

THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE

TITUS ANDRONICUS
and THE TAMING OF
THE SHREW

*Tito Andronico and Kunst über alle Künste,
ein bös Weib gut zu machen in Translation*



EDITED BY

Lukas Erne, Florence Hazrat and Maria Sbmygol

Volume 2

EARLY MODERN GERMAN SHAKESPEARE

ARDEN EARLY MODERN DRAMA

*Tito Andronico and Kunst über alle Künste,
ein böß Weib gut zu machen in Translation*

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EARLY MODERN
GERMAN
SHAKESPEARE:
TITUS ANDRONICUS
AND *THE TAMING*
OF THE SHREW

William Shakespeare

Tito Andronico and *Kunst über alle Künste*,
ein böß Weib gut zu machen in Translation

Edited by

LUKAS ERNE, FLORENCE HAZRAT
AND MARIA SHMYGOL

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For Anthony Mortimer

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The present book is the second of two 'Early Modern German Shakespeare' volumes published by the Arden Shakespeare, following *Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet: Der Bestrafte Brudermord and Romio und Julieta in Translation*, edited by Lukas Erne and Kareen Seidler (2020). As co-editor

of the companion volume, Karen has had an impact on the present volume in manifold ways. The two volumes belong to the same editorial project, and our editorial principles have been applied to each of the four plays published in the two volumes. The ‘Note on the commentary and collation’ and the ‘Note on the translations’ partly draw on the corresponding notes in the *Brudermord* and *Romio und Julieta* volume.

A word about the nature of the collaboration among the three editors that has led to the present volume over the last six years. Lukas initiated the project, secured the funding and first elaborated the principles informing the translation and editing, many of which were later adjusted and refined thanks to input by Florence and Maria. Maria worked with Lukas on *Tito Andronico*, and Florence and Lukas on *Kunst über alle Künste*. Maria and Florence produced a conservative German text (see below, p. xvii), with textual notes, and drafted the translation, commentary, collation and large parts of the introduction. Lukas checked and provided feedback on all these components, from where the work developed in conversation. Late in the process, Lukas revised and added to the introductions and the commentaries, and, later still, we shared the labour of seeing this volume into print. Our collaboration also benefited from countless conversations among the three of us during our joint time in Geneva. It has been an exhilarating and stimulating process that has allowed each of us to benefit greatly from the other two.

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Lukas Erne
Florence Hazrat
Maria Shmygol

PREFACE

The present is the second of two ‘Early Modern German Shakespeare’ volumes published by the Arden Shakespeare. Volume 1 (2020), edited by Lukas Erne and Kareen Seidler, contains *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (in English *Fratricide Punished*), a version of *Hamlet*, and *Romio und Julieta* (*Romeo and Juliet*). Volume 2 adds *Tito Andronico* (*Titus Andronicus*) and *Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen*, in English *An Art beyond All Arts, to Make a Bad Wife Good* (*The Taming of the Shrew*). Jointly, the two volumes make available in English translation the best versions of Shakespeare’s plays as they existed in seventeenth-century Germany.

The aim of Arden’s ‘Early Modern German Shakespeare’ edition is to make these versions join the conversation about Shakespeare’s texts. As scholars have come to realize, many of Shakespeare’s English texts embed within themselves the contributions of actors, revisers and adapters. They are socialized products, in keeping with the eminently socialized art form that is theatre. We have been used to thinking of Shakespeare’s socialized early modern texts as purely English, but such monolingualism imposes upon them a restriction that simply does not square with the international traffic of early modern theatre companies and their plays. From the late sixteenth century, plays that were performed in commercial theatres in London also had an existence elsewhere, not only in the provinces but also on the Continent, and in particular its German-speaking parts. At a time when the United Kingdom has recently left the European Union, it seems a good moment to remember that Shakespeare’s plays have always also been European, and that we have much to gain from recovering the life they led on the Continent.

We acknowledge that the German-English language barrier may be a greater obstacle in the modern world of scholarship

than it was in the early modern world of the theatre. German is no longer the language of learning that it was in the nineteenth century, and the language of international Shakespeare scholarship is now emphatically English. Editing Shakespeare's early modern German plays in German therefore means cutting them off from the attention of most Shakespeareans. That is the reason why the present volume and its companion volume make the plays available in English translation. We have also prepared editions of the original German texts, with short introductions and textual notes, and they are available online and for download on the University of Geneva's institutional repository, 'Archive ouverte UNIGE', at <https://doi.org/10.13097/archive-ouverte/unige:150834> (*Tito Andronico*) and <https://doi.org/10.13097/archive-ouverte/unige:150835> (*Kunst über alle Künste*).

The preface to the first volume of our 'Early Modern German Shakespeare' edition provides short introductions to the presence of English actors on the Continent from the late sixteenth century and to Shakespeare's contributions to the repertoires of early modern German theatre companies. It also supplies an illustration of the impact a passage in an early modern German version can have on our editorial and critical reception of a Shakespeare play. These prefatory materials, which are relevant to both volumes, are not repeated here (see Erne and Seidler, xiv–xxi).

Tito Andronico and *Kunst über alle Künste* have the distinction of being, respectively, the earliest and the best of the extant early modern German Shakespeare versions. *Tito Andronico* was published in a dramatic collection that appeared in 1620. The earliest dramatic collection containing a Shakespeare play was thus not the First Folio, published in London in 1623, but the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (*English Comedies and Tragedies*) published in octavo in Leipzig, Germany, and in German. Its early date means that it is closely connected to and can throw light on several Titus

documents, not only Shakespeare's play but also the Peacham Drawing and the chapbook prose history of Titus Andronicus. As our edition aims to show, it is a key witness to the early history of Shakespeare's play.¹

Published in two duodecimo editions dated 1672, *Kunst über alle Künste* bears witness to the sophistication German drama had acquired in the half-century since *Tito*. While it essentially preserves the *dramatis personae* and plot outline of *The Taming of the Shrew* (except for the Induction), and at times follows the original speech by speech and almost word for word, it also confidently reworks and elaborates on it. It constitutes a shrewd engagement with Shakespeare's play, keenly alert to its dramatic potential and attuned to its gender and social issues while not afraid of positioning itself differently vis-à-vis those points.

Shakespeare's has long become the epitome of dramatic authorship, but his seventeenth-century German translators and adaptors remain shrouded in mystery. *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was probably revised for performance by the company of Carl Andreas Paulsen in the 1660s and *Romio und Julieta* for performance by Eggenberg's Comedians at the court theatre of Český Krumlov (Bohemian Krumlov) in 1688, but who undertook the revisions is now beyond recovery (Erne and Seidler, 28–31, 90–100). Contrary to what might be expected, the earliest of the four plays, *Tito Andronico*, is the only one for which we can name a writer who was almost certainly involved in the adaptation: Friedrich Menius, a colourful figure who was prosecuted and condemned for both bigamy and heresy. Yet the exact form that Menius's involvement took is far from clear (see below, pp. 64–74). *Kunst über alle Künste* is the work of an adaptor who is identified as a 'Teutsche[r] Edelman', a German gentleman, on the title page; he writes an address to

¹ For the co-authorship of *Titus Andronicus*, see below, p. 2, n. 1.

the reader in a distinctive voice but chooses to remain anonymous. To paraphrase the characteristically poignant formulation with which he explains his anonymity, it does not matter what a kitten is called, provided it catches mice (see below, pp. 140–3). While little is known about the identity of Shakespeare's early modern German translators and adaptors, the plays published in this and its companion volume bear witness to the ingenuity of their dramatic engagement with Shakespeare's drama.

INTRODUCTION TO *TITO ANDRONICO* (*TITUS ANDRONICUS*)

Until not so long ago, *Titus Andronicus*, first published in London in 1594, was considered a barbarous and savage play. Generations of critics were repulsed by what they saw as its excessive violence, and passed it off as a piece of Shakespeare's juvenilia or denied that he wrote it at all.¹ Yet it was that very violence which made the story of Titus Andronicus immensely popular in its own day, both in England and on the Continent. When English travelling actors performed plays in their native tongue in the Netherlands and in Germany, the audience's lack of linguistic comprehension was compensated for by physical action and, in the case of versions of *Titus*, by displays of spectacular violence: bloodshed, torture, rape and mutilation. That the Titus material was popular in Germany from at least the early seventeenth century is suggested by a German collection of *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (*English Comedies and Tragedies*, Leipzig, 1620) which contains *Eine sehr klägliche Tragædia von Tito Andronico vnd der hoffertigen Käyserin* (*A Very Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico and the Haughty Empress*). The play's action largely corresponds to what we find in *Titus*, although *Tito* is much shorter, written entirely in prose, and differs from the English play in intriguing ways. Since the nineteenth century, *Tito Andronico* has sporadically attracted the interest of scholars, but, prior to the present edition, it has never received the attention it deserves.² It is a play that has much to teach us and is an important witness to the early history of Titus plays on the English stage.

¹ See Metz, *Studies*, 17–43.

² The most comprehensive studies of *Tito* are Fuller and Braekman.

The German play is only 1,154 lines long, whereas *Titus*, now commonly believed to have been co-authored by Shakespeare and George Peele, comes in at approximately 2,500 lines.¹ Unlike the early quarto texts of *Titus*, which have no formal act or scene divisions, *Tito* is divided into eight acts.² While the plot is similar to that of *Titus*, the action in *Tito* is more streamlined and some elements are absent, including the classical references: no mention is made of Philomel and Tereus (2.2.43; 2.3.38–43; 4.1.47–53; 5.2.194), and no copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* appears on the stage (4.1.42). The language of *Tito* is simpler than that of *Titus*, but it is not without moments of rhetorical force, particularly in Tito’s outrage at Aetiopissa (4.3.8–20) and his moving response to the futile loss of his hand (4.3.21–7), as well as his lamentations over his dead sons (4.3.28–33) and his defiled daughter (4.3.60–76). Throughout the play, there are parallels with the language and imagery of *Titus*, a number of which are discussed below, and many more in the commentary.

The number of roles in *Tito* is significantly smaller than in *Titus*. The German play omits Mutius, Young Lucius, Publius, Sempronius, Caius, Valentine, Emillius and Alarbus; all that remains of Quintus and Martius are their heads: those of two unnamed sons of Tito are brought on stage in Act 4, Scene 3.

¹ Hart counts 2,522 lines (21), which includes the Folio-only ‘Fly Scene’ (3.2), of which *Tito* shows no trace, so the quarto text of *Titus* has approximately 2,435 lines. For Shakespeare and Peele’s co-authorship of *Titus*, see Vickers, 148–243, and Taylor and Loughnane, 490–3.

² Quarto editions of *Titus Andronicus* appeared in 1594, 1600 and 1611. The First Folio collection of Shakespeare’s dramatic works, which divides the play into five acts, was published in 1623, three years after the first edition of *Tito*. Four plays in the 1620 volume are divided into five acts (and one of them, *Sidonia und Theagene*, is further divided into scenes). *Julio und Hyppolita* is in four Acts, while two plays in the collection, *Von dem verlorren Sohn (The Prodigal Son)* and *Von eines Königes Sohne auß Engellandt vnd des Königes Tochter aus Schottlandt (A King’s Son of England and a King’s Daughter of Scotland)*, have six acts. It is most unusual for early modern plays in Germany or England to be divided into eight acts, and we know of no other instance.

Yet all the major characters are present, although with the exception of Tito their names are entirely different: Vespasianus (Lucius), Victoriades (Marcus), Andronica (Lavinia), Aetiopissa (Tamora), Helicates (Demetrius), Saphonus (Chiron) and Morian (Aaron).¹ *Tito*'s equivalent of Saturninus has no name but is simply referred to as the Roman Emperor. As we will see below, the characterization of Morian and Aetiopissa differs substantially from that of Aaron and Tamora, and there are other, subtler differences that impact the other characters, notably Tito, Andronica and Vespasianus.

Despite these differences, *Tito Andronico* can shed much light on the English play, and recent editors of *Titus Andronicus* have shown some awareness of this. Jonathan Bate's Arden edition bases a crucial stage direction on *Tito*. In Act 3, Scene 1, Titus is tricked by Aaron into cutting off his hand in the hope of saving the life of his sons Quintus and Martius. But they are executed nonetheless, and their heads are sent to Titus along with his hand, as recorded in a startling stage direction, '*Enter a Messenger with two heads and a hand*' (3.1.234 SD). The remaining Andronici, Titus, Marcus, Lucius and the mutilated Lavinia, are aghast. Commenting on an unscripted stage action, Marcus says, '*Alas, poor heart, that kiss is comfortless / As frozen water to a starved snake*' (3.1.251–2).² No early edition clarifies what action prompts Marcus' words, leading editors to speculate about various possibilities: '*Lavinia kisses [Marcus]*', '*Lavinia kisses Lucius*' or '*Lavinia kisses Titus*' (Ard³ *TA*, 47). Yet the stage direction in the German version states that Lavinia '*goes to the heads and kisses them*' (4.3.80 SD), which Bate adopts and slightly adapts: '*Lavinia kisses the heads*' (3.1.250 SD). Arrestingly, the '*tongueless woman*', Lavinia, thus '*kisses the severed heads of her*

¹ For the names of the characters in *Tito*, see below, pp. 168–70. *Tito* can be performed by a minimum of ten actors as opposed to the much larger number needed for *Titus* (see the Appendix).

² All references are from Ard³ *TA* unless indicated otherwise.

brothers', Quintus and Martius (Ard³ *TA*, 47). Close attention to the German version here leads to the insertion of poignant stage business into an authoritative edition of Shakespeare's play.

Gary Taylor and his fellow editors of *The New Oxford Shakespeare* have similarly given prominence to *Tito*. Like Bate, they draw on the German play to make Lavinia kiss her brothers' severed heads, and, unlike Bate, they quote directly from a translation of *Tito* when doing so (5.248 SD). Later in the scene, when Titus invites Lucius, Marcus and Lavinia to swear an oath with him, the editors of *The New Oxford Shakespeare* use evidence from *Titus*, namely the protagonist's 'You heavy people, circle me about' (5.275), as the basis for their inserted stage direction: 'They form a circle and make a vow' (5.277 SD). The equivalent stage direction in *Tito* does not call for a circle and is somewhat different in how it handles the swearing of the oath, yet the editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare* demonstrate the value of the German play as an early witness of theatrical practice by reproducing the corresponding stage direction in the margin (see *Tito*, 5.1.61 SD) in one of the edition's 'Performance Notes', whose purpose it is 'to call attention to more complex staging possibilities' (47) than those embedded in the stage directions of the main text.

Despite this incipient awareness of *Tito*'s importance, the German play remains a vastly underused resource in the study of *Titus Andronicus*. For while recent editors of *Titus* incorporate one or two of its stage directions, they take no account of many others that are no less important. For instance, in the opening scene of both plays, the Moor character, Morian in *Tito* and Aaron in *Titus*, is silent during the succession crisis but remains on stage when all the other characters leave and speaks a soliloquy. In *Tito*, the play's opening stage direction points out that Morian 'has a humble cloak pulled over his magnificent clothes' (1.1.0 SD), and when the other characters have left, another stage direction informs us that 'He pulls off the old cloak' (1.1.83 SD) to reveal his magnificent clothes. There is no

equivalent stage direction in *Titus*, but Aaron's words are suggestive: 'Away with slavish weeds and servile thoughts! / I will be bright, and shine in pearl and gold' (1.1.517–18). Does Aaron remove his 'slavish weeds' at the same time as he mentions them? At the very least, Morian enacts a version of what Aaron says, and it is not impossible that Aaron's words were accompanied by a similar costume change.

There are other moments in the play when a stage direction in *Tito* may reflect how *Titus* was performed. When Aaron arrives to announce that the Emperor will spare Titus' sons in exchange for a chopped-off hand, Marcus and Lucius plead with Titus to let one of them undergo the ordeal. When Titus declines the offer, they keep pleading (3.1.151–83). At the equivalent point, Tito's brother and son '*fall on their knees before him*' (*Tito*, 4.1.32 SD) as a way of intensifying their pleas. A stage direction close to the end of *Tito* similarly conveys how a moment of emotional crisis was staged. When Aetiopissa, as *Tito*'s Empress is called, has been informed by Tito that the pie from which she has been eating contains her sons' remains, she '*shakes and trembles violently in fright*' (8.2.51 SD). Neither stage direction has an equivalent in *Titus*, but the action they designate is perfectly compatible with the English play and may reflect what happened in early performances.

Similarly, after Tamora has given birth, the Nurse enters to Aaron, Demetrius and Chiron with the '*blackamoor child*' (4.2.51 SD). Tamora's sons are dismayed and want to 'dispatch' (4.2.88) the baby. The conflict comes to a head when Demetrius demands, 'Nurse, give it me' (4.2.88), yet the baby is rescued by Aaron. There is no stage direction in the early editions of the English play to indicate how the moment was staged. The English dramatist Edward Ravenscroft, who produced an adaptation of *Titus Andronicus* in 1678 (published 1687), inserted a stage direction, '*Aron takes the child from the Woman*' (Ard³ *TA*, 265), and Hughes comments that 'Aaron probably takes the child from the Nurse' (126). The stage action in *Tito* is

different, however, and arguably more dramatic: Saphonus ‘takes the child from the midwife, draws his sword and is about to kill the child’ (6.1.47 SD) when it is snatched from him by Morian. Here and elsewhere, *Tito* provides the best evidence we have of how the English play may have been performed, and the stage action is different from and arguably more complex and more interesting than that mediated to us through modern editions of *Titus*.

Other stage directions in *Tito* that may reflect the early performance history of *Titus* concern the character of Andronica (*Tito*’s Lavinia). When Andronica and her husband enter in the scene that will lead to the former’s rape and the latter’s murder, they do so ‘hand in hand’ (3.3.0 SD). The equivalent stage direction in *Titus* (‘Enter BASSIANUS and LAVINIA’, 2.2.50 SD) does not convey this detail, although physical intimacy between Lavinia and her husband is suggested in the allusion to the newlyweds’ consummation of their marriage (2.1.14–17). When the husband is murdered, *Titus* has no stage direction that tells us what she does, but *Tito* informs us that ‘She goes to sit on the ground with the corpse’ (3.3.69 SD). After Lavinia/Andronica has been raped, she reappears on stage with the rapists who have mutilated her, and now make cruel fun of the fact (*Titus*, 2.3.1–10; *Tito*, 4.2.1–9). When the brothers have left, she remains on stage alone, and a stage direction in *Tito*, with no equivalent in *Titus*, informs us that she is ‘sighing and looking wretchedly up to heaven’ (4.2.9 SD2). When the mutilated Lavinia has been found by her uncle and brought by him before her father and her brother, Lucius responds verbally to the sight of his sister – ‘Ay me, this object kills me’ (3.1.65) – and the following line, spoken by Titus, implies that he has responded physically, too, for Titus asks him to ‘arise and look upon her’ (3.1.66). According to an editorially added stage direction in the Arden edition, Lucius ‘fall[s] to his knees’ (3.1.64 SD), whereas the editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare* comment that ‘Lucius must have sat, fallen, or knelt, or perhaps

fainted at the sight of Lavinia's injuries' (215). Neither edition mentions that *Tito* supports this last possibility, for a stage direction spells out that Vespasianus, as the Lucius character is called in *Tito*, 'falls to the ground in a swoon' (4.3.59 SD).

If, with Bate and the editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare*, we assume that, in some instances, *Tito*'s stage directions reflect how *Titus* was performed, then we have reason to suppose that they may do so in other instances too. *Tito* thus has much to offer to editors, critics and actors who want to come to a fuller understanding of *Titus Andronicus*, of how it may be staged now and of how it may have been staged in Shakespeare's time.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *TITO* *ANDRONICO TO TITUS* *ANDRONICUS*

Other early modern German plays edited for Arden Shakespeare – *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, *Romio und Julieta* and *Kunst über alle Künste* – are adaptations of Shakespeare's plays. *Tito* is special insofar as it may be based not on the surviving *Titus Andronicus* at all, but an earlier version of the play or a common source play (see below, pp. 36–40). Nonetheless, the relationship between *Tito* and *Titus* is close, and the aim of this section is to explore it.

In *Tito*'s first scene, eight of the nine principal characters are onstage (only Victoriades is not), and the only extras called for are unspecified 'Romans'.¹ The first scene of *Titus*, by contrast, calls not only for fourteen named characters to be onstage (Saturninus, Bassianus, Titus, his brother, his four sons and his daughter, Tamora, her three sons and Aaron) but also for a

¹ Victoriades may be absent from the opening scene because the actor who plays his role later in the play is needed in this scene as one of the unnamed 'Romans' (see Appendix, pp. 417–19).

series of unnamed characters: Tribunes, Senators, Soldiers, Goths and a Captain. The opening scene of *Tito* is short compared to that of *Titus*. It focuses on a single issue, the selection of the new emperor, before concluding with Morian's soliloquy. Vespasianus identifies Tito as the most deserving candidate for the imperial crown, to which the future Emperor (who is given no proper name) angrily objects, prompting Tito to recuse himself; as a result, the Emperor is crowned and Tito's prisoners are presented to him. The action of the first scene thus ends harmoniously, without any physical confrontations or deaths, and the only indication of future complications is the Emperor's volatile hot-headedness and the suggestion that he has a romantic interest in Aetiopissa despite his betrothal to Andronica (1.1.51–3). The English play, by contrast, dramatizes many issues: the contest for the imperial crown (1.1.1–66); Titus' arrival in Rome and the sacrifice of Alarbus (1.1.66–171); Titus' candidacy for the crown and his promotion of Saturninus (1.1.172–237); the fray following the disagreement over Lavinia (1.1.238–342); the burial of Mutius (1.1.343–95); Tamora's deceitful peace-making between the Andronici and Saturninus (1.1.404–99); Aaron's soliloquy (1.1.500–24); and Chiron and Demetrius' quarrel about Lavinia (1.1.525–635).¹ Two important episodes in *Titus* have no equivalent in *Tito*, namely the sacrificial murder of Alarbus and the disagreement about Lavinia, which leads to Titus' murder of his own son, Mutius. The opening scene of *Tito* is thus considerably more streamlined than the complex action found in *Titus*.

In *Titus*, Saturninus rejects Lavinia in favour of Tamora because of the altercation with Bassianus and the Andronici (1.1.280–325), but the Emperor in *Tito* does not have the same motivation for rejecting Andronica. He simply states that he loves Aetiopissa far more than Andronica. He then crowns his

¹ The Folio introduces an act division after 1.1.499, so that Aaron's soliloquy and the quarrel between the two brothers form the opening of the second act.

new consort onstage, whereas Saturninus only expresses his intention to make Tamora his consort (1.1.320–5). *Tito* thus dramatizes what *Titus* verbalizes.

Although *Tito* is much shorter than *Titus*, there is one element of the opening scene that is more substantial in the German play: the Moor's soliloquy. In *Titus*, Aaron's soliloquy reveals his tendencies for villainy and ill will in general terms (1.1.500–24), whereas Morian's longer speech (1.1.81–130) provides an account of the speaker's background and history. Morian's presentation is also more dramatic than Aaron's; he throws off the old cloak that covers his fine clothing before sharing his hopes for Aetiopissa's seduction of the Emperor. He reveals that he had cuckolded the King of Ethiopia, whom Aetiopissa poisoned with a cup of wine, boasts of his villainies (such as secret murders at the Ethiopian court) and military prowess (noting that he was known as the 'Thunder and Lightning of Ethiopia', 1.1.111–12), and recounts Tito's invasion of his homeland, his engagement with Tito in combat and the Romans' devastation of Ethiopia. Whereas *Titus* introduces Aaron as the stock type of the black villain, *Tito* thus provides a fuller sense of who Morian is.

The action that follows corresponds more closely to *Titus*: Helicates and Saphonus declare their love for Andronica and quarrel over who shall have her (2.1.38–66) in much the same way as Chiron and Demetrius do (1.1.525–44). Both plays highlight the problem that the object of the brothers' desire is already married, and in both plays the Moor is instrumental in devising the rape plot. A hunt is called for, and the apparent pleasantness of the new day is offset by a foreboding dream (*Tito*, 3.2.1–5; *Titus*, 2.1.1–2, 9–10). This is followed by the rape and mutilation of Andronica/Lavinia and the imprisonment of two Andronici sons. Whereas in *Titus* significance is placed on Aaron's plot to frame Titus' sons for Bassianus' murder by means of a pit, a forged letter and a bag of gold (2.2.1–50), in *Tito* the focus is exclusively on the attack on Andronica.

In *Tito* there is no reason for Morian and Aetiopissa to cross paths before meeting Andronica and her husband as there is in *Titus* (2.2.1–50), which means that the couple do not witness the Empress' dalliance with the Moor, and therefore have no cause to berate them. In *Tito* 3.3, Aetiopissa enters to Andronica and, without any provocation, mocks her for not having a large retinue of servants. Andronica responds by commenting on the Empress' 'haughty spirit' (3.3.28), which causes Aetiopissa to fly into a rage. In *Titus* the equivalent exchange takes a different course: Lavinia and Bassianus mock Tamora after seeing her dalliance with Aaron (2.2.51–88), and it is this that enrages her. Aetiopissa's attack on Andronica and her subsequent vow for revenge (3.3.41–6) thus lack Tamora's justification. The two versions of the confrontation between Andronica/Lavinia and the Empress reveal how the characters differ in the two plays. Tamora's amorous dalliance with the Moor, which is absent from *Tito*, arises from her sexual licentiousness. The emphasis in the German play is on Aetiopissa's arrogance, as the title's reference to the 'haughty Empress' suggests.

After the murder of Bassianus and Lavinia's rape, Titus' younger sons are lured into a pit containing Bassianus' corpse, and the evidence which seemingly corroborates their guilt (actually forged by Aaron) seals their fate (2.2.192–306). This episode is not in *Tito*, where Andronica's husband is never mentioned again, and it is thus unclear what happens with his body.

In fact, no sons other than Vespasianus are mentioned in *Tito* until the beginning of Act 4, when we learn that two unnamed sons have, in fact, been imprisoned, not for murder but on the charge of having insulted Aetiopissa with 'mockery and libels' (4.1.7).¹ Their imprisonment not only leads to their beheading,

¹ Aetiopissa's reference to 'brothers' (3.3.75) is the first indication in the play that Tito has more than one son.

which is necessary for the plot, but also draws further attention to Aetiopissa's pride and cunning. Her responsibility for the sons' imprisonment logically follows her threat to Andronica in the previous scene, where she vows to 'murder your entire kin, including your parents and brothers' (3.3.74–5). The difference between *Tito* and *Titus* thus highlights the status of the Empress as the chief villain in the German play.

In both plays, Tito/Titus is tricked into cutting off his hand on the promise of his sons' liberty, only to have it returned to him with their heads. This happens in close proximity to the protagonist's discovery of his ravished daughter, but the order of events is different in the two versions. In *Titus*, Marcus discovers Lavinia and delivers a long speech (2.3.11–57); after Titus attempts to plead with the Tribunes for his sons' lives (3.1.1–58), Marcus presents the ravished Lavinia, who is lamented over and comforted by her brother and father (3.1.59–150); Aaron arrives bearing a message from the Emperor, and Titus sends his brother and son to cast lots, while the Moor helps him to cut off his hand onstage before taking it away (3.1.151–206). Later in the same scene, a messenger brings back the heads and hand (3.1.235–41), which precipitates the Andronici's oath for revenge. In *Tito* 4.1, Morian arrives to deliver the Empress' offer to pardon the sons if Tito sacrifices his hand (16–20), and Tito severs his hand offstage after he tricks Vespasianus and Victoriades into drawing lots for the sacrifice (33–41). The next scene shifts to Andronica, who is left in the forest by her attackers and is discovered by her uncle. Act 4, Scene 3 returns to Tito, who receives his severed hand and sons' heads from Morian. His grief is compounded when Victoriades presents him with the ravished Andronica (4.3.55–76). The order of events in *Titus* means that after the protagonist pleads in vain for his sons' lives and is confronted with his ravished daughter, there is a glimmer of hope: Aaron arrives with his message. The hopes are then dashed with the revelation that Titus and his kin have been tricked, which leads them to

swear an oath of revenge. In *Tito*, the hopefulness that accompanies the severing of his hand is dashed by Morian's return with the hand and severed heads, and Tito's grief and outrage are compounded by the revelation that his daughter has been raped and maimed.

Differences between the two plays in the Moor's delivery of his message have a significant effect on his character. In *Titus*, where he is the principal villain, the Moor tells Titus that Saturninus proposes to let his sons live in exchange for a hand (3.1.151–7), but his comments to Lucius later in the play suggest that Saturninus had no knowledge of Aaron's proposition (5.1.111–20). Thus, Aaron not only tricks Titus, but also usurps Saturninus' authority. Furthermore, the fact that it is Aaron who physically severs Titus' hand cements the fact that he is the play's chief villain. In *Tito*, Aetiopissa is the principal antagonist, and she rather than Morian is responsible for tricking Tito. Morian delivers the message on Aetiopissa's orders (4.1.16–20), which he confirms later when confessing to Vespasianus (7.1.84–9).¹ Morian does not express anything akin to Aaron's ghoulish glee at seeing Tito realize that he has been deceived. On the contrary, Morian twice expresses sympathy for Tito: when Tito exits to cut off his hand, he says, 'even though I have a pitiless heart, I pity you, old Tito Andronico' (4.1.45–6); when he returns the body parts he adds, 'I pity you, for you have been tricked out of your noble and valiant hand' (4.3.1–2). While that last could on its own be thought feigned pity, Morian's first expression of sympathy for Tito, made when alone, suggests that it is genuine. Morian thus does not share Aaron's motivations and boundless maliciousness, and the play's villainous agency is firmly centred on Aetiopissa.

In *Titus*, the return of Titus' hand and his sons' heads leads to the first of two oaths sworn by the Andronici. The first oath

¹ Aetiopissa's responsibility for the trick is corroborated by the Emperor, who congratulates her on her ingenious plan in 5.2.1–6.

(3.1.276–80) follows the gruesome delivery of the severed heads (which arrive after the raped Lavinia has been discovered and presented to her father), and the second oath is sworn once the identity of Lavinia’s attackers has been revealed (following 4.1.78). In *Tito*, there are not two oaths but one: Act 4 ends with Victoriades’ proposal to ‘consider how we can find out who has abused her thus’ (4.3.83–4), and Act 5 opens with the Andronici’s re-entry and Andronica’s revelation of her attackers’ identities, which prompt the Andronici to swear an oath.¹ This means that the main catalyst for Titus’ first oath is a desire to revenge his sons’ deaths rather than his daughter’s attackers. By contrast, it is Andronica’s revelation that is the call to arms in *Tito*.² *Tito*’s plot construction is thus such that it arguably gives greater importance to the protagonist’s daughter than does *Titus*.

Although the means by which Andronica and Lavinia reveal the names of their attackers are almost identical, the circumstances surrounding the disclosure are different. In *Titus*, Lucius is not present on account of his banishment, and it is his son, Young Lucius, who enters running from Lavinia, who chases him and attempts to seize the book that he clutches: a copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (4.1.1–43). When she points to the tale of Philomel, Marcus invites Lavinia to take his staff in her mouth and write the names of the perpetrators on a ‘sandy plot’ (4.1.69). It is seventy-eight lines into the scene before the names are finally written. The circumstances leading up to the

¹ It is possible that in performance there was a break between Acts 4 and 5, given that this is the midway point of the play, which would explain the immediate re-entry. Victoriades’ comment and Tito’s response, ‘Let us go in and have no rest until we have found them out’ (4.3.85–6), may anticipate the passage of stage time spent during the interval.

² In fact, she provides only one name in writing: ‘There is “Helicates” and also “hunt”’ (5.1.28–9). Tito infers that Saphonus was also involved and that the Empress was likewise to blame. While the dialogue in *Titus* implies that Lavinia makes arm gestures to indicate that there was more than one attacker (4.1.37–9), there is no such indication in *Tito*.

revelation of the names in *Tito* 5.1 are more direct, and the initiative to communicate them does not come from the female victim but from her brother. The scene opens with *Tito* lamenting and attempting to comfort *Andronica*, and *Vespasianus* enters with a basket of sand and a stick, stating that his sister should attempt to write the names by this means (5.1.18–20).¹ *Tito* places the stick between *Andronica*'s stumps and she immediately succeeds in writing with it (5.1.21–7). *Tito* is thus less elaborate than *Titus*, and the two plays differ substantially in terms of the agency ascribed to the ravished daughter. Whereas *Lavinia* actively seeks to reveal her ordeal to her relatives, *Andronica* is prompted to do so by them.

A possible reason why *Tito* foregrounds *Vespasianus*' agency at this important moment is that it reinforces his status as a worthy successor to the Roman crown. After the oath of revenge is sworn, *Tito* entrusts his son with the weighty task of taking the 'vast store of my treasury' (5.1.65) in order to raise an army. *Vespasianus* rises to the task and proclaims, 'by the god Mars that I shall not cease my rage and fury until pale Death has triumphed over my heart' (5.1.69–71). *Tito*'s faith in his son is reiterated in his recollection of their recent military exploits:

[I]n the recent battle with the Moors I saw him fight
like a fierce tiger. In you I place all my hope, and if I
must end my old life here, I know that you will take
vengeance on our enemies.

(5.1.79–82)

In *Titus*, *Lucius* is not present in the equivalent scene, and though *Marcus* has his other family members swear to 'prosecute by good advice / Mortal revenge upon these traitorous Goths' (4.1.92–3), no military plan is made at this point. Conversely, in *Tito*, *Andronica*'s revelation leads directly

¹ An advantage of bringing a basket of sand that is then poured onto the floor is that it makes the action easier for the audience to follow.

to a call to arms, and Vespasianus is called upon to raise an army with which to destroy Rome.

The events at the end of Act 5, Scene 1 and in Act 5, Scene 2 loosely correspond to *Titus* 4.3.76–120 and 4.4.39–67, where Titus meets the Clown, who is on his way to the court with a basket of pigeons. Titus bids him deliver a letter with a knife enfolded within it to Saturninus. Saturninus does not read the letter aloud, but has a strong reaction to it, presumably prompted by the knife, and orders the Clown to be executed. *Tito* devotes more attention to the message intended for the Emperor. *Tito* dictates a message that he wants delivered orally to the Emperor, and further asks the messenger to deliver a ‘letter together with its contents’ (5.1.96) and a sword. At court, the messenger recounts *Tito*’s words and offers the sword to the Emperor. When the Emperor opens the letter he finds in it the ‘naked blade’ (5.2.52–3) and immediately orders that the messenger be turned over to the hangman. The presentation of the sword may be the result of a conflation of the Messenger’s letter with a different episode from the source play, preserved in *Titus* 4.2.1–16, where Young Lucius provocatively presents swords to Chiron and Demetrius. *Titus* thus has two kinds of objects (knife and sword) in two passages which *Tito* dramatizes in one.

Following *Tito*’s declaration of war at the end of Act 5, Act 6 shifts to the domestic concerns of the Empress, namely the birth of the mixed-race child. The action is similar to *Titus* 4.2.52–148, where the Nurse enters to Aaron, Chiron and Demetrius, and presents them with the child, telling Aaron that Tamora has ordered him to kill it; Aaron refuses and instead kills the Nurse. In *Tito*, the Midwife enters with the infant, noting that Aetiopissa wishes Morian to ‘secretly put it out of the way’ (6.1.2–3). Yet after Saphonus and Helicates discover the Midwife and question her about her ward, we learn that the child’s mother has ordered her to take the child to Morian ‘so that he can have it brought up in secret to make sure that no-one knows about it’ (6.1.28–9). Just as the outraged brothers are about to kill the child, Morian

enters and dismisses them, and the Midwife is able to deliver Aetiopissa's message in full, bidding him 'take it in secret to Mount Thaurin, where your father lives, so that he can raise it; no-one must know that it was born of the Empress' (6.1.85–8).¹ Thus, the respective plans of Tamora and Aetiopissa for dealing with the child are starkly different: where the former proposes death, the latter plans for future life.

Morian's attempt to deliver the infant to his father is cut short when he is captured on Mount Thaurin (7.1.16–18). Although *Titus* has a similar moment where Aaron and his son are apprehended (5.1.20–39), the Moor's reaction to his capture is different. Whereas Aaron refuses to answer Lucius' questions until his infant is threatened with hanging (5.1.47–60), Morian immediately begins to bargain for his own life, promising not only to reveal the Empress' crimes, but also to serve Vespasianus and help him to overthrow the Emperor (7.1.30–5). Morian's lengthy summary of earlier events reveals that Aetiopissa bade him keep watch on Andronica's husband and 'kill him, so that [Saphonus and Helicates] could satisfy their lust on her' (7.1.57–8), but that he was unable to find a suitable opportunity for doing so. No equivalent of Morian's blame of his paramour is found in *Titus*, where Aaron confesses his villainies and boasts of his ingenuity in devising them (5.1.89–144). The dramatization of Morian's capture thus contributes to making the Empress rather than the Moor the play's chief villain.

The following scene, Act 7, Scene 2, shifts to Rome, where the Emperor expresses his alarm at Vespasianus' military success. The Emperor divulges Aetiopissa's plan to disguise herself and her sons in order to 'weaken [Tito] with cunning and treachery' (7.2.17). In the scene that follows, Aetiopissa further clarifies her intentions when she orders her sons to stay with Tito and '[l]end careful attention to the cunning stratagems he

¹ For Mount Thaurin, which has no equivalent in *Titus*, see below, p. 220.

will use in battle' and murder him if the bloodshed does not cease (7.3.3–5, 6–9). Tamora's plan, on the other hand, is to trick Titus into persuading Lucius to a parley with Saturninus (4.4.88–98, 107–11); she does not originally intend to leave her sons with Titus until he demands it. In the English play, Titus' feigned madness gives Tamora hope that the disguise plot will succeed, and in a substantial exchange between the two, Tamora attempts to persuade Titus that she is Revenge, accompanied by Murder and Rapine, while Titus' asides alert the audience to the fact that he is not fooled (5.2.9–120). Ultimately, Tamora departs because she thinks that her plan has succeeded. In the German play, Tito does not pretend madness when Aetiopissa presents herself and her sons: they are accepted by Tito seemingly without question, as being 'ordained by the gods to help . . . with good counsel in these wars' (7.3.18–19). The brevity of the scene in *Tito* quickens the pace of the action that leads up to the climax of the scene, where the brothers are executed.

