturel* presentiret").

⁴⁹ "Anmutigkeit ihrer Geberden", "Zierligkeit im Reden".

⁵⁰ Moryson calls the plays "dully penned, and worse acted"; "and the mirth [the actors] make is ridiculous" (C. Hughes 304).

CAPOLET What, Julieta, art thou troubled by an illness? Then tell us.

JULIETA Ah, I had better keep silence.

CAPOLET Where hast thou any pain?

JULIETA In the heart.

CAPOLET In the heart?

JULIETA Yes, and I suffer great torment.

PICKELHERRING Sir, you do ask foolishly. She tells you that her pains mostly reign around the breast, belly, and navel, and the adjacent countries. (V.i.26-35)⁵¹

Compare the following passage from *Tragico Comedia Von Conte de Monte Negro*, which also involves a father, a daughter, and a Pickelherring conversing about the daughter's lovesickness:

Alfonso. Dear daughter *Arcadia*, how come thou art always so sad? Art thou perhaps ill? ... thou shalt be helped.

Arcadia. You have not erred, father, I am sad, and the cause of my sadness is my illness.

...

Alfonso. Where does it hurt the most?

Arcadia. Around the heart, father.

Pickalh. Yes, yes, around the heart and around the whole circumference of the same countries.
(I.iii, 2v-3r)⁵²

⁵¹ "CAPOLET [W]ie *Julieta*, hast du ein anligen einer krankheit so sag es vns. / JULIETA Ach es ist besser ich Schweige. / CAPOLET [W]o Schmerzt es dich [?] / JULIETA Jn dem hertzen[.] / CAPOLET Jn dem hertzen? / JULIETA Ja. [V]nd leide grosse qual[.] / PICKLHÄRING [H]err Ihr fragt auch Närrisch, Sie sagt Eüchs Ja, das ihre Schmetzen vmb die brust, bauch vnd nabel vnd umb die angränzenden länder am meisten regiren[.]" See also note to *RuJ* V.i.34-35 and note to German text at V.i.35.

⁵² "*Alfonso.* Liebste Tochter *Arcadia*, wie kompts daß du jeder zeit stäts traurig bist, bistu etwa nicht wohl zu paß ... es soll dir geholfen werden. / *Arcadia* Jhr habet in diesem fall nicht gerirret Hl Vater, ich bin traurig vndt die

The resemblance is striking and may well be evidence of the clown's stock routines being used in several plays.⁵³

Early plays, for instance those of the 1620 collection, often included instructions such as "Here Pickelherring acts" (Schrickx, *Envoyes* 232).⁵⁴ The clown's lines were not scripted, and it can be assumed that he was given free rein at particular moments in the play. Improvisations were also opportunities to add local color and topical references. As Gottsched's reforming plans for the theatre took hold in the 1730s (see p. 71 above), improvisation along with its most prominent agent, the clown figure, were frowned upon and largely fell out of fashion.⁵⁵

Stage Directions

Richard Hosley divided stage directions into fictional ones, referring to houses and streets, and theatrical ones, referring to discovery spaces and stages (Dessen and Thomson 90). In most early texts the stage directions are of the fictional kind. Sometimes, they add information that could not possibly be gleaned by a spectator. For instance, in *Tito Andronico* the opening stage direction contains the following: "*the emperor also arrives, but then he was not yet the Roman*

traurigkeit rühret her, Von meiner kranckheit ... *Alfonso* Wo plagt es dich den am meisten / *Arcadia* Vmbs Hertz HI Vater. / Pickalhl Ja, ia, vmbs hertz, v. vmb den gantzen umkreiß derselben Lender".

⁵³ Another example is Pickelherring pretending to be sick in order to evade punishment (see *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* III.ii, in Creizenach 95-96 and *Jud von Venedig* II.iii, in Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 145-47).

⁵⁴ "Allhier agiret Pickelhering."

⁵⁵ Yet see Mahal 122, who points out that Gottsched's banishment of the clown in 1737, symbolized by "the onstage burning of a Harlequin puppet" (Katritzky, *Women* 261) was by no means successful.

emperor" (Act I, in Cohn, *Germany* 161).⁵⁶ Conversely, stage directions occasionally duplicate information which a character is about to communicate. Act VI of *Tito Andronico* opens with: "Now the wise nurse comes out, [she] has a young black child in her arms, which Morian engendered with the empress" (adapted from Cohn, *Germany* 208).⁵⁷ In her following speech the nurse (or midwife) informs us that the child was "brought into the world last night" by the Empress, and that "it is the progeny of Morian her secret paramour" (adapted from Cohn, *Germany* 208).⁵⁸

Although *Tito Andronico* and other plays from the 1620 collection were written in a mode that may not satisfy *our* demands for a "useful" dramatic text, the author (or editor) – probably Friedrich Menius (see p. 101 above) – may merely have tried to recount what he had seen and offer it to the general public so they could enjoy what he had enjoyed (Haekel, "Erzählerische Elemente"). This has in fact been argued for the 1620 collection as a whole. Yet the paratext of the collection itself sends mixed messages (see pp. 102-03 above). The author's intention probably was to provide playscripts, but he was most likely not a man of the theater.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the stage directions became less narrative and shorter; sometimes they were only implied. *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are cases in point. Especially entrance and exit directions are often incomplete or

⁵⁶ My translation. "auch kömpt der Keyser, aber damalen war er noch nicht Römischer Keyser".

⁵⁷ "Jetzt kömpt herauss die weise Muhme, hat ein junges schwartzes Kindt im Arm, welches der Morian mit der Käyserinnen gezeuget" (Cohn, *Germany* 207).

⁵⁸ "diese Nacht hat es die Käyserin zur Welt gebohren, vns [sic] es mit dem Morian welcher jhre heimliche Bule gezeuget" (Cohn, *Germany* 207).

missing. Similarly, directions for killing and dying are usually implied.⁵⁹ In the case of *Romio und Julieta*, an explanation for the missing directions may be that the extant manuscript constitutes a transcript made for a patron (see p. 124 above and p. 187 below). The intention may then not have been to produce an "actable" script containing detailed instructions, but merely a succinct text to read. The "dramatic awareness" had also evolved over the decades, so that narrative or fictional stage directions may have been deemed superfluous.

Despite *Romio und Julieta*'s generally short directions, the play offers some interesting indications which can be valuable for reconstructing early modern staging conditions. The last scene begins with: "*Sad music. JULIETA lies in the monument*" (V.iv.0 SD).⁶⁰ This indicates that there was a construction onstage representing "the monument" in (or on) which Julieta lies and which Paris enters (or approaches) when he "*Scatters the flowers over her*" (V.iv.19 SD).⁶¹ The text repeatedly calls for a construction representing the "monument" on stage (V.iv.42 SD, 74 SD, 109 SD). However, unlike Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, the German text has no indication that Romio forces open a tomb – or the "monument". In Shakespeare, the appropriate set and actions have caused some debate. Although the texts of both quartos suggest an action –

Thou detestable mawe, thou wombe of death,

Gorg'd with the dearest morsell of the earth:

Thus I enforce thy rotten Iawes to open⁶² (Q2 L2r, V.iii.45-47)

⁵⁹ See *RuJ* IV.ii.56, 75, V.iv.52, 73-74 and *BB* III.v.16, V.vi.42, 44, 45-46, 62, 70-71.

⁶⁰ "*Traurige Music[.] JULIETA ligt in Monument[.]*"

⁶¹ "[S]*trät die blumen auff Sie[.]*"

⁶² Q1 has "ope".

– only Q1 has the direction "*Romeo opens the tombe*" (K1r, V.iii.34 SD). Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson comment: "[c]omplications can arise when a reader cannot be certain if a direction is *theatrical* (and therefore calls for a significant property such as a *tomb* ...) or *fictional* (so that a sense of a tomb ... is to be generated by means of language ... or appropriate actions ...)". They point towards "the differing interpretations of '*Romeo opens the tomb*' ..., a signal that may or may not require an elaborate tomb property" (90-91). As the stage directions illustrate, in *Romio und Julieta* the case for an "elaborate tomb property" is stronger than in Shakespeare.

In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, most of the noteworthy stage directions are related to the increased physicality of the Ghost. In his first scene, he "*gives the SENTINEL a box on the ear from behind and makes him drop his musket*" (I.ii.6 SD).⁶³ After he has asked Hamlet to follow him, the Ghost "*beckons, goes to the middle of the stage, and opens his jaws several times*" (I.v.8 SD).⁶⁴ This supplies a visual representation of the Ghost leading his son away from the others. The fact that he "*opens his jaws*" may have had a comic effect. According to John Dover Wilson, the Ghost can be likened to a puppet "opening and shutting his jaws, no doubt to the intense edification of the groundlings" (56).⁶⁵ Similarly, Peter W. Marx draws parallels between the ghost and the physical and burlesque actions of the clown figure (522).

Apart from the Ghost's physical action, it is noteworthy that his command "We swear" is spoken from "*within*" (I.vi.21).⁶⁶ In Shakespeare, the Ghost speaks from "*vnder the Stage*" (TLN 845, I.v.149 SD). One reason for the change in the German text may be that traveling companies

⁶³ "giebt von hinten der SCHILDWACHE eine Ohrfeige, daß er die Musquete fallen läßt."

⁶⁴ "winket[, geht] bis aufs halbe Theater, und thut etlichemal das Maul auf."

⁶⁵ See p. 160, fn. 98 for Stern's theory that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was intended as a puppet play.

⁶⁶ "GEIST (*inwendig*) Wir schwören."

often had to make do without a trap door. Another explanation for the Ghost to speak from within may be that "it turned out ... not to be practicable to have the Ghost speak from under the stage". This was the case "at the London Globe in 2000: the actor could not be heard by the audience; nor could he hear his cues" (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 223).⁶⁷

So the stage directions of the German adaptations can help to investigate current views on Elizabethan staging. *Romio und Julieta* contains at least two pivotal stage directions that are absent from the two Shakespearean quartos (see p. 176 below). *Kunst über alle Künste* (*Art of all Arts*) also offers a stage direction which might illustrate Shakespearean stage practice: when Hartman (Petruchio's equivalent) and Catharina leave their wedding celebrations (against Catharina's will, as in Shakespeare), Hartman "carries her off in his arms" (Act III, in Köhler, *Kunst* 126).⁶⁸ Such an exit can still be seen in some modern productions.

Further insights into Shakespearean staging practice may be offered by the German *Titus*. For his edition of the Shakespearean *Titus Andronicus*, Bate in fact adapted some of the stage directions of the German text.⁶⁹ He uses *Tito Andronico* to better understand and to complement the Shakespearean original. One relevant scene is III.i at the end of which "the Andronici make an oath that they will right each other's wrongs" (46), these wrongs being Lavinia's rape and mutilation, the murder of her brothers, and the mutilation of Titus himself. Earlier in this scene, Shakespeare's text features the memorable stage direction "*Enter a Messenger with two heads and a hand*" (III.i.232 SD). At this moment, Lavinia is onstage, ravished and without hands or a

⁶⁷ For a noteworthy stage direction depicting the Prince's adventures during his sea voyage, see p. 159 below.

⁶⁸ "Er trägt sie im Arm hinauss."

⁶⁹ III.i.250, III.i.279, and IV.i.54. References to *Titus Andronicus* in this section are to Bate's edition. See also p. 18 above.

tongue, her father Titus, with only one hand, and Titus's physically intact son and brother, Lucius and Marcus. The heads that are brought on are those of Titus's sons Quintus and Martius, the hand is Titus's own. Titus and his remaining maimed family vow revenge:

You heavy people, circle me about,

That I may turn me to each one of you

And swear unto my soul to right your wrongs (III.i.277-79)

Titus's next line is "The vow is made" (280). This pledge should probably be accompanied by some action: "Eugene Waith's edition [from 1984] introduces the stage direction 'He pledges them', and adds a footnote to the effect that what is needed is 'A simple ritual, such as handshaking' ... In the circumstances this suggestion seems mildly unfortunate" (Bate 46). Bate goes on to propose that the German text "suggests that 'ritual' is right, but that something more elaborate is needed" (46). Here is the "more elaborate" stage direction:

*Now Titus goes to kneel down and they begin to play a dirge, all the others walk around and sit down where the heads are lying. Titus takes up his hand, holds it, and looks up to heaven, sighs, vows secretly, beats his breast, and puts down the hand after having completed the vow. Thereupon he takes up one head, then also the other and swears by each of them singly; finally he approaches the kneeling Andronicam [Lavinia] and swears by her as before with the others. Then they all rise again. (Act VI, adapted from Cohn, Germany 200)*⁷⁰

⁷⁰ "Jetzt gehet Titus Andron: auff die Knie sitzen, vnd fangen an ein Klagelied zu spielen, die andern alle gehen vmbher, sitzen da die Häupter liegen. Titus nimpt seine Hand, helt sie vnd siehet gen Himmel, seufftzt, schweret heimlich, schläget sich für die Brust, leget nach vollendung des Eides die Hand weg, darnach nimpt er das eine Häupt, darnach auch das ander, schweret bey einem jeglichen besondern, zu letzt gehet er zu der Andronicam auch, die da auff die Knie sitzt, schweret bey derselben auch, wie er zuvor bey den andern, darnach stehen sie sämptlich wieder auff" (Cohn, Germany 199).

The German play transforms Titus's announcement in Shakespeare – "That I may turn me to each one of you / And swear unto my soul to right your wrongs" – into an action. Titus indeed turns to each of the injured parties and makes a vow. Bate opts for the succinct and permissive direction "*They make a vow*" (III.i.279 SD), which is probably more compatible with modern tastes than the lengthy German version.⁷¹

A second instance that might illustrate Shakespearean staging is found earlier in the same scene. After the heads and hand have been brought on, in Shakespeare, Marcus says: "Alas, poor heart, that kiss is comfortless / As frozen water to a starved snake" (251-52). This presents an implied stage direction for a kiss. But who kisses whom? As Bate points out, modern editions usually add a direction having Lavinia kiss Titus or Lucius. However, the German text has the following instruction for Andronica when she discovers her brothers' heads: "*She is horrified, looks up and sighs towards heaven, goes towards the heads and kisses them*" (Act IV, adapted from Cohn, *Germany* 196).⁷² The German text has omitted Marcus's line about the kiss, but instead offers a stage direction that Bate considers worthy of being incorporated into his edition, which, as he declares, "is the first to follow the stage direction of the early text for this macabre kiss" (48). Bate thus makes a strong case for the importance of the stage directions of the German Shakespeare adaptations.

⁷¹ In his annotation, Bate does point towards the German stage direction quoted in his introduction (204).

⁷² "*Sie verschricket sich sehr, siehet vnd seufftzt gegen Himmel, gehet zu den Häuptern, vnd küsset sie*" (Cohn, *Germany* 195).

Language

PAROLES ... If there be here German or Dane, Low Dutch,
 Italian, or French, let him speak to me
 (*All's Well That Ends Well* IV.i.72-73)

In the 1580s, the English Comedians started out by performing in their mother tongue. The large majority of the population had no knowledge of the English language,⁷³ yet, according to Moryson, despite "not vnderstanding a worde [the English] sayde" everyone "flocked wonderfully to see their gesture and Action" (C. Hughes 304). Possibly, while the performances were still in English, only extracts of plays were performed, which were largely intelligible without language (Asper, *Hanswurst* 328-29; C. Hughes 304). The language change from English to German is believed to have started around 1600.

There is at least one documented instance of the Germans being wary of the foreign-language performances. In 1606, English Comedians wanted to perform plays of biblical content in a church in Loitz, in today's Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The court chaplain Hagius cautioned that this was only pretense: "Since their comedies are written and acted in an unknown language, so that one does not know who is the author and poet thereof" they might add "worldly songs and music, amatory songs ... farces ... and other follies" (Meyer 203, 204)⁷⁴ without the audience noticing.

⁷³ See Fabian and Spieckermann 299 and Price 13.

⁷⁴ "Weil Ire Comedien in vnbekannter sprach geschriben sindt und agirt werden, das man nicht weis, wer der Meister vnd Dichter derselben ... weltliche gesang vnd music, amatorische lieder, tentz, springen ... vnd andere thorheit".

Creizenach suggests that German "*argumenta actionum*" may have been distributed during English performances to facilitate comprehension, as was common for Latin performances in schools (*Schauspiele* XXVI). However, this does not seem to have been the case in Loitz, since the chaplain complains that he is unaware of the plays' content. Also, the extant copies of such arguments are of later date (see pp. 125-26 above).

A performance in German is recorded as early as 1592: Sackville's company performed in Wolfenbüttel, at the court of Duke Heinrich Julius, who was probably one of the driving forces behind the language change (Baesecke 76-77), since he wrote plays in German for the English Comedians. One year later, Browne is still recorded as playing in English (76). Sackville again performed in German in 1597 in Frankfurt (77). In 1601 an English-speaking company with a German-speaking clown performed in Münster (see p. 153, fn. 79 below). The last recorded performance in English was the one in Loitz in 1606. This does not mean that the English Comedians had fully mastered the German language: a document from 1610 still refers to the "comedians coming from the Dutch and English towns ... presenting their amusing farces and jugglery ... insofar, that is, as they can make themselves understood in German and by using gestures" (Limon 120).⁷⁵ Holland believes that during this period of adjustment the actors made use of "a polyglottal mixture and general linguistic flexibility" ("Shakespeare Abbreviated" 30). Bosman also suggests the use of "a sort of in-between language or grammar" between the native language and the target language, an "interlanguage" as he terms it ("Intertheater" 565).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ "dern Comoedianten ... auss den Nider- vnd Engelländischen Stätten ... vnd jre lächrige bossen vnd gauckelspiel ... soviel man in Teutscher Sprach vnd geberden zuwegen bringen kan" (Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 6).

⁷⁶ The term was first introduced by Larry Selinker (Bosman, "Intertheater" 584).

The fact that after 1600 the companies gradually incorporated German actors must have increased the velocity of the language shift. After the Thirty Years' War, the language of the playtexts became more intricate, as it was now mainly German native speakers who adapted the plays. Limon suggests that "when German was substituted for English on stage, it became possible to stage unabridged texts of plays which made the productions far more complex and elaborate" (41-42). Yet it seems likely that the texts were initially shortened and subsequently enlarged with new material (see pp. 190-94, 206-14 below).

The language of the plays became more complex in the course of the century, and later plays, such as *Romio und Julieta*, contain more passages that may be qualified as poetic. In early modern English plays "revision might not happen over and on a whole play" (Stern, *Documents* 255), but also in given sections of the texts. I postulate the same for the *Wanderbühne* plays. The addition of poetic passages sometimes leads to hyperbolic, extravagant language, typical for the baroque period (Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 26). For instance Romio describes how "the morning star retires and gives way to the world's great light" (IV.v.68-69).⁷⁷ The eighteenth-century critic Gottsched ridicules such formulations. According to him, some of the plays of Hoffmann's company, which has also been related to the extant text of *Romio und Julieta* (see p. 41 above), "are all Spanish, and walk on stilts. Every conversation and expression is so grandiose that they surpass all common sense. One does not say that noon has passed, but rather that the monarch of the stars has already passed the swirl of noon" (qtd. in Asper, *Spieltexte* 151, 152).⁷⁸

⁷⁷ "sich der morgenstern *retteriret* vnd dem großen welldt liecht platz machet".

⁷⁸ "sind ganz spanisch, und gehen auf Stelzen. Alle Gespräche und Redensarten sind so hochtrabend, daß sie alle gesunde Vernunft übersteigen. Man sagt da nicht, daß der Mittag vorüber sey; sondern, daß der Monarch der Gestirne den Mittagswirbel schon überstiegen habe."

The clown's language was important, because he was the first to speak German, for instance "when [the actors] were about to start a new act and had to change their costume, so that he would make people laugh" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 46).⁷⁹ This explains the clown figure's close relationship with the audience, and it partly accounts for his general importance on the *Wanderbühne*. The clown also played with words and speech, for instance with the speed of his enunciation: in *Der Jude von Venetien* (*The Jew of Venetia*), Pickelherring distinguishes between "2,000" and "two thousand", and stage directions designate the former to be spoken quickly and the latter slowly, thereby changing the amount in the clown's view (IV.vi, in Brennecke 163).⁸⁰ After all, Pickelherring explains, his master does not want to borrow "two thousand", but merely "2,000".

The language of the plays was often formulaic (Baesecke 96), repeating certain set expressions, for instance forms of address, such as "gracious lord and King" (*BB* II.ii.1, II.iii.10, II.iv.19-20, IV.iv.1, V.vi.1)⁸¹ or "(most) gracious Prince and lord" (*RuJ* I.i.13, 23, 33-34, 48; IV.iii.12, 16, 21, 26; V.iv.113, 117, 121, 127, 158).⁸² A characteristic *Wanderbühne* figure was the hendiadys (Baesecke 91), one of its functions being to facilitate comprehension: a German

⁷⁹ A chronicle (Münster, 1601) reports that an English company performed "five different plays in their English language". "They had a clown with them who fooled around and jested in the German language during the performance" (Brandt and Hogendoorn 46; "'vif verscheiden comedien in ihrer engelschen Sprache' ... 'Sie hetten bei sich einen schalkes naren, so in duescher sprache vielle bötze und geckerie machede under den ageren, wenn sie einen neuen actum wolten anfangen und sich umbkledden, darmidt ehr das volck lachent machede'" [Asper, *Hanswurst* 25-26]).

⁸⁰ "zwey tausent" (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 251).

⁸¹ "gnädiger Herr und König".

⁸² "gnädiger Fürst und Herr" or "gnädigster Fürst und Herr".

word was paired with one of foreign origin, two German words were paired, or the structure was applied to a whole sentence.⁸³ Another formula that was often used was to appeal to "the gods".⁸⁴ This belonged to the style of the comedians of the seventeenth century, also in plays which were not set in the heathen world (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 141). In England, too, the "mixture of classical and Christian allusions was common at the time" (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 162).

As for prose and verse, the English were praised for mixing the two (earlier German poetry had generally been entirely in verse). Verse is typically used for serious or tragic situations, prose for lighter matters, in an attempt to give each situation its adequate tone and style. Such a distinction can be seen in both *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and *Romio und Julieta*, which are mainly written in prose; verse is reserved for solemn occasions. The final lines of an act or a scene, particularly the last scene, were often in rhymed verse, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* LXXXVII). This is the case in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (I.vii.41-42, II.ix.28-29, III.x.51-54, V.vi.81-84) and in *Romio und Julieta* (I.i.109-24, IV.vi.45-80, V.ii.56-59, V.iv.164-87). In the latter play, the three young lovers also speak their dying words in rhymes (V.iv.52-55, 71-74, 94-105).

⁸³ For instance: "Listen and give heed" (*BB* I.v.15, "höre, und gieb wohl Achtung"); "doctors and physicians" (*BB* II.i.9, "Doctores und Aerzte"); "cries and screams" (*BB* IV.vi.4-5, "ruft und schreyt"); "wedded or married" (*RuJ* III.iv.25, "vermählen oder trauen"); "'yes' and answer" (*RuJ* III.ix.3, "Ja vnd andtwordt"); "*valet* and farewell" (*RuJ* IV.v.49, "*ualet* vnd abschid").

⁸⁴ "Götter". See for instance *RuJ* II.v.47 and *BB* I.vii.34.

3b. Theatrical Conventions

The second part of this chapter analyzes some salient features of the German Shakespeare adaptations of the seventeenth century, namely: the adapters shortened the play, streamlined the plot, conveyed information visually and physically rather than verbally, made explicit what was alluded to in Shakespeare, incorporated or elaborated the role of the clown, and accentuated the didactic dimension of the plays. Focusing on each of these characteristics in turn, I will show how (and, to a certain extent, why) Shakespeare's texts were changed for the German *Wanderbühne*.

Shortening and Streamlining

"[T]he plot's the thing" (Trewin 618)⁸⁵

First and foremost, the German adaptations are shorter than the Shakespearean originals. One reason for this is that, like the early quartos, they were more closely related to the stage than to the page, and were therefore versions shortened for performance.⁸⁶ Another reason for shortening the plays may have been the initial language barrier (see p. 150 above).

When a play is shortened for a production before an audience with little or no knowledge of the language in which it was performed, one can assume that the first thing to go are the monologues. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, "To be, or not to be" is thus neither "the question" as in Q2 (TLN 1710, III.i.55), nor "the point" as in Q1 (CLN 836, vii.115). In fact, the German *Hamlet* is stripped of all but one soliloquy (see p. 209 below). Similarly, *Romio und Julieta* has no potion speech, and most other monologues are shortened or omitted.

⁸⁵ J. C. Trewin in a review of a performance of *Fratricide Punished* by the Birmingham Repertory Theatre.

⁸⁶ See Erne, *Literary Dramatist*; Baesecke 50-53; Petersen 38, 84.

This shortening often streamlines the plot. Like Q1 *Hamlet*, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* places the nunnery sequence at an earlier point in the play than Q2/F does. As soon as the King and his counselor have forged the plan to observe Hamlet and Ophelia, it is carried out. This is not the case in the longer English *Hamlet*-texts (Q2 and F), where the nunnery sequence occurs not in Act II, but at the beginning of Act III, and a whole series of events has taken place between the planning of Ophelia's and Hamlet's encounter and the enactment of it (see p. 220 below). In a similar vein, the night scenes in Shakespeare's Act I (I.i, I.iv, I.v) have been grouped together at the beginning of the play. The Ghost's initial appearance is immediately followed by Hamlet's encounter with him. Shakespeare's first scene of state (I.ii) has been transposed to the end of the sequence.⁸⁷ The scene introducing Polonius's/Corambis's family (I.iii) has been cut. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has untangled and simplified the different strands of the Shakespearean plot.

Such condensations focus on the main plot, largely eliminating subplots. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern lose their names, and much of their function and text. They are initially referred to as "servants" (III.x.0 SD), and later, once they have been ordered to murder Hamlet, become "bandits" (IV.i.0 SD).⁸⁸ A streamlining of the plot also occurs at the end of *Romio und Julieta*: the first two scenes of Shakespeare's Act V are simply omitted (see pp. 190-91 below). What the English Comedians were interested in was the main action of Shakespeare's plays, and, at least initially, not the subplots (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 22, 29).

⁸⁷ See also Freudenstein 45 and Schmidle 38, 89. In the final scene of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the action is also streamlined (see long note to V.vi.17 SD-42 SD).

⁸⁸ "Diener", "Banditen".

Emphasis on Physicality

While the plot is condensed, events or actions which are narrated, summarized, or alluded to in Shakespeare are often physically acted out in the plays of the *Wanderbühne*.⁸⁹ This may at least partly be credited to the initial need to make things visible, to *show* the story to the audience. For example, in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Aaron's first speech includes the following:

Away with slavish weeds and servile thoughts!
 I will be bright, and shine in pearl and gold
 To wait upon this new-made empress.
 To wait, said I? – to wanton with this queen (II.i.18-21)

Whereas Aaron may be speaking metaphorically – "away with slavish weeds" – his German equivalent quite literally takes off his old garment, to show "pearl and gold" underneath:

MORIAN Let me now put off these old rags, as I see that my secret mistress has the good favour of
 the Emperor. (*Takes off the old mantle*) ... I vow I will make a cuckold of the Emperor⁹⁰
 (Act I, in Cohn, *Germany* 168)

Pronounced physicality is found elsewhere in the play. For example: in Shakespeare, Lavinia uses a book (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) to communicate that she was raped and mutilated, and this prompts Marcus to show her how to write the malefactors' names in the sand (IV.i). In the German version, by contrast, Vespasianus (Marcus's counterpart) immediately brings on a

⁸⁹ For the English Comedians' desire for "complete dramatization", see also Baesecke 24 ("vollständige Dramatisierung").

⁹⁰ "MORIAN Lass mich auch nu diese alte Lumpen ablegen, weil ich sehe, dass meine heimliche Bulinne Gunst vnd Gnad beym Keyser hat. (*Ziehet den alten Rock abe.*) ... so mache ich den Keyser warlich zum Hanrey" (Cohn, *Germany* 167). See also p. 136, fn. 26 above.

bucket of sand and a stick (Act V, in Cohn, *Germany* 197).⁹¹ The literary dimension is removed and replaced by an immediate, graphic enactment of the solution to Lavinia's communication problem.

A biblical allusion in *Hamlet*, namely "the speciall prouidence" that Hamlet sees "in the fall of a Sparrowe" (Q2 V.ii.197-98, TLN 3668-69),⁹² is physically played out through a nosebleed and swoon in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*:

HAMLET ... Now come, Horatio, I will go anyway and present myself to the King. But oh! What does this mean? Drops of blood fall from my nose; my whole body is trembling! O woe, what is happening to me?

HAMLET *faints*. (V.iii.24-26 SD)⁹³

Brennecke notes that "[a] nosebleed was supposed to be an omen of misfortune" (286). Yet once he has recovered, Hamlet bravely asserts: "Be it as it may, I'll nonetheless go to court, even if it should cost my life" (V.iii.35-36).⁹⁴ This mirrors Shakespeare's: "we defie augury" and "if it be not to come, it will be now, if it be now, yet it well come, the readiness is all" (TLN 3668-70, V.ii.197, 199-200). Apart from exemplifying the physical representation of verbal or literary

⁹¹ This takes some agency away from Lavinia.

⁹² "Hamlet alludes to the Christian (Calvinist) belief in God's direct intervention in worldly affairs (see Matthew, 10.29)" (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 448).

⁹³ "HAMLET ... Nun kommt, Horatio, ich will gleichwohl gehn, und mich dem König präsentiren. Aber ach! was bedeutet dieses? mir fallen Blutstropfen aus der Nase; mir schüttet der ganze Leib! O wehe, wie geschieht mir! / [HAMLET] *fällt in Ohnmacht*."

⁹⁴ "So sey es wie es will, ich will dennoch zu Hofe gehn, und sollte es auch mein Leben kosten."

Shakespearean material, this passage also illustrates how the German texts often make explicit what is hinted at in Shakespeare.⁹⁵

Additionally, the scene in which Hamlet escapes from the two bandits makes use of increased physicality. In Shakespeare, Hamlet narrates his escape from the pirates to Horatio upon his return to Denmark (V.ii.12-55). In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the spectators can watch this sequence: the scene is set on an island, "not far from Dover", where the ship cast anchor so that Hamlet could "breathe some fresh air" (V.ii.10-12).⁹⁶ When the two bandits hired by the King are getting ready to kill Hamlet, he asks for their permission to say one last prayer. He explains that he will give the sign to shoot by throwing up his arms. As he does so, "*he falls down forward between the two, but the servants [who are standing on either side of him] shoot each other*" (IV.i.48 SD).⁹⁷ This slapstick-episode neatly underlines the physical dimension of the German plays (for an illustration, see appendix 6, figure 2).

The combination of farce and physicality can be found elsewhere in the German *Hamlet*, namely in Ophelia's madness: tragic in Shakespeare, it is comic in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, which transforms Shakespeare's bawdy songs (and the sexual anxieties expressed therein), sung by a tragic heroine, into comic, sexual banter with the clown (see pp. 210-14 below). The mad Ophelia slapping Phantasmo (III.xi.21) can be likened to the Ghost boxing the guard over the ear

⁹⁵ See also Dover Wilson 226.

⁹⁶ "nicht ferne von Dover"; "etwas frische Luft zu schöpfen". These details are provided in Hamlet's re-telling of the event in V.ii.

⁹⁷ "*fällt er zwischen den beyden vorwärts nieder, die Diener aber erschießen sich selbst.*"

(I.ii.6 SD), to Hamlet's escape from the bandits,⁹⁸ or to the elaboration of the hot-cold-episode involving Phantasmo (V.iii.14-20). Each acting out of a given situation is in accordance with the *Wanderbühne's* tendency to make everything as clear and as visual as possible.

The physical component is also coupled with comedy in *Peter Squentz*. The already physical mechanicals' episode from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* becomes even more so in Gryphius. The actors in Shakespeare also earn their laughs by verbal means: by "not stand[ing] upon points" (V.i.118), mispronouncing "Ninny's" tomb (258), or falling out of their verse lines into prose.⁹⁹ *Peter Squentz*, by contrast, presents us with full scale rows, carried out on stage. When the lion refuses to leave, because he wants to continue watching the play, the moon insults him, and their fight escalates to a point where the fountain¹⁰⁰ fears: "You'll knock me over and make me spill my water!" (Act III, in Brennecke, 97).¹⁰¹ His concerns prove to be justified:

*The moon hits the lion on the head with his lantern. The lion grabs the moon by the hair. In the struggle they upset the fountain and smash his water-jug. The fountain hurls its fragments at them both. P. Squentz tries to pacify them, but is thrown down by all three, and takes his share of the buffeting. (Act III, in Brennecke 97)*¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Stern submits that these physical elements may suggest that the play was performed with puppets: "Several of the play's slapstick attacks come ... from behind"; she includes Hamlet's attempts at and actual murder of the King. "This position makes sense for a puppeteer" ("Puppets" 9).

⁹⁹ Moonshine switches from verse to prose after several attempts, due to repeated interruptions by the on-stage audience (V.i.252-54).

¹⁰⁰ This addition in the German play has classic antecedents (Brennecke 52).

¹⁰¹ "ihr werdet mich umbstossen / und mir das Wasser gar verschütten!" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 41).

¹⁰² "*Der Mond schlägt dem Löwen die Laterne umb den Kopff / der Löwe erwischet den Mond bey den Haaren / in diesem Getümmel werffen sie den Brunnen umb / und zerbrechen ihm den Krug / der Brunn schläget beyden die*

The royal on-stage audience is amused by the unexpected interlude, and Peter Squentz finally succeeds in restoring order and letting the play proceed.

In *Romio und Julieta*, the increased physicality is obvious mainly in the role of the clown, but also with other characters. Romio first "kisses the paper" (I.iv.45), on which Rosalina's name appears, and then proceeds to tear it apart (60 SD) when he learns that she is invited "to [his] enemy's house" (59).¹⁰³ Both symbolic and physical actions, the kissing and the tearing of the paper, are not found in Shakespeare. There is thus ample evidence for the importance of the physical element – for the importance of "the human body in motion" (Bosman, "Intertheater" 569) – on the *Wanderbühne*.

Pickelherring: the Clown Figure

As may have become clear by now, comedy is an important element of the strolling players' performance. It is mainly supplied by the omnipresent clown, who has been called the "symbol of the theater of the English Comedians" (Baesecke 68);¹⁰⁴ not least because he was "one major cause of the success of the English Comedians and their successors" (Holland, "Shakespeare Abbreviated" 32).

Schärben um die Ohren / P. Sq. wil Friede machen / wird aber von allen dreyen darnieder gerissen / und bekommt sein theil Schläge auch darvon" (Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 41).

¹⁰³ "küßt das papir", "in meines feinds haus".

¹⁰⁴ "Symbol des Theaters der EK".

In most of the plays, the clown is called Pickelherring.¹⁰⁵ The name actually became a generic description to designate a clown.¹⁰⁶ This was reinforced by the 1620 collection in whose title the name appears. The *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* were often simply referred to as the "Pickelherring" (see p. 100 above). There was even a group of players who called themselves the "Pickleherring Company" (see p. 39 above). There has been no small amount of debate about the origin of the name. Scholars still disagree whether the term originated in England, the Netherlands, or Germany (Noe XXXVI; Katritzky, "Pickelhering"). Despite the English links and those with the "archetypal European Lenten foodstuff" (Katritzky, "Pickelhering"),¹⁰⁷ the stage figure of Pickelherring most likely originated in the German-speaking countries. Schrickx pinpoints the first mention of an actor called Pickelherring, namely George Vincent, to 1615 in Germany, more precisely to the court of Wolfenbüttel (*Envoys* 226-27).

Although Pickelherring was used as a generic name for the clown, the comic figure also had other names, all of which are food-related. This was apparently a uniquely German phenomenon (Noe XXXV; Asper, *Hanswurst* 21): John Stockfisch;¹⁰⁸ Jean Potage (French for

¹⁰⁵ An alternative spelling is "Picklhäring". Compare the figure of Falstaff who appears in several of Shakespeare's plays, although the context is not the same (*Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2*, and *Merry Wives of Windsor*).

¹⁰⁶ This is confirmed by *Romio und Julieta's* manuscript which does not use italics for Pickelherring's name as it does for the names of other characters. In his diary from 1680, the Duke of Bevern repeatedly refers to "Pickelhering" instead of using the actor's name who played the part (Zimmermann *passim*).

¹⁰⁷ Robert Greene is said to have died of a surfeit of "Rhenish wine" and "pickled herrings" (Schoenbaum 149). In *Twelfth Night*, Sir Toby famously wishes "A plague o' these pickle herring!" (I.v.116-17). Schrickx believes that "it is not without significance that scene 5 marks the first appearance of the Clown Feste" (*Envoys* 232).

¹⁰⁸ The name "Stockfish" is used in 2 *Henry IV*: "SHALLOW ... the very same day did I fight with one Samson Stockfish, a fruiterer" (III.ii.30-31).

"soup"), sometimes adapted into German as "Schampitasche"; John Clam in Ayrer's plays (Grabau 311); Hans Knappknäse (meaning "small cheese"¹⁰⁹ or referring to a small man [Fredén 114]); Jan Bouset, derived from the English "posset": "A drink made from hot milk curdled with ale, wine, or other liquor, flavoured with sugar, herbs, spices, etc." (OED). All of these were later superseded by the German Hanswurst (Genée 41). As this list illustrates, the first names of the clowns were simple and common: usually Hans, John, or Peter.

In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* the court jester is called Phantasmo. To my knowledge, the name is unique and does not appear in any other play. "Phantast" meant "fool" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 102). Interestingly, in the Sixth Quarto of *Hamlet*, Phantasmo's equivalent is "a fantastical Courtier" (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 144). The English word "phantasim", meaning "a fantastic being; a fantasizer, a fantast" is "[o]nly recorded in Shakespeare" (OED), namely in *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV.i.98, V.i.18). The name Phantasmo then also offers some Shakespearean echoes.

Since he was such a central figure, the clown was often played by the *Prinzipal* (Meid 331).¹¹⁰ Some actors gave their clown figures distinctive features. Sackeville's Jan Bouset wore shoes and pants that were too large for him (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XCVIII). Jean Potage was

¹⁰⁹ "kleiner Käse".

¹¹⁰ By contrast, Flemming believes that the *Prinzipal* took on the role of the clown precisely because it was a minor, ancillary part which would facilitate his "management of the whole" (*Wanderbühne* 20, "Leitung des Ganzen").

famous for giving his hat different shapes (CI)¹¹¹ and for making his face show two emotions at once.¹¹² Yet this talent was also attributed to Robert Reynolds when he played Pickelherring:

Itt is said off him thatt hee could soe Frame his Face and countenance thatt to one halffe off the people on the one side hee would seeme heartily to laugh and to those on the other side bitterly to weepe and shedd teares – straunge (Limon 105)¹¹³

One of the clown's main characteristics is his concern with bodily needs and material things: food, excrements, sex, and money.¹¹⁴ Throughout *Romio und Julieta*, Pickelherring is associated with food and the kitchen (I.iii.56-60, I.iv.91-94, V.i.36-39). He shares this with the clown of the *commedia dell'arte*, the *zanni*, who is also constantly hungry (Krömer 38). The peasant fool, Jens, in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* offers "a good cheese"¹¹⁵ (III.viii.10) when he wants to bribe Phantasmo to help him. Even Ophelia, who in her comic madness can be likened to the clown figure, is concerned with food: she says she bought "chickens, hares, meat, butter,

¹¹¹ Hartman, in *Kunst über alle Künste (Art of All Arts)*, says that he must take the example of "*Jean Potage's* hat and coat" and "assume all kinds of different characters" (Act III, in Köhler, *Kunst* 145, "musz ich einen Sittenlehrer unter *Jean Potage* seinem Hut und Mantel agiren und allerhand Personen an mich nehmen").

¹¹² In *Peter Squentz* Pickelherring explains: "I can't laugh and cry at once, like Johan Potage" (Act I, in Brennecke 78; "denn ich kan nicht zugleich lachen und weinen / wie Jehan Potage" [Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 15-16]).

¹¹³ Curiously, the Shakespeare statue in Weimar (Otto Lessing, 1904) is similarly said to be looking pensive from the right side and mischievous from the left (Müller).

¹¹⁴ Asper discusses ten aspects of the clown: the aside, rural origin, materialistic world view, a desire for food and drink, cowardice and soldierly bragging, sexual activity, scatological expressions, contact with ghosts and the dead, incorporation into the plot, and interludes (*Hanswurst* 124-230).

¹¹⁵ "einen guten Käß".

and cheese" (III.xi.11-12)¹¹⁶ for her imaginary wedding and later asks for the table to be set (IV.vii.5).

The clown's importance could be accounted for by his mediating role between audience and actors (Baesecke 85). After all, he was the first to address them in their native language (see p. 153 above). Due to his special relationship with the spectators, the clown's asides are more frequent than those of the other characters. He often directly addresses the audience, for instance in *Romio und Julieta*, after Pickelherring has been instructed to invite Capolet's guests to the banquet, he adds, very likely for the spectators' benefit: "Well, you only laugh at me – but I will do it" (I.iii.69).¹¹⁷

Once the German language had been entirely adapted for the plays, the clown's part was scripted (at least to a certain degree) and his character was incorporated into the plot.¹¹⁸ Of course, the written words might merely have been a basis for additional improvisation – which Hamlet's admonition to "let those that play your clownes speake no more then is set downe for them" (TLN 1886-87, III.ii.36-37) also implies for the English stage. Yet, this not only applies to the clown's part. As is the case with Shakespeare's plays, we cannot be sure how close the texts that have come down to us were to early modern performances.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ "Hühner, Haasen, Fleisch, Butter und Käse".

¹¹⁷ "Eÿ Jhr lacht mich nur auß[,] ich wils schon machen[.]"

¹¹⁸ This could be one reason for the absence of the clown in the German *Tito Andronico*: his role may not yet have been scripted. Another reason could be the clown's execution in the English play. A third possibility is that the villain Morian in some way represents the comic figure in this play. In Latin, "morio" means "fool", and in *Tragicomoedia* the clown figure is called Morohn (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 192).

¹¹⁹ See also Gurr, *Stage* 209 and Schmidle 41-42.

The incorporation of the clown into the plot has been read as "the surest sign of English influence" (Cohn, *Germany* LXIV). The later plays go out of their way to integrate the clown in the plot. In *Der Jude von Venetien* (*The Jew of Venetia*), Pickelherring is the servant of the Prince (Bassanio's equivalent); in *Peter Squentz* he plays Piramus; in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Osrick's role is enlarged to that of the court jester Phantasmo, Ophelia's part has been transformed from tragic to comic, and the "peasant clown" Jens makes an appearance. In *Romio und Julieta*, Pickelherring takes on Peter's role and steals some of the Nurse's lines.¹²⁰ The clown is made part of the Capolet household, if not the family, since Capolet explains that he has "brought him [i.e., Pickelherring] up from his youth onwards" (I.iii.73-74).¹²¹

This incorporation into the plot usually adds comic elements. For instance, when Julieta has learned of Romio's banishment and of her parents' wish for her to marry Paris, her Nurse suggests she marry the Count. Pickelherring has a different suggestion: "No, Julieta, I will give you better advice: take them both if you like them; then take me for your bridegroom." Julieta reprimands him: "Be quiet, Pickelherring. This is no time for joking, nor is it Christian-like to take two or three husbands." The clown's retort is: "Why not? The Turkish Emperor has so many wives; they cannot all be counted. And why should I or you not be permitted to take three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten wives or husbands?"¹²² Pickelherring ridicules Julieta's problem

¹²⁰ For instance, he appears at the Father's cell, looking for Romio (IV.v in *RuJ*; III.iii in *RJ*). See also p. 193 below.

¹²¹ "ich habe ihn von Jugendt an auferzogen".

¹²² "Nein *Julieta* ich will Eüch besßer rathen nehmbt sie alle beÿde gefallen sie Eüch, so nehmbt mich vor Eüren breÿtigamb[.] ... Schweig Pikhäring hier ist keine zeit zu schertzen auch nicht Christlich 2 oder 3 Männer zu nehmen [.] ... [W]orumb nicht hat doch der türkische keyser so viel weiber welche nicht alle zu zehlen sein, vnd warumb soll mir oder Eüch nicht erlaubt werden 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, weiber oder Männer zu nehmen".

of potential bigamy. Although the clown's interjections are usually ignored,¹²³ Julieta here says: "Well then, I will do it and follow thy advice. Go with my nurse, Pickelherring, and tell my father and mother that I love Count Paris" (IV.iv.67-81).¹²⁴ In fact, the Nurse goes to deliver the message on her own, and Julieta sends Pickelherring to find Romio. The clown substitutes for the Nurse as Julieta's advisor and confidante,¹²⁵ while simultaneously supplying comic elements.

Pickelherring is also incorporated into a dramatic situation in *Der Jude von Venedig* (*The Jew of Venice*). As Barrabas, as the Jew is called in this play, prepares to cut the pound of flesh, Pickelherring intervenes:

Jew. Just wait, Christian, now I'll pay off an old score which you have perhaps already forgotten.

Draws out a sharp knife and is about to cut.

Pickelherring. If you're going to mutilate my master's side, I'll get an even bigger piece from your podex.

Prepares to knife him in the arse. (V.vii, in Brennecke 181-82)¹²⁶

Although Pickelherring does not change the course of the action as he does in *Romio und Julieta*, he nevertheless prefigures its turning point. Following the clown's threat, Anciletta (Portia's equivalent) reveals her solution to release the Prince from the bond (there is no Antonio figure in

¹²³ See Fredén 217 and Asper, *Hanswurst* 171.

¹²⁴ "[W]ollan ich will es thuen, vnd deinem Rath folgen, gehe mit meiner *Amma* Pikhäring, vnd sage mein herr vatter vnd frau Muetter, ich liebe den Graff *Paris*["]

¹²⁵ Asper cites other examples where the clown is "suddenly an entirely serious character" in order to further the plot (*Hanswurst* 211, "plötzlich eine ganz ernste Figur").

¹²⁶ "Jud: wart, Christ, ietzt will ich dir eine alte Schuldt Bezahlen, welche du Vielleicht schon Vergessen Hast! (Zieht ein Scharfes messer Herauss Vnd will schneiden.) / Pickelhäring: wilstu meinen Herrn die seite Verderben, so will ich noch ein grössers Stück auss deinem Podex Krigen (will Ihm in Arsch schneiden)" (in Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 183-84).

this version; Bassanio's counterpart borrows the money himself). The loophole is the same as in Shakespeare – not one drop of blood may be shed.¹²⁷ Pickelherring thus heralds in the solution and the return from potential tragedy to comedy.

In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* Phantasmo plays a key role in the last scene of the play. He is the King's and Leonhardus's co-conspirator, albeit a "singularly incompetent" one (Knight 389; see also note to *BB* V.vi.10-12). Phantasmo proudly announces that it was he who brought the poison which Hamlet was supposed to drink and he adds: "I have also brought the poisoned sword" (V.vi.58).¹²⁸ Phantasmo is instantly killed by the Prince. Although the clown figure adds some macabre comedy to the tragedy's *dénouement* and is certainly "an instrument of this misery" (60),¹²⁹ he does not change the course of the action. The fact that Phantasmo dies distinguishes him from Pickelherring and most other clowns. He is actually one of only two clowns of the *Wanderbühne* not to survive the end of the play.¹³⁰ Although the clown figure regularly receives death threats, these are usually not carried out (Asper, *Hanswurst* 197). Yet Pickelherring and Phantasmo are similar in that both parts are enlarged in comparison to Shakespeare and that both enjoy word play,¹³¹ are incorporated into the plot, and offer comic interludes. However, Pickelherring's part is larger, and his obsession with food, money, and sex is more marked than Phantasmo's.

¹²⁷ See *The Merchant of Venice* IV.i.306-09.

¹²⁸ "ich habe auch den vergifteten Degen gebracht".

¹²⁹ "ein Werkzeug dieses Unglücks".

¹³⁰ In *Karl XII*, Arlequin is executed as a deserter, and his female counterpart, Plapperliesgen, is hanged on the gallows (Asper, *Hanswurst* 197).

¹³¹ See, for instance, *BB* IV.v.5, V.vi.12; *RuJ* I.iii.46-47, 66, I.iv.75, IV.iii.8-9.

Didacticism

The plays usually emphasized their moral and didactic dimension. This was frequently stressed in the petitions that the English Comedians addressed to town councils (see pp. 58-59 above) and often made clear in the titles: *Fratricide **Punished***. In *A Very Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico and the Proud Empress*, the pride of the Empress is accentuated throughout, and her death constitutes the rightful punishment for this pride. The playtexts make sure that the moral message is again hammered home at the end. Some plays conclude in epilogue-like rhyming verse.¹³² For instance, *Romio und Julieta* ends as follows:

FATHER	Youth is not wise; It loves thoughtlessly. Love has often brought It to such a fall.
CAPOLET	... O worthy spectators, Does this not mean to grieve? Let everyone beware Of such accidents of love. (V.iv.176-79, 184-87) ¹³³

Note how the final lines do not mention the feud (see pp. 191-92 below). Instead, the aim is to demonstrate the follies of youth and love and the dangers inherent therein.¹³⁴

¹³² For the use of verse, see p. 154 above.

¹³³ "PATER Die Jugend ist niht klug, / sie liebet Vnbedacht, / die lieb hat sie gar offft / zu solchen fall gebracht. / CAPOLET ... O werthe schawer zahl / heist diß nicht recht betrüben, / Ein ieder hütte sich / Vor solchen Vnglickhs Lieben." Interestingly, the epilogue of *Piramus and Thisbe* in *Peter Squentz* strikes similar tones: "In which, to please and serve you each, / We've tried to comfort, warn, and teach. / Here may we learn, both one and all, / To shun forever love's pitfall" (Act III, in Brennecke 102; "Darauß ihr alle solt nehmen an Lehr / Trost und Warnung jederman Lernet hieraus / wie gut es sey Daß man von Liebe bleibe frey" [Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 47]).

In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, as the title suggests, it is not Hamlet who prominently figures in the last lines of the play, but the King. Fortinbras is only mentioned in passing; Horatio speaks the epilogue:

Thus it goes when a regent forces himself with ruse to the crown

And obtains it through treachery:

He experiences nothing but mockery and scorn,

For as is the work, so the reward also follows. (V.vi.81-84)¹³⁵

The message of the last line, implying a "deserved" reward for one's wicked deeds and for illegitimate aspirations to the crown, has been reiterated throughout the play.¹³⁶ Hamlet has made sure that everyone, even the court jester Phantasma, has been punished for their implication in the murder of his father and the plot against Hamlet himself.

Such an ending would have pleased Heinrich Julius of Brunswick (see pp. 118-19 above). He was an absolutist ruler, and his plays served his political agenda: "the edicts which he issued ... are reproduced almost word for word" in some of his plays (Knight, qtd. in Haekel, *Englische Komödianten* 145). Again, the moral message is contained in his titles: *Of an Adulterer and Adulteress: how their whoring and immorality, although it remained hidden for a while, nevertheless was finally brought to light and horribly punished by God. Diligently presented as a*

¹³⁴ See also note to *RuJ* V.iv.186-87.

¹³⁵ "So gehts, wenn ein Regent mit List zur Kron sich dringet, / Und durch Verrätherery dieselbe an sich bringet, / Derselb erlebet nichts, als lauter Spott und Hohn, / Denn wie die Arbeit ist, so folget auch der Lohn."

¹³⁶ The King's dying words are accordingly: "O woe, I receive my evil reward!" (V.vi.44, "O wehe, ich empfangen meinen bösen Lohn!").

lesson and warning for everyone (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 277).¹³⁷ One could hardly be more explicit.

Yet, looking at the content of the plays – where adultery, murder, and other sins are actually played out quite vividly before finally being punished – another possibility comes to mind: the didactic purpose may have been advertised by the players to comply with the demands of the authorities. Yet the plays nevertheless attracted their audience with the enticing representation of the sins they condemned.

The theatrical conditions and conventions described in this chapter are of considerable importance in the analysis of the *Wanderbühne* plays. They provide the necessary context, both in terms of physical circumstances in which the plays were performed, and regarding the theatrical standards which the texts adhered to, for understanding the early German Shakespeare adaptations. When analyzing plays such as *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, scholars will do well to keep these conventions in mind.

¹³⁷ "Von einem Buler und Bulerin / Wie derselben Hurerey und Unzucht / Ob sie wol ein zeitlang verborgen gewesen / gleichwol entlich an den tag kommen / und von Gott greulich gestraffet worden sey. Jedermanniglich zur Lere und Vermanung mit fleis fürgestellt".

CHAPTER 4

ROMIO UND JULIETA AND DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD:

FROM THE SHAKESPEAREAN PAGE TO THE GERMAN STAGE

Two playtexts, both alike in dignity

The aim of this chapter is to give an introduction to the two edited texts, *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Each play's textual and performance history will be outlined. Although there is precious little evidence about early modern performances, the German adaptations have again been put on stage in the last few decades and some of these recent performances will be discussed. The chapter will include a textual analysis of each play, comparing it to the Shakespearean originals. It will also address the question of provenance and show that *Romio und Julieta* strongly relies on the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, while *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* shows traces of all three early *Hamlet*-texts.

Among the German Shakespeare adaptations, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and *Romio und Julieta* have been described as the "most significant examples of the style and the opinions of the transitional age" of the *Wanderbühne* (Stahl, *Shakespeare* 18).¹ According to Jenkins, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has "a unique interest in revealing the transformation [Shakespeare's] play could undergo in the course of a century or so of popular performance" (122). Petersen extends this observation to include *Romio und Julieta*, indicating that both plays had "long careers-in-tradition" (64).² The two texts most probably came into being in the second half of the

¹ "bezeichnendste Beispiele des Stiles und der Auffassung jenes Übergangszeitalters".

² Petersen analyzes the multiple-text plays, especially the shorter texts, using tools from the study of folk ballads and tales, which tradition shapes towards a "goal form" ("Zielform", a term coined by Max Lüthi). Following Lüthi, she

seventeenth century (see pp. 188-89 and 206 below). They therefore not only show the influence of the English Comedians proper, but also of their German successors. Also, while the theaters were closed in London between 1642 and 1660, Shakespeare's plays were not (officially) performed. In order to reconstruct early modern English performances scholars therefore often have to rely on eighteenth-century editors (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 39). In Germany, by contrast, versions of Shakespeare's plays continued to be performed throughout the seventeenth century and the theatrical tradition lived on in the text. The German adaptations that have survived show visible Shakespearean traces; among the handful of texts from the period, the versions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* are textually closest to their Shakespearean counterparts.³

Scholars have underlined the importance of these two plays for a number of reasons. Holland is right in calling *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "a successful piece of popular theatre" ("Shakespeare Abbreviated" 32).⁴ Even G. R. Hibbard, who has few kind words for the German *Hamlet*, admits that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "emerges as a thoroughly professional job" (375). The play has not only been adapted for the needs of the German *Wanderbühne*, but it has also been brought "within the capacity of a small troupe" (375). Petersen calls *Romio und Julieta* "a fascinating document", which, according to her, "proves that the originating scribe(s) had access to at least one print or manuscript version of a Shakespearean text" (135). *Romio und Julieta* is

stresses "the power of oral tradition to correct, simplify and to make visible in the text the narrative aspects that aesthetic authorial composition complicates or obscures" (38). For Petersen, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "remains suggestive" for what the "final form" of *Hamlet* might look like. Regarding *Romeo and Juliet*, "the *Pyramus and Thisby* burlesque of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* offers some clarifying hints as to where the material is moving" (141).

³ A possible exception is *Kunst über alle Künste* (*Arts of all Arts*; see pp. 93-99 above).

⁴ A reviewer of a performance of *Fratricide Punished* agrees: "it makes brisk and amusing theatre" ("A Piece").

indeed often remarkably close to the Shakespearean originals, more specifically to Q2 (see pp. 195-97 below). Both *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* are multiple-text plays. The two German texts offer additional evidence for the multiple-text conundrum, so that there are four early versions of each play. This distinguishes *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* from "the remaining Shakespearean multi-texts ... and the extant non-Shakespearean cases" (Petersen 64).

A close analysis of both plays will be rewarding for two main reasons: firstly, they are documents of the theater, of the time when German professional theater came into being. Secondly, because of their close relation to the English originals they can, to a certain extent, give valuable insights into both the Shakespearean text(s) and early modern performance practices. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor argue that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "has no independent authority as a text representing professional performance in London" (*Textual Companion* 398). However, whereas *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may not give concrete evidence of London performances, it allows insights into early modern performance practices, and it may help to clarify certain problems that Shakespeare's texts pose to critics. Since *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based on Shakespeare, it "provides perfectly good and admissible evidence ... concerning Shakespeare's text, meaning and intentions. One is thus perfectly justified in quoting it to throw light upon obscurities, difficulties and subtleties in ... *Hamlet*" (Knight 391). The same can be said for *Romio und Julieta*. Before moving on to a closer analysis of the two plays, I will provide a few examples of why they are important for Shakespearians today.

In the closet sequence in Q1, Hamlet announces to his mother "but first weelee make all safe" as soon as he enters (xi.7, CLN 1496). In Q2/F, where this line is missing, the Queen's fearful exclamation seems rather abrupt: "What wilt thou doe, thou wilt not murder me, / Helpe how" (TLN 2401-02, III.iv.20-21). This line, which is found in all three Shakespearean texts,

implies some show or threat of violence on Hamlet's part. While Q1 hints at some action, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is more explicit: "But hush, are all the doors firmly locked?" (III.v.12-13).⁵ The Queen's reaction seems logical: she is afraid because Hamlet locks the doors. In fact, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q1 agree with Shakespeare's source. In Belleforest Hamlet also closes the door: "l'ayant conduite secrettement en vne chambre, laquelle il ferma sur eux" (qtd. in M. B. Evans, *BB zu Hamlet* 15). Whereas Q1 hints at an explanation, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* clarifies the Queen's reaction in the Shakespearean texts.⁶

The performance of the play within the play offers another example. Generations of scholars and audiences have wondered why the King does not react to the dumb show, but only demands "lights" (Q1 CLN 1386, ix.172)⁷ once he has seen part of the play. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the dumb show immediately provokes the King's departure. The players do not have the opportunity to speak one word of the play. In all four texts the King rises after Hamlet has commented on the action, but in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the dumb show and Hamlet's commenting "Chorus" (TLN 2113, III.ii.238) occur simultaneously (*BB* II.viii.24 SD-29). In Shakespeare, Hamlet seems to announce how the play will continue, and this is what triggers the King's indisposition. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the King's outburst occurs at a more plausible moment. In this and other instances, the German *Hamlet* shows how the adapters recognized possible problems in the Shakespearean texts and tried to solve them in their version.

As for *Romeo and Juliet*, one point that remains unclear in Shakespeare's texts is Paris's presence at the Capulets' feast. Although in Shakespeare, Capulet invited Paris personally

⁵ "Aber still, sind auch alle Thüren vest verschlossen?"

⁶ Interestingly, although *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* provides us with Hamlet's action, it no longer contains the Queen's re-action.

⁷ "light" in Q2/F (TLN 2140, III.ii.261).

(I.ii.20-23), his presence at the feast is never made explicit in the text.⁸ In *Romio und Julieta*, by contrast, Paris is present at the feast and even speaks to both Julieta and Romio (II.iii.73-74, 60). Productions of *Romeo and Juliet* "since the early nineteenth century have often introduced [Paris] as Juliet's partner in dance or conversation" (Levenson 196). *Romio und Julieta* thus suggests that current stage practice is in line with early modern performances.

Another instance where *Romio und Julieta* throws light on *Romeo and Juliet* are two stage directions that are absent from the early Shakespearean quartos, but that are usually added in modern editions. In the sonnet exchange during Romeo and Juliet's first meeting, the quartos have no explicit stage directions for the kisses implied in the text, but modern editions usually provide them. Jill L. Levenson inserts "*He kisses her*" in both Q1 and Q2 at the points equivalent to *Romio und Julieta*'s stage directions (see Q1 I.iv.158-75, Q2 I.iv.206-23, and *RuJ* II.iii.10 SD, 14 SD), so do Erne in his edition of Q1, and Brian Gibbons, René Weis, and Wells and Taylor in their editions. G. Blakemore Evans inserts the first kiss after "my sin is purgd". Margaret Jane Kidnie cautions that the second kiss "seems far less certain" and that "[t]he only conclusion we can draw about this textual moment is that one might *imagine* the lovers kissing again" ("Staging" 173). *Romio und Julieta* leaves nothing to the imagination, and the German play could again be said to support the customary staging (and editing) of *Romeo and Juliet*.⁹

As it was first regarded as a possible source for Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or even as a translation of the lost *Ur-Hamlet*, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has attracted intense scholarly attention. In comparison, *Romio und Julieta* has been neglected. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has

⁸ Paris's absence may be due to "casting exigencies", for instance, if Mercutio and Paris are doubled (Erne, *RJ* Q1164).

⁹ For another example, see *RuJ* II.iii.55-56, 61 and note.

been edited three times in German, and there are no fewer than six English translations. *Romio und Julieta*, by contrast, has received only one German edition, was printed twice in extracts, and has been translated into English only once.¹⁰ While numerous productions of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* were undertaken since 1900, both in English and in German, only a single modern performance of *Romio und Julieta* has been recorded. Yet *Romio und Julieta* certainly deserves as much critical attention as *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: it is often astonishingly close to the Shakespearean text(s) and at the same time characteristic of the German *Wanderbühne*.

4a. *Romio und Julieta*

Stage History

Although no performances of *Romeo and Juliet* are recorded in England before the Restoration (G. B. Evans, *RJ* 28), we can follow editors and critics in believing the title page of the First

¹⁰ German editions of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany* (1865); Genée, *Geschichte der Shakespear'schen Dramen in Deutschland* (1870); Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten* (1889). A summary of the prologue, *dramatis personae* and Act I, including some quotations, based on Reichard's text in the *Theaterkalender* (1778), were also printed in Robert E. Prutz, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Theaters* (1847). English translations of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: Georgina Archer in Cohn, *Germany* (1865); R. G. Latham, *Two Dissertations on the Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus and of Shakespear* (1872); Horace Howard Furness, *Hamlet* (1877); Appleton Morgan, *Hamlet and the Ur-Hamlet* (1908); Brennecke, *Shakespeare in Germany* (1964); Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 7 (1973). German editions of *Romio und Julieta*: Cohn, *Germany* (1865); extracts in Eduard Devrient, *Geschichte der Deutschen Schauspielkunst* (1848) and Genée, *Geschichte der Shakespearschen Dramen in Deutschland* (1870). English translation of *Romio und Julieta*: Lothar Bucher in Cohn, *Germany* (1865).

Quarto, which states that the play "hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicly". Yet, "[i]ronically, we know rather more about the stage fortunes of *Romeo and Juliet* on the Continent than in England for this early period" (G. B. Evans, *RJ* 28). *Romeo and Juliet* is the first of Shakespeare's plays to be mentioned in Germany, and this during his lifetime. In 1604 *Vonn Romeo vnndt Julitha* appeared in a repertory list handed to the city of Nördlingen by the *Prinzipal* Eichelin. Yet his petition was rejected (Trautmann, "Älteste Nachricht" 625; Trautmann, "Rothenburg" 62). Note that already this first mention of the play features a female protagonist whose name is closer to "Julieta" (as in the extant manuscript) than to the English "Juliet". The petition claims that the company has performed these plays in other towns, for instance Ulm, Heilbronn, Schwäbisch Hall, and "dünckhelspil", probably Dinkelsbühl (Trautmann, "Älteste Nachricht" 626).¹¹ The first confirmed performances date from 1626, when a *Tragoedia von Romeo vnd Julietta* was performed on 2 June and 29 September at the Dresden court by John Green's company (Cohn, *Germany* CXV-CXVI).¹² The play was apparently popular enough to be selected as one of the eleven plays (among the thirty that were performed between May and December, including a version of *Hamlet*) that were performed twice. The popularity of the play in Dresden continued; further performances are recorded for 15 October and 1 November 1646: a "Tragedien von Romeo und Julia" was given by the "Erfurter Springer",

¹¹ Rudin suggests that a play entitled "*of the man in London who poisoned the woman who revived after 24 hours*", performed in Hadersleben (today Haderslev in Denmark) in 1605, may have been a version of *Romeo and Juliet* ("Klientilismus", "*von dem Mann in London, der die Frau vergiftete, die nach 24 Stunden wieder auflebte*").

¹² Green may no longer have been alive at this point (see p. 40 above).

that is, the "leapers" from Erfurt.¹³ *Romeo and Juliet* plays were again performed at the Dresden court on 11 August 1648, 24 February 1652, and on 19 November 1678.¹⁴

The Cardinal Archbishop Ernst Albrecht Graf von Harrach saw a *Romeo and Juliet* play "by the English" in Prague on 25 June 1658. He provides a description in his diary, without, however, naming the play or any of the characters. The performance was given "after dinner" for about thirty people, at the residence of the President of the Chamber. Harrach starts out by emphasizing that the "Pickleherring [was] very good and funny" and observes: "The substance of the comedy turned into a tragedy." He summarizes the play: a man secretly marries his enemy's daughter; then he commits murder and is obliged to flee. The lady's father forces her to marry another man. "Thereupon someone advise[s] her to use a powder", which will make her sleep for two days, so that her father will believe her to be dead. Like in Shakespeare, the Romeo-figure is to be advised of the plot, but the news fails to reach him. (This is not the case in the extant text of *Romio und Julieta*.) The second would-be husband mourns at the lady's grave and is killed by the returning "right one", who then commits suicide. "The lady" follows suit once she has woken up.¹⁵ The plot largely follows that of *Romio und Julieta*. According to Otto G. Schindler, the

¹³ My thanks go to Bärbel Rudin, who provided me with information about the second performance. The transcript from the manuscript Q231 from the Saxon State and University Library Dresden was made by Lars Rebehn. For the first performance, see also Fürstenau 107.

¹⁴ Manuscripts Q231 and Q235 from the Saxon State and University Library Dresden; transcripts by Rudin and Rebehn; see fn. 13 above. Rudin suggests the performance in 1652 was given by Roe's company (private communication, June 2012). The performance in 1678 was entitled "Tragico-Comoedia von Romeo und Julia".

¹⁵ "von denen Engellendern ... bei den Cammer Presidenten ... Nach dem eßen ... ist der Pickelhäring gar guet, vndt lächerlich. Die Substanz der Comedi hatt in eine Tragedi außgeschlagen ... darüber ihr einer gerathen sie solle ein Puluer brauchen ... der rechte ... die Dama" (Schindler, "Englischer Pickelhering" 97).

performance was given by the company of Johann Faßhauer ("Englischer Pickelhering" 97).¹⁶ Schindler relates the description to the *Theaterzettel* of *Love's Sweetness turns into Death's Bitterness* (97-98; see also pp. 60-61 above).

From 29 October 1680, we have a short description of a performance at the court in Bevern by Duke Ferdinand Albrecht:

At two o'clock the beautiful *Tragædia*: Romio and Juliette or the fight between the Montagues and the Cappalitanes was acted. The *Prinzipal* was Romio; he wore the coat we gave him, with the silver points. Most of them killed themselves, Juliette was laid into a monument, as if she were dead, but [she] had only received a sleeping potion, [she] wakes up, as she sees that her two lovers Romio and Caletto have stabbed themselves she also stabs herself (Zimmermann 39).¹⁷

The described performance took place only eight years before the likely date of the manuscript of *Romio und Julieta*, 1688, but the details of this description do not entirely agree with the known playtext. The Montagues are not called "Montageser", but "*Mundigeser*" (*RuJ* II.v.36). Even more importantly, the name "Caletto" does not appear in the extant manuscript of *Romio und Julieta*; this may have been Paris's name in this version of the play. Furthermore, in the extant text, Paris does not stab himself but is killed by Romio.

¹⁶ Faßhauer may have been of German or of English nationality. He is first recorded around 1630, mainly played in Central Europe, and died in Vienna in 1659 (Schindler, "Englischer Pickelhering" 89-90).

¹⁷ "Vmb 2 Vhr ward die schöne *Tragædia*: Romio vnd Juliette oder der Streit zwischen denn Montagesern vnd Cappalitaneren agiret. Der Principal war Romio, hat vnseren ihm geschenckten Rock mit den Silbern spitzen an. Die meisten brachten sich selbst umb, Juliette war in ein Monument gelegt, als wann sie tod wehre, hatte aber nur einen schlafftrunck bekommen, erwachet wie sie siehet, ihr beede Liebste Romio vnd Caletto sich selbst erstochen, ersticht sie sich auch."

The last recorded performance in early modern times was by the Eggenbergische Komödianten at Český Krumlov in 1688 (Scherl 69).¹⁸ Adolf Scherl has argued convincingly that the extant manuscript originated at this performance (see pp. 188-89 below). Interestingly, *Romio und Julieta* contains several references to a garden (I.ii.0 SD-7, I.iii.79), and the castle gardens of Český Krumlov were extended and rebuilt between 1678 and 1683.¹⁹ This further supports a connection between the extant manuscript and the Bohemian castle. Since the play bears traces of being adapted and re-written several times, as the performance descriptions illustrate, the extant manuscript cannot be said to reflect all of the performances listed above.

The only performances of *Romio und Julieta* since 1688 that I have been able to track down took place in Princeton and New York in 1924-25 with a predominantly male cast; only Julieta was played by a woman.²⁰ Prompted by this lack of performances, I co-organized a staged reading of *Romio und Julieta* in 2008 at the University of Cambridge. It was directed by Simon Godwin.²¹ Despite its sometimes awkward language, the play proved entirely stage-worthy and stageable in a modern context and its comedy was successful. Along with the subsequent

¹⁸ My thanks go to Pavel Drábek for kindly translating this article for me. Rudin reminds us that at this point, Shakespeare and other English dramatists were largely out of fashion. Lacking competition, the repertory of the courtly theater company at Český Krumlov nearly stagnated ("Hoftheater" 484-85). For Elenson's connection to the Eggenbergische Komödianten, see p. 42 above.

¹⁹ See "Foundation of the Castle Baroque Gardens".

²⁰ The play was given in a double-bill with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. In the case of *Romio und Julieta*, the program informs us that "[f]our small scenes of little or no interest have been left out", yet we are not told which ones.

²¹ Judith E. Wilson Drama Studio, 13 February 2008. The reading was organized by Abigail Rokison and myself, in the context of the Graduate Drama Seminar at the English Faculty of the University of Cambridge. The cast was made up of students. The performance was in English and before an English-speaking audience. Bucher's translation was used, with some minor adjustments.

discussions with actors and audience, the staged reading led to a clearer understanding of, and a more straightforward approach to, the play.

Seemingly "awkward" language can be transformed to make perfect sense in performance. Consider the following exchange: Julieta's Nurse has just learned who the stranger was that Julieta met at her father's feast. She communicates this news:

NURSE Fair Julieta, it was the young Romio.

JULIETA What, the young Romio?

NURSE Yes, the young Romio. (II.iii.91-93)²²

While these lines may seem somewhat unimaginative, this was altered in the staged reading, where Julieta placed the emphasis on "the". The Nurse's somewhat exasperated reply – "Yes, *the* young Romio" – produced laughter from the audience.

A similar repetition of words was also turned into an advantage. Once the Nurse has delivered the message from Julieta to Romio and requested his presence, Romio answers: "Beloved madam, I will appear obediently and wait upon her obediently" (III.vi.18-19).²³ In the staged reading, Romio paused before the second "obediently", as if he was trying but failing to find a different word. A performance thus permits to navigate around passages that may seem awkward on the page.

Another sequence that worked well in the staged reading is unique to the German version, namely Romio's serenading Julieta under her window. The song is not sung by Romio

²² "AMMA Schöne *Julieta* es wahr der Junge *Romio*[.] / JULIETA [W]ie der Junge *Romio*? / AMMA Ja der Junge *Romio*."

²³ "[G]eliebte frau ich werde mich gehorsamb einfinden, vnd gehorsamb aufwarthen[.]" In the English translation, where "obediently" is the last word of the sentence and therefore allows for a pause preceding it, the comic effect was even greater than in the German original.

but by the "boy" ("Jung") accompanying him. In the staged reading, Romio was mouthing the words along, suggesting that he had written the verses himself. Pickelherring took on the boy's role, reciting the song while standing on a ladder, to the tunes of a harmonica. The ladder was used for much comic business, Romio first urging Pickelherring up the ladder, then dragging him down again once the song was finished.

A potentially challenging moment according to modern staging conventions is the end of scene III.ix and the beginning of III.x. III.ix ends with Julieta's exit; the next scene begins with her re-entry. Capolet has just officially given Julieta's hand to Paris, and Julieta's father asks her to follow him. In the next scene, Julieta enters with Romio and the Father, who proceeds to wed them in secret:

CAPOLET ... So adieu, daughter Julieta, follow me and gladden thy mother.

JULIETA I follow, father.

Exit CAPOLET. Exit JULIETA.

III.x

Enter FATHER, ROMIO, and JULIETA.

FATHER Come here, my children ... (III.ix.43-III.x.1)²⁴

The staged reading, with its quick scene changes,²⁵ turned the potential problem of Julieta's exit and immediate re-entry in a different location into a virtue. Her disobedience was emphasized

²⁴ "CAPOLET ... So *Adiu* Tochter *Julieta* folge mir vnd erfreue deine frau Muetter[.] / [CAPOLET] *abit*[.] / JULIETA Jch folge herr vatter[.] / [JULIETA] *abit*[.] / [Actus 3ius, Scena 10ma] / PATER[.] ROMIO [*vnd*] JULIETA [*treten auf*]. / PATER [K]ommet her meine kinder ...".

visually: after having pronounced her last line, she started to follow Capolet, who had just exited stage left; a triangle sounded; Julieta whirled around and rushed to embrace Romio who came running towards her from stage right. The Father then interrupted their embrace with his first line. Merely on the basis of the text and without any reference to performance, Baesecke notes that the two scenes are strung together "with real theatrical contrast" (59).²⁶

To name but one final instance where a (modern) performance can help to elucidate the playtext: upon taking leave from Romio in the so-called "balcony scene",²⁷ Julieta says: "Take this, Romio, from me, and tomorrow at nine o'clock I will let you know my opinion" (II.v.105-06).²⁸ "This" might refer to a love token of some kind. In the staged reading, however, Julieta simply blew Romio a kiss: a straightforward stage solution to an ambiguous passage on the page.

The first performance of (a version of) *Romio und Julieta* in German since 1688 took place in 2011. The project, prompted by myself, was undertaken by a group of students from the University of Bern, directed by Thea Reifler and Julia Haenni from the Schaubüro.²⁹ The text was radically cut to about a fourth of its original length and included only the characters Romio, Julieta, Pickelherring, Capolet, and Tipold. The focus of the play was on the clown figure and the title was accordingly changed to *Romio und Julieta. Und Picklhäring (Romio and Julieta. And Pickelherring)*. The project involved ten days of intensive rehearsal, including a workshop on the

²⁵ Godwin noted the "breathlessness" of the text in production. This impression was seconded by the actors, especially by those portraying the protagonists (discussion following the staged reading, 13 February 2008).

²⁶ "[m]it echt theatralischer Kontrastierung".

²⁷ The designation "balcony scene" needs to be qualified because the early printed texts do not mention a balcony. Juliet merely appears at a "window" (Q1 D1r, II.i.44; Q2 D1v, II.i.45; also in *RuJ* II.v.28).

²⁸ "Nehmet hin *Romio* dises von mir, vnd morgen vmb 9 vhr will ich Eüch meine meinung wisßen lasßen[.]"

²⁹ See www.das-schaubuero.ch (30 May 2012).

historical context of the English Comedians, given by myself, and a workshop on the *commedia dell'arte* by the director and theater scholar Stefano Mengarelli. A framing device was added to the main plot, presenting a company of itinerant players performing *Romio und Julieta*. The irate and hot-tempered *Prinzipal* played Capolet, a spoiled "diva" Julieta, a nervous yet eager young actress took on the role of Romio, and a melancholic drunkard played Pickelherring and Tipold. A fifth actress participated only in the prologue and epilogue, played the guitar accompaniment, took care of costumes and props, and nursed the drunkard. The playtext was interspersed with Pickelherring's monologues, mainly in modern German, but often including passages or words from the original text, such as "Potz schlapperment!" (I.iv.62, IV.ii.81-82). These monologues summed up parts of the action, so that the performance only lasted about fifty minutes.

The project was inspired by the living and working conditions of the English Comedians in seventeenth-century Germany. The company performed in the courtyard of the school of Saas-Balen and in a bar in Saas-Grund (two villages in the Swiss Alps), at the University of Bern, as part of the "Nacht der Forschung" ("Night of Research"),³⁰ in the streets of Bern, and at the student theater festival in Siegen.³¹ The performances were announced by playbills, inspired by seventeenth-century originals (see appendix 6, figure 5). Before each performance, the company, calling themselves the "Universitätlich Bernerische Comödianten", toured the surroundings with a small wagon containing their costumes and props. Inspired by historical practices, they accompanied their tour by songs, a drum, and shouted invitations to attend the performance. Before the actual play began, the audience watched the actors preparing themselves for the production, already performing the framing device.

³⁰ See http://www.generalsekretariat.unibe.ch/content/nacht_der_forschung/index_ger.html (6 Dec. 2011).

³¹ For more information see <http://www.das-schaubuero.ch/index.php?type=project&id=120128> (30 Mar. 2012).

The production was occasionally interrupted by this framing device. For instance, when the actress playing Julieta waits for the Father to appear, the *Prinzipal* declares that the actor playing the Father has run away. When Julieta inquires whether someone else could take on his part, the drunkard explains that she has pawned the Father's costume – a situation which may well have presented itself on the real *Wanderbühne* (see p. 137 above). The actress playing Julieta was then asked to improvise and constantly had to take her cues from the somewhat exasperated actress playing Romio.

Textual History

The extant manuscript of *Romio und Julieta* (Austrian National Library, Vienna, Cod. 13148) is undated and has no title page.³² Judging from the other manuscripts that Asper groups with *Romio und Julieta* (*Spieltexte* 35), the original probably bore the title on the recto of the first leaf, and possibly the author's, the adapter's, or the scribe's name, as well as an indication of date and place, while the verso would have contained the *dramatis personae*. The title of the 1680 performance in Bevern may give an indication of the likely title of the play: "Romio and Juliette or the fight between the Montague and the Cappalitanes" (Zimmermann 139).³³ At the performance in Dresden in 1626, the title was "Tragoedia von Romeo vnd Julietta" (Cohn, *Germany* CXV), while a performance in 1678 went under the title "Tragico-Comoedia von Romeo und Julia" (see p. 179, fn. 14 above). The title of the extant manuscript, "Romio und Julie" (1r), was most probably added at a later stage; it appears in the top left corner, in small writing and in a different hand (see appendix 6, figure 6). "Romeo und Julie" is the title that

³² See appendix 1 for a description of the manuscript and appendix 6, figure 6 for a facsimile of its first page.

³³ "Romio vnd Juliette oder der Streit zwischen denn Montagesern vnd Cappalitaneren".

Shakespeare's play had for its first German translation (Schlegel, 1796), and it continued to be called so into the nineteenth century. Today the play is generally called "Romeo und Julia".³⁴ For the early German play, the title "*Romio und Julieta*" was first used by Eduard Devrient (408).³⁵ The manuscript seems to be the work of one or several professional scribes. It is a fair copy, possibly even a presentation copy (see p. 124 above).

According to Friedrich Simader from the Manuscript Collection of the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ÖNB), the manuscript was acquired in 1841 from the Austrian poet and dramatist Ignaz Franz Castelli (1781-1862). The records of the ÖNB have the following entry: "This year (December) Castelli's collection was bought by the court library. It contains 112 dramatic pieces, mainly comedies. The placement Suppl. 1016, 1025, 1036 and other adjoining numbers"³⁶ (*Zuwachsverzeichnis der ÖNB* [Acc. B. I / 1831-1879 / Ser. n. 2177], 7r). *Romio und Julieta* is "Suppl. nr." 1035, and Simader assumes that it was part of the manuscripts acquired from Castelli. By contrast, Asper groups the *Romio und Julieta* manuscript with ten other manuscripts which the ÖNB acquired in 1839 from the Kuppitsch bookstore (*Spieltexte* 35).³⁷ They all have the same thin blue covers, which were apparently added in the

³⁴ "Julieta" is closer to the Italian original (for instance, Da Porto). Painter's version of the *Romeo and Juliet* story (1567), which Shakespeare probably also knew, was entitled "Rhomeo and Iulietta" (Prunster 7).

³⁵ Cohn has "Julietta" in the title, but "Julieta" throughout the text; Genée follows suit. The double "t" could indicate the pronunciation: a short "e".

³⁶ "1841. ... In diesem Jahre (December) wurde die Sammlung Castelli von der Hofbibliothek käuflich erworben. In dieser befinden sich 112 Theaterstücke, meistens Comedien. Die Aufstellung Suppl. 1016, 1025, 1036 und andere in der Nähe liegende Nummern".

³⁷ Kuppitsch is a well-known antiquarian bookstore from which the library often purchases books (Simader, private communication, March 2009). The entry in the acquisition book that Asper refers to is: "1839 / Mense Januario

nineteenth century, and the texts are therefore also referred to as "das blaue Konvolut" (Rudin, "Textbibliothek" 74, "the blue collection").³⁸ The difference of two years in acquisition is not necessarily decisive for the textual history of *Romio und Julieta*, since neither of the two potential nineteenth-century owners helps to clarify the manuscript's earlier history.

The style and language of the playscript suggest that the manuscript was written in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁹ Its "dialect and orthography point to South Germany or Austria" (Cohn, *Germany* CXXIV; see also Genée 168). Drawing on the topographical allusions in Pickelherring's speech – "statt kallschin[,] budweiß, Gopplitz, freÿstatt, lintz" (IV.iv.76)⁴⁰ – Antonín Konečný advanced the hypothesis that "the text originated in Southern Bohemia" (qtd. in Scherl 69). Following this lead, Scherl proposes that the manuscript was composed when *Romio und Julieta* was performed at Český Krumlov in 1688, namely by those members of the acting company who were poets or dramatists, that is Johann Georg Göttner, "who is very likely to have acted as Pickelhäring", or Johann Carl Samenhamer (69), both of whom were *Prinzipale*

emimus: Stranitzky et aliorum opuscula dramatica (fasciculos 11 in Fol. et 11 in 4to min.) mediante D[omi]nus Schlager" (*Zuwachsverzeichnis der ÖNB* [Acc. B. I / 1831-1879 / Ser. n. 2177], 5v).

³⁸ According to Simader, the blue bindings were added before the ÖNB acquired the manuscripts since the library would have used more stable bindings. Asper suggests that members of Elenson's or Hoffmann's company may have brought the extant manuscript of *Romio und Julieta* to Vienna in the eighteenth century (*Spieltexte* 37; see also p. 41 above).

³⁹ See Genée 168; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* XLI. Cohn (*Germany* CXXIII) and Wolff (98) aim for the beginning of the century, which seems unlikely due to the reasons outlined above (see also note to German text of *RuJ* I.iv.93). Baesecke believes that *Romio und Julieta* was revised towards the end of the century, but that "fragments" of the play performed in 1626 are still visible in the extant text (108, "Bruchstücke").

⁴⁰ "the city of Kalsching/Chvalšiny, Budweiß, Kaplitz/Kaplice, the free city of Lintz". The modern equivalents are from Schindler ("Romeo und Julia" 84).

of the company (see p. 42 above). The Duke of Eggenberg also employed his actors as scribes (Schindler, "*Romeo und Julia*" 87), which supports the suggestion that these actors wrote or copied the extant manuscript. Schindler corroborates this theory of origin by his analysis of the watermark of the manuscript, which is a simplified form of the crest of Český Krumlov (85-86). Scherl's choice of authors cannot be proven, but he is surely right in stating that *Romio und Julieta* is an adaptation "made by professional German comedians" and that there were several "originators" (69).⁴¹ The playtext is likely to be the product of a collaborative enterprise (Devrient 428) and not the work of a solitary adapter, as Wolff implies (92, 94). The text bears traces of several subsequent adaptations (Genée 168; Baesecke 108; Scherl 69), such as inconsistencies in speech prefixes and character names⁴² and in the plot.⁴³

Even the manuscript points towards the fact that several hands were involved in producing the playscript. On 52r (V.iv.105 SD), the hand of the manuscript considerably changes, to the extent that one might suspect a different scribe. The first hand stops at the bottom of 51v, leaving space for only one or two more lines. The new hand starts a new leaf, 52r. From this point onwards only the spellings "*Rumio*" instead of "*Romio*" and "*Monoment*" instead of "*Monument*" are used;⁴⁴ abbreviations for terminal "-en" no longer appear; majuscule "V" is used

⁴¹ Schindler disagrees on the first point ("*Romeo und Julia*" 95-96), but Rudin shows that the Eggenbergische Komödianten were professionals, although they may have been lagging behind the competition (see p. 181, fn. 18 above).

⁴² Antoneta/Amma and Fürst/Herzog are cases in point (see p. 245 below).

⁴³ The treatment of the feud is a prominent example (see pp. 191-92 below).

⁴⁴ Afterwards, the spelling "*Monoment*" is used five times (V.iv.106, 108, 109 SD, 116, and 126). All nine instances of "*Monument*" are found before this point (V.ii.32; V.iii.107, 112; V.iv.0 SD, 1, 33, 41, 42 SD, 74 SD). The break between the two spellings of Romio's name is not as clear: "*Rumio*" is used ten times; the last six instances occur in

nearly exclusively; majuscule "P" and "C" do not resemble those in the rest of the manuscript (although other letters are very similar); the mark on the "u" also looks different from the one that was hitherto used. It is even possible that this initial version originally ended after Julieta's death, and that the last four pages were added at a later stage. In conclusion, the collaborative nature of the text is evident both with regards to the hands of the manuscript and earlier stages of theatrical adaptation.

Comparison to Shakespeare's Texts

Romio und Julieta is roughly thirty percent shorter than Q2, Q1 being about twenty percent shorter than Q2 (Levenson 103). Like *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the German *Romeo and Juliet* is mainly written in prose, verse being reserved for (the few) solemn occasions. The plot closely follows that of *Romeo and Juliet* (see appendix 2a); a number of passages mirror the Shakespearean text nearly word for word. Yet the German adaptation also contains a number of structural changes, additions, and omissions. Among the omissions are most of Shakespeare's monologues and set pieces, as well as the scene in Mantua.⁴⁵

the portion that may be attributed to a different scribe (IV.iv.54; IV.v.1; IV.vi.0 SD; V.iv.42 SD, 109, 111, 128, 130, 131, 146, 151).

⁴⁵ The version of *Romeo and Juliet* transcribed in the Douai Manuscript (1694-95), which probably was "originally prepared for some kind of theatrical production" (G. B. Evans, "Douai" 164), shares the following cuts with *Romio und Julieta*: "quarreling between the servants", the Queen Mab speech, "part of Juliet's apostrophe to night" (which is wholly missing in *Romio und Julieta*), and the musicians episode (G. B. Evans, "Douai" 170). These may have been popular cuts for performance versions of the play. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* shows a similar pattern (see pp. 209-10 below).

This last instance provides a good example of *Romio und Julieta*'s neat streamlining: the first two scenes of Shakespeare's Act V (Romeo learns of Juliet's supposed death and buys poison from the apothecary; Friar John tells Friar Laurence that his letter failed to reach Romeo) are wholly done away with. In Shakespeare, the Friar's letter, explaining the sleeping-potion plot, fails to reach Romeo, whereas in *Romio und Julieta*, Romio does receive a letter from the Father, but it merely asks him to hurry back: "Here have I arrived because the Father wrote to me that I should come here as quickly as possible" (V.iv.20-21).⁴⁶ Romio only learns that Julieta is "dead" when he arrives at the monument. He goes on to kill himself with his dagger. This neatly disposes of the first two scenes of Act V. Among the omitted characters, Montague's Wife can be singled out. Mundige (Montague) himself only appears in I.i. The musicians⁴⁷ and other minor characters disappear completely, while Peter and the other Capulet servants have been largely absorbed by Pickelherring (see p. 193 below).

The brawl at the beginning has been cut. *Romio und Julieta* strikingly starts with a reconciliation between Mundige and Capolet, orchestrated by the Prince. Within the limits of the stylized dialogue, Mundige is the more quarrelsome of the two, while Capolet seems more peaceable – a difference not found in Shakespeare.⁴⁸ Yet despite the initial reconciliation the feud is never wholly dispelled, and the truce does not prevent any of the deaths. Wolff believes that the inconsistency concerning the feud is due to two different sources which the "author" was

⁴⁶ "[H]ier bin ich angelangt weil mir der *Pater* geschriben ich soll so Schnell als es möglich alhier anlangen".

⁴⁷ For Petersen, the omission of the musicians "could indicate non-oral abridgement" (87). Wolff believes that Pickelherring's role is enlarged in the corresponding scene in order to make up for the missing musicians (97).

⁴⁸ However, in the last lines of *Romeo and Juliet*, "Q1's Capulet *makes* whereas Q2's Capulet *accepts* a gesture of reconciliation" (Erne, *RJ Q1* 156). Q1's Capulet is closer to *Romio und Julieta*'s Capolet in this respect.

struggling to combine (99).⁴⁹ Yet the fact that the play is probably the product of collaboration may explain this and other inconsistencies. The feud and the resulting generation conflict remain subdued in comparison to Shakespeare's texts; the feud is all but ignored at the end of the play.⁵⁰

As for additions, some examples are I.ii, where Julieta is introduced, and III.viii, where Romio visits the Father to obtain his consent to marry Julieta (during their first meeting, after the "balcony" scene, he does not mention marriage). Furthermore, *Romio und Julieta* has added some poetic passages of its own (for instance, in I.i and I.ii). Petersen notes that "[t]he majority of added material seems to be of literary derivation" (261; see also p. 197 below). Some Shakespearean passages are also transposed: Romio laments Julieta's chastity and not Rosalina's (Shakespeare's Rosaline) in a passage which is textually close to Shakespeare (III.vi).

A notable structural change is the following: in *Romio und Julieta*, the planned wedding to Paris is only announced to Julieta *after* she has met and fallen in love with Romio (in III.ii).⁵¹ *Romio und Julieta's* III.i and the first part of III.ii mirror Shakespeare's I.iii (where marriage is first mentioned), while the second half of *Romio und Julieta's* III.ii and III.iii parallel Shakespeare's III.v (where the subject is broached with greater urgency), albeit with a different ending: Julieta asks for some time to think the matter over, which is granted. Juliet also asks for a delay (though later in the action [Q1 III.v.159, Q2 III.v.199]), but her demand is not heeded. *Romio und Julieta* gives us another scene (III.ix) just before the wedding ceremony, between Capolet, Paris, and Julieta, in which she formally seems to agree to the match, although in fact her words only reiterate variations of "I will obey my father". The "rearranged order achieves

⁴⁹ "Verfasser".

⁵⁰ Note that "whereas Q2 highlights the feudal conflict ... Q1, by contrast, plays it down" (Erne, *RJ Q1* 32).

⁵¹ Yet Paris is present on stage beforehand. See also note to *RuJ* III.viii.5-6.

starker contrasts and balances – between characters, and between events in the plot" (Petersen 121). This brings us to another kind of change in *Romio und Julieta*, namely that of characters having undergone a transformation.

Pickelherring embodies a whole set of changes to the play and its plot. His role not only incorporates that of Peter and other servants, but he even steals some of the Nurse's scenes. Giorgio Melchiori believes that all of the comic roles in the Shakespearean play were played by one actor, namely, Will Kemp (782). In *Romio und Julieta* the conflation of comic roles is taken one step further, creating the fully-fledged Pickelherring, an irreverent presence throughout the play.⁵² Petersen terms this "telescoping" (89). *Romio und Julieta* constitutes a prime example for Pickelherring's prominence on the *Wanderbühne*.

The second character to receive added prominence in *Romio und Julieta* is Paris,⁵³ perhaps because the part was played by an eminent actor who requested more on-stage presence. Paris is also portrayed as a more sympathetic character. As a result, Julieta's dilemma is heightened, and so, in some respects, is the plot.⁵⁴ *Romio und Julieta* presents the threat Paris

⁵² Interestingly, one of the pre-Shakespearean stories also had only one servant: in Da Porto's novella, "which Shakespeare apparently never read, there was only one servant, named Pietro. He was the trusty man of Giulietta, privy to her marriage (he fulfilled therefore also the function of the Nurse, absent from this early version)" (Melchiori 778).

⁵³ Whereas in both Q1 and Q2 of *Romeo and Juliet*, Paris roughly speaks 550 words, in *Romio und Julieta* he speaks 600. The percentage of Paris's lines is higher in the German play than in Shakespeare (about 3.3 percent as opposed to 2 percent). Additionally, in comparison to Shakespeare's texts, Paris's name is mentioned considerably more often in *Romio und Julieta* when he is not on stage (five occurrences in Q1, ten in Q2, and twenty in *Romio und Julieta*). In the Dutch *Romeo an Juliette* (see p. 195, fn. 59 below), the character of Paris is also "needlessly elaborated" (Fuller 110) by monologues and "frequent appearances on the stage" (111).

⁵⁴ See also Baesecke 58 and Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 28.

poses much more visibly than Shakespeare does: in Shakespeare, Capulet's wife⁵⁵ prepares Juliet for her suitor, whereas in *Romio und Julieta*, Paris is physically present at the ball scene as a guest of honor. The German version offers a more visual way of introducing the triangular relationship between Romio, Julieta, and Paris. It seems an adequate way of dealing with the matter for a *Wanderbühne* text whose focus is often on the visual.

Later, Capolet even formally gives his daughter's hand to Paris (III.ix.30-31). In the last scene, the unfortunate lover is again given additional stage presence. As in Shakespeare, he speaks a woeful monologue, and he "*Scatters ... flowers over her*" (V.iv.19 SD).⁵⁶ When Julieta awakes, she actually first discovers Paris's corpse among the "dead people" surrounding her:

Help, heaven, help! What is this? Is this not Count Paris? Yes, it is he. Ah, no doubt he has killed himself for my sake, because his assumption was that I died. O poor lover, I lament thy death with sighs, because thou hast died for my sake (V.iv.81, 84-88)⁵⁷

Only then does she notice Romio. As a crowning conclusion, Paris, and not Romio, is buried in one grave with Julieta (see V.iv.180-83 and note). According to Petersen, the "triad structure" that *Romio und Julieta* creates "emphasises that this is wholly and exclusively a tragedy of the younger generation" (72). Yet the older generation conclude the play by frowning upon the follies of youth and love. Here *Romio und Julieta* joins *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and other Shakespearean *Wanderbühne* adaptations in accentuating the didactic moral message.

⁵⁵ I follow Levenson and Weis in using this designation instead of "Lady Capulet".

⁵⁶ "[S]trät die blumen auff Sie[.]"

⁵⁷ "todte leüth ... [H]ilff himmel hilff waß ist daß? [J]st daß nicht Graff *Paris*, Ja Er ist es, ach Er hat sich gewiß ermord vmb meinet willen, weillen seine mueth masßung gewesen ich seÿ gestorben, ach armer liebhaber ich beklage deinen todt mit Seüfftzen, weil du vmb meinet willen gestorben".

Provenance

That *Romio und Julieta* depends on Shakespeare's texts cannot be denied.⁵⁸ Yet whether *Romio und Julieta* is based on the First Quarto (1597) or the Second Quarto (1599) has not been fully established. I have carried out a thorough investigation. The remaining early printed versions, Q3 (1609), Q4 (1622), Q5 (1637), and F (1623), all ultimately derive from Q2 (Levenson 113), and can therefore be excluded from this discussion. Yet again, while the provenance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has attracted much critical attention (see pp. 214-19 below), *Romio und Julieta*'s provenance has not been greatly analyzed. It goes unmentioned in Cohn, and Wolff discards the subject as irrelevant (92). He does, however, postulate the existence of an "Ur-Romeo" (102), since he believes that an "English play that predates Shakespeare served as a second source" for *Romio und Julieta* (100).⁵⁹ Simon Williams confidently states that the German play is "obviously based on the First Folio" without giving any evidence (38). Yet the only significant instance where F and *Romio und Julieta* agree against Q2 is the omission of the prologue.⁶⁰ In contrast, Albert Feuillerat claims that *Romio und Julieta* is "an adaptation of the text of the First Quarto".

⁵⁸ See also headnote to *RuJ* III.v.

⁵⁹ "daß ein englisches vorshakespearesches Romeodrama als zweite Quelle ... gedient hat". In fact, Wolff attributes nearly all peculiarities of *Romio und Julieta* to this conjectural source (98-103). Baesecke considers the possibility that *Romio und Julieta*'s "later scenes" proceed from an Italian play (146, "späten Szenen"). The Dutch version of *Romeo and Juliet* by Jacob Struijs, written around 1630 and entitled *Romeo en Juliette*, has no direct relation to the German *Romio und Julieta*. An *Ur-Romeo* has also been postulated for this playtext (Fuller 95). For the popularity of *Ur*-plays, see p. 106 above.

⁶⁰ A comparison of Q2, F, and *Romio und Julieta* yields no further substantive differences. There are seven stage directions where *Romio und Julieta* may be likened to F rather than to Q2: I.iv.75 SD, II.iv.24 SD, IV.ii.40 SD, 59 SD, IV.iii.47 SD, V.iv.102 SD, 105 SD. Five of these are directions for characters to exit or enter. These similarities seem too fortuitous to suggest a strong connection between F and *Romio und Julieta*.

His sole piece of evidence is the fact that *Romio und Julieta*, like Q1, alternates between the spellings "Capulet" and "Capolet" (283).⁶¹ Chambers, by contrast, believes that the play is "based upon Shakespeare in the Q2 form, since it uses passages (iii.i.157-80; v.3.12-17) as there given and not in Q1" (*Shakespeare* 1: 347). Chambers probably based his statement on Creizenach, who cites the same instances (*Schauspiele* XLII).⁶²

Both are right in suggesting that *Romio und Julieta* is based on Q2. As appendix 3a illustrates, there are thirty-five Q2-only instances in *Romio und Julieta* and six instances of weak agreement with Q2 rather than Q1.⁶³ Additionally, there are twelve instances of weak agreement between *Romio und Julieta* and Q1,⁶⁴ but these are not clear-cut and may be coincidences. There are six Q1-only instances in *Romio und Julieta*, but four of these are stage directions, which leaves a total of two Q1-only instances against thirty-five Q2-only instances. The points where *Romio und Julieta* seems to depend on Q1 can probably be neglected against the large amount of evidence that speaks for a strong connection to Q2.

Romio und Julieta's relationship to Q2 is clearer than *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*'s relationship to either Q1 or Q2 *Hamlet*. It is interesting that *Romio und Julieta* should be based on Q2, the longer, more readerly of the *Romeo and Juliet* texts. This is in line with Petersen's suggestion that *Romio und Julieta* is "not predominantly an oral document, but marked by a

⁶¹ *Romio und Julieta*'s manuscript indeed uses different spellings: "Capolet", "Capulet", "Cappolet", and "Kapolet".

⁶² I find that Chambers's (and Creizenach's) second instance is not as clearly echoed in *Romio und Julieta* as some other passages are (see appendix 3a).

⁶³ I use the term "strong agreement" for longer passages of text or for words or passages of importance, and "weak agreement" for resemblances that are not clear-cut, or for short and less important passages.

⁶⁴ The most notable instance where Q1 and *Romio und Julieta* agree against Q2/F is the omission of the second chorus (II.0). Yet *Romio und Julieta* also omits the first chorus.

recent literary retextualisation (translation from Q2?)" (88).⁶⁵ Indeed, *Romio und Julieta*'s language can generally be qualified as more poetic than that of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. The readerly orientation of the manuscript is reflected in the possibility that the extant manuscript was a presentation copy. *Romio und Julieta* differs from *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* not only in its clearer origin, but also in its enhanced "readerly" component.

4b. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*

Stage History

The early modern stage history of the German *Hamlet* remains vague. Scholars generally agree that the only confirmed performance is that of the *Tragoedia von Hamlet einen printzen in Dennemarck* on 24 June 1626 in Dresden.⁶⁶ Additional performance dates have been advanced: Gdańsk (1616,⁶⁷ 1669), Hamburg (1625), Frankfurt (1626, 1628, 1686⁶⁸), and Altona (1770).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ See also p. 173 above. Yet *Romio und Julieta* "simultaneously exhibits oral symptoms to a remarkably high degree" (Petersen 142).

⁶⁶ See Cohn, *Germany* CXV; Freudenstein 37. *Romio und Julieta* was also performed on this occasion. Freudenstein points out that both plays allude to a garden setting (90; see *RuJ* I.ii.1-7; *BB* IV.i.1-3). It is tempting to conjecture that a similar decorative hanging, or an actual garden, was used for both plays. Although the famous "Zwinger" was built in the eighteenth century, in Pillnitz near Dresden, a "Lustgarten" ("pleasure garden") is documented as early as 1609. The nobility went to Pillnitz by gondola, up the Elbe (*Sachsens Schönste Schlösser* 14-15).

⁶⁷ If this performance date could be verified and if Bernice W. Kliman is correct in believing that the "record of performances [including one of *Hamlet*] by English sailors off the coast of Africa in 1607 is a forgery" (180), then the first recorded performance of *Hamlet* would have taken place on the Continent in 1616. The first performance in London is recorded for 1619 (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 97).

Yet none of these records rest on firm grounds. Although there is no hard proof, it nevertheless seems likely that versions of the play were performed throughout the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ A description of a performance in Hamburg in 1625 may be recorded in Johannes von Rist's account from 1665, where he recalls a performance of an unnamed play in the 1620s: he describes "the story of a Prince and his disgracefully carousing uncle-King", "the arrival of [a] company of traveling actors", and "a Hamlet-like awareness of the faults and virtues of theatrical performances" (Brennecke 250).⁷¹

Although we are lacking descriptions of and evidence for early modern performances, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has been put on stage since the early twentieth century. Some modern performances include: Berliner Theater, directed by Paul Lindau (1902);⁷² Heidelberg, directed by Wilhelm Pfeiffer-Belli (1920);⁷³ Oxford Playhouse, directed by William Poel (1924);⁷⁴

⁶⁸ This performance is attributed to Velten (Knight 390). Yet, as critics repeatedly point out, the performance record cannot be verified and is only based on an account by Mentzel, who is generally described as unreliable (see p. 29, fn. 11 above).

⁶⁹ This may also have been a performance of Wieland's translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (Freudenstein 36; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 129). Additionally, in 1779 the famous actor Friedrich Ludwig Schröder "played a version of *Hamlet* which is said to have included echoes of" *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (Brennecke 251). Cohn claims that "[a]bout the year 1665", the play was performed "by the Veltheim company" (*Germany CXX*), that is, Velten's company. Yet, he does not supply further details.

⁷⁰ See Freudenstein 11 and Petersen 127.

⁷¹ Rist recalls a play he saw "in his youth, perhaps in Hamburg and possibly as early as 1625" (Brennecke 248), yet he may have "confused ... two entirely different performances" (250) or simply have made up the play he is referring to, in order to illustrate the point he was making (Freudenstein 24).

⁷² See Keller 342 and Lauser 2. Apparently, the effect of this performance was parodic (Stahl, "BB" 158).

⁷³ See Stahl, "BB" for this student production from the German department of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

Théâtre Intime in Princeton and New York, directed by Russel Wright (1924-25);⁷⁵ Birmingham Repertory Theatre, directed by Bernard Hepton (1958/59);⁷⁶ Stuttgarter Theater im Depot, directed by Stephan Barbarino (1989);⁷⁷ Theater Orlando in Rastade, directed by Jürgen Lorenzen (2001); Theatralia, at the University of Bochum, directed by Daniel Steinbach (2007);⁷⁸ the Blackfriars Playhouse of the American Shakespeare Center in Staunton, Virginia, directed by Christine Schmidle (2010).⁷⁹

As discussed in relation to *Romio und Julieta* (pp. 181-84 above), the problems that a text might pose can often be resolved in performance, or a performance can give the issue a different angle. I will illustrate this with the help of some recent productions of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Of course, there are differences between the behavior of contemporary audiences

⁷⁴ Poel's production, *Fratricide Punished*, should correctly be called an adaptation of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, since he considerably altered the text; see his promptbook (Isaacs). A lively account of a production on 17 December 1924 can be found in Barker. A twentieth-century French adaptation of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was aired on the television channel Radio-Canada on 22 November 1956: "*Hamlet*, an adaptation based on Thomas Kyd", "television theater by Jacques Languirand" (Bérubé 249, "*Hamlet*, adaptation d'après Thomas Kyd", "un téléthéâtre de Jacques Languirand"). Languirand sees the *Ur-Hamlet* in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Patrick Monette from the archives of Radio-Canada informed me that no recording of this production is extant (private communication, 17 January 2012).

⁷⁵ All of the roles, except for Ophelia's, were taken on by men. See also p. 181, fn. 20 above.

⁷⁶ Performances took place in Birmingham and Edinburgh, using Poel's text of *Fratricide Punished*.

⁷⁷ This production used Cohn's text with a new prologue. Barbarino cast a woman as Hamlet.

⁷⁸ This was a student production; the audience consisted of the general public. Creizenach's text was used, with some added Shakespearean material.

⁷⁹ A recent school production of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may be added. It was directed by Thomas Höll at the Schenk-von-Limpurg Gymnasium, Gaildorf (2009). The text was adapted by occasionally modernizing the language, and adding topical sequences and physical comedy, as well as numerous Shakespearean passages.

and that of early modern ones.⁸⁰ Yet since the plays are theatrical in nature, it is on stage that they reveal their fullest potential.

For instance, the particular importance of the mixture of comedy and tragedy in a foreign language performance context is explained by Schmidle, who directed *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, performed by Anglophone actors in German for an Anglophone audience (Schmidle 56):

the comic scenes became the connection between audience and actors, [linking them to] the serious and more important scenes ... audience members could never stop following the story because the play is interrupted by comic scenes often enough to make a serious scene in a foreign language fascinating enough to keep watching. (Private communication, July 2010)

For this production, which reconstructed the performance conditions of the *Wanderbühne* to a certain extent, the alternation of tragic and comic sequences was vital. The production showed the reactions of an audience who did not understand the language which the actors spoke on stage. However, it must be noted that this only partly captures the context in which *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was originally performed. The language barrier between German audience and English-speaking actors started to disappear around 1600 (see p. 150 above), and the extant text dates from the second half of the seventeenth-century. Although the text of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* can only partly be related to performances involving a language barrier between audience and actors, Schmidle's production and her analysis are nevertheless noteworthy in this respect.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Concerning the dangers of "theatrical essentialism" see Dessen, "Staging Matters" 36-37 and *passim*.

⁸¹ The assumption is that parts of the extant text can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. *Hamlet* was printed in 1603 and 1604/05, although Shakespeare is thought to have written some version of the play around 1600 (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 49). See also Schmidle 55.

Schmidle's production helped to shed light on a related problem for contemporary audiences, namely the sense of parody. Take, for instance, the last scene of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*:

QUEEN O woe, I am dying!

QUEEN *dies.*

*The KING stands in front of the QUEEN.*⁸²

HAMLET And thou, tyrant, shalt accompany her in death.

HAMLET *stabs him from behind.*

KING O woe, I receive my evil reward!

KING *dies.*

LEONHARDUS Adieu, Prince Hamlet! Adieu, world! I am also dying. Ah, forgive me, Prince!

LEONHARDUS *dies.* (V.vi.42-46 SD).⁸³

Was this meant to be funny? An audience member of Poel's production of *Fratricide Punished* (1924) thought so: "The / last scene was too funny for / words. People simply shrieked / with laughter" the actors even "had / to stop for a minute 'cos / people laughed so!" (Barker 41). In Steinbach's German production Leonhardus's lines were changed from "I am *also* dying" to "I am dying". Nevertheless, laughs accompanied the quick succession of deaths.⁸⁴

Modern audiences (who understand the text) are inclined to laugh at this because they see it as a parody of a great Shakespearean tragedy. They know the "real" *Hamlet*, and this passage

⁸² The King presumably positions himself in front of the Queen to hide her dead body.

⁸³ "KÖNIGIN O wehe, ich sterbe! / [KÖNIGIN *stirbt.*] / *Der König steht vor der Königin.* / HAMLET Und Du, Tyranne, sollst sie in dem Tode begleiten. / HAMLET *ersticht ihm von hinten zu.* / KÖNIG O wehe, ich empfangen meinen bösen Lohn! / [KÖNIG *stirbt.*] / LEONHARDUS Adieu, Prinz Hamlet! Adieu, Welt! ich sterbe auch. Ach verzeihet mir, Prinz! / [LEONHARDUS *stirbt.*]"

⁸⁴ Compare Dover Wilson considering *Titus Andronicus* to be "'a huge joke', a parody" (Bate 11) although modern critics agree that it is not.

seems to ridicule it. But it is highly unlikely that the people who produced this text were aiming at a parodic effect. The seventeenth-century German audiences would not have known the original, only the adaptation.⁸⁵ The English Comedians used "the most popular plays from the London stage, not because their [German] audiences were eager to see the triumphs of the London theatre ... but because they were good plots that were adaptable and effective" (Holland, "Shakespeare Abbreviated" 31). Parody was not intended. After all, "to ironize the plot or to disillusion the audience" was not common in this age and on this stage (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 27).

Similarly, during the rehearsal for the staged reading of *Romio and Julieta*, the actors first found the tragic ending hilarious. After an initial reading, however, Jeremy Hardingham, the actor playing Capolet (who spoke most of the lines in the final scene) suggested to "do this differently". He changed from boisterous, pompous, and loud declamation to near-whisper, filled with heavy sadness. The result was strikingly different. The parody turned into something that could be interpreted as tragic.

Despite a lack of early modern documented performances, recent productions can to a certain extent help to better understand the playtexts. Schmidle's production of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* showed that the sense of parody gets lost in translation. During this performance, where the spectators did not understand the text, the passage cited above was taken in absolute earnest. The audience perceived the scene as tragic; no one laughed. This implies that the language constellation between audience and actors/playtext should be taken into account when analyzing *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and its peers, since certain elements of the texts may be traced back to a time when audience and actors did not speak the same language.

⁸⁵ See also Schmidle 55.

Textual History

Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder: Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark (Fratricide Punished or: Prince Hamlet of Denmark) was printed by Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard (1754-1828), first in extracts in his *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1779* (47-60) and then in its entirety in 1781 in the journal *Olla Potrida* (18-68). Reichard based his editions on a manuscript dated 17 October 1710, in Preetz – probably Preetz in today's Schleswig Holstein (Freudenstein 11).⁸⁶ This manuscript formerly belonged to Conrad Ekhof, who is known as "the father of German dramatic art" (Borchardt).⁸⁷ Reichard and Ekhof worked and performed together at the court theater in Gotha from 1775 until Ekhof's death in 1778 (Schumann). In *Olla Potrida*, Reichard writes: "Some friends of old German drama have wished that the old Hamlet from Eckhof's estate, of which I gave an extract in one of the theater calendars, should be printed in its entirety; I herewith comply" (18).⁸⁸ When one compares the orthography of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* to that of the manuscript of *Romio und Julieta*, both texts dating from the second half of the

⁸⁶ Or Pretzsch in today's Saxony-Anhalt (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 1), or Graz, formerly also "Grätz" in Austria (Ward, qtd. in Stern "Puppets" 3). Wilhelm Widmann points out that Spiegelberg founded an acting company in Preetz in 1710 (17). Spiegelberg was Ekhof's father-in-law, and a copy of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may have been made for the newly founded company (Freudenstein 11; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 128). See also pp. 40-41 above.

⁸⁷ "Vater der deutschen Schauspielkunst". A "thirteen-page plot outline [or draft] of a *Hamlet* puppet show, entitled *Der Berstreftebrudermord*, [sic] *oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark*" was reportedly "discover[ed]" in the 1960s, yet this claim has not been substantiated (see Barasch 175 and Stern, "Puppets" 1). Stern, following Amico, suggests that the extant text of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may well have been intended as a puppet play (see p. 160, fn. 98 above).

⁸⁸ "Einige Freunde von alten deutschen dramatischen Stücken haben gewünscht, daß der alte Hamlet, aus Eckhof's Nachlaß, von dem ich in einem der Theaterkalender einen Auszug gegeben habe, ganz abgedruckt werden möchte; ich willfahre ihnen hier."

seventeenth century, it seems likely that Reichard modernized the spelling in his edition.⁸⁹ His two versions of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* differ in many accidentals and in a few substantives. An analysis of the variants indicates that Reichard made more editorial interventions in the passages published in the *Theaterkalender* than for the full text printed in *Olla Potrida*. Alternatively, he was less careful in transcribing the text for the *Theaterkalender*, which presents more instances of modernized spelling and grammar than the later publication. On the whole, the variants suggest that Reichard's readings from the manuscript are not always accurate.

Unfortunately, the original manuscript of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has been lost. Berthold Litzmann (7) and Creizenach ("Tragödie" 1) stated this in 1887, although Chambers still erroneously referred to the manuscript being in Gotha in 1930 (*Shakespeare* 1: 409). Yet the library staff cannot confirm that it has ever been in their possession.⁹⁰ Although the lost manuscript bears the date 1710, the playtext can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.⁹¹ The text likely originated in Northern Germany (Litzmann 12; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 145).

⁸⁹ See also Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 145.

⁹⁰ Cornelia Hopf, private communication, 15 May 2007. There is no extant catalogue of manuscripts containing a reference to *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. After the Second World War, a number of manuscripts were taken to West Germany, but mainly those of great value, such as illuminated manuscripts. The manuscript was not among Reichard's personal papers either (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 1). See also Brennecke's fruitless inquiries (251).

⁹¹ See also Freudenstein 11 and Litzmann 6. Greg's assumption that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "in its original form, must ... have had birth between 1600 and the spring of 1603" seems somewhat strained. He believes that an early version of the play must have come into being by then because "had the continental company had access to Q2 or even to Q1, there would have been ... none of this cross-linking" (308). For discussion of the "cross-linking", see pp. 216-27 below.

There are a few instances within the text itself which help to confirm this dating. Firstly, Hamlet refers to three women in Carl's playing company (II.vii.20).⁹² The first actresses were recorded in Germany in 1653 (see p. 36 above), which sets the *terminus post quem* of the manuscript to 1653. Furthermore, "Straßburg" is mentioned as being a city "[i]n Germany" (II.vii.70-71).⁹³ Strasbourg was a German city until 1681, when it was occupied by the French under Louis XIV. This makes 1681 the *terminus ad quem*. Another indication that the play can be dated to the last decades of the seventeenth century is the alternate use of the forms of address "Sie" and "Ihr". The newer formal address "Sie", as opposed to the older "Ihr", was not in use before the last decades of the seventeenth century (Grimm). Also, Creizenach lists a few words that only appeared in the German language around the middle of the seventeenth century (*Schauspiele* 143).⁹⁴

The use of the term *Prinzipal* has been taken as evidence to date the play. According to Elisabeth Mentzel this particular designation was not in use before the 1680s (qtd. in Freudenstein 32). Before, the leader was called "Meister" (BB II.vi.9), "Director", or "Führer". However, the word *Prinzipal* occurs in *Peter Squentz* (Act II, in Gryphius, *Peter Squentz* 20), which was first printed in 1658. Hence, the use of this word does not further delimitate the text's temporal frame. The much-discussed allusion to Portugal (III.x.24) does not help to date the play

⁹² Note that Velten (who has been related to the extant text of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*; see pp. 40-41 above) is said to have welcomed three actresses into his company in 1686 (Freudenstein 32).

⁹³ "in Teutschland".

⁹⁴ Some examples are: "Kavalier" (II.iv.7), "pariren" (V.vi.19 SD), and the expression "das Lebenslicht ausblasen" (IV.i.59, "to blow out the light of life").

either, although several attempts have been undertaken.⁹⁵ To sum up, the extant text was probably written between 1653 and 1681 and copied, and possibly further adapted, in 1710.

Comparison to Shakespeare's Texts

Der Bestrafte Brudermord is a short play, with only about 11,000 words, as opposed to the 34,000 words of *Hamlet's* Second Quarto.⁹⁶ *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is mainly written in prose and generally follows the plotline of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.⁹⁷ Yet the German adaptation also features a number of additions, omissions, and changes. The additions include a prologue, spoken by Night and three Furies; an episode where the peasant Jens comes to court to avoid punishment for tax evasion (III.vii-III.ix); and a slap-stick interlude which allows Hamlet to escape from two assassins (IV.i). This episode fits the *Wanderbühne's* general emphasis on physicality (see pp. 157-61 above). It also helps to condense and streamline the plot (Petersen 122). Along with the sequence between Jens and Phantasmo and Ophelia's madness (see pp. 210-14 below), IV.i helps to accentuate the comic element in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. The episode between the two clowns may originally have been longer; the text could provide opportunities for added improvisation (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 141). Schmidle speculates that Jens's "only purpose" may be "to introduce Phantasmo" (41). The interaction between a courtly and a "rustic" fool was particularly popular towards the end of the seventeenth century (Creizenach, "Tragödie"

⁹⁵ See Tanger 228-29; Corbin 257; Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 132; Freudenstein 103-04; Bullough 7: 148.

⁹⁶ These are estimates.

⁹⁷ For an overview, see appendix 2b.

27).⁹⁸ Jens can be assimilated with the popular comic interludes which were often inserted into plays, although their content was usually not linked to the main plot.

Der Bestrafte Brudermord's "highly baroque" (Baesecke 118)⁹⁹ prologue, featuring Night and three furies, is another component only loosely linked to the main plot.¹⁰⁰ The prologue is reminiscent of the witches' scenes in *Macbeth*, all the more so since Night is addressed as "Hecate" (0.24), who also appears in III.v and IV.i of (what is probably Middleton's rewriting of) Shakespeare's play. Moreover, it can be likened to the counsel in hell in the prologue of *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It* (1612) by Dekker, where Pluto gives several devils orders for destruction and mayhem, as Night does with the furies in the German *Hamlet* (Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 137).¹⁰¹ According to Flemming, the prologue of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was "patched together" by students, from bits of Gryphius (*Wanderbühne* 15).¹⁰² Flemming may have had *Carolus Stuardus* in mind. Apart from a general similarity in style, the two share some

⁹⁸ "bäurischen". Note that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* omits the comic sequence in the graveyard (*Hamlet* V.i). Possibly the adapter(s) did not want to prolong the end of the play.

⁹⁹ "hochbarock".

¹⁰⁰ For discussion of the "Shakespearean" nature of the prologue, see Furness 117; Cohn, *Germany* CXX; and Creizenach, *Schauspiele* 131. For possible links to the *Ur-Hamlet* or Kyd, see M. B. Evans, *BB zu Hamlet* 3, 22; Duthie 263-64; and Freudenstein 96-103.

¹⁰¹ For instance: "*Furie Enters*" (B2r); "*Lur. Command vs. / Plu. Fly into the world*" (B2v); "*Plu. ... Amongst 'em sow / Seedes of contention*" (B3r). Compare *BB* 0.19-24, 35, 40-41. The prologue has further been likened to that of *The Spanish Tragedy*, featuring Revenge and Andrea's Ghost (see Corbin 254), although Creizenach deems the resemblances minimal ("Tragödie" 25).

¹⁰² "bearbeiten Gryphius oder stoppeln aus ihm einen Prolog zusammen"; see also Baesecke 147.

textual echoes.¹⁰³ Gryphius's tragedy concludes with an episode which might also be paralleled with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*'s prologue.¹⁰⁴

As on the Shakespearean stage, prologues were "ephemeral", "not only quickly lost, but ... also quickly replaced as circumstances dictated", and "[s]ometimes the same prologue [was] given to more than one play" (Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, 120, 119, 118). A manuscript of *Die lebendige Märtyrin* (*The Living Martyr*) supports the idea that prologues had a life of their own: it has the allegorical prologue bound up at the end, written in a different hand and ink. As in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the prologue has its proper *dramatis personae* (37v).¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Reichard does not inform us in which order *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*'s manuscript was bound. The main reason for seeing the prologue as a late addition are the inconsistencies between play and prologue. For example, in the play itself there is no sign of "poison" (0.35)¹⁰⁶ in the royal

¹⁰³ In the prologue of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Alecto asks: "What says the dark Night, the Queen of Silence, / What news does she give, what is her desire and will?" (0.19-20, "Was sagt die dunkle Nacht, die Königin der Stille, / Was giebt sie Neues an, was ist ihr Lust und Wille?"). Compare: "Who breaks the black calm of the monstrous silence: / Who's whining through the night?" (*Carolus Stuardus*, I.29-30, "Wer bricht die schwartze Ruh der ungeheuren Stille: / Und winselt durch die Nacht?"). Night speaks of an "altar of vice" (0.30, "Laster-Altar") and in *Carolus Stuardus* the Ghost refers to a "Mord-Altar" (I.19; "murder altar").

¹⁰⁴ "[T]he ghosts of the murdered kings", clamoring for vengeance, address the character of "Revenge" (V.324, "Geister der ermordeten Könige. Die Rache"). Revenge then proceeds to give orders to the furies: "Hear, you furies, what Revenge will order you [to do]" (V.352, "Hört was die Rach' euch wil / ihr Furien befehlen"; the slash is in the original). Compare Night's summoning in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*: "You furies, up, up, come forth and let yourselves be seen. / Come and listen attentively, what shortly shall happen" (0.17-18, "Ihr Furien, auf, auf, hervor und laßt euch sehen, / Kommt, höret fleißig zu, was kurzens soll geschehen").

¹⁰⁵ "Actores des Prologi".

¹⁰⁶ "Gift".

marriage; quite on the contrary, the King says that he loves the Queen and inquires about her well-being (II.i.2-4). Also, the Queen is not mentioned as the main motive for the murder, as the repeated use of the adjective "crown-thirsty" (I.v.26, I.vi.58)¹⁰⁷ illustrates.

The omissions include all but one soliloquy, namely: "Now might I doe it" (Q2 TLN 2350, III.iii.73); the equivalent speech can be found in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* at III.ii.1-11.¹⁰⁸ The most striking omission of a character is probably that of Fortinbras. He is only mentioned in Hamlet's dying words, when he bequeaths the Danish crown to him (V.vi.68). With Fortinbras, part of the political dimension disappears: the Norwegian ambassadors as well as the Captain have been cut. The gravediggers vanish along with the graveyard scene (V.i). The scenes presenting Polonius's family at the beginning are omitted, as is Reynaldo. Laertes's counterpart Leonhardus only appears in IV.iv, although his journey to France is mentioned in I.vii. The play within the play is reduced to the dumb show, which ends after the poisoning; the poisoner does not woo the queen. This is in line with the more sympathetic portrayal of the Queen in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.¹⁰⁹ Hamlet is less concerned with her guilt and sexuality than he is in Shakespeare's texts, especially Q2/F. Finally, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are reduced to two "servants" who only appear when they are to accompany Hamlet to England, and are transformed into "bandits" once they are about to carry out their homicidal mission. These cuts are generally consistent and help to streamline and speed up the play's plot. If Q1 is "*Hamlet* with the brakes

¹⁰⁷ "Kronsüchtig".

¹⁰⁸ Some see V.i.1-7 in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* as the only soliloquy (see Petersen 82). The Shakespearean equivalent is the Q2-only speech "How all occasions doe informe against me ..." (TLN 2743+26-27, IV.iv.31).

¹⁰⁹ See also Dover Wilson 252-53.

off", as Peter Guinness put it (Loughrey 128), then *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is *Hamlet* with the foot on the gas pedal.¹¹⁰

Note that most of these cuts are also found in a late seventeenth-century English acting version of *Hamlet*. In the "Players' Quarto" of 1676,

"[t]his play being too long to be conveniently Acted", [Davenant] had cut Voltemand, Cornelius and Reynaldo, Polonius' advice to Laertes, most of Laertes' advice to Ophelia, all of Hamlet's advice to the players, and Fortinbras's first appearance; while, of the famous longer speeches, only "To be or not to be" survives in its entirety (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 98-99).

Yet such cuts were not necessarily restricted to the late seventeenth century. "Davenant was only doing what Shakespeare and his fellows had done long before him" (Erne, *Literary Dramatist* 169). *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is therefore in line with other shortened versions of *Hamlet*.

The changes to the plot in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* include the enlargement of Osrick's role to that of the court jester, Phantasmo. Like Pickelherring in *Romio und Julieta*, he takes on several functions: Phantasmo interacts with the second "rustic" clown, Jens; he is followed around by Ophelia in her madness, functions as a messenger and equivocating jester, and plays a crucial role in the last scene (V.vi), bringing the poisoned weapon and drink.

Ophelia also undergoes a radical change. Her character is emptied of its tragic function, since the moments when an audience could empathize with her and see her as a tragic character are drastically reduced. At the beginning, she merely appears as a passive, mute bystander. Her relationship to Hamlet can only be gleaned through allusions (II.iii.1-7, II.iv). Ophelia's mad sequences, in stark contrast to the earlier scenes, play up the theatrical effect, so much so that the

¹¹⁰ A review of Barbarino's production was fittingly entitled: "Most important stage direction: chop! chop!" (Kümmel 14, "Wichtigste Regieanweisung: Zack").

effect is, in fact, comic. In her erotomania,¹¹¹ she is appropriately paired up with the jester Phantasmo, following him around and believing him to be her "sweetheart" (III.ix.1).¹¹² Unlike those who witness her madness in Shakespeare, Phantasmo clearly does not pity her state, but exclaims: "Oh, the devil, who could be away from her! She thinks I am her lover" (III.ix.8-9),¹¹³ accentuating his comic state of exasperation.

In Shakespeare, Ophelia's madness is motivated by her father's death, her love for Hamlet, his rejection of her and, perhaps, his absence. It has been argued that Ophelia's madness in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is caused by her father's death and not by Hamlet's treatment of her.¹¹⁴ Yet the theme of her father's death does not appear in her madness in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* as it does in Shakespeare.¹¹⁵ Instead, her folly has a clear amatory and even sexual component. Unrequited love seems a likely cause for her madness, although this stands in contrast to the minimization of the love relationship in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Hamlet's absence cannot have motivated her sorry state, because the Prince has not yet been sent to England when she becomes mad.

¹¹¹ See Camden 254.

¹¹² "Schätzchen". See appendix 6, figure 1 for Ophelia and Phantasmo in Steinbach's production. In Shakespeare, Ophelia sings "How should I your true love know from another one" (TLN 2769, IV.v.23-24), possibly expressing her unrequited love for Hamlet. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* she really does not know her "true love". In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Jailer's daughter suffers from the same illness as Ophelia in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, mistaking her wooer for Palamon, but she is encouraged to do so in order to be cured (V.iv).

¹¹³ "O der Teufel, wer nur von ihr weg wäre; sie meynt, ich bin ihr Liebster."

¹¹⁴ See, for instance, Petersen 118. This may be supported by the fact that Leonhardus does not blame Hamlet for his sister's madness in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, as his counterparts do in Shakespeare.

¹¹⁵ See *Hamlet* IV.v.4, 29-32, 176-77.

As the function of Ophelia's madness has changed, so has the function of certain elements of Shakespeare's texts. In the English play, Ophelia sings, and the content of her songs is clearly bawdy. These bawdy elements resurface in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, not in a song, but directly in Ophelia's speech. In her madness, she is concerned with material goods – normally a characteristic of the *Wanderbühne* clown (see pp. 164-65 above) – and her supposed marriage preparations. She even makes a somewhat indecent proposal to Phantasmo: "What sayest thou, my love? Let's go to bed together" (III.ix.10).¹¹⁶ Geoffrey Bullough bluntly declares that Ophelia has turned into a "nymphomaniac" (7: 23). The mad jailer's daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* makes similarly direct proposals: "We'll to bed then" (V.iv.87).¹¹⁷ When Ophelia's supposed lover, Phantasmo, wants to go to bed before going to church (III.xi.13-21), she acts out her indignation and "*strikes him*" (III.xi.21 SD).¹¹⁸ This slap-stick action further illustrates how Ophelia's function has changed from tragic to comic.

As Ophelia's actions have changed, from singing and playing on a lute (Q1 xiii.14 SD) to physical violence, so the content of her speech has been transposed into its new context. In Shakespeare she sings:

Then vp he rose, and dond his close, and dupt the chamber doore,

¹¹⁶ "Was sagst du, mein Liebchen? Wir wollen mit einander zu Bette gehen".

¹¹⁷ Compare also *Twelfth Night*: "OLIVIA Wilt thou go to bed, Malvolio? / MALVOLIO ... To bed? 'Ay, sweetheart, and I'll come to thee.'" (III.iv.27-29). Bianca's pursuit of Cassio in *Othello* also comes to mind (III.iv.166-98, IV.i.105-65). Another echo of the mad Ophelia pursuing the court jester can be found in Franco Zeffirelli's film version of *Hamlet*, where the "distracted" (F TLN 2766, IV.i.20 SD) Ophelia accosts one of the guards in a sexual manner, fingering with the end of his belt. The guard feels visibly uncomfortable, but the scene's tenor is clearly tragic, not comic. In many theater and film productions of Shakespeare's play, Ophelia's songs are accompanied by movements or gestures which make their content more explicit, as the text of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* also does.

¹¹⁸ "*schlägt ihn*".

Let in the maide, that out a maide, neuer departed more. (TLN 2792-93, IV.v.52-55)

The anxieties expressed in these lines are reflected in Ophelia's text in the German version, and in her interaction with Phantasmo, as is the following passage from Shakespeare:

Young men will doo't if they come too't,

by Cock they are too blame.

Quoth she, Before you tumbled me, you promised me to wed,

(He answers.) So would I a done by yonder sunne

And thou hadst not come to my bed. (TLN 2798-803, IV.v.60-66)

The promise "to wed" which has not been kept since the maid has "come to [his] bed" beforehand is mirrored in the German Ophelia's explanation to Phantasmo that they "must first go to church together" (III.xi.15).¹¹⁹ Ophelia's affirmation that "It is the false Steward that stole his Maisters daughter" (Q2/F TLN 2924, IV.v.166-67) can also be likened to this passage.¹²⁰

Ophelia also displays her madness in front of the King, the Queen, and her brother, distributing flowers as she does in Shakespeare (*BB* IV.vii.1). Later, the Queen announces: "Ophelia has climbed a high mountain and has thrown herself down and taken her life" (V.vi.4-5).¹²¹ This drastic change fits the general pattern. A poetic description of Ophelia's drowning is not needed, since she is no longer a tragic character. Instead, she is quickly dispatched by a convenient suicide.

¹¹⁹ "wir müssen erstlich miteinander zur Kirche gehen".

¹²⁰ In Q1: "t'is a the Kings daughter / And the false Steward" (CLN 1772-73, xiii.90).

¹²¹ "Die Ophelia ist auf einen hohen Berg gestiegen, und hat sich selber heruntergestürzt und um das Leben gebracht."

Since the love relationship between Hamlet and Ophelia has all but disappeared at the beginning of the play,¹²² it does not resurface at the end either. Hamlet is actually present when the Queen narrates Ophelia's suicide. Yet the Prince does not take this opportunity, as he does in Shakespeare, to voice his true love for Ophelia. In fact, he has no scripted reaction whatsoever. To sum up, the changes to Ophelia's character in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are consistent. Her role in the first part of the play is considerably reduced: she has exactly three sentences to utter before she becomes mad (II.iii.1, 3-4; II.iv.1-2). Her madness, by contrast, is highlighted, and is thoroughly comic. Ophelia's transformation is representative of the importance of the comic, farcical and physical element on the *Wanderbühne*.¹²³

Provenance

To be or not to be *Hamlet*

Whereas *Romio und Julieta* is closely related to the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, the textual provenance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is more complex. The three early printed Shakespearean versions of *Hamlet* are the First Quarto from 1603 (Q1), the Second Quarto from

¹²² Nevertheless, Hamlet's short line "Go away from me – but come here" (*BB* II.iv.3-4, "Gehe weg von mir – doch, komm her") adequately summarizes Hamlet's attitude towards Ofelia/Ophelia in the "nunnery sequence" in all four texts. Since in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* "the love affair between Hamlet and Ophelia seems to have faded to something extraordinarily unconvincing" (Petersen 83), some directors feel the need to insert additional passages to illustrate this relationship. Steinbach added the (Shakespearean) exchange between Hamlet and Ophelia (III.ii.105-14) before the play within the play in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (II.viii). Höll inserted a scene where Hamlet and Ophelia profess their love for each other and where he gives her a ring, which she later returns.

¹²³ See also Schmidle 40.

1604/05 (Q2), and the Folio from 1623 (F). For my purposes, I will largely exclude F from this discussion, since the differences between Q2 and F have little bearing on *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.¹²⁴ The remaining early quartos Q3 (1611), Q4 (c. 1621), and Q5 (1637) only "contain some very minor alterations to the text" of Q2 (Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 78) and can therefore also be largely ignored in this analysis.

Apart from the three extant Shakespearean *Hamlets*, a fourth one haunts the textual space: the *Ur-Hamlet*. It may be termed a "ghost play", because it is no longer extant, and there is little information about it. A play called *Hamlet* was staged in London as early as 1588-89, and another performance is recorded for 1594 (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 146, 153). A few references in other texts from the 1590s have come down to us.¹²⁵ This lost play has been attributed to Thomas Kyd by some (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 150), while others believe that the *Ur-Hamlet* is not lost at all, but that it is preserved in Q1 *Hamlet* or even in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Some nineteenth-century critics (and some of the early twentieth century, such as Marshall Blakemore Evans) were adamant that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based on the *Ur-Hamlet*,¹²⁶ and even Jenkins admits that "vestiges of Shakespeare's source-play may have been preserved" in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (122). I disagree with Wells and Taylor who argue that the *Ur-Hamlet* is "[f]ar more important in the history of textual criticism of *Hamlet*" than *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (*Textual Companion* 398). The German text also has its place in *Hamlet*'s textual and theatrical history.

¹²⁴ There are only five instances where F and *BB* agree against Q1 and Q2. Instances where *BB*, Q1, and F agree against Q2 are also five in number, three of them stage directions (see appendix 3b). See also Jenkins 117; Freudenstein 40-41, fn. 127.

¹²⁵ See Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet* 44-45; Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 150.

¹²⁶ See Latham 91; Corbin 257, who believes Kyd to be the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*; Furness 120; M. B. Evans (*BB zu Hamlet* 45), who does not exclude later Shakespearean influences.

For one, the *Ur-Hamlet* is not extant, but *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has survived, albeit in a late printed version. The text can be studied and therefore offers considerably more evidence than the lost "ghost play".

Much ink has been spilled on the status of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* within the textual *Hamlet*-maze.¹²⁷ Most scholars are aware of the complexity of the play's provenance and have ventured a number of different theories. The problem that they grapple with is that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* bears striking similarities to both Q1 and Q2, which necessarily complicates any hypothesis about its provenance.¹²⁸ Some critics, including George Ian Duthie, believe that the German play is "chiefly based" on Q2 (269),¹²⁹ while others, such as Chambers, Wells and Taylor, and Hibbard see Q1 as the main source.¹³⁰ Another group of scholars, including Alexander Dyce, Frederick James Furnivall,¹³¹ Gustav Tanger, Haekel, and Reinhold Freudenstein also believe that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based on Q1, but with some

¹²⁷ Freudenstein gives an overview (in German) of the criticism up to the 1950s (40-41), although he somewhat misinterprets Creizenach's position (see Creizenach, "Tragödie" 1-9). Furness sums up the state of affairs in 1877 (in English, 116-20). See also Hakel, *Englische Komödianten* 212-13.

¹²⁸ For discussion, see Tanger; Freudenstein (38-95); Duthie (238-70); Jenkins (112-22).

¹²⁹ Duthie lists thirty-six correspondences between *BB* and Q2 (240-48), twenty-two of which are grouped as "perhaps the most striking instances of agreement" (245), as well as twenty-one correspondences between *BB* and Q1 (248-52). Duthie believes that *BB* may contain "[e]lements ... from the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*" (269). See pp. 218-19 below and appendix 3b for my list of correspondences.

¹³⁰ According to Chambers, *BB* is "founded on an acting version of Shakespeare's play closely related to that underlying Q1. It cannot be from Q1 itself, since it echoes many passages which are in Q2 and F" (*Shakespeare* 1: 422). *BB* "derives literally from the printed text of Q1, used as a prompt-book by the touring Englishmen" (Wells and Taylor, *Textual Companion* 398) – the use of "literally" in this context is interesting. See also Hibbard 376.

¹³¹ See Tanger 226.

instances from Q2 having been added at a later stage.¹³² This seems to be the most favored explanation.

However, Creizenach dismisses this theory as unlikely (*Schauspiele* 134-35): why should someone go through the trouble of inserting individual passages or even words¹³³ of Q2 into an already extant text? Instead, Creizenach submits that the German play is based on an early (and lost) Shakespearean version of *Hamlet* – but *not* the *Ur-Hamlet* (*Schauspiele* 135). He believes that this text included all the instances where *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* agrees with Q1 as well as all the instances where it agrees with Q2 (135). A. H. J. Knight similarly claims that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is not based on Q1, Q2, or F, but that "its real source is the Globe promptbook, of which some troupe of English Comedians must have had or made a more or less debased version" (391).

Tanger tries to take Creizenach's theory apart by arguing that the majority of the nineteen parallels that Creizenach finds between *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q2 (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 15-19) can be explained with the help of Q1 or as mere coincidences (Tanger 240). The "three, four at most" Q2-instances that he cannot explain away he credits to some actor, who, having participated in a London performance, remembered and inserted Q2-instances into *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, which, according to Tanger, is still based on Q1 (244).¹³⁴ Interestingly, Creizenach argues the exact opposite. He also identified twelve instances of agreement between *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q1, most of which he dismisses as mere

¹³² See Haekel 212-13 and Freudenstein 41.

¹³³ For instance, the following words are not found in Q1: "OPHELIA ... Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen!" (*BB* III.ix.18-19) – "Come, my Coach" (Q2/F TLN 2807-08, IV.v.71).

¹³⁴ "drei, höchstens vier". Tanger's argumentation is led by the *idée fixe* that both *BB* and Q1 are necessarily "pirated" versions (244, "piratisch hergestellt"; 232, "der A-Pirat"; Creizenach and Tanger refer to Q1 as "A").

coincidences or as insignificant ("Tragödie" 12-15, 33-36). Yet perhaps none of the Q1-only or Q2-only instances in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* should be regarded as coincidences.

As it incorporates elements of both Q1 and Q2, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was originally identified as Shakespeare's *source*, that is the *Ur-Hamlet*. This accounts for much of the critical attention that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* received from the 1860s onwards, also and especially from Anglophone scholars. It may seem attractive to support the *Ur-Hamlet* theory, since none of the available hypotheses can fully explain the textual situation. Nevertheless, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* clearly derives from Shakespeare's texts, and "[n]o important inferences about the lost *Hamlet* can therefore be drawn from the German play" (Erne, *Spanish Tragedy* 151). Hibbard also concludes that "there is no need to drag in the *Ur-Hamlet*" (378).¹³⁵

We can assume that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based on Shakespeare, and it should be pointed out that the large majority of the text is based on passages that are found in both Q1 and Q2 (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 30).¹³⁶ Yet what also emerges quite clearly is that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based neither solely on Q1, nor solely on Q2. Appendix 3b supplies more detailed evidence for this. The material gathered there illustrates that there are thirty-three instances of strong agreement between Q2/F and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* against Q1, as well as twenty-six

¹³⁵ He refers to the much discussed similarity of Q1 and *BB*, the "contention of the winds", concluding that this "is not a genuine similarity at all" (378); see discussion p. 221 below. Note that there are a few correspondences between one of Shakespeare's sources, Belleforest, and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (see Stabler). Although these correspondences cannot be entirely ignored, they may nevertheless be fortuitous. For instance, the "crocodile's tears" (III.v.5, "Crocodillsthränen") in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* only have a strained relation to Belleforest's "sous le fard d'un pleur dissimulé" (Stabler 100).

¹³⁶ M. B. Evans found eighty-five instances of an "undeniable connection" between *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and the three Shakespearean texts (*BB zu Hamlet* 4, "unleugbarer Zusammenhang"). See also Jenkins 116.

weaker ones. Conversely, there are seventeen instances of strong agreement between Q1 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* against Q2/F, and seven weaker ones.¹³⁷ W. W. Greg is probably right in claiming that "the exclusive links with the genuine texts are not only more numerous, but on the average of greater individual weight, than the exclusive links with Q1" (308). Of course the exact definitions of "strong agreement" and "greater individual weight", as opposed to mere coincidences, lie in the eye of the beholder, as the heated critical exchanges on the topic amply illustrate.¹³⁸

To illustrate the textual situation: *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q1 are closer to each other than to Q2 in one main respect, namely in their length (or rather shortness) and in their consequent streamlining of the action. They could be designated as more theatrical than the readerly Q2/F.¹³⁹ Among the instances illustrating the proximity between Q1 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* the name of the King's counselor figures prominently: he is called Corambus in the German text, Corambis in Q1, and Polonius in Q2/F.¹⁴⁰ This certainly seems to suggest a rather close connection between *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q1.

Another instance of similarity between the two is the placement of the nunnery sequence. Like Q1, the German *Hamlet* places the nunnery sequence earlier in the plot than Q2 does (II.iv in *BB*; vii [II.ii] in Q1; III.i in Q2/F). This "'straightens out' the action of the play so that Hamlet's

¹³⁷ To this may be added three instances where Q2 and *BB* agree against Q1 and F, five instances where F and *BB* agree against Q1 and Q2, five instances where Q1, F, and *BB* agree against Q2, and two instances where Q1, Q2, and *BB* agree against F. However, all of these are weak agreements and cannot be counted as strong evidence.

¹³⁸ See also Petersen, appendix 2 for the results of her comparison of the multiple-text *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* with *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.

¹³⁹ Yet see Lesser and Stallybrass's argument for a "literary" Q1 *Hamlet* (see p. 70, fn. 4 above).

¹⁴⁰ See note to *BB*, p. 493 below.

actions follow logically one from another" (Marcus 146). Not only Hamlet's actions are straightened out in the shorter texts: as soon as the King and his counselor have forged the plan to observe Hamlet and Ophelia, it is carried out. This is not the case in the longer English texts, where the nunnery sequence occurs not at the equivalent of Act II, but at the beginning of Act III, and a whole series of events has taken place between the planning of Ophelia's and Hamlet's encounter and the enactment of it: the fishmonger-episode,¹⁴¹ conversations between Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, and both Hamlet and the King and Queen, as well as the arrival of the players.

Apart from structural similarities between the shorter texts, some content-related instances can also be pointed out. A famous example is to be found in the closet scene (discussed above, pp. 174-75). Another similarity in content which only Q1 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* share is that the poisoned sword in the duel is the King's idea. In Q1 the monarch explains that the "rapier" must be "Steeped in a mixture of deadly poison" (CLN 1866, 1867; xv.21, 22), and the King in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* commands: "but thou must anoint its point with strong poison" (IV.v.18).¹⁴² In Q2, by contrast, once the King has laid out the plan for the duel, Laertes proposes: "And for the purpose, Ile annoynt my sword" (TLN 3131, IV.vii.138).

Another local textual similarity can be found in the last act: Hamlet narrates his adventures at sea to Horatio. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, he says: "Now it happened that one

¹⁴¹ Creizenach points out that this cannot be counted as an agreement between Q1 and *BB* since the conversation between Hamlet and the counselor which precedes the nunnery sequence in Q1 and follows it in Q2 is absent from *BB* ("Tragödie" 20).

¹⁴² "die Spitze desselben aber must du mit starken Gift bestreichen".

day we had a contrary wind, and we cast anchor by an island not far from Dover" (V.ii.9-11).¹⁴³ Scholars have made much of the formulation "contrairen Wind" for the following reason: in the Q1-only scene xiv, Horatio tells the Queen that Hamlet's ship was "crossed by the contention of the windes" (CLN 1813, xiv.5). In the longer texts, in contrast, Hamlet writes to Horatio that they found themselves "too slow of saile" (TLN 2989, IV.vi.17). M. B. Evans sees this passage as evidence for *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* being based on the *Ur-Hamlet*, since he sees Q1 as incomplete in this instance ("*BB and Hamlet*" 440). The passage is usually taken to illustrate the German text's dependence on Q1. Jenkins disagrees, explaining that "[c]ontrary winds blow against voyagers whose progress they impede; but a *contention* of the winds occurs when they blow against one another in a turmoil of the elements" (120). A clear dependence on Q1 remains debatable in this particular case.

To complicate things further, there are also instances where *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* does not follow the First Quarto: the two famous Q1-stage directions, "*Enter the ghost in his night gowne*" (CLN 1551, xi.57) and "*Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire downe singing*" (CLN 1690-92, xiii.14), are missing from *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, a text which otherwise features some quite visual stage directions.¹⁴⁴ More prominently, the above-mentioned scene found only in the early Quarto, in which Horatio narrates Hamlet's adventures to the Queen, is absent from *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.¹⁴⁵ The German text has its own manner of

¹⁴³ "Nun begab es sich, daß wir eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten, und an ein Eyland, nicht ferne von Dovern anker setzten."

¹⁴⁴ For instance, I.ii.1 SD, 6 SD, I.v.8 SD, IV.i.47 SD-48 SD, V.iii.14 SD-18 SD, V.vi.19 SD.

¹⁴⁵ Duthie adds that "[a]lthough in B.B. and Q2 the versions of Hamlet's voyage are different, the two texts agree against Q1 in that Hamlet tells his story to Horatio (see v ii in both). In Q1 the story is told by Horatio to the Queen (scene xiv), and we find no corresponding scene between Hamlet and Horatio" (244).

presenting Hamlet's voyage: it replaces the narration of Hamlet's escape by a scene which acts it out in explicit and physical terms (IV.i).¹⁴⁶ Leah S. Marcus points out that the different representations of these events in the three Shakespearean texts "become increasingly 'literate'" from Q1, via Q2 to F (169-71). In Q1, Horatio talks to the Queen, in Q2 he reads Hamlet's letter on stage, whereas F's version is "oriented toward visual rather than aural reception" (171), that is, the letter is printed so as to be read on the page and not read out on stage. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is thus the least "literate" (and literary) of the four texts, since Hamlet's escape is (at first) neither narrated nor described in a letter, but acted out instead.

As for the Second Quarto, it also shares a number of features with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* which are entirely absent from Q1. Whereas some of Q1's correspondences with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are more in form (length, placement of the nunnery sequence),¹⁴⁷ Q2's correspondences with the German *Hamlet* are generally instances where the two texts present similar wording. Two early examples are found in the first scene of state. The King's speech in Q2 begins: "Though yet of *Hamlet* our deare brothers death / The memorie be greene, and that it vs befitted / To beare our harts in grieve ..." (TLN 179-81, I.ii.1-3). In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, the King describes the situation in a similar fashion: "Although our brother's death

¹⁴⁶ Duthie believes that this scene is evidence for "the derivation of the *Brudermord* from the *Ur-Hamlet*" (263); Bullough disagrees, seeing it rather as an "age-old comic *lazz[o]*" (7: 47). Apart from the "contrairen Wind", another echo of scene xiv in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is: "*Hor.* ... obserue the king, and you shall / Quickly finde, *Hamlet* being here, / Things fell not to his minde" (Q1 xiv.23-24, CLN 1832-34) – "HAMLET ... But my arrival will not be agreeable to the King" (V.ii.21-22, "HAMLET ... Meine Ankunft aber wird dem Könige nicht angenehm seyn").

¹⁴⁷ Bullough also notes that the parallels between Q1 and the German text are "more significant with regard to action and characters" (7: 21).

is still fresh in memory of all and demands of us to suspend all festivities ..." (I.vii.1-2).¹⁴⁸ This passage (twenty-six lines in Q2/F and six lines in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*) is not found in Q1.

A few lines later, the King asks whether Leonhardus traveled to France with his father's consent ("Consens"), and Corambus answers: "Yes, with over-consent, with middle-consent, and with under-consent. O your Majesty, he has received a beyond all measure magnificent, excellent, glorious consent from me" (I.vii.30-32).¹⁴⁹ Imitating Polonius's wordy style, he seems to be playing on Q2's wording: "Vpon his will I seald my hard *consent*" (TLN 240+2, I.ii.60, emphasis mine). Q1 reads "He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced graunt" (CLN 168, ii.22), and does not include the word "consent" which the German text makes so much of. Here *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* clearly depends on Q2 and not on F, since the word consent is actually unique to Q2. In F Polonius answers: "He hath my Lord" (TLN 240, I.ii.58).

Another example of a similarity between the German text and Q2 is found in Hamlet's mirror comparison. In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* he says to the players: "I am a great lover of your exercises ... for in a mirror one can see one's spots" (II.vii.45-46).¹⁵⁰ This recalls Q2/F's "to holde as twere the Mirrour vp to nature, to shew virtue her feature; scorne her own Image" (TLN 1868-71, III.ii.21-23), as well as the Queen's "Thou turnst my eyes into my soule, / And there I see such blacke and greeued spots" (TLN 2465-66, III.iv.87-88). Yet the "mirror comparison"

¹⁴⁸ "Obschon unsers Herrn Bruders [Tod] noch in frischem Gedächtniß bey jedermann ist, und uns gebietet, alle Solennitäten einzustellen ...".

¹⁴⁹ "Ja, mit Ober-Consens, mit Mittel-Consens und mit Unter-Consens. O, Ihro Majestät, er hat einen über die maaßen herrlichen, treflichen, prächtigen Consens von mir bekommen."

¹⁵⁰ "Ich bin ein großer Liebhaber eurer Exercitien, ... denn man kann in einem Spiegel seine Flecken sehen".

could have been a commonplace in the seventeenth century and have no specific link to Shakespeare (Freudenstein 17).¹⁵¹

A local but significant agreement between Q2 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is found in Ophelia's mad rambling. In her first mad sequence of the German version, she exits with the words: "Look there, my little coach, my little coach!" (III.ix.18-19).¹⁵² In Q2 Ophelia says "Come, my Coach" (TLN 2807-08, IV.v.71), also in her first mad sequence. Again, Q1 has no corresponding line. Another minor similarity between Q2 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is the spelling of Ophelia's name: Q1 has an "f", while the longer texts and the German version spell it with "ph". These are only a few of the many instances that Q2 and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* share and which are absent from Q1.

The above analysis illustrates the rather complex relationship that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has with the Shakespearean texts. While some critics propose that the "German playwright" used an "earlier source" (Clark and Wright, qtd. in Furness 117), by now the idea that the lost *Ur-Hamlet* can be found in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has been largely discarded. Moreover, I would not credit a single "playwright" with having written the German *Hamlet*, but rather several theatrical adapters. The German text is not based on one of the extant Shakespearean texts, since it heavily relies on at least two of them. Jenkins summarizes that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*

emerges as a very mixed text. It is essentially an acting version, initially put together, it appears, by a varied group of actors with experience of different *Hamlets*¹⁵³ and a readiness to put their memories to use ... It seems to preserve a few pre-Shakespearean strands, but for the most part it originates in Shakespeare. (122)

¹⁵¹ The petitions of the English Comedians also made use of the mirror image (Limon 47).

¹⁵² "Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen!" See also note to *BB* III.ix.18-19.

¹⁵³ Jenkins includes Belleforest among them.

Some scholars suggest that a number of *Hamlets* roamed the Continent before the version that has come down to us was written down (Brennecke 248).¹⁵⁴ Jenkins allows for the possibility that *Hamlet* reached Germany, "as happened with some other English plays, even before it had appeared in print" (112-13).¹⁵⁵

Interestingly, no one seems to have commented on the fact that in at least four cases Q1-only instances and Q2-only instances sit side by side in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. Consider the following passage from the German *Hamlet*:

KING ... Also we have learned that you are disposed to travel again to Wittenberg; do not do so, for your mother's sake. Stay here, for we love you and like to see you (I.vii.9-11)¹⁵⁶

The first sentence is Q1-only:

King. ... For your intent going to *Wittenberg*,
Wee hold it most vnmeet and vnconuenient,
Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother (Q1 CLN 174-76, ii.28-30).

Q2/F has instead:

King. ... for your intent
In going back to schoole in *Wittenberg*,
It is most retrogard to our desire (Q2/F TLN 294-96, I.ii.112-14)

Admittedly, three acts later the King says something similar: "the Queene his mother / Liues almost by his looks" (TLN 3019-20, IV.vii.12-13). The second sentence of this passage from *Der*

¹⁵⁴ Freudenstein, by contrast, believes that one cannot speak of "different 'versions'" of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, but that only details such as spelling and expressions have changed over the decades (60, "unterschiedliche 'Versionen'").

¹⁵⁵ For examples, see pp. 122-23 above.

¹⁵⁶ "KÖNIG ... Auch haben wir vernommen, daß Ihr gesonnen seyd, wieder nach Wittenberg zu reisen, thut solches nicht Eurer Mutter wegen; bleibt hier, denn wir Euch lieben und gerne sehen".

Bestrafte Brudermord is Q2/F-only: "King. And we beseech you bend you to remaine / Heere in the cheare and comfort of our eye" (Q2/F TLN 297-98, I.ii.115-16).

A second instance is even more poignant. Here, Q1-only and Q2-only half-lines follow each other in quick succession:

LEONHARDUS ... since he has been so lamentably murdered. If this be not done, I shall forget that you
are king and will revenge myself on the perpetrator.

KING Leonhardus, be content; we are innocent of thy father's death (BB IV.iv.2-5).¹⁵⁷

The first half-sentence is Q1-only: "*Lear*. ... for he is muredred" (Q1 CLN 1730, xiii.53). The second is Q2-only: "*Laer*. To hell allegiance ... onely I'll be reueng'd" (Q2/F TLN 2878, 2882, IV.v.130, 134).¹⁵⁸ This is followed by two half-lines, Q1-only and Q2-only respectively: "*king* Meane while be patient, and content your selfe" (Q1 CLN 1747, xiii.70) and "*King*. ... I am guiltlesse of your fathers death" (Q2/F TLN 2900, IV.v.148). Two additional mixed passages can be found at III.v.13 and 16, and at V.vi.65-67 (see appendix 3b). This further complicates the textual situation. The juxtapositions make it unlikely that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is based on just one of the two quartos. Such "treacherous problems ... have caused much throwing about of brains" (Brennecke 294). Quite.

Whereas most of Q1's correspondences with *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are more in form (length, placement of the nunnery sequence), Q2's correspondences with the German *Hamlet* are generally instances where the two texts present similar wording. This could mean that Q1's influence on *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was mainly theatrical and that Q2's influence was mainly

¹⁵⁷ "LEONHARDUS ... weil er so jämmerlich ermordet. Wo dieses nicht geschieht, werde ich vergessen, daß Ihr König seydt, und mich an den Thäter rächen. / KÖNIG Leonhardus, gieb dich zufrieden wir sind unschuldig an deines Vaters Tod."

¹⁵⁸ Q1 has: "*Lear*. ... by heau'n I'll be resolued" (CLN 2877, xiii.55).

textual. Take, for instance, the spelling "Ophelia", which seems textually transmitted from Q2. Conversely, Corambus in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* may have been derived from Q1's Corambis by aural transmission.

What is clear: *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was not Shakespeare's source. Mere chronology makes this highly unlikely. Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* around 1600, and the manuscript of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is dated 1710. The German *Hamlet* derives from Shakespeare, and not from one of his sources. Both versions of Q1 and Q2 must have been involved in the creation of the German *Hamlet*. I would submit that the transmission and adaptation of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was largely oral and theatrical, and that the extant text took shape in a collaborative enterprise (meaning that more than one adapter, scribe, or actor was involved) and this over a considerable period of time. After all, "[a]ny number of things can happen in a century" (Brennecke 291). Maybe the English Comedians performed a version of both the First and the Second Quarto in London, or even of a different text, which incorporated elements of both, as Creizenach and Knight would have it (see p. 217 above). They then took their theatrical knowledge to the Continent and performed the play as they knew it, adapting it to German audiences. As they shifted from the English to the German language, the text was not only translated but further adapted, eventually also by German actors, until, sometime in the second half of the seventeenth century, somebody wrote it down. Although Jenkins believes that "the memorial characteristics of *BB* suggest that any influence from the printed text was small" (118),¹⁵⁹ I would suggest that the presence of written (or printed) texts cannot be entirely excluded from this narrative, since *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* still bears some rather striking textual similarities to Shakespeare.

¹⁵⁹ Greg believes that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* originated in a memorial reconstruction (309). See also p. 97 above.

Der Bestrafte Brudermord, like *Romio und Julieta*, has been, as Petersen terms it, performed "into shape", having moved further towards *Hamlet*'s "Zielform", the "final and optimum form towards which the whole play is moving" (62). Yet despite decades of performances, traces of the Shakespearean texts still shine through rather clearly. Therefore, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* should be accorded a place in the textual maze of *Hamlet*. It should be allowed "to be" *Hamlet*, as it were.

An analysis of *Romio und Julieta*'s and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*'s textual and theatrical history and of their provenance may help to understand and appreciate the texts more fully. This chapter has illustrated their continuing close relation to Shakespeare's texts despite the fascinating process of adaptation they underwent during a whole century of strolling theater.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding four chapters I have provided an extensive introduction to my two primary texts. In Chapter 1, I have explored the world of the English Comedians: the historical development, the travels, the companies, and the most important actor managers and patrons. In Chapter 2, I have analyzed the texts which were produced by these English Comedians. Chapter 3 has focused on theatrical conditions and conventions, and Chapter 4 on the textual and theatrical histories of my two primary texts, including a discussion of their provenance and their relationship to Shakespeare's originals. Through various forms of contextualization, Part I has set the stage – historically, theatrically, and textually – for a fuller appreciation of Part II. *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* are fascinating plays, not only, but also, for their textual proximity to Shakespeare, as the following editions aim to illustrate.

PART II

TEXTS

Note on Editions

Texts

The long s as well as contracted letter forms have been eliminated, but the spelling and punctuation of the copy texts are usually followed. Any departure from the copy texts is signalled by square brackets or indicated in collation or commentary. Stage directions are in centred italics. Speech prefixes are in capital letters and have been standardized. Line numbering does not include stage directions.

Collation and Annotation

Act, scene, and line references within the collation signal a transposition in relation to the Shakespearean text. If Q1 and F do not substantively differ from Q2, or differ only slightly (for example, in spelling, punctuation, or word order), I only cite Q2. Where the German text is close enough to the Shakespearean text to suggest a parallel, I cite the Shakespearean equivalent in the collation; where the case is not clear-cut, I cite the Shakespearean text in the annotation. "Q1 similar" in the annotation indicates that, e.g., Q1 does not use the same words as, e.g., Q2, but that the content is roughly the same. In the collation _x indicates that words are missing when compared to the other text(s). A word that is ~~struck through~~ signals that the word is cancelled out in the manuscript. If a change in capitalization or punctuation has been signalled by square brackets within the edited text, it is not further signalled in the collation. If the collation gives a correspondence for one of the Shakespearean versions (e.g., Q1) without adding "*not in* (e.g.) Q2", this means that there is no exact *textual* equivalent of this passage in the

respective versions (or that it is irrelevant for the collation), but it also means that an equivalent of this passage (possibly merely in content) *is* present in these versions. If no name follows the lemma, this implies that no single editor can be credited for the respective passage. The collation is selective.

Abbreviations

app.	appendix
edn	edition
Cohn	Albert Cohn. <i>Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i>
Creizenach	Wilhelm Creizenach. <i>Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten</i>
fig.	figure
fn.	footnote
MS	manuscript
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SP	speech prefix
SD	stage direction

Plays

<i>1H4</i>	<i>1 Henry IV</i>
<i>1H6</i>	<i>1 Henry VI</i>
<i>AYL</i>	<i>As You Like It</i>

<i>AW</i>	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>
<i>BB</i>	<i>Der Bestrafte Brudermord</i> (Ed. Reichard, 1781)
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>
<i>Cym</i>	<i>Cymbeline</i>
<i>F</i>	The Folio of 1623
<i>Ham</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
<i>KL</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
<i>Mac</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>
<i>MND</i>	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>
<i>MV</i>	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
<i>RJ</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>Tit</i>	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
<i>TN</i>	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
<i>TNK</i>	<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>
<i>WT</i>	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>

Plays that are often referred to are cited from the following editions

The act and scene reference is followed by the page number.

<i>Jude von Venetien</i>	<i>Comoedia Genandt Der Jude von Venetien</i> , in Flemming,
<i>(Jew of Venetia)</i>	<i>Wanderbühne</i> . My translation, unless otherwise signaled.

<i>Peter Squentz</i>	Andreas Gryphius. <i>Absurda Comica Oder Herr Peter Squentz</i> . My translation, unless otherwise signaled.
<i>Phänicia</i>	<i>Spiegel Weiblicher zucht und Ehr. Comedia, Von der schönen Phoenicia und Graf Tymbri von Golison auß Arragonien, wie es ihnen in ihrer Ehehlichen Lieb gangen, biß sie Ehehlich zusammen kommen. Mit 17 Personen und 6 Actus</i> , in Tieck. <i>Deutsches Theater</i> . Vol 1. My translation, unless otherwise signaled.
<i>Kunst über alle Künste</i> (<i>Art of All Arts</i>)	<i>Kunst über alle Künste Ein böß Weib gut zu machen</i> , in Köhler, <i>Kunst</i> . My translation.
<i>Tragicomoedia</i>	<i>Tragicomoedia</i> , in Creizenach. <i>Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten</i> . My translation.

Note on Translations

I use the "thou"/"you" distinction from early modern English in order to reflect the German difference between informal and formal address ("du"/"Sie"). To my mind, it is important to preserve the distinction in the translation since it reflects the relationship between for instance, Romeo and Julieta,¹ Hamlet and Horatio, and Hamlet and his parents.² The seemingly odd constructions which this entails have all been checked for

¹ See note to *RuJ* II.v.4.

² See notes to *BB* III.v.1 and V.vi.43.

idiomatic usage against a Shakespearean concordance. Lothar Bucher and Georgina Archer also use "thou" and "you" in their respective translations.³

Both Bucher and Archer have a tendency to "Shakespeareanize" their translation, yielding "a little too much to the desire to reproduce Shakespeare's phraseology" (Furness 120). This can be illustrated by a few examples. Pickelherring's line "das ihre Schmerzen vmb die brust, bauch vnd nabel vnd umb die angränzenden länder am meisten regiren" (V.i.34-35) echoes Mercutio's "conjuring" of Romeo through the blazon of Rosaline: "the demeanes, that there adiacent lie" (D1v, II.i.21). Instead of translating "länder" as "countries", Bucher therefore chooses "demesnes" (Cohn 386). Another example (from the lovers' first meeting) is Julieta comparing herself to "pictures" (II.iii.9, "bilder"), which Bucher translates as "saints" (Cohn 334), following Shakespeare's "For saints haue hands, that Pilgrims hands do tuch" (C4r, I.iv.212).

Archer does the same in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. For instance, "Obschon unsers Herrn Bruders [Tod] noch in frischem Gedächtniß bey jedermann ist" (I.vii.1-2) is translated as "Though yet of our dear brother's death the memory is green to all" (Cohn 256), echoing Q2/F's "Though yet of *Hamlet* our deare brothers death / The memorie be greene" (TLN 179-80, I.ii.1-2). Or "Alle Zeiten wollen Ihre Hoheiten, daß meine Tochter

³ Bucher is not always consistent in doing so. I realize that "you" and "thou" do not exactly correspond to "Sie" and "du" respectively. As Penelope Freedman summarizes in her study on the use of pronouns in Shakespeare: "The subtleties of the use of 'you' and 'thou' ... are such that to any but the most rigorous examination, it can seem, at worst, random or, at best, unfathomable" (259). She adds that "[t]he subtlety and complexity of Shakespeare's use of these pronouns defies any simple or overarching characterization". The only thing that remains clear is "the polar nature of T and V" (264). I thus opt for translating "du" as "thou" and "Sie" as "you".

soll herhalten" (II.vi.7-8) is translated as "you are still harping on my daughter" (Cohn 264), reproducing Shakespeare's "still harping on my daughter" (TLN 1225, II.ii.184-85).

Furthermore, Bucher's and Archer's translations often echo Shakespearean English, for example: "methinks" (Cohn 312), "Pray" (328), "Odds bobs" (328), "Forsooth" (338), "Zounds" (368), "Alas" (382), "an" (246), "T'faith, your worship" (248), "Pr'ythee tarry maiden" (262), "Perchance" (262), "ere" (294).

My translation aims at a more accurate representation of the German text. Horace Howard Furness rightly argues that "if the translation be literal, the student will discover for himself these parallelisms [to Shakespeare] as readily in the English as in the German" (120). Additionally, I do not always follow previous translators in smoothing over the often ungrammatical formulations of the original, so that the translations that follow are sometimes deliberately unidiomatic. I translate verse as prose, since this allows for "greater semantic precision" (Brönnimann 185). The punctuation has been silently amended.⁴ I retain the Latin endings used in the original texts. Any editorial changes are only signaled in the German texts. For ease of reference, the line numbers follow those of the German texts. This sometimes entails blank lines in the translations. For reasons of space, collation and annotation of the translations are grouped at the end of the editions. The collation is selective.

⁴ Not wanting to amend the punctuation heavily in the original, I take the opportunity to do so in the translation. Bucher is fond of exclamation marks; I only retain a few of them.

ROMIO UND JULIETA

Note on the text

The manuscript has hardly any punctuation and often omits majuscles where they would be expected in modern German.⁵ It is not always clear when one word ends and another begins; there were no fixed rules at the time (Schmidt 286). Entrance directions are underlined and in italics; stage directions within the text are signalled by */: stage direction* :/.⁶ Speech prefixes are in italics and the text is indented in relation to them. Names and words that are (or are thought to be) of foreign origin are usually in italics. This edition retains italics; Cohn does not. If an initial minuscule "i" has been amended to a capital letter, it has been amended to a "J" in accordance with the conventions of the manuscript; Cohn transcribes this as "I". The manuscript uses several abbreviations (for example, for terminal "-en" or "-em", for "oder", "der", and "daß"), all of which have been silently expanded. If a "w" or a "v" is dotted, it is transcribed as "ü"; Cohn transcribes as "w" and "v". It is difficult to distinguish between "h" and "H" in the manuscript; Cohn sometimes prints "Pickl Häring", because he sees the "h" as a majuscule that begins a new word. Cohn has "H" instead of "h" throughout, the same goes for "K", "G", and "Z". He does not print "ÿ", nor does he print "ü" when it does not follow modern usage, and he uses the long "s" and no "ß". Devrient silently amends spelling, grammar, and punctuation as he sees fit, and he often leaves out entire lines or sentences from the passages he edits.

The following passages are printed in Devrient: I.i.1-69, 103-24; I.ii.1-34, 68-93; I.iv.19-29, 33-88; II.iii.1-18; II.iv.6-24; II.v; IV.ii.78-86; IV.iii.1-11; V.iii.44-64, 70-90; V.iv.52-

⁵ Capitalization and punctuation were not yet standardized (Schmidt 287, 288; G. Adams 27).

⁶ Similar marks are used to signal stage directions in other manuscripts of the period.

55, 71-74, 94-105, 154-57, 164-67, 176-87. Genée prints: I.ii.63-70; I.iv.40-48; II.iii.1-33; II.v.71-80; IV.ii.41-46; V.iv.67-74, 94-105, 168-87. The remainder of the play is paraphrased.

Abbreviations

Erne	Lukas Erne, ed. <i>The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet</i>
Godwin	<i>Romio und Julieta</i> . Trans. Lothar Bucher. Dir. Simon Godwin
Q1	The First Quarto of <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (1597)
Q2	The Second Quarto of <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> (1599)
<i>RuJ</i>	<i>Romio und Julieta</i> (manuscript)
Schaubüro	<i>Romio und Julieta. Und Picklhäring</i> . Dir. Thea Reifler and Julia Haenni (Schaubüro)

Plays that are often referred to are cited from the following editions

The act and scene reference is followed by the page number.

Julio und Hyppolita *Tragædia von Julio und Hyppolita*, in Cohn. *Shakespeare in Germany*

Sidea *Comedia von der schönen Sidea, wie es ihr biß zu ihrer Verheuratung ergangen, Mit 16 Personen, vnd hat 5 Actus*, in Tieck. *Deutsches Theater*. Vol. 1

Note on translation

The only published English translation of *Romio und Julieta* to date is that of Bucher (in Cohn 310-406) who has a tendency to "Shakespeareanize" his translation (see pp. 236-37 above). Nevertheless, my translation takes Bucher's as a starting point. From the words that appear in italics in the German text, I only retain italics for words in a language other than English. For collation and annotation of the translation, see pp. 469-80 below.

ROMIO UND JULIETA**[Personen]**

FÜRST/HERTZOG

CAPOLET

MUNDIGE

JULIETA

ANTONETA

PARIS

PICKLHÄRING

ROMIO ... JULIETA] DEVRIENT; Romio und Julie *RuJ*; TRAGÆDIA VON ROMIO UND
JULIETTA COHN

Personen] *this edn; not in RuJ*

ROMIO AND JULIETA

Persons of the Play

PRINCE/DUKE

CAPOLET

MUNDIGE

JULIETA

ANTONETA

PARIS

PICKELHERRING

ROMIO ... JULIETA] *this edn*; AN / EXCELLENT / conceited Tragedie / OF/ Romeo and Iuliet Q1; THE / MOST EX= / cellent and lamentable / Tragedie, of Romeo / and Iuliet Q2

Title See pp. 186-87 above.

Persons of the Play In order of appearance (apart from the "Retinue" which are mute). Not in the MS; the *dramatis personae* was probably lost with the title page; see p. 186 above. Cohn's list is arranged according to gender and rank, omitting "Duke" and "Retinue"; he names only one boy ("Ein Junge").

PRINCE/DUKE "Fürst" ("Prince") is consistently used in I.i, but IV.iii names the authority figure "Hertzog" ("Duke"). The two seem to be interchangeable since in V.iv, the initial SD (112) and the first three SPs (115, 124, 149) again use "Fürst", while only the last SP (168) has "Hertzog". In IV.iii, where the SP is "Hertzog", he is nevertheless addressed as "gnädigster fürst" (12, 16, 21, 26) and "Ihro hochfürstliche gnaden" (29-30). The mixture of "Fürst" and "Herzog" could be due to different adapters. Alternatively, it may have been influenced by "Johann Christian, Herzog von Krumau und Fürst zu Eggenberg" (Rudin, "Hoftheater" 470), who ruled in Český Krumlov (Böhmisch Krumau), where *RuJ* was last performed. Actually, "Herzog" was a subcategory of "Fürst": "Fürst" designated any kind of ruler (Grimm). *TN* offers a similar case: in F Orsino is called "Duke" in SDs and SPs, but "Count" in the text after I.iv (Donno 57).

CAPOLET Also "Capulet", "Cappolet" or "Capoleth" and once "Kapolet" in the MS.

MUNDIGE Along with Romio's name, "Mundige" could be evidence for oral transmission of (part of) the Shakespearean text. "Mundige" may be the product of a German having heard the English "Montague" and having written it down. Wolff submits that "Mundige" derives from the Italian "Montecchi" (99).

JULIETA See p. 187, fn. 34 and 35 above.

ANTONETA does not appear in Shakespeare, but could be equated to Shakespeare's Nurse (whose equivalent appears as "Amma" in *RuJ*), as she seems to be an elderly servant who is close to Julieta. In Shakespeare, the name "*Angelica*" has been associated with the Nurse (K1v, IV.iv.5; Levenson 316). Cohn equates the Nurse with Antoneta in his list of characters.

ROMIO
 PENUOLIO
 MERCUTIUS
 FRAU
 AMMA
 TIPOLD
 TIPOLDS JUNG
 PATER
 PARIS' JUNG
 ROMIOS DIENER
 Hoffstadt

FRAU] *this edn*; GRÄFIN CAPOLET COHN

FRAU also "Fraw" in the MS.

AMMA an older form of "Amme": nurse (Grimm). Devrient modernizes to "Amme".

PATER "clergyman of a religious order, monk" (Grimm, "ordensgeistlicher, mönch").

ROMIO
 PENUOLIO
 MERCUTIUS
 WIFE
 NURSE
 TIPOLD
 TIPOLD'S BOY
 FATHER
 PARIS'S BOY
 ROMIO'S SERVANT
 Retinue

ROMIO Romio's name also supports the idea of (partial) oral/aural transmission. Following the English pronunciation of "Romeo" the "e" may have been replaced with an "i" in German.

WIFE Cohn has "Gräfin Capolet" ("Countess Capolet"). She is called "fraw von *Capulet*" (IV.iii.46) by the Duke, which could suggest a noble origin. Capolet and Mundige are called "Graff" (I.i.21, 89, "Count"). Yet, "fraw von *Capulet*" could also mean "wife of Capulet". The SP switches to "Muetter" in III.ii.

TIPOLD also "Tibold" and once "Tibolt" in the MS.

FATHER In the Douai MS of *RJ*, dated 1694, G. B. Evans sees "possible Roman Catholic influence" in the fact that "there is an almost consistent change of 'Friar' to 'Father'" ("Douai" 164).

Actus 1us, Scena 1ma

FÜRST *mit* CAPOLET *vnd* MUNDIGE, [*vnd*] *Hoffstadt* [*treten auf*].

FÜRST [D]ie Sonne schawet an den blaw *Saphir* glantzenden
 himmel den Erdt Creiß nur darumb, damit alles wachse blüe vnd zeitig
 werde, vnd dem Menschen zu Nutzen diene, wo aber die fünstere
 hagels wolckhen mit einen frost nüess solche berühret, so ist die gefahr
 vnd der Schad verhanden[.] *Capolet vnd Mundige* weillen in vnserer 5
 Regirung nichts Jrrsamber vnd vnleidiger scheint alß Eurer beyder
 heüser vneinigkeit, saget vnnß in was nutzen bestehet Euer zorn hasß
 und feindschafft alß daß Euer geschlecht gemündert vnd nach der zeit
 mit bluetigen kempffen auß gerodt vnd zergehen muß, vnd ihr habt 10
 nichts besßers zu hoffen, alß daß Euch beyden nichts mehr übrig nach
 Euren todt alß der Nahmb, vnd die nachfolgende weldt sagen wir[d]
 sie sein gew[esen].

CAPOLET [G]n[ädiger] fürst vnd herr nach dero belieben zu reden
 gestehe ich, das vnser beyde heüser von geschlecht zu geschlecht in
 solche Erb feindschafft gerathen, das es scheint, alß ob der himmel 15

Li.0 SD CAPOLET] *this edn*; KAPOLETH COHN, *RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn*; *not in RuJ*

4 frost nüess] *RuJ*; Frost=reuf DEVRIENT

6 scheint] *RuJ*; erscheint DEVRIENT

11-12 wird ... gewesen] COHN

13, 23 Gnädiger] COHN; gnl: *RuJ*; Gnd. DEVRIENT

Li.2 zeitig here, "reif": mature, ripe (Grimm).

3 fünstere finstere: dark, gloomy. Throughout *RuJ*, "ü" and "i" seem to be interchangeable.

4 einen The accusative is often used instead of the dative and vice-versa. Referring to *BB*, Brennecke calls this "bad grammar" (252), but it in fact reflects older usage.

4 frost nüess not in Grimm, probably "Frost": frost.

5 verhanden an older form of "vorhanden" (Grimm).

9 bluetigen *RuJ* repeatedly has "ue" where today we would have "u". The additional "e" signals a long "u" (Besch 2456).

9 auß gerodt ausgerottet: eradicated.

13 Gnädiger The MS has "gn" followed by an abbreviation sign and a colon. The sign resembles an "l" and is transcribed as such in the collation. The abbreviation "gnl." or "gl." can be expanded to "gnädigst" or "Gnaden" (Grun 245).

13 dero ihrem, dessen: your, his.

I.i

Enter PRINCE with CAPOLET and MUNDIGE and retinue.

PRINCE The sun looks at the sapphire blue radiant sky and the earth only so that every thing may grow, flower, and ripen, and be of use to man: but where the dark hail clouds touch it with a frost, then

danger and damage are at hand. Capolet and Mundige, since in our 5
reign nothing appears more erratic and intolerable than the discord of
your two houses, tell us: of what use is your wrath, hatred, and enmity
but that your race is decreased, and in the course of time becomes
eradicated in bloody fights and must dwindle away? And you have
nothing better to hope for, but that after your death nothing remains of 10
you both, except the name, and that the succeeding world will say:
"They once were."

CAPOLET Gracious Prince and lord, to speak according to your
pleasure, I confess that both our houses have been caught up in such
hereditary enmity from generation to generation, that it seems as if 15

I.i has no correspondence in Shakespeare, apart from a few echoes of the Prince's speech in I.i. The prominence of the stylized dialogue is a feature of the later *Wanderbühne* plays, where the audience is less interested in the action (Baesecke 129, 66). While the rest of the play is flooded with "Ahs" and "Ohs", these do not appear in the first scene – which speaks for it having been added at later stage. This scene could also be seen as a prologue, which in Shakespeare's times, were "ephemeral" (Stern, *Making Shakespeare* 120; see p. 208 above).

0 SD **PRINCE** See p. 245 above.

1-12 Compare the Prince's speech in Shakespeare, beginning "Rebellious subjects enemies to peace" (A4r, I.i.77-91).

15 **hereditary enmity** Compare the "auncient grudge" in Q2's Prologue (A2r, 0.3).

darob ein wohlgefallen vnd mit seinen *influenzen* das kindt in Mutterleib mit der geburthstundt schon feindlich bekleitet[.] [D]er himmel ist mein zeüg, das meine grawe haar daran keinen gefallen, sondern vielmehr beseüfftze den Schadenfohl vndtergang, vnseres so alten Stammenhauß[.] 20

FÜRST [W]aß sagt ihr Graff *Mundige*, wie gefalt Eüch dise Meinung?

MUNDIGE [G]n[ädiger] fürst vnd herr dise meinung des *Capoleth* ist nicht verwerfflich, aber die oft beschehene affront vnd überfallung der Meinigen so sie von den *Capoleten* erliden ist weldt kündig, vnd vnserer vorfahrer bluete vergießung gantze *Cronicen* voll sein, ist also meinem bedunkhen nach nicht Rath samb das mein feindt zue sehe daß mir daß wasßer in das maul rinnt[.] 25

FÜRST Graff *Mundige* Tugendt würdige *Titul* bestehet nicht in hütigen Eüffer des zorns, sondern mit Nachlasßung des Empfangenen Schaden, der ist Ruhmbwürdig zu nennen, so seinen feindt verzeihen, vnd mit freündtschafft obsigen kan[.] 30

MUNDIGE Die Natur lehret aber viel ein anders gn[ädiger] fürst vnd herr.

FÜRST [V]nd was dan? 35

MUNDIGE Nicht zue lasßen, das man von feindt überwunden vnd bezwungen werde[.]

26 voll] *this edn*; voll voll *RuJ*; voll voll (sic) COHN

27 Rath samb] COHN; Nothsamb DEVRIENT

33 lehret] *this edn*; lehret DEVRIENT; lehrent COHN

33, 48 gnädiger] COHN; gnl: *RuJ*; gnd. DEVRIENT

16 *influenzen* the influence that stars and planets have on humans, according to medieval beliefs (Grimm).

19 *Schadenfohl* presumably "schadenvoll", i.e., full of damage.

24 *beschehene* older form of "geschehen": past participle of "to happen" (Grimm).

25 *erliden* erlitten: suffered

26 *vorfahrer* Vorfahr, Ahne: ancestor (Grimm).

27 *bedunkhen* Bedünken: opinion (Grimm).

28 *maul* See note at I.ii.92.

29 *Titul* also appears in *Kunst über alle Künste*, where it is coupled in an explanatory hendiadys: "dasz ihr der Titul und Ehrennamen würdig seid" (II, 63, "that you are worthy of titles and honourable names").

32 *obsigen* obsiegen: to win, to prevail over something or someone (Grimm).

33 *lehret* lehret: teaches. The meanings of "lehren" ("to teach") and "lernen" ("to learn") were not always strictly separated (Grimm).

heaven takes pleasure in it, and by its influence renders the child in the mother's womb hostile from the hour of its birth. Heaven is my witness that my gray hair does not delight in it, but that I rather sigh over the harmful downfall of our old lineage.

PRINCE What do you say, Count Mundige? How do you like this opinion? 20

MUNDIGE Gracious Prince and lord, the opinion of Capolet is not reprehensible. But the repeated affronts and assaults which my people have suffered from the Capoletes are known to the entire world; and whole chronicles are full of our forefather's bloodshed. Therefore I believe it is not advisable that my enemy should stand by and see the waters rise up to my mouth. 25

PRINCE Count Mundige, virtue worthy of a title does not consist in the heated fervor of anger but in remission of received injury. He is worthy of fame who can forgive his enemy and win by kindness. 30

MUNDIGE Yet nature teaches something very different, gracious Prince and lord.

PRINCE And what?

MUNDIGE Not to allow that one is overcome and defeated by the enemy. 35

23-24 **the ... world** As in *RJ*, the feud has been going on for some time and is notorious.

36 **overcome ... defeated** a hendiadys, characteristic of the plays of the *Wanderbühne* (see pp. 153-54 above); there are over fifty instances in *RuJ*.

FÜRST Es ist wahr. [W]as den krieg vnd landtsverwüstung
betrifft[.]

CAPOLET [W]an es so währe wolte ich vmb würdiger glikh meine 40
graue haar mit Siges bletter vmbwinden, oder einen Ehrlichen todt
hoffen, aber diser hauß vnd Nahmben krieg legt mich selber eher in
das grab, alß hoffnung haben einen friden zu erleben[.]

FÜRST [D]er himmel kan keinen gefallen an einer einheimbischen
vnruhe oder Statts verderben haben, noch weniger an dem, das zwey so 45
vornehme Stammenheüßer fallen vnd selbst sich zu grunde richten
sollen[.]

CAPOLET [W]ie vor gesagt gn[ädiger] fürst vnd herr, ich liebe die
Einigkeit, den friden, vnd hasße das vnrechte bluet vergiesßen[.]

MUNDIGE [W]er gezwungen das gewöhr zu brauchen, der vergiest 50
nicht vnrechtes blueth[.]

CAPOLET [D]er fridlich leben will, braucht kein gewöhr zu
wetzen[.]

MUNDIGE [D]er leichtlich glaubet, wird leicht betrogen[.]

CAPOLET [D]er nicht die Ehre acht, kan leicht ein betrüger sein [.] 55

MUNDIGE [D]er die meinigen beleidiget greifft mich vnd meine
Ehr an.

CAPOLET [D]er mein herkommen beschimpffet ohne vrsach ist
nicht zu achten.

MUNDIGE [W]an aber die feindschafft sein vrsach hat? 60

CAPOLET [W]er feindschafft haben will, der darf kein vrsach
suechen[.]

MUNDIGE [D]ie beleidigung hat kein gedult[.]

CAPOLET [D]er beleidiget ist straffwürdig[.]

MUNDIGE So straff man den so der beleidigung anfenger ist[.] 65

40 glikh] *this edn*; gleich COHN

44 einheimbischen] COHN; unheimbischen DEVRIENT

45 vnruhe] COHN; *illegible in the MS*

40 **Wan** wenn: if. "Wann" ("when") and "wenn" ("if") were nearly interchangeable until the eighteenth century (Grimm).

46 **fallen** "to fall", but also associated with "downfall, ruin, death, accident" (Grimm, "untergang, verderb, tod, unfall"). See also note at V.iv.149.

50 **gewöhr** Gewehr: any kind of weapon; the restriction of the term "Gewehr" to the meaning of firearm took place in the course of the eighteenth century (Grimm).

52 **Der** Here and in the next lines "der" can be read as "derjenige" or "wer", i.e., "the one who".

PRINCE That is true, as far as war and the devastation of the land is concerned.

CAPOLET If it were so, I should for worthier luck win victory 40
leaves around my gray hair or hope for an honest death. But sooner
will this war of houses and names lay me in the grave myself, than I
will have hope of my living to see a peace.

PRINCE Heaven cannot be pleased with domestic disturbance or the 45
ruin of the state, still less with the fact that two such noble houses
should fall and destroy themselves.

CAPOLET As I have said before, gracious Prince and lord, I love
union and peace and hate unlawful bloodshed.

MUNDIGE He who is forced to use a weapon does not shed 50
unlawful blood.

CAPOLET He who will live peaceably does not need to whet a
weapon.

MUNDIGE He who easily believes is easily deceived.

CAPOLET He who has no regard for honor may easily be a 55
deceiver.

MUNDIGE He who offends my people attacks me and my honor.

CAPOLET He who insults my origin without reason is not to be
respected.

MUNDIGE But what if the enmity has its reason? 60

CAPOLET He who wants enmity may not look for a reason.

MUNDIGE Offence has no patience.

CAPOLET He who offends is worthy of punishment.

MUNDIGE Then punish him who began offending. 65

Li.45 two ... houses] *RuJ*; *TVVo* household Friends alike in dignitie Q1 (A3r, 0.1); *Two*
households both alike in dignitie (A2r, 0.1) Q2

CAPOLET [Ô] *Mundige, Mundige* ich wintſche das kein beleidiger
Nie gewesen wehre[.]

MUNDIGE [W]an wintſchen gültig wehre, ſo hette ich auch mehr
von meiner freündtschafft vnd *familia* beÿ leben[.]

FÜRST Es gehet vnnß ſelbſt zu hertzen, in deme wür bedrachten 70
was thorheit das ſeÿe ein geſchlecht das ander zu uerdilgen, die
freÿheit zuuerliehren, täglich vnruhe ſuchen[,] ſich ſelbſt in vnglickh
ſtürzen, vnd Entlichen übel ſterben[.]

MUNDIGE Ich wintſche wohl zu ſterben, vnd fridlich zu leben[.]

CAPOLET [D]er himmel gebe daß es mir auch widerfahre[.] 75

FÜRST [V]ernehet, ein könig fürſt oder herr der da in ſeiner
Regirung ſitzet waß ſtehet ihn beſſer an alß ſeine vnderthanen in
friden vnd ruhe zu erhalten, thuet Er ſolches ſo lebt Er glichſeelig, wo
aber in Regirungs ſachen ein vnruhe vnd feindtſeeligkeit ſich ſehen
laßet ſo iſt daß verderben verhanden, man ſehe in allen landten, wo 80
der frid vnd Einigkeit ſich vmbhalsen da wohnet lauther freÿd, Euere
vnderthanen blueten ſelbſt mit Eüch vnter den ſchwären Joch Eurer
feindtschafft, darumb leget ab den haß, vnd ſuechet nicht Euer
verderben, wo man nicht mit Schärpffe vnd *Statuten* des foderkomdes
mit Eüch verfahren ſoll[.] 85

CAPOLET [G]nädigſter fürſt vnd herr dem die ſache angehet der
fühlet den Schaden, vnd weillen mir gebühren will zu gehorsamben, ſo
ſetze ich mich nicht wider die geſetz des verbots[.]

MUNDIGE Graff, das guete vornehmen ſo ich an Eüch verſpühre

78 ruhe] *this edn*; Recht COHN

81 freÿd] *this edn*; ~~freündt~~ freÿd *RuJ*

84 foderkomdes] *this edn*; faderlandes COHN

66-67 **kein ... Nie** Double negation did not yet imply an affirmative (Schmidt 348).

69 **freündtschafft** In Middle High German this word (which today means "friendship")
could also refer to one's relatives, clan, or dynasty (Grimm).

82 **vnderthanen** Today "Untertan" means "subject" (to a king etc.), but here it refers to
anyone who is subject to a higher authority, e.g., the head of a household or family
(Grimm).

84 **Schärpffe** probably "Schärfe", here: strictness.

84 **foderkomdes** Cohn amends to "faderlandes", i.e. "Vaterlandes" ("home country"). Yet
the MS also contains "vatterlandts" (91) which looks nothing like this word.
"Foderkomdes" may be related to the word "Föderation" ("federation").

89 **vornehmen** the decision to perform an action, the intention, the plan (Grimm).

CAPOLET O Mundige, Mundige, I wish there had never been an offender.

MUNDIGE If wishing were valid, more of my family and friends would still be alive.

PRINCE It makes our own heart ache to see what folly it is: one 70
dynasty destroying the other, losing freedom, seeking disturbance day
by day, hastening into misfortune, and in the end dying miserably.

MUNDIGE I wish to die well and to live peaceably.

CAPOLET Heaven make the same happen to me. 75

PRINCE Listen, a king, prince, or lord who sits in his government,
what becomes him better than keeping his subjects in peace and
tranquility? If he does so, he lives happily; but where disturbance and
hostility appear in matters of government, there ruin is at hand. One 80

can see it in all countries: where peace and unity embrace, there pure
joy resides. Your subjects bleed with you under the heavy yoke of your
enmity. Therefore discard your hatred and do not seek your ruin, if you
do not wish to be treated with severity and according to the statutes of
the land. 85

CAPOLET Most gracious Prince and lord, he who is concerned with
this matter feels the damage; and as I should obey I do not set myself
against the law.

MUNDIGE Count, the good intention I sense in you shall not hinder

76 Listen] *RuJ*; *not in Q1*; heare the sentence of your moued Prince Q2

70-72 Compare the Prince's: "I haue an interest in your hearts proceeding: / My bloud for
your rude brawles doth lie a bleeding" (G1r, III.i.188-89; Q1 has "hates proceeding" [F3r,
III.i.138-39]).

76-85 Compare the Prince's warning: "If euer you disturbe our streets againe ..." (A4r,
I.i.92).

86 Due to the reconciliation which begins here the scene might be read as a flashback.
Yet this is unlikely, since the deaths at the end of the play would surely have been
mentioned, had they been at the origin of this peace. Despite this initial reconciliation, the
feud is never wholly dispelled in the play; see pp. 191-92 above.

87 **and ... obey** Capolet emphasizes his duty and his will to obey, something that Julieta
repeats throughout the play (see note at III.iii.7).

soll mich nicht hindern, den gehorsamb, die gesetz vnd liebe vnsers vatterlandts zu vollziehen, wo nur der grundstein Eures willen wohl gelegt[.] 90

CAPOLET Graff ich will Eurer meinung beÿ fallen, vnd wan mein will anders alß der Eure, so verspreche ich hier in gegenwarth vnsers gn[ädigen] fürstens, das ich alle schuld ertragen, wo Eüch vnd den Eurigen von den *Capoleten* solle eine beleidigung geschehen, vnd hier ist meine handt[.] 95

MUNDIGE [V]nd hier die meine[.]

CAPOLET [Z]u einer wahren treü[.]

MUNDIGE [V]nd Rechten freündtschafft bandt[.] 100

CAPOLET [W]er dise bricht [–]

MUNDIGE [V]erfluechet seÿ sein handt[.]

FÜRST [D]ises ist ein werkh daran wür einen gefallen tragen vnd wintschen

Eüren beÿden Stammen 105

die weiße fridens blüe

die waxe *Nestors* Jahr

mit 1000 glikes Nahmen[.]

MUNDIGE [D]er himmel hat bißher gantz zornig außgesehen

Nun aber mueß der krieg vnd hasß zu Ende gehen. 110

CAPOLET Es hat der krieges Neüd vnß beÿde hart gekrenkt

Jezt vnser will an frid vnd Süße Ruhe gedenkt[.]

MUNDIGE [D]ie Ruhe nimbt mich ein, die Rach ligt ietzo vntten

Nun ist das vngemach vnd aller zankh verschwunden[.]

CAPOLET Nun bin ich sorgen freÿ vnd sag vom hertzen recht, 115

ich werd mich all zeit nennen sein diener vnd sein knecht[.]

MUNDIGE [D]en ich ertödten wollt nennt mich ietzt seinen freind

Nun mehr hats keine noth, ich weiß von keinem feind[.]

FÜRST [W]ehe in den hertzen dem der da hegt krieges glueth

vnd lescht die tugendt auß, acht weder freind noch blueth 120

Er will das *Jlion* durch solches krieges feüer

daß *Troia* must vergehen in disem vngeheüer

93 **beÿ fallen** to agree, to assent (Grimm).

106 **blüe** Blüte: flower, blossom (Grimm).

113 **ietzo** jetzt: now (Grimm).

117 **ertödten** töten: to kill. Today, "ertöten" is only used in the metaphorical sense, e.g., to quench or repress feelings (Duden).

121 **Jlion** Ilium: Troy.

me from following the orders, laws, and love of our home country, if 90
only the corner-stone of your will is well laid.

CAPOLET Count, I will agree with your opinion; and when my will
is different from yours, I do here promise, in the presence of our
gracious Prince, to bear all guilt if you and yours should suffer any 95
offense from the Capoletes; and here is my hand.

MUNDIGE And here is mine.

CAPOLET Unto a true loyalty.

MUNDIGE And genuine bond of friendship. 100

CAPOLET Who breaks it –

MUNDIGE Cursed be his hand.

PRINCE This is a work which pleases us, and we wish

Both your families 105

The white blossom of peace.

May it grow to Nestor's age

With a thousand lucky names.

MUNDIGE Until now heaven looked very angry,

But now war and hatred must come to an end. 110

CAPOLET War's envy has harshly offended us both.

Now our will thinks of peace and sweet calmness.

MUNDIGE Calmness now invades me; revenge now lies low.

Now adversity and all quarrel have disappeared.

CAPOLET Now am I free from worries and say from my heart 115

I will always call myself his slave and servant.

MUNDIGE He whom I wished to kill now calls me his friend;

Now there is no more distress; I know of no enemy.

PRINCE Woe to him whose heart fosters the embers of war

And quenches virtue and respects neither friends nor blood. 120

He wants that Ilion through such fire of war,

That Troy must decay through this monster.

96 and ... hand] *RuJ*; O brother *Montague*, giue me thy hand Q2 (M2r, V.iii.296), Q1
(Come brother)

107 **Nestor's age** Given Nestor's old age, this indicates the wish for a long-lasting peace.

daß laster weiche weith auß Euren tugendt Sün
 die freindschafft gebe Eüch, die balmen zu gewünn[.]

[A]lle ab.

[Actus 1us,] Scena 2da

JULIETA vnd ANTONETA in garthen[.]

JULIETA [Ô] große belustigung diser frühlings zeit, wan man sich
 ergetzen kan in den lustbahren gärten, felder vnd wälder, wan man
 höret die rauschenden bächlein die ihren lauff zwischen den
 kißelsteinen zerbrechen, welches daß gehör ergötzet, wan der *Zephirus*
 den bletterreichen baumen schmeichlet, vnd mit ihnen schertzet, wan 5
 die vögl singen, vnd mit ihrem gefider die lufft durch streichen, vnd
 ander 1000 anmuethungen, die das hertz erquickhen. [A]ber sage
Julieta wass freüde genüest du? [W]eil ich wie ein Einsambe
 turtultrauben eingesperret, vnd als eine gefangene leben mueß in deme

I.ii Actus 1us] *this edn; not in RuJ*

1, 2 wan] COHN; wo DEVRIENT

124 **balmen** probably: Palmen ("palm trees" or "palm frond"), to symbolize victory (here, over the feud).

I.ii.2, 4 ergetzen, ergötzet to refresh, to delight in something (Grimm).

May vice retreat far from your virtues' sense;
 Friendship give you palms for your victory.

Exeunt omnes.

I.ii

JULIETA and ANTONETA in the garden.

JULIETA Oh, great pleasure of this spring-time, when one may take pleasure in the delightful gardens, fields, and woods; when one hears the little rushing brooks that break their course between the pebbles, which pleases the ear; when the Zephyrus flatters the leafy trees and jokes with them; when the birds sing and with their plumage sweep 5

through the air, and a thousand other charms that refresh the heart. But say, Julieta, what pleasure dost thou enjoy? Since I am pent up like a lonely turtledove and have to live like a prisoner because my parents'

I.ii has no equivalent in Shakespeare. As the first scene, this scene is characteristic of the later *Wanderbühne* plays (Baesecke 130, 134). It serves to introduce and characterize Julieta and Antoneta. Wolff calls it one of the best scenes of the play (99). In Godwin, this scene was accompanied by bird song, and Antoneta was picking apples into a basket. In the Schaubüro production, Pickelherring took over Antoneta's part.

0 SD **ANTONETA** See p. 245 above.

0 SD **garden** Capolet later invites Paris for a walk in the garden (I.iii.79). An appropriate piece of scenery or an actual garden might have been available for at least one performance of *RuJ* (see p. 181 above).

1-7 **Oh ... heart** Compare Friar Laurence's description of nature in *RJ* (II.ii.1-8). Romio later echoes some of these motives, but ironically while praising Rosalina (I.iv.10-14).

2, 3 **woods, brooks** Freudenstein points out a parallel to *BB* (see p. 197, fn. 66 above).

3 **rushing brooks** See p. 140 above.

4 **Zephyrus** Shakespeare refers to this mild wind in *Cym* (IV.ii.173). In Ovid, Zephyrus is the God of winds who impregnates Flora, the goddess of fertility. She is associated with flowers and with spring (de Grazia 123).

5 **birds** were among the items painted for backdrops at the Castle Theater in Český Krumlov, where *RuJ* was performed in 1688 (Záloha, "Český Krumlov" 46).

7-11 **But ... solitude** Julieta repeats this theme at IV.iv.2-3.

9 **turtledove** The "exemplary characteristics" of the turtledove were believed to be "purity, chastity, placidity, fidelity, and – especially in modern times – tenderness" (Grimm, "reinheit, keuschheit, sanftmut, treue und – besonders in neuerer zeit – zärtlichkeit der turteltaube als mustergültige eigenschaften"). Compare also IV.vi.69-72 and notes.

mich meiner Eltern zucht aller freud berauben, ô *Italia*, was für gesetz gibest du dem weiblichen geschlecht, das sie nichts genießen alß die Einsambkeit. [S]age mir *Antoneta* soll ich die blumen besuechen oder schlaffen? 10

ANTONETA Schöne *Julieta* mich wundert selber das sie sich Ihrer Eltern gehorsamb so starkh vnterwürfft, vnd den gehorsamb nicht überschreiden will, ô wehre mir also ich wolte mir schon helffen[.] 15

JULIETA [V]nd wie[?] [J]n deme mir nichts mehr erlaubet ist, alß in disen garthen vnter den blumen mich zuerfreüen[.]

ANTONETA [V]nd was ist es? [B]lumen seind blumen, aber ein beth daß wäre eine linderung[.] 20

JULIETA [W]aß linderung?

ANTONETA [L]inderung der glider[.]

JULIETA [W]aß glider [?]

ANTONETA Nun der gantze theil des Menschen, ihr versteht mich Ja wohl, wan ihr nur wolt, ô wie Einfeldig seht ihr doch auß [.] 25

JULIETA [V]nd waß dan?

ANTONETA [N]ichts nichts. [A]ber wan ich reden dörrfte[.]

JULIETA [R]ede nur frey[.]

ANTONETA Gn[ädiges] fraülein, sie verzeihe mir wan ich sagen darf daß besser währe einen *Discurs* mit einen wackheren *gaualier* zu führen, als sich in die stumme garthen blumen zu uerlieben[.] 30

JULIETA Ach *Antoneta* waß redest du?

ANTONETA [W]orumb färbet sie sich schöne *Julieta* vnd wird roth[?] 35

JULIETA [R]oth bedeütet lieb[.]

ANTONETA So liebt sie dan[.]

29 Gnädiges] *this edn*; gnl: *RuJ*; Gnd. DEVRIENT; Gn. COHN

29 wan] COHN; wenn DEVRIENT

12 **Sage mir** Although Julieta here uses the informal address, she also uses the formal one (see 41).

25 **Einfeldig** einfältig: naïve.

30 **gaualier** Kavalier: knight, nobleman, or gentleman (Grimm). The word is only in use from the middle of the seventeenth century (Creizenach 143).

discipline robs me of all joy. O *Italia*! What law dost thou give to the female sex that they enjoy nothing but solitude! Tell me, Antoneta, shall I visit the flowers or sleep? 10

ANTONETA Fair Julieta, I wonder myself that you should submit yourself so strictly to your parents' orders and will not transgress their orders. Oh, if it were so for me, I would help myself. 15

JULIETA And how? Since nothing is allowed me but to enjoy myself in this garden among the flowers?

ANTONETA And what is it? Flowers are flowers, but a bed – that would be a relief. 20

JULIETA What relief?

ANTONETA Relief of the limbs.

JULIETA What limbs?

ANTONETA Well, the whole part of the human being. You do understand me well if you only want to. Oh, how simple you do look! 25

JULIETA And what?

ANTONETA Nothing, nothing. But if I might speak –

JULIETA Only speak freely.

ANTONETA Gracious young lady, pardon me, if I may say that it would be better to carry on a discourse with a brave cavalier than to fall in love with the dumb garden-flowers. 30

JULIETA O Antoneta, what art thou talking about?

ANTONETA Why do you color, fair Julieta, and blush?

JULIETA Red means love. 35

ANTONETA So you love then.

14-16 In the end the Nurse advises Juliet/Julieta to obey her parents' will in all three texts (*RuJ* IV.iv.65-66; Q1 III.v.165-74; Q2 III.v.212-25). Yet the Nurse is closer to Juliet in Q1 and closer to Juliet's parents in Q2. Direct advice to disobey her parents (like Antoneta's here) is not found in Shakespeare. See also note at III.iii.7.

29, 60-61 Antoneta's way of addressing Julieta is considerably more formal than the Nurse's in Shakespeare.

29-31 This echoes the Nurse's bawdy talk in Shakespeare, e.g., I.iii.40-50.

30 **cavalier** Paris is often designated by this term (I.iv.53, III.ii.7, V.ii.13), but not by Julieta. She only calls Romio a "cavalier" (III.vii.7).

33 Compare the Nurse's description of Juliet's reaction when she hears that she is to marry Romeo at the Friar's cell: "Now comes the wanton blood vp in your cheekes, / Theile be in scarlet straight at any newes" (Q2 F1v, II.iv.69-70; Q1 only has the first line).

JULIETA [W]orumb solt ich nicht lieben, ich liebe aber weiß nicht waß.

ANTONETA Es mueß was sein daß sie blagt[,] dan sie bald roth bald weiß ihr gesicht verendert, sie Jagt mir bald ein forcht ein[.] 40

JULIETA *Antoneta* wißet ihr nicht wer roth vnd weiß erfunden? [H]abe ichs in meinem gesicht, so ist es nicht ohne vrsach, dan die tugendt lebt in mir, vnd tugendt hats erworben[.]

ANTONETA Tugendt, vnd was für tugendt?

JULIETA Tugendt des gemüths[.] 45

ANTONETA [S]eit ihr ein Soldat?

JULIETA [N]icht mit waffen[.]

ANTONETA [M]it was dan?

JULIETA [A]ch!

ANTONETA [W]ie ist Eüch? 50

JULIETA [A]ch leider!

ANTONETA [L]eidet ihr?

JULIETA [A]ch nur gahr zu viel.

ANTONETA [W]esßentwegen?

JULIETA Jch weiß es nicht. 55

ANTONETA Jch auch nicht[.]

JULIETA [W]aß sagt ihr?

ANTONETA [N]ichts alß das mir Jhr Jammer zu hertzen gehet[.]

JULIETA [G]eduld.

ANTONETA Jch sehe eine veränderung an ihr, darumb bitt ich schöne *Julieta* sie verhalte mir nicht ihr anligen[,] kan ich ihr helffen, ich will nichts vnterlasßen ihr zu dienen[.] 60

JULIETA [N]icht nichts ist mir, was soll mir sein, ich habe nur

JULIETA Why should I not love? I love, but I know not what.

ANTONETA There must be something that bothers you, for your face now changes to red, now to white. You almost give me a fright. 40

JULIETA Antoneta, do you not know who invented red and white? If I have it in my face, it is not without cause; for virtue lives in me, and virtue earned it.

ANTONETA Virtue? And what kind of virtue?

JULIETA Virtue of the mind. 45

ANTONETA Are you a soldier?

JULIETA Not with weapons.

ANTONETA With what then?

JULIETA Ah!

ANTONETA How do you feel? 50

JULIETA Ah, the pity of it!

ANTONETA Are you suffering?

JULIETA Ah, only too much.

ANTONETA Why?

JULIETA I do not know. 55

ANTONETA Neither do I.

JULIETA What do you say?

ANTONETA Nothing but that your misery grieves me to the heart.

JULIETA Patience!

ANTONETA I see a change in you; therefore I ask you, fair Julieta, do not hold back from me your concern; if I can help you I will leave nothing undone to serve you. 60

JULIETA Nothing, nothing ails me: what should ail me? I have only

37 In Shakespeare, Juliet does not speak of love before her mother proposes the match to Paris (I.iii.67). In *RJ*, only Romeo is in love before he meets Juliet. In *RuJ*, Julieta is also granted some amorous premonitions, which "realises a further narrative symmetry in the plot" (Petersen 113).

40 **red, white** The image of red and white in women's cheeks was popular in early modern literature (see Duncan-Jones). In some of the pre-Shakespearean versions of the story, the cheeks changing from white to red are associated with Romeo: Juliet sees his blushing as proof of his love during their first encounter (Brooke 271-74; Boaiustau in Prunster 86).

63-70 **I ... true** Although in *RuJ*, Romio speaks the equivalent of the Shakespearean "I dreamt a dreame to night" (C2r, I.iv.48) – "Jch habe heünt einen schwären traum gehabt" (II.i.32) – he does not talk about the content of the dream. Julieta's forboding dreams are more precise than Romio's. In Shakespeare, Romeo fears "some vile forfeit

geschlaffen, obwohlen mir in den schlaff wunderliche sachen
vorkommen, so sein es sachen die nicht wahr können werden, vnd 65
begehr es auch nicht, das es wahr wehre[.]

ANTONETA [W]orumb dises?

JULIETA [D]arumb weil mir vorkommen alß solte ich einen
Mundiqueser lieben, welcher meines herrn vatter ärgister feindt, 70
derowegen begehr ich nicht das es wahr werde[.]

ANTONETA [F]eindschafft kan sich in freindschafft verwandlen
wan es den blinden bogen Schütz gefällig währe[.]

JULIETA Schweige vnd rede mir nicht von solchen sachen wo du
meine gnad nicht verliehren wilt[.]

ANTONETA [A]ch wan sie nur ein mahl kosten soll die 1000feldig 75
freüden die ein verliebetes hertz genüst sie wurde sagen die zeit ist
übel verlohren die man nicht auf die liebe wendt.

JULIETA [W]ann ich daß thuen werde, so werden die wäsßer
zurukhlauffen, die wölff vor den lämmern fliehen[,] die hundert den 80
haasen weichen vnd der beer das Meer, vnd der *Delphin* die gebürg
lieben, die Einsambkeit ist meine kurtzweil[.]

ANTONETA Ach ungesaltzene Kurtzweil vnd widerspenstige
tugendt wie sie itzund ist so wahr ich auch ein mahl aber ich legte
meine zeit besser an[.]

JULIETA Es scheint *Antoneta* ihr wollt mich mit fleis zum zorn 85
reiten, darumb schweiget mir von der liebe, die nichts bringt alß stette
vnruhe vndt Schmertzen[.]

[JULIETA] *abit.*

ANTONETA Ja Ja ich habe sie zornig gemacht, sie gehet daruon, ô
ihr arme Mägdlein ihr seit wohl Närrisch das ihr die liebe veracht, vnd 90
denkhet nicht ein mahl auf den großen Jahrmarkh da ihr müst

69 *Mundiqueser*] COHN; Mundigenser DEVRIENT

77 die] *this edn; not in COHN*

85 *Antoneta*] COHN; † *Antoneta RuJ*; Jungfer Antoneta DEVRIENT

87 SD JULIETA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

83 **itzund** jetzt: now (Grimm).

85 **fleis** here: zealous pursuit, effort, vehemence (Grimm).

slept. Although strange things appear to me in my sleep, yet they are things that cannot come true, and I do not desire them to come true. 65

ANTONETA Why that?

JULIETA Because it seemed to me as if I was to love a Mundiquesee, who is my father's worst enemy; therefore I do not desire it to come true. 70

ANTONETA Enmity can transform into amity, if it should please the blind archer.

JULIETA Be silent and do not talk to me of such things if thou wouldst not lose my favor.

ANTONETA Ah, if you should only once taste the thousand-fold pleasures that a heart in love enjoys, you would say the time is ill lost that is not spent on love. 75

JULIETA When I do that, the waters will run back, the wolves fly from the lambs, the dogs shun the hares, and the bear love the sea and the dolphin the mountains. Solitude is my pastime. 80

ANTONETA Oh, saltless pastime and stubborn virtue! As you are now, so I was once. But I made better use of my time.

JULIETA It seems, Antoneta, you are determined to provoke my anger. Therefore do not talk of love, which brings nothing but perpetual unrest and pain. 85

Exit JULIETA.

ANTONETA Yes, yes, I have made her angry: there she goes. O you poor maids, you are quite foolish to despise love and you do not even think of that great fair where you will have to sell feather dusters. 90

[sic] of vntimely death" (Q2 C2v, I.iv.109) or "some vntimelie forfeit of vile death" (Q1 C2r, I.iv.89). Shakespeare's Juliet also has presentiments but does not explicitly speak of dreams: "I haue no ioy of this contract to night, / It is too rash, too vnaduisd, too sudden" (D3v, II.i.160-61).

71-72 Compare the Friar's: "To turne your housholds rancor to pure loue" (E2r, II.ii.92).

75-77 Compare the Nurse's recollection of her youth in Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*: "At sixtene yeres I first did choose my loving feere ... The pleasure that I lost ... A thousand times I have bewept" (697, 699-700). In Shakespeare, the closest approximation to Antoneta's allusion can be found in the Nurse's (milder) "Go gyrl, seeke happie nights to happie days" (Q2-only C1r, I.iii.107). Compare also Q2's: "women grow by men" (C1r, I.iii.97).

88-90 **O ... dusters** Selling featherdusters ("Flederwische") was what old maids were

flederwisch verkauffen, ô gütiger himmel ich habe bald kein zahn mehr in maul, ô wie wohl wurts mir thuen wan du deinen Seegen liest über mich kommen, daß ich bald einen Mann hette.

[ANTONETA] *abit.*

[Actus 1us,] Scena 3tia

PARIS [*vnd*] CAPOLET [*treten auf.*]

CAPOLET [H]err Graff die Ehr so sie zu vnserem hauß tragen ist groß zu *astimiren*, darumb bitt ich nochmahlen, sie wollen ihnen gefallen lasßen die Schlechte *Tractament* so ihnen zu gefallen bereithet nicht verschmähen, dan was in *Capolets* vermögen haben sie zu beuehlen[.]

5

PARIS [H]err *Capolet* ich bin Niemahlen gewohnet eine solche Ehr zu Empfangen, da ich die selbe nicht mit Ehr belohnen solle, darumb schätze ich sein hauß preißwürdig mich darinnen zu bewürden[.]

CAPOLET Mein schlechte wohnung wird preißwürdig durch dero gegenwarth[.]

10

PARIS [H]err *Capolet* ich bitte [–]

CAPOLET Sie befehlen herr Graff[.]

91 zahn] COHN; Zehne DEVRIENT

93 SD ANTONETA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

I.iii Actus 1us] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

92 **maul** Nowadays, "Maul" is only used for animals ("snout"), yet it could also refer to human mouths in early modern German, though usually in colloquial language (Grimm). This is still the case today in standard Swiss German.

I.iii.2 **astimiren** ästimiren, not in Grimm. Presumably: to esteem, to value.

3 **Tractament** treatment, hospitality (Grimm). Used in *Tito Andronico* (VIII, in Cohn 229), the first recorded use [Fredén 134]), and in *Kunst über alle Künste* (III, 120, 142). The verb "tractirn" is found in *Phänicia* (VI, 318) and in *Julio und Hyppolita* (I, 121).

5 **beuehlen** befehlen: to order, to command.

8 **bewürden** bewirten: to entertain, to cater for.

O gracious heaven! I have hardly a tooth left in my mouth. Oh, how good it would be for me if thou wouldst let thy blessing come over me that I might soon have a man.

Exit ANTONETA.

I.iii

Enter PARIS and CAPOLET.

CAPOLET Count, the honor you do our house is to be greatly esteemed. I therefore ask you once more: will you be pleased not to disdain the bad treatment provided for your pleasure; for whatever is in Capulet's power you may command.

5

PARIS Lord Capolet, I am not at all accustomed to receive such honor, as I shall not reward it with honor. Therefore I think your house worthy to receive me.

CAPOLET My poor habitation becomes worthy by your presence.

10

PARIS Lord Capolet, I ask you –

CAPOLET You give the orders, Count.

supposedly forced to do, either wherever they were banished to after death or during their lifetime (Hoffmann-Krayer 341-42).

91 **I ... mouth** Compare: "*Ile lay fourteene of my teeth, and yet to my teene be it spoken, I haue but foure*" (B4r, I.iii.14-15).

93 This can be contrasted with Shakespeare's widowed Nurse (*RJ* I.iii.41-42).

I.iii Lines 1-18 and 71-82 have no exact correspondence to Shakespeare. The rest of the scene corresponds to Q1 I.ii.27-35 and to Q2 I.ii.34-44 (Capulet gives the servingman the list of guests).

1-18 Paris and Capolet do no talk about Paris's "sute" (B2v, I.ii.6) as they do in Shakespeare. Marriage plans between Paris and Capolet's daughter are only mentioned in Act III (III.ii.7-8, 14-15). Baesecke likens the highly formal dialogue to a technique used by Lope de Vega (145-46) which produces short lines, one person constantly interrupting the other (or him/herself), the cause (and dramatic effect) being either politeness (as is the case here) or modesty (e.g., I.ii.44-59 and II.v.56-62). Another effect of this sequence is the introduction of Paris as a man of high rank, highly valued by Capolet.

9 **poor habitation** In Shakespeare, "[u]nderstatement of his household becomes one of Capulet's character notes" (Levenson 163).

PARIS [M]ich zu uerschonen[.]
 CAPOLET [M]it waß?
 PARIS [M]it solchen Ehren *cermonien*[.] 15
 CAPOLET Sie sein es aber würdig alle Ehr von meinen hauß zu
 nehmen[.]
 PARIS So wird Graff *Paris* würdig sein alle Ehr zu ersetzen[.]
 CAPOLET [D]a kompt mein Pikl häring zu gelegener zeit. [H]öre
 Picklhäring merke aber wohl waß ich dir sage. 20

PICKLHÄRING [*tritt auf.*]

PICKLHÄRING Noch habt ihr mir nichts gesagt das ich merken
 kan[.]
 CAPOLET [D]u bist ein Narr[.]
 PICKLHÄRING Es kan wohl sein[.]
 CAPOLET [D]ises was du verrichten solst will ich dir sagen[.] 25
 PICKLHÄRING [W]orumb kans kein gescheider verrichten?
 CAPOLET [W]eil ich haben will du alß der Narr soll es thuen,
 weillen die anderen bedienten ander verrichtungen haben[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [M]it Euren schnarchen, iezt hab ich alles
 vergesseß waß ich thuen soll[.] 30
 CAPOLET Schelm ich habe dir Ja noch nichts beuohlen oder
 gesagt[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [J]ch hab vermeint ihr habt schon auß geredt[.]
 CAPOLET Ich vermeine du bist lustig[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [A] so nicht gahr sehr, es thuets wohl, aber gegen 35
 12 vhr werd ich lustiger werden[.]
 CAPOLET [V]nd worumb vmb 12 Vhr?
 PICKLHÄRING [D]a wird der koch anrichten[.]
 CAPOLET [D]u halts nur viel vom fresßen[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [D]as halt leib und Seel zu sammen[.] 40
 CAPOLET [H]öre Picklhäring, nimb disen zetl, vnd die darinnen

20 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

19-20 Capolet talks to Pickelherring before his entrance SD. See note at II.iii.75.

29 **schnarchen** The meanings of this word are diverse; here it probably means "to scold" (Grimm).

PARIS To spare me.

CAPOLET What?

PARIS Such honorable ceremonies. 15

CAPOLET But you are worthy to receive all honor from my house.

PARIS Then Count Paris will be worthy to repay all honor.

CAPOLET There comes my Pickelherring at an opportune moment.

Enter PICKELHERRING.

– Listen, Pickelherring, mind what I tell thee. 20

PICKELHERRING You have not yet told me anything that I could mind.

CAPOLET Thou art a fool.

PICKELHERRING That may well be.

CAPOLET What thou art to do I will tell thee. 25

PICKELHERRING Why can't someone clever do it?

CAPOLET Because I wish that thou, as fool, shouldst do it because the other servants have other things to do.

PICKELHERRING With your scolding, now I have forgotten all I am to do. 30

CAPOLET Rogue, I have not yet commanded nor told thee anything!

PICKELHERRING I thought you had already done talking.

CAPOLET I think thou art merry.

PICKELHERRING Ah, not all that much. It's all right, but around 35
twelve o'clock I will become merrier.

CAPOLET And why at twelve o'clock?

PICKELHERRING Then the cook will serve lunch.

CAPOLET Thou carest only for feeding.

PICKELHERRING That keeps soul and body together. 40

CAPOLET Listen, Pickelherring: take this paper and those written

I.iii.19 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Seruingman Q1*

19 SD In Q2 the "Clowne" enters together with "Capulet" and "Countie Paris" (B2v, I.ii.0 SD); his SP is "*Seru[ant]*".

24 Pickelherring readily accepts his designation as fool; he does so again at IV.iii.11.

38-39 For the clown's preoccupation with food, see pp. 164-65 above.

aufgezeichnet sein alß herr vnd frawen, die lade ein morgen beÿ mir auf ein Panquet zu erscheinen[.]

PICKLHÄRING [W]isßen sie schon das sie kommen sollen?

CAPOLET Nein du solt sie einladen[.] 45

PICKLHÄRING [W]ie solt ich sie einladen in Pistollen oder in ein gezogenes Rohr[.]

CAPOLET In ein Eßels kopf solst du laden, du vnverständiger Schelm.

PICKLHÄRING Nun man darf Ja fragen. 50

CAPOLET [D]ie Zettl wird es weisen wer da kommen soll[.]

PICKLHÄRING So hat der zettl mehr verstandt alß ich, so laß die zettl hingehen vnd einladen[.]

CAPOLET Jch sage du solt es thuen[.]

PICKLHÄRING [V]nd ich sag die zettl soll es thuen[.] 55

CAPOLET Pikhäring bring mich nicht zum zorn ich lasße dich in die kuchel führen[.]

PICKLHÄRING [D]as wäre guet vor mich[.]

CAPOLET [W]orumb[?]

PICKLHÄRING [D]as ich etwas zu Esßen bekomb[.] 60

CAPOLET Nein gestrichen solst du werden[.]

PICKLHÄRING Jch bedankhe mich dauor.

CAPOLET [G]ehe vnd verrichte was ich dir befohlen, oder du wirst gestrafft werden[.]

PICKLHÄRING Nu Nu wan ichs thuen mueß, so thue ichs gehrn 65

45-47 "laden" is used for weapons like the English "to load", hence Pickelherring's pun.

47 **gezogenes Rohr** the barrel of a firearm (Adelung).

48 **Eßels kopf** literally, "donkey's head"; a common scold, like "ass" or "dunce" (Grimm).

51 **Die Zettl** Although later "die" could be understood as the plural article (I.iv.25), here both the feminine and the masculine (52) article are used for "Zettl". The feminine article was only used in Middle High German (Grimm), but variations in gender were not unusual in seventeenth-century Germany since the language had not yet been standardized (Brundin 82).

57 **kuchel** Küche: kitchen (Grimm).

61 **gestrichen** "streichen" meant "to hit, to beat, to castigate" (Grimm, "schlagen, hauen, prügeln ... züchtigen").

on here, namely gentlemen and ladies, invite them to appear tomorrow at mine for a banquet.

PICKELHERRING Do they already know that they are to come?

CAPOLET No, thou shalt charge them. 45

PICKELHERRING How shall I charge them? In pistols or in a rifled barrel?

CAPOLET Thou shalt charge in a donkey's head, thou ignorant rogue!

PICKELHERRING Well, one may ask. 50

CAPOLET The paper will show who is to come.

PICKELHERRING Then the paper has more sense than me. So let the paper go and invite them.

CAPOLET I say thou shalt do it.

PICKELHERRING And I say the paper shall do it. 55

CAPOLET Pickelherring, do not make me angry; I shall send thee to the kitchen.

PICKELHERRING That would be good for me.

CAPOLET Why?

PICKELHERRING Then I'd get something to eat. 60

CAPOLET No, thou wouldst be whipped.

PICKELHERRING I thank you for it.

CAPOLET Go and do as I have commanded, or thou wilt be punished.

PICKELHERRING Well, well, if I have to do it, then I will gladly 65

41-43] *RuJ*; Where are you sirra, goe trudge about / Through faire *Verona* streets, and seeke them out: / Whose names are written here and to them say, / My house and welcome at their pleasure stay Q1; go sirrah trudge about, / Through faire *Verona*, find those persons out, / Whose names are written there, and to them say, / My house and welcome, on their pleasure stay Q2

43 banquet Shakespeare's Capulet speaks of a banquet at the end of the feast: "We haue a trifling foolish banquet towards" (C4v, I.iv.235), referring to "the dessert course" (Levenson 199). In Brooke, there is also a reference to a "banquet ... in Capels house" (156-57).

56-61 Capolet repeatedly threatens Pickelherring with a beating in the kitchen. Pickelherring's reaction is the same as to a similar threat at V.i.36-39: he thinks he will be given food instead of a beating. Apparently this phrase was so common that in *Tugend- und Liebes-Streit* (*The Conflict of Love and Virtue*) Apolonius abbreviates it to a simple threat to send Pickelherring into the kitchen (III.ii, in Creizenach 97). Asper calls a beating "the classic means to get rid of the fool" (*Hanswurst* 133, "das ... klassische

iezt bin ich herr latein, ô wo werd ich die heüser alle finden wo sie wohnen, ich will gehen vnd ein wenig *Studiren*, wie man die gäst anrädt wan man sie einladen soll – alß Edl Ehrenwester Insonders hochgeehrter fraw pfanne Schmidin vnd so. Eÿ Jhr lacht mich nur auß[,] ich wils schon machen[.] 70

[PICKLHÄRING] *abit.*

PARIS In warheit herr *Capolet* diß ist ein lustiger Mensch, damit man die zeit verkürtzen kan[.]

CAPOLET [H]err Graff so einfeldig Er ist so getreü ist er, ich habe ihn von Jugendt an auferzogen, vnd läst sich brauchen Recht vnd links[.] 75

PARIS [D]er gleichen habe ich nicht gesehen, wie wird ers aber machen die rechte eingeladene gäst zu finden[.]

CAPOLET So guet alß durch einen gescheiden wird es verrichtet werden. [Herr] Graff die zeit verlaufft, will ihme belieben etwas in den garthen zu spatziren, vnd sich der springenden wäsßer beliebt zu 80

66 alle finden] *this edn*; abfinden COHN

70 SD PICKLHÄRING] *this edn*; *not in RuJ*

79 Herr] COHN; hl: *RuJ*

66 **latein** Pickelherring puns on the imperative of "einladen" ("to invite") and "Latein" ("Latin"), hence his reference to studying. Compare also I.iv.72.

79 **Herr** The abbreviation "hl." can be enlarged to "Herr" (Grun 249).

79 **verlaufft** here: pass (Grimm).

do it. Now I am Mr. Invite. Oh, where will I find all the houses where they live? I will go and study a little how to address guests when one is to invite them – as, noble, honorable, especially highly-honored Mrs. Pan-Smith and the like. Well, you only laugh at me – but I will do it.

70

Exit PICKELHERRING.

PARIS In truth, Lord Capolet, that is a funny man with whom one can shorten the time.

CAPOLET Count, he is as simple as he is faithful. I brought him up from his youth onwards, and he can be useful right and left.

75

PARIS I have not seen the like. But how will he manage to find the guests who are invited?

CAPOLET He will do it as well as a clever man. Count, time wears on; would you like to take a walk in the garden and enjoy the fountains and see a thousand other pleasures?

80

66-67 Oh ... live] *RuJ*; Seeke them out whose names are written here, and yet I knowe not who are written here Q1; Find them out whose names are written ... But I am sent to find those persons whose names are here writ, and can neuer find what names the writing person hath here writ Q2

Mittel, sich des Narren zu entledigen"). Also in England, "beatings, administered to servants and other social inferiors ... were a stock comic routine" (Honigsmann qtd. in Neill 266). Tipold even threatens to hit the Nurse when she makes jokes at his expense (II.iii.45).

67 I ... little Compare Q1's: "I must to the learned to learne of them ... I must to the learned" (B3r, I.ii.32-33, 35). Q2 only has the second line.

71-74 Compare a sequence from *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (*Conflict of Love and Virtue*): "King: Your Grace has a merry servant. / *Apolonius*. I beg your Majesty to forgive him, if he has been offensive. Generally I rather like him, for he dispels my occasional melancholy" (I.ii, in Brennecke 202, "König. Ew. Gn. haben einen kurtzweiligen Diener. / *Apolonius*. Ich bitte, Ew. Majestät wolle ihm verzeihen, wo er deroselben beschwerlich gewesen. Ich mag ihn sonst wohl leyden, denn er vertreibt mir zu Zeiten die Melancholey" [in Creizenach 79]).

73-74 I ... onwards This is unique to the German play and underlines the endeavor to strengthen Pickelherring's relationship to the rest of the characters. Incorporation into the plot is one of the characteristics of the *Wanderbühne* clown which Asper discusses (see p. 164, fn. 114 above).

78-80 Count ... pleasures Q2 merely has "Come go with me" (B3r, I.ii.33). Q1 has no correspondence.

79 garden See p. 181 above.

79 fountains See p. 140 above.

machen vnd anderen 1000 annehmbligkeiten zu sehen[?]

PARIS Mein herr *Capolet* ich folge ihm, ein garthen ist eine belustigung deß gemüths[.]

[B]eyde ab.

[Actus 1us,] Scena 4ta

ROMIO [vnd] PENUOLIO [treten auf.]

ROMIO [A]ch verwundetes hertz vnd stehts brennender Sünn ich, der ich vor disen alle Adeliche gemüeths ergötzung geliebet, alß Reithen, fechten Tantzen vnd was Edl ist aber Eÿ laß Nun trachte ich allein meiner schönen *Rosalina* zu gefallen, in dero diensten zu leben, durch *Amors* will bin ich ein liebs gefangener worden, ô armseeliger *Romio* wohin bewigt dich dein *fata*? [O]bwohl mir meine Schmerzliche anfechtung mir die augen verdunklen ihr schöne zu bedrachten, dannach bleibt der glantz ihres angesichts in meinen hertzen herfür, wie die hellglantzende Sonn, ihre augen sein zweÿ 5

I.iv Actus 1us] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf] this edn; not in RuJ*

6 bewigt] *this edn; bringt COHN*

6 mir] *this edn; nur COHN*

I.iv.1 Sünn Sinne: senses.

2 vor disen vor diesem: before this time, previously, once (Grimm).

7 anfechtung assault, temptation, attack (Grimm). The word is also used in relation to lovesickness in *Phänicia* (IV and VI, 292 and 309).

PARIS Lord Capolet, I follow you. A garden is an amusement for the mind.

Exeunt both.

I.iv

Enter ROMIO and PENUOLIO.

ROMIO O wounded heart and ever-burning senses, I, who formerly loved every noble amusement of the mind, like riding, fencing, dancing, and what is noble, but let that be. Now I only strive to please my fair Rosalina, to live in her service. Through Amor's will I have become a prisoner of love. O miserable Romio! Where does thy fate lead thee? Although the painful attack darkens my eyes to contemplate

5

her beauty, afterwards the radiance of her face remains in my heart, like the resplendent sun. Her eyes are two resplendent stars, wherein

I.iv mainly corresponds to the second half of Shakespeare's I.ii (Romeo is love-sick; he and Benvolio meet the servingman). Lines 1-17 have echoes of Q1 I.i.89-101, I.ii.43-47 and of Q2 I.i.156-68, I.ii.51-57. Lines 18-87 correspond to Q1 I.ii.48-94, Q2 I.ii.57-104. Lines 89-95 have no correspondence in Shakespeare. The remainder of Shakespeare's I.i. (Q1 I.i.89-144 and Q2 I.i.179-234) is transposed to *RuJ*'s III.vi.

1-16 Whereas Romio stands in admiration of Rosalina's beauty, Romeo is bitter: he describes himself as "Shut vp in prison, kept without my foode, / Whipt and tormented" (B3r, I.ii.56-57).

1-3 **O ... be** Compare Q2's Romeo who similarly flees any activity: "Away from light steales home my heaue sonne" (B1r, I.i.133). Q2 treats the subject more extensively than Q1, although Romeo's "honor" (Levenson amends to Q2's "humour", Erne does not) is also described as "[b]lack and portentious" in Q1 (B1r, I.i.81).

5 **prisoner of love** Romio later uses the same formulation when referring to his relationship with Julieta (II.iii.24, II.iv.2). An analogue in Shakespeare is Romeo's use of religious imagery in relation to both Juliet and Rosaline (e.g., I.ii.91-94; I.iv.206-20). See also note at I.ii.1-7.

6-16 In *RuJ*, Romio speaks of Rosalina's eyes and mouth, while in *RJ* Romeo rather speaks of the woes of love in general (I.i.181-90). See also note at 1-16.

6-8 **Although ... heart** In Shakespeare, Romeo also connects eyes, love, and the inability to see: "Alas that loue, whose view is muffled still, / Should without eyes, see pathwaies to his will" (Q2 B1v, I.i.167-68). Q1 has "without lawes" and "our will" (B1v, I.i.100-01).

hellglantzende stern, darin die feürigen Strahlen verborgen welche 10
 mein hertz verwundt, ihr athem ist viel Süßßer wohlriechender alß
Zephirus, oder angenehme windt von westen, wann Er hin vnd wider
 durch die bletter rührende beume wehet, die liebliche blumen so die
 felder alß eine *Tappzerey* bekleidet dises ist noch nichts in
 vergleichung der erwinschten Süßigkeit ihres holdseeligen Mundts. 15
 [A]ch *Rosalina Rosal[ina]*.

PENUOLIO [W]ie ists *Romio*? [J]ch glaub du redest in traum, aber
 schau waß kompt da vor ein abentheüer?

PICKLHÄRING *auß.*

[PICKLHÄRING] [G]ueten morgen oder Mittag ihr herrn, Mein ich 20
 bitte sagt könt ihr lesen?

ROMIO Ja wan ich die buechstaben kenn vnd verstehe[.]

PICKLHÄRING [Ô] ho herr buchstaben versteher, wan ich die
 buchstaben kennt, so wolte ich sie selber wohl lesen[.]

ROMIO [D]u verstehst mich nit, es möchte vielleicht eine frembde

19 SP *this edn; not in RuJ*

12 **hin ... wider** hin und her: back and forth (Grimm).

14 *Tappzerey* tapestry, wall hanging (Grimm).

24 **nit** Upper and Middle german for "nicht": not (Grimm).

are hidden the fiery rays that wounded my heart. Her breath is much 10

sweeter and more fragrant than Zephyrus, or the pleasant wind from the West, when he blows back and forth through trees with stirring leaves, the charming flowers that cover the fields like a tapestry; yet this is nothing in comparison with the desired sweetness of her lovely mouth. 15
O Rosalina, Rosalina.

PENUOLIO How is it, Romio? I believe thou art talking in a dream. But look, what adventurer is coming here?

Enter PICKELHERRING.

PICKELHERRING Good morning or midday, gentlemen, I mean; please tell me, can you read? 20

ROMIO Yes, if I know and understand the letters.

PICKELHERRING Oh ho, Mister Letter-understander! If I knew the letters I would read them myself.

ROMIO Thou dost not understand me: it might be a foreign

liv.17] *RuJ*; Why *Romeo*, art thou mad? Q1, Q2

19-20] *RuJ*; Godgigoden, I pray sir can you read ... But I pray can you read anything you see? Q1, Q2

21] *RuJ*; I if I know the letters and the language Q1, Q2

24-26] *RuJ*; Stay fellow, I can read Q1, Q2

9 **sun** Romio again compares Rosalina to the sun at II.i.4-5. At II.iii.26-27, Julieta takes her place in Romio's planetary constellations (see also II.v.16), and Rosalina becomes the moon.

9-10 **Her ... heart** Compare Romeo's description of Juliet at the beginning of the "balcony scene": "Two of the fairest starres in all the heauen, / Hauing some busines to entreate her eyes, / To twinckle in their spheres till they returne" (Q2 D2r, II.i.58-60). Q1 has "all the skies" and "doe entreat" (D1r, II.i.55-57).

12-13 **Zephyrus ... West** Romio provides an explanation for the mythological name. However, this is not the first mention of this wind (see I.ii.4). The fact that the explanation is only given at the second occurrence may point to different adapters.

18 SD In Shakespeare, the serving-man is already on stage. Romeo and Benvolio join him, first talking amongst themselves (as they do in *RuJ*).

19-20 In *RJ*, Romeo speaks first: "Godden good fellow" (B3r, I.ii.57).

21 Romeo's initial response in *RJ* portrays him as the bitter lover, wallowing in self-pity: "I mine owne fortune in my miserie" (B3r, I.ii.59).

24-26 Apparently it was as plausible in Germany as in England for the note to be written in a foreign language.

Sprach sein die ich nicht verstunde, laß mich die Zettl sehen, so will ich dir bald sagen ob ich es verstehe oder niht. 25

PICKLHÄRING Jch wolts selber wohl lesen, aber buechstabiren kan ich nicht.

ROMIO Ja das verstehe ich vnd es ist zu teütsch, lad ein die frau Margarita mit ihrer tochter *Mellina*[.] 30

PICKLHÄRING Ja ja ich kenne sie sehr wohl, die Muetter ist fast schöner alß die tochter[.]

ROMIO [L]ad ein *Don Horatio* den Jüngerer[.]

PICKLHÄRING [D]en kenn ich, er gab mir gestern eine guete ohrfeigen vnd einen dugaten daruor[.] 35

ROMIO So ist die ohrfeigen wohl bezahlt worden, weither lad ein *Don fortuniam* vnd seinen bruder *florisell*[.]

PICKLHÄRING [D]aß sein zwey rechte Eisßen beisßer[,] die fangen gleich grachel an.

ROMIO [L]ad ein *Don lucentio* vnd *Amaranta* seine baß[.] 40

PICKLHÄRING [D]ie wohnen in der Schuester gasßen gegen den Meÿkeffer über[.]

ROMIO [L]ad ein die Schöne *Rosalina*, ô hönnigsüsßer Nahmb dich will ich küßben 1000 mahl.

PICKLHÄRING [D]aß ist ein Narr er küst das papir, wan er das 45

29 **zu teütsch** The preposition "zu" (here: "in") might imply that Romio is actually translating (into German). The mention of the German language is interesting, since the play is earlier set in "*Italia*" (I.ii.10).

38 **Eisßen beisßer** mountebank, braggart, juggler, impostor (Grimm).

39 **grachel** noisy fight (Grimm). The related word "kraakeelen" is still in use today: to shout loudly (to start a fight), to scold loudly (Duden).

41-42 **gegen ... über** gegenüber des Maikäfers (Grimm).

45-46 **das Mensch** human being. Today, the masculine article is used. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "Mensch" in conjunction with the neutral article ("das") could be used in a non-pejorative sense, referring to a young woman or a girl (Grimm). It is used in this sense in *Tragicomedia* (III.iii, 221) and in *Phänicia* (VI, 315).

language which I would not understand. Let me see the paper, and I
will soon tell thee whether I understand it or not. 25

PICKELHERRING I would read it myself, but I cannot spell.

ROMIO Yes, I understand this, and it is in German: "Invite Mrs.
Margarita with her daughter Mellina." 30

PICKELHERRING Yes, yes, I know them very well, the mother is
almost more beautiful than the daughter.

ROMIO "Invite Don Horatio the younger."

PICKELHERRING Him I know. He gave me a good box on the ear
yesterday and a ducat for it. 35

ROMIO So the box on the ear was well paid for. "Further, invite
Don Fortuniam and his brother Florisell."

PICKELHERRING Those are two regular braggarts; they'll
immediately start a fight.

ROMIO "Invite Don Lucentio and Amaranta, his cousin." 40

PICKELHERRING They live in Cobbler's Lane, opposite the cock-
chafer.

ROMIO "Invite the fair Rosalina." O honey-sweet name! I will kiss
thee a thousand times.

PICKELHERRING This is a fool! He kisses the paper – if he had 45

43 the ... Rosalina] *RuJ*; *my faire Neece* Rosaline Q1, Q2

29-53 *RuJ*'s list is similar to that of *RJ* in that most names bear an epithet, usually relating them to the Capulet family (daughters, cousins etc.). The only name that occurs both in *RJ* and in *RuJ* is Rosaline's. Shakespeare's list features "Mercutio", "*mine Uncle* Capulet" and "Tybalt" (B3v, I.ii.69, 70, 72). In contrast, in *RuJ* Paris appears (53); see also pp. 193-94 above.

31 In Shakespeare, Romeo reads the list without interruption. In *RuJ*, Pickelherring makes inappropriate comments, which are usually ignored. Interrupting conversations with irrelevant interjections is a trademark of Pickelherring's (see pp. 166-68 above). In the Schaubüro production, the names were altered to include topical references for each performance (referring, e.g., to the butcher in the village of Saas Balen or to the dean of the Theater Institute at the University of Bern).

37 **Florisell** Shakespeare's *WT* has a character named Florizel.

41-42 **cock-chafer** presumably the name of a house or tavern.

43-44 **O ... times** Romio interrupts himself. In Shakespeare, Benvolio only broaches the subject of Rosaline once the serving-man has (presumably) left (an exit SD can be found in F [ee4r, I.ii.84 SD] but not in the quartos).

45-46 The clown Mendo in *Kohlbreuner* (*Coal burner*) similarly makes fun of his master who wants to kiss the hem of the princess' dress. Mendo comments: "My master is quite a

Mensch hett, er kundert sie küssen wo ihr ruckgrad ein Ende hat.

ROMIO [L]ad ein *Madam fioleta Catharina*[.]

PICKLHÄRING Jst recht, die wohnt in Sau winkl[.]

ROMIO [L]ad ein *Madam flora*[.]

PICKLHÄRING [H]um das ist ein Mensch, ist wahr sie tragt 50
allezeit ein flor über das gesicht, das man ihr Nasen nicht sieht, dan die
Naaß steht ihr re[c]ht mitten in dem gesicht[.]

ROMIO [L]ad ein graff *Paris*, das ist ein wackherer *gaulier*[.]

PICKLHÄRING Ja aber er stinkt zwischen den zehen wie bauern[.]

ROMIO [A]ber sage mir wo wird dise versamblung geschehen[?] 55

PICKLHÄRING [J]n Meines herrn haus[.]

ROMIO [W]ie heist dein herr?

PICKLHÄRING Mein herr heisst *Capolet*[.]

ROMIO [W]aß? [S]oll meine liebste *Rosalina* in meines feinds haus
kommen? 60

zerreist den Zettl

diß will ich nicht haben[.]

PICKLHÄRING [Ô] Potz schlapperment was macht ihr? [M]ein
ladein zetl zerrissen, vnd *Rosalina* ist entzwey gerissen? [Ô] du
schelm[.]

51 **flor** delicate cloth, veil (Grimm). A pun on the name "*flora*" (49).

53 **gaulier** See note at I.ii.30.

62 **Potz schlapperment** a euphemism for "Gottessakrament" ("God's sacrament"); "Potz" is an interjection (usually to express surprise or wonder), derived from "Wortes Gott's" (Wander, "God's Word"). A number of constructions begin with "Potz": e.g., in *Jude von Venetien*, Franciscina exclaims: "Potz Velten" (III.vi, 239). "Schlappern" means "to hang or dangle limply". According to Creizenach "Potz schlapperment" is Pickelherring's favourite curse (CV).

the wench he could kiss her where her spine ends.

ROMIO "Invite Madam Fioleta Catharina."

PICKELHERRING All right, she lives in Sow's Corner.

ROMIO "Invite Madam Flora."

PICKELHERRING Hm, that is a wench, it's true she always wears a veil over her face, that one may not see her nose; for her nose stands right in the middle of her face. 50

ROMIO "Invite Count Paris" – that is a brave cavalier.

PICKELHERRING Yes, but he stinks between his toes like peasants.

ROMIO But tell me, where will this assembly take place? 55

PICKELHERRING In my master's house.

ROMIO What is thy master called?

PICKELHERRING My master is called Capulet.

ROMIO What! Is my dearest Rosalina to go to my enemy's house? 60

Tears up the paper.

I won't have that!

PICKELHERRING For Goodness' sake! What are you doing? My invitation-paper torn and Rosalina torn asunder? O thou rogue!

55] *RuJ*; A faire assemblée, whither should they come? Q1, Q2

56] *RuJ*; To our house Q1, Q2

57] *RuJ*; *Ro*. Whose house? / *Ser*. My Maisters. / *Ro*. Indeed I should haue askt you that before Q2, Q1 (askt thee that)

58] *RuJ*; My maister is the great rich *Capulet* Q1, Q2

fool, that he begins at the feet; how long will he have to kiss until he arrives at the mouth, especially if he is not allowed to skip anything" (Asper, *Hanswurst* 125, "Mein Herr ist ein lauter Narr, daß er bey den füßen anfängt, wie lang wirdt er zu küßen haben, biß er zu den mund kommt, in sonderheit, wenn er nichts überhupffen darf").

46 **he ... ends** A formula the clown uses more than once, as Asper illustrates (*Hanswurst* 126). Pickelherring repeats it in an argument with the Nurse (see V.iii.33-34). Genée omits this and only summarizes: "follows a dirty joke" (169, "folgt eine Zote"). Yet such jokes are not unique to the German plays; in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, for instance, the Puppet Leander asks Leatherhead: "*Kiss my hole here, and smell*" (V.iv.133).

50-52 Compare Mercutio's remark about the Nurse demanding a fan: "to hide her face, for her fans the fairer face" (E3r, II.iii.101-02; Q1 similar).

53 **Paris** See note at 29-53.

53 **cavalier** See note at I.ii.30.

60 In *RJ*, Rosaline herself is a Capulet, which does not seem to be the case in *RuJ*.

- ROMIO [G]ehe forth oder ich brech dir den halß[.] 65
 PICKLHÄRING Ja brich du mir den *podex*. [Ô] du bernheüter du du
 Mörder, wie viel herrn vnd frawen hast du entzwey gerisßen, vnd vmbs
 leben gebracht[?]
 ROMIO [W]ilt du gehen, oder ich will dir füeß machen[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [V]nd wan du mir gleich 6 füeß woltest machen, 70
 so darf ich nicht mehr heimb, ô Potz tausendt die *Rosalina* hat recht
 ein ritz in die mitten bekommen, ô ich armer ladein was werde ich
 thuen[?]
 ROMIO Jch sage gehe[.]
 PICKLHÄRING Jch sag be[.] 75
 [PICKLHÄRING] *abit*[.]
 PENUOLIO [A]uf disen fest welches herr *Capolet* halten wird, wird
 deine Schöne *Rosalina* auch sein die du so sehr liebest mein ich bitte
 gehe mit mir, ich will dir da selbst solche gesichter weisen, die deiner
Rosalina weith vorgehen vnd ich weiß gewiß, daß die Jenige so du
 vor deinen schwanen gehalten, soll bey anderer gegenwarth alß ein 80
 kree auß sehen[.]
 ROMIO [D]u redest nach deinem belieben, aber meine *Rosalina* ist
 allein der stern meines hertzens, vnd ihrer schönheit müssen alle

75 SD PICKLHÄRING] *this edn; not in RuJ*

77 mein] COHN; nein DEVRIENT

66 **bernheüter** literally "bearskinner"; can be used to scold but also as a good-natured joke (Grimm). It is used by the clown in other plays (Asper, *Hanswurst* 124, 205; Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 147; Creizenach 76).

69 **füeß machen** to prompt someone to leave or to hurry (Grimm). Today: "Beine machen" (i.e., "legs" not "feet"). The construction is found in *Sidea* (I, 326), in *Phänicia* (V, 304), and in *Kunst über alle Künste*: "packe dich, oder ich will dir Füße machen" (IV, 158, "get thee gone or I will make thee [some] feet"). The clown replies: "Solche Arbeit ist unvonnöthen: dann ich jetzt selbst in emsiger Arbeit bin, meiner feinen Gesellin noch ein paar Füße zu machen" ("Such work is unnecessary, because I am currently busy myself making my companion another pair of feet"), i.e., making her pregnant.

71 **Potz tausendt** "Potz tausend" or "Potz 1000" was a popular expression for the clown (Asper, *Hanswurst* 126, 134, 147). See also note at 62.

71 **die Rosalina** In today's language, the use of the article has a pejorative connotation, which does not seem to be the case here. In *Phänicia*, Gerando similarly speaks of "die Anna Maria" (II, 266).

72 **ladein** probably Pickelherring's neologism, from "einladen" ("to invite"). Compare I.iii.66.

ROMIO Go away, or I'll break thy neck. 65

PICKELHERRING Yes, only break my podex. O thou idle fellow,
thou – thou murderer! How many gentlemen and ladies hast thou torn
asunder and killed!

ROMIO Wilt thou go? Or I will find thee legs.

PICKELHERRING And even if thou wouldst find me six legs, I am 70
not allowed to go home anymore. Gee whiz! Rosalina has got quite a
tear in the middle. O poor Mr. Invite, what will I do?

ROMIO I say go!

PICKELHERRING I say bo! 75

Exit PICKELHERRING.

PENUOLIO At this feast, which Lord Capolet will hold, thy fair
Rosalina will also be, whom thou lovest so much, I mean, please go
with me. There I will show thee faces far superior to thy Rosalina, and
I know for sure that she whom thou hast taken for thy swan will look
like a crow in the presence of others. 80

ROMIO Thou talkest as thou pleasest, but my Rosalina alone is the
star of my heart, and all must give way to her beauty.

76-77 At ... much] *RuJ*; At this same auncient feast of *Capulets*, / Sups the faire *Rosaline*
whom thou so loues Q1, Q2

77-80 please ... others] *RuJ*; Go thither, and with vnattainted eye, / Compare her face
with some that I shall show, / And I will make thee thinke thy swan a crow Q1, Q2

82-83 but ... beauty] *RuJ*; One fairer then my loue, the all seeing Sun, / Nere saw her
match, since first the world begun Q1, Q2

65 Shakespeare's Romeo does not deal as crudely with the serving-man, though he later
uses similar words when speaking to his page: "But if thou iealous dost returne to prie ...
By heauen I will teare thee Ioynt by Ioynt" (L2r, V.iii.33, 35). See also p. 168 above.

66 **podex** "the buttocks, the rump ... Now humorous" (OED).

71-72 **Rosalina ... middle** possibly a sexual allusion. In the Schaubüro production,
Pickelherring mimed Rosalina being stabbed and dying.

75 **bo** In the Schaubüro production, Pickelherring already interspersed the non-sense
word into lines 66-68, while he was tearing off small pieces of the torn paper and
throwing them at Romio.

83 **all ... beauty** Compare II.v.17.

weichen[.]

PENUOLIO Sie kompt dir nur so schön vor wan kein schönere 85
darbey ist höre *Romio*. [K]omb auf disen fest, will ich weisen die best.

ROMIO [J]ch will dir zwar folgen aber du wirst mir hierinnen
wenig helffen könnn.

[B]eyde ab.

PICKLHÄRING [*tritt auf*].

PICKLHÄRING Jch habe gleich wohl so viel in meinen *Poëtischen*
kopff gebracht, das ich sie alle geladen habe, außgenohmen etzliche 90
haben das zahnwehe starkh, aber schadt nicht, es bleibt nur desto mehr
fresßen über, ich will schon zerschroden ich habe kein zahnwehe, aber
ich versaume nach hauß zu kommen, dan es wird braff angehen, an
fresßen vnd sauffen, dan bin ich gehrn darbey, darumb muß ich
lauffen[.] 95

[PICKLHÄRING ab.]

[Actus 2^{dus}, Scena 1^{ma}]

ROMIO, MERCUTIUS [*vnd*] PENUOLIO [*treten auf*].

88 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

95 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

II.i Actus ... 1^{ma}] *this edn; Actus 2^{dus} Scena 1^{ma} RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

86 **Komb ... best** This line not only has a similar content but also contains exactly the same rhyme as Shakespeare's couplet: "feast" / "best" (B3v, I.ii.101-02).

90 **etzliche** older form of "etliche", here: (quite) a few, many (Grimm).

92 **zerschroden** "zerschroten" means "to cut up, to grind" (Grimm). Pickelherring refers to the grinding of his teeth while he is eating.

93 **versaume** versäumen: here, to come too late (Grimm).

93 **braff** here: efficiently, heartily (Grimm). According to Grimm, this word is not documented in German before 1628, which confirms that the MS does not date from the beginning of the century. The word was imported from the Italian by soldiers during the Thirty Years' War.

PENUOLIO She only appears so fair to thee when there is none 85
fairer present. Listen, Romio, come, at this feast I will show thee the
best.

ROMIO I will follow thee, yet thou wilt afford me little help in this.
Exeunt both.

Enter PICKELHERRING.

PICKELHERRING All the same, I have put so much into my 90
poetical head that I invited them all, except that some have a strong
toothache. But that doesn't matter: there will be all the more food left
over. I will munch away; I have no toothache. But I am late in going
home, for they will take bravely to eating and drinking, and then I like
to be present, so I must run.

95
Exit PICKELHERRING.

II.i

Enter ROMIO, MERCUTIUS, and PENUOLIO.

85-86 She ... present] *RuJ*; Tut you saw her faire none else being by Q1, Q2

86 at ... best] *RuJ*; some other maide: / That I will shew you shining at this feast, / And
she shall scant shew well that now seemes best Q1, Q2

87] *RuJ*; Ile go along no such sight to be showne, / But to reioyce in splendor of mine
owne Q1, Q2

II.i.0 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Maskers with Romeo and a Page* Q1; *Enter* Romeo, Mercutio,
Benuolio, *with fiue or sixe other Maskers, torchbearers* Q2

91-94 **But ... run** For the clown's preoccupation with food, see pp. 164-65 above.

II.i corresponds to Shakespeare's Q1 I.iv.1-38, 83-91 and Q2 I.iv.1-16, 33-51, 103-11
(Romeo, Mercutio, and Benvolio prepare for Capulet's feast).

ROMIO Jhr herrn habt ihr vernohmen von den großen Panquet deß *Capolet*, darauf erscheindt der beste Adl, vnd die schönsten *Damen* darunder sich auch die schöne *Rosalina* befindet, diß ist der Sporn der mich treibt dahin zu kommen, meine schone zu sehen, die da wird glantzen vnd ein vndterscheid wird machen zwischen allen *Damen* 5 gleich die Sonn gegen den Monn[.]

MERCUTIUS Jhr herrn ich achte wenig daß frawen zimmer, meine freüd ist schlagen vnd balgen, ich will mich lieber 3 mahl schlagen, alß ein mahl einem weibs bild aufwarthen[.]

ROMIO [A]ch *Mercutio* lege doch ein mahl ab deine dolheit, wo ist 10 der, der durch kragel reich worden, darumb zähme dich verehere das frauen zimmer, so wirst du haben Ehr vnd lob[.]

PENUOLIO Jch halt es mit dem *Romio* vnd weil daß Panquet so stattlich, so will vnnß gebühren einen *Pallet* oder *Mascara* darauf zu *prasentiren* vnd daß frauen zimmer damit verehere[n].] 15

MERCUTIUS [J]ch laß mirs entlich gefallen, aber was wollen wür tantzen?

PENUOLIO Eine *Masquara* wie es breüchlich ist[.]

ROMIO [V]nd ich will verkleidter die fackl tragen[.]

MERCUTIUS [W]aß fackl du muest tantzen deiner *Rosalina* zu 20 gefallen[.]

ROMIO [J]ch kan nicht.

MERCUTIUS [W]orumb[?]

4 dahin] COHN; dahin dahin *RuJ*

II.i.11 kragel probably derived from "krageln" meaning "to crawl", but also "to shout", "to quarrel" in Svabian (Grimm); see also note at I.iv.39.

11-12, 15 **das frauen zimmer** In *Phänicia*, the construction is also used in the singular form although it refers to the plural "das gantzt Frauenzimmer" (I, 257).

14 **Mascara** disguise, masquerade (Grimm).

19 **verkleidter** "weiß" should be inserted here, as at V.ii.34.

ROMIO Gentlemen, have you heard of the great banquet of Capolet? The best nobility and the fairest ladies appear there; fair Rosalina is among them. That is the spur that urges me to go there: to see my fair one who will shine and make a difference between all the ladies, like the sun against the moon. 5

MERCUTIUS Gentlemen, I don't care much for women; my delight is fighting and scuffling. I would rather have three fights than once attend upon a woman.

ROMIO O Mercutio, do discard thy folly for once. Where is he who became rich by quarreling? Therefore restrain thyself, do homage to woman, and thou wilt earn honor and praise. 10

PENUOLIO I side with Romio, and as the banquet is so magnificent, we should present a ballet or masquerade there to honor the ladies. 15

MERCUTIUS Well, I agree. But what shall we dance?

PENUOLIO A masquerade, as the custom is.

ROMIO And I will carry the torch in disguise.

MERCUTIUS What, torch! Thou must dance to please thy Rosalina. 20

ROMIO I cannot.

MERCUTIUS Why?

19] *RuJ*; Giue me a torch, I am not for this ambling Q2, Q1 (A torch for me, I am)

20] *RuJ*; Beleeue me *Romeo* I must haue you daunce Q1; Nay gētle *Romeo*, we must haue you dance Q2

22] *RuJ*; Not I beleeue me Q1, Q2

2-3 **fair ... there** As in *RJ*, Romio goes to the feast only to "reioyce in splendor of mine owne" (B4r, I.ii.104).

4-5 **and ... moon** See note at I.iv.9.

7-9 This is unique to *RuJ* but could be likened to Q2's "If loue be rough with you, be rough with loue" (C1v, I.iv.25).

14 **masquerade** Shakespeare's SDs mention "*Maskers*" (C1r, I.iv.0 SD and Q2-only C3r, I.iv.128 SD). Q2 also includes a "drum" (C2v, I.iv.112).

ROMIO [M]ein leib vnd füeß sein gantz schwörmüthig[.]
 MERCUTIUS So entlehne des *Cupido* flügl vnd fliege, ich schwöre 25
 wen ich verliebt währe vnd hette nur ein fues, so wolte ich doch
 hüpfen[.]
 PENUOLIO Eÿ Er last sich schon bereden dem frawen zimmer zu
 gefallen[.]
 ROMIO [J]hr herrn mich taucht wür thuen übel das wür hingehen[.] 30
 PENUOLIO [W]orumb das?
 ROMIO [J]ch habe heünt einen schwären traum gehabt[.]
 MERCUTIUS Jch glaub für wahr die *Maphas* oder truth hat dich
 getruckt ich habe auch einen traum gehabt[.]
 ROMIO [W]aß war es vor ein traum[?] 35
 MERCUTIUS [M]ir hat getraumbt daß alle traum erlogen sein[.]
 PENUOLIO Jhr herrn was wür thuen wollen daß thuen wir bald[,]

30 **mich taucht** mich daucht: it seems to me (Grimm).

32 **heünt** heint: "this night" (Grimm, "diese nacht").

33 **truth** "trut" or "trud(e)": a female ghost, a witch, but also a male ghost, an incubus (Grimm).

34 **getruckt** gedrückt: pressed.

ROMIO My body and feet are quite melancholy.
 MERCUTIUS Then borrow Cupidon's wings and fly. I swear, if I 25
 were in love and had only one foot, I would still hop.

PENUOLIO Well, he is already convinced to please the ladies.

ROMIO Gentlemen, I believe we do wrong to go there. 30

PENUOLIO Why that?

ROMIO I had a heavy dream last night.

MERCUTIUS I do believe the Maphas or alp has pressed thee. I
 also had a dream.

ROMIO What kind of dream was it? 35

MERCUTIUS I dreamt that all dreams are lies.

PENUOLIO Gentlemen, whatever we want to do, let's do it soon.

24] *RuJ*; I haue a soule of Leade / So stakes me to the ground I cannot moue Q2, Q1
 (cannot stirre)

25-26] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; You are a Louer, borrow *Cupids* wings, / And sore with them
 about a common bound Q2

30] *RuJ*; And we meane well in going to this Mask, / But tis no wit to go Q2, Q1 (So we)

31] *RuJ*; Why, may one aske? Q2, Q1 (Why *Romeo* may)

32] *RuJ*; I dreamt a dreame to night Q1, Q2

33 I thee] *RuJ*; O then I see Queene Mab hath bin with you Q2, Q1 (Ah then)

33-34 I ... dream] *RuJ*; And so did I Q1, Q2

35] *RuJ*; Well what was yours? Q2, Q1 (Why what)

36] *RuJ*; That dreamers often lie Q1, Q2

37-38 Gentlemen ... late] *RuJ*; Supper is done, and we shall come too late Q1, Q2

24 **melancholy** The German "schwörmüthig" carries additional connotations of
 heaviness, "schwer" meaning "heavy".

25-26 *RuJ* here clearly depends on Q2. See app. 3a.

32 Compare Julieta's dream; see I.ii.63-70 and note.

33 **Maphas** The only allusion to the "Queen Mab" speech; like nearly all soliloquies it is
 cut from *RuJ* (see p. 190 above).

vielleicht seind sie schon von der taffel aufgestanden, so kommen wür
zu Spath, ich will Eüch folgen, aber der himmel gebe das kein vnheil
darauß entstehe.

40

[A]lle ab[.]

[Actus 2dus,] Scena 2da

FRAU[,] AMMA[,] CAPOLET[,] TIPOLD[,] PARIS[, JULIETA,
alle an der taffl[, TIPOLDS JUNG.]

CAPOLET Jhr herrn mich nimbt wunder das vnß Niemand besuecht
beÿ vnserer Mahlzeit, etwan wie gebreüchlich mit einer *Masquara*, da
ich noch Jung wahr, wahr ich nicht zu faul, wie ietziger Zeit die
Jungen gesellen, es dörffte kein Panquet geschehen, ich fuende mich

II.ii] *this edn*; Actus 2 Sci i Scena 2.^{da} RuJ

0 SD] *this edn*; ~~Tipold~~ frau. *Amma* / Capolet Tibolt Paris *alle an der taffl* RuJ; Capolet,
seine Fraw, Paris, Tibolt, Julieta, *alle an der Tafel* DEVRIENT; CAPOLET, TIBOLT, PARIS,
alle an der taffl COHN

39 **Spath** older form of "spät": late (Grimm).

II.ii.1 mich ... wunder I am surprised, astonished (Grimm). Also found in *BB* (I.vii.15-16), in *Jude von Venetien* (I.i, 205), and in *Tragicomoedia* (V.iv, 248). Still used in modern Swiss German.

2 **etwan** etwa. This expletive translates into English with difficulty.

Perhaps they have already risen from table; we shall be late. I will follow you, but heaven grant that no harm come of it.

40

Exeunt omnes.

II.ii

WIFE, NURSE, CAPOLET, TIPOLD, PARIS, JULIETA, *all at table*,
TIPOLD'S BOY.

CAPOLET Gentlemen, I wonder that nobody visits us at our meal, for example, as the custom is, with a masquerade. When I was young I was not too lazy, like the young fellows at present. There was no banquet I did not attend with some masquerade or something else that

39 but ... it] *RuJ*; *Ro.* ... my mind misgiues, / Some consequence yet hanging in the starres, / Shall bitterly begin his fearfull date, / With this nights reuels Q2, Q1 (consequence is hanging ... Which bitterly begins)

II.ii.2-5 When ... fun] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; I haue seene the day / That I haue worne a visor and could tell / A whispering tale in a faire Ladies eare Q2

38-39 I ... it In *RJ*, Romeo speaks the equivalent of these lines. He even fears his own "death", be it "vntimely" as in Q2 (C2v, I.iv.109) or "vile" as in Q1 (C2r, I.iv.89).

II.ii has correspondences with Q1 I.iv.92-112 and Q2 I.iv.129-53 (the beginning of Capulet's feast). Unlike Q1 and Q2 (see Levenson 188), *RuJ* clearly starts a new scene here: a SD provides an exit for everyone at the end of II.i ("*Alle ab*"), and the next scene begins with new characters, all "*at table*" ("*an der taffl*"). Romio and Penuolio enter later, starting another scene (II.iii). Mercutius is not explicitly present at the banquet. His absence is not due to deficiency doubling (see doubling chart, app. 4a), but may be due to his silence in *RJ* in this scene.

0 SD **PARIS** See pp. 193-94 above.

0 SD **JULIETA** There is no entrance SD for Julieta, but she must be present by II.iii.4 SD.

0 SD **TIPOLD'S BOY** He can enter at any point before II.iii.30 and would most likely not be seated at the table. See also note to II.iii.30.

allezeit darbeÿ mit einer *Mascara* oder sonsten was lustiges[.] 5

FRAU Ja ich glaub es wohl in Eurer Jugendt seit ihr ein prauffer
Maußhundt gewesen, aber anietzo miest ihr es wohl lasßen[.]

TIPOLD [W]ie lang ist es wohl herr vatter daß Er keine *Mascara*
mehr getantzt?

CAPOLET [D]aß kan ich mich nicht mehr erinderen wie viel Jahr es 10
seÿe[.]

TIPOLD Es ist so lang nicht das mans nicht wißßen soll ich
gedenkhe es noch wohl daß der herr vatter auf der *Mabilia* ihrer
hochzeit gedantzt[.]

CAPOLET Es kan sein, in dem alter ist bald alles vergessen[.] 15

TIPOLD [A]ber so mich bedunkt so ist schon eine *Mascara*
verhanden[,] will kommen Jhr herrn[.]

6 prauffer] *this edn*; grosser COHN

5 *Mascara* disguise, masquerade (Grimm).

6 **prauffer** brav: able, courageous, brave, honest (Grimm). See also note at I.iv.93.

7 **Maußhundt** old word for domestic cat. In the MS, an "h" is written over (or underneath) the "M", making the word "haußhundt", i.e., domestic dog. Creizenach believes that the word is mistranslated from the English "mousehunt", meaning marten or polecat (XLII).

7 **anietzo** jetzt: now (Grimm).

10 **erinderen** erinnern: remember (Grimm).

16 **bedunkt** or "bedünkt": it seems to me.

was fun. 5

WIFE Yes, I do believe you have been a brave mouse-hound in your youth, but now you must let it be.

TIPOLD How long is it, father, since you have not danced a masquerade?

CAPOLET I cannot remember how many years it may be. 10

TIPOLD It is not so long ago that one may not know it. I well believe, father, that you danced at Mabilia's wedding.

CAPOLET That may be. At this age everything is soon forgotten. 15

TIPOLD But I believe there is already a masquerade at hand. Welcome, gentlemen!

6-7] *RuJ; Moth*: I you haue beene a mouse hunt in your time Q1 (I1r, IV.iv.10); *La*. I you haue bene a mouse-hunt in your time, / But I will watch you from such watching now Q2 (K1v, IV.iv.11-12)

8-9] *RuJ; Capu*: ... How long is it since you and I were in a Maske? Q1; I. *Capu*. ... How long ist now since last your selfe and I / Were in a maske? Q2

10] *RuJ; Cos*: By Ladie sir tis thirtie yeares at least Q1; 2. *Capu*. Berlady thirtie yeares Q2

12-13] *RuJ; I. Capu*. What man tis not so much, tis not so much, / Tis since the nuptiall of *Lucientio*: / Come Pentycost as quickly as it will, / Some fiue and twentie yeares, and then we maskt Q2, Q1 (*Cap*: Tis not ... the mariage of)

2-5 **When ... fun** Q2's chivalric dimension is lost in adaptation. In Shakespeare, Capulet adds: "Nay sit, nay sit, good Cozin *Capulet*, / For you and I are past our dauncing days" (Q2 C3r, I.iv.143-44; "standing dayes" in Q1 C2v, I.iv.102).

8-15 The conversation between Tipold and Capolet is adapted from the one between Capulet and "Cozin *Capulet*". Tipold here speaks the equivalent of Capulet's lines from *RJ*, while *RuJ*'s Capolet takes over the lines of his cousin in *RJ*. This shift makes the German Capolet seem older than the English one. *RJ* gives precise numbers of years, and the end of the discussion hints at what *RuJ* quite bluntly states: "in dem alter ist bald alles vergesßen" (15, "At this age everything is soon forgotten").

8, 13 **father** Tipold may simply be using "Vater" ("father") as referring to a person of authority, whose position resembles that of a father (Grimm). For the family relations between Tipold and the Capolets, see note at II.iii.31, 48.

13 **Mabilia** Interestingly, *RJ* recalls "*Lucientio*'s" wedding, who in turn appears on the guest list for the banquet in *RuJ* (I.iv.40).

[Actus 2dus,] Scena 3tia

ROMIO [*vnd*] PENUOLIO [*treten auf.*]

CAPOLET Jhr herrn sie seind freindlich will kommen in meiner behausung[.]

PARIS [W]ür seind ihnen höchlich verpflichtet vor dise Ehr so sie hier innen vnß beweisen.

[*Es*] *wird getantz.*

ROMIO Schönste, dan die Ehr so ich gehabt mit ihr zu tantzen kan 5
weder meine zung oder hertz bezeigen, ich bitte sie vergönne doch
einen Schambhafften Pilgramb dero hand zu küssen[.]

JULIETA [G]ueter Pilgramb ihr entheiliget Eüch nicht, dan solche

II.iii Actus 2dus] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD] *Romio Penuolio RuJ; vnd, treten auf this edn;* Romio. Penvolio in Masken
DEVRIENT

4 SD *Es] this edn; not in RuJ*

5 dan] *this edn;* Dam COHN

6 bezeigen] *this edn;* begnigen DEVRIENT; bezeichnen COHN; bezeichnen GENÉE

II.iii.5 dan denn: here, "weil" ("since"). Cohn reads this as "Dam", yet "*Dam*" is always in italics in the MS (see note at 13). The comma after "Schönste" signals that the address ends and the next clause begins.

6 bezeigen probably "bezeugen": to testify, to show.

7 Pilgramb Pilger: pilgrim, palmer (Grimm).

II.iii

Enter ROMIO and PENUOLIO.

CAPOLET Gentlemen, you are warmly welcome in my house.

PARIS We are deeply indebted to you for the honor you show us.

There is dancing.

ROMIO Fairest, since neither my tongue nor my heart can describe 5
the honor I have had of dancing with you, I entreat you to grant a
bashful pilgrim to kiss your hand.

JULIETA Good pilgrim, you do not profane yourself, for such

II.iii.1] *RuJ*; Welcome Gentlemen, welcome Gentlemen ... welcome Gentlemen,
welcome Q1; Welcome gentlemen ... You are welcome Q2

4 SD] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; *Musick playes and they dance* Q2

5-7] *RuJ*; If I prophane with my vnworthiest hand, / This holy shrine, the gentle sin is
this, / My lips two blushing Pylgrims did readie stand, / To smoothe that rough touch
with a tender kis Q2, Q1 (vnworthie hand, ^ ready stand, / To smooth the rough touch
with a gentle kisse)

8 Good ... yourself] *RuJ*; Good Pilgrim you doe wrōg your hād too much Q1, Q2

II.iii corresponds to Q1 I.iv.124-208 and Q2 I.iv.167-257 (Capulet's feast and dancing).
In the MS, the scene reference was added later; the ink is lighter than that of the adjoining
words.

0 SD In *RJ*, Romeo and his company are already on stage. At the end of the previous
sequence Q2 has "*They march about the Stage, and Seruingmen come forth with
Napkins*", and then, inconsistently, "*Enter Romeo*" (C2v, I.iv.112 SD) – he has no
previous exit SD. After the servingmen's conversation (which is cut in *RuJ*) Q2 has
another SD: "*Enter all the guests and gentlewomen to the Maskers*" (C3r, I.iv.127 SD).
Q1 only offers one SD, at the equivalent of Q2's first direction: "*Enter old Capulet with
the Ladies*" (C2v, I.iv.91 SD). See also headnote to II.ii.

4 SD The equivalent of this SD in Q2 occurs earlier (I.iv.138), after Capulet's initial
welcome but before his conversation with Cousin Capulet (whose equivalent is *RuJ*
II.ii.8-15). In *RJ*, Romeo does not dance as he declares that he will try to touch Juliet's
hand once the "measure [is] done" (C3v, I.iv.163). Juliet confirms this when she refers to
Romeo as the one "that wold not dāce" (C4v, I.iv.245). By contrast, Juliet herself is
involved in the dancing, since she speaks of "one I danct withall" (D1r, I.iv.256). As for
RuJ, Penuolio and Romio may perform the masquerade that they planned at II.i.18 and
that Tipold announces at II.ii.16. Yet Romio also dances with Julieta (6).

5-14 In Shakespeare, this passage forms a sonnet, "followed by or incorporating a
quatrain" (Levenson 196).

bilder wie ich haben hände zum fühlen vnd lippen zum küßßen[.]

ROMIO [D]ie künheit entschuldiget mich dan 10
[K]üst sie.

vnd Nun bin ich aller meiner Sünden loß[.]

JULIETA [W]ie? [S]o hab ich Eure Sünden Empfangen[?]

ROMIO Schönste *Dam*, wan sie es nicht behalten will, so gebe sie
mir die selbigen wider[.]

[K]üst Sie wieder.

AMMA [H]olla was ist das [?] [D]ie frau Muetter siehts[.] 15

JULIETA [F]ahret wohl mein herr[.]

ROMIO [F]ahre wohl du zierdest aller *Damen*, ach *Romio* wie bald
seind dein Sünd vnd gedankhen verendert worden [.]

[Er] bist.

AMMA[W]aß beliebt den herrn[?]

ROMIO [S]agt mir was ist das vor eine *Damen* so mit mir gedanzet? 20

AMMA Mein herr der sie bekommen, wird an gelt vnd guet keinen
mangel leiden, sie ist des herrn *Cappolet* sein eintzige tochter[.]

10 dan] COHN; da GENÉE

18 SD Er] *this edn; not in RuJ*

13, 17, 20, 26 *Dam, Damen* Always in italics in the MS, which might be due to the alignment of "Damen" and "Herren" ("ladies" and "gentlemen") in the dances of society, like the distinction made in French between "dames" and "cavaliers" (Grimm).

18 SD "bisten" or "pisten": to say or shout "pst"/"sh"/"hush" (Grimm). *Romio* is attracting the Nurse's attention.

20 **vor** für (Grimm).

22 **sein** "sein" ("his") is added to a possessive genitive which refers to the following noun (Grimm).

pictures like I have hands to feel and lips to kiss.

ROMIO Then boldness excuses me, 10

Kisses her.

and now I am rid of all my sins.

JULIETA How? Have I then received your sins?

ROMIO Fairest lady, if you won't keep them, give them back to me again.

Kisses her again.

NURSE Hey! What is that? Your mother sees it. 15

JULIETA Farewell, my lord!

ROMIO Farewell, thou ornament of ladies! – O Romio, how soon have thy senses and thoughts been changed! – Hist!

NURSE What is my lord's pleasure?

ROMIO Tell me, what lady is she who danced with me? 20

NURSE My lord, he who gets her will not suffer from want of money and goods. She is Lord Capolet's only daughter.

8-9 for ... kiss] *RuJ*; For saints haue hands, that Pilgrims hands do tuch, / And palme to palme is holy Palmers kis Q2, Q1 (hands which holy Palmers touch)

11] *RuJ*; Thus from my lips, by thine my sin is purgd Q2, Q1 (by yours)

12] *RuJ*; Thē haue my lips the sin that they haue tooke Q1, Q2

13-14 if ... again] *RuJ*; Giue me my sin againe Q1, Q2

15] *RuJ*; *Madame your mother calles* Q1; Madam your mother craues a word with you Q2

21-22 My ... goods] *RuJ*; Marrie Batcheler ... I tell you, he that can lay hold of her / Shall haue the chinks Q1, Q2

8-9 In contrast to Juliet, who only speaks of hands joining, Julieta immediately offers her lips to be kissed. She also reassures Romio that he is not committing the sin of idolatry (see Exodus 20.4-5).

9 **pictures** Julieta refers to herself as the image of a saint that is the object of Romio's pilgrimage. Levenson glosses *RJ*'s "saints" as "representations of saints" (197).

10 SD, 14 SD *RuJ* could be said to support the customary staging of *RJ*. See p. 176 above.

13 **if ... them** Compare: "Sin from my lips, ô trespas sweetly vrgd" (C4r, I.iv.222).

15 In Q1, the mother merely "*calles*", while in Q2 she "*craues a word*". In contrast, Julieta's mother "sees" what is happening, although this may be an advance warning or an invention of the Nurse.

18 **Hist** Compare: "*Iuli. Hist Romeo hist*" (D4r, II.i.204).

20 Compare: "What is her mother?" (C4v, I.iv.225).

22 **She ... daughter** Compare: "Her mother is the Lady of the house" (C4v, I.iv.226).

ROMIO [Ô] himmel waß höre ich, deß *Cappolets* tochter, wie
 geschieht mir[,] mueß vnd solle ich nun ein liebes gefangener sein der
 Jenigen deren vatter mein ärgister todts feind ist, in wahrheit sie 25
 glantzet vnter anderen *Damen* herfür wie ein schöner stern, ô *Rosalina*
 du bist nur der blasße Mondt gegen diser glantzenden Sonnen[.]

TIPOLD [W]as höre ich, ist das nicht der verfluchte hundert *Romio*
 mein feind, vnd darf sich vnterstehen anhero zu kommen[,] daß ist 30
 nicht zu leiden, holla Jung mein stoß degen her[.]

CAPOLET [V]etter *Tibold* waß ist Eüch, worumb rast ihr so?

29 **anhero** (reinforced) here (Grimm).

30, 35 **stoß degen** a sword "with a thin pointed blade, made to thrust" (Grimm, "mit
 schmaler spitzer klinge; auf den *stosz* ... eingerichtet").

ROMIO O heavens, what do I hear? Capulet's daughter? What is happening to me? Must I and shall I now be a prisoner of love to her whose father is my most bitter and deadly enemy? In truth, she shines 25 amongst other ladies like a beautiful star. O Rosalina, thou art but the pale moon to this resplendent sun!

TIPOLD What do I hear? Is that not that cursed dog, Romio, my enemy? And does he dare to come here? That is not to be endured. – 30 Ho, boy, my rapier!

CAPOLET Cousin Tipold, what is the matter with you? Why are you raving like this?

23 O ... daughter] *RuJ*; is she a *Mountague*? Q1; Is she a *Capulet*? Q2

23-25 What ... enemy] *RuJ*; O deare account ! my life is my foes debt Q2, Q1 (foes thrall)

28-30] *RuJ*; This by his voyce, should be a *Mountague*, / Fetch me my Rapier boy, what dares the slaue / Come hither couerd with an anticque face Q1, Q2

31] *RuJ*; Why how now kinsman, wherefore storme you so? Q2, Q1 (now Cosen)

23 O ... daughter Q1's text here is obviously erroneous; Levenson and Erne amend to "Capulet".

23-26 What ... star In Shakespeare, Romeo voices his admiration and love for Juliet before speaking to her (see note at 25-26).

24 prisoner of love Romio uses the same formulation earlier, when referring to Rosalina (I.iv.5). Similarly, he already curses his "fate" (I.iv.5, "*fata*") in connection to her; see also note at I.iv.5.

25 most ... enemy Romio does not seem to be aware of the planned truce here, although he mentions it at II.v.1-2. In contrast, later in this scene, Capulet confirms the rumors Paris has heard about a peace agreement (65-69). Yet no other character mentions the peace after II.v. See also pp. 191-92 above.

25-26 In ... star This echoes Romeo's lines before he speaks to Juliet: "So shines a snow-white Swan trouping with Crowes, / As this faire Ladie ouer her fellowes showes" (Q1 C2v, I.iv.118-19); "So showes a snowie Doue trooping with Crowes, / As yonder Lady ore her fellowes showes" (Q2 C3v, I.iv.161-62).

26-27 O ... sun See note at I.iv.9.

26 Rosalina In Shakespeare, Romeo does not mention Rosaline at this point. In fact, he is surprised when Friar Laurence speaks of her the next morning: "I haue forgot that name, and that names wo" (E1r, II.ii.46).

28 In *RJ*, Tybalt's intervention and his discussion with Capulet precede the exchange between Romeo and Juliet. In *RuJ*, Romio has no lines before speaking to Julieta; Tipold would have had no opportunity to hear him beforehand.

30 boy Like his entry, the boy's exit remains unclear. His presence is merely implied by lines 30 and 35. He may not come on stage at all. In Shakespeare, Tybalt adds: "Now by the stocke and honor of my kin, / To strike him dead, I hold it not a sin" (Q2 C3v, I.iv.171-72; Q1 similar).

TIPOLD [H]a solt ich das leiden, das vnser feind anhero kommen vnser Panquet zu verspotten?

CAPOLET [W]er ist es dan?

TIPOLD Es ist mein feindt der *Romio*, holla Jung mein stoßdegen[,] 35
du hurn Sohn wo bleibst du so lang[?]

CAPOLET [W]ofern es *Romio* ist, so ist Er vnß lieb, vnd willkommen vnd wür seind ihm höchlich verpflichtet, vor die Ehr so er vnß beweist, darumb seit zu friden vnd machet kein *Molest*[.]

TIPOLD Ich will es aber niht haben[.] 40

CAPOLET [W]ie wolt ihr es nicht haben, so will ich es aber haben, wer ist herr im hauß ich oder ihr?

AMMA Ja seit ihr herr im hauß oder ist der herr *Cappolet* herr im hauß?

TIPOLD [G]ehe du alte hex, oder ich schlag dich an ein ohr[.] 45

37 lieb, vnd] *this edn; not in COHN*

39 beweist] *this edn; beweisen beweist RuJ; erweist COHN*

38 **höchlich** here, a stronger form of "hoch" ("highly") (Grimm).

39 *Molest* not in Grimm; either an Anglicism ("molestation") or from Latin "molestia".

TIPOLD Ha, should I suffer that, that our enemy has came here to mock our banquet?

CAPOLET Who is it?

TIPOLD It is my enemy, Romio. – Ho, boy, my rapier! Thou 35
whore's son, why art thou taking so long?

CAPOLET If it be Romio, he is dear to us and welcome, and we are deeply indebted to him for the honor he shows us. Therefore be content, and do not cause any disturbance.

TIPOLD But I won't have it. 40

CAPOLET What, you won't have it? But I will have it. Who is the master of the house, me or you?

NURSE Yes, are you master of the house or is Lord Capulet master of the house?

TIPOLD Go, thou old witch, or I will box thee on the ear. 45

32-33] *RuJ*; Vncle, this is a *Mountague* our foe: / A villaine that is hither come in spight, / To scorne at our solemnitie this night Q2, Q1 (To mocke at)

35 It ... Romio] *RuJ*; It is that villaine *Romeo* Q1; Tis he, that villaine *Romeo* Q2

38-39 Therefore ... disturbance] *RuJ*; Let him alone ... Therefore be quiet take no note of him Q1; Content thee gentle Coze, let him alone ... Therefore be patient, take no note of him Q2

40] *RuJ*; Ile not endure him Q1, Q2

41-42] *RuJ*; He shall be indured, goe to I say he shall, / Am I the Master of the house or you? Q1; He shall be endured. / What Goodman boy, I say he shall, go too, / Am I the master here or you? Q2

31, 48 **cousin** The exact family relations between Capulet and Tipold are not detailed in *RuJ*, although both Capulet and his wife (IV.iii.17) call Tipold "cousin" ("Vetter"). Tipold is referred to as Capulet's cousin (III.v.7, IV.iii.13-14) but also as Julieta's cousin (IV.iv.61-62, 88; IV.v.42). However, like the early modern English "cousin", the German "Vetter" could refer to any male relative (Grimm). In Q2, Capulet calls Tybalt "my brothers sonne" (H4v, III.v.127), and Tybalt calls Capulet "Vncle" (see collation to 31).

34 In *RJ*, Capulet recognizes "Young *Romeo*" (C3v, I.iv.177).

35-36 **Ho ... long** Tipold's renewed demand for his weapon is unique to *RuJ*.

36 **whore's son** In Q2, Capulet calls a servant "a merrie horson" (K1v, IV.iv.19).

37-39 In *RJ*, Capulet's reason for calming Tybalt is the fact that Romeo "beares him like a portly Gentleman" and that "*Verona* brags of him, / To be a vertuous and welgouernd youth" (C3v, I.iv.179-81).

42 **house** Note that only Q1 has "master of the house" as *RuJ* does. However, this may be coincidental.

43-47 The Nurse's intervention is unique to *RuJ*. She may be supplying comedy, substituting for Pickelherring. His absence could be due to deficiency doubling (see doubling chart, app. 4a).

AMMA [J]a ia, allezeit wolt ihr nur die weiber schlagen, aber ihr habt nit einmahl daß hertz einen Mann anzurühren[.]

CAPOLET Jch sage vetter *Tibold* fangt mir nicht an in diser gesellschaft, oder da sehet die thier vor Eüch offen[.]

TIPOLD [Ô] himmel was mueß ich hören, ein freindt soll hinwekh 50
gehen vnd ein feindt hier verbleiben, wollan ich gehe, aber *Romio*
meine Rach sey dir geschworen[.]

[TIPOLD] *abit*[.] [JUNG *abit*.]

CAPOLET Jch bitte ihr herrn sie lasßen sich des *Tibolds* raserey nicht verstören, sondern verbleiben gehrn alhier[.]

ROMIO [W]ür bedankhen vnß für die Ehre so wür genosßen[,] die 55
zeit fordert vnß wider von hier zu gehen.

CAPOLET Jch bitte ihr herrn sie verbleiben[.]

PENUOLIO [K]omb forth *Romio* laß vnß gehen, vnser kurtzweil ist geendet[.]

PARIS [W]o es möglich so wollen Sie noch verbleiben[.] 60

ROMIO [W]ir bedankhen vnß aller Ehren, vnd nehmen also abschied[.]

[ROMIO vnd PENUOLIO] *abeunt*[.]

52 SD TIBOLD, JUNG *abit*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

62 SD ROMIO ... PENUOLIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

51, 54, 60 **verbleiben** bleiben: stay (Grimm).

NURSE Yes, yes, you always want to beat only the women, but you have no heart to touch a man.

CAPOLET I say, cousin Tipold, don't start any trouble in this company, or there you see the door open before you.

TIPOLD O heavens, what must I hear? A friend must go away and an enemy stay here. Well then, I go – but, Romio, I swear thee vengeance. 50

Exit TIPOLD. Exit BOY.

CAPOLET Gentlemen, please do not let Tipold's raving disturb you, but do stay here.

ROMIO We thank you for the honor we have enjoyed. Time demands us to depart from here. 55

CAPOLET Gentlemen, please do stay.

PENUOLIO Come, Romio, let us go, our pastime is over.

PARIS Do stay, if possible. 60

ROMIO We thank you for all honors and so take our leave.

Exeunt ROMIO and PENUOLIO.

51-52 Well ... vengeance] *RuJ*; I will withdraw, but this intrusion shall / Now seeming sweet, conuert to bittrest gall Q2, Q1 (bitter gall)

57] *RuJ*; Nay gentlemen prepare not to be gone Q1, Q2

58] *RuJ*; *not in Q1*; Away begon, the sport is at the best Q2

47 heart The heart was associated with courage (Grimm).

48-49 Compare *RJ*s: "Youle make a mutinie among my guests" (C4r, I.iv.193).

50-51 O ... here Compare *RJ*s: "It [i.e., Tybalt's frown] fits when such a villaine is a guest" (C3v, I.iv.188).

52 SD *Exit BOY* The latest plausible point for Tipold's boy to exit.

53-54, 57 In Shakespeare, Capulet's asking the Montagues to stay is not explicitly connected to Tybalt's outburst as it is in *RuJ*. Also, Romeo and Juliet's first meeting is inserted between the incident with Tybalt and Capulet's plea "Nay gentlemen prepare not to be gone" (C4v, I.iv.234).

55-56, 61 In Q2, there is no scripted reaction to Capulet's speech, although his words "Is it ene so?" (C4v, I.iv.236) imply that Q1's SD – "*They whisper in his eare*" (C4r, I.iv.185 SD) – also applies to Q2. Levenson inserts the following SD: "*They signal to Capulet that they must leave.*" Once again, *RuJ* spells out something that is implied in Shakespeare. Also, Romio's formal and stylized language echoes the exchange between Capulet and Paris in I.iii.

55-56 Unlike in *RJ*, in *RuJ* Romio has a reason for leaving: Tipold's rage.

58 Not in Q1. See app. 3a.

CAPOLET Jn wahrheit *Romio* ist höfflich *discret* vnd Jung, es ist mir leid das ich sein feind mues sein.

PARIS Jch habe offtenmahl gewinscht daß das hauß *Cappolet* mit *Mundige* möchte vereinbahret werden, habe auch vernohmen daß sich gahr die herrschafft bemüht diß lebens streitt beÿ zu legen[.] 65

CAPOLET Es ist deme also herr Graff, aber Jhro fürstl[iche] gn[aden] haben es noch nicht *proclamiren* lasßen, so stehet die feindschafft noch biß dato, herr Graff Er wolle ihme belieben lasßen weil die Mahlzeit vorbeÿ vnd alle vrlaub nehmen mit mir ins zimmer zu gehen, ich habe mehrers mit dero selben zu reden[.] 70

PARIS Jch folge herr *Cappolet*, aber schöne *Julieta* beliebt ihr mit zu kommen[.]

[PARIS] *abit*[. CAPOLET und FRAU *abeunt*.]

JULIETA [J]ch bin schuldig Jhro gn[aden] auf den fues zu folgen – *Amma* gehe sehe vnd frage wer diser gewesen, so mit mir gedantz[.] 75

[PENUOLIO *tritt auf*.]

AMMA Jch glaub fürwahr *Julieta* ist schon verliebt, aber ich will gleichwohl ihren befehl verrichten[.]

PENUOLIO Jch habe mich verirrt in disem haus, saget mir wo geht man hinauß[?] 80

74 SD] *this edn; abit RuJ*

76 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

65 **offtenmahl** oftermal, oft: often.

66 **vereinbahret** vereint: united (Grimm).

67 **herrschaft** "the person(s) that rule over a territory; the word can refer to the collective or only to one person" (Grimm, "der oder die über irgend ein gebiet gewalt habenden; das wort steht collectiv oder nur auf eine person bezüglich").

71 **vrlaub nehmen** here: take (one's) leave (Grimm).

72, 86 **mehrsers** something more, something else (Grimm).

75 Characters often continue speaking to characters who have just exited. This implies that an exit SD is a general rather than a precise indication. For other instances see II.vi.24, III.iv.28, III.viii.20, III.ix.41, 44 and V.iii.115. The same is the case for an entrance SD at I.iii.19-20. I have emended these instances in the translation. In *RJ*, "anticipatory directions" are not unusual (Levenson 222).

CAPOLET In truth, Romio is polite, discreet, and young; I am sorry I must be his enemy.

PARIS I have often wished that the house of Capolet might become reconciled with that of Mundige and have also heard that even the authorities endeavor to settle this life-long quarrel. 65

CAPOLET So it is, Count, but his princely Grace has not yet had it proclaimed. Therefore the enmity stands until now. Count, as the meal is over, and all are taking their leave, may it please you to go with me to the room; I have various things to discuss with you. 70

PARIS I follow, Lord Capolet. – But, fair Julieta, be pleased to go with us.

JULIETA I am bound to follow your Grace instantly. 75

Exit PARIS. Exeunt CAPOLET and WIFE.

Nurse, go, see, and ask who he was who danced with me.

Enter PENUOLIO.

NURSE I do indeed believe that Julieta is already in love; but I will follow her order all the same.

PENUOLIO I have lost myself in this house. Tell me where does one go out? 80

76 Nurse ... me] *RuJ*; Goe learne his name Q1; Go aske his name Q2

65-66 **I ... Mundige** Compare: "Of honourable reckoning are you both, / And pittie tis, you liu'd at ods so long" (B2v, I.ii.4-5).

66-69 **and ... now** For the feud, see pp. 191-92 above.

69-71 **Count ... you** During this private conversation Capolet may bring up marriage plans with Julieta. In *RJ*, Capulet instead decides to go "to bed" (C4v, I.iv.238).

73-74 **But ... us** Unique to *RuJ*, as is Paris's presence at the feast more generally; see pp. 175-76 above.

75 SD **WIFE** There is no exit SD for Capolet's wife, but this seems the latest plausible moment. She does not speak during this scene.

76 **Nurse ... me** In Shakespeare, as in Brooke (347-50), Juliet does not immediately ask about Romeo, but first enquires about two other young men. Juliet adds: "if he be married, / My graue is like to be my wedding bed" (C4v, I.iv.247-48). For Romeo's and Romio's differing dance patterns, see note at 4 SD.

77-89 This is unique to *RuJ*. In Shakespeare, the Nurse's errand is not scripted.

77 **I ... love** Shakespeare's Nurse has no concrete suspicions at this point.

AMMA Mein herr verzeihe mir, das ich frage, was wahr daß vor
einer in den Rothen kleid[?]

PENUOLIO [S]ein Nahmb heist *Romio*[.]

AMMA Jst es der Junge *Romio*, ich bedankhe mich mein herr daß
Er es mir gesagt[.] 85

PENUOLIO [H]abt ihr auch noch etwas mehrers zu fragen?

AMMA Nein mein herr[.]

PENUOLIO [V]nd ich in der warheit auch nicht[.]

[PENUOLIO] *abit*[.]

AMMA [V]nd ich auch nicht[.]

JULIETA *Amma* sage bald wer wahr Er vnd wie ist sein Nahmb[?] 90

AMMA Schöne *Julieta* es wahr der Junge *Romio*[.]

JULIETA [W]ie der Junge *Romio*?

AMMA Ja der Junge *Romio*.

JULIETA [Ô] ein hönig Süßer Nahmb, aber es ist ein vergüffter
stachel darin verborgen, ach *Romio* du hast mein hertz verwund[.] 95

[JULIETA] *abit*[. AMMA *abit*.]

88 SD PENUOLIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

95 SD] *this edn; abit RuJ*

82 **kleid** garment, (main) piece of clothing (Grimm).