Having been tricked into thinking that he has fallen for the disguises, Aetiopissa leaves her sons with Tito, who slaughters them and states his intention to bake their heads into a pie. The murder is dramatized similarly in the two plays: the brothers are bound, their mouths gagged, their throats slit, and their blood collected into a receptacle (*Tito* 7.3.40 SD–45 SD; *Titus* 5.2.164–5, 196–203). A difference with profound implications, however, is that whereas in *Titus*, Lavinia is present and collects the brothers' blood, in *Tito*, Andronica is absent. Instead, Tito is assisted by two unnamed soldiers, one of whom holds a vessel to collect the blood. Andronica's absence undermines the gruesome sense of justice that Lavinia can be said to receive in *Titus*. On the other hand, her absence may result from a desire not to taint her character by association with such a violent murder.

The ending of *Tito* is more streamlined than that of *Titus*. Tito calls a conciliatory banquet, whereas it is the disguised Tamora who suggests a feast in the English play (5.2.111–19).

Since peace has already been proclaimed in *Tito*, the banquet commences without incident. Tito serves the pies, is questioned about his melancholy by the Emperor, kills Andronica, proclaims that Aetiopissa is to blame, reveals that the pies are made of her sons' flesh, kills Aetiopissa and is in turn killed by the Emperor. Vespasianus takes revenge on the Emperor, and Victoriades asks Vespasianus to take the crown; he initially protests but then agrees to do so. The pace of the ending in *Tito* is fast, and there is not much action that follows the spectacular deaths that occur onstage.

Titus has a much longer conclusion. Once Lavinia, Tamora, Titus and the Emperor have been killed, Aaron is brought back to be punished (5.3.175–89). In *Tito*, Morian is not mentioned again after Vespasianus orders him to be hanged at the end of Act 7, Scene 1, and, given that Aetiopissa is the principal antagonist, he is not brought back in the last act. Lucius' promotion to emperor receives more attention in *Titus* than that of Vespasianus in *Tito* and is rooted in a public bid for his candidacy (5.3.145). This differs from the hasty promotion of Vespasianus in *Tito*, in which no address is given to the populace. The initial reluctance to take the crown is not in *Titus*. It may underscore Vespasianus' humility, echoing Tito's lack of political ambition at the beginning of the play. It also contrasts with Aetiopissa's pride: now that the haughty Empress is dead, a humble Emperor ascends the throne.

In sum, *Tito* and *Titus* essentially provide different dramatizations of the same basic plot. The German play is substantially shorter than the English and is more fast-paced at critical moments in the action. The plot of *Tito* is not as complex as that of *Titus*, which includes episodes such as the competition over Lavinia, the sacrifice of Alarbus, Aaron's plot to frame Titus' younger sons for the murder of Bassianus, and the 'arrow-shooting' scene. *Tito*'s streamlined plot goes together with the fact that it uses fewer characters than *Titus*. The German play also frequently provides a different interpretation

of the prompts for characters' interactions. *Tito* thus constitutes a fascinating alternative version of *Titus*.

ISSUES OF RACE IN *TITO* *ANDRONICO*

Titus figures prominently in scholarly discussions of early modern theatrical representations of blackness and racial difference.¹ Aaron, whose soul is apparently as black as his face, in many ways conforms to the stock type of the malevolent black villain found elsewhere in early modern drama (as, for instance, in Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*). But while he remains an unrepentant villain until the end, Aaron is more than a simple stereotype: his display of paternal tenderness and affection towards his child humanizes him, and he draws attention to his skin colour in ways that engage meaningfully with early modern theories of racial difference. *Tito* engages with issues of race in different but no less interesting ways, and the play has much to contribute to the study of race in the early modern period.

A major difference between *Tito* and *Titus* is the fact that the non-Roman characters in the former are not Goths but Africans, hailing from 'Mohrenlandt' (literally, 'Land of the Moors') or 'Aethiopia'.² This difference has significant implications for the black villain's position in the play, and indeed for the enemy faction as a whole. Jonathan Bate and Sonia Massai have commented on the difference between the Goths in *Titus* and the Ethiopians in *Tito*:

¹ For example, see Hall; Jones; Barthelemy; de Sousa; Bartels, 'Making'; and Vaughan and Vaughan.

² 'Mohrenland' is defined by Grimm as 'a land where Moors live, notably Mauritania and Ethiopia' (*n. land worin die mohren wohnen; vornehmlich Mauritanien und Aethiopien*).

In the Renaissance Goths were synonymous with Germans; if you are an English company touring in Germany, you would be ill advised to have a barbarous Gothic/German queen and her rapist sons, and, therefore, you turn them into more distant barbarians, namely Ethiopians (this also means that you avoid the scandal of miscegenation between the empress and the Moor, a change that is in accordance with a certain moral cleansing of the text appropriate to Luther's Germany . . .).¹

There are yet more points to be made about the complexity of race in *Tito*. Even if we suppose that the transformation of 'Germanic' Goths to 'more distant barbarians' was simply an act of problem-solving by the travelling players, it raises its own new problems which need to be addressed. That 'the scandal of miscegenation' is avoided does not hold because a mixed-race infant appears in the play. Aetiopissa's sons are outraged when they discover that she is the mother of the dark-skinned child that the Midwife holds in her arms at the beginning of Act 6. It is clear from their exchange with the Midwife that Aetiopissa and Morian do not belong to the same racial category. Saphonus asks, 'Who is this child's mother? I see that he is the father, so with whom has our Morian slept?' (6.1.14–15), drawing attention to Morian's racial singularity. This is confirmed by the Midwife's report of Aetiopissa's reaction following the child's birth: 'when she saw that the child was black she was very frightened' (6.1.26–7). The child's pigmentation is starkly different from Aetiopissa's and provides visual proof of its parentage.

So Bate and Massai's suggestion conflates ethnicity and race. A shared ethnic or national origin (Ethiopia) does not

¹ Bate and Massai, 140. The long-standing assumption that Goths are synonymous with Germans has recently been challenged by Ndiaye, 'Aaron's Roots'.

necessarily mean that Aetiopissa and Morian belong to the same racial category, as the anxiety about their son's appearance makes clear, and the issue of miscegenation is by no means 'cleansed' from the play. Even before the birth of the child, a contrast between Morian and Aetiopissa's skin colour is firmly established. The opening stage direction insists as much on Aetiopissa's whiteness as it does on Morian's blackness: '*Also enter AETIOPISSA, the Queen of Ethiopia, who is lovely and white, . . . and MORIAN, who is black*' (1.1.0 SD). Although the term 'Ethiopian' was typically associated with very dark skin, the plot requires a white queen.¹ Her whiteness, evident in performance, is here spelled out for the reader to avoid confusion. In Act 1 the speech prefixes are variously 'Königin auß Mohrenlandt' ('Queen of Africa') and 'Ætiopis.', but after she is crowned in Act 2 she is largely 'Käyserin', which removes any reminders of her African origins. In Morian's case, the reader is invited to visualize a black body, and the speech prefix ('Morian' from the German word for Moor) reiterates his racial difference throughout.² As the text insists on Morian's blackness, it seems likely that the travelling players capitalized on the sensational nature of this 'black devil' ('schwartzter Teufel', 7.1.22) by performing him in blackface.

But what is one to make of a white Ethiopian queen? The depiction of Aetiopissa's skin-colour might seem unexpected –

¹ 'Ethiopia' cannot be read as applying exclusively to the Ethiopian empire; in light of common usage it is reasonable to assume that Ethiopia here refers to sub-Saharan Africa more generally, which was often associated with black Africans. See Vaughan and Vaughan, Hall and Bartels.

² Vaughan (9–15) discusses various strategies for performing blackness, including blackface make-up, masks, stockings and gloves. As Vaughan demonstrates, blackface was commonly used to represent Moors on the early modern English stage, so it is reasonable to assume that the travelling players would have replicated the technique in *Tito*. It seems more likely that the white actor who played Morian pigmented his face than that he hid it behind a mask. He has a substantial speaking part, and it might have been impeded by a face-covering, but see Smith for uses of sartorial blackface.

perhaps an oversight or a lapse in logic on the play's part, arising from a hasty and arbitrary switch from Goths to Ethiopians. Yet there is a literary and visual tradition concerning white Ethiopian princesses, among them the mythical princess Andromeda, Chariclea (from Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, an ancient Greek prose romance) and Clorinda (from Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*).¹ Chariclea in particular had a vibrant afterlife: Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* underwent an impressive number of translations across early modern Europe, which in turn gave rise to a range of stage adaptations.² Thomas Underdowne's English translation of the *Aethiopica* was published in 1569, and it probably influenced the lost play, *Chariclea* (1572).³ Further evidence of white Ethiopian princesses on the stage is found in the titles of other lost plays such as *Perseus and Andromeda* (1574) and *The Queen of Ethiopia* (1578), which may have been another adaptation of Heliodorus' romance.⁴ Although the whiteness of the African female characters in these narratives was anomalous, dramatizations such as these established a theatrical precedent for the staging of white Ethiopian royal women.

That does not mean that Aetiopissa's whiteness is straightforward, and it is possible that the term 'white' is applied to her in a relative way, given the complex and often contradictory early modern European conceptions of sub-Saharan Africans. In the seventeenth century, terms such as 'Ethiope' and 'Moor' are by no means stable or clear-cut, and in *Tito* they are especially difficult to pin down. It is possible to

¹ See Spicer and Iyengar.

² See Ricquier, 15–22. On European stage adaptations, see Ndiaye, 'Everyone'.

³ Prior to Underdowne's translation, material from the *Aethiopica* was available in John Sanford's *The Amorous and Tragical Tales of Plutarch Wherevnto is Annexed the Historie of Cariclea & Theagenes* (London, 1567, STC 20072). On the lost play, see Wiggins, 2.91–2.

⁴ See Wiggins, 2.109–10 and 2.183.

envisage Aetiopissa as a ‘tawny’ African, since distinctions were sometimes drawn between people from different parts of Africa and the degree of their ‘blackness’ in early modern literature.¹ A claim could even be made about Ethiopia as a Christian stronghold, which would make it imaginatively ‘easier’ to identify Aetiopissa and her sons as set apart from Morian, whose name carried Muslim connotations.² However, the play makes no allusions to religious difference and presents Aetiopissa as Queen of Ethiopia and ‘Mohrenlandt’ interchangeably, which makes claims about such fine differences problematic. Francesca T. Royster has argued that in *Titus* the trajectory of Moor, Goth, and Roman encapsulates a ‘denaturalization of whiteness . . . and its construction along an unstable continuum of racial identities’ (432). The German play, while not as explicitly interested in drawing attention to the polarized nature of black and white as *Titus*, nonetheless problematizes whiteness through the presence of a white African queen.

The continuum of racial identities is complicated further through the character of Morian. Virginia Mason Vaughan has demonstrated that Aaron conforms to many of the stereotypes of the black villain figure and echoes the associations between sin and blackness found in medieval drama.³ To some extent, Morian, in his capacity as ‘black devil’ (7.1.22), performs the same function as Aaron, but he bears a rather different relationship to both his fellow captives and his homeland. Unlike *Titus*, the play does not contain *invading* Goths, some of whom were captured, kept alive and brought to Rome. Instead, we have *invaded* Ethiopians, whose country was attacked and

¹ The slipperiness of terms used to describe northern and sub-Saharan Africans are addressed in Vaughan and Vaughan, 19–29; Loomba, 44–59; Barthelemy, 6–10; and Bartels, ‘Making’, 433–4.

² For a discussion of Christianity in Ethiopia, see Salvatore, and Lowe, ‘Representing’.

³ Vaughan, 2, 43–50.

ravaged by the Romans. Aaron, whether as a slave or as a free man serving the Goth queen, is an outsider.¹ Morian, on the other hand, is his mistress's countryman and has a powerful set of connections to their homeland.²

Morian's lengthy speech at the end of the first act provides an account of his affair with Aetiopissa, which implies that he had privileged access to the Ethiopian court (1.1.89–91). In the first part of this long speech, Morian shares details of his affair (including how Aetiopissa poisoned her husband in order to be with Morian), noting that he killed those who looked unfavourably on them, and that he has 'committed thousands and thousands of villainies and robberies' (1.1.102–3). Morian thus conforms to stereotypical associations of blackness with lasciviousness and villainy before his speech takes a different turn. He boasts of his martial prowess and establishes his background as a soldier: 'In battles and perilous wars I fought like a formidable lion – not like a man but like a very devil' (1.1.107–9). Morian tells us that his skills as a soldier became known throughout the world and earned him the title of the 'Thunder and Lightning of Ethiopia' (1.1.111–12). In fact, the reason why the Romans invaded Ethiopia, according to Morian, is because '[m]y fame finally reached the Romans, who armed themselves mightily and came for us in Ethiopia, devastating and destroying the land with unheard-of cruelty' (1.1.112–15).

Morian's narration of his encounter with Tito and the Roman army on the Ethiopian battlefields implies that he was acting in the capacity of general: 'I went out against them with *my* army' (1.1.115–16, emphasis added). The fact that the Romans invaded Ethiopia gives Morian and Aetiopissa reason enough to be revenged on Tito, who played a key role in the attack. More importantly, Morian's speech establishes a clear rivalry

¹ For a discussion of Aaron and his skin-colour, see Fiedler.

² The play does not specify whether Morian was born in Ethiopia, but it is clear that he identifies powerfully with his erstwhile homeland.

between him and Tito: ‘Before long, old Tito rushed at me and – something that no man had ever done before – struck me off my horse with his lance so fiercely that I didn’t know whether I were dead or alive’ (1.1.123–7). Although Morian emerges as a powerful military figure, his account makes clear that he was finally overcome and humiliated by the superior skills of the Roman warrior.¹

The play’s representation of Morian as a military champion calls to mind popular cultural associations of black Africans with martial skills and expert horsemanship.² However, the most immediate means of situating Morian within a familiar framework is achieved visually through his wearing of luxurious attire. The opening stage direction tells the reader that Morian wears ‘magnificent clothes’ under his cloak, which he dramatically casts aside as ‘old rags’ (1.1.81). His splendid attire stresses his former supremacy in Ethiopia, but also places him in a visual tradition in which black bodies are shown sumptuously dressed in order to heighten the contrast between black and white, juxtaposing the supposed dullness of the dark skin with the shimmering sartorial finery.³ Interestingly, this kind of contrast can be seen in the Peacham drawing (see below, p. 29), which is generally thought to be an illustration of *Titus*. In the drawing, the blackness of the Moor’s body and hair is sharply offset by the clothes and headband that he wears (see Fig. 1). This sort of contrast can be found in paintings, coats of

¹ See below (pp. 43–4) for a discussion of how this encounter echoes material in the chapbook. In Jan Vos’ Dutch adaptation, *Aran en Titus* (*Aran and Titus*, 1641), the Moor publicly declares himself to be a supreme warrior (Buitendijk, II. 176–9), and the List of Roles identifies him as the ‘Veldheer der Gotten’, which places him on an equal military footing with Titus, who is ‘Veldtheer der Romeinen’ (Buitendijk, I. 114).

² See Lowe, ‘Stereotyping’, 32–3.

³ This visual tradition is discussed by Korhonen. Examples of this type of contrast are found in Bindman and Gates, vol. 3, part 1.

arms, impresas and decorative objects such as Christoph Jamnitzer's 'Moor's Head' cup.¹ As Anu Korhonen suggests:

In [European] popular culture, blackness was fictionalised into a highly abstract but simply observable bodily category. Proverbs, sayings, biblical quotations and many passing remarks in Renaissance texts all come together to construct blackness as an absolute, without differences or degrees, juxtaposed with a whiteness similarly simplified and categorized. Black skin was perceived as a spectacle produced by this opposition, particularly when it was coupled with something white, be it white skin or white clothes, or with something precious and beautiful, such as gold, silver or jewels. Creating the dichotomy between black and white was essential to judging black as black, the conceptual and 'racial' black, not just a darker hue.

(99)

In *Titus*, Aaron invokes this sort of contrast when he imagines himself rising to a position where he will cast off his 'slavish weeds and servile thoughts' and instead be 'bright, and shine in pearl and gold' (1.1.517–18). In *Tito* this image is literalized when Morian reveals the finery hidden under his cloak, setting up precisely the kind of contrast that Korhonen describes, given Morian's probable blackface.²

¹ See Seelig, 183.

² Another play in the Leipzig volume, *Eine schöne lustig triumphirende Comædia von eines Königes Sohne auß Engellandt vnd des Königes Tochter auß Schottlandt* (*A Pleasant, Merry, Triumphant Comedy of the King of England's Son and the King of Scotland's Daughter*), sees the King of England's son temporarily disguise himself as a Moor in order to gain access to the King of Scotland's daughter. While the character wears the disguise, his speech heading changes from 'Sohn' to 'Morian', but this disguise does not involve the use of make-up. A stage direction tells us that he dons a long black garment ('ein schwartzen Rock', sig. U7v) and covers his face with a type of veil ('bindet einen Flor vor Angesichte', sig. U7v). He then introduces himself to the King as a true-born Moor ('ein geborner Aetiopis',

Unlike Aaron, Morian is presented as a character with a powerful sense of the past through a personal narrative that makes clear his former importance in Ethiopia. The speech he delivers is filled with anecdotal specificity, unlike the general and unspecific glimpses of Aaron's past and background as a perpetrator of villainies not rooted in any particular time or place. More importantly, the narrative delivered by Morian at the end of Act 1 offers a rival construction of his character as his country's champion that is quite distinct from Vespasianus' later identification of him as a 'black devil'. Morian's identity as the 'Thunder and Lightning of Ethiopia' is predicated on ferocity in battle and the honourable defence of his country, and the audience is made aware of this early on in the play. By contrast, in *Titus*, 'nothing but the blackness of his skin seems to link Aaron to a place of origin . . . Aaron displays no sense of a cultural past and seems to possess no memories' (de Sousa, 104). As Emily C. Bartels points out, in appearing without a past, without a distinct culture, and being left to shape his identity from the quality of blackness, 'the "raven-coloured" Moor appears to be a self-contained, self-incriminating sign system – a darkness that seems undeniably visible' (*Speaking*, 80). Morian, however, renders such a sign system more complex, because his identity is shaped by more than the colour of his skin.

The vision of racial difference in *Tito* is complex. Morian's status as the black villain is complicated by the fact that he is a celebrated warrior. *Tito* treats the issue of miscegenation in a

sig. U8v) who has sailed from Ethiopia to trade jewels. With this disguise he manages to fool the King's daughter until he removes the veil from his face ('Ziehert den Flor vom Gesicht', sig. X2r). Although in both cases 'Morian' hails from Ethiopia, it is clear that in this play, where the disguise needs to be put on and removed with speed, the Moor's race is figured sartorially by means of a veil rather than through cosmetic blackface. See Wiggins, *British Drama*, 4.21–2, and the Lost Plays Database entry on *The King of England's Son and the King of Scotland's Daughter* (c. 1598). Wiggins suggests that the disguise in the English play would have entailed 'presumably dark skin' (22), but in light of the German play, this seems unlikely (but see Smith on the use of vizards for blackface).

different way from *Titus* and the chapbook prose history (see below, pp. 44–5). Whereas Tamora is eager to eradicate the child born of her amorous indiscretion, Aetiopissa hopes to preserve her son’s life by sending him to live with his paternal grandfather, who may be imagined to be a sub-Saharan black African like Morian. The baby is not an aberration that needs to be killed off as in *Titus*. Rather, the infant can be integrated into a vision of the Roman Empire that hosts a diasporic community represented by an African patriarchal figure. This may suggest that the source play on which *Titus* is based (see below, pp. 36–40) had a more hopeful and inclusive vision of racial difference than it did after being reworked by Peele and Shakespeare.

THE SOURCE OF *TITO* *ANDRONICO*

The relationship between *Tito* and *Titus* has been examined in this introduction. The main action of the two plays is similar, and many echoes between the English play and *Tito* are detailed in the Commentary, but there is reason to believe that *Tito* was not directly based on the English play as we know it. Some scholars have been keen to identify *Tito* as an adaptation of *Titus*, including Creizenach (5) and Fuller (12). Yet from Albert Cohn in his 1865 edition of *Tito* onwards, other scholars have voiced serious doubt about a direct line of descent. Most importantly, Jonathan Bate, in his revised Arden edition of *Titus Andronicus* (2018), has changed his earlier view that *Tito* is ‘a translation of Shakespeare’s play into plain German prose, with heavy cutting and a reduction of the cast to twelve parts’ (Ard³ *TA*, 43). Instead, he now suggests that *Tito* may be based on an earlier version of the English play called *Titus and Vespasian* (Ard³ *TA*, 138–9). In what follows, we discuss this possibility in relation to several pieces of interrelated evidence, in particular

the Peacham drawing, early references to *Titus and Vespasian*, and the chapbook prose history and ballad of Titus Andronicus.

The Peacham drawing

There is a single-leaf manuscript in the library of the Marquess of Bath at Longleat House (Wiltshire, Great Britain) commonly referred to as ‘the Peacham drawing’.¹ The manuscript is of importance to scholars of early modern drama because it is a rare early modern document that may provide insights into Elizabethan costuming and theatrical practice. The leaf contains a pen and ink illustration (see Fig. 1) that depicts, from left to right, two male figures in military attire, a male figure in Roman



1 The Peacham drawing (Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, Great Britain).

¹ The document is among the Harley Papers (Harley Papers I, fol. 159v). An overview of the provenance of these papers is provided by Schlueter, ‘Rereading’, 171, and Waith, 26–7.

dress wearing a laurel wreath and holding a standard or staff while what appears to be a sceptre lies on the ground, a crowned, kneeling female figure in an apparent show of supplication, two kneeling men with their hands bound, and a black male figure gesturing with his right hand at the sword that he holds in his left hand.¹ The illustration is separated by a horizontal line from a stage direction, ‘*Enter Tamora pleadinge for her sonnes going to execution*’ (not in Shakespeare’s play), followed by a speech by Tamora that largely corresponds to *Titus* 1.1.107–23, and a reply from Titus that combines lines 124 and 128 from the same scene, with an additional two invented lines directed at Aaron that warn him to prepare for his death. Then follows a speech by Aaron that corresponds to *Titus* 5.1.124–44, where he boasts of his villainies, and, following Aaron’s speech, there is a speech prefix for Alarbus (who never speaks in *Titus*). Near the bottom left of the leaf is a signature, ‘Henricus Peacham’, with a date rendered in roman numerals, which has generally been identified as 1594 or 1595.² An annotation opposite the drawing

¹ Metz, in agreement with Wilson (21), suggests that the staff may be ‘a spear or a Roman *hasta*, a ceremonial staff’ (*Studies*, 233). For a discussion of the military attire and armour depicted in the drawing, see Holmes, 150–3.

² Chambers interpreted the date as either 1594 or 1595 (Metz, *Studies*, 234), as did Adams (33), given that the terminal ‘qt^o’ could be read as *quinto* or *quarto*. Foakes (*Illustrations*, 48) interprets the date more firmly as 1595, following Wilson (19), and Waith (23), who provides the most detailed interpretation. Metz (*Studies*, 235) notes that 1595 is ‘probably correct’. Bate (Ard³ *TA*, 39) does not overrule the 1595 interpretation but offers an alternative set of dates as possibilities (1604, 1614, 1615). The date was reinterpreted as 1594 by Berry (5–6). The signature has generally been associated with Henry Peacham (b. 1578), author of *The Complete Gentleman* (1622), who would have been sixteen or seventeen in 1595. Peacham’s abilities as a draughtsman are attested in his collections of emblems, among them *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612, STC 19511). Waith (24) draws comparisons between the Peacham drawing and some of Peacham’s emblem drawings that survive in manuscript (three were based on the 1603 edition of James I’s *Basilikon Doron* and were carried out between 1603 and 1619: Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 146; British Library MS Harleian 6855, art. 13, and MS Royal 12 A lxxvi; a later collection from c. 1621 is at the Folger Shakespeare Library: MS V.b.45).

reading ‘Henry Peachams Hande 1595’ was probably made by the nineteenth-century scholar and forger John Payne Collier and therefore cannot be trusted (Waith, 23; Ard³ *TA*, 39).

The fact that the drawing does not appear to depict any one given moment from *Titus* has given rise to a number of interpretations that attempt to make sense of the drawing and the circumstances of its composition. For instance, R. A. Foakes supposes that the ‘drawing does not fit any point in the action, and was probably not drawn from life’ (50), whereas Eugene Waith (25) conjectures that Henry Peacham may have been present at a performance of *Titus* at Burley-on-the-Hill in January 1596 and based the drawing on that performance. John Dover Wilson suggests that the drawing depicts a performance that the artist saw first-hand (20), and G. Harold Metz (*Studies*, 243) concurs, arguing that the drawing is a representation of a performance, either at Burley or one of the commercial theatres in London. A particular difficulty is the relationship of the image and the text underneath it. Although the interpolated stage direction and the lines from *Titus* that are found under the drawing make it tempting to assume that the drawing in some way represents the first scene of *Titus*, the discrepancies between text and image are great. Indeed, the text as it appears in the manuscript does not fully agree with any of the quartos or the Folio version of *Titus*.

For this reason, commentators such as Waith (22, 25) argue that the drawing is ‘comprehensive’ in that it depicts multiple episodes simultaneously, whilst Metz (*Studies*, 243–5) suggests that the image works in an emblematic way.¹ Like Metz, Bate invites us to consider the drawing as a ‘composite representation’ that offers not just a depiction of several distinct episodes from *Titus* but ‘an emblematic reading of the whole play’

¹ Waith follows Munro’s initial suggestion about the technique of simultaneous representation.

(Ard³ *TA*, 41). Bate proposes that read left to right, the first two figures should be taken as Roman soldiers, ‘who represent Titus’ victory in war and service to the state’ (Ard³ *TA*, 41), and that the third figure is Titus wearing a laurel bough and holding in his left hand a ‘ceremonial spear or staff’, dressed in a toga and breastplate, which signal his civic dignity and martial prowess (Ard³ *TA*, 41).¹ The figure kneeling before him is Tamora, whose ‘flowing dress of the exotic Goth’ (Ard³ *TA*, 41) and physical posture sets up a powerful contrast with Titus, while the two kneeling figures behind her are ‘emblems of all the play’s sons’ (Ard³ *TA*, 42). The final figure, Aaron, brandishes a sword ‘to indicate the deaths he has instigated’ (i.e. of Titus’ sons), which may also echo the drawing of his sword to protect his new-born son (Ard³ *TA*, 42), although Metz notes that Aaron here ‘personifies the indignation of the Gothic queen and princes’ (*Studies*, 244). In his interpretation of the drawing, Bate (Ard³ *TA*, 41) calls attention to the general division of Romans and Goths: the triumphant, virtuous Romans stand to the left, and are visually separated from the cruel, villainous Goths by Titus’ upright staff, thus setting up an opposition that sits at the very heart of the play.

Although such an interpretation generally reflects scholarly orthodoxy,² it nevertheless remains open to challenge because the emblematic and symbolic approaches do not fully explain the apparent discrepancies between the image and the text, which sit uneasily alongside one another. Part of the problem may be, as Foakes (*Illustrations*, 48) observed, that the drawing

¹ Ard³ *TA* (41) agrees with Wilson (20–1), who identified the figures on the left as soldiers because they, unlike the central figure (Titus), are not wearing Roman costume as one might expect. Wilson (21), in light of the text below the drawing, assumes that Titus’ sons are offstage with Alarbus, but this takes for granted that the drawing and the text correspond to one another. In his discussion of armour on the early modern stage, Holmes (150–3) identifies the figures as Titus’ sons.

² See Waith, 23–7.

could have been made first and the text added later, perhaps by a different hand. June Schlueter subscribes to Foakes' suggestion and argues that the drawing is a representation of a Titus play that pre-dates *Titus* and is preserved in the German *Tito*, which she claims was based on the lost play, *Titus and Vespasian* ('Rereading'). It is for this reason, she argues, that there is an awkward relationship between the image and the text: 'we must conclude that the Shakespearean lines were added by someone whose assumption about the drawing confused and misled generations of scholars' ('Rereading', 176).

Schlueter states that there is a 'clear correspondence' (176) between the Peacham drawing and Act 1 of *Tito*. Although *Tito* calls for all principal characters except Victoriades to be present at the beginning of the play, Andronica, who ought to be in the drawing by this logic, is not depicted, perhaps, Schlueter argues, on account of her silence in this scene ('Rereading', 174). Schlueter invites us to see the figures, from left to right, as corresponding to Vespasianus, Titus, the Emperor, Aetiopissa, Helicates and Saphonus, and Morian, which would account for the absence of Victoriades (who is absent from Act 1). Schlueter's argument is attractive. The kneeling female figure and the bound men behind her certainly correspond more closely to Aetiopissa and her two sons in *Tito* than to Tamora and her three sons in *Titus*. Furthermore, the sword Morian brandishes may be a visual representation of his former military status, which he describes at the end of Act 1 and which is not in *Titus*.¹

Schlueter's suggestion that the drawing was based on a lost play that served as the source for *Tito* yields interesting insights into the disagreements between the drawing and the text in the Peacham manuscript. However, despite its insights, Schlueter's reading of the drawing is not without its problems. In particular,

¹ Waith (23) notes the disjunction between Aaron's apparently lacklustre apparel in *Titus* and the magnificent attire of the Moor in the Peacham drawing.

the identification of the central figure as the Emperor rather than Titus is open to question, as Richard Levin has demonstrated ('Longleaf', 325–9). Levin challenges the idea that the bearded male figure, who is wearing a laurel bough, could be anyone but Tito, given that the stage directions and the dialogue in Act 1 differentiate between the bough worn by Tito and the imperial crown that is eventually given to the Emperor (327–8). Levin (326) also takes issue with Schlueter's proposition that the drawing is a literal representation of Act 1 of *Tito*. For instance, he draws attention to Morian's sword, which is present in the drawing, although the text says nothing about it at this point, so it must either be read as a symbol of his former military exploits, or as a literal rendering of Morian later in the play. Furthermore, in the text Morian is alone when he delivers his speech on his past villainies, so the presence of other characters in the drawing only makes sense if we assume that the drawing represents different moments from Act 1 simultaneously (Levin, 326).

Where Levin rejects Schlueter's argument in its entirety, we suggest that the Peacham drawing may be a composite representation of the first scene of an early Titus play that served as the basis for *Tito* and was later reworked into *Titus*. Read left to right, the figures may represent Titus' son and brother, Titus wearing his laurel bough, the supplicant captive Queen, who kneels and holds up her hands in an action that is suggestive of her subordinate position and reliance on Titus' mercy, her two sons, also bound to signify their status as prisoners, and the Moor as he appears at the end of the Act, no longer wearing a 'humble' cloak and boasting of his military supremacy. In fact, the Moor's right hand is raised, the index finger pointing in the direction of the Queen (suggestive of their amorous dalliance) and towards Titus (recalling the hand-to-hand encounter the two men have had in *Tito*; see 1.1.123–7). The presence of the Moor's sword is a detail that may be symbolic, but otherwise, the depiction of this figure agrees with what he wears in *Tito*. If we accept that the drawing may be a

composite and, given Andronica's absence, also selective representation, it corresponds remarkably well to what comes down to us textually in Act 1 of *Tito*.

Such a reading raises the question of why Titus' brother would be present in the drawing when he is not called for in the opening stage direction of *Tito*. A possible answer is that *Tito* is not a perfect translation of the lost play. Indeed, even if *Tito* correctly records the characters present in the opening scene of the play as it was performed in Germany, there is no guarantee that the equivalent of Victoriades would have been missing from the source play as performed in England, all the more so as the constraints of a travelling company often necessitated a trimming of certain roles on account of doubling.¹

Given the disagreements between image and text in the Longleat manuscript, Metz proposes that the drawing 'should be studied directly, not through or under the guidance of or influence of the appended verses' (*Studies*, 242). If we follow this invitation to think about the drawing without the impediment of reconciling it with the text that follows, it is easy to imagine that what we have in front of us is a representation of an *Ur-Titus*. Given the other evidence to support a lost *Ur-Titus* presented below, it seems plausible that the drawing is based on a performance of that play.² If Foakes and Schlueter are right that the text was added by a different, and perhaps later, hand, this would account for the discrepancy between the opening scene of *Titus* and the illustration. Schlueter's call to reinterpret the Peacham drawing in the light of evidence preserved in *Tito*

¹ As noted above (p. 3), *Tito* could be performed with a minimum of ten actors, and if this was the case then it may not have been possible to have Victoriades on stage.

² Metz (*Studies*, 241) quotes Foakes on the likelihood that the drawing was done from memory, although there is no reflection on the amount of time that could have elapsed between the performance and the drawing (i.e. it could have been a number of years, in which case the date on the manuscript may reflect the year in which the artist executed the drawing, not the year in which he saw the play).

is thus useful, even though the evidence is too complex to allow for more than a tentative conclusion.¹

Titus and *Vespasian and the Ur-Titus*

Schlueter's argument that *Titus and Vespasian* is an early Titus Andronicus play revives an old set of assumptions about the content of this lost play and its possible relationship to *Titus* and *Tito*. Cohn proposed that in *Tito* 'the original form of Shakespeare's tragedy . . . may still be distinctly seen to glimmer through' (cxii), and that 'original form' he assumed to be the lost *Titus and Vespasian*. Cohn's point was based on the agreement of the characters' names – Vespasian and Vespasianus – and not much else, yet it does not follow that he was necessarily wrong.

The existence of *Titus and Vespasian* is attested by a series of entries in Philip Henslowe's 'diary' that notes performances in the early 1590s. The first entry records a performance of the play by Lord Strange's Men at the Rose theatre: 'ne – Rd at tittus & vespacia the 11 of ap^ell 1591 [i.e. 1592] iij^{li} iijj s' (Foakes, *Diary*, 17). Henslowe's use of 'ne' has generally been taken to refer to a play that was new or possibly newly licensed after revisions (Foakes, *Diary*, xxxiv–xxxv; Knutson, 1–3). Six more entries for the same title (two of them omit the extra 't' from 'tittus') follow between 20 April and 6 June in the same year. After a six-month interval the season was resumed for a further month, and there are three more entries that refer only to 'Titus' without 'Vespasian' between 6 and 25 January 1593

¹ Note that Schlueter, in a so far unpublished essay, has recently revisited the Peacham drawing and its relationship to *Tito*. She proposes a new interpretation of the date (in the 1570s, if the third letter in the date is taken as a 'g', or in the 1570s or 1560s if the third letter is taken to be a long 's'), and argues that Henry Peacham senior, not his son, may have been responsible for both drawing and text, which record 'visually and literally, an early scene from *Titus and Vespasian*' ('Longleat', 10). We are grateful to Schlueter for sharing her essay with us.

(‘titvs’, ‘tittus’, ‘titus’) (Foakes, *Diary*, 19–20). Under the entries pertaining to the Earl of Sussex’s Men for the year 1594, there is found a ‘ne’ play performed on 23 January: ‘titus & ondronicus’, two more performances of which are noted (‘titus & ondronicus’ on 28 January and ‘tittus & ondronicus’ on 6 February) (Foakes, *Diary*, 21).

Apart from Henslowe’s entries and the presence of Vespasianus in the German play, early allusions may point to a connection between the lost play, *Tito*, and *Titus*. *A Knack to Know a Knave* was first entered in Henslowe’s diary as ‘ne’ on 10 June 1592, when it was performed by Lord Strange’s Men. The quarto of *Knack*, published in 1594, contains three direct references to Emperor Vespasian¹ and an allusion to Titus that may point to subject matter found in *Titus*:

My gracious Lord, as welcome shall you be,
To me, my Daughter, and my sonne in Law,
As *Titus* vnto the Roman Senators,
When he had made a conquest on the Goths:
That in requitall of his seruice done,
Did offer him the imperiall Diademe:
As they in *Titus*, we in your Grace still fynd,
The perfect figure of a Princelie mind.

(*Knack*, sig. F2v)

It is tempting to suppose that this refers to *Titus Andronicus* or an early version thereof. If so, the fact that *Knack* combines references to both Vespasian and Titus may be reason to suspect that *Titus and Vespasian* was indeed an early version of *Titus*, and therefore the version that served as the source for *Tito*.

¹ ‘Lyke wise *Vaspasian*, *Romes* rich Emperour’ (sig. A2r); ‘Or lyke *Vaspasian*, *Romes* vertuous gouernour, / Who for a blowe his sonne did giue a Swaine, / Did straight commaund that he should loose his hand. / Then vertuous *Edgar*, be *Vaspasian* once,’ (sig. B3v).

Henslowe's entries tell us that the play was popular, but they are unable to tell us what the play was about. For Cohn, the name *Vespasianus* was evidence enough to show that the lost play must have focused on the same material as the German play. For others, such as Eleanor Grace Clark, the link was too tenuous. She argued instead that the lost play was about the historical emperor *Vespasian* (AD 9–79), and the siege of Jerusalem by his son *Titus* in AD 70, who was promoted to joint emperor on his return to Rome (Clark, 524). More recently, Martin Wiggins has also identified the lost play with the siege of Jerusalem story, suggesting that the play may have drawn 'on the medieval romance version of the story (*The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian*, printed c. 1508)'.¹ Yet Bate has argued that *Titus and Vespasian* may have been the *Ur-Titus*. If it was, he suggests (Ard³ *TA*, 138–9), the conjunction 'and' in the original title may explain why Henslowe misnamed the revised play 'Titus & Ondronicus' when it was performed by the Earl of Sussex's Men on 23 January 1594 (Foakes, *Diary*, 21).² Scholarly opinion on the subject matter of the lost *Titus and Vespasian* thus remains divided.³

¹ Wiggins, 3.172–3 (172). Thomas Nashe's *Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem* (1593), which discusses the historical *Titus* and *Vespasian* and the siege of Jerusalem, contains a number of important parallels with *Titus*, such as the presence of a rival named 'Saturninus', an act of cannibalism where a mother eats her own son, and a hand being cut off (see Tobin, 186, and Streete, 56).

² Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, 1.319) notes the 'appearance of a *Titus and Vespasian* in a Revels list of plays about 1619' and suggests that it 'gives some confirmation to the view that the titles are equivalent'. For a discussion of the list and the titles found therein, see Chambers, 'Review'. The fragment that bears the title 'Titus and Vespasian' is digitally reproduced on the Lost Plays Database: https://lostplays.folger.edu/Titus_and_Vespasian.

³ McCarthy and Schlueter propose that *Titus and Vespasian* was written by Thomas North (1535–1603?) in 1562 in response to Jasper Heywood's *Thyestes* (1560) and Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc* (1561). They argue that this play was later adapted by Shakespeare and Peele into *Titus Andronicus*, and that traces of North's original are preserved therein. Their evidence for this comes from an analysis, using EEBO and the plagiarism software WCopyfind, of 'rare or

If we suppose that Titus' son was called Vespasian in an earlier version of the English play, we need to ask why he would have been a titular character. W. W. Greg pointed out that the title of the German play, *Tito Andronico and the Haughty Empress*, is not the same as that of the lost English play, and argued that the role occupied by Vespasianus therein is subordinate rather than equal to that of Tito.¹ Yet the title of the play may have been changed by the travelling players or when *Tito* was prepared for publication in 1620. Moreover, although Tito is clearly the main protagonist in the German play, his son is not necessarily as 'subordinate' as Greg suggests. The play begins and ends with a powerful visual pairing of Vespasianus and the Roman crown: in Act 1, he holds the crown in his hand and announces his father's candidacy for the honour (1.1.1–13), and at the close of the play, Vespasianus exits with his uncle, who now holds the crown that he will bestow upon his nephew before the populace (8.2.75–7).² As demonstrated

exclusive phrases' (90) common to *Titus* and North's earliest surviving work, *The Dial of Princes* (1557). McCarthy and Schlueter also note the agreements between the chapbook prose history and *Tito* against Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus*, proposing that these shared elements refute 'the view that the Titus story in the German play and the prose history comes exclusively from the Shakespeare play' (93–4). They argue that all four extant versions of the Titus Andronicus story (*Titus*, *Tito*, the ballad and the chapbook prose history) have a common source, which they believe was most likely to have been North's *Titus and Vespasian*.

¹ Greg, *Diary*, 2.155.

² Braekman argues that the opening speech is wrongly ascribed to Vespasianus, and that Victoriades must have delivered it because it echoes lines spoken by Marcus in *Titus*, where he is a tribune and is thus in a position to act as spokesperson for his brother, whereas 'this is not the case with Vespasianus' (48). This is questionable, given Vespasianus' prominence in the play. If the play was performed with ten actors, perhaps it had to be decided whether it was more important to have Tito's brother or his son onstage at the beginning of the play (see Appendix, pp. 418–19). Having Vespasianus enter holding the crown in the opening scene may serve to foreshadow the play's ending, where Vespasianus exits in order to receive the crown formally.

above (see pp. 14–15), Vespasianus is an important character in *Tito*, perhaps more prominent than his equivalent in *Titus*. It may be significant that the original *dramatis personae* list of *Tito* begins with Vespasianus. The important role played by Vespasianus in *Tito*, together with the fact that *Tito* corresponds to material in the English chapbook prose history that is absent from *Titus*, may indeed be evidence that *Titus and Vespasian* was the *Ur-Titus* that Shakespeare and Peele later reworked.¹

The chapbook prose history and the ballad

The story of Titus Andronicus exists in three extant English versions: Shakespeare and Peele's play, a widely reprinted ballad, and a prose history. The prose history, entitled *The History of Titus Andronicus, the Renowned Roman General, Newly Translated from the Italian Copy Printed at Rome*, is extant in a mid-eighteenth-century chapbook printed by Cluer

¹ The existence of a lost *Ur-Titus* has important implications for the much-debated question of the date of *Titus* (see Ard³ *TA*, 136–9, and Metz, *Studies*, 190–7). The first performance of *Titus* is recorded by Henslowe's 'ne – Rd at titus & ondronicus the 23 of Jenewary [1594]' (Foakes, *Diary*, 21), when it was played by Sussex's Men. Scholars who take seriously the allusion to Titus in *Knack* (see above, p. 37) maintain that *Titus* must already have been in existence by 1592. Others opt for an even earlier date, in order to reconcile the date of *Titus* with Jonson's comment about audiences' tastes in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614): 'Hee that will sweare, *Ieronimo*, or *Andronicus* are the best playes, yet, shall passe vnexcepted at, heere, as a man whose Iudgement shewes it is constant, and hath stood still, these fiue and twentie, or thirtie yeeres' (sig. A5v). This would date the two plays mentioned between 1584 and 1589, which has led to speculation about *Titus* being a very early play indeed. However, Jonson might have been conflating the *Ur-Titus* with *Titus* in his appraisal of Andronicus' popularity with audiences. It is plausible that Shakespeare's *Titus* as we know it was composed, in the sense of being adapted from an older play, shortly before Henslowe's first recorded performance, which would warrant the description 'ne'.

Dacey.¹ The prose history largely conforms to the main points of the action found in *Titus*, but there are also some substantial departures and episodes that have no equivalents in the play. The narrative printed in the chapbook undoubtedly reproduces, or is otherwise based on, an Elizabethan source, but it is impossible to date this source.

The discovery of the chapbook led to scholarship that tried to identify the prose history as the source for *Titus*.² Adams (7–9) and Sargent proposed that the prose history must have been printed together with the ballad, citing John Danter's entrance in the Stationers' Register, dated 6 February 1594, of 'a booke intituled *a Noble Roman Historie of Tytus Andronicus*' and 'the ballad thereof' (Arber, 644).³ Most recent scholars consider it more likely, however, that Danter entered the play and the ballad at the same time (Waith, 2; Ard³ *TA*, 82).

The orthodox view today of the relationship between the three iterations of the Titus story is that the prose history was the source for *Titus*, which then served as the source for the ballad (Waith, 28–32; Metz, 'History' and 'Versions'). Yet there have been notable exceptions. Bate expands upon earlier arguments to propose a different order of composition,

¹ There is no evidence to indicate that this, or its Elizabethan precursor, was a translation of an Italian source. The chapbook was printed by Cluer Dacey sometime between 1736 and 1764 (see Adams, 8). The chapbook is in duodecimo and contains three generic woodcuts (a landscape with armoured figures, an interior scene of a couple at a table, and a bust of a woman), as well as some decorative end-pieces. There is only one extant copy of the chapbook, held at the Folger Shakespeare Library (ESTC N33327, call number PR3291.H685 Cage). We quote from and refer to the more easily accessible reprint in Geoffrey Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 6.35–44.

² There was some awareness of the prose history's existence in the nineteenth century (see the Malone-Boswell *Variorum*, 21.381, and Halliwell-Phillipps, 71). J. Quincy Adams was the first to remark at length on the significance of the prose narrative in his 1936 edition of *Titus*, which followed the discovery of the chapbook.

³ The earliest extant version of the ballad is entitled 'Titus Andronicus' Complaint', published by Richard Johnson in *Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights* (1620). The ballad is reprinted in Bullough, 6.44–8.

whereby *Titus* served as the basis for the ballad, and the ballad was expanded into the prose history in the eighteenth century (Ard³ *TA*, 82–4). Bate is dismissive of the idea that the chapbook could be the source of *Titus*, but he does add the caveat that ‘there is always the possibility that it drew on some other lost prose narrative or that Shakespeare was reworking a lost old play’ (Ard³ *TA*, 84). Bate does not address *Tito* in his consideration of the play–ballad–chapbook relationship, yet the German adaptation may shed light on it. There are a number of features on which *Tito* and the chapbook agree against *Titus*, which may imply that the prose history served as the source for a lost *Titus* play that was taken to the Continent by travelling players and is now preserved in *Tito*.¹ If this early version served as the source for *Titus*, this would explain why particular episodes are altered further, shifted or removed altogether.

Aetiopissa’s haughty nature is identified in the play’s full title (she is ‘der Hoffertigen Käyserin’, the haughty Empress) and is repeatedly referenced throughout the play (see note on p. 189). The chapbook likewise describes the Goth Queen, Attava, as ‘an imperious Woman, and of a haughty Spirit’ (38), and her political ambition is noted in the narrative when she ruthlessly plots to have her sons made heirs to the Emperor (39–40). In *Tito*, Aetiopissa is the driving force behind the outrages perpetrated against the Andronici; Morian claims several times that he was sent by Aetiopissa to trick *Tito* into cutting off his hand, which is also the case in the chapbook, where Attava ‘sent the Moor in the Emperor’s Name’ to cheat *Titus* out of his hand (41).² Sargent

¹ Braekman (9.38–108) discusses the parallels between the chapbook and *Tito*. Two such parallels that are absent from *Titus* are present in the Dutch *Aran en Titus* (1641): the Moor’s military status (see 1.1.105–12n) and the fact that his paramour murdered her husband in order to be with him (see Buitendijk, ll. 535–8). Braekman suggests that *Tito* and *Aran en Titus* may be based on an *Ur-Titus* (9.37, 110–17; 10.16–17).

² Aaron claims he is sent by the Emperor (3.1.151), although his comments later in the play suggest otherwise (5.1.111–20).

notes that in the prose history ‘the Moor never emerges as an independent character; he remains, until his concluding confession, the instrument of the Queen’ (176), which is also true for Morian in *Tito*, but not for Aaron in *Titus*. There are two other correspondences. For instance, Tito’s plan to sell his property in order to raise an army and be revenged upon the Emperor and Aetiopissa (5.1.62–4) echoes the beginning of the chapbook account, where Titus ‘got together Friends, and sold whatever he had of value to hire Soldiers’ (36) in order to help Rome defeat the Goth invaders. Andronica’s unnamed husband (see p. 169) is likewise unnamed in the chapbook, where he is the Emperor’s son rather than brother.¹

There are likewise a number of transposed echoes between the chapbook and *Tito*.² Morian’s long speech at the end of the opening scene echoes the fortunes endured by the Goth King in the chapbook. The first chapter of the prose history provides an account of how the Goths laid siege to Rome and Titus came to Rome’s rescue. While the Goths are undeniably the aggressors in the chapbook, Titus’ attack on them following the siege calls to mind Morian’s description of the Roman invasion of Ethiopia

¹ In the chapbook narrative (39) and the ballad, Titus’ daughter is betrothed to the son of the Emperor, which is also the case in Hieronymus Thomasius’ *Titus und Tomyris*, a German adaptation of Vos’ Dutch *Titus* play (see below, p. 50). In the chapbook, Attava, her two sons and the Moor invite Lavinia’s consort ‘to hunt on the Banks of the River Tyber, and there murder him . . . by shooting him thro’ the Back with a poisoned Arrow’ (40). In the 1699 performance programme of a German adaptation of Vos’ play, it is noted that the Goth King was killed by Thamera and Aran (i.e. Tamora and Aaron) by means of a poisoned arrow shot by an assassin, which loosely echoes the murder of Lavinia’s consort in the chapbook. Likewise, there may be an echo of this episode in Vos’ adaptation (which might have been based directly or indirectly on an early English or German Titus play; see Braekman, 10.11–19). In the chapbook the hunt that heralds the untimely end of Lavinia’s consort is held ‘in the great Forest, on the Banks of the River Tyber’ (40), whilst in *Aran en Titus*, Lucius rushes in to announce that a great boar has been sighted on the banks of the Tiber, and the court then proceeds to the hunt (see Braekman, 10.23).

² See Braekman, 9.43–108, and McCarthy and Schlueter, 93–4.

(1.1.112–30). The chapbook narrative notes how Titus’ forces ‘made such a Slaughter, that the Cry and Confusion were exceeding great’ (36), and relates how during this encounter Tottilius ‘labour’d to rally his flying Men; but being desperately charged by Andronicus, he was thrown from his Horse and much wounded’ (36). When Tottilius escapes, he leaves ‘the rich Spoils of his Camp, the Wealth of many plunder’d Nations, to Andronicus and his Soldiers’ (36). These details are similar to Morian’s description of the Roman invasion of Ethiopia: the Romans ‘devastat[ed] and destroy[ed] the land with unheard-of cruelty’ (1.1.114–15) and ‘took many spoils’ (1.1.128). Morian tells us that ‘I saw my ranks dissolve, beaten like dogs’ (1.1.123), and his demise is similar to that of Tottilius: ‘old Tito rushed at me and – something that no man had ever done before – struck me off my horse with his lance so fiercely that I didn’t know whether I were dead or alive’ (1.1.124–7). The similarities between the fortunes of Tottilius and Morian’s account of his former exploits may suggest that the prose history influenced the character of the Moor in the version of the play that eventually served as the basis for *Tito*.

The circumstances pertaining to Morian’s banishment from the royal court following the King of Ethiopia’s growing suspicions (1.1.90–4) also calls to mind features of the prose history. There, the Moor is first introduced after the Goth Queen has married the Roman Emperor and given birth to a dark-skinned child, which she attempts to explain away by saying it was ‘conceived by the Force of Imagination’ (39).¹ This rouses the Emperor’s anger and leads to the Moor’s banishment and Attava’s later measures to secure access to her paramour once more, which she does by feigning illness and reporting a supposed vision that called for the Moor’s return (39). In *Tito*, according to

¹ The power of the imagination to imprint on the foetus was credited by a number of early modern physicians. For example, Ambroise Paré (sig. 4N3v) considered it a possible cause of unnatural or monstrous offspring.

a passage with no equivalent in *Titus*, the Empress also overcomes the problem of being separated from the Moor, which she does by poisoning her husband (1.1.98–100); this happens before she comes to Rome and becomes pregnant with Morian's child.

There may also be an echo of the chapbook's Roman Emperor raising 'a mighty Army in Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England' (35) in the report of Vespasianus travelling across the Roman Empire and raising a diverse army (5.2.37–42). While *Titus* does not specify the number of troops raised by Lucius, *Tito* insists on 'sixty thousand horsemen in full armour' (7.1.3), which may echo the 'threescore thousand' (35) men that the Roman Emperor loses to Tottilius at the beginning of the prose history. There are also instances where the order of the action in *Tito* agrees with that of the chapbook against *Titus*. For example, in the English play, Titus' severed hand and the heads of his sons are returned (3.1.235–301) after Lavinia has been brought to her father (3.1.59–150), whereas *Tito* places the equivalent action before the mutilated daughter is discovered, as does the chapbook.

There is a strong case to be made, then, for rethinking the relationship between the prose history and *Titus* in light of *Tito* and its relationship with the lost Titus play. The similarities between the prose history and *Tito* suggest that an early version of the prose history may have been the source for an earlier English Titus play that was eventually taken to the Continent by travelling players, before it was reworked into Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus*. If we suppose that *Titus* is the play taken to the Continent and then adapted into the version that comes down to us as *Tito*, it would be surprising if *Tito* independently invented material that also happens to be found in the chapbook. It seems just as unlikely that the travelling players would import details of the prose history into their performances after taking the play to the Continent. Indeed, a more plausible way of reconciling the agreements between *Tito* and the chapbook is to suppose that the prose history served as the source for a now lost Titus

play that was taken to the Continent by travelling players but also served as the basis for Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus*.

The preceding sections have demonstrated that *Tito* provides valuable insights into the contested relationship between *Titus* and the Peacham drawing, *Titus and Vespasian* and the chapbook prose history. There are suggestive correspondences between the first Act of *Tito* and the Peacham drawing, and a number of parallels between *Tito* and the chapbook prose history, which agree against *Titus*. The evidence from the preceding sections strengthens the possibility that *Tito* does not derive from *Titus* but is based on an earlier version, a lost *Ur-Titus*, which revision turned into Shakespeare and Peele's *Titus Andronicus*.

GERMAN TITUS PLAYS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Titus plays were very popular in Germany, as surviving evidence demonstrates. Understandably, *Tito* is the most well-known early German adaptation of this material, given that it has been available in English translation since the nineteenth century. There are two known seventeenth-century performances of *Tito*, both of which took place in a school in Kronstad, Siebenbürgen (present day Braşov, in the Transylvanian region of Romania). Evidence of these performances comes from the diary of Johannes Stamm, a chronicler of Siebenbürgen (Klein, 233). In February 1677, Stamm mentions the performance of a play about 'Tito Andronico and his son Vespasiano' ('von Tito Andronico und seinem Sohn Vespasiano') (*Quellen*, 201). This play was performed again in 1687, and Stamm provides a longer description:

These plays are acted, namely the first one about how Abraham wants to sacrifice Isaac at God's command; the other one about Andronico and his son Vespasiano,

how they recruit people from foreign lands to fight against the Emperor, and how they finally invite the Emperor and his godless wife (who was an instigator of this homegrown war) to a feast, and how during the feast *Andronica*, the Empress, *Andronicus* himself and finally also the Emperor are killed.¹

The correspondences with *Tito* relating to the recruitment of soldiers in foreign lands and the identification of the Emperor's 'godless wife' as the instigator of domestic strife, as well as the mention of 'Vespasiano' and 'Andronica' make clear that the text used for the performance must have been *Tito*. The school's constitution dictated that two plays be performed every year (and this since 1543; Fassel, 183), so it is reasonable to assume that dramatic texts were collected in the school library, and that they held a copy of the Leipzig volume of *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (1620; 2nd edn 1624).

Tito might also have been performed in Lüneburg in 1666, under the title *Von Tito Andronico, welches eine schöne Romanische Begebenheit, mit schöner Außbildung* (*Of Tito Andronico, which is a goodly Roman Story, of pleasant Making*, Gstach, 644). The fact that no mention is made of a Goth Moor, as is the case in the records of other performances noted below, makes it at least possible that this performance used *Tito* as its basis.

Based on the available evidence of performances and printed material pertaining to Titus plays, it would seem that it was Jan Vos' Dutch adaptation, *Aran en Titus, of Wraak en Weerwraak: Treurspel* (*Aran and Titus, of Revenge and Counter-revenge: A Tragedy*), written in 1638 and published in 1641, that was most

¹ 'Werden diese Comedien agiert, als die erste wie Abraham auf Gottes Geheiss seinen Sohn Isac opfern will; die ander vom Andronico und seinem Sohn Vespasiano, wie sie wider den Kaiser Volk aus fremden Land aufbringen und zuletzt den Kaiser mit seinem gottlosen Weibe (welche ein Anfängerin ist dieses einheimischen Krieges) zu Gast bekommt, und in dieser Gasterei die *Andronica*, die Kaiserin, und *Andronicus* selbst und zuletzt auch der Kaiser umbracht werden' (*Quellen*, 210).

popular in seventeenth-century Germany.¹ The popularity of *Aran en Titus* cannot be overstated: the play was frequently performed and went through many editions in its home country. A Latin version was performed at the gymnasium in Tiel in 1658 and survives in a printed edition (the translation was probably made by Caspar van Baerle for the rector, J. van Aelhuisen).² German adaptations of Vos' play were popular throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, both commercially and as school performances. It is unclear how Vos' play was first translated into German, but the German dramatist Georg Greflinger promised a translation of a play entitled *Andronicus mit dem Aron (Andronicus with Aron)* in the preface to his translation of Pierre Corneille's play, *The Ingenious Tragicomedy called Cid (Die Sinnreiche Tragi-Comoedia gennant Cid)*, Hamburg, 1650, sig. *2v). It is unclear whether this translation was ever completed or published, but it is evident that Greflinger was referring to Vos' play, particularly since the reference comes in the context of Spanish and Dutch plays.

The earliest evidence of a performance of Vos' play in Germany comes from a school production in Schwäbisch Hall in May 1656, described in a programme entitled *Aran und Titus, Oder Tragödia von Raach und Gegen-Raach (Aran and Titus, or a Tragedy of Revenge and Counter-revenge)*.³ The programme was printed by Hans Reinhard Laidigen in a quarto pamphlet of eight pages, which includes a list of roles and the names of the boys who played them, as well as an act-by-act summary. The action as we find it in the summary reflects Vos' play, and the text used by the boys probably came from a troupe

¹ Vos might have based his play on Adriaen Van den Bergh's lost 1621 translation. See Braekman, 10.17–19, and Buitendijk, 64–5.

² This was entitled *Aran en Titus. Mutua vindictio, interprete schola Thielana (Aran and Titus. Mutual Revenge, Acted by the Thiel School)*. See Fuller, 14, and Worp, 53.

³ This document contains a scene-by-scene summary of the action, a short preamble, an 'epilogue' and a list of roles together with the names of the boys who played them. See Rudin, 'Textbibliothek', for a discussion (79–80) and reproduction of this programme (99–105).

of travelling players, whose presence is noted in Schwäbisch Hall that same year. Bärbel Rudin's research demonstrates that the High German (Hoch Teutschen) comedians sold a Moorish cloak, a sceptre and a crown to the City, and that costs for an unbound book of various comedies ('ein vngebunden Buch von vnderschiedlichen comoedien') were met by the Rector ('Textbibliothek', 79). Some months later, in July 1656, the High German comedians petitioned to perform *Von dem Tapffern Römer Tito Andronico* (*Of the Brave Roman, Tito Andronico*) at Strasbourg, where a note in the hand of the actor Christoph Blümel describes the play as 'a stately, well-written history, for the first time translated into German, and never seen here before' ('eine statliche, wolgeschriebene Histori, die erst ins teutsche gebracht, und noch nie hier gesehen worden'; Rudin, 'Textbibliothek', 79). Whilst the title in Blümel's petition does not explicitly relate to Vos, the fact that the comedians can be traced to Schwäbisch Hall suggests that they were in possession of a German translation of Vos' play (see below, pp. 51–2). Blümel was an educated man, whose handwriting and name can be identified in a number of extant manuscript playtexts from the *Wanderbühne* (Rudin, 'Textbibliothek', 78–9; see p. 51, n. 2), so he may have been responsible for the translation himself, or used a text prepared by someone else like Greflinger.

There is evidence that the High German comedians performed a translation of *Aran en Titus* at Augsburg around 1658. An extant playbill pamphlet entitled *Rach und Gegen-Rach: oder: Titus undt Aran* (*Revenge and Counter-revenge, or Titus and Aran*) contains a supplication to the city signed by Johann Ernst Hoffmann, Peter Schwartz and Andreas Hart.¹ They had travelled and performed with Blümel, and would work with him again later. The High German comedians spent the autumn and winter season of 1656–7 at Heidelberg Castle, so it is unsurprising that they attached the title 'Heidllbergische' to their troupe (Rudin,

¹ A digital reproduction is available through the Bavarian State Library: <https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb11206615.html>.

‘Textbibliothek’, 81–2). The pamphlet contains a prologue, and choruses for Acts 2, 3, 4 and 5, all of which appear to be free verse translations of their equivalents in Vos’ *Aran en Titus*.

The popularity of Vos’ *Aran en Titus* in Germany is further evidenced by Hieronymus Thomasius’ adaptation, entitled *Titus und Tomyris Oder Traur-Spiel, beygenahmt Die rachbegierige Eyfersucht (Titus and Tomyris, or a Tragedy called the Vengeful Jealousy*, Giessen, 1661; reissued 1662). This version retains the alexandrines and classical style of its source, but the choruses are omitted, and there are many local embellishments and additions to the dialogue. There is no evidence that this play was performed.

There are many performances of Titus plays in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1667, at Nürnberg, Carl Andreas Paulsen’s troupe acted *Die Comoedie von Tito Andronico und dem Mohren Aron (The Comedy of Tito Andronico and Aron the Moor)*,¹ while Johannes Velten’s troupe performed *Der Berühmte Römische General Titus Andronicus vnd grausamer Tyrann Aran Gottischer Mohren General (The Famous Roman General Titus Andronicus and the Cruel Tyrant Aran, the Goth Moor General)* at Bevern Castle in 1680 (Junkers, 169; Gstach, 617, 679–80, 686). In 1685 there are several accounts and ledger references to a Titus play performed in Český Krumlov (south Bohemia) by the Eggenberg comedians (Záloha, ‘Divadelní’, 71; Hejnic and Záloha, 51–2). The text that was probably used for this performance is extant in a collection of manuscript *Wanderbühne* plays held at the Vienna Rathaus Library (call number Ia 38589). The undated play is

¹ This performance is documented by Birken; he notes that ‘the Emperor Saturninus falls for the captive Goth Queen, who had an affair with the Moor’ (‘Key[ser] Saturninus hängt sich an die gefangene Gothische Königin, die mit dem Mohren buhlte’, 300). Birken mentions seeing a revival of this production the following year: ‘I saw the comedy of the sold and returned Andronico’ (‘Die Comoedie vom verk[auften] und wiederbeck[ommenen] Andronico gesehen’, 397). See also Gstach, 617.

entitled *Titus und Aran* (*Titus and Aran*) and appears to be a free prose translation of Vos' *Aran en Titus*. The choruses are omitted but the names agree with Vos, except for Titus' daughter, who is called Lavinia instead of Rozelyna. Rudin ('Textbibliothek', 78–81) has convincingly demonstrated the likelihood that Blümel's troupe, who had performed Vos' play in Germany, were responsible for this manuscript version, given that various members of their company formed the Eggenberg troupe, including Hoffman, Schwartz and Blümel himself,¹ whose signature and hand are found in other of the plays in the Vienna Rathaus Library collection.² Other plays in the collection can be traced to Český Krumlov by their watermarks or by the fact that their titles are also found in the castle's household records.³

There is an extant plot summary of a 1699 performance by the High German comedians in Linz, entitled *Tragoedia genannt Raache gegen Raache. Oder Der Streitbare Römer Titus Andronicus* (*The Tragedy called Revenge against Revenge, or: The Brave Roman, Titus Andronicus*) (Cohn, 'Breslau'). Rudin ('Textbibliothek', 81) argues that the Eggenberg version of the play was performed in this instance. There is another mention of a Titus play in the 'Weimar Index' of plays (Dutchess Anna Amalia Library, call number Fol 421/32), which lists *Der mörderische gothische Mohr sampt Dessen Fall und End* (*The Murderous Goth Moor and His Demise and End*). Here, as in many of the other titles mentioned above, the reference to a

¹ On the beginnings of the Eggenberg comedians, see Zálóha, 'Eggenbergischen', 265–7.

² For a recent edition of *Aran und Titus*, see Hulfeld and Mansky (97–180). The sixth play contained in the Vienna Rathaus Library collection of *Wanderbühne* plays, *Comaedia von der glückseligen Eifersucht zwischen Rodrich und Delmira von Valenza* (*The Comedy of the Blissful Jealousy between Rodrich and Delmira of Valencia*), contains a title page bearing Blümel's name, and Český Krumlov castle records provide evidence of a payment for *Die Eifersucht* in the year 1677 (Zálóha, 'Divadelní', 70). Likewise, *Aurora und Stella* (*Aurora and Stella*), which is present in the collection, is also mentioned in the castle records for the year 1688 (see Zálóha, 'Divadelní', 71).

³ See Schindler.

Goth Moor means that this play was not based on *Tito*, where the Moor is not a Goth. These texts and traces of performance suggest that translations of Vos' *Aran en Titus* were more popular than the version that we find preserved in *Tito*, but, unlike *Tito*, they all date from the second half of the seventeenth century, not the first.¹

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

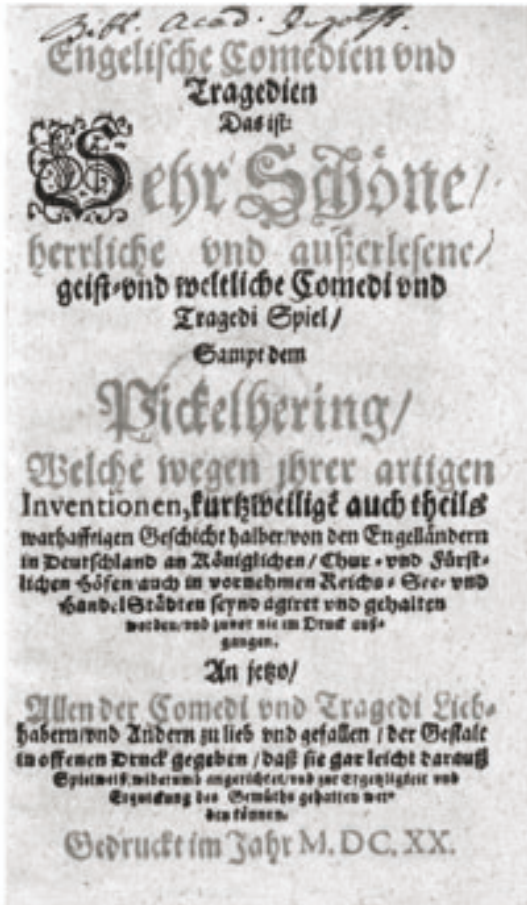
The Englische Comedien vnd Tragedien of 1620 and 1624

Tito Andronico appeared in 1620 in an octavo collection of plays entitled *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (VD17 39:120191N) (see Fig. 2). Translated into English, the title page reads:

English Comedies and Tragedies, that is, very pleasant, delightful and select spiritual and worldly comic and tragic plays, with Pickelhering, that on account of their agreeable inventions and entertaining and partly true stories have been performed and set forth by the English in Germany at royal, electoral and princely courts as well as in distinguished maritime and trading towns, and have never been previously printed. Now for all lovers of comedies and tragedies and to please others these are publicly printed in such a fashion that they can be easily prepared for performance and serve for the delight and recreation of the mind. Printed in the year 1620.²

¹ There are no known modern performances of *Tito Andronico*.

² 'Engelische Comedien vnd / Tragedien / Das ist: Sehr Schöne, / herrliche vnd äußerlesene, / geist- vnd weltliche Comedi vnd / Tragedi Spiel, / Sampt dem / Pickelhering, / Welche wegen jhrer artigen / *Inventionen*, kurtzweiligen auch theils / warhafftigen Geschicht halber, von den Engelländern / in Deutschland an Königlichen, Chur, vnd Fürst-/lichen Höfen, auch in vornehmen Reichs-See- vnd /



2 Title page of *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (Leipzig, 1620) (University Library, LMU Munich, shelfmark: W 8 P.germ. 46).

Handel Städten seynd agiret vnd gehalten / worden, vnd zuvor nie im Druck auß-
gangen. / An jetzo, / Allen der Comedi vnd 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.'

The collection contains ten plays (including two Pickelhering plays) and five short interludes or jigs. The plays appear in the following order: 1) *The Comedy of Queen Esther and Haughty Haman* ('COMOEDIA. Von der Königin Esther vnd hoffertigen Haman', sigs A4r–G3v); 2) *The Comedy of the Prodigal Son in which Despair and Hope Are Agreeably Introduced* ('COMOEDIA. Von dem verlornen Sohn in welcher die Verzweiffelung vnd Hoffnung, gar artig introduciret werden', sigs G4r–L1v); 3) *The Comedy of Fortunato and his Purse and Little Wishing Hat* ('COMOEDIA. Von Fortunato vnd seinem Seckel vnd Wünschhütlein', sigs L2r–R6r); 4) *A Pleasant, Merry, Triumphant Comedy of a King's Son of England and a King's Daughter of Scotland* ('Eine schöne lustig triumphirende Comoedia von eines Königes Sohne auß Engellandt vnd des Königes Tochter auß Schottlandt', sigs R6v–Y3v); 5) *An Entertaining Merry Comedy of Sidonia and Theagene* ('Eine kurtzweilige lustige Comoedia von Sidonia vnd Theagene', sigs Y4r–2D3v); 6) *A Pleasant, Merry Comedy of Somebody and Nobody* ('Eine schöne lustige Comoedia, von Jemand vnd Niemandt', sigs 2D4r–2K7r); 7) *The Tragedy of Julio and Hyppolita* ('Tragaedia. Von Julio vnd Hyppolita', sigs 2K7v–2N4r); 8) *A Very Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico and the Haughty Empress* ('Eine sehr klägliche Tragædia von Tito Andronico vnd der hoffertigen Käyserin', sigs 2N4v–2S4r). The two Pickelhering plays are called *A Merry Pickelherring Play of Fair Maria and the Old Adulterer* ('Ein lustig Pickelherings Spiel von der schönen Maria vnnnd alter Hanrey', sigs 2S4v–2U8v) and *Another Merry Pickelherring Play in which he Makes Merry Jestes with a Stone* ('Ein ander lustig Pickelherings Spiel, darinnen er mit einem Stein gar lustige Possen machet', sigs 2X1r–2Y5v).¹ The collection concludes with dramatic anecdotes in verse, or jigs (sigs 2Y6r–3B7v), with accompanying musical notation. They are preceded by the

¹ For the Pickelherring plays in the 1620 volume, see Hilton, 292–9.

advice, ‘The following English excerpts may be acted between the comedies’ (‘Nachfolgende Englische Auffzüge können nach Beliebung zwischen die Comoedien agiret werden’, sig. 2Y6r). Each jig focuses on Pickelhering or a clown figure.¹

The first two plays deal with popular biblical subjects: the Old Testament story of Queen Esther, and the Gospel narrative of the prodigal son.² The third play dramatizes the story of *Fortunatus* which originated in an early sixteenth-century German chapbook and was later dramatized by Hans Sachs in 1553 in Germany and in two English versions: the lost *First Part of Fortunatus* (mentioned by Henslowe in 1596; Foakes, *Diary*, 34–7) and Thomas Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus*, published in 1599. The *Comoedia von eines Königes Sohne auß Engellandt vnd des Königes Tochter auß Schottlandt* may well preserve the contents of a lost English play (see Wiggins, 4.21–2). *Sidonia vnd Theagene*, on the other hand, is clearly based on a German verse play, Gabriel Rollenhagen’s *Amantes Amentes*, published in Magdeburg in 1609, although Rollenhagen may himself have been influenced by the plays of the English comedians (Seelmann; Haekel, 125–8). The final comedy in the collection, *Jemand vnd Niemandt*, is based on the anonymous English play *No-body and Some-body*, printed in 1606 but perhaps performed as early as the 1590s (Bosman, 570).³ The first tragedy in the collection, *Julio vnd Hyppolita*, bears some resemblance to Shakespeare’s *Two Gentlemen of Verona*,⁴ and is followed by *Tito Andronico*, the Pickelhering plays and the jigs. The order of the plays may

¹ For the jigs in the 1620 collection, see Cohn, cviii–cix; Braekman, 9.13; Hilton, 299–302; and Baskerville, 515–49. For early modern English jigs more generally, see Clegg and Sheaping, and Baskerville.

² The first play might be related to the lost ‘heaster & asheweros’ mentioned in Henslowe’s diary on 3 June 1594 (Foakes, *Diary*, 21), although Haekel (205–12) considers it likely that it derives from German sources.

³ A German manuscript of 1608 with a different version of this play is also extant; see below, p. 77.

⁴ For *Julio vnd Hyppolita*, see Cohn, cxi, 113–56.

reflect a conscious decision to start with the biblical pieces, before progressing to less respectable matter and genres.¹

Between the title page and the plays, the volume contains a four-page, unsigned prefatory epistle (sigs A2r–A3v), which makes a case for the importance of drama by commenting upon the dignity of actors in ancient Rome. As Fredén has shown, almost the whole preface is copied or closely adapted from a passage in *La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, by Tommaso Garzoni, which had first been published in Venice in 1585 (Fredén, *Friedrich*, 9–15). In fact, Garzoni's encyclopedic work had appeared in a German translation, by Matthäus Merian, in Frankfurt in 1619: *Piazza Universale, das ist: Allgemeiner Schauwplatz* (VD17 12:109736B). The *Piazza universale*, a massive folio of over 700 pages, consists of 153 'discorsi', or 'Discurs' in Merian's translation, of which the 103rd is entitled 'Von Comicis, vnd Tragoedis, beydes denen, so sie beschreiben, vnd denen, so sie spielen' ('Of comedies and tragedies, both they who write and they who act them'; sig. 3B4v). It takes up four pages, and the preface is essentially derived from the first of them (sig. 3B4v).² Since the preface in the 1620 collection is unsigned, it is unclear who wrote it (but see below, p. 73). What seems clear, however, is that it must have been added not long before the collection was printed.

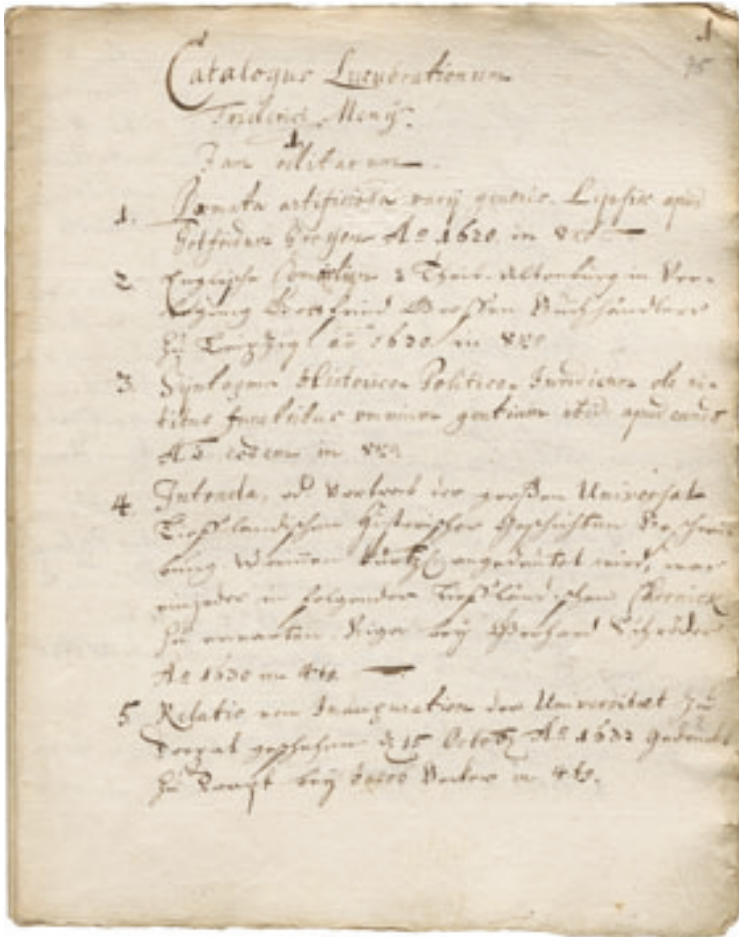
The 1620 volume is entirely anonymous: it mentions no author, translator, adapter, theatre company, publisher,

¹ For the plays in the 1620 volume, see also Schlueter, 'Across'; Haekel, 120–31, 165–80; Noe; and Cohn, cvii–cix.