NURSE Pardon me, sir, for asking: who was that in the red gown?

PENUOLIO His name is Romio.

NURSE Is it the young Romio? I thank you, sir, for telling me.

85

PENUOLIO Do you have anything more to ask?

NURSE No, sir.

PENUOLIO Me neither, actually.

Exit PENUOLIO.

NURSE And me neither.

JULIETA Nurse, tell me quickly who he was, and what is his name? 90

NURSE Fair Julieta, it was the young Romio.

JULIETA What, the young Romio?

NURSE Yes, the young Romio.

JULIETA Oh, a honey-sweet name! But a poisoned sting is hidden within. O Romio, thou hast wounded my heart. 95

Exit JULIETA. *Exit* NURSE.

91] *RuJ*; His name is *Romeo*, and a *Mountague*, / The onely sonne of your great enemie Q1, Q2

81 **gown** In *Bandello*, *Giulietta* asks her wet-nurse "who so-and-so was wearing such-and-such outfit", though in this tale *Romeo* is identified as "the handsome youth holding the mask in his hand" (in *Prunster* 55). In *Boaistuau* both are combined: "Who is that youth holding a mask and wearing a damask cloak?" (in *Prunster* 91). A possible reason for *RuJ*'s emphasis on *Romio*'s clothing may be that when (a version of) *RuJ* was performed in *Bevern* in 1680, the *Prinzipal* played *Romio* and wore a gown which the Duke had given him (see pp. 180 and 136 above).

91-93 In *RJ*, the Nurse spells out what may be implied in this short exchange. For these lines in performance, see p. 182 above.

91, 92, 93 **young Romio** Compare note at 34.

94-95 **Oh ... within** This theme only appears in *RJ* once *Romeo* has committed murder, and more extensively so in Q2 than in Q1 (see Q1 III.ii.33-36, Q2 III.ii.73-85). Yet *Juliet* also declares her "onely loue" (C4v, I.iv.251) at this point in Shakespeare.

95 In Q2 the second "*Chorus*" follows (D1r, II.0).

95 **thou** See note at II.v.4.

95 SD Whereas in *RuJ*, *Julieta*'s exit is motivated by *Paris*'s invitation to follow her, in Q1, the Nurse informs *Juliet* "*Come your mother staies for you, Ile goe a long with you*" (C4r, I.iv.208), and in Q2 "*One cals within Iuliet*", whereupon the Nurse says "*Anon. anon: / Come lets away, the strangers all are gone*" (D1r, I.iv.256-58).

[Actus 2dus,] Scena 4ta

ROMIO *allein*[.] *hernach* PENUOLIO [*vnd*] MERCUTIUS[.]

ROMIO [A]ch Süßer liebes gott wie veränderst du die hertzen deiner leib Eigenen, ich liebte *Rosalina*, vnd nun bin ich ein liebes gefangener worden der über irrdischen *Julieta*, ich weiß mir nicht zu helfen in disen Irrgarthen[.] aber stillo *Romio* da kompt *Mercutius* vnd *Penuolio* ich will mich verbergen vnd Ihre gesellschaft fliehen[.] 5
[ROMIO] *abit*[.]

PENUOLIO *Romio* vetter *Romio*.

MERCUTIUS [W]ir fählen den weeg, da ist Er nicht her[.]

PENUOLIO Nein Er gieng disen weeg[.] Rueff ihn doch *Mercutio*[.]

MERCUTIUS [W]ohl ich will ihn rueffen, *Romio* liebes gefangener, erscheine vor vnnß alhier, ich beschwöre dich beÿ *Rosalina* augen, beÿ 10
ihren schönen wangen, beÿ ihren Corallinen leffzen, beÿ ihren *Alabasternen* händen, gerathen leib[.] schönen brüsten, armen, bein, vnd alles was oben vnd vnten an ihr ist, daß du alhier erscheinst[.]

II.iv Actus 2us] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

5 SD ROMIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

7 her] COHN; hin DEVRIENT

II.iv.7 fählen here: to miss (Grimm).

10 alhier hier: here (Grimm).

11 leffzen Lippen: lips (Grimm). Today, the term is only used in reference to animals, usually canines.

12 gerathen here, in the sense of "well proportioned" (Grimm).

II.iv

ROMIO *alone, then PENUOLIO and MERCUTIUS.*

ROMIO O sweet god of love, how dost thou change the hearts of thy serfs! I loved Rosalina and now I have become a prisoner of love of the heavenly Julieta. I cannot help myself in this maze. But silence, Romio, Mercutius and Penuolio are coming. I will hide myself and flee their company. 5

Exit ROMIO.

PENUOLIO Romio, cousin Romio!

MERCUTIUS We're going the wrong way; he didn't go there.

PENUOLIO No, he went this way. Do call him, Mercutio.

MERCUTIUS Well, I will call him: Romio, prisoner of love, appear before us here! I conjure thee by Rosalina's eyes, by her fair cheeks, by her coral lips, by her alabaster hands, her graceful body, her beautiful bosom, arms, legs, and every part of her above and below, so thou appearest here! 10

II.iv.0 SD] *RuJ; Enter Romeo alone ... Enter Benuolio with Mercutio Q2, Q1 (Benuolio Mercutio)*

6] *RuJ; Romeo, my Cosen Romeo, Romeo Q2, Q1 (cosen Romeo)*

8] *RuJ; He ran this way and leapt this Orchard wall. / Call good Mercutio Q2, Q1 (He came)*

9-10 Well ... here] *RuJ; Mer: Call, nay Ile coniure too. / Romeo, madman, humors, passion, liuer, appeare thou in likenes of a sigh Q1; Ben. ... Nay Ile coniure too. / Mer. Romeo, humours, madman, passion louer, / Appeare thou in the likenesse of a sigh Q2*

10-13 I ... here] *RuJ; I coniure thee by Rosalines bright eyes, / By her high forehead, and her Scarlet lip, / By her fine foot, straight leg, and quivering thigh, / And the demeanes, that there adiacent lie, / That in thy likenesse thou appeare to vs Q2, Q1 (eye, high forehead, and scarlet lip, her prettie foote)*

II.iv corresponds to Q1 II.i.1-42 and to Q2 II.i.1-43 (Benvolio and Mercutio are looking for Romeo).

2 Rosalina In Shakespeare, Romeo does not mention Rosaline at this point.

2, 9 prisoner of love Compare I.iv.5 and note.

4 I ... myself In *RJ*, Romeo does not explicitly state that he will hide, but he obviously does so, since Benvolio and Mercutio are looking for him. Again, *RuJ* spells out what *RJ* implies.

6 cousin See note at II.iii.31.

8 In *RJ* Romeo "leapt [an] Orchard wall" (D1r, II.i.6).

9-10 Well ... here Levenson assigns the first line in Q2 to Mercutio.

PENUOLIO [W]ofern Er dich höret, er wird zornig werden[.]

MERCUTIUS [W]orumb soll Er zornig werden[,] ich sage Ja nichts 15
das wider seine *Rosalina* oder ihn sein kan[.]

PENUOLIO [K]omb laß vnß gehen, Er begehret kein ander
gesellschaft, alß die dunkle nacht, die lieb ist blind, darumb halt sie
am meisten von der fünsternuß[.]

MERCUTIUS Jch mueß ihn noch ein mahl rueffen, *Romio*, er ligt 20
gewiß vnter einen baumb, vnd wintschet, das die fruchte *Rosalina*
währen vnd ihme in sein schoß fallen, ô wie anmuethig wäre es ihm[.]

PENUOLIO Eÿ komb es ist vergeblich den Jenigen zu suechen
welcher nicht will gefunden werden[.]

[PENUOLIO] *abit*[. MERCUTIUS *abit*.]

[Actus 2dus,] Scena 5ta

ROMIO *mit einem JUNG vnd lautten.*

24 SD] *this edn; abit RuJ*

II.v Actus 2us] *this edn; not in RuJ*

14 **Wofern** if, in case (Grimm).

22 **anmuethig** anmutig, here: exciting, desirable. Today: graceful, beautiful (Grimm).

PENUOLIO If he hears thee, he will be angry.

MERCUTIUS Why should he be angry? I'm not saying anything 15
that could be against his Rosalina or himself.

PENUOLIO Come, let us go. He does not desire any other company
than the dark night. Love is blind, therefore it thinks highest of
darkness.

MERCUTIUS I must call him once more. Romio! He is surely lying 20
under a tree, and wishes that the fruits were Rosalina and would fall
into his lap. Oh, how pleasant that would be for him.

PENUOLIO Come then; it is in vain to look for him who does not
want to be found.

Exit PENUOLIO. Exit MERCUTIUS.

II.v

Enter ROMIO with a BOY and a lute.

14] *RuJ*; And if he heare thee thou wilt anger him Q2, Q1 (If he doe heare)

15 Why ... angry] *RuJ*; This cannot anger him Q2, Q1 (Tut this)

17-19] *RuJ*; Come, he hath hid himselfe among these trees / To be consorted with the
humorous night: / Blind is his loue, and best befits the darke Q2, Q1 (Well he hath, those
trees)

20-22 Romio ... him] *RuJ*; Now will he sit vnder a Medler tree, / And wish his mistresse
were that kind of fruite, / As maides call Medlers, when they laugh alone. / O *Romeo* that
she were, ô that she were / An open, or thou a Poprin Peare Q2, Q1 (Ah *Romeo*, ah that
... open *Et cætera*)

23-24] *RuJ*; Go then, for tis in vaine to seeke him here / That meanes not to be found Q2,
Q1 (*Mer*: ... Come lets away, for tis but vaine)

20-22 Following previous editors, Levenson amends Q2's "An open" to "An open-arse",
referring to a "medlar fruit" (206). *RuJ* transforms *RJ*'s enigmatic wordplay into a simple
image.

23-24 Q1 assigns these lines to Mercutio.

II.v corresponds to Q1 II.i.44-206 and to Q2 II.i.45-235 (the so-called "balcony scene").
According to the traditional act and scene division of *RJ*, there is no new scene here. As
in *RJ*, in *RuJ* this is one of the longest scenes in the play (after V.iv and I.i). Large
portions are textually close to Shakespeare, but the order of the lines is not always
identical. As for staging, Julieta speaks from her window (28, 45), but no balcony is
mentioned, as in *RJ*.

0 SD In Shakespeare, Romeo is alone at this point. The boy's presence in *RuJ* is required
for the serenade.

ROMIO [Ô] angenehme gelegenheit[,] die sicherheit zeigt mir den
 weeg ueil der friedt geschlossen zwischen meinen herrn vatter vnd den
Capolet, so weiset mich die liebe zu der himmlischen schönheit der
Julieta deren ich mich schon längst verpflichtet habe, ô *Julieta* die 5
 du mein hertz gefangen haltest, wan du sehen könntest wie dein
 göttlicher blikh ein feüer in meinem hertzen entzündet, du würdest mit
 etlichen thränen der Ehrbarmung begiesßen, du kanst meiner Marter
 nicht gewahr werden, weil du nicht weist daß ich dich liebe, ich weiß
 deine vortröffliche schönheit, auch weiß ich daß ich liebe, aber nicht
 geliebt werde, so seze keinen fues mehr weither *Romio* vnd faß ein 10
 hertz, ô liebe ich rueffe dich an stehe mir beÿ an disem orth ist nicht
 weith ihr Schlaffgemach darumb Jung kom her vnd singe daß
 gemachte lied[.]

Lied 1

[JUNG] Ach willkommen schönste blumb, aufenthalt so vielle
 gaben

12 Schlaffgemach] ~ COHN; Schlaff ~~kammer~~ gemach *RuJ*

14 SP] *this edn; not in RuJ*

II.v.6 **würdest mit** "mich" should be inserted between these two words to make the sentence grammatically correct.

7 **Marter** torture, ordeal (Grimm).

ROMIO Oh, welcome opportunity! Safety shows me the way, since
 peace is concluded between my father and Capolet. So love directs me
 to the heavenly beauty of Julieta, to whom I have long devoted myself.
 O Julieta, thou who keepest my heart captive, if thou couldst see how
 thy divine glance ignites a fire in my heart, thou wouldst shower it 5

with many tears of pity. Thou canst not be aware of my torment
 because thou dost not know that I love thee. I know thy surpassing
 beauty; I also know that I love but am not loved. So do not move a foot
 further, Romio, and take heart. O love, I invoke thee, assist me! Not far 10
 from this place is her bedroom. Therefore come here, boy, and sing the
 song I made.

Song 1

BOY O welcome fairest flower, dwelling of so many gifts,

II.v.8 because ... thee] *RuJ*; not in Q1; It is my Lady, ô it is my loue, ô that she knew she
 wer Q2

1-2 **Oh ... Capolet** There is no mention of peace in Shakespeare. In fact, Julieta later
 contradicts Romio's illusion of peace in words similar to Shakespeare's (84-86).

2-3 **So ... Julieta** Compare Romeo's assertion that he found his way "By loue that first did
 prompt me to enquire" (Q2 D3r, II.i.123; Q1 similar).

3 **to ... myself** This may imply that their relationship has already been going on for some
 time (as is the case in Shakespeare's sources), but is inconsistent with the ongoing action
 (see also long note on time scheme).

4 **thou** When Julieta cannot hear him, Romio uses the informal address ("du"). Earlier,
 Julieta also addressed the absent Romio with "du" (II.iii.95). Yet he uses the formal "sie"
 when speaking directly to her. There are some exceptions: the song uses "du" when
 addressing Julieta, and both lovers use the informal pronoun in their parting speeches,
 spoken in verse (IV.vi.45-80). Finally, Romio and Julieta use "du" when addressing each
 other's dead (or supposedly dead) body (V.iv.58-100). In the "balcony" scene in
 Shakespeare the lovers use "thou", which Romeo already introduces during their first
 encounter [I.iv.217]). Note that "you" and "thou" do not exactly correspond to "Sie" and
 "du" respectively (see p. 236, fn. 3 above).

11 **come here** Presumably, the boy has retreated into the background and does so again at
 the end of the song. For this sequence in performance, see pp. 182-83 above.

13 **SD** The layout used for the song (numbering each stanza with a centered numeral) is
 found in contemporary MSS from the Austrian National Library (e.g., J. H. G., *Mosis
 Leben und Geschichte* [Moses's Life and Story] 10r, *Die lebendige Märtyrin vorgestellt*
 [The living Martyr Introduced] 40v, Paulßen, *Perseus et Andromeda* 4r). There is often a
 half circle above these numerals, as is the case in *RuJ*.

14 **SP** The song is not sung by Romio but by the boy.

deine tugendt muß der Ruhm vor allen schönen haben, 15
Julieta licht der zeit[,] keine Sonn ist dir zu gleichen
 deiner zier vnd treffligkeit, miesßen alle damen weichen.

2

Ach *Julieta* dein verstand, welcher himmlisch ist zu schetzen
 gib mir nur ein liebes pfandt daß mich Ewig kann ergetzen
Julieta du mein hertz[,] *Julieta* mein behagen 20
 stille meiner Seelen Schmerz den ich ietzt so starkh muß tragen.

ROMIO [A]ber nun ô ihr meine augen schauet an den orth wo Eure
 Sonnen verborgen, ô nacht ziehe vor die schwartze *Gardin* vnd durch
 eine dunkle wolkhe halte zuruckh daß erkennen meiner persohn ich
 sehe licht, darumb will ich waß näher hin zue treten, vnd sehen ob ich 25
 Etwas vernehmen kan[.]

[JUNG *abit.*]

[JULIETA *tritt auf.*]

JULIETA [H]olla was soll dises bedeüten, ein *Music* vor meinen

26 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

17 **treffligkeit** originally, "excellency", "good quality", but then a general "virtue". The word was popular in the formal language of the seventeenth century and was usually used as an attribute for people (Grimm).

18 **schetzen** schätzen: estimate, appreciate.

19 **ergetzen** ergötzen: delight.

27 **ein Music** For variations in gender, see note at I.iii.51.

Thy virtue must have fame before all other beauties, 15
 Julieta, light of time, there's no sun to equal thee,
 All ladies must give way to thy beauty and excellence.

2

Ah Julieta, thy mind which is to be esteemed heavenly,
 Only give me a love-token that can eternally please me,
 Julieta, thou my heart, Julieta, my comfort, 20
 Appease my soul's pain which I must stoutly bear.

ROMIO But now, O you my eyes, look at the spot where your sun is
 hidden. O night, draw the black curtain and by a dark cloud prevent the
 recognition of my person. I see a light; therefore I will draw nearer and
 see if I can hear anything. 25

Exit BOY.

Enter JULIETA.

JULIETA Hullo, what should this mean? Music in front of the

24 I ... light] *RuJ*; But soft, what light through yonder window breaks Q2, Q1 (forth yonder)

14-21 According to Baesecke, the song is one of the features that were changed in the last adaptation which occurred at the end of the seventeenth century (108).

16, 22 **sun** See note at I.iv.9. Compare also *RJ*'s: "It is the East, and *Iuliet* is the Sun" (D1v, II.i.46).

17 Compare I.iv.82-83.

23-24 **O ... person** Compare Q2's: "I haue nights cloake to hide me frō their [i.e., Juliet's kinsmen's] eies" (D3r, II.i.118). Q1 has "to hide thee from their sight" (D2r, II.i.113); Levenson amends to "hide me".

24 **I ... light** Unlike in *RJ*, where Romeo approaches because he sees a light, in *RuJ*, Romio wakes Julieta with music (29) and only sees a light in her window once she has woken up.

25 Although this line appears only two-thirds down the MS page (17r), the remaining third of the page is left free, which may suggest that the song was inserted at a later stage. Yet the writing on the beginning of the next page (17v) looks much the same as that on 17r, so the pages were most likely written by the same hand and maybe even continuously.

26 SD There is no exit SD for the boy, and Romio only exits at the end of the next scene. The boy could retreat after having sung his song, or he could remain in the background and either exit at the end of this scene or, less likely, with Romio at the end of II.vi.

kammer fenster? [W]er soll sich wohl vnterstehen bey nächtlicher weil
 mir vnruhe zu machen? [M]ein schlaff ist vnterbrochen, die gedankhen
 sein verwirrt, die Natur[,] verhängnus vnd liebes brunst stürmen alle 30
 dreÿ über mich zu samben, vnd suechen mein verderben, die natur vnd
 lieb halten einen streitt in mir, doch will die liebe Meyster sein, die
 natur aber will daß ohne ihre gaben kein ding möglich ist zu
 vollbringen, wan die Craft der natur nicht währe, waß wolte doch die
 liebe thuen [?] [Ô] *Romio* worumb heist du *Romio* [?] [M]ein traum ist 35
 außgelegt, du bist der *Mundigeser* den ich in schlaff gesehen, ach
Romio verendere den gehesßigen Nahmen, die verhängnuß stürtzet
 mich, die liebe reget sich, die natur treibet mich, ô *Romio* wann ich an
 dich gedenkhe, vor freüd ich dir mein liebe schenkhe[.]

ROMIO [D]as stumme wordt der augen thuet seine meinung, ach 40
 könnte meine schönste dises auß meinem gesicht sehen[,] mein hertz
 wurde noch so frölich sein, die hoffnung wird mich bloß erhalten, weil
 ich verliebet bin[.]

JULIETA [W]ie? [W]aß seit ihr vor eine bersohn, vnd wie ist Euer
 Nahmb? [D]as ihr Eüch vnterstehet beÿ Schlaffender zeit vnter mein 45
 fenster zu kommen?

ROMIO Mein Nahmb ist – ô ihr Götter soll ich mich offenbahren[?]

40 seine meinung] COHN; die Meinung des Hertzens kundt DEVRIENT

47-48 Nahmb ... mein] *this edn*; Nahmb ist /: ô ihr götter soll ich mich offenbahren es
 seÿe. Ja:/ mein *RuJ*; Nahmb ist (o ihr Götter soll ich mich offenbahren, es seyn Ja.) mein
 COHN

37 **gehesßigen** gehässig: hateful, hostile, hateworthy (Grimm).

37 **die verhängnuß** that which is ordained by a higher force, fate (Grimm). The gender of
 "Verhängnis" was not fixed before the eighteenth century (when it became neutral). This
 was common, especially for words ending in "-nis" (Grimm).

window of my room? Who should dare to disturb me at night-time?
My sleep is interrupted; the thoughts are confused. Nature, fate, and
love's fire, all three are storming upon me and seeking my ruin. Nature 30

and love fight within me, yet love wants to be the master. But nature
wishes that without her gifts nothing can be accomplished. If the
power of nature were not, what would love do? O Romio, why art thou
called Romio? My dream has been interpreted: thou art the Mundigese 35
whom I saw in my sleep. O Romio, change that loathsome name! Fate
overthrows me; love stirs, nature urges me! O Romio, when I think of
thee, I give thee my love out of pure joy!

ROMIO The dumb word of the eyes speaks its opinion. Ah, could 40
my fair one see this in my face, my heart would be so joyous. Hope
alone will preserve me because I am in love.

JULIETA How? What person are you and what is your name that
you dare come under my window at this hour of sleep? 45

ROMIO My name is – O you gods, shall I disclose myself? Be it

34-35 O ... Romio] *RuJ*; O *Romeo, Romeo*, wherefore art thou *Romeo*? Q2, Q1 (Ah,
Romeo)

36 O ... name] *RuJ*; Denie thy father and refuse thy name ... *Romeo* doffe thy name Q2,
Q1 (*Romeo* part thy)

44-45] *RuJ*; What man art thou, that thus beschreend in night / So stumblest on my
counsell? Q2, Q1 (Doest stumble)

47 O ... myself] *RuJ*; Shall I heare more, or shall I speake at this Q2, Q1 (to this)

29-34 **My ... do** This internal struggle is not found in Shakespeare. Juliet's confession that
she would "Faine ... dwell on forme, faine, faine, denie / What I have spoke" (D3r,
II.i.131-32) comes closest.

35-36 **My ... sleep** See I.ii.63-70.

37-38 **O ... joy** In *RJ*, Juliet is more generous. In exchange for Romeo losing his name,
Q1's Juliet offers "all I haue" (D1v, II.i.87) and Q2's "all my selfe" (D2v, II.i.92).

40-42 It seems that Julieta does not understand what Romio is saying but merely hears
someone talking. Romio's lines may be an aside, and "The dumb word of the eyes" ("Das
stumme wordt der augen") may refer to his own inability to speak up.

47-48 In the MS, the aside is enclosed in /: xxx :/, as is usually the case with SDs. The
same occurs at V.ii.9 and at V.iv.27-29.

47 **gods** See p. 154 above.

[E]s seÿe. Ja [–] mein Nahmb schönste *Julieta* ist zwar ein feind
seeliger Nahmb vnd heist *Romio*, aber ô schöne sie verändere den
selben nach ihren belieben wan nur mein hertz steht zu dero diensten 50
sein kan[.]

JULIETA [W]aß *Romio*? [Ô] himmel wie geschiecht mir, ist *Romio*
verhanden vnd hat mein Clagen gehört? [Ô] liebe liebe zu was bringest
du mich, *Romio Romio*, seit ihr noch verhanden vnd habt meine reden
gehört? 55

ROMIO [E]twas Schönste *Julieta*[.]

JULIETA [A]ch *Romio* [–]

ROMIO [W]aß Seufftzt sie meine schöne?

JULIETA [H]abt ihr?

ROMIO [W]aß gebieth sie? 60

JULIETA Mein Clagen vernohmen?

ROMIO [N]icht alles.

JULIETA [A]ch *Romio* ich wolte das ihr nicht wuste das ich Eüch
liebe[.]

ROMIO [W]orumb schönste *Julieta* veracht sie dan meine getreüe 65
liebe, schönste *Julieta* womit soll ich dan genugsamb meine getreüe
liebe vnd das Innerliche brennende feier meines hertzens bezeügen,
oder will sie nicht wissen daß ich sie liebe, wollan so sterbe ich, vnd
mein grab soll sein ein denkh mal ihrer tugendt, aber Eÿ laß[,] mein
hertz ißt viel zu gering auf dem Altar einer so übertröfflichen schönheit 70

70 gering] *this edn*; wenig COHN

53 **liebe liebe** The first "liebe" could either be an adjective, or the noun could be repeated. In any case, Julieta is addressing love. Hyppolita uses the same construction: "Liebe, Liebe, ich bin deiner satt" (*Julio und Hyppolita*, III, 135-137). Archer translates as adjective and noun: "Love, love, I have had my fill of thee" [136]); Bucher does the same for *RuJ*.

so. Yes. – My name, fair Julieta, is a hostile name, and it is Romio.
But, O fair one, change it as you like, if only my heart can always be at
your service. 50

JULIETA What, Romio? O heavens, what is happening to me? Is
Romio present and has heard my lament? O love, love, what dost thou
bring me to? – Romio, Romio, are you still there, and have you heard
my speech? 55

ROMIO A bit, fairest Julieta.

JULIETA O Romio –

ROMIO What do you sigh, my fair one?

JULIETA Have you –

ROMIO What do you command? 60

JULIETA Heard my lament?

ROMIO Not all of it.

JULIETA O Romio, I wish you did not know that I love you.

ROMIO Why, fairest Julieta, do you despise my true love? Fairest 65
Julieta, then how shall I sufficiently prove my true love and the inner
burning fire of my heart? Or do you not want to know that I love you?
Well, then I die, and my grave shall be a memorial for your virtue. But

let it be; my heart is far too mean to be sacrificed on the altar of so 70

52 What, Romio?] *RuJ*; Art thou not *Romeo*, and a *Mountague* Q1, Q2

48-50 **My ... service** These lines integrate several of Shakespeare's (interspersed with Juliet's questions in both quartos): "Call me but loue, and Ile be new baptizde, / Henceforth I neuer will be *Romeo* ... By a name, I know not how to tell thee who I am: / My name dear saint, is hatefull to my selfe, / Because it is an enemie to thee ... Neither faire maide, if either thee dislike" (Q2 D2v, II.i.93-94, 96-99, 104). Q1 has "to tell thee" and "Neyther faire Saint, if eyther thee displease" (D1v-D2r, II.i.88-89, 92-94, 99).

52-62 Not in Shakespeare. This adequately illustrates the mood that the "balcony scene" creates in *RJ*: two adolescents looking for words to formulate their love. Speechlessness again strikes Julieta in her last line in this scene (114).

52-55 **O ... speech** See note at 29-34.

56-62 Regarding the shortness of these lines see note at I.iii.1-18.

70-71 **my ... beauty** In *Tragico Comedia Von Conte de Monte Negro* (*Tragico Comedia of Conte de Monte Negro*), Ludolf similarly wants his heart to be sacrificed for his loved one: "*Jupiter* with his thunderbolt smashes my heart into a thousand pieces and sacrifices it for my love" (I.i, 1v, "*Jupiter* mitt seinem donnerkeil zerschmettern mein hertz in

aufgeopffert zu werden, ach schönste *Julieta* acht sie mich dan niht würdig ihrer liebe in deme sie daß selbe wider zuruckh wintschet was sie mir versprochen?

JULIETA [W]erthester *Romio* ich wintsche sie darumb wider zuruckh auf das ich sie noch ein mahl wider schenkhen möchte[.] 75

ROMIO Schönste gebietherin so lasßet vnß dan eine verbindnuß vnserer getreüen liebe anietzo aufrichten, dan ich schwöre alhier beÿ dem hellglanzenden Mond [–]

JULIETA [A]ch schwöret nicht beÿ den wankelmüthigen vnd vnbeständigen Mond[.] 80

ROMIO [A]ch beÿ wemb solt ich den Schwören?

JULIETA Schwöret lieber gahr nicht.

AMMA [*tritt auf.*]

AMMA *Julieta* die fraw Muetter ruefft.

JULIETA [J]ch komme. [A]ch *Romio* macht Eüch von hier, der orth

82 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

76 **verbindnuß** either "Verbündnis" ("alliance") or "Verbindnis", "that which binds, commitment" (Grimm, "das verbindende, verpflichtung"). See also note at 37.

surpassing a beauty. O fairest Julieta, do you not think me worthy of your love, as you wish back what you have promised me?

JULIETA Dearest Romio, I wish it back so that I might give it once more. 75

ROMIO Fair mistress, so let us set up a bond of our true love now. For here I swear by the resplendent moon –

JULIETA Ah, swear not by the fickle and inconstant moon! 80

ROMIO Ah, what shall I swear by?
JULIETA Do rather not swear at all.

Enter NURSE.

NURSE Julieta, your mother calls.

JULIETA I come. – O Romio, go from here; the place is

71-72 O ... me] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Woldst thou withdraw it, for what purpose loue Q2

74-75] *RuJ*; not in Q1; But to be franke and giue it thee againe Q2

77] *RuJ*; By yonder blessed Moone I sweare Q1; Lady, by yonder blessed Moone I vow Q2

79] *RuJ*; O swear not by the moone, th'inconstant moone, / That monethly changes in her circle orbe Q1, Q2

81] *RuJ*; Now by Q1; What shall I sweare by? Q2

82] *RuJ*; Do not sweare at all Q2, Q1 (Nay doo not)

84 I come] *RuJ*; not in Q1; I come, anon Q2

84-86 the ... life] *RuJ*; And the place [is] death, considering who thou art, / If any of my kinsmen find thee here Q1, Q2

tausendt stücken, v. opffern es auf vor meiner Liebsten").

76 Compare Romeo's request in Q2 for "[t]h'exchange of thy loues faithful vow for mine" (D3v, II.i.170).

83 In *RuJ*, the Nurse has five verbal interventions in this scene. In Q2, the Nurse intervenes three times. In Q1 her presence is never explicit; Juliet only says "I heare some comming" (D3r, II.i.158; see also Erne 31). In this respect, *RuJ* is again closer to Q2 than to Q1. Yet in neither quarto does the Nurse come on stage as she does in *RuJ*. Another difference to Shakespeare is that the Nurse conveys a message: Julieta's mother "calls" (83, 97 "ruefft").

84-86 **the ... life** In *RJ*, Juliet does not need the Nurse's prompting to realize this and makes the observation much earlier (II.i.106-07). Note that Juliet fears "ki[n]smen" discovering Romeo, while Julieta speaks of "servants" ("diener"). See also note at 1-2.

ist gefährlich, wofern Eüch meines vatters diener alhier solten gewahr 85
werden, dörrften sie Eüch daß leben nehmen[.]

AMMA [D]aß Eüch *Sanct Velten* hol so geht forth[.]

JULIETA Jch komm ich komm, fahret wohl *Romio*[.]

ROMIO [F]ahret wohl schöne *Julieta*, es ist mir unmöglich von 90
disem orth zu gehen, mich daucht ich möchte die gantze nacht alhier
verbleiben[.]

JULIETA *Romio Romio*, ach himmel Er ist schon forth[.]

ROMIO Nein Schönste gebietherin, Euer getreüester diener ist noch
hier vnd erwarthet dero selben befehl welchen Er in aller 95
vndterthänigkeit auß zu richten willens ist[.]

AMMA *Julieta Julieta* wie wirds werden, habt ihr nicht gehört das
die fraw Muetter ruefft?

JULIETA *Amma* noch ein kleine geduld ich komme gleich. Edler
Romio ich habe Eüch etwas offenbahren wollen, aber es ist mir auß 100
den Sünn entfallen[.]

87 *Sanct Velten* a distant form of Saint Valentine. The term was often used in curses, as
is the case here (Grimm). A shorter version is "Beim Velten" (*Peter Squentz* I, 14).
Compare also "O Saint Velten" (*BB* I.ii.2). Note that a famous *Prinzipal* was called
Velten (see pp. 40-41 above).

90 **mich daucht** it seems to me (Grimm).

dangerous. If my father's servants were to become aware of you here, 85
they would probably take your life.

NURSE Let Saint Velten fetch you, go away!

JULIETA I'm coming, I'm coming! – Farewell, Romio.

ROMIO Farewell, fair Julieta. It is impossible for me to leave this 90
place; I believe I would like to stay here all night.

JULIETA Romio, Romio! – O heavens, he is already gone.

ROMIO No, fairest mistress, your most faithful servant is still here
and awaits your command, which he is willing to carry out in all 95
subservience.

NURSE Julieta, Julieta! How will it be? Did you not hear that your
mother calls?

JULIETA Nurse, a little patience still, I am coming right away. –
Noble Romio, I wanted to reveal something to you, but it slipped my 100
mind.

98] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Anon good nurse Q2

99-100] *RuJ*; I haue forgot why I did call thee backe Q2, Q1 (*Romeo* I haue)

88 Devrient adds "sie geht" ("she leaves"). This is indeed an exit possibility for Julieta; it corresponds to Juliet's second exit and re-entry in Shakespeare. Q2 has an SD for Juliet to re-enter (II.i.203). Levenson and Weis supply the remaining SDs for Juliet to exit and re-enter twice in Q1 and Q2, as does Erne in his edition of Q1. In *RuJ*, by contrast, there are no SDs for Julieta to leave the stage; instead the Nurse enters.

89-90 **It ... night** Compare: "Loue goes toward loue as schooleboyes from their bookes, / But loue from loue, toward schoole with heaueie lookes" (Q2 D4r, II.i.202-03; Q1 similar).

92 Devrient adds "kommt zurück" ("comes back"). This re-entry also corresponds to the Shakespearean structure. See note at 88.

92 Compare: "Hist *Romeo* hist, ô for a falkners voyce, / To lure this Tassel gentle back againe" (D4r, II.i.204-05). Q1 has "*Romeo, Romeo, O*" (D3r, II.i.173).

93-95 Shakespeare's *Romeo* becomes self-reflective: "How siluer sweete, sound louers tongues by night" (D4r, II.i.211; Q1 similar).

99-100 In Q2, Juliet has just asked *Romeo* "What a clocke to morrow / Shall I send to thee?" (D4r, II.i.213-14), which is presumably the reason for calling him back. In *RuJ*, Julieta communicates the modalities of their next meeting a few lines later (105-06). In Q1, Juliet calls *Romio* back twice (II.i.179, 187) and cannot recall the reason for doing so the second time, and, only in Q1, there actually is no reason (Erne 83). Whereas *RuJ* seems more realistic, and Q1 has Juliet procrastinate the leavetaking, Q2 makes Juliet suffer from (a charming) love-induced amnesia.

ROMIO [A]ch schönste *Julieta*, ich bitte sie befridige mein hertz mit einer glikhseeligen versprechung ihrer gegen lieb[.]

AMMA Eÿ so blaudert das vnd keins mehr, heist daß der fraw Muetter gehorsambt? [W]arth ihr werds kriegen[.]

JULIETA Nun ich komme Ja gleich. Nehmet hin *Romio* dises von 105 mir, vnd morgen vmb 9 vhr will ich Eüch meine meinung wissen lasßen[.]

AMMA Potz tausend Schlaper most seit ihr noch da? Eÿ was denkt ihr? [J]st daß nicht ein schand, daß man das Mensch nicht heim kan bringen, so gehts mit den Jungen diene, wan man ihnen zue läst ein 110 finger so wollen sie die gantze handt haben, Nun geht oder ich sags.

JULIETA Nun ich komme Ja, lebet wohl *Romio*[.]

ROMIO [V]nd sie auch schönste *Julieta*.

JULIETA [A]ch *Romio*.

[JULIETA] *abit*[. AMMA *abit*.]

ROMIO [A]ch *Julieta* – Nun gebe dich zufriden *Romio*, die weillen 115 du gegenliebe verspührest von der vnuergleichlichen *Julieta*, ich will mich wider nacher hauß verfügen, dan ich sehe daß *Aurora* ihr langes

110 diene] *this edn*; Dirnel COHN

114 SD] *this edn*; *abit RuJ*

103 **das** probably refers to Julieta: "das Mädchen" ("the girl").

108 **Potz ... Schlaper most** See note at I.iv.62.

109 **das Mensch** See note at I.iv.45-46.

110 **diene** probably "diende" related to "Dirne", referring to a young girl (Grimm).

110-11 **wan ... haben** proverbial. Grimm cites an instance from Christian Weise: "man darf der jugend nur einen finger bieten, sie wird gar bald die ganze hand hernach ziehen" ("one should only offer youth one finger; it will soon pull the whole hand after").

117 **nacher** to; generally used instead of the preposition "nach" into the eighteenth century (Grimm).

ROMIO O fairest Julieta, please satisfy my heart with a blessed promise of your love.

NURSE Why, so she chats and no other; does this mean obeying your mother? Wait, you will catch it.

JULIETA Well, I am coming right away. – Take this, Romio, from 105 me, and tomorrow at nine o'clock I will let you know my opinion.

NURSE Gee, well, I'll be damned! Are you still there? Well, what are you thinking? Is it not a disgrace that one cannot bring that wench home? So it is with the young girls: if you give them a finger, they 110 want to have the whole hand. Now go, or I will tell your mother.

JULIETA Well, I am coming. – Farewell, Romio.

ROMIO And you too, fairest Julieta.

JULIETA O Romio.

Exit JULIETA. Exit NURSE.

ROMIO O Julieta – now be content, Romio, since thou knowest that 115 thy love is requited by the incomparable Julieta. I will return home again, for I see that Aurora is tired of lying so long with old Titon, and

105 Well ... away] *RuJ*; not in Q1; by and by I come Q2

101-02 See note at 76.

105-06 **Take ... opinion** Whereas Julieta will merely inform Romio of her "opinion" ("Meinung"), Juliet comes to the point straightaway: "If that thy bent of loue be honourable, / Thy purpose marriage" (D3v, II.i.186-87). Q1's Juliet leaves it at that, but her counterpart in Q2 adds some words of caution: "but if thou meanest not well, / I do beseech thee ... To cease thy strife, and leaue me to my griefe" (D4r, II.i.193-97). In *RuJ*, the first mention of marriage between Julieta and Romio only occurs at III.iv.25.

105 **this** For this sequence in Godwin, see p. 184 above.

106 **tomorrow ... o'clock** the same time (and day) like in Shakespeare, although Romeo chooses the time in *RJ* (II.i.214). See also long note on time scheme.

112-14 Romio and Julieta's good bye is much briefer than Romeo and Juliet's. This might be due to the Nurse's insistence; one can even imagine a robust Nurse practically dragging her charge off the stage. Her earlier line (104) implies that she is ready to lay hands on Julieta.

114 SD **Exit NURSE** There is no exit SD for the Nurse, though it seems likely that she waits for Julieta to leave the stage before exiting herself.

116-17 **I ... again** In Shakespeare, Romeo is not heading home but towards his "Ghostly fathers cell" (D3v, II.i.205) in Q1 and to his "ghostly Friars close cell" (D4v, II.i.234) in Q2. Yet in *RuJ*'s next scene, Romio also meets the Father.

117-19 **for ... cheeks** These lines can be likened to two couplets that are doubled in Q2 (attributed once to Romeo at the end of II.i. and once to the Friar at the beginning of II.ii,

ligen beÿ dem alten *Titon* überdrüssig, vnd *Phabus* fangt an algemach
her für zu brechen vnd seine erröthete wangen auß zu breitten[.]

[Actus 2dus, Scena 6ta]

PATER [*tritt auf.*]

PATER [G]ueten morgen herr *Romio*[,] wie so frühe auß dem
Schlaff[,] doch ein verliebter hat wenig ruhe wan Er steht an seine
geliebte *Rosalina* gedenkt. [W]aß macht die guete *Rosalina*?

ROMIO [G]eehrter herr Pater sie wissen wie wunderbahrlich sich
der Mensch vnd deren gedankhen verändern, so ists mir armen *Romio* 5
auch geschehen[.]

PATER [W]ie da wie da herr *Romio*?

II.vi Actus ... 6ta [*this edn; not in RuJ*]

0 SD [*tritt auf*] [*this edn; not in RuJ*]

Phoebus is slowly beginning to break forth and spread his blushing cheeks.

II.vi

Enter FATHER.

FATHER Good morning, Sir Romio. What, up so early? But a lover has little rest, when he is always thinking of his beloved Rosalina. How is the good Rosalina?

ROMIO Honored Father, you know how strangely man and his thoughts change. So has it also happened to me, poor Romio. 5

FATHER How so, how so, Sir Romio?

II.vi.0 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Frier Francis Q1*; *Enter Frier alone with a basket Q2*

D4v). In Q1, they only appear in the Friar's speech (D3v). I quote Q2's first version: "The grey eyed morne smiles on the frowning night, / Checkring the Easterne Clouds with streaks of light, / And darknesse fleckted like a drunkard reeles, / From forth daies pathway, made by *Tytans* wheelles". Compare also Montague's description of "the alcheering Sunne" drawing "[t]he shadie curtaines from *Auroras* bed" (Q2-only B1r, I.i.130, 132).

117 **Aurora** Roman goddess of dawn.

117 **old Titon** probably Astraeus, a Titan and Greek god of dusk.

118 **Phoebus** the Greek and Roman sun god (Apollo).

II.vi roughly corresponds to Shakespeare's II.ii (Romeo visits Friar Laurence). Unlike in Shakespeare, in *RuJ*, this scene does not seem to be set in (or near) the Friar's cell (see 22). In *RJ*, this scene establishes the Friar's botanical and medicinal knowledge which later becomes relevant (see note at V.ii.28). Another difference to Shakespeare is that Romio does not mention marriage at this point, possibly because Julieta did not mention the subject either.

1 SP In *RuJ*, the Father ("Pater") does not have a name. Q1's SD introduces him as "*Frier Francis*" (D3v, II.ii.0 SD), but in both quartos the name Laurence is later mentioned in the text (Erne 84).

1-2 **What ... Rosalina** Compare: "thy earlinesse doth me assure, / Thou art vprousd with some distemperature: / Or if not so, then here I hit it right, / Our *Romeo* hath not bene in bed to night" (E1r, II.ii.39-42).

2 **Rosalina** The Father only believes that thoughts of the girl have robbed Romio of his sleep. In *RJ*, the Friar has other suspicions: "God pardon sin, wast thou with *Rosaline*?" (Q2 E1r, II.ii.44; Q1 similar).

7 Compare: "Holy S. *Francis* what a change is here?" (E1v, II.ii.65).

ROMIO *Rosalina* ist längsten auß meinen Sünnd vnd gedankhen also
daß ich wenig mehr an sie gedencke[.]

PATER Solches gefalt mir sehr wohl herr *Romio* das Er einmal 10
befreüet worden von dem liebes Joch[.]

ROMIO [F]reÿ herr *Pater* ô Nein, ich habe mein hertz einer anderen
geben, vnd die selbige mich auch mit gegenlieb belohnet.

PATER [Ô] himmel, kan es wohl möglich sein, das ein Mensch so
wanklmüthig vnd übel beständig in der liebe sein kan, aber sagt mir 15
herr *Romio* was ist es vor eine die Er liebt?

ROMIO Es ist die Schöne *Julieta* des *Capolets* einige Tochter[.]

PATER Solches höre ich nicht gehrn, vnd wie ist es möglich, seines
feinds tochter zu lieben, doch vielleicht will der himmel dardurch 20
einen friden beÿden heüßern geben, welches mich von hertzen
Erfreüen soll, aber ich halte mich zulang auf, herr *Romio* ich wintse
demselben glikh vnd wohlergehens, hat Er meinen geistlichen Rath
vonnöthen so weiß Er schon mein Zelt[.]

[PATER] *abit*[.]

23 SD PATER] *this edn; not in RuJ*

II.vi.11 **befreüet** befreit: freed.

17 **einige Tochter** einzige Tochter: only daughter (Grimm).

23 **Zelt** Today, "Zelt" means "tent". The Father may be using the term metaphorically.
Grimm notes figurative use of the term for religious abodes or tabernacles.

ROMIO Rosalina has long gone out of my mind and thoughts, so that I hardly think of her.

FATHER It pleases me much, Sir Romio, that he has been freed from the yoke of love for once. 10

ROMIO Free, Father? Oh, no, I have given my heart to another, and she rewards me by returning love.

FATHER O heavens, is it possible that a man should be so fickle and inconstant in love! But tell me, Sir Romio, who is it whom he loves? 15

ROMIO It is the fair Julieta, Capolet's only daughter.

FATHER I do not like hearing that. And how is it possible to love the daughter of one's enemy? But maybe heaven thereby means to give peace to the two houses, which should heartily please me. But I am lingering too long. Sir Romio, I wish you good luck and well-being. If you need my spiritual advice, you know my cell. 20

Exit FATHER.

8-9] *RuJ*; I haue forgot that name, and that names wo Q1, Q2

12-13 and ... love] *RuJ*; her I loue now. / Doth grace for grace, and loue for loue allow Q2, Q1 (she whom I loue)

17] *RuJ*; Then plainly know my harts deare loue is set / On the faire daughter of rich *Capulet* Q1, Q2

19-20 But ... me] *RuJ*; For this alliance may so happie proue, / To turne your housholds rancor to pure loue Q1, Q2

10-11 Compare Romeo's line to the Friar: "Thou chidst me oft for louing *Rosaline* ... And badst me burie loue" (E1v, II.ii.81, 83).

14-16 In *RJ*, the Friar's long reprimand comes after Romeo's confession that he loves "the faire daughter of rich *Capulet*" (E1v, II.ii.58).

14-15 **O ... love** In *RJ*, the Friar specifically concentrates on "yonng mens loue" in which there is "no strength" (E1v, II.ii.67, 80). In *RuJ*, the Father's remarks are not restricted to young men.

17 Note that Romio emphasizes Julieta's status as an only child, whereas Romeo accentuates Capulet's wealth. In Shakespeare, this declaration is immediately followed by the request to "marrie vs to day" (E1v, II.ii.64), a subject that is only broached in *RuJ* in III.viii. Juliet is also an "onely childe" in *RJ* (I1r, III.v.164, and Q2-only IV.iv.72); compare also: "Shees the hopefull Lady of my earth" (Q2-only B2v, I.ii.15).

18-19 **And ... enemy** Friar Laurence does not make this observation, possibly because Rosaline is also a Capulet in *RJ*, which is not the case in *RuJ* (see I.iv.60).

19-20 **But ... me** Compare I.ii.71-72.

21-22 **If ... cell** In *RJ*, the Friar offers to be Romeo's "assistant" (E2r, II.ii.90).

ROMIO [D]er himmel begleitte ihn h[err] Pater. Nun ist es zeit mich
 auch von hier zu begeben, vnd dises guten geistl[ichen] Raths werde 25
 ich wohl vonnöthen haben in allen meinen vorgenommenen werkhen[.]
 [ROMIO] *abit*[.]

Actus 3ius, Scena 1ma

FRAU *mit* AMMA[.]

FRAU *Amma*?

AMMA [W]aß beliebt ihr gn[ädige] frau[?]

FRAU Sagt mir wo ist unser tochter *Julieta*? [B]efindt sie sich noch
 wohl beÿ ihrer gesundtheit?

AMMA Sie ist gnädigste fraw beÿ gueter gesundtheit, vnd thuet 5
 nichts alß bücher lesen[.]

FRAU Es ist guet, aber sagt vnnß *Amma*, soll sie nicht schon alt
 genug sein einen Mann zu nehmen?

AMMA Jst mir recht gn[ädige] frau so ist Sie schon in den 16ten
 Jahr dan ich weiß mich noch wohl zu entsinnen wie lang ich ihr 10
 geuarthet hab[.]

FRAU Noch nicht gahr 16 Jahr? *Amma* rueffet sie zu mir, ich hab
 mit ihr zu reden[.]

26 SD ROMIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.i.2, 9, 14 gnädige] COHN; gnl: *RuJ*

ROMIO Heaven be with you, Father. It is now time for me also to
go from here, and I am likely to need this good spiritual advice in all 25
my undertakings.

Exit ROMIO.

III.i

WIFE *with the* NURSE.

WIFE Nurse?

NURSE What is your Grace's pleasure?

WIFE Tell me, where is our daughter Julieta? Is she still in good
health?

NURSE She is, gracious lady, in good health and does nothing but 5
read books.

WIFE That is well. But tell us, Nurse, should she not be old enough
to take a husband?

NURSE If I am right, gracious lady, then she is already in her
sixteenth year. For I remember well how long I have waited on her. 10

WIFE Not quite sixteen years? Nurse, call her to me; I must talk to
her.

III.i.0 SD] *RuJ*; Enter Capulets Wife and Nurse Q1, Q2

3 Tell ... Julieta] *RuJ*; Nurse wher's my daughter? Q1, Q2

12 Nurse ... me] *RuJ*; call her forth to me Q1, Q2

III.i largely corresponds to Q1 I.iii.1-13, 56-57 and Q2 I.iii.1-13, 65-66 (Capulet's wife inquires after her daughter).

3-4 **Is ... health** This, along with line 12, suggests how little Julieta's mother knows about her daughter.

7-8 **should ... husband** In *RJ*, Capulet's wife only broaches this subject once Juliet is present, and her speech is postponed by the Nurse's numerous interjections. *RuJ* does away with the traumatic experiences in Juliet's early childhood and characteristically comes to the point directly. Compare also *RJ*: "Thou knowest my daughters of a prettie age" (B4r, I.iii.11) and "I was your mother, much vpon these yeares / That you are now a maide" (Q2-only B4v, I.iii.74-75).

10 **sixteenth year** As in Brooke (1860), Julieta is nearly sixteen. In *RJ* she is "not fourteene" (B4r, I.iii.13).

9-10 Compare the Nurse's long speeches in *RJ*, I.iii.

AMMA Also bald gn[ädige] fraw will ich ihr rueffen, *Julieta* Süßes
 turtelteüblein, fürwahr ich mag sie wohl so nennen dan sie ist so fromb 15
 vnd angenehmb alß ein turtel teüblein. *Julieta* kompt herfür, die fraw
 Muetter ruefft Eüch[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 2da

JULIETA [*tritt auf.*]

JULIETA [G]eliebte fraw Muetter in gehorsamb erscheine ich, was
 hat Sie mit mir alß dero gehorsamben Tochter zu befehlen[?]

FRAU [L]iebes kindt *Julieta* du hast einen Sorgfeltigen Vatter[.]

JULIETA [W]orumb das frau Muetter?

FRAU [D]arumb daß dein Vatter Sorgfeltig ist geweßen in 5
 auferziehung deiner Jugendt, so will Er auch Sorgfeldig sein in
 wachsthumb deiner Jahren vor dich sorg zu tragen, vnd weil du
 Mannbahr, hat Er dir einen wackheren *Gauualier* außerkoren, den du
 heÿrathen solst[.]

JULIETA [W]ie fraw Muetter meine Jahr sein noch zu wenig mich 10

14 ich ihr] *this edn*; ich COHN

III.ii Actus 3ius] *this edn*; not in *RuJ*

0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn*; not in *RuJ*

III.ii.8 Mannbahr of an age to be married, sexually mature, adult (Grimm). Compare
 also III.i.7-8.

8, 15, 23 *Gauualier* See note at I.ii.30.

NURSE I will call her at once, gracious lady. – Julieta, sweet little turtledove! – Indeed, I may call her that, for she is as pious and agreeable as a turtledove. – Julieta, come here! Your mother calls you. 15

III.ii

Enter JULIETA.

JULIETA Beloved mother, in duty I appear. What commands have you for your obedient daughter?

WIFE Dear child Julieta, thou hast an attentive father.

JULIETA Why that, mother?

WIFE Because as thy father was attentive in thy education, so he will be attentive to take care of thee in the growth of thy years; and as thou art marriageable he has chosen a brave cavalier for thee whom thou art to marry. 5

JULIETA What, mother? My years are still too few to fit me for a 10

III.ii.1-2] *RuJ*; Madam I am here, what is your will? Q1, Q2

3] *RuJ*; thou hast a careful father child Q2, Q1 (Girle)

14-16 Compare: "*Now by my maidenhead; at twelve yeare old I bad her come, what Lamb, what Ladie-bird, God forbid, Wheres this Girle? what Iuliet*" (B4r, I.iii.2-4).

16 **turtledove** See note at I.ii.9.

III.ii can also be likened to *RJ*'s I.iii, although from line 3 onwards, it corresponds to Q1 III.v.81-95 and Q2 III.v.107-25 (Juliet is informed that she must marry Paris).

1-2 This contrasts with Juliet's first words in I.iii: "How now who calls?" (B4r, I.iii.5). Julieta has already been introduced to the spectators of *RuJ*, and these formal words re-emphasize her often stated desire to be obedient to her parents. Although *RJ*'s Juliet also asks "what is your will?", she seems less formal and more impulsive throughout I.iii than Julieta here.

6-8 **and ... marry**, 14-15 **He ... Paris** Compare: "early next Thursday morne, / The gallant young, and Noble Gentleman, / The Countie *Paris* at Saint *Peters* Church, / Shall happily make thee there a ioyfull Bride" (Q2 H4r, III.v.112-15; Q1 similar).

7, 14, 23 **cavalier** See note at I.ii.30.

10-11 **My ... husband** Julieta repeats this argument (line 24, III.iii.4-5, V.i.13). In *RJ*, Capulet only brings up the subject of Juliet's youth while mockingly imitating her: "To

in eine würrhschaft zu schickhen, vnd einen Mann zu nehmen[.]

FRAU [D]ue wirst deines vatters gebott nicht verwerffen, sondern
 waß Er von dir haben will in obbacht nehmen, da ist kein
 entschuldigung gültig deinen vattern zu widerstreben, Er tragt sorg für
 dich vnd dir einen dapfferen *Gauallier* außerkohren, nemblich den 15
 Graff *Paris*, darumb sage mir deine Meinung.

JULIETA [W]ie fraw Muetter? [J]ch lebe in der gehorsamb, vnd
 bitte mich mit heÿrathen nicht zu zwingen[.]

FRAU So lebst du mir vnd deinen vatter zu wider[.]

11 **in ... schicken** "Wirtschaft" meant "household", "housekeeping" (Grimm, "hauswesen ... verwaltung des hauswesens ... haushaltsführung"). Julieta would have to establish and manage her own household.

13 **in ... nehmen** here: to take into account, to show respect (Grimm).

household and to take a husband.

WIFE Thou wilt not refuse the command of thy father but observe what he wants of thee. There is no valid excuse for opposing thy father. He cares for thee and has chosen a valiant cavalier for thee, namely Count Paris. Therefore tell me thy opinion. 15

JULIETA What, mother? I live in obedience and ask you not to force me to marry.

WIFE Then thou livest in opposition to me and to thy father.

14-15 a ... Paris] *RuJ*; The gallant, young, and Noble Gentleman, / The Countie *Paris*
Q2, Q1 (youthfull Gentleman)

answere, ile not wed, I cannot loue: / I am too young, I pray you pardon me" (I1r; III.v.185-86; Q1 has "To say" [H1r, III.v.144-45], and the words "ile not wed" are not in Q1). Phänicia, in *Phänicia*, also emphasizes her youth with regard to marriage matters, but she is ready to obey her parents nonetheless (II, 287). Whereas Julieta's first response is that she is too young, Q2's Juliet uses a different argument: "I wonder at this haste, that I must wed / Ere he that should be husband comes to wooe" (H4r, III.v.118-19). In Q1, Juliet only declares that she "will not marrie yet" (G4v, III.v.92). One must remember that, contrary to Julieta who first hears of wedding plans, Shakespeare's Juliet is already acquainted with the problem that she now faces: it has merely become more urgent. On the other hand, Juliet experiences more distress in III.v than does Julieta in this scene: while Julieta has only had her second meeting with Romio, Juliet is already married to Romeo and has just said her final good-bye to him before his banishment.

12-28 In *RuJ*, Julieta's argument with her mother is more extensive than that with her father: whereas the mother chides Julieta for eleven lines, Capolet only speaks two lines in anger (III.iii.11-12). In Shakespeare, the opposite is the case. Yet this exchange in *RuJ* can further be likened to Shakespeare's I.iii, where Juliet and her mother also talk at length about marriage, albeit in a much gentler tone.

12-14 **Thou ... thee** Compare Capulet's outburst in Shakespeare: "still my care hath bene / To haue her matcht, and hauing now prouided / A Gentleman of noble parentage" (Q2 I1r, III.v.177-79). Q1 has "to see her matcht. / And hauing now found out a Gentleman, / Of Princely parentage" (H1r, III.v.137-39).

15 **Therefore ... opinion** Compare: "How stands your dispositions to be married?" (Q2 B4v, I.iii.67) and "can you like of *Paris* loue?" (Q2 C1r, I.iii.98). Q1 has "howe stand you affected to be married?" and "how like you of *Paris* loue" (B4v, I.iii.58, 67).

17-18, 20-21, 25 See note to III.iii.7.

19 SP In the MS, the SP changes from "Fraw" ("Wife") to "Muetter" ("Mother"). In Q2, the SPs of Capulet's Wife start out as "*La*." (H3v, "Lady") in III.v and then change to "*M*." or "*Mo*." (H4r, "Mother"). "*Wi*." ("Wife") also occurs (I1r) when she, in her function as a wife, objects to her husband. Q1 has "*Moth*." in SPs throughout this scene. Capulet's SP changes in Q2 from "*Ca*." (H4v) to "*Fa*." (I1r, "Father"); in Q1, the SP remains "*Capo*:" or "*Cap*." throughout III.v. In *RuJ*, Capolet never has the SP "Vater" ("father").

JULIETA [F]raw Muetter nein, ich bin gebohren zu gehorsamben 20
aber mit heÿrathen zu uerschonen[.]

FRAU [W]ie tochter *Julieta*? [D]u solst dich glikhseelig schätzen
einen solchen *Gauvalier* wie Graff *Paris* ist zu bekommen[.]

JULIETA [L]iebste frau Muetter verschonet meiner Jugendt, vnd 25
schlaget solche gedankhen auß den Sün, dan der gehorsamb meiner
Eltern zu folgen, achte ich mehr alß eine *Princessin* zu sein[.]

FRAU *Julieta* du bist halßstörig, deiner Sünnen verruckt aber stillo,
da kompt dein herr vatter, siehe zue wie Er deine wörter annehmen
wird.

[FRAU] *abit*[. AMMA *abit*.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 3tia

CAPOLET [*tritt auf*.]

CAPOLET [W]ie ists liebes kind *Julieta*? [H]ast du die meinung
deiner frau Muetter verstanden?

JULIETA Ja gn[ädiger] herr vnd Vatter ich habe es wohl verstanden
aber ich bitte in der Jugendt meiner Jahren mich zu uerschonen einen

29 SD] *this edn; abit RuJ*

III.iii Actus 3ius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

3, 13 gnädiger] *this edn; gnl: RuJ; gn. COHN*

JULIETA Mother, no. I am born to obey but to be spared from marriage. 20

WIFE What, daughter Julieta? Thou shouldst consider thyself fortunate to get a cavalier as Count Paris is.

JULIETA Dearest mother, spare my youth and bar such thoughts from your mind, for I think it more to be obedient to my parents than to be a princess. 25

WIFE Julieta, thou art obstinate; thy senses are deranged. But silence, here comes thy father. See how he will take thy words.

Exit WIFE. Exit NURSE.

III.iii

Enter CAPOLET.

CAPOLET How is it, dear child Julieta? Hast thou understood the opinion of thy mother?

JULIETA Yes, gracious lord and father, I have quite understood it. But I ask you to spare me in the youth of my years from taking a

27-28 But ... words] *RuJ*; Here comes your Father, you may tell him so Q1; Here comes your father, tell him so your selfe: / And see how he will take it at your hands Q2

26 princess Julieta is not a princess. She probably chooses this word to strengthen her comparison.

27 obstinate Capulet calls Juliet "my headstrong" (Q2 I4r-H1v, IV.ii.15). In Q1, he also uses the word (H3v, IV.ii.13).

29 SD In *RuJ*, the mother leaves earlier than in *RJ* (where she leaves only after Capulet has exited [III.v.203]), possibly because Julieta has no need for protection here. There is no exit SD for the Nurse, but it makes sense to have her exit with her mistress, since she does not speak in the next scene.

III.iii has echoes of Q1 III.v.96-155 and Q2 III.v.126-95 (Juliet tells her parents that she does not want to marry Paris). The main differences to Shakespeare's III.v are that instead of throwing a tantrum, Capulet agrees to give Julieta some time to think things over. Also, neither Julieta's mother nor the Nurse are present.

1-2 Compare Q2's: "How now wife, / Haue you deliuered to her our decree?" (H4v, III.v.136-37). Q1 has "But heare you Wife, what haue you sounded her, what saies she to it?" (G4v, III.v.102-03).

4 youth ... years See note at III.ii.10-11.

Mann zu nehmen, dan mir gebühren will noch meinen Eltern zu 5
gehorsamben[.]

CAPOLET *Julieta* mir ist wißendt dein gehorsamb von Jugendt
auf, darumb ich dir nicht übel rathen, sondern wohl versorgen will[.]

JULIETA [H]err Vatter die *Meriten* des Graff *Paris* seind nicht 10
verwerfflich, aber ich bitte mit heÿrathen mich zu uer schonen[.]

CAPOLET [W]ie widerspenstige tochter wilst du auch anfangen ein
vngehorsambes kindt zu werden?

JULIETA [A]ch nein gn[ädiger] herr vnd vatter der gehorsamb ist
mein glikh, die Ehr mein Reüchtumb, wan es Ja nach meiner Eltern 15
willen gehen soll, so bitte ich vmb bedenk h zeit damit solches mit
wohl bedachten mueth vnd reiffen verstandt geschehen möge[.]

CAPOLET [W]ollan dan liebe tochter *Julieta*, bedenkhe dich vndt
erfreüe deinen vatter mit einen frölichen Ja, den Graff *Paris* zu
haben[.]

[CAPOLET] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 4

AMMA [*tritt auf*.]

19 SD CAPOLET] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.iv Actus 3tius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD tritt auf] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.iii.16 **mueth** refers to the general disposition of the human being, similar to "heart"
("Herz") (Grimm). Today, "Mut" means "courage".

husband since it is fitting that I still obey my parents. 5

CAPOLET Julieta, I know of thy obedience from thy childhood, therefore I will not advise thee ill but provide for thee well.

JULIETA Father, the merits of Count Paris are not reprehensible, but I pray you to spare me from marrying. 10

CAPOLET What, stubborn daughter, wilt thou also begin to be a disobedient child?

JULIETA Oh, no, gracious lord and father, obedience is my happiness, honor my fortune, if it should be according to my parents' will. I ask you for some time to think it over, that such a thing may happen with prudent spirit and mature judgment. 15

CAPOLET Well then, dear daughter Julieta, think about it, and please thy father with a cheerful "yes" to take Count Paris.

Exit CAPOLET.

III.iv

Enter NURSE.

7 In contrast to Shakespeare, Julieta's obedience is repeatedly emphasized: by herself (III.ii.1-2, 17, 20, 25; III.iii.5, 13-15; III.iv.1-2; III.ix.20, 26-28; V.i.6), by her father (III.iii.7-8, III.ix.14), and by the Nurse (I.ii.14-16). However, although Julieta *says* that she wants to obey, she does not always do so. See also note at I.i.87.

8 Both Capulet and his wife accentuate their good will in *RJ*: see note at III.ii.12-14 and collation to III.ii.3.

11, 12 **stubborn daughter, disobedient child** Compare Q2's "disobedient wretch" (IIr, III.v.159).

15-16 **I ... judgment** In Q1 Juliet asks her mother to "[d]efer this marriage for a day or two" (H1v, III.v.159), in Q2 to "Delay this marriage for a month, a weeke" (IIv, III.v.199). In *Der Jude von Venetien*, Ancilletta also asks for "bedenckzeit" to avoid an undesired marriage (II.ii, 218, "time for consideration").

17-18 A considerably milder form of the ultimatum Shakespeare's Capulet delivers: "Graze where you will, you shall not house with me" (IIv, III.v.188).

III.iv has echoes of Q1 III.v.164-79 and Q2 III.v.204-30 (Juliet tries to find a way to avoid the marriage with Paris). The main difference to Shakespeare's III.v is that Julieta is not yet married to Romio, whereas in *RJ* the ceremony has already taken place.

0 SD The Nurse probably only comes forward at line 5, since Julieta's first lines do not seem to be directed at her.

JULIETA [F]ahret wohl herr Vatter, ich will waß einer gehorsamben tochter gebühren will verrichten. [A]ber Eÿ laß armseelige *Julieta*, waß wirstu anfangen in dem du dein hertz schon den *Romio* gegeben, ach *Romio* komb vnd erledige deine armseelige *Julieta* von den zwang diser heÿrath, aber *Amma* ich habe dir eine sach 5 zu offenbahren wofern du mir getreü vnd verschwigen sein wilt.

AMMA Schönste *Julieta* hab ich nicht mehr vertrauen beÿ ihr alß dises? [O]ffenbahret mir was ihr wolt, es wird beÿ mir sicher verschwigen bleiben, alß ob ihr es einen stein vertrawet.

JULIETA So wiße dan, seid der zeit ich mit *Romio* gedantz ist 10 mein hertz also in liebe gegen ihn verstrikhet, daß wofern ich nicht heÿlsambe mittel finden werde, so ist es vm mich geschehen, darumb sage mir *Amma*, wilt du mir etwas zu gefallen thuen?

AMMA [W]ie *Julieta*? [W]aß gedenkt ihr? *Romio* ist Ja Euer Erztfeind, darumb währe mein rath ihr verläst ihn vnd verheÿrathet 15 Eüch mit Graff *Paris*[.]

JULIETA [H]inwekh mit deinen rath, gedenkhe nicht mehr daran, dan ich schwöre wofern ich nicht *Romio* für meinen Mann bekomme, so ist es schon geschehen, vnd ich will mein vnglickh so ich anietzo

III.iv.11 gegen "für" in modern German; "gegen" ("against") was used in combination with "Liebe" ("love"); compare "gegenliebe" (II.v.116, 102).

JULIETA Farewell, father. I will perform what becomes an obedient daughter. But let it be, miserable Julieta! What wilt thou do, as thou hast already given thy heart to Romio? O Romio, come and deliver thy miserable Julieta from the constraint of this marriage. – But, Nurse, I have something to reveal to thee, provided thou wilt be faithful to me and secret. 5

NURSE Fairest Julieta, do you not have more confidence in me than that? Reveal to me whatever you want: it shall remain as secret with me as if you had confided it to a stone.

JULIETA Know then, since the time I danced with Romio my heart is so entangled in love for him that unless I find some healing remedy, that will be the end of me. Therefore tell me, Nurse, wilt thou do me a favor? 10

NURSE What, Julieta! What are you thinking of? Romio is your archenemy; therefore my advice would be to leave him and marry Count Paris. 15

JULIETA Away with thy advice! Don't think of it any longer. For I swear, unless I get Romio for my husband, then it has already happened, and I will make my misery (that I feel now) even worse than

3-4 **O ... marriage** Julieta sees a marriage with Romio as an exit strategy from being forced to marry Paris.

4 **thy** For the use of the informal address see note at II.v.4.

8-9 **Reveal ... stone** Compare Leonhardus's promise to the King in *BB*: "what you reveal shall be concealed as if you had spoken to a stone" (IV.v.9-11, "was Sie mir offenbaren, soll verschwiegen seyn, als ob Sie zu einem Stein gesprochen hätten").

10-11 **Know ... him** There is no such revelation in Shakespeare. When the Nurse comes to see Romeo in II.iii (the equivalent of *RuJ*'s III.vi), she is already informed about the love relationship.

10 **since ... danced** This suggests that some time has passed since the Capolets' feast, in contrast to the general time scheme (see long note).

14-22 In earlier versions of the tale the Nurse also needs to be convinced by Juliet before she agrees to help her (Painter 91; Brooke 627-29; Bandello and Boaistuau in Prunster 59, 95).

14-15 **Romio ... archenemy** Shakespeare's Nurse points this out at the beginning of the play: "His name is *Romeo* and a *Mountague*, / the onely sonne of your great enemy" (C4v, I.iv.249-50).

15-16 **therefore ... Paris** Compare: "I thinke it best you married with the Countie" (Q2 IIv, III.v.217). Q1 has "Now I thinke good you marry with this County" (H1v, III.v.168). Note that the Nurse gives her advice in *RJ* when Juliet and Romeo are already married.

17 **Away ... advice** Compare how Juliet breaks with the Nurse: "Go Counsellor" (I2r, III.v.239). The equivalent of this definite break is found at IV.iv.86 in *RuJ*.

fühle noch ärger machen alß es ist[.] 20

AMMA [W]ollan *Julieta* weil ich den ernst beÿ ihr verspühre, so
will ich alles verrichten, waß Sie mir befehlen wird[.]

JULIETA So gehe alsobald zu *Romio* vnd vermelde ihm, daß Er
sich vnfehlbar wan Er sich meinen Eheman nennen wil vmb 9 vhr in
deß Paters zelt befinde, alda ich mich mit ihm will vermählen oder 25
trauen lasßen, verricht es wohl, Seÿ verschwigen, eine guete
belohnung wirst du zu gewarthen haben[.]

[JULIETA] *abit*[.]

AMMA [G]eliebte *Julieta* ich bedankhe mich ihrer zue neigung, ich
gehe vnd verrichte, waß sie mir befohlen hat.

[AMMA] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 5ta

MERCUTIUS [*vnd*] PENUOLIO [*treten auf*.]

27 SD JULIETA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

29 SD AMMA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.v Actus 3ius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD] *vnd, treten auf this edn; not in RuJ*

25 **zelt** See note at II.vi.23.

27 **gewarthen** here, erwarten: to expect (Grimm).

it is. 20

NURSE Well, Julieta, since I sense you are in earnest, I will perform everything that you command me.

JULIETA Then go at once to Romio and tell him that if he wants to call himself my husband he should be at the Father's cell at nine o'clock without fail, where I will be wedded or married to him. 25
Perform it well; be secret; thou mayst expect a good reward.

Exit JULIETA.

NURSE Beloved Julieta, I thank you for your affection, I will go and perform what you have ordered.

Exit NURSE.

III.v

Enter MERCUTIUS and PENUOLIO.

19-20 **and ... is** In *RJ*, Juliet threatens Friar Laurence with suicide (IV.i.61-63).

23-26 This commission to the Nurse is never explicitly pronounced in *RJ*. In *RuJ*'s III.vi, the Nurse merely invites Romio to join Julieta for a meal (III.vi.8-9).

24-25 **nine o'clock** Earlier (II.v.106) Julieta says that she would inform Romio of her "opinion" ("meinung") the next day at nine o' clock; she does not specify whether morning or evening. In III.vi, neither marriage nor time of day are mentioned. At III.viii.14-15, Romio tells the Father that Julieta wants to get married at his cell at nine and adds that he has this information from the Nurse. It seems that the adapters got carried away with "by the houre of nine" (D4r, II.i.214) and used it more often than Shakespeare did. In *RJ*, the initial date for Juliet to send someone at nine o' clock to Romeo is identical. Yet the only other mention is at the equivalent of *RuJ*'s III.vii, when Juliet impatiently waits for the Nurse's return from her errand to Romeo: "The clocke strooke nine when I did send the Nurse" (Q2 E4v, II.iv.1; Q1 has "my Nursse"). See also long note on time scheme.

26 **thou ... reward** A monetary recompense for servants' errands is repeatedly mentioned in *RuJ* (see III.vii.32; IV.iv.94, 100; IV.v.62). In *RJ*, the Nurse receives money from Romeo (II.iii.170).

III.v corresponds to Q1 II.iii.1-81 and Q2 II.iii.1-94 (Mercutio, Benvolio, and Romeo engage in jokes and wordplay). Levenson notes that *RJ*'s II.iii "creates an interlude; it borrows only the Nurse's errand from the source narrative" (226). This and the following scene are therefore evidence that *RuJ* is based on Shakespeare and not on one of his sources.

MERCUTIUS Es nimbt mich groß wunder daß *Romio* nicht anzutreffen seye, sage mir *Penuolio* ist er zu hauß zu finden?

PENUOLIO Nein zu hauß ist Er nicht, ich habe mit seinen diener geredt, der weiß eben so viel von ihm alß ich vnd du.

MERCUTIUS [W]o zum krankheit mueß Er sich dan versteckt 5
haben[?]

PENUOLIO *Tipold* des *Capolets* vetter hat *Romio* einen brieff geschriben vnd den selbigen in seines vatters hauß geschickt[.]

MERCUTIUS So ist gewiß ein *duell* oder auß forderungs brieff[.]

PENUOLIO [D]u hast es errathen vnd *Romio* will ihn 10
beantwortten[.]

MERCUTIUS [D]aß glaub ich wohl, ein Jeder der schreiben kan kan auch einen brieff beantwortetten[.]

PENUOLIO Nein *Romio* will ihn beantwortetten mit dem degen, in 15
der faust.

MERCUTIUS [A]ch armer *Romio* du bist schon halbtodt, dan Er ist geschossen mit einem pfeil von einem blinden knaben, vnd wie soll er bestehen mit den *Tipold* zu fechten?

PENUOLIO [V]nd waß ist dan *Tipold*?

III.v.1 Es ... wunder See note at II.ii.1.

5 Wo ... krankheit Both the curse and the masculine form may be due to the use of "krankheit" ("illness") as a euphemism for "devil" (Grimm).

9 auß foderung Herausforderung: challenge (Grimm).

MERCUTIUS I am much surprised that Romio is not to be met with. Tell me, Penuolio, is he to be found at home?

PENUOLIO No, he is not at home. I have spoken to his servant: he knows as much of him as I and thou.

MERCUTIUS Where the deuce must he then have hid himself? 5

PENUOLIO Tipold, Capolet's cousin, has written Romio a letter and sent it to his father's house.

MERCUTIUS Then it is surely a duel or a letter of challenge.

PENUOLIO Thou hast guessed it, and Romio will answer it. 10

MERCUTIUS I do believe it. Everyone who can write can also answer a letter.

PENUOLIO No, Romio will answer it with a rapier in his fist. 15

MERCUTIUS O poor Romio, thou art already half dead. For he is hit by an arrow of a blind boy; and how is he to stand a fencing fight with Tipold?

PENUOLIO And what is Tipold then?

III.v.1-2] *RuJ*; Where the deule should this *Romeo* be? came hee not home to night? Q2, Q1 (Why whats become of *Romeo*? came)

3-4] *RuJ*; Not to his fathers. I spoke with his man Q2, Q1 (I spake)

7-8] *RuJ*; *Tibalt*, the kinsman to old *Capulet*, hath sent a leter to his fathers house Q2, Q1 (*Mer.*, of olde *Capolet*)

9] *RuJ*; A challenge on my life Q2, Q1 (Some Challenge)

10] *RuJ*; *Romeo* will answere it Q1, Q2

12-13] *RuJ*; Any man that can write may answere a letter Q2, Q1 (I, anie)

14] *RuJ*; Nay, he wil answere the letters maister how he dares, being dared Q2, Q1 (master if hee bee challenged)

16-18] *RuJ*; Alas poore *Romeo*, he is alreadie dead ... the very pinne of his heart, cleft with the blinde bowe-boyes but-shaft, and is hee a man to encounter *Tybalt*? Q2, Q1 (Who, *Romeo*? why he is)

19] *RuJ*; Why what is *Tybalt*? Q1, Q2

5 In *RJ*, Mercutio blames Rosaline for Romeo's absence: she "[t]orments him so, that he will sure run mad" (E2r, II.iii.5).

7-8 Q1 assigns this line to Mercutio; Levenson and Erne amend to Benvolio.

7 **Tipold ... cousin** See note at II.iii.31.

10 **Thou ... it**, 12 **I ... it**, 29 **I ... enough**, 30 **Yes ... it** The half phrases devoid of meaning are probably part of a later revision (Baesecke 108).

14 Again, *RuJ* is more explicit than *RJ*.

MERCUTIUS [N]icht mehr alß ein katzen könig, der [–] 20
 PENUOLIO [W]aß der?
 MERCUTIUS [D]er viel prallens aber wenig hertz hat.
 PENUOLIO [D]aß ist wahr. [A]ber stillo da kombt *Romio*[.]

ROMIO [*tritt auf.*]

MERCUTIUS [W]arth ich will ihn einen grues auf franzeschisch
 bringen[.] *monsieur Monsieur Romio*, das ist franzeschisch *Romio* vor 25
 den gestrigen Schimpf den du vnß gegeben[.]
 ROMIO Jhr herrn verzeiht es mir, ich weiß nichts darumb[.]
 MERCUTIUS Ja Ja du hast recht sagen deine gedankhen sein nur an
Rosalina ich weiß es gahr zu wohl[.]
 ROMIO Ja Ja glaub es nur ich verstehe dein Schertz auch gahr zu 30
 wohl[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 6ta

23 **SD** *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

26 **Schimpf** here: joke, sport, fun (Grimm). Otherwise "scold" or "dishonor".

MERCUTIUS Nothing more than a cats-king, who – 20
 PENUOLIO Who what?
 MERCUTIUS Who boasts a lot but has little heart.
 PENUOLIO That is true. But silence, here comes Romio.

Enter ROMIO.

MERCUTIUS Wait, I will give him a greeting in French: *Monsieur*,
Monsieur Romio! That is French, Romio, for the joke thou gavest us 25
 yesterday.

ROMIO Pardon me, gentlemen, I know nothing about this.

MERCUTIUS Yes, yes, thou art right in saying thy thoughts are
 only with Rosalina. I know it well enough.

ROMIO Yes, yes, only believe it; I also understand thy joking well 30
 enough.

III.vi

20] *RuJ*; More then Prince of Cats Q2, Q1 (than the prince)

21] *RuJ*; The what? Q1, Q2

23 But ... Romio] *RuJ*; Heere comes *Romeo* Q1; Here Comes *Romeo*, here comes *Romeo*
 Q2

24-26] *RuJ*; Signior *Romeo*, *Bonieur*, theres a French salutation to your French slop: you
 gaue vs the counterfeit fairly last night Q2, Q1 (French curtesie to, yesternight)

27] *RuJ*; What counterfeit I pray you? Q1; Goodmorrow to you both, what counterfeit did
 I giue you? Q2

19-22 In *RJ*, Mercutio's speech is considerably longer (II.iii.18-34). For the use of short
 lines see note at I.iii.1-18.

21 That Penuolio's interruption should have survived the process of adaptation unharmed
 is quite remarkable, even in a scene that is generally textually close to the Shakespearean
 original.

22 Compare *RJ*'s: "Oh hees the couragious captain of Complements" (E2r, II.iii.18-19).

27 *RJ* sets the scene in the morning. This coincides with Juliet sending the Nurse to meet
 Romeo at nine o'clock in all three texts (*RuJ* II.v.106, Q1 II.i.185, Q2 II.i.214). See also
 long note on time scheme.

28-31 In Shakespeare, the three young men banter at length. Elaborate puns, like
 monologues, were often cut in adaptation.

III.vi Lines 1-20 correspond to Q1 II.iii.82-157 and Q2 II.iii.95-180 (the Nurse delivers
 Juliet's message to Romeo). Lines 22-61 correspond to Q1 I.i.89-144 and I.ii.42-47 and to

AMMA [*tritt auf.*]

MERCUTIUS [W]aß zum henkher kompt da vor eine hex?

AMMA [J]ch gehe lauf vnd renn, vnd suche den herrn *Romio* kan ihn aber nicht antreffen, aber hier stehen wakhere herrn, die will ich fragen ob sie mich nicht berichten können wo herr *Romio* anzutreffen, mein herr auf ein wordt, ist nicht in diser gesellschaft herr *Romio*? 5

ROMIO [G]eehrte frau ich bin es selber nach dem sie fragt vnd mein Nahmb heist *Romio*[.]

AMMA Ach Herr *Romio* ich bring ihm zeitung, das Er sich beÿ der *Julietta* zur Mahlzeit einfinden soll[.]

MERCUTIUS [W]aß will das alte Mütterlein[?] 10

PENUOLIO Sie redt von einer Mahlzeit, sie wird gewiß *Romio* auf

III.vi Actus 3ius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD] *this edn; ~~Romio~~ Scena 6^{ta} Amma RuJ*

III.vi.1 henkher euphemistic for Satan (Creizenach 174).

8 **zeitung** Nachricht(en): news (Grimm).

10 **Mütterlein** is the diminutive of "mother" and was used to refer to elderly women (Grimm).

Enter NURSE.

MERCUTIUS What the deuce, what witch is coming here?

NURSE I go, walk, and run and am looking for Sir Romio, but cannot meet with him. But here are some brave gentlemen: I will ask them whether they cannot tell me where Sir Romio is to be met with. – Sir, one word, is not Sir Romio in this company? 5

ROMIO Honored madam, I myself am he for whom you enquire; and my name is Romio.

NURSE O Sir Romio, I bring you a message, that you should come to a meal with Julieta.

MERCUTIUS What does the old woman want? 10

PENUOLIO She talks of a meal; she will surely invite Romio to a

III.vi.0 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Nurse and her man* Q1, Q2

1] *RuJ*; *Ro*. Heeres goodly geare Q1, Q2

5] *RuJ*; I pray you can anie of you tell where one maie finde yong *Romeo*? Q1; Gētleme cā any of you tel me wher I may find the yong *Romeo*? Q2

6-7] *RuJ*; I can tell you, but young *Romeo* will be older when you haue found him, then he was when you sought him: I am the youngest of that name, for fault of a worse Q2, Q1 (I can_u: but)

Q2 I.i.156-234 and I.ii.51-57 (Romeo's lament about Rosaline). The wording is close to that of Shakespeare's texts (especially to Q2, see note at 48). The second part of the scene contains Shakespearean material that has been transposed in *RuJ*, thereby changing its meaning. Whereas in Shakespeare, Romeo laments Rosaline's chastity, Romio laments that of Julieta. Note that Penuolio is not aware that the object of Romio's affection has changed.

0 SD In Shakespeare, the Nurse enters with "*her man*" (E3r, II.iii.95 SD), Peter.

2-3 **I ... him** Compare Ophelia in *BB*: "I run and run, and yet I cannot find my sweetheart" (III.ix.1, "Ich laufe und renne, und kann doch mein Schätzchen nicht antreffen").

6 **Honored madam** Romio addresses the Nurse in formal terms in *RuJ* (see also 18). In Q2, Romio once calls the Nurse "gentlewoman" (E3v, II.iii.109), otherwise "Nurse" prevails in both quartos. In *RuJ* ("Sir Romio [8, "Herr *Romio*"], "My lord" [16, "Mein herr"]) and in Q2 ("sir" [E3v-E4v, II.iii.120, 135, 151, 166, 181, 186]) the Nurse's address is generally formal. Only the first "sir" is found in Q1.

9 **meal** Interestingly, *RuJ* picks up on Benvolio's joking guess (see collation to 11-12): in the German version, the Nurse really does invite Romio to a meal. Yet while Penuolio and Mercutius carry on joking, Romio and the Nurse's conversation may continue and the real purpose of the errand (i.e., marriage) may be communicated without reaching the spectators' ears. Also, "zur Mahlzeit" ("to a meal") may be referring to a specific time of day.

ein *Panquet* laden[.]

MERCUTIUS [N]ichts anders, so mag Er kommen nach seinem
belieben, ihr herrn mir falt eine verrichtung ein, darumb *Adiu* ich gehe
von hier[.] 15

[MERCUTIUS] *abit*[.]

AMMA Mein herr was gibt Er mir vor ein andtwordt, das ich
Eylents meine botschafft verrichten kan[.]

ROMIO [G]eliebte frau ich werde mich gehorsamb einfinden, vnd
gehorsamb aufwarthen[.]

AMMA [W]oll an ich gehe die herrn werffen kein vngnad auf
mich[.] 20

[AMMA] *abit*[.]

ROMIO *Penuolio* worumb lachstu?

PENUOLIO [J]ch lache nicht sondern weine vielmehr[.]

ROMIO [W]orumb das?

PENUOLIO [V]mb daß, das dir dein armes hertz also geängstigt
ist[.] 25

ROMIO [A]ch du wurdest es noch härter kränken mich weither zu
vexiren *Adiu* darumb fahre wohl[.]

PENUOLIO Nein ich will mitgehen, mich also zu uerlassen thuest
du vnrecht[.] 30

15 SD MERCUTIUS] *this edn; not in RuJ*

21 SD AMMA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

27 **kränken** "to offend", but also "to sicken", "to hurt" (Grimm).

28 **vexiren** to torment, to bother, to plague (Grimm). The verb is also used by Corambus
in *BB* (II.vi.5).

banquet.

MERCUTIUS Nothing else? Then he may go if he likes.
Gentlemen, I remember some business; so adieu, I go from here.

15

Exit MERCUTIUS.

NURSE My lord, what answer do you give me, that I may do my errand hastily.

ROMIO Beloved madam, I will appear obediently and wait upon her obediently.

NURSE Very well, I go; gentlemen, do not put me in disgrace. 20

Exit NURSE.

ROMIO Penuolio, why art thou laughing?

PENUOLIO I am not laughing but rather crying.

ROMIO Why that?

PENUOLIO Because thy poor heart is so scared. 25

ROMIO Oh, thou wouldst only hurt it more to torment me further.
Adieu, therefore, farewell.

PENUOLIO No, I shall go along; thou dost wrong to leave me thus.

30

11-12] *RuJ*; O, belike she meanes to inuite him to supper Q1; She will endite him to some supper Q2

22] *RuJ*; Doest thou not laugh? Q1, Q2

23] *RuJ*; No Coze, I rather weepe Q1, Q2

24] *RuJ*; Good hart at what? Q1, Q2

25] *RuJ*; At thy good harts oppression Q1, Q2

27] *RuJ*; Griefes of mine owne lie heaue in my breast, / Which thou wilt propagate to haue it preast Q2, Q1 (heaue at my hart, / Which thou wouldst, to haue them)

28] *RuJ*; Farewell Cose Q1; Farewell my Coze Q2

29] *RuJ*; Nay Ile goe along. / And if you hinder me you doo me wrong Q1; Soft I will go along: / And if you leaue me so, you do me wrong Q2

15 SD In *RJ*, Benvolio exits with Mercutio; here, he stays, since a conversation with Romio ensues, which is transposed from Act I in Shakespeare (see headnote).

18-19 For this sequence in performance, see p. 182 above.

20 **gentlemen ... disgrace** This line can be explained by the Nurse's complaint about the boys' banter in Shakespeare (II.iii.95-136).

22 At the equivalent point in *RJ*, Romeo starts speaking in rhyming couplets. Q1's first couplet does not rhyme.

ROMIO So schertze nicht mehr, mein hertz ist ohne das mit überflüssiger betrübnuß überladen[.]

PENUOLIO [D]eine Seüfftzer vnd traurigkeit geben zu erkennen, das dir etwas mangelt[.]

ROMIO [W]aß manglen, ich weiß von keinem Seüfftzen vnd klagen[.] 35

PENUOLIO Nein bekhenne vnd sage mir, du bist verliebt vnd dein hertz ist zertheilt[.]

ROMIO [E]twas hast du errathen, daß mein hertz nicht mehr mein sondern einer andern gehörig[.] 40

PENUOLIO So viell könt ich wohl merkhén auß deiner traurigkeit, das du verliebt wahrest[.]

ROMIO Ich bestehe dir *Penuolio*, daß die Jenige, so ich liebe auch schön ist[.]

PENUOLIO Ein schönes zihl darnach man pflegt zu schiesßen ist am ersten getroffen[.] 45

ROMIO Eÿ laß *Penuolio* eben das qwalet mein hertz, das ich Ihrer liebe nicht theilhaftig werden kan[.]

PENUOLIO So hat sie dan geschworen alle zeit keüsch zu leben[?]

ROMIO So viel mir bewust so hasset Sie viellmehr das Mannßgeschlecht als zu lieben. 50

32 **betrübnuß** Betrübnis: sadness, grief.

38 **zertheilt** geteilt: divided, cleft, split.

43 **bestehe** gestehe: confess (Grimm).

46 **am ersten** possibly a version of "am ehesten" ("most likely"); "ehest" could also stand for "erst" ("first") (Grimm).

ROMIO Then joke no longer. My heart is already overburdened with superfluous sorrow.

PENUOLIO Thy sighs and sadness show that thou art lacking something.

ROMIO What lacking? I know of no sighs and laments. 35

PENUOLIO No, confess and tell me, thou art in love, and thy heart is divided.

ROMIO Thou hast guessed something, that my heart is no longer mine but belongs to someone else. 40

PENUOLIO So much I could well perceive from thy sadness that thou wert in love.

ROMIO I confess to thee, Penuolio, that she whom I love is also beautiful.

PENUOLIO A beautiful mark that one is wont to shoot at is most likely hit. 45

ROMIO Oh, leave it, Penuolio. Even this torments my heart: that I cannot partake of her love.

PENUOLIO Has she, then, sworn to live forever chaste?

ROMIO As far as I am aware she rather hates the male sex than loving it. 50

37-38] *RuJ*; Tell me in sadnesse, who is that you loue? Q2, Q1 (whome she is you)

39-40] *RuJ*; In sadnesse Cozin, I do loue a woman Q1, Q2

41-42] *RuJ*; I aimde so right, when as you said you lou'd Q1; I aynde so neare, when I supposde you lou'd Q2

43-44] *RuJ*; A right good mark man, and shees faire I loue Q1, Q2

45-46] *RuJ*; A right faire marke faire Coze is soonest hit Q1, Q2

47-48] *RuJ*; Well in that you misse, sheel not be hit / With *Cupids* arrow, she hath *Dians* wit Q2, Q1 (But in that hit you)

49] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; Thē she hath sworn, that she wil stil liue chaste? Q2

50-51] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; Shee hath forsworne to loue Q2

33-34 Compare Q2's: "what sadnesse lengthens *Romeos* houres?" (B1r, l.i.159). Q1 has "what sorrow" (B1v, l.i.92).

35 Wolff (93) likens this to "Not hauing that, which hauing, makes thē short" (Q2 B1v, l.i.160).

37-40 Penuolio does not seem to know of Romio's relationship with Julieta.

48 Q2 has seven additional lines, elaborating on the subject. Q1 has six additional lines after which the scene ends in the First Quarto. The following sequence (49-61) is one of the passages suggesting that *RuJ* is based on Q2. See also app. 3a.

PENUOLIO So folge meinem Rath vnd denkhe nicht mehr an Sie[.]

ROMIO [N]icht an sie gedenken? [A]ch so wurde mein leben auch
sich bald Enden[.]

PENUOLIO [Herr] vetter gebet Euren augen die freyheit, vnd 55
erwehlet eine andere, dan es gibt Ja nicht händt sondern ländr voll
weibs bilder[.]

ROMIO [J]ch sehe dein schertzen kan mir nicht helffen, darumb
verlaß ich dich vnd bleibe der verliebte vnd betrübte *Romio*[.]

[ROMIO] *abit.*

PENUOLIO Nein ich folge dir, vnd will mich befeissen dein 60
Doctor zu sein, bis ich ein gewisßes *recept* zu deiner trawrigkeit
finde[.]

[PENUOLIO] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 7ma

JULIETA [vnd] AMMA [*treten auf.*]

JULIETA [L]iebste *Amma* waß bringt ihr mir von meinem *Romio*

55 Herr] COHN; hl: *RuJ*

59 SD ROMIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

62 SD PENUOLIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.vii Actus 3ius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD vnd, *treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

60 For early exits see note at II.iii.75.

PENUOLIO So follow my advice and do not think of her any longer.

ROMIO Not think of her? Ah, then my life would soon end, too.

PENUOLIO Cousin, give your eyes freedom and choose another one, for there are not hand- but country-fuls of women. 55

ROMIO I see thy joking cannot help me. Therefore I leave thee and remain the enamored and unhappy Romio.

Exit ROMIO.

PENUOLIO No, I follow thee and will try to be thy doctor until I find a certain prescription for thy sadness. 60

Exit PENUOLIO.

III.vii

Enter JULIETA and NURSE.

JULIETA Dear Nurse, what news, good or bad, do you bring me

52] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Be rulde by me, forget to thinke of her Q2

53] *RuJ*; not in Q1; O teach me how I should forget to thinke Q2

55-56 Cousin ... one] *RuJ*; not in Q1; By giuing libertie vnto thine eyes, / Examine other bewties Q2

58-59] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Farewel, thou canst not teach me to forget Q2

60-61] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Ile pay that doctrine, or else die in debt Q2

III.vii. 1-2] *RuJ*; Tell me gentle Nurse, / What sayes my Loue? Q1; ô hony Nurse what newes? Q2

1 what ... bad] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Is thy newes good or bad? answere to that Q2

55 **Cousin** In Shakespeare, Romeo calls Benvolio "Coze" (e.g., Q1 B2r, I.i.124; Q2 B1v, I.i.191). See also note at II.iii.31.

59 SD In Q2, Romeo exits with Benvolio, and so he does in Q1, but after the equivalent of line 48.

60 **doctor** echoes Q2's "doctrine" (Wolff 94).

III.vii largely corresponds to Q1 II.iv.7-8, 21-32, 41-44 and Q2 II.iv.20-23, 54-64, 77 (the Nurse brings Juliet news of Romeo). In Shakespeare, the equivalent scene also has "significantly less correspondence between Q1 and Q2" than other scenes (Erne 94).

0 SD In *RJ*, Juliet is first alone on stage, impatient for the Nurse to return from her errand.

guete oder beße zeittung, dan mich verlangt zu wißßen waß Er Eüch
vor eine andtwordtt gegeben[.]

AMMA Er redt gleich wie es einen Ehrlichen Jungen gesellen zue
stehet[.] 5

JULIETA [W]ie *Amma* waß saget ihr Er redt gleich wie es einen
Jungen gesellen zuestehet, pfuÿ schämet Eüch, Er ist ein *gaulier* vnd
kein gemeine persohn[.]

AMMA [H]o ho verdrüst Eüch dises daß ich ihn einen Jungen
gesellen heiß, gehet ein andermahl selber bringt ihn die bottschafft, 10
hernach mögt ihr ihn nennen wie ihr wolt[.]

JULIETA Eÿ liebe *Amma* nicht so zornig, es wahr nur mein Schertz
mit Eüch also zu reden, darumb sagt mir geschwind was sagt mein
lieber *Romio*?

AMMA Ach was soll er sagen[.] 15

JULIETA [W]ie wolt ihr mich noch länger aufhalten mich zu
quälen[?]

AMMA Eÿ nun er sagt [–]

JULIETA [V]nd was sagt Er?

AMMA Er weiß selber nicht ob Er krankh oder gesundt seÿ[.] 20

JULIETA [A]ch der himmel bewahr ihn[.]

AMMA Ich mueß Eüch doch nicht gahr erschrökhen Er sagt, Er will

III.vii.2 beße böse: (here) bad.

from my Romio? For I long to know what answer he gave to you.

NURSE He speaks as an honest young fellow should.

5

JULIETA What, Nurse, what are you saying? He speaks as a young fellow should? Tut! You should be ashamed! He is a cavalier and not a common person.

NURSE Oho! Does that annoy you that I call him a young fellow? Go yourself another time, bring him the message. Afterwards you may call him as you like. 10

JULIETA Oh, dear Nurse, not so angry. It was but my joke to talk to you like that. So quickly tell me, what does my dear Romio say?

NURSE Ah, what should he say? 15

JULIETA What? Do you want to detain me further to torment me?

NURSE Well, he says –

JULIETA And what does he say?

NURSE He does not know whether he is ill or well. 20

JULIETA Oh, heaven protect him!

NURSE I must not frighten you all that much. – He says he will

10 Go ... message] *RuJ*; next arrant youl haue done, euen doot your selfe Q1; Henceforward do your messages your selfe Q2

12-13] *RuJ*; But tell me sweet Nurse, what sayes *Romeo*? ... Nay stay sweet Nurse, I doo intreate thee now, / What sayes my Loue, my Lord, my *Romeo*? Q1; Nay come I pray thee speake, good good Nurse speake ... Sweete, sweete, sweete Nurse, tell me what sayes my loue? Q2

16] *RuJ*; Heres such a coyle, come what saies *Romeo*? Q2

4-8 Compare Q2's: "*Nur*. Your loue sayes like an honest gentleman, / An a Curteous, and a kinde, and a handsome, / And I warrant a vertuous, where is your mother? / *Iu*. Where is my mother why she is within, wher should she be? / How odly thou repliest: / Your loue sayes like an honest gentleman, / Where is your mother?" (F1v, II.iv.54-60; Q1 similar but shorter). In *RJ*, Juliet is annoyed at the Nurse for changing the subject yet again; in *RuJ* she takes exception with the Nurse calling Romio "a young fellow" ("einen Jungen gesellen"). The structure of this exchange is similar in all three texts. The Nurse's reaction is also the same (see 9-11 and collation to 10).

15, 20 Avoiding a direct answer is *RuJ*'s form of procrastination for the Nurse – as opposed to *RJ* where she complains about various pains and aches.

22 I ... **much** In *RJ*, the Nurse does not say that she is teasing Juliet; she merely stops

nach ihrem befehl zu leben wissen[.]

JULIETA So will Er kommen?

AMMA Jch hab schon gesagt Ja ia Er will kommen, seit ihr darmit 25
zu friden[?]

JULIETA [A]ch Ja liebe *Amma* bedankhe mich vor dise fröliche
zeitung, ich gehe ihn zu erwarthen, vnd Euer *recompens* könt ihr beÿ
mir abholen[.]

[JULIETA] *abit*[.]

AMMA So, so, ist daß mein dankh vor mein Mühe vnd lauffen[,] 30
warth ein andres mahl will ichs bleiben lasßen, dan wer daß trinkhgelt
in händen hat, da richten sie die bosten selber auß, aber ich gehe vnd
will sehen was daß verliebte freülein *Julieta* noch wird anfangen.

[AMMA] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius,] Scena 8.

29 SD JULIETA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

33 SD AMMA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.viii Actus 3ius] *this edn; not in RuJ*

28 **zeitung** Nachricht(en): news (Grimm).

32 **bosten** Posten, plural of "post": a message (Grimm).

know how to live according to your command.

JULIETA He will come then?

NURSE I already said "yes". Yes, he will come. Are you satisfied 25
with that?

JULIETA Ah, yes, dear Nurse. Thanks for these happy news. I go to
await him. And you can pick up your reward from me.

Exit JULIETA.

NURSE Well, well, are these the thanks for my trouble and running 30
about? Wait, another time I will let it alone. They who have the beer
money in their hands, let them do the errands themselves. But I go and
will see what that enamored girl Julieta will further do.

Exit NURSE.

III.viii

25-26 Are ... that] *RuJ*; *Nur*: ... Doth this newes please you now? Q1; *not in Q2*

27-28 Ah ... him] *RuJ*; How doth her latter words reuiue my hart. / Thankes gentle Nurse,
dispatch thy busines, / And Ile not faile to meete my *Romeo* Q1; Hie to high fortune, honest
Nurse farewell Q2

doing so at one point. Characteristically for the German version, the Nurse makes this explicit. In Brooke, the Nurse delays the news because she does not want Juliet to be "hurt by sodaine joye" (685; see also Levenson 244).

22-23 He ... command This (and 24-26) seems to refer to the wedding that is to take place. In *RJ*, the Nurse announces to Juliet: at "Frier *Lawrence* Cell ... stayes a husband to make you a wife" and that she herself will "fetch a Ladder by the which your loue / Must climbe a birds neast soone when it is darke" (F1v, II.iv.67-68, 72-73; Q1 has "a ladder made of cordes" [E4r, II.iv.37], otherwise similar).

27-28 Ah ... him One of the few passages in *RuJ* that seem to depend on Q1 rather than on Q2 (see app. 3a, *RuJ* and Q1, strong agreement nr. 1).

30-31 Well ... about Compare: "Is this the poultis for my aking bones" (F1v, II.iv.62). In *RuJ*, the Nurse does not complain about being tired and out of breath or about her backache as she does in *RJ*, yet Pickelherring picks up the second complaint at IV.iv.24.

31-32 beer money In *RJ*, the Nurse does not complain about too little payment. See also note at III.iv.26.

32-33 But ... do This makes Julieta's love a spectacle. The Nurse seems to be inviting the audience to join her in watching Julieta's folly.

III.viii has no exact Shakespearean correspondence, but contains echoes of II.ii and of the beginning of II.v. In Shakespeare, Romeo only meets the Friar once before the wedding (in II.ii), when he asks to be married to Juliet. Again, this scene does not take place at the Friar's cell, but

PATER [vnd] ROMIO [treten auf.]

PATER [H]err *Romio* die sachen so Er mir vor getragen seind schwör der vernunft nach bedenk er sich, das ich alß ein Priester nicht thuen kan mit recht nach seinem begehren, in deme dero Eltern von disen allen keine wißenschafft haben[.]

ROMIO [G]eehrter herr *Pater* es ist aber mein vnd der *Julieta* 5
willen, vnd Ehe sie sich will zwingen lasßen den Graff *Paris* zu Ehligen, will sie lieber sterben, darumb were mein bitt Sie wollen alhier ein mittel finden vnd disen gefälligen werkh beÿhilff leisten[.]

PATER Sohn *Romio* diß sein schwöre sachen zu thuen dennoch Eüch zu lieb wo fern *Julieta* auch zu friden wollen wür sehen wie die 10
Sach zu thuen, dan es will sich gebühren der *Julieta* freÿwillige meinung auch zu uer nehmen, darumb lasßet sie wißen wan sie willens ist mich sambt Eüch zu besuechen[.]

ROMIO Sie ist hochgeehrter herr *Pater* willens vmb 9 vhr alhier zu erscheinen, dan sie mir solches durch ihre *Amma* hat wißen lasßen[.] 15

PATER [W]ohl dan herr *Romio* so wird Er sich der geduld gebrauchen wie ist die zeit verhanden alß dan wollen wir sehen was einen Geistlichen Priester wohl ansteht zu thuen, hiermit fahre Er wohl herr *Romio* ich verfüge mich in mein zelt[.]

[PATER] *abit*[.]

0 SD vnd, treten auf] this edn; not in RuJ

19 SD PATER] this edn; not in RuJ

III.viii.1 so here, "die": which. "So" was used instead of the relative pronoun (Grimm).

4 wißenschafft here: news, knowledge (Grimm).

7 Ehligen ehelichen: to marry.

19 zelt See note at II.vi.23.

Enter FATHER and ROMIO.

FATHER Sir Romio, the things you have presented to me are difficult according to reason. Remember that, as a priest, I cannot rightfully do what you desire, as your parents have no knowledge of all this.

ROMIO Honored Father, but it is my and Julieta's will; and sooner 5
than be forced to marry Count Paris, she will rather die. Therefore my request would be, would you devise some means and lend your help to this agreeable business.

FATHER Son Romio, these are difficult things to do. However, for 10
your sake, and provided Julieta is also content, we will see how to do it; for the free opinion of Julieta should also be heard. Therefore let her know when she is willing to visit me together with you.

ROMIO She is willing, highly honored Father, to appear here at 15
nine o'clock, for she's let me know this through her nurse.

FATHER Well then, Sir Romio, you must have patience. When the time is at hand, then we shall see what a spiritual priest should do. Farewell with this, Sir Romio. I will go to my cell.

possibly in front of it (see 18).

1-4, 9 The Father's misgivings can be compared to his moralizing in Q2, e.g.: "Wisely and slow, they stumble that run fast" (E2r, II.ii.94). See also note at III.x.1-3.

2-4 **that ... this** Friar Laurence does not take into account the wishes of the older generation in his interactions with Romeo and Juliet, nor does he mention his office as a hindrance.

5-6 **but ... die** This seems to confirm that marriage plans between Romio and Julieta are only prompted by her parents' intention to marry her to Paris.

5 **but ... will** Compare: "As mine [my heart] on hers, so hers is set on mine" (E1v, II.ii.59); Q1 has "hers likewise on" (D4v, II.ii.54).

6 **Count Paris** Romeo does not mention Paris in *RJ* until the last scene, after having killed him (V.iii.75). Interestingly, Romio is already informed of the impending marriage to the Count, because it has been announced before his banishment. Julieta or the Nurse must have communicated this information to him between III.ii and III.viii. In Shakespeare, he only has a vague recollection of the marriage plans, and this again only at the end of the play (V.iii.76-79).

11 **for ... heard** This contradicts Julieta's claim that women have no rights in Italy (see I.ii.10-12 and IV.iv.2-3).

15 **nine o'clock** The wedding might take place in the evening (see long note on time scheme).

17 **then ... do** Compare Friar Laurence's promise in Shakespeare: "In one respect ile thy assistant be" (E2r, II.ii.90).

ROMIO [V]nd ich befehle mich in seine freindschafft vnd 20
 wohlgewogenheit. Ach glikhseeliger *Romio*, will dir dan der himmel
 die über Jrtische *Julieta* Schenkhen? [A]ch Ja die gunst ihr schönheit
 versicheret mich solches wollan dan ich gehe dem himmel zu dankhen
 daß dise himmels Stundt mich der schönen *Julieta* zu einen Mann
 beglikh seeligen möge[.] 25
 [ROMIO] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius, Scena 9ta]

PARIS[,] CAPOLET [*vnd*] JULIETA [*treten auf*.]

PARIS [H]err *Capulet* ihm ist wißendt die lieb vnd *affection* so ich
 zu seiner tochter trage entlich von ihme herr *Capulet* ein gewinschtes
 Ja vnd andtwordt zu Empfangen weil mein gröstes verlangen nichts
 anders alß seine Tochter zu meiner gemahlin Empfangen werde[.]

CAPOLET [H]err Graff die lieb vnd *affection* so ich zu dero hauß 5
 trage versichert mich, daß ich meine Tochter *Julieta* keinen *gualier*

23 versicheret mich] COHN; versicheret ~~dich~~ mich *RuJ*

25 SD ROMIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.ix Actus ... 9ta] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

20 For early exits see note at II.iii.75.

25 **beglikh seeligen** beglücken: to make (someone) happy, to delight (Grimm).

III.ix.1 *affection* not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism or a Gallicism.

6, 18 *gualier* See note at I.ii.30.

ROMIO And I commend me to your friendship and goodwill. 20

Exit FATHER.

O happy Romio! Will heaven then grant thee the heavenly Julieta? Ah, yes, the favor of her beauty assures me of it. Well then, I will go to thank heaven that this heavenly hour may please me as the husband of the fair Julieta.

25

Exit ROMIO.

III.ix

Enter PARIS, CAPOLET, and JULIETA.

PARIS Lord Capolet, you are aware of the love and affection I bear your daughter, to receive finally from you, Lord Capolet, a desired "yes" and answer, since my greatest desire is nothing else than to receive your daughter for my wife.

CAPOLET Count, the love and affection I bear your house assures 5
me that I cannot give and present my daughter Julieta to any cavalier

III.ix has no exact correspondence in Shakespeare, but carries echoes of Q1 I.ii.3-12 and Q2 I.ii.6-19 (Paris's suit is first introduced), of III.iv (Capulet confirms the match to Paris after Tybalt's death; the wedding date is set), of Q1 III.v.96-155 and Q2 III.v.126-95 (Capulet sets an ultimatum to Juliet: she must be married to Paris), and of IV.i.18-36 (Paris meets Juliet at the Friar's cell). This scene is unique insofar as Capolet actually gives Julieta's hand to Paris (30-31). In Brooke, such a moment is anticipated by Juliet: "Where I will ... before my fathers face, / Unto the Counte geve my fayth and whole assent" (2230-31).

0 SD The SD has Julieta enter at the beginning, although at line 14 Capolet states that she "is just appearing at the right time" ("Eben zu rechter zeit anhero kompt"). If Julieta enters here, she probably remains in the background and comes forward when required to do so.

1-4 The first time that Paris mentions marriage; it can be paralleled to *RJ*'s: "But now my Lord, what say you to my sute?" (B2v, I.ii.6; Q1 similar). Whereas in Shakespeare this is one of Paris's first lines, in *RuJ*, we have heard him speak a lot (albeit without saying much). *RJ* directly introduces Paris as Juliet's suitor; in the German version he remains a friend of the family up to III.ii.14-15, when Julieta learns about the marriage plans from her mother.

5 In *RuJ*, Capolet seems to agree to the wedding right away; he has no compunctions about Julieta being too young, as Capulet has: "Let two more Sommers wither in their pride, / Ere we may thinke her ripe to be a bride" (Q2 B2v, I.ii.10-11; Q1 similar). Admittedly, Julieta is two years older than Juliet (see III.i.9-10). In *RuJ* only Julieta uses her youth as an excuse (see note at III.ii.10-11).

6, 17 cavalier See note at I.ii.30.

von *Meriten* alß ihme herr Graff verehren vnd Schenkhen kan,
dardurch mein altes Stammenhaus glickhseelig zu machen[.]

PARIS [H]err *Capulet* das gewünschte Ja so ich von ihm Empfange
wird ein vrsach sein das ich ihm vnd die seinigen iederzeit auch lebens 10
lang mich verobligiert vnd dienstbahr befinden werde[.]

CAPOLET Ich bedankhe mich herr Graff vor dero *affection* ich
werde thuen was einen vatter wohl anständig ist darumb bitte ich herr
Graff er wolle auch daß Jawordt von meiner gehorsamben Tochter
Julieta Empfangen welche Eben zu rechter zeit anhero kompt[,] 15
geliebtes kindt *Julieta* hier hab ich mit Graff *Paris* die vnderredung
deiner bersohn halber gethan du wirst dirs gefallen lasßen disen
Tapfferen *gualir* vor deinen Ehe herrn zu erkiesen, dardurch wirst du
mich vnd deine Muetter glickhseelig machen[.]

JULIETA [W]aß mein herr vatter thuet, das ist auch mein 20
gehorsamb vnd will[.]

PARIS Schönste *Julieta* von dero herrn vatter vnd frau Muetter habe
ich daß Ja wordt erhalten Sie vor meine liebste vnd gemahlin zu
nehmen, so verhoffe ich auch das meine lieb vnd *affection* beÿ dero
Schönheit platz vnd statt finden werde[.] 25

JULIETA [H]err graff, wie vor vermeld waß mein Elter befehl, ist
auch mein will vnd alß einer gehorsamben Tochter haben Sie mit mir
zu befehlen[.]

CAPOLET [D]u thuest wohl daran liebe Tochter, der himmel wird
dir auch sein gnad vnd seegen geben, vnd hiermit herr Graff überreiche 30
ich ihm meine Tochter, Er Empfange Sie von meiner handt[.]

PARIS Ich bedankhe mich herr *Capulet* vor dises Edle kleinod, vnd
sie schönste *Julieta* Erkhenne ich vor meine gebietherin, vnd alles waß
Graff *Paris* vermag erwehle ich sie vor eine gebietherin aller meiner
baar und habschafft[.] 35

10 auch] *this edn*; auf COHN

7 *Meriten* merits. Not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism, a Gallicism or of Latin origin.

11 **verobligiert** forced, compelled, conjoined (Grimm).

18 **Ehe herrn** husband (Grimm).

18 **erkiesen** to choose (Grimm).

26 **vermeld** vermelden: to make known (Grimm).

32 **kleinod** See note to *BB* II.iii.19.

35 **baar** ready cash (Grimm). Grimm also cites "barschaft"; hence Paris's construction could be read as "Bar- und Habschaft" ("cash and belongings").

of merit except yourself, and thereby please my old lineage.

PARIS Lord Capolet, the desired "yes" I receive from you will be a cause for me to be obliged and subservient to you and yours always and for all my life. 10

CAPOLET I thank you, Count, for your affection. I shall do what a father should; I therefore ask you, Count, also to receive the consent of my obedient daughter Julieta, who is just appearing at the right time. 15

Beloved child Julieta, I have here conversed with Count Paris on thy behalf. Thou wilt be pleased to choose this valiant cavalier for thy husband; thus wilt thou make me and thy mother happy.

JULIETA What my father does is also my command and will. 20

PARIS Fairest Julieta, I have got the consent of your father and mother to take you for my beloved and wife. So I hope that my love and affection will also find a place and room with your beauty. 25

JULIETA Count, as I have informed you before, whatever is the command of my parents is my will also; and as an obedient daughter, you may command me.

CAPOLET In that thou dost well, dear daughter. Heaven will also grant thee its grace and blessing. And, Count, I hereby present my daughter to you; receive her from my hand. 30

PARIS I thank you, Lord Capolet, for this noble jewel. – And you, fairest Julieta, I acknowledge for my mistress, and all that Count Paris can; I choose you as the mistress of all my fortune and possessions. 35

14 **who ... time** See note at 0 SD.

20, 26-28, 44 Although Julieta officially seems to agree to the match, her words in fact only reiterate variations of "I will obey my father". Her quibbling with Paris here can be compared to that in IV.i in Shakespeare.

34 **I ... possessions** Financial issues play a role in this match. This is not made explicit in Shakespeare, although Q2's Capulet presents Juliet as his only heir: "Earth hath swallowed all my hopes but she, / Shees the hopefull Lady of my earth" (B2v, I.ii.14-15).

JULIETA [H]err graff ich bedankhe mich, ich werde wissen zu leben vnd Schuldigte dienstleistung erzeigen[.]

PARIS [W]oll an dan ich gehe vnd verlasße Sie, damit alle *preparatoria* zu vnserem beylager auf daß ehiste verfertiget werden, vnd also *Adiu* herr *Capulet*[.]

40

[PARIS] *abit*[.]

CAPOLET [H]err graff ich befehle mich dero selben vnd werde zu disen vorgenohmenen werkh nichts ermanglen lasßen. So *Adiu* Tochter *Julieta* folge mir vnd erfreüe deine frau Muetter[.]

[CAPOLET] *abit*[.]

JULIETA Ich folge herr vatter[.]

[JULIETA] *abit*[.]

[Actus 3ius, Scena 10ma]

PATER[,] ROMIO [vnd] JULIETA [*treten auf*].

PATER [K]ommet her meine kinder, in deme ich von Eüch nach genügen verstanden wie die sach beschaffen, aber bedrachte solche hohe sachen besser, damit ich mich sambt Eüch in keine gefahr vnd vnglikh stürzen möge[.]

40 SD PARIS] *this edn; not in RuJ*

43 SD CAPOLET] *this edn; not in RuJ*

44 SD JULIETA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

III.x Actus ... 10ma] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD vnd, *treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

37 **leben** here, probably in the sense of "to obey" (Grimm).

39 **preparatoria** preparations, of Latin origin.

39 **beylager** marriage, wedding (Grimm); also used in *BB* (0.34, II.vii.6).

39 **ehiste** ehest: soonest (Grimm).

39 **verfertiget** to produce, to accomplish, to finish, to make ready (Grimm).

41, 44 For early exits see note at II.iii.75.

JULIETA Count, I thank you; I will know how to obey and to show due subservience.

PARIS Well then, I go and leave you, so that all preparations for our wedding are finalized as soon as possible. – And so adieu, Lord Capolet. 40

CAPOLET Count, I commend me to you and will see that there is nothing lacking in this undertaking.

Exit PARIS.

So adieu, daughter Julieta, follow me and gladden thy mother.

JULIETA I follow, father.

Exit CAPOLET. *Exit* JULIETA.

III.x

Enter FATHER, ROMIO, *and* JULIETA.

FATHER Come here, my children, since I sufficiently understand from you how things are; but give more consideration to such great things, so that I do not rush myself into harm and disaster with you.

III.x.0 SD] *RuJ; Enter Romeo, Friar ... Enter Iuliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo Q1; Enter Friar and Romeo ... Enter Iuliet Q2*

3 so ... you] *RuJ; not in Q1; That after houres, with sorrow chide vs not Q2*

42 undertaking Note that Romio uses the same formulation when referring to his relationship with Julieta (II.vi.26).

44 SD See pp. 183-84 above for how Godwin dealt with the potential problem of Julieta's exit and immediate re-entry in a different location.

III.x corresponds to Shakespeare's II.v (the marriage scene). See long note.

0 SD In Shakespeare, Romeo and the Friar first speak alone, and Juliet enters later. In Q1 she does so "*somewhat fast*".

1-3 Here, the Father still needs to be convinced or makes a last attempt at changing the lovers' minds. In Q2, he is moralizing: "These violent delights haue violent endes" (F2r, II.v.9). In Q1, by contrast, he is ready to "doo all [he] may" (E4r, II.v.3) and only warns at the end of the scene: "Hast is a common hindrer in crosse way" (E4v, II.v.28).

1 Come ... children This echoes the Friar's words at the end of the Shakespearean scene: "Come wantons, come" (Q1 E4v, II.v.21); "Come, come" (Q2 F2r, II.v.35).

2-3 but ... you In *RJ*, the Friar has no concerns for his own safety at this moment. The only point where he hesitates is when he abandons Juliet in the vault (V.iii.151-59).

JULIETA [H]err *Pater* ich habe ihm geoffenbahret meiner Elter 5
 Meinung, die gäntzlich haben wollen den Graff *Paris* zu nehmen
 welches ich aber beÿ mir beschlosßen nicht zu thuen, sondern *Romio*
 meine getreüe liebe zu schenkhen, darumb bitte ich das wür beÿde
 durch Eurer hilff möchten vermählet werden[.]

ROMIO [V]nd ich desßelben gleichen bitte herr *Pater* Er wolle 10
 keinen aufschub machen, weillen vnser beÿder ein hertz vnd Sünn, So
 Empfange sie hier ô schönste *Julieta* disen ring, welches ein zeichen
 vnd verbindnuß seÿe ihr als meinem Schatz biß in mein grab getreü zu
 uerbleiben[.]

JULIETA [V]nd hier werthester *Romio* nehmet disen von meiner 15
 handt, auch daß hertz zu gleich, welches Euch eigen biß vnß der todt
 scheiden kan, vnd Nun *Pater* mangelt nichts weither, alß Euere mühe
 der *Copulation*[.]

PATER [W]ollan dan weil Euer beÿder will beschlosßen vnd es 20
 nicht anderst sein kan, so folget mit mir in die Capellen alwohe ich

III.x.7 beÿ ... beschlosßen Compare the King in *BB*, who says "Wir haben bey uns beschlossen" (III.x.18, literally, "we have decided with us").

13 **verbindnuß** See note at II.v.76.

18 **Copulation** noun form of "copulieren": "to marry" (Grimm).

JULIETA Father, I have made known to you the opinion of my 5
 parents who absolutely want me to take Count Paris, which I have
 decided not to do, but to give my true love to Romio. Therefore I ask
 you that the two of us may be married through your help.

ROMIO And I equally ask you the same, Father, do not delay since 10
 both of us are of one heart and mind. – So receive here, O fairest
 Julieta, this ring which is to be a sign and alliance that I will remain
 faithful to you as my sweetheart unto my grave.

JULIETA And here, dearest Romio, take this one from my hand 15
 together with my heart, which is yours till death us part. And now,
 Father, there is nothing wanting but that you take the trouble of uniting
 us.

FATHER Well then, as you have both made up your minds, and it
 cannot be otherwise, so follow me to the chapel where I will join you 20

10 And ... delay] *RuJ*; *Rom*: Lead holy Father, all delay seemes long. / *Iul*: Make hast, make
 hast, this lingring doth vs wrong Q1; *not in* Q2

5 In Q1, Juliet's first word is simply "*Romeo*" (E4r, II.v.13).

6 **Paris** In Shakespeare, Paris is not mentioned in this scene. The fact that he is referred to here
 goes hand in hand with his generally more pronounced presence in *RuJ* (see pp. 193-94 above).

10 **And ... delay** one of the few Q1-only instances in *RuJ*; see app. 3a.

12 **ring** There is no exchange of rings in Shakespeare in this scene (see long note to III.x), but
 after Mercutio's and Tybalt's deaths Juliet gives the Nurse a ring for Romeo (III.ii.142) which she
 delivers in the next scene (III.iii.162). This is dramatized in *RuJ*, where Pickelherring brings
 Romio a letter and a ring from Julieta (IV.v.53-54). When she sends Pickelherring on his errand,
 Julieta mentions the letter but not the ring (IV.iv.97).

16 **till ... part** This echoes the words of the marriage service (still in use today) where the couple
 is asked whether they will honor each other "until death do ye part" ("bis der Tod euch scheidet",
 see "Trauung"). The Protestant liturgy of the seventeenth century has: "Hans N. you are standing
 here and wish to take Margaret N., here present, to be your wife. You do not want to part from
 her unless death parts you" (Graff 339, "Hans N., Ihr stehet allhie und begehret gegenwärtige
 Margareten N. zu nehmen, zu Euer ehelichen Hausfrauen, Euch von ihr nicht zu scheiden, es sei
 denn, daß Euch der Tod scheide"). In Q2, Romeo speaks of "loue-deuouring death" (F2r, II.v.7).
 Compare the marriage ceremony in Brooke: "Twixt you it is agreed that you shalbe his wyfe /
 And he your spouse in steady truth till death shall end your life" (757-58).

16-18 **And ... us** This echoes Q2's Romeo in his first conversation with the Friar: "and all
 combind, saue what thou must combine / By holy marriage" (E1v, II.ii.60-61).

19-21 In Q2, Friar Laurence promises to "make short worke" (F2r, II.v.35).

20 **chapel** not mentioned in Shakespeare.

Eüch vermählen will.

[*Alle ab*].

Actus 4tus Scena 1ma

PENUOLIO [*vnd*] MERCUTIUS [*treten auf*].

PENUOLIO Ich bitte dich freündt *Mercutio* lasße ab von deinem vorhaben, laß vnß von hier gehen, der tag ist worden[,] die *Capuleter* finden sich alle zeit vmb diser *reuir*, wofern wür ihnen begegnen[,] gehet es ohne schlagen nicht ab, dan in den heißen tagen das geblüt am hützigsten[.]

5

MERCUTIUS [D]u bist gleich *Penuolio* den Jenigen, die in ein wurts hauß kommen, legen sie ihr gewöhr auf dem tisch, vnd sagen ich will dich in keinem Jahr mehr auß ziehen[,] so bald sie aber einen kleinen Tummel in den kopff bekommen[,] ziehen Sie den degen auß; hawen in die Stein vnd Jauchzen darzue, das einem die ohren klingen[.]

10

21 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

IV.i.0 SD *vnd, treten] auf this edn; not in RuJ*

IV.i.3 **diser reuir** Today, the neutral article is used, but see note at I.iii.51.

4 **geblüt** "the amount of blood of a body, the blood in the veins" (Grimm, "die blutmenge eines körpers, das geblüt in den adern").

4 **tagen das** "ist" should be inserted between these two words to make the sentence more grammatical.

7 **gewöhr** See note at I.i.50.

9 **Tummel** or "Dummel": staggering, inebriation from wine or beer, dizziness. Also "sound", but less likely here (Grimm).

10 **hawen ... Stein** possibly related to the proverb "ich kann es nicht aus dem Stein hauen" ("I cannot chop it out of [the] stone"), meaning "it is impossible for me" (Grimm).

in marriage.

Exeunt omnes.

IV.i

Enter PENUOLIO and MERCUTIUS.

PENUOLIO I ask thee, my friend Mercutio, give up thy enterprise; let us go from here. The day has broken. The Capoletes are always found in this quarter, and if we meet them, it will not go without blows, for in the hot days the blood is hottest.

5

MERCUTIUS Penuolio, thou art like those that enter an inn, lay their weapon on the table and say: "I will not draw thee for a year."

But as soon as they get a little drunk in the head, they draw their rapier, strike the stone, and at the same time cheer that one's ears ring. 10

20-21 so ... marriage] *RuJ*; you shall not be alone, / Till holy Church haue ioyned ye both in one Q1; you shall not stay alone, / Till holy Church incorporate two in one Q2

IV.i.0 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Benuolio, Mercutio Q1; Enter Mercutio, Benuolio, and men Q2*

1-3 I ... quarter] *RuJ*; I pray thee good *Mercutio* lets retire, / The day is hot, the *Capels* abroad Q2, Q1 (*Capels* are abroad)

3-4 and ... hottest] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; And if we meete we shall not scape a brawle, for now these hot daies, is the mad blood stirring Q2

6 Penuolio ... those] *RuJ*; Thou art like one of these fellows Q2, Q1 (of those)

6-7 that ... year] *RuJ*; that when he enters the confines of a Tauerne, claps me his sword vpon the table, and sayes, God send me no need of thee Q2, Q1 (hee comes into the, his rapier on the boord)

7-10 But ... ring] *RuJ*; and by the operation of the second cup, draws him on the drawer, when indeed there is no need Q2, Q1 (the next cup of wine, he drawes it)

IV.i is textually close to Shakespeare's texts, especially to Q2. Along with the following two scenes it corresponds to Shakespeare's III.i (the duel scene), more specifically to Q1 III.i.1-20 and Q2 III.i.1-35.

0 SD In Q2, Mercutio and Benvolio do not enter alone, nor does Tybalt later.

3-4 and ... hottest This passage, along with lines 14, 18-19, and 22-23, is evidence for *RuJ*'s dependence on Q2 since there is no equivalent in Q1. Nevertheless, other Q2-only elements of this scene (e.g., III.i.16-18, 21-23) are not found in *RuJ*.

PENUOLIO [H]altest du mich dan auch vor einen solchen kerl[?]

MERCUTIUS [Ô] schweig, du bist der aller erhitzigste[,] ich wolte
schier sagen in gantz *Italia*, hast du nicht mit einen gezankt nur
darumb daß Er sein wammes vor den Sontag angezogen, widerumb mit 15
einen der seine alte Schuechband in Neüe schuech gezogen[.]

PENUOLIO [V]nd was weither?

MERCUTIUS [A]uch hast du mit einen gezankt, der nur auf der
strasßen gehust, die weil Er deinen hundert[,] welcher an der Sonnen lag
vnd schlief[,] aufgeweckt, vnd gleichwohl wilst du noch wan zankhen 20
sagen[.]

PENUOLIO [W]ere ich so geneigt zu zankhen alß du, ich wäre
schon längst in der Erde erkalt, huy ich schwöre beÿ meinem kopff
hier kompt ein *Capulet*[.]

MERCUTIUS [V]nd ich schwöre beÿ meinen füßen, daß ich nichts 25
darnach frag[.]

[Actus 4tus,] Scena 2da

IV.ii Actus 4tus] *this edn; not in RuJ*

16 **schuech** Schuhe: shoes (Grimm).

19 **die weil** because (Grimm); the variant "alldieweil" can still be heard today.

PENUOLIO Then thou also takest me for such a fellow?

MERCUTIUS Oh, be silent; thou art the most hot-headed man, I would almost say in all *Italia*. Didst thou not quarrel with one only because he wore his doublet before Sunday, and again with one because he tied his new shoes with old shoelaces? 15

PENUOLIO And what else?

MERCUTIUS Thou didst also quarrel with one who only coughed in the street because he had woken up thy dog that was lying in the sun and sleeping. And yet thou wouldst talk about quarreling! 20

PENUOLIO Were I so inclined to quarrel as thou art, I should already have been cold in the earth for a long time. Hey! I swear by my head, here comes a Capolet!

MERCUTIUS And I swear by my feet that I do not care for it. 25

IV.ii

12] *RuJ*; Am I like such a fellow? Q2, Q1 (a one)

13-14 Oh ... *Italia*] *RuJ*; Go too, thou art as hot a lacke being mooude Q1; Come, come, thou art as hot a lacke in thy moode as any in *Italie* Q2

14-15 Didst ... Sunday] *RuJ*; Didst thou not fall out with a taylor for wearing his new doublet before Easter Q2, Q1 (With a taylor)

15-16 and ... shoelaces] *RuJ*; with another for tying his new shooes with olde riband Q2, Q1 (and with, ribands)

17] *RuJ*; And what too? Q1, Q2

18-20] *RuJ*; With another for coughing, because hee wakd thy dogge that laye a sleepe in the Sunne ... And yet thou wilt forbid me of quarrelling Q1; thou hast quareld with a man for coffing in the streete, because hee hath wakened thy dogge that hath laine asleep in the sun ... and yet thou wilt tuter me from quarrelling Q2

22-23 Were ... time] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; And I were so apt to quarell as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an houre and a quarter Q2

23-24 Hey ... Capolet] *RuJ*; By my head here come the *Capulets* Q2, Q1 (comes a *Capolet*)

25] *RuJ*; By my heele I care not Q1, Q2

23 **time** Q2 inserts the entrance of Tybalt and company here. Q1 has Tybalt's entrance at the end of Benvolio's speech.

IV.ii corresponds to Q1 III.i.21-99 and Q2 III.i.36-136. One major difference to Shakespeare is that it is not made explicit that Romio intervenes when Mercutius and Tipold fight. In *RuJ*, Tipold might simply be a better fencer than Mercutius; his fencing style is not ridiculed as it is in

TIPOLD [*tritt auf*].

TIPOLD Jch bin außgegangen vnd gehe noch meine feindt anzu treffen, aber stillo da sehe ich ein paar von meines feindts *Consorten*, ich muß Sie anreden, gueten abend.

MERCUTIUS [N]ichts mehr als ein gueten abend, der ist nicht dankhens werth[.] 5

TIPOLD [W]ofern ihr mir vrsach gebt, so bin ich bereith zuschlagen[.]

MERCUTIUS [W]ie *Tipold*, muest du erst vrsach haben, kanst du dich nicht schlagen ohne vrsach?

TIPOLD [D]ises auf die Seith gesetzt, sagt mir wo ist Euer mit *Consort Romio*? 10

MERCUTIUS [W]aß teüffl[,] meinst du das wür bierfidler sein?

0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

IV.ii.2, 11, 13, 18 **Consorten** not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism. In city protocols the fellow players of a *Prinzipal* were referred to as "Consorten" (Cohn, "Köln" 267, 273). Today, the formulation "und Konsorten" ("and consorts") is used pejoratively (Duden).

8, 10 Note that Tipold uses "ihr" which could be the informal plural or the singular polite form, while Mercutius uses the informal "du".

12 **bierfidler** literally "beerfiddler", someone "who plays the violin where beer is drunk" (Grimm, "der zum bier geigt").

Enter TIPOLD.

TIPOLD I went out and am still walking to meet my enemy. But quiet! There I see a couple of my enemy's consorts. I must address them. – Good evening!

MERCUTIUS Not more than a good evening? That is not worth a thanks. 5

TIPOLD If you give me cause, then I am ready to fight.

MERCUTIUS What, Tipold, dost thou first need a cause? Canst thou not fight without a cause?

TIPOLD This set aside, tell me where is your consort Romio? 10

MERCUTIUS What the devil, dost thou think that we are tavern-

IV.ii.0 SD] *RuJ; Enter Tybalt Q1; Enter Tybalt, Petruchio, and others Q2*

2-3 I ... them] *RuJ; not in Q1; for I will speake to them Q2*

3 Good evening] *RuJ; Gentlemen a word with one of you Q1; Gentlemen, Good den, a word with one of you Q2*

4 Not ... evening] *RuJ; And but one word with one of vs Q2, Q1 (But one)*

6] *RuJ; I am apt enough to that if I haue occasion Q1; You shall find me apt inough to that sir, and you wil giue me occasion Q2*

8-9] *RuJ; Could you not take occasion? Q1; Could you not take some occasion without giuing? Q2*

10 tell ... Romio] *RuJ; Mercutio, thou consortest with Romeo Q2, Q1 (consorts)*

12-13 What ... tavern-fiddlers] *RuJ; Consort Zwounes consort? the slaue wil make fidlers of vs Q1; Consort, what doest thou make vs Minstrels? Q2*

Shakespeare. If Mercutius is hurt because he loses the fight, this puts both him and Romio in a different light.

2 consorts In Shakespeare, Tybalt first uses this word to insult Mercutio (III.i.44).

4 evening This is inconsistent with Penuolio's observation that the day has just begun (IV.i.2).

4-5 That ... thanks Compare: "couple it with something, make it a word and a blowe" (F3r, III.i.38-39). In Shakespeare, Mercutio delivers the first taunt; in *RuJ*, it is Tipold who does so.

4 That refers to "Good evening".

12-13 What ... consorts Mercutius is taking offense at being called "consort", someone playing a secondary role – fiddling while others are drinking beer. A "tavern-fiddler" was probably considered a second-rate musician. Q1 actually uses the word "fiddlers", while Q2 reads "Minstrels". Yet since both quartos have "fiddlesticke", *RuJ*'s "bierfidler" does not necessarily depend on Q1.

12 What ... devil The German wording allows for the possibility that Mercutius is calling Tipold a "devil".

[V]nd vnß *Consorten* nennen darffst, sehe zue das kein *discord* darauß wird, sonst ist hier mein fidlbogen[.]

ROMIO [*tritt auf.*]

TIPOLD [S]tillo stillo da kompt der Eben zu rechter zeit den ich 15
begehre[.]

MERCUTIUS [H]olla hier kompt *Romio*, *Tipold* wirst du noch viel
von *Consorten* reden, so ist *Romio* schon verhanden[.]

TIPOLD [H]o ho die freindschafft so ich zu den *Mundigesern* trag
ist sehr schlecht, herr *Romio* du bist ein schelm[.] 20

ROMIO [W]ie *Tipold* ich habe dir kein vnrecht gethan, kanst du die
Jenigen so dich nicht beleidigen auf der strasße gehen lasßen [.]

TIPOLD [H]öre *Romio* du kombst mir vor alß ein Jung vnd gehest
ohne degen, wofern ich dich noch ein mahl so antreffe, so will ich dich
von meinen *laggajen pastiniren* lasßen[.] 25

ROMIO [L]asße mich zu friden *Tipold* ich erdulde mehr alß zu viel,
ach himmel ich bin nur vor wenig stunden sein schuager worden vnd
mueß dises gedulden, *Julieta* halt mich zurukh ihm widerstand zu

14 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

13 *discord* not in Grimm, either of English or Latin origin.

25 *laggajen* Lakei: servant, lakkey (Grimm).

25 *pastiniren* not in Grimm, but possibly related to "Pastete" ("pasty"). "Pasteten kriegen" ("to get pasties") meant to receive blows (Grimm). Tipold may also threaten "to make paste" out of Romio.

28 *gedulden* dulden: to bear, to put up with (Grimm).

fiddlers and thou mayst call us consorts? Take care that no discord grows out of this, else here is my fiddlestick.

Enter ROMIO.

TIPOLD Quiet, quiet! Here comes the one I want at the right time. 15

MERCUTIUS Hey, here comes Romio. Tipold, wilt thou talk more of consorts? Romio is already here.

TIPOLD Ho, ho! The friendship I bear to the Mundigese is very bad. Sir Romio, thou art a rogue. 20

ROMIO What, Tipold, I have done thee no injustice. Canst thou let those who do not insult thee walk in the street?

TIPOLD Listen, Romio, thou appearest to me like a boy and walkest without a rapier. If I meet thee so another time I shall make my lackeys bastinado thee. 25

ROMIO Leave me in peace, Tipold, I suffer more than enough. – O heavens, I became his brother-in-law only a few hours ago and must endure this. Julieta, restrain me from opposing him! I will force myself

13 and ... consorts] *RuJ*; If you doe sirra Q1; and thou make Minstrels of vs Q2

13-14 Take ... this] *RuJ*; look for nothing but discord Q1; looke to hear nothing but discords Q2

14 else ... fiddlestick] *RuJ*; heeres my fiddlesticke Q2, Q1 (For heeres)

15] *RuJ*; Well peace be with you sir, here comes my man Q2, Q1 (you ^ heere)

19-20] *RuJ*; *Romeo*, the loue I beare thee, can affoord / No better terme then this: thou art a villaine Q2, Q1 (the hate I beare to thee, better words then these)

17-18 **Tipold ... consorts** Compare *RJ*'s: "But ile be hangd sir if he weare your liuerie: / Marrie go before to field, heele be your follower, / Your worship in that sense may call him man" (Q2 F3r, III.i.56-58; Q1 similar).

21-22 Compare: "*Tybalt*, the reason that I haue to loue thee, / Doth much excuse the appertaining rage / To such a greeting: villaine I am none. / Therefore farewell, I see thou knowest me not" (Q2 F3r, III.i.61-64; Q1 has "the loue I beare to thee" [F1r, III.i.37], otherwise similar).

23-25 In contrast to *RuJ*, in Shakespeare Romeo is armed, as Tybalt's challenge makes clear: "Boy, this shall not excuse the iniuries / That thou hast done me, therefore turne and draw" (Q2 F3r, III.i.65-66) and "Bace boy this cannot serue thy turne, and therefore drawe" (Q1 F1r, III.i.41).

23 **boy** In *RJ*, Tybalt repeatedly calls Romeo "boy". Compare previous note and "Thou wretched boy that didst cōsort him here, / Shalt with him hence" (Q2-only F4r, III.i.130-31).

26-29 In *RJ*, Romeo speaks to Tybalt, albeit in riddles: "But loue thee better then thou canst deuise: / Till thou shalt know the reason for my loue" (F3r, III.i.68-69). In *RuJ*, he is more explicit, although lines 27-29 are presumably an aside.

thuen, ich will mich zwingen vnd von hier gehen[.]

[ROMIO] *abit*[. PENUOLIO *abit*.]

MERCUTIUS [W]aß will *Romio* daß leiden, ich aber beÿ meinem 30
leben nicht, holla *Tipold* katzen könig komme hier, sie sagen daß ein
katz nein leben hätt, drumb komb ich wil dir eins daruon nehmen[.]

TIPOLD [D]u *Mercutio* mit mir fechten? [K]omb komb wan du lust
hast in die andere weltdt, oder ich will dich gahr nach der höllen 35
schikken, Sa komb an.

[TIPOLD vnd MERCUTIUS *fechten*.]

ROMIO *auß*[.] PENOULIO [*auch*.]

ROMIO [H]altet ein ihr herrn, ihr vergesßet Eures stands vnd
Nahmb[.]

MERCUTIUS Ja Ja halt ein halt ein ich bin schon verwundt[.]

TIPOLD So recht du hast dein theil fahre nach der höllen[,] ich aber

29 SD *this edn; abit RuJ*

35 SD TIPOLD ... *fechten*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

35 SD *auch*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

32 **nein** neun: nine.

35 **Sa** "Sa! sa!" is an interjection to incite or animate, originally used for dogs, from the French "ça" (Grimm). In *BB*, Ophelia uses the double interjection (IV.vii.5). It is also found in Shakespeare: "Sa, sa, sa, sa!" (*KL*, F IV.v.199). In *RJ*, Mercutio calls "So ho!" to mock the Nurse (E3v, II.iii.122). The meaning of "Soho" is related to the German "Sa", namely a "[h]unter's call on discovering or starting a hare, and therefore call to announce a discovery" (Levenson 236).

and go from hence.

Exit ROMIO. Exit PENUOLIO.

MERCUTIUS What, will Romio suffer this? But not I, by my life! 30
Hey, Tipold, cat-king, come here! They say that a cat has nine lives, so
come, I will take one of them from thee.

TIPOLD Thou, Mercutio, fence with me? Come on, come on, if
thou hast got a mind for the other world, or I may even send thee to 35
hell. Come on!

TIPOLD and MERCUTIUS fight.

Enter ROMIO and PENUOLIO.

ROMIO Stop, gentlemen! You forget your station and name!

MERCUTIUS Yes, yes, stop, stop! I am already wounded.

TIPOLD Right so, thou hast thy share; go to hell. But I will go from

30] *RuJ*; O calme, dishonourable, vile submission Q2, Q1 (O _^ dishonorable)

31-32] *RuJ*; You Ratcatcher, come backe, come backe ... Nothing King of Cates, but borrow one
of your nine liues Q1; *Tibalt*, you ratcatcher, will you walke? ... Good King of Cats, nothing but
one of your nine liues, that I meane to make bold withall Q2

33 Thou ... me] *RuJ*; What wouldst thou haue with me? Q2, Q1 (wouldest _^ with)

35 Come on] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; I am for you Q2

35 SD TIPOLD ... *fight*] *this edn*; *Tibalt vnder Romeos arme thrusts Mercutio in* Q1; *not in* Q2

36] *RuJ*; Stay *Tibalt*, hould *Mercutio* Q1; Gentlemen, for shame forbear this outrage ... Hold
Tybalt, good *Mercutio* Q2

38] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; I am hurt Q2

28-29 **Julietta ... hence** Romio invokes Julieta to help him remain calm. In contrast, in *RJ*, he
blames Juliet for having made him "effeminate" (F4r, III.i.114) after Mercutio's death.

29 SD In Shakespeare, Romeo does not exit. In Q1, Tybalt is about to leave since Mercutio asks
the "Ratcatcher" to "come backe, come backe" (F1r, III.i.47). Penuolio, who re-enters at 35 SD,
may follow Romio and succeed in bringing him back. See also note at 35 SD.

33-35 In Q2, Tybalt confines himself to accepting the challenge; in Q1 he has no scripted
reaction.

35 SD **Enter ... PENUOLIO** The MS reads "Romio auß Penuolio" ("Romio out Penuolio").
There is no exit SD for Penuolio; see note at 29 SD.

36 In Q2, Romeo additionally asks "[g]entle *Mercutio*" to "put [his] Rapier vp" (F3v, III.i.82),
and in both quartos he implores Benvolio to "beate down their weapons" (F3v, III.i.84).

36 **You ... name** Q2's Romeo adds a different reason: "the Prince expresly hath / Forbid this
bandying in *Verona* streetes" (F3v, III.i.86-87).

gehe von hier[.] 40

[TIPOLD] *abit*[.]

PENUOLIO [Ô] himmel *Mercutius* ist verwundet!

ROMIO [W]ie verwundet[?] [W]ans nur kein tödtliche wunden ist
vnd nicht groß[.]

MERCUTIUS Ich glaub ihr spottet mein, so groß ist die wunden
nicht alß ein Ochsen maul oder Stadt thor, aber morgen werdet ihr 45
mich recht *gravitetisch* begraben helffen[.]

ROMIO Ich bitte *Penuolio* Eyle vmb einen balbirer, damit ihm
seine wunden versorget werde[.]

MERCUTIUS Eÿ bemühet Eüch nicht vor meine wunden zu heÿlen
doch bekhenne ich, es währe besßer ich were in einen arm gestochen 50
alß durch lungen vnd leber[.]

ROMIO [Ô] himmel ist dan vnser hauß vnd geschlecht mit lauttern
vnglikh behafftet, armseeliger *Romio* was wirst du entlich noch vor
widerwerthigkeit ertragen müßen?

[MERCUTIUS *stirbt*.]

PENUOLIO [W]ie *Mercutius* rührst du dich nicht mehr. [Ô] *Romio* 55

40 SD] TIPOLD *this edn; abit RuJ*

54 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

46 **gravitetisch** The pun is indebted to Shakespeare. The German "Grab" ("grave") allows for this. "Gravitätisch" can mean "dignified", "proud", "serious", "important", or "with gravity" (Grimm).

47 **balbirer** or Balbier, Barbier: barber (Grimm).

53 **entlich** here: in the end (Grimm).

54 **widerwerthigkeit** misfortune, adversity, something which produces suffering and anger (Grimm).

here.

40

Exit TIPOLD.

PENUOLIO O heavens, Mercutius is wounded.

ROMIO How, wounded? If only it is no fatal wound and not large.

MERCUTIUS I believe you are mocking me. The wound is not so big as the mouth of an ox or a city gate, but tomorrow you will help to bury me right gravely. 45

ROMIO Please, Penuolio, hurry for a barber so that his wounds may be attended to.

MERCUTIUS Oh, don't trouble yourselves about healing my wounds. Yet I confess, it would be better if I had been stabbed in my arm than through lungs and liver. 50

ROMIO O heavens! Is our house and family afflicted with so much misfortune? Miserable Romio, what adversity wilt thou have to bear!

MERCUTIUS *dies.*

PENUOLIO How, Mercutius, dost thou no longer move? O Romio, 55

40 SD] *RuJ*; *Tibalt ... flies* Q1; *Away Tybalt* Q2

41-42 O ... wounded] *RuJ*; *Rom*: What art thou hurt man Q1; *Ben*. What art thou hurt? Q2

42 If ... large] *RuJ*; the wound is not deepe Q1; Courage man, the hurt cannot be much Q2

44-45 I ... gate] *RuJ*; No tis not so deepe as a well, nor so wide as a Church doore Q2, Q1 (Noe, not, barne doore)

45-46 but ... gravely] *RuJ*; but it will serue I warrant ... ye aske for me to morrow you shall finde me a graue-man Q1; but tis inough, twill serue: aske for me to morrow, and you shall finde me a graue man Q2

55-56 O ... clouds] *RuJ*; O *Romeo, Romeo*, braue *Mercutio* is dead, / That gallant spirit hath aspir'd the Clowdes, / Which too vntimely here did scorne the earth Q2, Q1 (Ah *Romeo*,

39-40 In *RJ*, Tybalt leaves without a word. *RuJ* increases Tipold's spitefulness.

47-48 In *RJ*, Mercutio himself sends his page for a surgeon (III.i.94).

49-51 Mercutio's memorable "a plague a both your houses" (Q2 F4r, III.i.99-100; "poxe" in Q1 [F1v, III.i.74]) is omitted. For the play's general disregard of the feud, see pp. 191-92 above. In *RuJ*, Mercutius does not blame Romio for having "come between [them]" (F3v, III.i.102-03). He merely continues joking and punning until the end as he does in Shakespeare.

52-53 In Shakespeare, immediately before Mercutio's death is announced, Romeo's lament includes Mercutio, the Prince, Tybalt, and Juliet. In *RuJ*, he exclusively focuses on himself. Compare also: "This dayes blacke fate, on mo daies doth depēd, / This but begins, the wo others must end" (F4r, III.i.119-20).

52-53 **O ... misfortune** This echoes Mercutio's curse on the two houses in Shakespeare (see note at 49-51).

Mercutius ist todt, sein geist ist schon nach den wolkhen geflogen[.]

ROMIO [W]ie was? [J]st *Mercutius* todt, so trutze ich das ärgiste so mir kommen kan, vnd der Jenige so disen freffl begangen solle gewiß den schaden fühlen[.]

TIPOLD [*tritt auf.*]

PENUOLIO *Romio* hier kompt *Tipold* widerumb[.] 60

ROMIO Es ist guet. Nun *Tipold* anietzo ist es zeit das du zurukh nimmest den Schelmen so du mir zuuor auferlegt, oder ich halte dich vor einen biß in deinen todt[.]

TIPOLD [H]a ha hast du einmahl einen degen bekommen es währe vnbüllich das du vnd *Mercutius* von einander sollet *Separirt* werden, 65 vnd weil ihr Eüch in Eurem leben treülich einander geliebet, so warthe ich wil dir also bald den selben weeg zeigen, den dein mit *Consort* gewandert[.]

ROMIO [D]u vermeinst vielleicht mich mit deinen trutzen zu uer Jagen, aber es soll dir fählen, drumb so kom an vnd brauche dein 70 gewöhr[.]

[*Sie*] *fechten*[.] TIPOLD *fält*[.]

PENUOLIO [H]alt ein *Romio*[,] *Tipold* falt zur Erden vnd ist

59 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

71 SD *Sie*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

58 **freffl** Frevel: crime, outrage.

61 **anietzo** jetzt: now (Grimm).

65 **vnbüllich** un(ge)bürlich: improper, unseemly, inappropriate (Grimm).

70 **fählen** fehlen: to miss (Grimm).

71 **gewöhr** See note at I.i.50.

Mercutius is dead. His spirit is already flown to the clouds.

ROMIO How? What? Is Mercutius dead? Then I defy the worst that can happen to me, and he who committed this outrage shall surely feel the damage.

Enter TIPOLD.

PENUOLIO Romio, here comes Tipold again. 60

ROMIO It is well. Well, Tipold, now it is time that thou takest the rogue back again that thou gavest me before, or I shall take thee for one until thy death.

TIPOLD Haha, hast thou got a rapier for once? It would not be right that thou and Mercutius should be separated from each other; and as you truly loved each other in your life, so wait, I shall soon show thee the same way thy consort went. 65

ROMIO Thou meanest perhaps to scare me with thy bluster, but thou shalt not succeed. Therefore come on, and use thy weapon! 70

They fight. TIPOLD falls.

PENUOLIO Hold, Romio! Tipold falls on the ground and is

vntimely scornd the lowly earth)

57-59] *RuJ*; He gan in triumph and *Mercutio* slaine, / Away to heauen, respectiue lenitie, / And fier end furie, be my conduct now Q2, Q1 (A liue in triumph, fier eyed fury)

60] *RuJ*; Here comes the furious *Tybalt* backe againe Q1, Q2

61-63 Well ... death] *RuJ*; Now *Tybalt* take the villaine backe againe, / That late thou gauest me Q2, Q1 (Which late)

64-67 It ... went] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; Thou wretched boy that didst cōsort him here, / Shalt with him hence Q2

71 SD] *RuJ*; *Fight, Tibalt falles* Q1; *They Fight. Tibalt falles* Q2

55-56 In *RJ*, Benvolio and Mercutio exit, Mercutio dies offstage, and Benvolio re-enters to announce Mercutio's death. In *RuJ*, although Mercutius dies onstage, Penuolio makes the same announcement, possibly because Romio seems occupied with his own fate.

59 SD In the MS, Tipold's name is fittingly underscored with a big flourish.

61-63, 69-70 In *RJ*, Romeo again invokes Mercutio (III.i.126). His challenge to Tybalt is more clearly an act of revenge in Shakespeare than in *RuJ*.

64 **Haha ... once** See 23-25 and note. Romio has taken up Mercutius's weapon.

69-70 Compare Q2's: "This shall determine that" (F4r, III.i.131). Q1 has no equivalent.

72-73 In Shakespeare, Benvolio adds the citizens' approach as a reason to take flight, but he does not exit himself (though Q1 prints the plural: "*Exeunt*" [F2r, III.i.99]).

verwundt, darumb ist kein zeit vor dich vnd mich vnß länger aufzu halten[.]

TIPOLD [Ô] wehe ich bin des todts vnd sterbe[.]

75

[TIPOLD *stirbt.*]

ROMIO *Penuolio* folge mir, laß vns die flucht nehmen meiner liebsten *Julieta* willen[.]

[ROMIO] *abit*[.] [PENUOLIO *abit.*]

PICKLHÄRING [*tritt auf.*]

PICKLHÄRING [W]er viel zu thuen hat [hat] viel zu schaffen, ich glaube niht daß alle Menschen in der weldt so viel zu thuen haben alß ich allein, ietzt soll ich lauffen vnd sehen was vor ein tumult auf der gasßen. [A]ber waß ligt hier vor ein voller Naßküttel, potz schlappermendt daß ist *Tipold*, bluet Er doch alß wie ein schwein, 80

75 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

77 SD] *this edn; abit / Picklhäring RuJ*

78 hat hat] *this edn; hat, hat DEVRIENT, COHN; hat RuJ*

81 **Naßküttel** Naßkittel: "drunkard" (Grimm, "trunkenbold").

81-82 **potz schlappermendt** See note at I.iv.62.

wounded. So there is no time for thee and me to stay any longer.

TIPOLD O woe, I am near death and die.

75

TIPOLD *dies*.

ROMIO Follow me, Penuolio. Let us take flight for my dear Julieta's sake.

Exit ROMIO. Exit PENUOLIO.

Enter PICKELHERRING.

PICKELHERRING Who has much to do has much to manage. I don't believe that all the people in the world have as much to do as I alone. Now I'm supposed to run and see what tumult is in the street. 80 But what plastered drunkard is lying here? Gee whiz, this is Tipold, and he's bleeding like a pig. Hey, Tipold, by the Duke's displeasure I

72-73] *RuJ*; *Romeo* away, thou seest that *Tibalt's* slaine, / The Citizens approach, away, be gone / Thou wilt be taken Q1; *Romeo*, away be gone: / The Citizens are vp, and *Tybalt* slaine, / Stand not amazed, the Prince wil doome thee death, / If thou art taken, hence be gone away Q2

75 In Shakespeare, Tybalt is accorded no dying words. Yet on the *Wanderbühne*, formulations such as "I die" were common (see, e.g., V.iv.52, 73). See also note to *BB* III.v.16.

76-77 Compare: "*Rom*. O I am fortunes foole. / *Ben*. Why dost thou stay?" (Q2 F4v, III.i.136) and "*Rom*. Ah I am fortunes slaue" (Q1 F2r, III.i.99).

77 SD Pickelherring discovers only Tipold's corpse (82), not Mercutius's. If Mercutius's body is carried off-stage, the actor can double as Fürst in IV.iii, with a quick costume change. The actor playing Pickelherring can play for time.

77 SD Penuolio probably exits here so that Pickelherring can discover Tipold's corpse. In Shakespeare, it is Benvolio who shows the "*Citizens*" Tybalt's body (F4v, III.i.136 SD; the SP is "*Watch*." in Q1 [F2r, III.i.100]).

82 **he's ... pig** In *Papinianus*, the clown Traraeus compares a recently killed man to a bleeding pig, showing irreverence similar to Pickelherring's here (II.viii in Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 160).

82-84 **Hey ... me** This echoes the Citizen's order in Q2: "Vp sir, go with me: / I charge thee in the Princes name obey" (F4v, III.i.139-40). Q1 has "Vp sirra goe with vs" (F2v, III.i.101). In *RJ*, this line may be directed at Benvolio or at Tybalt if the speaker has not realized that his interlocutor is dead. Pickelherring's lines sound like a parody of Shakespeare, yet a similar situation is found in *IH4*: Falstaff encounters Blunt's corpse on stage and comments: "Soft! who are you? – Sir Walter Blunt. There's honour for you! here's no vanity! God keep lead out of me; I need no more weight than mine own bowels ... I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath" (V.iii.32-35, 58-59). In a performance by the Royal Shakespeare Company (directed by Michael Boyd, Stratford-upon-Avon, 28 February 2008) much was made of Falstaff's discovery of and interaction with the dead body, and the audience laughed heartily.

holla *Tipold* ich befehle dir beÿ des hertzogs vngnad, das du auf stehest
vnd gehest mit mir, Er will nicht andtwordtten Ja Er ist gahr todt,
larmen larmen, *Tipold* ist todt gestochen[,] gestorben vnd lebt nicht 85
mehr[.]

[Actus 4tus,] Scena 3tia

HERTZOG [*vnd*] CAPOLETS FRAU [*treten auf.*]

HERTZOG [W]as ist diß vor ein *Tumult* vnd wer ist vrsach
hieruon[?]

PICKHLHÄRING [D]as weiß ich nicht herr hertzog, aber daß weiß
ich wohl daß ich hier *Tipold* todtligend gefunden hab, vnd hier ist der
Mann, der so praff post bringen kan. 5

HERTZOG [K]anst du auch wissen Narr wer diser Mordt hat
begangen[?]

PICKLHÄRING Ich kan mir leicht einbilden weil Er gestochen, es
wirts ein degen gethan haben[.]

HERTZOG Schweig du bist ein Narr[.] 10

PICKLHÄRING [D]aß kan wohl sein ich glaub es selber[.]

PENUOLIO [*tritt auf.*]

IV.iii Actus 4tus] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

5 so ... post] COHN; prave Post DEVRIENT

6 Mordt hat] *this edn; Mordthat DEVRIENT, COHN*

11 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

85 **larmen** a rare form of "lärm", here in the sense of "alarm!", related to the battle cry of Romance origin. A second meaning – crowd, commotion, tumult – is reflected in IV.iv.5 (Grimm).

IV.iii.5 **praff** See note at II.ii.6.

5 **post** See note at III.vii.32.

6 **Mordt hat** Devrient and Cohn transcribe as "Mordthat", possibly because "Tat" is feminine, whereas "Mord" is masculine. However, *RuJ* again has "dise mort" at V.iv.119. For variations in gender, see note at I.iii.51.

8 **weil ... gestochen** normal usage in the seventeenth century (Grimm); in today's language "erstochen" (like at line 15).

command thee to get up and go with me. He won't answer. Yes, he's quite dead! Alarm, alarm! Tipold is stabbed to death, died, and lives no more! 85

IV.iii

Enter DUKE and CAPOLET'S WIFE.

DUKE What tumult is this, and who is the cause of it?

PICKELHERRING I don't know that, Duke, but this I know well: that I found Tipold lying here dead. And here is the man who is good at delivering messages. 5

DUKE Canst thou also know, fool, who did this murder?

PICKELHERRING I can easily imagine since he is stabbed, a rapier will have done it.

DUKE Be quiet, thou art a fool. 10

PICKELHERRING That may well be; I believe so myself.

Enter PENUOLIO.

IV.iii.0 SD] *RuJ*; *Enter Prince, Capulets wife* Q1; *Enter Prince, olde Mountague, Capulet, their wives and all* Q2

1] *RuJ*; Where are the vile beginners of this fray? Q2, Q1 (Where be)

82 **Duke** The first instance where the authority figure is called "Duke" ("Herzog") and not "Prince" ("Fürst"). See p. 245 above.

IV.iii corresponds to Q1 III.i.100-45 and Q2 III.i.137-97 (the aftermath of the duel). One of the main differences to Shakespeare are Pickelherring's irreverent comments.

0 SD In Q1, as in *RuJ*, the Prince is only accompanied by "*Capulets wife*"; in Q2, more people enter. In Shakespeare, the Prince's entrance is preceded by that of "*Citizens*" (F4v, III.i.136 SD), see also note to IV.ii.82-84. Q2 has the most crowded stage, while *RuJ* offers a nearly private scene, Q1 representing something between the two.

0 SD **DUKE** See p. 245 above.

10-11 Compare I.iii.23-24.

PENUOLIO [G]nädigster fürst und herr, ich komme die rechte warheit zu sagen wie sich diser vnglikh seelige zue fall angefangen alß nemblichen *Tipold* deß *Capulets* Vetter kam mit scheldtwordten an *Mercutium*, *Mercutius* ergreiff den degen vnd wurde erstochen[.] 15

FRAU [G]nädigster fürst vnd herr wofern Sie gerechtigkeit lieben so lasßet das Jenige bluet widerumb vergosßen werden, der Meinen Vetter so jämmerlich ermordet hat[.]

HERTZOG [H]altet ein fraw wür wollen erst die gründliche warheit vernehmen, alß dan der gerechtigkeit ihren lauff lasßen[.] 20

FRAU Ach gnädigster fürst vnd herr sie geben disen *Mundogesser* dan Er ist Partheisch vnd vnsers hauß geschworne feind[.]

HERTZOG [W]ofern wür nicht von ihme die warheit wissen, so können wür nicht richten, darumb sagen wür gebet gehör, vnd ihr *Penuolio* erzehlet den verlauff dises mords beÿ Eurem gewisßen[.] 25

PENUOLIO [Gnä]digster fürst vnd herr *Tipold* kam in einen hützigen zorn nannte *Romio* einen Schelm, *Romio* aber gantz Sanfftmüthig ihm andtworttet, vnd batte, Er möchte doch bedenken

26 Gnädigster] COHN; gndigster *RuJ*

13 **zue fall** Zufall: here, occurence, incidence, usually contrarious and disturbing (Grimm).

19 **gründliche** In relation to "Wahrheit" ("truth") "gründlich" ("thorough") emphasizes the "inner content of truth" and means "true, really, certain" (Grimm, "mit betonung des inneren wahrheitsgehaltes ... wahr, wirklich, gewisz").

21 **geben** The sentence is grammatically incomplete. "Sie geben disen *Mundogesser* kein Gehör" ("Do not listen to this Mundogese") may have been intended, as at line 24.

PENUOLIO Most gracious Prince and lord, I come to tell the exact truth how this unhappy accident began; namely when Tipold, Capolet's cousin, came to Mercutium with insults; Mercutius takes up the rapier and was stabbed. 15

WIFE Most gracious Prince and lord, if you love justice, let the blood of him who has so miserably murdered my cousin be shed in return.

DUKE Hold, woman, we first want to know the whole truth, and then let justice take its course. 20

WIFE O most gracious Prince and lord, do not give ear to this Mundogese, for he is partial and the sworn enemy of our house.

DUKE Unless we know the truth from him we cannot judge. Therefore we say: give ear. And you, Penuolio, relate the course of this murder, upon your conscience. 25

PENUOLIO Most gracious Prince and lord, Tipold came in a heated rage, called Romio a rogue. But Romio answered him very meekly and asked him to consider how unnecessary this quarrel was, whereby

12-15] *RuJ*; O Noble Prince, I can discover all: / The unluckie mannage of this fatall brall, / There lies the man slaine by young *Romeo*, / That slew thy kinsman, braue *Mercutio* Q2, Q1 (Ah Noble, The most unlucky, this, brawle, Heere lyes)

16-18] *RuJ*; O the blood is spild / Of my deare kisman, Prince as thou art true, / For blood of ours, shed blood of Mountague Q2, Q1 (Ah the)

21-22] *RuJ*; He is a *Mountagew* and speakes partiall Q1; He is a kisman to the *Mountague*, / Affection makes him false, he speakes not true Q2

24-25 And ... conscience] *RuJ*; Speake *Benuolio* who began this fray? Q1; *Benuolio*, who began this bloudie fray? Q2

27-28 But ... was] *RuJ*; *Romeo* that spoke him faire, bid him bethinke / How nice the quarrell was Q2, Q1 (*Romeo* who spoke); all this vttered, / With gentle breath, calm, look, knees humbly bowed Q2

12 Prince See p. 245 above.

14 Mercutium Creizenach points out that the English Comedians usually mastered the Latin flection (LXXXVI). In Luther's time the Latin ending was sometimes used; in the course of the seventeenth century it was rejected (Grimm). There are numerous instances in earlier plays, e. g.: "takes Juliam by the hand" (*Sidea* V, 363, "nimbt Juliam bey der Hand").

16-18 In Q2, Capulet's wife starts out with a frenzied lament: "*Tybalt*, my Cozin, O my brothers child, / O Prince, O Cozen, husband" and ends her speech with: "O Cozin, Cozin" (F4v, III.i.146-47, 150). Q1 only has a lament at the beginning of the speech: "*Tibalt*, *Tybalt*, O my brothers child, / Vnhappie sight" (F2v, III.i.107-08).

17 cousin See note at II.iii.31.

21-22 Whereas these lines precede Penuolio's narrative in *RuJ*, in Shakespeare they follow it.

wie vnnöthig diser streitt währe dardurch Ihro hochfürstl[iche]
 gn[aden] nicht beleidigt wurde, aber alle dise gueten wordt kunten den 30
 erzürnten *Tipold* nicht bewegen sondern zuge also bald sein gewöhr
 auß vnd gieng auf den tapfferen *Mercutium* loß, welcher sein gewöhr
 gleich mäsßig gebraucht[.] *Romio* schrie laut haltet ein vmb des
 himmels willen, aber es wahr geschehen *Mercutius* hatte einen
 tödtlichen stoß füele zur Erden, *Romio* welcher *Mercutio* todt 35
 Nunmehr auch ergräümmet wahr zuket sein gewöhr geschwinder alß
 ein plitz, ich aber kunte so bald nicht retten alß *Tipold* durch einen
 tödtlichen stoß zur Erden fülle *Romio Saluirte* sich, dises ist warhafftig
 die rechte warheit wie es ergangen, vnd soll ichs auch mit meinem
 leben beantwortten[.] 40

HERTZOG [W]ollan weil *Tipold Mercutium* erlegt ist sein todt
 durch *Romio* gerochen, aber dennoch solte *Romio* nicht sein Eigener
 Richter gewesen, weil Er aber *Tipold* erstochen also verbannen wür ihn

29-30 hochfürstliche gnaden] *this edn*; hochfürstl. gnl: *RuJ*; Hochfürstl. Gn. COHN

36 ergräümmet] *this edn*; erzürnet COHN

31 **gewöhr** See note at I.i.50.

33 **gleich mäsßig** here: accordingly, at the same time, also (Grimm).

35 **füele** fiel: fell.

36 **ergräümmet** probably from "ergrämen": to acerbate, to goad (Grimm).

37 **retten** Today, "retten" needs an object, but Grimm notes uses without one, including an example where "retten" means "abwehren" ("to ward off").

38 **Saluirte** to save, to bring into safety (Grimm).

41 **erlegt** to defeat, to kill (Grimm). Today, this verb is only used for animals.

your princely grace should not be offended. Yet all these good words
could not move the enraged Tipold, but he instantly drew his weapon, 30
and rushed at brave Mercutium, who likewise used his weapon. Romio

shouted loudly: "Hold, for heaven's sake!" But it had happened:
Mercutius had received a deadly thrust and fell to the ground. Romio,
who was now also goaded on by Mercutio's death, drew his weapon 35

quicker than lightning. I could not intervene quickly enough, when
Tipold, from a deadly thrust, fell to the ground; Romio fled. This is
truly the exact truth how it happened, even if I should answer for it
with my life. 40

DUKE Well, since Tipold killed Mercutium, his death is avenged by
Romio. But still, Romio should not have been his own judge. But since
he has stabbed Tipold, so we banish him from Verona. And if he is in

28-29 whereby ... offended] *RuJ*; not in Q1; and vrgd withall / Your high displeasure Q2

29-30 Yet ... Tipold] *RuJ*; But *Tibalt* still persisting in his wrong Q1; all this vttered ... Could not
take truce with the vnruely spleene / Of *Tybalt* deafe to peace Q2

30-31 but ... weapon] *RuJ*; The stout *Mercutio* drewe to calme the storme Q1; but that he
[*Tybalt*] tilts / With piercing steele at bold *Mercutios* breast, / Who all as hot, turnes deadly
poynt to poynt Q2

31-33 Romio ... sake] *RuJ*; Which *Romeo* seeing cal'd stay Gentlemen Q1; *Romeo* he cries aloud,
/ Hold friends, friends part Q2

34-38 Romio ... ground] *RuJ*; And [*Tybalt*] with his rapier braued *Romeo*: / That had but newly
entertain'd reuenge, / And ere I could draw forth my rapyer / To part their furie, downe did
Tybalt fall Q1; *Romeo*, / Who had but newly entertaing reuenge, / And toote they go like
lightning, for ere I / Could draw to part them, was stout *Tybalt* slaine: / And as he fell Q2

38 Romio fled] *RuJ*; And this way *Romeo* fled Q1; did *Romeo* turn and flie Q2

38-40 This ... life] *RuJ*; not in Q1; This is the truth, or let *Benuolio* die Q2

41-42 Well ... Romio] *RuJ*; not in Q1; *Romeo* slew him, he slew *Mercutio*, / Who now the price
of his deare bloud doth owe Q2

42-43 But ... Verona] *RuJ*; And for that offence, / Immediately we do exile him hence Q1, Q2

28-29 whereby ... offended Evidence for *RuJ* depending on Q2, since *Romeo* only pronounces
the words that *Penuolio* here recounts in Q2 (III.i.85-87), not in *RuJ*, nor in Q1.

33-34 But ... ground In Q1, *Benuolio*'s narration includes *Romeo*'s asking him to help and
Tybalt killing *Mercutio* under *Romeo*'s arm (III.i.118-24); Q2 only has the latter (III.i.164-69).

41-46 In Shakespeare, the Prince remarks: "I haue an interest in your hearts proceeding: / My
bloud for your rude brawles doth lie a bleeding" (G1r, III.i.188-89; Q1 has "hates proceeding"
[F3r, III.i.138]). In *RuJ*, *Mercutius* does not seem to be related to the Duke/Prince.

43 Verona The first time the city is mentioned in *RuJ* (as opposed to Shakespeare, where the
prologue sets the scene [0. 2]). That *RuJ* is set in Italy is clear from I.ii.10.

von *Verona*, vnd wird Er sich länger als 24 Stundt in *Verona* befinden,
 so kostet es ihm sein leben, darum last dises *publicirt* werden, so 45
 geschieht der gerechtigkeit ein vergnügen vnd ihr fraw von *Capulet*
 werd damit *Content* vnd zu friden leben[.]

[*Alle*] gehen ab.

[Actus 4tus,] Scena 4ta

JULIETA [vnd] AMMA [treten auf.]

JULIETA [K]omb liebste *Amma* vnd saget mir was war diß vor ein
Tumult in dem hauß meines vatters, ist etwan ein vnglikh geschehen,
 dan ihr wüst der weiber freyheit ist Schlecht in *Italia*, sie seind
 eingespert gleich den gefangenen, ô verdrüssliche wollust[.]

AMMA Ja freylich wahr larmen, aber nicht in Eures vatters hauß 5
 sondern auf freyer strasßen, ach ich wolte ich wuste nichts darumb[.]

JULIETA Ist dan vnserem hauß oder freündtschafft ein vnglikh oder
 leid widerfahren[?]

AMMA Ach wehe ach vnglikh, ach *Romio Romio*[.]

JULIETA [W]ie waß sagt ihr mir von *Romio*? 10

47 SD *Alle*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

IV.iv Actus 4tus] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD vnd, treten auf] *this edn; not in RuJ*

45 *publicirt* to announce, to publish, to proclaim (Grimm).

47 *Content* content (Grimm).

IV.iv.4 verdrüssliche verdrieslich: annoyed, irksome (Grimm).

4 *wollust* most likely not used in the modern sense of "Lust" ("voluptuousness"), but rather referring to the object that induces "Wollust", something alluring, beautiful, and sweet. It can also be used as an oxymoron, referring to desire that is coupled with dejection, tears, or inner pain. Finally, "wollust" can refer to the goddess of enjoyment, lust, and love (Grimm).

5 *larmen* See note at IV.ii.85.

Verona for more than twenty-four hours, it will cost him his life.
Therefore let this be published. Thus a pleasure will be done for 45
justice, and you, Lady Capolet, will live content and satisfied with this.

Exeunt omnes.

IV.iv

Enter JULIETA and NURSE.

JULIETA Come, dearest Nurse, and tell me what tumult was this in
the house of my father? Has there been an accident? For you know,
women's freedom is poor in *Italia*. They are shut in like prisoners. Oh,
irksome desire!

NURSE Yes, of course there was a row, though not at your father's 5
house but in the open street. Oh, I wish I knew nothing about it.

JULIETA Has any misfortune or harm befallen our house or
friends?

NURSE O woe, O calamity, O Romio, Romio!

JULIETA How? What do you say of Romio? 10

43-44 And ... life] *RuJ*; not in Q1; let *Romeo* hence in hast, / Else when he is found, that houre is
his last Q2

44 **twenty-four hours** a specification unique to *RuJ*, although *Romeo* is also advised to flee
before dawn (*RJ* III.iii.147).

45-46 **Thus ... this** Compare: "It will be deafe to pleading and excuses, / Nor teares, nor prayers
shall purchase out abuses" (Q2 G1r, III.i.192-93). Q1 has "I will" and "purchase for" (F3r,
III.i.142-43).

IV.iv can be paralleled to Shakespeare's III.ii (Juliet receives news of the duel and *Romeo*'s
banishment) and III.v (the Nurse advises Juliet to marry Paris; Juliet breaks with the Nurse). 1-64
and 86-90 correspond to Q1 III.ii.5-54 and Q2 III.ii.33-137; 65-66 correspond to Q1 III.v.165-78
and Q2 III.v.212-29; 79-85 correspond to Q1 III.v.179-84 and Q2 III.v.230-35; and 90-101 can
be likened to Q1 III.ii.55-58 and Q2 III.ii.140-43.

0 SD In Shakespeare's III.ii, Juliet is first alone on stage, impatiently anticipating her wedding
night; in Q2 her soliloquy is thirty-one lines long; in Q1 it amounts to four lines. Dramatic irony
is absent from *RuJ*, where Julieta immediately asks about the "tumult" (1).

1-2 **in ... father** This suggests that Julieta is not even allowed to leave her room.

2-3 **For ... prisoners** Unique to *RuJ*; compare I.ii.8-11.

PICKLHÄRING [*tritt auf.*]

PICKLHÄRING Ach Ellend ach noth, ach barmhertzigkeit, ach vnglikh, was kan schlimmer sein in der weldt alß zerrisßene hosßen vnd nichts zu fresßen, ich lauff herumb alß wie ein Jaghundt vnd suche *Julieta*, ô wer weiß in waß vor einem loch oder wüinkl sie stekt vnd sich verborgen, vnd etwan weint rotz vnd wasßer wegen deß großen gliks so den *Romio* begegnet, weither lauf ich nicht sie zu suechen ich bin so müth von lauffen vnd suechen, daß ich kein zahn in maul mehr rühren kan, aber siehe da stehet vnser *Amma*, Ji Amma was machet ihr da? [W]o ist das freülein *Julieta* ich bring ihr köstliche zeitung[.] 15

AMMA Schweig Narr thue deine kalbsaugen auf, bist du blind siehst du nicht hier daß freülein *Julieta*? 20

JULIETA [D]er himmel bewahre mich vor vnglikh. [W]aß bringst du Pikl häring[?] 25

PICKLHÄRING So warth last mich erst zu athem kommen[.]

JULIETA Ist etwan mein herr vatter oder fraw Muetter übel auf? 26

PICKLHÄRING Ein trekh, es ist tausendtmahl Schlimmer[.]

JULIETA [A]ch Piklhäring halt mich nicht länger auf, ist es ein vnglikh so sag mirs bald[.]

PICKLHÄRING [W]either kein vnglikh alß das Er todt ist wie ein stokhfisch[.] 30

AMMA Ja freülein *Julieta* dises ist eben was ich nicht sagen wollen ach *Romio Romio*.

JULIETA [A]ch himmel bewahr mich ist *Romio* todt?

PICKLHÄRING [W]an die *Amma* das sagt so liegt sie alß wie ein

10 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

15 **weint ... wasßer** idiomatic.

16 **gliks** Glück: luck; here probably ironic, meaning "bad luck" (Grimm).

18 **Ji** originally a waggoner's call to horses or oxen (Grimm).

19 **zeitung** Nachricht(en): news (Grimm).

20 **kalbsaugen** refers to human dumb, staring, or protruding eyes (Grimm).

26 **Ein trekh** an interjection, a dismissal, a rejection (Grimm).

26 **trekh** Dreck: dirt, excrements.

30-31 **Er ... stokhfisch** Grimm notes compositions such as "thin ... dry ... [or] stupid [dumb] as a stockfish" ("dürr ... trocken ... dumm wie ein stockfish").

30 **stokhfisch** dried cod (Grimm).

34 **liegt** lügt: lies.

Enter PICKELHERRING.

PICKELHERRING O misery, O distress, O pity, O misfortune! What can be worse in the world than torn trousers and nothing to eat? I am running around like a hound and am looking for Julieta. Oh, who knows in what hole or corner she is hiding and bawling her eyes out because of the great luck that happened to Romio. I won't run any further to search for her. I am so tired from running and searching that I cannot move a tooth in my mouth. But look, there is our nurse. Hey, Nurse, what are you doing here? Where is Miss Julieta? I bring precious news for her. 15

NURSE Be quiet, fool. Open thy calf's-eyes. Art thou blind? Dost thou not see Miss Julieta here? 20

JULIETA Heaven preserve me from misfortune! What dost thou bring, Pickelherring?

PICKELHERRING Wait, let me first recover my breath.

JULIETA Is my father or my mother unwell? 25

PICKELHERRING Sod it! It is a thousand times worse.

JULIETA O Pickelherring, don't keep me in suspense any longer. Is there any misfortune? Then tell me at once.

PICKELHERRING No misfortune except that he is as dead as a stockfish. 30

NURSE Yes, Miss Julieta, that is just the thing I did not want to say. O Romio, Romio!

JULIETA O heaven preserve me! Is Romio dead?

PICKELHERRING If the Nurse says that, then she lies like a beaten

IV.iv.29-32] *RuJ*; *Nurs*: Alack the day, hees dead, hees dead, hees dead Q1; *Nur*. A weraday, hees dead, hees dead, hees dead ... Alack the day, hees gone, hees kild, hees dead Q2

11 The Nurse's ambiguous remarks are prolonged by Pickelherring's entrance and his own share of nonsense. Julieta is left in the dark until line 38. This is about the same number of lines as in Q2 (III.ii.32-69), Q1 only leaves Juliet hanging for 24 lines (III.ii.5-29).

12 **nothing ... eat** For the clown's preoccupation with food, see pp. 164-65 above.

24 Compare the Nurse's: "Iesu what haste, can you not stay a while? / Do you not see that I am out of breath?" (Q2 F1r, II.iv.28-29; not in Q1).

29-30 **he ... stockfish** Pickelherring also refers to someone being "as dead as a stockfish" in other plays (Asper, *Hanswurst* 203, "wie ein stockfisch todt"). One of the English Comedians' clown figures was called Stockfisch (see p. 162 above).

31 **that ... say** textually ironic, since *RuJ*'s Pickelherring takes over the speeches of *RJ*'s Nurse.

- außgestrichene hex, ich bin der Mann der es besser weiß[.] 35
- JULIETA [A]ch lieber Pikhäring, so sage dan was du weist[.]
- PICKLHÄRING [D]esbenthalben bin ich her kommen daß ichs
Eüch sagen will, *Mercutius* ist todt, *Tipold* gestorben, weil ihn *Romio*
todt gestochen, so ist Er entloffen vnd weiß ihn kein Mensch zu
finden[.] 40
- JULIETA So ist meines lebens auch nicht mehr ô du grausamber
vnd vnbarmbhertziger himmel, ach ich Ellende vndt voller trübsaal,
soll ich mich dan Entlich auch dem todt aufopffern[?]
- PICKLHÄRING [G]ehet lieber nach hauß vnd legt Eüch ins beth,
ist gesünder alß sterben[.] 45
- AMMA [Ô] du guter *Tipold* wie Jämmerlich bist ermordt[.]
- JULIETA [W]aß *Tipold* wäre nur *Romio* zu finden[.]
- PICKLHÄRING Es ist wahr freülein *Julieta* *Romio* hat den *Tipold*
erstochen, aber der hertzog hat ihn verbannt auß *Verona* sein lebtage
nicht mehr darein zu kommen[.] 50
- JULIETA [A]ch allzu vnglikhseelige *Julieta*, ist *Romio* verbannt so
ist mein lebens licht auß gelescht, vnd ich mich selbst auch diser weltd
verbannen will[.]
- AMMA [Ô] verflucht seÿ *Rumio*, es ist kein Menschen zu trawen
wer wolte sagen das Er so falsch seÿe[?] 55
- PICKLHÄRING [Ô] du alter flederwisch, lägst du auf ein scheitler

35 **außgestrichene** probably in the sense of "streichen" as "beating" or "whipping" (Grimm). See also note at I.iii.56-61.

54 **Rumio** the first instance of this spelling; see pp. 189-90 above.

witch. I am the man who knows better. 35

JULIETA O dear Pickelherring, then say what thou knowest.

PICKELHERRING That is why I came here, so I will tell you:
Mercutius is dead; Tipold has died because Romio has stabbed him to
death, so he fled and no man knows where to find him.

40

JULIETA Then my life is no longer. O cruel, merciless heaven! Ah,
miserable me, so full of affliction! Shall I at last sacrifice myself to
death, too?

PICKELHERRING Rather go home and lie down in bed; that is
healthier than dying. 45

NURSE O good Tipold, how miserably wast thou killed!

JULIETA What Tipold? Were but Romio to be found!

PICKELHERRING It is true, Miss Julieta, Romio did stab Tipold,
but the Duke has banished him from Verona never to return as long as
he lives. 50

JULIETA Ah, all too miserable Julieta! If Romio is banished, then
the light of my life is extinguished, too; and I will also banish myself
from this world.

NURSE Oh, Romio be cursed! One cannot trust any man. Who
should have thought him so false? 55

PICKELHERRING O thou old feather duster! If thou wert lying on

38-39 Mercutius ... death, **48-50**] *RuJ*; *Nur.* Tybalt is gone and *Romeo* banished, / *Romeo* that
kild him he is banished Q2, Q1 (*Tybalt* is dead, *Romeo* that muredred him)

54-55] *RuJ*; There is no truth, no faith, no honestie in men: / All false, all faithles, periurde, all
forsworne. / Shame come to *Romeo* Q1; Theres no trust, no faith, no honestie in men, / All
periurde, all forsworne, all naught, all dissemblers ... Shame come to *Romeo* Q2

38 **Mercutius** In *RJ*, Mercutio is not mentioned in this scene.

46 Compare: "O *Tybalt*, *Tybalt*, the best friend I had, / O curteous *Tybalt*, honest Gentleman, /
That euer I should liue to see thee dead" (G2r, III.ii.61-63; Q1 omits the last line, otherwise
similar).

47 Juliet shows more compassion for Tybalt than Julieta does. This is also apparent in her tirade
against *Romeo* (*RJ* III.ii.73-85).

51-53 Compare: "*Romeo* is banished: to speake that word, / Is father, mother, *Tybalt*, *Romeo*,
Iuliet, / All slaine, all dead: *Romeo* is banished ... In that words death, no words can that woe
sound" (G3r, III.ii.122-26; Q1 similar).

56-57 Pickelherring earlier called the Nurse a "witch" (35, "hex").

56 **feather duster** See note at I.ii.88-90.

56-57 **lying ... pile** i.e., to be burnt at the stake, as the German "scheitter hauffen" makes clear.

hauffen, ich wolte selber anzünden vnd mit freüden zue schawen wie du verbrennest[.]

JULIETA [W]ie *Amma* verfluchest du den Jenigen welchen mein hertz liebt? 60

AMMA [W]ie freülein *Julieta* wollet ihr den Jenigen lieben der Eüch Euren vetter ermordt hat?

JULIETA [W]ie solte ich den Jenigen hasßen der mein leben liebet[?] [A]ch nein lieber will ich selber sterben[.]

AMMA Ach *Julieta* verlasßet doch den Meineyðigen *Romio* vnd nehmet Graff *Paris* zu Eurem Mann[.] 65

PICKHLÄRING Nein *Julieta* ich will Eüch besßer rathen nehmbt sie alle beyde gefallen sie Eüch, so nehmbt mich vor Eüren breytigamb[.]

JULIETA Schweig Pikhäring hier ist keine zeit zu schertzen auch nicht Christlich 2 oder 3 Männer zu nehmen [.] 70

PICKLHÄRING [W]orumb nicht hat doch der türkische keyser so viel weiber welche nicht alle zu zehlen sein, vnd warumb soll mir oder Eüch nicht erlaubt werden 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, weiber oder Männer zu nehmen, ich wolte nicht weith wan ich suechen dörrft welche in der statt kallschin[,] budweiß, Gopplitz, freystatt, lintz vnd hier welche mehr alß ein weib vnd ein weib mehr alß einen Mann verlangen oder gahr haben[.] 75

JULIETA[W]ollan ich will es thuen, vnd deinem Rath folgen, gehe mit meiner *Amma* Pikhäring, vnd sage mein herr vatter vnd frau 80

70-71 **auch ... nehmen** An elision: "es ist auch nicht christlich, zwei oder drei Männer zu nehmen" ("nor is it Christian to take two or three men [as husbands]").

a pile I myself would set fire to it and joyfully watch thee burn.

JULIETA What, Nurse, dost thou curse the one whom my heart loves? 60

NURSE What, Miss Julieta, will you love him who murdered your cousin?

JULIETA How should I hate him who loves my life? Ah, no, I will rather die myself.

NURSE O Julieta, leave the perjured Romio, and take Count Paris for your husband. 65

PICKELHERRING No, Julieta, I will give you better advice: take them both if you like them; then take me for your bridegroom.

JULIETA Be quiet, Pickelherring. This is no time for joking, nor is it Christian-like to take two or three husbands. 70

PICKELHERRING Why not? The Turkish Emperor has so many wives; they cannot all be counted. And why should I or you not be permitted to take three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten wives or husbands? I should not have far to go if I should seek some in the city of Kallschin, Budweiß, Gopplitz, Freÿstatt, Lintz, and here who desire (or even have) more than one wife and wives who desire or have more than one husband. 75

JULIETA Well then, I will do it and follow thy advice. Go with my nurse, Pickelherring, and tell my father and mother that I love Count 80

61-62] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Wil you speak wel of him that kild your cozin? Q2

63 How ... life] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Shall I speake ill of him that is my husband? Q2

59-60 Compare: "Blisterd be thy tongue / For such a wish, he was not borne to shame" (Q2 G2v, III.ii.90-91) and "A blister on that tung, he was not borne to shame" (Q1 F3v, III.ii.40). *RuJ* molds these lines onto the pattern of the next exchange, which is also found in Q2, but not in Q1. 65-66 *RuJ* jumps to Shakespeare's III.v, where Juliet asks the Nurse for advice after her father's ultimatum to marry Paris. Compare: "I thinke it best you married with the Countie" (Q2 I1v, III.v.217); "Now I thinke good you marry with this County" (Q1 H1v, III.v.168).

67-78 For once Pickelherring's jokes actually have an impact on Julieta: she apparently decides to follow the clown's advice and commit bigamy. See also pp. 166-67 above.

67-68 **No ... both** In Brooke, the Nurse advises Juliet to take both men: Paris as her husband, and Romeo as her "paramour" (see 2304-08).

76 **Kallschin ... Lintz** These topographical references help to determine the provenance of the MS (see pp. 188-89 above).

76 **here** refers to the place where *RuJ* is being performed.

Muetter, ich liebe den Graff *Paris*[.]

AMMA [D]aß ist mir lieb, ich will also bald hingehen vnd solches Eurer frau Muetter andeüten[.]

PICKLHÄRING [Z]urukh alte, das währ ein schlechter brauch wan ein *Ambasator* hinten nach vnd ein altes weib voran gehen solte[.] 85

AMMA *gehet ab* [.]

JULIETA [V]erfluchte *Amma*, die du mir abradest meinen Ehemann zu lieben, ach mein liebster *Romio* dises solle Nimmermehr geschehen, aber ach, ach *Romio* worumb hast du meinen vetter ermord, aber recht hast du gethan weil Er dich alß meinen Ehemann ermorden wollen, aber *Romio* dein verbannung schmerzset mich mein hertz blutet vnd 90
gehet mir sehr zu hertzen, wollan dan ich will auf mittel vnd weeg bedacht sein, wie ich kan zu ihm kommen, vnd von ihm einen schmerzlichen abschid nehmen, komme hier Pikhäring ich weiß du bist getreü vnd verschwigen, drumb vernehme mich waß ich sage, hier Empfange dise etliche dugaten vnd bemühe dich den *Romio* zu finden 95
welcher noch in *Verona* wird zu finden sein, vnd kom mit mir in mein

85 *Ambasator* not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism or a Gallicism. Also used in *König Frondalpheo* (King *Frondalpheo* 2r, "war der *Ampasiteuri* mit unßeren *tractament* wohl zufriden", "was the ambassador satisfied with our treatment").

86 **abradest** abraten: to disadvise.

Paris.

NURSE I am glad of it; I will go at once and suggest this to your mother.

PICKELHERRING Back, old woman! That would be a bad custom if an ambassador followed at the back and an old woman went up front. 85

Exit NURSE.

JULIETA Cursed Nurse, thou who dissuadest me from loving my husband! O my dearest Romio, this shall never happen. But oh, O Romio, why didst thou murder my cousin? But thou didst well, as he wanted to murder thee, my husband. Yet, Romio, thy banishment pains me, my heart is bleeding, and it goes to my very heart. Well then, I will think of means and ways how I can come to him and take a painful 90

leave of him. – Come here, Pickelherring, I know thou art faithful and discreet. Therefore listen to what I say. Here, receive some ducats and try to find Romio, who can still be found in Verona, and come with me 95

82-83] *RuJ*; Marrie I will, and this is wisely done Q2 (I2r, III.v.234), Q1 (I will)

86-87 Cursed ... husband] *RuJ*; Auncient damnation, ô most wicked fiend, / Is it more sin to wish me thus forsworne, / Or to dispraise my Lord with that same tongue, / Which she hath praisde him with aboue compare, / So many thousand times? Go Counsellor Q2 (I2r, III.v.235-39), Q1 (cursed fiend, dispraise him with the selfe same tongue / That thou hast praisde)

88-89 Romio ... husband] *RuJ*; But wherefore villaine didst thou kill my Cozin? / That villaine Cozin would haue kild my husband Q1, Q2 (G2v, III.ii.100-01)

79-81 Compare Juliet's (seeming) consent to comply to her parents' will: "Well thou hast comforted me maruellous much, / Go in and tell my Lady I am gone, / Hauing displeas'd my father, to *Laurence* Cell, / To make confession, and to be obsolu'd" (I2r, III.v.230-33; Q1 similar).

85 SD Despite his jibe, Pickelherring does not exit. He may retreat until he is called forth at line 93.

89-93 **Yet ... him** In Q2, Juliet resigns herself to her fate: "But I a maide, die maiden widowed ... And death not *Romeo*, take my maiden head" (G3r, III.ii.135, 137). The Nurse proposes a last meeting: "Ile find *Romeo* / To comfort you" (G3r, III.ii.138-39). In Q1, the initiative is also the Nurse's, Juliet merely commenting (as she does in Q2): "when theirs [her parents' tears for Tybalt] are spent, / Mine shall be shed for *Romeos* banishment" (F4r, III.ii.53-54).

94-97 **Here ... him** Compare Juliet's directions to the Nurse: "O find him [*Romeo*], giue this ring to my true Knight, / And bid him come, to take his last farewell" (G3v, III.ii.142-43). Q1 differs in the first line: "Doo so [i.e., go to *Romeo*], and beare this Ring" (F4r, III.ii.57).

94, 100 **ducats** See note at III.iv.26.

gemach, ich will dich mit einem brieff an ihm abfertigen[.]

PICKLHÄRING Ja ia ihr redt gar recht freülein *Julieta*, ob meine
füeß schon so müth daß ich auf keinen Eßl steigen kunt, so will ich
doch den dugaten zu gefallen gantz *Verona* durchlauffen alß wann ich 100
doll wäre biß ich *Romio* gefunden hab, vnd von Eüch alß dan mehr
dugaten Empfangen werde[.]

[PICKLHÄRING vnd JULIETA] *abeunt*[.]

[Actus 4tus, Scena 5ta]

PATER [vnd] ROMIO [*treten auf*.]

PATER Ich bitte liebster Sohn *Rumio* er stelle sich doch einmahl zu
friden vnd lasße die traurigkeit bey ihm nicht gahr zu sehr überhandt
nehmen, dan es ist noch ein gnädigstes vrtheil von dem hertzog auß
gesprochen worden[.]

ROMIO Ach *Pater* ist es leben oder todt, ist es todt, so will ich 5
billich leiden[.]

PATER [N]ein mein liebes kindt, das wordt todt ist in ein gnädigstes
verbannen verendert worden[.]

ROMIO [A]ch verbannen viel ärger alß der todt, ô grausamber

102 SD] *this edn; abeunt RuJ*

IV.v Actus ... 5ta] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD vnd, *treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

IV.v.1-2 er ... **friden** a construction often used in *BB*; see note to *BB* I.vii.7-8.

6 **billich** billig: appropriately, befittingly, fairly, justly (Grimm).

to my chamber; I will dispatch thee with a letter to him.

PICKELHERRING Yes, yes, you speak well, Miss Julieta. Though my feet are so tired that I could not mount a donkey, yet for the sake of the ducats I will run all over Verona as if I were mad, until I have found Romio, and then receive some more ducats from you. 100

Exeunt JULIETA and PICKELHERRING.

IV.v

Enter FATHER and ROMIO.

FATHER Please, dearest son Romio, be contented for once, and do not allow sadness to get out of hand with you. For it is still a most merciful judgment the Duke has pronounced.

ROMIO O Father, is it life or death? If it is death, I will suffer appropriately. 5

FATHER No, my dear child, the word death has been turned into a most merciful banishment.

ROMIO Ah, banishment is much worse than death. O cruel

IV.v.2-3 For ... pronounced] *RuJ*; I bring thee tidings of the Princes doome Q1, Q2

5-6] *RuJ*; What lesse then doomesday is the Princes doome? Q1, Q2

7-8] *RuJ*; A gentler iudgement vanisht from his lips, / Not bodies death, but bodies banishment Q1, Q2

9-10 Ah ... heaven] *RuJ*; Ha, banishment? be mercifull, say death: / For exile hath more terror in his looke, / Much more then death, do not say banishment Q2, Q1 (Ha, Banished?, his looks, / Than death it selfe)

97 **letter** See note at III.x.12.

IV.v corresponds to Shakespeare's III.iii (Romeo hides at Friar Laurence's cell). The main difference is that Pickelherring, and not the Nurse, delivers Juliet's message.

1-15 This sequence is severely shortened in *RuJ*; in Shakespeare, Romeo gives free rein to his grief about being "banished" (G3v, III.iii.19), and the Friar accordingly remonstrates him. In Q2 this passage amounts to seventy lines, in Q1 to sixty-six.

1-2 **Please ... you** Compare: "*Romeo* come forth, come forth thou fearefull man, / Affliction is enamour'd of thy parts: / And thou art wedded to calamitie" (G3v, III.iii.1-3; Q1 similar).

himmel, soll ich aniezo scheiden vnd *Julieta* verlasßen? [V]nd ihrer 10
holdseeligen gegenwarth beraubt sein? [A]ch mehr alß todtes
Schmertzen[.]

PATER Jch bitte mein Sohn höret mich[.]

ROMIO [A]ch *Pater* waß soll ich hören ihr wolt doch widerumb 15
verbannen sagen[.]

PICKLHÄRING *klopfft Inwendig*[.]

PICKLHÄRING [H]olla ist alles versperrt Niemand zu hauß, macht
die thier auf[.]

PATER Mein kindt folge mir vnd versteke dich die wacht möchte
kommen vnd dich gefänglich nehmen[.]

ROMIO Jch will nicht, sondern hier will ich mich in meinen 20
Eigenen thränen ersauffen[.]

PATER [A]ch himmel waß vor ein dolheit besizet seine Sünnen[.]

PICKLHÄRING [W]o zum krankheit werde ich noch lang warthen
müsßen macht auf, oder ich werdt doll vnd Närrisch[.]

PATER Ach *Romio* verberget Eüch die wacht ist verhanden[.] 25

ROMIO Jch will nicht vnd kan auch nicht[.]

PATER So stürzt ihr Eüch selber in gefahr, wer ist da[?]

11 **holdseeligen** a reinforced "hold", meaning "graceful", "lovely" or "sweet", referring to character or appearance (Grimm).

18, 25 **wacht** older form of "Wache" ("watch", "guard"), could also refer to the watchman (Grimm). Compare *BB*'s "Schildwachten".

19 **gefänglich nehmen** gefangen nehmen: to arrest or capture (Grimm).

21 **ersauffen** ertrinken: to drown. "Ersaufen" did not have the pejorative connotation it has today (Grimm).

22 **dolheit** Tollheit: madness.

23 **Wo ... krankheit** See note at III.v.5.

heaven! Am I now to part and leave Julieta and be deprived of her lovely presence? Ah, more than pains of death! 10

FATHER Please, my son, hear me.

ROMIO O Father, what shall I hear? You will only say banishment again. 15

PICKELHERRING *knocks within.*

PICKELHERRING Hello! Is everything shut up? Nobody at home? Open the door!

FATHER My child, follow me and hide thyself: the watch might come and arrest thee.

ROMIO I don't want to; I will rather drown here in my own tears. 20

FATHER O heavens, what madness possesses his senses!

PICKELHERRING What the plague! Will I have to wait much longer? Open, or I will go crazy and foolish.

FATHER Romio, hide yourself. The watch is present. 25

ROMIO I don't want to and I cannot.

FATHER Then you are rushing yourself into harm. Who is there?

13] *RuJ*; Thou fond mad man, heare me but speake a word Q1; Then fond mad man, heare me a little speake Q2

14-15] *RuJ*; O thou wilt speake againe of banishment Q2, Q1 (talke againe)

15 SD] *RuJ*; Nurse knockes Q1; Enter Nurse, and knocke Q2

18 My ... thyself] *RuJ*; Romeo arise ... arise and get thee gone Q1; Arise ... good Romeo hide thy selfe Q2

18-19 the ... thee] *RuJ*; Thou wilt be taken Q1, Q2

20] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Not I. vnlesse the breath of hartsicke grones, / Myst-like infold me from the search of eyes Q2

27 Who ... there] *RuJ*; Who is there? Q1; whēce come you? whats your will? Q2

10-11 **Am ... death** In Shakespeare, Romeo makes a list of creatures that are allowed to "looke on" Juliet although he "may not" (G4r, III.iii.32, 33).

15 SD See app. 3a, *RuJ* and Q1, weak agreement, nr. 7.

20, 26 In Q1, Romeo has no verbal reaction to the Friar. His first response in *RuJ* has a parallel in Q2.

20 Compare collation to 37-38.

22 Compare: "What simplenes is this?" (Q2 G4v, III.iii.77) and "Gods will what wilfulnes is this?" (Q1 G1r, III.iii.69). While *RuJ*'s Father is clearly addressing Romio, in *RJ* the Friar may be addressing the Nurse.

PICKLHÄRING [D]er tausendt macht auf doch ein mahl auf, ich
bin gestanden, daß mir die negel von den zehen bald weren
abgefrohren, ich habe ein Post herr *Pater* abzulegen vnd komme von 30
Julieta[.]

PATER Ach fröhlicher bott kommet herein[.]

[PICKLHÄRING *tritt auf.*]

PICKLHÄRING *Auos gratias, Bonus dies Domine Pater*[.]

PATER [G]rosßen dankh Piklhäring wo kompt man her?

PICKLHÄRING Auß der gasßen von vnsern hauß, vnd wolte den 35
herrn *Patribus* bitten Er wolle mir sagen wo ist der *Romio*[.]

PATER [D]a ligt Er vnd ist fast in lauther traurigkeit, vnd in sein
Eigenen thränen erstikt[.]

PICKLHÄRING [D]aß sein Narren bosßen, herr *Romio* stehet auf
ich komme von *Julieta*[.] 40

ROMIO Ach wer Nennet den holdseeligen Nahmen *Julieta*, ach
Piklhäring verfluecht sie mich nicht das ich ihren vetter *Tipold*
erstochen?

PICKLHÄRING Nein da hat Sie mir nichts gesagt, ich glaube wan

32 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

33 *Auos*] *this edn; Quos COHN*

28 **Der tausendt** "tausend" ("thousand") in interjections is a euphemism for the devil, who was called "tausendkünstler", literally "artist of a thousand abilities" (Grimm).

30 **Post** See note at III.vii.32.

39 **bosßen** Possen: antics (Grimm).

PICKELHERRING The deuce, open the door! I have been standing until the nails nearly froze off my feet. I have got a message to deliver, Father, and come from Julieta. 30

FATHER O joyful messenger, come in!

Enter PICKELHERRING.

PICKELHERRING *Auos gratias, bonus dies Domine Pater.*

FATHER Many thanks, Pickelherring. Where does one come from?

PICKELHERRING From the street, from our house, and I wanted to ask the *Patribus* to tell me where Romio is. 35

FATHER There he lies and has almost suffocated in sadness and in his own tears.

PICKELHERRING Those are fool's pranks. Sir Romio, get up; I come from Julieta. 40

ROMIO Ah, who pronounces the lovely name Julieta? O Pickelherring, does she not curse me because I have stabbed her cousin Tipold?

PICKELHERRING No, she hasn't told me anything about that. I

28 The ... door] *RuJ; Nur.* Hoe Fryer open the doore Q1; *Nur.* Let me come in, and you shal know my errant Q2

29-30 I ... Julieta] *RuJ; Nur.* One from Lady *Iuliet* Q1; *Nur.* ... I come from Lady *Iuliet* Q2

32] *RuJ;* Then come neare Q1; Welcome then Q2

34 Where ... from] *RuJ; not in* Q1; whēce come you? Q2

35-36 and ... is] *RuJ; Nur.* ... Wheres my Ladyes Lord? wheres *Romeo*? Q1, Q2

37-38] *RuJ;* There on the ground, / With his own teares made drunke Q1, Q2

39-40] *RuJ; Nur.* ... Stand vp, stand vp, stand and you be a man, / For *Iuliets* sake, for her sake rise and stand Q1, Q2

41-43] *RuJ;* Spakest thou of *Iuliet*? how is it with her? / Doth not she thinke me an old murtherer, / Now I haue stained the childhood of our ioy, / With bloud remoued, but little from her owne? Q2, Q1 (Doth she not thinke, her ioy)

44 No ... that] *RuJ; Nur.* Oh she sayes nothing Q1, Q2

29 **until ... feet** This is inconsistent with the heat that Penuolio mentions at IV.i.4. *RJ* has a similar inconsistency: Capulet asks for the fire to be quenched (I.iv.141), although the play is set in July (Levenson 191).

33, 36 Pickelherring's use of Latin is nearly correct and can be paralleled to the Nurse's awe for the "holy Frier" (G4v, III.iii.81) and his "learning" (H1v, III.iii.159).

33 *Auos* possibly a corruption of "Ago"; "gratias agere" meaning "to thank".

36 *Patribus* Pickelherring's Latin falters; probably an intentional lapse.

ihr ihn hett gar aufgehenkt, erwürgt, gradbrecht, gespiest, vnd gahr auf 45
 dem Eßl gesezt sie fragte nichts darnach, sondern Sie hat mir befohlen
 Eüch zu suechen, vnd wan ich Eüch gefunden hab zu sagen Sie läst
 Eüch bitten daß ihr dise nacht zu ihr wolt kommen, weil ihr verbannet
 seit, daß *ualet* vnd abschid von Eüch zu nehmen.

ROMIO Ach ist es möglich vnd solte ich glauben daß *Julieta* allein 50
 voller Sanfftmuth vnd barmhertzigkeit ist[.]

PICKLHÄRING [F]reýlich ist es möglich, vnd daß es warhafftig ist,
 so Schikt Eüch *Julieta* durch ihren *Ambasador* alß meine persohn
 disen ring, wie auch disen brieff, vnd ich glaube wan ihr nicht kommen
 wolt zu ihr, sie wurde Eüch ein Schelmen in den buesen werffen[.] 55

ROMIO Ach brieff! [A]ch ring! [S]eit mir willkommen, dich mein
 ring will ich verehrt an meinem finger tragen, biß der blasße todt den
 faden meines lebens zerschneidt vnd Enden wird, darumb gehe
 Pikhäring, vermelte meiner *Julieta* daß ich wan die nacht wird
 anziehen ihr Schwartzes trauerkleid, will ich mich beý ihr gehorsamb 60
 ein finden, vnd den lezten abschid nehmen, hier Pikhäring Empfange
 vor deine Mühe dise wenige *dobulonen* vor dein tringgelt[.]

PICKLHÄRING Ich bedankhe mich herr *Romio* vor dises wenige,
 wan es mehr wär, wär es noch besßer.

[PICKLHÄRING] *abit*[.]

64 SD PICKLHÄRING] *this edn; not in RuJ*

45 **gespiest** to pierce through with a spear (Grimm).

49 *ualet* Latin: farewell (Grimm).

53 *Ambasador* See note at IV.iv.85.

55 **buesen** Unlike today, "Busen" could also refer to a man's breast (Grimm).

62 *dobulonen* Dublone: an Italian or Spanish gold coin (Grimm).

believe even if you had hanged him, strangled him, broken him on the wheel, spitted him, or even put him on the donkey, she would not ask about it. But she has commanded me to look for you and, when I have found you, to say she asks you to come to her tonight because you are banished, to say *valet* and farewell to you. 45

ROMIO Ah, is it possible, and should I believe that Julieta alone is full of gentleness and mercy? 50

PICKELHERRING Of course it is possible. And to show that it is true, Julieta sends you through her ambassador in my person this ring as well as this letter. And I think if you would not go to her, she would throw a rogue at your face. 55

ROMIO O letter, O ring, be welcome! Thee, my ring, will I wear adoringly on my finger till pale death cut the thread of my life and end it. Therefore go, Pickelherring, inform my Julieta that when night will

put on her black mourning dress, I shall obediently appear and take the last farewell. Here, Pickelherring, for thy trouble receive these few doubloons as thy beer money. 60

PICKELHERRING I thank you, Sir Romio, for these few; if it were more, it would be even better.

Exit PICKELHERRING.

53-54 Julieta ... letter] *RuJ*; *Nur*. Heere is a Ring Sir, that she bad me giue you Q1; *Nur*. Here sir, a Ring she bid me giue you sir Q2

56 O ... welcome] *RuJ*; How well my comfort is reuiu'd by this Q1, Q2

44-49 In *RJ*, the Nurse reports that Juliet "but weeps and weeps ... And *Tybalt* calls, and then on *Romeo* cries" (Q2 H1r, III.iii.98, 100; Q1 has a slightly different version), whereupon *Romeo* threatens to commit suicide. In Q2, the Friar intervenes. Q1 has the memorable SD: "*Nurse snatches the dagger away*" (G1v, III.iii.98 SD). This is supporting evidence for *RuJ* depending on Q2: Q1's stage action might have survived had that version been used. Instead, the *Wanderbühne* typically replaces the Friar's long reprimand (III.iii.107-57) with Pickelherring's cheeky intervention: he enumerates the ways in which *Romio* could have murdered *Tipold* (44-46).

46 put ... donkey The disobedient or unruly were sat on a donkey for ridicule (Grimm).

47-49 But ... you In *RJ*, the Friar first speaks the equivalent words: "Go get thee to thy loue as was decreed" (H1v, III.iii.145).

53, 54 ring, letter See note at III.x.12.

57-58 till ... it alluding to the words of the wedding ceremony (see note at III.x.16) and foreshadowing the ending of the play.

58-61 Therefore ... farewell Compare: "bid my sweete prepare to chide" (H1v, III.iii.161).

62 beer money See note at III.iv.26.

PATER Ich bitte ihn herr *Romio* Er gehe vnd nehme abschid von seiner liebsten, doch mit Solcher vorsichtigkeit, das Er mit anbrechendem tag noch auß der Statt kommen kan[.] 65

ROMIO [H]ochgeehrter herr *Pater* Ehe sich der morgenstern *retteriret* vnd dem großen weldt liecht platz machet, vnd den tag verkündiget will ich mich von hinnen machen aber mein vertrawen herr *Pater* stehet allein zu ihm daß Er mir nach *Mantua* schröfflichen bericht ertheile, wie es mit Eüch vnd meiner *Julieta* Jederzeit stehen möge. 70

PATER [T]raget keine Sorg mein Sohn, wan ihr Eüch in *Mantua* aufhaltet, solt ihr stehts durch brieff ersuechet werden[.] 75

ROMIO [W]ollan dan ich ergebe mich den vnglikh meines vnsterns ich reiße zwar verbannt von hier, mein hertz aber las ich beÿ *Julieta*.

[ROMIO] *abit*[.]

PATER [D]er himmel vnd alle himlische macht geben ihn glikh auf seine Reiß, vnd Segnen mit solchen glikh, das Er bald mit freüden möge *Verona* sehen, ich aber vnterdesßen, will den himmel fruhe vnd Spath vor seine wohlfarth bitten[.] 80

[PATER] *abit*[.]

77 SD ROMIO] *this edn; not in RuJ*

81 SD PATER] *this edn; not in RuJ*

69 *retteriret* sich zurückziehen, flüchten: to retreat, to escape (*Mitteldeutsche Selbstzeugnisse*).

76 **vnglikh** Grimm lists "Schicksal" ("fate") as one of the definitions of "Unglück" (literally, "bad luck", "misfortune").

76 **vnsterns** unlucky star, misfortune, adverse fate (Grimm).

81 **Spath** spat: late (Grimm). Here: evening.

FATHER Please, Sir Romio, go and take leave of your beloved, but
with such caution that by the break of day you may still leave the town. 65

ROMIO Honored Father, before the morning star retires and gives
way to the world's great light and announces the day, I will go from
hence. But my confidence, Father, stands with you alone: that you 70
report to me in writing to Mantua how things are with you and my
Julieta at all times.

FATHER Have no worry, my son. When you sojourn in Mantua,
you shall always receive letters. 75

ROMIO Well, then I yield to the fate of my unlucky star. Although I
travel from here banished, my heart I leave with Julieta.

Exit ROMIO.

FATHER May heaven and all heavenly powers give him good luck
on his journey, and bless him with such good luck that he may soon
see Verona with joy. In the meantime I will pray to heaven early and 80
late for his well-being.

Exit FATHER.

65-66] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Go hēce, goodnight, & here stands al your state: / Either be gone before
the watch be set, / Or by the breake of day disguise from hence Q2

68-69 **before ... day** Gottsched pokes fun at this kind of formulation (see p. 152 above).

69 **the ... light** the sun.

70 **But ... alone** Compare V.ii.52 and note.

71 **Mantua** In *RuJ*, the mention of Mantua comes somewhat abruptly. In *RJ*, the first mention
occurs a few lines earlier, and in Q2 the Friar adds an explanatory subclause "*Mantua*, / Where
thou shalt liue till we can find a time / To blaze your marriage" (H1v, III.iii.148-50; Q1 stops
after "*Mantua*").

74-75 In *RJ*, the Friar promises this without Romeo's prompting (III.iii.168-70). See also
V.iv.20-21 and note.

76-77 In *RJ*, Romeo's last words in this scene are directed at the Friar: "But that a ioy past ioy
calls out on me, / It were a griefe, so briefe to part with thee" (H2r, III.iii.172-73; Q1 similar).

76 **then ... star** Compare Q1's "then I defie my Starres" (I3r, V.i.19), Q2's "then I denie you
starres" (K4r, V.i.24), and the prologue's "*starre-crost louers*" (A2r, 0.6).

79-80 **that ... joy** Compare the Friar's wish in Q2 to "call [Romeo] backe, / With twentie
hundred thousand times more ioy / Then thou wenst forth in lamentation" (H1v, III.iii.151-53).

[Actus 4tus,] *Scena 6ta.*ROMIO [vnd] JULIETA *in der kammer.*

ROMIO Süße vnd über die natur mildreicheste *Julieta*, vnd gebietterin meines hertzens, darf ich mich wohl vnderstehen mit Schamhaftten augen dero holdseeligen Schönheit anschawen? [J]ch bin ein übelthäter ich bekhehn es, mir dennoch vor dero Schönheit vnd bitte vmb *perdon*, vnd den fähler so ich gegen ihr begangen mir zu uer zeihen. 5

JULIETA Ach *Romio*!

ROMIO [M]ueß ich sterben?

JULIETA Nein, stehet auf werther Schatz vnd Empfanget Euere *Julieta*, Euere gegenwarth machet daß ich Eüch zu gefallen noch lebe, wie wohlen ich von thränen, vnglikh vnd Schmertzen fast verzehret bin, waß geschehen kan man nicht mehr Enderen[.] 10

ROMIO Ach ist es möglich, das Schönheit tugendt vnd barmhertzigkeit alle in einen solchen zarten hertzen zu finden, ô du allzu grausambes vnglikh worumb scheidest du mich von der Jenigen der gleichen auf den gantzen Erdboden nicht zu finden[.] 15

JULIETA Ach liebster *Romio* Jammer vnd hertzensangst wollen mein ermüdetes hertz ersauffen, wan es möglich ist, so lasße zue mir allein in disen bitteren Schmertzen vnd so viel überladenen trübsalen, das ich mein hertz ein wenig trösten kan[.] 20

IV.vi Actus 4tus] *this edn; not in RuJ*0 SD ROMIO] COHN; *Rumio RuJ*0 SD vnd] *this edn; not in RuJ*IV.vi.1 **mildreicheste** (most) clement, generous, kind (Grimm).

2-3 **mit ... anschawen** In the Schaubüro production, Romio was hiding under Julieta's skirt as he said these words, which were slightly altered to pun on the word "Scham", meaning "shame", but also referring to the female sex: "mit meinen schamhaften Augen ihre schamhafte Schönheit anzuschauen" ("to look at your shameful beauty with my shameful eyes").

15 **vnglikh** See note at IV.v.76.18 **ersauffen** See note at IV.v.21.

IV.vi

ROMIO and JULIETA, in the chamber.

ROMIO Sweetest and more than in nature gentlest Julieta and mistress of my heart, may I dare to look with bashful eyes at your lovely beauty? I am a misdemeanant, I confess; yet I appear before your beauty, asking pardon and forgiveness for the fault I have committed against you.

5

JULIETA O Romio!

ROMIO Must I die?

JULIETA No, get up, dearest sweetheart, and receive your Julieta. Your presence enables me to continue living to please you, though I am almost eaten up by tears, misfortune, and pain. What has happened cannot be changed.

10

ROMIO Ah, is it possible that beauty, virtue, and mercy should all be found in such a tender heart! O thou too cruel fate! Why dost thou separate me from her whose equal cannot be found on the entire earth?

15

JULIETA O dearest Romio, misery and anguish of the heart will drown my weary heart. If it is possible, leave me alone in these bitter pains and such overloaded misery, that I can comfort my heart a little.

20

IV.vi corresponds to Q1 III.v.1-55 and Q2 III.v.1-36, 41-59 (the aubade). One difference to Q2 is that the two lovers are not interrupted. As in Q1, Romio leaves of his own accord in *RuJ* and not because Julieta's mother is approaching. The whole scene is set in one space. No one "descend[s]" (H3r, III.v.42) or "*goeth downe*" (Q1 G3v, III.v.37 SD, 57 SD) as in *RJ*.

1-14 **Sweetest ... heart** Unique to *RuJ*. This passage might be prompted by Romeo's line to the Nurse in Shakespeare: "bid my sweete prepare to chide" (H1v, III.iii.161). Romio's excuse raises the question of whether the marriage is consumed during the course of the play. In Shakespeare, the scene's beginning suggests that the consummation has taken place beforehand. Here, however, the scene starts with Romio's apology – presumably he would have voiced such an apology before the two share a bed. The marriage is not consumed afterwards, since Romio takes his leave at the end of the scene.

2 **your** Again, Romio uses the formal address (see note at II.v.4).

9 **get up** an implied SD for Romio to kneel, probably from the beginning of the scene.

11-12 **What ... changed** A commonplace repeated by the Father (V.iii.105) and the Duke (V.iv.151-52). Compare also *BB* III.vi.15-17.

ROMIO Ach kummer vnd vnmueß ihr herrschet nun mehro vnd
 presßet vollkumblich meine vnterdrukke Sünden, ach lasßet nicht zue
 meine Schöne das daß Jenige hertz möchte aufgeopffert werden so
 Eüch zu gefallen lebet, vnd haltet ein mit Euren Seüfftzen vnd
 verursacht nicht den todt des Jenigen der Eüch liebet[.] 25

JULIETA [A]ch vnuerhofftes Scheiden ein kleine weil ist noch daß
 gesetz Eüch anzuschawen, ach Erfreüet doch Eüre halblebende *Julieta*
 mit brieffen zu ersuchen vnd einen lebenden trost zu geben[.]

ROMIO Aller Süßbestes hertzens kindt Euer getrewer *Romio* soll
 verrichten waß ihr ihm befiehlt, aber Ach vnser scheiden ist verhanden 30
 der tag bricht an, ich werde gezwungen ach vnglickhseelige zeit, Sie
 zuuerlasßen[.]

JULIETA [W]erthester Schatz es ist nicht der morgen sondern der
 blasße Monschein[.]

ROMIO Ach wäre es möglich das ich den Monschein kunte hefften 35
 ein gantz Monath zu scheinen, So würden wür Erfreüet, dan der
 Schein der Sonnen vnß nichts alß leid vnd Schmertzen bringt[.]

JULIETA Ach leider es ist die morgenröth vnd kompt mein hertz
 blutig zu färben, ach *Phabus*! [A]ch tag, du beraubest mich meines
 lebenstrostes, ach Armseelige vnd verlasßene *Julieta*[.] 40

ROMIO [S]tellet ein werther Schatz Eure traurigkeit, der himmel
 wird seinen gefasten zorn wider vnß dermahl eins lindern, hiermit

35 hefften] *this edn*; hoffen COHN

28 **einen** Cohn's reading. An alternative is "einer"; the MS allows for both readings. "Einen" implies that Romio gives her "living consolation", "einer" that he gives "the living [Julieta]" consolation.

35 **hefften** to bind, to arrest (Grimm).

42 **dermahl eins** dermaleinst: in the future (Grimm).

ROMIO O sorrow and displeasure! You now rule and completely squeeze my suppressed senses. O my fair one, do not allow the heart that lives to please you to be sacrificed. And stop your sighing, and do not cause the death of him who loves you.

25

JULIETA O unexpected separation! For a little while it is still lawful to look at you. Ah, please your half-living Julieta with letters and give her living consolation.

ROMIO Most sweet child of my heart, your faithful Romio will perform what you command him. But ah, our separation is at hand; the day is breaking; I am forced – O unfortunate time! – to leave you.

30

JULIETA Dearest sweetheart, it is not the morning, but the pale moonshine.

ROMIO Ah, if it were possible that I could make the moon shine a whole month, then we would be pleased; for the sunshine brings us nothing but suffering and pain.

35

JULIETA Ah, unfortunately, it is the dawn and it comes to color my heart bloody. O Phoebus! O day! Thou robbest me of the consolation of my life! O miserable, deserted Julieta!

40

ROMIO Give up your sadness, dearest sweetheart. One day heaven will abate the wrath it has against us. Hereby I take my leave with this

IV.vi.27-28 Ah ... consolation] *RuJ*; I must heare from thee euery day in the houre, / For in a minute there are many dayes Q2, Q1 (in an hower there are manie minutes)

33-34 *RuJ*; It is not yet neare day ... Yond light is not daylight, I know it I: / It is some Meteor that the Sun exhale Q2, Q1 (Sunne exhales)

38-39 Ah ... bloody] *RuJ*; It is [i.e. day], it is ... It is the Larke that sings so out of tune Q1, Q2

29-30 **Most ... him** Compare: "I will omit no opportunitie, / That may conuey my greetings loue to thee" (H3r, III.v.49-50).

30-31 **the ... breaking** In *RJ*, the scene starts with Juliet asking "Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet neare day" (H2v, III.v.1).

33-34 Compare: "It was the Nightingale, and not the Larke" (H2v, III.v.2).

35-37 In *RJ*, Romeo contradicts Juliet more directly: "It was the Larke ... No Nightingale" (H2v, III.v.6-7; Q1 similar).

36-37 **for ... pain** Compare: "More light and light [it grows], more darke and darke our woes" (H3r, III.v.36).

39 **Phoebus** See note at II.v.118.

41-42 **One ... us** Compare: "all these woes shall serue / For sweete discourses in our times to come" (H3r, III.v.52-53; Q1 similar).

nehme ich abschid mit disen kuß, vnd Sie gedenkhe das diser kuß die
standthafftigkeit vnd Ewige treü Euer *Romio* versigle[.]

JULIETA Ach lippenkuß meines hertzen 45

mich auß saugen meine Schmertzen

Meine blüke vnd ihr kräfften

kumb laß mich sie anhefften

an dein Süßen zucker Mund

daß ich gehe nicht zu grund. 50

ROMIO Ach waß machen waß begünnen

vnser hertzen die voll Schmertzen

meine Sünnen seind erfüllt,

voller plagen ach wer stillt?

Solches zagen waß mich truckt 55

vnd beschwerdt ach gantz verzehrt.

JULIETA [D]as liben mit betrüben,

ist ein feüer brennet mich,

biß auf den grundt ach ach weh!

[V]nd gantz verwund ich vergeh, 60

kumb Seelen Schatz erlaube mir,

zu küßben eh du scheidest von mir[.]

ROMIO Meiner Seelen zukher Speis

Jch gehe zu begriesßen

dich ô Edle tugendt preiß, 65

Jch hoffe zu genüßen

deine treü vnd beständigkeit

biß vnß beýd der todte scheid[.]

JULIETA So will ich auch Einsamb sein

49 dein] *this edn*; den COHN

69 sein] *this edn*; hier COHN

55 **truckt** drückt: presses.

kiss. And remember that this kiss seals your Romeo's constancy and everlasting faithfulness.

JULIETA O lip-kiss of my heart,	45
My pains suck me out.	
My glances and their powers:	
Come let me fix them	
On thy sweet sugar mouth,	
So that I do not perish.	50
ROMIO Ah, what to do, what to begin?	
Our hearts which are full of pain,	
My senses are filled	
Full of troubles, ah, who appeases them?	
Such fear which presses me	55
And burdens, oh, entirely consumes me.	
JULIETA Loving with grief	
Is a fire that burns me	
To the ground, O, O woe!	
And completely wounded, I pass away.	60
Come treasure of my soul, allow me	
To kiss thee before thou partest from me.	
ROMIO Sweet food of my soul,	
I go to greet	
Thee, O noble prize of virtue.	65
I hope to enjoy	
Thy faithfulness and constancy	
Until death parts the two of us.	
JULIETA So I will also be lonely,	

42-43 Hereby ... kiss] *RuJ*; Farewell, farewell, one kisse and Ile descend Q2, Q1 (Farewell, my Loue, one)

43-44 And ... faithfulness In *RJ*, there are no renewed vows of love and fidelity at this point. See also 68 and note.

45-80 This is the longest verse passage in the play; it may attempt to reproduce the poetic language that this scene contains in Shakespeare. Other long verse passages are: I.i.105-24, II.v.14-21, and V.iv.164-87. For the informal "thou", see note at II.v.4.

68 Referring to the liturgy of the marriage service (see note at III.x.16). In Shakespeare, Juliet sees Romeo "As one dead in the bottome of the tombe" (H3v, III.v.56; Q1 similar). *RuJ* repeats the marriage vows and foresees a future together. *RJ* foreshadows the lovers' deaths.

69-72 Julieta now chooses the solitary life of a turtledove to which she was earlier condemned by her parents (I.ii.8-11).

wie mir gebührt zu leben,	70
vnd die turtel taube thuet	
auf dürrn äste so	
Mit glich wird widergeben,	
dich mir meinen <i>Romio</i> .	
ROMIO Nun <i>Verona</i> fahre wohl	75
vnglichseeligs Vatterland	
Erhalt mir nur mein Schatz	
biß ich nicht mehr verbannt	
Mein hertz voll Schmertz bleibt hier,	
ich aber bleib beständig dir.	80
	[<i>Beyde ab.</i>]

Actus 5tus, Scena 1ma

CAPOLET[,] JULIETA [*vnd*] PICKLHÄRING [*treten auf*].

CAPOLET [G]eliebte Tochter *Julieta*, du weist das ich das Ja wordt

80 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

V.i.0 *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

76 **Vatterland** can also refer to one's native city (Grimm).

V.i.1 **Ja wordt** word of consent, here: for marriage (Grimm).

As I should live, 70
 And the turtledove lives
 On thin branches,
 Luck will return
 Thee, my Romio, to me.
 ROMIO Now Verona, farewell, 75
 Unfortunate fatherland.
 Only preserve my sweetheart for me
 Until I am no longer banished.
 My heart full of pain remains here,
 But I will always remain thine. 80
Exeunt omnes.

V.i

Enter CAPOLET, JULIETA, *and* PICKELHERRING.

CAPOLET Beloved daughter Julieta, thou knowest that I have given

71 **turtledove** See I.ii.9 and note.

71-72 The turtledove sits on a thin branch (a place where life hangs by a thread) when it has lost its love (Boltz 287). This image usually represents a mourning widow. E.g., Paulina says in *WT*: "I, an old turtle, / Will wing me to some withered bough, and there / My mate, that's never to be found again, / Lament till I am lost" (V.iii.133-36). An instance not involving a widow is found in a seventeenth-century German folk song: "Sitzen da zwei Turteltauben / Droben auf dem dürren Ast; / Wo sich zwei Verliebte scheiden, / Da verwelket Laub und Gras" (<http://ingeb.org/Lieder/warumbid.html>, 11 Mar. 2012, "Two turtledoves sit up there on the thin branch. Where two lovers part, leaves and grass wither").

V.i exhibits some fidelity to Shakespeare's texts and also considerable deviation from it, both in form and content. It has no exact equivalent but can be paralleled to Q1 III.v.96-155, 180-82 and Q2 III.v.126-203, 231-33 (Capulet's wife has announced to Juliet that she must marry Paris, and Capulet joins his wife and daughter to enforce that decision). The scene further echoes Q1 IV.ii.9-41 and Q2 IV.ii.10-46 (Juliet returns from the Friar's cell and agrees to the wedding; a scene absent from *RuJ*, along with the potion speech). In both Shakespearean scenes, Juliet's mother is present, and so is the Nurse; while the former is absent from this German scene, the latter is substituted by Pickelherring. Yet he does not protect Julieta as the Nurse does; his function is instead comic (as is the Nurse's elsewhere in Shakespeare). For the clown's incorporation into the plot, see pp. 166-68 above. For structural differences between *RuJ* and *RJ* concerning the wedding plans, see pp. 192-93 above. Additionally, there are echoes of Q1 IV.iii.1-10 and Q2 IV.iii.1-13 (Juliet takes her leave of her mother and the Nurse).

dem Graff *Paris* gegeben habe, wie auch schon alles zur hochzeit bereith vnd verfertigt ist, demnach ist mein will, das du den Graffen mit aller höffligkeit begegnest, dich schmukest vnd zührest, wie es einer brauth gebührt[,] dan morgen soll dein hochzeit tag sein[.] 5

JULIETA Ich weiß herr Vatter, das ich den gehorsamb meiner Eltern vnterworffen, aber ach!

PICKLHÄRING [H]uÿ zue, das Mensch bekommt das zahnwehe.

CAPOLET [W]as Seüffzest du tochter, in deme du volle freüden genüsßen kanst[.] 10

PICKLHÄRING Ein krankher Mensch kann nicht viel freüd haben[.]

JULIETA [A]ch die Jugendt meiner Jahren!

PICKLHÄRING [H]ab ichs nicht gesagt, sie fürcht sich schon von den sterben. 15

CAPOLET [D]ie Jugendt deiner Jahren, die du in lauther glickh verzehren kanst.

PICKLHÄRING [W]an sie viel gelt zu zehlen hat.

JULIETA Ach das glickh spöret meine lust!

CAPOLET [J]n was? 20

PICKLHÄRING [W]eil Sie das Zahnwehe hat.

3 demnach] *this edn*; dennoch COHN

19 spöret] *this edn*; spöret [störet?] COHN

4 **zührest** zierest: adorn, beautify.

8 **Huÿ** an interjection used to express surprise (Grimm)

8 **das Mensch** See note at I.iv.45-46.

17 **verzehren** Today's meaning ("to consume") can be supplemented by the early modern meaning of "to employ, to use (up), to spend, ... to waste" (Grimm, "verwenden, verbrauchen, ... verschwenden"). Compare the early modern formula "seine Jugend verzehren" (Grimm), in the sense of "spending one's youth".

18 **zehlen** probably a pun on "verzehren" (17).

19 **spöret** Cohn emends to "störet" ("disturbs"). "Spören" was a rare form of "spornen", meaning "to spur" (Grimm).

consent to Count Paris, as everything is already prepared and completed for the wedding. It is therefore my will that thou shouldst meet the Count with all courtesy, that thou shouldst adorn and array thyself as becomes a bride; for tomorrow is to be thy wedding day. 5

JULIETA I know, father, that I am subject to my parents' precepts – but ah!

PICKELHERRING Oho! The wench is getting a toothache.

CAPOLET What art thou sighing, daughter, when thou canst enjoy abundant pleasures? 10

PICKELHERRING A sick person cannot have many pleasures.

JULIETA Ah, the youth of my years!

PICKELHERRING Didn't I say so? She is already afraid of dying. 15

CAPOLET The youth of thy years which thou mayst spend in nothing but happiness!

PICKELHERRING If she has plenty of money to count.

JULIETA Ah, the happiness spurs my pleasure!

CAPOLET How? 20

PICKELHERRING Because she has a toothache.

V.i.5 for ... day] *RuJ*; Ile haue this knot knit vp to morrow morning Q2 (I4r, IV.ii.23), Q1 (vp to morrow_u); I say I will haue this dispatcht to morrow Q1 (H4r, IV.ii.34); wee le to Church to morrow Q2 (I4v, IV.ii.36)

4-5 thou ... bride Compare V.ii.29 and V.iii.7-8. In Shakespeare, Juliet asks the Nurse: "will you ... helpe me sort such needfull ornaments, / As you thinke fit to furnish me to morrow?" (Q2 I4v, IV.ii.32-34). In Q2's next scene she again refers to clothing: "I those attires are best" (I4v, IV.iii.1). In Q1, the description of clothes is more elaborate: Capulet's wife asks the Nurse to "Helpe her to sort Tyres, Rebatoes, Chaines" (H4r, IV.ii.30); and the Nurse tells Juliet that "theres a cleane smocke vnder [her] pillow" (H4v, IV.iii.4).

5 for ... day In Shakespeare, the date for the wedding is brought forward after Tybalt's death (III.iv) and again once Juliet has agreed to it (IV.ii). Capulet's wife objects to this, "No not till Thursday, there is time inough" (Q2 I4v, IV.ii.35; Q1 similar), but her husband does not heed her.

6 that ... precepts Julieta reiterates her complaint from I.ii.9-10. Nevertheless, she has already pointedly disobeyed her parents by marrying Romio (III.x.5-7).

8 toothache "Toothaches and love were associated ailments" (McEachern 229). In *MA*, Benedick also complains of a toothache when he is in love (III.ii.20, 27).

13 For Julieta's youth, see note at III.ii.10-11.

JULIETA Ach herr vatter, in anligenden krankheiten vnd anderen zuefällen die den Menschen plagen.

PICKLHÄRING Mich plagt der hunger, weil der koch nicht anrichten will. 25

CAPOLET [W]ie *Julieta*, hast du ein anligen einer krankheit so sag es vns.

JULIETA Ach es ist besser ich Schweige.

CAPOLET [W]o Schmerzt es dich [?]

JULIETA Jn dem hertzen[.] 30

CAPOLET Jn dem hertzen?

JULIETA Ja. [V]nd leide grosse qual[.]

PICKLHÄRING [H]err Ihr fragt auch Närrisch, Sie sagt Eüchs Ja, das ihre Schmertzen vmb die brust, bauch vnd nabel vnd umb die angränzenden ländel am meisten regiren[.] 35

CAPOLET Schweig Picklhäring, oder ich lasse dich in die kugel führen, dich zu streichen.

PICKLHÄRING [V]nd ich habe vermeindt, ihr wolt mir lassen ein fruestukh geben[.]

CAPOLET Tochter deinen zuestandt mueß man den Grafen wissen lassen. 40

JULIETA Ach herr Vatter, es ist besser der graff weiß nichts von meinen anligen, ich bitte herr Vatter[,] Er wolle mir zur gnad vmb den

22 **anligenden** Here, "anliegen" means "to occupy", "to feel vividly", "to trouble" (Grimm).

23 **zuefällen** "Zufall" means "accident", "symptoms of an illness", "pathological disturbance" (Grimm, "*accidens* ... die wahrnehmbare krankhafte erscheinung ... krankhafte störung"). In *Der Jude von Venetien*, Ancilletta, who is also feigning sickness, speaks of the "hefftige zufall" that she feels in her soul (IV.iii, 245, "fierce symptoms").

26, 43 **anligen** request, concern; can also "designate an ailment" (Grimm, "ein gebrechen anzeigen").

35 **ländel** a pun on "Lenden" ("loins") may be intended.

38 **vermeindt** vermeinen: (here) to think, suppose.

40 **zuestand** With reference "to women" this term could designate "pregnancy" (Grimm "von frauen, schwangerschaft").

JULIETA O father, by troubling diseases and other accidents that torment mankind.

PICKELHERRING Hunger torments me since the cook won't serve dinner. 25

CAPOLET What, Julieta, art thou troubled by an illness? Then tell us.

JULIETA Ah, I had better keep silence.

CAPOLET Where hast thou any pain?

JULIETA In the heart. 30

CAPOLET In the heart?

JULIETA Yes, and I suffer great torment.

PICKELHERRING Sir, you do ask foolishly. She tells you that her pains mostly reign around the breast, belly, and navel, and the adjacent countries. 35

CAPOLET Be silent, Pickelherring, or I will have thee led into the kitchen for a beating.

PICKELHERRING And I thought you wanted to have them give me a breakfast.

CAPOLET Daughter, the Count ought to be informed of thy condition. 40

JULIETA O father, it is better for the Count to know nothing of my concerns. Father, I ask you, for my sake, to send for the Father who

22-23] *RuJ*; I am not well Q1, Q2 (H3v, III.v.68)

22 diseases Since her illness allows her to ask for the Father to be sent to her (43-44), Julieta may merely be feigning sickness. In Shakespeare, Juliet's sadness, her being "not well", is blamed on Tybalt's death (H3v, III.v.68). The reason she gives for visiting the Friar is that she has "displeas'd [her] father" and needs to "make confession, and ... be obsolu'd" (I2r, III.v.232-33).

24-25 For the clown's preoccupation with food, see pp. 164-65 above.

26-35 See pp. 141-43 above for striking similarities to a passage from *Tragico Comedia Von Conte de Monte Negro* (*Tragico Comedia of Conte de Monte Negro*).

34-35 **around ... countries** Pickelherring's description of the female body echoes that of Mercutio's conjuring Romeo through the blazon of Rosaline – compare "the demeanes that there adiacent lie" (D1v, II.i.21) – and probably has similar sexual innuendos. Mercutius's conjuration is also found in *RuJ* (II.iv.9-13) but *RJ*'s formulation is more closely mirrored here.

36-39 For beatings in the kitchen see I.iii.56-61 and note.

43-44 **I ... ill** Compare: "Ile to the Frier to know his remedie, / If all else faile, my selfe haue power to die" (I2r, III.v.241-42). In Shakespeare, Juliet is more desperate than Julieta is here, since her parents and the Nurse have just abandoned her. In *RuJ*, Capolet is much calmer and

Pater Schikhen, der Sie gewöhnlich besuchen thuet[,] das Er mir
einen geistlichen trost gebe, dan ich bin sehr krankh. 45

PICKLHÄRING [K]rankhe leüth sollen lustig sein, wer weiß wie
lang Sie leben[.]

CAPOLET [D]ein zuestandt Tochter Schmertzet mich, doch
verfüge dich in dein zimmer, der *Pater* soll dich bald besuechen,
gelange nur bald zu deiner gesundtheit, damit du vnnß Erfreüest mit 50
deinem hochzeit tag, ich gehe vnd verlasße dich.

[CAPOLET] *abit*[.]

PICKLHÄRING Ich bleib auch nicht mehr da.

[PICKLHÄRING] *abit*[.]

JULIETA Er lebe wohl herr vatter. Ach armseelige *Julieta*, will dan
daß verhängnuß meines vnsterns nicht aufhören, mich zu quälen? [J]ch
solle zwey Männer nehmen, der eine ist verbannt, der andere mich 55
quält, waß Rath? [D]er hochzeit tag ist verhanden, ich liebe *Romio* vnd
nicht Graff *Paris*, meine Sünnen sein verwürt ich weiß mir nicht
zuhelffen, ach *Pater* Niemahlen hab ich Euren Rath besßer vonnöthen
gehabt alß aniezo, aber siehe zu allem glikh ist Er verhanden. Ach will
kommen herr *Pater*. 60

51 SD CAPOLET] *this edn; not in RuJ*

52 SD PICKLHÄRING] *this edn; not in RuJ*

49 verfüge begeben: proceed, go to.

54 vnsterns See note at IV.v.76.

usually visits you, to give me spiritual consolation, for I am very ill.

45

PICKELHERRING Ill people ought to be merry; who knows how long they will live.

CAPOLET Thy condition, daughter, grieves me. But go to thy room; the Father shall visit thee soon. Only recover thy health soon, so that thou mayst please us with thy wedding day. I go and leave thee.

50

Exit CAPOLET.

PICKELHERRING I will not stay either.

Exit PICKELHERRING.

JULIETA May you fare well, father. O miserable Julieta, will the fate of my unlucky star not cease to torment me? I am to take two husbands. One is banished, the other torments me: what counsel? The wedding day is at hand; I love Romio and not Count Paris. My senses

55

are confused; I'm at loss. O Father, I never needed your advice more than now! But, see, fortunately, there he is. – Oh, welcome, Father.

60

there is no clear break with his daughter. Julieta has discharged the Nurse earlier (IV.iv.86); in Shakespeare Juliet does so immediately before consulting the Friar (III.v.230-40).

43-44 **who ... you** In Shakespeare, Friar Laurence is rather acquainted with the younger generation and specifically with Romeo.

48-49 **go ... room** The scene continues without interruption when the Father enters. It remains unclear whether Julieta really goes to her room or where the scene is set in the first place. In Godwin, this line was cut, since the set remained unchanged from the previous scene, with Julieta still in her bed, which Romio had just left. It seemed logical to retain Julieta's bed because of her illness (see app. 6, fig. 3).

53-58 **O ... loss** Compare Q2's III.v.204-12, where Juliet asks the Nurse for her advice. Q1's equivalent only comprises one line (III.v.164).

53-54 **will ... me** Compare Romio's complaint at IV.v.76.

58-59 **O ... Father** Compare: "Come weepe with me, past hope, past care, past help" (Q2 I2v, IV.i.45). Q1 has "me that am past cure, past help" (H2v, IV.i.44). Compare also: "Therefore out of thy long experienst time, / Giue me some present counsell" (Q2 I3r, IV.i.60-61). Q1 merely has: "Giue me some sudden counsel" (H3r, IV.i.50).

58 **Father** It may be difficult to convey to an audience that Julieta is not referring to her father but to the Father who is about to enter. In performance, Capolet could exit to one side and the Father enter from the other. Julieta could direct her speech accordingly.

[Actus 5tus, Scena 2da]

PATER [*tritt auf.*]

PATER Ich bedankhe mich *Julieta*. [W]ie stehet es mit ihr? [S]ie siehet sehr betrübt auß, ist ihr waß widerfahren? [O]der rühret es von *Romio* wegen her?

JULIETA Ach *Pater* die überheüffige Schmertzen, so ich leide machen mich gantz verzweiflen, in deme mein vatter haben will ich solte Graff *Paris* zu einen Mann haben, Nun aber weiß Er selber besßer herr *Pater* wemb ich zue gehöre, vnd mit pflicht verbunden bin[.] 5

PATER [*für sich*] Ich will Sie ein wenig auf die prob stellen [. Zu JULIETA] [H]öret mich *Julieta*, auß zweyßen üblen muß man daß beste erwehlen weilen ihr den *Romio* nicht zu theil, sondern verbannet wißet, So vollbringet Eurer Eltern befehl, vnd nehmbt den Graff *Paris*, welcher vor gewiß ein wackherer *gaulier* ist. 10

JULIETA [W]ie *Pater* seit ihr ein geistl[icher] vnd wolt mit einem solchen Rath, daß ich die Ehe vnd meine Ehr befleken soll? Nein Nein *Pater* Nein, Ehe 10 mahl gestorben alß *Romio* verlasßen. 15

PATER Anietzo verstehe ich Eure beständigkeit, *Julieta* verzeihet mir, es wahr nur meine meinung Eüch auf die prob zu stellen, weillen ich aber Euer hertz vnuerenderlich gegen *Romio* sehe, so habe ich ein

V.ii Actus ... 2da] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *tritt auf]* *this edn; not in RuJ*

9-10 *für ... JULIETA]* *this edn; /:* Ich will Sie ein wenig auf die prob stellen:/ *RuJ*; (Ich will sie ein wenig auf die prob stellen). COHN

14 *geistlicher]* COHN; *geistl. RuJ*

18 *Eüch auf]* *this edn; Eüch zu Vex auf RuJ*

V.ii.11 zu theil *Romio* does not belong to *Julieta*, he is not "assigned", "granted" to her (Grimm, "das einem als theil zukommende ... beanspruchte ... der antheil"). Other instances also suggest the sense of being in a couple. In *Phänicia*, Venus says about *Phänicia* and *Tymbor*: "But she shall not belong to him, / Until he takes her in marriage" (I, 262, "Doch sol sie ihm nicht zu theil werden, / Biß er sie Ehelich nehmen thu").

13 vor gewiß *für* *gewiss*: surely, certainly (Grimm).

13 gaulier See note at I.ii.30.

18 The scribe probably intended to write "Eüch zu *Vexieren*" (see collation and note to III.vi.28).

18 meinung here: intention (Grimm).

19 Euer ... Romio For the use of "gegen" with "Liebe", see note at III.iv.11.

V.ii

Enter FATHER.

FATHER I thank you, Julieta. How are things with you? You look very sad. Has anything happened to you? Or is it because of Romio?

JULIETA O Father, the excessive pain that I suffer makes me despair totally, since my father wants me to take Count Paris as a husband. But you yourself know better to whom I belong and to whom I am in duty bound. 5

FATHER [*Aside*] I will test her a little. [*To JULIETA*] Listen to me, Julieta: of two evils one must choose the best. As you know that Romio is not yours, but banished, so perform the command of your 10

parents and take Count Paris, who is certainly a brave cavalier.

JULIETA What, Father? Are you a clergyman and with such advice you want me to stain marriage and my honor? No, no, Father, no! Sooner die ten times than leave Romio. 15

FATHER Now I understand your constancy. Julieta, pardon me; it was only my intention to test you. But since I see that your heart is unchanged towards Romio, I have contrived a plan – if you will follow

V.ii is equivalent to Q1 IV.i.43-91 and Q2 IV.i.44-126 (Juliet visits Friar Laurence). In the MS, this scene is not numbered, but the next scene is numbered V.iii. See also note at V.i.48-49.

1-2 **How ... Romio** In *RJ*, the Friar is already informed (IV.i.46).

9 **I ... little** For the aside, see note at II.v.47-48.

9 **test** In Shakespeare, the Friar has no need to test Juliet: her suicide threat shows that she is in dead earnest (IV.i.72).

14-15 **What ... honor** Compare Q2's "God ioynd my heart, and *Romeos* thou our hands" (I3r, IV.i.55), where Juliet also appeals to the Friar's religious obligations.

15-16 **No ... Romio** In *RJ*, Juliet not only threatens to commit suicide but lists the horrible things she would do "rather then marrie *Paris*" (I3r, IV.i.77). Yet her enumeration only occurs after the Friar has announced a plan "Which craues as desperate an execution" as suicide (I3r, IV.i.69).

werkh ersunnen, wo ihr folgen wollet Eüch auß aller gefahr zu helffen, 20
damit ihr *Romio* erlangen möget[.]

JULIETA Ach *Pater* vatter vnd erretter meines lebens, wemb sollte
ich mehr gehorsamben alß Eüch, weillen ich alles trosts beraubt bin,
vnd mich in meinem Ellend vnd Schmertzen nicht mehr zu trösten
weiß[.] 25

PATER So wißet *Julieta* das es hoch nötigk Eüch auf eine zeit lang
zu uerstellen, dardurch ihr nicht gezwungen werdet den Graff *Paris* zu
Eheligen, wißet daß ich in der *Medicin* sehr wohl Erfahren, darum
Schmukhet vnd ziehret Eüch auf daß beste alß ein brauth, hernach will
ich Eüch einen Schlafftrunkh bereithen, welcher Eüch ohne schaden 30
auf gewisse zeit todt vorstellen solle, vnd Euere Eltern überreden daß
sie Eüch in daß *Monument* legen lasßen, das wird ein vrsach sein daß
beylager zu uerhindern, in desßen aber will ich den *Romio* schreiben in
Eyl verkleidter weiß zu kommen, Eüch zu entführen vnd also von

26 **hoch** here: strongly, very (Grimm).

32 **Monument** grave, funerary monument, burial construction, mausoleum (Grimm).

it – to help you out of all danger, so that you may win your Romio. 20

JULIETA O Father, father and savior of my life! Whom should I obey more than you? For I am robbed of all consolation and do not know how to console myself in my misery and pain.

25

FATHER Know then, Julieta, that it is most necessary that you dissemble for a time, so that you will not be forced to marry Count Paris. Know that I am versed in medicine; therefore do your best to adorn and array yourself as a bride. Afterwards I will prepare a sleeping potion for you which – without damage – will make you appear dead for a certain time and will persuade your parents to have you laid in the monument. That will be a reason to prevent the wedding. In the meantime I will write to Romio to hurry here in disguise and to abduct you and so to free you from all your grief. Is 30

V.ii.26-27 Know ... time] *RuJ*; not in Q1; go home, be merrie, giue consent, / To marrie *Paris* Q2

29-31 Afterwards ... time] *RuJ*; And this distilling liquor drinke thou off, / When presently through all thy veines shall run, / A cold and drowzie humour: ... And in this borrowed likeness of shrunke death, / Thou shalt continue two and fortie houres Q2, Q1 (distilled Liquor, a run / A dull and heauie slumber, shalt remaine full two)

31-32 and ... monument] *RuJ*; And when thou art laid in thy Kindreds Vault Q1; Thou shall be borne to that same auncient vault, / Where all the kindred of the *Capulets* lie Q2

33-34 In ... you] *RuJ*; Ile send in hast to *Mantua* to thy Lord, / And he shall come and take thee from thy graue Q1; In the meane time against thou shalt awake, / Shall *Romeo* by my Letters know our drift, / And hither shall he come, an he and I / Will watch thy waking, and that very night / Shall *Romeo* beare thee hence to *Mantua* Q2

34 and ... grief] *RuJ*; not in Q1; And this shall free thee from this present shame Q2

22-24 In *RuJ*, Julieta entirely depends on the Father to sort things out. In *RJ*, she has another remedy at hand: "this bloudie knife" (I3r, IV.i.62).

28 **Know ... medicine** Typically for *RuJ*, this information is only introduced when it becomes important. In *RJ*, the Friar's botanical knowledge is introduced much earlier (II.ii); see also headnote to II.vi.

29-30 **Afterwards ... you** In Shakespeare, the Friar already has the potion at hand: "Take thou this Violl" (I3v, IV.i.93).

29 In *RJ*, the Friar further advises Juliet: "Let not the Nurse lie with thee in thy Chamber" (Q2 I3v, IV.i.92; Q1 similar).

31 **for ... time** In *RJ*, the timing is more precise: "two and fortie houres" (I3v, IV.i.105).

34 **disguise** In Q2, Friar Laurence advises Romeo to flee Verona "disguise[d]" (H2r, III.iii.167), although it is not clear whether he follows this advice (Levenson 282). No disguise is planned for Juliet's rescue in *RJ*.

allem kummer zu entledigen, ist diß Euer Meinung auch *Julieta*? 35

JULIETA Ach Schertz mein vnglikh ist zu groß daß es mich
hinwürfft wo es will, gleich einen ballen, waß brauch es weither mein
Romio ist verbannt, ich gezwungen noch einen zu nehmen, ach aber
eher sterben alß dises gut heißen, darumb Pater brauchet güfft oder
schlaff trunkh, es ist mir beýdes eins, wan ich nur *Romio* einmahl 40
sehen kunte.

PATER Sie stelle sich zu friden *Julieta*, vnd lasset Eure Schertzen
beý Eüch nicht über handt nehmen, die hilff ist verhanden, der
Schlafftrunkh kan Eüch von allem Elend vnd Schertzen Erledigen[.]

JULIETA [W]ollan es seý so Eürem willen zu folgen verfertiget den 45
Schlaff trunkh, ich bin bereith solchen zu nehmen, es geschehe gleich
zum todt oder leben[.]

PATER Nein *Julieta* Sie entschlage sich solche gedankhen vnd der
himmel behütte Sie vor weithern vnglikh ich verhoffe durch dises
vorgeschlagene mittel, wird Sie allen kummer vnd hertzen leyð von ihr 50
wenden.

JULIETA Pater auf Euer hilff stehet mein vertrauen, ich gehe Euren
befehl zu volbringen.

PATER [W]ollan so gehe ich den Schlafftrunkh zuuerfertigen vnd
alles zu ihren besten bereithen[.] 55

[PATER] *abit*[.]

JULIETA [D]er himmel vnd sein macht
geb hiemit seinen Seegen

55 SD PATER] *this edn; not in RuJ*

37 **ballen** Ball: ball (Grimm).

42 **Sie ... friden** See note to *BB* I.vii.7-8.

48 **entschlage** to release, to detach oneself from, to avoid (Grimm).

49 **verhoffe** to expect, to hope (Grimm).

this also your opinion, Julieta? 35

JULIETA O pain, my misfortune is so great so that it throws me wherever it wants to, like a ball. What more is required? My Romio is banished; I am forced to take another. Ah, but sooner die than to approve of this. Therefore, Father, use poison or sleeping potion, it is the same to me, if I could only see Romio once. 40

FATHER Be content, Julieta, and do not let your pains take the upper hand with you. Help is at hand; the sleeping potion can free you from all misery and pain.

JULIETA Well, be it so, I shall follow your will. Prepare the sleeping potion; I am ready to take it whether it happens for death or for life. 45

FATHER No, Julieta, discard such thoughts, and heaven preserve you from further misfortune. I hope that by the proposed means you will turn all grief and suffering of the heart from you. 50

JULIETA Father, on your help rests my confidence. I will go to do your bidding.

FATHER Well then, I go to prepare the sleeping potion and to arrange everything for your best. 55

Exit FATHER.

JULIETA Heaven and his power
Hereby grant their blessing,

36-40] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Giue me, giue me, O tell not me of feare Q2

52-53 I ... bidding] *RuJ*; Frier I goe Q1

56-59] *RuJ*; not in Q1; Loue giue me strength, and strength shall helpe afford Q2

34 **abduct you** Q2's Friar also intends Romeo to take Juliet to Mantua; Q1's does not, and only Q2's Friar plans to be present when Juliet awakes (IV.i.115-16).

39, 46-47 **poison, for ... life** Juliet only voices doubts when on her own: "What if the Frier should giue me this drinke / To poyson mee" (Q1 H4v, IV.iii.16-17) and "What if it be a poyson which the Frier / Subtilly hath ministred to haue me dead" (Q2 K1r, IV.iii.23-24).

42-43 **Be ... you** The Father uses similar words when trying to calm Romio (IV.v.1-2).

45-47 See collation to 36-40.

48-50 **and ... you** See collation to 34.

52 **Father ... confidence** Compare IV.v.70. Both Romio and Julieta are let down by the Father.

56-59 These lines are *in lieu* of the potion speech (*RJ* IV.iii.15-57). Cohn prints hexameters. In Q2, Juliet's last lines in this scene appeal to love, not heaven (see collation). In Q1, she says to the Friar: "be sure thou send for my deare *Romeo*" (H3v, IV.i.91).

Daß aller vnglicks sturm
damit Sich möge legen.

[JULIETA *abit.*]

[Actus 5tus,] Scena 3tia

FRAU[,] AMMA [*vnd*] PICKLHÄRING [*treten auf.*]

FRAU *Amma?*

AMMA [W]aß beliebt ihr gn[ädigste?]

FRAU Saget mir ist alles verfertiget vnd bereith zu meiner tochter
beylager?

AMMA Ich weiß nicht anderst gnädige frau, alß daß alles bereith 5
vnd fertig ist[.]

FRAU So gehe nach meiner tochter zimmer vnd frage Sie ob sie
geschmukhet vnd geziehret ist ihren breytigamb zu Empfangen.

AMMA Es soll geschehen gnädige frau.

PICKLHÄRING Alte bleib da *Julieta* ligt in Schlauff vnd traumet ihr 10
von sachen, die Niemand wissen soll[.]

AMMA Schau der Narr da, hat viel zu sagen, Eÿ das man nicht
thuet was der herr haben will, Narren keren in die kuchen zu sehen ob

59 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

V.iii Actus 5tus] *this edn; not in RuJ*

0 SD *vnd, treten auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

2 gnädigste] *this edn; gnl: RuJ; gnaden COHN*

V.iii.2 Waß ... ihr "what are your wishes/orders?" (Grimm).

3 **verfertiget** See note at III.ix.39.

4 **beylager** See note at III.ix.39.

13 **kuchen** here, Küche: kitchen (Grimm).

That all storm of misfortune
May abate.

Exit JULIETA.

V.iii

Enter WIFE, NURSE, and PICKELHERRING.

WIFE Nurse?

NURSE What is your Grace's pleasure?

WIFE Tell me, is everything prepared and ready for my daughter's wedding?

NURSE I don't know otherwise, gracious lady, but that everything is ready and prepared. 5

WIFE Then go to my daughter's room, and ask her if she is adorned and arrayed to receive her bridegroom.

NURSE It shall be done, gracious lady.

PICKELHERRING Stay, old woman. Julieta is asleep and is dreaming of things which no one is to know. 10

NURSE Look, the fool there has much to say. Oh, that one should not do what the master desires, fools go to the kitchen to see if the

V.iii.1] *RuJ; Ca.* ... Nurse, wife, what ho, what Nurse I say? Q2

3-4] *RuJ; Moth:* Thats well said Nurse, set all in redines Q1

7-8] *RuJ; Cap:* ... Nurse call vp my daughter Q1; *Ca.* ... Go waken *Iuliet*, go and trim her vp Q2

V.iii corresponds to Shakespeare's IV.iv (Juliet's supposedly dead body is discovered).

7-8 In *RJ*, there is greater urgency, because "the bridgroom ... is come already" (Q2 K2r, IV.iv.26; Q1 similar).

10-41 Not in Shakespeare. Throughout the scene, Pickelherring adds his sometimes macabre jokes. These antics are similar to Pickelherring's joking about the dead Tipold. With one difference: the audience knows that Julieta is not actually dead. Such dramatic irony is also found in Shakespeare, where (especially in Q1) the family joins in a choral lament, which according to some critics is "purposeful comedy" (C. B. Lower qtd. in Levenson 322). Shakespeare actually adds further comedy with the musicians-episode which follows this scene (*RJ* IV.iv.122-66). The "easy co-existence of comedy and tragedy in Shakespeare's plays" has often been pointed out (Aebischer 80). *RuJ* brings out the underlying comic element in *RJ* and thereby adds another contribution to the play's ambivalent place between tragedy and comedy.

13-14 **fools ... ready** For the clown's preoccupation with food, see pp. 164-65 above.

- daß Esßen fertig, vnd nicht mit frauen zimmer zu reden[.]
- PICKLHÄRING [Ô] *Monstrum horrendum*, du ein frauen zimmer, ô 15
 altes Ribeisen vnd altes raffelscheitt, du alte abgeschabene
 ergötzlichkeit der lieb, was hast du mir zu befehlen?
- FRAU Schweig Pikhäring vnd zankhet Eüch nicht[,] ein Jedes
 verrichte was ihme befohlen[.]
- AMMA Gnädige frau der Narr. 20
 PICKLHÄRING Gnädige frau die Närrin.
 AMMA [H]alts maul holtz bockh.
 PICKLHÄRING [H]alts maul alter stroh sakh[.]
 AMMA [D]u bist halt ein thue kein guet.
 PICKLHÄRING [V]nd du auf der welt nichts nutz[.] 25
 AMMA [Ô] du sauff auß[.]
 PICKLHÄRING [Ô] du alte fledermauß[.]
 FRAU [P]fuÿ Schämet Eüch beÿde in gegenwarth meiner solche
 wordt zu brauchen.
- AMMA Gn[ädige] frau es ist Ja nicht zu leiden[.] 30
 PICKLHÄRING Gnädige frau die alte soll mich zu friden lasßen[.]
 AMMA [D]u werest mir nit gut genug meine Schuhe zu butzen[.]

16 raffelscheitt] *this edn*; waffelscheitt COHN

30 Gnädige] COHN; gnl: *RuJ*

16 **Ribeisen** Reibeisen. Literally, a kitchen grater made of iron; figuratively, an insult for a shrewish woman (Grimm).

16 **raffelscheit** As such not in Grimm. The meaning can be gathered from the two insults framing this one. "Raffel" was the noun form of "raffeln" ("to rattle", "to grate", "to scrape"), and refers to utensils used for these actions. The word is still used in modern Swiss German. "Raffel" could further designate a talkative woman, with connotations of being ugly and old. It was also a derisive designation for the mouth. "Scheit" ("piece of wood") could be a club or weapon (Grimm). Cohn's reading – "waffelscheitt" – is not found in Grimm.

16 **abgeschabene** threadbare, worn-out (Grimm).

17 **ergötzlichkeit** delightfulness, favor, often with the connotation of gratification, recompense (Grimm).

22 **holtz bokh** Holzbock: timberjack; an insult for a stubborn or stiff human being (Grimm).

23 **stroh sakh** A bag filled with straw was used as a mattress. "Strohsack" could also refer to a craftsman (Grimm).

24 **thue kein guet** Tunichtgut: good-for-nothing (*Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*).

26 **sauff auß** drunkard (Grimm). In *Jude von Venetien*, Pickelherring calls the Jew Josephus "Jud sauffaus" (IV.viii, 254).

32 **butzen** putzen: clean.

meal is ready and not to speak with ladies.

PICKELHERRING O *monstrum horrendum*! Thou a lady? O old grater and old scraper, thou worn-out delight of love, what canst thou command me? 15

WIFE Silence, Pickelherring, and do not quarrel. Each of you should do what he is bidden to do.

NURSE Gracious lady, that fool of a fellow – 20

PICKELHERRING Gracious lady, that fool of a woman –

NURSE Shut up, timberjack!

PICKELHERRING Shut up, old pad of straw!

NURSE Well, thou art a good-for-nothing!

PICKELHERRING And thou of no use in the world. 25

NURSE O thou guzzle-up.

PICKELHERRING O thou old bat!

WIFE Tut, you ought to be ashamed to use words like these in my presence.

NURSE Gracious lady, it is not to be suffered. 30

PICKELHERRING Gracious lady, the old woman should leave me in peace.

NURSE Thou wouldst not be good enough for me to clean my shoes.

PICKLHÄRING [V]nd du werst mir nicht guet genug wo mein ruckhgrad ein End hat mich zu küssen[.]

FRAU [P]fuÿ Schämet Eüch beÿde vnd vergesßet nicht den *respect* 35
meiner persohn, gehet *Amma* verrichtet was ich Eüch befohlen.

AMMA Ich gehe dero befehl zu verrichten[.]

[AMMA] *abit*[.]

FRAU [H]öre Picklhäring du bist etwas grob wan du mit frauen zimmer redest[.]

PICKLHÄRING [W]as grob ist, ist auch starkh, ich trauet mirs noch 40
gröber zu machen, wan ich die alte bokhreitterin nicht wegen Eurer
verschonete[.]

Auß AMMA[.]

AMMA Ach gn[ädige] fraw was vnglikh? *Julieta* ligt in Ihrer besten kleitung außgestreket vnd todt.

PICKLHÄRING [D]aß ist erstunkhen vnd erlogen, weil Sie 45
außgestrekt ligt, So mueß ich gehen vnd sehen was ihr schadt dan ich
verstehe mich tröfflich auf die außgestrekte krankheiten.

[PICKLHÄRING] *abit*[.]

FRAU [D]er himmel bewahre mich *Amma* waß für ein schrokhen hab ich ein genohmen.

AMMA [J]ch wolte es währe nicht gn[ädige] fraw waß ich gesagt, 50
aber ich wolt mir die Nasen abschneiden lasßen wan *Julieta* nicht todt
ist, dan ich verstehs in keine kurtzweil mit den kleidern im beth zu
ligen.

PICKLHÄRING [*tritt auf*.]

37 SD AMMA] *this edn; not in RuJ*

43 gnädige] COHN; gnl: *RuJ*; gnd. DEVRIENT

47 SD PICKLHÄRING] *this edn; not in RuJ*

50 gnädige] *this edn*; gnl: *RuJ*; gnd. DEVRIENT; gn. COHN

53 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in RuJ*

41 **bokhreitterin** (female) rider of a billy goat; here: a (sexual) insult (Grimm).

45 **erstunkhen ... erlogen** made up, lies. "Erstunken" means "erlogen" (Grimm). An idiomatic hendiadys (see note to English text at I.i.36 and pp. 153-54 above) that is still in use today.

47 **außgestrekte krankheiten** not in Grimm, probably an invention of Pickelherring's, most likely a sexual pun.

PICKELHERRING And thou wouldst not be good enough for me to kiss me where my spine ends.

WIFE Tut, you should both be ashamed! And do not forget the respect due to my person. Go, Nurse, do as I commanded you. 35

NURSE I go to carry out your command.

Exit NURSE.

WIFE Listen, Pickelherring, thou art somewhat rude when talking to ladies.

PICKELHERRING What is rude is also strong. I dare to do it more rudely still if I didn't spare the old goat-rider for your sake. 40

Enter NURSE.

NURSE O gracious lady, what calamity? Julieta lies dressed in her best clothes, stretched out and dead.

PICKELHERRING That's a pack of lies! Because she is stretched out, I must go and see what the matter is with her, for I thoroughly understand stretched-out illnesses. 45

Exit PICKELHERRING.

WIFE Heaven preserve me! Nurse, what a fright I took!

NURSE I wish, gracious lady, it weren't as I said; but I would let my nose be cut off if Julieta is not dead. For I do not take it for a pastime to lie in bed with one's clothes on. 50

Enter PICKELHERRING.

43-44] *RuJ*; Whats heere, laide on your bed, drest in your cloathes and down, ah me, alack the day ... Alack the day, shees dead, shees dead, shees dead Q1; What drest, and in your clothes, and downe againe? ... Alas, alas, helpe, helpe, my Ladyes dead Q2

48] *RuJ*; Accurst, vnhappy, miserable time Q1

34 See note at I.iv.46.

37 SD In contrast to Shakespeare, Julieta is lying offstage: both the Nurse and Pickelherring exit to see her (supposedly dead) body. In Shakespeare, Juliet's bed is presumably centerstage, and curtains are drawn to reveal her (*RJ* IV.iv.38 SD).

43 **Julieta** In *RJ*, Juliet's name is not mentioned as often as it is here, probably because her body is on stage and can be referred to by gestures.

50-51 **I ... off** a known punishment (Grimm).

PICKLHÄRING [Ô] Ellend ô noth, ô barmhertzigkeit, ô
Mausericordia[,] *Julieta* hat sich zu todt gestorben, ô erschrökhliche 55
 bostzeitung, Sie ligt auß gestreckt mit händt vndt füßßen, vnd ist so
 steüff alß ein gefrohrener stockhfisch[.]

FRAU [W]ie was, sagst du Pikhäring *Julieta* todt?

PICKLHÄRING [D]as weiß ich nicht ob sie todt ist, aber sie ligt
 vnd rührt sich nicht vnd ihr Seel ist schon in den 24 Elementen[.] 60

FRAU [Ô] Jammer ô Ellend, Ist *Julieta* todt so hat mein freüd ein
 End, ach armer Graff *Paris* waß wird Er darzue sagen, aber hier kompt
 mein herr, ach *Julieta* armseelige *Julieta*[.]

CAPOLET [vnd] PATER [treten auf.]

CAPOLET [W]ie ich gesagt herr *Pater* darbey soll es verbleiben
 den wer eine sach vornimbt, soll es beschleinig vollführen[.] 65

PATER Nach dero befehl herr *Capolet* soll alles mit höchstem fleiß
 verrichtet werden.

CAPOLET [A]ber was hat diß zu bedeüten, daß meine gemahlin die
 thränen abtrukhnet, wie ists liebste gemahlin was vor eine traurigkeit
 presßet thränen von Euren augen vnd zwinget Eüch zum weinen[?] 70

FRAU Ach liebster herr vnd Gemahl vnglikh über vnglikh[.]

CAPOLET [D]er himmel bewahre vnß alle vor vnglikh, waß soll

63 SD vnd; treten auf] this edn; not in RuJ

56 **bostzeitung** See notes at III.vii.32 and III.vii.8.

56-57 **vnd ... stockhfisch** See note at IV.iv.30.

65 **vornimbt** vornimmt: here, to begin (an action) (Grimm).

65 **beschleinig** schleunig: speedily, swiftly.

PICKELHERRING O misery, O distress, O pity, O *mousericordia*!
 Julieta has died herself dead. Oh, horrifying news! She lies with hands 55
 and feet stretched out and is as stiff as a frozen stockfish.

WIFE How? What sayest thou, Pickelherring? Julieta dead?

PICKELHERRING I don't know whether she's dead. But she lies
 there and does not move, and her soul is already in the twenty-four 60
 elements.

WIFE O despair, O misery! Is Julieta dead, then my joy is at an end.
 O poor Count Paris, what will he say to this? But there comes my lord.
 O Julieta, miserable Julieta!

Enter CAPOLET and FATHER.

CAPOLET As I said, Father, it shall remain at that; for who
 undertakes a thing ought to carry it out speedily. 65

FATHER According to your order, Lord Capulet, everything shall
 be executed with the greatest diligence.

CAPOLET But what does this mean that my wife is drying her
 tears? How is it, dearest wife? What sorrow presses tears from your
 eyes and forces you to weep? 70

WIFE O dearest lord and husband, misfortune upon misfortune!

CAPOLET Heaven preserve us all from misfortune! What should

61] *RuJ*; O woe, alacke, distrest, why should I liue? Q1; O me, O me, my child, my onely life /
 Reuiue, looke vp, or I will die with thee Q2

54 *mousericordia* Pickelherring's version of the Latin "misericordia" ("mercy").

56 **and ... stockfish** See note at IV.iv.29-30. In Q2, Capulet notes: "Her bloud is setled, and her
 ioyns are stiffe" (K2r, IV.iv.52). Q1 has no equivalent.

58 Compare: "*Mo.* What noise is here?" and "*Mo.* What is the matter?" (Q2 K2r, IV.iv.43, 44), as
 well as "*Moth.* How now whats the matter?" (Q1 I1v, IV.iv.33).

62 **Count Paris** In Shakespeare, "*the Countie*" (K2v, IV.iv.58 SD) is on stage in this scene. In
RuJ, the other characters speak for him (see 95, 99-101). His absence may be due to the fact that
 Shakespeare's V.i and V.ii are cut in *RuJ* and that Paris mourns Julieta in the next scene.

64-65 This might imply that the Father has tried to dissuade Capulet from proceeding with the
 wedding. In *RJ*, the question "Come, is the Bride ready to go to Church?" (Q2 K2v, IV.iv.59; Q1
 similar) is asked by the Friar in Q2, and by Paris in Q1.

68-90 Interestingly, Julieta's parents solely rely on the servants' reports about their daughter's
 death. They never go offstage to see for themselves. In contrast to Q2, in Q1 "Capulet's
 assessment of Juliet is purely visual" (Erne 135). In *RuJ*, it is purely aural. Yet the absence of
 Julieta's body is not due to deficiency doubling (see doubling chart, app. 4a).

dises bedeüten?

PICKLHÄRING [H]err der Mader ist ins taubenhauß kummen vnd
hat 2 Junge tauben zu todt gebisßen, ob Ers gahr gefresßen das weiß 75
ich nicht, vnd daß ist Ja vngliks genug?

FRAU Ach liebster herr vnd gemahl *Julieta* ist todt[.]

PICKLHÄRING Jst dan das so große sach, das ein Mahl ein
Mensch stirbt[?]

CAPOLET [W]ie? [W]aß? *Julieta* todt? [D]as seye der himmel 80
vor[.]

FRAU Es ist nicht anderst, dan die *Amma* vnd Piklhäring haben Sie
beyde todt gesehen[.]

CAPOLET Jst es wahr Piklhäring?

PICKLHÄRING Jch vermeine wohl es wird wahr sein, dan Sie ligt 85
vnd rührt sich nicht, hört vnd sieht nicht, vnd ligt außgestrekt wie ein
holtz klotz, weither brauchts nichts mehr alß daß die Schueler kommen
tragen sie hinwekh, vnd singen mit fried vnd freüd fahr ich dahin, vnd
reiße meine strasßen[.]

FRAU Ach wehe es ist nur allzu wahr, helfft ein onmacht überfallet 90
mich[.]

CAPOLET [H]elffet meiner gemahlin vnd bringet Sie von hier in ihr
zimmer Sie zu laben.

80 Das] COHN; da DEVRIENT

92 von hier] COHN; ~~hinwekh~~ von hier *RuJ*

80-81 **Das ... vor** may heaven prevent this (Grimm).

93 **laben** to refresh, to revitalize (Grimm).

this mean?

PICKELHERRING Sir, the marten has come into the dovecote and bit two young pigeons dead. I do not know whether he has eaten them, 75
too. And that's misfortune enough, no?

WIFE O dearest lord and husband, Julieta is dead.

PICKELHERRING Is it such a great thing that someone dies?

CAPOLET How? What? Julieta dead? Heaven forbid! 80

WIFE It is not otherwise, for both the Nurse and Pickelherring have seen her dead.

CAPOLET Is it true, Pickelherring?

PICKELHERRING I do believe it is true, for she is lying down and 85
does not move, does not hear nor see, and lies stretched out like a log. Nothing is wanting but that the students come, carry her away, and sing: "With peace and joy I go from hence and travel on my way."

WIFE O woe, it is but too true! Help, a faintness overcomes me. 90

CAPOLET Help my wife, and take her from here to her chamber, to refresh her.

77] *RuJ*; Ah shees dead, shees dead Q1; Shees dead: deceast, shees dead, alack the day Q2

74-75 **Sir ... dead** This could be read as foreshadowing the protagonists' death.

74 **dovecote** Shakespeare's "*Doue-house*" (B4r, I.iii.35) from the Nurse's narration at the beginning of the play makes a surprise appearance.

87 **students** possibly students from a monastery or traveling students who earned their bread with different kinds of "artistic" employments (Grimm, "durch allerhand künste").

88 **With ... way** Two chorals might be at the origin of this: "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" ("with peace and joy I go from here") is the first line of a hymn composed by Martin Luther (1524), after Luke 2.29-32 (<http://ingeb.org/spiritua/mitfried.html>, 1. Aug 2012). Another choral begins: "O Welt, ich muß dich lassen, / ich fahr dahin mein Straßen / ins ewig Vaterland" ("O World, I must leave you / I go from here along my way / To the eternal fatherland"). Its second stanza ends with "mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" (Nuremberg, 1555, qtd. in Ippen 123). At the end of *Julio und Hyppolita*, the father of the heroine says: "Now I go my ways and leave thee [O wicked world] forever" (my translation; IV, 155, "Ich gehe jetzt hin mein Strassen thue dich [du böse Welt] gänzlich verlassen"). Creizenach cites two other instances where the clown figure announces the protagonist's death with reference to students singing (CV).

90-93 SD Unique to *RuJ*, although in Q2, before Capulet enters, the "*Mo[ther]*" cries out: "Helpe, helpe, call helpe" (K2r, IV.iv.47).

[FRAU] *wurd* [von AMMA vnd PICKLHÄRING] *weckh getragen*[.]
 Ach ist *Julieta* todt! [A]ch ich armer mann so ist mein trost vnd freüd
 gestorben. Ach *Paris*. *Paris*, dein lieben ist vmbsonst[.] 95

PATER Mein herr *Capolet* Er betrübe sich nicht So sehr, wars des
 himmels will, desßen befehl muß man vollziehen.

CAPOLET Ach *Pater* der fall ist zu groß daß angesezte beylager ist
 verhanden; waß wird Graff *Paris* sagen, wan er Erfahren das seine
 brauth gestorben, sein lieben vmbsonst, an statt des brauth Crantz soll 100
 Er todte *Cypressen* auf ihr grab streüen, ach trawer, kumer vnd
 hertzens angst[.]

PATER Mein herr *Capulet* wie Schmertzlich es ihm von hertzen
 geht ist leicht zu glauben, aber auß 2 übel mueß vnd soll man das beste
 Erwehlen, weillen es geschehen, wer kan es Endren[.] Es währe mein 105
 Rath man lässe es den Graff *Paris* wissen[.] *Julieta* aber in ihr
Monument legen, vnd an statt des freüden fest ein traurige leich
 begängnuß halten, seine und dero gemahlin bekümmernuß wolle der
 herr dem himmlischen willen aufopffern[.]

93 SD] *this edn*; / : *wurd weckh getragen* : / *RuJ*

96 wars] *this edn*; wans COHN

98 **angesezte** here: to set, to determine (Grimm).

107-08 **leich begängnuß** Leichenbegängnis. "Begängnis" is a solemn feast, such as a wedding, a funeral, or a procession (Grimm).

WIFE *is carried away by NURSE and PICKELHERRING.*
 Ah, is Julieta dead? O wretched man that I am, then my joy and
 comfort have died. O Paris! Paris, thy loving is in vain. 95

FATHER Lord Capolet, be not so afflicted. If it was heaven's will,
 his order must be fulfilled.

CAPOLET O Father, the case is too great: the arranged wedding is
 at hand. What will Count Paris say when he learns that his bride has
 died, his loving is in vain, instead of the bridal wreath he should strew 100
 dead cypresses on her grave. O grief, sorrow, and anguish of the heart!

FATHER My Lord Capolet, I can readily believe how painfully it
 goes to your heart. But of two evils one must and should choose the
 best. Because it happened, who can change it? My advice would be to 105
 let Count Paris know, but to lay Julieta in your monument, and instead
 of the joyous feast hold a sad funeral. Your and your wife's sorrow, my
 lord, you should sacrifice to heaven's will.

94-95 Ah ... died] *RuJ; Cap:* O heere she lies that was our hope, our ioy, / And being dead, dead
 sorrow nips vs all ... *All cry:* And all our ioy, and all our hope is dead Q1; *Fat.* ... Dead art thou,
 alacke my child is dead, / And with my child my ioyes are buried Q2

96-97, 103-05 My ... it] *RuJ;* Your daughter liues in peace and happines, / And it is vaine to
 wish it otherwise Q1; heauen and you selfe / Had part in this faire maide, now heauen hath all Q2
106 to ... monument] *RuJ;* In all her best and sumptuous ornaments, / Conuay her where her
 Ancestors lie tomb'd Q1; And in her best array beare her to Church ... euery one prepare / To
 follow this faire Coarse vnto her graue Q2

106-07 and ... funeral] *RuJ; not in* Q1; *Fa.* All things that we ordained festiuall, / Turne from
 their office to black Funerall Q2

93 SD It seems plausible that Pickelherring and the Nurse carry her offstage. There is no exit SD
 for either of them, and they do not speak during the rest of the scene. The two comic characters'
 exit prepares for the tragic ending of the play.

95 **O ... vain**, 99-101 **What ... grave** See note at 62.

100-01 **instead ... grave** Compare Q2's: "Our Bridall flowers serue for a buried Coarse" (K3r,
 IV.iv.115).

100 **bridal wreath** Compare V.iv.10.

101 **cypresses** were often planted near graves and have been associated with mourning since
 antiquity (Grimm).

104-05 **But ... best** proverbial; used again at V.iv.136-37.

105 **Because ... it** Compare IV.vi.11-12 and note.

107-08 **Your ... will** Compare Q2's: "The heauens do lowre vpon you for some ill: / Moue them
 no more, by crossing their high wil" (K3r, IV.iv.120-21).

CAPOLET Ach *Pater* weillen es nicht anderst sein kan, so geschehe 110
des himmels will, last Eüch angelegen sein auf daß *Julieta* in daß
Monument geleget werde, vnd daß man ihr die lezte Ehr erzeugen kan,
ich aber gehe den Graffen solches Schrüfftlich zu berichten, wofern
mich nicht auch der kumer vnd hertzenleid in daß grab leget[.]

[CAPOLET] *abit*[.]

PATER Es soll alles verrichtet werden gn[ädiger] herr. [W]ollan dan 115
Romio ich geschrieben in höchster Eyl zu kommen, ich hoffe der
anfang soll noch einen glikhlichen auß gang erreichen damit *Julieta*
nicht zwey mahl verheyrathet werde.

[PATER] *abit*[.]

[Actus 5tus, Scena 4ta]

Traurige Music[.] *JULIETA ligt in Monument*[.]

PARIS *mit ein korb voll blumen vnd JUNG*[.]

114 SD CAPOLET] *this edn; not in RuJ*

115 gnädiger] *this edn; gnl: RuJ; Gn. COHN*

118 SD PATER] *this edn; not in RuJ*

V.iv Actus ... 4ta] *this edn; not in RuJ*

111 **last ... sein** "let it be your care"; "angelegen" is the present participle of "anliegen" (Grimm).

115 For early exits see note at II.iii.75.

117 **anfang** To speak of a "beginning" ("Anfang") here makes sense, since "Anfang" was often used to emphasize its oposition to "ending" (Grimm). Compare: "So that our sad beginning may win a happy ending" (*Sidea* V, 359, "Damit vnser traurigkeit anfang / Gewinn ein frölichen außgang").

V.iv.0 SD *Monument* See note at V.ii.32.

CAPOLET O Father, since it cannot be otherwise, let the will of 110
 heaven be done. Make it your business that Julieta will be laid in the
 monument and that one may pay her the last honors. But I go to inform
 the Count of this in writing, unless sorrow and heart-pain also lay me
 in the grave.

FATHER Everything shall be done, gracious lord. 115

Exit CAPOLET.

Well then, I have written to Romio to come hither with the greatest
 haste. I hope this beginning will still reach a happy conclusion, so that
 Julieta will not be married twice.

Exit FATHER.

V.iv

Sad music. JULIETA lies in the monument.

PARIS, *with a basket full of flowers and a* BOY.

110-11 O ... done] *RuJ*; Let it be so, come wofull sorrow mates, / Let vs together taste this bitter
 fate Q1

V.iv.0 SD] *RuJ*; Enter Countie Paris and his Page with flowers and sweete water Q1; Enter
 Paris and his Page Q2

111-12 Make ... monument Since the Father is in charge of transporting Julieta to the
 monument, her parents presumably see very little of their "dead" daughter's body, making their
 belief that she is dead more plausible.

113-14 unless ... grave Compare collation to 94-95.

118 Q1 has the following SD: "*They all but the Nurse goe foorth, casting Rosemary on / her and
 shutting the Curtens*" (I2v, IV.iv.82 SD). In both quartos, the musicians' sequence follows.

V.iv corresponds to Shakespeare's V.iii (the graveyard scene). For *RuJ*'s omission of
 Shakespeare's V.i and V.ii, see p. 191 above. Although the MS does not start a new scene here, it
 seems sensible to do so since the place changes from the Capolet household to an undefined
 place near the "monument". Paris's presence in this scene is not found in Shakespeare's sources
 (Levenson 337) and thus constitutes further evidence for *RuJ* being based on Shakespeare's texts.
0 SD music The music probably ceases after a few lines (e.g., at the end of Paris's speech,
 around line 13). See also pp. 138-39 above.

0 SD JULIETA ... monument In *RJ*, Juliet's presence is not made explicit. For a structure
 onstage representing "the monument", see pp. 145-46 above. See also note at 18.

PARIS [H]ier ist der orth vnd platz wo daß *Monument* aufgericht
 vnd *Julieta* begraben ligt. [A]uf *Paris* gehe *Julieta* zu besuechen,
 erzeige ihr die lezte Ehr, weil du in Jhrem leben nicht gewürdiget
 worden, sie zu bedienen, ô grausamber vnd tÿrannischer todt, wie bald
 hast du mein gedachte freüd in daß gröste leyd verändert, wer hette 5
 Jemahls gedacht, daß du ô liebste *Julieta* vor geniesßung meiner
 getreüen lieb soltest deinen Geist aufgeben ô Meineyðiges glikh! [D]er
 ich vermeinte alle glikhseeligkeiten zu genüsßen so sehe ich daß
 Erbärmliche Endt meiner liebe, ist diß köstliche hochzeit fest meiner
 freüde, ist dis der lust Saal darinn ich mich soll ergötzen? [W]o bleibt 10
 der wohl gezierte brauth Crantz, wo die Stein vnd perlen? [W]o der
 kleider Pracht, ach ach es ist leider nichts vonnöthen alß daß Schwöre
 Seüffzten vnd Clagen, komme hier diener reiche mir die blumen, vnd
 gehe nicht zu weith, damit so Jemand kompt mir ein zeichen gebest.

JUNG Es soll geschehen gnädiger herr. 15

PARIS Ach vnmbarmhertziges glikh! [W]arumb hast du mir das
 Jenige entzogen, welches mein hertz so Jnniglich geliebet? [W]ohl

V.iv.8 genüsßen genießen: to enjoy, to savor (Grimm).

10 **ergötzen** to refresh, to delight in something (Grimm).

PARIS Here is the place and site where the monument is erected,
 and where Julieta lies buried. Now, Paris, go to visit Julieta, pay her
 the last honors as thou wast not found worthy of serving her in her life.
 O cruel and tyrannical death, how soon hast thou changed my
 anticipated joy to the greatest sorrow! Who would ever have thought 5
 that thou, O dearest Julieta, shouldst give up thy ghost before the
 enjoyment of my true love? O perjured luck! I who thought to enjoy all
 happiness, thus I see the pitiful end of my love. Is this the delicious
 wedding feast of my joy, is this the hall in which I am to enjoy myself?
 Where is the richly ornamented bridal wreath? Where the precious 10
 stones and pearls? Where the splendor of the dresses? Ah, ah,
 unfortunately nothing is required but heavy sighing and lamenting. –
 Come here, servant, hand me the flowers and do not go too far, so that
 thou canst give me a sign as soon as anyone approaches.

BOY It shall be done, gracious lord. 15

PARIS O merciless fate! Why hast thou robbed me of what my heart
 loved so tenderly? Well, dearest Julieta, thus will I daily adorn thy

2-3 Now ... life] *RuJ*; Accept this latest fauour at my hands, / That liuing honourd thee, and
 being dead / With funeral praises doo adorne thy Tombe Q1

13 Come ... flowers] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; Giue me those flowers Q2

13-14 and ... approaches] *RuJ*; lye thee along / Vnder this Ew-tree, keeping thine eare close to
 the hollow ground. / And if thou heare one tread within this Churchyard, / Straight giue me
 notice Q1; Vnder yond young Trees lay thee all along, / Holding thy eare close to the hollow
 ground, / So shall no foote vpon the Church-yard tread, Being loose, vnfirm with digging vp of
 Graues, / But thou shalt heare it, whistle then to me / As signall that thou hearest some thing
 approach Q2

15] *RuJ*; *Boy*: I will my Lord Q1; *Pa*. I am almost afraid to stand alone, / Here in the Church-
 yard, yet I will aduenture Q2

17-18 Well ... honor] *RuJ*; Sweete Flower, with flowers I strew thy Bridale bed ... With funerall
 praises doo adorne thy Tombe Q1; Sweet flower, with flowers thy Bridall bed I strew ... The
 obsequies that I for thee will keepe: / Nightly shall be, to strew thy graue and weepe Q2

10 **bridal wreath** Compare collation to 17-18.

13-14 **Come ... approaches** In Shakespeare, the scene begins with Paris's instructions to his
 page: in Q2, he asks his page to give him a torch (V.iii.1); in both quartos Paris bids him to "put
 it out" (L1v, V.iii.2).

15 Here, *RuJ* seems closer to Q1 (see also app. 3a). However, the omission of Q2-material may
 be explained by the generally less threatening surroundings of the monument in *RuJ* in
 comparison to *RJ*. Presumably the boy withdraws at this point.

liebste *Julieta*, also will ich alle tag dir zu Ehren deinen leichnamb mit blumen ziehren[.]

[S]trät die blumen auff Sie[.]

ROMIO mit DIENER[.]

ROMIO [H]ier bin ich angelant weil mir der *Pater* geschriben ich 20
soll so Schnell als es möglich alhier anlangen, aber Eÿ laß von allem
vnglikh übertroffen, weillen *Julieta* todt[.] ô betrügliche hoffnung, die
du die Menschen zu lockhen weist vnd versprichst Sie Nimmer
zuuerlasßen, wo ist *Julieta* hinkommen? [Ô] grausambe Scheidung!
[D]ie vollkomensten Ehe, so Jemahls gewesen: *Julieta* ist todt? [V]nd 25
alle Jhre schönheiten holdseelikeiten, Süß vnd liebligkeiten, alle ihr
zucht vnd keüschheit somit zu gleich mit ihr gestorben [–] *Julieta* todt?
[–] vnd ich schäme mich nicht länger ein vnglikhseeliges leben auf
Erden zu führen [–] *Julieta* ist todt [–] ô tödtliche wordt, weil in disen
wenig wortten all mein vnglikh, Jammer vnd noth begriffen, vnd mit 30
der zeit auch über den armen *Romio* sollen gesprochen werden, so
verstehe mich diener, gibe her die fackl vndt verlasße mich, dan ich

27 somit] *this edn*; seint COHN

27-28 – *Julieta* todt? –] *this edn*; /: *Julieta* todt? :/ *RuJ*; *Julieta* todt? COHN

28-29 auf Erden] COHN; *illegible in the MS*

29 führen ... todt –] *this edn*; führen /: *Julieta* ist todt :/ *RuJ*; führen? *Julieta* todt! COHN

19 SD *Strät* streut: scatters (Grimm).

21 **anlangen** ankommen: to arrive (Grimm).

23 **Nimmer** never (Grimm).

27 **zucht** here: (female) chastity, honesty (Grimm).

corpse with flowers in thy honor.

Scatters the flowers over her.

Enter ROMIO with a SERVANT.

ROMIO Here have I arrived because the Father wrote to me that I
should come here as quickly as possible. But let it be, surpassed by all
misfortune, for Julieta is dead. O deceitful hope, thou who knowest
how to lure men and promist never to leave them again! Where has
Julieta gone? Oh, cruel separation! The most perfect marriage that ever
was: Julieta is dead? And all her beauties, fairness, sweetness and
loveliness, all her modesty and chastity died at the same time with her

– Julieta dead? – and I am not ashamed still to lead a miserable life on
this earth? – Julieta is dead. – Oh, deadly words, for in these few words
all my misfortune, misery, and distress are contained, and this shall be
said one day also about poor Romio. – So understand me well, servant:
give me the torch and leave me, for I want to look at the monument

19 SD *Scatters ... her]* *RuJ*; *Paris strewes the Tomb with flowers* Q1; *not in* Q2

19 SD *Enter ... SERVANT]* *RuJ*; *Enter Romeo and Balthasar, with a torch, a mattocke, and a*
crow of yron Q1; *Enter Romeo and Peter* Q2

32 *give ... torch]* *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; *Giue me the light* Q2

18 corpse In contrast to *RJ*, where Paris speaks of decorating Juliet's "grauē" (Q2 L2r, V.iii.17) and "Tombe" (Q1 I4v, V.iii.7), in *RuJ* Paris refers to Julieta's body: it must be visible. The wording of 19 SD confirms this.

19 SD SERVANT In Q2, Romeo's companion is called both "Peter" and "Balthasar". Levenson amends "Peter" to "Balthazar" since Q1 does not have this confusion (338).

20 In *RJ*, Paris is immediately warned of Romeo's presence. In *RuJ*, this only happens at 38 SD, when Romio approaches the monument. The staging must have made this delay plausible. See also pp. 145-46 above.

20-21 Here ... possible Since *RuJ* omits V.i and V.ii, another explanation for Romio's presence (and for his ignorance) is required. This lays more blame on the Father in *RuJ*; in *RJ* the situation can be accounted for by accident or fate.

21-31 But ... Romio Since Romio here first learns of Julieta's "death", these lines can be compared to Shakespeare's V.i. In *RJ*, after an initial "then I denie you starres" (Q2 K4r, V.i.24; "then I defie my Starres" [Q1 I3r, V.i.19]), Romeo's mind is bent on "meanes" (K4v, V.i.35) to die alongside Juliet. Romio is already next to Julieta's body and focuses on his grief.

28 – Julieta dead? –, **29 Julieta is dead** signalled like a SD (see note at II.v.47-48); most likely not an aside, possibly an interruption of a thought.

will daß *Monument* besehen, vnd den Ehering von *Julieta* nehmen[.]

DIENER Ach gnädiger herr ich will hier verbleiben, vielleicht haben sie meiner vonnöthen[.]

35

ROMIO Nein verlasße mich, eruarthe meiner beÿ dem *Pater* vnd zeige ihm meine Ankunfft an, dan ich will alhier *Julieta* beehren.

DIENER So gehe ich auf Ihr gn[ädigen] befehl[.]

[DIENER] *abit*[.]

[D]eß PARIS JUNG *pfeiff*[.]

[JUNG *abit*.]

PARIS Mein Jung gibt mir daß zeichen, das Jemand mueß verhanden sein, wer soll sich wohl vnterstehen vmb dise zeit in daß *Monument* zu gehen? [J]ch sehe eine fakl ich will mich etwas auf die Seyth begeben, vnd sehen was der anfang sey[.]

40

ROMIO *geht zum Monument*[.]

[H]olla weiche zurukh vermesßener, wer gibt dir befehl disen orth zu betreten?

38 gnädigen] *this edn*; gnl: *RuJ*; Gn. COHN

38 SD DIENER, JUNG *abit*] *this edn*; *not in RuJ*

43 SD ROMIO] COHN; *Rumio RuJ*

35 **haben ... vonnöthen** benötigen Sie mich: you need me (Grimm).

37 **zeige ... an** anzeigen, here: to announce, to inform of (Grimm).

38 **gnädigen** or "Gnaden".

40 **verhanden** vorhanden, anwesend: present (Grimm).

43 **vermesßener** someone presumptuous, impudent (Grimm).

and take the wedding-ring from Julieta.

SERVANT O gracious lord, I will remain here; perhaps you will need me. 35

ROMIO No, leave me, wait for me at the Father's, and tell him of my arrival, for I will honor Julieta here.

SERVANT Then I go at your gracious command.

Exit SERVANT.

PARIS'S BOY *whistles*.

Exit BOY.

PARIS My boy gives me the sign that someone must be present. Who would dare to enter the monument at this time? I see a torch; I 40 will step aside a little and see what the beginning is.

ROMIO *goes towards the monument*.

Ho, step back, impudent man! Who gives thee order to enter this place?

32 and ... me] *RuJ*; So get thee gone Q1; stand all aloofe ... therefore hence be gone Q2

32-33 for ... Julieta] *RuJ*; Why I descend into this bed of death, / Is partly to behold my Ladies face: / But chiefly to take thence from her dead finger, / A precious Ring Q2, Q1 (take _^ from)

38] *RuJ*; *Balt*: Well, Ile be gone and not trouble you Q1; *Pet*. I will be gone sir, and not trouble ye Q2

38 SD PARIS ... *whistles*] *RuJ*; *Boy whistles and calls*. My Lord Q1; *Whistle Boy* Q2

39-41] *RuJ*; The Boy giues warning, something doth approach, / What cursed foote wanders this way to night, / To crosse my obsequies and true loues right? / What with a Torch? muffle me night a while Q2, Q1 (this was to night, / To stay my obsequies, loues rites)

43-44] *RuJ*; Stop thy vnhalloved toyle vile *Mountague* Q1, Q2

32 **and ... me** In *RJ* this is coupled with a threat: "But if thou iealous dost returne to prie / In what I farther shall intend to doo, / By heauen I will teare thee Ioynt by Ioynt, / And strew this hungry Church yard with thy lims" (L2r, V.iii.33-36; Q1 similar).

33 **wedding-ring** *RJ*'s "precious Ring" (L2r, V.iii.31) becomes a wedding band.

34-35 In *RJ*, Balthasar agrees to leave right away, but then nevertheless decides to stay (V.iii.40, 43-44).

36-37 **wait ... arrival** In *RJ*, Romeo instead instructs Balthasar to bring letters to his father (V.iii.23-24). The confusion in *RuJ* might be due to the double meaning of the word "father": spiritual or biological.

38 SD ***Exit* SERVANT** Romio's servant does not enter again. In *RJ* both pages are called forth as witnesses later (V.iii.271-85).