² For an example of the close correspondence between the two texts, compare the following two excerpts: 'So ist hingegen gewiß vnd auß allen Historien bekandt, daß auch etlichen *particularen* beydes vmb ihrer Kunst vnd dann vmb ihrer Tugendt willen grosse Ehre, vnd solches auch öffentlich ist erzeiget worden' (*Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*, sig. A2v); 'so ist doch gewiß vnnnd auß allen Historien bekandt, daß auch etlichen *particularen* beydes vmb ihrer Kunst, vnnnd dann vmb ihrer Tugendt willen grosse Ehre, vnd solches auch öffentlich ist erzeiget worden' (Garzoni, *Piazza Universale*, sig. 3B4v).

bookseller, printer or even place of publication. Yet quite a lot can be inferred about the genesis of the collection from other sources. In 1921, the Swedish scholar Johan Nordström published a handwritten list by the German-born academic Friedrich Menius (1593/4–1659) of works he had written (see below, pp. 58, 66–8), which includes ‘English Comedies, 2 parts. Altenburg, published by Gottfried Grosse, bookseller in Leipzig, 1620, in octavo’ (‘Englische Comoedien 2 Theil. Altenburg in Verlegung Gottfried Großen Buchhändlers zu Leipzig. a:o 1620. in 8:vo’) (Nordström, ‘Friedrich’, 86–91, 87). The information in the Menius manuscript (Uppsala, University Library, MS Nordin 1997; see Fig. 3, number 2) is also in a printed list of publications appended to Menius’ *Syntagma de origine Livonorum* (Dorpat, 1632 (1635), sigs G2r–G3v), a book about the origins of the Livonians, who lived in what is now northern Latvia and southern Estonia.¹ Much of the information Menius provides about the title and size of the collection of plays is confirmed by the Leipzig book fair catalogue of spring 1620, *Catalogus Universalis* (VD17 1:066359V), published by Gottfried Grosse and Abraham Lamberg, which mentions ‘English Comedies and Tragedies together with the Pickelhering, Leipzig, at Gottfried Gross’, 8°, 1620’ (‘Engelische Comoedien vnd Tragoedien sampt den Pickelhaering, Leipzig bey Godfrid Großen, in 8’, sig. F3v). The same information appears in an entry in Georg Draud’s *Bibliotheca librorum germanicorum classica*, published in Frankfurt in 1625 (VD17 12:154632L), a massive 800-page bibliography of German books. In a list of ‘Comedies of various worldly stories, including virtues and vices’ (‘Comedien von

¹ ‘Catalogus Lucubrationum Friderici Menii’, in *Syntagma de Origine Livonor[vm]* (Dorpat: [Jacob Becker], 1632 (1635), sigs G2r–G8v). The information in the printed list is almost identical with that in the manuscript; it reads, ‘Engelische Comoedien 2. Theil. Altenburg in Verlegung Gottfried Großen Buchhändlers zu Leipzig. a:o 1620. in 8:vo’ (sig. G2r).



3 Friedrich Menius, 'Catalogus Lucubrationum Friderici Menij' (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, shelfmark: Nordin 1997).

allerhand Weltlichen Geschichten, auch Tugenden vnd Lastern’, sig. 4A3r) is a reference to ‘English Comedies and Tragedies together with the Pickelhering, Leipzig, at Gottfried Grosse’, 8°, 1620’.¹ The information provided by Menius about the publisher and the place of publication is thus confirmed by independent sources.

Gottfried Grosse (1591–1637) was a bookseller and a publisher, but he was not a printer, and Menius’ list tells us that the book was printed in ‘Altenburg’, a town about thirty miles south of Leipzig.² A printer in Altenburg who is known to have produced books that were published in Leipzig is Johann Meuschke (also spelled ‘Meuschken’). In 1618, for instance, Meuschke printed Adam Cramer’s *Kurtzer Aber doch außführlicher Extract auß denen Böhemischen Stad-Rechten und Lands-Ordnung* (VD17 7:707597S) and three sermons (*Drey FestPredigten*) by Heinrich Eckhard (VD17 12:207509N), both published by Henning Grosse, the younger, Gottfried’s brother, in Leipzig. In 1623, Meuschke printed another of Cramer’s sermons, *Regenten Ehrenpreiss* (VD17 39:103550G), published by Caspar Kloseman in Leipzig. He has been identified as probably the first printer in Altenburg, active from at least 1610 to 1633 (Hauthal, 22). Other Altenburg printers, Johann Bernhard Bauernfinck, Johann Michael, Otto Michael, Gottfried Richter, Johann Ludwig Richter and George Konrad Rüger, are known to have been active later in the seventeenth century (Bürger, 150–1). It seems very likely, then, that Meuschke printed the 1620 *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*.

Gottfried Grosse was from a family of Leipzig booksellers and publishers. His father, Henning Grosse (1553–1621), is known to have published at least 938 titles in the period from

¹ ‘Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien sampt dem Pickelhäring, Leipzig bey Gottfried Grosse 8 1620’ (sig. 4A3r).

² Benzing (1149) notes that Grosse in fact owned a printing house but leased it to a fellow Leipzig stationer, Johann Albrecht Mintzel.

1580 to 1621; he played an important role in moving a significant part of the German book trade from Frankfurt to Leipzig (see Brauer). Gottfried became a partner in his father's business in 1618 and took it over from him after his death, publishing at least 549 titles in the period from 1618 to 1637. He became an alderman of the City of Leipzig in 1623. Gottfried's older brother Friedrich (1580–1602) had set up his own bookshop quite a bit earlier, which another brother, Henning the Younger (1582–1622), took over after his early death (Brauer).

Gottfried Grosse's publications, like his father's, were mostly theological and religious in nature, notably sermons (like Johannes Andreae's *Vier Geist- und Trostreiche Evangelische Predigten*, 1619, VD17 14:017557D, and Johann Meelführer's *Postilla Davidica*, 1619–20, VD17 14:666249W); theological tracts, in Latin, like the *Decas Quaestionum* (1621, VD17 14:028545Q), by Erhart Lauterbach and Tobias Schubart, and in German, like Balthasar Marschner's pamphlet against purgatory, *Päpstischer Irrwisch* (1630, VD17 23:649084E); prayer books like the *Andächtige Christliche Gebet* (1624, VD17 14:681366B); and Luther's hymns, entitled *Geistliche Lieder* (1621, VD17 7:684853N). Grosse also took over from his father the publication of the important Leipzig book fair catalogue, as well as the *Continuatio* (e.g., VD17 39:124315U), a precursor of the newspaper, which regularly appeared in time for the Leipzig book fair and contained political and military news that had accumulated since the previous fair. Grosse also occasionally published books of other kinds, like a Hebrew language manual by Wilhelm Schickard (*Der Hebraische Trichter*, 1629, VD17 23:293103G), or a Latin collection of orations, letters and religious poems by the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret (1619–20, VD17 28:730179B). Grosse published few literary titles, and those he did seem to have been mostly in Latin, like Ovid's elegies (*P. Ovidii Nasonis De Ponto Libri IV*, 1627, VD17 1:060931C) and a collection of six comedies by Terence, *P. Terentii Afri Comoediae Sex superstites*

(1632, VD17 1:043285K). An exception to this rule was Zacharias Lund's collection of poems, *Allerhand artige Deutsche Gedichte* (1636, VD17 23:293764M). Apart from the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (the 1620 and the 1630 volumes; see below, pp. 71–4), Grosse appears not to have been involved in the dissemination of plays in the vernacular.

A second edition of the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*, also in octavo, appeared in 1624. The title page replicates that of the first, save for an additional line that announces that the collection is a corrected reprint ('Zum Andern mal gedruckt vnd corrigirt').¹ Although some of the printer's errors in the first edition were indeed corrected, new ones were introduced. The second edition was clearly set from the first, but type shortage seems to have led to the use of a mixture of differently sized typefaces, including in the portion that contains *Tito* (see Figs 4 and 5).² The frequent changes in font size, which give the volume an unusual, unprofessional appearance, suggest that Grosse was not involved in its publication. Indeed, there is no trace of it in the relevant Leipzig book fair catalogues where one would have expected it to be mentioned, that is, those of autumn 1623, spring 1624 and autumn 1624.³

¹ One copy of the second edition has survived with a title page of the first edition, and another copy with a facsimile title page of the first edition (see below, p. 80), which has led to scholarly confusion. Creizenach's comments about the collection, for instance, clearly indicate that he mistook the second edition for the first (lxxiv), and Brennecke based his translation on a copy of the second edition (17).

² The replacement of the first edition's roman type by fraktur (a German black-letter typeface) in many gatherings may imply that a Latin text was concurrently printed, which led to a shortage of roman type.

³ In 1670, the Frankfurt publisher Johann Georg Schiele issued three octavo volumes entitled *Schau-Bühnen Englischer und Frantzösischer Comödianten* (*Theatre of English and French Comedians*) of which the second (VD17 35:725477W) contains three plays previously published in the 1620 collection (*Fortunato*, *Sidonia and Theagene*, and *Another Merry Pickelherring Play*) and the third (VD17 35:725483X) two such plays (*Queen Esther and Haughty Haman* and *Prodigal Son*). See Noe, 3. The third volume also contains three plays of the 1630 collection (Noe, 51). *Tito Andronico* was not reprinted until the nineteenth century.

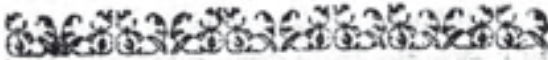
Dienet nim ihn alß bald von hinnen / vnd vberantwort dem Hencker / daß er ihn von Stunden an weg henge.

Bote.

Gnädiger Herr Käyser / ich hoffe nicht / daß mir hie wird Gewalt widerfahren / vnd den Hencker vberantwortet werden / dann solches were wieder allen Kriegsgebrauch / ich habe ja nichts mehr gethan / sondern die Vorsehung meines Herrn also aufgerichtet / wie er sie mir befohlen hat.

Keyser.

Es hilft nichts dazu / dein Leben muß dir genommen werden / hörstu nicht Dienet nim ihn alßfort für meinen Augen weg. etc.



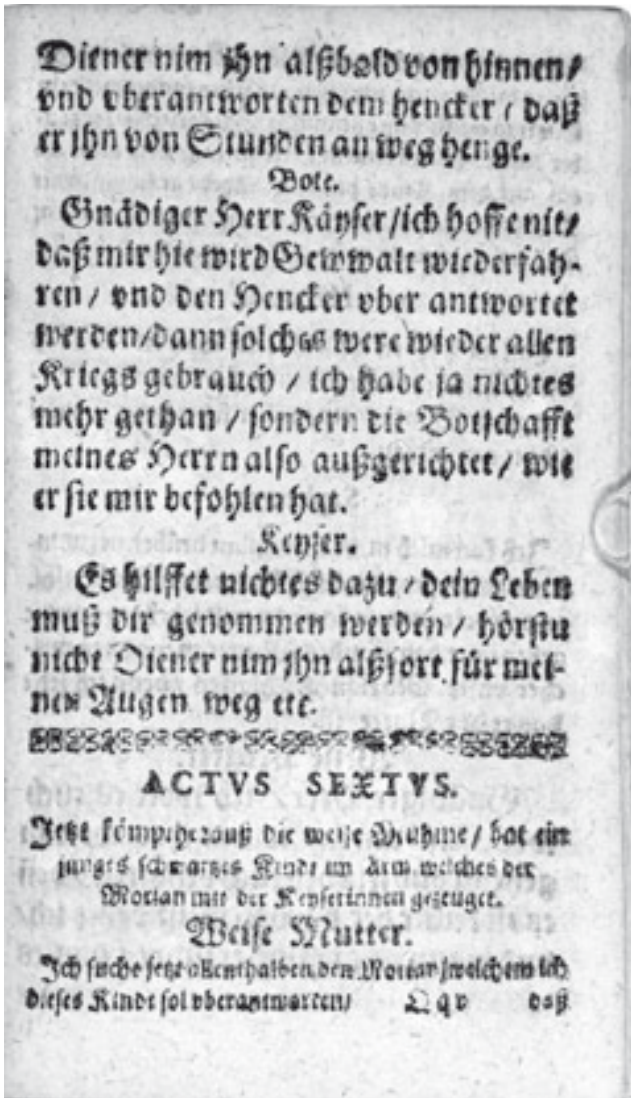
ACTUS SEXTUS.

Zetzt kömpther auß die weise Muhme / hat ein junges schwarzes Kinde im Arm / welches der Morian mit der Käyserin nen. gezeuget.

Weise Mutter.

Ich suche jetzt allenthalben den Morian / welchem ich dieses Kinde sol vberantworten /
Q v daß

4 Sample page of *Tito Andronico*, in *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (Leipzig, 1620), sig. Qq5r (University Library, LMU Munich, shelfmark: W 8 P.germ. 46).



5 Sample page of *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (n.p., 1624), sig. Qq5r (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, shelfmark: R 17 Come 1).

Friedrich Menius and the 1620 Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien

Before we investigate Menius' involvement in the 1620 *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*, including *Tito Andronico*, it will be useful to clarify who he was and what is known about him. He was born in 1593 or 1594 in the small town of Woldegk in Mecklenburg of which his father, Franz Meyn, was the mayor. He went to school in the neighbouring Friedland, after which he studied at the University of Rostock, probably from 1609 to 1615, and the University of Greifswald, from 1615 to 1617. In 1617, he married and settled in Wolgast as a public notary, referring to himself as 'juratus & immatriculatus Notarius Caesareus' (Fredén, *Friedrich*, 25). Menius moved to Poland in 1621, leaving behind his wife, Sophie, for reasons that are unknown. In 1625, he committed bigamy by marrying the sister of Georg Mancelius, a former colleague at the University in Rostock. Around the same time, he started collecting documents relating to the history of Livonia. In the late 1620s, Menius became acquainted with a number of Swedish dignitaries, including the nobleman Gustav Horn, a member of the Royal Council, who was appointed as a field marshal in 1628. It was through Horn's intercession that Menius was appointed field chaplain for the Swedish troops in Livonia, and when Horn was called to Germany to participate in Gustavus Adolphus's intervention in the Thirty Years' War, he entrusted the management of his estate in Livonia to Menius.

In or around 1630, Menius seems to have briefly served as a pastor near Riga before being offered a post as a history teacher at the gymnasium (grammar school) at Dorpat (now Tartu). When Gustavus Adolphus, in 1632, upgraded the gymnasium to a university, Menius became its first professor of history and antiquities at the newly founded Academia Gustaviana. His quiet, scholarly life in Dorpat seems to have ended in 1637 when a dispute led to the discovery of his bigamy (although his

first wife had died in the meantime). He escaped arrest by leaving in a hurry and was outlawed from Dorpat. In the following year we meet him in Ösel (Saaremaa), today an Estonian island but in Menius' time in Danish possession, where he alienated the local governor and other dignitaries. Having moved on to Sweden, he appears to have secured a position as a supervisor in a copper mine in Småland, perhaps through the intercession of his brother, Dietrich Meyn, who was a cook at the royal court in Stockholm. Menius later moved to Stockholm where, in 1644, he published a mystical-occultist work, *Consensus Hermetico-Mosaicus*, which claims to explain the origins of all things visible and invisible. Menius published the book under a pseudonym, Salomon Majus, but this did not prevent him from getting into trouble with the Lutheran authorities. He was arrested, prosecuted and condemned for heresy. Queen Christina seems to have asked for his execution, but he was pardoned after spending a year in prison and making a public recantation. He tried to secure a position as the queen's historiographer, but that understandably came to nothing. His career as a scholar was over, and little more is known about him until his death in 1659.¹

It is worth noting in the present context that during his time at the University of Dorpat, Menius seems to have been assigned the title of poet laureate. In January 1633, he contributed to a booklet congratulating Petrus Goetschenius on becoming a licentiate in theology, signing as 'Frid: Menius P.L.C. Hist: & Antiq. Prof. Publ.', 'P.L.C.' standing for 'Poeta Laureatus Caesareus' (Flood, 1312–13). This need not imply, however, that Menius was a poet of extraordinary merit, for the title seems to have been an academic honorific.² That he wrote some poetry in Latin is known from the title of the now lost

¹ This biographical sketch draws on Fredén, *Friedrich*, 17–81; Fredén, 'L'auteur'; Donecker, *Origines*, 125–31; Beyer and Penman; and Åkerman, 87–91.

² For laureation in the Holy Roman Empire, see Flood, xlvii–cclv.

collection published in 1620 (see below, pp. 66–7), yet the fact that not a single copy of the collection has survived and that it does not seem to have received any further editions suggests that he remained little known as a poet. What German poetry of his that we have come across is of mediocre quality.¹ The fairly undistinguished and repetitive prose of *Tito* is by no means incompatible with his involvement in the play.

Menius' claim to involvement in the collection of 1620 depends upon the list of his own publications extant in manuscript and printed in 1635. Does the list provide reliable information? The reason why the question is worth asking is that the list of his published books is followed by that of his allegedly forthcoming publications, and the latter raises doubts about Menius' reliability. It consists of forty-six books and is divided into three groups according to format: twenty-one octavos, thirteen quartos and twelve folios. Not only has he decided on format, but he also informs the reader that many of his publications will appear with copperplates and will be in more than one language, typically Latin and German but occasionally also other languages. A history of Scandinavia, for instance, is planned for publication in four folio volumes, in Latin, German and Swedish (*Syntagma*, sigs G7r–v). As it turns out, not a single one of the forty-six books has come down to us, suggesting that most of his planned publications were little more than wishful thinking.²

What then of Menius' list of published books? The first three items are all said to have been published in Leipzig in 1620 by

¹ An excerpt from an elegy written on the occasion of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, in 1632, is quoted in Gadebusch (2.251): 'Der, der, der, der ist gestorben, / Der, der, der, der ist verdorben; / Ja die Frommen han verloren / Einen Vater auserkoren; / Ja die Bösen seyn entworden / Den, der ihn'n mit scharfen corden / War zur *disciplin* bereit'. A twelve-line German elegy of his, in alexandrines, is no better (see Klöcker, 313).

² For Menius' allegedly planned books, see Donecker, 'Arbeiten'.

Gottfried Grosse. The first is a collection of Latin poems, *Poemata artificiosa varij generis*; the second are the *Engelische Comoedien*; and the third is a comparison of funeral rites in different cultures and periods, entitled *Syntagma Historico-Politico-Juridicum de ritibus funebribus omnium gentium*. Of these, only the *Engelische Comoedien* are extant, whereas the other two titles seem to have perished and are not even mentioned in the Leipzig book fair catalogues of 1620 (or 1619).¹ The six other items were all published between 1630 and 1635, one in Riga in 1630 and five in Dorpat between 1632 and 1635. Of the six, four are prolegomena for his major planned work, which never reached print, a chronicle of Livonia ranging from the ancient past to the present: *Intrada und Vortrab der grossen Universal Lieffländischen Historischer Geschichten Beschreibung* (Riga: Gerhard Schröder, 1630) is an announcement and sketch of the great chronicle; *Historischer Prodromus des Lieff-ländischen Rechtes und Regiments von Anfang der Provintz, Erfindunge, als auf I: K: M: von Schweden Gustavi M: Todt* (Dorpat: Jakob Becker, 1633) is about the history of Livonian law; *Diatriba Critica de Maris Balthici nominibus et osijs* (Dorpat: Jakob Becker, 1634) examines various names used to designate the Baltic Sea since ancient times (Donecker, ‘Arbeiten’, 39); and *Syntagma de origine Livonorum Dorpati* (Dorpat: n.p., 1635) presents materials related to the origins of the Livonians. The other two titles are an account of the opening ceremony of the University of Dorpat, *Relatio von Inauguration der Universität zu Dörpat* (Dorpat: Jakob Becker, 1632), and a tract which counters an interpretation of a recently published sermon by Johannes Döling, according to which the Apocalypse was imminent, *Proba der Letzten Zeit von der großen Verfolgung, Restaurirung*

¹ This may suggest that the two lost titles received a small print run, perhaps subsidized by Menius himself.

des Wahren Gottes-dienstes, Vntergang des Pabstuhms, und Zukunfft des Jüngsten Tages (Dorpat: Jakob Becker, 1633). These six titles have all survived.¹ In sum, then, seven of the nine titles in Menius' list have come down to us, and the bibliographic information for all of them squares with that provided by Menius. Whereas the list of Menius' forthcoming publications should hardly be trusted, that of his published books seems entirely reliable. We thus have reason to believe that Menius' information about the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* of 1620 is trustworthy, and that he must indeed have made a significant contribution to the 1620 collection.

Menius included the 1620 volume of 'Englische Comoedien' in the list of his works, but the list as well as the octavo collection do not explain in what way exactly the volume is his. In the absence of clear evidence, scholars have arrived at different conclusions. Fredén ends his long study arguing that Menius deserves to be considered the author ('Verfasser') of the 1620 collection (*Friedrich*, 491). Haekel seems to endorse

¹ Of *Intrada*, a copy is preserved at the University of Tartu Library (shelfmark F 7,s.97). Of *Historischer Prodomus*, two editions are in fact extant, of which one is dated 1633 (VD 17 14:079927K) and the other, also published by Becker according to the imprint, is undated (VD17 39:123077C). (Referring to the end of the preface, VD17 claims that the latter edition is also of 1633, but the date in question, 20 October 1633, dates the original preface, not the edition's year of publication.) We know about only one copy of the first edition, at the Latvian National Library in Riga, whereas quite a number of copies are extant of the second edition, including one at the British Library (shelfmark G.R.C. 1436.b.46). See also Jaanson, items 35 and 36. Of *Syntagma*, at least three copies are extant: at the Latvian National Library in Riga, the Russian National Library in St Petersburg and at the Stiftsbiblioteket in Linköping, Sweden (Donecker, *Origines*, 124; Jaanson, item 89). *Relatio* is extant in various libraries (Jaanson, item 5); of *Proba*, at least two copies have survived: at the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen and at the University Library of Uppsala (Jaanson, item 37); and of *Diatriba*, two copies are known: at the Tallinn University Academic Library and at the Russian National Library in St Petersburg (Jaanson, item 70). For the contents of these six titles, see also Donecker, 'Arbeiten', 37–43.

Fredén's conclusion (117–18), as does Katritzky, who writes that 'Gustaf Fredén's author attribution is generally accepted' ('Paintings', 213). Braekman (9.22–5) and Bate (Ard³ TA, 43) suggest that Menius 'reported' the plays,¹ and John Alexander writes that Menius 'in all likelihood wrote down the texts from notes and memory' (463). Schlueter, by contrast, contends that 'despite earlier scholars' speculations that these texts were reconstructed from memory, it would appear that the notary, perhaps in his official capacity, had the resident company's playbooks in hand' ('Across', 232–3); accordingly, she holds that the volume was 'Compiled by Menius' ('*Fortunati*', 120). Marti similarly refers to Menius as the volume's 'Herausgeber' (360), i.e. editor.² Others have considered Menius as the plays' translator (Williams, 197) or even made of him the first translator of Shakespeare into German ('erster Übersetzer Shakespeares ins Deutsche'; Klöcker, 312). While Menius' involvement in the 1620 *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* is generally accepted, there is thus considerable disagreement over the exact form that involvement took.

By far the most sustained analysis has been undertaken by Fredén. He makes a detailed case for the presence of a recognizable hand in much of the volume whose characteristics are compatible with the assumption that it is Menius': a considerable number of Latinisms, usually with correct declensions, and Low-German vocabulary and syntax (*Friedrich*, 119–53); narrative, literary stage directions which often provide information that is also available from the dialogue text, often in the same words (*Friedrich*, 159–70); and stage directions which conceptualize entrances as a coming out ('heraus') and exits as a going in ('hinein'), in contradistinction to the English 'enter'

¹ Bate later refers to a stage direction in *Tito* as 'Menius' (Ard³ TA, 46).

² According to the 'King of England's Son' entry in the *Lost Plays Database*, the 'octavo volume [was] edited by Friedrich Menius'.

and ‘exit’ (*Friedrich*, 170–89).¹ These features are hard to reconcile with the assumption that Menius simply assembled theatrical manuscripts from a touring company and had them published more or less unchanged. That does not mean that Menius necessarily reported plays he had seen in performance. It is equally possible that he had access to theatrical manuscripts but revised them with a view to publication. In particular, he may have expanded and added stage directions.² The title page of the 1620 collection, we recall, insists that the plays are ‘printed in such wise that they can be easily prepared for performance and serve for the delight and recreation of the mind’, a comment that may reflect the particular attention Menius paid to stage directions in preparing the dramatic texts.

One question raised by Menius’ involvement in the 1620 collection is how it can be reconciled with the volume’s publication in Leipzig. Wolgast, where Menius resided, is on the Baltic Coast, almost 300 miles from Leipzig. So how did the manuscript get from Wolgast, where Menius may have seen plays performed by English players, to Leipzig, where Gottfried Grosse was involved in the book’s dissemination? The answer is difficult to recover, although it is just possible that it is bound up with contemporary politics: as the political crisis resulting

¹ Dahlberg has endorsed Fredén’s conclusion that the plays are likely to reflect Menius’ involvement, but he suggests that one play, *Sidonia und Theagene*, is of different origins and adopts different conventions (including Latin stage directions) from the others. The differences between *Sidonia und Theagene* and the other plays in the 1620 volume are more likely to be the result of the play’s close relationship to Rollenhagen’s *Amantes Amentes* (see above, p. 55), of which Dahlberg seems unaware, than of its derivation from the group of plays published in the 1630 collection *Liebeskampff*, for which he argues.

² Dahlberg claims to have identified a linguistic oddity in the 1620 volume that appears in both dialogue text and stage directions, namely the recurrent use of ‘hefftig’ (severe, intense) as an intensifier (‘hefftig gut’, ‘hefftig gross’, etc.), which he takes as evidence that the same writer was responsible for the dialogue text and the stage directions (329). Further analysis of the linguistic make-up of the plays in the 1620 volume might help to strengthen or invalidate Dahlberg’s argument.

from the beginnings of the Thirty Years' War was deepening, John George I, Elector of Saxony, convened a Kreistag in Leipzig to take place on 30 January 1620, to which Philip Julius sent delegates from Wolgast and Stettin (see Nicklas, 201–4; Thiede, 2.89). It is not impossible that Menius, as a public notary, was among the delegates, and that he took advantage of his stay in Leipzig to find a publisher for his manuscripts (not only the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* but also the Latin poems and the tract on funeral rites). Even if Menius did not personally travel to Leipzig, it is possible that he entrusted his manuscripts to someone else who did and who had them published on his behalf.

Menius' list of his own works appended to his *Syntagma de origine Livonorum* mentions 'Englische Comoedien 2. Theil' (sig. G2r), which has understandably puzzled scholars (e.g., Fredén, *Friedrich*, 490–1; Dahlberg). According to today's typographic conventions, '2. Theil' would mean *second part*, but conventions were looser in the seventeenth century than they are today, and, in any case, the manuscript in fact reads '2 Theil' which suggests that Menius meant *two parts*. If so, it may be tempting – but we think mistaken – to believe that the other part Menius had in mind is the collection published ten years after the first, in 1630, with the title 'Love's Fight, or the Other Part of the English Comedies and Tragedies, in which very pleasant, choice Comedies and Tragedies are to be found, never previously printed' ('Liebeskampff Oder Ander Theil Der Englischen Comoedien vnd Tragoedien, In welchen sehr schöne, außerlesene Comoedien vnd Tragoedien zu befinden, vnd zuvor nie in Druck außgegangen'; VD17 23:285896G). Like the 1620 collection, that of 1630 mentions the year of publication on the title page but no printer, publisher or bookseller. Yet the catalogue of the Leipzig book fair of autumn 1629, *Catalogus Universalis*, published by Gottfried Grosse and Abraham Lamberg (VD17 1:069589P), mentions in a list of 'German books in sundry arts' ('Teutsche Bücher in allerhand

Künsten'), 'English Comedies, the other part, published by the author, Leipzig, to be found at Gottfried Grossen's, 8°' ('Englischer Comaediën Ander theil, in Verlegung des *authoris*, Leipzig bey Gottfried Grossen zu finden. 8.', sig. D4r). The book fair catalogue of the following spring, again co-published by Grosse (VD17 1:069587Y), mentions the collection under its main title, 'Love's Fight, or the other part of the English Comedies and Tragedies, Leipzig, at Gottfriede Grossen's, in 8°' ('Liebes Kampf, oder Ander Theil der Englischen Comoediën vnd Tragoediën. Leipzig bey Gottfriede Grossen, in 8' (sig. E4v). Not only the title, 'Engelischen Comoediën vnd Tragoediën', and the designation of 1630 as 'the other part' ('Ander Theil') connect the 1620 and the 1630 volume. Much of the text on the two title pages is in fact identical (see Brauneck and Noe, 1.vii, 2.3). It should also be noted that the preface to the 1620 volume announces a follow-up volume with further plays if the first one is well received: 'Should it be the case that you enjoy [the plays] and find them pleasant, more of the same kind will follow soon' ('da man nun vermercken wird / daß sie ihnen lieb und angenemb / sollen derselben bald mehr darauff folgen', sig. A3v). Moreover, as has been shown by Richter (9–11), the Preface to the 1630 volume, like that of the 1620, is mostly copied from printed sources, notably chapter 34 of the second part (*Ander Theil. Der guldenen Sendtschreiben*) of Aegidius Albertinus' translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Epistolas familiares* (Munich, 1603, VD17 3:605728D; and reprinted in 1607, 1615, 1618 and 1625), and from a preface to the German translation of the Amadis chivalric romances, which had first appeared in 1569 (*Neue Historia vom Amadis auß Franckreich*, VD16 A 2113) and was frequently reprinted in the early seventeenth century (e.g. in 1617, *Das erste Buch der Historyen vom Amadis auß Franckreich*; VD17 1:631962N).

Given all these connections between the collections of 1620 and 1630, one might be forgiven for relating Menius' reference

to '2 Theile' to them. However, Menius unambiguously dates the whole publication 1620, and mentions no additional volume in 1630. Just as importantly, the plays in the 1630 volume are of a very different kind. Unlike the plays that make up the 1620 volume, those in *Liebeskampff* mostly have French and Italian dramatic sources rather than English. The conventions governing their presentation, such as their classical stage directions, are entirely different from those in the 1620 volume. As Price has written, 'Despite its secondary title, the *Liebeskampff* was published quite independently of its predecessor, though it was no doubt suggested by it and though it probably followed its example in some respects . . . The title and the style are Italian rather than English and the author was of Thuringian origin' (22), which is clearly not the case for the 1620 volume. What that means is that Menius' '2 Theile' must somehow relate to the material published in 1620. Perhaps he thought of the full-length prose plays as one part and the jigs, in verse, with accompanying musical notation, as the other. One cannot be sure about the meaning of Menius' '2 Theile', but it makes sense to assume, in keeping with Menius' bibliographic entry, that it refers solely to the 1620 publication, not to the two publications of 1620 and 1630.

A corollary of this argument is that the connections between the paratext of the 1620 and the 1630 collections originate with the publisher, not with Menius. Menius' name is notably absent from the 1620 collection, and this despite the fact that his bibliographic ego was by no means small, as suggested by his long list of his own past and future publications. What this may suggest is that Menius, or someone who acted on Menius' behalf, sold his manuscripts to Grosse, but that Grosse decided on the wording of the title page (with its absence of Menius' name) and contributed the (unsigned) preface. If so, it was Grosse, not Menius, who announced in the preface that another volume of plays would be published if the first one met with

approval – an announcement of a commercial spin-off that it makes sense a publisher would make.¹

*The 1620 Englische Comedien vnd Tragedien
and their theatrical origins*

It has been assumed that Menius probably attended performances of English players at the court of Philip Julius, Duke of Pomerania (1584–1625), in Wolgast (Braekman, 9.9; see also Schlueter, ‘Rereading’, 179).² That may have been the case, although it should be pointed out that the documentary record is too scant to allow for clear conclusions. Evidence about the presence of English players at Julius’ court was brought to light by C. F. Meyer, who did extensive research in the royal state archives in Stettin in which the ducal archives of Wolgast were preserved. Meyer shows that Julius hosted English players in 1606, when one Joachim von Wedel complained about the duke’s lavish spending: ‘recently, many and twenty of the English, musicians, acrobats, dancers and the clown, exercised the *artes voluptarias* [sensual arts], serving no purpose other than guzzling, indulgence and the furthering of disorder and wastefulness’.³ Later in the same year, the ‘Comedianten’ performed in nearby Loitz, where the prince’s mother had her residence, to which the ducal household seems to have been invited (Meyer, 200). The players set up their stage in the Castle

¹ An added complication is that the entry in the 1629 book fair catalogue mentions that the 1630 collection was published by the author (‘in Verlegung des *autoris*’). Who this author was and why the collection was published by him and only sold by Grosse now seems impossible to recover. For self-publication in the early modern German book trade, see Meurer.

² Nordström speculated that Menius ‘was a member of some English troupe of players’ (‘Editor’, 8) but observed that there is no evidence for it.

³ ‘[N]eulich etliche und zwanzig Engländer, musicanten, springer, tändler und der pussenreisser, so die *artes voluptarias* üben und anders nirgends zu nützen, als daß sie fraß, schwalg und ander unordnung und verschwenden befördern’ (Meyer, 199).

Church, much to the outrage of the court chaplain, Gregorius Hagijs, who vociferously complained in a series of letters to the duke and his mother. In one of his letters, he specifically objects that the plays were written and performed in an ‘unknown language’ (‘Ire Comedien in vnbekannter sprach geschrieben sindt und agirt werden’, Meyer, 203), no doubt in English.¹ According to Meyer, we next hear of English players (referred to as ‘Musikanten’, musicians) at the Wolgast court seventeen years later, in 1623. In a petition to the duke, dated 30 August 1623, prefaced ‘Der Musicanten Supplication’ and signed by ‘Richard Jones’, ‘Johan Kostreßen’ and ‘Robert Dulandt’, they ask for permission to return to England after a year’s employment at the ducal court.² A second, unrelated petition, dated 28 May 1624 and signed by ‘Musicant Richard Farnaby’, mentions an unspecified number of other ‘Musicanten’ (Meyer, 209) who were also at the Wolgast Court.³ The third and last petition, dated 10 July 1624, is by Richard Jones (signed ‘Richardt Jones / Engelender undt Musikant’; Meyer, 210), who is back in Wolgast and asking for employment after his projects in England had come to nothing (Meyer, 209–10).⁴

¹ Julius’ interest in English theatre is also documented from the time of his extensive travels in 1602 which led him not only through various parts of Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France, but also to England, where several visits to London theatres are mentioned in the travel account by his secretary and interpreter, Friedrich Gerschow (see von Blow and Powell).

² ‘Robert Dulandt’ is better known as Robert Dowland (c. 1591–1641), son of the lutenist and composer John Dowland (1563?–1626). See Greer, and Fredén, *Friedrich*, 111–12.

³ Richard Farnaby (c. 1593–1623), of whom a few musical compositions appear to be extant, is the son of Giles Farnaby (c. 1563–1640), the composer and virginalist (see Marlow). See also Fredén, *Friedrich*, 112–16.

⁴ For Jones, see Fredén, *Friedrich*, 110–11; and Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”. Meyer (207–8) also found a petition by students from the University of Greifswald who asked the duke for financial and logistical support in their staging of a tragedy at the University (whose patron the duke was). The date of this document is corrected by Fredén from 1619, as given by Meyer, to 1614 (‘L’auteur’, 423–4; *Friedrich*, 95).

The patchy documentary record brought to light by Meyer is thus confined to two periods: 1606 and 1623–24. Fredén seems to have come across additional relevant documents, but, frustratingly, he does not reference them. In 1607, Fredén claims, the duke ordered a small troupe of English ‘Musikanten’, based in Hamburg, to his court (Fredén, *Friedrich*, 104–6). Four years later, a group of English comedians asked for employment at the duke’s court,¹ and in the reply they received, they were asked to accept a previously made offer, or to depart (Fredén, *Friedrich*, 106). Fredén adds that bills dating from 1613 and the following years suggest that considerable amounts were spent on ‘Musikanten’ (*Friedrich*, 107), although it does not emerge whether these were English or German. All in all, then, what is known about the documentary record does not exclude the possibility that English players were present at the Wolgast court during the years (1617–20) when Menius might have witnessed them, and perhaps received, recorded or adapted their theatrical texts. Nor, however, should theatrical activity at the Wolgast court during the years in question be taken for granted.

More circumstantial evidence may be gathered about the origins of the plays by asking in what company’s repertory they may have been. The prominence of the name of ‘Pickelherring’ on the title page may provide a hint. The name soon became widespread and generic, but it was still recent in 1620 and had previously been associated with the actor George Vincent. In an account book of the court of Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony, an entry that can be dated to May 1615 records a payment to ‘Georg Vincint alias Pickelherring’ (Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”, 139), one of a number of English players at that court, including John Green (Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”, 141). It emerges from other records that Vincent and Richard Jones who, as explained above,

¹ Fredén points out that in this (unidentified) document, the word ‘Komödiant’ is used as a synonym for ‘Musikant’ (*Friedrich*, 106).

was at the Wolgast court in 1622 and 1623, were members of the company headed by Green. After their time at the court of Wolfenbüttel, for instance, they seem to have travelled east with other members of the troupe and can be found in Danzig in August 1615 (Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”, 141). Green had started his theatrical career on the Continent around 1603, initially as a member of a company led by Robert Browne, although he seems to have been in charge of his own troupe by summer 1607 (Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”, 137; *Foreign*, 203–7). We know about the repertory of the company led by Green thanks to a letter (commonly known as the ‘Theaterbrief’) by the Archduchess Maria Magdalena to her brother, the later Emperor Ferdinand II. The letter mentions ten plays performed in Graz from 6 to 19 February 1608, of which three are in the collection published in 1620: ‘die Comedi von dem verlorenen sohn’ (*The Prodigal Son*), ‘fortnatus peitl und Wünschhietel’ (*Fortunatus and his Purse and Wishing-cap*) and ‘Niemandts und iemandt’ (*Nobody and Somebody*) (Schrickx, *Foreign*, 332–3).¹ Of the last of these plays, a manuscript dated 1608 is extant with a dedication by Green to the Archduke Maximilian Ernest of Austria.² *Fortunatus*, as pointed out above, is based on Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus*, but the version in the 1620 collection has added the character of Pickelhering, which strengthens the connection between Green, Vincent (‘alias Pickelhering’) and the *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien*.

The centre of activity of Green and his fellow players seems to have moved further north by the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, when they are known to have spent three winters at the Warsaw court (1616–20) and at least part of a summer in Danzig (1619) (Schrickx, “‘Pickleherring’”, 144–

¹ For an English translation of the ‘Theaterbrief’, see Schrickx, *Foreign*, 208–12.

² For the 1608 manuscript and its relationship to the play printed in 1620, see Chambers, *Elizabethan*, 2.281–2; Flemming; Hay; Brauneck and Noe, 6.28–32; and Bosman.

5). Documents from the Acts of the Privy Council show that Vincent was intermittently back in England in 1617 and 1618, making provision ‘of certeyne necessaries for the use of the Prince his master and for the King and Queene of Poland’ (Schrickx, “Pickleherring”, 140) but probably also drafting further players for the troupe led by Green. Vincent, as Schrickx has pointed out, ‘was an important intermediary in providing entertainers for the troupe headed by Green’ (“Pickleherring”, 141). In the summer of 1617, Jones was back in England with Vincent, but in the following summer, Jones stayed on the Continent and Vincent returned from England to the Continent with his wife and children as well as with Jones’ wife.¹ We know that by 1622, Jones at least was at the Wolgast court, and he and fellow players may of course have been there before. There is thus considerable circumstantial evidence that associates the plays in the 1620 collection with Green, Vincent, Jones and their fellow players.

Given their presence in Danzig on the Baltic coast in 1619, it may be added that Wolgast, also on the Baltic coast and home to a ducal court, may have been an obvious destination for Green and his fellow players. Commenting on the travels of London playing companies, Andrew Gurr has stressed the comparative ease of ‘coastal shipping for their travels’: ‘The sea gave them quick and simple transport to many towns easy of access. Given the loads of expensive costumes and properties they had to carry with them for their plays, carriage by water was probably more secure than by cart or coach and horseback’ (63). What is true for travelling around Britain may also apply to travelling on the Continent. Although no records survive that demonstrate the presence of Green’s troupe in Wolgast during Menius’ presence there (1617–20), it would be compatible with what is known about their whereabouts.

¹ Two letters by Jones and one by his wife, all addressed to Edward Alleyn, have survived (see Greg, *Papers*, 33, 94–5; Schrickx, “Pickleherring”, 144).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the textual and theatrical origins of *Tito Andronico* are bound up with the plays with which it was published in the collection of 1620, and while some things can be recovered with some confidence about those origins, others remain uncertain. The collection, although published anonymously and without imprint, can be shown to have been published in Leipzig by Gottfried Grosse and printed in Altenburg, probably by Johann Meuschke. Thanks to the survival of a list of his publications, Friedrich Menius, a public notary in Wolgast from 1617 to 1621, is known to have been involved in preparing the plays for publication. Menius may have witnessed the performance of the plays at the Wolgast Court of Philip Julius, Duke of Pomerania, perhaps by the company led by John Green. It is likewise possible that Menius had access to the theatrical manuscripts and revised them with a view to publication. Just how different Menius' play texts are from those that were performed is now impossible to recover. It seems likely that many of the stage directions are essentially his, and it is possible that his contribution to the play texts, including to *Tito*, was substantial.

The 1620/1624 Englische Comedien vnd Tragedien: extant copies

Copies of the 1620 edition are extant in various libraries: the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Unter den Linden (two copies: call numbers Yp 5801 and Libri impr. rari oct. 255); the Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek in Erfurt/Gotha (call number Poes 8° 01527/02); the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (call number A: 105 Eth. (1)); the Universitätsbibliothek LMU in Munich (call number 0014/W 8 P.germ. 46); the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig (call number 94-8-4775); the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek in Hannover (call

number Lh 3308); the University of Chicago Library (Special Collections, call number PT1264.E57); and the University of Pennsylvania Library (call number V49.163 En3 1620).¹ The copies at the British Library (call number C.95.b.36) and the Folger Shakespeare Library (call number PR1246.G5 E59 Cage) belong in fact to the second edition (1624), although a 1620 title page (or, in the case of the Folger copy, a facsimile title page) has been added to them. Other extant copies of the second edition are at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (call number A: 100.1 Eth. (2)); the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen (call number 8PDRAM III, 30); the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (call number R 17 Come 1); the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (call number B4/DWB); the University of Pennsylvania Library (call number V49.163 En3 1624); and the Beinecke Library, Yale University (call number Zg17 A13 624). A fragmentary copy of the second edition is at the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar (call number Scha BS 4 A 02749).

Editorial history

The first modern edition of the German text was published in Ludwig Tieck's *Deutsches Theater* in 1817. Some decades later, Albert Cohn included the German text alongside an English translation by Moritz Lippner in *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands*

¹ Our edition of the German text (see above, p. xvii) has been prepared from the Munich copy. Four copies are imperfect and lack certain leaves: the first one at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Yp 5801) lacks A2, A7, A8, C3 and C6; the one at the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig lacks A1–B3; the copy at the University of Pennsylvania Library breaks off at leaf Y5 and lacks the five interludes placed towards the end of the volume; and the title page of the Chicago copy is a photostat facsimile.

and of the Plays Performed by them during the Same Period (1865). The German text was next published in Wilhelm Creizenach's *Die Schauspiele der englischen Kömödianten* in 1889, and, more recently, in Manfred Brauneck and Alfred Noe's *Spieltexte der Wanderbühne* (1970), which conservatively reproduces all the plays contained in *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien* (1620) and *Liebeskampff* (1630). These editions contain no or little annotation. The most recent German edition of *Tito*, with a slightly fuller apparatus, appears in an appendix to Markus Marti's German translation of the English play (2008).

There have been two translations of *Tito* into English. Lippner's translation in Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany* and Ernst Brennecke's in *Shakespeare in Germany 1590–1700* (1964). Brennecke's was unintentionally based on a copy of the second edition (1624): he used the copy at the Folger Shakespeare Library, to which a facsimile of the 1620 title page had been added. Lippner's text is entirely unannotated, and Cohn devotes no more than a page and a half to the play in the introduction (112–13). Brennecke's introduction, at four and a half pages, is longer, but not by much, and his annotation consists of merely three short footnotes. Despite the existence of two retranslations, little has thus been done before the present edition to mediate *Tito Andronico* to an English-speaking readership.

INTRODUCTION TO *KUNST ÜBER ALLE KÜNSTE, EIN BÖS WEIB GUT ZU MACHEN (THE TAMING OF THE SHREW)*

Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1592) has aroused lively debate right from the start. Shortly after its first recorded performance in 1608, John Fletcher wrote a sequel, *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed* (c. 1611), featuring the widower Petruccio triumphed over by his new wife Maria. The play continued to have a far-reaching effect throughout the seventeenth century as John Lacy produced another version, called *Sauny the Scot* (1667; printed 1698), which intensifies the violence against the female protagonist. But it was not only at home that Shakespeare's play prompted strong responses. *The Taming of the Shrew* reached the Continent by the middle of the seventeenth century, and a Dutch translation (and partial adaptation), Abraham Sybant's *De Dolle Bruyloft* ('The Mad Wedding'), was published in 1654. A first German version, *Die wunderbare Heurath Petruvio mit der bösen Catharine* ('The wonderful wedding of Petruvio with bad Catharine'), is known to have existed by 1658. *Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen* ('An Art beyond all Arts, To Make a Bad Wife Good'), a five-act prose play published in 1672, is the first extant German version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. It often remains close to the English text, while adapting it intelligently and adjusting it to its new cultural and linguistic context. *Kunst* deeply engages with some of the questions Shakespeare's play raises, including issues of gender, by significantly altering key speeches, adding new passages and inventing a female servant, Sybilla. It also

foregrounds social issues by strengthening the prominence of the servants, making them comment on and act as foils for their social betters. The German play is a highly sophisticated early dramatic response to Shakespeare's play. *Kunst* has never been translated into any language, was edited only once, in 1864, by Reinhold Köhler, and has no modern stage history (although it emphatically deserves to have one). The present edition remedies this inaccessibility. Its aims are to provide a detailed examination of the play's engagement with *The Taming of the Shrew* and to assess its role in the reception of Shakespeare abroad.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF *KUNST ÜBER ALLE KÜNSTE* TO *THE TAMING OF THE SHREW*

Kunst über alle Künste is by far the artistically most ambitious and successful of the early modern German Shakespeare adaptations. It is also the only such adaptation that is longer than the original. Whereas *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and *Tito Andronico* are much shorter than *Hamlet* and *Titus Andronicus*, and *Romio und Julieta* is somewhat shorter than *Romeo and Juliet*, *Kunst* is longer than *The Taming of the Shrew* by about 40 per cent.¹ *Kunst* does not preserve the Sly Induction, but it does feature a brief prologue that introduces the theme of wife-taming and frames the play to come as an exemplary how-to lesson for the audience. The rest of the play is divided into five acts ('Handlungen'), largely mapping onto *The Shrew's* structure, although with some exceptions (see below, pp. 87–93). This part of the introduction is devoted to an exploration of the relationship between *Kunst* and *The Shrew*, and has four sections. The first establishes the basics by explaining how the

¹ *The Shrew* has 2,394 lines (in the Arden 3 edition), whereas *Kunst* has 3,407.

dramatis personae and the plot of the German play correspond to and depart from Shakespeare's. The second explores in greater depth some of the specific ways in which *Kunst* adapts *The Shrew*'s plot, in particular the untangling and clarification of sequences which the adaptor may have considered potentially confusing. The third deals with a central feature of the adaptation, its addition to Shakespeare's play of many soliloquies and asides, and examines what effects this addition has. The fourth section takes a closer look at how the verbal, cultural and dramatic language of *Kunst* relates to that of Shakespeare's play.

Characters and plot: correspondences and differences

Kunst über alle Künste and *The Taming of the Shrew* have an intricate – and intricately related – plot, and *Kunst* renames almost all the characters. Only Katherina has a name that is recognizably the same: Catharina. Many characters in the German play have speaking names, and since their meaning is of some importance, we have usually translated them into English (see the List of Roles and notes). Table 1 provides a short guide to character correspondences between *Kunst* and *The Shrew*.

Apart from Sly and the other characters who appear in the Induction, all the significant characters in *The Shrew* have their equivalent in *Kunst*, with the exception of the Haberdasher, whose small part (in *TS*, 4.3) is conflated with that of the Tailor. *Kunst*, in turn, has two characters (apart from the Prologue) with no equivalent in *The Shrew*: Veit, Theobald's servant, appears in five scenes (1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 3.2 and 5.2) and is assigned thirty-one speeches, so his role is by no means small. Sybilla, Catharina's maid, enters the play quite late, in Act 3, Scene 3, and does not speak until her next appearance in Act 4, Scene 2, but she is an important character late in the play and has twenty-two speeches assigned to her (in 4.2, 4.4 and 5.2), including a soliloquy at the end of Act 4, Scene 4. While Veit is generally a

TABLE 1 Character correspondences between *Kunst über alle Künste* and *The Taming of the Shrew*

<i>Kunst</i>	<i>Shrew</i>
Patient Job / Prologue	
	Christopher Sly etc. / Induction
Catharina	Katherina
Sabina	Bianca
Theobald	Baptista
Alfons	Hortensio
Sebastian	Gremio
Hardman	Petruccio
Wormfire	Grumio
Hilarius	Lucentio
Felix	Tranio
Fabian	Biondello
Veit	
Sybilla	
Blasius	Merchant / Pedant
Adrian	Vincentio
Hardman's Servants	Petruccio's Servants
Matz	Curtis
Fritz the Tailor	Tailor
	Haberdasher
Widow Eulalia	Widow

commentator (many of his speeches are asides), Sybilla's relationship with Wormfire and consequent pregnancy make her an actress in a subplot in which Hardman and Catharina's servants mirror and contrast with their master and mistress.

Even though *Kunst's* other characters have their correspondences in *The Shrew*, their degree of proximity to Shakespeare's parts varies considerably. Many of Alfons' speeches, for instance, are reasonably close to Hortensio's, and their total line number is not vastly different: eighty-four for Alfons and seventy for Hortensio. Structurally, the two characters correspond closely to one another, and each time Hortensio appears on stage in *The Shrew*, Alfons does so in *Kunst* in the parallel scene. At the other end of the spectrum, the part of Wormfire in *Kunst* vastly expands on that of Grumio in *The Shrew*. Apart from a single line in Act 3, Scene 2, Grumio's speaking part is confined to three scenes (1.2, 4.1 and 4.3). Wormfire, by contrast, has a significant presence in nine scenes (1.3, 2.1, 2.2, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 4.2, 4.4 and 5.2), including a scene, Act 2, Scene 2, that consists of a soliloquy from him, and several others in which he has many asides (see below, pp. 105, 110–13). Whereas Grumio has sixty-three speeches, the total for Wormfire is 166, more than any other character in the play except for Hardman. While *Kunst* thus adapts some parts rather lightly, it transforms others fundamentally.

Kunst's plot may be briefly summed up as follows: the opening scene skips the preliminaries of Lucentio's arrival in Padua and immediately dramatizes Catharina's confrontation with her father Theobald and Sabina's suitors, Alfons and Sebastian. This is followed by a brief exchange between Hilarius and his servants about the previously established disguise scheme, and the arrival of Hardman. The next act closely adheres to the structure of *The Shrew*. It introduces Felix, disguised as Hilarius, and Hardman as suitors of Sabina and Catharina, and it dramatizes the first meeting and the engagement of Hardman and Catharina. The play adds a

soliloquy by Wormfire in which he mentions Sybilla, Catharina's maid, and his potential sexual partner. Act 3 includes Sabina's poetry and music lessons, as well as the mad wedding, together with the newly-weds' arrival at Hardman's home, where he puts his taming technique into action. Act 4 weaves together several plot strands. It shows Alfons' interruption of his suit to Sabina after seeing her flirt with Hilarius. It dramatizes the tailor's visit to Hardman's house and the couple's journey back to Theobald. The act also includes the disguise of Blasius as Hilarius' fake father, and his violent meeting with Hilarius' real father, Adrian, who swoons when it occurs to him that the schemers may have killed his son. The last act resolves all conflicts and disguises: Hilarius has married Sabina, and Alfons Eulalia; a mock-trial is set up for the offenders in the disguise scheme; and Wormfire is given permission to marry Sybilla (who is now pregnant). A wager on wifely obedience proves Catharina to be the most tamed of the three wives on stage. The play ends with the servants alone and an allusive song is sung by Fabian about sexual relationships and fidelity.

Anyone familiar with *The Shrew* will recognize in this summary many similarities with Shakespeare's play, while also noting plot elements that are absent. *Kunst*'s plot correspondences to Shakespeare's play are summed up in Table 2 (the symbol indicates that the correspondence is relatively loose, whereas – means that there is no correspondence).

As the table shows, the scenic order of the two plays is largely the same. *The Shrew* has a total of twelve scenes, whereas *Kunst* has sixteen, but the difference is easily accounted for:¹ *Kunst* splits *The Shrew*'s Act 1, Scene 1 into two scenes, and Act 4,

¹ The scene division of both plays is editorial: the Folios and the 1631 quarto divide *The Shrew* into acts (except that the Act 2 break is missing) but not scenes, and so do the early editions of *Kunst*. The usual rationale for scene-breaks in the editorial tradition, which we have applied to *Kunst*, is that a new scene begins when the stage is cleared and the action is not continuous.

TABLE 2 Plot correspondences between *Kunst über alle Künste* and *The Taming of the Shrew*

<i>Kunst</i>	Content	<i>The Shrew</i>
Prologue	Patient Job laments conjugal life with a bad wife, and introduces the play as an example of how to tame a shrew.	Induction
1.1 1–35	Theobald rejects Alfons ' and Sebastian 's suit for Sabina until Catharina is married.	1.1.48–66
36–103	They promise to provide tutors for the daughters, and quarrel with Catharina .	1.1.92–104
104–77	They secretly form a pact to find a suitor for Catharina in order to free Sabina for marriage.	1.1.112–44
1.2 1–49	Introduction of the disguise scheme involving Hilarius and Felix .	1.1.185–235
50–67	After initial frustration for being left out, Fabian makes peace with Felix .	1.1.236–42
1.3 1–61	Hardman arrives at Alfons ' house, declaring his wish to marry a rich woman.	1.2.1–57
62–316	Alfons suggests Catharina and, together with Sebastian , promises Hardman financial reward for his suit. Hilarius is present, disguised as a poetry teacher.	1.2.58–215
316–416	Fabian and Felix enter, and the latter joins in the quest for Sabina .	1.2.217–81
2.1 1–81	Catharina abuses Sabina and is stopped by her father.	2.1.1–38
82–259	The suitors and disguised tutors enter. Hardman introduces himself to Theobald . All are invited inside.	2.1.39–140
260–85	Hardman describes his taming technique in a soliloquy.	2.1.167–79

<i>Kunst</i>	Content	<i>The Shrew</i>
286–486	He and Catharina have an exchange of insults and fake praise.	2.1.180–282
487–574	Catharina rejects Hardman 's suit, but the latter pretends she has agreed.	2.1.283–328
575–670	Felix and Sebastian vie for Sabina 's hand, competing for age and wealth. Theobald favours Felix provided his father consents.	2.1.329–414
2.2	Wormfire talks about his flirting with Sybilla .	–
3.1 1–30	Hilarius and Alfons , disguised as tutors, quarrel, then give Sabina her lesson.	3.1.1–25
31–202	Hilarius teaches her dactylic composition, Alfons sings her a song on the metamorphoses of Jupiter.	3.1.26–84
203–33	Veit and Alfons speculate about the relationship between Sabina and Hilarius .	3.1.85–90
3.2 1–85	Catharina complains about the shame of being abandoned on her wedding day. Reports arrive of Hardman 's and Wormfire 's outrageous dress.	3.2.1–83
86–147	Hardman and Wormfire arrive, dressed in strange clothes.	3.2.84–126
148–76	Felix , Hilarius and Fabian reflect on Hilarius ' disguise scheme.	–
176–232	Sebastian reports on the intimidating ceremony inside the house.	3.2.148–82
233–348	When Catharina refuses to leave with Hardman , he carries her out on his shoulders, leaving the perplexed guests behind.	3.2.183–253

<i>Kunst</i>	Content	<i>The Shrew</i>
349–98	Hilarius and Sebastian discuss the latter's love suit, followed by Fabian and Veit discussing their masters' illicit wooing.	–
3.3 1–95	Wormfire arrives at Hardman 's house and gives an account of the exhausting journey.	4.1.1–105
96–186	Hardman abuses the servants and refuses Catharina food and sleep.	4.1.106–67
3.4	The servants comment on Catharina's patient endurance.	4.1.168–76
3.5	In a soliloquy, Hardman explains his taming strategy as a random mixture of rage and affection.	4.1.177–200
4.1 1–20	Sabina expresses her longing for Hilarius .	–
21–85	Hilarius arrives, and they embrace and kiss. They are secretly watched by Felix and Alfons who abjures Sabina .	4.2.1–59
86–105	Fabian enters with the news that he has found someone to impersonate Hilarius ' father.	4.2.60–72
4.2 1–72	Wormfire and Sybilla feast while Catharina enters starving.	4.3.1–35
73–104	The women discuss their impressions of Hardman in private.	–
105–326	Hardman and Alfons arrive, again teasing Catharina with food. The tailor offers his wares, but Hardman rebukes him for bad work.	4.3.36–195
4.3	Felix and Blasius discuss how to perform the role of father convincingly.	4.4

<i>Kunst</i>	Content	<i>The Shrew</i>
4.4 1–9	Adrian worries about his son.	–
10–30	Journeying to her father’s house, Hardman tests Catharina ’s obedience by insisting he decides what is the time of day.	4.5.1–26
30–98	They meet Adrian .	4.5.27–77
99–150	Adrian meets Fabian , and Blasius and Felix in disguise. The impostors flee.	5.1.15–101
150–75	Adrian swoons, thinking they have murdered his son. Theobald ’s servants carry him inside.	–
176–95	Hardman and Catharina promise each other peace, and kiss in public.	5.1.132–41
196–205	Sybilla reflects upon Catharina ’s improved future nights and her own impending wedding.	–
5.1 1–17	Theobald and Adrian grieve for the supposed death of the latter’s son.	–
18–56	Sabina and Hilarius enter, married, and beg forgiveness from their fathers for deceiving them.	5.1.102–31
57–70	Catharina and Hardman renew their mutual affection and respect.	–
5.2 1–71	Felix , Fabian and Blasius are punished for their disobedience in a mock trial.	–
72–193	Wormfire asks permission to marry Sybilla , who is pregnant.	–
194–216	Catharina and Eulalia have a disagreement.	5.2.16–49

<i>Kunst</i>	Content	<i>The Shrew</i>
217–68	Felix sings an erotic hunting song about the love suits of his betters.	–
269–344	The men have a wager about whose wife is most obedient. Hardman wins, and Catharina provides a brief conclusion on marital love and respect.	5.2.64–195
345–93	Wormfire , Sybilla and Fabian conclude the play; Fabian performs an explicitly sexual song.	–

Scene 1 into three. *Kunst*'s only scene that has no correspondence in *The Shrew* is Act 2, Scene 2, which consists of a soliloquy by Wormfire. What complicates matters slightly is that two act-breaks occur at different moments: *The Shrew* ends Act 3 after the 'mad wedding' scene, but *Kunst*'s third act continues until the end of *The Shrew*'s following scene. The two plays also differ in the final act-break: *The Shrew* ends Act 4 after Petruccio and Katherina, on their return to her father, have met Vincentio, Lucentio's father. *Kunst*'s act-break does not occur until later, after Adrian, Hilarius' father, has met his son's servants. Nonetheless, every scene in *The Shrew* has correspondences in *Kunst*, and the material *Kunst* adopts from *The Shrew* essentially occurs in the same order as in Shakespeare's play.

Adapting the plot of The Taming of the Shrew

While *Kunst* thus generally follows *The Shrew*, it restructures a number of passages and adds dramatic configurations that are absent from Shakespeare's play. In what follows, we wish to identify some of the key features of *Kunst*'s adaptation of *The Shrew*. An important effect of some of *Kunst*'s interventions is

that it untangles *The Shrew*'s plot when it is potentially confusing, or difficult to stage. This applies in particular to the beginning of the play, when Hilarius falls in love and devises the disguise scheme; to the plot involving the fake father of Hilarius; and to the illicit wedding of Hilarius and Sabina. Other important adaptive interventions by *Kunst* are observable in the last act and, in particular, the final scene: the mock trial and the servants' coda are indicative of the adaptation's interest in issues of gender and class.

The Shrew begins with the Induction involving Sly the tinker; this presents the main action of the shrew taming as a play, a 'comonty' (*TS*, Induction 2.133), as Sly puts it – probably a malapropism for 'comedy'. *Kunst* preserves neither the Sly Induction nor its brief return at the end of the first scene (*TS*, 1.1.247–52), perhaps owing to a source that had already omitted them, although it is equally possible that *Kunst* deliberately cut the lengthy Induction as part of its adaptation. *Kunst* substitutes for the Induction an equally metatheatrical device, however, the Prologue of Patient Job, which frames the play as instruction for wife-taming. *The Shrew*'s Induction's concern with social rank, the porousness of social stratification but also its ultimate impenetrability are not, however, removed from *Kunst*, but receive sustained treatment, in particular through the servant figures (see below, pp. 103–4).

The main plot of *Kunst* starts by clarifying Lucentio's falling in love and the invention of the disguise scheme which frames the first appearance of Katherina and Bianca. Lucentio and his servant Tranio arrive in Padua from Verona in order to study (*TS*, 1.1.1–47). They 'stand by' (*TS*, 1.1.47 SD) when a company of people enters and witness their conversation, in particular the complaint of Bianca's suitors, Gremio and Hortensio, about their situation (*TS*, 1.1.48–144). Lucentio also overhears Bianca's reference to her passion for learning which, together with her beauty, makes him fall in love with her. The audience only learns of Lucentio's falling in love when he and

Tranio, left alone on stage, speak about what they have just witnessed (*TS*, 1.1.145–219). Tranio gently mocks his master for the suddenness of his emotions and for his exaggerated praise of Bianca. As it becomes clear that Lucentio wants to marry her, he and Tranio invent the disguise scheme and exchange their clothes. When Biondello enters, he is shocked by the sartorial changes. Lucentio comes up with the explanation that he has killed a man in a quarrel and needs to remain incognito, but does not clarify why Tranio is to become a suitor to Bianca. Biondello briefly expresses discontent for missing out on Tranio's social promotion, but the two servants make up in Lucentio's presence (*TS*, 1.1.220–46).

Kunst omits the frame in *The Shrew's* Act 1, Scene 1, in which Lucentio eavesdrops and falls in love. Instead, it presents consecutively the dialogue involving the suitors and the sisters on the one hand and the dialogue between servants and master on the other hand. Rather than staging Hilarius' arrival and falling in love in the main play's first scene, *Kunst* has Hilarius and Felix enter in the second, already in disguise (1.2.1–12). Hilarius reminds Felix of the reasons for the disguise, effectively dropping the audience into the middle of the subplot. Fabian appears and is amazed at the altered appearances, but rather than explaining the situation, Hilarius exits and lets Felix make sense of the situation to Fabian. Felix falsely suggests that Hilarius committed a crime and hence his consequent need for disguise, and the two servants discuss the unfairness of the change in Felix's station (1.2.15–67). *Kunst* thus creates a more linear dramatic sequence which eliminates some of *The Shrew's* intricacies, notably the eavesdropping frame, the spontaneous invention of the disguise scheme by both Tranio and Lucentio, and Lucentio's bombastic use of love language which Tranio teases him about.

A result of the adapted beginning is that the initial character of Hilarius, unlike that of Lucentio, is not quite fleshed out, and the disguise scheme is introduced rather abruptly. In reorganizing the material, *Kunst* also, crucially, chooses to put

Catharina centre-stage. Whereas Bianca is central to Act 1 as the object of Gremio's and Hortensio's suit, and of Lucentio's love-struck gaze, her *Kunst* counterpart, the meek Sabina, is absent from the equivalent scene. *Kunst* delays Sabina's first appearance until Act 2, Scene 1, in which she is depicted in stark contrast to the domineering Catharina. The impression given of Sabina, then, is that she is a vaguely sketched obedient daughter, unlike Bianca who speaks up for herself in Act 1, Scene 1, however briefly (*TS*, 1.1.80–3). Sabina's development in the course of the play, then, is all the more remarkable: she evolves from a mere supporting role into a self-confident young woman with sexual desires and initiative, as shown most notably in Act 4, Scene 1. *Kunst*'s adaption of the beginning of the main play thus has a profound effect not only on dramatic arrangement but also on characterization; it is fundamentally different from its Shakespearean model.

Another of *The Shrew*'s plot lines which *Kunst* simplifies is that of the Merchant from Mantua who plays fake father to Lucentio. In Act 4, Scene 2 of *The Shrew*, Biondello enters to Lucentio, Bianca and Tranio and announces that he has spotted a man arriving in Padua who '[i]n gait and countenance' looks 'like a father' (4.2.66). Once Lucentio and Bianca have departed, the Merchant enters. Tranio then tricks him into dressing like Vincentio by convincing him that there is a ban on Mantuans arriving in Padua and that he needs to assume the identity of his master's father for his own safety (4.2.73–122). *Kunst*, on the other hand, omits the set-up of this third disguise plot. When Fabian enters to Hilarius and Felix towards the end of Act 4, Scene 1, Felix inquires whether he has 'found an honourable father' (4.1.87–8). Fabian reports that he has, that the 'grave gentleman . . . looks as honourable as Saint Valentine, is filled to the brim with imagined wisdom, and when it comes to natural philosophy, thinks he is the biggest pig in the sty' (4.1.91–4). Blasius, as Fabian adds, is 'willing to do anything for gain' (4.1.96–7) and so has agreed to the scheme. For the

far-fetched idea of the ban on Mantuans, *Kunst* thus substitutes the simple idea of pecuniary profit.

The plot line of *The Shrew's* Merchant is bound up with the secret wedding of Bianca and Lucentio. Shortly after being disguised as Lucentio's father, the Merchant meets Baptista, and the match between Bianca and the Merchant's supposed son is struck. Lucentio (as Cambio) is sent home to notify Bianca of her wedding which is to take place later in the day (4.4.19–71). Biondello then intercepts Lucentio and tells him that Tranio has prepared a secret wedding to take place between him and Bianca (72–106). The plot line of the secret wedding interacts with that of the fake father and his unmasking in Act 5, Scene 1, where the focus switches from one to the other with quick-changing entries and exits. While the confrontation between Vincentio and the Merchant rises in tension, brief sequences pertaining to the secret wedding (5.1.1–6, 36–9) punctuate the unmasking of the Merchant, each plot line increasing the other's pace and urgency until they both join when Lucentio and Bianca enter as a married couple (5.1.97 SD).

As part of the clarification and simplification of *The Shrew's* complex dramatic structure, *Kunst* does away with the dramatization of the secret wedding. In Act 4, Scene 1, Sabina and Hilarius meet, kiss and promise each other their lasting love. Alfons, who has spied on them, gives up his wooing of Sabina and decides to 'reciprocate the friendliness and desire of a young rich widow' and to 'link [his] life to hers' (4.1.50–2). Sabina and Hilarius part with a kiss, and when we next meet them in Act 5, Scene 1, they enter '*well dressed*' (5.1.17 SD), presumably straight from their secret wedding, and apologize to their fathers for their transgressions. Between these two scenes, we see the fake-father scheme implode: in Act 4, Scene 3, Blasius reassures Felix that he 'will take care of everything and settle the business to my lord's [i.e. Theobald's] liking' (4.3.1–2). But in the following scene, Blasius, Fabian and Felix, in Hilarius' clothes, come face to face with Hilarius' real father, Adrian, who assumes

they ‘must have strangled [his] poor son’ (4.4.150) and swoons, giving them the chance to escape. By the last scene, they have been arrested and are subjected to a mock trial. *Kunst* thus reduces the complications of *The Shrew*’s plot by focusing on the fake father scheme and eliminating the dramatization of Hilarius and Sabina’s secret wedding.

The last scene of the German play weaves together the substantial, entirely original trial scene with a largely faithful adaptation of *The Shrew*’s wager sequence. It separates different sequences in *The Shrew* and skilfully blends them with original material. To appreciate the dramatic make-up of *Kunst*’s conclusion, one needs to see first how differently the two plays reach the final scene.

The Shrew’s Act 5, Scene 1 brings together the several disguises: the fake father (the Merchant), the fake suitor (Tranio) and the fake tutor (Lucentio). Initially, the different storylines clash (5.1.15–99). The confrontation between the fake and the real father threatens to spiral out of control, and only abates upon the arrival of Lucentio and Bianca who are now married. Biondello, Tranio and the Merchant flee, realizing they are ‘undone’ (5.1.101). Vincentio’s anger at being duped by his servant persists (5.1.110–11) as he ignores his son’s explanations and requests for peace (5.1.114–20), and threatens violence: ‘I’ll slit the villain’s [i.e. Tranio’s] nose that would have sent me to the jail’ (5.1.121–2). Baptista, too, is outraged at having his paternal authority thwarted by Bianca and Lucentio (5.1.123–4). With threats to ‘be revenged’ (5.1.126) on the servants and/or disobedient children, the scene uneasily concludes without any reconciliation. *The Shrew*’s last scene starts with a banquet presided over by Lucentio. Peacemaking has thus occurred offstage and between scenes. Huge threats of revenge only a scene earlier have dissolved into ‘kindness’ (5.2.5) and tolerance towards the servants who are present, though without speaking roles.

Kunst’s penultimate scene differs from that of *The Shrew* in that the fathers gladly accept their new children-in-law (5.1.25–

56) and pardon their offspring. Overall, the reactions to the fake father and the secret wedding are more benevolent and forgiving. Rather than showing aggression towards the fake father and Felix who has impersonated his son, Adrian is overcome by emotion and repeatedly swoons (4.4.144–70). When he revives, he and Theobald lament the loss of Hilarius both as son and as possible son-in-law (5.1.16–17). Once their children arrive alive and married, Theobald and Adrian forgive their breach of custom. Whereas *The Shrew* deals with the business of reconciliation behind the scenes, the audience of *Kunst* thus becomes its witness.

As for the transgressions by Felix, Fabian and Blasius, Hilarius, solicitous of their pardon, asks for forbearance, Hardman pleads for the preservation of harmony, and the fathers agree to mere mock-punishment:

HILARIUS . . . I must now also beg forgiveness for
all those who have acted in this, for my sake, as
others than themselves.

ADRIAN They should at least be frightened,
especially that fool who wanted to make me mad.

HARDMAN This day is a day of joy. We should
mingle nothing upsetting or grievous with it.

ADRIAN Then they should undergo an amusing kind
of punishment, and all for their own good.

THEOBALD I add my voice to this, because my house
ought to be a place of pleasure and gladness. So
bring them all in, please.

(5.1.44–56)

While the breach of sumptuary law cannot go unprosecuted, nothing ‘grievous’ (5.1.51) is to interfere with the wedding celebrations. The punishment of the servants therefore takes the form of a communal ritual, so that those who attempted to rise unlawfully are restored to their proper place in society.

While *The Shrew* is keen to establish visual harmony through the banquet and Lucentio’s pacifying words (5.2.1–11), *Kunst*

performs the return to previous power structures through the trial (5.2.1–193), a long sequence that is wholly original to the German play. Sebastian first pronounces a harsh judgement: ‘Master Blasius Nosewhite and Felix are condemned to sweat out the nobility they wrongfully assumed in a hot bath house for three days. Fabian will wait upon them and serve them food, but no drink’ (5.2.23–6). When the offenders beg for mercy, Sebastian revisits the judgement and supposedly condemns them to assistance and participation in the wedding celebrations:

Master Blasius shall join Ceres and Bacchus, and make friends with them for eight days and longer in Sir Theobald’s lodgings in tolerable temperatures . . . Felix will hear an acceptably merciful judgment from his own master, and will behave like a modest guest. Fabian, on the other hand, will be handed over to Wormfire for his excesses, who will put him into the pillory, and run wine through him until he falls to the ground powerless, having done his duty to justice. When he has recovered his modest standing, he shall be made an inspector over the law of the jug. He shall diligently pour the cups overfull.

(5.2.50–65)

The sentence takes the form of an inversion of the scapegoat ritual. Rather than creating social exclusion by assigning unmerited blame, there is social inclusion of the offenders in a prolonged post-wedding Bacchanalian feast.

Just as the trial seems to conclude, Wormfire, in characteristic mock-Latin, states that he ‘must confer another more or less dirty thing to the *Sacro-Sanctae Justitiae*’ (5.2.77–8), and so the trial scene transitions to its second part. As Sybilla is expecting a child, Wormfire asks for permission to marry her, his embarrassment masked by comically convoluted Latinate language (5.2.91–105). The attendants gently tease them, and Hilarius suggests that their punishment for pre-marital sex

should be a prohibition to be ‘bedfellows’ (5.2.115), but after some comical resistance from the couple, they are allowed to get married. They are to be ‘handed over to the priest’ (5.2.162–3) and to participate in the wedding celebrations, and, after the birth of their child, ‘this whole company shall serve as godparents’ (5.2.168–9). In both parts of the trial scene, the threat of punishment and mock humiliation are thus followed by forgiveness, benevolence and joyful social integration.

After this long and funny but linguistically complex additional material, *Kunst* returns to material dramatized in *The Shrew*’s final scene, in particular in the short altercation between Katherina and the Widow (5.2.16–38), and the wager sequence with the demonstration of Katherina’s tameness (5.2.64–195). Interpolated within the passage based on *The Shrew* is the recitation by Felix of a poem – ‘a little wedding wish’ (5.2.218), as he puts it – that retells the story of the three suitors, Hilarius, Alfons and Sebastian, figured as huntsmen of Sabina, who is troped as a deer (5.2.224–55). Apart from adding to the comic conclusion through its recapitulatory effect, the poem also reminds us of Felix’s predicament as a servant in his concluding plea to Hilarius for continued patronage and employment.

Kunst aligns itself closely with *The Shrew* for the men’s wager on their wives’ obedience (*The Shrew*, 5.2.64–195; *Kunst*, 5.2.267–344). It comes as a surprise to the modern reader, however, that, amid this faithful rendition of the English original, *Kunst* chooses to condense Katherina’s famous speech on female obedience in marriage (*TS*, 5.2.142–85), the longest speech of the play (it has forty-four lines), into a two-line nugget of sober advice, borrowed from St Paul’s Letter to the Ephesians: ‘Let me put it briefly. You men, love your wives. And you women, obey your husbands’ (5.2.340–1).¹ In *The Shrew*,

¹ ‘Husbands, love your wives . . .’ (5.25); ‘Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands . . .’ (Ephesians 5.22).

Katherina's long and rhetorically sophisticated speech, with its massive potential for different interpretations, is the moment towards which the play's conclusion moves. *Kunst*, by contrast, breaks the structure of the final scene into several smaller units: the mock trial of Felix, Fabian and Blasius; the mock trial of Wormfire and Sybilla; the performance of Felix's recapitulatory poem; and the men's wager on their wives' obedience.

One reason why the German play can afford to reduce Katherina's long and troubling speech to a succinct piece of advice is that it completes a reinterpretation of the relationship between Petruccio and Katherina which started some time earlier. Although Hardman makes Catharina undergo more or less the same treatment as Petruccio gives Katherina, *Kunst* stresses that the couple's relationship leads to mutual contentment and peace. In a significant departure from Shakespeare's play, Hardman, in his second soliloquy (corresponding to *The Shrew*, 4.1.177–200), says, 'I confess I love her dearly' (3.5.8). In keeping with this are the names Hardman uses for Catharina. Even though Shakespeare's female protagonist insists on her full name – 'They call me Katherine that do talk of me' (2.1.183) – Petruccio reduces her name to 'Kate', consistently during their first encounter and frequently after it too.¹ Hardman, however, uses the shortened 'Trina' during their first encounter but almost invariably calls her 'Catharina' elsewhere in the play, suggesting a more respectful attitude.² Catharina shows similar signs of benevolence towards Hardman in the course of the play. In her conversation with Sybilla, for instance, she says, 'I believe this man has bewitched me, because I have to be gentle to him almost against my will' (4.2.102–3). At the end of Act 5, Scene 1,

¹ After Act 2, Scene 1, Petruccio calls her 'Kate' thirty times and 'Katherine' only twice, in the last scene (*TS*, 5.2.127, 136).

² For the diminutive of the shortened form of Catharina's name which Hardman uses once in the penultimate scene, see 5.1.57 and note. See also 5.2.123, 206 and notes.

immediately after their kiss in public (cf. *TS*, 5.1.139–41), *Kunst* adds a short passage that sums up the stage that their relationship has reached:

HARDMAN Do you see now, my love, that this is much better than when we are at odds? So let us put away all tricks and stubbornness, and live in peace and pleasure after wearing down our horns. I will chase away the mad Hardman, and you must chase away the bad Catharina. Thus we shall be an honourable couple renowned in all the world.

CATHARINA I am content with you if you are content with me.

HARDMAN Amen.

(4.4.186–95)

By the time we reach *The Shrew*'s last scene, then, the outcome of Petruccio's taming still hangs in the balance. In *Kunst*, by contrast, the last scene only confirms what the play has previously shown, which is that the couple have made peace.