38 SD ***Exit* BOY** There is no exit SD for the boy in *RuJ*, yet he probably re-enters with the Prince (112 SD). This is the most plausible moment for his exit, a possible alternative being around line 50, when he sees his master in danger.

43-44 In *RJ*, Paris recognizes Romeo: "that banisht haughtie *Mountague*" (L2r, V.iii.49). *RuJ* presupposes less visibility, especially since the German Paris knows Romio; they met in II.iii.

ROMIO [F]reündt wer ihr seit last mich zu friden, vnd saget das ein 45
verzweifelter Mensch Eüch Euer leben geschenkhet[.]

PARIS Ich sage weiche[,] verlasße disen orth oder gib dich
gefangen[.]

ROMIO [D]iser orth gebührt mir mit recht zu betreten, vnd weil du 50
die verhindernuß bist mich zu ver hinderen so nihme diß vnd fahre
nach der höllen zue[.]

[E]rsticht PARIS[.]

PARIS Ach verräther was thuest du? [A]ch wehe ich sterbe hier

Julieta liebste brauth

Jezt komm ich auch zu dir

weil du mir warst vertraut[.] 55

[PARIS] *stirbt*[.]

ROMIO Ich muß gleichwohl sehen wer es ist – ach himmel es ist
der vnglikhseelige Graff *Paris*[,] ich glaube daß dieser Cörper auch
von allem vnglikh zu sammen gemacht, aber ô ihr meine

55 SD PARIS] *this edn; not in RuJ*

55 **vertraut** "vertrauen" (today: "to (en)trust") also had the meaning of "trauen" ("to marry", "to wed"). Both meanings may be in play here (Grimm). Additionally, "vertraut" means "familiar".

ROMIO Friend, whoever you are, leave me in peace, and say that a
desperate man spared your life. 45

PARIS I say, give way, leave this place, or give thyself up.

ROMIO I am allowed by right to enter this place, and since thou art
the obstacle to impede me, so take this and go to hell. 50

Stabs PARIS.

PARIS O traitor, what art thou doing? O woe, I'm dying here.

Julietta, dearest bride,

Now I come to thee, too,

For thou wast entrusted to me. 55

PARIS *dies*.

ROMIO Yet I must see who it is – O heavens, it is the unfortunate
Count Paris. I believe that this body too was made up of all misfortune.
But O you, my unfortunate eyes, see here: what a spectacle of death!

45 Friend ... peace] *RuJ*; Good youth be gone, tempt not a desperate man Q1; Good gentle youth
tempt not a desperate man, / Flie hence and leaue me ... Stay not, begone Q2

45-46 and ... life] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; and hereafter say, / A mad mans mercie bid thee run away Q2

47] *RuJ*; I doe attach thee as a fellow here. / The Law condemnes thee, therefore thou must dye
... I doe defie thy coniurations: / And doe attach thee as a fellow heere Q1; Condemned villaine, I
do apprehend thee, / Obey and go with me, for thou must die ... I do defie thy commiration, /
And apprehend thee for a Fellow here Q2

49-50] *RuJ*; Wilt thou prouoke me? then haue at thee boy Q2, Q1 (What dost thou tempt me)

51 SD] *RuJ*; *They fight* Q1

52-55] *RuJ*; O I am slaine, if thou be mercifull, / Open the Tombe, lay me with *Iuliet* Q2, Q1 (Ah
I am)

56-57 Yet ... Paris] *RuJ*; let me peruse this face, / *Mercutios* kinsman, Noble Countie *Paris* Q1,
Q2

57 I ... misfortune] *RuJ*; *not in* Q1; One writ with me in sowre misfortunes booke Q2

51 SD Whereas *RuJ* suggests a direct murdering stab, Q1 offers some mitigation for Romeo:
"They fight" (K1v, V.iii.52 SD). Both quartos have the page observe: "*O Lord they fight, I will go
call the Watch*" (L2v, V.iii.71). Levenson notes that the two fight "with rapiers and torches"
(342). In *RuJ*, Paris's boy has left to find help (see 113-14).

52-55, 71-74, 94-105 Devrient (433) associates these verses with the lamentations in the
Pyramus and Thisbe playlet from *MND* (V.i.271-82, 286-301, 319-42), which is, of course,
closely related to *RJ*.

52-55 Whereas *RuJ*'s Paris awaits a spiritual reunion in death, in *RJ*, Paris asks Romeo for a
physical reunion with Juliet. In *RuJ*, the dead Julieta is probably quite close to Paris's body
already since there is no tomb to be opened (see pp. 145-46 above).

vnglikhseelige augen sehet hier ein rechtes todten *Spectacul*, ô *Julieta*
 werther Schatz viel lieber hette ich den todt leiden sollen alß dich todt 60
 vor mir sehen ach biß in todt geliebste *Julieta* weil ich keinen trost
 mehr weiß vnd deine Seel schon nach dem himmel geflogen ich nur
 mein vnglikh alhier beweinen soll, ach nein ich senne mich nach dir,
 liebste Seele, Eÿ laß dein verblichener leichnamb ligt nun mehro ohne
 gehör wordt vnd reden, ach warumb verlast du mich mitten in solchen 65
 Ellend, ô wie kom ich mir selbst so vnglikhseelig vor, vnd waß?
Julieta ist todt vnd ich soll noch leben? Nein Nein *Romio* Nein, Nimb
 den lezten abschidskuß von *Julieta* vnd bereitte dich zum sterben,
 komme mein gewöhr, durch dringe mein abgemattetes hertz vnd
 bringe mich zu meiner *Julieta*. 70

[ROMIO *ersticht sich*.]

[H]immel verzeihe mir
 waß ich hier hab gethan[.]
 Jch sterbe willig gahr
 als *Julieta* Mann[.]

[ROMIO *stirbt*.]

Music. JULIETA Erwacht im Monument[.]

JULIETA [Ô] Jhr götter was ist das? [W]o befindt ich mich in einen 75

70 SD] *this edn; not in RuJ*

74 SD ROMIO *stirbt*] *this edn; not in RuJ; Stirbt COHN*

59 *Spectacul* Spektakel: sight, spectacle (Grimm). The word is also used to refer to the sight of recently killed bodies in Christoph Pernecker's *Tragoedia von Oronte und Orbetcha* (*Tragedy of Oronte and Orbetcha*): "What spectacle is this?" (V.vi, 31v, "was ist dises vor ein *Spectactul*?"). Compare also *BB* V.vi.74-75.

63 **senne** sehnen: to pine, to yearn.

68-69 **sterben, komme** After "sterben" and above the comma, a double cross sign is inserted into the MS in pencil. It may signal Romio's imminent death. Cohn does not transcribe this, possibly because it was inserted after he viewed the MS in the 1860s. See also note at 88.

69 **gewöhr** See note at I.i.50.

69 **abgemattetes** faint, feeble, weak (Grimm).

O Julieta, dearest sweetheart, I would much rather have suffered death
 than to see thee dead before me. O Julieta, thou most loved one till 60
 death! Since I know of no more consolation, and thy soul has already
 flown up to heaven, I may only bewail my misery here. Ah, no, I yearn
 for thee, dearest soul. Oh, let it be, thy faded corpse now lies without
 hearing, word, or speech! Ah, why dost thou leave me in the midst

65

of so much misery? Oh, how wretched do I appear to myself! And
 what? Julieta is dead, and I shall continue to live? No, no, Romio, no!
 Take the last parting kiss from Julieta and prepare to die. Come,

my weapon, pierce my weary heart, and bring me to my Julieta. 70

ROMIO stabs himself.

Heaven pardon me
 For what I have done here.
 I quite willingly die
 As Julieta's husband.

ROMIO dies.

Music. JULIETA awakes in the monument.

JULIETA O you gods, what is this? Where am I? In a coffin or a 75

68 Take ... die] *RuJ*; Thus with a kisse I die Q1, Q2

74 SD JULIETA ... monument] *RuJ*; *Iuliet rises* Q1; not in Q2

58 **But ... death** Compare Q2's: "For here lies *Iuliet*, and her bewtie makes / This Vault a
 feasting presence full of light" (L2v, V.iii.85-86).

59 In Q2, Romeo refers to Tybalt's corpse lying nearby (V.iii.97). In *RuJ*, as in Q1, the "omission
 of Tybalt may well be a result of casting exigencies" (Erne 147; see also app. 4a).

60 **thee** See note at II.v.4. Using the informal address for the dead was common (Grimm).

61-62 **thy ... heaven** Compare IV.ii.56.

63-64 **Oh ... speech** In *RJ*, Romeo focuses on Juliet's lifelike appearance (V.iii.91-96, 101-05).

71-72 Shakespeare's Romeo does not ask for forgiveness in his last words.

74 SD In *RJ*, the Friar appears before Juliet wakes up and tries to convince her to follow him. In
RuJ, Julieta is left alone to discover what has happened. *RJ*'s urgency, provoked by the Friar and
 the approaching watchmen, is absent from *RuJ*, and Julieta's final speeches are therefore more
 lengthy than in Shakespeare.

74 SD **Music** See pp. 138-39 above.

75-81 **O ... have** Compare Juliet's address to the Friar: "O comfortable Frier, where is my Lord?
 / I do remember well where I should be: / And there I am, where is my *Romeo*?" (Q2 L3v,
 V.iii.148-50), and "Ah comfortable Fryer, / I doe remember well where I should be, / And what
 we talkt of: but yet I cannot see / Him for whose sake I vndertooke this hazard" (Q1 K2v,
 V.iii.100-03).

todten Sarg oder todten gefängnuß, wie mueß das zue gehen, es
 brennen liechter alß ob man mich begraben hette, dise anordnung ist
 gewiß von Pater gestellet dardurch zu glauben ich seÿ gestorben, der
 Schlaff trunkh hat seine würckhung gethan, darumb mueß ich sehen,
 das ich den *Pater* antreffe, vnd waß mein wunder hochzeit noch vor 80
 ein Ende gewünnen werde [-] aber ihr götter bewahret mich waß ligen
 hier todte leüth? *Julietta* faß ein hertz vnd sehe wer es ist, dan es kan
 dir kein vnglikh begegnen das du nicht gewohnet bist auß zu stehen[.]

[N]imbt ein liecht[,] geht zu PARIS[.]

[H]ilff himmel hilff waß ist daß? [J]st daß nicht Graff *Paris*, Ja Er ist 85
 es, ach Er hat sich gewiß ermord vmb meiner willen, weillen seine
 mueth maßung gewesen ich seÿ gestorben, ach armer liebhaber ich
 beklage deinen todt mit Seüfftzen, weil du vmb meiner willen
 gestorben – aber was ligt hier vor einer – ach gerechter himmel bewahr
 mich[,] waß sehen meine augen? [A]ch Jhr Götter es ist *Romio* vnd
 liget auch ermordet, ach pein Martter angst vnd qual wie mueß dises 90
 zue gehen, ich weiß kein andere außlegung, alß daß sie sich beÿde vmb
 meiner willen geschlagen vnd todt verbliben, ach *Romio* bist du
 gestorben? [S]o mueß ich dir alß meinem Mann billich folgen.

81 werde –] *this edn*; werde /: *RuJ*; werde. COHN

76 **todten gefängnuß** grave (Grimm).

86 **mueth maßung** Mutmaßung: speculation, suspicion.

86 **liebhaber** a person who loves, especially a man who loves a woman or a girl and courts her;
 also refers to the actor who plays the role of the lover (Grimm). The actor playing Paris had the
 role of "zweiter liebhaber" ("second lover").

88 **gestorben** – In the MS, a vertical stroke in pencil has been added to the dash. The resulting
 cross sign may signal Romio's death, or the announcement thereof, as the cross at 68-69 (see
 note).

92 **verbliben** "verbleiben" is a re-enforced form of "bleiben": "to stay", "to remain" (Grimm).

93 **billich** Compare IV.v.6 and note, where Romio also uses this word in relation to his death.

grave for the dead? What is happening? Lights are burning as if I had been buried. This arrangement was surely set up by the Father to make believe I have died. The sleeping potion took effect. I must therefore

try to find the Father and see what ending my miracle wedding will have. – But, you gods, preserve me! What dead people are lying here? Julieta, take heart and see who it is. For thou canst encounter no misfortune that thou art not accustomed to bear. 80

Takes a light; goes to PARIS.

Help, heaven, help! What is this? Is this not Count Paris? Yes, it is he. Ah, no doubt he has killed himself for my sake because his assumption was that I died. O poor lover, I lament thy death with sighs because 85

thou hast died for my sake – but who is lying here? O just heaven, preserve me! What do my eyes see? O you gods, it is Romio, and he also lies murdered! O pain, torment, fear, and anguish! How could this happen? I know no other interpretation than that they both fought on my account and died! – O Romio, hast thou died? Then it is right that I follow thee as my husband. 90

76 **grave** or "prison".

80-81 **and ... have** Compare the Father's words at V.iii.117-18.

81-92 **But ... died** In Shakespeare, the Friar finds the dead bodies and then tells Juliet: "Thy husband in thy bosome there lies dead: / And *Paris* too" (Q2 L4r, V.iii.155-56). Q1 has: "*Paris*, he is slaine, / And *Romeo* dead" (K2v, V.iii.105-06). See also collation to line 110.

82-83 **For ... bear** Dramatic irony: Julieta will not be able to bear the misfortune she is about to encounter.

84-92 **Help ... died** Compare collation to lines 111-12.

84-86 **Is ... died** Julieta is the only one who tries to explain the presence of Paris's body at the monument. The Father does not mention him in his explanative speech (127-38). Capolet decides to lay Paris in one grave with his daughter (180-83), but does not consider the reasons for Paris's death. Although the Friar points out Paris's dead body to Juliet in Shakespeare (V.iii.156), she does not comment on it. In fact, Juliet does not mention Paris at all in this scene. For Paris's general prominence in *RuJ*, see pp. 193-94 above.

84 **Paris** As in the Friar's announcement in Q1, Paris is mentioned first in *RuJ*, which fits his general prominence in the German version. Yet the adapters may also have had practical reasons: had Julieta seen Romio first, she might have killed herself without discovering Paris at all.

85-88 **no ... sake**, 91-92 **I ... died** Unique to *RuJ*. In *RJ*, Juliet has no time to think about the reason for the young men's deaths (see note at 74 SD).

90 **murdered** Julieta does not mention suicide in relation to Romio. Compare Q2's: "Poison I see hath bin his timelesse end" (L4r, V.iii.162).

93 **thee** See notes at 60 and at II.v.4.

Ach Vatter Muetter freündt		
Jch nehmb von Eüch <i>Valet</i>		95
Jch sterbe voller Schmertz		
Jhr wüst nicht wie mirs geht,		
Ach <i>Romio</i> Mein Schatz!		
So bist du nun so gstorben		
du hast durch deinen todt		100
Mir auch mein todt erworben,		
Nimb hin ô <i>Jupiter</i>	<i>stost[.]</i>	
Mein Seel von disen leib.		
damit ich nicht alhier		
Jn stettem Jammer bleib[.]	<i>stirbt[.]</i>	105

Auß PATER[.]

PATER Nun mehro ist es zeit daß ich mich in daß *Monoment* Verfüge, dan der schlafftrunkh wird seine würkung verrichtet haben, wan *Julieta* wider erwacht, daß ich sie auß dem *Monoment* führe Vndt errette, damit sie heimlich mit *Rumio* ihren Eheman entweichen kan.

[G]ehet gegen den *Monoment*.

[A]ber gerechter Himmel waß ligt hier auf der erdten Todte leichnam? 110
 Ach wehe ich sehe *Julieta* Todt, *Rumio* entleibt, *Paris* in seinen bluth
 ligen, ach fretereÿ frettereÿ[.]

95 *Valet* Latin: farewell (Grimm).

102 *Jupiter* The heathen gods were addressed with the informal pronoun (Grimm).

106 **Nun mehro** a chancellery form of "nunmehr": now (Grimm, "eine kanzleimäszige form *nunmehro*").

106 **Monoment** The first instance of this spelling; see p. 189 above.

111 **entleibt** killed (Grimm). Today: "sich entleiben" also means "to commit suicide" (Duden).

112 **frettereÿ** shock, torment, plague (Grimm)

O father, mother, friend!
 I take my leave of you. 95
 I die full of pain,
 You don't know how I feel.
 O Romio, my sweetheart!
 So thou hast now died,
 Through thy death thou hast 100
 Also earned my death.
 Take here, O Jove, *Stabs herself.*
 My soul from this body,
 That I do not remain
 Here in continuous misery. *Dies.* 105

Enter FATHER.

FATHER Now it is time to go to the monument, since the sleeping potion will have had its effect. When Julieta awakes again, I will lead her from the monument and save her, so that she may secretly escape with her husband Romio.

Goes towards the monument.

But, righteous heaven, what dead corpses are lying here on the ground? 110
 O woe, I see Julieta dead, Romio killed, Paris lying in his blood! O treachery, treachery!

93] *RuJ*; thus I come to thee Q1

102 SD, 105 SD *Dies*] *RuJ*; *She stabs herself and falls* Q1; *not in* Q2

105 SD *Enter FATHER*] *RuJ*; *Enter Fryer with a Lanthorne* Q1; *Enter Frier with Lanthorne, Crowe, and Spade* Q2

110] *RuJ*; What bloud is this that stains the entrance / Of this marble stony monument? Q1; Alack alack, what bloud is this which stains / The stony entrance of this Sepulchre? Q2

111-12] *RuJ*; what Romeo dead? / Who and Paris too? Q1; Romeo, oh pale! who else, what Paris too? Q2

102-05 Compare: "O happy dagger / This is thy sheath, there rust and let me dye" (Q2 L4r, V.iii.169-70) and "O happy dagger thou shalt end my feare, / Rest in my bosome, thus I come to thee" (Q1 K2v, V.iii.116-17).

105 SD **Enter FATHER** Compare Q1's: "Fryer stoops and lookes on the blood and weapons" (K2r, V.iii.93 SD). For the change of hands in the MS at this point, see pp. 189-90 above.

106-09 In *RJ*, the Friar meets Balthasar who informs him of Romeo's whereabouts (V.iii.121-38).

Auß FÜRST[,] CAPOLET vnd [JUNG.]

JUNG Es ist nicht anderst gnädigster fürst Vndt herr wie ich berichtet, so wird sich alles fündten.

FÜRST [H]olla! [W]aß sehen wir waß macht der Pater in dem *Monoment*? 115

PATER Ach gnad gnädigster fürst vndt herr gnadt[.]

CAPOLET Wie Pater waß bittet ihr Vmb gnadt, habt ihr wissenschaftt Vmb dise mort? [O]der selbstn *interesirt*, saget redt die wahrheit, damit wir auß disen Jrrtumb kommen. 120

PATER Ach gnädigster fürst Vndt herr, wie auch her *Capulet* mir als einen geistlichen gebühret nicht zu ligen, oder mit der Vnwahrheit Vmb zu gehen.

FÜRST Wer mit der wahrheit handelt, hat sich keiner straff zu befürchten, wir begehren nur zu wissen, waß Ewere Verrichtung Vnd 125 waß ihr Vmb dise zeit in dem *Monoment* zu thuen habet.

PATER So wissen sie dan gnadigster fürst Vndt herr, wie auch herr Graff *Capulet*, daß *Rumio* des Graff *Mundige* leiblicher sohn sterblich

112 SD JUNG] *this edn; Pater RuJ*

119 **wissenschaft** here: knowledge (Grimm).

119 **interesirt** "self-interested ... sharing in the profits or disadvantages of an issue" (Grimm, "eigennützig ... antheil haben an nutzen oder schaden ... einer angelegenheit").

125 **Verrichtung** business, deed (Grimm).

128-29 **sterblich ... Verliebt** "sich sterblich verlieben" (literally, "to fall in love mortally") was a common construction, like "to fall head over heels in love" (Grimm). Today, one rather falls in love "immortally": "sich unsterblich verlieben".

Enter PRINCE, CAPOLET, and BOY.

BOY It is not otherwise, my gracious Prince and lord, as I have related it, so everything will be found.

PRINCE Ho! What do we see? What is the Father doing in the monument? 115

FATHER Ah, mercy, most gracious Prince and lord, mercy!

CAPOLET What, Father, why are you begging for mercy? Have you cognizance of this murder? Or self-interest? Speak, tell the truth that we may resolve this misunderstanding. 120

FATHER O most gracious Prince and lord, as well as Lord Capolet, I, as a clergyman, should not lie nor deal with untruth.

PRINCE He who deals with truth needs to fear no punishment. We only desire to know what your business is and what you have to do in the monument at this time. 125

FATHER Know then, gracious Prince and lord, as well as Count Capolet, that Romio, Count Mundige's natural son, fell head-over-

112 SD *RuJ* ends the play with a minimal number of people, although two additional female actors would have been available (see doubling chart, app. 4a). In contrast, Q2 has "*Boy and Watch*", "*Romeos man*", "*Frier, and another Watchman*", "*the Prince*", "*Capels*", "*Capulet and his wife*", and "*Mountague*" (L4r, L4v, SDs following V.iii.167, 181, 183, 187, 189, 207). Q1 has "*watch*", "*one with the Fryer*", "*one with Romeos Man*", "*Prince with others*", "*olde Capulet and his Wife*", and "*olde Montague*" (K2v, K3r, SDs following V.iii.113, 121, 123, 124, 130, 137). In both quartos, Montague announces the death of his wife (V.iii.210); in Q1, Benvolio has also died (V.iii.141). In *RuJ*, Mundige and Capolet's wife are not present.

112 SD **BOY** The MS has "*Pater*" ("Father"), yet the Father is already on stage, and the boy seems to be entering with the Prince and Capolet; he may even have gone to fetch them. See also note at 51 SD.

115-16 In Shakespeare, the Friar has fled the scene, only to be apprehended by the watch (V.iii.184); here he is caught in the act. In *RuJ*, the Prince and Capolet come informed; in *RJ* they show their surprise and grief onstage, lamenting over the dead bodies.

115-16 in ... **monument** See pp. 145-46 above.

118-20, 124-26 Compare Q2's: "*Prin. Then say at once what thou dost know in this?*" (M1r, V.iii.228). Q1 has: "*let us seeke to finde the Authors out*" (K3r, V.iii.147).

121-22 Compare: "*I am the greatest able to do least, / Yet most suspected as the time and place / Doth make against me of this direfull murther: / And heere I stand both to impeach and purge / My selfe condemned, and my selfe excusde*" (Q2 M1r, V.iii.223-27). Q1 also has the first line, followed by "*Most worthie Prince, heare me but speake the truth, / And Ile informe you how these things fell out*" (K3r-K3v, V.iii.151-52).

127-38, 143-47 The Father does not mention the sleeping potion, the letter to Romio, Tybalt,

sich in *Julieta* ewere Tochter Verliebt, wie auch nicht weniger die
Julieta in *Rumio*, Vnd eben damals als herr *Capulet* daß *pancket* 130
 gehalten, Vndt *Rumio* mit *Julieta* getanzet, hat die liebe beÿ ihnen
 beÿden der massen zu genohmen, daß sie zu mir komen, Vndt
 Vorgaben, wan ich sie nicht in geheimb *Copuliren* wolle, wollen sie
 ihre erhizte liebe ohne ehestand Vollführen, ich Truge ihnen Vor die
 gefahr, darein sie sich stürzen wurden, aber mein Vermahnen war Vmb 135
 sonst, endlichen wolte mir als einen Prister gebühren, aus zweÿen
 übeln daß beste zu erwellen, Vndt hielte dem ehestandt Vor billicher
 als die Vnverheÿrate Liebe, gab sie zusammen[,] auß diser Liebe ist
 Leÿder daß erbärmliche Vnglikh gewachsen.

CAPOLET *Pater* Ewere meinung ist nicht im bösen geschehen, aber 140
 leÿder übl auf geschlagen in deme niemandt nichts von diser
 Verborgenen Lieb gewust.

PATER [G]nädiger herr, daß ich dises gethan, ist geschehen, weillen
 ich wuste die grose feindschafft beÿder häuser nemlichen *Mundige*
 Vnd *Capulet* daß der himel dermal eines durch solche Verbündnus der 145
 Ehe des *Rumio* Vndt *Julieta* möchte zertrent, Vnd die feindschafft in
 ewige freindschafft Verkheret werden, weillen es aber leÿder anderst
 aus geschlagen, bitte ich mich Vor entschuldigt zu haben.

FÜRST *Pater* die fäller der menschen seindt wunderbahr, wie leicht
 die Jugend genaÿgt zu fellen, ist weltkündig, darumb haben die fäller 150
Rumio, *Paris*, vnd *Julieta* ins grab gelegt, Herr Graff *Capulet*, was hier

130 damals als] COHN

139 gewachsen] *this edn*; erwachsen COHN

148 haben] *this edn*; halten COHN

133 *Copuliren* to marry (Grimm).

135 **Vermahnen** Ermahnen: admonition (Grimm).

137 **billicher** See note at IV.v.6.

140 **meinung** here: intention, enterprise (Grimm).

141 **niemandt nichts** Double negation did not yet imply an affirmative (Schmidt 348).

145 **dermal eines** dermaleinst: in the future (Grimm).

149, 150, 159, 173, 179 **fäller, fellen, fall, gefallen** Fallen ("to fall") can be interpreted either in the biblical sense ("they sinned") or as "they died". Moreover, "Fehler" means mistake. See also note at I.i.46.

heels in love with Julieta, your daughter, and Julieta no less with
130

Romio. And even when Lord Capolet held the banquet, and Romio danced with Julieta, love grew so strong in both of them that they came to me and claimed that, unless I would marry them secretly, they would consummate their burning love without matrimony. I presented to them the harm they were rushing into, but my admonitions were in
135
vain. At last, being a priest, I had to choose the best of two evils, and thinking matrimony more fitting than unmarried love, I united them. Unfortunately, pitiful misfortune grew out of that love.

CAPOLET Father, you had no bad intentions, but unfortunately it
140
has turned out badly, because nobody knew anything of this hidden love.

FATHER Gracious lord, that I did this happened because I knew of the great enmity between the two houses, namely Mundige and Capolet, that heaven might one day sever it through such a wedlock of
145
Romio and Julieta and turn the enmity into everlasting friendship. But since, unfortunately, it has turned out otherwise, I ask to be excused.

PRINCE Father, the sins of men are wondrous. How prone youth is to fall is known throughout the world. Thus have the sins laid Romio,
150
Paris, and Julieta in the grave. Count Capolet, what has happened here

128-31 that ... Romio] *RuJ*; *Juliet* here slaine was married to that *Romeo* Q1; *Romeo* there dead, was husband to that *Iuliet*, / And she there dead, that *Romeos* faithfull wife Q2

Paris, or the Nurse as he does in *RJ*. Instead *RuJ*'s Father focuses on how the love between the two came about.

132 **love ... them** an inconsistency. If love "increased" at this point this would imply that the two had met beforehand. Compare similar inconsistencies in *RJ*, which may refer to "a second, longer time-scheme" (Levenson 241).

132-37 **that ... them** Compare Q2's: "I married them" (M1r, V.iii.233).

136 **I ... evils** Compare V.iii.104-05 and note.

143-47 In Shakespeare, the Friar is ready to have his "old life ... sacrific'd some houre before his time, / Vnto the rigour of seuerest law" (Q2 M1v, V.iii.267-69; Q1 similar).

146 **and ... friendship** Compare I.ii.71-72.

149 In Shakespeare, the Prince calls two witnesses to "make good the Friars words" (M1v, V.iii.286), namely the respective pages. Balthasar produces Romeo's letter (V.iii.271-75).

149-51 **Father ... grave** The Prince blames the folly of youth, acknowledging the Father's viewpoint. In *RJ*, he is similarly lenient towards the Friar: "We still haue knowne thee for a holy

geschehen ist nicht mehr zu endern, er lege ab seine schmerzen vnd
denkhe,

Was hir der himmel nimbt.

Das kan er wider geben 155

wir müssen sein bedacht

dort Vor das ewig Leben.

CAPOLET Gnädigster fürst vndt herr meine grawe haar des alters,
schmerzen mich niht so sehr, als diser tödliche fall, welcher mich 160
selber zu grabe ziehen soll, aber meine sinnen zeichen mir, das ich
disen Trawer fall dem gerechten himel heimb stellen solle darumen
will ich ihnen zu ehren anstalt machen daß sie nach ihren standt zur
erden beÿ gelegt werden.

CAPOLET O Jammer Voller schmerz

Julietta ist gestorben, 165

O Wunder schöne blum

du bist zu fruh Verdorben.

HERTZOG Ô Groser Trawersfall

Wie hart gehst du zu herten,

der hier sie ligen sicht 170

sicht nichts als lauter schmerzen.

CAPOLET Die Liebe [hats] gethan,

172 Die ... gethan] *this edn*; Du Liebe hast's gethan COHN

172 hats] *this edn*; hast *RuJ*

160 **zeichen** zeigen: to show (Grimm).

161 **heimb stellen** to give (Grimm). Capolet leaves the responsibility for this sad incident in the hands of heaven.

162 **anstalt machen** here: to arrange for something to be done.

164-172 Cohn adds an exclamation mark at the end of lines 164, 166, 168, 169, and 172.

164-87 Cohn and Genée print this in hexameters (alexandrines), but I follow *RuJ* and Devrient in using trimeters.

167 **fruh** früh: early, soon (Grimm).

170, 171 **sicht** sieht: sees (Grimm).

cannot be changed. Lay aside your grief and consider:

What heaven takes here,
He can give again, 155
We must think of
Eternal life there.

CAPOLET Most gracious Prince and lord, the gray hair of my age
does not pain me so much as this fatal case which shall drag me to the
grave myself. But my senses show me that I should leave this 160
bereavement to righteous heaven. Therefore to honor them, I will take
care that they will be buried according to their rank.

CAPOLET O miserable pain!
Julietta has died. 165
O most beautiful flower!
Thou wast spoiled too early.

DUKE O great bereavement!
How hard dost thou go to my heart!
Who sees them lying here 170
Sees nothing but pain.

CAPOLET Love has done it,

man" (M1v, V.iii.270).

151-57 **Count ... there** Compare the Friar's admonition of Juliet's family after her supposed death, especially in Q2 (IV.iv.91-109). Q1 has a shorter version (IV.iv.73-75).

151-52 **what ... changed** Compare IV.vi.11-12 and note.

154-87 Instead of a final reconciliation between Mundige and Capulet, *RuJ* offers "a strange exonerating-cum-redemptive speech" (Petersen 136).

158-60 **Most ... myself** Compare the lamentation of Capulet's Wife in Q2: "O me, this sight of death, is as a Bell / That warnes my old age to a sepulcher" (L4v, V.iii.206-07).

161-62 **Therefore ... rank** Compare the "statue in pure gold" that Capulet and Montague plan in Shakespeare (M2r, V.iii.299).

162 **they** This probably refers to all three bodies, but note Capulet's intent at 180-83.

166-67 This echoes Capulet's lamentation of the supposedly dead Juliet: "Death lies on her like an untimely frost, / Vpon the sweetest flower of all the field" (Q2 K2r, IV.iv.54-55; not in Q1) and "Flower as she was, deflowred by him", i.e., death (Q2 K2v, IV.iv.63; Q1 similar).

168-71 This (along with 184-85) comes closest to Shakespeare's memorable final couplet: "For neuer was a Storied of more wo, / Then this of *Iuliet* and her *Romeo*" (Q2 M2r, V.iii.309-10; Q1 similar).

168 SP See p. 245 above.

170 -71 Compare Q2's "Pittiful sight" (L4r, V.iii.174).

seind alle drey gefallen
 die Liebe hat die schuldt,
 sind daß niht hertzen *quall*. 175

PATER Die Jugend ist niht klug,
 sie liebet Vnbedacht,
 die lieb hat sie gar oft
 zu solchen fall gebracht.

CAPOLET [K]unt *Paris* niht mein kündt 180
 in seinen Leben krigen,
 so soll er nach dem Todt
 in ihren grabe Liegen.

O werthe schawer zahl
 heist diß nicht recht betrüben, 185
 Ein ieder hütte sich
 Vor solchen Vnglickhs Lieben.

[*Alle ab.*]

175 hertzen *quall*] *this edn*; Hertzensquallen? COHN

187 SD] *this edn*; *not in RuJ*

All three have fallen.
 It is love's fault.
 Are these not torments of the heart? 175
 FATHER Youth is not wise;
 It loves thoughtlessly.
 Love has often brought
 It to such a fall.
 CAPOLET If Paris could not get 180
 My child in his life,
 So he shall after death
 Lie in her grave.
 O worthy spectators,
 Does this not mean to grieve? 185
 Let everyone beware
 Of such accidents of love.

Exeunt omnes.

172-79 By blaming the tragic outcome on youthful love, this passage is in stark contrast to Q2, where the Prince accuses the older generation: "Where be these enemies? *Capulet, Mountague?* / See what a scourge is laide vpon your hate? / That heauen finds means to kil your ioyes with loue" (M1v-M2r, V.iii.291-93). Q1's Prince also sees the feud as causing tragedy: "Come *Capolet*, and come olde *Mountagewe*. / Where are these enemies? see what hate hath done" (K4r, V.iii.204-05). The feud may be of lesser importance here, because peace has technically been concluded (though not "proclaimed" [II.iii.69, "noch nicht *proclamiren* lassen"]). Compare also the Friar's words in Q2's betrothal scene; see note at III.x.1-3. See also pp. 191-92 and 169 above.

180-83 Laying Paris into Julieta's grave is the final emphasis on Paris's prominence throughout *RuJ* (see pp. 193-94 above). Flemming erroneously assumes that all three are laid in one grave because "the faithful Paris" should not be left out (*Wanderbühne* 26, "der treue Paris"). In Shakespeare, Paris is last mentioned (though not by name) thirty lines before the ending (Q2 V.iii.284; twenty in Q1 [V.iii.201]), and thus remains at a safe distance from the final couplet about "*Iuliet* and her *Romeo*" (M2r, V.iii.310). The last words concerning Paris are assigned to the Count's page and not to Capulet (as they are in *RuJ*) and therefore carry less weight.

184-85 See note at 168-71.

184-87 *RuJ*'s ending echoes Brooke, whose address "TO THE READER" is similarly moralistic: "*And to this ende (good Reader) is this tragicall matter written, to describe unto thee a coople of unfortunate lovers, thralling themselves to unhonest desire, neglecting the authoritie and advise of parents and frendes*" (in Bullough 1: 284). Bandello similarly states that "I wrote it down as a warning to the young to act with restraint rather than rashness" (in Prunster 50).

186-187 In the Schaubüro production, lines 168-79 and 184-87 were sung by the cast, in the manner of a *Singspiel*; 180-83 were cut. The actors pointed at the audience at line 186 and raised a finger in warning for the last line (see app. 6, fig. 4).

Long Notes

III.x

Q1 and Q2 offer very different versions, and the German version adds a third. While Q2 seems most formal and poetic and is full of "ominous forebodings" (Urkowitz, "Two Versions" 225), Q1 seems most heartfelt, showing spontaneous and impatient young lovers (Steven Urkowitz speaks of "exuberance", "positive virtue" and of an "extravagantly joyful eruption" [223, 224]), and *RuJ* offers formulaic vows and, remarkably, an exchange of rings on stage. This is not the case in *RJ*. Weddings usually took place off-stage in early modern English plays, possibly because of "the ease with which couples [in real life] could become betrothed ... through the exchange of words and tokens" (Scott-Warren 119). Moreover, the religious wedding ceremony with the exchange of rings "had become controversial because it was regarded as popish by the more strictly Protestant members of the population" and was therefore banned from the Shakespearean stage (Callaghan 305). In seventeenth-century Germany, however, the exchange of rings and vows formed the basis of marital unions (Harrington 30, 206). This ceremony is also dramatized in other plays of the period. In *Phänicia*: "He takes a ring from his hand ... puts it on her finger, embraces her and holds her by the hand" (VI, adapted from Cohn, 107, "Er zeicht ein Ring von der handt ... steckt jhr den Ring an, vnd trucket sie, helt sie bey der hand" [316]). Baesecke points to the visual and symbolic value of the rings (30). Such props played an important role on the *Wanderbühne* (see pp. 134-35 above). Interestingly, neither Genée nor Devrient found this scene noteworthy enough to include it in their printed selection, possibly because it does not resemble the Shakespearean texts.

Time scheme

The following tentative time scheme may be advanced: we do not know when I.i and I.ii take place. I.iii informs us that the banquet is to take place the next day (42). I.iv takes place on the same day as I.iii; II.i on the following day, as do II.ii to II.v. In II.v, Julieta announces that she will contact Romio on the following day (106). If we leave aside I.i and I.ii, II.vi thus takes place on the third day, as do III.i to III.vi, when the Nurse comes to see Romio (according to Julieta, this meeting is to take place at nine o'clock, which would set III.i to III.v early in the morning). III.vii and III.viii occur on the same day. In III.viii, Romio says that the wedding is to take place at "nine o'clock" (15, "vmb 9 vhr"), which might refer to the evening of the same day. III.ix and III.x could thus also take place on day three. At IV.i.2 Penuolio announces the break of day although Tipold wishes a good evening at IV.ii.3: these scenes take place on the fourth day, as do IV.iii to IV.vi. Since Romio is to leave before the break of day (IV.v.66), we can assume that act V starts on the following (the fifth) day. The Father does not specify when Julieta is supposed to take the sleeping potion. It therefore remains unclear when V.iii takes place. However, at V.i.5, Capolet announces that Julieta's wedding is to take place the following day. V.iv does not give any time indication; it might not take place on the same day as the previous scenes, since Romio needs some time to go into exile and to return (as he does in Shakespeare), and Julieta's funeral may add another day to this calculation. We thus have the following time scheme:

Day 1 (I.i, I.ii), I.iii, I.iv

Day 2 II.i, II.ii, II.iii, II.iv and II.v

Day 3 II.vi, III.i, III.ii, III.iii, III.iv, III.v, III.vi, III.vii, III.viii, III.ix, III.x

Day 4 IV.i, IV.ii, IV.iii, IV.iv, IV.v, IV.vi

Day 5 V.i, V.ii, (V.iii)

Later V.iv

For the time scheme in *RJ*, see Weis 25-27. For inconsistencies in Shakespeare's (and mainly Q1's) time scheme, see Erne 34-35. For structural changes in *RuJ*, see pp. 192-93 above.

Collation and Annotation of Translation

Persons of the Play

Whereas Bucher "Shakespeareanizes" the names, calling Pickelherring "clown" in the speech prefixes and the text, I retain the German originals and only anglicize "Pickelherring". Furthermore, I retain the changing speech prefixes "Duke" and "Prince".

I.i

1] *this edn*; The sun looks at this earth in heaven's azure BUCHER

5 damage] *this edn*; loss BUCHER

11 the ... say] *this edn*; the saying of future generations BUCHER

24 repeated] *this edn*; often repeated BUCHER

29 virtue ... title] *this edn*; The title to virtue BUCHER

68-69 more ... alive] *this edn*; I also should have more joy of my friends and family in my life-time BUCHER

71 dynasty] *this edn*; race BUCHER

71 disturbance] *this edn*; quarrel BUCHER

78 tranquility] *this edn*; right BUCHER

90 from ... country] *this edn*; from obedience, from following the laws and love of our country BUCHER

105 families] *this edn*; houses BUCHER

121-22] *this edn*; 'Twas Ilion's fate indeed through just such warlike fire, / That Troy must pass away in monstrous wrong and dire BUCHER

1 **earth** literally, "circle" or "orbit" of the earth.

6 **reign** or "government".

27-28 **see ... mouth** Today, "daß mir das wasßer in das maul rinnt" translates as "my mouth waters".

30 **injury** literally, "damage".

90 **orders** Bucher has "obedience", which is the modern meaning of "Gehorsam". Yet the grammatical construction points towards another meaning that Grimm offers: "precept, instruction, order" ("gebot, befehl").

93 **will** In modern German "will" (from "wollen") means "wanting to", but, according to Grimm, it was also used to construct the future, as in English. I thus translate with the English "will" whenever a future tense seems plausible.

105 **families** or "stocks", "lineages".

122 **through** literally, "in".

I.ii

10-11 the ... sex] *this edn*; womankind Bucher

16 I ... myself] *this edn*; I should know how to make shift Bucher

- 20 relief] *this edn*; comfort BUCHER
 43 virtue ... it] *this edn*; colour is virtue's own BUCHER
 47 with weapons] *this edn*; in arms BUCHER
 68 love] *this edn*; marry BUCHER
 69 Mundiqueese] *this edn*; Montague BUCHER
 82 stubborn] *this edn*; reluctant BUCHER
 89 you ... maids] *this edn*; ye poor damsels BUCHER
 90 feather dusters] *this edn*; goosewing-dusters BUCHER
 93 man] *this edn*; husband BUCHER

15 **strictly** literally, "strongly".

15 **orders** See note at I.i.90.

30 **brave** or "awake", "alert" (Grimm, "wach, munter, tüchtig").

51-52 The pun on "leider" ("unfortunately") and "leiden" ("to suffer") is lost in translation.

54 or "Because of whom?"

61 **concern** See note to German text at V.i.26.

71 **Enmity, amity** or "hostility" and "friendship". Bucher catches a hint of the consonance in the German original.

79 **shun** or "give way to".

Liii

- 1 Count] *this edn*; My Lord BUCHER
 7 reward ... honor] *this edn*; return it BUCHER
 13 spare me] *this edn*; forbear BUCHER
 19 Pickelherring] *this edn*; clown BUCHER
 19 at ... moment] *this edn*; in the very nick of time BUCHER
 29 scolding] *this edn*; blustering BUCHER
 60] *this edn*; As I should get some victuals BUCHER
 62] *this edn*; No, thank you BUCHER
 65 if ... it] *this edn*; if it cannot be helped BUCHER
 68-69 noble ... Pan-Smith] *this edn*; Noble, worshipful Sir; Especially respected Mrs. Tinker BUCHER
 69 I ... it] *this edn*; Never mind, I shall manage BUCHER
 77 guests] *this edn*; persons BUCHER
 82 amusement] *this edn*; refreshment BUCHER

6 **not at all** literally, "never".

16 **receive** literally, "take".

18 **repay** literally, "replace".

45 **charge** I adopt Bucher's translation, which aims to reproduce the pun on "einladen" ("to invite" or "to load").

66 **Invite** See note to German text.

71 **man** literally, "human being".

Liv

- 1 O ... I] *this edn*; Alas! wounded in the heart and burning more and more, now am I immersed in thought BUCHER
- 4 Amor] *this edn*; Cupid BUCHER
- 6 attack] *this edn*; affliction BUCHER
- 8 afterwards] *this edn*; yet BUCHER
- 8 remains ... heart] *this edn*; strikes my soul BUCHER
- 12 wind] *this edn*; breezes BUCHER
- 13 when ... leaves] *this edn*; sporting through trees that shake their leaves BUCHER
- 18 adventurer] *this edn*; strange thing BUCHER
- 38 braggarts] *this edn*; bullies BUCHER
- 53 that ... cavalier] *this edn*; And a gallant cavalier he is BUCHER
- 71 Gee whiz] *this edn*; Confound your eyes! BUCHER
- 72 Mr. Invite] *this edn*; messenger BUCHER
- 91-92 there ... over] *this edn*; so much the more victuals will come down BUCHER
- 94 present] *this edn*; one of the party BUCHER

6 **the** literally, "my".

6 **attack** or "seizure"; see note to German text.

8 **her beauty** Bucher's translation; the German text is ambiguous. Alternatives would be "your beauty", "you, beautiful one" or "her beautiful [eyes]".

25 **paper** or "note", "slip of paper"; could also be plural.

31 **them** or "her".

46, 50 **wench** or "human being". See also note to German text.

51 **veil** See note to German text.

II.i

- 4-5 shine ... ladies] *this edn*; outshine all the other ladies BUCHER
- 10 do ... once] *this edn*; pray at last lay aside your folly BUCHER
- 14 we should] *this edn*; it will behove us BUCHER
- 35] *this edn*; What was yours? BUCHER

11 **restrain** literally, "tame".

28 **Well** Here and below, "Eÿ" does not mean "yes" as Bucher's "Aye" implies, but is rather an "exclamation with many meanings", in this case mildly mocking (Grimm, "ein vieldeutiger ausruf").

II.ii

- 0 SD WIFE, NURSE] *this edn*; not in BUCHER

II.iii

- 7 bashful] *this edn*; blushing BUCHER
- 18 – Hist!] *this edn*; [Aside. Whist! BUCHER
- 20 who ... me] *this edn*; with whom I danced just now BUCHER
- 33 mock] *this edn*; scorn BUCHER
- 49 company] *this edn*; party BUCHER

- 67 authorities] *this edn*; Prince BUCHER
 67 to ... quarrel] *this edn*; lay this deadly strife BUCHER
 69 the meal] *this edn*; supper BUCHER
 71 the room] *this edn*; my cabinet BUCHER
 76 he] *this edn*; the gentleman BUCHER
 81 gown] *this edn*; dress BUCHER

18 **Hist!** Or "Pst" which, however, rather expresses "a whispered signal for silence" (OED). See also note to German text.

20 **who ... me** Bucher makes Romio the active person in the dance.

83 **is** literally, "is called".

II.iv

- 1 god ... love] *this edn*; Cupid BUCHER
 2 serfs] *this edn*; lieges BUCHER
 7] *this edn*; We have come the wrong way; he is not here BUCHER
 18-19 it ... darkness] *this edn*; he takes most to darkness BUCHER

7 **We ... way** literally, "we miss the way".

7 **he ... there** or "he didn't come from there".

II.v

- 1 shows me] *this edn*; points to BUCHER
 5 heart] *this edn*; breast BUCHER
 5 shower] *this edn*; quench BUCHER
 9-10 So ... further] *this edn*; Move not then from here BUCHER
 11 bedroom] *this edn*; chamber BUCHER
 22 your] *this edn*; my BUCHER
 30 all ... me] *this edn*; are violently rushing upon me BUCHER
 30 seeking] *this edn*; compassing BUCHER
 32 wants ... master] *this edn*; will conquer BUCHER
 37 stirs] *this edn*; moves within me BUCHER
 38 out ... joy] *this edn*; joyfully BUCHER
 40 speaks ... opinion] *this edn*; discourses BUCHER
 67 want] *this edn*; choose BUCHER
 72 as ... what] *this edn*; that you would take back what BUCHER
 76, 93 mistress] *this edn*; lady BUCHER
 77 the] *this edn*; yonder BUCHER
 85 become ... of] *this edn*; find BUCHER
 87] *this edn*; Zounds! take yourself off! BUCHER
 90 stay] *this edn*; tarry BUCHER
 94-95 all subservience] *this edn*; due submission BUCHER
 103 Why ... other] *this edn*; Oh dear, there's no one for chattering like her! BUCHER
 108 Gee ... damned] *this edn*; Confound you! BUCHER
 111 Now ... mother] *this edn*; Now do you go in, or I tell your mama BUCHER

12 I adopt Bucher's reading, which makes Romio the author of the song. The German text leaves this open to interpretation. Literally, the "made song".

30 **fire** or "heat".

45 **this ... sleep** literally, "this sleeping time".

53 **love, love** See note to German text.

68 **memorial** Bucher translates as "monument", but since this word is semantically charged within the play (see V.ii.32, V.iv.0 SD), I opt for a different translation.

76 **bond** or "alliance".

83 **mother** literally, "lady mother".

109 **wench** See note at I.iv.46.

111 **Now ... mother** In German, the Nurse does not specify to whom she will "tell it"; my translation builds on Bucher's assumption.

II.vi

8 thoughts] *this edn*; memory BUCHER

21 well-being] *this edn*; prosperity BUCHER

1 **lover** or "a man in love".

3 literally, "What is the good Rosalina doing?"

13 **returning love** literally, "with reciprocated love".

14 **man** literally, "human being".

III.i

3 our] *this edn*; my BUCHER

15-16 pious ... agreeable] *this edn*; good-tempered and as gentle BUCHER

III.ii

3, 5 attentive] *this edn*; careful BUCHER

5-6 so ... years] *this edn*; will be equally so in providing for thee according to thy age BUCHER

10-11 fit ... husband] *this edn*; fit me for the conduct of a household and the married state BUCHER

27 thy ... deranged] *this edn*; thy mind is perverted BUCHER

1-2 **What ... daughter** literally, "What do you have to command me as your obedient daughter?"

5 **education** literally, "education of thy youth".

18 **to marry** literally, "with marrying".

III.iii

2 mother] *this edn*; lady mother BUCHER

4 But ... from] *this edn*; but pray for the sake of my youth that you will excuse me from BUCHER

5 since ... parents] *this edn*; for it is more fitting that I should still remain under the authority of my parents BUCHER

9 Father] *this edn*; My lord and father BUCHER

11 daughter] *this edn*; girl BUCHER

14 honor] *this edn*; chasteness BUCHER

16 prudent spirit] *this edn*; consideration BUCHER

7 childhood Bucher's translation, which is supported by Grimm since "Jugend" refers to both childhood and youth.

14 fortune i.e., wealth.

18 to take literally, "to have".

III.iv

5 But] *this edn*; Look, here BUCHER

11-12 that ... me] *this edn*; that I am undone unless some remedy be found BUCHER

18-20 then ... is] *this edn*; I am undone, and will make my present misery still worse than it is BUCHER

28 I ... for] *this edn*; I am sensible of BUCHER

7 do ... me literally, "do I not have more confidence with you".

III.v

14 with fist] *this edn*; sword in hand BUCHER

22] *this edn*; A hectoring fellow with little courage BUCHER

25 joke] *this edn*; insult BUCHER

28 thou ... saying] *this edn*; It is all very well to say BUCHER

30 Yes ... it] *this edn*; Depend upon it BUCHER

25 joke See note to German text.

III.vi

20 gentlemen ... disgrace] *this edn*; and command myself to your favour BUCHER

22 why ... laughing?] *this edn*; what art thou laughing at? BUCHER

46 likely] *this edn*; easily BUCHER

48 partake ... love] *this edn*; gain her affection BUCHER

50 the ... sex] *this edn*; our sex BUCHER

19 her Bucher has "you" (referring to the Nurse), but Romio could be referring to Julieta; the German text remains ambiguous.

25 The translation simplifies the convoluted grammatical structure of the German original.

27 hurt See note to German text.

40 someone else female in the German text.

45-46 most likely or "first".

50 the ... sex literally, "the sex/gender of man".

56 one female in the German text.

III.vii

16] *this edn*; How can you keep me in suspense, and tease me so? BUCHER

30 Well, well] *this edn*; Ahem! BUCHER

31-32 beer money] *this edn*; glove-money BUCHER

31-32 **They ... themselves** literally, "But who has the beer money in [their] hands, then they do the errands themselves".

31-32 **beer money** or "tip"; literally, "money for drinking".

III.viii

3 rightfully] *this edn*; in duty BUCHER

5 Honored Father] *this edn*; Reverend Sir BUCHER

12 know] *this edn*; say BUCHER

15 for ... nurse] *this edn*; she sent me word to that effect by her nurse BUCHER

22 beauty] *this edn*; beautiful face BUCHER

23-24 may ... Julieta] *this edn*; may make me the blessed husband of the fair Juliet BUCHER

11 **it** literally, "the thing" or "the matter".

III.ix

1-3 Lord ... answer] *this edn*; Sir, you are aware what love and affection to your daughter makes me long for your consent BUCHER

5 Count] *this edn*; My lord BUCHER

7 and ... lineage] *this edn*; if I would ensure the happiness of my ancient race BUCHER

9-11 will ... life] *this edn*; will make me your debtor, and place me at the service of yourself and your house for the rest of my life BUCHER

14 is ... time] *this edn*; making her appearance just in time BUCHER

20 command] *this edn*; obedience BUCHER

42 lacking ... undertaking] *this edn*; wanting in the business we have in hand BUCHER

43 thy mother] *this edn*; the heart of thy mother BUCHER

1-3 **Lord ... answer** Bucher disambiguates the German original; I opt for a less grammatical translation that is closer to the German text.

13 **consent** or "yes".

28 **command me** literally, "command with me".

37 **subservience** or "service".

III.x

2-3 but ... things] *this edn*; but I must give such an important matter more consideration BUCHER

19-20 and ... otherwise] *this edn*; and there is no help for it BUCHER

2-3 **but ... things** Bucher disambiguates the German text, where it remains unclear whether he or they should give the matter more thought.

3 **harm ... disaster** literally, "danger and misfortune".

20-21 **join ... marriage** or "marry you".

IV.i

3-4 it ... blows] *this edn*; we should not escape a brawl BUCHER

7 **I ... year** literally, "I will draw thee in no year".

13 **most hot-headed** literally, "most heated of all".

15 **doublet** or "jacket".

IV.ii

2 quiet] *this edn*; stop BUCHER

12-13 tavern-fiddlers] *this edn*; fiddlers BUCHER

15 Quiet, quiet] *this edn*; Peace, peace BUCHER

21 I ... injustice] *this edn*; I never injured thee BUCHER

42 If ... large] *this edn*; Let us hope not fatally, not seriously BUCHER

52 family] *this edn*; race BUCHER

56 spirit] *this edn*; soul BUCHER

62 that ... before] *this edn*; that late thou gavest me BUCHER

75 near death] *this edn*; slain BUCHER

81 plastered drunkard] *this edn*; a parcel of snot BUCHER

85 died] *this edn*; is killed BUCHER

10 **your** plural or polite form.

25 **bastinado** I follow Bucher's translation (implying a beating [OED]). See also note to German text.

75 The German "ich bin des todts" means the same as "ich sterbe", namely "I die". To retain the doubling up without repetition, I rephrase.

78 **manage** or "work".

81 **plastered drunkard** Whereas Bucher interprets "Naßküttel" to mean a handkerchief full of "snot", I understand "voll" ("full") as "completely drunk". This is supported by Grimm's definition (see note to German text).

IV.iii

4-5 who ... messages] *this edn*; to give you information about it BUCHER

6 know] *this edn*; surmise BUCHER

13 unhappy accident] *this edn*; fatal brawl BUCHER

14 came ... insults] *this edn*; accosted Mercutio with abuse BUCHER

24-25 relate ... murder] *this edn*; tell us how this bloody fray happened BUCHER

26 came in] *this edn*; got into BUCHER

27 But ... meekly] *this edn*; Romeo spoke him fair BUCHER

28-29 whereby ... offended] *this edn*; urged Your Grace's high displeasure BUCHER

37-38 I ... ground] *this edn*; and ere I could part them, Tibalt was mortally wounded and fell BUCHER

45-46 a ... justice] *this edn*; justice will be fulfilled BUCHER

12 **exact** or "right", "true".

19 **know** or "understand", "determine".

38 **fled** literally, "saved himself".

46 **Lady Capolet** or "wife of Capolet".

IV.iv

13 Oh, who] *this edn*; God BUCHER

18 Miss Julieta] *this edn*; your young lady BUCHER

- 34 beaten] *this edn*; arrant BUCHER
 41 Then ... longer] *this edn*; Then I have no business to live BUCHER
 56 feather duster] *this edn*; goose-wing BUCHER
 63-64 Ah ... myself] *this edn*; Ah beloved one I will die myself BUCHER
 88 But ... well] *this edn*; Though thou wast in thy right BUCHER
 94 discreet] *this edn*; secret BUCHER
 95-97 with ... chamber] *this edn*; to my closet BUCHER
 97 dispatch] *this edn*; charge BUCHER
 98 Yes ... Julieta] *this edn*; Just so, Miss Juliet; you are quite right BUCHER

14 **bawling ... out** literally, "crying snot and water". Bucher offers "shedding tears and snot".
 39, 54 **man** literally, "human being".
 42 **at last** or "in the end".
 64 **rather** Bucher understands "lieber" as "beloved one".
 71 **husbands** or "men".

IV.v

- 1 be ... once] *this edn*; take comfort at last BUCHER
 2 to ... you] *this edn*; to get the better of you BUCHER
 8 banishment] *this edn*; exile BUCHER
 19 arrest thee] *this edn*; take you up BUCHER
 35-36 and ... ask] *this edn*; for the purpose of begging BUCHER
 37 suffocated] *this edn*; drowned BUCHER
 39 pranks] *this edn*; play BUCHER
 44 No ... that] *this edn*; She has said nothing of the kind BUCHER
 46-47 ask ... it] *this edn*; mind BUCHER
 60 put on] *this edn*; wrapped herself in BUCHER
 62 as ... money] *this edn*; *not in* BUCHER
 69 light] *this edn*; luminary BUCHER
 71-72 how ... times] *this edn*; from time to time how yourself and my Juliet prosper BUCHER

26 or "Nor do I want to, nor can I."
 27 **harm** literally, "danger".
 55 **at ... face** literally, "in your breast".
 76 **fate ... star** literally, "the misfortune of my un-star".

IV.vi

- 3 misdemeanor] *this edn*; wretch BUCHER
 19 such ... misery] *this edn*; torture BUCHER
 21 O ... rule] *this edn*; Ah! ye Care and Despondency! ye have sway over me now BUCHER
 22 suppressed] *this edn*; down-cast BUCHER
 31 unfortunate time] *this edn*; hapless hour BUCHER
 36 then ... pleased] *this edn*; it were a comfort to us BUCHER
 38-39 color ... bloody] *this edn*; stain my heart with blood BUCHER

18 **leave ... alone** or "allow me to". The German text is ambiguous.

26 **separation** or "leavetaking".

35 **moon** literally, "moonshine". The word "Mondschein" also stood for "the shining moon" (Grimm).

46 **suck ... out** Since "auß saugen" ("suck out") is in the plural form, its subject seems to be "Schmertzen" ("pains"). Bucher makes the lips the subject and the pain the object: "When kissed by him who has my heart, / His lips at once suck out my smart."

71 **lives** literally, "does".

73-74 Alternatively, the turtledove may be the subject and the one returning Romio to Julieta.

V.i

11 person] *this edn*; man BUCHER

27 us] *this edn*; me BUCHER

43 my sake] *this edn*; mercy's sake BUCHER

46 Ill people] *this edn*; Invalids BUCHER

8 **wench** See note to I.iv.46.

11 **person** literally, "human being".

18 **count** Bucher translates as "spend" and Capolet's previous line as "which thou canst spend in unalloyed good fortune" (16-17), thereby aiming to render Pickelherring's pun on "verzehren" (17) and "zehlen" (18).

20 **How?** literally, "In what?".

22 **by** literally, "in".

23 **mankind** literally, "the human being".

25 **dinner** The German text does not specify which meal the cook is not serving.

55 **husbands** or "men".

V.ii

4 the ... suffer] *this edn*; my overwhelming suffering BUCHER

10 best] *this edn*; smaller BUCHER

14 clergyman] *this edn*; minister BUCHER

27-28 so ... Paris] *this edn*; to elude compulsion BUCHER

32 laid ... monument] *this edn*; deposited in the vault BUCHER

32-33 That ... wedding] *this edn*; Thus will the wedding be delayed BUCHER

34 abduct ... grief] *this edn*; carry you off from this place and from your grief BUCHER

34-35 Is ... opinion] *this edn*; Do you agree to this BUCHER

37 wherever ... to] *this edn*; hither and thither BUCHER

37 What ... required] *this edn*; There is no need of further reflection BUCHER

38-39 to approve] *this edn*; give in BUCHER

49-50 you ... you] *this edn*; you will deliver yourself from your troubles BUCHER

16 **ten** Oddly enough, Bucher changes "ten" to "a hundred" although Cohn has "10" in his text.

30 **sleeping potion** Bucher consistently omits "sleeping".

35 **opinion** or "intention".

52 **confidence** or "trust".

V.iii

- 7 room] *this edn*; chamber BUCHER
 15-16 O ... scraper] *this edn*; you old grater, you old wafer-iron BUCHER
 16 delight ... love] *this edn*; instrument of pleasure BUCHER
 22, 23 Shut up] *this edn*; Hold your tongue BUCHER
 24 good-for-nothing] *this edn*; ne'er-do-weel BUCHER
 26 guzzle-up] *this edn*; fuddle-cap BUCHER
 31 the ... peace] *this edn*; why does not the old hag leave me alone BUCHER
 45 That's ... lies] *this edn*; You lie in your throat BUCHER
 47 stretched-out illnesses] *this edn*; stretching complaints BUCHER
 64 it ... that] *this edn*; so shall it be done BUCHER
 67 diligence] *this edn*; promptness BUCHER
 68 drying] *this edn*; wiping BUCHER
 74 come] *this edn*; broken BUCHER
 88 go] *this edn*; hie BUCHER
 92-93 to ... her] *this edn*; give her some cordial BUCHER
 96-97 If ... order] *this edn*; What God ordains BUCHER
 98 great] *this edn*; hard BUCHER
 105 best] *this edn*; least BUCHER
 105 Because ... it] *this edn*; The thing has happened; who can alter it BUCHER
 116 I ... written] *this edn*; I am off to write BUCHER

16 **scraper** Bucher's translation is based on Cohn's reading ("waffelscheit") which differs from this edition. "Waffel" means "wafer" or "waffle".

20-21 I keep Bucher's translation to render the female and male version of "fool" ("Narr"/"Närrin").

46 **what ... her** literally, "what her damage is".

88 **on my way** or "(on) my roads".

V.iv

- 0 SD Sad] *this edn*; Doleful BUCHER
 0 SD lies ... monument] *this edn*; is seen lying in the vault BUCHER
 0 SD BOY] *this edn*; PAGE BUCHER
 6-7 shouldst ... enjoyment] *this edn*; wouldst depart from this world before enjoying BUCHER
 9 is ... myself] *this edn*; this the hall of my revel BUCHER
 13 servant] *this edn*; boy BUCHER
 13 do ... far] *this edn*; stand aloof, but do not go too far BUCHER
 17-18 adorn ... with] *this edn*; strew ... on BUCHER
 28-29 still ... earth] *this edn*; protract a miserable existence BUCHER
 34 I ... here] *this edn*; I had better stay BUCHER
 39 someone ... present] *this edn*; something is approaching BUCHER
 41 see ... is] *this edn*; watch what happens BUCHER
 43 step back] *this edn*; keep off BUCHER
 43 order] *this edn*; authority BUCHER
 49-50 thou ... me] *this edn*; you interfere BUCHER
 58 But ... death] *this edn*; What a spectacle of death are my hapless eyes doomed to see BUCHER

- 59** dearest sweetheart] *this edn*; thou treasure of my life BUCHER
60 dead ... me] *this edn*; a corpse BUCHER
76 Lights ... burning] *this edn*; There are tapers BUCHER
77 This ... Father] *this edn*; Certainly this is the friar's contrivance BUCHER
81 people] *this edn*; men BUCHER
119 self-interest] *this edn*; any part in it BUCHER
120 misunderstanding] *this edn*; bewilderment BUCHER
145-46 that ... Julieta] *this edn*; and hoping by this marriage of Romeo's and Juliet's to clear the sky BUCHER
147 ask ... excused] *this edn*; crave for mercy BUCHER
149 the ... men] *this edn*; The ways in which men come to their fall BUCHER
150 the sins] *this edn*; their sad fates BUCHER
161-62 Therefore ... that] *this edn*; I shall prepare the last honours for them BUCHER
187 accidents ... love] *this edn*; ill-starred love BUCHER

- 9 hall** literally, "pleasure hall", as in "Lustgarten" (*BB* I.v.24, "pleasure garden").
23 men literally, "human beings".
46 man literally, "human being".
47 give ... up i.e., as a prisoner.
55 entrusted See note to German text.
63 faded or "pale".
70 weapon Bucher's addition ("trusty weapon") is uncalled for.
92 and died literally, "and remained dead".
102 SD literally, "stabs" or "pushes".
120 resolve literally, "get out of".
128 natural or "biological".
128-29 head-over-heels literally, "mortally". See note to German text.
134 consummate literally, "fulfil". Grimm supports this reading.
135 harm literally, "danger".
145-46 that ... friendship Bucher interprets "himel" as "sky" which shall be "zertrent" ("severed"), that is "cleared". I read "himel" as "heaven" and as the subject; "zertrent" lacks an object (probably "the enmity") for which I substitute "it".
155 give ... again or "return".
161, 168 bereavement literally, "incident of grief".
169 my or "one's".
181 his or "its", referring back to "child".
187 accidents ... love or "such unhappy/unfortunate loves". For "accidents" one could substitute "misfortune" or "calamity".

TRAGOEDIA

DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD

ODER

PRINZ HAMLET AUS DÄNNEMARK

Note on Text, Annotation, and Collation

Reichard's spelling and punctuation are usually followed unless when pointed out in collation or commentary. The collation with the *Theaterkalender* and other editions of *BB* is selective. Note that in the Arden 3 *Hamlet* edition, the act and scene reference for Q2 and F are not always the same. I give those of Q2 unless I specifically quote F.

Abbreviations

Arden2	Harold Jenkins, ed. <i>Hamlet</i>
Arden3	Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, ed. <i>Hamlet</i>
Barbarino	<i>Der Bestrafte Brudermord</i> . Dir. Stephan Barbarino
Evans	Marshall Blakemore Evans. <i>Der bestrafte Brudermord, sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeares Hamlet</i>
Poel	<i>William Poel's Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished</i> , ed. J. Isaacs
Q1	The First Quarto of <i>Hamlet</i> (1603)
Q2	The Second Quarto of <i>Hamlet</i> (1604/05)
Reichard	Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard, ed. "TRAGOEDIA. Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder: Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark." <i>Olla Potrida</i>
<i>RuJ</i>	<i>Romio und Julieta</i>
Schmidle	<i>Der Bestrafte Brudermord</i> . Dir. Christine Schmidle
Steinbach	<i>Der Bestrafte Brudermord</i> . Dir. Daniel Steinbach
ThK	Heinrich August Ottocar Reichard. "Erster deutscher Hamlet im Auszug." <i>Theaterkalender</i>

Note on the Translation

The following text is indebted to earlier translations. It should not be confused with Poel's *Fratricide Punished*, which is an adaptation and not an accurate translation. Nevertheless, I use *Fratricide Punished* as a title for my translation of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, since it will be most familiar to readers. For the collation and annotation of the translation, see pp. 677-706 below.

TRAGOEDIA
DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD
ODER
PRINZ HAMLET AUS DÄNNEMARK

[Personen des Prologus]

NACHT in einer gestirnten Maschine

ALECTO

THISIPHONE [Drei Furien]

MÄGERA

Personen des Prologus] *this edn; not in BB*

NACHT] *BB*; Nox ThK

Drei Furien] *this edn; not in BB*

Personen Reichard has the "Persons" for the remainder of the play after the prologue. Cohn has all "Persons represented" at the beginning, dividing them into "Prologue" and "Tragedy". See also pp. 208-09 above.

TRAGEDY
FRATRICIDE PUNISHED
OR
PRINCE HAMLET OF DENMARK

Persons of the Prologus

NIGHT, in a machine studded with stars

ALECTO

THISIPHONE Three furies

MAEGERA

TRAGEDY ... DENMARK] *BB*; *Tragoedie* ThK; THE / Tragicall Historie of / HAMLET / Prince of Denmarke Q1; *THE* / Tragicall Historie of / HAMLET, / *Prince of Denmarke* Q2; THE TRAGEDIE OF / HAMLET, Prince of Denmarke F

Prologus For a discussion of the prologue, see pp. 207-09 above. The prologue was used in Achim Freyer's production of *Hamlet* at the Berliner Ensemble in 2000. It "used the Schlegel translation, but began with the *Brudermord*'s allegorical prologue spoken by the figure of Night" (Bosman, "Unsettling Hamlet" 9).

furies The trio of avenging goddesses of Greek mythology appear as a Chorus in the prologue of a German adaptation of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* by Caspar Stieler from 1680 (Herz 77). The furies were cut in Barbarino. In Schmidle's production, the furies were present throughout the play, visible in the background, often on the balcony, as a "supernatural" backdrop, but "not actually part of the action" (Schmidle, private communication, July 2010)

Prologus

Die NACHT von oben.

[NACHT] Ich bin die dunkle Nacht,
 Die alles schlafend macht.
 Ich bin des Morpheus Weib,
 Der Laster Zeitvertreib,
 Ich bin der Diebe Schutz, 5
 Und der Verliebten Trutz,
 Ich bin die dunkle Nacht,
 Und hab in meiner Macht,
 Die Bosheit auszuüben,
 Die Menschen zu betrüben, 10
 Mein Mantel decket zu
 Der Huren Schand' und Ruh',
 Eh' Phöbus noch wird prangen,
 Will ich ein Spiel anfangen;
 Ihr Kinder meiner Brust, 15
 Ihr Töchter meiner Lust,
 Ihr Furien, auf, auf, hervor und laßt euch sehen,
 Kommt, höret fleißig zu, was kurzens soll geschehen.

[*Zu ihr ALECTO, MÄGERA und THISIPHONE.*]

ALECTO Was sagt die dunkle Nacht, die Königin der Stille,
 Was giebt sie Neues an, was ist ihr Lust und Wille? 20
 MÄGERA Aus Acherons finstrer Höhle komm ich Mägera her,

0.1 SP] *this edn; not in BB*

18 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

0.6 Trutz Trotz: defiance (Grimm).

1-16 The first part of Night's speech is in rhyming trimeters. Reichard prints the lines as hexameters.

Prologus

NIGHT, *from above*.

NIGHT I am the dark Night
 That makes everything sleep;
 I am Morpheus's wife,
 The pastime of the vices;
 I am the protection of the thieves 5
 And the defiance of the lovers;
 I am the dark Night
 And have it in my power
 To practice evil;
 To afflict men; 10
 My mantle covers
 The shame and repose of the whores.
 Before Phoebus shall shine
 I will begin a game.
 You children of my breast, 15
 You daughters of my lust,
 You furies, up, up, come forth and let yourselves be seen.
 Come and listen attentively, what shortly shall happen.

To her ALECTO, MAEGERA, and THISIPHONE.

ALECTO What says the dark Night, the Queen of Silence,
 What news does she give, what is her desire and will? 20
 MAEGERA From Acheron's dark cave come I, Maegeera, hither,

0.0 SD The stage machinery of the late seventeenth century allowed for spectacular entrances (see p. 133 above). Recent productions have omitted the "machine".

8-10 Compare: "HECATE ... And I, the mistress of your charms, / The close contriver of all harms" (*Mac* III.v.6-7).

13 **Phoebus** the Greek and Roman sun god (Apollo).

17-18, 19-20, 30 For textual echoes of Gryphius's *Carolus Stuardus*, see p. 208, fn. 103 and 104 above.

18 **SD BB** provides no entrance **SD** for the furies. Alternatively, they could all enter with Night at the beginning of the scene or separately before their respective first line.

21 **Acheron** in Greek mythology, one of the five rivers of the underworld. Its "cave" ("Höhle")

Von dir, du Unglücksfrau, zu hören dein Begehr.
 THISIPHONE Und ich Thisiphone, was hast du vor, sag an,
 Du schwarze Hecate, ob ich dir dienen kann?

NACHT Hört an, ihr Furien alle drey, hört an, ihr Kinder der Finsterniß 25
 und Gebärerin alles Unglücks, hört an eure mit Mohnhäuptern gekrönte
 Königin der Nacht, eine Gebietherin der Diebe und Räuber, eine Freundin
 und Klarheit der Mordbrenner, eine Liebhaberin des verstohlnen Gutes,
 und höchstgeliebte Göttin der Verliebten in Unehren, wie ofte wird mein
 Laster-Altar durch diese genannte That verehret! Diese Nacht und 30
 künftigen Tag müßt ihr mir beystehn, denn es ist der König dieses Reichs
 in Liebe gegen seines Bruders Weib entbrannt, welchen er um
 ihrenthalben ermordet, um sie und das Königreich zu bekommen. Nun ist
 die Stunde vorhanden, daß er sein Beylager mit ihr hält, ich will meinen
 Mantel über sie decken, daß sie beyde ihre Sünden nicht sehn sollen, 35
 derowegen seydt bereit, den Saamen der Uneinigkeit auszustreuen,
 mischet Gift unter ihre Eh', und Eifersucht in ihre Herzen. Legt ein
 Rachfeuer an, laßt die Funken in dem ganzen Reich herumfliegen,

26 Mohnhäuptern] ThK; Mohnhäupter BB

27 Nacht] BB; Stille ThK

26 **Gebärerin** (female) begetter (Grimm, "mutter, genitrix"). The singular form might imply that this word refers to "Nacht", yet the syntax makes it an epithet to the furies.

26 **Mohnhäuptern** "seed vessel of the poppy" (Grimm, "Samenkapsel der Mohnpflanze"). Night is said to be crowned with these because of the black color of the poppy seed.

28 **Mordbrenner** the person who commits "Mordbrand", i.e., sets fire with the intent to commit murder (Grimm, "brandstiftung zugleich mit der absicht des mordens").

28 **verstohlnen** presumably stolen ("gestohlen"). In modern German "verstohlen": clandestinely, covertly.

32 **gegen** modern German "für". See also note to *RuJ* III.iv.11.

34 **Beylager** marriage, wedding (Grimm).

36 **derowegen** deswegen: because of that.

From thee, thou calamitous woman, to hear thy desire.
 THISIPHONE And I, Thisiphone. What art thou planning, tell me,
 Thou black Hecate, whether I can serve thee?

NIGHT Listen, you furies, all three. Listen, you children of darkness 25
 and engenderer of all misfortune, listen to your Queen of the Night,
 crowned with poppy seed vessels, mistress of thieves and robbers, the
 friend and brightness of the incendiaries, lover of stolen property, and
 much beloved goddess of all dishonorable lovers. How often is my
 altar of vice honored by this said deed! This night and coming day you 30
 must stand by me, for the king of this realm burns with love for his
 brother's wife, for whose sake he has murdered him, to have her and
 the kingdom. Now the hour has come when he celebrates his marriage
 with her: I shall cover them with my mantle so that neither shall see
 their sins. Therefore be ready to spread the seed of discord, mix poison 35

into their marriage and jealousy into their hearts. Kindle a fire of
 revenge, let the sparks fly through the whole kingdom, confuse the

would therefore be hell. "Acheron" appears in Hecate's speech in *Mac* (III.v.15), in *Tit* (IV.iii.45), and in *MND* (III.ii.358).

24 **Hecate** goddess of sorcery or of the moon, although originally a mother figure in Greek mythology. Phantasio invokes her at III.ix.20. She also appears in *Mac* (III.v, IV.i).

27 **thieves and robbers** a hendiadys, characteristic of the plays of the *Wanderbühne*; see pp. 153-54 above. There are nineteen instances in *BB*. For their use in *Ham*, see Wright.

30 **This ... day** an inconsistency between play and prologue: the play and its catastrophes do not occur within twenty-four hours (Leonhardus's and Hamlet's journeys certainly last longer). For further inconsistencies, see pp. 208-09 above.

31-35 **for ... sins** These lines anticipate the plot of *BB* most clearly.

32-33 **to ... kingdom** In Q2, the King speaks "[o]f those effects for which I did the murther; / My Crowne, mine own ambition, and my Queene" (TLN 2330-31, III.iii.54-55), and in Q1, of "the adulterous fault I haue committed" (CLN 1462, x.6). There is a shift in emphasis: in Q1, the Queen is not clearly connected to the murder, in Q2 she is seen as an additional motive, and in *BB*'s prologue, she is seen as providing *the* motivation for the fratricide.

33 **Now** In Steinbach, Night woke up the Ghost, whose corpse was lying on stage in a shroud.

34 **cover ... mantle** In Steinbach, Night illustrated this action by letting her cloak glide over the Ghost at the beginning, the corpses at the end, or the unconscious Hamlet at V.iii.26 SD. Compare Tragedy's lines in *A Warning for Faire Women*: "now wil I wake my chime / And lay this charming rod upon their eyes, / To make them sleepe in their securitie" (D2r, in Cannon 121).

35 See p. 207, fn. 101 above for similarities to *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It*.

verwirret die Blutsfreunde in dem Lasternetz, und macht der Hölle eine
Freude, damit diejenigen, welche in der Mord-See schwimmen, bald 40
ersaufen; gehet, eilet, und verrichtet meinen Befehl.

THISIPHONE Ich höre schon genung, und werde bald verrichten
Mehr als die dunkle Nacht von ihr selbst kann erdichten.

MÄGERA Der Pluto selbst soll mir so viel im Sinn nicht geben,
Als man in kurzer Zeit von mir bald wird erleben. 45

ALECTO Ich blas' die Funken an, und mach' das Feuer brennen,
Ich will, eh's zweymal tagt, die ganze Lust zertrennen.

NACHT So eilt, ich fahre auf,
Verrichtet euren Lauf.

[NACHT] *fährt auf. Music.*

[ALECTO, MÄGERA *und* THISIPHONE *ab.*]

49 SD NACHT, ALECTO ... *ab*] *this edn; not in BB*

48-49 Printed as a hexameter in Reichard.

blood friends in the net of vices, and give joy to hell so that those who
swim in the sea of murder may soon drown. Go, hasten, and fulfill my 40
command.

THISIPHONE I have already heard enough and will soon perform

More than the dark Night can by herself imagine.

MAEGERA Pluto himself shall not put so much into my mind

As in a short time one will soon experience from me. 45

ALECTO I fan the sparks and make the fire burn.

Before it dawns twice I will disrupt the whole lust.

NIGHT So hurry, I ascend.

Perform your tasks!

NIGHT *ascends. Music.*

ALECTO, MAEGERA, *and* THISIPHONE *exeunt.*

39-40 **so ... drown** Cohn (CXXI) likens this to a passage in *IH6*: "TALBOT ... And in that sea
of blood my boy did drench / His over-mounting spirit" (IV.vii.14-15).

44 **Pluto** the Greek God of the underworld.

48 **I ascend** Cohn (CXXI) draws a parallel to *Mac*: "HECATE ... I am for th'air" (III.v.20).

Personen

GEIST des alten Königs von Dänemark
 [KÖNIG] Erico, Bruder des [ermordeten] Königs
 HAMLET, Prinz des ermordeten Königs
 Sigrie, die KÖNIGIN, Hamlets Mutter
 HORATIO, ein hoher Freund des Prinzen
 CORAMBUS, Königlicher Hofmarschall

KÖNIG, ermordeten] *this edn; not in BB*

Prinz Using "Prinz" ("prince") instead of "Sohn" ("son") makes sense, since the Queen later refers to Hamlet as her "only prince" (II.i.6, "mein einziger Prinz"), not as her "only son".

hoher high: referring to deeds, possessions, feelings, friendship, rank, and dignity (Grimm). Horatio could be "high" ("hoch") in his character, in his friendship to Hamlet or in his social standing, though the reverential form of address he uses towards Hamlet makes the latter improbable.

Hofmarschall Royal chamberlain or Lord Chamberlain.

Persons of the Play

GHOST of the old King of Denmark

KING Erico, brother of the murdered King

HAMLET, Prince, son of the murdered King

Sigrie, the QUEEN, Hamlet's mother

HORATIO, a noble friend of the Prince

CORAMBUS, Royal Lord Chamberlain

Persons ... Play The name used for SPs is in capital letters. Additional characters who appear only in Shakespeare are: Marcellus; Voltemand and Cornelius; Reynaldo (in Q2; "Reynoldo" in F; "Montano" in Q1) and Fortinbras, who is only mentioned in Hamlet's dying speech in *BB*; the Captain of the Norwegian Army; the gravediggers ("*Clowne and an other*" in Q1; "*two Clownes*" in Q2 and F); the Priest (in Q1 and F; "*Doct.*" in SPs, "Priest" in text of Q2).

GHOST ... Denmark "Ghost" in Q1, Q2, and F, though "The Persons Represented" in Q6 include the "Ghost of Hamlet's Father". With this specification any speculations about the character's honesty and identity are forestalled. Dover Wilson believed that the Ghost in *BB* was not presented by an actor but by a "roistering puppet" (56). In Barbarino, the Ghost was represented by a light cone scurrying across the stage.

Erico Erico is not king but "brother of the king" ("Bruder des Königs"); his usurpation is emphasized. The name "Erico" does not appear in the text. In Shakespeare, Hamlet's uncle is generally referred to as "King". His name, "Claudius", only appears twice in Q2 (TLN 176, 179; I.ii.0, 1), and once in F (TLN 176, I.ii.0).

Sigrie The name does not appear in the text. It may have figured in SPs or SDs in the MS. In Shakespeare, the Queen is named "Gertred" in Q1, "Gertrard" in Q2, and "Gertrude" in F.

CORAMBUS "Polonius" in Q2 and F; "Corambis" in Q1. The similarity between the names of Q1 and *BB* is taken as one of the strongest points of evidence that *BB* is at least partly based on Q1. Creizenach believes that Corambus was the original form of the name since it appears in *AW* (IV.iii.167), and that a reporter misspelled the name in Q1 (135). Conversely, Jenkins sees Polonius as the original name (Arden2 34). The change to Corambis might have taken place because the name "Polonius" had offended a Polish ambassador in London (Arden2, 421-22). The name "Corambus" in *BB* would not have offended European, and more specifically Polish, patrons (Bałuk-Ulewiczowa 36). In Latin, "coram" means "publicly" or "in person" (Grimm). Shakespeare uses the word "Coram" (*MW* I.i.5) "in the sense of judge" (Schricks, *Envoys* 108). Moreover, "einen koram nehmen" means "to lecture someone", "give someone a talking to" (Grimm).

Lord Chamberlain Of the Shakespearean texts, only Q6 lists Polonius as "Lord Chamberlain" in "The Persons Represented" (Arden3 141). In the text of *BB*, Corambus is called "Hofmarschall" (III.v.18) and "Marschall" (II.viii.21).

LEONHARDUS, dessen Sohn
 OPHELIA, dessen Tochter
 PHANTASMO, Hofnarr
 FRANCISCO, [Corporal] der Wache
 JENS, ein Bauer
 CARL, der Principal von den Comödianten
 Zwey redende BANDITEN
 Zwey SCHILDWACHTEN

PHANTASMO] *BB*; Phantasmus ThK
 Corporal der Wache] *this edn*; Officier der Wache *BB*
 Schildwachten] *BB*; Schildwachen ThK, COHN

SCHILDWACHTEN Schildwächter: sentinels. "Schildwacht" is no longer in use (Grimm). In the text of *BB*, "Schildwacht" is used; "Schildwache" appears in SDs.

LEONHARDUS, his son
 OPHELIA, his daughter
 PHANTASMO, court jester
 FRANCISCO, Corporal of the guard
 JENS, a peasant
 CARL, the *Prinzipal* of the comedians
 Two talking BANDITS
 Two SENTINELS

LEONHARDUS "Leartes" in Q1, "Laertes" in Q2/F. In contrast to his Shakespearean counterparts, Leonhardus is something of a coward. Naming him "lion heart" could therefore be ironic. His youth is emphasized at V.v.4. A character named "Leonardo" appears in *MV* (II.ii.105 SD, 163).

OPHELIA in Q2 and F; "Ofelia" in Q1. See also p. 227 above.

PHANTASMO "Bragart Gentleman" in Q1, "Courtier" and "Ostrick/Osrick" in Q2, "Osricke" in F. He may also have traits "of the dead jester Yorick" (Petersen 127). For possible origins of the name, see p. 163 above.

FRANCISCO is an "Officier" in *BB*, yet the list of persons includes an unnamed "Corporal" placed after "Carl". I have amended this, since the "Corporal" is called "Francisco" in SDs and SPs. Barbarino also makes Francisco the Corporal. The name "Francisco" is attributed to a sentinel in Q2 and F. In I.vi of *BB*, Francisco takes over the part of Marcellus and Barnardo in Shakespeare's I.v.

JENS unique to *BB*. According to Creizenach, the name provides a Low German echo (145). The name is never mentioned in the dialogue.

CARL The first player has no name in Q1, Q2, and F. Critics have tried to identify a historical *Prinzipal*, e.g., Carl Andreas Paulsen, who led the "Carlische hochteutsche Comödianten-Compagnie" in the second half of the seventeenth century (Brandt and Hogendoorn 43, "Charles's High German Company of Players"; Litzmann 9-11). Velten, who has been associated with the manuscript of *BB* (see pp. 40-41 above), joined this company in 1675, when he married Paulsen's daughter (Niefanger 129). I agree with Freudenstein, who believes the name to be too common to be referring to a specific person (29).

Principal This designation can be used to date the play (see p. 205 above).

Two talking BANDITS Their counterparts in Shakespeare are "Gilderstone" and "Rossencraft", sometimes "Lordes" in SDs and dialogue of Q1; "Guyldersterne" or "Guyldensterne" and "Rosencraus" in Q2; "Guildenstern" or "Guildensterne" and "Rosincran", "Rosincrane", or "Rosincrance" in SDs and dialogue of F. Poel lists them as first and second "pirate" in his list of characters (2). See also p. 209 above.

Two SENTINELS "Two Centinels" in SDs, "Barnardo" in the dialogue of Q1; "two Centinels" in SDs, "Barnardo" and "Francisco" in the dialogue of Q2 and F.

Trabanten	}	Stumme
Hofdieners		
Zwey Comödianten		

Hofdieners] *BB*; Hofdiener ThK, COHN

Trabanten foot soldier, bodyguard, servant, attendant (Grimm).

Hofdieners Hofdiener: servants at court.

Guards	}	Mutes
Servants of the court		
Two comedians		

Guards No guards ("Trabanten") ever appear in the text of *BB* although this designation presumably includes the "soldiers" ("Soldaten") and the "watch" ("Wache") in I.iii, as well as the "retinue" ("Staat") in I.vii, II.viii, and IV.ii. Hamlet claims that the King is surrounded by guards (II.v.3, "Trabanten") at all times.

Servants They are never designated as such in the text, but appear as "retinue" ("Staat") in I.vii, II.viii, and IV.ii, and as "pages" ("Pagen") and "lackeys" ("Lakeyen") in II.viii.

Two comedians Together with the *Prinzipal* Carl, the group of actors is large enough to perform the dumb show, which includes the king, the queen and the king's brother (II.viii). Yet this number is inconsistent with Carl's claim that there are two women in his company (II.vii.22). The dumb show only requires one woman. In Shakespeare, the minimum of players needed is also three.

Mutes Two mutes are needed to perform *BB*; see doubling chart, app. 4b.

Erster Act, Scene i

[1. SCHILDWACHT *und* 2. SCHILDWACHT *treten auf.*]

1. SCHILDWACHT Wer da?

2. SCHILDWACHT Gut Freund!

1. SCHILDWACHT Was vor Freund?

2. SCHILDWACHT Schildwache!

1. SCHILDWACHT Oho, Camerad, kommst du, mich abzulösen, ich
wünsche, daß dir die Stunde nicht möge so lang werden, als mir. 5

2. SCHILDWACHT Ey, Camerad, es ist ja nun so kalt nicht.

1. SCHILDWACHT Ob es gleich kalt ist, so hab ich doch hier einen
Höllenschweiß ausgehalten.

2. SCHILDWACHT Wie so zaghaft! das stehet keinen Soldaten an; er
muß weder Freund noch Feind, ja den Teufel selbst nicht fürchten. 10

1. SCHILDWACHT Ja wenn er dich einst bey der Cartause kriegen
wird, du wirst das *Miserere Domine* wohl beten lernen?

I.i.0 SD] *this edn; not in BB; (Zwei Soldaten.)* COHN

1 SP] *this edn;* 1. Schildw. *BB*; 1. Schildwache CREIZENACH

2 SP] *this edn;* 2. Schildw. *BB*

3] *BB*; Was für gut Freund? ThK

I.i.3 Was für ein Freund?: what kind of friend? In modern German "vor": "für" (Grimm).

12 **Cartause** "collar or tuft, by which one can be seized" (Grimm, "kragen oder schopf, bei dem man einen packt oder festhält"). Creizenach glosses "hanging hood, point of a cap" (151, "herabhängende Kapuze, Kappenzipfel").

I.i

Enter 1. and 2. SENTINEL.

1. SENTINEL Who's there?

2. SENTINEL Good friend!

1. SENTINEL What friend?

2. SENTINEL Sentinel!

1. SENTINEL Ho, comrade, com'st thou to relieve me? I wish the 5
hour may not be so long to thee as it has been to me.

2. SENTINEL Ah, comrade it is not all that cold.

1. SENTINEL Although it is cold, I have endured a hellish sweat
here.

2. SENTINEL How, so timorous? That does not beseem a soldier. 10
He must fear neither friend nor foe, nor even the devil himself.

1. SENTINEL Yes, but if he once catches thee by the collar, thou'lt
soon learn to pray the *Miserere Domine*?

I.i.1 SP] BB; 1. Q1; *Fran.* Q2, F

1] BB; STand: who is that? Q1; WHose there? Q2; WHO's there? F

2 SP] BB; 2. Q1; *Bar.* Q2, F

4] BB; Tis I Q1; Long liue the King Q2, F

8-9] BB; *not in* Q1; tis bitter cold, / And I am sick at hart Q2, F

I.i to I.iii roughly correspond to Shakespeare's I.i in Q2/F and scene i in Q1 (the changing of the guard), although elements of I.iv and scene iv, such as the toasts, also appear. I.i.1-9, 22 correspond to Shakespeare's I.i.1-9, 16 and iv.1-3, 8. The time of day is set by the prologue: it is night. In Q1, time is established by the first sentinel (Francisco in Q2/F) who says: "giue you good night" (CLN 12, i.8).

1-2 Compare: "BANQUO ... Who's there? / MACBETH A friend" (*Mac* II.i.9-10).

1 As in Q1 but in contrast to Q2/F, it is the sentinel on duty who asks the question, not the sentinel who comes to relieve him.

2 In Shakespeare, it is Horatio who calls himself and Marcellus "Friends to this ground" (TLN 20, I.i.13).

8 **cold** In Q2, Hamlet says to Horatio: "The ayre bites shroudly, it is very colde" (TLN 604, I.iv.1). Q1 reads: "The ayre bites shrewd" (CLN 411, iv.1).

13 ***Miserere Domine*** A reference to the "neck-verse", a "Latin verse ... (usually the beginning of Psalm 51 *Miserere mei Deus*, 'Have mercy upon me, O God') formerly set before a person claiming benefit of clergy by reading which he might prove his clerical status and hence save his

2. SCHILDWACHT Was ist denn eigentlich deine Furcht?

1. SCHILDWACHT Wisse denn, daß sich ein Gespenst an der Vorderseite des Castels sehen läßt, es hat mich schon wollen zweimal von der Bastey herunterwerfen. 15

2. SCHILDWACHT So lös' ab, du Narr, ein todter Hund beist nicht mehr; ich werde ja sehen, ob ein Geist welcher weder Fleisch noch Bein hat, mir wird schaden können. 20

1. SCHILDWACHT Siehe nur zu, wenn es dir anders erscheinen wird, was es vor Händel macht; ich gehe nach der Hauptwache. Adieu.

[1. SCHILDWACHT] *ab.*

2. SCHILDWACHT Gehe du nur hin, vielleicht bist du ein Sonntagskind, die sollen alle Gespenster sehen können, ich warte meines Dienstes. 25

Es werden inwendig Gesundheiten geblasen.

2. SCHILDWACHT Unser neuer König macht sich lustig; sie trinken Gesundheiten.

22 SD 1. SCHILDWACHT] *this edn; not in BB*

16 **Castel** not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism. "Kastell" in modern German: fort.

16 **zweimal** zweimal: twice.

17 **Bastey** bastion (Grimm, "Bollwerk").

19 **Bein** here, Knochen: bones.

22 **Händel macht** "Händelmacher" is a quarrelsome person (Grimm, "streitsüchtiger mensch").

2. SENTINEL What then is thy fear?

1. SENTINEL Know then that a ghost appears at the front of the castle, and twice it wanted to pitch me down from the bastion. 15

2. SENTINEL Then relieve guard, thou fool. A dead dog does not bite. I'll soon see whether a ghost which hath neither flesh nor bones can hurt me. 20

1. SENTINEL Just see if it appears differently to thee, how he quarrels with thee. I'm going to the guard-house. Adieu.

1. SENTINEL *exits*.

2. SENTINEL Only be off, perhaps thou art a Sunday child. They are all supposed to be able to see ghosts. I will attend to my duty. 25

Healts, to the sound of trumpets, within.

2. SENTINEL Our new King makes merry; they are drinking healths.

23 Only ... off] *BB*; get thee to bed *Francisco* Q2, F

26-27] *BB*; *Ham*. The King doth wake to night Q1, Q2, F (TLN 612, I.iv.8)

neck ... the verse was sometimes also memorized by laymen in order to claim benefit of clergy", i.e., "the privilege of exemption from trial by a secular court" (OED).

15-16 **at ... castle, bastion** In Shakespeare the scene is set "vppon the platforme" (TLN 405, I.ii.212).

15 **ghost** In Shakespeare, the Ghost has not appeared during the watch of the first sentinel; it appears after midnight. Here it has already appeared twice during the first sentinel's watch. However, in Shakespeare, we are told that the Ghost has appeared the two preceding nights (I.i.63), which does not seem to be the case here since the second sentinel has not heard of the Ghost.

16 **it ... bastion** In Shakespeare Horatio fears that the spirit may lead Hamlet off a cliff (I.iv.69-74).

23-24 **Sunday ... ghosts** a common superstitious belief (Creizenach 152), which also appears in *Papinianus*: "only he who is born under the planet of the sun can see [the ghosts]" (V.ii, in Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 189, "die geister ... wer in den Planeten der Sonnen gebohren, der kan sie nur sehen").

25 SD **Healts** The custom to toast to one's health is recorded particularly often in the time of the Thirty Years' War and the subsequent literature (Grimm).

[Erster Akt,] Scene ii

[GEIST tritt auf.]

GEIST des Königs tritt neben die SCHILDWACHE, und erschrickt ihn.

[GEIST] ab.

2. SCHILDWACHT Ach heiliger Anton von Padua stehe mir bey! nun sehe ich erstlich, was mein Camerad gesagt. O Saint Velten, wenn nur erstlich die Hauptrunde vorbey wäre, ich lief als ein Schelm von der Post weg.

Es wird wieder geblasen und gepaukt.

2. SCHILDWACHT Hätte ich doch einen Trunk Wein von des Königs Tafel, damit ich mein erschrocknes, angebranntes Herz begiessen könnte. 5

[GEIST tritt auf.]

GEIST giebt von hinten der SCHILDWACHE eine Ohrfeige, daß er die Musquete fallen läßt.

[GEIST] ab.

2. SCHILDWACHT Da spielt der Teufel leibhaftig mit. Ach, ich bin so erschrocken, daß ich nicht aus der Stelle kommen kann.

I.ii Erster Akt *this edn; not in BB***0 SD** GEIST ... *auf* *this edn; not in BB***0 SD** GEIST] *this edn; not in BB***1** Anton] *BB*; Antoni ThK**3** erstlich] *BB*; erst ThK**6 SD** GEIST ... *auf* *this edn; not in BB***6 SD** GEIST] *this edn; not in BB***I.ii.2 Saint** may be an Anglicism.**3 von der Post** von dem Posten: from the post/position.**6 angebranntes Herz** Creizenach finds similar constructions in a contemporary dictionary (152).

I.ii

*Enter GHOST.**GHOST of the King steps next to the SENTINEL and frightens him.**Exit GHOST.*

2. SENTINEL Ah, holy Anthony of Padua, stand by me! Now I see what my comrade told me. O Saint Velten, if only the main patrol were over, I'd run from my post like a rogue.

Again trumpets and drums within.

2. SENTINEL If I only had a drink of wine from the King's table, to
pour down over my scared and burnt heart. 5

Enter GHOST.

*GHOST gives the SENTINEL a box on the ear from behind and makes
him drop his musket.*

Exit GHOST.

2. SENTINEL The devil himself is in this game. Ah, I'm so frightened that I cannot move from the spot.

I.ii.0 SD GHOST ... *King*] *BB*; *Ghost* Q1, Q2, F

I.ii has no correspondence in Shakespeare, since the Ghost only appears when Horatio and Marcellus are already on stage. In *BB*, Horatio enters in I.iii.

1 **Anthony ... Padua** St. Anthony of Padua, patron of the poor and called upon to help find lost objects.

2 **Saint Velten** See note to German text of *RuJ* II.v.87.

4 SD In Shakespeare's I.iv, there is only one SD for trumpets.

5 **drink ... table** Evans (54) likens this to a passage in *Peter Squentz*: "Oh hätt ich nur ein Trüncklein Bier / Mein mattes Hertz damit zu laben" (III, 40, "O that I had a drink of beer / To refresh my feeble heart").

6 SD The only physical activity of the Ghost in Shakespeare is found in Q2: "*It spreads his armes*" (TLN 127-28, I.i.126 SD), and this may be in defense against Horatio's verbal (and possibly) physical attack (I.i.126).

[Erster Akt,] Scene iii.

HORATIO *und Soldaten* [zu diesen].

2. SCHILDWACHT Wer da?

HORATIO Runde!

2. SCHILDWACHT Was für Runde?

HORATIO Hauptrunde!

2. SCHILDWACHT Steh Runde! Corporal heraus, Bursche ans Gewehr! 5

FRANCISCO *und Wache heraus, geben das Wort auf der andern Seite.*

HORATIO Schildwacht, gieb wohl Achtung auf deinen Posten, der Prinz möchte selbst patrolliren; daß du ja nicht etwan schlafest, sonst kostet es deinen besten Hals.

2. SCHILDWACHT Ach wenn auch die ganze Compagnie hier wäre, es würde keiner schlafen, und man muß mich ablösen, oder ich laufe davon, und sollt ich auch morgen an den höchsten Galgen gehenkt werden. 10

HORATIO Was ist denn die Ursach?

2. SCHILDWACHT Ach, gnädiger Herr, es läßt sich alle Viertelstunde 15

I.iii Erster Akt *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen* *this edn; not in BB*

I.iii.5-6 SD Corporal ... FRANCISCO 2. Schildwacht calls for the "Corporal", and "Francisco" appears; we can thus assume that the Corporal is called Francisco. See also Personen p. 495 above.

8 **etwan** etwa: here, perhaps.

9 **besten Hals** "one should hang him from his best neck, a formula of the penal law". The formulation "it costs the best neck" was still used in the late nineteenth-century satirical journal *Simplicissimus* (Creizenach 152, "'man soll ihn an seinen besten Hals hängen', Formel des peinlichen Rechts, 'es kostet den besten Hals' auch im *Simplicissimus*").

I.iii

HORATIO *and Soldiers to them.*

2. SENTINEL Who's there?

HORATIO Patrol!

2. SENTINEL Which patrol?

HORATIO Main patrol!

2. SENTINEL Stand, patrol! Corporal out, lad to arms!

5

FRANCISCO *and watch come forward, give the word from the other side.*

HORATIO Sentinel, look well to thy post, the Prince wants to patrol himself, that thou dost not sleep, otherwise it costs thy best neck.

2. SENTINEL Oh, even if the whole company were here, no one would sleep; and someone must relieve me, or I'll run away, though I be hanged tomorrow on the highest gallows. 10

HORATIO What's the reason?

2. SENTINEL O gracious sir, a ghost appears here every quarter of 15

I.iii.0 SD] *BB; Enter Horatio, and Marcellus* Q1, Q2, F

1] *BB; 1. See who goes there* Q1; *Fran. ... stand ho, who is there?* Q2; *Fran. ... Stand: who's there?* F

2, 4] *BB; Hora. Friends to this ground. / Mar. And Leedgemen to the Dane* Q1, Q2, F

I.iii corresponds to Shakespeare's I.i.12-174 and i.6-31 (the Ghost appears in front of Horatio and the watch), although the content slightly varies. See also headnote to I.i.

0 SD ***Soldiers*** They remain silent and are given no exit SD. It is most likely that they leave with the others at I.v.8 SD.

1-4 The first lines echo the opening lines of the play in wording and structure.

6 SD ***give ... side*** They salute on the other side of the stage (which is not occupied by Horatio).

7-8 ***the ... himself*** In Shakespeare, Hamlet has a different reason for joining the guards, namely to see his father's ghost (of whose appearance he has already been informed).

14 Compare I.i.14. In Shakespeare, Horatio is already informed since the Ghost has appeared before, and his doubts about the apparition have motivated his joining the watch (I.i.20, 22).

ein Geist allhier sehn, welcher mir so viel zusetzt, daß ich mir einbilden muß, als säße ich lebendig im Fegfeuer.

FRANCISCO Eben also hat mir die erste Schildwacht auch erzählt, welche in der vorigen Stunde abgelöset.

2. SCHILDWACHT Ja, ja, verziehet nur ein wenig, es wird nicht lange bleiben. 20

GEIST *geht über das Theater.*

HORATIO Bey meinem Leben, es ist ein Geist, und sieht recht ähnlich dem letztverstorbenen König von Dännemark.

FRANCISCO Er gebehrdet sich kläglich, und läßt, als ob er was sagen wollte. 25

HORATIO Hierunter ist etwas verborgen.

[Erster Akt,] Scene iv.

HAMLET [*zu diesen*].

2. SCHILDWACHT Wer da?

HAMLET Schweig!

23 *letztverstorbenen König*] BB; *verstorbenen Könige* ThK

26 SP] BB; not in ThK

I.iv **Erster Akt**] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

16 **allhier** hier: here (Grimm).

20 **verziehet** to stay, to defer a departure (Grimm). Also means "wait" in *Jude von Venetien*: "verziehe so lange" (II.i, 216). In colloquial modern German, "sich verziehen" means "to leave."

21 **bleiben** to stay; i.e., the Ghost will not stay away for long.

21 SD **Theater** "theater" (referring to the building) as in modern German, but also "stage" or "set" (Grimm). In *Jude von Venetien*, a similar SD is found: "*Florello* with *Ancilletta* and *Franciscina* over the stage" (II.iv, 222, "*Florello* mit *Ancilletta* und *Franciscina* übers Theatrum").

an hour, who sets upon me so that I have to imagine that I were sitting alive in purgatory.

FRANCISCO The first sentinel, who was relieved in the last hour, has just told me precisely this.

2. SENTINEL Yes, yes, just wait awhile, it will not stay long. 20

GHOST *goes across the stage.*

HORATIO Upon my life, it is a ghost and looks quite like the late King of Denmark.

FRANCISCO He bears himself piteously and seems as if he wanted to say something. 25

HORATIO Something is hidden under this.

I.iv

HAMLET *to them.*

2. SENTINEL Who's there?

HAMLET Quiet!

21 SD] *BB; Enter Ghost Q1, Q2; Enter the Ghost F*

22-23 and ... Denmark] *BB; Bar.* In the same figure like the King that's dead Q1 (2.), Q2, F

24-25] *BB; Hora.* ... yet once me thought / It lifted vp it head, and did addresse / It selfe to motion like as it would speake Q1, Q2, F (TLN 408-10, I.ii.214-16); *Hora.* ... So frownd he once Q1, Q2, F (TLN 78, I.i.61); *Hora.* A countenance more in sorrow then in anger Q1, Q2, F (TLN 428, I.ii.230)

17 **purgatory** The Ghost's probable stay in purgatory is alluded to at I.v.14-15 although this reference is clearer in Shakespeare (I.v.9-22). It is therefore interesting that the Ghost provokes these associations of the guard.

24 **He** Once the identity of the Ghost has been established, it is no longer called "it" ("es") but "he" ("er").

26 Horatio does not mention the war with Norway (*Ham* I.i.79-106), which has been eliminated from *BB* like subplots in other adaptations of the *Wanderbühne* (see p. 156 above).

I.iv comprises Shakespeare's I.ii.160-256 and ii.76-179, as well as I.iv.1-16 and iv.1-14 (Hamlet talks to Horatio and the guards). I.iii and scene iii, introducing Corambis/Polonius and his family, are entirely absent from *BB*.

2. SCHILDWACHT Wer da?

HAMLET Schweig!

2. SCHILDWACHT Antwort, oder ich werde dir was anders weisen. 5

HAMLET Freund!

2. SCHILDWACHT Was vor Freund?

HAMLET Des Reichs Freund.

FRANCISCO Bey meinem Leben, es ist der Prinz!

HORATIO Ihro Durchlaucht, sind Sie es, oder nicht? 10

HAMLET Siehe, Horatio, seyd Ihr es! Was macht Ihr hier?

HORATIO [Ihrer] Durchl[au]cht aufzuwarten, ich habe die Wachen etwas visitirt, ob auch alle Posten wohl besetzt seyn.

HAMLET Ihr thut, als ein ehrlicher Soldat, denn auf Euch ruhet des Königs und des Reichs Sicherheit. 15

HORATIO Ihro Durchlaucht, es trägt sich ein wunderlicher Casus zu, massen sich allhier alle Viertelstunde ein Geist sehn läßt; er gleicht, meinen Einbildungen nach, recht dem verstorbenen König, Dero Herrn Vater. Er thut auf diesem Rundel der Schildwacht grossen Schaden.

HAMLET Das will ich nicht hoffen, denn die Seelen der Frommen 20

12 Ihrer Durchlaucht] *this edn*; Ew. Durchl. *BB*; COHN

19 Rundel] ThK; Rundeel *BB*

I.iv.5 Antwort Either an ellipsis for "I demand an answer!" or the abbreviated imperative ("antworte").

10 **Ihro Durchlaucht** Only Hamlet is addressed by this title, and only by characters whose rank is inferior to his.

10 **Ihro** Eure: your.

10 **Sie** The use of this newer form of the formal address can be used to date the text (see p. 205 above).

12 **Ihrer Durchlaucht** The abbreviation is not due to lack of space during type setting and was probably copied from the MS.

13 **visitirt** to visit in order to inspect (Grimm, "prüfend besichtigen, untersuchen").

17 **massen** because (Grimm).

17 **allhier** here (Grimm).

19 **Rundel** "a round fortification, a tower" (Grimm, "ein rundes befestigungswerk, ein thurm"). Used in *Maximilian*: "she said that the fortification of her body had already been assaulted by 2 enemies" (Asper, *Hanswurst* 191, "Sie sagte daß Rundel ihre leibes wäre schon von 2 feinden berenntet"). The form "Rundeel" is still extant as a street name in Neustadt am Rübenberge in Northern Germany (<http://navigator.neustadt-a-rbge.de>. Web. 5 Jan. 2012).

2. SENTINEL Who's there?
 HAMLET Quiet!
 2. SENTINEL Answer, or I'll show thee something else. 5
 HAMLET Friend!
 2. SENTINEL What friend?
 HAMLET Friend of the kingdom.
 FRANCISCO By my life, it is the Prince!
 HORATIO Your Highness, is it you or not? 10
 HAMLET Look, Horatio, is it you? What are you doing here?
 HORATIO To wait upon your Highness; I have been visiting the
 guards a bit, whether all posts are properly manned.
 HAMLET You act as an honest soldier, for on you rests the safety
 of the king and kingdom. 15
 HORATIO Your Highness, a strange case is happening, in as much
 as a ghost appears here every quarter of an hour. To my fancy, he is
 very like the late king, your father. He does much harm to the sentinels
 on the tower.
 HAMLET I hope not, for the souls of the pious rest until the day of 20

I.iv.11] *BB*; And what make you from *Wittenberg* *Horatio*? Q1, Q2, F

1-4 These lines, along with lines 6-8, echo the opening lines of both *Ham* and *BB* and those of *BB*'s I.iii.

8 In Shakespeare, Horatio introduces Marcellus and himself as "Friends to this ground" (TLN 20, I.i.13).

11 **What ... here?** Presumably, Hamlet is asking what Horatio is doing on the "bastion" ("Bastey"). The two have probably met beforehand, since Horatio is informed of Hamlet's plan to visit the guards. In *Ham*, Hamlet and Horatio's first meeting happens on stage (I.ii). Additionally, Horatio comes "from *Wittenberg*" in Shakespeare (TLN 356, I.ii.164).

12-13 **I ... manned** In Shakespeare, Hamlet announces to the guards: "Vppon the platforme twixt a leauen and twelfe / Ile visite you" (TLN 452-53, I.ii.250-51).

14-15 Although Hamlet voices a high opinion of Horatio in Shakespeare (III.ii.50-70), he does not go so far as to say that the security of king and kingdom rests on Horatio's shoulders (which it actually does at the very end of *BB* [V.vi.66-68]). Furthermore, Horatio is addressed as a "soldier" ("Soldat") here, whereas in Shakespeare, he is a "scholler" (TLN 54, I.i.41).

16-18 **in ... father** Horatio first speaks of a "Ghost" ("Geist") and then specifies that it resembles Hamlet's father. In Shakespeare, Hamlet first brings up the subject of his father (I.ii.183), whereupon Horatio mentions "[th]e Apparision" (TLN 402, I.ii.210).

ruhen wohl bis zu der Zeit ihrer Erneuerung.

HORATIO Es ist nicht anders, Ihro Durchlaucht, ich habe ihn selbst gesehen.

FRANCISCO Mich hat er sehr erschreckt, Ihro Durchl[aucht].

2. SCHILDWACHT Und mich hat er eine brave Ohrfeige gegeben. 25

HAMLET Wie ist es an der Zeit?

FRANCISCO Es ist recht Mitternacht.

HAMLET Eben recht, denn um dieselbe Zeit pflegen sich die Geister sehn zu lassen, wenn sie wandeln.

Es wird wieder Gesundheit geblasen.

HAMLET Holla! was ist dieses? 30

HORATIO Mich dünkt, als wann sie zu Hofe noch lustig Gesundheiten trinken.

HAMLET Recht, Horatio! mein Herr Vater und Vetter wird sich mit seinen *Adhærenten* noch wacker lustig machen. Ach! Horatio, ich weiß

24 Durchlaucht] *this edn*; Durchl. *BB*; COHN

33 **Vater ... Vetter** This alliterative construction is used in variations throughout the play.

34 *Adhoerenten* probably "Anhänger" ("follower"), from Latin "adhaerere": to hang (to), to stick (unto), to follow.

their revival.

HORATIO It is not otherwise, your Highness, I have seen him myself.

FRANCISCO He frightened me very much, your Highness.

2. SENTINEL And he has given me a good box on the ears. 25

HAMLET What is the time?

FRANCISCO It is just midnight.

HAMLET Quite right, for at this very time ghosts usually show themselves when they walk.

Again healths drunk to the sound of trumpets.

HAMLET Hullo! What is this? 30

HORATIO It seems to me that at court they are still merrily drinking healths.

HAMLET Right, Horatio! My father and cousin will still bravely be making merry with his followers. O Horatio, I know not why after

20-21] *BB*; My fathers spirit (in armes) all is not well, / I doubt some foule play Q1, Q2, F (TLN 456-57, I.ii.253-54)

24 He ... much] *BB*; *Hor.* ... he walkes / Before their weake and feare oppressed eies Q1 (CLN 268-69, ii.115-16); *Hora.* ... he walkt / By their opprest and feare surprised eyes Q2, F (TLN 393-94, I.ii.201-02)

26] *BB*; what houre i'st? Q1; What houre now? Q2, F

27] *BB*; *Hora.* I thinke it lackes of twelfe Q1, Q2, F

28 Quite right] *BB*; *Mar.* No, it is strooke. / *Hora.* Indeede; I heard it not Q1, Q2, F

28-29 for ... walk] *BB*; *Hor.*... it then drawes neere the season, / Wherein the spirit held his wont to walke Q2, F

29 *SD*] *BB*; *Sound Trumpets* Q1; *A florish of trumpets and 2. peeces goes of* Q2; not in F

30] *BB*; *Hora.* ... What does this meane my Lord? Q1, Q2, F

31-34 It ... followers] *BB*; *Ham.* The King doth wake to night and takes his rowse. / Keepes wassell and the swagging vp-spring reeles Q1, Q2, F

34-35 I ... heart] *BB*; I haue of late, but wherefore I knowe not, lost all my mirth Q2, F (TLN 1342, II.ii.261-62)

26-34 closely follow the Shakespearean text, apart from the assignment of the speeches.

33 **father ... cousin** The ambiguity of the word "father" ("Vater") is exploited; it is either taken to refer to the present or the former King. Bullough (7: 141) likens this to "my Vncle-father" (Q2/F TLN 1422, II.ii.313; not in Q1). See also note to German text and to *RuJ* II.iii.31.

34-37 **O ... sooner** Since the initial court scene is transposed in the German version, this is Hamlet's first opportunity to voice his feelings about his father's death and his mother's remarriage. These lines can be paralleled to Shakespeare's I.ii.147-51.

nicht, warum nach meines Herrn Vaters Tod ich allezeit solche 35
 Herzensangst gehabt; dahergegen meine Königliche Frau Mutter ihn gar
 bald vergessen, dieser König aber ihn noch eher: denn weil ich in
 Teutschland gewesen, hat er sich geschwinde zum König in Dännemark
 krönen lassen, unter dem Schein des Rechtens aber hat er mir die Krone
 von Norwegen überlassen, und beruft sich auf die Wahl der Stände. 40

[Erster Akt,] Scene v

GEIST [*tritt auf*].

2. SCHILDWACHT O wehe, der Geist kommt wieder!

HORATIO Sehen nun Ihro Durchlaucht?

FRANCISCO Ihro Durchlaucht erschrecken nicht!

I.v Erster Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

36 **dahergegen** dagegen: in contrast, on the other hand (Grimm).

38 **Teutschland** Deutschland: Germany.

my father's death I have all the time such fear of heart; whereas my
 royal mother has quite soon forgotten him, but this king forgot him
 still sooner. For because I was in Germany, he had himself quickly
 crowned King of Denmark and under semblance of right left the crown
 of Norway to me; and he refers to the election of the States.

40

I.v

Enter GHOST.

2. SENTINEL O dear, the ghost comes again!

HORATIO Does your Highness see now?

FRANCISCO Don't be frightened, your Highness.

37-39 For ... States] *BB*; *not in Q1*; He that hath ... Pop't in betweene th'election and my hopes
 Q2, F (TLN 3568-69, V.ii.63-64)

I.v.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter the Ghost Q1*; *Enter Ghost Q2*, F

1-2] *BB*; *Hora*. Looke my Lord it comes Q1, Q2, F

35 fear ... heart At the end of the court sequence in I.ii, after his soliloquy on a similar subject, Shakespeare's Hamlet says: "But breake my hart, for I must hold my tongue" (TLN 343, I.ii.159).

37-39 For ... States Unique to *BB*: To cover up his coronation, the new King gives Hamlet the crown of Norway. This is possible since Fortinbras is not mentioned in *BB* until the very last scene and is then introduced as "Duke" of Norway (V.vi.67, "Herzog"). Bullough points out that "[i]n the seventeenth century Denmark and Norway were a dual monarchy" (7: 22). The King's actions seem legal since he "refers to the election of the States" ("beruft sich auf die Wahl der Stände"). *BB* provides an explanation for the Shakespearean dilemma: why did Hamlet not become king when his father died? In Q2/F, the legality of the King's procedures is alluded to when he reminds his courtiers: "nor haue we heerein bard / Your better wisdomes, which haue freely gone / With this affaire along (for all our thanks)" (TLN 192-94, I.ii.14-16).

39 election ... States In the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperial States, made up of worldly and religious dignitaries and representatives of cities, had a vote in the Imperial Diet. In *Der Jude von Venetien*, Santinelli speaks of a rejected lover who "is like one who was elected king, but has to wait until the Imperial States come together" (II.ii, 219, "ist gleich einem der zum Könige erwehlet wird, nur daß er wartten mus, bis die reichs-stände erst zusammen kommen").

I.v corresponds to Shakespeare's I.iv.38-91, iv.14-61 and I.v.1-112, v.1-85 (the Ghost appears again and speaks to Hamlet).

Der GEIST geht über das Theater, und winket HAMLET.

[GEIST *ab.*]

HAMLET Der Geist winkt mir; Ihr Herren, Sie treten ein wenig an die Seite, Horatio mache dich nicht zu weit, ich will den Geist folgen und sein Begehren vernehmen. 5

[HAMLET] *ab.*

HORATIO Ihr Herren, wir wollen ihm folgen, damit ihm kein Leid wiederfahre.

[HORATIO, 2. SCHILDWACHT, FRANCISCO, *Wache und Soldaten*]
gehen ab.

[GEIST *und* HAMLET *treten auf.*]

GEIST *winket[, geht] bis aufs halbe Theater, und thut etlichemal das Maul auf.*

HAMLET Rede, wer du bist, und sage, was du begehrest.

GEIST Hamlet! 10

HAMLET Herr!

3 SD Geist *ab*] *this edn; not in BB*

6 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

8 SD HORATIO... *Soldaten*, GEIST ... *auf, geht*] *this edn; not in BB*

I.v.3 SD Theater See note at I.iii.21 SD.

5 den Here "folgen" ("to follow") is constructed with the accusative, although at line 7, today's dative form ("ihm") is used. See note to *RuJ* I.i.4.

8 SD Maul mouth, jaws. Nowadays, "Maul" is only used for animals ("snout"), yet it could also refer to human mouths in early modern German, though usually in colloquial language (Grimm). This is still the case today in standard Swiss German.

The GHOST walks over the stage and beckons to Hamlet.

Exit GHOST.

HAMLET The ghost beckons me. Gentlemen, step aside a little.
Horatio, do not go too far. I will follow the ghost and learn his desire. 5

Exit HAMLET.

HORATIO Gentlemen, let us follow him that no harm happen to him.

HORATIO, 2. SENTINEL, FRANCISCO, *watch, and soldiers exeunt.*

GHOST and HAMLET *enter.*

*The GHOST beckons, goes to the middle of the stage, and opens his
jaws several times.*

HAMLET Speak who thou art, and say what thou desirest.

GHOST Hamlet! 10

HAMLET Sir!

3 SD *The ... HAMLET] BB; not in Q1; Beckins Q2; Ghost beckens Hamlet F*

3 SD *Exit GHOST, 6 SD] BB; Exit Ghost and Hamlet Q2, F*

4 *The ... me] BB; Hor. It beckons you, as though it had something / To impart to you alone Q1; Hora. It beckins you to goe away with it / As if it some impartment did desire / To you alone Q2, F*

7-8] *BB; Mar. Lets followe Q1, Q2, F*

8 SD *HORATIO ... exeunt] this edn; Exeunt Q1, Q2, F*

8 SD *GHOST ... enter] this edn; Enter Ghost, and Hamlet Q1, Q2, F*

9] *BB; Ile go no farther, whither wilt thou leade me? Q1; Whether wilt thou leade me, speake, Ile goe no further Q2; Where wilt thou lead me? speak; Ile go no further F*

4-8 Gentlemen ... him The three men do not (or have no time to) question Hamlet's decision to follow the Ghost, as they do in Shakespeare, where they physically hold Hamlet back: "vnhand me Gentlemen" (TLN 671, I.iv.84). In all four versions the men follow Hamlet, briefly clearing the stage and implying a change of place.

5 Horatio ... far Unlike in Shakespeare, Horatio is given different orders than the others.

8 SD GHOST ... enter In Steinbach, Night guided the Ghost's movements.

8 SD opens ... jaws Compare Hamlet's question in Shakespeare: "why the Sepulcher ... Hath op't his ponderous and marble iawes, / To cast thee vp againe?" (Q2 TLN 633-36, I.iv.48-51; Q1 similar). See also p. 146 above.

10-13 The structure of these lines again echoes the beginning of I.i, I.iii, and especially of I.iv.

11 Sir In Shakespeare, Hamlet addresses his father's spirit as "Ghost" at this point (TLN 688, 781, I.v.4, 96).

GEIST Hamlet!

HAMLET Was begehrst du?

GEIST Höre mich, Hamlet, denn die Zeit kommt bald, da ich mich
wieder an denselben Ort begeben muß, wo ich hergekommen; höre, und 15
gieb wohl Achtung, was ich dir erzählen werde.

HAMLET Rede, du seeliger Schatten meines Königlichen Herrn
Vaters.

GEIST So höre, mein Sohn Hamlet was ich dir erzählen will von deines
Vaters unnatürlichem Tode. 20

HAMLET Was? unnatürlichem Tode?

GEIST Ja, unnatürlichem Tode! Wisse, daß ich den Gebrauch hatte,

22 **Gebrauch** habit, custom (Grimm).

GHOST Hamlet!

HAMLET What desirest thou?

GHOST Hear me, Hamlet, for the time soon comes when I must
return to the place from which I came. Listen and give heed to what I 15
shall relate to thee.

HAMLET Speak, thou departed shade of my royal father.

GHOST Then listen, my son Hamlet, what I shall tell thee of thy
father's unnatural death. 20

HAMLET What? Unnatural death?

GHOST Yes, unnatural death! Know that I had the habit, to which

14 Hear ... Hamlet] *BB*; Marke me Q1, Q2, F

14-15 for ... came] *BB*; *not in* Q1; My houre is almost come / When I to sulphrus and tormenting
flames / Must render vp my selfe Q2, F

15-16 Listen ... thee] *BB*; to my vnfoldng / Lend thy listning eare Q1; lend thy serious hearing /
To what I shall vnfold Q2, F

17 thou ... father] *BB*; Ile call thee *Hamlet*, / King, father, royall Dane Q1, Q2, F (TLN 629-30,
I.iv.44-45)

19 Then ... Hamlet] *BB*; *not in* Q1; list, list, ô list Q2; list *Hamlet*, oh list F

19-20 of ... death] *BB*; his foule, and most vnnaturall murther Q1, Q2, F

21] *BB*; Murder Q1; Murther Q2; Murther? F

22 Yes ... death] *BB*; Yea, murder in the highest degree, / As in the least tis bad, / But mine most
foule, beastly, and vnnaturall Q1; Murther most foule, as in the best it is, / But this most foule,
strange and vnnaturall Q2, F

14-15 **for ... came** Although the word "purgatory" occurs earlier in *BB* (I.iii.17, "Fegfeuer"), the
Ghost is less explicit about the subject than he is in Shakespeare. The German Hamlet later
claims that his father went to hell (III.ii.6).

17 **thou ... father** In Shakespeare, Hamlet utters similar words immediately after the Ghost's
appearance. At the corresponding place in the text, it is the Ghost who leaves no doubt about the
family connections: "I am thy fathers spirit" (TLN 694, I.v.9).

20, 21, 22, 37 **unnatural death** The formulation is emphasized by repetition. The word "murder"
does not appear until the last line of the scene, when Hamlet swears to revenge himself upon the
"fratricide" (40, "Brudermörder").

22-34 **Know ... tyrant** The Ghost's tale closely follows *Ham* I.v.59-75, v.45-59. In Shakespeare,
his speech begins with a vivid accusation – "The Serpent that did sting thy fathers life / Now
weares his Crowne" (TLN 726-27, I.v.39-40; Q1 similar). In *BB* the King is not stung by a
"serpent"; instead the official cause of death is an "apoplexy" (33, "Schlagfluß"). In Q2/F, the
emphasis on adultery and luxury ("that incestuous, that adulterate beast" [TLN 729, I.v.42],

welchen mir die Natur angewöhnet, daß ich täglich nach der Mahlzeit zu
 Mittage in meinem Königlichen Lustgarten zu gehn pflegte, um allda
 mich eine Stunde der Ruhe zu bedienen. Als ich denn eines Tages auch 25
 also thät, siehe da kommt mein Kronsüchtiger Bruder zu mir, und hatte
 einen subtilen Saft von Ebeno genannt bey sich; dieses Oel oder Saft hat
 diese Wirkung, daß, sobald etliche Tropfen von diesen unter das
 menschliche Geblüt kommen, sie alsobald alle Lebensadern verstopfen,
 und ihm das Leben nehmen. Diesen Saft goß er mir, als ich schlief, in 30
 meine Ohren, sobald dasselbe in den Kopf kam, mußte ich augenblicklich
 sterben, hernach gab man vor, ich hätte einen starken Schlagfluß
 bekommen. Also bin ich meines Reichs, meines Weibes, und meines
 Lebens von diesem Tyrannen beraubt.

HAMLET Gerechter Himmel, wo dieses wahr, so schwör ich dir die 35

24 **allda** "even there" (Grimm, "daselbst").

24 **Lustgarten** pleasure grounds or pleasance, a "garden built for pleasure" (Grimm, "garten zur lust angelegt"). The city of Berlin still has a park called "Lustgarten" today.

26 **thät** tat: did.

26 **Kronsüchtiger** "moved by the pathological striving after the royal crown" (Grimm, "von krankhaftem streben nach der königskrone bewegt"). Note the emphatic upper case. "Kronsucht" is portrayed as a vice in other plays of the time (e.g., in Gryphius's *Carolus Stuardus*, or in Daniel Casper von Lohenstein's *Cleopatra* [Kelping 106, 128]).

29 **Geblüt** "the amount of blood of a body, the blood in the veins" (Grimm, "die blutmenge eines körpers, das geblüt in den adern").

32 **Schlagfluß** archaic for "apoplexy" (Duden, "[veraltet] Schlaganfall").

nature had accustomed me, of going daily, after the noonday meal, into
my royal pleasure garden, and there to take an hour's rest. When one 25

day I did thus, see my crown-thirsty brother comes to me and had with
him a subtle juice of so-called Ebena. This oil or juice has this effect
that as soon as a few drops of it enter the human bloodstream, they
immediately stop up the veins and take away his life. This juice he
poured, as I slept, into my ears. As soon as this entered my head, I had 30

to die instantly. Thereafter it was given out that I had had a strong
apoplexy. Thus was I robbed of my kingdom, my wife, and my life by
this tyrant.

HAMLET Just heaven, if this be true, then I swear thee revenge. 35

23 after ... meal] *BB*; of the afternoone Q1, Q2, F

23-24 into ... garden] *BB*; within my Orchard Q1, Q2, F

24 to ... rest] *BB*; sleeping ... Vpon my secure houre Q1, Q2, F

26 my ... me] *BB*; Thy vncle came Q1; thy Vncle stole Q2, F

27 subtle ... Ebena] *BB*; iuyce of Hebena Q1; iuyce of cursed Hebena Q2; iuyce of cursed Hebenon F

33-34 Thus ... tyrant] *BB*; Thus was I sleeping by a brothers hand / Of Crowne, of Queene, of life,
of dignitie / At once depriued Q1, Q2/F (Of life, Of Crowne, of Queene at once dispatcht)

"luxury and damned incest" [TLN 768, I.v.83]) is strong. In Q1, it is much weaker, and in *BB* it has virtually disappeared. *BB* tells a story full of suspense, while the Shakespearean texts, especially Q2/F, emphasize the strong and merciless accusation.

24 **royal ... garden** An interesting shift in meaning from the English "orchard", associating not only the present, but also the former King with (possibly even sexual) pleasure. A walk into the "Lustgarten" is also suggested by the King in *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (I.ii, in Creizenach 81).

27 **Ebena** from Latin "ebenus": "ebony", whose sap was thought to be poisonous (Grimm).

33-34 **Thus ... tyrant** In Shakespeare, the Ghost attributes the deed to "a brothers hand" (TLN 759, I.v.74).

34 Shakespeare's Ghost warns Hamlet in all three texts: "nor let thy soul contriue / Against thy mother ought" (Q2 TLN 770-71, I.v.85-86; Q1 similar).

35 **if ... true** The Shakespearean Hamlet does not doubt the Ghost's honesty at this stage. Yet, *BB*'s Hamlet might simply be using a turn of phrase.

35 **revenge** The first time this word occurs. Stern takes this instance as evidence of a possible interpolation by Richard Burbage who reportedly cried "Revenge!" in a production of *Ham*, an outcry that is also recorded for the *Ur-Hamlet* (*Rehearsal* 99-100). In Q2/F the Ghost speaks of "revenge" (TLN 692, I.v.7) even before he speaks of "murther" (TLN 710, I.v.25). (In Q1, the distance between the two words is of five words [v.20], not of eighteen lines.) Hamlet swears

Rache.

GEIST Ich werde nicht eher ruhen, bis mein unnatürlicher Tod gerochen ist.

[GEIST] *ab.*

HAMLET Ich schwöre, nicht zu ruhen, bis ich mich an diesem Brudermörder gerochen habe. 40

[Erster Akt,] Scene vi

HAMLET. [Zu ihm] HORATIO [und] FRANCISCO.

HORATIO Wie stehts mit Ihro Durchlaucht? wie so erschrocken? Haben Sie sich vielleicht alterirt?

HAMLET Ach freylich, und zwar über die maaßen!

HORATIO Haben Ihro Durchlaucht den Geist gesehn?

HAMLET Ja! sicherlich hab ich ihn gesehn, auch mit ihm geredet. 5

HORATIO O Himmel, dieses wird etwas Sonderliches bedeuten!

38 SD GEIST] *this edn; not in BB*

I.vi Erster Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD zu ihm, und] *this edn; not in BB*

2 Sie sich] *BB*; sich Ihro Durchlaucht ThK

38, 40 **gerochen** gerächt: revenged. This archaic form was current until the seventeenth century (Grimm).

I.vi.2 **alterirt** not in Grimm, probably "altered" (verändert).

6 **Sonderliches** strange, peculiar, curious (Grimm).

GHOST I will not rest until my unnatural death is avenged.

Exit GHOST.

HAMLET I swear not to rest until I have revenged myself upon this
fratricide. 40

I.vi

HAMLET. *To him* HORATIO *and* FRANCISCO.

HORATIO How is it with your Highness? How, so frightened?
Have you perhaps changed?

HAMLET Oh, certainly, and indeed beyond all measure.

HORATIO Has your Highness seen the ghost?

HAMLET Yes! Truly have I seen him, also spoken to him. 5

HORATIO O heavens! This must portend something strange!

37] *BB*; Doomed for a certaine tearme to walke the night Q1 (for a time to), Q2, F

38 *SD*] *BB*; *Exit* Q1, F; *not in* Q2

I.vi.0 *SD*] *BB*; *Enter* Horatio, and Marcellus Q1, Q2, F

1 How ... Highness] *BB*; *Mar.* How i'st my noble Lord? / *Hora.* What newes my Lord? Q1, Q2, F

3] *BB*; O, wonderfull Q1, Q2, F

revenge before he has been told what has happened (*Ham* I.v.29-31).

39-40 In Shakespeare, Hamlet returns to the subject of the "bawdy, smiling damned villaine" (Q1 CLN 557, v.79; Q2/F similar), and in Q2/F he even rages against his mother: "O most pernicious woman" (TLN 790, I.v.105).

40 **fratricide** The first mention of murder apart from the title and the prologue.

I.vi. corresponds to Shakespeare's I.v.113-88, v.86-158 (Hamlet makes the others take an oath).

6 Presumably it is the fact that the Ghost speaks to Hamlet which Horatio thinks "portend[s] something strange" ("etwas Sonderliches bedeuten"). In Shakespeare, Horatio supposes that "This spirit dumb to vs, will speake to him" (TLN 170, I.i.170). This line could further be likened to Marcellus's famous line: "Something is rotten in the state of Denmarke" (TLN 678, I.iv.90). Compare also I.iii.26.

HAMLET Er hat mir eine greuliche Sache offenbart, darum bitte ich, Ihr Herren, stehet mir bey in einer Sache, welche Rache erfordert.

HORATIO Meiner Treue sind Sie gewiß versichert, darum offenbaren Sie mir es nur. 10

FRANCISCO Ihr Durchlaucht zweifeln an meiner Hülfe auch nicht!

HAMLET Ihr Herren, ehe und bevor ich Euch solches offenbare, so sollt Ihr mir bey Ehre und Treu einen Eid schwören.

FRANCISCO Ihr Durchlaucht wissen, daß ich Sie höchst liebe, ich will auch gern mein Leben darbey aufsetzen, wenn Sie sich rächen wollen. 15

HORATIO Sie fordern nur den Eid von uns, wir wollen Sie getreu beystehn.

HAMLET So leget Eure Finger auf meinen Degen: Wir schwören.

HORATIO *und* FRANCISCO Wir schwören. 20

GEIST (*inwendig*) Wir schwören.

HAMLET Holla! was ist dieses? Noch einmal, wir schwören.

HORATIO *und* FRANCISCO Wir schwören.

GEIST [*inwendig*] Wir schwören.

HAMLET Dieses muß was Sonderliches bedeuten. Kommt noch 25

24, 28, 32 *inwendig*] *this edn; not in BB*

12 The German "Euch" and "Ihr" imply the informal address in today's language but still reflected the more formal version in the seventeenth century, when the transition from "Ihr" to "Sie" was just taking place (see p. 205 above).

15 **aufsetzen** to stake, to risk (Creizenach 156).

HAMLET He has revealed to me a gruesome thing. Therefore I ask you, gentlemen, stand by me in a matter that demands vengeance.

HORATIO You are certainly assured of my loyalty; therefore only disclose it to me. 10

FRANCISCO Do not doubt of my help either, your Highness!

HAMLET Gentlemen, before and until I reveal this to you, you shall by honor and loyalty swear me an oath.

FRANCISCO Your Highness knows that I love you most dearly; I will also gladly risk my life if you wish to revenge yourself. 15

HORATIO You merely demand the oath of us, and we will stand by you faithfully.

HAMLET Then lay your fingers on my sword: We swear.

HORATIO *and* FRANCISCO We swear. 20

GHOST (*within*) We swear.

HAMLET Hullo! What is this? Once more, we swear.

HORATIO *and* FRANCISCO We swear.

GHOST (*within*) We swear.

HAMLET This must mean something strange! Come once more, let 25

9-11] *BB; Both.* What i'st my Lord? Q1; *Hora.* What i'st my Lord, we will Q2, F

17 You ... us] *BB; Hora.* Propose the oath my Lord Q1, Q2, F

19] *BB;* Indeede vppon my sword, indeed Q1, Q2, F

21] *BB; Ghost cries vnder the Stage. / Ghost.* Swear Q1, Q2, F

22 Hullo ... this?] *BB;* Ha, ha Q1; Ha, ha, boy, say'st thou so, art thou there trupenny? Q2, F

22 Once ... swear] *BB;* come you here, this fellow in the sellerige, / Here consent to swear Q1; Come on, you heare this fellowe in the Sellerige, / Consent to swear Q2, F

24] *BB; Ghost.* Swear Q1, Q2, F

25-26 This ... side] *BB; Hic, & ubique,* then weelee shift our ground: / Come hether Gentlemen Q1, Q2, F

7-8 *BB's* Hamlet is willing to share his experience with the others, and even asks for their help. In Shakespeare, he refuses to tell them what happened: "No, you will reueale it" (TLN 808, 1.v.118).

21 *within* Although additional specifications are missing, the Ghost presumably continues to speak from "within". See pp. 146-47 above.

22 **Hullo ... this?** In Shakespeare, Hamlet immediately recognizes the voice as the Ghost's (I.v.150-51).

25 **This ... strange** Hamlet echoes Horatio's words (6). In Shakespeare, Horatio says: "O day and night, but this is wondrous strange" (TLN 861, I.v.163).

einmal, wir wollen auf die andre Seite gehn. Wir schwören.

HORATIO *und* FRANCISCO Wir schwören.

GEIST [*inwendig*] Wir schwören.

HAMLET Was ist dieses? Sollte wohl ein Echo den Widerschall von
unsern Worten wieder zurückschicken[?] Kommt wir wollen noch an 30
einen andern Ort gehen. Wir schwören.

GEIST [*inwendig*] Wir schwören.

HAMLET O ich höre schon, was dieses ist: es scheint, daß der Geist
meines Herrn Vaters nicht damit zufrieden, daß ichs offenbaren soll. Ihr
Herren, ich bitte, verlaßt mich, ich will Euch morgen alles offenbaren. 35

HORATIO *und* FRANCISCO Ihr Durchlaucht leben wohl.

FRANCISCO *ab.*

HAMLET Horatio, komm her.

HORATIO Was verlangen Eure Durchlaucht?

HAMLET Ist der andre weg?

HORATIO Ja, er ist schon weg. 40

HAMLET Ich weiß, Horatio, du bist mir jederzeit getreu gewesen, dir
will ichs offenbaren, was mir der Geist gesagt, nemlich daß mein Vater
eines unnatürlichen Todes gestorben. Mein Vater, der anjetzo auch mein
Vater ist, der hat ihn ermordet.

HORATIO O Himmel, was höre ich! 45

HAMLET Du weißt, Horatio, daß mein seeliger Herr Vater die

43 **anjetzo** jetzt: now.

46 **seelig** a religiously connotated euphemism for "dead".

us go to the other side. We swear.

HORATIO *and* FRANCISCO We swear.

GHOST (*within*) We swear.

HAMLET What is this? Is it an echo of our words that sends them
back to us? Come, we will go to another spot. We swear. 30

GHOST (*within*) We swear.

HAMLET Oh, now I hear what this is: it seems that the ghost of my
father is not satisfied that I shall reveal it. Gentlemen, I pray you, leave
me; I will reveal everything to you tomorrow. 35

HORATIO *and* FRANCISCO Farewell, your Highness.

Exit FRANCISCO.

HAMLET Horatio, come here.

HORATIO What does your Highness demand?

HAMLET Has the other one gone?

HORATIO Yes, he has already gone. 40

HAMLET I know, Horatio, thou hast been faithful to me at all
times. To thee I will reveal what the ghost has told me, namely that my
father died an unnatural death. My father, who is now also my father,
he has murdered him.

HORATIO O heaven! What do I hear! 45

HAMLET Thou knowest, Horatio, that my blessed father had the

26 We swear] *BB*; Sweare by my sword Q1, Q2, F

28] *BB*; *Ghost*. Sweare Q1, F; *Ghost*. Sweare by his sword Q2

30 Come ... spot] *BB*; once more remoue Q1; once more remoooue good friends Q2, F

32] *BB*; *Ghost*. Sweare Q1, Q2, F

34-35 Gentlemen ... tomorrow] *BB*; Withall my loue I doe commend me to you ... let vs goe in
together Q1, Q2, F

37-52 **Horatio ... crown** Although this passage is not found in Shakespeare, such a conversation
is supposed to have happened since before the play within the play, Hamlet tells Horatio that one
scene of the performance "comes neere the circumstance / Which I haue told thee of my fathers
death" (Q2 TLN 1927-28, III.ii.72-73; "Which I haue told thee" is absent from Q1, but an earlier
conversation may also implied.) Again, *BB* clarifies a question which Shakespeare's texts raise.

43 **father** According to Creizenach the first "Vater" ("father") means "Vetter" (157, "cousin").
An actor could help the audience to distinguish between the two "fathers" by intoning them
differently.

46-52 **Thou ... crown** Hamlet vilifies his uncle more than the Ghost did.

Gewohnheit hatte, daß er täglich nach der Mittagsmahlzeit in seinem Lustgarten sich einer Stunde des Schlafs bediente. Solches dieser Bösewicht wissend, kommt zu meinem Herrn Vater, und im Schlaf gießt er ihm den Saft von Ebena in das Ohr, daß er alsobald von diesem starken Gift muß den Geist aufgeben. Dieses hat der verfluchte Hund darum gethan, die Krone zu erlangen: aber von dieser Stunde an will ich anfangen eine simulierte Tollheit, und in derselben Simulation will ich meine Rolle so artig spielen, bis ich Gelegenheit finde, meines Herrn Vaters Tod zu rächen. 50 55

HORATIO Ist es also, Ihre Durchlaucht, so will ich Sie getreue Hand bieten.

HAMLET Horatio, ich will mich an diesen Kronsüchtigen, an diesen Ehebrecher und Mörder also rächen, daß die Nachwelt der Ewigkeit davon nachsagen soll; ich will itzund gehn, und ihm verstellterweise 60

58 **diesen** diesem. Formerly, the verb "rächen" (to revenge) could be constructed with the accusative (Grimm). *BB* also uses the construction with the dative (III.x.11-12, IV.v.29-30, V.i.6-7). See also note to *RuJ* I.i.4.

custom to daily sleep an hour in his pleasure garden after the noon meal. Knowing this, the villain comes to my father and pours the juice

of Ebano into his ear while he is asleep, so that through this strong 50
poison he immediately has to give up the ghost. And the accursed dog
has done this to obtain the crown. But from this hour on I will begin a
simulated madness, and in the same simulation I shall play my part so
prettily until I find an opportunity to revenge my father's death.

55

HORATIO If that is so, your Highness, I offer you my faithful hand.

HAMLET Horatio, I want to revenge myself on this crown-thirsty
man, on this adulterer and murderer, that posterity shall speak of it to
eternity. I will now go and with dissembling wait upon him until I find 60

52-53 But ... madness] *BB*; As I perchance heereafter shall thinke meet, / To put an Anticke
disposition on Q1, Q2, F

50 **Ebano** See note at I.v.27.

51 **give ... ghost** Hamlet's father has, of course, become a ghost.

52 **crown** Again, the crown and not the queen is emphasized as a motive for the crime (in
contrast to the prologue).

52-54 **But ... death** In Shakespeare, Hamlet gives no reason for his "[a]nticke disposition" (TLN
868, I.v.170), yet he bids his companions not to reveal it, which he does not do at this point in
BB. According to Haekel, in Shakespeare "Hamlet ... is not *clearly* mad", whereas in *BB* he "is
clearly *not* mad" (*Englische Komödianten* 219, "Hamlet ... ist nicht *eindeutig* verrückt ... ist
eindeutig nicht wahnsinnig").

58-61 Compare Hamlet's speech in Shakespeare after the Ghost has disappeared, but before
Horatio and Marcellus reappear (I.v.92-112): Hamlet promises to remember the Ghost, curses his
uncle, and resolves to take revenge.

59-60 **that ... eternity** In Shakespeare, Hamlet has no ambitions to be remembered by posterity
at this point. Bullough (7: 135) points out two parallels in Belleforest: "But the yong prince ...
minding one day to bee revenged in such a manner, that the memorie thereof should remaine
perpetually to the world" (7: 90) and "for the desire of revenging his death is so engraven in my
heart, that if I dye not shortly, I hope to take such and so great vengeance, that these countryes
shall for ever speake thereof" (7: 97).

aufwarten, bis daß ich Gelegenheit finde, die Rache auszuüben.

[HAMLET *und* HORATIO] *gehen ab*.

[Erster Akt,] Scene vii

KÖNIG, KÖNIGIN, HAMLET, CORAMBUS *und Staat* [*treten auf*].

KÖNIG Obschon unsers Herrn Bruders [Tod] noch in frischem Gedächtniß bey jedermann ist, und uns gebietet, alle Solennitäten einzustellen, werden wir doch anjetzo genöthiget, unsere schwarze Trauerkleider in Carmosin, Purpur und Scharlach zu verändern, weil nunmehr meines seeligen Herrn Bruders hinterbliebene Wittwe unsere 5 liebste Gemahlin worden; darum erzeige sich ein jeder freudig, und

61 SD HAMLET ... HORATIO] *this edn; not in BB*

I.vii Erster Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

1Tod] COHN; *not in BB*

I.vii.2 Solennitäten festivities, solemnities. "Solenn" was often used among students (Grimm, "viel gebraucht unter studenten: *solenne abschiedskneipe*, *solennner frühschoppent*"). Compare: "our solemnity this night" (*RJ C3v*, I.iv.176).

3 anjetzo jetzt: now.

4 Carmosin carmine (Grimm).

an opportunity to execute revenge.

Exeunt HAMLET and HORATIO.

I.vii

Enter KING, QUEEN, HAMLET, CORAMBUS, and retinue.

KING Although our brother's death is still fresh in memory of all and demands of us to suspend all festivities, we are now nevertheless compelled to change our black garments of mourning into carmine,

purple, and scarlet since my blessed brother's bereaved widow has now
become our dearest spouse. Therefore let everyone show himself 5

I.vii.0 SD] *BB; Enter King, Queene, Hamlet, Leartes, Corambis, and the two Ambassadors, with Attendants Q1; Florish. Enter Claudius, King of Denmarke, Gertradt he Queene, Counsaile: as Polonius, and his Sonne Laertes, Hamlet, Cum Alijs Q2; Enter Claudius King of Denmarke, Gertrude the Queene, Hamlet, Polonius, Laertes, and his Sister Ophelia, Lords Attendant F*

1-2 Although ... festivities] *BB; not in Q1; Claud. Though yet of Hamlet our deare brothers death / The memorie be greene, and that it vs befitted / To beare our harts in grieve Q2, F*

5-6 since ... spouse] *BB; not in Q1; Therefore our sometime Sister, now our Queene / Th'imperiall ioyntresse to this warlike state / Haue ... Taken to wife Q2, F*

I.vii is roughly equivalent to Shakespeare's I.ii.1-128 and ii.1-54 (the first scene at court). Additional elements that appear in Shakespeare are motivated by the military threat from Norway (which is absent from *BB*): the ambassadors' and the King's speeches on old Norway and Fortinbras (I.ii.17-41). In *BB*, the scene immediately follows Hamlet's announcement to simulate madness. The spectator therefore expects him to do so in this scene – a clear difference to Shakespeare, where the Prince announces his intended "anticke disposition" after this sequence. The scene is set late at night to early morning (see 37-39).

0 SD The English texts include Leartes/Laertes, as well as attendants. Q1 further has "*two Ambassadors*", while F includes "*Ophelia*". *BB*'s neutral "*retinue*" ("*Staat*") could include some of the above, though not Leonhardus; his absence is made explicit (28).

1-7 Although ... pleasure The equivalent of these lines is only found in Q2/F, an indication of *BB*'s partial dependence on the longer texts (see app. 3b).

5-6 my ... spouse Shakespeare's King, in contrast, accentuates the political situation rather than the emotional one (see collation).