An effect of *Kunst*'s reorganization of the final scene is the special prominence it gives to the servants. In keeping with this adaptive decision, *Kunst*, after the exit of the higher-ranking characters, adds a coda with the play's four chief servants, Felix, Fabian, Wormfire and Sybilla (5.2.345–93). For much of the final scene, then – the long mock trial, the performance of the poems and the coda – *Kunst* puts the servants centre-stage. While *The Shrew*'s festive conclusion is essentially about the newly-wedded couples – Petruccio and Katherina, Lucentio and Bianca and, to a lesser extent, Hortensio and the Widow – *Kunst*'s conclusion is socially more inclusive and gives considerable space to those servants (Felix and Fabian) who have helped bring about the marriages and to those (Wormfire and Sybilla) who serve as foils to the unions of their social superiors. Whereas *The Shrew* moves towards Katherina's parade of her new obedience as its defining moment, *Kunst*

divides the scene into several smaller units where a significant exchange is limited to gentle mockery of the servants and their robust resistance to it. The weaving together of *The Shrew*'s last scene with *Kunst*'s substantial addition of the trial and the songs by and coda with the servants shows a sophisticated adaptor of Shakespeare's play who deftly interwove new material, while keeping the playful mood of the original.

Soliloquies and asides

To its often close adaptation of *The Shrew*'s text, structure and themes, *Kunst* adds many soliloquies and asides that offer subtle twists to the original in terms of meaning and theatrical pace. The soliloquies often precede or succeed versions of the Shakespearean material, adding anticipatory or retrospective perspectives on what we will soon see or have just witnessed. They elegantly create brief points of rest which allow for (re)consideration of action and motivation and result in dramatic progression at highly variable speeds.

One example of a soliloquy that slows down the progression of the plot is that of Fabian (3.2.164–76) when he compares his own lack of success with the rosy prospects enjoyed by Felix through the disguise scheme. Sandwiched between the passage where Hilarius and Felix discuss the fake father scheme and Sebastian's report of the mad wedding, *Kunst*'s soliloquy slightly halts the rapidly accumulating events of *The Shrew* where the entry of groom and servant, the discussion on the fake father, and Gremio's report of the ceremony follow each other thick and fast. The overhasty betrothal, wedding and impatient leave-taking of Petruccio overwhelm Katherina by presenting her with seemingly inevitable facts, tricking her into acceptance through the speed of theatrical sequencing. There is a logic to the overwhelming thrust of *The Shrew*'s forward-moving plot, and soliloquies would lessen its effect. *Kunst*,

however, puts a premium on varied pace which permits the exploration of motivation and emotional state.

The Shrew's chief soliloquies give us access to Petruccio's reflections just before he meets Katherina (2.1.167–79), and after their shocking homecoming (4.1.177–200). Both instances concern his taming techniques of playing hot and cold with her, and of withdrawing even the most basic of physical comforts, food and sleep. Other than Petruccio, a few characters have short soliloquies at the end of scenes and, in one instance, at the beginning of a scene. Of these, *Kunst* provides versions of similar length by Felix (2.1.663–70; cf. *TS*, 2.1.407–14) and Wormfire (3.3.1–14; cf. *TS*, 4.1.1–10), and a considerably expanded version by Alfons (3.1.224–49; cf. *TS*, 3.1.85–90).¹ The two longest soliloquies in *The Shrew* are thus Petruccio's, which confers a special status on his 'taming of the shrew' and motivations.

Kunst includes largely faithful versions of Petruccio's soliloquies (2.1.225–46 and 3.5.1–30), but it also has six other characters give soliloquies with no equivalent in *The Shrew*, namely Wormfire (3.3.1–14), Catharina (3.2.1–12), Fabian (3.2.164–76), Sabina (4.1.9–18), Adrian (4.4.1–9) and Sybilla (4.4.196–205). These soliloquies have a considerable impact on pace, character and plot. The audience of *The Shrew*, for instance, first meets Vincentio as an unwitting actor in Petruccio's taming test concerning the sun and the moon (*TS*, 4.5.1–25). Hilarius' father Adrian, however, first enters the stage alone, worrying about his son's whereabouts (4.4.1–9). The first impression of him as loving father is confirmed throughout the last part of the play, setting up the mood for a conciliatory ending.

A similar change is discernible in *Kunst*'s addition of Catharina's reflection on her misery and her fear of the mockery

¹ The short speeches by Lucentio and Hortensio when alone left on stage (*TS*, 4.4.103–6 and 4.5.78–80) have no equivalent in *Kunst*.

she will suffer if Hardman does not arrive at the wedding soon (3.2.1–12). Catharina blames her father for rashly giving her away, and confesses to herself that she has found her match in shrewishness. She admits that she would ‘give [Hardman] the kindest words, and force [her]self to be friendly’ if only he returned (3.2.9–10). This concession, lacking in *The Shrew*, anticipates future taming scenes, including the meeting with the tailor (4.2), where Catharina curbs her impulse in order to allow Hardman to end his raging. Through the soliloquy, *Kunst* thus strategically supports the plot and complicates Catharina’s image, showing that she, who flouts traditional gender conventions, is no less bound by social expectations and reputation than those she scorns.

Kunst’s soliloquies provide insights into the workings of the characters’ minds, as well as their feelings. In its astonishing decision to add a soliloquy to Sabina’s part in which she reveals her love for Hilarius, *Kunst* makes her character radically depart from its equivalent in *The Shrew*, showing her as being much more sexually forward. The German play preserves *The Shrew*’s configuration in which the servant disguised as his master hides with the suitor disguised as a tutor in order to witness the flirtatious lesson between a daughter and a poetry teacher (*The Shrew*, 4.2; *Kunst*, 4.1). Into the two sections of hiding and revelation from *The Shrew*, however, *Kunst* inserts a brief speech by Sabina who is waiting for Hilarius. Believing herself to be alone (although Felix and Alfons are in fact on stage), she expresses her love and physical desire:

Happy hour which will bring my soul to my body. O love, never tried by me before, how great is your sweetness! Everything else in the world is stale and miserable in comparison! True joy and pleasure lie in you alone, pervading all my senses, body and soul. Many things can be found to entertain the body, but the soul cannot find pleasure and contentment but through

another soul, united in sweet love. But where is the comfort that I long for so much? Does his mind not feel the same yearning desire as mine?

(4.1.9–18)

Sabina remains teasingly vague about what it means to ‘entertain the body’ (4.1.14). The violence of her feelings and their expression, though, as well as her keenness to kiss and touch, even on her own initiative – ‘*She kisses him*’ (4.1.84 SD) – point towards her awareness, if not necessarily knowledge, of sexual pleasure. Her remarkable frankness in word and deed differs significantly from the arch voice of Bianca. The equivalent scene of *The Shrew* has the latter exchange merely a handful of quick-witted lines with Lucentio before he, rather than she, confesses his love for her (*TS*, 4.2.10). And no stage direction in *The Shrew* alerts us to a kiss between the two.

The German adaptation’s non-judgemental attitude and its greater interest in female desire and sexuality become evident not only in its depiction of higher-ranked characters like Sabina, but also in its remarkable addition of the female servant Sybilla, a character who seems to be an invention by the author of *Kunst*, although the idea of inserting a female servant into the play may have been prompted by Slobbetje in Abraham Sybant’s Dutch adaptation of *The Shrew* of 1654, *De Dolle Bruyloft* (see below, pp. 125–7). As Catharina’s maid, Sybilla provides a female equivalent to Wormfire, Hardman’s servant, filling a comic vacuum in *The Shrew*. She is first mentioned by Wormfire, after Theobald has agreed to Catharina’s marriage to Hardman. In his soliloquy, Wormfire muses on his flirting with Sybilla, and expresses confidence that she will eventually come around to having sex with him: ‘I have set up my cause well. She is ready on certain conditions. If my lord says yes, and her lady yes, the whore will be mine. I thought my tool would have it my way, but not this time. Such an honourable tree will not fall with one stroke’ (2.2.5–9). In her first speaking scene,

Act 4, Scene 2, in which she and Wormfire feast on leftover food at Hardman's house, it becomes clear that the couple has now had sex (she is pregnant) and are hoping to get married before the baby is born. They face the situation with jocular acceptance rather than anxiety, and are more interested in the food than in the precariousness of their circumstances (4.2.1–25). As she puts it, their extra-marital sex in fact 'conforms to *courtoisie*' (4.2.14) as practised by socially more distinguished people. This down-to-earth relationship between the two servants thus explores sexual mores, calling into question loftier but ultimately no less appetite-driven models of courtship. Her relationship with Wormfire is robust and frank but never condemned and, eventually, even blessed by marriage.

Later in Act 4, Scene 2, *Kunst* continues the theme of female sexual experience when Sybilla and Catharina discuss the wedding night (4.2.73–104). Sybilla frankly asks her mistress how the bedding was, and equally frankly receives a negative answer: 'He has left me all too pure so far' (4.2.86). The passage is not a soliloquy, but, like a soliloquy, it gives the spectators access to Catharina that is unrestricted by public norms of behaviour or expression, and so shares with them a private moment in which she is genuinely vulnerable. As there is no equivalent confidante in *The Shrew*, all we experience of Katherina is her starvation and lack of sleep; there is little emotional reflection. Catharina, by contrast, exposes her vulnerability and wonders about her changing relationship with and attitude towards Hardman who, she claims, 'has bewitched [her]' (4.2.103).

Sybilla returns to the theme of female sexual pleasure in her own soliloquy (4.4.196–205) which caps the busy final scene of Act 4. Having witnessed the public kiss between Hardman and Catharina, and their promise to be respectful towards one another, a breach of which would be followed by a ban from their shared bed (4.4.179–95), Sybilla humorously reflects on how their improved understanding must reflect a happier sexual

life: 'Well, I take it she is content with him now. She has had better nights than the first' (4.4.196–7). Through the soliloquies, therefore, *Kunst* acknowledges female desire and sexuality with a degree of frankness that is absent from *The Shrew*. In sum, *Kunst* treats the female characters' desires and appetites with equanimity, allowing them to elaborate *for themselves* what they wish for, untrammelled by male observations *about* them.

Kunst's added soliloquies thus help to enhance characterization and function as a tool to control and vary the dramatic pace of the play, slowing it down in order to open up spaces in which characters articulate their emotional states, such as Fabian's social frustration, Catharina's fear of mockery, Wormfire's and Sabina's sexual desire and Vincentio's fatherly care. Whereas *The Shrew* employs soliloquizing chiefly to allow Petruccio to reflect on and rationalize his 'taming of the shrew', *Kunst* opens it up to many other characters, resulting in an introspective heteroglossia that is absent from Shakespeare's play.

The soliloquy as a dramatic device is closely related to the aside, in that both are only heard by (or even addressed to) the audience, and, indeed, *Kunst* adds not only many soliloquies to *The Shrew* but also many asides. The aside is a well-established convention on the early modern stage, although stage directions that render them explicit are rare in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Shakespeare's plays, and *The Shrew*'s early modern editions contain no instance of it.¹ The early editions of *Kunst*, however, mark twenty-four speeches as asides ('beysaits' in German),² almost all of them with material that has no

¹ For the prominence of the aside on the early modern English stage, see Dessen and Thomson, 15–16. Note that many of *The Shrew*'s modern editors mark several speeches as asides, although Barbara Hodgdon, in the Arden 3 series, does so only once (5.1.37 SD), arguing that, on the whole, 'whether a line is or is not spoken "aside" is best left for performers to work out' (341).

² This excludes the rare occasions where two characters speak aside to one another, unheard by others (so-called 'split asides').

equivalent in *The Shrew*. It is likely that asides are more pervasive still in the play but have been recorded unsystematically in the early editions. In Act 2, Scene 1, for instance, as Hardman and Sebastian speak to Theobald about their suit to his respective daughters (2.1.82–145), Wormfire makes ten interjectory comments during their conversation, none of which in any way registers with or is responded to by the other characters, and this despite the fact that many of the comments are so provocative that, if heard, they would elicit a rebuke or some other response. Yet the early duodecimos mark only four of Wormfire's ten speeches as asides. There is nothing about the nature of Wormfire's comments that would allow us to determine why those four should be spoken as asides and not the other six. Similar patterns can be observed elsewhere in the play (see, for instance, 1.1.17–32, 2.1.196–200). Given that these and similar comments – chiefly spoken by servants, as we shall see – play an important role in the play, we have usually marked them as asides (signalling the editorial intervention by square brackets), even though the early editions do not. It would be possible, of course, to perform many of these asides in such a way as to elicit a non-verbal response by other characters, but we nonetheless consider them to be asides insofar as they fail to register in the other characters' dialogue.¹

Of the sixty-one (original or editorial) asides in the play, by far the greatest number, thirty-eight, are spoken by Wormfire, and of those that are not, the majority are assigned to two other servants: Veit and Fabian. Indeed, it is noticeable that *Kunst* frequently inserts asides by servants into faithfully translated passages from *The Shrew*, and it does so as part of a conscious strategy to make the servants reflect on the actions and motivations of the higher-ranked characters. For instance, in

¹ Our understanding of what is usefully considered an aside is here shaped by Morgan, *Turn-Taking*, 105–15.

the following passage, Sebastian tells Hilarius, disguised as Johannes, how to prepare for his teaching of Sabina:

SEBASTIAN [*to Hilarius*] The next thing I want is that you buy for her the best books about love that you can find. These have great power to enflame the fire of love in the hearts of maidens.

WORMFIRE (*aside*) But not for you.

SEBASTIAN And they should be bound in the daintiest and prettiest manner. The paper that you use must be well perfumed, for she whom my soul loves is worth more than all exquisite spices. And may I remind you, Johannes, to be as diligent in her service as you can. Your reward from me will exceed even Sir Theobald's generosity.

WORMFIRE [*aside*] He looks to me as if he would receive his salary from her without your knowledge or will.

SEBASTIAN But what matters will you treat with her?
(1.3.158–72)

If we compare the passage to *The Shrew*, we notice that it corresponds to a single speech by Gremio, addressed to Lucentio disguised as Cambio, into which *Kunst* has inserted the two acerbic asides by Wormfire:

GREMIO O, very well; I have perused the note.¹
Hark you, sir, I'll have them very fairly bound
(All books of love, see that at any hand)
And see you read no other lectures to her:
You understand me. Over and beside
Signor Baptista's liberality,
I'll mend it with a largess. Take your paper too,
And let me have them very well perfumed,

¹ Ard³ *TS* annotates, 'bill, account – presumably, for Lucentio's purchase of books'.

For she is sweeter than perfume itself
To whom they go to. What will you read to her?
(*TS*, 1.2.142–51)

In *The Shrew*, the ‘books of love’ have already been purchased, whereas they have not yet in *Kunst*, but the German adaptation nonetheless preserves all the important elements of Gremio’s speech: the plan to have the books bound and to use them in the teaching to further the wooing, the additional reward, the perfumed paper and the final question. The faithfulness in the adaptation of Gremio’s speech contrasts with the innovation of Wormfire’s comments. Clearly, they are both asides, although only the first is marked as such in the early editions: Wormfire’s second comment anticipates Hilarius’ wooing of Sabina for himself, which is precisely what remains hidden from Sebastian. *Kunst* thus adds a layer to the passage by having Wormfire comment on the ongoing action, increasing the complicity between the audience and the servant character (who understands Hilarius’ plan), while exposing and undercutting the foolish project of Sebastian.

The same mechanism can be observed on a larger scale in the previously mentioned passage in Act 2, Scene 1, in which Hardman and Sebastian introduce themselves to Theobald as suitors to his respective daughters (2.1.84–143). The passage follows the equivalent dramatic sequence in *The Shrew* (2.1.39–86), and almost every speech by Petruccio, Gremio and Baptista has its corresponding speech in *Kunst*. What is radically different in the German adaptation, however, are the asides by Wormfire. In *The Shrew*, Grumio is simply absent from the scene; in *Kunst*, Wormfire provides a sarcastic running commentary, inserts daring jokes and exposes to the audience much of what the other characters try to keep hidden from one another, thereby deflating their motives and unmasking their ambitions.¹

¹ One could also point to other passages in which Wormfire (e.g. 1.3.235–7; 2.1.222–23; 3.2.117, 124–5; 4.4.59–60) or, less frequently, Veit (e.g. 2.1.569–70) or Fabian (e.g. 3.2.229) have asides that have been added by *Kunst* in passages that otherwise closely follow *The Shrew*.

The perspicacity and irreverence with which Wormfire frequently comments on and subverts the self-interested projects of the higher-ranked characters arguably make him the protagonist of the German play. This may seem surprising, given the Shakespearean source, but it is less so if we place *Kunst* in the context of the seventeenth-century theatre companies that travelled across Germany. In many of their plays, Pickelherring was typically the protagonist, and the actor playing him was often the company leader (see Katritzky, 'Pickelhering' and 'A plague'). Indeed, he was so prominent that his name became a generic word designating a fool.¹ Pickelherring, like Wormfire, is a servant figure who owes his importance to the place he occupies in the plays as witty, irreverent commentator and trenchant interrogator. Like Wormfire, the German stock character has a special relationship with the audience, often speaks aside and has a propensity for bawdy innuendos. Nor is *Kunst* the only early modern German Shakespeare play in which a version of the Pickelherring figure comes to occupy an important role. In *Romio und Julieta*, Pickelherring is a character himself, an amalgamation of the Nurse, Peter and another Capulet servant in Shakespeare's play (Erne and Seidler, 76–7). In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, he is called Phantasma, a name that seems to be unique to this play but whose functions are clearly related to Pickelherring's (Erne and Seidler, 9–10). Wormfire, then, offers a late instance of a character whose adaptation to the German stage is shaped by the conventions of the Pickelherring figure. In *Kunst*, he complements several other servant figures, notably Felix, Fabian and Veit, and reinforces the play's more general interest in servants and their relationship to their social superiors.

¹ For the clown figure in early German professional theatre more generally, see Asper, *Hanswurst*, 124–230.

Verbal, cultural and dramatic language

Apart from the addition of soliloquies and asides, another important feature of *Kunst*'s adaptation of *The Shrew* is its revision of the dramatic writing that makes up Shakespeare's play. Unlike *The Shrew*, which combines verse and prose, *Kunst* is written almost entirely in prose, although it contains two short verse passages during the poetry lesson in Act 3, Scene 1, a song that is performed during the music lesson in the same scene, and two poems that are recited in the last scene.¹ If we compare *Kunst* and *The Shrew* closely, we notice that the German adaptation sometimes follows Shakespeare's play speech by speech and almost word for word. The following excerpt, taken from the passage in which Hardman/Petruccio feigns dissatisfaction with the work of the tailor ('Fritz' in *Kunst*), serves to illustrate the occasional verbal proximity between the two plays. *The Shrew* reads as follows:

KATHERINA

I never saw a better-fashioned gown,
More quaint, more pleasing, nor more
commendable.

Belike you mean to make a puppet of me.

PETRUCCIO

Why true, he means to make a puppet of thee.

TAILOR She says your worship means to make a
puppet of her.

PETRUCCIO

O monstrous arrogance. Thou liest, thou thread,
thou thimble,
Thou yard, three quarters, half-yard, quarter, nail,
Thou flea, thou nit, thou winter-cricket, thou!
Braved in mine own house with a skein of thread?

¹ See 3.1.46–50, 3.1.67–70, 3.1.143–78, 5.2.224–60 and 5.2.352–79.

Away, thou rag, thou quantity, thou remnant,
Or I shall so bemetee thee with thy yard
As thou shalt think on prating whilst thou liv'st.
I tell thee, I, that thou has marred her gown.
(TS, 4.3.103–16)

Here is the equivalent passage in *Kunst*:

CATHARINA I say he has worked well. You want
to make a rogue of him, and a fool of me.

HARDMAN You speak right. It's the rogue who wants
to make a fool of you.

FRITZ She says, my lord, it is you who wants to
make a fool of her.

HARDMAN O, great presumption by the shadow of a
man in my own house! You lie, you lie, you thread,
you Tom Thumb, you needle tip, you flaky-headed
clod of earth, you! I'll soon measure your mangy
back with your mete-yard and make you remember
it all your life. You've wasted everything that's
been given into your hands.

(4.2.202–14)

The four speeches occur in the same order, and each has its easily recognizable equivalent. Catharina's speech condenses and simplifies the first sentence in Katherina's, but the second sentence remains close, except that it adds the idea that Hardman mocks not only her but also the tailor. Hardman's first speech closely follows Petruccio's and relies on the same feigned misunderstanding. Fritz then, like the *Shrew's* tailor, corrects Hardman/Petruccio by explaining the misunderstanding. Hardman's following outrage, or mock outrage, draws on many of the same elements as Petruccio's. The initial exclamation is followed by an accusation of lying, followed by a series of apostrophes that belittle the tailor through references related to his profession. The (feigned) resentment at being contradicted

in his own house also recurs, though in a slightly different position. *Kunst* omits Petruccio's order for the tailor to go away, but the two speeches conclude in the same way with the threat of beating the tailor with a yard rule and the charge that he has spoiled the work, although Petruccio's accusation that he has spoiled the 'gown' is more specific than Hardman's that he has 'wasted everything'. All in all, then, the relationship between the two passages in *Kunst* and *The Shrew* is close. To the extent that it is a translation, the translation is rather loose, but to the extent that it is an adaptation, the adaptation closely follows the original.

While occasional proximity is one feature of the relationship of *Kunst*'s language to *The Shrew*'s, the German play also contains distinct characteristics that depart from or go beyond Shakespeare's play. One such feature is its fondness for proverbs, some of which are inevitably lost in translation, although we use the commentary to draw the reader's attention to their presence in the original and to their literal meaning. In the opening scene, for instance, Catharina taunts Sebastian by telling him, 'Dann jhr ja nicht könnet einen Hund auß dem Ofen locken', of which a more-or-less literal translation might be that Sebastian 'could not tease a dog out from under the oven'. Given that Sebastian is unable even to make a dog move, he will be utterly unable, Catharina implies, to evoke desire in a young woman. Our translation, 'you couldn't tease a dog out from under the oven' (1.1.38–9), preserves the insult to Sebastian and the canine reference, but in the absence of a precise equivalent in English, it inevitably loses something of the colourfully proverbial original.

On other occasions, the German play uses expressions that have at least a proverbial appearance, although they cannot be found in the most comprehensive reference work of German proverbs, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander's five-volume *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexicon* (1866–80), and may be idiosyncratic coinages by the German author. So in Act 1,

Scene 3, as the suitors are fighting over Sabina, Wormfire comments that ‘where carrion is stinking, there the ravens will gather’ (1.3.359–60), a characteristically irreverent comment that tropes Sabina as rotting flesh over which the suitor-ravens fight. The German text contains many such vivid expressions, often rooted in references to the animal world, in particular but by no means only spoken by Wormfire. In line with this feature of *Kunst*’s language is its proliferation and amplification of sexual allusions, often channelled through outspoken servants (notably Wormfire, Sybilla and Veit) but also through characters of higher rank, like Catharina. All these linguistic features contribute to making *Kunst* an earthier and more exuberant play than *The Shrew*.

While using many distinctly German expressions and proverbs, the author of *Kunst* also goes beyond this linguistic adaptation by fitting geographic and cultural references to the German context. For instance, Hardman is from Worms (1.3.249), not Verona, and he claims to be planning a trip to Frankfurt, not Venice, to purchase ‘gorgeous robes and jewels’ for the wedding (2.1.539–40). Wormfire affirms (perhaps fancifully) that he and Hardman served in the military at ‘Bautzen’ (1.3.310) in east Saxony, associated with various events during the Thirty Years’ War, including a siege in 1620 and the town’s destruction by fire during occupation by the Catholic imperial army in 1633. His interjection ‘Leipzig surrenders’ (2.1.128) likely alludes to another event in the Thirty Years’ War, the Battle of Breitenfeld (1642), during which Leipzig surrendered to the Swedish forces. Elsewhere the same character refers to ‘a market in Hanover’ (2.1.112–13), in northern Germany, and to ‘Bacherach wine’ (3.2.250) from the wine-growing region of Bacherach in the Rhine-Palatinate. Geographic references thus range from west to east and from north to south, though what may well be the most regionally-specific reference, ‘Bacherach’, is compatible with the opinion of several German scholars that certain linguistic

peculiarities point to western central Germany as the homeland of the play's anonymous author (see below, p. 143).

A specific instance of cultural translation may be observed in Act 3, Scene 1. In its endeavour to make the English play recognizable to German culture, the translator replaces the Ovidian Latin lesson with a tutorial on dactylic composition in German while keeping the romantically suggestive content and context of *The Shrew*. The line-by-line translation of Latin (to 'conster' is Bianca's word for it – *TS*, 3.1.30, 40) was a staple activity of humanist education and would have playfully activated school-time memories of many male readers or audience members (see Maurer). The Latin passage is from Ovid's *Heroides*, and the part on which Lucentio has Bianca focus is from Penelope's letter to Ulysses, recounting her difficult situation as wife left behind in their kingdom, beset with unwanted suitors. Shakespeare toys with the obvious inference that Bianca's suitors are just as unwelcome as Penelope's, and are, for the moment at least, rebuffed by her translation. Elite references to classical literature are thus embedded in *The Shrew*'s scene in specific cultural practices that have implications for plot and characterization.

Kunst's adaptor realizes the particularity of the passage and adapts it to German literary culture of the seventeenth century in which use of the dactyl was rare.¹ The complex layers of intertextuality between Ovid and Shakespeare are sidestepped for a more straightforward situation-based adaptation that focuses on the flirtation between student and tutor. The German stresses the potentially sexual relationship between teacher and pupil by having Hilarius explain the dactyl in terms that suggest

¹ Martin Opitz (1597–1639), the leading theoretician of German literature of the seventeenth century, did not advocate use of the dactyl, but his contemporary and successor August Buchner (1591–1661) did. The author of *Kunst* may well have been aware of Buchner's posthumously published *Anleitung zur deutschen Poeterey*, sigs F10r–G6r ('Instructions for German Poetry', Wittenberg, 1665; VD17 39:121087A).

the male sexual organs (one long syllable and two short ones, for which the standard notation was —○○), and its composition in terms suggesting sexual intercourse: ‘Although it may appear to you a little sour the first time, afterwards it will seem so sweet that your appetite will not be stilled’ (3.1.49–51). The passage thus combines wit and daring at the same time as *Kunst* adapts it to its own cultural context.

Though *Kunst* thus eliminates *The Shrew*’s Latin lesson, it includes many Latin words and phrases elsewhere. It does so far more than Shakespeare’s play, making the presence of Latin snippets another characteristic feature of *Kunst*’s language that distinguishes it from *The Shrew*’s.¹ This presence might be thought to pull the language of *Kunst* over towards sophistication and sober learning, but given the barely veiled mocking or suggestive undertone of many of the Latin words and phrases, it does not. Although its appreciation presupposes some learning, the Latin with which the play is peppered usually serves a comic or satiric purpose, such as the exposure of pretentiousness or the conveyance of mock formality. In Act 1, Scene 2, for instance, Fabian mocks Felix’s newfound noble status through bragging in French and Latin: ‘How now, my brand-new lord, *avec permission*, may I interrogate you and receive report through my *quaestiones*?’ (1.2.40–2). In Act 2, Scene 1, as Hardman is getting ready to meet Catharina for the first time, he sends Wormfire away on the grounds that he ‘need[s] to think’, an idea his servant mocks by using Latin: ‘I can well believe you: there will be brave *lectiones*, you will receive the *contra*’ (2.1.248–51). Sebastian’s pompous and self-righteous quotation from Ovid’s *Fasti*, ‘*Magna fuit capitis quondam reverentia cani*’ (‘in the past there used to be great reverence for the white head’), is immediately countered by

¹ For Latin in *The Shrew* outside the Latin lesson, see Grumio’s ‘*Inprimis*’ and ‘*Ergo*’ (4.1.59, 4.3.129), the Tailor’s ‘*Inprimis*’ (4.3.133) and a phrase by Tranio (1.1.161) and by Biondello (4.4.91–2).

Veit's acerbic comment, 'Even if you gather all the maxims from Cicero and Seneca, you will not convince a pretty maid that you are more suitable for her than a fresh young gentleman' (2.1.613–17). In the tailor passage, Fritz reads out Wormfire's written instructions to defend himself against Hardman's accusations of professional incompetence (4.2.236–97), and the comedy of the passage partly relies on the note's combination of pompous diction, convoluted syntax and repeated use of Latin (and French). Latin is pervasive when, during the second part of the trial scene, Wormfire confesses that Sybilla is pregnant and requests permission to marry her (5.2.73–192). Struggling to come clean about Sybilla's pre-marital pregnancy, he hides his embarrassment in confusing syntax and Latin, with the result that his onstage (see 5.2.81) as well as his offstage audience find it hard to understand him.

In other passages, characters use Latin to give bawdy allusions a veneer of respectability, or mock respectability. Disappointed that his first close encounter with Sybilla has not led to full sexual intercourse, Wormfire rationalizes his disappointment by stating that 'one stays *in atrio* [i.e. in the entrance hall] the first time' and only later gets to 'drift into the Netherlands' (2.2.21–4). When Sybilla, in her soliloquy, concludes that Catharina, since her wedding, 'has had better nights than the first' (4.4.197), she attributes the change to the '*instrumentum pacis*', the instrument of peace, that is, the male member. In the music lesson, Alfons presents to Sabina his method of gamut teaching by using several Latin words that contain sexual innuendos: 'Here is the *scala* which I have devised in a perfect new manner. Women usually conceive better of *b flat major* than *b flat minor*, so I will first instruct you in the *ascendendo*, and then in the *descendendo* which teaches itself' (3.1.112–16). The German text reads 'dur' for 'flat major', that is, Latin for 'hard', and '*scala*', '*ascendendo*' and '*descendendo*' allude to the erection and detumescence of the male sexual organ. Examples could be multiplied, but the point

has been made: Latin, in *Kunst*, is not the language of learning but comedy. It serves to expose pretension, to deflate ambition or to give bawdy puns an air of (mock) respectability. It usually suggests pseudo-learning. That said, there is nothing pseudo-learned about the play's implied audience or readership which should be educated enough to appreciate the comic function of these Latin passages. *Kunst* might share this feature with a play like *Love's Labour's Lost*, but does not share it with *The Shrew*. The place of Latin in the play, in other words, is another feature through which the German play distinctly emancipates itself from the language of *The Shrew*.

In terms of stage action, by contrast, *Kunst* stays closer to *The Shrew* and usually follows the English play in the passages they share. For instance, both Katherina and Catharina, in Act 2, Scene 1, strike Bianca/Sabina (*TS*, 2.1.22 SD / 2.1.10 SD), and while Petruccio 'pulls [*Grumio*] back and forth by the ears' (1.3.15 SD), Hardman similarly 'wrings [*Wormfire*] by the ears' (*TS*, 1.2.17 SD). At other moments, however, the German play is more specific in what it records in stage directions. In particular, several characters who simply enter in *The Shrew* do so in *Kunst* in ways that are specified. So when Fabian enters and discovers that Hilarius and Felix have swapped clothes, he 'Looks at both in dismay' (1.2.12 SD; cf. *TS*, 1.1.219 SD). Alfons, when Hardman and Wormfire have arrived at his house, enters 'hastily' (1.3.22 SD; cf. *TS*, 1.2.19 SD). Felix, upon discovering his master's father, is 'all aghast', and Adrian, seeing Felix in his son's clothes, looks 'shocked' (4.4.143–4; cf. *TS*, 5.1.57–8). Such additional information can often be derived from the dialogue text, as when Hardman arrives before his wedding 'strangely dressed' (3.2.85 SD; cf. *TS*, 3.2.83 SD) or when Sebastian, after the same wedding, enters 'laughing' (3.2.176 SD; cf. *TS*, 3.2.147 SD), but these directions may well have been added for the benefit of readers who are thus allowed to apprehend the information at the same time as spectators would, rather than belatedly, through the dialogue.

Of particular interest are passages in which *Kunst* clarifies stage business that may – but does not have to – be implicit in *The Shrew*. During the forced engagement in Act 2, Scene 1, for instance, stage directions in *Kunst* clearly indicate that Hardman first ‘extends his hand to [Catharina]’ and then ‘takes her hand and presses it into his’ (2.1.543 SD, 546 SD). Petruccio encourages Katherina – ‘Give me thy hand’ (TS, 2.1.318) – but what stage action follows these words is not made clear. Something similar may be observed when the couple departs after their wedding in Act 3, Scene 2. In *The Shrew*, since Katherina is unwilling to leave, Petruccio claims to defend her against the dangerous advances of her friends and family: ‘Grumio, / Draw forth thy weapon, we are beset with thieves; / Rescue they mistress, it thou be a man’; turning to Katherina, he pretends to reassure her: ‘Fear not, sweet wench, they shall not touch thee, Kate; / I’ll buckler thee against a million’, at which point an unspecific ‘*Exeunt*’ stage direction indicates that the couple leaves the stage (3.2.236–40), without clarifying how they do so. *Kunst*, by contrast, chooses to pinpoint the action: ‘*He carries her out in his arms*’ (3.2.328 SD). A similar instance is the conflict between the two tutors at the beginning of Act 3. In *The Shrew*, Lucentio calls Hortensio a ‘Preposterous ass’ (3.1.9) and provokes him by belittling the importance of music. Hortensio threateningly responds that he ‘will not bear these braves’ at which point Bianca interrupts them: ‘Why gentlemen, you do me double wrong / To strive for that which resteth in my choice’ (TS, 3.1.15–17). Is Hortensio’s threat followed by aggressive action, or does the conflict remain purely verbal? In *Kunst*, Hilarius responds to Alfons’ threat and ‘starts to beat him’, prompting Sabina’s intervention: ‘Hold, my lord. It’s strange that you should quarrel about what lies in my choice alone’ (3.1.19–20). In these cases, the German play spells out stage action that is left unclear in *The Shrew*, but is not incompatible with it.

In the passage dramatizing Hardman’s arrival at his house, *Kunst*’s stage directions indicate a whole series of actions

which *The Shrew* does not render explicit. In *The Shrew*, Petruccio objects to all his servants do and showers them with abuse, but the early editions add no stage directions concerning his physical treatment of them. As Barbara Hodgdon has pointed out, ‘Most modern editions, following Rowe, introduce SDs at 134 (“*Strikes him*”), 141 (“*Strikes Servant*”) and 154 (“*He throws the food and dishes at them*”), and ‘performances often incorporate such stage business’. Yet, as she adds, ‘the scene has also been played without some or all of the traditional physical action’ (Ard³, 248); her edition therefore refrains from adding stage directions to this passage. The early editions of *Kunst*, unlike *The Shrew*’s, are perfectly explicit in directing Hardman’s treatment of his servants. Shortly after their entrance, he first ‘*strikes them*’ (3.3.104 SD), and a short time later, ‘*He strikes the [Second] Servant*’ (3.3.127 SD) who tries to take off his boots. Another servant who has brought a bowl of water is beaten with the bowl itself (3.3.133 SD, 136 SD). Later in the scene, Hardman ‘*beats*’ a servant whom he accuses of spilling the broth, and shortly before the end of the sequence he also ‘*strikes*’ Wormfire (3.3.146 SD, 176 SD). Whereas the absence of stage directions in *The Shrew* leaves open the possibility that the abuse in the scene is purely verbal, *Kunst* has determined that it is also, and repeatedly, physical.

While the stage directions in *Kunst* are often similar to or at least compatible with *The Shrew*, there are passages where the German play adds stage business that has no equivalent in Shakespeare’s play. In the scene just discussed, Petruccio, amidst the abuse he hurls at his servants, turns to Katherina and bids her ‘welcome’ (4.1.128) to his house. Hardman also does so – ‘Be welcome, dearest darling’ (3.3.119) – but follows up on his words with a kiss: ‘*He kisses her, while she stands still*’ (3.3.119 SD). Similarly, after their wedding, and shortly before carrying her out in his arms, Hardman turns to Catharina and ‘*kisses her*’ before telling her, ‘You are my all, my nothing, my life and death depend on you’ (3.2.315–16). No kiss accompanies Petruccio’s

equivalent words, and they are addressed, significantly, not to Katherina, but to the other men: ‘She is my goods, my chattels . . . my anything’ (*TS*, 3.2.231–3). Another case in point is the conflict between the two sisters in Act 2, Scene 1. In *Kunst*, Catharina not only beats Sabina once, as Katherina does Bianca, but Catharina then ‘binds her hands’ (2.1.24 SD), after which she ‘beats her’ (2.1.28 SD) again, suggesting a degree of (partly playful?) violence absent from the sisters’ conflict in *The Shrew*. Beating and kissing are actions that are characteristic of comedy and, in particular, farce, and it seems significant that they figure prominently in *Kunst*. They contribute to stage action which the play scripts with greater frequency and precision than Shakespeare’s play, a difference that can inform alternative and additional ways of understanding the dynamics among characters.

To conclude, the linguistic, dramatic and structural changes of *Kunst über alle Künste* reveal an incisive reconsideration of *The Taming of the Shrew*. At a time when we have become all too familiar with Shakespeare’s play and the issues it raises, its seventeenth-century German adaptation offers untapped insights into the potential of the English comedy to signify anew when meeting a different cultural and yet still early modern context. *Kunst* allows us to witness complexities of intercultural exchange, in particular in its creative exploration of gender and social issues, adopting, adapting, omitting from, adding to and embracing the Shakespeare play it so aptly reconfigures.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW IN GERMAN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The early history of *The Taming of the Shrew* is bound up with a similar play, *The Taming of a Shrew*, performed in c. 1592 and published in 1594 (Hodgdon, 12–14). Theories concerning the

relationship between the two plays include: one, that *A Shrew* is an early draft by Shakespeare; two, that it is an anonymous source play that Shakespeare adopted and elaborated; three, that it is an adaptation of Shakespeare's play; and, four, that it is a memorial reconstruction that derives from and tries to record (a version of) Shakespeare's play (Hodgdon, 20).¹ Unlike *The Shrew*, *A Shrew* returns to Sly at the end of the play (as he awakens from his supposed dream) and thus treats as a frame what editions of *The Shrew* call an Induction. While *The Shrew*'s Katherina plot is close to *A Shrew* (in which the character is called 'Kate'), the Bianca plot is not. *Kunst über alle Künste* clearly follows *The Shrew*, and we have found no evidence to suggest that its author may have been aware of *A Shrew*.²

The Taming of the Shrew is assumed to have been written in or around 1591 (Taylor and Loughnane, 499–503). It first reached print in the First Folio of 1623, followed by a quarto reprint in 1631. It is unknown how the text found its way abroad. Its first appearance on the Continent is recorded in the Netherlands: a Dutch version of *The Shrew*, *De Dolle Bruyloft* ('The Mad Wedding'), was performed in 1654 at the Amsterdam Theatre and published the same year (Wiggins, 3.159; Hoenselaars and van Dijkhuizen, 55; Nassau-Sarolea, 44).³ The translator-adaptor, Abraham Sybant (c. 1620–60), was associated with several Anglo-Dutch companies of itinerant

¹ For a close analysis of the relationship between *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*, see Miller, 12–31, 127–43.