6-7 Therefore ... pleasure In Q2/F, Claudius reminds those present (including Hamlet) of their consent to his marriage (see note at I.iv.37-40).

mache sich unser Lust theilhaftig. Ihr aber, Prinz Hamlet, gebet Euch
 zufrieden; sehet hier Eure Frau Mutter, wie traurig und betrübt daß sie ist
 über Eure Melancholie. Auch haben wir vernommen, daß Ihr gesonnen
 seydt, wieder nach Wittenberg zu reisen, thut solches nicht Eurer Mutter 10
 wegen; bleibt hier, denn wir Euch lieben und gerne sehen, wollten also
 nicht gerne, daß Euch einiger Schade wiederfahren sollte, bleibt bey uns
 am Hofe, oder wo ja nicht, so könnt Ihr Euch nach Norwegen in Euer
 Königreich begeben.

KÖNIGIN Vielgeliebter Sohn Prinz Hamlet, es nimmt uns groß 15
 Wunder, daß Ihr Euch habt vorgenommen, von hier zu reisen, und Euch
 nacher Wittenberg zu begeben. Nun wisset Ihr ja wohl, daß Euer
 Königlicher Herr Vater unlängst Todes verblichen, weswegen uns große
 Traurigkeit und Melancholie zu Herzen gestoßen, und wenn Ihr solltet

7-8 **gebet ... zufrieden** A similar construction is often used in the play, mainly by the King. Compare Corambus saying to the agitated Ophelia: "Stelle dich zufrieden" (II.iii.5, "Be content"). The formulation can be found in other plays, e.g., in *Tragicomoedia* (III.i, 216) and in *Phänicia* (VI, 312).

15-16 **es ... Wunder** I am surprised, astonished (Grimm). Also found in *RuJ* (II.ii.1), in *Jude von Venetien* (I.i, 205), and in *Tragicomoedia* (V.iv, 248). Still used in modern Swiss German. The Queen uses the majestic plural.

17, 26 **nacher** to; generally used into the eighteenth century instead of the preposition "nach" (Grimm).

cheerful and share in our pleasure. – But you, Prince Hamlet, be content. See here your mother, how sad and troubled she is at your melancholy. Also we have learned that you are disposed to travel again to Wittenberg; do not do so, for your mother's sake. Stay here, for we love you and like to see you and would not want you to come to any harm. Stay with us at court, or if not, you can betake yourself to Norway to your kingdom. 10

QUEEN Much beloved son, Prince Hamlet, it greatly astonishes us that you have resolved to travel from here and betake yourself to Wittenberg. You know well that your royal father lately died, because of which great sadness and melancholy befell our heart, and should you travel from us, it would much increase the same. Therefore, 15

7 But ... Hamlet] *BB*; And now princely Sonne *Hamlet* Q1; But now my Cosin *Hamlet*, and my sonne Q2, F

9-10 Also ... sake] *BB*; For your intent going to *Wittenberg*, / Wee hold it most vnmeet and vnconuenient, / Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother Q1; for your intent / In going back to schoole in *Wittenberg*, / It is most retrogard to our desire Q2, F

10-11 Stay ... you] *BB*; *not in* Q1; And we beseech you bend you to remaine / Heere in the cheare and comfort of our eye Q2, F

13 Stay ... court] *BB*; Therefore let mee intreat you stay in Court Q1

15 Much ... Hamlet] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Good *Hamlet* Q2, F

7 **Hamlet** In Shakespeare, the King first deals with Leartes/Laertes, then with Hamlet.

9 **melancholy** It is not an inadequately prolonged mourning that is discussed here, but rather Hamlet's "melancholy" ("Melancholie"), which may be an expression of his simulated folly.

9-10 **Also ... sake** Only in Q1 and *BB* does the King advance the Queen's feelings as a reason for Hamlet not to return to Wittenberg.

10-11 **for ... you** Compare Claudius describing his feelings towards Hamlet in Q2/F: "with no lesse nobilitie of loue / Then that which dearest father beares his sonne" (TLN 292-93, I.ii.110-11).

12-13 **or ... kingdom** See I.iv.38-39. In Q2/F the King declares instead: "for let the world take note / You are the most imediate to our throne" (TLN 290-91, I.ii.108-09).

13 Hamlet does not answer the King but only responds to the Queen's following plea, as he does in Shakespeare (I.ii.120).

15-22 In this scene in Q1, the Queen's speech only comprises sixteen words (ii.48-49); she merely joins the King's plea at the end. The Queen speaks seventy-five words in Q2/F (I.ii.68-75, 118-19) and seventy-six in *BB*.

17-19 **You ... same** Although the Queen speaks about the former King's death, as she does in Q2/F, she here includes her own feelings as reasons against Hamlet's departure. In the two longer

von uns reisen, würde sich dieselbe ein großes vermehren; darum, liebster Sohn, bleibt hier: alle Freud und Lust, so Euch beliebt, sollt ihr ohne Weigerung genießen. 20

HAMLET Ihrem Befehl will ich von Herzen gern gehorsamen, und vor diesesmal hier bleiben und nicht verreisen.

KÖNIG Thut solches, liebster Prinz. Aber Corambus, wie ist es mit eurem Sohn Leonhardo, ist er schon hinweg nacher Frankreich verreiset[?] 25

CORAMBUS Ja, gnädiger [Herr und] König, er ist schon weg.

KÖNIG Ist es aber mit eurem Consens geschehen?

CORAMBUS Ja, mit Ober-Consens, mit Mittel-Consens und mit Unter-Consens. O, Ihro Majestät, er hat einen über die maaßen herrlichen, trefflichen, prächtigen Consens von mir bekommen. 30

KÖNIG Weilen er mit eurem Consens verreiset, so mag es ihm

28 gnädiger ... König] COHN; gnädiger und Herr König BB

32 **trefflichen** vorzüglich: excellent.

20

dearest son, stay here: all the joy and pleasure, if so it please you, you shall savor without refusal.

HAMLET I shall obey your command with all my heart and remain here for this time and not travel.

KING Do so, dearest Prince! But Corambus, how is it with your son Leonhardo: has he already traveled to France? 25

CORAMBUS Yes, my gracious lord and King, he has already gone.

KING But did it happen with your consent?

CORAMBUS Yes, with over-consent, with middle-consent, and with under-consent. O your Majesty, he has received a beyond all measure magnificent, excellent, glorious consent from me. 30

KING As he travels with your consent, may he fare well, and may

19-22 Therefore ... here] *BB*; I pray thee stay with vs, goe not to *Wittenberg* Q1, Q2, F

23-24] *BB*; I shall in all my best obay you Madam Q1, Q2, F

25 Do ... Prince] *BB*; Spoke like a kinde and a most louing Sonne Q1; Why tis a louing and a faire reply Q2, F

25-26 But ... France] *BB*; And now *Laertes* whats the newes with you? Q1 (*Lear*tes), Q2, F

29] *BB*; Haue you your fathers leaue, *Lear*tes? Q1; Haue you your fathers leaue, what saies *Polonius*? Q2, F

30, 31 consent] *BB*; a forced graunt Q1; my hard consent Q2; *not in F*

texts, she reproaches her son with excessive mourning (I.ii.72).

21-22 **all ... refusal** This intent of bribing is absent from Shakespeare. It comes close to the King's "Be as our selfe in Denmarke" (Q2/F-only TLN 305, I.ii.122), although in *Ham* it follows Hamlet's agreement to stay instead of preceeding it.

23-24 In *BB*, Hamlet has an additional reason to stay: his planned revenge. In Shakespeare this scene occurs earlier, and he has not yet heard of the murder.

26 **Leonhardo** "-o" is the Latin dative suffix to "-us". For the Latin flection, see note to *RuJ* IV.iii.15. In ThK, Reichard has "Leonhard", here and below. Leonhardus's absence is not due to economic doubling (see doubling chart, app. 4b). Evans takes the reference to Leonhardus as proof that the leavetaking scene as it appears in Shakespeare was also present in the *Ur-Hamlet* (52).

30-32 *BB* imitates Corambis's/Polonius's wordy manner of speaking found elsewhere in Shakespeare. Interestingly, the word that Corambus plays with is unique to Q2, and possibly an Anglicism: "Consens". This is one of the passages suggesting that Q2 had an influence on *BB* (see p. 223 above). The word "consens" also appeared in supplications of the English Comedians (Cohn, "Köln" 269; Ludvik 77).

wohlgehen, und die Götter wollen ihm gesund wieder anhero helfen. Wir
 aber sind gesonnen, ein Carisell anzustellen, damit unserer liebsten 35
 Gemahlin die Traurigkeit vergehe. Ihr aber, Prinz Hamlet, sollet Euch
 auch nebst andern hohen Personen lustig erzeigen, vor diesesmal aber
 wollen wir der Lustigkeit ein Ende machen, weil der Tag sich naht, die
 schwarze Nacht zu vertreiben. Sie aber, wertheste Gemahlin, werd ich
 nach Ihrem Schlafgemach begleiten. 40

Kommt, laßt uns Hand in Hand, und Arm um Arm einschließen,
 Laßt uns das süße Pfand der Lieb und Ruh genießen.

[*Alle ab.*]

Zweyter Act, Scene i.

35 aber] *BB*; *not in ThK*

35 Carisell] *BB*; Carousel *ThK*

42 *SD*] *this edn*; *not in BB*

34 **anhero** (reinforced) here (Grimm).

35 **Carisell** "tournament in which competitors throw clay balls at their opponents" (*Wolfenbüttel Thesaurus*).

the gods help him to return here in good health. We have, however,
determined to hold a tournament, so that the sadness of our dearest
spouse may pass. – But you, Prince Hamlet, with other noble persons,
should show yourself cheerful. But for this time we shall put an end to
the merriment, for the day is approaching to put to flight the black
night. – But you, worthiest spouse, I will accompany to your bed-
chamber. 35 40

Come, let us lock hand in hand and arm in arm;
Let us enjoy the sweet pledge of love and rest.

Exeunt omnes.

II.i

39-40 But ... chamber] *BB*; *not in Q1*; Madam come *Q2, F*

35-36 so ... pass In Shakespeare, the reason for the King's reveling is Hamlet's compliance, not the well-being of the Queen.

36-37 But ... cheerful This demand can be likened to those at the beginning of the sequence in Shakespeare, e. g.: "Good *Hamlet* cast thy nighted colour off" (*Q2/F TLN* 248, *I.ii.68*).

38-39 for ... night This sets the time for the (end of the) scene in the early morning, an unusual time to hold court.

39-42 But ... rest In Shakespeare, this sequence ends in a more public manner: "No iocond health that Denmarke drinks to day, / But the great Cannon to the cloudes shall tell" (*Q2 TLN* 308-09, *I.ii.125-26*; *Q1* similar). *Q1* adds: "The rowse the King shall drinke vnto Prince *Hamlet*" (*CLN* 200, *ii.54*).

41-42 Like the second and the fifth act, the first ends in verse. In the other two instances the word "verse" actually precedes the rhymed lines. This may have been omitted here because a page break occurs before. In Shakespeare the situation is similar: the second act ends with a couplet; the third, the fourth, and the fifth only end with a couplet in *Q1*; after the final couplet in *Q2/F* the third act adds one and a half lines, the fifth another half line. For a list of couplets partly or wholly unique to *Q1* see Irace, *Hamlet Q1* 117-18.

42 SD In Steinbach, Night lead the two off stage.

II.i corresponds to Shakespeare's *II.ii.1-39* and *vii.1-18* (the King and Queen discuss Hamlet's state), except for the presence of Rosencrantz/Rossencraft and Guildenstern/Gilderstone. In Shakespeare, the setting is at court, while in *BB* it could be a more intimate space. Poel sets the scene in a "[b]edroom chamber" (14). The second half of Shakespeare's *II.ii* is transposed to *BB*'s *II.iii*. As for *II.i*, scene vi, which precede this scene in Shakespeare, *II.i.1-71*, *vi.1-31*, which introduce Reynaldo/Reynoldo/Montano, are cut from *BB*, while *II.i.72-117*, *vi.32-64* (Ophelia seeks her father's help) are transposed to *BB*'s *II.iii*.

KÖNIG [*und*] KÖNIGIN [*treten auf*].

KÖNIG Liebste Gemahlin, wie kommt es, daß Ihr so traurig seyd, Sie entdecke doch die Ursache Ihrer Betrübnisse, Sie ist ja unsere Königin, wir lieben Sie, und alles, was das ganze Reich vermag, ist Ihr eigen, worüber hat Sie sich denn zu betrüben?

KÖNIGIN Mein König, ich habe große Betrübnisse über die Melancholie meines Sohnes Hamlets, welcher mein einziger Prinz ist, und dieses schmerzt mich. 5

KÖNIG Wie? ist er melancholisch? Wir wollen alle vornehme Doctores und Aerzte in unserm ganzen Königreich zusammen verschreiben, damit ihm geholfen werde. 10

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene ii

CORAMBUS *zu diesen.*

II.i.0 SD *und, treten] auf this edn; not in BB*

II.ii Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

II.i.8 vornehme refers to those "chosen from an inferior majority". The original meaning was general, but a more recent meaning refers to a preference due to birth or rank (Grimm, "auswählen aus einer weniger werten mehrheit ... vorzug vor andern").

10 **verschreiben** to inform by writing, implying that the addressee is requested to come (Grimm). "To prescribe" in modern German.

Enter KING and QUEEN.

KING Dearest spouse, how comes it that you are so sad? Do discover the cause of your sadness. You are our Queen; we love you, and all that the kingdom can afford is your own. What is it then that troubles you?

QUEEN My King, I have great grievances about the melancholy of my son Hamlet, who is my only prince, and this pains me. 5

KING What? Is he melancholy? We shall summon together all the excellent doctors and physicians of our whole kingdom, that he may be helped. 10

II.ii

Enter to them CORAMBUS.

II.i.0 SD] *BB; Enter King and Queene, Rossencraft, and Gilderstone Q1; Florish. Enter King and Queene, Rosencraus and Guyldensterne Q2; Enter King, Queene, Rosincranz, and Guildensterne Cum alijs F*

II.ii.0 SD] *BB; Enter Corambis and Ofelia Q1; Enter Polonius Q2, F*

6 **my ... prince** Hamlet also seems to be an only child in Shakespeare, although this is not made explicit. In Q1, the Queen speaks of "a mothers care" at a much later stage (CLN 1827, xiv.18). In Belleforest, the Queen is also worried about her "only son" ("seul fils", qtd. in Evans 12).

9 **doctors ... physicians** In Shakespeare, the proposed "remedy" consists of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

II.ii corresponds to Shakespeare's II.ii.40-100 and vii.19-64 (Polonius/Corambis discusses Hamlet's madness), except for the arrival of the Norwegian ambassadors (II.ii.58-85, vii.30-56), since all references to Fortinbras are cut until the last scene of the play. Poel continues the "bedroom chamber" setting from the last scene and has the following SD between the two scenes: "The Queen passes behind the Bed ... its hanging curtains are drawn. Then the Queen is seen tossing through these curtains, her wig, gloves, shoes, and other articles of attire ... This business takes place while the King and Corambis [sic] converse" (15). This could be seen as an enactment of the "story" ("Historie") that Hamlet tells Ophelia at II.iv.6-15.

0 SD In Q1, Ofelia enters with Corambus.

CORAMBUS Neue Zeutung, gnädiger Herr und König!

KÖNIG Was ist denn Neues vorhanden?

CORAMBUS Prinz Hamlet ist toll, ja so toll, als der griechische Tolleran jemals gewesen.

KÖNIG Und warum ist er toll?

5

CORAMBUS Darum, daß er seinen Verstand verloren.

KÖNIG Wo hat er denn seinen Verstand verloren?

CORAMBUS Das weiß ich nicht, das mag derjenige wissen, welcher ihn gefunden hat.

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene iii

OPHELIA [*zu diesen*].

3 griechische] *BB*; grigische ThK

II.iii Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

II.ii.1 Neue Zeutung a formula that "exists in most other plays of the German *Wanderbühne*" (Petersen 101).

1 **Zeutung** Zeitung, i.e., Nachricht(en): news (Grimm).

4 **Tolleran** Tollerjan. Literally, "mad John", a stronger form of "Tollpatsch" ("a clumsy person") (Grimm). Also, "toll": mad.

CORAMBUS New news, gracious lord and King!

KING What news has arrived?

CORAMBUS Prince Hamlet is mad, yes, mad as the Greek madman
ever was.

KING And why is he mad?

5

CORAMBUS Because he has lost his wits.

KING But where has he lost his wits?

CORAMBUS That I do not know; he that has found them may
know.

II.iii

OPHELIA *to them.*

1] *BB; King.* Thou still hast been the father of good newes Q1, Q2, F

3 Prince ... mad] *BB;* Certaine it is that hee is madde Q1; your noble sonne is mad Q2, F

5] *BB; Ham.* How came he mad? Q1, Q2, F (TLN 3346, V.i.147)

6] *BB; Clow.* Fayth eene with loosing his wits Q1, Q2, F (TLN 3349, V.i.150)

7] *BB; Ham.* Vpon what ground? Q1, Q2, F (TLN 3350, V.i.151)

8-9] *BB; Clow.* Why heere in Denmarke Q1, Q2, F (TLN 3351, V.i.152)

3 **mad** The first time that Hamlet is identified as "mad" and not as melancholic. Yet any description of Hamlet's madness (such as that delivered by Ophelia/Ofelia [II.i.72-97]) is absent from *BB*.

3 **Greek madman** "Probably Hercules, driven mad by the [poisoned] shirt of Nessus, or Ajax who in a mad rage slaughtered a flock of sheep" (Bullough 7: 136). In *TN*, Sebastian calls Feste a "foolish Greek" (IV.i.17).

5-9 Corambus responds in a manner normally characteristic of the clown, taking words literally and giving nonsensical answers. In Shakespeare, the clown in V.i equivocates in a similar manner (see collation). Freudenstein argues that Corambus takes on the role of the clown until Phantasmo appears since the latter only comes on stage once the former has been killed (67). The same actor could technically play both parts (see doubling chart, app. 4b), as was the case in Schmidle. Corambus echoes the lengthy speeches of his Shakespearean counterparts (II.ii.86-95), whose answers are of no more use to the King and Queen than Corambus's are here.

II.iii corresponds to Shakespeare's II.i.71-117, vi.33-64 and II.ii.105-64, vii.64-109 (Hamlet's love for Ophelia/Ofelia is discussed), as well as to III.i.28-54 and vii.110-14 (the preparation for the nunnery sequence).

OPHELIA Ach, Herr Vater, beschirmet mich!

CORAMBUS Was ist es denn, mein Kind?

OPHELIA Ach, Herr Vater, Prinz Hamlet plagt mich, ich kann keinen Frieden für ihn haben!

CORAMBUS Stelle dich zufrieden, liebe Tochter: aber er hat dich ja 5
sonsten nichts gethan. O nun weiß ich schon, warum Prinz Hamlet toll ist;
er ist gewiß in meine Tochter verliebt?

KÖNIG Hat denn die Liebe eine solche Kraft, einen Menschen toll zu machen?

CORAMBUS Gnädiger Herr und König, freylich ist sie kräftig genug, 10
einen Menschen toll zu machen. Denn ich gedenke noch, da ich noch jung
war, wie mich die Liebe plagte, ja sie hat mich so toll gemacht, als einen
Märzhaasen, anjetzo aber acht ich sie nicht mehr: Ich sitze lieber bey dem

4 **für ihn** vor ihm: from him.

13 **Märzhaasen** hare of the first litter. A proverbial expression: you are as mad as a March hare (Creizenach 160).

13 **anjetzo** jetzt: now.

OPHELIA Ah, father, protect me.

CORAMBUS What is it, my child?

OPHELIA Ah, father, Prince Hamlet plagues me; I can have no peace from him.

CORAMBUS Be content, dear daughter: but he has not done 5
anything else to thee. – Oh, now I know why Prince Hamlet is mad: he is certainly in love with my daughter.

KING Has love, then, such power as to make a person mad?

CORAMBUS Gracious lord and King, assuredly it is powerful 10
enough to make a person mad. For I remember when I was still young, how love plagued me; yes, it made me as mad as a March hare. But now I no longer mind it: I prefer to sit by the stove and count my red

II.iii.1] *BB*; O my deare father Q1; O my Lord, my Lord, I haue been so affrighted Q2; Alas my Lord, I haue beene so affrighted F

2] *BB*; *Cor.* Why what's the matter my *Ophelia*? Q1; *Pol.* With what i'th name of God? Q2; *Pol.* With what, in the name of Heauen? F

3 Prince Hamlet] *BB*; yong Prince *Hamlet* Q1; Lord *Hamlet* Q2, F

6-7 Oh ... daughter] *BB*; Mad for thy loue? Q1, Q2, F; seeing his loue thus cross'd ... He straitway grew into a melancholy ... from that vnto a madnesse Q1; And he repell'd ... Fell into a sadness, then ... Into the madnes wherein now he raues Q2, F (And he repulsed, whereon now)

8] *BB*; Thinke you t'is so? Q1; Doe you thinke this? Q2, F (thinke 'tis this)

11-12 For ... hare] *BB*; And when I was yong, I was very idle, / And suffered much extasie in loue Q1 (CLN 952-53, vii.224-25); truly in my youth, I suffred much extremity for loue Q2, F (TLN 1227-28, II.ii.186-87)

3-4 Equivalent to twenty-two lines in Shakespeare, containing Ophelia's/Ophelia's detailed description of the mad Hamlet's visit to her (II.i.72-97). Bullough claims that *BB*'s Hamlet "pesters her with his attentions" (7: 23), yet we are actually not told *how* he "plagues" ("plagt") Ophelia in *BB*. The theme of love between the two is treated in a much lighter manner in the German than in the Shakespearean texts, where Hamlet's love letter is produced, and Ophelia's father emphasises that "Lord *Hamlet* is a Prince out of [her] star" (TLN 1170, II.ii.138).

6 From this point on, *BB* is equivalent to Shakespeare's II.ii, which in Q1 takes place "in the galery" (CLN 823, vii.104) and in Q2/F "in the Lobby" (TLN 1193, II.ii.158). In *BB*, there is no specification of place, yet the scenery must provide a hiding place for Corambus and the King.

12 **as ... hare** In *TNK*, the Jailer's daughter is said to be "as mad as a March hare" (III.v.74). In *MV*, Portia speaks of youth, saying "[s]uch a hare is madness" (I.ii.19). See also note to German text.

13-14 **red pennies** Pennies are made of copper and therefore red.

Ofen, und zähle meine rothe Pfennige, und trinke Ihr Majestät
Gesundheit. 15

KÖNIG Kann man aber seine Raserey und Tollheit nicht selbst in
Augenschein nehmen?

CORAMBUS Ja, Ihr Majestät, wir wollen nur ein wenig an die Seite
treten, und meine Tochter soll ihm das Kleinod, welches er ihr verehrt hat,
zeigen, so können Ihr Majestät seine Tollheit sehn. 20

KÖNIG Liebste Gemahlin, Sie lasse sich belieben, in Ihr Gemach zu
gehn, wir wollen unterdessen seine Tollheit in Augenschein nehmen.

[KÖNIGIN *ab.*]

[CORAMBUS und König] *verstecken sich.*

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene iv.

22 SD KÖNIGIN *ab*, CORAMBUS ... KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

19 **Kleinod** here: "present, e.g., in courtship" (Grimm, "Geschenk ... z. B. als minnegabe"), generally something small and precious. The word may have a sexual connotation, as the word "jewel" might in English. An unambiguous interpretation is supported by the literal use of the word in other plays of the period, e.g.: "I still have to get jewels for you and all kinds of precious things for us today" (*Kunst über alle Künste*, IV, 161-62, "Ich musz heut noch Kleinodien für dich und allerhand kostbare Sachen für uns beide herbei schaffen"). Yet in *BB* the ambiguity is enhanced by the fact that Ophelia is supposed to "show" the "Kleinod" to Hamlet. Julieta is referred to as a "kleinod" in *RuJ* (III.ix.32), as is Anciletta in *Jude von Venetien* (II.i, 214). In *Tragikomödie*, Rosalina refers to her honor as a "Kleinoth" (II.ii, 208).

pennies and drink to your Majesty's health.

15

KING But cannot one see with one's own eyes his raving and madness?

CORAMBUS Yes, your Majesty. We will just step aside a little, and my daughter shall show him the jewel which he has presented to her, and then your Majesty can see his madness.

20

KING Dearest wife, may it please you to go to your chamber; we will meanwhile inspect his madness.

Exit QUEEN.

CORAMBUS *and* KING *hide themselves*.

II.iv

16-17] *BB*; how should wee trie this same? Q1; How may we try it further? Q2, F

18 We ... little] *BB*; Your selfe and I will stand close in the study Q1; Be you and I behind an Arras then Q2, F

19] *BB*; The Princes walke is here in the galery, / There let *Ofelia*, walke vntill hee comes Q1; You know sometimes he walkes foure houres together / Heere in the Lobby ... At such a time, Ile loose my daughter to him Q2, F

21 Dearest ... chamber] *BB*; *Cor.* Madame, will it please your grace / To leaue vs here? Q1; *King.* Sweete *Gertrard*, leaue vs two Q2; *King.* Sweet *Gertrude* leaue vs too F

21-22 we ... madness] *BB*; *Cor.* There shall you heare the effect of all his hart / And if it proue any otherwise then loue Q1; We may of their encounter franckly iudge, / And gather by him as he is behau'd, / Ift be th'affliction of his loue or no Q2, F

22 SD *Exit* QUEEN] *BB*; [Queen] *exit* Q1; *not in* Q2, F

22 SD CORAMBUS ... *themselves*] *BB*; *not in* Q1, Q2; [Polonius and King] *Exeunt* F

16-17 In Shakespeare, it is Corambis/Polonius and not the King who first proposes to "finde / Where [the] truth [about Hamlet's madness] is hid" (Q2 TLN 1188-89, II.ii.154-55; Q1 similar). The change in *BB* may be due to the fact that the *Wanderbühne* strongly emphasized differences of rank (Baesecke 140); Corambus might not be so forward as to make such a proposal.

18-22 In *BB*, as in Q1, the plan to spy on Hamlet and Ophelia is carried out as soon as it has been hatched. In Q2/F, the nunnery sequence and its preparations only occur in III.i.

22 SD *BB* provides no exit for the Queen, but she probably follows the King's invitation to leave. The King and Corambus could hide behind a curtain. In Steinbach they did so, remaining partly visible to the audience.

II.iv corresponds to III.i.89-166 and vii.138-200 (the "nunnery" sequence). The early positioning of the nunnery sequence is a main instance of agreement between *BB* and Q1. What is most

HAMLET [*zu*] OPHELIA.

OPHELIA Eure Durchlaucht nehmen doch das Kleinod wieder, welches Sie mir geschenkt.

HAMLET Was, Mädchen, willst du gern einen Mann haben? Gehe weg von mir – doch, komm her. Höre, Mädchen, ihr Jungfern, ihr thut nichts anders, als die junge Gesellen verführen, eure Schönheit kauft ihr bey den Apothekern und Krämern: höret, ich will euch eine Historie erzählen. Es war ein Kavalier in Anjou, der verliebte sich in eine Dame, welche

II.iv Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu]* *this edn; not in BB*

7 Anjou] ThK; Anion *BB*

II.iv.7 Kavalier See note at *RuJ* I.ii.30.

HAMLET to OPHELIA.

OPHELIA Your Highness, do take back the jewel which you gave to me.

HAMLET What, girl, dost thou want a husband? Go away from me – but come here. Listen girl, you maidens do nothing but seduce the young lads; you buy your beauty of the apothecaries and peddlers. 5 Listen, I will tell you a story. There was a cavalier in Anjou, who fell in love with a lady, who, to look at, was like the goddess Venus. Now

II.iv.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter Hamlet* Q1, Q2, F

1-2] *BB*; My Lord, I haue sought opportunitie, which now I haue, to redeliuer to your worthy handes, a small remembrance, such tokens which I haue receiued of you Q1; My Lord, I haue remembrances of yours / That I haue longed long to redeliuer, / I pray you now receiue them Q2, 3 dost ... husband?] *BB*; If thou doost marry Q1, Q2, F

4-5 you ... lads] *BB*; Or if thou wilt needes marry, marry a foole, for wise men knowe well enough what monsters you make of them Q1, Q2, F

5 you ... peddlers] *BB*; God hath giuen you one face, and you make your selves another Q1, Q2, F
F

conspicuously absent from *BB* is the "To be or not to be" soliloquy. Furthermore, whereas in Q2/F only Ophelia is carrying a book, in Q1, both are reading at this point. In *BB*, references to books, letters, and reading are less frequent than in Shakespeare. (Hamlet's letter to Ophelia is missing from *BB*; the only letter mentioned is the one containing Hamlet's death warrant [III.x.33, IV.i.55-59]). For a discussion of letters in relation to the "literate" quality of the texts of *Ham*, see Marcus 169-72.

1 Just as in Q1, Ophelia immediately comes to the point, trying to return the gift(s) Hamlet has given her. This may be due to the fact that, as in Q1, she has had no time to prepare herself for the encounter. In contrast, in Q2/F she accosts Hamlet with what would be called smalltalk in our day: "Good my Lord, / How dooes your honour for this many a day?" (TLN 1745-46, III.i.89-90).

1-2 Ophelia's entire text for this scene.

3-18 In *BB*, Hamlet only rails at women in general, not at Ophelia in particular. In Shakespeare, his attacks are more personal. In Q2/F he says, "I did loue you once" (TLN 1769, III.i.114), and in Q1 he claims "I neuer loued you" (CLN 881, vii.160). Moreover, the Shakespearean Hamlet seems to be aware of Corambis's/Polonius's presence, inquiring: "Where's your father?" (TLN 1784, III.i.129; "thy" in Q1).

6 story The first of two detailed stories that Hamlet tells to illustrate a point he makes, the second one beginning at II.vii.70. Creizenach sees Lope de Vega's *El mayor imposible* as a possible source for this story but concludes that the anecdote was probably widely known at the time (138). See also headnote to II.ii.

6 Anjou a region in the North West of France.

anzusehen war wie die Göttin Venus, wie sie nun sollten zusammen zu
 Bette gehen, ging die Braut vor, und fing an, sich auszuziehen, nahm
 erstlich das eine Auge aus, welches künstlicherweise war eingesetzt, 10
 hernach die Vorderzähne, welche von Elfenbein auch so künstlich waren
 eingemacht, daß mans nicht sehn konnte, hernach wusch sie sich, da ging
 die Schminke, womit sie sich angestrichen hatte, auch fort. Der Bräutigam
 kam endlich, gedachte seine Braut zu umfassen, wie er sie aber ansichtig 15
 ward, erschreck er, und gedachte, es wäre ein Gespenst. Also betrügt ihr
 die Junggesellen, darum höret mich auch. Aber warte, Mädchen – doch,
 gehe nur fort nach dem Kloster, aber nicht nach einem Kloster, wo zwey
 Paar Pantoffeln vor dem Bette stehen.

[HAMLET] *ab.*

CORAMBUS Ist er nicht perfect und veritabel toll, gnädiger Herr und
 König? 20

KÖNIG Corambus, verlaß uns, wenn wir werden euch vonnöthen
 haben, wollen wir euch schon rufen lassen.

18 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

20 König?] ThK; König. BB

17 **Kloster** Typographically marked in Genée (421). Note the difference between "Kloster" (a
 convent for monks or nuns) and "nunnery".

when they were to go to bed together, the bride went before and began to undress herself. First she took out one eye, which had been set in artificially, then the front teeth made of ivory, which were also artificially made so that one could not see it. Whereupon she washed herself; then the make-up, with which she had painted herself, also vanished. The bridegroom came at last, thought to embrace his bride, but as he caught sight of her, he was frightened, for he thought it was a ghost. Thus do you deceive the bachelors. Therefore listen to me, too. Yet wait, girl – but only go to a cloister, yet not to a cloister where two

pairs of slippers stand at the bedside.

Exit HAMLET.

CORAMBUS Is he not perfectly and veritably mad, gracious lord and King?

KING Corambus, leave us; when we have need of you, we will send for you.

16 but ... cloister] *BB*; to a Nunry go Q1, Q2, F

18 *SD*] *BB*; *exit ... Enter King and Corambis* Q1; *Exit ... Enter King and Polonius* Q2; *Exit Hamlet ... Enter King, and Polonius* F

8 **bride** An immediate consequence of having "[fallen] in love" (6-7, "verliebte sich") seems to be marriage since the "lady" (7, "Dame") is next referred to as a "bride" ("Braut"). This order of events is later stressed by Ophelia herself (III.xi.15).

12 **make-up** Compare Shakespeare's: "I haue heard of your paintings" (TLN 1798, III.i.141; "pratlings" in F).

15 **ghost** An interesting analogy in a play that features a ghost.

16 **cloister** In Shakespeare, Hamlet sends Ophelia to a "nunry" five times in Q2/F (TLN 1776, 1784, 1792, 1795, 1805, III.i.120, 129, 136, 139, 148) and eight times in Q1 (CLN 884, 892, 893, 899, 904, 908, 918, 919, vii.163, 170, 171, 177, 181, 185, 194).

16-18 **but ... bedside** In his allusion the adapter explicitly states what Shakespeare hints at with the mere mention of the "nunnery" (Freudenstein 59; Dover Wilson 134). Since the allusion contained in the English word "nunnery" is not available in the German language, the adapter made his point much clearer. This could be seen as an anti-Catholic slur (see also p. 65 above).

18 **two ... slippers** Poel has "two pairs of *red* slippers" (16, emphasis mine).

19-26 In contrast to Shakespeare, the subject of love has been dropped in *BB*; the chief interest being the veracity of Hamlet's madness, which the King clearly doubts.

CORAMBUS [*und OPHELIA*] *ab.*

Wir haben des Prinzen Tollheit und Raserey mit großer Verwunderung
gesehn, uns dünkt aber, daß es keine rechte Tollheit, sondern vielmehr
eine simulirte Tollheit sey; wir müssen verschaffen, daß er an die Seite 25
oder gar ums Leben gebracht werde, es möchte sonst was Uebels daraus
entstehen.

[KÖNIG] *ab.*

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene v

HAMLET *und* HORATIO [*treten auf.*]

HAMLET Mein werther Freund, Horatio, durch diese angenommene
Tollheit hoffe ich Gelegenheit zu bekommen, meines Vaters Tod zu

22 SD *und OPHELIA*] *this edn; not in BB*

27 SD KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

II.v Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

Exeunt CORAMBUS and OPHELIA.

We have seen the Prince's madness and raving with great wonder, but it seems to us that this is no real madness but rather a simulated madness. We must contrive to have him removed from here, if not 25
from life; otherwise some harm may come of it.

Exit KING.

II.v

Enter HAMLET and HORATIO.

HAMLET My worthy friend, Horatio, through this assumed madness I hope to get the opportunity of revenging my father's death.

24-25 it ... madness] *BB*; Loue? No, no, that's not the cause, / Some deeper thing it is that troubles him Q1; Loue, his affections doe not that way tend, / Nor what he spake, though it lackt forme a little, / Was not like madnes Q2, F

25-26 We ... it] *BB*; *not in* Q1; And I doe doubt, the hatch and the disclose / VWill be some danger; which for to preuent, / I haue in quick determination / Thus set it downe: he shall with speede to *England* ... Madnes in great ones must not vnmatcht goe Q2, F (not vnwatch'd go)

27 SD] *BB*; *Exeunt* Q1, Q2, F

22 SD *BB* gives no exit for Ophelia, yet it seems most likely that she leaves with her father. She might also leave at line 16, when Hamlet says "Yet wait" ("Aber warte"). In Shakespeare, she has a short speech (III.i.149-60), deploring Hamlet's state. In *BB*, no one takes notice of her after Hamlet has left. In Q2/F, Polonius addresses her again: "You neede not tell vs what Lord *Hamlet* said, / We heard it all" (TLN 1836-37, III.i.178-79).

25-26 **We ... life** At this point in Q2/F the King decides that Hamlet "shall with speede to *England*" (TLN 1826, III.i.168), but he harbours no thoughts of murder. In Q1, there is no sign of either plan. Instead Corambis decides "I will my selfe goe feele him" (CLN 927, vii.202), and the course of action joins that of Q2/F at II.ii.168.

II.v is not found as such in Shakespeare. Instead we have the following: the fishmonger-episode (II.ii.168-214, vii.203-31) and the arrival of Rosencrantz/Rosencraft and Guildensterne/Gilderstone, who in turn announce the arrival of the players (II.ii.215-305, vii.232-83). F has an additional passage in which Hamlet elaborates on Denmark being "a Prison" (TLN 1285-1315, II.ii.238-67). Also, Q1 and F mention the children's companies, but only F elaborates on the topic (vii.271-73; II.ii.335-60).

rächen. Ihr wißt aber, mein Vater ist allezeit mit vielen Trabanten umgeben, darum so es etwa mir mißlingen möchte, und ihr etwa meinen Leichnam findet, so laßt ihn doch ehrlich zu der Erden bestätigen, denn die erste Gelegenheit, die ich finde, werde ich mich an ihm wagen. 5

HORATIO Ich bitte Ihre Durchlaucht, Sie wollen solches nicht thun, vielleicht hat Sie der Geist betrogen.

HAMLET O nein, seine Worte waren allzuwohl ausgesprochen, ich kann ihm wohl Glauben geben. Was aber bringt der alte Narr Neues? 10

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene vi

CORAMBUS [*zu diesen*].

CORAMBUS Neue Zeitung, gnädiger Herr! Die Comödianten sind angekommen.

HAMLET Da Marius Roscius ein Comödiant war zu Rom, was war da

II.vi Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen] this edn; not in BB*

3 Marius Roscius] ThK; Marus Russig *BB*

II.v.5 ehrlich respectable, appropriate, becoming (Grimm).

5 bestätigen "to bury" (Grimm, "bestatten"). In modern German: "to confirm".

II.vi.1 Zeitung Nachricht(en): news (Grimm). See also note at II.ii.1.

You know, however, my father is at all times surrounded by many guards; therefore if it should miscarry, and should you chance to find my dead body, have it honorably buried; for at the first occasion that offers itself, I shall make an attempt on him. 5

HORATIO I entreat your Highness to do no such thing. Perhaps the ghost has deceived you.

HAMLET Oh, no, his words were spoken all too clearly. I can put my trust in him. But what news is the old fool bringing? 10

II.vi

CORAMBUS *to them.*

CORAMBUS New news, gracious sir! The comedians have arrived.

HAMLET When Marius Roscius was a comedian in Rome, what a

II.v.10 But ... bringing?] *BB*; Olde doating foole Q1; These tedious old fooles Q2, F

II.vi.1 New ... sir!] *BB*; My Lord I haue newes to tell you Q1, Q2, F

1 The ... arrived] *BB*; The Actors are come hether my Lord Q1, Q2, F

3-4] *BB*; when *Rossius* was an Actor in Rome Q1 (*Rossios*), Q2, F

2, 3 **father** The first "father" ("Vater") refers to Hamlet's real father, the second to his uncle. This juxtaposition seems deliberate but might confuse an audience. See note at I.vi.43.

3-4 **my ... guards** An illustration of this is Q2/F's King calling for his "*Switzers*" (F TLN 2836, IV.i.96) when he feels threatened by Laertes's arrival. Compare also *BB* V.i.5-6. Since the doubts Hamlet harbors in Shakespeare are largely omitted from *BB*, "[t]he German play needs to stress th[e] hindrance" which the King's entourage represents (Bullough 7: 23).

7-8 **Perhaps ... you** In Shakespeare, Hamlet himself has this idea after the players' sequence: "The spirit I haue seene / May be a deale" (TLN 1638-39, II.ii.533-34; "Diuell" in Q1, F).

10 Horatio remains silent until the end of II.vii when Hamlet speaks to him again. There are no exit or entrance SDs for him.

II.vi corresponds to Shakespeare's II.ii.317-58 and vii.284-316 (Polonius/Corambis announces the players).

3 **Marius Roscius** or "Marus Russig": one of the two is probably Reichard's creation. Since ThK's version is little known, "Marus Russig" has been the ground for some critical debate

vor eine schöne Zeit!

CORAMBUS Ha, ha, ha! Allezeit vexiren mich Ihro Hoheiten. 5

HAMLET O Jephtha, Jephtha, was hast du vor ein schönes Töchterlein!

CORAMBUS Alle Zeiten wollen Ihro Hoheiten, daß meine Tochter soll herhalten.

HAMLET Wohlan, Alter laß den Meister von den Comödianten hereinkommen. 10

CORAMBUS Es soll geschehn.

[CORAMBUS] *ab.*

HAMLET Diese Comödianten kommen eben recht, denn durch ihnen will ich probiren, ob mich der Geist mit Wahrheit berichtet, oder nicht. Ich habe vor diesem eine Tragödie gesehn, daß ein Bruder den andern im Garten ermordet, diese sollen sie agiren; wird sich der König nun 15 entfärben, so hat er gethan, was mir der Geist gesagt hat.

11 SD CORAMBUS] *this edn; not in BB*

5 **Allezeit** always (Grimm).

5 **vexiren** See note to *RuJ* III.vi.28.

7 **Ihro Hoheiten** The address is sometimes in the plural, as is the case here, and sometimes in the singular (Hoheit). Both are used interchangeably in *BB*.

9 **Meister** The word Hamlet uses for the *Prinzipal* (as he is designated at II.vii.0 SD). See also p. 205 above.

fine time that was!

CORAMBUS Ha, ha, ha! Your Highness is always teasing me. 5

HAMLET O Jephtha, Jephtha, what a fair daughter hast thou!

CORAMBUS Your Highness always brings my daughter into everything.

HAMLET Well, old man, let the master of the comedians come in. 10

CORAMBUS It shall be done.

Exit CORAMBUS.

HAMLET These comedians come at the right time, for through them I shall test whether the ghost has told the truth or not. I have seen a tragedy before, wherein one brother murders the other in the garden; this shall they act. If the King change color, then has he done what the ghost has told me. 15

6] *BB*; O *Iepha* Iudge of *Israel!* what a treasure hadst thou? Q1; O *Ieptha* Iudge of *Israell*, what a treasure had'st thou? Q2, F

7-8] *BB*; A, stil harping a my daughter! Q1; Still on my daughter Q2, F

9] *BB*; looke where my abridgment comes Q1, Q2, F

13-15 I ... act] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Ile haue these Players / Play something like the murther of my father / Before mine Vncle Q2, F

15 If ... color] *BB*; *not in* Q1; if a doe blench Q2; If he but blench F

because it differs from "*Rossios*" in Q1 and "*Rossius*" in Q2/F (see, e.g. Latham 97-98, Evans 60). Brennecke proposes that "*Marus Russig*" means "*Marus the blackface*", since "*rußig*" means "*sooty*" (267).

6 **Jephtha** as in Shakespeare, referring to the judge of the Old Testament (Judges 11.30-40) who had to sacrifice his virgin daughter.

7-8 In Q2/F this line is an ellipsis, recalling the earlier "still harping on my daughter" (TLN 1225, II.ii.184-85).

12-16 In Shakespeare, Hamlet only articulates this idea after the players have left, although it must have occurred to him while speaking to them since he asks them to play "the murther of *Gonzago*" (TLN 1577, II.ii.474).

12-13 **for ... not** A few lines earlier, Hamlet insisted on the Ghost's honesty (II.v.9-10).

14 **tragedy** Afterwards, Hamlet asks the players to perform a "*Comödie*" (II.vii.17, "comedy"), which could refer to a play in general. Later, Hamlet and Carl become even less specific by referring to "this matter" (II.vii.54, "*diese Materie*").

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene vii

COMÖDIANTEN [*und*] *Principal* CARL [*zu diesen*].

CARL Ihro Hoheiten wollen die Götter allezeit mit Seegen, Glück und Gesundheit beschenken.

HAMLET Ich dank euch, mein Freund, was verlanget ihr?

CARL Ihro Hoheiten wollen uns in Gnaden verzeihen, wir sind fremde
 hochteutsche Comödianten, und hätten gewünscht, das Glück zu haben, 5
 auf Ihro Majestät des Königs Beylager zu agiren, allein das Glück hat uns
 den Rücken der *contraire* Wind aber das Gesichte zugekehret, ersuchen
 also an Ihro Hoheiten, ob wir nicht noch eine Historie vorstellen könnten,
 damit wir unsere weite Reise nicht gar umsonst möchten gethan haben.

HAMLET Seyd ihr nicht vor wenig Jahren zu Wittenberg auf der 10
 Universität gewesen, mich dünkt ich habe euch da sehn agiren.

II.vii Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, zu diesen] this edn; not in BB*

II.vii.5 hochteutsche Comödianten This term came into use towards the middle of the seventeenth century, probably in contrast to the Dutch actors, who entered into competition with the local groups and who could easily make themselves understood, at least in Northern Germany (Creizenach XIII). In 1651, Joris Joliphus advertised his "company of High German people so easy to understand" in Frankfurt (Creizenach XIII, "Compagnie von hochdeutschen Leuten so wohl zu verstehen"). See also Carl, Personen, p. 495 above.

6 Beylager marriage, wedding (Grimm); also used in *RuJ* (III.ix.39).

6, 25 allein only, but (Grimm).

7 contraire Wind The construction is found in *Wahrhafte und Merckwürdige Begebenheiten der Maria Francisca de Voëwina* (*True and Strange Occurrences of Maria Francisca de Voëwina*) of 1737. See also V.ii.10.

7 contraire not in Grimm, possibly an Anglicism or a Gallicism.

8 Historie a story, a report (Grimm). The same word that Hamlet uses for the two stories he tells (II.iv.6-18, II.vii.70-84). The player does not mean a history play but a play in general. The word also refers to a play in the epilogue of *Sidea* (Act V, in Cohn 75).

II.vii

COMEDIANS *and Principal CARL to them.*

CARL May the gods always bestow blessings, happiness, and health on your Highness.

HAMLET I thank you, my friend; what do you demand?

CARL Your Highness may graciously pardon us; we are foreign High-German comedians, and we had wished to have the good fortune to act at his Majesty the King's wedding. But fortune turned her back and the contrary wind its face towards us. We therefore ask your Highness' leave to still represent a story, so that we shall not have made our long journey entirely in vain. 5

HAMLET Were you not at the University at Wittenberg some years ago? I think I saw you act there. 10

II.vii.0 SD] *BB; Enter players Q1; Enter the Players Q2; Enter foure or five Players F*
3 my friend] *BB; old friend Q1, Q2, F*

II.vii is equivalent to Shakespeare's II.ii.359-540, vii.317-435 (the arrival of the players) and to III.ii.1-43, ix.1-40 (the advice to the players). Lines 67-89 correspond to II.ii.523-40, vii.427-35 (Hamlet discusses how theatrical performances can provoke confessions) and to III.ii.50-85, ix.42-62 (Hamlet asks Horatio to observe the King). Characteristically, all scenes involving the players are strung together; the performance of the play within the play occurs in II.viii. This scene quite accurately describes the performance conditions that seventeenth-century itinerant players may have encountered at court.

0 SD CARL equivalent to the unnamed "Player" in Shakespeare ("1. Player" in F). See also p. 495 above.

1-2, 4-9 The reverential tone is typical of the petitions of the traveling comedians. A letter to the Council of Rostock, dated 1606, begins: "Right honourable, high and well learned, high and well-wise Gentlemen ..." (Cohn LXXX, LXXXI, "Ernuhste, Achtbare, Hoch vnd Wolgelerte, Hoch vnd Wolweise ...").

3 what ... demand? In Shakespeare, Hamlet demands something from the players, namely, "a tast of your quality, come a passionate speech" (TLN 1475-77, II.ii.369-70).

4-5 foreign ... comedians In Shakespeare, the players seem to be known at court since they are "the Tragedians of the Citty" (TLN 1374-75, II.ii.292). The adjective "foreign" ("fremd") reminds the audience that in Denmark "High-German comedians" ("hochteutsche Comödianten") would indeed have been foreigners.

8-9 so ... vain a frequent argument used in petitions; see p. 54 above.

10-11 The title page of Q1 famously advertises that *Hamlet* was "acted" not only in London but "also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford" (Bernice and Kliman xii), although there

CARL Ja, Ihro Hoheiten, wir sind von denselben Comödianten.

HAMLET Habt ihr dieselbe Compagnie noch ganz bey euch[?]

CARL Wir sind zwar nicht so stark, weilen etliche Studenten in
Hamburg Condition genommen, doch seynd wir zu vielen lustigen 15
Comödien und Tragödien stark genug.

HAMLET Könnt ihr uns noch wohl diese Nacht eine Comödie
präsentiren?

CARL Ja, Ihro Hoheiten, wir sind stark und exercirt genug.

HAMLET Habt ihr noch alle drey Weibspersonen bey euch, sie agirten 20
sehr wohl?

CARL Nein, nur zwey, die eine ist mit ihrem Mann an den Sächsischen
Hof geblieben.

HAMLET Wie ihr zu Wittenberg waret, so agirtet ihr dazumal gute
Comödien. Allein, ihr hattet etliche Bursche bey euch, die hatten gute 25
Kleider an, aber schwarze Hemden, etliche hatten Stiefeln an, aber keine
Sporen.

CARL Ihro Hoheiten, man kann oft nicht alles haben, vielleicht haben

17 noch] *BB*; nun COHN

15 **Condition genommen** have taken up a position (Grimm). Duke Ferdinand Albrecht of Bevern noted in his diary in October 1680 that one of the actors of Velten's company, Sebastian Gottfried Starck, remained in town "looking for a position" as a scribe (Zimmermann 141, 152, "suchte *condition* bei der Schreiberei").

17 **Comödie** play (Grimm). In the previous scene, Hamlet was speaking about a tragedy (II.vi.14, "Tragödie").

19 **stark** strong in numbers.

19 **exercirt** geübt: trained.

26 **schwarze** probably "dirty".

CARL Yes, your Highness, we are of the same comedians.

HAMLET Have you still got all of the same company with you?

CARL We are not quite so strong because some students took engagements in Hamburg. Still, we are strong enough for many merry comedies and tragedies. 15

HAMLET Can you present us a comedy this very night?

CARL Yes, your Highness, we are numerous enough and well practiced.

HAMLET Have you still all three women with you? They acted very well. 20

CARL No, only two; the one stayed behind with her husband at the court of Saxony.

HAMLET When you were at Wittenberg, you acted good comedies at the time. Only you had with you some lads who wore good clothes but black shirts and some who wore boots but no spurs. 25

CARL Your Highness, one can often not have everything. Perhaps

17 this ... night] *BB*; *not in* Q1; to morrowe night Q2, F

28 Your ... everything] *BB*; I warrant you my Lord Q1; I warrant your honour Q2, F

is no "hard evidence" to corroborate this claim (Arden3 56).

10 **Wittenberg** Velten, a famous Prinzpal, studied in Wittenberg; see pp. 40-41 above.

12 **we ... comedians** "of" ("von") implies that the composition of the group changes over time, as Carl's next answers illustrate. This is in line with historical facts: companies split up, reformed, or combined (see also p. 37 above).

14 **students** See pp. 35-36 above.

15-16 **many ... tragedies** Compare to Corambis's/Polonius's list (*Ham* II.ii.333-36).

20 **women** The mention of actresses can be used to date the play (see p. 205 above).

23 **court ... Saxony** Dresden, where the English Comedians were active (see pp. 39-40 and 74 above). Litzmann points out that the "Hamburgische Komödianten" played in Dresden in 1674 and 1679 (18) and links this to a possible Northern German origin of the text (see p. 204 above).

25-46 **Only ... spots** Hamlet's advice to the players occurs at their second meeting in Shakespeare (III.ii.1-43). Whereas in Shakespeare Hamlet starts out by criticizing pronunciation, posture, gesture, and exaggeration in all of the above, he here concentrates on clothing (32-36) and type acting (41-42). In Shakespeare, Hamlet's advice to the players probably picks up on contemporary acting in London, as *BB* seems to mock stage traditions in its own time.

26 **black** According to Flemming, at the end of the sixteenth century, there was a Spanish fashion for black, tight clothes in Germany (*Barockkomödie* 38), which Hamlet might here be sneering at; but see note to German text.

sie gedacht, sie dürfen nicht reiten.

HAMLET Doch ist es besser, wenn alles accurat ist: doch höret noch 30
mehr, und bitte zu verzeihen, ihr höret oft nicht gleich, was die Zuschauer
urtheilen, denn da waren auch etliche, die hatten seidne Strümpfe und
weisse Schuh an, aber auf dem Haupte hatten sie schwarze Hüte, die
waren voll Federn, unten bald so voll, als oben die Plomaschen waren, ich
glaube sie musten anstatt der Schlafmützen damit in den Betten gelegen 35
haben, das steht so schlimm, und ist leicht zu ändern. Auch könnt ihr wohl
etlichen davon sagen, wenn sie eine königliche oder fürstliche Person
agiren, daß sie doch nicht so sehr gucken, wenn sie ein Compliment gegen
eine Dame machen, auch nicht so viel spanische Pfauentritte und solche

34 unten ... waren] ThK; unten bald so voll als oben, die Plomaschen waren *BB*

35 anstatt ... Betten] *BB*; statt der Schlafmützen damit in dem Bette gelegen ThK

34 **unten ... oben** I adopt ThK's punctuation.

34 **Plomaschen** probably from French or English "plumage", referring to feathers.

39 **spanisch** said of a proud, haughty man (Grimm).

39 **Pfauentritte** the measured, proud stride of or like a peacock (Grimm).

they thought they weren't allowed to ride.

HAMLET Still it is better if everything is correct: but listen a little 30
longer and excuse me; you often do not hear immediately how the
spectators judge. For there were also a few who wore silk stockings
and white shoes, but on their heads they had black hats, which were
full of feathers, with about as many feathers below as above. I think
they must have gone to bed with them instead of nightcaps; that's bad 35
and is easily changed. You might also tell some of them that when
they act a royal or a princely person, that they should not leer so much
when they pay a lady a compliment, nor make so many Spanish
peacock gaits and such fencing faces. A potentate laughs at this. His

30 Still ... correct] *BB*; The better, the better, mend it all together Q1; O reforme it altogether Q2, F

28 **one ... everything** Carl underlines the scarceness of appropriate clothing among the strolling players although costumes were important on the *Wanderbühne* (see pp. 136-37 above).

28-29 **Perhaps ... ride** Carl's jocular excuse (implying that spurs are only necessary for horseback riding) could be a sign that he plays the clown, as was often the case for the *Prinzipal* (Flemming, *Wanderbühne* 20).

33-34 **black ... feathers** According to Flemming, in the production of comedies, masks and costumes had to attract attention immediately. He describes the huge feathered hats in *Vincentius Ladislaus* (*Barockkomödie* 16). Poel had Carl wear a "flowing wig, [and a] big hat many feathers" (xiii). In performances of *Ham*, Osric's hat "is often extravagantly feathered" (Brown 123). In 1612, a list of items necessary for the staging of a play in Königsberg included "the hire of 18 large and 17 long plumes" (Limon 75). In Q2/F, after the play within the play, Hamlet asks Horatio whether "a forrest of feathers" would help him to "a fellowship in a cry of players" (TLN 2146-47, 2149, III.ii.267, 269-70), also associating actors with "extravagantly plumed hats" (Arden3 317).

36-42 **You ... peasant** In Shakespeare, the context of Hamlet's advice is that he wants his "speech of some dosen lines, or sixteene lines" (Q2 TLN 1581, II.ii.477; Q1 similar), which will be inserted into *The Murder of Gonzago*, to be spoken "as I pronoun'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue" (Q2 TLN 1849-50, III.ii.1-2; Q1 similar). In *BB*, Hamlet has no immediate motive, yet he too pleads for a naturalistic acting style. Compare Q2/F's "ore-steppe not the modestie of nature: For any thing so ore-doone, is from the purpose of playing" (TLN 1866-67, III.ii.18-20). In Q1, there are ten additional lines (ix.24-38) expanding on clowns "that keep[e] one sute / Of ieasts" (CLN 1238-39, ix.29-30). In his summary in ThK, Reichard prints the advice to the actors after Hamlet's request for a particular play.

39 **peacock gaits** This is reminiscent of the *miles gloriosus* figure in *Vincentius Ladislaus* by Heinrich Julius: "Vincentius ... struts like a peacock / looks at himself from back and front" (IV.i

Fechtermienen, denn ein Potentat lacht darüber, sein naturell ist das beste: 40
 der einen König agiret, muß sich einbilden, daß er in dem Spiel ein König
 sey, und ein Bauer auch wie ein Bauer.

CARL Ihr Hoheit, ich nehme mit unterthäniger Ehrerbietung diese
 Correction an, und werden uns künftig besser gewöhnen.

HAMLET Ich bin ein großer Liebhaber eurer Exercitien, und meyne es 45
 nicht übel, denn man kann in einem Spiegel seine Flecken sehen: Höret
 mir nun, ihr agirtet dazumahlen eine Materie in Wittenberg von dem
 König Pir Pir – es pirt sich so.

CARL Ach es wird vielleicht von dem grossen König Pyrro seyn?

HAMLET Mich dünkt es, doch weiß ich es eigentlich nicht. 50

CARL Wenn Ihr Hoheit nur noch etliche Personen nennen, oder etwas
 von dem Inhalt melden wollten.

HAMLET Es war so, daß ein Bruder den andern im Garten ermordet.

40 **Fechtermienen** "Miene" refers to facial expressions, but the general idea is that imitating
 fencers was not desirable.

40 **Potentat** potentate, powerful lord, regent (Grimm).

40 **naturell** "the innate peculiarity, the natural inclination and disposition of a human being"
 (Grimm, "die angeborne geistige eigenthümlichkeit, die natürliche neigung und gemütsart eines
 menschen"). This implies that the actor needs an innate disposition which will make him a
 convincing naturalistic actor.

52 **melden** here: to mention, to cite (Grimm).

40

disposition is the best: he who plays a king must fancy that during the play he is a king, and a peasant that he is a peasant.

CARL Your Highness, I accept this correction with humble respect, and we will try to do better in the future.

45

HAMLET I am a great lover of your exercises and do not mean ill, for in a mirror one can see one's spots. Listen to me now: at that time you acted a matter in Wittenberg about the King Pir, pir – it pirs so.

CARL Ah, it is perhaps about the great King Pyrro?

50

HAMLET So I think, but I do not actually know it.

CARL If your Highness will only name some characters or would report something of the content.

HAMLET It was thus that one brother murdered the other in the garden.

43-44] *BB*; My Lorde, wee haue indifferently reformed that among vs Q1; I hope we haue reform'd that indifferently with vs Q2, F

46 for ... spots] *BB*; *not in* Q1; to holde as twere the Mirrour vp to nature, to shew vertue her feature; scorne her owne Image Q2, F; *Ger.* ... Thou turnst my very eyes into my soule, / And there I see such blacke and greued spots Q2, F (TLN 2465-66; III.iv.87-88)

in Flemming, *Barockkomödie* 75, "Vincentius ... brüstet sich wie ein Pfau / besihet sich hinden und forn").

39 fencing faces The gestures of fencers and comedians were not seen as being in line with good manners (Grimm). In *RJ*, Mercutio makes fun of Tybalt's Italian fencing style (II.iii.18-25, III.i.73).

41 he ... king Compare: "He that playes the King shall haue tribute of me" (Q1 CLN 1007, vii.277-78) and "He that playes the King shal be welcome" (Q2/F TLN 1366, II.ii.285).

46 for ... spots Here Q2 and *BB* agree against Q1. See pp. 223-24 above.

46-56 Listen ... one In the English texts, Hamlet asks directly: "can you play the murther of *Gonzago*?" (TLN 1577, II.ii.474). See also p. 73 above.

47 matter See note at II.vi.14.

47 Pir ... so Compare the singing fountain in *Peter Squentz*: "Jhr sollet Wasser gnug haben / Pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr. / Aus meinen Crystallen Röhren" (III, 38; "You shall have enough water / Pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr / pyr. / From my crystal pipes").

49 Pyrro Shakespeare's Pyrrhus; the name is transposed from the speech that the Player gives in Shakespeare (which is absent from *BB*) to the play within the play.

53-55 In Shakespeare, Hamlet only gives the play's title. In Q2/F he adds that the play will present "something like the murther of my father" (TLN 1635, II.ii.530), but the exact details are only divulged during the performance.

CARL So wird es doch diese Materie seyn. Gießt des Königs Bruder
nicht dem Könige einen Gift in das Ohr? 55

HAMLET Recht, recht, eben dieselbe ist es; könnt ihr wohl sie diesen
Abend noch präsentiren?

CARL O ja, das können wir leicht machen, denn es kommen wenig
Personen dazu.

HAMLET So gehet hin, machet das Theater fertig in dem großen Saal; 60
was euch an Behölzung mangelt, könnt ihr von dem Schloßbaumeister
fordern: steht euch etwas aus der Rüstkammer an, oder habt ihr nicht
Kleider genug so meldet euch bey den Quatrober oder Intendanten an, wir
wollen, daß euch alles soll gefolgt werden.

CARL Ich bedanke mich in Unterthänigkeit gegen Eure Hoheiten für 65
diese hohe Gnade, wir wollen zum Anfang eilen. Sie leben wohl.

[CARL und COMÖDIANTEN] *ab.*

HAMLET Diese Comödianten kommen mir itzo sehr wohl zu Passe.
Horatio, gieb wohl acht auf den König: wo er sich entfärbt oder alterirt, so

66 SD CARL ... COMÖDIANTEN] *this edn; not in BB*

55 **einen Gift** The noun "Gift" ("poison") was formerly also masculine (Grimm); today it only
has the neuter form.

60 **Theater** See note at I.iii.21 SD.

61 **Behölzung** wood cutting (Grimm), either for the stage itself or for scenery.

62 **steht ... an** here: if something ... pleases you, suits you (Grimm).

63 **Quatrober** the person in charge of costumes or clothing (Asper, *Hanswurst* 128).

64 **gefolgt** delivered, granted (Grimm). Creizenach suggests "verabfolgt" (164), which Grimm
defines as "to deliver", "to bring out".

65 **gegen ... Hoheiten** bei Eurer Hoheit. Grimm cites other instances of "bedanken" ("to thank")
being constructed with "gegen" (literally, "against").

67 **itzo** jetzt: now (Grimm).

CARL Then it will be this matter. Does not the king's brother pour a
poison into the king's ear? 55

HAMLET Right, right, it is the very same one; could you perhaps
present it this very evening?

CARL Oh, yes, we can do that easily enough for there are only a
few characters.

HAMLET Then go, get the stage ready in the great hall. What you
lack in wood you can demand of the court master-builder. If you want
anything from the armory or if you have not enough clothes, apply to
the keeper of the wardrobe or the steward. We wish you to be provided
with everything. 60

CARL I humbly thank your Highness for your graciousness; we will
hurry to the beginning. Farewell. 65

Exeunt CARL and COMEDIANS.

HAMLET These actors come most opportunely for me. Horatio, pay
good heed to the King: if he changes color or alters, then he has

56-57 could ... evening] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Weele hate to morrowe night Q2, F (TLN 1580, II.ii.476)

58 Oh ... enough] *BB*; *players*. Yes my Lord ... Yes very easily my good Lord Q1 (CLN 1122, 1126, vii.393, 397); I my Lord Q2, F (TLN 1583, II.ii.475)

60 Then go] *BB*; followe that Lord Q1, Q2, F (CLN 1127, vii.398)

66 SD] *BB*; *Exeunt all but Hamlet* Q1 (CLN 1132, vii.403); *Exeunt Pol. and Players* Q2 (TLN 1586, II.ii.484); *Exeunt. / Manet Hamlet* F (TLN 1587-88, II.ii.543)

67-69 Horatio ... deed] *BB*; When thou shalt see that Act afoote, / Marke thou the King, doe but
obserue his lookes ... And if he doe not bleach, and change at that Q1 (CLN 1264-67, ix.54-57); I
prethee when thou seest that act a foote, / Euen with the very comment of thy soule / Obserue my
Vncle, if his occulted guilt / Doe not it selfe vnkennill in one speech Q2, F (of my Soule; TLN
1929-32, III.ii.74-77)

58-59 for ... characters namely three: one woman and two men; see also p. 497 above.

59 In Poel, Carl added in Bottom-like manner: "I shall act the part of the King myself" (18).

60-64 get ... everything This illustrates how traveling players were accommodated and what
resources they had at courts. See pp. 51-53 above.

60 great hall See p. 129 above.

66 SD *BB* offers an amalgamation of two Shakespearean sequences. In Shakespeare's III.ii Horatio
is present. In II.ii, Corambis/Polonius leaves with the players, and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern
follow, leaving Hamlet alone for his "O what a rogue and pesant slaue am I" soliloquy (TLN
1590-645, II.ii.485-540). Q1 has "Why what a dunghill idiote slaue am I?" (CLN 1133-63,
vii.404-35).

68 alters Evans (5) likens this to the "alteration" in Horatio's answer in Q1 (see collation to 88-
89).

hat er gewiß die That verrichtet, denn die Comödianten treffen oft mit
ihren erdichteten Dingen den Zweck der Wahrheit. Höre, ich will dir eine 70
artige Historie erzählen: In Teutschland hat sich zu Straßburg ein artiger
Casus zugetragen, indem ein Weib ihren Mann mit einem Schuhpfriemen
durchs Herze ermordet, hernach hat sie mit ihrem Hurenbuhler den Mann
unter die Thürschwelle begraben, solches ist neun ganzer Jahr verborgen
geblieben, bis endlich Comödianten allda zukamen, und von dergleichen 75
Dingen eine Tragödie agirten; das Weib, welches mit ihrem Mann auch in
dem Spiel war, fängt überlaut (weil ihr das Gewissen gerühret wurde) an
zu rufen, und schreyt: o weh, das trifft mich, denn also hab ich auch
meinen unschuldigen Ehemann ums Leben gebracht. Sie raufte ihre
Haare, lief aus dem Schauspiel nach dem Richter, bekannte freywillig 80
ihren Mord, und als solches wahrhaft befunden, wurde sie in großer Reue
ihrer Sünden von denen Geistlichen getröstet, und in wahrer Buße
übergab sie ihren Leib den Scharfrichter, den Himmel aber befahl sie ihre
Seele. – Ach, wo mein Vater und Vetter auch in sich gehen möchte, wo er
diese Sache begangen hat! Komm, Horatio, wir wollen gehen, und den 85
König aufwarten; ich bitte dich aber, observire alle Dinge genau, denn ich

84 wo ... möchte] *BB*; wenn mein Vater und meine Mutter auch in sich gehen möchten! *ThK*

71 **artige** "skilful, beautiful, ... dainty, elegant" (Grimm, "geschickt, hübsch, ... zierlich, elegant"). This adjective was often used to describe plays, e.g., *Comædia von dem verlornen Sohn in welcher die Verzweiffelung und Hoffnung gar artig introduciret werden* (Noe 11, *Comedy of the Prodigal Son in which Despair and Hope are Elegantly Introduced*) or "Von Niemandts und iemandt, ist gewaltig artlich gewest" (Morris 13, "Nobody and Somebody – that was vastly agreeable" [18]).

71 **Historie** "Historie" also designated plays, e.g., *Comoedia, die gantze Hystorie der Hester* by Hans Sachs (Herz 111, *Comedy, the Whole History of Esther*).

72 **Schuhpfriemen** an instrument used to make or repair shoes. Pfriemen: "an iron point attached to a handle, used to bore or drill" (Grimm, "an einem hefte befestigte eisenspitze zum bohren").

73 **Hurenbuhler** Buhler: adulterer (Grimm). "Hure" ("whore") was used emphatically: "in popular usage *hure* is used as a first element in a composite word, to designate something harmfully proliferous, or unseemly" (Grimm, "volksmässig ist *hure* als erstes glied von compositen verwendet, um etwas schädlich wucherndes, oder ungehöriges zu bezeichnen"). In some Swiss German dialects this prefix is still in use as an intensifier today, although it has lost its pejorative connotation.

75 **allda** "even there" (Grimm, "daselbst").

84 **Vater ... Vetter** See notes at I.iv.33, to German and English text. Here, both "father" ("Vater") and "cousin" ("Vetter") are applied to the King.

certainly done the deed. For the comedians with their fictitious things
 often hit the aim of truth. Listen, I'll tell thee a pretty story. In 70
 Germany, at Strasburg, a pretty case happened, as a woman murdered
 her husband with a shoemaker's awl through the heart. Thereafter, with
 her paramour, she buried the man under the threshold. This remained
 hid whole nine years until finally comedians came there and played a
 tragedy of like import. The woman, who was likewise present at the 75
 play with her husband, began to cry out very loudly (her conscience

being touched) and shrieked: "O woe is me, that touches me, for in this
 very way did I take the life of my innocent husband." She tore her hair,
 ran from the play to the judge, confessed her murder of her own 80
 accord, and as this was found to be true, in deep repentance for her
 sins she received the consolations of the priests and in true penitence
 gave up her body to the executioner; but her soul she recommended to
 heaven. – Ah, that my father and cousin would also thus reproach
 himself if he has done this thing! Come, Horatio, let us go and wait 85
 upon the King. I ask thee, however: observe all things exactly, for I

86 I ... exactly] *BB*; *Horatio*, haue a care, obserue him well Q1; giue him heedful note Q2, F
 86-87 for ... dissemble] *BB*; *not in* Q1; I must be idle Q2, F

69-70 **For ... truth** Compare Shakespeare's "the very cunning of the scene" (TLN 1630, II.ii.525).

70-84 **In ... heaven** William Ringler considers this anecdote a theatrical commonplace (qtd. in Cannon 188). Creizenach cites *A Warning for Fair Women* (performed in 1599, written before 1590) and Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612) as possible sources (Creizenach 139). Two passages in Heywood's text indeed have remarkable similarities to *BB* (see long note). Dirk Niefanger calls Hamlet's metatheatrical narration "a piece of theatrical theory" (131, "ein Stück Theatertheorie") and compares it to Brecht's epic theater.

70 **story** This story can be likened to petitions of the English Comedians, in which they emphasize the moral dimension of their plays (see p. 169 above). See also note at II.iv.6.

71 **Strasbourg** The mention of Strasbourg as a German city can be used to date *BB* (see p. 205 above). English Comedians were recorded in Strasbourg in 1654 (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 28).

75 **tragedy** Here, a play that includes murder is clearly designated as a tragedy. See note at II.vi.14.

76 **her husband** The "paramour" (73, "Huhrenbuhler") has become a husband. Although he is also present at the play, we are not told about his reaction or his punishment. Hamlet's point of view is selective: although he wants to prove that the King committed a murder, this story focuses on a murdering adulteress. Both of Hamlet's tales illustrate the supposed vices of women.

werde simuliren.

HORATIO Ihro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen.

[HAMLET *und* HORATIO] *gehen ab.*

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene viii.

KÖNIG, KÖNIGIN, HAMLET, HORATIO, CORAMBUS, OPHELIA
[*und*] STAAT [*treten auf.*]

KÖNIG Meine wertheste Gemahlin, nun hoffe ich, daß Sie Ihre Traurigkeit wird verbannen, und der Freude den Wohnplatz einräumen, es

89 SD HAMLET ... HORATIO] *this edn; not in BB*

II.viii Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, treten auf]* *this edn; not in BB*

II.viii.2 und ... einräumen Petrona in *Tugend- und Liebesstreit* (*Conflict of Love and Virtue*) decides to "make living space for love" in her breast (I.ii, in Creizenach 83, "und der [Liebe] den Wohnplatz überlassen").

will dissemble.

HORATIO Your Highness, I shall impose on my eyes a sharp look-out.

Exeunt HAMLET and HORATIO.

II.viii

Enter KING, QUEEN, HAMLET, HORATIO, CORAMBUS, OPHELIA, and retinue.

KING My dearest spouse, I hope that now you will banish your sadness and make living space for joy. There is to be held for you

88-89] *BB*; My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face, / And not the smallest alteration / That shall appeare in him, but I shall note it Q1; Well my lord, / If a steale ought the whilst this play is playing / And scape detected, I will pay the theft Q2, F

II.viii.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter King, Queene, Corambis, and other Lords* Q1; *Enter Trumpets and Kettle Drummes, King, Queene, Polonius, Ophelia* Q2; *Enter King, Queene, Polonius, Ophelia, Roscincrance, Guildensterne, and other Lords attendant, with his Guard carrying Torches. Danish March. Sound a Flourish* F

II.viii corresponds to Shakespeare's III.ii.86-282 and ix.64-181 (the play within the play). In Shakespeare, the conversation with Horatio immediately precedes the playlet. In *BB*, some time has passed so that the players can prepare for their performance.

0 SD **OPHELIA** Ophelia is present but does not speak. This allows to portray first signs of madness in her. In Q1 she is not listed in the SD although she speaks. In Q2/F, she has both an entrance and lines assigned to her. *BB* omits the lines illustrating the relationship between Hamlet and Ofelia/Ophelia (see pp. 211 and 214 above). Especially in the longer texts, she has to bear Hamlet's indecent comments (e.g., III.ii.110-14).

1-8 **My ... content** This could be a private conversation, or it could represent a general announcement of the evening's entertainment, followed by a more personal comment by the Queen, which her husband tries to hush up.

2-4 **There ... people** In the second half of the seventeenth century it had become customary to integrate ballet and theater performances (sometimes including members of the court) into dinner banquets, for instance in Dresden (Creizenach 165). In the theater of Gotha, Duke Friedrich I (1646-91) sometimes ended a performance by having a richly set banquet table lowered directly unto the stage and sitting down to eat with his fellow noblemen actors (Helga Franck, Ekho Theater, private communication).

soll vor der Abendtafel Ihr von den Teutschen eine Komödie und nach der Tafel von unsern Landskindern ein Ballet gehalten werden.

KÖNIGIN Ich will solche Lust gar gerne sehn, ich glaube schwerlich, daß sich mein Herz wird zufrieden geben, denn ich weiß nicht, was vor ein bevorstehendes Unglück unser Gemüth verunruhiget. 5

KÖNIG Sie gebe sich doch zufrieden. Prinz Hamlet, wir haben vernommen, daß Comödianten sind anhero kommen, welche uns noch diesen Abend eine Comödie präsentiren wollen: sagt uns, verhält sich das also? 10

HAMLET Ja, Herr Vater, sie haben bey mir angehalten, ich habe es ihnen auch permittirt. Ich hoffe, Ihro Majestät werden es auch zufrieden seyn.

KÖNIG Was ist es vor eine Materie, es ist ja wohl nicht etwa was Widerwärtiges oder was Unhöfliches? 15

HAMLET Es ist eine gute Materie; uns, die wir gutes Gewissen haben, denen gehet es nichts an.

KÖNIG Wo sind sie? laßt sie nur bald anfangen, denn wir wollen zusehen, was die Teutschen thun können. 20

HAMLET Herr Marschall, sehet zu, ob die Comödianten fertig, saget, daß sie anfangen.

5 **Lust** joy, amusement, disport (Grimm), to be understood as "Lustbarkeit", i.e., festivities.

8 **Sie ... zufrieden** See note at I.vii.7-8.

9 **anhero** (reinforced) here (Grimm).

before supper a comedy by the Germans and after the meal a ballet by our own people.

QUEEN I shall be glad to see such mirth. I hardly believe that my heart will be contented, for I know not what approaching misfortune disturbs our spirits. 5

KING Even so, be content. – Prince Hamlet, we have learned that comedians have arrived here who will present us a comedy this evening: tell us, is it so? 10

HAMLET Yes, father, they applied to me; I gave them permission. I hope your Majesty will also be satisfied with this.

KING What kind of matter is it? There is nothing, I suppose, offensive or rude? 15

HAMLET It is a good matter; we that have a good conscience, it concerns us not.

KING Where are they? Only let them begin soon, for we would like to see what the Germans can do. 20

HAMLET Marshall, see whether the comedians are ready; tell them to begin.

8-10 Prince ... so?] *BB*; How now son *Hamlet*, how fare you, shall we haue a play? Q1; How fares our cosin *Hamlet*? Q2, F

12 Yes, father] *BB*; I father Q1; *not in* Q2, F

15-16] *BB*; Haue you heard the argument? is there no offence in't? Q1, Q2, F

17 It ... matter] *BB*; No, no, they do but iest, poyson in iest, no offence i'th world Q1, Q2, F

17-18 we ... not] *BB*; it toucheth not vs, you and I that haue free / Soules Q1; your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it touches vs not Q2, F

21-22] *BB*; Be the Players readie? Q1, Q2, F

3 **Germans** Compare II.vii.4-5 and see note at 19-20.

12 **father** Hamlet calls his uncle "father" although in the next line he reverts to "your Majesty" (13, "Ithro Majestät"). In Q1, Hamlet calls the King "father" twice in this scene (CLN 1278, 1354, ix.67, 139), and he addresses him as "your Maiestie" in Q2/F (TLN 2108, III.ii.234-35).

12-13 **I ... this** In Q2/F, Hamlet has inquired before: "Will the King heare this peece of worke?" (TLN 1895, III.ii.44-45).

19-20 **for ... do** This presented an opportunity to praise the German comedians, as opposed to those of other nationalities, e.g., the English (Creizenach 166).

21 **Marshall** The first time that Corambus's office is made explicit. Hamlet here uses the reverential form of address; later (II.ix.8) he shows less respect.

CORAMBUS Ihr Herren Comödianten, wo seyd ihr? Fort, ihr sollt geschwinde anfangen. Holla, sie kommen schon!

[CARL und zwei COMÖDIANTEN treten auf.]

*Hier kommt die Comödie: Der König mit seiner Gemahlin.
Er will sich schlafen legen: die Königin bittet, er soll es nicht thun, er legt
sich doch nieder, die Königin nimmt ihren Abschied mit einem Kuß, und
geht ab. Des Königs Bruder kommt mit einem Gläschen, gießt ihm was ins
Ohr, und geht ab.*

HAMLET Das ist der König Pyrrus, der geht nach den Garten schlafen. 25

23 **Fort** here: Go on! (Grimm).

CORAMBUS You comedians, where are you? Quick, you are to begin at once. Hullo! – Here they come!

CARL *and two COMEDIANS enter.*

Here enters the comedy: the King with his spouse. He wishes to lie down to sleep. The Queen entreats him not do so; he nevertheless lies down. The Queen takes her leave with a kiss and exits. The King's brother comes with a small glass, pours something into his ear, and exits.

HAMLET That is King Pyrrus who goes to sleep in the garden. The 25

23-24] BB; *not in Q1; Ros.* I my Lord, they stay vpon your patience Q2, F

24 SD *Here ... spouse]* BB; *Enter in a Dumb Shew, the King and the Queene Q1; The Trumpets sounds. Dumb show followes. / Enter a King and a Queene Q2; Hoboyes play. The dumb shew enters. / Enter a King and Queene, very louingly F*

24 SD *He ... exits]* BB; *he sits downe in an Arbor, she leaues him Q1; the Queene embracing him, and he her, he takes her vp, and declines his head vpon her necke, he lyes him downe vppon a bancke of flowers, she seeing him asleepe, leaues him Q2; the Queene embracing him. She kneeles, and makes shew of Protestation vnto him. He takes her vp, and declines his head vpon her neck. Layes him downe vpon a Banke of Flowers. She seeing him a-sleepe, leaues him F*

24 SD *The ... exits]* BB; *Then enters Lucianus with poyson in a Viall, and powres it in his eares, and goes away Q1; anon come in an other man, takes off his crowne, kisses it, pours poyson in the sleepers eares, and leaues him Q2; Anon comes in a Fellow, takes off his Crowne, kisses it, and powres poyson in the Kings eares, and Exits F*

25 Pyrrus] BB; Albertus Q1; Gonzago Q2, F

24 SD BB again solves a problem which Shakespeare's texts present: why does the King not immediately react to the dumb show (see p. 175 above)? Genée believes that, although no dialogue was scripted for the playlet, it was nevertheless improvised (423). Barbarino inserted part of Night's prologue here (0.1-18), in line with his idea of the whole play as a *mise-en-abîme*.

24 SD *The ... exits* Again, BB tries to make sense of the English versions: in Shakespeare, according to Hamlet, the murderer is "Lucianus, Nephew to the King" (TLN 2110-12, III.ii.237), whereas in BB, the play really does come "neere the circumstance ... of [his] fathers death" (Q2 TLN 1927-28, III.ii.72-73; Q1 similar). Admittedly, the character of the nephew in Shakespeare prefigures Hamlet's murder of the present King.

25-29 Presumably Hamlet's speech and the dumb show take place simultaneously: he is really "as good as a Chorus" (TLN 2113; III.ii.238). This was the case in Steinbach and in Poel (20). The simultaneity of dumb show and speech is supported by the fact that Hamlet tells the on-stage audience that the poisoner is the King's brother (27), an information not easily conveyed visually. In Höll's production (see p. 199, fn. 79 above), Carl commented on the performance.

Die Königin bittet ihn, er soll es nicht thun, er aber legt sich doch. Das arme Weibchen geht weg: sehet, da kommt des Königs Bruder, welcher das Gift von Ebeno hat, gießet ihm ins Ohr, welches sobald das menschliche Geblüthe empfängt, dessen Leib alsobald ertödtet.

KÖNIG Fackeln, Windlichter her, die Comödie gefällt uns nicht! 30

CORAMBUS Pagen, Lakeyen, brennt die Fackeln an, der König will abgehn: Geschwinde, brennet an, die Comödianten haben einen stumpf gemacht.

KÖNIG, KÖNIGIN, CORAMBUS, [OPHELIA] *und* STAAT *gehen ab.*

HAMLET Fackeln her, die Comödie gefällt uns nicht – Nun, siehst du, daß mich der Geist nicht betrogen hat! Comödianten, gehet nur von hier mit diesem Beschluß, ob ihr zwar die Materie nicht zum Ende gespielt, und es dem König nicht behaget, so hat es uns doch wohlgefallen, Horatio soll euch meinetwegen contentiren. 35

CARL Wir bedanken uns, und bitten um einen Reisepaß.

HAMLET Den sollt ihr haben. 40

33 SD OPHELIA] *this edn; not in BB*

30 **her** an adverb of direction which here implies the elision of the verb "bring" and indicates that the torches and lanterns should be brought to the King.

32 **stumpf** igniny, dishonor, blemish (Grimm).

36 **Beschluß** end, ending (Grimm).

38 **contentiren** to satisfy (someone's) needs (Grimm).

Queen entreats him not to do so; however, he lies down. The poor wife goes away. See, there comes the King's brother, who has the juice of Ebano and pours it into his ear, which, as soon as it is introduced into the human bloodstream, immediately kills that body.

KING Torches, lanterns, here! The comedy does not please us! 30

CORAMBUS Pages, lackeys, light the torches! The King wishes to exit. Quick, light up the torches; the comedians have made a botch.

Exeunt KING, QUEEN, CORAMBUS, OPHELIA, *and retinue.*

HAMLET "Torches, here! The comedy does not please us!" – Now thou seest that the ghost has not betrayed me! Comedians, only go hence with this conclusion; though you have not finished playing the matter, and it does not please the King, it has pleased us all the same. Horatio shall satisfy you in my behalf. 35

CARL We thank you and ask for a passport.

HAMLET That you shall have. 40

30] *BB*; Lights, I will to bed Q1; Giue me some light, away Q2, F

31 Pages ... torches] *BB*; *Cor.* The king rises, lights hoe Q1; *Oph.* The King rises ... *Pol.* Lights, lights, lights Q2; *Ophe.* The King rises ... *All* Lights, Lights, Lights F

31-32] *BB*; *not in* Q1; *Pol.* Giue ore the play Q2, F

33 *SD*] *BB*; *Exeunt King and Lordes* Q1; *Exeunt all but Ham. & Horatio* Q2; *Exeunt. / Manet Hamlet & Horatio* F

34-35 Now ... me] *BB*; i'le take the Ghosts word / For more then all the coyne in *Denmarke.* Q1; Ile take the Ghosts word for a thousand pound Q2, F

28 **Ebano** See note at I.v.27. In Poel, the King cuts off Hamlet's speech after this word (20).

29 Hamlet's description (like the dumb show) ends with the poisoning. A motive for the murder is not mentioned, nor is the wooing of the Queen represented. There is a shift in emphasis: *BB* omits the issue of the Queen's infidelity – "A second time I kill my husband dead, / When second husband kisses me in bed" (TLN 2052-53, III.ii.178-79; Q1 similar) – and *BB*'s Player Queen is described as a "poor wife" (26, "Das arme Weibchen") by Hamlet. Her guilt is not touched upon. The dumb show stands in contrast to Hamlet's "stories" ("Historien") and their misogynistic bias.

30 In Steinbach, the King physically disrupted the play, attacking the actors.

32 **the ... botch** In Poel's production, "Corambus's comment ... 'The actors *have* made a mess of it' brought the house down" (xiv).

38 Although Hamlet asks Horatio to take care of the players, in the next scene (as in Shakespeare), it is Corambus who seems responsible.

39 **passport** See pp. 50-51 above.

[CARL *und*] COMÖDIANTEN [*gehen*] ab.
 Nun darf ich die Rache kühnlich fortsetzen. Sahet ihr, wie sich der König
 entfärbte, da er das Spiel sahe?

HORATIO Ja, Ihro Durchlaucht, die That ist gewiß.

HAMLET Eben also meinen Vater getödtet, wie ihr in diesem
 Schauspiel gesehn. Aber ich will ihm den Lohn für seine böse That geben. 45

[Zweiter Akt,] Scene ix

CORAMBUS [*zu diesen*].

CORAMBUS Die Comödianten werden eine schlechte Belohnung
 bekommen, denn ihre Action hat den König sehr mißfallen.

HAMLET Was sagst du, Alter, werden sie eine schlechte Belohnung
 empfangen? und ob sie schon übel von dem König belohnt werden, so
 werden sie doch von dem Himmel desto besser belohnt werden. 5

40 SD CARL *und, gehen*] *this edn; not in BB*

II.ix Zweiter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

44 Eben ... **getödtet** an ellipsis: "Even thus he killed my father" ("Eben also hat er meinen Vater
 getötet").

II.ix.2 **Action** After "Tragödie" (II.vi.14), "Comödie" (II.vii.17), and "Materie" (II.vii.54),
 another word for the play is introduced. This term appears in the composite designation of, e.g.,
Haupt- und Staatsaktion (see p. 82, fn. 44 above). The word is also found in contemporary
 documents: "sie [haben] schöne Actiones verrichtet" (Meissner, *Englische Comoedianten* 53,
 "They have performed beautiful plays").

Exeunt CARL and COMEDIANS.

Now can I boldly go on with my revenge. Did you see how the King changed color when he saw the play?

HORATIO Yes, your Highness, the deed is certain.

HAMLET Even so my father was killed, just as you have seen in this play. But I will reward him for his wicked deed. 45

II.ix

CORAMBUS *to them.*

CORAMBUS The comedians will receive a poor recompense, for their action has deeply displeased the King.

HAMLET What sayest thou, old man, will they get a poor recompense? And if they are but ill-rewarded by the King, they will be all the better rewarded by heaven. 5

41-42 Did ... color] *BB*; *not in Q1*; Did'st perceiue? Q2, F

42 when ... play?] *BB*; *not in Q1*; Vpon the talke of poysning Q2, F

43] *BB*; The king is moooued my lord Q1; Very well my Lord Q2, F

40 SD In Shakespeare, the players exit earlier with the rest of the court.

41 **Now ... revenge** In the English texts, Hamlet is less focused on revenge at this point; he merely celebrates his victory over the King.

45 **reward** The first time the metaphor of the "reward" ("Lohn") and the associated system of justice are mentioned. Mainly Hamlet, but also other characters develop this theme, especially at the end of the play (see, e.g., V.vi.44, 52-56, 81-84 and notes).

45 In Shakespeare, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern enter at this point, and the recorder episode follows (in Q1, also the sponge sequence).

II.ix Lines 1-22 occur earlier in the English texts; they correspond to Shakespeare's II.ii.460-71 and vii.379-90 (Hamlet instructs Polonius/Corambis to treat the players well). For echoes of III.ii and scene ix as well as Q2's IV.iv, see notes and collation to 23-29.

1-2 Since this sequence occurs earlier in Shakespeare, Corambis/Polonius has no reason for disrespecting the players. In *BB*, he does have a motif, namely that their play did not please the King, which makes his reaction more understandable.

3 **old man**, 8 **old fool** Compare the respectful address Hamlet uses at II.viii.21. His change of tone may be due to the absence of the King and Queen.

CORAMBUS Ihr Hoheit, kommen denn die Comödianten auch in den Himmel?

HAMLET Was meynest du, alter Narr, daß sie nicht auch allda werden ihren Platz finden, darum gehet hin und tractiret mir diese Leute wohl.

CORAMBUS Ja, ja ich will sie tractiren, wie sie es verdienen. 10

HAMLET Tractiret sie wohl, sag ich, denn es geschiehet kein größer Lob, als durch Comödianten, denn dieselben reisen weit in die Welt: geschiehet ihnen an einem Orte etwas Gutes, so wissen sie es an einem andern Orte nicht genug zu rühmen, denn ihr Theatrum ist wie eine kleine Welt, darinnen sie fast alles, was in der großen Welt geschieht, repräsentiren. Sie erneuern die alten, vergessenen Geschichten, und stellen uns gute und böse Exempel vor; sie breiten aus die Gerechtigkeit und löbliche Regierung der Fürsten, sie strafen die Laster und erheben die Tugenden sie rühmen die Frommen, und weisen, wie die Tyranny gestraft wird: darum sollt ihr sie wohl belohnen. 15 20

CORAMBUS Nun, sie sollen schon ihren Lohn haben, weil es solche Leute sind. Ihr Hoheiten leben wohl!

[CORAMBUS] *ab.*

HAMLET Komm, Horatio, ich gehe, und von dieser Stund an will ich

22 **SD** CORAMBUS] *this edn; not in BB*

8 **allda** "even there" (Grimm, "daselbst").

9 **tractiret** to treat (Grimm). The verb is used in *Julius vnd Hyppolita*: "tractire sie mir wol" (Act I, in Cohn 121, "treat her well" [my translation]).

14 **andern** also meant "second" in early modern German.

17 **Exempel** Beispiel: example (Grimm)

CORAMBUS Your Highness, do comedians also go to heaven?

HAMLET Dost thou suppose, old fool, that they will not find their place there, too? Therefore go and treat me these people well.

CORAMBUS Yes, yes, I shall treat them as they deserve. 10

HAMLET Treat them well, I say, for there is no greater praise to be gained than through comedians, for they travel far and wide in the world. If something good happens to them in one place, they do not know how to praise it enough in another place. For their *theatrum* is like a little world, in which they represent nearly all that takes place in the big world. They revive the old forgotten stories and present to us good and bad examples. They proclaim justice and the laudable government of princes; they punish the vices and exalt the virtues; they praise the pious and show how tyranny is punished. Therefore you shall reward them well. 15 20

CORAMBUS Well, they shall have their reward, since they are such people. Farewell, your Highness!

Exit CORAMBUS.

HAMLET Come, Horatio, I am going; and from this hour on I will

II.ix.9 treat ... well] *BB*; I pray my lord, / Will you see the Players well bestowed Q1; Good my Lord will you see the players well bestowed; doe you heare, let them be well vused Q2, F

10] *BB*; My Lord, I will vse them according to their desert Q1, Q2, F

11 Treat ... well] *BB*; O farre better man Q1; Gods bodkin man, much better Q2, F

12-20 for ... well] *BB*; for they are the abstract and breefe Chronicles of the time; after your death you were better haue a bad Epitaph then their ill report while you liue Q1, Q2, F

23-24 and ... life] *BB*; *not in* Q1, F; ô from this time forth, / My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth Q2 (TLN 2743+59-60, IV.iv.64-65)

6 do ... heaven? This naive question could have been asked by Phantasmo. For the relation between Corambus and Phantasmo see note at III.viii.1 SD.

6 also With regards to Corambus's imminent death, "also" ("auch") bears a certain (dramatic) irony.

11-20 for ... well In Shakespeare, the players are present during this exchange, whereas in *BB* they are not. In *BB*, the *theatrum mundi* metaphor is especially emphasized and seems to convince Corambus. Shakespeare elaborates on it elsewhere (most famously in *AYL* II.vii.139-66). It was equally important for German poets of the seventeenth century (Kelping 12). See also p. 127 above.

17-19 They ... punished The didactic and moral elements of the plays were often emphasized in petitions (see pp. 169-71 above).

darnach trachten, wo ich den König allein finde, ihm das Leben zu nehmen, wie er meinem Vater gethan hat. 25

HORATIO Ihro Durchlaucht sehen sich aber wohl vor, daß Sie nicht auch zu Schaden kommen.

HAMLET Ich soll, ich muß, ich will mich an den Mörder rächen,

Kann ich mit List nichts thun, will ich mit Macht durchbrechen!

[HAMLET *und* HORATIO *gehen ab.*]

Dritter Act, Scene i

Hier präsentirt sich im Tempel ein Altar. KÖNIG [tritt auf].

27-28 kommen ... Ich] *this edn*; kommen. / Vers. / Hamlet. Ich *BB*

29 SD] *this edn*; not in *BB*

III.i.0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn*; not in *BB*

aspire, if I find the King alone, to take his life, as he has done to my father. 25

HORATIO Your Highness, be prudent, lest you yourself come to harm.

HAMLET I shall, I must, I will revenge myself on the murderer.

If I cannot do anything by stratagem, I will break through with power.

Exeunt HAMLET and HORATIO.

III.i

Here is presented an altar in a temple. Enter KING.

III.i.0 SD] BB; Enter the King Q1

23-29 When Q2's Hamlet pronounces the corresponding lines, he has been alone with the King (Bullough 7: 143) and has had an opportunity for action. After the play in Shakespeare, Hamlet also speaks in rhyming verse, but his thoughts are turned towards his mother: "How in my words someuer she be shent, / To giue them seales neuer my soule consent" (Q2 TLN 2269-70, III.ii.388-89; Q1 similar).

28-29 Like the first and the fifth act, the second ends in verse; see note at I.vii.41-42.

28 Compare Q2's: "Sith I haue cause, and will, and strength, and meanes" (TLN 2743+39, IV.iv.44).

29 In Steinbach, this line was spoken by Night: "Kann er mit List nichts thun, soll er mit Macht durchbrechen" ("If he cannot do anything by stratagem, he will break through with power").

III.i corresponds to Shakespeare's III.iii.36-72 and x.1-13 (the King is praying). The sequence is much shorter in Q1 and BB than in Q2 and F. In the latter two versions, it is preceded by a conversation between the King and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern (III.iii.1-26) about sending Hamlet to England, and a conversation between the King and Polonius, where the counselor confirms that Hamlet is on his way "to his mothers closet" (TLN 2302, III.iii.27).

0 SD In Shakespeare, no location is given, but since the King is praying, the scene is often set in a chapel or church (Brown 89).

0 SD **Here ... temple** See pp. 131-32 above.

0 SD **Enter KING** Poel has the King enter with a swordsman whom he then dismisses (22), illustrating the "guards" (II.v.4, "Trabanten") that Hamlet claims always surround the King.

KÖNIG *allein* Nunmehr beginnet mein Gewissen aufzuwachen, der Stachel der Betrügerey beginnet mich hart zu stechen, es ist Zeit, daß ich mich zur Bekehrung wende, und dem Himmel mein gethanes Unrecht bekenne. Ich fürchte, daß meine Missethat so groß ist, daß sie mir nicht wird können vergeben werden, doch will ich die Götter inbrünstig bitten, 5
daß sie mir meine schwere Sünden vergeben wollen.

KÖNIG *kniet vor dem Altar.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene ii

HAMLET [*tritt*] *mit bloßem Degen* [*auf*].

HAMLET So lange bin ich den verfluchten Hund nachgegangen, bis

III.ii Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *tritt, auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

III.i.1 Nunmehr now (and henceforth) (Grimm).

KING (*alone*) Now does my conscience begin to awaken, the sting of treachery begins to prick me hard. It is time that I turn to repentance and confess to heaven the wrong I have done. I fear my misdeed is so great that it cannot be forgiven, yet I shall fervently implore the gods

5

that they will pardon my great sins.

KING *kneels before the altar.*

III.ii

HAMLET *enters with a naked sword.*

HAMLET So long have I followed the accursed dog, until I have for

1 Now ... awaken] *BB*; O that this wet that falles vpon my face / Would wash the crime cleere from my conscience! Q1; O my offence is ranck Q2, F

3-4 I ... forgiven] *BB*; O these are sinnes that are vnardonable Q1; forgiue me my foule murther, / That cannot be Q2, F

4-6 yet ... sins] *BB*; stoope, bend thee to thy prayer, / Aske grace of heauen to keepe thee from despaire Q1; helpe Angels make assay, / Bowe stubborne knees Q2, F

6 SD] *BB*; *hee kneeles* Q1; *not in* Q2, F

III.ii.0 SD] *BB*; *enters Hamlet* Q1; *Enter Hamlet* Q2, F

1 **conscience** The first time in *BB* that the King voices his guilt. In Q2/F, the first instance is found earlier (III.i.49-53), just before the "To be or not to be" soliloquy: the King speaks about his "deede" and "heauvy burthen" (TLN 1705, 1706, III.i.52, 53).

4 **misdeed** Shakespeare's King goes into more detail, yet with shifting emphasis. In Q1, he says: "Pay me the murder of a brother and a king, / And the adulterous fault I haue committed" (CLN 1461-62, x.5-6). In Q2/F, he reflects: "forgiue me my foule murther, / That cannot be since I am still possest / Of those effects for which I did the murther; / My Crowne, mine owne ambition, and my Queene" (TLN 2328-31, III.iii.52-55). Q2/F's King focuses more on himself (as does the King in *BB*, using eleven variations of the personal pronoun in six lines), while in Q1, the focus is rather on the victims and the damage done.

6 SD Poel adds: "Priest heard behind praying in Latin" (22), making the setting clearly Catholic.

III.ii corresponds to Shakespeare's III.iii.73-98 and x.14-33 (Hamlet considers murdering the King).

1-11 Of Hamlet's seven soliloquies this is the only one not cut in *BB* (Arden2 113). Yet see p. 209, fn. 108 above.

ich ihn einmal angetroffen, nun ist es Zeit, weil er allein ist, ich will ihn in seiner grösten Andacht ums Leben bringen.

[HAMLET] *will ihn durchstechen.*

Doch nein, ich will ihn erstlich sein Gebet thun lassen. Aber ach! wenn ich mich bedenke, meinen Vater hat er nicht so viel Zeit gelassen, daß er erstlich ein Gebet hätte thun können, sondern hat ihn vielleicht in seinen Sünden schlafend nach der Höllen geschickt, darum will ich ihn auch an denselbigen Ort nachsenden. 5

[HAMLET] *will ihn von hinten wieder durchstoßen.*

Doch, halt ein, Hamlet! Warum willst du seine Sünden auf dich laden? Ich will ihm sein Gebet thun lassen, und vor diesesmal von hier gehen, und das Leben schenken. Zur andern Zeit aber will ich schon meine Rache ausüben. 10

[HAMLET] *ab.*

3 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

8 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

12 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

once met him. Now it is time, as he is alone. I will take his life during his most earnest devotions.

HAMLET *is about to stab him.*

But no, I will first let him say his prayer. But, oh! When I think about it, he did not leave my father so much time as to say his prayer first but perhaps sent him to hell sleeping in his sins. Therefore I'll send him to the same place, too. 5

HAMLET *is again about to run him through from behind.*

But hold, Hamlet! Why dost thou want to load his sins upon thee? I will let him say his prayer and go from here this time and give him his life. But at some other time I will exert my revenge. 10

Exit HAMLET.

2-3 Now ... devotions] *BB*; I so, come forth and worke thy last, / And thus hee dies: and so am I reuenged Q1; Now might I doe it, but now a is a praying, / And now Ile doo't, and so a goes to heauen, / And so am I reuendge Q2, F (Now might I do it pat, now he is praying)

5-6 but ... sins] *BB*; he tooke my father sleeping, his sins brim full Q1; A tooke my father grosly full of bread, / Withall his crimes braod blowne, as flush as May Q2, F

12 SD] *BB*; *exit Ham* Q1; *Exit* Q2, F

1 accursed dog Compare I.vi.51.

3 SD Poel adds the SD "Priest heard praying" (22), which could prompt Hamlet's hesitation.

4 But ... prayer The idea to let the King finish his prayers does not occur to Shakespeare's Hamlet. See also note at 8 SD.

6 hell In Shakespeare, the Ghost is in purgatory, not in hell, which makes the Ghost Catholic (Dover Wilson 70). The change may imply a more Protestant inclination in *BB*.

8 SD In Shakespeare, Hamlet only makes one attempt to kill the King. For Baesecke the repeated SD in *BB* illustrates the English Comedians' desire to integrate more visible movement through the repetition of gestures (43). Yet the two attempts are aborted for different reasons. Here, Hamlet hesitates because he does not want to load his uncle's sins upon himself (9; compare also IV.i.21-22). Thematically, this second try is closer to the one attempt in Shakespeare, where Hamlet's reason for not killing his uncle is that he would rather do so "[w]hen he is drunke, a sleepe, or in his rage, / Or in th'incestious pleasure of his bed" (TLN 2364-65, III.iii.89-90), than "[t]o take him in the purging of his soule, / When he is fit and seasond for his passage" (Q2 TLN 2361-62, III.iii.85-86; Q1 similar). Shockingly, Shakespeare's Hamlet does not kill the King because he *wants* him to be damned, whereas *BB*'s Hamlet shows a Christian mindset, wanting to save himself from damnation.

KÖNIG Mein Gewissen ist etwas erleichtert, aber der nagende Hund
 liegt noch unter meinem Herzen. Nun will ich hingehen, und mit Fasten
 und Allmosen, wie auch durch inbrünstiges Gebet, dem Höchsten 15
 versöhnen. Ach verfluchte Ehrsucht, wozu hast du mich gebracht!
 [KÖNIG] *ab.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene iii

KÖNIGIN [*und*] CORAMBUS [*treten auf*].

KÖNIGIN Corambus, saget doch, wie ist es mit unsern Sohn, Prinz
 Hamlet, beschaffen, läßt seine Tollheit in etwas ab, und will seine Raserey
 kein Ende nehmen?

CORAMBUS Ach nein, Ihro Majestät, er ist eben noch so toll, als er
 vorhin gewesen. 5

16 SD KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

III.iii Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

III.iii.2 in etwas a little (Grimm).

2 **und** Should be "oder" ("or"), as in Poel (22). According to Grimm "'und' ['and'] can also rectify, detach or exclude, approaching the meaning of 'oder'" ("kann auch berichtigen, sondern, selbst ausschlieszen, wodurch sich denn *und* dem *oder* nähert"). Steinbach divided the sentence into two: first, a genuine question, ending with "ab?", then a second, rhetorical question.

KING My conscience is somewhat relieved, but the gnawing dog still lies beneath my heart. Now will I go and reconcile myself with the Highest with fasting, alms, as well as through fervent prayer. Ah, 15
cursed ambition, to what hast thou brought me!

Exit KING.

III.iii

Enter QUEEN and CORAMBUS.

QUEEN Corambus, do say, how is it with our son, Prince Hamlet?
Does his madness abate somewhat, and will his ravings never end?

CORAMBUS Ah no, your Majesty, he is just as mad as he was before. 5

13-14 My ... heart] *BB*; My wordes fly vp, my sinnes remaine below. / No King on earth is safe, if Gods his foe Q1; My words fly vp, my thoughts remaine belowe / Words without thoughts neuer to heauen goe Q2, F

16 SD] *BB*; *exit King* Q1; *Exit* Q2, F

13 **the ... dog** presumably, his bad conscience. Creizenach likens this to a passage in a puppet play of *Doctor Faustus*: "This night barks the dog, my black conscience" (169, "In dieser Nacht bellet der Hund, mein schwarzes Gewissen"). In *Phänicia*, Gerando also compares his conscience to a gnawing animal: "Mein gewissen mich hart beist vnd nagt" (Act VI, 307, "My conscience bites and gnaws me severely").

15-16 **Ah ... me!** While Q1's King is worrying about the stability of the political situation, Q2's makes a religious remark, and *BB*'s is cursing his ambition (see collation to 13-14). This underlines Q1's portrayal of the more conventional villain and *BB*'s focus on moral and didactic values, in contrast to Q2's more philosophical and religious monarch.

III.iii has no real correspondence in Shakespeare although the Queen and Corambis/Polonius talk at the beginning of III.iv, scene xi. The purpose of this scene may simply be to remind the audience of Hamlet's supposed madness. Poel continues with the altar-set from the previous scenes (22).

[Dritter Akt,] Scene iv

HORATIO [*zu diesen*].

HORATIO Gnädigste Königin, Prinz Hamlet ist im Vorgemach, und begehret in geheim Audienz.

KÖNIGIN Er ist uns sehr lieb, darum laßt ihn alsobald hereintreten.

HORATIO Es soll geschehen, Ihro Majestät.

[HORATIO] *ab.*

KÖNIGIN Verberget euch, Corambus, hinter die Tapeten, bis wir euch rufen. 5

CORAMBUS Ja ja, ich werde mich ein wenig verstecken.

[CORAMBUS] *versteckt sich.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene v

III.iv Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen] this edn; not in BB*

4 SD HORATIO] *this edn; not in BB*

7 SD CORAMBUS] *this edn; not in BB*

III.v Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

III.iv.5 Tapeten tapestry, carpet, especially a wall hanging (Grimm).

III.iv

HORATIO *to them.*

HORATIO Most gracious Queen, Prince Hamlet is in the antechamber and desires a secret audience.

QUEEN He is very dear to us, so let him come in at once.

HORATIO It shall be done, your Majesty.

Exit HORATIO.

QUEEN Conceal yourself, Corambus, behind the tapestry until we
call you. 5

CORAMBUS Yes, yes, I will hide myself a bit.

CORAMBUS *hides himself.*

III.v

III.iv.5-7] *BB; Cor.* ... I'll shrowde my selfe behinde the Arras. / *Queene* Do so my Lord Q1; *Pol.* ... Ile silence me euen heere ... *Ger.* Ile wait you, feare me not. / With-drawe, I heare him comming Q2, F (*Qu.* Ile warrant you)

7 SD] *BB; exit Cor.* Q1; *not in* Q2, F

III.iv corresponds to III.iv.1-6 and xi.1-3 (the brief exchange between the Queen and Polonius/Corambus before Hamlet enters).

0 SD Horatio is not present in Shakespeare.

1-2 In *BB*, Hamlet comes to his mother's chamber uncalled for. In Shakespeare, he has been sent for, since Polonius/Corambis wants the Queen to tell Hamlet that "his prancks haue beene too braod to beare with" (Q2 TLN 2377, III.iv.2; Q1 similar).

3 **He ... us** This show of affection arguably contrasts with the plan of deceiving her son and having Corambus hide.

5 **behind ... tapestry** In Barbarino, Corambus hid and was killed in a rug.

5-7 In Shakespeare, Corambis/Polonius has been planning to listen to the conversation. Although the Queen is complicit in the overhearing in Shakespeare, more agency is assigned to her in *BB*. Poel increases the Queen's agency by making her "[go] up & [open] curtains behind the altar" and, once Corambus has hidden himself, "[stand] in front of the curtain, as if to arrest Hamlet's further progress" (23). In *BB* the situation is filled with suspense: Corambus has been rushed into hiding by the Queen, and neither she nor the audience know why Hamlet is coming and what the topic of the "secret audience" ("geheim Audienz") might be.

III.v corresponds to Shakespeare's III.iv.7-99 and xi.5-57 (the first part of the closet scene). This

HAMLET [*tritt auf*].

HAMLET Frau Mutter, habt Ihr Euren ersten Gemal wohl gekannt?

KÖNIGIN Ach, erinnert mich nicht mehr meiner vorigen Traurigkeit, ich kann mich der Thränen nicht enthalten, wenn ich an denselben gedenke.

HAMLET Weint Ihr? ach, lasts nur bleiben, es sind doch lauter 5
Crocodillsthränen. Aber sehet, dort in jener Gallerie hängt das Conterfait
Eures ersten Ehegemals, und da hängt das Conterfait des itzigen: was
dünkt Euch wohl, welches ist doch der ansehnlichste unter ihnen? Ist der
erste nicht ein majestätischer Herr?

0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

7 und ... itzigen] *BB*; Dem Conterfey des jetzigen, in diesem Zimmer ThK

III.v.6 Conterfait "picture" (Grimm, "bild"). The word "counterfeit" is used in Q2/F, but not in Q1; see collation to English text.

7 **itzigen** current (Grimm).

HAMLET *enters*.

HAMLET Mother, did you know your first husband well?

QUEEN Ah! Remind me no more of my former sadness, I cannot abstain from tears when I think of the same.

HAMLET Do you weep? Ah, let be; they are mere crocodile's tears. 5
But look: there in that gallery hangs the portrait of your first husband, and there hangs the portrait of the present. What think you, which of them is the comeliest? Is not the first a majestic lord?

III.v.0 SD] *BB; not in Q1; Enter Hamlet Q2, F*

6-7 But ... present] *BB*; behold this picture ... this was your husband / Looke you now, here is your husband Q1 (CLN 1517, 1525-26, xi.24, 32-34); Looke heere vpon this Picture, and on this, / The counterfeit presentment of two brothers Q2, F (TLN 2437-38, III.iv.51-52)

scene greatly differs in Q1 and Q2/F, in length, order of events, and thematic focus. *BB* is closest to Q1 in presenting a shorter scene than the other texts and in eschewing sexually explicit accusations (see note at 11-12).

1 In Shakespeare, Hamlet asks why he has been called: "Now mother, what's the matter?" (TLN 2385, III.iv.7). In F and Q1, he calls from "*within*": "Mother, mother, mother" (F TLN 2381, III.iv.6; Q1 similar). The notorious "Mother, you haue my father much offended" (III.iv.9, TLN 2387) can also be likened to this line in *BB*.

1 **you** Although Hamlet uses the formal address with his mother, he uses the informal one with the ghost of his father (see I.v.9, 13, 17, 35 and III.vi.2).

5 **crocodile's tears** An allusion not found in Shakespeare, although Hamlet speaks of the Queen's "most vnrighteous teares" (TLN 338, I.ii.154) at the beginning of the play. Belleforest has "sous le fard d'un pleur dissimulé" (Stabler 100) at this point in the text. Also, in Shakespeare, Hamlet asks Leartes/Laertes if he would "eate a Crocadile" to prove his love for his sister (TLN 3473, V.i.265).

6 **in ... gallery** Hamlet may be pointing off stage. The deictic ("jener") implies a certain distance from the speaker. This is sometimes taken to suggest that when Hamlet compares the two pictures in Shakespeare, he is referring to life-size portraits (as in *BB*) and not to miniatures, as other critics have argued (Arden2 517-19). Bullough points out that tapestries with portraits of Danish royals hung in Kronborg Castle in Elsinore; they are mentioned in John Stow's *Annals* (7: 34).

7-8 **What ... Lord?** Hamlet mainly judges the brothers' appearance. In Shakespeare, he elaborates on the respective characteristics of the two men, insisting on the drastic differences.

KÖNIGIN Ja freylich ist es wahr.

10

HAMLET Wie habt Ihr ihn denn sobald vergessen können? Pfui! schämet Euch, Ihr habt fast auf einen Tag Begräbniß und Beylager gehalten. Aber still, sind auch alle Thüren vest verschlossen?

KÖNIGIN Warum fraget Ihr das?

CORAMBUS *hustet hinter der Tapete.*

HAMLET Wer ist es, der uns belauert?

15

[HAMLET] *sticht ihm nieder.*

CORAMBUS O weh, Prinz, was thut Ihr! Ich sterbe.

15 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

QUEEN Yes indeed, it is true. 10

HAMLET How could you then so soon forget him? Fie! Shame on you! You had the burial and the betrothal almost on the same day. But hush, are all the doors firmly locked?

QUEEN Why do you ask that?

CORAMBUS *coughs behind the tapestry.*

HAMLET Who is that who is spying on us? 15

HAMLET *stabs him.*

CORAMBUS Woe is me, O Prince, what are you doing! I am dying.

11 How ... him?] *BB*; And this same haue you left to change with this Q1 (CLN 1531, xi.38); Could you on this faire mountaine leaue to feede, / And batten on this Moore Q2, F (TLN 2450-51, III.iv.64-65); what deuill wast / That thus hath cosund you at hodman blind Q1 (hob-man), Q2, F (TLN 2455-56, III.iv.74-75)

12-13 But ... locked?] *BB*; but first weelee make all safe Q1 (CLN 1496, xi.7); *not in* Q2, F

14] *BB*; What wilt thou doe, thou wilt not murther me, / Helpe how Q1, Q2, F

15] *BB*; How now, a Rat, dead for a Duckat, dead Q1, Q2, F

15 SD] *BB*; *not in* Q1, Q2; *Killes Polon ius* F

16] *BB*; *not in* Q1; *Pol.* O I am slaine Q2, F

10 In Shakespeare, the Queen repeatedly has to beg Hamlet to "speake no more" (TLN 2464, III.iv.86), and in Q2/F she shows her guilt: "Thou turnst my very eyes into my soule, / And there I see such blacke and greeued spots / As will leaue there their tin'ct" (TLN 2465-67, III.iv.87-89; F has "and grained spots, / As will not leaue their Tinct"). In Q1 her guilt is not as explicit.

11-12 How ... day This is the scope of Hamlet's accusations in *BB*. At the equivalent point in Q2/F, he announces: "You goe not till I set you vp a glasse / Where you may see the most part of you" (TLN 2399-400, III.iv.18-19; F has "inmost"). After the murder he continues, from "You cannot call it loue for at your age / The heyday in the blood is tame, it's humble" (TLN 2452-53, III.iv.66-67) to "Nay but to liue / In the ranck sweat of an inseeded bed" (TLN 2468-69, III.vi.89-90). Significantly, these lines are not found in Q1, where the accusations are not as sexually explicit as in the longer versions (Marcus 142). Moreover, in *BB*, Hamlet does not even mention the murder of his father but only reproaches the Queen for having forgotten her former husband so quickly.

12 You ... day Compare: "*Hor.* I came to see your Fathers Funerall. ... *Ham.* ... I thinke it was to my mothers wedding. / *Hora.* Indeede my Lord it followed hard vpon" (TLN 364-67, I.ii.175-78; F has "was to see").

12 day In Steinbach, "Clothilde" (Corambus) coughed for the first time at this point prompting Hamlet's next line.

12-13 But ... locked See pp. 174-75 above.

14 SD In *BB*, Corambus probably reveals his presence unintentionally, whereas in Shakespeare, he believes the Queen in danger and joins in her cries for help.

[CORAMBUS *stirbt.*]

KÖNIGIN O Himmel, mein Sohn, was thut Ihr! Es ist Corambus, der Hofmarschall.

[Dritter Akt,] Scene vi

GEIST *geht über das Theater. geblitzet.*

HAMLET Ach werther Schatten meines Vaters, stehe still! Ach! ach! was ist dein Begehren? forderst du Rache? dieselbe will ich schon zu rechter Zeit ausüben.

KÖNIGIN Was macht Ihr, und mit wem redet Ihr?

16 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

III.vi Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

III.vi.0 SD *Theater* See note at I.iii.21 SD.

0 SD *geblitzet* This may refer to an effect resembling lightning or, less likely, the sound of cannons (Grimm).

CORAMBUS *dies*.

QUEEN O heavens, my son, what are you doing? It is Corambus, the chamberlain!

III.vi

GHOST *walks over the stage. Lightning.*

HAMLET O worthy shade of my father, stay still! Ah, ah! What is thy desire? Dost thou demand revenge? I will execute it at the right time.

QUEEN What are you doing and with whom are you speaking?

17 O ... doing!] *BB*; *Ger.* O me, what hast thou done? Q2, Q1 (*Queene Hamlet*, what), F (*Qu.* Oh)

III.vi.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter the ghost in his night gowne* Q1; *Enter Ghost* Q2, F

1-2 Ah ... desire?] *BB*; *not in* Q1; what would your gracious figure? Q2, F

1 Ah, ah!] *BB*; Saue me, saue me Q1; Saue me Q2, F

2 Dost ... revenge?] *BB*; Doe you not come your tardy sonne to chide Q1, Q2, F

4] *BB*; Alas how i'st with you? / That you doe bend your eye on vacancie, / And with th'incorporall ayre doe hold discourse? Q1, Q2, F; *Ger.* To whom doe you speake this? Q2, F (*Qu.*)

16 Most characters use a similar formula for their dying words (Petersen 101): the Queen (V.vi.42), Leonhardus (V.vi.45-46), Hamlet (V.vi.68-69), and Tipold in *RuJ* (IV.ii.75).

17-18 **It ... chamberlain** In *BB* Hamlet does not waste another word on Corambus. In Shakespeare, he inquires about the victim's identity. In Q2/F, he significantly asks: "is it the King?" (TLN 2407, III.iv.24), and in all three texts he declares: "I tooke thee for thy better" (TLN 2414, III.iv.30). There is no allusion to the King in *BB*.

III.vi corresponds to Shakespeare's III.iv.100-215 and xi.58-101 (the second half of the closet scene).

0 SD The motivation for the Ghost's appearance differs from that in Shakespeare, where he comes "to whet [Hamlet's] ... blunted purpose" and to make his son speak to the Queen (TLN 2490-95, III.iv.107; Q1 similar).

0 SD **Lightning** For the special effect, see p. 140 above.

1 **worthy ... father** Compare I.v.17.

2 **revenge** In Q1's version of this speech Hamlet uses the word "reuenge" twice (CLN 1556, 1559; xi.61, 64); in the longer versions, it does not appear at all (Bullough 7: 145).

HAMLET Sehet Ihr nicht den Geist Eures seeligen Ehegemahls? Sehet, 5
er winket, als wollte er mit Euch reden.

KÖNIGIN Wie? ich sehe ja nichts.

HAMLET Ich glaube es wohl, daß Ihr nichts sehet, denn Ihr seyd nicht 10
mehr würdig, seine Gestalt zu sehen. Pfui, schämt Euch, ich mag kein
Wort mehr mit Euch reden.

[GEIST *ab.*] [HAMLET] *ab.*

KÖNIGIN *alleine* Ach Himmel, wie hat doch die Melancholie diesen
Prinzen so viele Raserey zugebracht! Ach, mein einziger Prinz hat seinen
Verstand ganz verloren! Ach, ach, ich bin viel Schuld daran! Hätte ich

10 SD GEIST ... HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

11 *alleine*] *BB; sola ThK*

9 Pfui ... Euch Marked typographically in Genée (423).

HAMLET Do you not see the ghost of your departed husband? 5
Look, he beckons as if he would speak with you.

QUEEN How? I see nothing.

HAMLET I well believe that you see nothing, for you are no longer
worthy to see his figure. Fie, shame on you! Not one word more do I
want to say to you. 10

Exit GHOST. *Exit* HAMLET.

QUEEN (*alone*) O heaven, how has this melancholy brought so
much raving on the Prince! Ah, my only prince has entirely lost his
wits! Ah, ah, I am much to blame for it! Had I not taken in marriage

5] *BB*; Doe you see nothing there? Q1, Q2, F

7] *BB*; *Queene* Not I Q1; *Ger.* Nothing at all, yet all that is I see Q2, F (*Qu.*)

10 *SD* *Exit* GHOST] *this edn*; *Exit Ghost* Q1, Q2; *Exit* F

10 *SD* *Exit* HAMLET] *BB*; *Exit Hamlet with the dead body* Q1; *Exit* Q2; *Exit Hamlet tugging in Polonius* F

12-13 Ah ... wits] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Alas, hee's mad Q2, F

6 An implied SD for the Ghost. Compare: "*Hora*. It beckins you to goe away with it / As if it some impartment did desire / To you alone" (TLN 644-46, I.iv.58-60). In Shakespeare, the Ghost makes no attempts to talk to the Queen but urges Hamlet to "[s]peake to her" (TLN 2495, III.iv.111). In *BB*, he remains silent.

8-9 **I ... figure** Although Hamlet also thinks the Queen's behavior inappropriate in Shakespeare, he does not make this causal connection. Dover Wilson believes that "Shakespeare doubtless expected his audience to assume ... without explicit statement on his part" that "her eyes are held by the adultery she has committed" (254). He even sees this as the reason for the Ghost's "steal[ing] away" (TLN 2517, III.iv.132).

9-10 **Fie ... you** The abrupt exit illustrates a main difference in this scene between *BB* and the English texts. Here, Hamlet scolds his mother and then leaves, disgusted. In Shakespeare, he tries to change her attitude and behavior. He seems to have no intention of reforming the Queen in *BB*.

9 **Fie ... you** In Steinbach, Hamlet spit at the Queen, receiving a slap in the face in return.

10 *SD* ***Exit* GHOST** There is no exit SD for the Ghost, but this seems the most likely moment, a possible alternative being as early as line 7.

10 *SD* ***Exit* HAMLET** In Shakespeare, the dialogue turns to Corambis's/Polonius's body in the lines before Hamlet's exit, and Q1 and F even provide a SD for him exiting with the corpse.

12-13 **Ah ... wits** As in Shakespeare, the Queen interprets Hamlet's behavior in the context of his (pretended) madness.

12 **my ... prince** For Hamlet's status as an only child see note at II.i.6.

13 **Ah ... it** The first sign of the Queen having feelings of guilt (see note at III.v.10).

13-15 **Had ... hand** In Shakespeare, the Queen never has such explicit agency assigned to her.

meinen Schwager, meines vorigen Gemahls Bruder, nicht zu der Ehe
 genommen, so hätte ich meinem [Sohn] nicht die Krone Dännemark aus 15
 der Hand gespielt. Was ist aber bey geschehenen Dingen zu thun? nichts,
 es muß nun so bleiben. Hätte mir der Pabst solche Ehe nicht erlaubt: so
 wäre es auch nimmer geschehen. Ich will hingehen, und mich aufs
 höchste bemühen, wie ich meinen Sohn wieder zu seinem vorigen
 Verstand und Gesundheit helfen kann. 20
 [KÖNIGIN] *ab.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene vii

JENS [*tritt*] *allein* [*auf*].

[JENS] Ich bin nun lange nicht zu Hofe gewesen, und meine Zinsen
 abgegeben. Ich befürchte, wo ich werde hinkommen, ich werde müssen
 ins Loch kriechen. Könnt ich nur einen guten Freund finden, der ein gutes
 Wort vor mich redete, damit ich nicht abgestraft werde.

[Dritter Akt,] Scene viii

PHANTASMO [*zu ihm*].

15 Sohn] COHN; *not in BB*

18 nimmer] *BB*; nimmermehr ThK

20 SD KÖNIGIN] *this edn; not in BB*

III.vii Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *tritt, auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

1 SP] *this edn; not in BB*

III.viii Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu ihm*] *this edn; not in BB*

III.vii.3 ins ... kriechen go to prison.

my brother-in-law, my former husband's brother, I would not have
 maneuvered the crown of Denmark out of my son's hand. But what can 15
 one do about things that have already happened? Nothing, it must
 remain as it is. Had not the pope allowed me such marriage, it would
 never have happened. I will go hence and try my best to help my son
 to his former sense and health.

20

Exit QUEEN.

III.vii

Enter JENS, *alone*.

JENS It's a long time since I was at court and paid my taxes. I am
 afraid, go where I may, I will have to creep into the hole. If I could
 only find a good friend, who would speak a good word for me, so that
 I won't be punished.

III.viii

PHANTASMO *to him*.

17 **Had ... marriage** See p. 65 above. Creizenach, following Koch, sees this as an allusion to Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Aragon – for which he received papal permission (Arden3 179) – and therefore believes these words to be based on a sentence already inserted into the *Ur-Hamlet* in England (Creizenach 141). Freudenstein disagrees, stressing that English politics would have been of little importance to German audiences. This passage may have originated with a Protestant adapter (68).

17-18 **Had ... happened** This "raised laughter at [Poel's] original performances" (Poel xiv).

III.vii No correspondence in Shakespeare; see also pp. 206-07 above. The dramatic moment of the first murder is followed by a comic interlude, introducing new characters before the Shakespearean plot resumes.

III.viii No correspondence in Shakespeare.

1 SD Phantasmo only appears once Corambus is dead. Freudenstein argues that he takes over the comic role which Corambus's death has left vacant (67). Conceptual doubling (see app. 4b, pp.

PHANTASMO Es gehet zu Hofe anjetzo wunderlich zu. Prinz Hamlet ist toll, die Ophelia ist auch toll; in Summa, es geht ganz wunderlich da her, daß ich auch fast Lust habe, hinwegzulaufen.

JENS Potz tausend, da sehe ich meinen guten Freund Phantasmo, ich hätte keinen bessern antreffen können, ich muß ihn bitten, daß er ein gut Wort vor mich redet. Glück zu, Herr Phantasmo! 5

PHANTASMO Großen Dank! Was ist dein Begehren, Herr Bauer?

JENS Ey, mein Herr Phantasmo, ich bin lange nicht zu Hofe gewesen, und bin viel schuldig, darum bitte ich Euch, Ihr wollet doch ein gutes Wort vor mich einlegen, ich will Euch auch einen guten Käß spendiren. 10

PHANTASMO Was? meynst du Flegel, daß ich zu Hofe nichts zu fressen habe?

[Dritter Akt,] Scene ix

[Zu diesen] OPHELIA[,] toll.

[OPHELIA] Ich laufe und renne, und kann doch mein Schätzchen nicht

III.ix Dritter Akt *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *Zu diesen* *this edn; not in BB*

1 SP CREIZENACH; *not in BB*

III.viii.1 anjetzo jetzt: now.

2 die Ophelia For the use of the article, see note to *RuJ* I.iv.71.

4 Potz tausend An exclamatory phrase (Grimm), which Pickelherring also uses in *Jude von Venetien* (III.vi, 240). For "Poz", see note to *RuJ* I.iv.62.

6 Glück zu "possibly derived from *luck fall to (you)* ... an expression of joy" (Grimm, "vielleicht ... verkürzungen aus *glück falle [dir] zu* entstanden ... als Freudenbezeugung").

9 viel schuldig possible ellipsis of "money" ("Geld").

10 guten Käß "old cheese" in ThK (57, "mit einem alten Käse").

PHANTASMO There are odd goings on at court now. Prince Hamlet is mad, Ophelia is also mad; *in summa*, things go on so very strangely that I am almost also inclined to run away.

JENS Gee, there I see my good friend Phantasmo! I couldn't have come across a better. I'll have to ask him to say a good word for me. 5
Good luck to you, Mister Phantasmo!

PHANTASMO Many thanks! What is thy desire, Mister Peasant?

JENS Ah, Mister Phantasmo, I haven't been at court for a long time, and I owe a great deal. Therefore I ask you to put in a good word for me, and I'll treat you to a good cheese. 10

PHANTASMO What? Dost thou think, lout, that at court I get no fodder?

III.ix

Enter OPHELIA, mad.

OPHELIA I run and run, and yet I cannot find my sweetheart. He

III.ix.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire downe singing* Q1 (CLN 1691-92, xiii.14 SD); *Enter Ophelia* Q2 (TLN 2766, IV.v.16 SD); *Enter Ophelia distracted* F (TLN 2766, IV.i.20 SD)

763-64 below) of the two roles is possible if the actor playing Jens does not rush through III.vii. 2 **Ophelia ... mad** Ophelia's madness is mentioned earlier than in Shakespeare (IV.v.2, xiii.7-8). On Ophelia's comic madness and its function, see pp. 210-14 above. The clown casually mentions her madness, which contrasts with the urgency with which the Queen in Q1, the Gentleman in Q2, and Horatio in F announce Ophelia's distress. In Shakespeare, apart from the search for Corambis's/Polonius's body, two more sequences occur before Ophelia's madness: Hamlet is sent to England (transposed to III.x in *BB*), and Fortinbras appears with his army.

III.ix has no exact correspondence to Shakespeare, where Ophelia displays her madness on two occasions: first to introduce her new state to the audience and to show the Queen's and King's reaction to it (IV.v.16-73, xiii.15-46); secondly to show her brother's reaction (IV.v.151-92, xiii.71-115). These two are condensed in Ophelia's third and last appearance in *BB* (IV.vii). Her first two appearances (III.ix and III.xi) exclusively display her comic function. Poel heavily cut this scene, omitting all sexual innuendos (24-25).

0 SD One of the few instances where F and *BB* agree against Q1 and Q2 (see app. 3b).

1 **I ... sweetheart** Ophelia is looking for her loved one, as she is in her next appearance (III.xi.7).

antreffen. Er hat mir Boten geschickt, ich soll zu ihm kommen, wir wollen Hochzeit machen, ich habe mich schon angezogen. Aber da ist mein Liebchen! Siehe bist du da, mein Lämmchen, ich habe dich so gesucht, ja gesucht hab ich dich. Ach gedenke doch, der Schneider hat mir meinen cartunen Rock ganz verdorben. Siehe, da hast du ein schönes Blümchen, mein Herz! 5

PHANTASMO O der Teufel, wer nur von ihr weg wäre; sie meynt, ich bin ihr Liebster.

OPHELIA Was sagst du, mein Liebchen? Wir wollen mit einander zu Bette gehen, ich will dich ganz reine waschen. 10

PHANTASMO Ja, ja, ich will dich wieder einseifen und auch auswaschen.

OPHELIA Höre, mein Liebchen, hast du dein neues Kleid schon angezogen? Ey, das ist schön gemacht, recht auf die neue Mode. 15

PHANTASMO Daß weiß ich ohnedem wohl — — —

OPHELIA O potz tausend, was hätte ich bald vergessen! Der König hat mich zu Gaste gebeten, ich muß geschwinde laufen. Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen!

[OPHELIA] *ab.*

PHANTASMO O Hecate, du Königin der Hexen, wie bin ich so froh, 20

19 SD OPHELIA] *this edn; not in BB*

III.ix.6 cartunen kartun, a popular form of "kattun" ("cotton") in Central Germany (Grimm).

6 **Rock** designated the main piece of clothing, whether male or female (Grimm), but it could also translate as the modern "skirt".

10-11 **Wir ... gehen** Much of the bawdy content of Ophelia's lines is mirrored in her songs in Shakespeare (see pp. 212-13 above).

16 For Creizenach " — — —" signals that Phantasmo should improvise on the subject of his clothes (172).

17 **potz tausend** In her madness, Ophelia's language approximates that of the clown. See also note to *RuJ* I.iv.62.

sent messengers to me, I am to come to him, we want to have our wedding, I am dressed already. But there is my love. See there thou art, my lambkin. I have sought thee so; yes, have I sought thee! Ah, only think the tailor has completely spoiled my cotton gown! See, 5 there's a pretty flower for thee, my heart!

PHANTASMO Oh, the devil, who could be away from her! She thinks I am her lover.

OPHELIA What sayest thou, my love? Let's go to bed together; I'll wash thee quite clean. 10

PHANTASMO Yes, yes, I'll soap thee and wash thee out, too.

OPHELIA Listen, my love, hast thou already put on thy new suit? Ah, that is nicely made, quite in the new fashion. 15

PHANTASMO I know that anyway –

OPHELIA O gee! What I had nearly forgotten! The King has invited me as his guest; I must run fast. Look there, my little coach, my little coach!

Exit OPHELIA.

PHANTASMO O Hecate! Thou queen of witches, how glad I am 20

18-19 Look ... coach] *BB*; *not in Q1*; Come, my Coach *Q2, F* (TLN 2807-08, IV.v.71)

In Shakespeare, she sings "And wil a not come againe, / No, no, he is dead" (TLN 2942-43, IV.v.183-84), which probably refers to her father.

3 I ... already This may indicate that Ophelia is dressed as a bride. In Steinbach she wore a white dress (see app. 6, fig. 1). Poel had her "dressed as columbine" (24).

6 flower This prefigures Ophelia's distribution of flowers in IV.vii.

8-9 Either directed to the audience or to Jens, who remains silent (and may withdraw) while Ophelia is on stage.

11-12 **I'll ... too** Phantasmo picks up on Ophelia's peculiar announcement, most probably with bawdy undertones.

14-15 In Steinbach, Phantasmo's colourful jester's costume added to the comedy (see app. 6, fig. 1).

14 **suit**, 15 **fashion** Clothes and fashion are an important part of Ophelia's obsession (see also pp. 164-65 above).

18-19 **Look ... coach** Here *BB* and *Q2/F* agree against *Q1* (see p. 224 above). Along with III.xi.25 and IV.vii.3, this can be likened to Zabina's lines before her suicide in *Tamburlaine, Part 1*: "Make ready my coach, my chair, my jewels. I come, I come, I come!" (V.i.315-16).

20 **Hecate** Night is addressed by this name in the prologue (0.24).

daß dieß tolle Ding weg ist; wäre sie länger geblieben, ich wäre mit toll worden. Ich muß nur gehen, eh' das närrische Ding wiederkommen wird.

JENS Ach barmherziger Herr Phantasma! Ich bitte meiner nicht zu vergessen.

PHANTASMO Nun, komm nur mit, Bruder Hundsfott; ich will sehn, 25
daß ich dir bey dem Ober-Einnehmer zurechte helfe.

[PHANTASMO und JENS] *gehen ab.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene x

KÖNIG, HAMLET, HORATIO [*und*] ZWEY DIENER [*treten auf*].

KÖNIG Wo ist Corambus sein Leichnam geblieben? Ist er noch nicht hinweggebracht?

HORATIO Er liegt noch an den Ort, wo er erstochen ist.

26 SD PHANTASMO ... JENS] *this edn; not in BB*

III.x Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

25 **Hundsfott** "abusive term for a contemptible, especially cowardly person ... actually the genitalia of a female dog ... also a rough, jocular term of endearment" (Grimm, "schimpfwort für einen verächtlichen, vorzüglich feigen menschen... eigentlich *vulva canina* ... auch als derbes scherzhaftes kosewort"). Probably "a term of endearment" here. In *Jude von Venetien*, Pickelherring not only calls Florello and the Jew, but even the King an old "hundsfutt" (IV.iv, 248, V.viii, 269 and I.iii, 211). Köhler even cites an adjectival use: "hundsfüttisch" (*Kunst* 255).

26 **zurechte** an adverb with the meaning of "putting things right" (Grimm).

III.x.1 **Corambus ... Leichnam** "sein" ("his") is added to a possessive genitive which refers to the following noun (Grimm).

that that mad thing has gone. If she had remained longer, I should have gone mad with her. I must only be off before the crazy thing comes back again.

JENS O merciful Mister Phantasma! I ask you not to forget me.

PHANTASMO Now come along, Brother Dog-turd, I will see to it that I help thee to put things right with the chief collector. 25

Exeunt PHANTASMO and JENS.

III.x

Enter KING, HAMLET, HORATIO, and TWO SERVANTS.

KING Where is the corpse of Corambus? Has it not yet been carried away?

HORATIO He is still lying in the place where he was stabbed.

III.x.0 SD] *BB; Enter the King and Lordes Q1 (CLN 1602, xi.103 SD); Eenter King, and Queene, with Rosencraus and Guyldensterne Q2 (TLN 2586, IV.i.0 SD); Enter King F (TLN 2586, III.iv.192 SD); Enter Hamlet and the Lordes Q1 (CLN 1624, xi.125 SD); Enter Rosencraus and all the rest ... They enter Q2 (TLN 2672, 2681 SD, IV.iii.11 SD, 15 SD); Enter Rosincrane ... Enter Hamlet and Guildensterne F (TLN 2672, 2681, III.iv.222 SD, III.v.5 SD)*

1 Where ... Corambus?] *BB; Now sonne Hamlet, where is this dead body? Q1; Now Hamlet, where's Polonius? Q2, F*

26 SD **JENS ... ab** This is the last we see of Jens. See also pp. 206-07 above.

III.x mainly corresponds to Shakespeare's IV.iii.11-66 and xi.128-66 (the King interrogates Hamlet) although parts of IV.i and IV.ii (concerning the search for the body) are also incorporated.

0 SD In Q1, the Queen is still on stage. In Poel, Hamlet entered "as prisoner" (25) and only at line 6.

0 SD **HORATIO** In Shakespeare Horatio is not present.

0 SD **TWO SERVANTS** See p. 209 above. They remain silent for most of this scene. In Poel, they are "fantasticly [sic] dressed like Greek Banditti" (25).

1-2 Unlike in Shakespeare, this is not specifically addressed to Hamlet. Hamlet's non-sensical answers and the prolonged search for the body are cut in *BB*, possibly because the visual effect of these sequences was minimal.

3 Unlike in Shakespeare, Hamlet has not hidden the corpse.

KÖNIG Es ist leid uns, daß er so unverhohft um das Leben kommen.
 Gehet hin, und lasset ihn wegtragen; wir wollen ihn adlich zur Erden
 bestätigen lassen. 5

[HORATIO *ab.*]

Ach! Prinz Hamlet, was habt Ihr gethan, daß Ihr den alten Corambus so
 unschuldig durchstochen! Es ist uns herzlich leid, doch weil es ohngefähr
 geschehen, ist zwar diese Mordthat in etwas zu entschuldigen; allein ich
 fürchte, wo es unter den Adel kommt, daß es bey den Unterthanen leicht 10
 einen Aufruhr bringen könnte, und könnten also seinen Tod an Euch
 rächen. Wir aber aus väterlicher Vorsorge haben ein Mittel erfunden,
 welches dieses Unglück abhalten kann.

HAMLET Es ist mir leid, Herr Vetter und Vater! Ich habe etwas mit
 der Königin in geheim reden wollen, dieser Spion aber hat uns belauert, 15

6 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

6 bestätigen "to bury" (Grimm, "bestatten"). In modern German: "to confirm".

8 unschuldig This presumably describes Corambus, not Hamlet.

8 ohngefähr here: unintentionally, accidentally (Grimm).

9, 20 in etwas a little (Grimm).

9 allein only, but (Grimm).

KING It grieves us that he has lost his life so unexpectedly. Go and let him be carried away; we wish him to be nobly buried. 5

Exit HORATIO.

O Prince Hamlet, what have you done to stab the innocent old Corambus? It grieves us heartily, but as it happened unwittingly, this murderous deed is perhaps somewhat to be pardoned. I fear, however, that when this gets known among the nobility, it may easily cause an uproar among the subjects, and they may revenge his death on you. But, out of paternal precaution, we have devised a means to ward this misfortune from you. 10

HAMLET I am sorry for it, cousin and father! I wanted to say something in secret to the Queen, but this spy observed us furtively. 15

7-8 O ... heartily] *BB*; *not in Q1*; *Hamlet* this deede ... as we deerely grieue / For that which thou hast done Q2, F (this deed of thine)

10-13 that ... you] *BB*; we in care of you Q1; for thine especiall safety Q2, F

14 I ... it] *BB*; *not in Q1*; for this same Lord, / I doe repent Q2, F (TLN 2548-49, III.iv.170-71)

4-5 **Go ... away** probably addressed to Horatio, and possibly others (see note at 6 SD).

5 **we ... buried** This contrasts with the King's later regret in Q2/F that they "haue done but greenly / In hugger mugger to inter him" (TLN 2820-21, IV.v.83-84).

6 SD The most likely moment for Horatio's exit (for which no SD is given), also used in Steinbach. Someone has to follow the King's command, and the servants ("Diener") seem to stay. Alternatively, they could leave here and come back in time. Horatio could also exit with the King (47 SD) or, less likely, with Hamlet and the servants (54 SD).

7 **Prince Hamlet** Q1's King calls Hamlet "sonne" three times in this scene (CLN 1627, 1640, 1648, xi.128, 139, 147), and he is addressed as "father" by Hamlet as many times (CLN 1631, 1638, 1642, xi.131, 137, 141). In Q2, Hamlet never calls the King "father" (Creizenach, "Tragödie" 15).

10-11 **when ... you** Q1's King focuses on Hamlet's health (see also line 20) and mentions no immediate danger, and Q2/F's King speaks of sending Hamlet away for his "especiall safety" (TLN 2701, IV.iii.39). In Q2/F the King even fears that *he* will be blamed for the murder of Polonius (IV.i.17). Yet the King's goal in all four texts is the same: to get rid of Hamlet as quickly as possible.

12 **paternal precaution** With this alliteration the "father-son" relationship between Hamlet and the King reaches its ironic climax. See also note at 7.

14 **I ... it** In Q2/F, Hamlet also regrets having killed Polonius, but before the Queen, not the King. In Q1, he shows no remorse.

14 **cousin** See note to *RuJ* II.iii.31.

15 **this ... furtively** Compare Hamlet saying to Polonius's dead body: "Thou find'st to be too busie is some danger" (Q2/F-only TLN 2415, III.iv.31).

doch hab ich nicht gewußt, daß es dieser alte Narr seyn sollte: was meynen aber Ihro Majestät, wie nun am besten mit mir zu procediren sey?

KÖNIG Wir haben bey uns beschlossen, Euch nacher England zu schicken, weil diese Krone nahe mit der unsrigen befreundet; als könnt Ihr Euch eine Zeit, weil eine gesündere Luft allda, in etwas refrigiren, und zu Eurer Genesung besser als hier gelangen. Wir wollen Euch etliche von unsern Bedienten mitgeben, die Euch begleiten und treulich aufwarten sollen. 20

HAMLET Ja ja, König, schickt mich nur nach Portugall, auf daß ich

18, 31 **nacher** to; generally used into the eighteenth century instead of the preposition "nach" (Grimm).

20 **allda** "even there" (Grimm, "daselbst").

Yet I did not know that it should be this old fool. But how does your Majesty think it were best to proceed with me now?

KING We have determined to send you to England because that crown is near in friendship to our own, so that you can, because the air there is healthier, cool yourself off for a time and regain your health 20 better than here. We will give you some of our servants, who shall accompany you and wait upon you faithfully.

HAMLET Yes, yes, King, just send me off to Portugal, that I may

16 Yet ... fool] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Nay I knowe not, is it the King? Q2, F (TLN 2407, III.iv.24)

16 this ... fool] *BB*; a foolish prating knave Q1 (CLN 1600, xi.103), F, Q2 (a most foolish, TLN 2582, III.iv.213)

18 We ... England] *BB*; It is our minde you forthwith goe for *England* Q1; euery thing is bent / For *England* Q2, F (at bent)

18-19 because ... own] *BB*; our deare brother of England Q1 (CLN 1619, xi.121); And *England*, if my loue thou hold'st at ought ... Since yet thy Cicatrice lookes raw and red, / After the Danish sword Q2, F (TLN 2723, 2725-26, IV.iii.56-59)

19-21 because ... here] *BB*; Happly the aire and climate of the Country / May please him better than his natue home Q1 (CLN 1621-22, xi.123-24); Haply the seas, and countries different, / With variable obiects, shall expell / This something setled matter in his hart Q2, F (TLN 1828-30, III.i.170-72)

18 England In Q2/F the idea to send Hamlet to England occurs to the King immediately after the nunnery sequence (III.i.168-69), and the plan is then reiterated by Polonius (III.i.185), the King (III.iii.4), and Hamlet (III.iv.198). In Q1, the decision to send Hamlet away is taken after the murder (xi.118), as in *BB*. At this point, Shakespeare's King probably decides to move the departure forward: "you shall aboorde to night" (Q1 CLN 1652, xi.152; Q2/F similar). In *BB*, this is the first mention of England. Like most plans (e.g., spying on Hamlet and Ophelia, performing the play, Hamlet visiting his mother), it is hatched and immediately carried out. Uniquely in *BB* Hamlet is the first person to be informed of his voyage (in Q1 it is the Queen, in Q2/F it is Polonius although Ophelia may be listening). In contrast, *BB*'s King already decides to have Hamlet killed after the "nunnery sequence" (II.iv.26), when Q2/F's King only speaks of sending him away (III.i.168).

18-19 because ... own Whereas in Q1 and *BB* England seems to have friendly relations with Denmark, in Q2/F the King's tone suggests a rather forced friendship.

19-21 because ... here Unlike Q1 and *BB*, Q2/F does not explicitly refer to atmospheric conditions. The early modern mind, in accordance with the English theory of humors or the German "Affekte", supports a literal interpretation of Hamlet's "cooling off" in a different climate. Only in *BB* does the King address these lines directly to Hamlet.

24 Portugal There is no clear link to a historical event. Suggestions include Drake's military

nimmer wieder komme, das ist das beste. 25

KÖNIG Nein, nicht nach Portugall, sondern nach England, und diese beyden sollen mit Euch auf der Reise seyn; wenn Ihr aber in England kommt, sollt Ihr mehr Diener bekommen.

HAMLET Sind das die Laquaaien? Das sind saubere Bursche!

KÖNIG Höret ihr beyden! 30

[KÖNIG] *heimlich zu den beyden Dienern.*

Sobald ihr nacher England kommt, so verrichtet, was ich euch befohlen habe. Nehmet einen Degen, oder ein jeder eine Pistole, und bringet ihn ums Leben. Wo aber dieser Anschlag nicht möchte von statten gehn, so nehmet diesen Brief, und bringet ihn nebst den Prinzen an aufgeschriebenen Ort; derselbige wird wohl dahin bedacht seyn, daß er 35
nimmer wieder aus England kommen soll. Aber das rathe ich euch, daß ihr keinem Menschen was offenbaret. Eure Bezahlung sollt ihr haben, sobald ihr zurückkommt.

30 SD KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

35 **derselbige** could refer to the letter, to the assassin, or, less likely, to the place.

never come back again, that is the best. 25

KING No, not to Portugal but to England, and those two shall be with you on the journey. But when you arrive in England, you shall have more servants.

HAMLET Are those the lackeys? These are fine fellows!