² It has been argued that the Sly material in *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* received separate adaptations in two mid-seventeenth-century Dutch farces, the anonymous *Pots van Kees Krollen, hertogh van Pierlepom* ('Farce of Kees Krollen, Duke of Neverland', Leiden, 1649) and Melchior Fockens' *Klucht van dronkken Hansje* ('Farce of Hans the Drunkard', Amsterdam, 1657) (Helmets). See also Gstach, 428–30.

³ The play received four performances in 1654 (9, 12, 16 and 19 November) and a total of three more in 1655 (4 February) and 1656 (24 February, 7 August) (Wiggins, 3.158).

players, which may have given him access to texts from England (Hoenselaars and van Dijkhuizen, 55). Neither *De Dolle Bruyloft* nor *Kunst* refer to Shakespeare or an English original, but, while the title page of *Kunst* mentions no author and the play's anonymous author acknowledges in a note the text's status as a translation-adaptation (see below, pp. 140–1), it is Sybant's name that is mentioned on the title-page of *De Dolle Bruyloft* and in three short celebratory verses preceding the play proper. The Dutch play is composed in rhyming hexameter couplets throughout. Unlike *Kunst*, Sybant generally retains the English names though he gives the servants Dutch names. Among these, he invents a female servant called Slobbetje for whom there is no precedent in the English. She has a brief speaking role at the beginning of Act 4, taking over a handful of lines from one of Petruccio's servants. The brevity of her role means that Slobbetje does not qualify as the source on which *Kunst*'s Sybilla is based, although it is possible that the presence of a named female servant in *De Dolle Bruyloft* gave the author of *Kunst* the idea for the character.¹

Like *Kunst*, *De Dolle Bruyloft* slightly rearranges *The Shrew*'s act division and condenses parts of *The Shrew*'s first scene, notably Lucentio's falling in love with Bianca. Unlike *Kunst*, however, the Dutch play omits the Widow and the wager in the last scene, nor does it include the Induction, or any other prologue. This has been taken to suggest that the English copy Sybant was working from – perhaps a copy of the 1631 quarto – may have been damaged at its two extremities (Nassau-Sarolea, 55), as easily happened to unbound quarto playbooks. Ton Hoenselaars and Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen have argued,

¹ Another possible hint of the acquaintance of *Kunst*'s author with *De Dolle Bruyloft* is the description in the List of Roles of Matz Trumper's function as 'well-established oven-raker and firekeeper'. Sybant amplifies Curtis' name to Curtus Stookebrant, literally 'the one that stokes the fire', a detail the author of *Kunst* may have remembered.

however, that the text of *De Dolle Bruyloft* suggests a conscious and deliberate reworking of the entirety of Shakespeare's play (56–7). What is clear, in any case, is that the author of *Kunst* did not work from *De Dolle Bruyloft* but from a text, no doubt a German text (see below, pp. 141–2), that was closer to Shakespeare's, although it is possible that he was familiar with the Dutch version or a German derivation from it.¹

Although *Kunst* is the earliest text of a version of *The Shrew* in German, there are records of earlier performances that are likely to be related to Shakespeare's play. We owe the earliest such record to Johann Christoph Gottsched, the leading German literary scholar of the mid-eighteenth century. Gottsched compiled an overview of German drama from 1450 to his time, *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig, 1757), in which he mentions four plays that were performed 'auf dem Zittauischen Schauplatze', that is, in the theatre in the Saxon town of Zittau, from 5 to 7 March 1658. The fourth play is 'Die wunderbare Heurath Petruvio, mit der bösen Catharine' – 'The Wonderful Wedding of Petruvio with the Bad Catharine' (210).² 'Petruvio' might be assumed to be the result of a simple copying error, but the name's reappearance in a later record (see below, p. 129) suggests that it is a conscious adaptation of the name in Shakespeare's play. Gottsched derives his information about the performances from

¹ For *De Dolle Bruyloft*, see also Helmers, 125–8.

² The titles Gottsched gives for the other three plays are 'Androfilo oder göttliche Wunderliebe', 'Sylvia, oder wunderthätige Liebe' and 'Der klägliche Bezwang'. The first two were written by Sigmund von Birken and jointly published in 1656, *Androfilo oder die Wunderliebe* and *Silvia oder die Wunderthätige Schönheit* (Lüneburg, 1656, VD17 23:284204W). The second is not known to survive, but it is likely to have been a translation of Lope de Vega's *La fuerza lastimosa* (Köhler, xiii), produced by Georg Greflinger, who announces a forthcoming play of his called 'Der beklägliche Zwang' (sig. *2v) in a preface to his translation of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid* (*Die Sinnreiche Tragi-Comoedia genannt Cid*, Hamburg, 1650, VD17 1:627142D). See also Gärtner, 135.

a now lost programme by Christian Keimann (1607–62), headmaster of the Zittau grammar school from 1638, suggesting that the performance was a school production (see Köhler, x).¹ Keimann is known to have produced plays from 1638, usually based on biblical material (Pescheck, 348). These included plays he translated and adapted, such as *Samuel* by Johann Förster (1646, originally published in Latin in 1604, VD17 39:139726E) and *Susanna* by Nicodemus Frischlin (1648, also originally published in Latin, VD17 7:710222Q) as well as plays he wrote himself, notably *Junger Tobias* (Freiberg, 1641, VD17 3:308439H) and *Der neugebohrne Jesus, den Hirten und Weisen offenbahret* (Görlitz, 1646, VD17 23:236006T).² Keimann was crowned poet laureate, ‘Poeta Laureatus Caesareus’, in 1651 (Flood, 973–8; see above, pp. 65–6). It is known that ‘englische Komödien’ had been publicly performed at the Zittau town hall by the ‘kurfürstlich sächsische Comödianten’ (‘Elector of Saxony’s Comedians’) from 14 to 25 July 1650 (Pescheck, 348). Perhaps this offered an opportunity for Keimann to see plays of English origin or even to secure texts of some of them.³

Keimann’s 1658 programme is lost, but a later programme made for a production in 1678 probably gives us information about the play that was performed under Keimann. The programme is for a school production in Görlitz, some twenty miles from Zittau, overseen by the headmaster Christian Funcke (1626–95).⁴ Its title page mentions two plays that were to be performed ‘auff öffentlicher Schau-Bühne zu einer nützlichen und erbaulichen Schul-Übung’ (‘on a public stage as a useful

¹ Gstach’s mention of further Zittau performances of the play in 1661 (523) relies on a misunderstanding of a confusing footnote in Köhler (x–xi). See also Junkers, 249.

² The last of these plays has received a modern reprint (Markus).

³ For Keimann, see also Kühlmann, 340–1.

⁴ The programme is extant at the Oberlausitzische Bibliothek der Wissenschaften in Görlitz (call number Mil. II/131.60). It has been digitized and can be accessed at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1667619160>.

and edifying school exercise'). The first is Christoph Kormart's *Polyeuctus*, a translation of Pierre Corneille's *Polyeucte*, published in Leipzig in 1669 (VD17 23:239720M). *Polyeuct* was to be performed, the programme continues, 'nebst der Wunderbahren Heyrath PETRUVIO mit der bösen KATHARINEN' ('alongside the Wonderful Wedding of Petruvio with the Bad Catharine') (sig. A1r). The fact that the title is the same as that of the Zittau production of 1658 and includes the surprising spelling 'Petruvio' offers strong evidence that the two plays were identical.

The 1678 programme contains no information about the contents of the plays, but, as well as giving the dates of the performances (20 and 21 October), it includes a list of roles with the names of the actors (sig. A2v).¹ The character names in the list suggest considerable proximity to Shakespeare's play: 'Baptista Minola', 'Catharina, Baptistae älteste Tochter' ('Catharina, Baptista's oldest daughter'), 'Bianka, Baptistae jüngste Tochter' ('Bianka, Baptista's youngest daughter'), 'Lucentio, ein junger Edelmann von Pisa' ('Lucentio, a young gentleman of Pisa'), 'Petruvio, Edelmann von Verona, der Catharinen Liebhaber' ('Petruvio, gentleman of Verona, suitor to Catharina'), 'Hortensio, ein Junger Edelmann in Padua' ('Hortensio, a young gentleman in Padua'), 'Vincentio, Lucentii Vater' ('Vincentio, Lucentio's father'), 'Vermummeter Vincentio' ('disguised Vincentio'), 'Grumio, alter Bürger zu Padua' ('Grumio, old citizen of Padua'), 'Die Wittib' ('the widow'), 'Curtas, Petruvii Diener' ('Curtas, Petruvio's servant'), 'Tranio, Lucentii Diener' ('Tranio, Lucentio's servant'), 'Bondello, Lucentii ander Diener' ('Bondello, Lucentio's other servant'), 'Grumio, Petruvii Diener' ('Grumio, Petruvio's servant'), 'Martinus, Baptistae Kammer-Diener'

¹ The address to the reader, which concludes the programme (sigs A3r–A4v), contains no information about the *Shrew* production. It is signed by 'Joh. He[i]nrich Oder, von Torau auß Nieder-Laußnitz' and dated 19 October 1678 (sig. A4v).

(‘Martinus, Baptista’s valet’), and ‘Der Schneider’ (‘the tailor’).¹ We note the occasional departure in spelling, not only ‘Petruvio’ for ‘Petruccio’ (or ‘Petruccio’), but also ‘Grumio’ for ‘Gremio’ (no doubt an error given the recurrence of ‘Grumio’ later in the list), ‘Curtas’ for ‘Curtis’ and ‘Bondello’ for ‘Biondello’. On the whole, however, the names are close to Shakespeare’s. The list excludes the smallest parts, such as attendants and some of the servants. It also excludes the haberdasher, as does *Kunst*, perhaps an unsurprising omission given that his role is easily omitted or conflated with the tailor’s. On the other hand, it adds ‘Martinus, Baptistae Kammer-Diener’ (‘Martinus, Baptista’s valet’), probably the name given to Baptista’s servant who, in Shakespeare’s play, speaks three lines to Bianca to interrupt the music lesson (see below, p. 131). The list further shows that the Sly material was omitted and replaced by a ‘Vorredner’ (‘Prologue’), again as in *Kunst*. Unlike *Kunst*, the play also had an epilogue, or even two, by a ‘Schluss-Redner’ (‘Epilogue’) and an ‘Allgemeiner Schluss-Redner’ (‘General Epilogue’).

The list of roles in the Grömitz programme of 1678 shows in fact a number of parallels to the list of roles (called ‘Personaadjen’, sig. A2v) in Sybant’s *De Dolle Bruyloft*. The spelling of ‘Catharina’ and ‘Bianka’ is identical and slightly differs from the spelling in *The Shrew*. The descriptions in the programme of Lucentio as ‘ein junger Edelmann von Pisa’ (‘a young gentleman of Pisa’), of Hortensio as ‘ein junger Edelmann in Padua’ (‘a young gentleman in Padua’), of Petruvio as an ‘Edelmann von Verona’ (‘a gentleman of Verona’) and of Gremio as an ‘alter Bürger zu Padua’ (‘old citizen of Padua’) largely correspond to those of the same characters in Sybant, where Lucentio is an ‘Edelman van Piza’

¹ Nicholas Rowe’s 1709 edition of Shakespeare’s plays is the first English edition of *The Shrew* that contains a list of roles.

(‘gentleman of Pisa’), Hortensio an ‘Edelman te Padua’ (‘gentleman in Padua’), Petrutio (note the spelling) an ‘Edelman van Verona’ (‘a gentleman of Verona’) and Gremio a ‘Burger tot Padua’ (‘citizen of Padua’). Moreover, Lucentio’s fake father is ‘Vermummeter Vincentio’ in the programme and ‘gemomde Vincentio’ in Sybant, both meaning ‘disguised Vincentio’. Most compellingly, not only the programme but also Sybant give a name to Baptista’s unnamed servant in Act 3, Scene 1 of *The Shrew*, which is virtually the same: ‘Martinus, Baptistae Kammer-Diener’ in the programme and ‘Martijn, Dienaar van Babtista’ in Sybant.¹ The evidence need not suggest that the play performed in Görlitz in 1678 (and, by extension, also the play performed in Zittau in 1658) are wholly derived from *De Dolle Bruyloft*. Indeed, the widow is absent from Sybant’s play and list of roles, whereas she is mentioned in the 1678 programme, a clear indication that whoever produced the Zittau/Görlitz play knew *The Shrew* and not just *De Dolle Bruyloft*. Nor does the programme mention some of the other named characters in Sybant’s play, notably ‘Claas Slikom’, ‘Keen Partinentie’, ‘Pieter Zuykerzop’ and ‘Slobbetje’ (Petrutio’s servants). What can be said at the very least, though, is that some of the designations in the list of roles in the 1678 programme go back to the list of roles in Sybant’s play. The

¹ Martijn is not named in Sybant’s play beyond the list of roles. The characters appear in the list of roles in the order of their appearance, and the location in which ‘Martijn’ occurs in the list makes it clear that the name must designate Baptista’s servant who, in Shakespeare, interrupts the music lesson to tell Bianca, ‘Mistress, your father prays you leave your books / And help to dress your sister’s chamber up; / You know tomorrow is the wedding day’ (*TS*, 3.1.80–2). In Sybant, an unnamed ‘Dienaar’ appears at the same moment and speaks the equivalent of the first two of the three lines in *The Shrew* (*Dolle*, sig. B8v). The point is worth making since the existence of a named servant of Baptista’s in Sybant and the 1678 programme might otherwise wrongly suggest that Theobald’s servant Veit, one of *Kunst*’s fairly prominent additions to *The Shrew*, originated in Sybant’s play or in the version performed in Zittau in 1658.

other conclusion that can be drawn is that, judging by the programme of 1678, the Zittau performance of 1658 was of a German version of *The Shrew* that stayed reasonably close to Shakespeare's play.¹ That *Kunst* derived from it, however, as Bolte ('Schulkomödie', 128) believed, is not made clear by the extant evidence.

On 3 March 1663, the Saxon court of Dresden saw the performance of a 'Komödie', called 'Amphitrione', and several 'Possenspiele' (farces), including 'die erste tolle Hochzeit, die andere tolle Hochzeit' ('the first mad wedding, the other mad wedding') (Fürstenau, 215–16). This raises several questions: is one farce here referred to or two? The title of Sybant's version of *The Shrew* is *De Dolle Bruyloft*, that is, 'The Mad Wedding', so was the Dresden performance (or were the Dresden performances) related to the Dutch play? What is implied by the generic designation 'Possenspiele' (as opposed to 'Komödie')? The difference may be partly one of length, a 'Komödie' being the main performance at an entertainment, with a 'Possenspiel' serving as an afterpiece, as was sometimes the case. If so, is it possible that *De Dolle Bruyloft* was adapted to serve as two 'Possenspiele' (perhaps for performance on subsequent days), the first leading up to Petruccio and Katharina's wedding, the second focusing on Lucentio and Bianca's? The evidence is too inconclusive to allow for clear-cut answers.

What increases the likelihood that the 1663 record is of a two-part play is a performance of 'der erste und zweite Theil "von der bösen Katharina"' ('the first and second parts of "Bad Katharine"') (Fürstenau, 251–2) among several other comedies at the Saxon court of Dresden in May 1678. Another play

¹ Bolte ('Schulkomödie', 125–8) did not notice the connections between Sybant's play and the 1678 programme and therefore argued that the Zittau 'Wonderful Wedding' of 1658 and *De Dolle Bruyloft* derived from Shakespeare's play independently.

performed in early 1678 was ‘die Komödie “von Amphitryone”’ (Fürstenau, 251), which may suggest that this and the two-part play may have belonged to the same repertory both in 1663 and in 1678. The later performances were by a company led by Johannes Velten, and, indeed, a repertory list of Velten’s company of 1679 includes ‘Die böse Catharina’ (‘Wicked Catharina’), although the list makes no mention of its being a two-part play (Gstach, 651).

Other records that can confidently be associated with a German version of Shakespeare’s *Shrew* date from 1667. A company led by Johann Ernst Hoffmann and Peter Schwartz, the ‘Churfälzische Compagnie Comoedianten’ (‘Elector Palatine Company of Comedians’), performed at the court of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine (1617–80), in the spring of that year. A list of their repertory has survived, listing fifteen plays, including ‘Die tolle Hochzeit von der böß Katharina’ (‘The Mad Wedding of Wicked Katharina’) (Gstach, 646). They were back at the Mannheim court in December of the same year, when they are known to have performed several plays from their repertory, including ‘Die tolle Hochzeit von der böß Katharina’ on 20 December (Gstach, 647).¹ It is notable that the title of the play performed in 1667 by the Elector Palatine’s Company of Comedians includes an element of the title of the 1663 ‘Possenspiele’, namely ‘tolle Hochzeit’, but also anticipates the title of the play in the 1679 list of Velten’s company, ‘Die böse Catharina’. Another record of a performance prior to the publication of *Kunst* in 1672 dates from 6 July 1668, when the prolific German poet Sigmund von Birken, who lived in Nuremberg, noted in his diary that he had seen a performance of the ‘Comoedie von der bösen aber frommgemachten Br[aut]’ (‘Comedy of the Bad Bride who was Made Pious’), quite possibly another reference to a German

¹ For Hoffmann and Schwartz’s company connections, see Rudin, “Zwei Mal”.

version of Shakespeare's play (Kröll, 1.381; Gstach, 523). The performance record is patchy and the relationship of the different titles ultimately inconclusive, but what seems clear is that in the years prior to the writing of *Kunst*, a German version of *The Shrew* could be witnessed in various theatres.

Kunst über alle Künste appeared in 1672, probably in Frankfurt (see below, pp. 147–9). Whether it was ever performed and if so, where, is not known. It would have required at least fifteen actors, a reasonably large cast (see the Appendix). Little can be inferred from the stage directions about any implied performance space, as most characters are simply said to enter and exit. When Hilarius' real father, Adrian, meets the fake father, Blasius, the latter appears at a 'window' (4.4.101 SD), like the Merchant in *The Shrew* (5.1.14 SD), but Blasius later simply runs out, not down, to the main stage (see 4.4.132 SD and note), which may imply that no second level 'above' is involved. There is one stage direction, however, that might suggest that *Kunst's* author imagined performance in a fairly specific theatrical space. Early in Act 4, Scene 1, Sabina enters and 'sits down at a table on the inner stage' (4.1.8 SD, 'setzet sich bey einen Tisch in der inneren Scene'). At the equivalent moment in *The Shrew* (4.2.5 SD), Bianca simply enters, and no inner stage is mentioned or implied. Inner stages are referred to in a number of contemporary German plays (see the note to 4.1.8 SD), and it has been suggested that their usage may 'derive from the practice of English companies touring in Germany' (Brandt and Hogendoorn, 34). *Kunst's* anonymous author relates in an address to the reader that he had seen the play from which he adapted his *Kunst* (see below, p. 141) in the theatre, so it is possible that Sabina's appearance on the inner stage corresponds to what he had seen performed.

The documentary record of the seventeenth-century German reception of *The Taming of the Shrew* starts in the town of Zittau, and ends there, too, with Christian Weise's play *Die böse Catharina* ('Bad Catharina'). Weise (1642–1708) was

headmaster of the Zittau grammar school from 1678 to 1708, as Keimann had been from 1638 to 1662. Formerly a pupil of Keimann's in this same school, Weise had probably witnessed and may even have acted in the 1658 'wunderbare Heurath', and so may have returned to the material later in his life. Weise's output was vast: apart from poetry and satirical novels, he wrote some sixty plays for performance by his pupils of which about two-thirds have come down to us (Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'Early Modern', 136–8). *Die böse Catharina* was not printed but survived thanks to two manuscripts which are now at the Christian-Weise-Library in Zittau (call numbers 4° Mscr. 47 (B) (1) and 4° Mscr. 50a (B); see Keller et al., 648–50). The play is dated between 1689 and 1702 by Ludwig Fulda (lxxiv), its first modern editor (Fulda, 103–272).¹ Fulda (lxxii) speculates that the unnamed comedy performed in Zittau on 28 October 1693 in honour of the Elector of Saxony, John George IV, may have been Weise's *Böse Catharina*, but there is no evidence to confirm this. The play follows the basic outline of Shakespeare's play but significantly departs from it by adding subsidiary plot strands and characters. It has none of the dramatic intensity and verbal wit of *Kunst*. Weise replaced most of Shakespeare's names with German equivalents, except for Baptista, Bianca and Catharina. It is noteworthy that the Petruccio character is called Harmen, which closely resembles *Kunst*'s Hardman, suggesting that Weise was familiar with *Kunst über alle Künste*.

The first faithful translation of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, by Johann Joachim Eschenburg, appeared in 1775, and its title testifies to *Kunst*'s legacy more than a century after its publication. *Die Kunst eine Widerbellerin zu zähmen* ('The Art of Taming a Back-Barking Woman') adopts the first key word of the title of the seventeenth-century adaptation by

¹ For a more recent but unannotated reprint, see Roloff and Kura. As Fulda shows (lxxi), Köhler's suggested date, 1705 (xiii), relies on a misunderstanding.

conceptualizing the taming as an *art* (Eschenburg, 147).¹ The Schlegel-Eschenburg translation (1810–12, 18 vols) essentially reprinted Eschenburg’s text but changed the title to *Zähmung eines bösen Weibes* (1811, vol. 14, p. 1). While the new title eliminated the word ‘Kunst’, it introduced part of the subtitle of the seventeenth-century adaptation: *ein böß Weib gut zu machen* (‘to Make a Bad Wife Good’). The title in the famous Schlegel-Tieck translation (vol. 6, 1831), *Der Widerspenstigen Zähmung*, still current today, finally eliminated any echo of the title of *Kunst* and no doubt accelerated the play’s descent into the oblivion from which the present edition aims to raise it up.²

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

The early editions and their contexts: publication, paratext and authorship

Kunst über alle Künste was published in duodecimo format in 1672. The title page of the first edition (see p. 150) reads:

Kunst über alle / Künste / Ein böß Weib gut zu machen.
/ Vormahls / Von einem Italiänischen / *Cavalier*
practiciret: / Jetzo aber / Von einem Teutschen Edel- /
man glücklich nachgeahnet / und / In einem sehr
lustigen Possen- / vollem Freuden-Spiele / fürgestellt.
/ Samt / Angehencktem singenden / Possen-Spiele /
Worinn / Die unnötige Eyfersucht ei- / nes Mannes
artig betro- / gen wird. / Rapperschweyl / Bey Henning
Lieblern 1672.

¹ Eschenburg mentions *Kunst* in the appendix to his translation and quotes from it extensively (397–409).

² For a list of translations of *The Shrew*, see Blinn and Schmidt, 219–22.

The English translation reads:

An Art beyond All Arts, to Make a Bad Wife Good, formerly composed by an Italian knight, but now happily imitated by a German gentleman and presented in a very amusing comedy full of merriment. With an appended singing-jig, in which the unnecessary jealousy of a husband is prettily deceived. Rapperschweyl, at Henning Liebler's, 1672.¹

The printed title page, with which some extant copies start, appears in fact on sig. A2r, and it was originally preceded by an engraved title page, which was pasted onto the otherwise blank sig. A1r, of which some copies are extant (see below, pp. 156–7). At the top of the copper engraving, the following title appears: '*Kunst über alle Kunst, Ein bosweib [sic] / guth Zu machen*'. Below it, the background shows a house on a cliff and windy clouds. In the foreground there is a woman to the left with snake hair and bare breasts, who is being tickled in the mouth with a fox tail by a man who stands to the right with his back to the viewer. He has thrown the noose in his left hand around her neck, and holds a club in his right hand. With his left foot, the man stands in a circle on a checkerboard floor made of a Latin inscription in capital letters: '*In verbis et herbis et lapidibus magna consistit virtus*' – 'there is great power in words, herbs and stones'.

The engraving shown in Fig. 6 depicts a scene of the taming of a fury-like female by a well-dressed male; its relationship to the play is clear. The relevance of the Latin inscription, however, is not immediately obvious. It derives – as does the second half of the play's title, '*ein böß Weib gut zu machen*' ('to Make a Bad Wife Good') – from a Shrovetide play by Hans Sachs, printed

¹ The final 'n' in 'Lieblern' is a dative flexion.



6 Copper engraving, *Kunst über alle Künste* ('Rapperschweyl', 1672, 2nd edn), sig. A1r (Austrian National Library, shelfmark: 23387-A).

in the third volume of his works, *Das dritte Buch. Sehr Herrliche Schöne Tragedi, Comedi vnd schimpff-Spil, Geistlich vnd Weltlich* (Nuremberg, 1588, VD16 S 151; ‘The Third Book: Very Delightful, Beautiful Tragedies, Comedies and Farces, Religious and Secular’): *Das böß Weib mit den Worten, Würtzen, vnd Stein gut zu machen* (sigs ³H6r–I2v; ‘To Make a Bad Wife Good with Words, Herbs and Stones’). In Sachs’s play, a man complains to his neighbour about his bad wife, who remembers the advice King Solomon gave to someone who had the same complaint, namely to use the wholesome effect of words, herbs and precious stones to cure her. The man tries all three, to no effect, before throwing stones at her until she drops to her knees and swears to improve.

At the end of the duodecimo volume appears a twelve-line poem called ‘Erklärung dess Kupffer-Tittels’ (sig. K12r), ‘Explanation of the Copper-Title’.

To rule a woman you must use your *status ratio*
Act like a man who plays a flute and let the notes
 you blow
Be sometimes harsh and rough and coarse, then soft
 and sweet-refined,
You must see everything, and yet with open eyes be
 blind.
Your ears too must be firmly closed and yet hear
 every sound.
Then, *hocus pocus*, change your tactics when the
 time comes round.
Mix bad words with the good ones if you want your
 bride to dance;
With Hercules’ Club and Reynard’s tail you’ll stand
 a better chance.
Outside you’d take me for a fool, within I’m shrewd
 and smart;
My noose is ready; club and tail are poised to play
 their part

In catching this bad cat at last. You bet they'll serve
my turn;

If you seek wit and daring, this is the place to learn.¹

The German poem is in octameters, whereas the English translation, produced for us by Anthony Mortimer, is in fourteeners. The translation is not literal, but it conveys the sense and manner of the original. It provides a kind of Epilogue to the play from the position of the male tamer figure and, like the Prologue, comments on its ability to teach readers the ability to apply its insights.

The play's anonymous author ('a German gentleman' according to the title page) seems to have assumed that the play was of Italian origins ('by an Italian knight'), probably for the simple reason that the setting and the names in Shakespeare's play are Italian.² This is suggested by an address to the reader, printed after the end of the play, in which the anonymous author's voice is clearly audible:

Favourable reader, I can say of this comedy that it is
someone else's, but also my own. It is someone else's,
not only because it was often performed in the theatre
by comedians, but also because it is an invention whose

¹ The original reads:

Jst auch wohl in einem ding *Status ratio* von nöthen
So ist es im Weiber-Zwang: Man muß wunderlich die Flöthen
anzusetzen und zu blasen wissen, bald starck, bald gelind,
grob und rein: bald muß man sehen, bald mit ofnen Augen blind
Gleichsam seyn: Das Ohr muß nicht hören, und doch alles hören:
Man muß, *hocus pocus* gleich, alles nach der Zeit umkehren
Gute Wort mit bösen mischen, Herkuls Keul' und Reinckens Sch[w]antz,
so man gantz *polit* gebrauchet, führen offt die Braut zum Tanz.
Aussen Narr, von innen klug, steh' ich jetzt im Zirck umkreiset
Meine Schlinck' ist zugericht, Keul' und Schwäntzchen sich auch weiset,
meine böse Katz zu fangen. Was gilts, es gelinget mir,
Wer Witz und auch Kühnheit heget, folge nach und lerne hier.

² Given the reference to a 'gentleman', we assume that *Kunst* was written by a man, but the author's anonymity means that it is impossible to be certain.

old names and ways of speaking indicate to those who have already seen and heard it that it is of Italian origin. I can call it mine because, in view of its pleasant manner, I have recomposed it, altering and writing what I liked, with quick inventions that easily came to me. The jig is known to anyone who knows actors, and is attached as a coda, according to current fashion. Enjoy yourself with it, as I enjoyed myself in watching it, and fare well until things get better.¹

(For the appended jig, see below, p. 144.) This address answers some questions, but raises others. The play which formed the basis of the anonymous author's adaptation had been frequently performed, in German, and had been witnessed in performance by the author. But where the play was performed and by whom remain obscure. The process of adaptation seems to have involved both copying and original composition, but the details of this process are not clarified. It may well be that the version the author witnessed in performance was essentially a German translation of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, but just how close the translation was to the original and how often the author

¹ The original reads:

Gunstgeneigter Leser.

Von diesem Freudentheile kan ich sagen, daß es eines andern, und doch auch mein seye. Eines andern ist es, weil es nicht allein schon offft von *Comoedianten* auff dem Schauplatz fürgestellt worden, sondern auch die Erfindung, alte Nahmen, und Redens-Arten, deme, so es zuvor angesehen und gehöret, zeigen, daß es von Italiänischem Ursprunge: Mein kan ich es nennen, dieweil ich solchs, wegen seiner artigen Manier, gefasset, und auß meinem Kopffe, wie es mir gefallen, geändert, und hingeschrieben, nach dem es die geschwinden Einfälle, ohne Kopff brechen gegeben. Das Possen-Spiel kennet ein jeder, so *Comoedianten* kennet. Und ist an statt des Schwantzes, nach jetziger Manier, angehencket. Belustige dich hiermit, wie ich in derer anschauen gethan, und lebe wohl, biß es besser wird.

(sigs I12v–K1r)

The word 'Schauplatz' could refer to any theatre. There is no reason to believe, pace Gstach (522), that there is any reference to the theatre in Zittau.

of *Kunst* simply followed it are unclear. Nor do we know anything about the process of textual transmission: did the author of *Kunst* have access to a manuscript, perhaps thanks to the actors who performed the play, as has been assumed by Ellinger (267)? Or did the author work from a (now lost) printed text, as conjectured by Bolte ('Schulkomödie', 124–7)? Or might another form of transmission, such as shorthand, have been involved?

Little is known about the anonymous author, but we do know that he can be credited with two other playbooks. One of them contains another address to the reader which also comments on *Kunst*:

To this and the preceding jig, esteemed reader, the same applies as to *Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen*: I saw them performed by actors in the theatre, preserved them because of their pleasantness, and have written them down for your useful amusement, as they please me according to my judgement. I see no point in racking my brain over new inventions, and thereby losing time that is better spent on something else, and so here only *inventis addo* [add inventions]. Whoever else has seen or heard them will notice the difference between the old and the new, and will profitably recognize that, with such grotesquery, I show the world and its vanity (whose change and improvement I, and all of us, heartily desire).¹

¹ 'Mit diesem und vorigen Possenspiele, Geehrter Leser, gehet es, wie mit der Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen: Ich habe sie von *Comoedianten*, auf dem Schauplatz fürgestellt, gesehen, wegen ihrer Artigkeit behalten, und schreibe sie, zu deiner nützlichen Belustigung, hin, wie sie mir, nach Gutküncken beyfallen. Ich mag meinen Kopff hierin nicht wegen neuer Erfindungen zerbrechen, und hierüber Zeit verlieren, welche ich besser in andern anwenden, und hier nur *inventis addo*: Wer diese sonst gesehen, oder gehöret, wird den Unterscheid, unter dem alten und neuen, finden, und dass ich in solchen Fratzen auch die Welt und ihre Eitelkeit zeige (welcher Ender- und Besserung ich, mit unser aller, hertzlich wünsche) erspriesslich erkennen' (*Alamodisch*, sigs 2B8v–2B9r).

The anonymous author thus on at least two occasions adapted dramatic texts of plays or jigs he had seen in the theatre, but the precise nature of the adaptive process remains obscure. A lot depends on what the author means when writing that he ‘preserved’ (in German, ‘behalten’) the playtexts. It may imply that he got his hands on manuscripts which provided the texts he adapted, but in the absence of further evidence, it is impossible to be certain.

The author of *Kunst* addresses his readers in each of his playbooks, but he consistently refrains from revealing his identity. In one of them, he makes a point of commenting on his deliberate anonymity: ‘The reader has no need to know my name, for it does not matter whether a kitten be called Mignon, Weinzchen, Heinz, Murner, Novazemblisch or Australisch, provided it catches mice.’¹ While his name thus remains unknown, it can be gathered from linguistic features in his plays that he was probably from Hesse or an adjacent part of Germany (see Köhler, xxv–xxvi; Bolte, ‘Görlitzer Schulkomödie’, 128; Ellinger, 267). His writings also reveal considerable learning, and show that he was steeped in German literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Ellinger, 267; Scheitler, 1056–7).

In keeping with the author’s deliberate anonymity is the fake imprint at the bottom of the title page: ‘Rapperschweyl, at Henning Liebler’s, 1672’. No information about a printer or bookseller called Henning Liebler has come down to us, and no printing press is known to have existed in the Swiss town of Rapperswil (to which ‘Rapperschweyl’ seems to refer), nor is there a plausible connection to the Alsacian town Rappoltsweiler. As we shall see below, the place of publication was probably Frankfurt.

¹ ‘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’ (afterword to *Irrthum*, sig. L9r).

A version of the same fake imprint was used for the anonymous author's other dramatic publications. In the year after *Kunst*, *Der Pedantische Irrthum des überwitzigen doch sehr betrogenen Schulfuchses* (*The Pedantic Error of the would-be clever but much deceived Schoolfox*) was published in duodecimo: a satirical play in three acts about bad, pedantic schoolmasters (see Ellinger, 268–74). The imprint reads, 'Rappersweil, Bey Henning Lieblern, Im Jahr 1673' (VD17 23:252481T). This was followed two years later by *Alamodisch Technologisches Interim* (*Fashionable Technological Interim*), also in duodecimo, a satirical three-act play about clerical abuse and hypocrisy (see Ellinger, 274–8), with an analogous imprint: 'Rappersweil, Bey Henning Lieblern. Im Jahr 1675' (VD17 23:235914D). Many of the characters in *Irrthum* reappear in *Alamodisch*, and a minor character in *Alamodisch* is 'Blasius Nasenweis . . . Rector paganus' (sig. A4r), who also appears in *Kunst* as the character who corresponds to the Merchant, that is, Lucentio's fake father, in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Stylistically, the three plays are closely related, characterized by the same rough, often bawdy and typically proverbial or proverbial-sounding language, although the plots of *Irrthum* and *Alamodisch*, unlike that of *Kunst*, recede for much of the time behind dialogues whose relevance to the plot is tangential.

Each of the three plays is followed by a jig, reflecting the performance practice of (or in the tradition of) the itinerant English players (Ellinger, 278). The play appended to *Kunst* (sigs K1r–11r) is called *Singendes Possenspiel Die doppelt betrogene Eyfersucht vorstellend* (*Singing Jig Presenting Doubly Deceived Jealousy*). Fearing to be made a cuckold, Pickelherring, before leaving on a journey, tells his wife to say 'no' to all wooers. She turns away the first two accordingly, but the third, the 'Kavalier', cleverly asks her whether she would turn down his presents, to which she responds 'no' and gives herself up to him. Different printed versions of this jig survive in German, Dutch and Swedish (Wiggins, '*Jig of a Miller*'),

vol. 4, pp. 6–7). The jig appended to *Irrthum* (sigs L11r–N11r) is *Die seltzame Metamorphosis der Sutorischen in eine Magistrale Person* (*The Strange Metamorphosis of a Shoemaker into a Teacher*). Its central character is good-for-nothing Jan Pint who escapes from his shoemaker's apprenticeship, marries a prostitute and, despite his ineptness, is offered a position as a teacher by a headmaster who is interested in seducing his wife (in which he succeeds). The jig appended to *Alamodisch* (sigs 2B7r–2E4v), finally, is *Der viesierliche Exorcist* (*The Peculiar Exorcist*). It deals with an adulterous relationship that is witnessed by a friar who, upon the cuckolded husband's return, pretends the lover is a devil using a would-be exorcism to allow him to escape. Versions of this material are well known (Ellinger, 284–6), including one from the fifteenth-century comic poem *The Friars of Berwick*.¹

Apart from the three closely-related playbooks of 1672, 1673 and 1675, only one other publication is known to have a similar imprint, and it contains what we believe is a false lead concerning the author's identity. *Donum nundinale oder Meß-Gaabe; allerhand merkwürdige Lähren, Fragen u. scharfsinnige Beantwortungen* (*Donum Nundiale, or Fair Stuff: All Kinds of Strange Instructions, Questions and Shrewd Replies*) appeared in 1673, also in duodecimo, and was, according to the imprint, 'Gedruckt zu', that is, printed at, 'Rapperschweyl, bey Henning Lieblem [sic]' (VD17 1:642505G). 'Lieblem' is clearly a misprint for 'Lieblern', and 'Rapperschweyl' is identical in spelling with the place name in the imprint of *Kunst*. *Donum nundinale* is not a play but a collection of anecdotes about ancient and more recent historical figures in which Socrates and Xanthippe – who feature prominently in the Prologue to *Kunst* – make several appearances (e.g., sigs A10r–v, B9r). The straightforward prose of *Donum nundinale* differs stylistically

¹ For the three jigs, see Bolte, *Singspiele*, 110–37.

from the rougher style of the plays, but we do not think that the differences are such that they preclude common authorship. Also, linguistic features and geographical references in *Donum nundinale* point to the author's origins in or near Hesse, as is the case with *Kunst* and the other two anonymous plays (Bolte, 'Schulkomödie', 129). This along with the fake imprint suggest that the author of *Donum nundinale* may well be the author of *Kunst*.