KING Listen you two! 30

KING *secretly to the two servants.*

As soon as you reach England, do what I have commanded you. Take a sword or a pistol each, and take his life. But should this attempt miscarry, take this letter and bring it, with the Prince, to the place

inscribed on it; it will take care that he will never leave England again. 35
But I advise you not to reveal anything to any man. You shall receive

your payment as soon as you return.

26-27 those ... journey] *BB*; Lord *Rossencraft* and *Gilderstone* shall goe along with you Q1; Th'associats tend Q2, F

32 take ... life] *BB*; That *Hamlet* loose his head, for he must die Q1 (CLN 1666, xi.164); The present death of *Hamlet*, doe it *England* Q2, F (TLN 2730, IV.iii.63)

33 take ... letter] *BB*; Our Letters are vnto the King of England Q1 (CLN 1663, xi.161); By Letters congruing to that effect Q2, F (TLN 2729, VI.iii.62)

35 that ... again] *BB*; To England is he gone, ne're to returne Q1 (CLN 1662, xi.160); *not in* Q2, F

expedition to Portugal in 1589 (Corbin 257) and the Dutch-Portuguese war (1624-61) (Creizenach 132).

31-38 In Shakespeare, it can be deduced that the King is speaking alone (an interpretation which Arden3 supports), since the text and the SDs leave the exits of the other characters ambiguous. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern only bear "letters", which are "seald" in Q2 (TLN 2577+1, III.iv.200), and it is therefore not clear how much the two know. In Q2/F the King tells them to "Arme" themselves "to this speedy viage" (TLN 2297, III.iii.24), which may carry "a hint of 'take arms or weapons'" (Arden3 328). In *BB*, by contrast, the order to murder Hamlet is clear, and the letter is only a back-up plan. *BB* prefers a visual murder attempt to letters whose content is not immediately visible.

33 letter The only letter mentioned in *BB* (see also headnote to II.iv); it reappears at IV.i.56. In ThK, Reichard specifies that this letter is addressed to the "Prince of England" (57, "Prinz von England"), possibly influenced by Shakespeare's texts.

32-33 But ... miscarry There is no plan B in Shakespeare.

34-35 to ... it This place is never revealed in the play.

38 Compare the servants' silence to Rosencraus's and Guyldensterne's elaborate and flattering answer in Q2/F (III.iii.7-23).

HAMLET Nun, Ihro Majestät, welches sind denn die rechten, die
mitreisen sollen? 40

KÖNIG Diese zwey. Nun, die Götter wollen Euch begleiten, daß Ihr
möget mit gutem Winde an Ort und Stelle kommen.

HAMLET Nun Adieu, Frau Mutter!

KÖNIG Wie, mein Prinz, warum heist Ihr uns Frau Mutter?

HAMLET Mann und Weib ist ja ein Leib, Vater oder Mutter, es ist mir 45
alles gleich.

KÖNIG Nun so fahrt wohl, der Himmel sey mit Euch.

[KÖNIG] *ab.*

HAMLET Nun, ihr noblen Quantchen, sollt ihr meine Gefährten seyn?

[BEIDE] DIENERS Ja, Ihro Durchlaucht!

HAMLET So kommt denn, ihr noblen Gesellen, 50

[HAMLET] *nimmt sie beyde an [die] Hand.*

44 mein] *BB*; nun ThK

47 SD KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

49 SP BEIDE] *this edn; not in BB*

50 SD HAMLET, *die*] *this edn; not in BB*

39 **rechten** right, either in opposition to "wrong" or in social or moral terms (Grimm, "im gegensatz zu ... *falsch* ... in sittlicher oder gesellschaftlicher [hinsicht]").

42 **an ... Stelle** a hendiadys (see pp. 153-54 above), which is still used today.

48 **Quantchen** diminutive of "Quant": rascal, rogue (Grimm).

HAMLET Now, your Majesty, which are the right ones, then, that
are to travel with me? 40

KING These two. Well, the gods be with you that with a fair wind
you may reach your destination.

HAMLET Now adieu, mother!

KING What, my Prince, why do you call us mother?

HAMLET Man and wife is one flesh: father or mother, it is all the
same to me. 45

KING Well, fare thee well; heaven be with you.

Exit KING.

HAMLET Now, you noble sneaks, are you to be my companions?

BOTH SERVANTS Yes, your Highness!

HAMLET Come then, you noble comrades, 50

HAMLET takes both of them by the hand.

41-42 that ... destination] *BB*; The winde sits faire Q1; the wind at helpe Q2, F

43] *BB*; farewell mother Q1; Farewell deere Mother Q2, F

44] *BB*; Your louing father, *Hamlet* Q1; Thy louing Father *Hamlet* Q2, F

45-46] *BB*; My mother I say: you married my mother, / My mother is your wife, man and wife is
one flesh, / And so (my mother) farewell Q1; My mother, Father and Mother is man and wife, /
Man and wife is one flesh, so my mother Q2, F

47] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Follow him at foote, / Tempt him with speede aboard Q2, F

41 **fair wind** Hamlet later tells Horatio that it was a "contrary wind" (V.ii.10, "contraire Wind")
which brought him to the island.

43-46 Corresponds closely to Shakespeare. Hamlet's answer in *BB* is closest to Q2/F, since Q1
shifts the agency to the King: "*you* married my mother, / My mother is *your* wife" (emphasis
mine). In these lines "my mother" occurs four times in Q1, only twice in Q2/F, and not at all in
BB.

48 **sneaks** In Q2, Hamlet tells his mother about his "two Schoolefellowes, / Whom [he] will trust
as [he] will Adders fang'd" (TLN 2577+1-2, III.iv.200-01).

49 Poel wanted "the Banditti" to "shout their words after the manner of barn-stormers" (26).

50 SD Compare Q2/F, where Hamlet says to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern when Polonius is
approaching: "Harke you ... at each eare a hearer" (TLN 1429, II.ii.318-19). Compare also
IV.i.36.

50 SD-54 Given the simple rhymes and the fact that Hamlet is holding the servants' hands, his
behavior has a child-like quality. This could be taken to illustrate his (pretended) madness. In
Steinbach, Hamlet actually sung these lines. As for Shakespeare, Q1's line is closest to *BB*'s
leave-taking: "for England hoe". Yet F provides a bit of child-play at the end of its preceding
scene: Hamlet calls to Rosencrance and Guildensterne "hide Fox, and all after" before he exits.
He may be running off, inciting his followers to a game of hide-and-seek (Arden2 526).

Laßt uns fahren, laßt uns fahren nach England,
 Nehmt das Bötchen in die Hand,
 Du bist ja ein braver Quant.
 Laßt uns fahren, laßt uns fahren nach England.

[ZWEY DIENER *und* HAMLET] *gehen ab.*

[Dritter Akt,] Scene [xi]

PHANTASMO [*und*] OPHELIA [*treten auf*].

PHANTASMO Wo ich gehe oder stehe, da läuft das elementische Mädchen, die Ophelia, aus allen Winkeln mir nach; ich kann keinen Frieden vor ihr haben, sie sagt allezeit, daß ich ihr Liebster bin, und ist doch nicht wahr. Wenn ich mich nur verstecken könnte, damit sie mich nicht finde. Nun wird der Henker wieder los werden: da kommt sie wieder. 5

OPHELIA Wo mag mein Liebchen seyn? Der Schelm will nicht bey mir bleiben, eher vor mir weg – Aber siehe, da ist er. Höre, mein

54 SD ZWEY ... HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

III.xi Dritter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

Scene xi] COHN; S c e n e IX BB

0 SD *und, treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

51-54 Printed as prose in Reichard, Cohn, and Creizenach.

53 Quant see note at 48.

III.xi.1wo ... stehe a hendiadys (see pp. 153-54 above), still in use today: "wo ich gehe und stehe".

2 die Ophelia For the use of the article, see note to *RuJ* I.iv.71.

1 elementische "cursed", derived from "element", a curse (Grimm). The old cuckold in *Von der schönen Maria und alten Hanrey* (*Of the Fair Maria and the Old Cuckold*) uses the word to describe himself (II, in Ketelsen 31, "sie hat mich all zu Elementisch ding lieb"; "she [his wife] loves this all too cursed thing that I am").

5 Henker euphemistic for Satan (Creizenach 174).

8 eher ... weg an ellipsis for "he's sooner gone from me" ("er ist eher von mir weg").

Let's go, let's go to England;
 Take the boat in your hand;
 Thou art a fine sneak.
 Let's go, let's go to England.

Exeunt HAMLET and TWO SERVANTS.

III.xi

Enter PHANTASMO and OPHELIA.

PHANTASMO Wherever I go or stand, the elemental girl, Ophelia, runs after me out of every corner. I can get no peace from her; she says all the time that I am her lover, and yet it is not true. If I could only hide so that she will not find me. Now the hangman will be loose again: there she comes again.

5

OPHELIA Where may my love be? The rogue does not want to stay with me, sooner away from me – But see, there he is. – Listen, my

51-54] *BB*; *not in* Q1, Q2; hide Fox, and all after F (TLN 2659-60, III.v.31-32)

54 laßt ... England] *BB*; for England hoe Q1; Come for *England* Q2, F

III.xi.7 Where ... be?] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Where is the beautiful Maestie of Denmarke? Q2, F (TLN 2767, IV.v.21)

52-54 "Hamlet runs away, and the two banditti run after him" in Poel (26), expanding on the idea of a children's game.

III.xi is misnumbered in *BB* as scene ix and has no specific correspondence in Shakespeare. On Ophelia's madness see headnote to III.ix and pp. 210-14 above. Poel again cuts any bawdy content thereby shortening the scene drastically.

0 SD **OPHELIA** In Steinbach, she now wore her hair "downe" as in Q1's SD (CLN 1692, xiii.14).

1-2 **Wherever ... corner** Phantasmio's exasperation can be compared to that of Dromio of Syracuse, pursued by the kitchen wench Nell in *CE* (III.ii.77-93), who is not mad but also mistakes him for someone else.

2 **I ... her** Interestingly, Ophelia earlier uses the same formulation to complain that Hamlet is "plaguing her" (II.iii.3-4).

7 **Where ... be?** In Shakespeare (see collation), Ophelia is most likely seeking Hamlet; this could also be the case in *BB* although we never find out with whom she confuses Phantasmio.

Liebchen, ich bin bey dem Priester gewesen, der will uns noch heute
zusammen copuliren; ich habe alles zu der Hochzeit fertig gemacht, ich 10
habe Hühner, Haasen, Fleisch, Butter und Käse eingekauft; es mangelt
nichts mehr, als daß die Musikanten uns zu Bette spielen.

PHANTASMO Ich muß nur ja sagen. Komm denn, wir wollen
miteinander zu Bette gehn.

OPHELIA Nein, nein, mein Püppchen, wir müssen erstlich miteinander 15
zur Kirche gehen, hernach wollen wir essen und trinken, und denn wollen
wir tanzen – Ach, wie wollen wir uns lustig machen!

PHANTASMO Ja, es wird lustig hergehn; es werden wohl drey von
Einem Teller essen.

OPHELIA Was sagst du? Wilt du mich nicht haben, so will ich dich 20
auch nicht haben.

[*Sie*] schlägt ihn.

Siehe dort, dort ist mein Liebchen, er winkt mir. Siehe da, welch ein
schön Kleid daß er an hat: siehe er will mich zu sich locken, er wirft mit
einem Röslein und Lilien auf mich zu; er will mich in seine Arme
nehmen, er winkt mir, ich komme, ich komme. 25

[OPHELIA] *ab.*

PHANTASMO Bey der Nähe ist sie nicht klug, aber weit davon ist sie
gar toll. Ich wollte, daß sie aufgehenkt wäre, so könnte mir das Rabenaas
so nicht nachlaufen.

[PHANTASMO] *ab.*

21 SD [*Sie*] *this edn; not in BB*

25 SD OPHELIA] *this edn; not in BB*

28 SD PHANTASMO] *this edn; not in BB*

9 **Priester** After the Reformation, "Priester" only referred to Catholic priests; Protestant ministers
were called "Pfarrer" or "Pastor" (Grimm). See also p. 65 above.

10 **copuliren** to marry (Grimm, "trauen").

20 **Wilt** older form of "willst".

27 **Rabenaas** used as an insult since the seventeenth century, particularly for women (Grimm).

love, I've been at the priest's; he will marry us this very day. I have made all ready for the wedding. I have bought chickens, hares, meat, butter, and cheese. Nothing more is lacking than that the musicians should play us to bed. 10

PHANTASMO I only have to say "yes". Come then, let's go to bed together.

OPHELIA No, no, my puppet, we must first go to church together; afterwards we'll eat and drink, and then we want to dance – Ah! How merry we shall be! 15

PHANTASMO Yes, it will be merry; three will eat out of one plate.

OPHELIA What sayest thou? If thou wilt not have me, then I'll not have thee either. 20

She strikes him.

Look there, there is my love; he beckons me to him. Look there, what a beautiful suit he has on! Look, he wants to lure me to him; he throws a rose and lilies at me. He wants to take me in his arms; he beckons to me; I come, I come. 25

Exit OPHELIA.

PHANTASMO Near to she's not smart, but farther off, she's downright mad. I wish she were hanged, so the carrion could not run after me so.

Exit PHANTASMO.

13 **I ... "yes"** In Steinbach, Phantasmo spoke this line like something he had just realized, earning laughter from the audience.

13-14 **Come ... together** Again, some of the bawdy content of Ophelia and Phantasmo's exchange is mirrored in her Shakespearean songs; see pp. 212-13 above.

15 **to church** In Steinbach, Ophelia led Phantasmo downstage as if walking down the aisle in a church.

18 **three ... plate** Phantasmo's allusion (which implies pregnancy before marriage) is of the same order as Hamlet's comment concerning the "cloister where two pairs of slippers stand at the bedside" (II.iv.16-18, "Kloster, wo zwey Paar Pantoffeln vor dem Bette stehen").

22 **Look there** Ophelia is presumably pointing off stage, where she sees her (imaginary) "love" ("Liebchen") beckoning to her. In Steinbach and Schmidle, she was pointing at a person in the audience.

23 **suit** See note at III.ix.14, 15.

24 **rose ... lilies** These prefigure the flowers that Ophelia distributes in IV.vii.

24-25 **he ... come** This recalls the Ghost beckoning to Hamlet (I.v.3 SD-4).

25 **I ... come** See note at III.ix.18-19.

Vierter Act, Scene i

HAMLET [*und*] ZWEY BANDITEN [*treten auf*].

HAMLET Es ist hier ein lustiger Ort auf dieser Insel, wir wollen etwas hier verbleiben und speisen: da ist ein lustiger Wald, und da ein kühler Wasserstrom; darum holet mir das beste vom Schiff, wir wollen uns hier recht lustig machen.

1. BANDIT Gnädiger Herr, hier ist nicht Essenzeit, denn von diesem Eiland werden Sie nimmer kommen: denn hier ist der Ort, der Ihnen zum Kirchhof bestellt ist. 5

HAMLET Was sagst du Schelm, du Esclav! Weißt du wohl, wer ich bin? Sollst du wohl mit einem Königlichen Prinzen also scherzen? Doch es sey dir vergeben vor diesesmal. 10

2. BANDIT Nein, es ist kein Scherz, sondern unser rechter Ernst. Sie präpariren sich nur zum Tode.

IV.i.0 SD *und, treten auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.i.6, 17 Eiland The word was common in the seventeenth century and a favorite with the poets of the eighteenth century, but it could not displace the reigning word "Insel" in popular usage (Grimm). Interestingly, the bandit uses the more literary term, while Hamlet prefers the popular one (1).

IV.i

Enter HAMLET and TWO BANDITS.

HAMLET This is a merry place here on this island, let us linger here a while and dine. There is a merry forest and there a cool stream of water. So fetch me the best from the ship, and we will make right merry here.

1. BANDIT Gracious sir, it is not mealtime here, for you will never leave this island, for here's the place destined for your churchyard. 5

HAMLET What sayest thou, rogue, thou slave? Knowest thou well who I am? Shouldst thou jest thus with a royal prince? But it shall be forgiven to thee this time. 10

2. BANDIT No, it is no jest but downright earnest. Just prepare yourself for death.

IV.i has no real equivalent in Shakespeare, but (together with *BB*'s V.ii) it shares some content with the Q1-only scene xiv between Horatio and the Queen, with Q2/F's IV.vi, in which Horatio reads Hamlet's letter, and, to a certain extent, with Q2/F's V.ii.1-66. Yet the latter scene is mainly mirrored in *BB*'s V.ii, where Hamlet narrates the events of his journey to Horatio. Whereas *BB* and the longer Shakespearean versions have two sequences on this subject, Q1 condenses it into one scene. This could be an argument against *BB* being derived from Q1 (see p. 222, fn. 146 above). *BB* "accentuates yet economises the Rosencrantz and Guildenstern plot" (Petersen 71). Moreover, in Shakespeare, the sequence of events differs from that of *BB*: Leartes/Laertes returns before we learn of Hamlet's adventures at sea.

0 SD **TWO BANDITS** The "servants" ("Diener") from III.x have been transformed into "bandits" now that they are about to fulfill their mission. Poel calls his bandits "pirates" (27), perhaps alluding to Q2/F's "Pyrat" (TLN 2988, IV.vi.15).

1-4 This is in line with the playful atmosphere of Hamlet's last exit (III.x.51-54). He may still pretend to be mad, as he repeats the word "merry" ("lustig") three times. His choice of words associates him with Phantasmo's and Ophelia's earlier exchange (III.xi.16-18).

1 **a ... island** Hamlet later refers to the island as being "not far from Dover" (V.ii.10-11, "nicht ferne von Dover"). See also note at V.ii.10-11. In Shakespeare, Hamlet never actually sets foot on English soil, only Rosencrantz and Guildenstern "hold their course for *England*" (Q2 TLN 2998-99, IV.vi.26-27; Q1 similar).

2-3 **There ... water** Hamlet describes the scenery, which may suggest that the stage was bare. *RuJ* also includes a pastoral setting. For possible stagings, see p. 197, fn. 66 above.

5 **Gracious sir** Although the bandits are about to kill Hamlet, their form of address remains respectful. This seemed illogical to Steinbach, so his bandits spoke with mocking irony.

HAMLET Warum das? Was hab ich euch denn Leides gethan? Ich weiß mich ja auf nichts zu besinnen: darum sagt aus, warum kommt ihr auf solche boshafte Gedanken? 15

1. BANDIT Es ist uns von dem König anbefohlen worden: sobald wir Ihro Durchlaucht auf dieses Eiland bringen, sollen wir ihm das Leben nehmen.

HAMLET Ihr lieben Freunde, verschonet mein Leben; saget, daß ihrs verrichtet; ich will die Zeit meines Lebens nicht wieder zu dem König kommen; bedenkt es wohl, was ist euch mit einer Handvoll unschuldiges Fürstenblut gedient? Wollt ihr euer Gewissen mit meinen Sünden beflecken? Ach daß ich zu allem Unglück ohne Gewehr bin! Hätte ich nur etwas in meinen Händen. 20

[HAMLET] *greift einem nach dem Degen.*

2. BANDIT Du, Camerad, nimm dein Gewehr in acht. 25

1. BANDIT Ich werde mich wohl in acht nehmen. Nun, Prinz, macht Euch fertig; wir haben nicht lange Zeit.

HAMLET Weil es denn nicht anders seyn kann, und ich vor euch sterben muß, aus Antrieb des tyrannischen Königs, so will ichs gern erdulden, ob ich gleich unschuldig, und ihr aus Armuth hierzu erkaufte, will ichs euch gerne verzeihen, das Blut aber wird der Bruder- und Vaternörder verantworten müssen an jenem grossen Gerichtstage. 30

1. BANDIT Ey was fragen wir nach jenem Tage; wir müssen verrichten, was uns heute befohlen.

2. BANDIT Es ist auch wahr, Bruder! Nur frisch darauf, es muß doch seyn. Gieb Feuer, ich auf der einen, und du auf der andern Seite. 35

HAMLET Höret mich noch ein Wort: weil auch dem allerärgsten Übelthäter solches nicht abgeschlagen wird, sondern wird ihm Zeit zur

24 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

23, 25 **Gewehr** See note to *RuJ* I.i.50.

28 **vor euch** "von euch" according to Creizenach (176). *BB*'s version implies that Hamlet dies "in front of" the bandits, Creizenach's that he dies "by" them.

HAMLET Why that? What harm have I ever done you? I cannot recollect anything. Therefore speak out: why have you come to such wicked thoughts? 15

1. BANDIT We have received orders for it from the King: as soon as we bring your Highness to this island, we are to take your life.

HAMLET Dear friends, spare my life: say that you have done it. As long as I live I will never again come to the King. Consider it well, what will a fistful of innocent princely blood serve you? Will you stain your conscience with my sins? (*aside*) Ah, of all misfortune, that I am without a weapon! Had I but something in my hand! 20

HAMLET *reaches for one of their rapiers.*

2. BANDIT Comrade, look to thy weapon. 25

1. BANDIT I shall take care of myself. Now, Prince, prepare yourself; we haven't much time.

HAMLET Since it cannot be otherwise, and I have to die by you, through the instigation of the tyrannical King, then I shall willingly suffer it, although I am innocent, and you have been bought to this through poverty, I willingly forgive you. The blood, however, must be answered for by the fratricide and parricide at the great day of Judgement. 30

1. BANDIT What do we care for that day; we must carry out the orders we have received today.

2. BANDIT That's also true, brother! Quickly to work; it has to be. Fire, I on one side and thou on the other. 35

HAMLET Hear me – one word more: since this is not denied even to the worst misdemeanant, but even to him one leaves time to do

21-22 **Will ... sins** Hamlet repeats his own (religious) motivation for not killing the King when he had the chance to do so (III.ii.9).

29 **tyrannical** The Ghost called his murderer a "tyrant" (I.v.34, "Tyrann"), but Hamlet has not used this word in reference to the King before. This prepares for Hamlet's final use of the word in his next and last confrontation with the King (V.vi.43).

35 **brother** This could either be taken literally or imply that the bandits are brothers in crime.

37-40 **since ... Creator** As before (21-22, 31-32), Hamlet follows a religious argumentation. In Q2/F Hamlet changes the letter, which Rosencrantz and Guildenstern bear to the English King, to the effect that "He should those bearers put to suddaine death, / Not shriuing time alow'd" (TLN 3548-49, V.ii.46-47).

Buße gelassen, also bitte ich, als ein unschuldiger Prinz, ihr wollet mich
erstlich zu meinem Schöpfer ein andächtiges Gebet verrichten lassen, 40
hernach will ich gerne sterben; ich will euch aber ein Zeichen geben: ich
werde meine Hände nach dem Himmel wenden, sobald ich meine Arme
ausstrecke, so gebt Feuer, setzt mir beyde Pistolen in die Seite, und wenn
ich werde sagen: schießt! so gebt mir so viel, als ich bedarf, und treft mich
gewiß, damit ich nicht lange gemartert werde. 45

2. BANDIT Nun dieses können wir ihm auch wohl noch zu Gefallen
thun, darum macht nur fort!

HAMLET *schlägt die Hände voneinander.*

[HAMLET] Schießt zu!

*indem fällt er zwischen den beyden vorwärts nieder, die Diener aber
erschießen sich selbst.*

Ach gerechter Himmel, dir sey Dank gesagt vor dein englisches Eingeben,
denn diesen Schutzengel werde ich ewig preisen, welcher mir durch 50
meine Gedanken das Leben erhalten hat. Diese Schelme aber, wie
gearbeitet, so ist auch ihr Lohn. Die Hunde rühren sich noch, sie haben

48 SP] *this edn; not in BB*

41-42 **ich ... wenden** either literally or figuratively, meaning "I will pray".

47 SD **voneinander** "designating separation ... of several things or persons which are connected" (Grimm, "trennung bezeichnend ... von mehreren dingen oder personen, die verbunden sind"). Presumably, Hamlet opens up his hands. His exact movement remains unclear, since he announced that he would turn his hands towards heaven and stretch out his arms (41-43).

49 **englisches** probably a pun on "angelic" (compare the "guardian angel" [50, "Schutzengel"]) and "english" (Grimm).

penance; therefore, as an innocent Prince, I do beseech you to let me
address a devout prayer to my Creator. After that I shall gladly die. But 40
I will give you a sign: I will turn my hands towards heaven, and the
moment I stretch out my arms, fire. Set both pistols into my side, and

when I say "Shoot!", then give me as much as I require, and be sure
and hit me so that I shall not be long in torment. 45

2. BANDIT Well, we can still grant him that favor; therefore let us
proceed.

HAMLET *separates his hands from one another.*

HAMLET Shoot!

*Meanwhile he falls down forward between the two, but the servants
shoot each other.*

O just heaven, thanks be to thee for thy angelic inspiration, for I will
forever praise this guardian angel, who through my thoughts hath 50
preserved my life. But these rogues, as they worked, so is their reward.
The dogs are still stirring; they have shot one another, but for my

IV.i.49 O ... inspiration] *BB; Hor.* And by great chance Q1 (CLN 1839, xiv.29); was heauen
ordinant Q2, F (TLN 3551, V.ii.48)

51 But ... reward] *BB; not in Q1*; They are not neere my conscience, their defeat / Dooes by their
owne insinuation growe Q2 (TLN 3561-62, V.ii.57-58), F (their debate); they did make loue to
this imployment F (TLN 3560, V.ii.57)

42 **fire** In Poel, Hamlet "puts the banditti in position" (28).

42 **pistols** The bandits follow the King's instructions overzealously: they are carrying a sword
and a pistol, while he advised them to take one or the other (III.x.32). Yet, according to Grimm it
was common to be armed with both sword and pistol, probably since the latter only had one shot.

48 SD In Poel "he kneels between the two men praying" (28). See app. 6, fig. 2 for this scene in
performance. In Steinbach, Night intervened at this point, pushing Hamlet forward, who was
subsequently surprised at having been saved. In this sequence, Ian Felce finds confirmation of
Hamlet's "trickster quality", which he mainly sees elaborated in Q1 (279).

49 **O ... inspiration** This line "raised laughter at [Poel's] original performances" (Poel xiv).

50 **through ... thoughts** In true humanist fashion, Hamlet credits a combination of divine
intervention and his own ruse with his escape.

51 **as ... reward** In *BB*, murder is repeatedly justified as a "reward" ("Lohn"; see also p. 170
above). In *Phänicia*, Tymbor swears to take revenge on Gerwalt using the same term: "Soll er
sein Lohn bekommen drum" (Act V, 302, "He shall therefore receive his reward").

52 **The ... stirring** an implied SD.

sich selber harquebusirt, ich aber will zu meiner Revange ihnen den Todesstich vollends geben, es sollte ein Schelm sonst davon kommen.

er ersticht sie mit ihren eignen Degen.

[1. und 2. BANDIT sterben.]

Ich muß sie besuchen, ob sie auch etwa Steckbriefe bey sich haben. 55
Dieser hat nichts; hier finde ich einen Brief bey diesem Mörder, ich will ihn lesen. Dieser Brief ist an einen Erzmörder in England geschrieben, wenn etwa dieser Anschlag möchte mißlingen, sollten sie mich nur dem überantworten, der würde mir schon das Lebenslicht ausblasen. Allein die 60
Götter stehn doch dem Gerechten bey: Nun will ich mich meinem Vater zum Schrecken wiederum zurückbegeben. Aber zu Wasser trau ich nicht mehr, wer weiß, ob der Schiffscapitain nicht auch ein Schelm ist. Ich will den ersten Platz suchen, und die Post nehmen; den Schiffer will ich nach Dännemark wieder zurück commandiren, diese Schelme aber will ich ins 65
Wasser werfen.

[HAMLET] *ab.*

54 SD 1. ... *sterben*] *this edn; not in BB*

65 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

53 **harquebusirt** The verb derives from "Arkebuse" or "Hakenbüchse", a large handgun which was fastened onto a rack (Grimm).

53 **Revange** may be an Anglicism or a Gallicism (from "revanche").

55 **besuchen** "search" (Grimm, "durchsuchen"). In modern German: "to visit".

55 **Steckbriefe** "a letter slipped to someone secretly or containing a secret message" (Grimm, "ein brief, welcher einem heimlich zugesteckt wird, heimliche nachricht giebt"). Today, "Steckbrief": warrant.

59 **das ... ausblasen** This expression was only current from the middle of the seventeenth century (Creizenach 143).

59 **Allein** only, but (Grimm).

61-62 **trau ... mehr** today: "sich trauen". Older and vernacular forms were not reflexive (Grimm).

revenge I will give them the death-blow; otherwise a rogue might escape.

He stabs them with their own swords.

1. and 2. BANDIT die.

I must search them, whether they have any letters with them. This one 55
has nothing. Here I find a letter on this murderer; I'll read it. This letter
is written to an arch-murderer in England if this attempt should fail,
they should just hand me over to him; he would surely blow out the
light of my life. But the gods stand by the just: now I will go back

60

again to the terror of my father. But I no longer dare to go by water;
who knows whether the captain is not also a rogue. I will seek the first
place and take the post. The skipper I will order back to Denmark, but
these rogues I will throw into the water.

65

Exit HAMLET.

55 I ... them] *BB*; *Hor.* ... He found the Packet Q1 (CLN 1814, xiv.6); Grop I to find out them,
had my desire, / Fingard their packet Q2, F (TLN 3514-15, V.ii.14-15)

57 to ... England] *BB*; *Hor.* ... the Packet sent to the king of *England* Q1 (CLN 1814, xiv.6);
Their graund commission ... Importing Denmarkes health, and *Englands* to Q2, F (TLN 3518,
3521, V.ii.18, 21)

54 SD Killing the murderers with their own weapon presents a form of (poetic) justice. In a
production of *Ham* directed by Bruno Max at the Wiener Scala (2009), Hamlet killed
Rosencrantz and Guildenstern with their own weapons on their way to England (Schnauder 205).

55 **I ... them** In Shakespeare, Hamlet knows what he is looking for. In *BB*, he has not mentioned
the letters before, so this may be a Shakespearean residue.

57-59 **if ... life** Compare III.x.32-35.

59 **the gods** This seemingly contradicts the earlier mention of "heaven" (49, "Himmel") and the
"guardian angel" (50, "Schutzengel"), but see p. 154 above.

61 **my father** Only a few lines earlier, Hamlet referred to the King as a "parricide" (32,
"Vatermörder"). Again, the ambiguous use of the word is emphasized.

63 **take ... post** Traveling from Dover to Denmark by "post" is of course impossible. Evans (34)
blames Kyd and the *Ur-Hamlet*, Freudenstein the adapter (70). In ThK, Reichard has Hamlet
travel back to Denmark "by ship" (58, "mit dem Schiffe").

65 SD Hamlet may be dragging the corpses with him as he exits.

[Vierter Akt,] Scene ii

KÖNIG [*tritt*] *mit Staat* [*auf*].

KÖNIG Uns verlanget zu erfahren, wie es mit unserm Sohn, Prinz Hamlet, muß abgelaufen seyn, und ob diejenigen, welche wir als Reisegefährten ihm mitgegeben, auch treulich werden verrichtet haben, was wir befohlen.

[Vierter Akt,] Scene iii

PHANTASMO [*zu diesen*].

PHANTASMO Neue Zeitung, Monsieur König! Hauptneue Zeitung!

IV.ii Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *tritt, auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.iii Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.iii.1 Zeitung Nachricht(en): news (Grimm). See also note at II.ii.1.

1 **Hauptneue** not in Grimm; probably Phantasmio's neologism. "Haupt" is a prefix for nouns, emphasizing the main part of something.

IV.ii

KING *enters with retinue.*

KING We long to find out how it has gone with our son, Prince Hamlet, and whether those whom we gave him as his fellow-travelers have faithfully performed what we commanded.

IV.iii

PHANTASMO *to them.*

PHANTASMO New news, Monsieur King! Brand-new news!

IV.ii.1-2 We ... Hamlet] *BB*; I hope to heare good newes from thence ere long Q1 (CLN 1678, xiii.2); *not in* Q2, F

2-3 and ... commanded] *BB*; If euery thing fall out to our content Q1 (CLN 1679, xiii.3); *not in* Q2, F

IV.iii.3] *BB*; *King* ... We vnderstand her brother's come from *France* Q1 (CLN 1686, xiii.10); *King*. ... Her brother is in secret come from *Fraunce* Q2, F (TLN 2825, IV.v.88)

IV.ii corresponds to Q1's xiii.1-4. Q2 and F have no exact equivalent. In Q1, the passage appears shortly after Hamlet has been sent away and after Fortinbras has marched across the stage, immediately preceding the announcement of Ofelia's madness.

0 SD In Q1, the Queen is present instead of the "*retinue*" ("*Staat*").

3 A servant may leave to inquire about the news the King "*long[s]*" for (1, "*verlanget*").

IV.iii can be likened to Shakespeare's IV.v.96-111 and xiii.46. In Shakespeare, the Queen is present. In Q1, no messenger announces Leartes.

1, 3 In Steinbach, Phantasmo took on a French accent.

1 Phantasmo takes over Corambus's function, who opened two scenes with similar words (II.ii.1, II.vi.1).

1 **Monsieur King** Phantasmo, with the court jester's licence, is allowed to deviate from the standard address. Moreover, in the seventeenth century, it was fashionable to use words of foreign origin: "Even the peasant boys behind the plough know of *Serviteur* and *Monsieur*" (Rist [1640] qtd. in Langen 937, "ja die Baurjungen hinter dem Pflug von *Serviteur* und *Monsieur* wissen"). In *Jude von Venetien*, Pickelhäring speaks of "Madam Signora Madonna Mademoiselle Franciscina" (II.vi, 226).

KÖNIG Was ist es, Phantasmo?

PHANTASMO Leonhardus aus Frankreich ist wieder zu Hause kommen.

KÖNIG Das ist uns lieb, laßt ihn vor uns kommen.

5

[PHANTASMO *ab.*]

[**Vierter Akt,**] **Scene iv**

LEONHARDUS [*zu diesen*].

LEONHARDUS Gnädiger Herr und König, ich begehre von Ihrer Majestät meinen Vater, oder die Rache der Gerechtigkeit, weil er so

5 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.iv Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen] this edn; not in BB*

3 zu Hause home. Older form of "nach Hause" (Grimm).

KING What is it, Phantasmo?

PHANTASMO Leonhardus has come back home from France.

KING That pleases us. Let him come before us.

5

Exit PHANTASMO.

IV.iv

LEONHARDUS *to them.*

LEONHARDUS Gracious lord and King, I demand of your Majesty my father or the vengeance of justice since he has been so lamentably

IV.iv.0 SD] *BB*; *A noyse within. enter Leartes* Q1; *A noise within ... Enter Laertes with others* Q2; *Noise within. Enter Laertes* F

1-2 Gracious ... father] *BB*; ô thou vile King, / Giue me my father Q2, Q1 (vilde), F (vilde)

2-3 since ... murdered] *BB*; for he is murdred Q1; *not in* Q2, F

5 In *BB*, Leonhardus's arrival presents no real threat. In Shakespeare, there is more commotion, even before he enters: Q1's King announces that Leartes "hath halfe the heart of all our Land" (CLN 1687, xiii.11), "*A noise within*" is heard in all three texts, and Q2/F's messenger warns the King, who has already called for his "*Switzers*" (F TLN 2836, IV.i.96; Q2 similar): "Saue your selfe my Lord ... The cry choose we *Laertes* shall be King" (TLN 2838, 2846, IV.v.98, 106).

IV.iv Most of this scene corresponds to Shakespeare's IV.v.112-51 and xiii.48-70 and to IV.v.194-211 and xiii.119-29 (Laertes's/Leartes's return and demand for revenge), except for the disclosure of Corambus's murderer (6-12).

0 SD In Q2/F, Laertes enters with his followers but sends them away again to "keepe the doore" (TLN 2857, IV.v.115). In Q1, the followers are off-stage (xiii.48). In *BB* this is Leonhardus's first appearance; he is only mentioned once prior to IV.iii (I.vii.25-34). Poel thought that he "should be played like Sir Andrew Aguecheek" in *TN* (xiv), "in appearance a short and very conceited fashionable prig" (29).

1-4 As the announcement of Leartes's/Laertes's arrival produces much more concern in Shakespeare than in *BB*, his entrance is also more subdued in the German version than in the English texts. In Shakespeare, the Queen physically holds Leartes/Laertes back since the King twice tells her to "Let him goe" (TLN 2867, 2871, IV.v.122, 126).

2-5 **since ... death** This passage alternates between Q1-only lines and Q2-only lines (see p. 226 above).

jämmerlich ermordet. Wo dieses nicht geschieht, werde ich vergessen,
daß Ihr König sey, und mich an den Thäter rächen.

KÖNIG Leonhardus, gieb dich zufrieden, wir sind unschuldig an deines 5
Vaters Tod. Prinz Hamlet hat ihn unversehenerweise hinter den Tapeten
erstochen, wir aber wollen dahin bedacht seyn, daß er wieder gestraft
werde.

LEONHARDUS Weil denn Ihre Majestät unschuldig sein an den Tod 10
meines Vaters, als bitte ich auf gefällten Knieen, mir solches zu
verzeihen. Der Zorn hatte mich, wie auch die kindliche Liebe
übernommen, daß ich fast selber nicht gewußt, was ich gethan.

KÖNIG Es sey dir vergeben, denn wir können wohl gedenken, daß es
dir sehr zu Herzen gegangen sey, daß du deinen Vater so erbärmlich hast
verlieren müssen. Doch gieb dich zufrieden, du solt einen Vater wieder an 15
uns haben.

LEONHARDUS Ich bedanke mich vor diese hohe Königliche Gnade.

IV.iv.4 den dem. See note at I.vi.58.

10 **als** also: so.

15 **solt** an older form of "sollst": should, shall.

murdered. If this be not done, I shall forget that you are king and will revenge myself on the perpetrator.

KING Leonhardus, be content; we are innocent of thy father's death. 5
Prince Hamlet unwittingly stabbed him behind the tapestry, but we will see that he is punished for it.

LEONHARDUS Since your Majesty is innocent of my father's death, I therefore beg for pardon on bended knee. My anger as well as 10
my filial love had so overcome me that I myself hardly knew what I did.

KING Thou art forgiven, for we can easily believe that it goes to thy heart to have lost thy father so miserably. But be content; thou shalt have a father again in ourselves. 15

LEONHARDUS I thank you for this great royal mercy.

3-4 will ... perpetrator] *BB*; *not in* Q1; To hell allegiance ... onely I'll be reueng'd Q2, F
5 be content] *BB*; Meane while be patient, and content your selfe Q1
5 we ... death] *BB*; *not in* Q1; I am guiltlesse of your fathers death Q2, F
13-14 for ... miserably] *BB*; Although I know your grieffe is as a floud, / Brimme full of sorrow
Q1; *Laertes*, I must commune with your grieffe Q2, F
14 But ... content] *BB*; Content you Q1; Be you content Q2, F
17] *BB*; You haue preuail'd my Lord Q1; Let this be so Q2, F

3 **murdered** In Q2/F, *Laertes* laments his father's "obscure funerall" (TLN 2964, IV.v.205). Leonhardus has no reason to do so, since *BB*'s King ordained a noble funeral (III.x.5).

6-7 In Shakespeare, the King reveals Hamlet's murder of Corambis/Ponlonius later. When the two re-enter in IV.vii, *Laertes* has already been informed; this also seems to be the case in Q1.

9-12 Leonhardus behaves submissively and cowardly in comparison to Shakespeare's hot-headed *Leartes/Laertes* (see also p. 495 above). *Laertes/Leartes* is not as easily satisfied by the King's explanation, possibly because the name of his father's murderer is not immediately revealed to him.

10 **on ... knee** an implied SD.

13-15 In Shakespeare, the King expresses his grief: "in soule we sorrow for for [sic] his death" (Q1 CLN 1745, xiii.68); "And am most sencibly in grieffe for it" (Q2/F TLN 2901, IV.v.149).

13-15 **that ... ourselves** Like Hamlet, Leonhardus has lost a father, and, like Hamlet, Leonhardus is now encouraged to see the King as his father. Petersen refers to this passage in *BB*, along with IV.vii.10, as "the King's adoption of Leonhardus" (70).

17 The Q1-only scene xiv between Horatio and the Queen follows at this point. Regarding its absence in *BB*, see pp. 221-22 above.

[Vierter Akt,] Scene v

PHANTASMO [*zu diesen*].

PHANTASMO Herr Vetter König, noch mehr neue Zeitung!

KÖNIG Was bringst du wieder vor neue Zeitung?

PHANTASMO Prinz Hamlet ist wieder kommen.

KÖNIG Der Teufel ist wieder kommen, und nicht Prinz Hamlet.

PHANTASMO Prinz Hamlet ist wieder kommen, und nicht der Teufel. 5

[PHANTASMO *ab.*]

KÖNIG Leonhardus, höre hier, nun kannst du deines Vaters Tod rächen, weil der Prinz wieder zu Hause kommen; allein du must uns eidlich versprechen, daß du solches keinem Menschen offenbaren wilt.

LEONHARDUS Ihro Majestät zweifeln an mir nicht; was Sie mir

IV.v Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*5 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

VI.v.1 Zeitung Nachricht(en): news (Grimm). See also note at II.ii.1.

7 zu Hause home. Older form of "nach Hause" (Grimm).

7 allein only, but (Grimm).

8 wilt older form of "willst".

IV.v

PHANTASMO *to them.*

PHANTASMO Cousin King, more new news still!

KING What new news dost thou bring again?

PHANTASMO Prince Hamlet has come back.

KING The devil has come back and not Prince Hamlet.

PHANTASMO Prince Hamlet has come back and not the devil.

5

Exit PHANTASMO.

KING Leonhardus, listen here, now thou canst avenge thy father's death, for the Prince has come home again. But thou must promise us on thy oath that thou wilt not reveal it to any man.

LEONHARDUS Doubt me not, your Majesty; what you reveal shall

IV.v.0 SD] *BB; not in Q1; Enter a Messenger with Letters Q2; Enter a Messenger F*

2] *BB; not in Q1, Q2; How now? What Newes? F*

3] *BB; not in Q1; From Hamlet Q2; Letters my Lord from Hamlet F*

4] *BB; Hamlet from England! is it possible? Q1*

5 SD] *this edn; not in Q1, Q2; Exit Messenger F*

6 Leonhardus ... here] *BB; Leartes, content your selfe Q1*

9 Doubt ... Majesty] *BB; My Lord I will be rul'd Q2*

IV.v corresponds to Shakespeare's IV.vii.1-160 and xv.1-37 (Hamlet's return is announced, and the King and Laertes/Leartes scheme). *BB* is closer to *Q1* than to the longer versions here, especially in terms of length. An important difference to Shakespeare is that Leonhardus does not yet know of his sister's madness. Laertes/Leartes therefore has an additional motif for his revenge.

1 Compare IV.iii.1 and note.

1 **Cousin King** Phantasmo again addresses the King in familiar terms. In *Jude von Venetien*, Pickelherring does the same: "Hear, John King" (I.iii, 211, "Hörstu Hannß König").

2-3 These lines only have a correspondence in *F*, but the textual similarity is not particularly striking and is probably coincidental.

5 **SD** There is no exit **SD** for Phantasmo, but it seems likely that he exits after having delivered his piece of news (as does the messenger in *F* [IV.iii.42]). Phantasmo is clearly not on stage during the following personal conversation. Poel also places his exit here (29).

9 **Doubt ... Majesty** Francisco uses similar words to persuade Hamlet of his loyalty (I.vi.11).

9-10 **what ... stone** Compare the Nurse's promise to Julieta: "Reveal to me whatever you want: it shall remain as secret with me as if you had confided it to a stone" (*RuJ* III.iv.8-9, "[O]ffenbahret mir was ihr wolt, es wird bey mir sicher verschwigen bleiben, alß ob ihr es einen stein vertrawet").

offenbaren, soll verschwiegen seyn, als ob Sie zu einem Stein gesprochen hätten. 10

KÖNIG Wir wollen zwischen dir und ihm einen Wettstreit anstellen, nemlich also: ihr sollt mit Rapieren fechten, und der von euch beyden die ersten drey Stöße bekommt, soll ein weiß neapolitanisch Pferd gewonnen haben. Aber mitten in diesem Gefechte sollt ihr euer Rapier fallen lassen, 15 und anstatt desselben sollt ihr einen scharf gespitzten Degen bey der Hand haben, welcher dem Rapier ganz ähnlich gemacht muß seyn, die Spitze desselben aber must du mit starken Gift bestreichen; sobald du nun seinen Leib damit verwunden wirst, wird er alsdenn gewiß sterben müssen, du

19 **alsdenn** an emphatic "dann": "then" (Grimm).

be concealed as if you had spoken to a stone.

10

KING We will arrange a contest between thee and him, namely thus: you shall fence with foils, and whoever of you two receives the first three hits shall have won a white Neapolitan horse. But in the middle of this combat you shall let your rapier drop, and instead of it, 15
you shall have a sharply pointed sword at hand, which must be made

quite like the foil; but thou must anoint its point with strong poison. As soon as thou shalt wound his body with it, he will then certainly have

12 We ... him] *BB*; I'll lay a wager Q1; bring you in fine together / And wager ore your heads Q2, F (on your heads)

13-14 and ... hits] *BB*; that in twelue venies / You gaine not three of him Q1; *Cour.* ... that in a dozen passes betweene your selfe and him, hee shall not excede you three hits Q2, F (betweene you and TLN 3630-31, V.ii.146-48)

14 shall ... horse] *BB*; *Gent.* ... Six Barbary horse Q1 (CLN 2100, xvii.17); *Cour.* ... six Barbary horses Q2, F (TLN 3616, V.ii.130-31)

14-15 But ... combat] *BB*; When you are hot in midst of all your play Q1; *not in* Q2, F

15-18 you ... foil] *BB*; Among the foyles shall a keene rapier lie Q1; so that with ease, / Or with a little shuffling, you may choose / A sword vnbad Q2, F

18 thou ... poison] *BB*; Steeped in a mixture of deadly poyson Q1; *Laer.* ... And for the purpose, Ile annoynt my sword Q2, F

18-20 As ... die] *BB*; That if it drawes but the least dramme of blood, / In any part of him, he cannot liue Q1; *Laer.* So mortall ... that if I gall him slightly, it may be death Q2, F

12 In Q2/F, after the King has announced that he has thought of "an exploit" (TLN 3074, IV.vii.62) to dispose of Hamlet, Q2's Laertes expresses the wish that he "might be the organ" of the plot (TLN 3078+3, IV.vii.68). His counterparts in the other texts show no initiative.

13-14 **whoever ... hits** *BB*'s conditions of the wager are much easier to understand than Shakespeare's, which have occasioned much debate (Arden2 561-63, Arden3 444).

13 **receives** Creizenach notes that this must mean "he who inflicts the first hits" (179, "die ersten Stöße anbringt"), as Phantasmo later explains to Hamlet (V.iii.5-6). Compare also V.vi.17 SD.

14 **three** This is inconsistent with the "two hits" Phantasmo mentions at V.iii.6 ("zwey Stöße") and may be evidence of revision or different adapters.

15 **you**, 18 **thou**, 24 **thy**, 26 **your** The King switches between informal and formal address. This inconsistency might betray several adapters.

18 **thou ... poison** In Q1 and *BB*, the King suggests steeping the rapier in poison; in Q2/F, this is Laertes's idea.

aber sollst doch den Preiß und hierbey des Königs Gnade gewinnen. 20

LEONHARDUS Ihr Majestät wollen mir verzeihen; ich darf mich dieses nicht unterstehen, dieweil der Prinz ein geübter Fechtmeister ist, und könnte mir dieses wohl selbst wiederfahren.

KÖNIG Leonhardus, weigere dich hierinnen nicht, sondern thue deinem Könige solches zu gefallen, um deines Vaters Tod zu rächen, 25
 must du dieses thun. Denn wisset, daß der Prinz als ein Todschläger eures Vaters solchen Tod verdienet. Allein wir können keine Gerechtigkeit an ihn haben, weil ihm seine Frau Mutter den Rücken hält, und ihn die Unterthanen sehr lieben: dürfte also, wenn wir öffentlich uns an ihm 30
 rächen wollten, ein Aufruhr leicht geschehen; daß wir aber ihn als unsern Stiefsohn und Vetter meiden, geschieht um der heiligen Gerechtigkeit willen, denn er ist mordgierig und unsinnig, und müssen uns künftig 35
 selbst vor einem solchen bösen Menschen fürchten. Thut solches, was wir von euch verlangen, so werdet ihr den König seiner Furcht benehmen und euch verblümterweise an euren Vaternörder rächen. 35

22 **dieweil** because (Grimm); the variant "alldieweil" can still be heard today.

27 **Allein** but, only (Grimm).

34 **den ... benehmen** A rare grammatical construction. Creizenach cites one sixteenth-century and one seventeenth-century example (179).

35 **verblümterweise** in a roundabout way, usually used with the verbs "to say" or "to speak" (Grimm).

35 **euren** See note at I.vi.58.

to die; but thou shalt win the prize and by that the King's favor. 20

LEONHARDUS Pardon me, your Majesty; I may not dare this because the Prince is a practiced fencer, and so this might happen to myself.

KING Leonhardus, do not refuse this, but do it as a favor to thy King. In order to avenge thy father's death thou must do this. For know 25 that the Prince as an assassin of your father deserves such a death. But

we cannot get justice upon him because his mother backs him, and the subjects love him much. If therefore we wanted to revenge ourselves on him openly, an insurrection might easily occur. But to shun him as 30 stepson and cousin is only an act of holy justice, for he is murderous and insane; and for the future we must ourselves be afraid of such a bad man. Do what we require of you; you will thereby relieve the King of his fear and secretly revenge yourself on your parricide.

35

22 because ... fencer] *BB*; *not in Q1*; *Ham.* ... since he went into France, I haue bene in continuall practise Q2, F (TLN 3659-60, V.ii.188-89)

24 do ... this] *BB*; be rulde by me Q1; Will you be rul'd by me? Q2, F

28 because ... him] *BB*; Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother Q1 (CLN 176, ii.30); the Queene his mother / Liues almost by his lookes Q2, F

28-29 and ... much] *BB*; *not in Q1*; the great loue the generall gender beare him Q2, F

29-30 If ... occur] *BB*; *not in Q1*; so that my arrowes / Too slightly tymberd for so loued Arm'd, / Would haue reuerted to my bowe againe Q2, F (for so loud a Winde)

32-33 and ... man] *BB*; *not in Q1*; he which hath your noble father slaine / Pursued my life Q2, F

20 **but ... favor** It further characterizes Leonhardus that the King should think it necessary to bribe him with a prize.

21-23 Leonhardus's Shakespearean counterparts do not fear Hamlet's fencing skills. Admittedly, Leartes/Laertes has an additional reason for his revenge, namely Ophelia's madness, which Leonhardus still does not know about.

25-26 **For ... death** Compare Hamlet's justification for killing the two bandits (IV.i.51) and the motif of work and reward permeating the play (see p. 170 above).

28 **because ... him** In Q2/F, the King explains that the Queen's love for Hamlet prevents him from harming the Prince (at least in public). In *BB* he claims the Queen is backing Hamlet although there is no further evidence for this.

31 **stepson** The first time the King refers to Hamlet as his stepson, possibly to stress the distance between them.

31 **cousin** See note to *RuJ* II.iii.31.

LEONHARDUS Es ist eine schwere Sache, welcher ich mich fast nicht unterstehe. Denn sollte dieses auskommen, würde es gewiß mein Leben kosten.

KÖNIG Zweifelt nicht; im Fall es ja euch mißlingen sollte, so haben wir schon eine andere List erdacht. Wir wollen einen orientalischen Diamant klein stoßen lassen, und ihm denselben, wenn er erhitzt, in einen Becher voll Wein mit Zucker süß vermischt beybringen: so soll er auf unsere Gesundheit doch den Tod saufen. 40

LEONHARDUS Wohl denn, Ihro Majestät, unter dessen Schutz will ichs verrichten. 45

[Vierter Akt,] Scene vi

KÖNIGIN [*zu diesen*].

KÖNIGIN Gnädiger Herr und König, liebstes Ehegemahl, ich bringe

37 **Denn ... auskommen** should this be known. "Auskommen" was used for rumors (Grimm).

39 **ja** used in conditional clauses, like "but" or "even", to attenuate or mitigate (Grimm).

43 **saufen** vulgar for "to drink", i.e., "to guzzle".

IV.vi Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.vi.1 liebstes Ehegemahl "Ehegemahl" formerly also had the neuter gender and was used to designate both husband and wife (Grimm).

LEONHARDUS It is a difficult matter which I scarcely dare venture. For should it be known, it would certainly cost my life.

KING Do not doubt; in case this should fail we have already devised another ruse. We will have an oriental diamond powdered fine and when he is heated present it to him, in a goblet filled with wine, sweetly mixed with sugar. Thus shall he drink his death to our health. 40

LEONHARDUS Well then, your Majesty, under this protection I will carry it out. 45

IV.vi

QUEEN *to them.*

QUEEN Gracious lord and King, dearest husband, I bring you bad

39-40 in ... ruse] *BB*; And lest that all should misse Q1; therefore this proiect, / Should haue a back or second that might hold Q2, F

40-41 We ... wine] *BB*; I'll haue a potion that shall ready stand, / In all his heate when that he calles for drinke Q1; when in your motion you are hote and dry ... And that he calls for drinke, Ile haue prefard him / A Challice for the nonce Q2, F

40 an ... fine] *BB*; *not in* Q1; And in the cup an Onixe shall he throwe Q2, F (Cup an vnion, TLN 3732, V.ii.249)

41 goblet] *BB*; Challice Q2, F; poysned cup Q1 (CLN 2162, xvii.77-78), Q2, F (TLN 3763, V.ii.275)

42 Thus ... health] *BB*; Shall be his period and our happinesse Q1; whereon but sipping ... Our purpose may hold there Q2, F

44-45] *BB*; T'is excellent, O would the time were come! Q1; *not in* Q2, F

36-37 Leonhardus's Shakespearean counterparts do not need to be convinced.

40 **We ... fine** The difficulties of crushing a diamond set apart, swallowing the product is not in itself deadly ("Sicherheitsdatenblatt"). This belief may be a relic from the Middle Ages, when powdered precious stones were counted among the "mechanical poisons" (von Hofmann 173, "mechanische Gifte").

IV.vi corresponds to Shakespeare's IV.v.1-16, 37 and xiii.6-14 (Ofelia's/Ophelia's madness is announced). In addition, lines 1-4 echo the announcement of her death (IV.vii.161-62; xv.38-40). 1-2 The Queen echoes Corambus's (II.ii.1, II.vi.1) and Phantasmo's (IV.iii.1, IV.v.1) earlier announcements of news.

Euch eine schlechte Zeitung!

KÖNIG Was ist es, liebste Seele?

KÖNIGIN Meine liebste Staatsjungfer, die Ophelia, läuft hin und wieder, ruft und schreyt, sie isset und trinket nichts; man meynet, daß sie gänzlich von ihrem Verstande ist. 5

KÖNIG Ach, höret man doch nichts als lauter traurige und unglückliche Zeitungen!

[Vierter Akt,] Scene vii

OPHELIA [*zu diesen,*] *mit Blumen.*

IV.vii Vierter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen]* *this edn; not in BB*

2, 8 **Zeitung** Nachricht(en): news (Grimm).

4 **die Ophelia** For the use of the article, see note to *RuJ* I.iv.71.

news.

KING What is it, dearest soul?

QUEEN My dearest maid-in-waiting, Ophelia, runs to and fro, cries
and screams; she eats and drinks nothing. It seems that she is 5
completely out of her mind.

KING Ah! One hears nothing but sad and unhappy news!

IV.vii

OPHELIA *to them, with flowers.*

IV.vi.1-2] *BB*; O my Lord Q1 (CLN 1885, xv.40); One woe doth tread vpon anothers heele, / So fast they follow Q2, F (TLN 3155-56, IV.vii.161-62)

3] *BB*; How now Gertred, why looke you heuily? Q1 (CLN 1884, xv.39); *not in* Q2; how sweet Queene F

4 My ... Ophelia] *BB*; the yong *Ofelia* Q1 (CLN 1690, 1885, xiii.14, xv.40); *Gent.* Shee Q2; *Hor.* She F

5-6 It ... mind] *BB*; That she, poor maide, is quite bereft her wittes Q1; *Gent.* Shee is importunat, / Indeede distract, her moode will needes be pittied Q2, F (*Hor.* She)

7] *BB*; O Time, how swiftly runnes our ioyes away? Q1; When sorrowes come, they come not single spyes, / But in battalians Q2, F

IV.vii.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter Ofelia as before* Q1; *A noyse within. Enter Ophelia* Q2; *A noise within. Let her come in. Enter Ophelia* F

4 My ... Ophelia Ophelia's function as a lady in waiting is unique to *BB*. The adjective "dearest" ("liebste") is reflected in the Shakespearean passages where the Queen expresses tender feelings towards Ofelia/Ophelia (III.i.37-41, not in Q1; and V.i.232-34, xvi.140-42). There are no other instances in *BB* to support a friendly relationship between Ophelia and the Queen.

4-6 At this point in Shakespeare, the Queen announces Ofelia's/Ophelia's death. Her second mad sequence, in the presence of the royal couple and Leartes/Laertes, occurred at the point equivalent to *BB*'s IV.iv.

4-6 **runs ... mind** Compare Q2/F's description of the symptoms of madness that Ophelia displays (IV.v.2-13). These are symptoms of "*erotomania*" (Camden 254), i.e., erotic melancholy. In *TNK*, the madness of the jailer's daughter also expresses itself by her refusing food, drink, and sleep (III.ii.26-28).

IV.vii mainly corresponds to Ofelia's/Ophelia's second mad sequence in Shakespeare (IV.v.151-92; xiii.14-46) although it also echoes her first mad sequence (IV.v.16-73, xiii.71-118), insofar as the King and, in Q2/F, possibly the Queen discover her madness at this point.

OPHELIA Siehe da hast du ein Blümchen, du auch, du auch.

[OPHELIA] *gibt jedem eine Blume.*

Aber potz tausend, was hätte ich schier vergessen: ich muss geschwinde laufen, ich habe meinen Schmuck vergessen. Ach, meine Fronte; ich muß geschwinde nach dem Hofschmidt gehn, und fragen, was er vor neue Moden bekommen. Sa, sa, decket geschwinde den Tisch, ich werde bald wieder hier seyn. 5

[OPHELIA] *läuft weg.*

LEONHARDUS Bin ich denn zu allem Unglück geboren! Mein Vater

1 SD OPHELIA] *this edn; not in BB*

6 SD OPHELIA] *this edn; not in BB*

IV.vii.3 Fronte the part of the wig or the hairpiece which encircles the forehead (Creizenach 180).

OPHELIA See there thou hast a flower, thou too, thou too.

OPHELIA *gives a flower to each.*

But gee, I had nearly forgotten that! I must run quickly; I have forgotten my jewelry. Ah, my frontlet! I must go quickly to the court

smith and ask what new fashions he has received. Sa, sa, set the table 5
quickly; I shall soon be here again.

OPHELIA *runs away.*

LEONHARDUS Am I then born to all misery! My father is dead,

1] *BB*; Wel God a mercy, I a bin gathering of floures Q1

5 set ... table] *BB*; *not in* Q1; God be at your table Q2, F (TLN 2786, IV.v.44)

1-6 On Ophelia's madness, see pp. 210-14 above. In contrast to the first two mad scenes (III.ix and III.xi), this one is devoid of amorous or bawdy allusions, possibly because Ophelia shares this scene with the King, the Queen, and her brother, and not with the clown. In Shakespeare, both of her mad sequences contain bawdy elements.

1 **flower** Earlier Ophelia gave Phantasma an (imaginary?) flower (see III.ix.6). In Shakespeare, she specifies the names and significance of the flowers. Freudenstein believes that the English Comedians and their audience did not understand the symbolic language of the flowers (75), but the specification may have been omitted either when the language barrier was still extant or simply to shorten the scene.

1 **thou** The fact that Ophelia addresses the King and Queen with the informal personal pronoun would have been more than a "mad" offense to people at the time (Freudenstein 75).

3 **jewelry** See notes at III.ix.14, 15 and at III.ix.18-19.

3-5 **court smith** possibly a goldsmith.

5 **Sa, sa** an interjection to incite or animate, from the French *ça* (Grimm). Tipold uses a simple "Sa" in *RuJ* (IV.ii.35), as does Pickelhäring in *Jude von Venetien* (V.v, 264). The mad Lear cries out "Sa, sa, sa, sa!" before he "[e]xit[s] running" (*KL*, F IV.v.199), as Ophelia does here.

5 **table** In *BB*, the table is embedded into the context of Ophelia's concerns with material things; in Q2/F, it is part of a religious set phrase (see collation).

6 In Shakespeare, Ophelia's last words have a religious motif: "God a mercy on his soule, and of all Christians soules, / God buy you" (Q2/F TLN 2948-50, IV.v.191-92) and "So God be with you all, God bwy Ladies. / God bwy you Loue" (Q1 CLN 1792-93, xiii.114-15). In *BB*, her last words illustrate her occupation with material things.

6 SD This is the last we see of Ophelia. According to Mauermannn, the SD signals madness (125). See also note at 5.

7-9 Although Leonhardus includes his father's death in the reasons he gives for his sadness, Ophelia never mentions it. See pp. 211-12 above for possible reasons for her madness.

7 In Q1, Leartes significantly adds: "Cursed be his soule that wrought this wicked act" (CLN 1796, xiii.118). Leonhardus knows who did so but does not accuse Hamlet of having caused Ophelia's madness.

ist todt, und meine Schwester ist ihres Verstandes beraubt! Mein Herz will mir vor großer Traurigkeit fast zerbersten.

KÖNIG Leonhardus, stelle dich zufrieden, du sollst alleine bey uns in Gnaden leben. Sie aber, liebste Gemahlin, wolle belieben, mit uns hineinzuspatzieren, denn wir haben ihr noch etwas in Geheim zu offenbaren. Leonhardus, vergesst nicht, was wir euch gesagt. 10

LEONHARDUS Ich werde emsig seyn, solches zu verrichten.

KÖNIGIN Mein König, wir müssen Rath schaffen, daß diese unglückseelige Jungfer möge wieder zu ihrem Verstande verholffen werden. 15

KÖNIG Man lasse die Sache an unsere Leibmedici gelangen. Ihr aber folget uns, Leonhardus.

[*Alle*] *ab.*

Fünfter Act, Scene i.

19 **SD** *Alle] this edn; not in BB*

18 **Leibmedici** "Leib" ("body") refers to the King's person, as in "Leibwache" ("bodyguard").

and my sister is robbed of her reason! My heart will almost burst under this great sorrow.

KING Leonhardus, be content: thou alone shalt live in our favor. 10
But you, dearest spouse, be pleased to walk within with us; we still have something to reveal to you in secret. Leonhardus, do not forget what we have told you.

LEONHARDUS I shall be diligent to perform this.

QUEEN My King, we must find some means that this unfortunate 15
maiden be helped to regain her senses.

KING Let the case be laid before our personal *medici*. But do you follow us, Leonhardus.

Exeunt omnes.

V.i

7-8 Am ... reason] *BB*; Griefe vpon griefe, my father murdered, / My sister thus distracted Q1; And so haue I a noble father lost, / A sister driuen into desprat termes Q2, F (TLN 3033-34, IV.vii.26-27)

10 Leonhardus ... content] *BB*; Content you good Leartes for a time Q1; Be you content to lend your patience to vs Q2, F

12-13 Leonhardus ... you] *BB*; Therefore *Leartes* be in readynes Q1 (CLN 2077, xvi.172); *not in* Q2, F

14] *BB*; My lord, till then my soule will not bee quiet Q1 (CLN 2078, xvi.173); *not in* Q2, F

18 Let ... *medici*] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Follow her close, giue her good watch I pray you Q2, F (TLN 2811, IV.v.74)

11-12 we ... secret We are not told what the King reveals to the Queen "in secret". He may inform her of his plan to kill Hamlet, which in turn supports the theory that she knowingly drinks the poison in the last scene.

12-13 Leonhardus ... you The King presumably reminds Leonhardus of the poison for his sword, and he promises to procure it. At the end of the graveyard scene, Q1 provides a similar exchange (see collation).

15-19 In *BB*, no one attempts to find a reason for Ophelia's madness. See pp. 211-12 above for possible reasons in Shakespeare and *BB*.

15-16 Shakespeare's Queen makes no attempt to restore Ophelia's sanity.

V.i could be likened to the Q2-only soliloquy (IV.iv.31-65, TLN 2743+26-60, "How all occasions ..."). Yet whereas Q2's soliloquy precedes Hamlet's departure to England, in *BB* his return is dramatized. In Q2, Fortinbras's military courage triggers Hamlet's soliloquy; in *BB*

HAMLET [*tritt auf*].

[HAMLET] Unglückseeliger Prinz, wie lange sollt du noch ohne Ruhe leben! Wie lange verhängst du, gerechte Nemesis, daß dein gerechtes Rachscherdt auf meinem Vetter, den Brudermörder wetzest! Ich bin nun wieder anhero gelangt, kann aber noch zu keiner Revange kommen, weil der Brudermörder allezeit mit viel Volk umgeben. Aber ich schwöre, ehe die Sonne ihre Reise von Osten in's Westen gethan, will ich mich an ihm rächen. 5

[Fünfter Akt,] Scene ii.

V.i.0 SD *tritt auf*] *this edn; not in BB*

1 SP] *this edn; not in BB*

V.ii Fünfter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

V.i.1 sollt an older form of "sollst": should, shall.

2-3 **Wie ... wetzest** A somewhat awkward grammatical construction; for interpretations see collation to translation. Poel adapts: "O, Righteous Nemesis, why longer delay before thou whettest my sword in revenge for my father's death" (31).

2 **verhängst** to order, to allow, to suffer (Grimm).

4 **anhero** (reinforced) here (Grimm).

4 **Revange** See note at IV.i.53.

6 **in's** in den: in the. "Westen" ("the west") formerly also had the neuter form (Grimm).

Enter HAMLET.

HAMLET Unfortunate Prince, how long shalt thou still live without rest! How long dost thou delay, O righteous Nemesis, before thou whettest thy righteous sword of vengeance for my cousin, the fratricide? I have now returned hither, but I cannot yet come to any revenge because the fratricide is at all times surrounded by many people. But I swear that before the sun has made his journey from east to west, I will revenge myself on him. 5

V.ii

V.i.2-4 How ... fratricide] *BB*; *not in* Q1, F; How all occasions doe informe against me, / And spur my dull reuenge Q2 (TLN 2743+26-27, IV.iv.31-32)

6-7 But ... him] *BB*; *not in* Q1, F; ô from this time forth, / My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth Q2 (TLN 2743+59-60, IV.iv.64-65)

Hamlet's return may prompt him to take action. *BB* cuts the graveyard scene (V.i), and Ophelia's death is reported after Hamlet's return.

1-6 Unfortunate ... people Although Hamlet starts out, as in Q2, by lamenting his present state, his reasoning is different in *BB*. In Q2, Hamlet's being sent away prevents him from acting. Here, the goddess of revenge hinders him as well as the fact that the King is surrounded "by many people" (5-6, "mit viel Volk"). While in *BB* the hindering forces are exterior, in Q2 Hamlet also sees himself as the cause of his inaction: "I doe not know / Why yet I liue to say this thing's to doe" (TLN 2743+37-38, IV.iv.42-43). This difference illustrates the physical and visual focus of the *Wanderbühne* plays. Note that "Belleforest too regards the delay as outside human control" (Bullough 7: 154).

1-5 Unfortunate ... fratricide spoken by Night in Steinbach.

2 Nemesis the Greek goddess of revenge.

3 cousin See note to *RuJ* II.iii.31.

6-7 But ... him While Q2's Hamlet merely vows to have bloody thoughts "from this time forth", *BB*'s Prince plans to execute his revenge before sunset, thereby condensing the action and increasing the suspense. Compare Q1's: "King ... This very day shall *Hamlet* drinke his last" (CLN 2075, xvi.170).

5-6 is ... people Bullough argues that "this obstacle is not stated in *Hamlet*" (7: 154), but see note at II.v.3-4.

V.ii corresponds to Q2/F's V.ii.1-66 (TLN 3499-571 in Q2, TLN 3499-585 in F; Hamlet tells Horatio about his travels). *BB* agrees with the longer versions here and has no equivalent of the Q1-only scene xiv between Horatio and the Queen; see pp. 221-22 above. The F- and Q1-only

HORATIO [*zu ihm*].

HORATIO Ihr Durchlaucht, ich bin von Herzen erfreuet, daß ich Sie mit guter Gesundheit wieder allhier sehe. Ich bitte aber, Sie wollen mir doch offenbaren, warum Sie sobald wieder zurückgekommen.

HAMLET Ach, Horatio, du hättest mich bald nicht mehr lebendig
gesehn, dieweil mein Leben bereits auf dem Spiel gestanden, wo mich die
göttliche Allmacht nicht sonderlich hätte bewahret. 5

HORATIO Wie, was sagen Ihr Durchlaucht? Wie ist es zugegangen?

HAMLET Du weist, daß mir der König zwey Reisegefährten als
Diener, mich zu begleiten, mitgegeben hatte. Nun begab es sich, daß wir
eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten, und an ein Eyland, nicht ferne von
Dovern anker setzten. Ich stieg mit meinen zwey Dienern aus dem Schiff,
etwas frische Luft zu schöpfen. Da kamen diese verfluchten Schelme, und
wollten mir das Leben nehmen, und sagten, der König hätte sie dazu
erkauft. Ich bat um mein Leben, ich wollte ihnen eben soviel geben, und
sollten den König doch unterdessen meinen Tod berichten, ich wollte 15

0 SD *zu ihm*] *this edn; not in BB*

V.ii.2 allhier hier: here (Grimm).

5 dieweil because (Grimm); the variant "alldieweil" can still be heard today.

6 sonderlich particularly, specifically (Grimm).

10 Eyland Hamlet now uses the more literary form instead of the more popular "Insel". See note at IV.i.6, 17.

HORATIO *to him.*

HORATIO Your Highness, I am heartily glad to see you here again in good health. But I ask you, reveal to me why you have returned so soon.

HAMLET Ah, Horatio, thou hadst very nearly not seen me alive again. For my life was already at stake, had not the divine 5
omnipotence specially protected me.

HORATIO How? What says your Highness? How did it happen?

HAMLET Thou knowest that the King had given me two fellow-travelers as servants to accompany me. Now it happened that one day we had a contrary wind, and we cast anchor by an island not far from 10
Dover. I went with my two servants from the ship to breathe some fresh air. Then came these cursed rogues and wanted to take my life and said that the King had hired them for that purpose. I begged for my life, wanted to give them as much, and they should meanwhile report my death to the King, I would nevermore come to court again; but 15

V.ii.5-6 had ... me] *BB*; *not in Q1*; Ther's a diuinity that shapes our ends Q2, F (TLN 3509, V.ii.10)

9-10 that ... wind] *BB*; Being crossed by the contention of the windes Q1 (CLN 1813, xiv.5); finding our selues too slow of saile Q2, F (TLN 2989, IV.vi.16-17)

lines (V.ii.75-80, xvii.2-4), which include Hamlet's apology to Laertes for having "forgot [him]selfe" (TLN 3580, V.ii.76), are not found in *BB* since Hamlet has not been on stage with Leonhardus so far. Q2/F's IV.vi, where Horatio reads Hamlet's letter, can further be likened to this scene, since Hamlet's adventures during his absence are narrated in both sequences.

9, 11, 12 **servants, servants, rogues** Hamlet's story follows *BB*'s denomination of his attendants: he calls them "servants" until he narrates their change in behavior, when they turn into "rogues".

10 **contrary wind** The players also blame their delayed arrival in Denmark on a "contrary wind" (II.vii.7, "contraire Wind"). This instance is taken to illustrate a dependence on Q1 (see pp. 220-21 above).

10-11 **island ... Dover** There is no island near Dover. The closest landmass is France. The Isle of Sheppey is located about eighty miles north-west of Dover, on the Northern Coast of Kent.

11-20 **I ... time** Hamlet's narration corresponds to the dramatized events (IV.i) except for his offer to equal the King's bid (14).

13 **King** In Q2/F, Hamlet describes the King to Horatio as follows: "He that hath kild my King, and whor'd my mother, / Pop't in betweene th'election and my hopes" (TLN 3568-69, V.ii.63-64).

auch nimmermehr zu Hofe kommen, es war aber kein Erbarmen bey ihnen. Endlich gaben mir die Götter etwas im Sinn: hierauf bat ich sie, daß vor meinem Ende ich noch ein Gebet thun möchte, und wenn ich rufen würde: schießt zu! so sollten sie auf mich Feuer geben: indem aber daß ich rief, fiel ich zur Erden nieder, sie aber erschossen sich selbst einander; bin also diesesmal noch so mit dem Leben darvon kommen. 20
Meine Ankunft aber wird dem Könige nicht angenehm seyn.

HORATIO O unerhörte Verrätherey!

[Fünfter Akt,] Scene iii

PHANTASMO [*zu diesen*].

HAMLET Siehe, Horatio, dieser Narr ist dem Könige viel lieber, als

V.iii Fünfter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

16 **zu** here: "archaic to designate direction" (Grimm, "alterthümlich als bezeichnung der richtung").

17-21 **Endlich ... kommen** The punctuation with its numerous colons can be confusing to a modern reader, but it may have served to indicate how an actor should speak these lines. Poel condenses this to: "But with the merciful Providence of the gods, I outwitted them and escaped" (32).

there was no mercy in them. At last, the gods put something into my

mind, whereupon I begged them that before my end I might still say a prayer, and when I would call "Fire ahead!" they were to fire at me. But even as I called, I fell on the ground, but they shot one another. I therefore just escaped with my life this time. But my arrival will not be agreeable to the King. 20

HORATIO O unheard of treachery!

V.iii

PHANTASMO *to them.*

HAMLET Look, Horatio, this fool is much dearer to the King than

21-22 But ... King] *BB*; *Hor.* ... obserue the king, and you shall / Quickly finde, *Hamlet* being here, / Things fell not to his minde Q1 (CLN 1832-34, xiv.23-24); *not in* Q2, F

23] *BB*; *not in* Q1; Why what a King is this! Q2, F (TLN 3566, V.ii.61)

V.iii.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter a Bragart Gentleman* Q1; *Enter a Courtier* Q2; *Enter young Osricke* F

1-2] *BB*; *Horatio*, but marke yon water-flie Q1; Doost know this water fly? Q2, F

23 In Q2/F, Horatio comments on the fate of "*Guyldensterne* and *Rosencraus*" (TLN 3559, V.ii.56). An echo of Hamlet's answer to Horatio, "They are not neere my conscience" (TLN 3561, V.ii.57), already occurred in *BB*: "But these rogues, as they worked, so is their reward" (IV.i.51, "Diese Schelme aber, wie gearbeitet, so ist auch ihr Lohn").

V.iii corresponds to Shakespeare's V.ii.67-202 and xvii.5-46 (the invitation to the duel).

0 SD While Phantasmo is by now a familiar character, his Shakespearean counterparts appear for the first time. The Gentleman's/Courtier's/Osricke's laborious manner of speech resembles that of Corambis/Polonius, especially in Q2. This resemblance could be likened to *BB*'s parallel between Phantasmo and Corambus (who could be played by the same actor). Thompson and Taylor do not suggest that the counselor and the courtier are doubled in *Ham*, but they allow for a doubling of Corambis/Polonius and the gravedigger, often put into practice in productions (Arden3 555-57, 142).

1, 11 **fool** Hamlet earlier called Corambus a "fool" (II.v.10, II.ix.8, III.x.16), a function which has now been taken over by Phantasmo.

meine Person. Wir wollen hören, was er vorbringt.

PHANTASMO Willkomen zu Hause, Prinz Hamlet! Wisset Ihr was Neues? der König hat eine Wette auf Euch und auf dem jungen Leonhardo geschlagen. Ihr sollt zusammen in Rapiere fechten, und wer dem andern die ersten zwey Stöße anbringen wird, der soll ein weiß neapolitanisch Pferd gewonnen haben. 5

HAMLET Ist dieses gewiß, was du sagest?

PHANTASMO Ja es ist nicht anders.

HAMLET Horatio, was mag dieses bedeuten? ich und Leonhardus sollen miteinander fechten. Ich glaube, sie werden diesen Narren etwas weiß gemacht haben, denn man kann ihm einbilden, was man will. Sehet 10

my person. Let's hear what he puts forward.

PHANTASMO Welcome home, Prince Hamlet! Do you know something new? The King has laid a wager on you and on the young Leonhardo. You are to fence together with rapiers, and he who gives the other the first two hits shall have won a white Neapolitan horse. 5

HAMLET Is this certain what thou sayest?

PHANTASMO Yes, it is not otherwise.

HAMLET Horatio, what could this mean? I and Leonhardus are to fence together. I believe they will have gulled this fool, for one can make him believe what one likes. Only look, Signora Phantasmo, it is 10

3 Welcome ... Hamlet] *BB*; Now God saue thee, sweete prince *Hamlet* Q1; Your Lordship is right welcome backe to Denmarke Q2, F

3-4 Do ... new?] *BB*; I come with an embassage from his maiesty to you Q1; I should impart a thing to you from his Maiestie Q2, F

4-5 The ... Leonhardo] *BB*; The King, sweete Prince, hath layd a wager on your side Q1; my Lord his Maiestie bad me signifie to you, that a has layd a great wager on your head Q2, F

5-6 You ... hits] *BB*; that yong Leartes in twelue venies / At Rapier and Dagger do not get three oddes of you Q1; that in a dozen passes betweene your selfe and him, hee shall not exceede you three hits, hee hath layd on twelue for nine Q2, F (twelue for mine)

6 shall ... horse] *BB*; Six Barbary horse, against six french rapiers, / With all their acoutrements too, a the carriages Q1; six Barbary horses against ... six French Rapiers and Poynards, with their assignes, as girdle, hanger and so Q2, F (or so)

12-13 Only ... cold] *BB*; By my troth me thinkes t'is very colde Q1; No belieue me, tis very cold, the wind is Northerly Q2, F

4 **new** In Shakespeare, the hot-cold episode follows at this point (lines 12-20 in *BB*), and the wager and duel are discussed afterwards.

4-5 **The ... Leonhardo** In Shakespeare the King bets on Hamlet; there is no specification here.

5 **Leonhardo** For the Latin flection, see note to *RuJ* IV.iii.14.

5 **rapiers** Shakespeare names "Rapier and Dagger" (TLN 3614, V.ii.128) as the weapons.

6 **the ... hits** Regarding the modalities of the wager, see note at IV.v.13-14.

6 **two** The King speaks of three hits (IV.v.14, V.v.5-6).

12-13 **Only ... cold** In Q2/F the Courtier/Osricke prompts the hot-cold-sequence himself. Hamlet tells him, "your bonnet to his right vse, tis for the head", whereupon he answers: "I thanke your Lordship, it is very hot" (TLN 3597-99, V.ii.79-80). Any allusion to a hat is absent from Q1, which does not provide an immediate trigger for the episode. *BB* provides a different excuse: Hamlet demonstrates Phantasmo's fickleness to Horatio. In Shakespeare, Hamlet has a similar dialogue with Corambis/Polonius about the shape of a cloud, in which the counselor keeps agreeing with the Prince (III.ii.367-73).

12 **Signora** Perhaps Hamlet deliberately addresses the fool as a woman. (Poel had an actress play

nur, Signora Phantasma, es ist greulich kalt.

PHANTASMO Ja ja, es ist greulich kalt –

zittert mit dem Munde.

HAMLET Nun ist es schon nicht so kalt mehr. 15

PHANTASMO Ja ja, es ist so recht ins Mittel.

HAMLET Aber nun ist eine große Hitze.

wischt [sich] das Gesicht.

PHANTASMO O welch eine greuliche Hitze!

wischt [sich] auch den Schweiß [ab].

HAMLET Nun ist nicht recht kalt, auch nicht recht warm.

PHANTASMO Ja es ist nun eben recht temperirt. 20

HAMLET Da siehest du, Horatio, daß man ihm weiß machen kann, was man will. Phantasma, gehe wieder hin zum Könige, und sage ihm, daß ich ihm bald aufwarten werde –

PHANTASMO *ab.*

Nun kommt, Horatio, ich will gleichwohl gehn, und mich dem König präsentiren. Aber ach! was bedeutet dieses? mir fallen Blutstropfen aus der Nase; mir schüttet der ganze Leib! O wehe, wie geschieht mir! 25

[HAMLET] fällt in Ohnmacht.

HORATIO Durchlauchtigster Prinz, o Himmel, was bedeutet dieses!

17 SD *sich] this edn; not in BB*

18 SD *sich, ab] this edn; not in BB*

26 SD HAMLET] *this edn; not in BB*

terribly cold.

PHANTASMO Yes, yes, it is terribly cold –

His mouth trembles.

HAMLET Now it is not so cold anymore. 15

PHANTASMO Yes, yes, it is quite in the medium.

HAMLET But now there is a great heat.

Wiping his face.

PHANTASMO Oh, what a terrible heat!

Also wiping away the perspiration.

HAMLET Now it is not quite cold, nor quite warm.

PHANTASMO Yes, now it is just temperate. 20

HAMLET There thou seest, Horatio, that one can make him believe what one will. – Phantasmo, go back to the King and tell him that I shall soon wait upon him –

Exit PHANTASMO.

Now come, Horatio, I will go anyway and present myself to the King. But oh! What does this mean? Drops of blood fall from my nose; my whole body is trembling! O woe, what is happening to me? 25

HAMLET faints.

HORATIO Most noble Prince! O heavens! What does this mean?

14] *BB*; It is indeede very rawish colde Q1; It is indefferent cold my Lord indeed Q2, F

17] *BB*; T'is hot me thinkes Q1; But yet me thinkes it is very sully and hot, or my complexion Q2, F (soultry, and hot for my Complexion)

18] *BB*; Very swoltery hote Q1; Exceedingly my Lord, it is very soultery Q2, F

22-23 Phantasmo ... him] *BB*; Goe tell his maiestie, I wil attend him Q1; *Cour.* Shall I deliuer you so? / *Ham.* To this effect sir, after what flourish your nature will Q2, F (*Osr.* Shall I redeliuer you ee'n so?)

25-26 But ... me] *BB*; Beleeue me *Horatio*, my hart is on the sodaine / Very sore, all here about Q1; thou would'st not thinke how ill all's heere about my hart Q2, F (how all heere)

Phantasmo.) Alternatively, the final letter in "Signora" may be a printer's or scribal error for the male form "Signore".

14 SD, 15-16, 17 SD, 18 SD, 19-20 Not in Shakespeare. *BB*'s adapter(s) seized an opportunity to display the clown's talents. Of all four texts, *BB* provides the longest and Q1 the shortest version of this episode.

22-23 **Phantasmo ... him** This is closer to Q1 than to Q2/F. See also app. 3b.

25-32 **But ... gods** See p. 158 above. Poel cut the nose bleed.

26 SD In Steinbach, Night was present to catch the fainting Prince.

Ihro Durchlaucht kommen doch wieder zu sich selbst! Durlauchtigster Prinz, wie ists, was wiederfährt Ihnen!

HAMLET Ich weiß nicht, Horatio. Indem ich gedachte, nach Hofe zu gehn, überfiel mich eine schleunige Ohnmacht; was dieses bedeuten wird, ist den Göttern bekannt. 30

HORATIO Ach, der Himmel gebe doch, daß dieses Omen nicht etwas Böses bedeuten möge.

HAMLET So sey es wie es will, ich will dennoch zu Hofe gehn, und sollte es auch mein Leben kosten. 35

[HAMLET *und* HORATIO] *ab*.

[Fünfter Akt,] Scene iv

KÖNIG, LEONHARDUS [*und*] PHANTASMO [*treten auf*].

KÖNIG Leonhardus, mache dich fertig, denn Prinz Hamlet wird auch

36 HAMLET ... HORATIO] *this edn; not in BB*

V.iv Fünfter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, treten auf]* *this edn; not in BB*

V.iii.30 nach Hofe nach dem Hofe: to court. The dative "nach" expresses movement towards a destination (Grimm).

31 **schleunige** quick or sudden (Grimm).

Come round again, your Highness! Most noble Prince, how is it, what is happening to you?

HAMLET I do not know, Horatio. While I was thinking of going to court, a sudden swoon came over me; what this will mean is known to the gods. 30

HORATIO Ah, heaven grant that this omen foretells nothing bad.

HAMLET Be it as it may, I'll nonetheless go to court, even if it should cost my life. 35

Exeunt HAMLET and HORATIO.

V.iv

Enter KING, LEONHARDUS, and PHANTASMO.

KING Leonhardus, get thyself ready, for Prince Hamlet will also

35 Be ... may] *BB*; if danger be now, / Why then it is not to come Q1; if it be, 'tis not to come Q2, F (If it be now, 'tis)

35-36 even ... life] *BB*; if danger be now Q1; we defie augury Q2, F

V.iv.0 SD] *BB*; *Enter King, Queene, Leartes, Lordes* Q1; *A table prepar'd, Trumpets, Drums and officers with Cushions, King, Queene, and all the state, Foiles, daggers, and Laertes* Q2; *Enter King, Queene, Laertes and Lords, with other Attendants with Foyles, and Gauntlets, a Table and Flagons of Wine on it* F

27-29 Even when facing the unconscious Prince, Horatio remains utterly polite: he uses three variations of "Durchlaucht" in three lines.

33 In Schmidle, Horatio raised the handkerchief which Hamlet had used to stop his nosebleed, as a symbol for the "omen". In Q2/F, Horatio pragmatically states: "You will loose my Lord" (TLN 3658, V.ii.187; F reads "You will lose this wager").

36 SD Steinbach inserted Ophelia's death cry from off stage. In Schmidle, her death, orchestrated by Night, was enacted on the balcony.

V.iv has no exact equivalent in Shakespeare's texts but roughly corresponds to the SD at V.ii.202 and xvii.46, preceding the duel.

0 SD For once, *BB*'s King has no retinue about him. The last scenes are of a more private nature, possibly to give Hamlet an opportunity for his revenge, which has so far been hindered by the presence of the King's "guards" (II.v.4, "Trabanten"). The retinue is not left out for reasons of doubling (see app. 4b).

bald hier seyn.

LEONHARDUS Ihro Majestät, ich bin schon fertig, und werde schon mein Bestes thun.

KÖNIG Sehet wohl zu; hier kommt der Prinz schon – – –

5

[Fünfter Akt,] scene v

HAMLET [*und*] HORATIO [*zu diesen*].

HAMLET Alles Glück und Heil warte auf Ihro Majestät!

KÖNIG Wir danken Euch, Prinz! Wir sind höchsterfreut, daß Euch die Melancholie in etwas verlassen, derowegen haben wir heut einen Luststreit angestellt zwischen Euch und dem jungen Leonhardo: Ihr sollt mit ihm in Rapieren fechten, und welcher von Euch beyden die ersten drey Stöße bekommen wird, der soll ein weiß neapolitanisch Pferd mit Sattelzeug und allem Zubehör gewonnen haben. 5

HAMLET Ihro Majestät wollen mir verzeihen, denn ich in den Rappier

V.v Fünfter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *und, zu diesen] this edn; not in BB*

V.iv.5 According to Creizenach, – – – is a signal for the clown to extemporize (172); compare note at III.ix.16. Yet extemporization may seem inappropriate here. Accordingly, Creizenach does not comment on this second instance.

V.v.1 warte auf Something "waits for" one, is in store for him, e.g., one's destiny (Grimm, "*etwas wartet auf jemand*", "steht ihm bevor", "vom schicksal, das den menschen trifft").

3 in etwas a little (Grimm).

4 Luststreit The prefix "Lust" implies that the duel is only in sport. Here, the word "Streit" does not have the meaning of "dispute" but rather of "combat" (Grimm).

soon be here.

LEONHARDUS Your Majesty, I am already prepared, and I will do my best.

KING Look well to it; here comes the Prince in good time – 5

V.v

HAMLET *and* HORATIO *to them*.

HAMLET All fortune and salvation wait on your Majesty!

KING We thank you, Prince! We greatly rejoice that the melancholy has somewhat left you; therefore we have today arranged a friendly contest between you and the young Leonhardo: you are to fence with him with rapiers, and he of you two who will receive the first three hits, he shall have won a white Neapolitan horse with saddlery and all accessories. 5

HAMLET Your Majesty will pardon me, for I am little practiced

V.v.6-7 a ... accessories] *BB*; *Gent.* ... Six Barbary horse, against six french rapiers, / With all their acoutrements too, a the carriages Q1 (CLN 2100-01, xvii.17-19); *Cour.* ... six Barbary horses, againgt ... six French Rapiers and Poynards, with their assignes, as girdle, hanger and so Q2, F (*Osr.*; TLN 3616-18, V.ii.130-33)

V.v has no real correspondence in Shakespeare, but it can be likened to the lines following V.ii.202 and xvii.46. Hamlet's apology to Leartes/Laertes is cut in *BB*. Since Hamlet meets Leonhardus for the first time on stage, the former has had no opportunity to offend the latter.

1 The first meeting between Hamlet and the King since the former has returned from England. In Shakespeare, they have already met at Ophelia's funeral (V.i, xvi); in *BB*, Ophelia's death has yet to be announced.

2 **Prince** In Q1, the King addresses him as "sonne *Hamlet*" (CLN 2129, xvii.47), in Q2/F as "*Hamlet*" (TLN 3677, V.ii.203).

2-3 **We ... you** In Shakespeare, the King does not mention Hamlet's "melancholy", although the Prince himself, in his apology to Leartes/Laertes, blames his "madnesse" (TLN 3684, V.ii.210) for his behavior.

4 **Leonhardo** For the Latin flection, see note to *RuJ* IV.iii.14.

4-7 **you ... accessories** In Shakespeare the terms of the duel are not repeated.

5 **receive, three** See notes at IV.v.13, 14 and IV.v.14. The numerical inconsistency prompted Steinbach's Phantasma to express his surprise silently at this point, counting "two, three" on his fingers.

wenig geübt bin. Leonhardus aber kommt kürzlich aus Frankreich, allda
 er sich ohne Zweifel wird gut exercirt haben, darum wollen Sie mich 10
 entschuldiget halten.

KÖNIG Prinz Hamlet thut uns dieses zu gefallen, denn wir sind
 begierig zu erfahren, was die Teutschen und die Franzosen vor Finten
 haben.

[Fünfter Akt,] Scene vi.

KÖNIGIN [*zu diesen*].

KÖNIGIN Gnädiger Herr und König, ich werde Ihnen ein großes
 Unglück erzählen!

V.vi Fünfter Akt] *this edn; not in BB*

0 SD *zu diesen*] *this edn; not in BB*

9 **allda** "even there" (Grimm, "daselbst").

10-11 **darum ... halten** you will therefore excuse me. This construction, literally "hold me for
 excused", is formed after the biblical *habe me excusatum* (Grimm).

13 **vor** für, here: what kind of.

13 **Finten** only current from the seventeenth century (Grimm).

with the rapier. But Leonhardus recently comes from France; there he
without doubt had good practice, therefore will you please hold me 10
excused.

KING Prince Hamlet, do this as a favor to us, for we are desirous of
learning what sort of feints the German and the French have.

V.vi

QUEEN *to them.*

QUEEN Gracious lord and King, I will tell you of a great
misfortune!

13 what ... have] *BB; not in Q1; Ham.* ... that's the French bet against the Danish Q2, F (TLN 3627-28, V.ii.144-45)

V.vi.1-2] *BB; not in Q1; One woe doth tread vpon anothers heele, / So fast they follow* Q2, F

8-11 This contrasts with Hamlet's earlier assertion that he will not back out (V.iii.35-36). His reason is the same as the one Leonhardus gave to the King, namely that his opponent is better trained than him (IV.v.21-23). This contrasts with Q2/F's statement that Hamlet has been "in continuall practise" (TLN 3660, V.ii.189). In Shakespeare, Hamlet remarks that the King "has layed the ods a'th weaker side" (Q2 TLN 3718, V.ii.238; Q1 similar), but does not try to avoid the fencing match.

13 **what ... have** The reference to Germany can be credited to Hamlet's stay in Wittenberg.

13 **feints** Here, the King uses the word's literal sense, later he uses it figuratively (V.vi.29).

V.vi Lines 1-9, in which Ophelia's death is related, correspond to Shakespeare's IV.vii.161-92 and xv.38-54; lines 9-84 to Shakespeare's V.ii.203-387 and xvii.47-133 (the duel and its aftermath).

0 SD In the English texts, the Queen enters earlier, together with the King (at the equivalent of V.iv.0 SD).

1-9 Ophelia's death is announced much earlier in Shakespeare, where it interrupts the plotting of the duel. This passage is a relic from Shakespeare, devoid of any function. The adapter(s) might have remembered that Ophelia still has to die and added the sequence at the very end of the play. The absence of any reaction from Hamlet, Horatio, and Phantasmo may support this hypothesis (see also note at 13). As Shakespeare's Horatio fears that the Ghost may lead Hamlet "to the dreadfull somnet of the cleefe" (TLN 659, I.iv.70; not in Q1), so the German Ophelia's madness

KÖNIG Der Himmel bewahre uns davor! Was ist es denn?

KÖNIGIN Die Ophelia ist auf einen hohen Berg gestiegen, und hat sich selber heruntergestürzt und um das Leben gebracht. 5

LEONHARDUS Ach unglückseeliger Leonhardus! du hast in kurzer Zeit einen Vater und Schwester verlohren! Wohin will doch das Unglück dich leiten! Ich wünsche mir selbst den Tod.

KÖNIG Stellet euch zufrieden, Leonhardus! wir sind euch gnädig, fanget nur das Gefechte an. Phantasmo bringe die Rappiere; Ihr aber, 10 Horatio, sollet urtheilen.

PHANTASMO Da sind die warmen Biere.

KING Heaven preserve us from it! What is it?

QUEEN Ophelia has climbed a high mountain and has thrown herself down and taken her life. 5

LEONHARDUS Ah, unfortunate Leonhardus! In a short time thou hast lost a father and a sister! Whither will misfortune still lead thee! For grief I wish to die myself.

KING Be content, Leonhardus! We are gracious to you. Only begin the combat. – Phantasma, bring the rapiers. – But you, Horatio, shall 10 judge.

PHANTASMO Here are the warm beers.

3] *BB*; How now Gertred, why looke you heauily? Q1; *not in* Q2, F

4-5] *BB*; your Sisters drownd *Laertes* Q2, F

4 Ophelia] *BB*; the yong *Ophelia* Q1; your Sister Q2, F

10 Phantasma ... rapiers] *BB*; Giue them the foyles Q1; Giue them the foiles, young *Ostricke* Q2, F (*Osricke*)

10-11 you ... judge] *BB*; *not in* Q1; And you the Iudges beare a wary eye Q2, F

may have driven her to the high mountain (4). Moreover, Phantasma's death wish for Ophelia (III.xi.27) is unwittingly fulfilled. Bullough (7: 23) likens Ophelia's death to Hieronimo's story of Soliman and Perseda in *The Spanish Tragedy*, where "the lustful bashaw '... Ran to a mountain-top, and hung himself' (IV.i.127-8)". In Steinbach, the Queen entered carrying the tiara that Ophelia had been wearing.

4-5 Apart from her dying words (42), these are the last words the Queen speaks in *BB*.

4-5 **has ... life** In contrast to Shakespeare, where the matter remains ambiguous, in *BB* Ophelia has clearly committed suicide.

6-8 Leonhardus never blames Hamlet for his sister's death, unlike Leartes/Laertes. In *BB*, there is no argument between Hamlet and Leonhardus over who loved Ophelia more, let alone any jumping into her grave.

8 **die** Leonhardus's Shakespearean counterparts have no death wish. Instead, Leartes speaks of "Reuenge" that "must yeeld this heart releefe" (CLN 1899, xv.53), and Laertes has "a speech a fire that faine would blase" (TLN 3183, IV.vii.188). This is in line with the different characterization of Ophelia's brother in *BB*.

10-11 **you ... judge** Although Horatio is appointed referee, he does not speak again until line 70. In Q2/F, Osrick takes on his task, and in Q1 a "*Gent.*" is called upon to judge (CLN 2151, xvii.67).

10-12 **Phantasma ... beers** Dover Wilson believes that in Shakespeare the King and Laertes need an accomplice and that this accomplice is likely to be Osric. Knight sees Phantasma's role in *BB* as confirming this supposition (385). In Schmidle, Phantasma indeed assisted with poisoning the weapon, and in Schmidle and Steinbach he helped to exchange the rapiers.

12 **warm beers** a pun on "rapiers" (10, "Rappiere"). The same pun is used in *Kunst über alle Künste*. When told to draw his weapon, Wurmbrand answers: "My lord, my warm beer is all

HAMLET Wohlan denn, Leonhardus, so kommet denn an, wir wollen zusehn, wer dem andern die Schellen wird anhängen. Wo ich aber einen Exces begehen möchte, bitte ich zu excusiren, denn ich lange nicht gefochten. 15

LEONHARDUS Ich bin Ihro Durchlaucht Diener, Sie scherzen nur.
In dem ersten Gang fechten sie reine. LEONHARDUS *bekommt einen Stoß.*

HAMLET Nun das war eins, Leonhardus!

LEONHARDUS Es ist wahr, Ihro Durchlaucht! Allo Revange!

Dieser läßt das Rappier fallen, und ergreift den vergifteten Degen, welcher parat lieget, und stößt dem Prinzen die Quarte in den Arm.

HAMLET *pariret auf LEONHARDO, daß sie beyde die Gewehre fallen lassen. Sie laufen ein jeder nach dem Rappier. HAMLET bekommt den vergifteten Degen, und sticht LEONHARDUS todt.*

V.vi.14 die ... anhängen make a fool, who wears bells ("Schellen").

15 **Exces** outrage, debauchery, excess (Grimm).

17 SD **reine** according to the rules, from which Leonhardus deviates at 19 SD.

19 **Allo** an admonishing exclamation, probably after the French *allons* (Grimm).

19 **Revange** See note at IV.i.53.

19 SD **Dieser** Leonhardus.

19 SD **Rappier, Degen, Gewehre** The poisoned weapon is designated as "*Degen*" ("*sword*"), and the "*Rappiere*" ("*rapiers*") are blunt (see also Knight 387). The more neutral "*Gewehre*" ("*weapons*") includes both "*Degen*" and "*Rappiere*".

19 SD **pariret** This word was only in use from the middle of the seventeenth century (Creizenach 143).

19 SD **sticht ... todt** i.e., wounds him mortally. Leonhardus only dies at 46 SD.

HAMLET Well then, Leonhardus, come on: we will see who will hang the bells on the other. If I should blunder, I ask you to excuse me, for I have not fenced for a long time.

15

LEONHARDUS I am your Highness's servant; you are only jesting. *During the first bout they fence fairly.* LEONHARDUS *receives a hit.*

HAMLET Well, that was one, Leonhardus!

LEONHARDUS It is true, your Highness. Allo, revenge!
He lets the rapier fall and seizes the poisoned sword which is lying ready and thrusts the quarte into the Prince's arm. HAMLET *parries on LEONHARDO, so that they both drop the weapons. They each run for the rapier.* HAMLET *gets the poisoned sword and mortally wounds LEONHARDUS.*

14-15 If ... time] *BB*; I'll be your foyle, *Leartes* Q1; Ile be your foile *Laertes*, in mine ignorance / Your skill shall like a starre i'th darkest night / Stick fiery of indeed Q2, F

17] *BB*; not in Q1; You mocke me sir Q2, F

17 SD] *BB*; a hit Q1; not in Q2; They play F

18] *BB*; One Q2, F

19 It ... true] *BB*; I, I grant, a tuch, a tuch Q1; I doe confest Q2; A touch, a touch, I do confesse F

19 SD] *BB*; They catch one anothers Rapiers, and both are wounded, *Leartes* falles downe Q1; not in Q2; In scuffling they change Rapiers F

frozen in this heat" (III, 125, "Herr, mein Warmbier ist ganz eingefroren bei dieser Hitze").

13 Hamlet is not present when Ophelia's death is announced in Shakespeare. Although he is on stage here, *BB* does not script his reaction to the news. His apparent indifference is in keeping with the minimal importance their relationship is accorded throughout the play. However, since Hamlet has not answered the King at the end of the preceding scene, the news of Ophelia's suicide may prompt Hamlet's consent at this point.

15 This again contrasts with Hamlet's "continuall practise" in Q2/F (TLN 3660, V.ii.189).

17 SD-22 The SDs in *BB* offer more accurate instructions for the combat than the English texts (Creizenach 136). See also long note to 17 SD-42 SD.

19 SD Q1 and F have SDs similar to *BB*'s. Q2 has Horatio observe: "They bleed on both sides" (TLN 3781, V.ii.289).

19 SD *thrusts ... arm* In Steinbach, Leonhardus hurt Hamlet in a move which was explicitly against the rules.

19 SD *quarte* In fencing, the "*quarte*" is the "fourth movement of the fist, as well as the respective hit" (Grimm, "in der fechtkunst die vierte bewegung (motion) der faust und der dabei geführte stosz oder hieb").

19 SD **LEONHARDO** For the Latin flection, see note to *RuJ* IV.iii.14.

LEONHARDUS O wehe, ich habe einen tödtlichen Stoß! ich bekomme 20
den Lohn, mit welchem ich dachte einen andern zu bezahlen. Der Himmel
sey mir gnädig.

HAMLET Was zum Teufel ist dieses! Leonhardus, hab ich euch mit
dem Rappier erstochen? Wie geht dieses zu?

KÖNIG Gehet geschwinde, und gebt meinen Mundbecher mit Wein 25
her, damit die Fechter sich ein wenig erquicken. Gehe, Phantasmo, und
hole ihn.

[PHANTASMO *ab.*]

[KÖNIG] *tritt vom Thron. Für sich.*

Ich hoffe, wenn sie beyde von dem Wein trinken werden, daß sie alsdenn
sterben, und diese Finte nicht offenbar werde.

[KÖNIG *setzt sich.*]

HAMLET Sagt mir, Leonhardus, wie ist dieses zugegangen? 30

LEONHARDUS Ach, Prinz, ich bin von dem König zu diesem
Unglück verführet worden! Sehet, was Ihr in Eurer Hand habt! es ist ein
vergifteter Degen.

27 SD PHANTASMO *ab*] *this edn; not in BB*

27 SD KÖNIG] *this edn; not in BB*

29 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

25 **Mundbecher** the cup or goblet specifically destined "for the mouth of a person of rank"
(Grimm, "becher eigens für den mund eines hohen herrn").

28 **alsdenn** an emphatic "dann": "then" (Grimm).

LEONHARDUS Woe is me, I have a mortal hit. I receive the 20
reward with which I thought to pay another. Heaven have mercy on
me.

HAMLET What the devil is this? Leonhardus, have I stabbed you
with the rapier? How does this happen?

KING Go quickly and bring forth my royal goblet with wine so that 25
the fencers refresh themselves a little. Go, Phantasmo, and fetch it.

Exit PHANTASMO.

KING steps down from the throne. Aside.

I hope that when they both drink of the wine they may then die, and
that this feint may not be exposed.

KING sits down.

HAMLET Tell me, Leonhardus, how did this come about? 30

LEONHARDUS Ah, Prince, I have been seduced to this misfortune
by the King! See what you have in your hand! It is a poisoned sword.

20 Woe ... hit] *BB*; *not in Q1*; *loe here I lie / Neuer to rise againe Q2, F*

20-21 I ... another] *BB*; *Foolishly slaine with my own weapon Q1*; *I am iustly kild with mine
owne treachery Q2, F*

31-32 I ... King] *BB*; *not in Q1*; *the King, the Kings too blame Q2, F*

32 See ... sword] *BB*; *The fatall Instrument is in thy hand. / Vnbated and invenomed Q1*; *The
treacherous instrument is in my hand / Vnbated and enuenom'd Q2, F (thy hand)*

20-21 **I ... another** Leonhardus and Laertes believe that they get what they deserve. Leartes, by
contrast, sees himself as "foolishly slaine".

21 **reward** Compare 54. See also p. 170 above.

23-24, 30, 34 While *BB*'s Hamlet is still trying to understand what has happened, in Shakespeare,
because of the different order of events (see long note to 17 SD-42 SD), Hamlet immediately
takes action, calling for the doors to be locked (V.ii.296, xvii.87).

28-29 The King seems to have forgotten that Leonhardus knows about the poisoned wine (see
IV.v.40-42 and Knight 389). The crushed diamond (IV.v.40) is not mentioned again. Q2 has the
King throw "an Onixe" (TLN 3732, V.ii.249) and F "an vnion" (TLN 3732, V.ii.219) into the cup
at this point.

29 **feint** Interestingly, the King uses a fencing term (compare V.v.13 and note).

31-32 **I ... King** In Q1, where the poisoned foil is also the King's idea, Leartes does not blame the
King in his last words although, as in Q2/F, once Hamlet has killed his uncle, Leartes observes
that "he is iustly serued" (CLN 2184, xvii.98). In Q2 where the poisoned weapon is Laertes's
idea, he accuses the King.

32 **your hand** Q1, F, and *BB* agree against Q2 by having Hamlet hold the weapon in *his* hand.

HAMLET O Himmel, was ist dieses! Bewahre mich doch davor!

LEONHARDUS Ich sollte Euch damit verletzen, denn er ist so stark 35
vergiftet, daß, wer nur die geringste Wunde damit bekömmt,
augenscheinlich sterben muß.

[PHANTASMO tritt auf.]

KÖNIG Holla, Ihr Herren, erhohlet Euch ein wenig und trinket.

*Indem der KÖNIG vom Stuhl aufstehet, und diese Worte redet, so nimmt
die KÖNIGIN dem PHANTASMO den Becher aus der Hand und trinket,
der KÖNIG ruft:*

Holla! wo bleibt der Becher? Ach, wertheste Gemahlin, was thut sie?
Dieses, was hier eingeschenket, ist mit dem stärksten Gift vermengt. Ach 40
wehe, was habt Ihr gethan!

KÖNIGIN O wehe, ich sterbe!

[KÖNIGIN stirbt.]

37 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

42 SD KÖNIGIN stirbt] *this edn; not in BB*

37 **augenscheinlich** evidently (Grimm). Probably a confusion with "augenblicklich"
("instantly").

HAMLET O heavens, what is this? Preserve me from it!

LEONHARDUS I was to wound you with it, for it is so strongly 35
poisoned that he who receives the slightest wound from it must die
straightaway.

Enter PHANTASMO.

KING Hullo, gentlemen, rest yourselves a little and drink.

*While the KING is rising from the chair and speaking these words, the
QUEEN takes the cup out of PHANTASMO's hand and drinks. The*

KING exclaims:

Hullo! Where is the cup? Ah, dearest wife, what are you doing? What
has been poured into here is mixed with the strongest poison. Ah woe, 40
what have you done?

QUEEN O woe, I am dying!

QUEEN dies.

38] *BB*; Giue him the wine Q1; giue him the cup Q2, F

38 SD *the ... drinks*] *BB*; *Shee drinks* Q1; *not in* Q2, F

39 Ah ... doing?] *BB*; Do not drinke *Gerfred* Q1; *Gertrard* doe not drinke Q2; *Gertrude*, do not
drinke F

39-40 What ... poison] *BB*; O t'is the poysned cup! Q1; It is the poysned cup Q2, F

40-41 Ah ... done?] *BB*; *not in* Q1; it is too late Q2, F

42] *BB*; O the drinke, the drinke, *Hamlet*, the drinke Q1; No, no, the drinke, the drinke, ô my
deare *Hamlet*, / The drinke the drinke, I am poysned Q2, F

42 SD *QUEEN dies*] *this edn*; *the Queene falls downe and dies* Q1; *not in* Q2, F

38 In Shakespeare, the King only offers the drink to Hamlet, who refuses it.

38 SD In Shakespeare, the Queen "carowes to [Hamlet's] fortune" (TLN 3758, V.ii.271). In *BB*
and Q1 the Queen drinks before the King can stop her. Only in Q2/F does she actively disobey
him: "I will [i.e., drink] my Lord, I pray you pardon me" (TLN 3761, V.ii.274). Q2/F thus makes
a stronger case for her knowingly swallowing the poison.

38 SD *chair* See p. 134 above.

38 SD-42 SD In Shakespeare, more time passes between the Queen drinking the poison and her
death. In Q1, the King and in Q2/F Osrick order: "Looke to the Queene" (TLN 3780, V.ii.288). In
Q2/F Hamlet inquires: "How dooes the Queene?" (TLN 3786, V.ii.293).

38 SD For Phantasmo's role as co-conspirator, see note at 10-12.

42 SD *QUEEN dies* When the Queen dies in Shakespeare, Leartes/Laertes has not yet finished
his revelation. Hamlet therefore only takes cautionary measures: "let the doore be lock't, /
Treachery, seeke it out" (Q2/F TLN 3791-92, V.ii.296-97; Q1 similar). Although F offers SDs
indicating the characters' deaths, Q1 is the only text to provide one for the Queen. In contrast to
RuJ, *BB* has no SDs indicating the moment of death.

Der KÖNIG steht vor der KÖNIGIN.

HAMLET Und Du, Tyranne, sollst sie in dem Tode begleiten.

HAMLET *ersticht ihm von hinten zu.*

KÖNIG O wehe, ich empfangen meinen bösen Lohn!

[KÖNIG *stirbt.*]

LEONHARDUS Adieu, Prinz Hamlet! Adieu, Welt! ich sterbe auch. 45
Ach verzeihet mir, Prinz!

[LEONHARDUS *stirbt.*]

HAMLET Der Himmel geleite deine Seele, weil du unschuldig. Diesen

44 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

46 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

The KING stands in front of the QUEEN.

HAMLET And thou, tyrant, shalt accompany her in death.

HAMLET stabs him from behind.

KING O woe, I receive my evil reward!

KING dies.

LEONHARDUS Adieu, Prince Hamlet! Adieu, world! I am also 45
dying. Ah, forgive me, Prince!

LEONHARDUS dies.

HAMLET May heaven convey thy soul, for thou art innocent. But

43] *BB*; Then venome to thy venome, die damn'd villaine Q1; then venome to thy worke ...
Follow my mother Q2, F

46 Ah ... Prince] *BB*; *Hamlet*, before I die, here take my hand, / And withall, my loue: I doe
forgiue thee Q1; Exchange forgiueness with me noble *Hamlet*, / Mine and my fathers death come
not vppon thee, / Nor thine on me Q2, F

44 SD] *this edn*; *The king dies* Q1; *not in* Q2; *King Dyes* F

46 SD] *this edn*; *Leartes dies* Q1; *not in* Q2; *Dyes* F

47 May ... innocent] *BB*; And I thee Q1; Heauen make thee free of it Q2, F

42 SD *The ... QUEEN* equivalent to Q2/F's excuse "She sounds to see them bleed" (TLN 3787, V.ii.293). In Q2/F, the King verbally tries to cover up his wife's death, pretending that she swoons. In *BB*, he physically tries to hide the Queen, by "*stand[ing] in front of*" her ("*stehet vor der KÖNIGIN*") – a change characteristic of the English Comedians.

43 **thou, tyrant** The first time that Hamlet calls the King by the informal personal pronoun. He earlier refers to the King as "tyrannical" (IV.i.29, "tyrannisch"), but only here does Hamlet call him a tyrant to his face.

43 SD Hamlet stabs the King in the back, which dishonours both Hamlet and his victim (but see also p. 160, fn. 98 above).

44 Here the King's last line is didactic. Q2/F's King pronounces one last lie – "O yet defend me friends, I am but hurt" (TLN 3806, V.iii.308) – whereupon Hamlet forces him to "Drinke of this potion" (TLN 3809, V.ii.310). Q1's King has no dying words.

45-46 Leonhardus's last words may sound melodramatic. Yet similar constructions can be found in the dying words of other characters in the *Wanderbühne* plays (Creizenach 185). See also p. 201 above.

46-47 In Q1 Leartes forgives Hamlet, in *BB* Leonhardus asks Hamlet for forgiveness, and in Q2/F Laertes wants to "exchange forgiueness". Q1's Hamlet accords Leartes forgiveness although he did not specifically ask for it; Q2/F and *BB* refer to "heaven", but only *BB*'s Hamlet calls Leonhardus "innocent" ("unschuldig"). He also expresses his regret for having killed him (51).

46 SD In all four texts, it remains unclear whether the dying man hears Hamlet's response. Q1 and F are the only texts to provide a SD for his death.

Tyrannen aber wünsche ich, daß er seine schwarze Sünden in der Höllen
 abwaschen möge. Ach, Horatio, nun ist meine Seele ruhig, nun ich mich
 an meinen Feinden gerochen habe. Ich habe zwar auch einen Stoß in den 50
 Arm, aber ich hoffe, es werde nichts zu bedeuten haben. Es ist mir leid,
 daß ich Leonhardum erstochen habe, ich weiß aber nicht, wie ich den
 verzweifelten Degen in meine Hand bekommen; doch wie die Arbeit, so
 ist auch der Lohn, er hat seine Bezahlung bekommen. Nichts jammert mir
 mehr, als meine Frau Mutter. Doch sie hat diesen Tod wegen ihrer Sünden 55
 halben auch verdienet. Aber sagt mir, wer hat ihr den Becher gegeben,
 daß sie Gift bekommen?

PHANTASMO Ich, Herr Prinz! ich habe auch den vergifteten Degen
 gebracht, aber den vergifteten Wein habt Ihr allein sollen austrinken.

HAMLET Bist du auch ein Werkzeug dieses Unglücks gewesen? 60
 Siehe, da hast du auch deine Belohnung!

sticht ihm todt.

PHANTASMO Stecht, daß euch die Klinge verlahme!

[PHANTASMO *stirbt.*]

HAMLET Ach, Horatio, ich fürchte es wird nach meiner verübten
 Rache auch mein Leben kosten, denn ich bin am Arme sehr verwundet.

62 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

50 **gerochen** See note at I.v.38, 40.

for this tyrant I wish that he may wash off his black sins in hell. Ah,
 Horatio, now my soul is at peace, now that I have revenged myself on
 my enemies. I have also received a hit on my arm, but I hope it will 50
 mean nothing. I am sorry that I have stabbed Leonhardum, but I know
 not how I got the desperate sword into my hand. But as is the work, so
 is the reward; he has received his payment. Nothing afflicts me more
 than my mother. Still, she too has deserved this death for her sins. But
 55
 tell me, who gave her the cup, that she received the poison?

PHANTASMO Me, Prince. I have also brought the poisoned sword,
 but the poisoned wine was to be drunk by you alone.

HAMLET Hast thou also been an instrument of this misery? See, 60
 there thou also hast thy reward!

Stabs him.

PHANTASMO Stab so that your blade grows weak!

PHANTASMO *dies.*

HAMLET Ah, Horatio, I fear that it will also cost my life after my
 completed revenge, for I am badly wounded in the arm. I grow all

53-54 Nothing ... sins] *BB*; *not in Q1*; wretched Queene adiew *Q2, F*

59] *BB*; *Lear*. ... That drinke was made for thee *Q1*

63-64 Ah ... arm] *BB*; I am dead *Horatio Q1, Q2, F*; *Horatio* I am dead ... O I die *Horatio Q2, F*

64-66 I ... me] *BB*; O my heart sinckes *Horatio*, / Mine eyes haue lost their sight, my tongue his
 vse *Q1*; *not in Q2, F*

47-48 **But ... hell** Earlier, Hamlet had refrained from sending the King to hell because he did not
 want to load the King's sins upon himself (III.ii.9).

50-51 **I ... nothing** Shakespeare's Hamlet sees no hope of survival. *BB*'s Hamlet has a reason to
 remain alive: he still has to punish the person who gave his mother the poison (56).

51 **Leonhardum** For the Latin flection, see note to *RuJ* IV.iii.14.

52-53 **But ... reward** Hamlet uses this formula to justify each of the deaths that occur,
 foreshadowing the last line of the play. Bullough (7: 157) compares it to Shakespeare's "Oh this
 is hyre and Sallery" (TLN 2355, III.iii.79) but fails to note that this phrase is only found in *F*.

58 **Me, Prince** Phantasmo eagerly volunteering as guilty is the last bit of comedy the clown
 provides. This was played out to the full in Steinbach.

59 **alone** This contradicts the King's intention (28).

61 **reward** See note at 52-53.

63-69 Hamlet's dying speech does not include a bid to "report [him] and [his] cause a right / To
 the vnsatisfied" (TLN 3823-24, V.ii.323-24; *not in Q1*) as it does in Shakespeare.

Ich werde ganz matt, meine Glieder werden schwach, und meine Beine 65
wollen nicht mehr stehn; meine Sprache vergeht mir, ich fühle den Gift in
allen meinen Gliedern. Doch bitte ich euch, lieber Horatio, und bringet die
Krone nach Norwegen an meinen Vetter, den Herzog Fortempras, damit
das Königreich nicht in andre Hände falle. Ach, o weh, ich sterbe!

HORATIO Ach, Durchlachtigster Prinz, erwartet doch Hülfe. O 70
Himmel, er bleibt mir unter den Händen!

[HAMLET *stirbt.*]

Ach, was hat doch dieses Königreich eine zeither vor schwere Kriege
geführt! Kaum hatte es Friede, so ist es aufs neue mit innerlicher Unruhe,
Regier- Streit- und Mordsucht angefüllet worden. Dieser traurige
Unglücksfall mag wohl in keinem Seculo der Welt jemals geschehn seyn, 75
wie man leider jetzt an diesem Hofe erlebt hat. Ich will alle Anstalt mit

71 SD] *this edn; not in BB*

66 **den Gift** See note at II.vii.55.

72 **eine zeither** for some time (Grimm).

75 **Seculo** probably from Latin "saeculum": age, century.

faint, my limbs become weak and my legs will no longer stand; my
speech fails me, I feel the poison in all my limbs. But I ask you, dear
Horatio, to bring the crown to Norway to my cousin, Duke
Fortempras, so that the kingdom may not fall into other hands. Ah, O
woe, I am dying! 65

HORATIO Ah, most noble Prince, wait for help! O heaven, he is
dying in my arms. 70

HAMLET *dies*.

Ah, what heavy wars this kingdom has led until now! No sooner had it
peace when it was newly filled with inner unrest and greed for
reigning, disputes, and murder. This sad case of misfortune, as has
unfortunately just been lived through at this court, may well have
happened in no age of the world. I will, with the help of the faithful 75

66 I ... limbs] *BB*; *not in* Q1; The potent poyson quite ore-crowes my spirit Q2, F

67-68 bring ... Fortempras] *BB*; But I doe prophecie th'ellection lights / On *Fortinbrasse*, he has
my dying voyce Q2, F; *not in* Q1

68-71 SD Ah ... *dies*] *BB*; heauen receiue my soule. *Ham. dies*. Q1; the rest is silence Q2; The
rest is silence. O, o, o, o. *Dyes* F

74 This ... misfortune] *BB*; this tragicke spectacle Q1; *Embas*. The sight is dismall Q2, F

66-68 **But ... hands** corresponds to Hamlet giving his "dying voyce" (TLN 3845, V.ii.340) to
Fortinbras in Q2/F. He does not do so in Q1 since the Norwegian's arrival occurs after Hamlet's
death.

67 **cousin** If this is taken literally, it would differ from Shakespeare, where Hamlet and Fortinbras
are not related. Yet the use may be figurative in the same way that Shakespeare's King speaks of
"our brother *Norway*" (TLN 1084, II.ii.59).

68 **Fortempras** The first mention of Fortinbras. Since in *BB*, Hamlet is King of Norway (I.iv.38-
39, I.vii.12-13), Fortempras is only "Duke" ("Herzog") of Norway, not Prince as he is in
Shakespeare.

70 In contrast to Shakespeare, a single person is left to mourn the dead and re-establish political
order. Yet Horatio mentions "faithful counselors" (76-77, "treue Rätthe") to whom he will turn for
arranging the funerals.

71 SD The most likely point for Hamlet's death. No SD is given in *BB* or Q2; for Q1 and F see
collation.

72-76 **Ah ... world** Compare the ambassador's outcry in Q1: "O most most vnlooked for time!
vnhappy country" (CLN 2206, xvii.119).

72 **heavy wars** The only mention of war in the play.

Hülfe der treuen Rätthe machen, daß diese hohe Personen nach ihrem Stande beerdiget werden, alsdenn mich cito mit der Krone nach Norwegen verfügen, und dieselbe übergeben, wie mir dieser unglückseelige Prinz befohlen hat. 80

So gehts, wenn ein Regent mit List zur Kron sich dringet,
 Und durch Verrätherery dieselbe an sich bringet,
 Derselb erlebet nichts, als lauter Spott und Hohn,
 Denn wie die Arbeit ist, so folget auch der Lohn.

80-81 hat. / So] *this edn*; hat. / Vers. / So *BB*

84 Lohn.] *BB*; Lohn! / *F i n i s*. ThK

78 **alsdenn** an emphatic "dann": "then" (Grimm).

78 **cito** quickly.

counselors, make all preparations that these high persons be buried according to their rank. Then will I at once repair to Norway with the crown and hand it over as this unfortunate Prince has commanded.

80

Thus it goes when a regent forces himself with ruse to the

crown

And obtains it through treachery:

He experiences nothing but mockery and scorn,

For as is the work, so the reward also follows.

77-78 that ... rank] *BB*; Let there a scaffold be rearde vp in the market place Q1; giue order that these bodies / High on a stage be placed to the view Q2, F; *Fort.* ... Beare *Hamlet* like a souldier to his graue Q1; *For.* ... Beare *Hamlet* like a souldier to the stage Q2, F

77-78 that ... rank Whereas in *BB*, the emphasis is on an appropriate funeral, in Shakespeare, Horatio's intent is to show the bodies to the public and to "speake, to yet vnknowing world / How these things came about" (Q2 TLN 3874-75, V.ii.363-64; Q1 similar).

78-79 Then ... commanded In Shakespeare, Norway comes by to pick up the crown himself: Fortinbras takes over Denmark and the rest of the play.

80-81 For the final verse, see note at I.vii.41-42.

81-84 Horatio probably speaks the epilogue although he could do so out of character. In Steinbach, these lines were spoken by Night. See also p. 170 above.

84 On the Shakespearean stage, the play ends with a ceremonial exit, probably involving the whole company: "the body" (F, Q1) or the "bodies" (Q2) are carried off stage. The F-only SD illustrates this: "*Exeunt Marching: after the which, a Peale of Ordenance are shot off*" (TLN 3905-06, V.ii.358 SD). *BB*'s ending radically differs from Shakespeare: the German text offers a more intimate, personal and desolate spectacle than the English versions, emphasizing the moral lesson to be learned.

Long notes

II.vii.70-84

Passages in *An Apology for Actors* that can be likened to *BB* are: "A strange accident happening at a play": "At *Lin* in *Norfolke*, the then Earle of *Sussex* players acting ... a townes-woman ... finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly skritch'd and cryd out Oh my husband, my husband ! ... when presently vnurged, she told them, that seuen yeares ago, she, to be possest of such a Gentleman ... had poysoned her husband ... whereupon the murtheresse was apprehended, before the Iustices further examined, & by her voluntary confession after condemned" (Heywood G1v-G2r). Heywood even explicitly refers to a performance of English Comedians: "at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, a company of our *English* Comedians (well knowne) traouelling those Countreyes ... acting the last part of the 4 sons of *Aymon* ... [a murder is acted out on stage where] they draue a naile into his temples ... on a sodaine ... an out-cry, and loud shriek ... a woman of great grauity, strangely amazed, who with a distracted & troubled braine oft sighed out these words: Oh my husband, my husband! ... [the husband's grave is opened and they find] a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quite through the braine-pan ... At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discouered a former murder. For 12 yeares ago, by driuing that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she had treacherously slaine him. This being publickly confest, she was arraigned, condemned, adiudged, and burned" (G2r-v).

V.vi.17 SD-42 SD

There is a progressive complication of the action from *BB* to Q1 to Q2/F: in *BB*, Leonhardus is hit (17 SD) and admits to it (19); Leonhardus mortally wounds Hamlet; the rapiers are exchanged; Hamlet mortally wounds Leonhardus (19 SD), who then admits his guilt (20-22); the King tries to poison both of them with wine (28-29); Leonhardus informs Hamlet of the poisoned weapon (32); the King offers the drink (38), and the Queen drinks and dies (38 SD-42 SD). *BB* has streamlined Shakespeare's action and made it nearly linear. In Q1, Leartes receives one hit (xvii.64), which he at first denies (65); Hamlet lands a second hit (69), which Leartes accepts (70); the King drinks to Hamlet's health (71); he then offers the drink to Hamlet (73); the Queen drinks the poison (76); the rapiers are exchanged, and both Hamlet and Leartes are wounded (84); the Queen dies (86), and Leartes confesses everything (89-94). While Q1's order mixes the different strands of action, in Q2/F the strands are even more entwined: Hamlet hits Laertes once (V.ii.259); the latter denies it (260); the King raises his glass to Hamlet and then offers it to him (265); Hamlet lands the second hit (267); Laertes admits to it (268); the Queen drinks (274); the rapiers are exchanged (285); Laertes confesses partly (291-92); the Queen dies (295), and Laertes reveals the entire plot (298-305). The most theatrical version offers the least complicated, the most readerly version the most complicated plot. The physical and visual component in *BB* is further enhanced through repetition (see Baesecke 43): the King offers the drink twice; in Shakespeare he only offers it once.

Note on Previous Translations

Archer (1865) often "Shakespeareanizes", using imitations of early modern language and direct quotations from Shakespeare (see pp. 236-37 above). She anglicizes "Leonhardus" and "Carl" to "Leonardo" and "Charles". I retain the original names, including variable Latin endings.

R. G. Latham (1872) sometimes uses "you" and "thou" in the same sentence when the German text does not mix "Sie" and "du". He occasionally supplies the original German word: "The numerous Gallicisms which help us to fix the date of the language are inserted between parentheses and italicized" (106). Latham sometimes has "Leonhardus" and sometimes "Leonardus". Finally, he omits quite a few lines and even entire speeches (e.g., II.iii.21-22, III.xi.4-5, IV.i.11-12, IV.i.35, IV.vii.14); Appleton Morgan usually follows him in this.

Furness (1877) is faithful to the German spelling of the characters' names (e.g., "Leonhardus") although he does not reproduce the Latin endings ("Leonhardum"). He also uses the "thou"/"you" distinction. Like Latham, he "included in brackets words which seem to indicate the hand of the German translator, such as *harquebusiert, revange &c*" (120). Like Archer, Furness offers an "old-fashioned" text although his translation is often closer to the original than Archer's.

Morgan (1908) prints Q2 and *BB* in parallel, leaving blanks when the German text has no equivalent. He presents *BB* as the *Ur-Hamlet*, with a conjectural title page. It is not clearly legible, but possibly shows the date 1597 as well as the running title "*The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Ur-Hamlet*" for *BB* and "1604 *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet*" for Q2. Morgan uses a black letter font for his translation to enhance the illusion of offering the *Ur-Hamlet*. He follows Q2's plot-line, printing the passages of *BB* according to their corresponding places in Q2. He

even changes the order of lines within scenes. Morgan emulates early modern spelling (e.g., medial "u" instead of "v"). His translation has no scene divisions, like Q2 (he uses only one, at V.ii). Morgan essentially copies Latham's translation.

Brennecke (1964) aims at a free and modern translation (e.g., "pal" for "Camerad" [I.ii.2] or "Our new King is having fun" for "Unser neuer König macht sich lustig" [I.i.26]). He also uses "yes" where Archer has "aye" and does not use "thou". His translation offers the most modern English although Bullough's is of a later date.

Bullough (1973) has "adapted H. H. Furness's version, bringing it nearer to the German text and making no attempt to smoothe the awkwardness of the latter" (128). Actually, Bullough seems to follow Archer more often than Furness. Bullough does not seem to be aware of Brennecke's translation although it preceded his. Bullough uses the "you"/"thou" distinction, but (like Latham) not consistently so.

Note on Collation and Annotation of Translation

If a translator's name in the collation is preceded by the symbol ~, this signals that the words are the same as in that edition, but that the word order varies. If no name follows the lemma, this implies that a collation of a passage follows for which no single translator can be credited. For example, the passage "though you have not finished playing the matter, and it does not please the King" (II.viii.36-37) is collated as follows:

36-37 though ... King] The King was displeased, it seems, before you had concluded the piece MORGAN
Usually, I cite the editions in chronological order, yet I sometimes disrespect this order to make the context of the other translations more comprehensible. For instance, the line "Mother, did you know your first husband well?" (III.v.1) is collated as follows:

1] LATHAM (late); first FURNESS; Mother, did you perchance know your first husband? ARCHER

Occasionally, I refer to Anne Cunéo's French translation, *Tragoedia Le Fratricide Puni ou Le Prince Hamlet de Danemark* (2005). She largely follows Archer's translation but offers some interesting alternatives.

Collation and Annotation of Translation

TRAGEDY ... DENMARK Latham's running title is "*Fratricide Avenged, or Prince Hamlet of Denmark*".

FRATRICIDE PUNISHED literally, "The punished fratricide".

Persons in the Prologus

machine] *this edn*; car ARCHER; chariot BRENNECKE

Prologus

0.1, 7, 19, 43 dark] FURNESS; sable ARCHER; dim LATHAM; darksome BRENNECKE

3 Morpheus] BRENNECKE; Orpheus BULLOUGH

4] *this edn*; the time for vicious pastime LATHAM; vicious pleasure FURNESS

10] LATHAM (sadden); afflict mankind FURNESS; betray BRENNECKE; depress BULLOUGH

11 mantle] LATHAM; veil ARCHER

12 whores] ~ BRENNECKE; harlot LATHAM

21 cave] BRENNECKE; pit LATHAM

22] LATHAM (thou mother of evil); ill-omened hag ARCHER; Witch of Ill Fate BULLOUGH

26 engenderer ... misfortune] FURNESS (mothers); bearers LATHAM; messengers of hate ARCHER

26-27 to ... vessels] BRENNECKE (poppy-blossoms); to your poppy-crowned Queen of Night ARCHER

28 brightness ... incendiaries] *this edn*; light to the incendiary ARCHER; beacon BRENNECKE

29 all ... lovers] BULLOUGH (loves); all secret and unhallowed love ARCHER; adulterous LATHAM; unlawful love FURNESS; illicit lovers BRENNECKE

30 altar ... vice] BRENNECKE; altar ARCHER; evil altar BULLOUGH

31 realm] ARCHER; land LATHAM; country BRENNECKE

33-34 when ... her] *this edn*; in which they consummate their nuptials ARCHER; that they lie together LATHAM; for him to celebrate his nuptials with her BRENNECKE

35 spread] *this edn*; sow ARCHER

35-37 mix ... marriage] BULLOUGH; mingle with poison their marriage vows ARCHER

37 and ... hearts] BULLOUGH; envenom their hearts with envy ARCHER; jealousy with their hearts' blood LATHAM

38-39 confuse ... vices] BRENNECKE (blood-brothers, toils of); lead blindly brother blood into the snare of incest ARCHER; confound the blood of kinsmen in the net of crime LATHAM

39-40 those ... drown] LATHAM; with deeds of ruth and rancorous malice ARCHER

44 shall ... mind] ~ LATHAM; shall not prompt me to so much FURNESS

45 one ... me] I shall be seen performing FURNESS

45 experience ... me] LATHAM; my victims soon shall find BRENNECKE

47 disrupt ... lust] *this edn*; break to bits the whole game LATHAM; the whole game I'll shiver FURNESS

49 Perform] *this edn*; make good LATHAM

Prologus Not in Morgan, since he believes that *BB* corresponds to the *Ur-Hamlet* and, therefore, holds that "this prologue, added in Germany and of statelier diction than the play itself, need not detain us here at all" (xix).

14 **will** See note to translation of *RuJ* at I.i.93.

20 **desire** or "lust".

39 **net of vices** Archer's "incest" is not accounted for by the German text.

46 **fan** literally, "blow".

47 **lust** or "pleasure".

Persons of the play

old] ARCHER; Elder BRENNECKE

a ... Prince] LATHAM; the Prince's friend, of high rank ARCHER

LEONHARDUS] FURNESS; LEONARDUS ARCHER; Leonhardis MORGAN

PHANTASMO] ARCHER; Phantasnio MORGAN

court jester] *this edn*; court fool BRENNECKE; clown ARCHER

JENS] ARCHER; Iers MORGAN

peasant] ARCHER; clown LATHAM

CARL ... comedians] ARCHER (CHARLES); CARL, *Actors* LATHAM; leader BRENNECKE

Two ... BANDITS] *this edn*; RUFFIANS ARCHER; *speaking Ruffians* LATHAM; talking Banditti FURNESS; bandits MORGAN

SENTINELS] *this edn*; SOLDIERS ARCHER; Sentinells MORGAN; *sentries* BRENNECKE

Guards] *this edn*; LIFE-GUARDS ARCHER; *Gentlemen-at-arms* BRENNECKE

Comedians] ARCHER; *Actors* LATHAM; Players &c. MORGAN

PHANTASMO, JENS Morgan's rendition ("Phantasmio", "Iers"), which is not repeated in the text of the play, may be a printing error, possibly even an intentional one, to enhance the illusion of the *Ur-Hamlet*.

I.i

1] ARCHER; Who goes there? BULLOUGH

2 Good] *this edn*; A ARCHER

5-6 the hour] *this edn*; the hours ARCHER; the time LATHAM; your watch BRENNECKE

8-9] *this edn*; Cold or no, I have had an infernal fright ARCHER; Cold or not, I've a Hell's own sweat LATHAM

12 by ... collar] *this edn*; by the scruff of the neck BRENNECKE; behind ARCHER; by the short hairs BULLOUGH

12-13 thoul't ... *Domine*] FURNESS (pray *Miserere*); he'll teach you to pray ARCHER; and you'll be taught to sing LATHAM

15-16 at ... castle] LATHAM (in the); on the platform ARCHER

16 bastion] FURNESS; battlements ARCHER

18 Then ... fool] FURNESS (you); Fool, I'm here to relieve you ARCHER; Shut up you fool LATHAM; Hold your tongue MORGAN; Get along with you BRENNECKE

19 flesh ... bones] BRENNECKE (or); bones nor sinews ARCHER; flesh nor blood LATHAM

21-22 if ... thee] *this edn*; what trouble he may give you, if he appears to you ARCHER; what he will be like, and whether or no he gives you trouble LATHAM; if what goes on here will make you change your mind BRENNECKE

23-24 They ... ghosts] *this edn*; and can see ghosts ARCHER; and can see ghosts of all sorts LATHAM; all Sunday children can see ghosts BRENNECKE

26 makes merry] LATHAM; takes his rouse right merrily ARCHER; is having fun BRENNECKE

2 Good Archer's "A friend" may seem more idiomatic in this context, but the German "Gut Freund" is as elliptic.

15-16 at ... castle Archer's "platform" is taken directly from Shakespeare (TLN 405, I.ii.212).

21 if ... thee Archer and the translators following her interpret the German "es" ("it") as referring to the Ghost. My translation allows for both interpretations: "if things seem different to thee" or "if the Ghost appears differently to thee".

23-24 They ... ghosts The German "alle" ("all") could refer either to the Sunday children or to the ghosts. Latham offers a third alternative.

I.ii

2 main] BULLOUGH; first ARCHER

2 patrol] BULLOUGH round; ARCHER; watch MORGAN

3 run from] ~ BRENNECKE; quit ARCHER; take to my heels MORGAN

4 SD trumpets ... within] LATHAM; *flourish of drums and kettle-drums* ARCHER

5-6 to ... heart] BRENNECKE (burning); to bedew my unmanned cowardly heart! ARCHER; to put out the fear and fire in my heart FURNESS; in my Soul MORGAN

7 The ... game] ARCHER; is after me FURNESS

I.iii

2] *this edn*; Watch! ARCHER; The Rounds LATHAM; The patrol BRENNECKE

6 SD give ... side] ARCHER; *exchange the password* BRENNECKE

7-8 the ... himself] *this edn*; mayhap the Prince himself will go the rounds ARCHER

8 otherwise ... neck] *this edn*; it might cost you the best head upon your shoulders ARCHER; and it may cost thee the best head thou'st got FURNESS; or it will cost you your fine neck BRENNECKE

10 Oh ... here] BRENNECKE; I wish the whole company were here LATHAM

16 who ... so] FURNESS (it set); frightens me so horribly ARCHER; it has so put me out of sorts LATHAM; it has so broken me up MORGAN; It's pushed me around so hard BRENNECKE; pesters me so much BULLOUGH

20 it ... long] BULLOUGH (long away); it will soon appear again ARCHER

21 SD goes] FURNESS; *stalks* ARCHER; *passes* LATHAM

24 He ... piteously] LATHAM (sadly); To judge by his gestures, he is miserable ARCHER; It looks mournful BRENNECKE

26] There is some mystery under all this ARCHER

26 under this] ARCHER; behind this BULLOUGH; in this LATHAM; here MORGAN

I.iv

5 show ... else] *this edn*; teach thee better manners ARCHER; deal with you some other way BRENNECKE

11 Horatio ... here] BRENNECKE; What! you here, Horatio? What brings you? LATHAM

16 a ... happening] something extraordinary is going on here BRENNECKE

19] *this edn*; on the rounds ARCHER; for this turn of the watch BRENNECKE

20 the ... pious] ARCHER; of the good LATHAM; of the faithful BULLOUGH; the spirits of the just BRENNECKE

21 revival] ARCHER; resurrection LATHAM

22 him] ARCHER; it LATHAM

28 ghosts ... show] BULLOUGH (that the spirits); when ghosts ... love to show MORGAN; when wandering spirits are accustomed to appear BRENNECKE

29 SD] ~ ARCHER; *Trumpets proclaim further toasts* BRENNECKE

31-32 merrily ... healths] *this edn*; very merry with their health-drinking ARCHER; jolly with their toasts FURNESS

33 My ... cousin] *this edn*; my father and uncle ARCHER; My Lord and father and uncle LATHAM; My Lord Father-and-uncle BRENNECKE

33-34 will ... followers] keeps wassail still with his friends and followers ARCHER

34-35 Horatio ... heart] BULLOUGH (since, sadness of heart); Horatio, I know not wherefore since my father's death so strange a boding doth at all times weigh me down ARCHER; I am always sick at heart LATHAM

38 and ... right] ARCHER; But for some show of right LATHAM; but to assume some sort of show of title MORGAN; as a semblance of justice BRENNECKE

38 left] *this edn*; made over ARCHER; granted BRENNECKE

39 and ... refers] *this edn*; appealing ARCHER; to be confirmed by BRENNECKE

39 the ... states] ARCHER; the will of the States LATHAM; a state election BRENNECKE

18 father "Herr Vater" (literally, "lord father") does not translate well into English. Brennecke usually translates as "my father", Furness as "lord father". I opt for a simple "father", with Latham.

19 tower Archer does not understand "Rundel" as a building but as the "the rounds". Others follow her in that line of thought. See note to German text.

21 revival literally, "renewal".

33 My ... cousin Cunéo proposes "mon oncle de père" (369).

36 mother Like "Herr Vater" (see note at 18), "Frau Mutter" is translated as "mother" here and below. Furness has "lady mother", which Brennecke also uses in III.v.

38 left or "ceded".

I.v

3 SD *walks over*] *this edn*; *stalks over* ARCHER; *crosses* LATHAM

8 SD GHOST ... *stage*] *this edn*; *The ghost beckons Hamlet to the middle of the stage* ARCHER

15 return] ARCHER; give myself back LATHAM; betake myself again FURNESS

17 departed] ARCHER; sacred FURNESS; blessed BRENNECKE

17 shade] LATHAM; spirit ARCHER

24 royal ... garden] LATHAM; royal orchard ARCHER; royal garden BRENNECKE

26 crown-thirsty] ARCHER; thirsting for my crown LATHAM; jealous of my crown BRENNECKE

27 a ... Ebena] FURNESS (the, Hebenon); a phial of the subtle juice of hebenon ARCHER; ebenon LATHAM; henbane BRENNECKE

28 enter ... bloodstream] BRENNECKE; mix with the blood of man ARCHER

28-29 they ... veins] ARCHER (it); they, immediate, clog the passages of life LATHAM

32-33 strong apoplexy] FURNESS (violent); sudden stroke BRENNECKE

8 SD *to ... stage* literally, "until half the stage".

20 **unnatural death** Archer's "most unnatural death" echoes Shakespeare's "most vnnaturall murther" (TLN 710, I.v.25).

24 **pleasure garden** or "pleasance".

26 The inconsistency in tenses is also found in the German text.

I.vi

2] *this edn*; Mayhap you've suffered offence? ARCHER; Hast thou perchance been disturbed? LATHAM

5] FURNESS (Ay, and also, it); Yes, him *this edn*; Ay, verily I have seen it, and held discourse with it too ARCHER

6 must portend] BRENNECKE; bodeth ARCHER

11] *this edn*; Your lordship cannot doubt of my aid in this matter ARCHER; Your Highness does not question my devotion BRENNECKE

17 You ... us] BRENNECKE (need only); Ask us then to swear ARCHER; Offer us the oath BULLOUGH

18 faithfully] FURNESS; loyally and faithfully ARCHER; as true men LATHAM

19] LATHAM (finger); Then swear by my sword ARCHER; So place your hands upon BRENNECKE

25-26 let ... side] LATHAM; we will shift our ground ARCHER

29-30 Is ... us] *this edn*; Can there be an echo here, to give us back our words? ARCHER; It is an echo which sends back to the rebound of our own words LATHAM; Is it an echo of our words that reverberates to us? BRENNECKE

34 Gentlemen] LATHAM; Good friends ARCHER

38] BRENNECKE (wish); My lord, what is your will? ARCHER

43 unnatural] ARCHER; violent LATHAM

43-44 My ... father] *this edn*; My father, he who is now my father ARCHER; My uncle, who is now my "father" BRENNECKE

46 blessed] BRENNECKE; late ARCHER; dear departed LATHAM

47 pleasure garden] FURNESS; orchard ARCHER; summer-house LATHAM; garden BRENNECKE

47-48 noon meal] *this edn*; dinner ARCHER; noontide meal LATHAM; midday meal

50 Ebeno] *this edn*; hebenon ARCHER; ebenon LATHAM; henbane BRENNECKE

51 he ... ghost] LATHAM (my father gave up); has to give *this edn*; my father's spirit departed MORGAN

53 in ... simulation] *this edn*; *not in* ARCHER; in my affectation LATHAM; thus feigning FURNESS; in this pretense BRENNECKE

54 until ... opportunity] BRENNECKE; that surely I shall find occasion ARCHER

58-59 crown-thirsty ... murderer] ~ FURNESS (ambitious man); crown-thirsty *this edn*; envious thief, this adulterer, this murderer ARCHER; usurper BRENNECKE

59-60 that ... eternity] ARCHER (to all); that posterity shall forever repeat the story BRENNECKE

60 and ... him] BULLOUGH; and dissemble and bide my time LATHAM; and wait for him in concealment BRENNECKE

61 execute] BULLOUGH; take ARCHER; work my MORGAN; exact my BRENNECKE

5 **him** Although "ihm" in the German text could be translated as "it", "ihn" (which occurs first) must certainly be translated as "him".

11 All previous translations interpret the German as a statement, not as an imperative.

19, 25-26 **let ... side** Archer again quotes Shakespeare.

43 **father** Brennecke has "uncle", "follow[ing] Creizenach's emendation" (262). Creizenach does not actually emend the text, but points out this meaning in a footnote. When Hamlet is referring to his stepfather, Brennecke usually puts the word "father" in quotation marks.

47 **to ... hour** literally, "to help himself to an hour's sleep".

54 **until ... opportunity** Archer and Latham make Hamlet more confident than *BB* does. In the German text he does not voice certainty of finding an opportunity for revenge.

I.vii

0 SD *retinue*] *this edn*; *Attendants* ARCHER; *Court* LATHAM

1 brother's death] FURNESS; royal brother's death LATHAM

1 is ... all] BULLOUGH (is fresh); is still deep in all our memories MORGAN

2 and ... festivities] *this edn*; and it becometh us to suspend all joyous demonstrations ARCHER; all state-shows LATHAM; and although custom requires us to go into mourning and hold no state pageants or ceremonials MORGAN; and although it behooves us to observe all solemnities BRENNECKE

3 carmine] *this edn*; crimson ARCHER

5 blessed brother's] BRENNECKE; sometime late brother's ARCHER; late departed brother's LATHAM

5 bereaved] *this edn*; surviving BRENNECKE

5 widow] ARCHER; relic LATHAM

6 spouse] ARCHER; consort LATHAM; wife BRENNECKE

7-8 be content] BRENNECKE; we wish you most of all to be contented MORGAN; be happy BULLOUGH

9-10 that ... Wittenberg] BULLOUGH (resolved, go back); your intent to go back to Wittenberg ARCHER; to return to the University of Wittenburg MORGAN

10 do ... so] FURNESS; We do beseech you remain here ARCHER; we pray you ... to abandon such an intention MORGAN

11 and ... you] ARCHER; and love to have you near us MORGAN

13] your hereditary Kingdom of Norway MORGAN

17-18 that ... heart] we mourn your royal father so lately dead MORGAN

17 lately] LATHAM; a short time ago ARCHER; only recently BRENNECKE

21-22 all ... refusal] you shall enjoy your fill of pleasure at our court without restraint, an it so pleaseth you ARCHER

26 Leonhardo] FURNESS; Leonardo ARCHER; Leonardus LATHAM; Leonhardus MORGAN, BRENNECKE; Leonhard BULLOUGH

30-31 with ... under-consent] FURNESS; top consent, bottom consent, middle consent ARCHER; Upper Consent, Middle Consent, Lower Consent LATHAM; super-consent, middle-consent, sub-consent BRENNECKE

33 may ... well] BRENNECKE; I hope he may prosper ARCHER; it may go well with him FURNESS

35 tournament] *this edn*; carousal ARCHER; celebration BRENNECKE

35-36 so ... pass] *this edn*; that an end may be put to our dear spouse's grief ARCHER; whereby our dearest spouse may forget her melancholy LATHAM

38-39 to ... night] LATHAM; dispersing the darkness of the night BRENNECKE

39 But ... accompany] *this edn*; You, however, dearest consort, shall I accompany FURNESS; shall I follow ARCHER; And you, my most treasured wife, I shall now lead you BRENNECKE

41 lock] *this edn*; entwine ARCHER; embrace LATHAM

1 Archer quotes Q2/F: "Though yet of *Hamlet* our deare brothers death / The memorie be greene" (TLN 179-80, I.ii.1-2).

7-8 **be content** The formula "gebet Euch zufrieden" occurs often in *BB* (see note to German text). I adopt Brennecke's translation throughout.

9 **you ... disposed** Archer translates with the Shakespearean "your intent" (TLN 294, I.ii.112), also at line 16.

17 **died** literally, "paled of death".

33 **may ... well** Latham translates "so may it go well with *me*" (emphasis mine), possibly implying the King's approval of Leonhardus's plans.

42 **rest** i.e., "lying down to rest", or "quiet".

II.i

1 spouse] *this edn*; consort ARCHER

2 sadness] *this edn*; melancholy ARCHER

5 King] FURNESS; gracious lord and master ARCHER

8 What ... melancholy] ARCHER; Still melancholy? MORGAN

9 excellent] LATHAM; learned ARCHER; wisest MORGAN; leading BRENNECKE

9-10 that ... helped] *this edn*; that they may bring him aid ARCHER; to work for his recovery BRENNECKE

9 **excellent** or "noble".

II.ii

0 SD Enter ... them] FURNESS; *to the above* ARCHER; *To the preceding* LATHAM

1 New news] *this edn*; News, news! ARCHER; News LATHAM

2 literally, "What is there that's new?"

II.iii

3 Prince Hamlet] ARCHER; it is Prince Hamlet that LATHAM

3 plagues] LATHAM; importunes MORGAN; pesters BRENNECKE

3-4 I ... him] ARCHER (for); from BULLOUGH; Because of him I can find no peace BRENNECKE

5 Be content] *this edn*; Never mind it ARCHER; Make yourself easy LATHAM; Be comforted BRENNECKE; Calm yourself BULLOUGH

5-6 but ... thee] FURNESS; But tell me, he hath not done anything else to you? ARCHER

8] FURNESS (a man); person BRENNECKE; Hath love then so much potency that it depriveth a man of his wits ARCHER

13 stove] BRENNECKE; fire ARCHER; fireplace LATHAM

13-14 and ... pennies] FURNESS; to count my bright new coins ARCHER; my red coins LATHAM; copper pennies BRENNECKE

16-17] LATHAM; May we not ourselves be a witness to his distempered fancies? ARCHER

19 jewel] ARCHER; trinket BRENNECKE

22 inspect] *this edn*; be a witness of ARCHER; take note of BRENNECKE

1 **protect** or "shelter".

5 **Be content** See note at I.vii.7-8.

5-6 **but ... thee** Archer's, Latham's, and Brennecke's translations make this a question, which is absent from the German text and which Ophelia certainly does not answer. My punctuation aims to preserve the ambiguity.

8, 11 **person** literally, "human being".

II.iv

3 girl] LATHAM; maiden ARCHER; young lady BULLOUGH

3 dost ... want] ARCHER; Are you eager for BRENNECKE

4 but ... here] FURNESS (nay, come); nay, pr'ythee come back ARCHER

4 you maidens] ARCHER; you young women LATHAM; you virgins BRENNECKE

4-5 do ... lads] *this edn*; do make nothing but fools of us bachelors ARCHER; lead the young men astray LATHAM; deceive BRENNECKE

5 apothecaries ... peddlers] ARCHER; chemists and shopkeepers BRENNECKE

6 cavalier] ARCHER; knight LATHAM; gentleman BRENNECKE

7-8 Now ... together] ARCHER; However, when the bedtime came LATHAM

9-10 set ... artificially] *this edn*; fixed in very cunningly LATHAM; artfully designed BRENNECKE

10-11 which ... it] *this edn*; likewise wrought with utmost art ARCHER; so well that the like were not to be seen LATHAM

12 make-up] *this edn*; paint ARCHER; cosmetics BRENNECKE

12 painted] *this edn*; smeared FURNESS; daubed LATHAM

13 bridegroom] ARCHER; the husband LATHAM

15 ghost] ARCHER; spectre LATHAM

15 deceive] ARCHER; take-in LATHAM

15 the bachelors] *this edn*; us bachelors ARCHER; the young fellows LATHAM; young men BRENNECKE; us young fellows BULLOUGH

16 Yet ... cloister] *this edn*; – nay go, go thy ways to a nunnery, but not to a nunnery ARCHER

16-18 where ... bedside] ARCHER; in which two pairs of slippers stand beside each bed BRENNECKE

23 We ... wonder] ~ LATHAM (^ wonder); We have heard the Prince's distempered fancies with great wonder and astonishment ARCHER

24-25 simulated madness] *this edn*; dissembled ARCHER; an affectation of it LATHAM; feigned madness FURNESS; a pretence BULLOUGH

25-26 to ... life] FURNESS; to get rid of him, or perhaps indeed put him out of the way altogether ARCHER; that he is put out of the way, or even out of his life BRENNECKE; or perhaps indeed put an end to him altogether BULLOUGH

5 **young lads**, **15** **the bachelors** By adding "us" and having Hamlet include himself among the "young lads" and the "bachelors", Archer and Bullough make his attack more personal.

II.v

1-2 through ... death] FURNESS; I trust by my dissembled madness to hit upon a fitting time for revenging my father's death ARCHER

3 father] ARCHER; "father" BRENNECKE

3 many] FURNESS; his ARCHER

4 guards] ARCHER; bodyguards BRENNECKE

6 I ... him] BULLOUGH; I shall try my chance with him ARCHER; I will match myself against him LATHAM; I shall come to grips with him BRENNECKE

9 spoken ... clearly] BRENNECKE; lucid and distinctly spoken ARCHER; plainly spoken FURNESS

3 father For Brennecke's translation see note at I.vi.43. Cunéo has "stepfather" (380, "beau-père").

9 spoken ... clearly or "all too well pronounced".

II.vi

1 New news] *this edn*; News, news! ... I have news to tell you ARCHER; News LATHAM

1 comedians] FURNESS; actors ARCHER; players BRENNECKE

3 Marius Roscius] ARCHER; Marus Russig LATHAM

3-4 what ... was] FURNESS; what a fine spectacle was that BRENNECKE

5 Your ... me] LATHAM; how you always do laugh at me, my lord! ARCHER; your Highness is always bantering MORGAN

7-8 brings... everything] *this edn*; will be bringing-in my daughter LATHAM; are still harping on my daughter ARCHER

15 change color] LATHAM; turn pale ARCHER

1 comedians I use Furness's "comedians" throughout although he does not always do so. In the persons of the play, Archer also has "CHARLES, the principal of the *comedians*" (emphasis mine).

6 daughter "Töchterlein" is the diminutive of "Tochter" ("daughter"). Brennecke accordingly translates "little daughter".

II.vii

1 blessings] LATHAM; peace ARCHER

3 what ... demand] FURNESS (wish); What brings you hither? ARCHER; What can I do for you? LATHAM

4 foreign] LATHAM; strange ARCHER

7 wind] *this edn*; winds ARCHER

8 story] LATHAM; history BRENNECKE

11 there] LATHAM; before ARCHER

14 strong] LATHAM; numerous ARCHER

14 students] ARCHER; apprentices BRENNECKE

15 merry] ARCHER; pleasant LATHAM; lively BRENNECKE

18-19 numerous ... practiced] ARCHER; able and sufficiently rehearsed BRENNECKE

20 all ... women] FURNESS; the three actresses ARCHER; the three females BRENNECKE

25-26 who ... shirts] ARCHER (had good); dirty shirts LATHAM; who were well costumed but their shirts were dirty BRENNECKE
28 one ... have] BRENNECKE (cannot always); it is often hard to procure ARCHER
29 weren't ... to] *this edn*; would not have to LATHAM; could not MORGAN
30 if ... correct] BRENNECKE (done correctly); it is better to have all the properties MORGAN
30-31 a ... longer] LATHAM; another thing or two ARCHER; a few minutes FURNESS
31-32 you ... judge] You do not always have the chance of hearing your critic's opinion of you MORGAN; You actors often do not clearly understand how your audience judges you BRENNECKE
34 with ... above] LATHAM; with as many feathers drooping below as were left on top BRENNECKE
35-36 that's ... changed] LATHAM (altered); changed FURNESS; Now that does not look well, and may easily be reformed ARCHER
37-38 that ... when] FURNESS; they should not make such eyes whenever ARCHER; gawk BRENNECKE
38-39 nor ... faces] *this edn*; Neither should they strut, nor take on such braggart airs ARCHER; and not be such peacock-strutting Hidalgos and put on such bravado airs LATHAM; and not be always stepping a Spanish pavan, nor putting on such braggadocio airs FURNESS; neither should they walk so many Spanish pavans or put on such airs BULLOUGH
39 A potentate] ARCHER; a man of rank LATHAM
39-41 His ... best] *this edn*; Natural ease and elegance is the best ARCHER; It is best to be entirely natural BRENNECKE
43 correction] FURNESS; criticism BRENNECKE; reproof ARCHER
45 exercises] *this edn*; art ARCHER
45 do ... ill] *this edn*; mean you well ARCHER; only speak to you for the best LATHAM; I do not wish to offend you BRENNECKE; hold it not wrong BULLOUGH
46 for ... spots] *this edn*; for it is in a mirror that one can best see one's blemishes ARCHER; failings LATHAM; faults MORGAN; since by it one can, as in a mirror, see one's failings BULLOUGH
47 a matter] *this edn*; a piece ARCHER
47 the ... so] LATHAM (king, pirred); a King Pyr, Pyr – Pyr something ARCHER; King *Pir-*, *Pir-*, something like Pyr- MORGAN
54 Then ... matter] *this edn*; Ay, ay, I'll swear 'tis the same ARCHER; That's the piece LATHAM; Then it is this very plot BRENNECKE
55 poison] ARCHER; oil LATHAM
58-59 for ... characters] It needs only a small cast BRENNECKE
61 wood] ARCHER; timber LATHAM; boards MORGAN; carpentry BRENNECKE
61 the ... master-builder] BRENNECKE; castellan ARCHER; architect LATHAM; Master Mechanic MORGAN
62 clothes] LATHAM; dresses ARCHER; costumes BRENNECKE
63 keeper ... wardrobe] BRENNECKE; master of the robes ARCHER
65-66 we ... beginning] *this edn*; and will hasten to get ready ARCHER; will set about it at once LATHAM
68 changes ... alters] BRENNECKE (or is agitated); if he grow pale or alter favour ARCHER
69 For ... things] *this edn*; for play actors with their feigned fables ARCHER; These players with their feigned stories LATHAM

70 often ... truth] BULLOUGH (target); produce the effect of truth FURNESS; serve the cause of truth BRENNECKE

70 pretty story] a case in point MORGAN

71 pretty case] ARCHER; actual case BRENNECKE; remarkable case BULLOUGH

71 woman] FURNESS; wife ARCHER

73 the man] ARCHER; him LATHAM; the husband BRENNECKE

74 until ... there] *this edn*; till at last it chanced that some actors came that way ARCHER; until finally an acting company arrived BRENNECKE

75 of ... import] ARCHER; containing a similar incident LATHAM; a similar murder MORGAN

75 woman] ARCHER; wife LATHAM

75 likewise present] ARCHER; sitting LATHAM

76 husband] ARCHER; paramour LATHAM

80 judge] ARCHER; magistrate BRENNECKE

82 sins] ARCHER; crime LATHAM

82 she ... consolations] LATHAM; she received the holy unction ARCHER

84 father ... cousin] *this edn*; uncle-father ARCHER; my uncle and father LATHAM; father and uncle FURNESS; Father-and-uncle BRENNECKE

84-85 would ... himself] BRENNECKE (might); take his crime upon himself LATHAM; might thus feel remorse FURNESS; be led to expiation MORGAN

85 if ... thing] FURNESS; an he be the doer of this crime ARCHER; if he be guilty LATHAM

87] FURNESS (shall); must play a part ARCHER; must feign LATHAM

7 **contrary wind** See note at V.ii.10.

14 **students** Brennecke's "apprentices" are not supported by the German text although students might have been apprentices of actors within the companies (see Brandt and Hogendoorn 51).

17 **comedy** or "play".

20 **women** Brennecke's "females" has a somewhat pejorative connotation in today's language, which is not inherent in the seventeenth-century German "Weibspersonen". The word was generally used in a neutral manner (Grimm, "das von haus aus neutrale wort").

36 **of them** or "of this".

37 **leer** literally, "look".

41 **disposition** See note to German "naturell".

60 **stage** or "theater". See note to German text at I.iii.21 SD.

61 **court** literally, "castle".

70 **aim** Bullough's "target" does not catch the second meaning of the German "Zweck", namely, "purpose".

73 **paramour** The intensifier "Huren" (literally, "whore") in "Hurenbuhler" has not been translated. See note to German text.

76 **cry ... loudly** literally, "cry overly loud".

82 **priests** or "clergymen".

84 **father and cousin** Compare I.vi.43-44 and notes.

84-85 **reproach himself** or "do a bit of soul-searching".

II.viii

0 SD *retinue*] ARCHER; Court BRENNECKE

- 1 My dearest] LATHAM; Our best beloved ARCHER
 1 spouse] ARCHER; consort LATHAM; wife BULLOUGH
 2 sadness] ARCHER; melancholy LATHAM; sorrowing MORGAN
 2 make ... space] *this edn*; make it give place ARCHER; give room in your heart for BRENNECKE
 3 comedy] ARCHER; play BRENNECKE
 3 Germans] FURNESS; German actors ARCHER; German players BRENNECKE
 5 mirth] LATHAM; merry-making ARCHER; entertainments MORGAN; sport BULLOUGH
 5-6 I ... contented] ARCHER (be at peace)
 6 approaching misfortune] FURNESS; gloomy forebodings of mischief ARCHER
 7 our spirits] FURNESS; my soul ARCHER
 8 Even ... content] BRENNECKE; Pray, do not be uneasy ARCHER; Be at peace MORGAN
 12 they ... me] FURNESS; They preferred a request to me to that intent ARCHER; They have asked a favour LATHAM; They have discussed this matter with me BRENNECKE
 15 matter] *this edn*; plot FURNESS; argument ARCHER; subject BULLOUGH
 16 rude] LATHAM; vulgar MORGAN; in bad taste BRENNECKE; uncivil BULLOUGH
 24 SD *Here ... comedy*] FURNESS (*play*); *The dumb show enters* ARCHER; *Now the play begins* BRENNECKE
 24 SD *spouse*] ARCHER; *Queen* LATHAM; *consort* FURNESS
 24 SD *small glass*] *this edn*; *phial* ARCHER; *small bottle* MORGAN; *flask* BRENNECKE
 26 The ... wife] ARCHER; the poor little wife FURNESS; the poor lady BRENNECKE
 27-28 juice ... Ebeno] *this edn*; the poisonous juice of hebenon ARCHER; Hebanon MORGAN; henbane poison BRENNECKE
 28-29 introduced ... body] ~ BRENNECKE (body's bloodstream); it mixes with the blood of man, immediately destroys life ARCHER; kills him instantly MORGAN
 31 light] ARCHER; kindle BRENNECKE
 31-32 The ... exit] FURNESS (leave); exit *this edn*; It is the King's will to depart ARCHER; the King is going away LATHAM
 32 botch] ARCHER; a mess of it LATHAM; a bad mess of things MORGAN
 35-36 Comedians ... conclusion] FURNESS (Actors, go); Actors, go and understand this ARCHER; Now Actors you can take your leave MORGAN; you can go from here with this verdict BULLOUGH
 36-37 though ... King] The King was displeased, it seems, before you had concluded the piece MORGAN
 36-37 you ... matter] *this edn*; the matter be not brought to an end LATHAM
 38 shall ... behalf] ~ LATHAM; bring you your reward ARCHER; will pay you your earnings just the same MORGAN
 39 and ... passport] and desire that our passports be given us MORGAN
 39 passport] ~ ARCHER; safe-conduct BRENNECKE
 40] FURNESS; You shall have them MORGAN
 42 changed color] FURNESS; blenched ARCHER; went pale BULLOUGH
 42 when ... play] ARCHER; when he perceived the drift of the play MORGAN
 43 the ... certain] I regard the proof as conclusive MORGAN
 43 the deed] BRENNECKE; the thing ARCHER
 45 But ... deed] ARCHER (this wicked); But I will be quits with the murderer MORGAN
 45 reward him] ARCHER; pay the murderer off LATHAM; punish him BULLOUGH

4 literally "the children of our country" or "our subjects".

15-16 **There ... rude** Archer borrows from Shakespeare: "is there no offence in't?" (TLN 2100, III.ii.226-27).

24 SD *enters* literally, "comes".

24 SD *small glass* "Gläschen" is the diminutive of "Glas" ("glass"). Archer's "phial" is taken from Shakespeare, though not from the play-within-the-play but from the Ghost's first narration of his murder: "Vpon my secure houre, thy Vncle stole / With iuyce of cursed Hebona in a viall" (TLN 746-47, I.v.51-62).

26 **wife** "Weibchen" is the diminutive of "woman" or "wife", as Furness tries to show.

28-29 **as ... body** literally, "as soon as the human bloodstream receives it, immediately kills his body".

32 **exit** The German "abgehn" is mainly used for leaving the stage or as a euphemism for "dying" (Grimm). The English "exit" has similar theatrical connotations.

45 **reward** The word "Lohn" is semantically charged in this play; I therefore always offer the same translation.

II.ix

1, 3 poor] FURNESS; sorry ARCHER; ill BRENNECKE

1, 4 recompense] ARCHER; reward FURNESS

4-5 And ... heaven] ARCHER; The worse they are rewarded by the King the better they will be rewarded by Heaven LATHAM

8-9 their place] BULLOUGH; a corner ARCHER; room LATHAM

9 Therefore ... well] BRENNECKE (Now, treat these); Wherefore get you gone and see them well bestowed ARCHER

10] BRENNECKE; My lord, I will use them according to their deserts ARCHER

11 Treat] LATHAM; Use ARCHER

11-12 for ... comedians] ARCHER (actors); credit to be got LATHAM; than one may receive from players BRENNECKE

13 something ... them] *this edn*; they are treated well ARCHER; they meet with good fortune BRENNECKE

14 *theatrum*] LATHAM; stage ARCHER; theatre FURNESS

15 little world] ARCHER; a world in miniature BRENNECKE

16 stories] ARCHER; histories LATHAM

17-18 laudable ... princes] worthy rule of our nobles BRENNECKE

18 punish] ARCHER; denounce BRENNECKE

19 pious] *this edn*; good ARCHER; virtuous BRENNECKE

29 If ... stratagem] LATHAM (do it); If cunning fail ARCHER; If guile will not avail me BRENNECKE; If not by craft BULLOUGH

29 I ... power] *this edn*; come force, thoult help me in my need ARCHER; I will break-out in violence LATHAM; Then force must serve me further BRENNECKE

16 **revive** literally, "renew".

17-18 **laudable ... princes** Brennecke's "our" adds a patriotic dimension.

III.i

0 SD *Here ... temple*] LATHAM; *The King is seen before an altar in the chapel* BRENNECKE

2 treachery] FURNESS; my gross deceit ARCHER

3 the ... done] ARCHER; my perpetrated crime LATHAM; my misdeed BRENNECKE

4 misdeed] *this edn*; guilt ARCHER; crime FURNESS

4 fervently] ARCHER; from the bottom of my heart LATHAM

III.ii

0 SD *naked*] BRENNECKE; *drawn* ARCHER

1 followed] LATHAM; dodged ARCHER

2-3 during ... devotions] BRENNECKE (in the midst of); while he is praying ARCHER

3 SD] ARCHER; *makes motion to stab him* MORGAN; *moves to* BRENNECKE

5-6 but ... sins] ~ LATHAM; but sent him to hell in his sleep, perhaps in his sins ARCHER; but sent him with his sins, while asleep, perhaps to hell BRENNECKE; but sent him to hell (perhaps) in his sleep, in his sins BULLOUGH

9 hold] ARCHER; pause BRENNECKE

9 load] *this edn*; take ARCHER

10 say] BRENNECKE; end ARCHER; finish FURNESS

10 go ... here] *this edn*; let him go FURNESS

10 give] ARCHER; grant BRENNECKE

13-14 but ... heart] BRENNECKE; but still the insatiate dog gnaws at my heart ARCHER

14-15 reconcile ... Highest] ~ LATHAM; make my peace with heaven ARCHER

5-6 but ... sins As the different translations illustrate, the word "perhaps" ("vielleicht") could refer to several parts of the sentence.

III.iii

1 our] FURNESS; my ARCHER

2 abate] ARCHER; relax MORGAN; decrease BULLOUGH

III.iv

3] LATHAM; He is most welcome, admit him immediately ARCHER

5 tapestry] LATHAM; arras ARCHER

7 a bit] FURNESS; awhile BRENNECKE; a little BULLOUGH

III.v

1] LATHAM (late); first FURNESS; Mother, did you perchance know your first husband? ARCHER

1 Mother] ARCHER; Lady mother FURNESS

3 abstain ... tears] *this edn*; restrain my tears ARCHER; but weep LATHAM

5 let be] BRENNECKE; Pr'ythee weep not ARCHER; Leave off doing that BULLOUGH

6 portrait] BRENNECKE; counterfeit resemblance ARCHER; counterfeit LATHAM

8 is ... comeliest] FURNESS; the nobler MORGAN; the handsomer BRENNECKE; the finer looking BULLOUGH; hath more dignity and presence ARCHER

8 Is ... lord] FURNESS; a majestic figure BRENNECKE; Does not the first bear him with majestic grace! ARCHER

11 Fie!] LATHAM; Out upon you! ARCHER
12 had] FURNESS; celebrated ARCHER
12 the ... betrothal] LATHAM; your nuptials, his funeral ARCHER
13 hush] ARCHER; hold BRENNECKE
13 firmly] *this edn*; fast FURNESS; securely BRENNECKE
15] Ha! ha! What eaves-dropper have we here? ARCHER
15 spying] BRENNECKE; listening LATHAM
16 I ... dying] LATHAM; I am slain! ARCHER; I die FURNESS; I am killed MORGAN
18 chamberlain] ARCHER; court chamberlain BRENNECKE; Lord Chamberlain BULLOUGH

6, 7 **portrait** literally, "picture".

12 **the ... betrothal** Latham adequately catches the alliteration of the German text.

III.vi

0 SD GHOST ... *stage*] ARCHER (*stalks*); *passes across the stage* LATHAM
0 SD *Lightning*] BRENNECKE; *Thunder and lightning* ARCHER
1 O ... still] BRENNECKE (revered shade, stay!); noble spirit LATHAM; noble shade FURNESS; Stay gracious figure of my father ARCHER
2 Dost ... revenge] ARCHER; Criest thou for vengeance? LATHAM
2 I ... it] ARCHER; Thou shalt have it LATHAM
4 What ... doing] BRENNECKE; How is't with you? ARCHER; What are you about? LATHAM
5 departed] ARCHER; late BULLOUGH
5 husband] LATHAM; consort ARCHER
6 he beckons] ARCHER; it gestures BRENNECKE
9 see ... figure] *this edn*; look upon his form ARCHER; behold BRENNECKE
9-10 Not ... you] LATHAM (will); I can no longer hold converse with you ARCHER; I wish no further word with you BRENNECKE
11-12 how ... Prince] to what excess of frenzy has this Prince's melancholy driven him BRENNECKE
12 only Prince] *this edn*; only son ARCHER
13 wits] ARCHER; senses FURNESS; reason BULLOUGH
13-14 taken ... brother] BRENNECKE; wedded my husband's brother ARCHER
14-15 I ... hand] BRENNECKE (son's grasp); hand *this edn*; I should not have robbed my son of the crown of Denmark ARCHER
18 try ... best] FURNESS; spare no pains ARCHER; take most careful thought BRENNECKE
19 sense] LATHAM; understanding ARCHER; sanity BRENNECKE

0 SD *Lightning* The thunder is Archer's invention, but see note to German text.

1 **shade ... father** Archer echoes Q2/F: "What would your gracious figure?" (TLN 2485, III.iv.101).

1 **stay** or "stand".

III.vii

1-2 I ... may] ARCHER; Whatever I do BRENNECKE

2 I ... hole] *this edn*; I shall be put in gaol ARCHER; they'll throw me in the clink BRENNECKE; I shall be clapped in prison BULLOUGH

4 won't ... punished] BRENNECKE; might get off ARCHER

1 **taxes** or "tribute".

2 **go ... may** or "where/when I go".

2 **hole** i.e., prison.

III.viii

2 *in summa*] *this edn*; sum total is ARCHER; in short LATHAM; To sum it up BRENNECKE

2-3 things ... away] ~ FURNESS; also *this edn*; that it's very queer here altogether, so that I have a good mind to take myself off ARCHER

4 Gee] *this edn*; Potz tausend FURNESS; By all that's holy ARCHER; Well, damn it all BRENNECKE; My goodness BULLOUGH

4-5 I ... better] BRENNECKE; the very man I want ARCHER

7 What ... Peasant?] BRENNECKE (your, Master); What do you want Master clod-hopper? ARCHER; What can I do for you, Mister Bumpkin? LATHAM; Mr Clown? FURNESS

9 I ... deal] FURNESS; I am greatly in arrears with my taxes ARCHER

10 treat ... to] BULLOUGH; bestow on you ARCHER; reward you with LATHAM; send you MORGAN; make you a present of BRENNECKE

11 lout] BULLOUGH; Master Clown LATHAM

11-12 no fodder] BRENNECKE; nothing to eat LATHAM

1, 3 **odd, strangely** The German text uses the same word in both instances: "wunderlich".

4 **Gee** Cunéo has "Sacrebleu" (396).

12 **fodder** The German "fressen" is of a lower register than "to eat", e.g., "to guzzle" or "to gorge".

III.ix

1 run ... run] ARCHER; run and race FURNESS

3 I ... already] ARCHER (for it); I have arrayed myself BRENNECKE

4 I ... thee] FURNESS; Oh! how I have sought thee everywhere, everywhere have I sought thee ARCHER; I have searched for you, yes, for you I have searched BRENNECKE

5 cotton gown] LATHAM; muslin robe ARCHER; calico dress BRENNECKE

8 who ... her] *this edn*; I wish I were away! ARCHER; I wish she were away! LATHAM

12 I'll ... too] LATHAM (you); thee FURNESS; I'll soap and wash you and wring you out ARCHER; And I shall soap you well and rinse you BRENNECKE

16] LATHAM (that without)

17 O gee] *this edn*; Alack! alack! ARCHER; Oh, Lord LATHAM; Oh, Potz tausend! FURNESS; Oh heavens BRENNECKE; Gracious me! BULLOUGH

18 invited ... guest] BRENNECKE; bidden me to supper ARCHER

18-19 Look ... coach] FURNESS; Look, there stands my little coach, my pretty little coach ARCHER; My coach! my coach! LATHAM

22 the ... thing] BRENNECKE; crazy chit ARCHER; foolish woman LATHAM; the madwoman MORGAN

24 merciful Mister] FURNESS (Mr); gracious Master BRENNECKE; kind-hearted BULLOUGH
25 Brother Dog-turd] BRENNECKE; brother Bumpkin ARCHER; Bumpkin LATHAM; Brother Rogue FURNESS; Clodhopper MORGAN; Brother Windy BULLOUGH
25-26 I ... collector] *this edn*; we'll see if we can't put you all straight at the custom-house ARCHER; We'll see what we can do LATHAM

1 **run** The first "run" could also be translated as "walk".

6 **flower** "Blümchen" is the diminutive form of "Blume" ("flower").

12 **wash** or "rinse".

16 **anyway** "ohnedem" does not mean "without" here, but rather "anyway" or "already". Grimm offers both meanings.

18 **little coach** "Kütschchen" is the diminutive of "Kutsche" ("coach").

25 **Dog-turd** See note to German "Hundsfoth".

III.x

1 corpse] FURNESS; body ARCHER

1-2 carried away] *this edn*; removed ARCHER

3 He] ARCHER; It LATHAM

4 has ... life] ARCHER; was killed BRENNECKE

7-8 to ... Corambus] BRENNECKE; stab that poor innocent old man ARCHER; to stab an old and harmless man LATHAM

8 but ... unwittingly] but since this homicide took place by accident BRENNECKE

8-9 this ... pardoned] BULLOUGH; admits of some excuse ARCHER; it might be to some extent forgiven BRENNECKE

10 among ... nobility] LATHAM; to the authorities BRENNECKE

11 uproar] BRENNECKE; rebellion ARCHER; riot FURNESS

12 But ... precaution] This our paternal care hath duly weighed ARCHER; in our fatherlike care of you LATHAM

12 means] ARCHER; plan LATHAM

14 cousin ... father] *this edn*; my uncle and my father ARCHER; My Lord Uncle and Father LATHAM

15 but ... furtively] BRENNECKE; and this fellow came eaves-dropping ARCHER; when he lay in wait for me as a spy LATHAM

16 old fool] FURNESS; silly old fool ARCHER

19 near ... friendship] *this edn*; friendly ARCHER; closely allied BRENNECKE

20 healthier] FURNESS; better than ours LATHAM

21, 28 servants] BRENNECKE; attendants ARCHER

22 accompany] ARCHER; guide BRENNECKE

22 wait upon] *this edn*; serve ARCHER; guard BRENNECKE

25 best] FURNESS; best plan ARCHER; better plan LATHAM

32 sword] ARCHER; dagger FURNESS

32 take ... life] ARCHER; kill him FURNESS

32 attempt] LATHAM; plan BRENNECKE

35 inscribed ... it] BRENNECKE; indicated thereon ARCHER; for which it is addressed LATHAM

35 it ... leave] *this edn*; there our prince will be so well cared for that he will never leave ARCHER

36 But ... man] *this edn*; But in this point be cautious. Reveal your business to no man LATHAM
42] BRENNECKE; for the place and spot you are going to LATHAM
43 mother] BULLOUGH; dear mother ARCHER; my Lady Mother LATHAM
44 us] ARCHER; me LATHAM
45 Man ... flesh] ARCHER; Husband and wife, one flesh in life BRENNECKE
48 noble sneaks] LATHAM; chips of nobility ARCHER; noble chaps FURNESS; noble flunkeys MORGAN; noble half-pints BRENNECKE; sprigs of nobility BULLOUGH
50 you] BRENNECKE; my ARCHER
50 comrades] FURNESS; sirs ARCHER; lads BRENNECKE
51, 54] BULLOUGH; let's start, let's start for England! ARCHER; let us be off, off LATHAM
52] FURNESS (your little message); Put your best foot forward ARCHER; Take your little messages in your hand BULLOUGH
53 fine sneak] *this edn*; cunning fellow ARCHER; brave chap FURNESS; an honest fellow BULLOUGH; fine fellow BRENNECKE

1 **it** or "he". The German "er" could either refer to Corambus or to his body, also at line 3. In his translation of Horatio's answer (3), Brennecke has it both ways: "It remains in the place where he was stabbed."

7 **innocent** possibly an adverb.

15 **observed ... furtively** or "stalked us".

33 **miscarry** literally, "not take place".

36 **man** literally, "human being".

38 **payment** Archer's translation ("reward") is semantically charged within the context of the play. See note at II.viii.45.

39 **right** or "righteous".

45 **flesh** literally, "body". Yet "flesh" catches the biblical allusion (Genesis 2.24, Matthew 19.5-6, and Mark 10.8 [Arden3 365]).

48 **sneaks** Brennecke's "half-pints" might stem from "Quäntchen", which translates as "grain", "ounce", or "pinch". It might be meant as a derogatory term, as opposed to "full pints". See also note to German "Quantchen".

51, 54 I choose Bullough's translation, since its language is not too formal and suits the meter.

51 **go** The German "fahren" implies that a vehicle is used.

52 **boat** Furness and Bullough misinterpret "Bötchen" as the diminutive of "Bote" ("messenger") or "Botschaft" ("message"), hence their translation "little message". Yet "Bötchen" is the diminutive of "Boot" ("boat"). "Bötchen" as the diminutive of "Bote" ("messenger") may be grammatically possible but sounds highly unidiomatic.

53 or "Since you are a fine fellow."

III.xi

1 Wherever ... stand] FURNESS (or stay); Go where I will ARCHER; Going or standing LATHAM

1-2 the ... Ophelia] *this edn*; that simpleton, that Ophelia ARCHER; darned girl FURNESS; daft maiden MORGAN; demented damsel BRENNECKE; cracked girl BULLOUGH

4-5 Now ... again] FURNESS (plague is); The deuce is in it ARCHER; the devil BRENNECKE

8 sooner ... me] *this edn*; He's trying to get away BRENNECKE

9 at ... priest's] FURNESS; with the priest ARCHER

13 only ... to] *this edn*; can only ARCHER; must BRENNECKE

18 Yes ... merry] FURNESS (Ay, right merry); Ay, ay, merry as crickets ARCHER

22 he ... him] ARCHER; he is making signs to me LATHAM

23 beautiful suit] ARCHER; fine suit of clothes LATHAM; lovely garment BRENNECKE

23 lure] *this edn*; entice ARCHER; beckons BRENNECKE

26-27 Near ... mad] FURNESS (not wise); At close quarters she's lost her wits, but at arm's length she's clean mad ARCHER; and at a fair distance she's downright mad LATHAM

27 carrion] ARCHER; piece of lousy flesh BRENNECKE

1-2 **the ... Ophelia** There is no need to translate the article before "Ophelia" since this may evoke negative connotations absent from the original (see note to German text of *RuJ* at I.iv.71).

9 **at ... priest's** Archer's "with the priest" (unwittingly?) adds a sexual allusion.

15 **puppet** "Püppchen" is the diminutive of "Puppe" ("doll"), used as a term of endearment (Grimm).

18 **Yes ... merry** Archer may be echoing *IH4*, where Poins assures Prince Harry that they shall be "[a]s merry as crickets" (II.v.90).

24 **rose** "Röslein" is the diminutive of "Rose" ("rose").

27 **carrion** literally, "carrion for ravens"; see also note to German "Rabenaas".

IV.i

1 place] ARCHER; spot FURNESS

1 linger] ARCHER; stay FURNESS; rest MORGAN; pause BRENNECKE

2 merry forest] merry green wood ARCHER; forest BRENNECKE; pleasant wood LATHAM

2 stream] LATHAM; spring ARCHER

5 Gracious ... here] BRENNECKE; There's no dinner time more for you, my lord ARCHER; My Lord and Grace, this is no time for eating LATHAM

6 for ... churchyard] This is the spot in which it has been decided that your burial is to take place BRENNECKE

6 churchyard] LATHAM; grave ARCHER; burial-ground MORGAN

11 downright] FURNESS; grim BULLOUGH

15] ARCHER; bad LATHAM; intentions MORGAN

19 Dear] FURNESS; Most excellent ARCHER

19 say ... it] BULLOUGH (it properly); your work LATHAM; the deed BRENNECKE; bring word ye have fulfilled the King's commission ARCHER

20 I ... King] FURNESS (return); again BRENNECKE; come in sight of the King LATHAM

21 what ... you] *this edn*; what are ye better for staining your hands with the innocent blood of a royal prince ARCHER; if your hand has spilled innocent noble blood BRENNECKE

23 SD] BRENNECKE (*swords*); *makes an attempt to seize a sword* ARCHER; *Snatches at a dagger* FURNESS

28 and ... you] *this edn*; and I must die by your hands ARCHER; at your hands LATHAM

29 tyrannical King] ARCHER; tyrant-king BRENNECKE

31-32 The ... Judgement] LATHAM (my blood); at the great day this murderer of my father and his brother must answer for my blood ARCHER; the blood of the fratricide and parricide will have to answer for it BRENNECKE

33-34 we ... today] To-day is the day for our business LATHAM

- 35 brother] LATHAM; comrade ARCHER
 36 Fire ... side] FURNESS (Let us fire); Let us shoot him BRENNECKE
 37-39 since ... penance] *this edn*; as the meanest criminal is not refused his last request for time to repent him of his sins ARCHER; Since even the wickedest evildoer is not executed BULLOUGH
 40 Creator] ARCHER; Maker LATHAM
 41 turn] LATHAM; raise ARCHER; hold up BRENNECKE
 42 stretch] FURNESS; spread out ARCHER
 42 Set ... side] ARCHER (level, at my sides); One of you aim on one side, and the other on the other LATHAM
 44 as ... require] ARCHER; what you must BRENNECKE
 47 SD] LATHAM; *Hamlet spreads out his arms* ARCHER; *thrusts out his arms* BRENNECKE
 48 SD *he ... forward*] ARCHER; *throwing himself forward on his face* FURNESS; *he ducks down* BRENNECKE
 48 SD *but ... other*] *who consequently shoot each other* ARCHER; *they shoot and kill each other* BRENNECKE
 49 angelic] FURNESS; divine ARCHER; heavenly LATHAM
 49 inspiration] ARCHER; idea LATHAM
 51 But ... reward] These rogues have received the due recompense of their work ARCHER; For these rascals, however, the recompense has been suitable to the deed LATHAM
 52 shot] LATHAM; butchered ARCHER; practiced marksmanship on BRENNECKE
 52-53 but ... death-blow] BRENNECKE (*coup de grace*); death-blow FURNESS; However, I give the last stroke to my revenge, and make sure LATHAM
 55 whether ... them] LATHAM (any secret with); it may be I find some writ or warrant on them ARCHER; secret letters BRENNECKE
 57 arch-murderer ... England] LATHAM; an expert English assassin BRENNECKE; arch-hangman ARCHER
 58-59 he ... life] LATHAM (would just); and he would make no bones about puffing out my rush-light life! ARCHER
 59 stand by] LATHAM; are ever on the side of ARCHER
 59 the just] ARCHER; the upright man LATHAM; the righteous FURNESS
 59-61 now ... father] ARCHER; Now I will go back again to my 'father', to terrify him BULLOUGH
 61 dare] *this edn*; trust myself ARCHER
 62 seek] BRENNECKE; go to ARCHER
 63 place] ARCHER; station LATHAM; town FURNESS
 64 rogues] *this edn*; dogs ARCHER; rascals FURNESS; scoundrels BULLOUGH

19 **Dear** Archer echoes "My excellent good friends" (F TLN 1269, II.ii.222).

23 SD Furness's translation is reminiscent of Q1 *RJ*'s "*Nurse snatches the dagger away*" (G1v, III.iii.98).

48 SD **each other** literally, "themselves".

51 **reward** See note at II.viii.45.

63 **place** or "(town) square".

64 **rogues** Elsewhere (e.g., I.ii.3) Archer translates "Schelm" as "rogue"; I use this translation throughout.

IV.ii

1 long to] FURNESS; must BRENNECKE

3] FURNESS; dealt honourably with him, even as we commanded LATHAM

IV.iii

1 New news] *this edn*; News, news ARCHER

1 Brand-new news] LATHAM; News spick and span new! ARCHER; The very latest news FURNESS; the newest news BRENNECKE

3 The word order in the German text allows "from France" to refer to Leonhardus or to his place of departure.

IV.iv

2 the ... justice] *this edn*; vengeance, just vengeance ARCHER; revenge LATHAM

3 If ... done] FURNESS; If you do not grant it ARCHER; If this be not forthcoming LATHAM

4] ARCHER; myself take my own vengeance on the murderer LATHAM; on the criminal BULLOUGH

6 unwittingly] ARCHER; unaware LATHAM; accidentally BRENNECKE

6 stabbed ... tapestry] *this edn*; ran him through while behind the arras ARCHER; the hangings LATHAM; assassinated him MORGAN

10 on ... knee] BRENNECKE; I fall on my knees LATHAM

11 filial love] ARCHER; filial affection LATHAM; love for my father MORGAN

14 to ... miserably] to lose your noble father by such a miserable death ARCHER

3 **be ... done** literally, "does not happen".

10 **for pardon** literally, "to pardon me this".

11 **filial** or "childish".

IV.v

1 Cousin King] *this edn*; Uncle King ARCHER; My lord cousin and King BRENNECKE

4 has ... back] ARCHER; you mean LATHAM

5 has ... back] ARCHER; I mean LATHAM

12 contest] *this edn*; match ARCHER; fencing-match LATHAM

13, 18 foils] ARCHER; rapiers FURNESS

13 receives] *this edn*; makes ARCHER

14 shall ... won] ARCHER; wins LATHAM; shall win BRENNECKE

15 combat] FURNESS; bout ARCHER; fencing LATHAM

16 sharply pointed] BRENNECKE; unblunted LATHAM

16 sword] ARCHER; weapon LATHAM; rapier BRENNECKE

18 strong] FURNESS; deadly BRENNECKE

19 certainly] ARCHER; instantly BRENNECKE

21 may ... dare] *this edn*; dare not undertake ARCHER; may not undertake BRENNECKE

22-23 this ... myself] *this edn*; might turn the tables on me ARCHER; that he might turn my own weapon against me LATHAM; and he might easily practice all this on me FURNESS

24-25 do ... death] don't hesitate to please your King and revenge your father MORGAN

26 as ... father] ~ ARCHER; As your father's murderer LATHAM
28 get ... him] FURNESS; enforce the law LATHAM
28 because ... him] for his lady mother is a Queen MORGAN
30-31 to ... justice] LATHAM (stepson and kinsman, righteous justice); disown him BRENNECKE; reject him BULLOUGH; The love of holy justice turneth our heart and favour from our step-son and our cousin ARCHER
31 cousin] ARCHER; kinsman LATHAM; nephew BRENNECKE
31 holy] ARCHER; righteous LATHAM; sacred FURNESS; divine BRENNECKE
31-32 murderous ... insane] BRENNECKE; blood-thirsty and full of pranks ARCHER; and beside himself LATHAM; and mad FURNESS
33 bad man] ARCHER; evil person BRENNECKE
34 parricide] *this edn*; the murderer of your father ARCHER
40 ruse] *this edn*; trick ARCHER; device BRENNECKE
40 We ... fine] LATHAM (eastern); oriental FURNESS; a small oriental diamond BRENNECKE
41-42 goblet ... sugar] ARCHER (chalice, mixed); beaker LATHAM; goblet BRENNECKE
44 under ... protection] BULLOUGH; under this safe-guard LATHAM

8 to any man literally, "to no human being".

13 receives Archer amends.

15 combat Archer uses the Shakespearean "bout" (TLN 3149, IV.vii.156).

22 fencer literally, "master of fencing".

26 assassin or "killer", "manslayer".

31 murderous literally, "greedy for murder".

32 insane or "unreasonable".

33 man literally, "human being".

34 secretly "verblümlerweise" has poetic connotations; literally, "in a flowery way". See also note to German text.

37 be known literally, "come out".

42 drink See note to German "saufen".

44 this or "his", i.e., the King's.

IV.vi

1 husband] LATHAM; consort ARCHER

4 My ... Ophelia] BULLOUGH; The favourite of my retinue, my sweet Ophelia ARCHER; favourite maid-of-honour LATHAM; attendant FURNESS

5-6 It ... mind] BRENNECKE; they think that she has quite lost her senses ARCHER

4 Ophelia For the article preceding Ophelia's name, see note to German text of *RuJ* at I.iv.71. Archer substitutes "my", and Bullough omits it entirely.

IV.vii

1 flower] FURNESS; blossom BRENNECKE

2 But gee] *this edn*; Well-a-day ARCHER; But what, odds bodikins! LATHAM; potz tausend FURNESS; But heavens BRENNECKE; But gracious me BULLOUGH

3 jewelry] BRENNECKE; jewels ARCHER; ornaments LATHAM

3 frontlet] FURNESS; diadem ARCHER; forehead BRENNECKE
5 smith] *this edn*; goldsmith ARCHER; Jeweller LATHAM
5 Sa, sa] FURNESS; So, so ARCHER; There, there BRENNECKE
8-9 will ... sorrow] BRENNECKE (is almost bursting); break with its weight of grief ARCHER
11 spouse] BRENNECKE; Queen ARCHER; wife FURNESS
12 secret] *this edn*; private ARCHER
15 unfortunate] LATHAM; unhappy ARCHER
16 maiden] ARCHER; damsel BRENNECKE
18 personal] BRENNECKE; own ARCHER
18 *medici*] *this edn*; physician ARCHER

1 **flower** "Blümchen" is the diminutive of "Blume" ("flower").
3 **frontlet** or "hairpiece". See note to German text.
15 **some means** literally, "advice", "counsel".
18 *medici* Since "*medici*" is either Latin or Italian, I leave it as such.

V.i

1 Unfortunate] LATHAM; Unhappy ARCHER
2-4 How ... fratricide?] FURNESS (my uncle); How long a time, O just Nemesis, dost thou appoint for whetting thy just sword of vengeance against my uncle, this fratricide! ARCHER; How long, O just Nemesis! before you have sharpened your just sword of vengeance for my fratricide uncle? MORGAN; Righteous Nemesis, how long a time have you ordained for sharpening your just sword of vengeance upon my uncle, that fratricide! BRENNECKE
6 people] ARCHER; retainers LATHAM
6 has made] LATHAM; hath compassed ARCHER; finished FURNESS; completed BRENNECKE

2 **rest** or "peace", "quiet".
2-4 **How ... fratricide** Since the German text is challenging, I reproduce most translations. Furness seems closest to the original. A more literal translation is: "How long dost thou endure, just Nemesis that [thou] whettest thy righteous sword of vengeance on my cousin, the fratricide!" Cunéo has "to prepare the sword of just vengeance" (411, "pour preparer l'épée de la juste vengeance").
6 **his** literally, "her", the sun being female in German.

V.ii

2 in good health] LATHAM; in health and safety ARCHER
5-6 divine omnipotence] BRENNECKE; the Almighty power LATHAM; Divine Power BULLOUGH
8 the King] LATHAM; my father ARCHER
9 one day] ARCHER; for two days LATHAM
10 we ... wind] LATHAM (contrary winds); that contrary winds beset us ARCHER
13 hired] BRENNECKE; bribed LATHAM
14 as much] ARCHER; a handsome reward LATHAM
16 in] LATHAM; to be had of ARCHER
19 they ... me] BULLOUGH; they were to lodge their bullets in my breast ARCHER; they would fire from opposite sides at me MORGAN

21-22 not ... agreeable] FURNESS; no good news LATHAM; not be welcome BRENNECKE

10 **wind** Archer uses the plural, inspired by Q1's "the contention of the windes" (CLN 1813, xiv.5). All subsequent translations follow her.

14 **as much** i.e., as much money as the King promised them.

20 **but ... another** literally, "but they shot each other themselves"; the German "selbsten" is redundant.

V.iii

1 fool] ARCHER; idiot BRENNECKE

1 much] BULLOUGH; infinitely ARCHER

2 my person] FURNESS; my poor person ARCHER; I LATHAM

5 fence ... rapiers] BRENNECKE; measure your skill at fencing ARCHER; fight with foils LATHAM

6 shall ... won] *this edn*; is to win ARCHER; shall win BRENNECKE

11 I ... fool] BRENNECKE (have); They have been imposing on this poor fool ARCHER; quizzing FURNESS; mocking BULLOUGH; I fancy they have told this fool something wonderful LATHAM

12 Signora] LATHAM; Signor ARCHER

14 **SD**] *this edn*; *His teeth chattering with cold* ARCHER; *Shivers, with chattering teeth* LATHAM

16 it ... medium] *this edn*; just the happy medium ARCHER; it's now just moderate BRENNECKE

21-22 one ... will] ARCHER; one can quiz him as much as one likes FURNESS

24 anyway] *this edn*; this very minute ARCHER; no matter what BRENNECKE

25 Drops ... nose] BRENNECKE; See, these drops of blood which fall from my nose ARCHER; My nose bleeds LATHAM

25-26 my ... trembling] BRENNECKE; is ashake LATHAM; quivers MORGAN; I tremble from head to foot! ARCHER

31 swoon] ARCHER; faintness LATHAM

6 **two** Morgan amends to "three".

12 **Signora** The "a" is typographically marked in Morgan.

V.iv

3-4 I ... best] FURNESS; will do my utmost ARCHER; I will, at least, do my best LATHAM

5 in ... time] MORGAN in happy time ARCHER

V.v

3-4 friendly contest] LATHAM; fencing match ARCHER; festive match BRENNECKE

5 rapiers] FURNESS; foils LATHAM

5 will receive] *this edn*; makes ARCHER

6-7 saddlery ... accessories] *this edn*; saddle and housings complete ARCHER; saddle-cloths and trappings to match LATHAM

9 rapier] ~ FURNESS; foils ARCHER; in foil LATHAM

10 good practice] BRENNECKE; plenty of practice ARCHER

12 do ... us] BRENNECKE; will do it to please us ARCHER

6-7 **saddlery ... accessories** "Sattelzeug" implies more than a mere "saddle", and "Zubehör" is a more general term, which does not specifically refer to horseback riding.

12 **Prince ... us** The verb "thut" can be interpreted as an imperative (Brennecke) or as a statement (Archer).

V.vi

4 mountain] *this edn*; hill ARCHER

4-5 thrown ... down] LATHAM; cast herself from the top of it ARCHER

5 taken ... life] ARCHER; killed herself LATHAM

7 Whither ... thee] ~ FURNESS; still BRENNECKE; What more troubles are to come MORGAN

8] O! that death would come to free me from my woe and misery! ARCHER

9 We ... you] LATHAM; You enjoy our favour ARCHER

10 combat] *this edn*; play ARCHER; contest LATHAM; match BRENNECKE

10-11 But ... judge] *this edn*; Horatio shall be umpire ARCHER; referee BRENNECKE

13-14 we ... other] *this edn*; let's see who is to wear the fool's bells ARCHER; which of us is to fit the other with the fool's cap LATHAM

14 If ... blunder] ~ ARCHER; make a mistake FURNESS; break any of the rules BRENNECKE

17] FURNESS; My lord you jest with your servant ARCHER

17 **SD** *fairly*] ARCHER; *clean* BRENNECKE

17 **SD** *receives a hit*] ARCHER (*thrust*); *is hit* LATHAM

18 one] FURNESS; a hit ARCHER

19 Allo, revenge] *this edn*; Now for my revenge! ARCHER; And so – revenge! BRENNECKE

19 **SD** *thrusts ... arm*] *this edn*; *deals him a thrust in the left arm* ARCHER; *and gives the Prince a thrust in carte in the arm* LATHAM; *en carte* BRENNECKE

19 **SD** *They ... rapier*] ~ FURNESS (*Each, his*); *They run to pick them up* ARCHER

20 I ... hit] BRENNECKE; I am mortally wounded! ARCHER

20-21 I ... another] ARCHER (recompense); I have been paid in my own coin LATHAM; I have been caught in my own device MORGAN

21 reward] *this edn*; recompense ARCHER; payment BRENNECKE

23-24 have ... rapier?] FURNESS (wounded you); have I slain you with this foil? ARCHER

24 How ... happen?] FURNESS; Say, say, how is this possible? ARCHER; What is going on here? BRENNECKE

25 royal goblet] LATHAM; beaker FURNESS; royal cup MORGAN

29 feint] *this edn*; trick ARCHER

36 receives ... it] ARCHER; takes from it even a scratch LATHAM

38] FURNESS (Ho); refresh yourselves BRENNECKE; pause for a minute and drink LATHAM

39 Where is] ARCHER; what keeps FURNESS

39 cup] ARCHER; goblet LATHAM

39 Ah ... wife] BRENNECKE; Alas, best of wives LATHAM

39-40 What ... here] BRENNECKE (into this has been); This drink ARCHER; Its contents LATHAM; The wine FURNESS

40 is ... poison] ARCHER; are deadly poison LATHAM

42 I ... dying] LATHAM; I die ARCHER

42 **SD** *in front of*] FURNESS; *before* ARCHER

- 44] FURNESS; my due recompense! ARCHER; my bad recompense LATHAM; Alas, I am rewarded for my wickedness BRENNECKE
- 47 convey] *this edn*; receive ARCHER; guide BRENNECKE
- 48 wash ... hell] FURNESS; purge his sins in the hell ARCHER
- 49-50 now ... enemies] FURNESS; since I have wreaked revenge upon my foes BRENNECKE
- 50 hit] FURNESS; touch ARCHER; wound BRENNECKE
- 50-51 it ... nothing] BRENNECKE (means); it will be of no consequence ARCHER; it is not vital MORGAN
- 51 stabbed] FURNESS; slain ARCHER; hit LATHAM
- 52 how ... sword] FURNESS (accursed sword); how the accursed weapon came ARCHER; the fatal blade found its way BRENNECKE
- 52-53 But ... reward] FURNESS (labor); but as he hath sown, so hath he reaped ARCHER; But as is the work so are the wages LATHAM
- 53-54 Nothing ... mother] LATHAM (Lady mother); My wretched mother! most do I grieve for her ARCHER; Nothing grieves me further except my mother BRENNECKE
- 54 Still ... sins] LATHAM (she has); too FURNESS; her sins have brought this just punishment down on her ARCHER
- 60 Hast ... misery] FURNESS (in this); Were you also a party to this crime? BRENNECKE
- 61 SD] ARCHER; *Stabs him mortally* LATHAM; *Stabs him to death* BRENNECKE
- 62] BULLOUGH (stab away, till); Run it in, and may your blade grow lame! ARCHER; Stab away; and may the blade hurt you LATHAM; till your sword is tired FURNESS; until the blade is broken BRENNECKE
- 65 will ... stand] FURNESS; refuse to support me ARCHER
- 67-68 to ... Fortempras] LATHAM (carry my crown)
- 68 Fortempras] LATHAM; Fortinbras ARCHER; Fortembras MORGAN; Fortenbras BULLOUGH
- 70 wait ... help] BRENNECKE; aid may still come ARCHER
- 70-71 O ... dying] ARCHER (heavens!); O Heaven, he is going-off LATHAM
- 72 Ah ... now] *this edn*; Alas! O! how this Kingdom of Denmark hath been scourged with long wars! ARCHER; What has this kingdom, for a length of time, not undergone from hard wars? LATHAM
- 73-74 when ... murder] *this edn*; when anew internal disturbances, murders, ambition, and contentions fill the land ARCHER; internal unrest, contention for the crown, and murderous ambition BRENNECKE
- 74 This ... misfortune] *this edn*; such a tragedy ARCHER
- 74-75 as ... through] BULLOUGH (as this which we have); as we have suffered BRENNECKE
- 77-78 that ... rank] ARCHER (personages); that these three high personages LATHAM
- 81] *this edn*; So it is when a Prince forces himself to the crown with cunning LATHAM
- 81 forces] LATHAM; will seize ARCHER; usurps FURNESS; grasps BRENNECKE
- 82 obtains] LATHAM; take ... for himself ARCHER

4 **mountain** All previous translators have "hill", but "Berg" means "mountain".

9 **Be content** See note at I.vii.7-8.

10 **rapiers** Latham's translation ("foils") does not allow for the pun at line 12.

14 **If ... blunder** See note to German "Exces".

19 SD **thrusts ... arm** Archer specifies that Hamlet is wounded in his "*left arm*". In early modern times, men dueled with rapier in the right and dagger in the left hand, using "rapier for attack and dagger for parries" since the rapier "was unmanageable for parrying" (Jackson 281, 284). If Leonhardus therefore thrusts at Hamlet's left arm, he tries to disarm the Prince of his dagger.

19 SD **mortally wounds** literally, "stabs ... to death".

21, 53 **reward** See note at II.viii.45.

23 **stabbed** "erstochen" implies that the stab is mortal.

25 **bring forth** literally, "give here".

29 **feint** The King uses this word twice (see V.v.13). I therefore also translate as "feint" here.

84 Cunéo offers: "For he who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind" (419, "Car qui sème le vent récolte la tempête").

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1**MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION FOR *ROMIO UND JULIETA***

Location and Classmark

Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Vienna, Cod. 13148.

Title

No title page. Title added later, probably in 1841 when the ÖNB acquired the manuscript, with black ink in small writing to the top left-hand corner of 1r: "Romeo und Julie" (see appendix 6, figure 6).

Ascription of Contents

Unknown author(s), scribe(s); possibly Johann Georg Göttner or Johann Carl Samenhammer (see Scherl).

No other manuscripts known in the same hand.

Printed (partly) in Devrient (1848), entirely in Cohn (1865), and (partly) in Genée (1871).

Statement of Contents

One dramatic piece: *Romio und Julieta*.

Paper

Paper comparatively thick, chain lines are horizontal.

Some visible water stains, usually on the upper half of the sheets. A few ink blots and smudges, but the text is generally quite legible.

Schindler identified the watermark as a simplified form of the crest of Český Krumlov ("*Romeo und Julia*" 85-86).¹ Parts of the watermark can be seen on the following sheets: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49.

Endpapers

No endpapers.

Leaf Size

208mm x 165 mm.

Mise en page

No ruled frame visible. Some space is usually left at the bottom; text is indented in comparison to the speech prefixes, which are in the left margin. On the bottom of 17r and 51v, some space is left free.

¹ The paper mill of Český Krumlov used the city crest as a watermark. In the manuscript, the countermark are the initials of the "'paper maker' Matthias Pascher (or Poscher) ... of whom we only know that he died in 1702" (Schindler, "*Romeo und Julia*" 86, "'Papirmacher' Matthias Pascher (oder Poscher) ... Von diesem wissen wir nur, daß er 1702 gestorben ist").

Number of leaves

53 leaves (originally 56, if all 7 quires were complete). No endleaves, no blank sheets.

Original foliation only numbered the 7 quires. Modern foliation added, accurately and consecutively (1-53), in pencil, in the 1840s, when the text was acquired by the ÖNB. Both old and new foliation in top right corner on recto pages.

Formula

Collation: 4°, in 8s: 1⁴ (-1₁), 2⁴, 3⁴, 5⁴, 6⁴, 7⁸ (-7₇, -7₈). Today, the format would not be described as quarto, but it was entered as such into the catalogue in 1841. Each gathering is numbered (although gathering 1 is numbered on 1₂). The title page might have been lost when the manuscript was rebound. The last two sheets are missing. No catchwords.

Hands

The hand(s) seem(s) to be the work of professional scribes. The manuscript is a fair copy, with few corrections. Hands 1 to 3 use dark brown ink. Hand 4 uses black ink, hand 5 pencil.

- hand 1: 1r-51v and quire numbers (late seventeenth century)
- hand 2: 52r-53v (late seventeenth century, possibly identical with hand 1)
- hand 3: crossed out and added material on 12v (possibly identical with hand 1)
- hand 4: title on 1r and codex number on bottom of 1r (nineteenth century)
- hand 5: modern foliation numbers (nineteenth century)

Binding

208 mm x 165 mm

Simple light blue paper binding, similar to blotting paper. The pages were bound after the text was written. At least the second binding, if there were two, took place after the writing. In comparison to other manuscripts from Asper's group (see pp. 187-88 above), the binding is in fairly good condition.

Decoration

No decoration used.

Provenance and Dating

See pp. 186-90 above.

APPENDIX 2

This appendix contains summaries of *Romio und Julieta* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, with the corresponding passages from Shakespeare's texts. Passages present in Shakespeare and omitted in the German plays are not recorded. ~ indicates that the content does not entirely correspond to that of Shakespeare's texts, but that a parallel can be drawn between the respective passages. Character names printed in bold indicate presence on stage in a given scene.

APPENDIX 2A

CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN *ROMIO UND JULIETA* AND *ROMEO AND JULIET*

Scene in <i>RuJ</i>	Content	Correspondence in <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
I.i	Reconciliation between Capolet and Mundige , orchestrated by the Prince . ²	Echoes of I.i
I.ii	Introduction of Julieta and Antoneta . Julieta laments being cooped up by her parents. She is in love but does not know with whom.	Echoes of I.iii in Antoneta's bawdy insinuations.
I.iii	Paris and Capolet converse politely. Capolet gives Pickelherring a list of guests for his banquet the following day.	- Q1 I.ii.27-35; Q2 I.ii.34-44
I.iv	Romio pines for Rosalina, in presence of Penuolio . Pickelherring asks them to read his guest list.	Echoes of Q1 I.i.89-101, I.ii.43-47 and of Q2 I.i.156-68, I.ii.51-57 Q1 I.ii.48-74; Q2 I.ii.57-84

² The Prince and the Duke can be considered as the same character (see p. 245 above).

	<p>Romio tears up the list since he discovers Rosalina's name on it, then he chases Pickelherring away.</p> <p>Romio and Penuolio decide to go to the feast.</p> <p>Pickelherring is looking forward to the banquet.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>Q1 I.ii.75-94; Q2 I.ii.85-104</p> <p>-</p>
II.i	Romio, Mercutius, and Penuolio joke and decide to perform a masquerade at Capolet's feast.	Q1 I.iv.1-38, 83-91; Q2 I.iv.1-16, 33-51, 103-11
II.ii	Capolet, his Wife, the Nurse, Tipold, Paris, and Julieta at table.	~ Q1 I.iv.92-112; ~ Q2 I.iv.129-53
II.iii	<p>Capolet and Paris greet Romio and Penuolio. Romio and Julieta meet and fall in love. Romio learns about Julieta's identity.</p> <p>Capolet prevents Tipold from affronting Romio.</p> <p>Romio and Penuolio leave although Capolet and Paris ask them to stay.</p> <p>Capolet tells Paris that peace between Mundige and him has not yet been proclaimed. Paris asks Julieta to follow him and her father.</p> <p>Julieta discovers Romio's identity.</p>	<p>~ Q1 I.iv.92; Q2 I.iv.127</p> <p>Q1 I.iv.156-83; Q2 I.iv.206-31</p> <p>Q1 I.iv.124-57; Q2 I.iv.167-201</p> <p>~ Q1 I.iv.184-89; Q2 I.iv.232-37</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>Q1 I.iv.191-207; Q2 I.iv.241-56</p>
II.iv	Romio hides from Mercutius and Penuolio . Mercutius attempts to "conjure" Romio , then he and Penuolio leave.	<p>Q1, Q2 II.i.1-2</p> <p>Q1 II.i.3-42; Q2 II.i.3-43</p>
II.v	<p>Romio, accompanied by a boy, ventures near the window of Julieta's room.</p> <p>The boy sings a song.</p> <p>Romio and Julieta profess their love for each other until the Nurse interrupts them.</p> <p>Julieta gives Romio a love token and tells him that she will send someone to him the following morning.</p>	<p>Q1 II.i.43-65; Q2 II.i.45-68</p> <p>-</p> <p>Q1 II.i.66-206; Q2 II.i.69-235</p> <p>-</p> <p>Q1 II.i.184-85; Q2 II.i.213-14</p>

II.vi	Romio tells the Father that he is no longer in love with Rosalina, but now with Julieta. The Father sends Romio away with his best wishes, hoping for reconciliation between the two families.	~ Q1, Q2 II.ii
III.i	Capolet's Wife asks the Nurse whether Julieta is of age to be married.	Q1 I.iii.1-13, 56-57; Q2 I.iii.1-13, 65-66
III.ii	Capolet's Wife tells Julieta that she is to marry Count Paris; Julieta refuses. Capolet's Wife and the Nurse leave Julieta with her father.	~ Q1, Q2 I.iii; Q1 III.v.81-95; Q2 III.v.107-25
III.iii	Capolet agrees to give Julieta some time to consider the marriage.	Echoes of Q1 III.v.96-155 and Q2 III.v.126-95
III.iv	Julieta tells the Nurse that she is in love with Romio. The Nurse first advises her to marry Paris but then agrees to help her. Julieta sends the Nurse to Romio, asking him to meet (and marry) her in the Father's cell at nine o'clock.	Echoes of Q1 III.v.164-79 and Q2 III.v.204-30 - implied in Q1, Q2
III.v	Mercutius and Penuolio talk about a challenge that Tipold sent to Romio. Romio joins them; they banter briefly.	Q1 II.iii.1-81; Q2 II.iii.1-94
III.vi	The Nurse comes to tell Romio that he is to join Julieta for a meal. Mercutius leaves. Romio laments his loved one's chastity (without naming her) in front of Penuolio , who decides to cure him.	Q1 II.iii.82-157; Q2 II.iii.95-180 Q1 I.i.89-144 and I.ii.42-47; Q2 I.i.156-234 and I.ii.51-57
III.vii	The Nurse first teases Julieta and withholds Romio's message, then reveals that he will come.	Q1 II.iv.7-8, 21-32, 41-44; Q2 II.iv.20-23, 54-64, 77

III.viii	The Father agrees to marry Romio and Julieta.	Echoes of Q1, Q2 II.ii and beginning of II.v
III.ix	Capolet gives Julieta's hand to Paris . Julieta agrees to be married.	Echoes of Q1 I.ii.3-12, Q2 I.ii.6-19; Q1, Q2 III.iv; Q1 III.v.96-155, Q2 III.v.126-95; Q1, Q2 IV.i.18-36
III.x	The Father marries Romio and Julieta .	Q1, Q2 II.v
IV.i	Penuolio asks Mercutius to leave because the Capolets are likely to appear. Mercutius accuses Penuolio of being hot-headed.	Q1 III.i.1-20; Q2 III.i.1-35
IV.ii	Tipold is looking for Romio and meets Penuolio and Mercutius ; the latter teases him. Romio enters and a fight ensues. Tipold kills Mercutius and flees. Tipold returns and is killed in a duel with Romio, who then leaves with Penuolio. Pickelherring finds Tipold's corpse.	Q1 III.i.21-99; Q2 III.i.36-136 -
IV.iii	The Duke ³ and Capolet's Wife arrive. Pickelherring jokes about the murder. Penuolio narrates what has happened. The Duke banishes Romio although Capolet's Wife demands a death sentence.	Q1 III.i.100-02; Q2 III.i.137-40 - Q1 III.i.103-45; Q2 III.i.141-97
IV.iv	The Nurse tells Julieta about some misfortune concerning Romio. Pickelherring enters and explains what has happened. The Nurse advises Julieta to marry Paris. Pickelherring tells her to marry both men – and him. Julieta sends the Nurse away, pretending to agree to her plan,	Q1 III.ii.5-54; Q2 III.ii.33-137 Q1 III.v.165-78; Q2 III.v.212-29 - Q1 III.iv.179-84; Q2 III.iv.230-35

³ The Duke and the Prince can be considered as the same character (see p. 245 above).

	then she sends Pickelherring to Romio.	Q1 III.ii.55-58; Q2 III.ii.140-43
IV.v	Romio grieves about his banishment. The Father tries to calm him. Pickelherring brings a ring and letter from Julieta and asks Romio to visit her. The Father assures Romio that once he is in Mantua, he will keep him informed by letter.	Q1, Q2 III.iii
IV.vi	Julieta assures Romio that she is not angry with him. Romio and Julieta say their goodbyes.	Q1 III.v.1-55; Q2 III.v.1-36, 41-59
V.i	In the presence of Pickelherring , who comments on the conversation, Capolet asks Julieta to ready herself for her marriage to Paris. Julieta says that she is ill and needs the Father's counsel. Capolet agrees, and the two men leave. Julieta laments her situation.	Echoes of: Q1 III.v.96-155, Q2 III.v.126-203 and Q1 IV.ii.9-41; Q2 IV.ii.10-46, and Q1 IV.iii.1-10, Q2 IV.iii.1-13 Q1 III.v.180-82, Q2 III.v.231-33 ~ Q2 III.v.206-10
V.ii	The Father , after testing Julieta's steadfastness, promises to bring her a sleeping potion that will make her seem dead. She will be buried in the monument, and Romio will come in disguise to abduct her. Julieta agrees.	Q1 IV.i.43-91; Q2 IV.i.44-126
V.iii	In the presence of Capolet's Wife , the Nurse and Pickelherring quarrel. The Nurse goes to wake Julieta and returns with the news of her "death". Pickelherring confirms this. Capolet and the Father arrive, and all join in the lamentation.	~ Q1 IV.iv.1-18; ~ Q2 IV.iv.1-19 Q1 IV.iv.21-35; Q2 IV.iv.21-42 - Q1 IV.iv.36-81; Q2 IV.iv.43-121
V.iv	Paris arrives at the monument with a boy . His mourning is interrupted by Romio . When Paris challenges Romio, Romio kills him. Romio stabs himself.	Q1 V.iii.1-12; Q2 V.iii.1-17 Q1 V.iii.13-55; Q2 V.iii.18-73 Q1 V.iii.56-78; Q2 V.iii.74-120

Julieta awakes, sees the two dead bodies, and stabs herself.	~ Q1 V.iii.100-17; ~ Q2 V.iii.148-70
The Father arrives and laments the dead.	~ Q1 V.iii.79-99; ~ Q2 V.iii.121-46
The Prince and Capolet arrive. The Father tells them what has happened, and they forgive him.	Q1 V.iii.118-203; Q2 V.iii.171-290
The three lament youth's and love's rashness and folly.	Q1 V.iii.204-20; Q2 V.iii.291-310
Capolet decides to bury Paris in the same grave as Julieta.	-

APPENDIX 2B

CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN *DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD* AND *HAMLET*

Scene in <i>BB</i>	Content	Correspondence in <i>Hamlet</i>
Prologue	Night instructs three furies to sow discord.	-
I.i	Relief of the guard . The parting guard is afraid of the Ghost.	~ Q1 i; Q2/F I.i and echoes of Q1 iv; Q2/F I.iv
I.ii	The Ghost appears and gives the guard a box over the ears.	~ Q1 i; Q2/F I.i and Q1 iv; Q2/F I.iv -
I.iii	Horatio , Francisco , and soldiers join the guard. The Ghost reappears.	~ Q1 i.6-31; Q2/F I.i.12-174
I.iv	Hamlet joins the guards and is told about the Ghost resembling his father.	Q1 iv.1-14; Q2/F I.iv.1-16 Q1 ii.76-179; Q2/F I.ii.160-256
I.v	The Ghost tells Hamlet that he was murdered. Hamlet swears revenge.	~ Q1 iv.14-61; Q2/F I.iv.38-91; and Q1 v.1-85; Q2/F I.v.1-112
I.vi	Hamlet (and the Ghost's voice) make the guards swear to keep silent. Hamlet repeats the Ghost's story to Horatio .	Q1 v.86-158; Q2/F I.v.113-88 -
I.vii	The King announces his marriage to the Queen , and both ask Hamlet not to go to Wittenberg. He agrees to stay. Corambus confirms that Leonhardus went to	Q2/F I.ii.1-16 Q1 ii.26-54; Q2/F I.ii.64-128

	France with his consent.	~ Q1 ii.13-25; Q2/F I.ii.42-63
II.i	The Queen is sad because of Hamlet's melancholy. The King promises that his doctors will look after him.	~ Q1 vii.1-18; Q2/F II.ii.1-39
II.ii	Corambus announces to the King and Queen that Hamlet is mad.	~ Q1 vii.19-29, 57-64; Q2/F II.ii.40-57, 86-100
II.iii	Ophelia complains that Hamlet plagues her. The King and Corambus plan to observe the two lovers.	Q1 vi.33-64; Q2/F II.i.71-117 and ~ Q1 vii.64-109; Q2/F II.ii.105-64 Q1 vii.110-14, Q2/F III.i.28-54
II.iv	Ophelia returns a token to Hamlet . He tells a story about women's art of make-up and instructs her to go to a cloister. The King believes Hamlet's madness to be simulated.	Q1 vii.138-94; Q2/F III.i.89-148 Q1 vii.199-200; Q2/F III.i.161-66
II.v	Hamlet reaffirms his desire for revenge. Horatio cautions that the Ghost may have betrayed him.	-
II.vi	Corambus announces the comedians. Hamlet plans to use a play to verify the Ghost's tale and test the King.	Q1 vii.284-316 and Q2/F II.ii.317-58 Q1 vii.434-35 and Q2/F II.ii.529-40
II.vii	Carl and the comedians arrive. Hamlet gives them acting advice and asks them to perform a play about one brother poisoning the other in a garden. Hamlet tells Horatio the story of a wife confessing the murder of her husband, prompted by a theater performance.	Q1 vii.317-435; Q2/F II.ii.359-540 Q1 ix.1-40; Q2/F III.ii.1-43 Q1 vii.427-35; Q2/F II.ii.523-40

	He asks Horatio to observe the King.	Q1 ix.42-62; Q2/F III.ii.50-85
II.viii	The King , the Queen , Hamlet , Horatio , Corambus , and Ophelia prepare for the performance. Hamlet comments on the dumb show, and the King breaks off the performance and leaves. Hamlet triumphs.	Q1 ix.64-82; Q2/F III.ii.86-128 ~ Q1 ix.82 SD-171; Q2/F III.ii.128 SD-257 Q1 ix.172-73; Q2/F III.ii.258-62 Q1 ix.174-81; Q2/F III.ii.263-86
II.ix	Hamlet tells Corambus to treat the comedians well. He then repeats his vow of revenge to Horatio .	Q1 vii.379-90; Q2/F II.ii.460-71 Echoes of Q2 IV.iv.64-65 and of Q1 ix.236-37; Q2/F III.ii.388-89
III.i	The King prays for forgiveness.	Q1 x.1-13; Q2/F III.iii.36-72
III.ii	Hamlet enters, ready to kill the King , but then decides to spare him for the time being. The King decides to do further penance.	Q1 x.14-31; Q2/F III.iii.73-96 ~ Q1 x.32-33; Q2/F III.iii.97-98
III.iii	Corambus confirms to the Queen that Hamlet's madness remains unchanged.	~ Q1 xi.1-3; Q2/F III.iv.1-6
III.iv	Horatio announces Hamlet to the Queen . Corambus hides behind a tapestry.	~ Q1 xi.1-3; Q2/F III.iv.1-6
III.v	Hamlet makes the Queen compare two portraits of her late and current husband. Corambus coughs; Hamlet stabs him.	Q1 xi.5-57; Q2/F III.iv.7-99 Q1 xi.12-16; Q2/F III.iv.20-25
III.vi	The Ghost appears. The Queen does not see	Q1 xi.57 SD-78; Q2/F

	him. Hamlet leaves in disgust. The Queen laments her re-marriage and the unfortunate consequences it has had on her son.	III.iv.99 SD-37 ~ Q1 xi.89-101; Q2/F III.iv.138-215 -
III.vii	Jens fears punishment for tax evasion.	-
III.viii	Phantasmo announces that Ophelia is also mad. Jens asks Phantasmo for help.	-
III.ix	Ophelia , in her madness, mistakes Phantasmo for her sweetheart. Phantasmo agrees to help Jens .	Echoes of Q1 xiii.15-46; Q2/F IV.v.16-73 and Q1 xiii.71-115; Q2/F IV.v.151- 92 -
III.x	The King laments Corambus's murder and sends Horatio to arrange the funeral. Hamlet apologizes. The King decides to send Hamlet to England, instructing the two servants who accompany him to kill Hamlet.	Q1 xi.128-66; Q2/F IV.iii.11-66 and echoes of Q1 xi.105-17; Q2/F IV.i and IV.ii
III.xi	Ophelia pursues Phantasmo in ardent love.	Echoes of Q1 xiii.15-46; Q2/F IV.v.16-73 and Q1 xiii.71-115; Q2/F IV.v.151- 92
IV.i	The two bandits intend to kill Hamlet . He tricks them into shooting each other, discovers his death warrant, and decides to return to Denmark.	Echoes of Q1 xiv; Q2/F IV.vi and V.ii.1-66
IV.ii	The King enquires about Hamlet.	Q1 xiii.1-4
IV.iii	Phantasmo announces that Leonhardus has returned from France.	~ Q1 xiii.46; Q2/F IV.v.96- 111

IV.iv	Leonhardus demands revenge for his father. The King appeases him, explaining that Hamlet killed Corambus. Leonhardus apologizes.	Q1 xiii.48-70; Q2/F IV.v.112-51 and Q1 xiii.119-29; Q2/F IV.v.194-211
IV.v	Phantasmo announces Hamlet's return. The King convinces Leonhardus to kill Hamlet in a duel with a poisoned rapier and poisoned wine.	Q1 xv.1-37; Q2/F IV.vii.1-160
IV.vi	The Queen announces that Ophelia is mad.	Q1 xiii.6-14; Q2/F IV.v.1-16, 37 and echoes of Q1 xv.38-40; IV.vii.161-62
IV.vii	The mad Ophelia distributes flowers. The King assures the Queen that his doctors will take care of Ophelia and reminds Leonhardus of their plan.	Q1 xiii.14-46; Q2/F IV.v.151-92 and echoes of Q1 xiii.71-118; Q2/F IV.v.16-73, Q1 xvi.172-73
V.i	Hamlet returns and reaffirms his vow of vengeance.	Q2 IV.iv.31-65
V.ii	Hamlet narrates his escape from the bandits to Horatio .	Q2/F V.ii.1-66
V.iii	Phantasmo announces the planned duel with Laertes. Hamlet ridicules Phantasmo in front of Horatio . After accepting the challenge, Hamlet faints. He nevertheless decides to participate in the duel.	Q1 xvii.5-40; Q2/F V.ii.67-186 Q1 xvii.41-46; Q2/F V.ii.187-202
V.iv	The King and Leonhardus prepare for the duel.	~ Q1 xvii.46-46 SD; Q2/F V.ii.202 SD-203

V.v	Hamlet enters and they discuss the modalities of the duel.	~ Q1 xvii.47-62; Q2/F V.ii.203-30
V.vi	<p>The Queen announces Ophelia's suicide.</p> <p>In the duel, Hamlet and Leonhardus mortally wound each other. The King orders Phantasmo to fetch the poisoned wine, which the Queen drinks. The Queen dies. Hamlet stabs the King. Leonhardus asks Hamlet for forgiveness and dies. Hamlet stabs Phantasmo. Hamlet asks Horatio to bring the crown to Fortempras of Norway. Hamlet dies. Horatio concludes the play with a lament and a didactic epilogue.</p>	<p>Q1 xv.38-54; Q2/F IV.vii.161-92</p> <p>Q1 xvii.47-133; Q2/F V.ii.203-387</p>

APPENDIX 3A

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *ROMIO UND JULIETA* TO Q1 AND Q2 OF *ROMEO AND JULIET*

I use the term "strong agreement" for longer passages of text or for words or passages of importance and "weak agreement" for resemblances that are not clear-cut or for short and less important passages. For discussion, see pp. 195-97 above. Bold emphasis mine.

RuJ and Q2

Strong agreement: 35 instances that are found in *RuJ* and Q2, but not in Q1

1. MERCUTIUS So entlehne des *Cupido* flügl vnd fliege (*RuJ* II.i.25) – *Mer.* You are a Louer, borrow *Cupids* wings, / And sore with them aboue a common bound (Q2 C1v, I.iv.15-16)

2. CAPOLET ... da ich noch Jung wahr, wahr ich nicht zu faul, wie iesziger Zeit die Jungen gesellen, es dörffte kein Panquet geschehen, ich fuende mich allezeit darbey mit einer *Mascara* oder sonsten was lustiges[.] (*RuJ* II.ii.2-5) – I. *Capu.* ... I haue seene the day / That I haue worne a visor and could tell / A whispering tale in a faire Ladies eare (Q2 C3r, I.iv.134-36)

3. [*Es*] wird getanzt (*RuJ* II.iii.4 SD) – *Musick playes and they dance* (Q2 C3r, I.iv.138 SD)

4. PENUOLIO [K]omb forth *Romio* laß vnß gehen, vnser kurtzweil ist geendet[.]
(*RuJ* II.iii.58-59) – *Ben.* Away begon, the sport is at the best. (Q2 C4v, I.iv.232)

5. ROMIO ... ach schönste *Julieta* acht sie mich dan niht würdig ihrer liebe in deme
sie daß selbe wider zuruckh wintschet was sie mir versprochen? / JULIETA
[W]erthester *Romio* ich wintsche sie darumb wider zuruckh auf das ich sie noch
ein mahl wider schenkhen möchte[.] (*RuJ* II.v.71-75) – *Ro.* Woldst thou withdraw
it, for what purpose loue? / *Iu.* But to be franke and giue it thee againe (Q2 D3v,
II.i.173-74)

6. ROMIO [A]ch beÿ wemb solt ich den Schwören? (*RuJ* II.v.81) – *Ro.* What shall I
sweare by? (Q2 D3v, II.i.154)

Q1: *Ro.* Now by (D2v, II.i.150)

7. JULIETA [J]ch komme (*RuJ* II.v.84) – *Iu.* ... I come, anon (Q2 D4r, II.i.193)

JULIETA *Amma* noch ein kleine geduld ich komme gleich. (*RuJ* II.v.98) – *Iu.* ...
Anon good nurse (Q2 D3v, II.i.180)

JULIETA Nun ich komme Ja gleich. (*RuJ* II.v.105) – *Iu.* ... by and by I come (Q2
D4r, II.i.196)

8. FRAU ... siehe zue wie Er deine wörter annehmen wird. (*RuJ* III.ii.28-29) – *M.* ...
And see how he will take it at your hands. (Q2 H4v, III.v.125)

9. PENUOLIO So hat sie dan geschworen alle zeit keüsch zu leben[?] / ROMIO So viel mir bewust so hasset Sie vielmehr das Mannßgeschlecht als zu lieben. / PENUOLIO So folge meinem Rath vnd denkhe nicht mehr an Sie[.] / ROMIO [N]icht an sie gedenken? [A]ch so wurde mein leben auch sich bald Enden[.] / PENUOLIO [Herr] vetter gebet Euren augen die freyheit, vnd erwehlet eine andere, dan es gibt Ja nicht händt sondern länder voll weibs bilder[.] / ROMIO [J]ch sehe dein schertzen kan mir nicht helffen, darumb verlaß ich dich vnd bleibe der verliebte vnd betrübte *Romio*[.] ... PENUOLIO Nein ich folge dir, vnd will mich befeisßen dein *Doctor* zu sein, bis ich ein gewisßes *recept* zu deiner trawrigkeit finde[.] (*RuJ* III.vi.49-62) – *Ben*. Thē she hath sworn, that she wil stil liue chaste? / *Ro*. ... Shee hath forsworne to loue ... *Ben*. Be rulde by me, forget to thinke of her. / *Ro*. O teach me how I should forget to thinke. / *Ben*. By giuing libertie vnto thine eyes, / Examine other bewties ... *Ro*. ... Farewel, thou canst not teach me to forget. / *Ben*. Ile pay that doctrine, or else die in debt. (Q2 B2r-v, I.i.213, 219, 221-24, 233-34)
10. JULIETA [L]iebste *Amma* waß bringt ihr mir von meinem *Romio* guete oder beße zeittung (*RuJ* III.vii.1-2) – *Iu*. ... Is thy newes good or bad? answere to that (Q2 F1r, II.iv.34)
11. PATER ... damit ich mich sambt Eüch in keine gefahr vnd vnglikh stürzten möge[.] (*RuJ* III.x.3-4) – *Frie*. ... That after houres, with sorrow chide vs not. (Q2 F1v, II.v.2)

12. PENUOLIO ... wofern wür ihnen begegnen[,] gehet es ohne schlagen nicht ab, dan in den heißen tagen das geblüt am hützigsten[.] (*RuJ* IV.i.3-5) – *Ben.* ... And if we meete we shall not scape a brawle, for now these hot daies, is the mad blood stirring. (Q2 F2v, III.i.3-4)

13. PENUOLIO ... du bist der aller erhitzigste[,] ich wolte schier sagen in **gantz Italia** (*RuJ* IV.i.13-14) – *Mer.* ... thou art as hot a lacke in thy moode as any in **Italie**: and assoone moued to be moodie (Q2 F2v, III.i.11-12)

Q1: *Mer.* ... thou art as hot a lacke being mooude, and as soone mooude to be moodie (E4v, III.i.9-10)

14. MERCUTIUS [A]uch hast du mit einen gezankt, der nur **auf der strasßen** gehust (*RuJ* IV.i.18-19) – *Mer.* ... hast quareld with a man for coffing **in the streete** ... (Q2 F2v, III.i.24)

Q1: *Mer.* ... With another for coughing (E4v, III.i.16)

15. PENUOLIO [W]ere ich so geneigt zu zankhen alß du, ich wäre schon längst in der Erde erkalt (*RuJ* IV.i.22-23) – *Ben.* And I were so apt to quarell as thou art, any man should buy the fee-simple of my life for an houre and a quarter. (Q2 F2v, III.i.30-32)

16. TIPOLD ... ich muß Sie anreden (*RuJ* IV.ii.3) – *Tybalt* ... for I will speake to them. (Q2 F2v, III.i.36)

17. TIPOLD ... Sa komb an (*RuJ* IV.ii.35) – *Tib.* I am for you. (Q2 F3v, III.i.81)
18. MERCUTIUS Ja Ja halt ein halt ein ich bin schon verwundt[.] (*RuJ* IV.ii.38) –
Mer. I am hurt. (Q2 F3v, III.i.90)
19. TIPOLD ... vnd weil ihr Eüch in Eurem leben treülich einander geliebet, so
 warthe ich wil dir also bald den selben weeg zeigen, den dein mit *Consort*
 gewandert[.] (*RuJ* IV.ii.66-68) – *Ty.* Thou wretched boy that didst cōsort him
 here, / Shalt with him hence. (Q2 F4r, III.i.130-31)
20. PENUOLIO ... *Romio* aber gantz Sanfftmüthig ihm andtworttet (*RuJ* IV.iii.27-
 28) – *Ben.* ... all this vttered, / With gentle breath, calm look, knees humbly
 bowed (Q2 F4v, III.i.155-56)
21. PENUOLIO ... Er möchte doch bedenken wie vnnöthig diser streitt währe
 dardurch Ihro hochfürstl[iche] gn[aden] nicht beleidigt wurde (*RuJ* IV.iii.28-30) –
Ben. ... and vrgd withall / Your high displeasure (Q2 F4v, III.i.154-55)
22. PENUOLIO ... zuket sein gewöhr geschwinder alß ein plitz (*RuJ* IV.iii.36-37) –
Ben ... And toote they go like lightning (Q2 G1r, III.i.172)

23. PENUOLIO ... dises ist warhafftig die rechte warheit wie es ergangen, vnd soll ichs auch mit meinem leben beantwortten[.] (*RuJ* IV.iii.38-40) – *Ben.* ... This is the truth, or let *Benuolio* die. (Q2 G1r, III.i.175)
24. HERTZOG [W]ollan weil *Tipold Mercutium* erlegt ist sein todt durch *Romio* gerochen (*RuJ* IV.iii.41-42) – *Prin.* *Romeo* slew him, he slew *Mercutio*, / Who now the price of his deare bloud doth owe. (Q2 G1r, III.i.182-83)
25. HERTZOG ... vnd wird Er sich länger als 24 Stundt in *Verona* befinden, so kostet es ihm sein leben (*RuJ* IV.iii.44-45) – *Prin.* ... let *Romeo* hence in hast, / Else when he is found, that houre is his last. (Q2 G1r, III.i.194-95)
26. AMMA [W]ie freülein *Julieta* wollet ihr den Jenigen lieben der Eüch Euren vetter ermordt hat? / JULIETA [W]ie solte ich den Jenigen hasßen der mein leben liebet[?] (*RuJ* IV.iv.61-64) – *Nur.* Wil you speak wel of him that kild your cozin? / *Iu.* Shall I speake ill of him that is my husband? (Q2 G2v, III.ii.96-97)
27. PATER ... wo kompt man her? (*RuJ* IV.v.34) – *Fri.* ... whēce come you? (Q2 G4v, III.iii.78)
28. PATER Jch bitte ihn herr *Romio* Er gehe vnd nehme abschid von seiner liebsten, doch mit Solcher vorsichtigkeit, das Er mit anbrechendem tag noch auß der Statt kommen kan[.] (*RuJ* IV.v.65-67) – *Fri.* Go hēce, goodnight, & here stands al your

- state: / Either be gone before the watch be set, / Or by the breake of day disguise
from hence (Q2 H2r, III.iii.165-67)
29. PATER ... vnd also von allem kummer zu entledigen (*RuJ* V.ii.34-35) – *Fri.* ...
And this shall free thee from this present shame (Q2 I3v, IV.i.118)
30. JULIETA [D]er himmel vnd sein macht / geb hiemit seinen Seegen / Daß aller
vnglicks sturm / damit Sich möge legen (*RuJ* V.ii.56-59) – *Iu.* Loue giue me
strength, and strength shall helpe afford (Q2 I4r, IV.ii.125)
31. PATER ... vnd an statt des freüden fest ein traurige leich begängnuß halten (*RuJ*
V.iii.107-08) – *Fa.* All things that we ordained festiuall, / Turne from their office
to black Funerall (Q2 K3r, IV.iv.110-11)
32. PARIS ... komme hier diener reiche mir die blumen (*RuJ* V.iv.13) – *Par.* ... Giue
me those flowers (Q2 L1v, V.iii.9)
33. ROMIO ... gibe her die fackl (*RuJ* V.iv.32) – *Ro.* ... Giue me the light (Q2 L2r,
V.iii.25)
34. ROMIO ... last mich zu friden, vnd saget das ein verzweifelter Mensch Eüch Euer
leben geschenkhet[.] (*RuJ* V.iv.45-46) – *Rom.* ... Stay not, begone, liue, and
hereafter say, / A mad mans mercie bid thee run away. (Q2 L2v, V.iii.66-67)

35. ROMIO ... ich glaube daß dieser Cörper auch von allem vnglikh zu sammen gemacht (*RuJ* V.iv.57-58) – *Rom.* ... One writ with me in sowre misfortunes book (Q2 L2v, V.iii.82)

Weak agreement: 6 instances that are not clear-cut but where *RuJ* can be likened to Q2 rather than to Q1

1. FRAU ... aber anietzo miest ihr es wohl lasßen[.] (*RuJ* II.ii.7) – *La.* ... But I will watch you from such watching now. (Q2 K1v, IV.iv.12)
2. PENUOLIO Eÿ komb es ist vergeblich den Jenigen zu suechen welcher nicht will gefunden werden[.] (*RuJ* II.iv.23-24) – *Ben.* Go then, for tis in vaine to seeke him here / That meanes not to be found. (Q2 D1v, II.i.42-43)

Also in Q1, but assigned to Mercutio instead of Benvolio.

3. ROMIO ... weil du nicht weist daß ich dich liebe (*RuJ* II.v.8) – *Ro.* ... It is my Lady, ô it is my loue, ô that she knew she wer (Q2 D2r, II.i.53-54)
4. ROMIO Jch will nicht, sondern hier will ich mich in meinen Eigenen thränen ersauffen[.] (*RuJ* IV.v.20-21) – *Ro.* Not I. vnlesse the breath of hartsicke grones, / Myst-like infold me from the search of eyes. (Q2 G4v, III.iii.72-73)

5. PATER So wißet *Julieta* das es hoch nötig Eüch auf eine zeit lang zu uerstellen
(*RuJ* V.ii.26-27) – *Fri.* ... go home, be merrie, giue consent, / To marrie *Paris* (Q2
I3v, IV.i.89-90)
6. JULIETA ... ach aber eher sterben alß dises gut heißen, darumb Pater brauchet
güfft oder schlaff trunkh, es ist mir beýdes eins ... (*RuJ* V.ii.38-40) – *Iu.* Giue me,
giue me, O tell not me of feare (Q2 I4r, IV.i.121)

***RuJ* and Q1**

Strong agreement: 6 instances that are found in Q1 and *RuJ*, but not in Q2

1. AMMA ... seit ihr darmit zu friden[?] / JULIETA [A]ch Ja liebe *Amma* bedankhe
mich vor dise fröliche zeitung, ich gehe ihn zu erwarthen (*RuJ* III.vii.25-28) –
Nur: ... Doth this newes please you now? / *Iul:* How doth her latter words reuiue
my hart. / Thankes gentle Nurse ... And Ile not faile to meete my *Romeo*. (Q1
E4r, II.iv.41-44)
2. ROMIO [V]nd ich desßelben gleichen bitte herr *Pater* Er wolle keinen aufschub
machen (*RuJ* III.x.10-11) – *Rom:* Lead holy Father, all delay seemes long. / *Iul:*
Make hast, make hast, this lingring doth vs wrong. (Q1 E4v, II.v.25-26)

3. HERTZOG [vnd] CAPOLETS FRAW [treten auf.] (*RuJ* IV.iii.0 SD) – *Enter Prince, Capolets wife* (Q1 F2v, III.i.101 SD)

Q2: *Enter Prince, olde Mountague, Capulet, their wiues and all* (Q2 F4v, III.i.140 SD)

4. PARIS mit ein korb voll blumen vnd JUNG[.] (*RuJ* V.iv.0 SD) – *Enter Countie Paris and his Page with flowers and sweete water* (Q1 I4v, V.iii.0 SD)

Q2: *Enter Paris and his Page* (L1v, V.iii.0 SD)

5. JULIETA Erwacht im Monument (*RuJ* V.iv.74 SD) – *Iuliet rises* (Q1 K2r, V.iii.99 SD)

Q2 has no SD.

6. stost ... stirbt (*RuJ* V.iv.102 SD, 105 SD) – *She stabs herselfe and falles* (Q1 K2v, V.iii.117 SD)

Q2 has no SD.

Weak agreement: 12 instances which are not clear-cut but where *RuJ* can be likened to Q1 rather than to Q2

1. Both *RuJ* and Q1 omit the second chorus found in Q2 (D1r, II.0) and F (ee5v).

RuJ also omits the prologue, found in Q1 and Q2, but not in F.

2. CAPOLET ... wer ist herr im **hauß** ich oder ihr? (*RuJ* II.iii.42) – *Ca.* ... Am I the Master of the **house** or you? (Q1 C3r, I.iv.146)

Q2: *Capu.* ... Am I the master here or you? (C4r, I.iv.191)

3. PENUOLIO ... huy ich schwöre beÿ meinem kopff hier kompt ein *Capulet*[.] (*RuJ* IV.i.23-24) – *Ben.* By my head heere comes a *Capolet*. (Q1 F1r, III.i.20)

Q2: the *Capulets* (F2v, III.i.34)

4. MERCUTIUS [W]aß teüffl[.] meinst du das wür bierfidler sein? (*RuJ* IV.ii.12) – *Mer.* ... the slaue wil make fiddlers of vs. (Q1 F1r, III.i.28-29)

5. PENUOLIO [Ô] himmel *Mercutius* ist verwundet! / **ROMIO** Wie verwundet? (*RuJ* IV.ii.41-42) – **Rom:** What art thou hurt man (Q1 F1v, III.i.55)

Q2: **Ben.** What art thou hurt? (F3v, III.i.92)

6. FRAU Ach gnädigster fürst vnd herr sie geben disen *Mundogesser* dan Er ist **Partheisch** vnd vnsers hauß geschworner feind[.] (*RuJ* IV.iii.21-22) – *Mo:* He is a *Mountagew* and speakes **partiall** (Q1 F2v, III.i.131)

Q2: *Ca. Wi.* He is a kisman to the *Mountague*, / Affection makes him false, he speakes not true (G1r, III.i.176-77)

7. PICKLHÄRING *klopfft Inwendig[.]* ... PATER Ach fröhlicher bott kommet herein[.] / [PICKLHÄRING *tritt auf.*] (*RuJ* IV.v.15 SD, 32-32 SD) – (Q1 G1r, III.iii.67 SD-72 SD)

Pickelherring's behavior here parallels that of the Nurse in Q1 rather than in Q2: in Q1 the Nurse knocks once, speaks, "*knockes againe*", and then has another two interventions before she enters (G1r III.iii.67 SD, 69 SD). In Q2, by contrast, there are four SDs containing a "*knocke*", and the Nurse only speaks just before being let in (G4v, III.iii.71 SD, 73 SD, 75 SD, 77 SD).

8. CAPOLET Ach *Pater* weillen es nicht anderst sein kan, so geschehe des himmels will (*RuJ* V.iii.110-11) – *Cap*: Let it be so (Q1 I2v, IV.iv.80)
9. PARIS ... [A]uf *Paris* gehe *Julieta* zu besuechen, erzeige ihr die lezte Ehr, weil du in Jhrem leben nicht gewürdiget worden, sie zu bedienen (*RuJ* V.iv.2-4) – *Par*: ... Accept this latest fauour at my hands, / That liuing honourd thee, and being dead / With funerall praises doo adorne thy Tombe. (Q1 I4v, V.iii.10-12)
10. JUNG Es soll geschehen gnädiger herr. (*RuJ* V.iv.15) – *Boy*: I will my Lord. (Q1 L4v, V.iii.5)

Q2: *Pa*. I am almost afraid to stand alone, / Here in the Church-yard, yet I will aduenture. (L1v, V.iii.10-11). Here, *RuJ* seems closer to Q1, but see note to *RuJ* V.iv.15.

11. [S]trät die blumen auff Sie[.] (*RuJ* V.iv.19 SD) – *Paris strewes the Tomb with flowers* (Q1 L4v, V.iii.5 SD)

In Q2 it can be inferred that he does so, too.

12. JULIETA ... [S]o mueß ich dir alß meinem Mann billich folgen. (*RuJ* V.iv.93) –
Iul: ... thus I come to thee. (Q1 K2v, V.iii.117)

APPENDIX 3B

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD* TO Q1, Q2, AND F OF *HAMLET*

"*BB* emerges as a very mixed text." (Jenkins 122)

I use the term "strong agreement" for longer passages of text or for words or passages of importance and "weak agreement" for resemblances that are not clear-cut or for short and less important passages. For discussion, see pp. 214-27 above. Bold emphasis mine.

***BB* and Q2/F**

Strong agreement: 33 instances that are found in *BB* and Q2/F, but not in Q1

1. The name Francisco appears in Q2/F, but not in Q1.

Creizenach sees this as a similarity between Q1 and *BB* because in both plays the two sentinels at the beginning of the play remain nameless ("Tragödie" 12).

2. 1. SCHILDWACHT Ob es gleich kalt ist, so hab ich doch hier einen Höllenschweiß ausgehalten (*BB* I.i.8-9) – *Fran.* ... tis bitter cold, / And I am sick at hart (Q2/F TLN 12-13, I.i.6-7).
3. HAMLET Eben recht, denn um dieselbe Zeit pflegen sich die Geister sehn zu lassen, wenn sie wandeln. (*BB* I.iv.28-29) – *Hora.* ... it then drawes neere the season, / Wherein the spirit held his wont to walke (Q2/F TLN 609-10, I.iv.5-6)

4. *Der GEIST ... winket HAMLET. (BB I.v.3 SD) – Beckins (Q2 TLN 642, I.iv.57 SD); Ghost beckens Hamlet (F TLN 643, I.iv.36 SD)*

5. *HAMLET **Rede**, wer du bist, und sage, was du begehrest. (BB I.v.9) – Ham. Whether wilt [F: Where wilt] thou leade me, **speake**, Ile goe no further (Q2/F TLN 682, I.v.1)*

Q1: *Ham. Ile go no farther, whither wilt thou leade me? (CLN 477, v.1)*

6. *GEIST ... denn die Zeit kommt bald, da ich mich wieder an denselben Ort begeben muß, wo ich hergekommen (BB I.v.14-15) – Ghost. My houre is almost come / When I to sulphrus and tormenting flames / Must render vp my selfe (Q2/F TLN 685-87, I.v.2-4)*

7. *GEIST So höre, mein Sohn Hamlet (BB I.v.19) – Ghost. ... list, list, ô list (Q2 TLN 707, I.v.22); Gho. ... list Hamlet, oh list (F TLN 707, I.v.22)*

8. *KÖNIG Obschon unsers Herrn Bruders [Tod] noch in frischem Gedächtniß bey jedermann ist, und uns gebietet, alle Solennitäten einzustellen ... weil nunmehr meines seeligen Herrn Bruders hinterbliebene Wittwe unsere liebste Gemahlin worden (BB I.vii.1-6) – Claud. Though yet of Hamlet our deare brothers death / The memorie be greene, and that it vs befitted / To beare our harts in grieffe ... Therefore our sometime Sister, now our Queene / Th'imperiall ioyntresse to this*

warlike state / Haue we ... Taken to wife (Q2/F TLN 179-81, 186-88, 192, I.ii.1-3, 8-10, 14)

9. KÖNIG ... bleibt hier, denn wir Euch lieben und gerne sehen (*BB* I.vii.11) – *King*.
... And we beseech you bend you to remaine / Heere in the cheare and comfort of
our eye (Q2/F TLN 297-98, I.ii.115-16)

BB's previous line is Q1-only (*BB* and Q1, strong agreement, nr. 3).

10. KÖNIG ... wir müssen verschaffen, daß er an die Seite oder gar ums Leben
gebracht werde, es möchte sonst was Uebels daraus entstehen (*BB* II.iv.25-27) –
King. ... And I doe doubt, the hatch and the disclose / VWill be some danger;
which for to preuent, / I haue in quick determination / Thus set it downe: he shall
with speede to *England* ... Madnes in great ones must not vnmatcht goe [F: not
vnwatch'd go] (Q2/F TLN 1823-26, 1846, III.i.165-68, 187)

11. HAMLET ... Ich habe vor diesem eine Tragödie gesehn, daß ein Bruder den
andern im Garten ermordet, diese sollen sie agiren; wird sich der König nun
entfärben, so hat er gethan, was mir der Geist gesagt hat (*BB* II.vi.14-16) – *Ham*.
... Ile haue these Players / Play something like the murther of my father / Before
mine Vncle ... if a doe blench (Q2/F TLN 1634-36, 1637, II.ii.529-32)

12. HAMLET ... denn man kann in einem Spiegel seine Flecken sehen (*BB* II.vii.46)
– *Hamlet*. ... to holde as twere the Mirrour vp to nature, to shew vertue her

- feature; scorne her owne Image (Q2/F TLN 1868-71, III.ii.21-23); *Ger.* [F: *Qu.*]
 ... Thou turnst my very eyes into my soule, / And there I see such blacke and
 greeued spots (Q2/F TLN 2465-66, III.iv.87-88).
13. HAMLET ... denn ich werde simuliren (*BB* II.vii.86-87) – *Ham.* ... I must be idle
 (Q2/F TLN 1946, III.ii.86-87)
14. CORAMBUS ... Geschwinde, brennet an, die Comödianten haben einen stumpf
 gemacht (*BB* II.viii.32-33) – *Pol.* Giue ore the play (Q2/F TLN 2139, III.ii.260)
15. HAMLET ... Sahet ihr, wie sich der König entfärbte, da er das Spiel sahe? (*BB*
 II.viii.41-42) – *Ham.* ... Did'st perceiue? ...Vpon the talke of poysning (Q2/F TLN
 2159, 2161, III.ii.279, 281)
16. HAMLET ... in jener Gallerie hängt das **Conterfait** Eures ersten Ehegemals, und
 da hängt das **Conterfait** des itzigen (*BB* III.v.6-7) – *Ham.* ... Looke heere vpon
 this Picture, and on this, / The **counterfeit** presentment of two brothers (Q2/F
 TLN 2437-38, III.iv.51-52)
- Q1: *Ham.* ... see here, behold this picture, / It is the portraiture, of your
 deceased husband, / See here a face (CLN 1517-19, xi.24-26)
17. CORAMBUS O weh, Prinz, was thut Ihr! Ich sterbe. (*BB* III.v.16) – *Pol.* O I am
 slaine (Q2/F TLN 2405, III.iv.23)

Line III.v.13 is Q1-only (*BB* and Q1, strong agreement, nr. 7).

18. HAMLET ... was ist dein Begehren? (*BB* III.vi.2) – *Ham.* ... what would your gracious figure? (Q2/F TLN 2485, III.iv.101)

19. OPHELIA ... Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen! (*BB* III.ix.18-19) – *Oph.* ... Come my Coach (Q2/F TLN 2807-08, IV.v.71)

20. KÖNIG ... Ach! Prinz Hamlet, was habt Ihr gethan, daß Ihr den alten Corambus so unschuldig durchstochen! Es ist uns herzlich leid (*BB* III.x.7-8) – *King. Hamlet* this deede ... as we deerely grieue / For that which thou hast done (Q2/F TLN 2701-03, IV.iii.39-41)

21. HAMLET Es ist mir leid, Herr Vetter und Vater! Ich habe etwas mit der Königin in geheim reden wollen, dieser Spion aber hat uns belauert, doch hab ich nicht gewußt, daß es dieser alte Narr seyn sollte (*BB* III.x.14-16) – *Ham.* ... for this same Lord / I doe repent ... Thou find'st to be too busie is some danger ... Nay I knowe not, is it the King? (Q2/F TLN 2548-49, 2415, 2407, III.iv.170-71, 31, 24)

In Q2/F, Hamlet is speaking to the Queen in the "closet scene"; in *BB* he is speaking to the King.

22. [HAMLET] ... Diese Schelme aber, wie gearbeitet, so ist auch ihr Lohn. (*BB* IV.i.51-52) – *Ham.* They are not neere my conscience, their defeat [F: debate] /

Dooes by their owne insinnuation growe (Q2/F TLN 3561-62, V.ii.57-58); *Ham.*
 ... they did make loue to this imployment (F TLN 3560, V.ii.57)

23. KÖNIG ... wir sind unschuldig an deines Vaters Tod (*BB* IV.iv.5-6) – *King.* ... I
 am guiltlesse of your fathers death (Q2/F TLN 2900, IV.v.148)

The preceding half-line is Q1-only (*BB* and Q1, strong agreement, nr. 11).

24. KÖNIG ... und ihn die Unterthanen sehr lieben: dürfte also, wenn wir öffentlich
 uns an ihm rächen wollten, ein Aufruhr leicht geschehen ... und müssen uns
 künftig selbst vor einem solchen bösen Menschen fürchten (*BB* IV.v.28-30, 32-
 33) – *King.* ... the great loue the generall gender beare him ... so that my arrowes /
 Too slightly tymberd for so loued Arm'd [F: for so loud a Winde], / Would haue
 reuerted to my bowe againe ... he which hath your noble father slaine / Pursued
 my life (Q2/F TLN 3026, 3029-31, 3010-11, IV.vii.19, 22-25, 4-5)

25. KÖNIG ... Wir wollen einen orientalischen Diamant klein stoßen lassen, und ihm
 denselben, wenn er erhitzt, in einen Becher voll Wein mit Zucker süß vermischt
 beybringen (*BB* IV.v.40-42) – *King.* ... And in the cup an Onixe [F: an vnion]
 shall he throwe (Q2/F TLN 3732, V.ii.249)

26. *BB*'s V.ii corresponds to Q2/F's V.ii.1-66 (TLN 3499-571 in Q2, 3499-585 in F).

27. KÖNIGIN Gnädiger Herr und König, ich werde Ihnen ein großes Unglück erzählen! (*BB* V.vi.1-2) – *Quee.* One woe doth tread vpon anothers heele, / So fast they follow (Q2/F TLN 3155-56, IV.vii.161-62)
28. LEONHARDUS Ich bin Ihro Durchlaucht Diener, Sie scherzen nur. (*BB* V.vi.17) – *Laer.* You mocke me sir (Q2/F TLN 3713, V.ii.234)
29. LEONHARDUS O wehe, ich habe einen tödtlichen Stoß! (*BB* V.vi.20) – *Laer.* ... loe heere I lie / Neuer to rise againe (Q2/F TLN 3799-800, V.ii.303-04)
30. LEONHARDUS ... ich bin von dem König zu diesem Unglück verführet worden! (*BB* V.vi.31-32) – *Laer.* ... the King, the Kings too blame (Q2/F TLN 3801, V.ii.305)
31. HAMLET Und Du, Tyranne, sollst sie in dem Tode begleiten. (*BB* V.vi.43) – *Ham.* ... Follow my mother (Q2/F TLN 3810, V.ii.311)
32. HAMLET ... ich fühle den Gift in allen meinen Gliedern (*BB* V.vi.66-67) – *Ham.* ... The potent poyson quite ore-crowes my spirit (Q2/F TLN 3842, V.ii.337)
- BB's* previous line is Q1-only (*BB* and Q1, strong agreement, nr. 17).

33. HAMLET ... bringet die Krone nach Norwegen an meinen Vetter, den Herzog Fortempras (*BB* V.vi.67-68) – *Ham.* ... But I doe prophecie th'ellection lights / On *Fortinbrasse*, he has my dying voyce (*Q2/F* TLN 3844-45, V.ii.339-40)

Weak agreement: 26 instances that are not clear-cut but where *BB* can be likened to *Q2/F* rather than to *Q1*

1. Ophelia in *BB* and *Q2/F* vs. Ofelia in *Q1*.
2. HAMLET ... mein Herr Vater und Vetter (*BB* I.iv.33); HAMLET ... mein Vater und Vetter (*BB* II.vii.84) – *Ham.* ... my Vncle-father (*Q2/F* TLN 1421-22, II.ii.313)
3. HAMLET ... hat er sich geschwinde zum König in Dännemark krönen lassen, unter dem Schein des Rechtens aber hat er mir die Krone von Norwegen überlassen, und beruft sich auf die Wahl der Stände (*BB* I.iv.38-40) – *Ham.* ... He that hath ... Pop't in betweene th'ellection and my hopes (*Q2/F* TLN 3568-69, V.ii.63-64)
4. [HAMLET] *ab.* (*BB* I.v.6 SD) – *Exit Ghost and Hamlet* (*Q2/F* TLN 673, I.iv.86 SD)

5. KÖNIGIN Vielgeliebter Sohn Prinz Hamlet (*BB* I.vii.15) – *Queene*. Good *Hamlet* (Q2/F TLN 248, I.ii.68)

In *BB* and Q1, the Queen only addresses Hamlet once in this scene; in *BB* this address is longer than in Q1. In Q2/F, she addresses him three times.

6. KÖNIG ... Sie aber, wertheste Gemahlin, werd ich nach Ihrem Schlafgemach begleiten (*BB* I.vii.39-40) – *King*. ... Madam come (Q2/F TLN 305, I.ii.122)

7. HAMLET Könnt ihr uns noch wohl diese Nacht eine Comödie präsentiren? ... könnt ihr wohl sie diesen Abend noch präsentiren (*BB* II.vii.17-18, 56-57); – *Ham*. ... weelee heare a play to morrowe ... Weelee hate to morrowe night (Q2/F TLN 1576, 1580, II.ii.472-73, 476)

In Q1 the time is not specified.

8. CORAMBUS Ihr Herren Comödianten, wo seyd ihr? Fort, ihr sollt geschwinde anfangen. Holla, sie kommen schon! (*BB* II.viii.23-24) – *Ros*. I my Lord, they stay vpon your patience (Q2/F TLN 1962, III.ii.103-04)

9. HAMLET [*tritt auf*] (*BB* III.v.0 SD) – *Enter Hamlet* (Q2/F TLN 2384, III.iv.6 SD)

10. KÖNIGIN Was macht Ihr, und mit wem redet Ihr? (*BB* III.vi.4) – *Ger*. [F: *Qu.*] To whom doe you speake this? (Q2/F TLN 2512, III.iv.127)

11. KÖNIGIN ... Ach, mein einziger Prinz hat seinen Verstand ganz verloren! (*BB* III.vi.12-13) – *Ger.* [F: *Qu.*] Alas, hee's mad (Q2/F TLN 2486, III.iv.102)

12. HAMLET Mann und Weib ist ja ein Leib, Vater oder Mutter, es ist mir alles gleich. (*BB* III.x.45-46) – *Ham.* ... Father and Mother is man and wife, / Man and wife is one flesh, so my mother (Q2/F TLN 2715-16, IV.iii.49-50)

Q1: *Ham.* ... **you** married **my** mother, / **My** mother is **your** wife, man and wife is one flesh, / And so (my mother) farewell (xi.156-58, CLN 1656-58)

13. KÖNIG Nun so fahrt wohl, der Himmel sey mit Euch. (*BB* III.x.47) – *King.* Follow him at foote, / Tempt him with speede aboard (Q2/F TLN 2718-19, IV.iii.51-52)

14. OPHELIA Wo mag mein Liebchen seyn? (*BB* III.xi.7) – *Oph.* Where is the beautiful Maiestie of Denmarke? (Q2/F TLN 2767, IV.v.21)

15. LEONHARDUS ... Wo dieses nicht geschieht, werde ich vergessen, daß Ihr König seyd, und mich an den Thäter rächen (*BB* IV.iv.3-4) – *Laer.* ... To hell allegiance ... onely I'll be reueng'd (Q2/F TLN 2878, 2882, IV.v.130, 134)

Q1: *Lear.* ... by heau'n I'll be resolved (xiii.55, CLN 2877)

BB's previous line is Q1-only (*BB* and Q1, weak agreement, nr. 3).

16. PHANTASMO [*zu diesen*] (*BB* IV.v.0 SD) – *Enter a Messenger with Letters* (Q2 TLN 3045, IV.vii.36 SD); *Enter a Messenger* (F TLN 3045, IV.iii.36 SD)

17. LEONHARDUS ... dieweil der Prinz ein geübter Fechtmeister ist (*BB* IV.v.22) –
Ham. ... since he went into France, I haue bene in continuall practise (Q2/F TLN 3659-60, V.ii.188-89)

18. OPHELIA ... decket geschwinde den **Tisch** (*BB* IV.vii.5) – *Oph.* ... God be at
your **table** (Q2/F TLN 2786, IV.v.44)

19. KÖNIG Man lasse die Sache an unsere Leibmedici gelangen. (*BB* IV.vii.18) –
King. Follow her close, giue her good watch I pray you (Q2/F TLN 2811,
IV.v.74)

20. HAMLET ... wo mich die göttliche Allmacht nicht sonderlich hätte bewahret (*BB*
V.ii.5-6) – *Ham.* ... Ther's a diuinity that shapes our ends (Q2/F TLN 3509,
V.ii.10)

21. HORATIO O unerhörte Verrätherey! (*BB* V.ii.23) – *Hora.* Why what a King is
this! (Q2/F TLN 3566, V.ii.61)

22. KÖNIG ... wir sind begierig zu erfahren, was die Teutschen und die Franzosen vor Finten haben (*BB* V.v.12-14) – *Ham.* ... that's the French bet against the Danish (Q2/F TLN 3627-28, V.ii.144-45)

23. KÖNIG ... Ihr aber, Horatio, sollet urtheilen (*BB* V.vi.10-11) – *King.* ... And you the Iudges beare a wary eye (Q2/F TLN 3740, V.ii.256)

24. HAMLET Nun das war eins, Leonhardus! (*BB* V.vi.18) – *Ham.* One (Q2/F TLN 3743, V.ii.259)

Q1: *a hit* (CLN 2148, xvii.64)

25. KÖNIG ... Ach wehe, was habt Ihr gethan! (*BB* V.vi.40-41) – *King.* ... it is too late (Q2/F TLN 3763, V.ii.275)

26. HAMLET ... Nichts jammert mir mehr, als meine Frau Mutter. Doch sie hat diesen Tod wegen ihrer Sünden halben auch verdienet (*BB* V.vi.54-56) – *Ham.* ... wretched Queene adiew (Q2/F TLN 3817, V.ii.317)

In Q1, Hamlet does not mention the Queen in his dying words.

BB and Q2**Strong agreement: 3 instances that are found in BB and Q2, but not in Q1 or F**

1. KÖNIG Ist es aber mit eurem **Consens** geschehen? / CORAMBUS Ja, mit Ober-**Consens**, mit Mittel-**Consens** und mit Unter-**Consens**. O, Ihro Majestät, er hat einen über die maaßen herrlichen, treflichen, prächtigen **Consens** von mir bekommen. (*BB* I.vii.29-32) – *Polo*. ... Vpon his will I seald my hard **consent** (*Q2* TLN 240+2, I.ii.60)

Q1: *Cor*. He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced graunt (*CLN* 168, ii.22)

F: *Pol*. ... He hath my Lord (*TLN* 240, I.ii.58)
2. HAMLET ... und von dieser Stund an will ich darnach trachten, wo ich den König allein finde, ihm das Leben zu nehmen, wie er meinem Vater gethan hat (*BB* II.ix.23-25); HAMLET ... Aber ich schwöre, ehe die Sonne ihre Reise von Osten in's Westen gethan, will ich mich an ihm rächen. (*BB* V.i.5-7) – *Ham*. ... ô from this time forth, / My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth (*Q2* TLN 2743+59-60, IV.iv.63-64)
3. HAMLET ... Wie lange verhängst du, gerechte Nemesis, daß dein gerechtes Rachscherdt auf meinem Vetter, den Brudermörder wetzest! (*BB* V.i.2-3) – *Ham*. ... How all occasions doe informe against me, / And spurr my dull reuenge (*Q2* TLN 2743+26-27, IV.iv.31-32)

BB and Q1**Strong agreement: 17 instances that are only found in Q1 and BB, but not in Q2/F**

1. Position of "nunnery sequence" (II.iv in *BB*, vii [II.ii] in Q1 vs. III.i in Q2/F).
2. Corambus (*BB*) and Corambis (Q1) vs. Polonius (Q2/F).
3. KÖNIG ... Auch haben wir vernommen, daß Ihr gesonnen seyd, wieder nach Wittenberg zu reisen, thut solches nicht Eurer Mutter wegen (*BB* I.vii.9-11) – *King*. ... For your intent going to *Wittenberg*, / Wee hold it most vnmeet and vnconuenient, / Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother (Q1 CLN 174-76, ii.28-30)

Q2/F: *King*. ... for your intent / In going back to schoole in *Wittenberg*, / It is most retrogard to our desire (TLN 294-96, I.ii.112-14); *King*. ... the Queene his mother / Liues almost by his lookes (TLN 3019-20, IV.vii.12-13).

BB's next line is Q2/F-only (*BB* and Q2/F, strong agreement, nr. 9).
4. KÖNIG ... Prinz Hamlet, wir haben vernommen, daß Comödianten sind anhero kommen, welche uns noch diesen Abend eine Comödie präsentiren wollen: sagt uns, verhält sich das also? / HAMLET Ja, Herr Vater (*BB* II.viii.8-12) – *King* How now son *Hamlet*, how fare you, shall we haue a play? *Ham*. ... I father (Q1 CLN 1275, 1278, ix.64-65, 67)

Q2/F: *King*. How fares our cosin *Hamlet*? (TLN 1948, III.ii.88)

"Nowhere in the genuine texts does Hamlet employ this mode of address to Claudius" (Duthie 249).

5. *Des Königs Bruder kommt mit einem **Gläschen**, gießt ihm was ins Ohr, und geht ab.* (BB II.vii.24 SD) – *Then enters Lucianus with poyson in a **Viall**, and powres it in his eares, and goes away* (Q1 CLN 1293-95, ix.82 SD)

Q2/F do not mention the receptacle.

6. *KÖNIG kniet vor dem Altar* (BB III.i.6 SD) – *hee kneeles* (Q1 CLN 1470, x.13 SD)

7. *HAMLET ... Aber still, sind auch alle Thüren vest verschlossen?* (BB III.v.13) – *Ham, ... but first weelee make all safe* Q1 (Q1 CLN 1496, xi.7)

Line III.v.16 is Q2/F-only (BB and Q2/F, strong agreement, nr. 17).

8. *KÖNIG ... als könnt Ihr Euch eine Zeit, weil eine gesündere **Luft** allda, in etwas refrigeren, und zu Eurer Genesung besser als hier gelangen* (BB III.x.19-21) – *King ... Haply the **aire** and climate of the Country / May please him better than his natiue home* (Q1 CLN 1621-22, xi.123-24)

Q2/F: *King. ... Haply the seas, and countries different, / With variable obiects, shall expell / This something setled matter in his hart* (TLN 1828-30, III.i.170-72)

9. KÖNIG ... daß er nimmer wieder aus England kommen soll (*BB* III.x.35-36) – *king* ... To England is he gone, ne're to returne (Q1 CLN 1662, xi.160)

10. KÖNIG Uns verlanget zu erfahren, wie es mit unserm Sohn, Prinz Hamlet, muß abgelaufen seyn, und ob diejenigen, welche wir als Reisegefährten ihm mitgegeben, auch treulich werden verrichtet haben, was wir befohlen. (*BB* IV.ii.1-4) – *King* ... I hope to heare good newes from thence ere long, / If euery thing fall out to our content (Q1 CLN 1678-79, xiii.2-3)

11. KÖNIG Leonhardus, gieb dich zufrieden (*BB* IV.iv.5) – *king* ... Meane while be patient, and content your selfe (Q1 CLN 1747, xiii.70)

The following half-line is Q2-only (*BB* and Q2/F, strong agreement, nr. 23).

12. KÖNIG ... die Spitze desselben aber must du mit starken Gift bestreichen (*BB* IV.v.17-18 – *King* ... Steeped in a mixture of deadly poyson (Q1 CLN 1867, xv.22)

Q2/F: *Laer.* ... And for purpose [F: that purpose], Ile annoynt my sword
(TLN 3131, IV.vii.138)

13. KÖNIG ... Leonhardus, vergesset nicht, was wir euch gesagt. / LEONHARDUS
Ich werde emsig seyn, solches zu verrichten. (*BB* IV.vii.13-14) – *King.* ...
Therefore *Leartes* be in readynes. / *Lear.* My lord, till then my soule will not bee
quiet (Q1 CLN 2077-78, xvi.172-73)

14. HAMLET ... Nun begab es sich, daß wir eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten (*BB* V.ii.9-10) – *Hor.* ... Being crossed by the contention of the windes (Q1 CLN 1813, xiv.5)

15. HAMLET ... Meine Ankunfft aber wird dem Könige nicht angenehm seyn. (*BB* V.ii.22) – *Hor.* ... obserue the king, and you shall / Quickly finde, *Hamlet* being here, / Things fell not to his minde (Q1 CLN 1832-34, xiv.23-24)

16. *so nimmt die KÖNIGIN dem PHANTASMO den Becher aus der Hand und trinket* (*BB* V.vi.38 SD) – *Shee drinkes* (Q1 CLN 2161, xvii.76 SD)

17. HAMLET ... Ich werde ganz matt, meine Glieder werden schwach, und meine Beine wollen nicht mehr stehn; meine Sprache vergeht mir (*BB* V.vi.65-66) – *Ham.* ... O my heart sinckes *Horatio*, / Mine eyes haue lost their sight, my tongue his vse (Q1 CLN 2194-95, xvii.109-10)

BB's next line is Q2/F-only (*BB* and Q2/F, strong agreement, nr. 32).

Weak agreement: 7 instances which are not clear-cut but where *BB* can be likened to Q1 rather than to Q2/F

1. [CORAMBUS] *versteckt sich* (*BB* III.iv.7 SD) – *exit Cor.* (Q1 CLN 1491, xi.3 SD)

2. HAMLET ... in jener Gallerie hängt das Conterfait Eures ersten **Ehegemals**, und da hängt das Conterfait des itzigen (*BB* III.v.6-7) – *Ham.* ... see here, behold this picture, / It is the portraiture, of your deceased **husband**, / See here a face (Q1 CLN 1517-19, xi.24-26)

Q2/F: – *Ham.* ... Looke heere vpon this Picture, and on this, / The counterfeit presentment of two brothers (TLN 2437-38, III.iv.51-52)

3. LEONHARDUS ... weil er so jämmerlich ermordet (*BB* IV.iv.2-3) – *Lear.* ... for he is mured (Q1 CLN 1730, xiii.53)

BB's next line is Q2/F-only (*BB* and Q2/F, weak agreement nr. 15).

4. KÖNIG Der Teufel ist wieder kommen, und nicht Prinz Hamlet. (*BB* IV.v.4) – *King.* Hamlet from *England!* is it possible? (Q1 CLN 1846, xv.1)

5. KÖNIG ... Aber mitten in diesem Gefechte (*BB* IV.v.15) – *King* ... When you are hot in midst of all your play (Q1 CLN 1865, xv.20)

6. LEONHARDUS Wohl denn, Ihro Majestät, unter dessen Schutz will ichs verrichten. (*BB* IV.v.44-45) – *Lear.* T'is excellent, O would the time were come! (Q1 CLN 1882, xv.37)

7. HAMLET ... Phantasmo, gehe wieder hin zum Könige, und sage ihm, daß ich ihm bald aufwarten werde (*BB* V.iii.22-23) – *Ham.* Goe tell his maiestie, I wil attend him (Q1 CLN 2117, xvii.36)

Q2: *Cour.* Shall I deliuer you so? / *Ham.* To this effect sir, after what flourish your nature will (TLN 3643-44, V.ii.159-61)

F: *Osr.* Shall I redeliuer you ee'n so? / *Ham.* To this effect Sir, after what flourish your nature will (TLN 3643-45, V.ii.160-61)

***BB* and F**

Weak agreement: 5 instances which are not clear-cut, but where *BB* can be likened to F rather than to Q1 or Q2

1. The title: TRAGOEDIA / Der bestrafte Brudermord / oder / Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark (*BB*) – THE TRAGEDIE OF / HAMLET, Prince of Denmarke (F)
 Q1: THE / Tragicall Historie of / HAMLET / Prince of Denmarke
 Q2: *THE* / Tragicall Historie of / HAMLET, / *Prince of Denmarke*
2. [HAMLET] *sticht ihm nieder* (*BB* III.v.15 SD) – *Killes Polon ius* (F TLN 2405, III.iv.24 SD)
3. OPHELIA[,] *toll.* (*BB* III.ix.0 SD) – *Enter Ophelia distracted* (F TLN 2766, IV.i.20 SD)

Q1: *Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire downe singing* (CLN 1691-92, xiii.14 SD)

Q2: *Enter Ophelia* (TLN 2766, IV.v.16 SD)

4. [HAMLET] *nimmt sie beyde an [die] Hand* / Laßt uns fahren, laßt uns fahren nach England, / Nehmt das Bötchen in die Hand, / Du bist ja ein braver Quant. / Laßt uns fahren, laßt uns fahren nach England. (BB III.x.50 SD-54) – *Ham.* ... hide Fox, and all after (F TLN 2659-60, III.v.31-32)

In *BB*, the line occurs before they leave for England, in *F*, before Hamlet is brought to the King after Polonius's murder.

5. KÖNIG Was bringst du wieder vor neue Zeitung? / PHANTASMO Prinz Hamlet ist wieder kommen. (BB IV.v.2-3) – *King.* ... How now? What Newes? / *Mes.* Letters my Lord from *Hamlet* (F TLN 3046-47, IV.iii.37)

***BB* and Q1/F**

Weak agreement: 5 instances that are found in *BB*, *F*, and *Q1*, but not in *Q2*

1. [GEIST] *ab.* (BB I.v.38 SD) – *Exit.* (Q1 CLN 548, v.70 SD; F TLN 776, I.v.91 SD)

2. KÖNIG Was ist es, liebste Seele? (*BB* IV.vi.3) – *king* How now Gertred, why looke you heauily? (Q1 CLN 1884, xv.39); *Kin.* ... how sweet Queene (F TLN 3153, IV.iii.134)

Q2: *King.* ... but stay, what noyse? (TLN 3153, IV.vii.160)

3. *In dem ersten Gang fechten sie reine. LEONHARDUS bekommt einen Stoß* (*BB* V.vi.17 SD) – *a hit ... Heere they play:* (Q1 CLN 2148, 2149, xvii.64); *They play* (F TLN 3742, V.ii.228 SD)

4. *Dieser läßt das Rappier fallen, und ergreift den vergifteten Degen, welcher parat lieget, und stößt dem Prinzen die Quarte in den Arm. HAMLET pariret auf LEONHARDO, daß sie beyde die Gewehre fallen lassen. Sie laufen ein jeder nach dem Rappier. HAMLET bekommt den vergifteten Degen, und sticht LEONHARDUS todt.* (*BB* V.vi.19 SD) – *They catch one anothers Rapiers, and both are wounded, Leartes falles downe* (Q1 CLN 2169-70, xvii.84 SD); *In scuffling they change Rapiers* (F TLN 3777, V.ii.255 SD)

See also long note to *BB* V.vi.17 SD-42 SD.

5. LEONHARDUS ... Sehet, was Ihr in **Eurer** Hand habt! es ist ein vergifteter Degen (*BB* V.vi.32-33) – *Lear.* ... The fatall Instrument in in **thy** hand (Q1 CLN 2178, xvii.92); *Laer.* ... The Treacherous Instrument is in **thy** hand (F TLN 3797, V.ii.271)

Q2: *Laer.* ... The treacherous instrument is in **my** hand (TLN 3797, V.ii.301).

The Arden3 editors amend Q2's "my" to "thy".

***BB* and Q1/Q2**

Weak agreement: 2 instances that are found in *BB*, Q1, and Q2, but not in F

1. *Es wird wieder Gesundheit geblasen* (*BB* I.iv.29 SD) – *Sound Trumpets* (Q1 CLN 413, iv.4 SD); *A florish of trumpets and 2. peeces goes of* (Q2 TLN 610-11, I.iv.6 SD)

2. **CORAMBUS** Pagen, Lakeyen, brennt die Fackeln an (*BB* II.viii.31) – ***Cor.*** ... lights hoe (Q1 CLN 1387, ix.173); ***Pol.*** Lights, lights, lights (Q2 TLN 2141, III.ii.262)
 F: ***All.*** Lights, Lights, Lights (TLN 2141, III.ii.261)

APPENDIX 4

DOUBLING CHARTS

My doubling charts build on the assumption that the English Comedians used deficiency doubling (see p. 37 above). Like Scott McMillin, I "never count immediately juxtaposed roles as fit for doubling" (185). Following Ringler, I assume that an unspecified plural means two.⁴

Symbols

- enters after the scene begins
- exits before the scene ends
- ? presence on stage uncertain

female

male

mute

invisible

⁴ "[A] plural for mute 'attendants,' 'soldiers,' etc., should usually be interpreted as no more than two, unless there is evidence in the text to the contrary, for on the Shakespearean stage two is a crowd" (Ringler 115).

APPENDIX 4A**DOUBLING CHART FOR *ROMIO UND JULIETA***

Romio und Julieta can be staged with ten actors, three of them female. This doubling chart allows for one quick costume change: if Mercutius's body is carried off-stage at IV.ii.77 SD, the same actor can play the Duke in IV.iii (this was the case in Godwin's staged reading). This doubling is supported by the fact that Pickelherring only discovers Tipold's corpse, not Mercutius's. The actor has nine lines of text for the costume change, which Pickelherring could expand by improvisation.

Abbreviations

A	= Actor	Mer.	= Mercutius	Rom.	= Romio
Cap.	= Capolet	Nur.	= Nurse	Sc.	= Scene
Fath.	= Father	Pen.	= Penuolio	Tip.	= Tipold
Jul.	= Julieta	Pickel.	= Pickelherring	Wi.	= Wife

Act I

Scene/Actor	I.i	I.ii	I.iii	I.iv
Actor 1	Prince			
Actor 2	Capolet		Capolet	
Actor 3	Mundige		Paris	
Actor 4			-Pickel.-	-Pickel.-
Actor 5				Romio
Actor 6	<u>Retinue</u>			Penuolio
Actor 7	<u>Retinue</u>			
Actor 8		<i>Antoneta</i>		
Actor 9		<i>Julieta</i>		
Actor 10				

Act II

Scene/Actor	II.i	II.ii	II.iii	II.iv	II.v	II.vi
Actor 1	Mercutius			-Mer.		
Actor 2		Capolet	Capolet-			
Actor 3		Paris	Paris-			
Actor 4		Boy	Boy-		Boy-	
Actor 5	Romio		Romio-	Romio	Romio	Romio
Actor 6	Penuolio		Penuolio-	-Pen.		Father-
Actor 7		Tipold	Tipold-			
Actor 8		<i>Nurse</i>	<i>Nurse</i>		<i>-Nurse-</i>	
Actor 9		<i>Julieta</i>	<i>Julieta</i>		<i>-Julieta-</i>	
Actor 10		<i>Wife</i>	<i>Wife-</i>			

Act III

Sc./A	III.i	III.ii	III.iii	III.iv	III.v	III.vi	III.vii	III.viii	III.ix	III.x
A 1					Mer.	Mer.-				
A 2			Cap.						Cap.	
A 3									Paris-	
A 4										
A 5					-Ro.	Rom.-		Rom.		Rom.
A 6					Pen.	Pen.		Fath.-		Fath.
A 7										
A 8	<i>Nur.</i>	<i>Nur.</i>		<i>Nur.</i>		<i>Nur.-</i>	<i>Nur.</i>			
A 9		<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Jul.-</i>			<i>Jul.-</i>		<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Jul.</i>
A 10	<i>Wi.</i>	<i>Wi.</i>								

Act IV

Scene/Actor	IV.i	IV.ii	IV.iii	IV.iv	IV.v	IV.vi
Actor 1	Mer.	Mer.-	Duke			
Actor 2						
Actor 3						
Actor 4		-Pickel.	Pickel.	-Pickel.	-Pickel.-	
Actor 5		-Romio-			Romio-	Romio
Actor 6	Pen.	Pen.-	-Pen.		Father	
Actor 7		Tip.	Tip.			
Actor 8				<i>Nurse-</i>		
Actor 9				<i>Julieta</i>		<i>Julieta</i>
Actor 10			<i>Wife</i>			

Act V

Scene/Actor	V.i	V.ii	V.iii	V.iv
Actor 1				-Prince
Actor 2	Capolet-		-Capolet-	-Capolet
Actor 3				Paris
Actor 4	Pickelherring-		Pickelherring-	Boy
Actor 5				-Romio
Actor 6		Father-	-Father	-Father
Actor 7				-Servant-
Actor 8			<i>Nurse-</i>	
Actor 9	<i>Julieta</i>	<i>Julieta</i>		<i>Julieta</i>
Actor 10			<i>Wife-</i>	

APPENDIX 4B

DOUBLING CHART FOR *DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD*

McMillin identified "the limit of eleven" for all three *Hamlet* texts (190), meaning that the texts could have been performed with a minimum of eleven speaking actors. This finding has been confirmed by Thompson and Taylor ("Your sum" 119). *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* also conforms to "the limit of eleven" but these include nine speaking actors and two extras,⁵ if the following conditions are met.

If Night and the three furies are female, the Prologue requires four women, whereas for the rest of the play only three actresses are needed. Six male and three female actors are thus sufficient to perform *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* if Night or a fury is played by a male actor. (Alecto could even be interpreted as a male name.)

II.viii is the scene with the largest number of roles, namely nine (contrary to common usage, this is not the case in the last scene). The "*retinue*" ("*Staat*") could be played by two (mute) extras, whose gender is of no importance. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* can thus be performed by nine professional actors and two mute extras.

Corambus and Phantasmo could easily be doubled (as was the case in Schmidle's production) if we do not see Corambus's body on stage after his murder in III.v. Throughout III.vi Corambus's body could be hidden by a curtain. Otherwise, the two characters could also be doubled, but with a rather quick costume change. The doubling of Corambus and Phantasmo as well as that of the Ghost and the King would add

⁵ Compare Hibbard's assertion that the play can be performed by "five men, two boys, and some supernumeraries" (374).

"conceptual doubling" (Thompson and Taylor, "'Your sum'" 113) to the deficiency doubling that a performance of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* might have required.

Abbreviations

A	= Actor	Phant.	= Phantasma
Comed.	= Comedian	Sc.	= Scene
Coram.	= Corambus	Serv.	= Servant

Act I

Scene/ Actor	Prologus	I.i	I.ii	I.iii	I.iv	I.v	I.vi	I.vii
Actor 1	<i>Night</i>							<i>Queen</i>
Actor 2	- <i>Thisiphone</i>			- <u>Watch</u>	<u>Watch</u>	<u>Watch-</u>		
Actor 3	- <i>Maegera</i>							
Actor 4	- Alecto	1. Sentinel-						
Actor 5		2. Sentinel	2. Sentinel	2. Sentinel	2. Sentinel	2. Sentinel -		
Actor 6			Ghost -	- Ghost -		Ghost -	<u>Ghost</u>	King
Actor 7				Horatio	Horatio	Horatio -	Horatio	
Actor 8				- Francisco	Francisco	Francisco -	Francisco -	Corambus
Actor 9					Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet
Mute 1				<u>Soldier</u>	<u>Soldier</u>	<u>Soldier -</u>		<u>Retinue</u>
Mute 2				<u>Soldier</u>	<u>Soldier</u>	<u>Soldier -</u>		<u>Retinue</u>

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Scene / Actor	II.i	II.ii	II.iii	II.iv	II.v	II.vi	II.vii	II.viii	II.ix
Actor 1	<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>					<i>Queen -</i>	
Actor 2			<i>Ophelia</i>	<i>Ophelia -</i>				<i>Ophelia -</i>	
Actor 3							<i>Comed. -</i>	<i>- Comed. -</i>	
Actor 4							Carl -	- Carl -	
Actor 5							Comed. -	- Comed. -	
Actor 6	King	King	King	<u>King</u>				King -	
Actor 7					Horatio	Horatio	Horatio	Horatio	Horatio
Actor 8		Corambus	Corambus	<u>Corambus-</u>		Corambus-		Corambus-	Corambus-
Actor 9				Hamlet -	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet
Mute 1								<i>Retinue-</i>	
Mute 2								<i>Retinue-</i>	

Act III

Sc. / A	III.i	III.ii	III.iii	III.iv	III.v	III.vi	III.vii	III.viii	III.ix	III.x	III.xi
Actor 1			<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>					
Actor 2									<i>Ophelia-</i>		<i>Ophelia-</i>
Actor 3										2. Serv.	
Actor 4							Jens	Jens	Jens		
Actor 5										1. Serv.	
Actor 6	King	King				Ghost-				King-	
Actor 7				Horatio-						Horatio-	
Actor 8			Coram.	Coram.	<u>Coram.</u>	<u>Coram.</u>		Phant.	Phant.		Phant.
Actor 9		Hamlet-			Hamlet	Hamlet-				Hamlet	

Act IV

Scene /Actor	IV.i	IV.ii	IV.iii	IV.iv	IV.v	IV.vi	IV.vii
Actor 1						<i>Queen</i>	<i>Queen</i>
Actor 2							<i>Ophelia -</i>
Actor 3	2. Bandit						
Actor 4							
Actor 5	1. Bandit			Leonhardus	Leonhardus	Leonhardus	Leonhardus
Actor 6		King	King	King	King	King	King
Actor 7							
Actor 8			Phantasmo		Phantasmo -		
Actor 9	Hamlet						
Mute 1		<u>Retinue</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>
Mute 2		<u>Retinue</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>	<u>Retinue?</u>

Act V

Scene / Actor	V.i	V.ii	V.iii	V.iv	V.v	V.vi
Actor 1						<i>Queen</i>
Actor 2						
Actor 3						
Actor 4						
Actor 5				Leonhardus	Leonhardus	Leonhardus
Actor 6				King	King	King
Actor 7		Horatio	Horatio		Horatio	Horatio
Actor 8			Phantasmo -	Phantasmo	Phantasmo	Phantasmo
Actor 9	Hamlet	Hamlet	Hamlet		Hamlet	Hamlet

APPENDIX 5

EXTANT SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN SHAKESPEARE ADAPTATIONS

Note: The recorded performances are not necessarily related to the extant texts.

Shakespeare's play	Extant Adaptations	Recorded performances or records in repertories	Early printed editions	Manuscripts	Available in print today
<i>Hamlet</i>	<i>Tragoedia Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark</i> (Anonymous)	<i>Gdańsk (1616, 1669), Hamburg (1625), Dresden (1626), Frankfurt (1626, 1628, 1686), Altona (1770)</i> ⁷	1778 (in extracts) and 1781	Lost (1710)	Prutz (German, in extracts) Cohn (German and English) Genée (German, in extracts) Creizenach (German) Latham (English) Furness (English) Morgan (English) Brennecke (English) Bullough (English) ⁸

⁷ Dates in italics have not been confirmed.

⁸ Translated into French by Georges Roth (1946) and Anne Cunéo (2005), and into Czech by Markéta Polochova (2011).

<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	<i>Comoedia Genandt der Jude von Venetien</i> (Christoph Blümel) / <i>Comoedia Genandt Dasz Wohl Gesprochene Urtheil Eines Weiblichen Studenten oder der Jud von Venedig</i> (Anonymous)	Passau (1607), Graz (1608), Dresden (1626, 1674, 1680s), Halle (1669), Český Krumlov (1688)		Extant in Karlsruhe (before 1699) / extant in Vienna (~1680s)	Flemming, <i>Wanderbühne</i> (German) / Meissner, <i>Englische Comoedianten</i> (German) Brennecke (English)
<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (Pyramus and Thisbe-episode)	<i>Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz</i> (Andreas Gryphius)	Dresden (1659, 1672), Frankfurt (1679)	1658 and 1663		Brennecke (English) multiple editions in German
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	<i>Romio und Julieta</i> (Anonymous)	Nördlingen (1604), <i>Hadersleben</i> (1605), Dresden (1626, 1646, 1648, 1652, 1678), Prague (1658), Bevern (1680), Český Krumlov		Extant in Vienna (1688)	Devrient (German, in extracts) Cohn (German and English) Genée (German, in extracts) ⁹

⁹ Translated into Czech by Jana Altmannová (2001, in Scherl).

		(1688)			
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	<i>Kunst über alle Künste ein böß Weib gut zu machen</i> (Anonymous) / <i>Die böse Catharina</i> (Christian Weise)	Zittau (1658), Mannheim (1667), Dresden (1672, 1678), Görlitz (1678)	<i>Kunst über alle Künste ein böß Weib gut zu machen</i> (1672)	Two manuscripts of <i>Die böse Catharina</i> (~1700) extant in Zittau	Köhler (German)
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	<i>Eine sehr klägliche Tragoedia von Tito Andronico, und der hoffertigen Kayserin, darinnen denckwürdige actiones zu befinden</i> (Anonymous)	Lüneburg (1666), Bevern (1680), Český Krumlov (1685), Linz (1699)	1620 in <i>Engelische Comedien und Tragedien</i>		Cohn (German and English) Creizenach (German) Brennecke (English) Marti (German)

APPENDIX 6

ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1: Phantasma and Ophelia (Philip and Alina Stöteknuel) in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*.

Dir. Daniel Steinbach. Theatralia, University of Bochum. 13 Jan. 2007.



Figure 2: Hamlet (Mark Kingston) and the two bandits (Paul Williamson, Terence Lodge) in *Fratricide Punished*. Dir. Bernard Hepton. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Edinburgh. Aug. 1959. Photo courtesy of Birmingham Central Library.



Figure 3: The Father (Tom Attenborough) visiting Julieta (Abigail Rokison) on her sickbed. *Romio and Julieta*. Dir. Simon Godwin. Judith E. Wilson Drama Studio, University of Cambridge. 13 Feb. 2008. Staged reading.



Figure 4: The actors (Kathrin Doppler, Géraldine M. Boesch, Julia Haenni, Simone Gfeller, Thea Reifler) wagging their fingers at the audience while singing the epilogue. Rehearsals for *Romio und Julieta. Und Picklhäring*. Dir. Thea Reifler and Julia Haenni (Schaubüro). Saas-Balen. Sept. 2011.

+ + + + +

mit gnädiger Erlaubnis
Werden Die
Universität. Bernerischen
COMOEDIANTEN

Denen
hoch- und vielgeehrten Liebhabern theatralischer Schau-Spiele
Eine Modeste, Galante und sehenswürdige
TRAGOEDIA
mit lebendigen Personen vorstellen //

betitult:



**Romio und Julieta.
= Und Picklhäring.**

mit unvergleichlicher Lustigkeit von Anfang bis zum Ende .

den _____ Septembri

Der Schauplatz ist _____

und wird præcise um _____ Uhr angefangen.

+ + + + +

N.B.: *Diese Action so niemals mehr præsentieret worden seit 1688.
*Es dienet zur Nachricht, dass kein Batzen bezahlet
werden muss (aber darf).

+ + + + +

Figure 5: Playbill for *Romio und Julieta. Und Picklhäring*. Design: Thea Reifler. 2011.

Romeo und Julia.

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Actus Imy Scena Ima

*Lurist mit Kapelets und Munde
Lippsack*

Was ist denn das für ein blaues Saphir glantzend
 findet den ich kenne mich ja nicht, damit
 alles mußte blühen und zierlich werden, und dem
 Menschen zu Nutzen dienen, wie aber die Natur
 jaget, molichen mit einer Freigebung, selbst
 tranke, so ist die große und die große Abwesenheit
 Capote und die Menge an allen in der Natur
 und nicht freigegeben und die Natur, findet
 als eine große in der Natur, jaget, dem
 was nicht, große, eine große und die Natur
 als die große, große, große, eine große
 Zeit mit blühenden Dingen auf der Erde
 nicht, und die Natur, große, große, große
 und die Natur, große, große, große, große
 Capote, eine große, große, große, große

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