Unlike the three plays, *Donum nundinale* contains a pseudonymous authorship attribution on the title page – 'Von dem Freygebigen' – followed by the Greek letters mu, beta and chi.¹ It is unclear what the Greek letters designate. 'Von dem Freygebigen', which might be translated as 'by the generous one' or 'by the munificent one', has been interpreted as a reference to the Count Ulrich von Kinsky, a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (the Fruitbearing Society; Latin, *societas fructifera*), a German literary society, founded in Weimar in 1617, whose chief purpose it was to promote German as a literary and scholarly language (see Ball). Members adopted pseudonyms, among them Ulrich von Kinsky, who went under the name 'der Freigebige'. He had joined the Society in 1658 and died in 1687, so he was alive and active in the first half of the 1670s when *Kunst* and the other 'Rapperschweyl' publications appeared. Based on the coincidence of the title-page reference to the 'Freygebigen' and von Kinsky's pseudonym, VD 17, the standard short-title catalogue of seventeenth-century printed titles published in Germany, attributes *Donum nundinale* to von Kinsky. Yet there are good reasons to be sceptical about the attribution. Von Kinsky belonged to a distinguished Bohemian family that had been elevated to the rank of nobility in the early seventeenth

¹ Bolte ('Schulkomödie', 129) reads the small initials on the duodecimo title page as 'M. B. K.', but after analysis with a magnifying glass, we think they are more likely to be the Greek letters mu, beta and chi.

century. He occupied important positions in the Electorate of Saxony, and is known to have been the commander of the Königsstein Fortress near Dresden (*Akademie*). He was a member of the Saxony-Weimar branch of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.¹ Nothing connects him to Hesse or other western parts of Germany, and what is known about the dialectal features of the works with the fake ‘Rapperschweyl’ imprints is difficult to reconcile with the assumption that he wrote them. The ascription to the ‘Freigebig’ on the title page of *Donum nundinale* is thus probably a false lead put in place by someone who was determined to preserve his anonymity.² The author of *Donum nundinale* may well have written *Kunst* and the other anonymous plays, but it seems unlikely that the author is Ulrich von Kinsky. In the absence of further discoveries, it thus remains impossible to identify the author of the German adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Taming of the Shrew*.³

The place of publication of *Kunst* has repeatedly been assumed to be Hamburg (Weller, 22–3; Hayn, 134, 138), and VD17 conjecturally agrees with this assumption (VD17 32:677848D). Thanks to a bibliographic accident, however, it can be shown that the place of publication was probably Frankfurt. Three copies (of which one is now lost; see below, pp. 157–8) of the second edition of *Kunst* feature a copper engraving which has no relationship to the play. It contains a

¹ The Weimar archives of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, extant in three volumes at the Thüringische Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar (Kunst und Wissenschaft: Hofwesen 11817.1 and 2, and 11818), contains no document by or addressed to von Kinsky. We are grateful to Andreas Herz for this information.

² There is one other German society of the seventeenth century whose members took on similar pseudonyms, the Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft. The member directory published in volume 12 of the works of Philipp von Zesen suggests that this society had no member who used the pseudonym ‘der Freigebig’ (van Ingen).

³ It should be noted that none of the playbooks with the ‘Rappersweil’ imprint is listed in any of the Frankfurt or Leipzig book fair catalogues; *Donum nundinale*, however, is mentioned in the Leipzig book fair catalogue of autumn 1672, as published by ‘Henning Lieblem’ (sig. B4v).

view across a gate onto an alley of poplars with a coach drawn by horses. Above the gate are a naked woman and a skeleton holding a wreath that surrounds the following text: ‘Die wieder kommende ANGELICA’ (‘the returning Angelica’; see Bolte, ‘Kunst’, 446). This is the title of a short anonymous novel, conjecturally dated *c.* 1680 on VD17 (23:665989F) but in fact mentioned in the Leipzig book fair catalogues in 1671 (*Catalogus* Spring 1671, sig. C3v; *Catalogus* Autumn 1671, sig. B3v). Two copies of *Die wieder kommende Angelica*, a slight duodecimo, are known to survive, and both contain the copper engraving.¹ As has been pointed out, ‘The simple and probable explanation is that the *Angelica* novel and the *Kunst über alle Künste* were printed about the same time at the same print shop . . . Some careless workman confused the two copper plates’ (Jantz). The catalogues contain the following information about the publication of *Die wieder kommende Angelica*: ‘Frankf[urt] bey Joh. Hoffmann’ (*Catalogus* Spring 1671, sig. C3v) and ‘Franckfurt bey Jac. Gottfr. Seylern’ (*Catalogus* Autumn 1671, sig. B3v). Based on the evidence in the Leipzig book fair catalogues, it thus seems likely that *Kunst* (and thus probably also the other ‘Rapperschweyl’ publications) appeared in Frankfurt. This place of publication squares well with dialectal features in the anonymous publications (see above, p. 143). It may be added that Frankfurt is one of the rare place names mentioned in *Kunst*: in Act 2, Scene 1, Hardman intends to ‘travel to Frankfurt now, and buy the most gorgeous robes and jewels’ (1.2.469–70) for Catharina. All things considered, then, Frankfurt is a plausible place of publication for *Kunst über alle Künste*.

What complicates matters is that of the two publishers mentioned in the Leipzig book fair catalogues, only one, Jakob

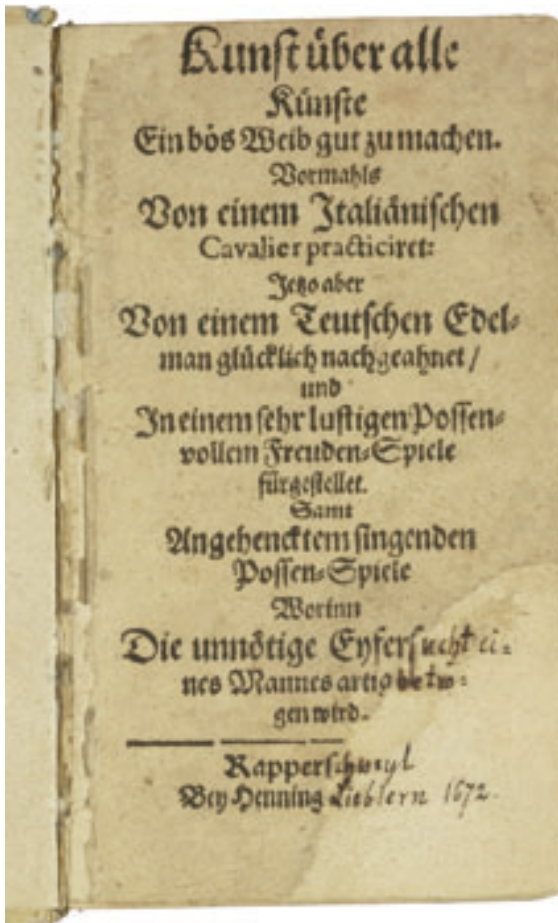
¹ Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, call number QuN 943 (2), and Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, call number Scrin A/1613, the third item in a Sammelband.

Gottfried Seyler, can be associated with Frankfurt. Johann Hoffmann, a known publisher whose activities have been thoroughly researched and documented (see Deneke; and Benzing, 1173), was in fact based in Nuremberg. In the *Catalogus* of spring 1671, three lines below Hoffmann's mention as the publisher of *Angelica*, appears a title that is correctly said to have been published in 'Nürnb[erg] bey Johann. Hoffmann' (sig. C3v). What is likely to have happened, then, is that the information regarding Hoffmann's publication of *Angelica* is erroneous and resulted from eye-skip. The manuscript from which the spring book fair catalogue was printed probably mentioned Seyler as *Angelica*'s publisher, as the autumn catalogue did, but the compositor's eye accidentally turned to Hoffmann's name slightly further down in the list when setting the type.

Independently of what happened in the printing of the spring 1671 Leipzig book fair catalogue, there is no reason to doubt the information in the autumn catalogue according to which Jakob Gottfried Seyler was the publisher of *Angelica*. By extension, given the *Angelica* engraving, he is also likely to have been involved in the publication of *Kunst*. Seyler was active in Frankfurt as a publisher from 1667 until 1683 and is known to have published at least 129 titles there during that period (Benzing, 1268). Although he seems to have moved some of his business to Kassel in the course of the 1670s, he kept a bookshop in Frankfurt at least until 1678 (Paisey, 172). In the absence of information about the play's author, he is the one and only person we can associate with some confidence with the origins of *Kunst*.

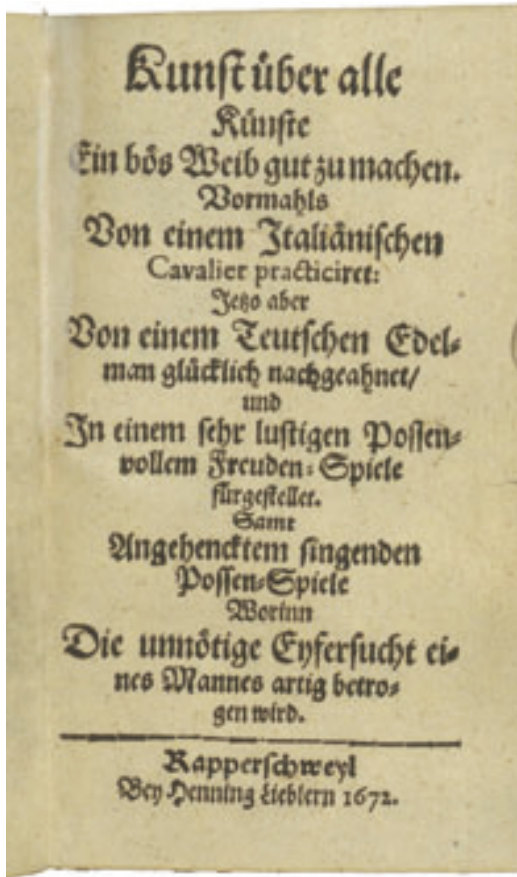
The order of publication of the two editions of 1672

There are two early duodecimo editions of *Kunst*, both dated '1672'. The title pages of the two editions are identical in text and font, and the layout is very similar. The easiest way of telling the title page of the first (see Fig. 7) from that of the



7 Title page of *Kunst über alle Künste* ('Rapperschweyl', 1672, 1st edn), sig. A2r (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, shelfmark: O 9: 246).

second (see Fig. 8) edition is that at the end of line nine, the slash (‘/’) that follows the word ‘nachgeahnet’ is followed by a blank space in the first edition, whereas it is not in the second where the bottom of the slash almost touches the lower part of the final ‘t’. Both editions have some misnumbered pages,



8 Title page of *Kunst über alle Künste* ('Rapperschweyl', 1672, 2nd edn), sig. A2r (Austrian National Library, shelf mark: 23387-A).

especially towards the end, and the last page number in what we will show below is the first edition ('D1' short for the first duodecimo edition; VD17 32:677848D) is '138' (instead of '238'), whereas the last page number in the second edition ('D2'; VD17 23:236440V and VD17 23:252479X) is '337' (instead of '237').

It is unclear from the title pages which is the earlier of the two editions, so bibliographic analysis is needed to establish the order. Typographic arrangement turns out to be an important source of information, since it points to one edition trying to replicate as far as possible the line breaks and page breaks of the other. On sig. A4r, for instance, the compositor of D2 falls slightly behind in line 3 (D1 ends with ‘An-’, for which D2 lacks space). In the next few lines, we see the compositor of D2 trying to catch up, or at least not fall behind further. In line 4, the last word is printed as a two-letter word (the second letter seems illegible), although the equivalent word in D1 is ‘daß’. There are various contractions in D2 (and none in D1), ‘eyerbissigē’ (line 6), ‘dē’ (line 9) and ‘gestochē’ (line 10). When it becomes apparent to D2’s compositor that his line breaks will be before D1’s despite the contractions, he seems to have stopped using contractions and resigned himself to using an extra line of type at the end of the page (D1 has twenty lines of text, not counting the catchword and the signature, whereas D2 has twenty-one). As he is approaching the end of the page, D2’s compositor has actually not fallen behind quite enough (i.e., not quite a whole line), which means he decides to waste space, as shown by the large spaces before and after ‘Hosen’ in the penultimate line. At the end of the last line, D2 has ‘an Beseeli-’. D1, however, only has ‘an’, with ‘Beseeli-’ following on the next line as the catchword. D2 fails to have a catchword on a separate line and, even more surprisingly, also omits the signature present in D1, ‘A jv’. The following page then starts identically, ‘Beseelungsstatt’, D2 thus repeating not the catchword but the last word on the last line of text on the preceding page. All these oddities in D2 are clearly attempts to keep the printing process as simple as possible by making it a line-by-line or, when that fails, at least a page-by-page reprint of D1.

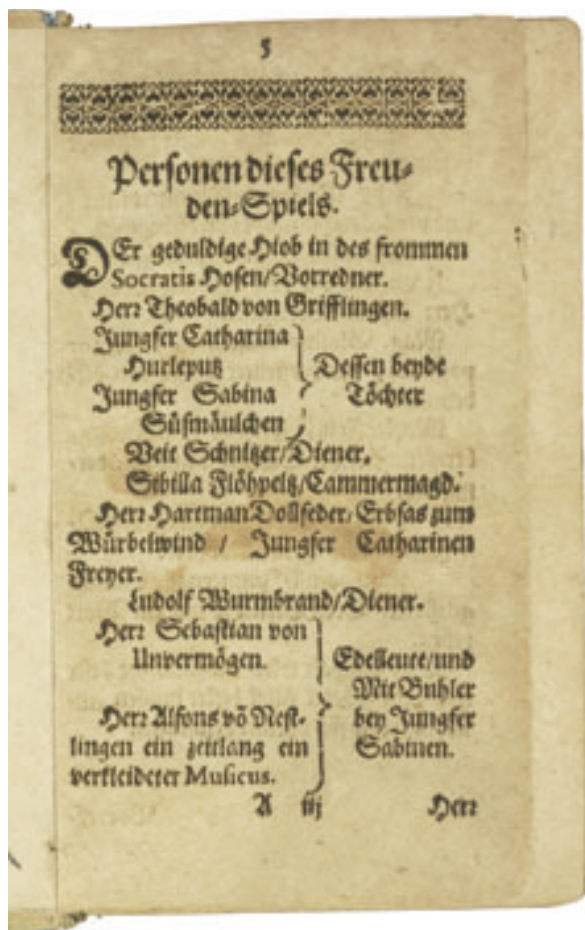
Something similar may be observed on sig. A4v. From the first line, we see D2’s compositor use a contraction, ‘vō’, to have the same line break as D1. The same happens in the next

line, with D2's 'welchē'. D2's compositor nonetheless falls behind in line 6, which ends with 'lassen/' in D1, but with 'las-' in D2. But the difference remains small for much of the page, and a series of contractions close to the bottom of the page ('vō', 'Jungē', 'uñ' (for 'und') and 'Däck') allows D2's compositor to catch up with D1's line breaks. D1, by contrast, uses no contractions, nor any extra-large spacing, suggesting that its compositor, unlike that of D2, is not trying to work to line and page breaks imposed by an earlier edition.

Similar evidence could be adduced from later in the book, but the important point has been made: recurrent space-wasting and space-saving devices in D2 and the absence of such devices in D1 show that D2 was set up from D1. D1 is thus the first of the two editions dated 1672; D2 the second.

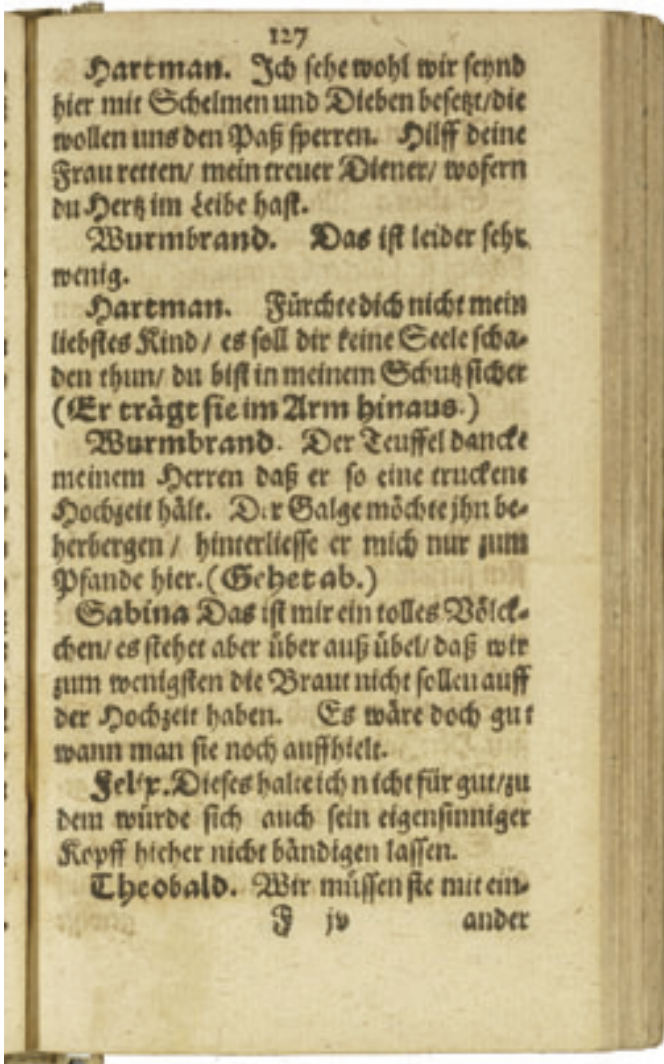
D1 collates A-K12. Leaf A1 is blank, with the engraving pasted onto sig. A1r. The title page is on sig. A2r. After a blank verso follows the List of Roles ('Personen dieses Freuden-Spiels', sigs A3r-v) (see Fig. 9). The text of *Kunst* (sigs A4r-I12v; for a sample page, see Fig. 10) is directly followed by the address to the reader ('Gunstgeneigter Leser', sigs I12v-K1r) which is in turn directly followed by the jig, whose title appears at the bottom of sig. K1r, followed by a List of Roles ('Personen dieses Possen-Spiels') and a short argument in verse ('Einhalt'), both on sig. K1v. The text of the jig (sigs K2r-K11v) is followed by the 'Erklärung des Kupfer-Tittels' (sig. K12r). The last page is blank (sig. K12v). Several pages are mis-signed: sigs B7r 'Bvj', H5r 'Hijj', K2r 'Kijj', K3r 'Kij' and K4r 'Kv'. Sig. H4r is unsigned. Page numbers start on sig. A3r ('5'), and, with the exception of '218' lacking on sig. K1v, follow consecutively until '230' (sig. K7v). The page number then jumps to '331' (sig. K8r), then follows consecutively until '337' (sig. K11r) and ends with '138' (sig. K11v). There are no page numbers on leaf K12.

The make-up of D2 corresponds to that of D1, with a few exceptions. The text of the jig is made to fit on sigs K2r to K11r, with the 'Erklärung des Kupfer-Tittels' printed on sig. K12r.



9 List of roles, *Kunst über alle Künste* ('Rapperschweyl', 1672, 1st edn), sig. A3r (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, shelfmark: O 9: 246).

Sig. B7r is mis-signed 'Bvj' and sig. H5r 'Hijj'. Sigs A4r, E4r and H4r are unsigned, and, after K1r, the last sheet is entirely unsigned. Page numbers are at first identical with those in D1, except that 164 is misnumbered '184'. As in D1, '218' is lacking on sig. K1v, and the numbering jumps from '331'



10 Sample page of *Kunst über alle Künste* ('Rapperschweyl', 1672, 1st edn), sig. F4r (Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, shelfmark: O 9: 246).

(sig. K8r) to '337' (sig. K11r). Since the text of the jig ends on sig. K11r, not on sig. K11v as in D1, the final page number is '337'. The page with the 'Erklärung des Kupfer-Tittels' has no page number, as in D1.

Extant copies of the early editions

There are five extant copies each of the two 1672 duodecimo editions of *Kunst über alle Künste*:

First edition (D1):

- Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar (call number O 9: 246). Lacks the copper engraving. The bottom-right corner of the title page is missing, with some loss of text.¹
- Austrian National Library, Vienna (call number 4679-A ALT MAG). Lacks the copper engraving. Bound up with another play, Laurentius Postel, *Traur-Freudenspiel von Almadero und Liarta* (Hamburg, 1652), which precedes it. Postel's play does not appear in VD 17.
- Russian State Library, Moscow (call number MK IV-HEM. 8°). This copy was previously in the Saxon State Library in Dresden (call number Lit. Angl.A.661), from which it disappeared after the Second World War.
- Staatsbibliothek Bamberg (call number: 14 N 2#2). With the copper engraving.
- Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University (call number Zg17 G88 672r). Lacks the copper engraving. The second of three titles in a

¹ It is from this copy that our German text (see above, p. xvii) has been prepared.

Sammelband, preceded by anon., *Malus Mulier; Das ist Neue Böser Weiber Legenden* (n. pl., 1671, VD17 1:668937W) and followed by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen, *Rathstübel Plutonis oder Kunst Reich zu werden* (Samarinen: 1672, VD17 12:653071C).¹

Second edition (D2):

- Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (call number QuN 847 (1)). With the copper engraving. Bound up with *Der Pedantische Irrthum* (1673; see above, p. 144) and *Der seltzame Springinsfeld* by Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen (1670, VD17 23:233338F).
- Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (call number Lo 4098.1). With the *Angelica* engraving (see pp. 147–8) in initial position, and the *Kunst* engraving inserted between sigs I12v and K1r. An early ownership note reads, ‘F[erdinand] A[lbrecht] H[erzog] z[u] B[raunschweig] u[nd] L[üneburg] . . . 1682’.
- Privately owned. Previously on loan at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle (call number AB 40 19/h, 19) but returned to its owner in 2010.
- Austrian National Library, Vienna (call number 23387–A). With the copper engraving and, before it, the *Angelica* engraving (see pp. 147–8).
- Landesbibliothek Coburg (call number Rara / Cas A 2532). With the copper engraving.²

¹ We are grateful to Sara Powell from the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Dr Stefan Knoch from the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg and Kerstin Schellbach from the Saxon State and University Library in Dresden for information about these copies.

² We are grateful to Gerd Schramm from the Landesbibliothek Coburg and Bettina Lampel from the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, for information about these copies.

A copy of the second edition previously known to exist at the Landesbibliothek Kassel (call number Fab. Roman. Duodez 114) almost certainly burnt in a fire in 1941.¹ It included both the *Angelica* and the *Kunst* engraving (Bolte, ‘Schulkomödie’, 129).

Editorial history

The modern editorial history of *Kunst* is very brief and confined to the edition published by Reinhold Köhler in 1864. Köhler’s text is mostly a faithful reprint, although spelling and punctuation are somewhat modernized. Köhler followed the original division into acts and added no scene division, or any stage directions. The major exception to his otherwise conservative editorial policy is that he omitted from his text what he considered a few ‘particularly dirty passages’ (‘besonders schmutzige Stellen’, xxxviii). The first is from Wormfire’s soliloquy at the end of Act 2 (‘One . . . better’, 2.2.19–23), and the other three are from the final scene (5.2.110–40, 146–54, 345–93). Köhler also bowdlerizes a couple of other passages (see 2.2.7–8, 17–18 and notes) by changing ‘die Hure’ (‘the whore’) to ‘sie’ (‘she’). He prints some of the corresponding Shakespeare passages at the bottom of the page and provides a scholarly introduction (v–xliii) and commentary (213–60). Cohn did not include an edition of *Kunst* in *Shakespeare in Germany*, but he devoted a number of pages to it in the introduction (cxxiv–cxxxi) and printed three short passages, with English translation (cxxvii–cxxix). Prior to the present publication, no translation of the play had been undertaken.

¹ We are grateful to Heike Homeyer from the Universitätsbibliothek Kassel-Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel for this information. Attention was drawn to the Kassel copy by Bolte, ‘*Kunst*’, 446.

A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS

The translations in this volume have been undertaken by the three editors, with extensive help from Anthony Mortimer, whose vast experience in translating from various languages into English (including Petrarch and Michelangelo from Italian, Villon from French, and Silesius from German) has been invaluable. The translation of the verse passages in *Kunst über alle Künste* (see below) is essentially Mortimer's, and he also much improved the prose text.

Like any translation, ours needs to steer a course between a literal, word-for-word version, which would come at the cost of readability, and a more free approach which would not preserve enough of the linguistic and semantic make-up of the original. Our edition is particularly concerned with the relationship between the German adaptations and the Shakespearean originals, and this can only be revealed by a reasonably close translation. On the other hand, we have tried to arrive at a text that feels natural and is easily readable in English, and that occasionally entails a departure from what the German text literally says. When such departures are significant, we draw attention to our translation choices in the commentary.

Of the two previous translations of *Tito Andronico*, one (see below) adopts now archaic second-person familiar pronouns (thou, thee, etc.) and corresponding verb forms. There may be good reasons for this: the English playtext of which *Tito* is a translation and adaptation included those linguistic features, and so a retranslation that reproduces them may reflect a significant aspect of the relation between German adaptation and English original. Yet any attempt to translate a text into early modern English or an approximation thereof also comes with a series of problems. Early modern English is a language

no one now speaks, and its supposed recreation runs the danger of coming across as pastiche. Many early modern terms would need notes since they are not familiar to all readers, and it seems more sensible to translate into a language that does not sound alien to modern readers. Other words have changed their meaning since the early modern period, and a translation into pseudo-early-modern English would raise the question of which meaning is intended and create the need for more notes. The decision to translate a text into the English language of another period would also raise the question of which period to choose: the late sixteenth century, when *Titus Andronicus* and *The Taming of the Shrew* came into being; the early seventeenth century when *Tito* was printed; or the later seventeenth century, when *Kunst* came into being? Any one of these options would be hard to justify and even harder to maintain in any consistent and coherent fashion.

We have therefore decided to translate the texts into modern (British) English. Yet while we have tried to steer clear of the awkwardly archaic, we have also favoured options that do not feel aggressively modern. Given the origins of the texts we have translated, we think there is a limit to how modern the translations should sound. We also make an exception in our avoidance of early modernisms by using ‘exit’ and ‘exeunt’ in stage directions, in keeping with Arden Shakespeare practice. Apart from this exception, we have striven for diction that is neither recognizably archaic nor specifically of the twentieth and twenty-first century.

We use contracted verb forms (don’t, isn’t, he’ll, etc.) when there seems to be a good reason to do so. For instance, short forms may indicate a more relaxed mood, a class difference or a certain absence of emphasis, and of course they impact the overall rhythm of a sentence. The German text of *Kunst* has a fairly colloquial feeling throughout, and contracted forms thus often seem appropriate. In *Tito* the short form is reserved for Morian (it suits his sardonic nature) and the midwife (as a

matter of class difference). We similarly used short forms for Pickelherring in the translation of *Romio und Julieta*.

The translation of *Kunst* comes with challenges over and above those of the other seventeenth-century German Shakespeare adaptations. The language is often idiosyncratic, with passages that are hard to make sense of, and many phrases sound proverbial but are not recorded and explained in any of the standard reference works (see pp. 116–17). Even the play's only previous editor, Reinhold Köhler, a well-known German scholar in his time, who was the head librarian of the Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar, was repeatedly left nonplussed by the text (e.g. pp. 215, 220, 224, etc.), though, in the 1860s, he was still considerably closer in time to the German of *Kunst* than we are today. Translating *Kunst* thus occasionally involves conjectures, as acknowledged in the commentary.

Tito is exclusively in prose, but *Kunst* contains several passages in verse (3.1.46–50, 3.1.67–70, 3.1.143–78, 5.2.224–60, 5.2.352–59), which we have translated as verse. The first two passages, dactylic compositions by Felix and Sabina during the poetry lesson, have been translated so as to preserve the dactylic metre. In the third, Alfons' song performed for Sabina during the music lesson, the translation preserves the original's iambic trimeter couplets. The fourth, Felix's hunting poem, has rather rough iambic octameter couplets in the original, which our translation renders as fourteeners to convey the impression of a fairly rudimentary verse technique. In the last verse passage, a poem by Fabian, our translation preserves the original's (rather awkward) iambic trimeter couplets. We have rhymes where the German does, although we make occasional use of half rhyme where the German has full rhyme (e.g., 3.1.143–6).

Kunst has not been previously translated, but there are two earlier translations of *Tito* into English. We have benefited from them but have also tried to improve on them. Moritz Lippner's translation in Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany* (1865) is

generally reliable, although its English is partly archaic, not least in its adoption of second-person familiar pronouns (thou, thee, etc.) and corresponding verb forms. The translation by Ernst Brennecke in *Shakespeare in Germany 1590–1700* (1964) is considerably less formal than Lippner's and sometimes rather loose. We have tried to avoid the former's archaisms and the latter's looseness, striving for a text that combines readability with conservative modern English.

A NOTE ON THE COMMENTARY AND COLLATION

The commentary and collation located below the text of the two plays in this volume have several purposes. An important aim of the commentary is to shed light on the relationship between the German adaptations and the texts of *Titus Andronicus* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. The commentary on each scene begins with a short note that synthesizes correspondences to and differences from Shakespeare's play. Other notes comment on local similarities and dissimilarities between *Tito Andronico* and *Titus Andronicus* or *Kunst über alle Künste* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. In instances that seem significant, we also annotate *Tito's* relationship to other early (English and Continental) Titus texts, in particular the English ballad, the English chapbook and Jan Vos's Dutch play *Aran en Titus*.

While an important part of the commentary relates the German adaptations to Shakespeare's plays, another part situates them within their cultural, theatrical, literary and linguistic contexts in the German-speaking territories of the seventeenth century. Although our texts are English translations of the German *Tito Andronico* and *Kunst über alle Künste*, we sometimes find it necessary to comment on features of the German text. In notes where the German word or phrase is important, we insert it between parentheses after the English headword. To explain early modern German, we often draw on the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* initiated by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm (hereafter, 'Grimm'), the most comprehensive dictionary of the German language. Its examples from primary sources reach back to the fifteenth century, making it the closest equivalent to what the *OED* is for the English language.

The language of *Kunst über alle Künste* is sometimes idiosyncratic: there are many proverbs and idioms, or passages that at least sound proverbial or idiomatic, even though the most comprehensive reference work of proverbs in the German language, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander's *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexicon* (hereafter, 'Wander'), does not always contain them, or records the passage in *Kunst* as the only known occurrence. The approximate meaning of the passages in question can often be inferred from the context, but our translation usually makes no attempt to render them literally. Instead, we often try to explain in the commentary how the passage works in German by providing its literal meaning, thereby striving for readability in the translation while conveying a sense of the characteristically proverbial-sounding German via the commentary.

The chief purpose of the collation is to provide our sources in instances where our text does not simply translate but departs from the first edition of *Tito Andronico* (1620) and *Kunst über alle Künste* (1672). At the end of Act 2, Scene 1 of *Tito Andronico*, for instance, the 1620 edition provides no exit stage direction for Morian, Helicates and Saphonus. Brennecke is the first editor to change this, so our collation note reads: '108 SD1 *Exeunt*] Brennecke; not in 1620'. (We have made no attempt to record in the collation readings in later editions of *Tito Andronico* that have not been adopted in the present edition.) Similarly, at 3.3.79 of *Tito Andronico*, we add the following stage direction to clarify whom Aetiopissa addresses in the last part of her speech: '[to *Saphonus*]'. This stage direction is not in the text of 1620, nor in any of the later editions and translations of the play. Accordingly, we have a collation note that reads: '79 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620'. In the case of *Kunst über alle Künste*, we slightly depart from this policy, for the following reason: the play has not been translated before and has been edited only once, by Reinhold Köhler (1864). Köhler often modernizes spelling and punctuation but otherwise adheres

closely to the original text. What this means is that almost all editorially added stage directions (there are well over a hundred) and parts of stage directions (there are over thirty) as well as all explanatory additions to the ‘List of Roles’, marked by brackets, have been added by us. We have also divided the play into scenes (the early editions are divided into acts but not scenes) on the understanding that a new scene begins when the stage is cleared and the action is not continuous. On all these occasions, we have considered it unnecessary to mention in the collation that the editorially added text or scene division, in brackets, originates with us. In other words, when a change to the original text is marked by brackets and there is no collation note accounting for its origins, the material in brackets has been added by us. When, on the other hand, a stage direction or speech heading in brackets substitutes for material in the early editions or when a stage direction or emendation originates with Köhler, then that change is recorded in the collation.

We standardize names in stage directions and speech prefixes, and our collation does not record the many instances where this standardization takes place. The standardized name appears in small caps in speech prefixes and entrance directions, in keeping with Arden 3 policy, and it does so even when the name does not appear in the equivalent speech prefix or stage direction in the original German text. So, for instance, the name ‘TITO’ is editorially supplied in cases where the 1620 text only has ‘Andronicus’, as is sometimes the case. In *Kunst über alle Künste*, to give another example, Alfons is referred to as ‘Musicus’ (i.e., Musician) in stage directions and speech headings when in disguise. In stage directions, we clarify the character’s identity by adding his name in brackets: ‘[ALFONS as] Musician’ (4.1.0 SD). In the speech prefixes, we systematically opt for ‘ALFONS’. Significant variations in speech headings are discussed in the notes accompanying the ‘List of Roles’.

TITO
ANDRONICO
IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION

A VERY LAMENTABLE TRAGEDY
OF TITO ANDRONICO AND
THE HAUGHTY EMPRESS

LIST OF ROLES

VESPASIANUS	<i>[son of Tito Andronico]</i>	
Roman EMPEROR		
TITO ANDRONICO		
ANDRONICA	<i>[daughter of Tito Andronico]</i>	
AETIOPISSA	<i>Queen of Ethiopia, [later Roman]</i>	5
	<i>Empress</i>	
MORIAN	<i>[servant and secret lover of Aetiopissa]</i>	
HELICATES	<i>elder son of Queen of Ethiopia</i>	
SAPHONUS	<i>other son of Queen of Ethiopia</i>	
Andronica's HUSBAND		10
VICTORIADES	<i>[brother of Tito Andronico]</i>	
[Two] MESSENGERS		
MIDWIFE		
[SOLDIER]		
[ROMANS]		15
[Attendant, Servants, Soldiers]		

LIST OF ROLES In *1620*, headed 'Personae', and in the identical order to that reproduced here. The order of the main characters is close to the order of appearance but does not quite correspond to the order of their first mention in SDs (Tito is named before the Emperor, and Andronica after Aetiopissa, Morian, Helicates and Saphonus), nor to the order in which they first speak (Andronica does so after Aetiopissa, Morian, Helicates and Saphonus). The material in brackets has been added in the present edition. The first edition of *TA* with a list of 'The Persons' Names' was Ravenscroft's (1687). For characters who appear only in *TA*, see Introduction, p. 2.

VESPASIANUS Lucius in *TA*. Lippner and Brennecke have 'Vespasian', but this edition follows the original spelling.

Roman EMPEROR Saturninus (sometimes 'Saturnine') in *TA*. *Tito* does not give this character a proper name. Although the opening SD has 'the EMPEROR also enters, but at this time he is not yet the Roman Emperor' (1.1.0.3–4), the first speech delivered by this character nevertheless has the SP 'Emperor' (1.1.14).

TITO ANDRONICO Titus Andronicus in *TA*. In *1620* the SPs vary between 'Titus', 'Titus Andron.' and 'Titus Andronicus'. This edition follows the form of the name used in the title of the German play.

ANDRONICA Lavinia in *TA*.

AETIOPISSA ... Empress The 'Personae' list indicates both of her titles: Queen of Ethiopia and Empress ('Königin auß Mohrenlandt. Käyserin'). Grimm defines 'Mohrenland' as the land where the Moors live, namely Mauritania and Ethiopia, which is supported by Aetiopissa's name in this instance. However, some seventeenth-century German texts use 'Mohrenland' to refer to the Northern African coast (see Schuster, sig. A1r). Her SP is 'Ætiopis.' (for 'Aetiopissa') before she is crowned, and usually 'Keyserin' or 'Käyserin' ('Empress') thereafter, although on two occasions (3.3.51 and 3.3.63), when she addresses her sons, her SP is 'Mutter', i.e. mother; we regularize to 'AETIOPISSA'. The name is linked to Ethiopia, whereas

Tamora's name does not mark her out as a Goth. Despite being Ethiopian, Aetiopissa is described as 'lovely and white' ('schön und weiß') in the opening SD (1.1.0.5), suggesting that, unlike Morian, her part is not to be performed in blackface. See Introduction, pp. 20–3. In Thomasius' 1661 German adaptation of Vos' *Aran en Titus*, Thamera becomes 'Tomyris', in reference to the Scythian queen.

MORIAN Unlike 'Aaron' in *TA*, Morian's name (from the German 'Mohr, Moriane, Morianer' for 'Moor') marks him out as a black African. This is supported by the opening SD, which identifies him as black ('schwartz'). While Aaron is not located in a specific African country, Morian reveals that he was hailed as the 'Thunder and Lightning' of Ethiopia on account of his martial prowess (1.1.111–12). In the chapbook and the ballad, the equivalent character is referred to simply as 'Moor'.

HELICATES Demetrius in *TA*. 'Helicates' has classical Greek connotations and suggests 'follower' or 'agent of' the sun (from 'helios' for 'sun' and the -της suffix, which is used to form agent nouns). Aetiopissa's sons are presumably white, like their mother, although there are no explicit comments on their whiteness as in *TA* (e.g. 4.2.99–100, 118–20, 156).

SAPHONUS Chiron in *TA*.

Andronica's HUSBAND (Andronicæ Gemahl)

This character differs considerably from Lavinia's husband Bassianus in *TA*; he has no proper name (which is also the case in the chapbook and the ballad), and there is no evidence that he is the brother of the Emperor. After the Emperor rejects Andronica in favour of Aetiopissa in 2.1 there is no mention of her subsequent marriage, yet she appears with her husband in 3.3 (see Introduction, p. 10). In the chapbook (39) and the ballad, Titus' daughter is betrothed to the son of the Emperor, which is also the case in Thomasius' adaptation *Titus und Tomyris* (1661).

VICTORIADES The 'Personae' list has 'Victeriados', but the spelling in the dialogue and the SPs is 'Victoriades'. Corresponds to 'Marcus' in *TA*.

MESSENGERS In *Tito*, 5.1 and 5.2, one of the messengers performs largely the same function as the Clown in *TA*, 4.3 and 4.4, who delivers Titus' insulting letter to Saturninus. In both cases the bearer of the message is punished by death. The other messenger in *Tito* (8.1) has no equivalent in *TA*. The 'Personae' list in *1620* mentions a single 'Bote', i.e. messenger.

MIDWIFE The 'Personae' list in *1620* and *1624* have 'Weise Wächter', which Lippner mistakenly translates as 'White Guards', while Brennecke corrects to 'Midwife'. 'Weise' is best translated as 'wise', not 'white' (German: 'weiß'). 'Wächter' means 'guard' or 'guardian' but is used here to refer to a guardian or carer in a broader sense. The SP in 6.1 is 'Weise Mutter' (literally, wise mother), a designation occasionally used for a midwife (see Grimm, 'Hebamme'). The SD introducing this character calls her 'weise Muhme' ('Muhme' usually referring to a female relative; Grimm). This

character corresponds to *TA*'s 'Nurse'. 'Cornelia the midwife' (4.2.143) is mentioned in *TA* but does not appear onstage.

SOLDIER Not mentioned in the 'Personae' list in *1620* or *1624*. In 7.1, he delivers Morian and his child to Vespasianus as his prisoners.

ROMANS An unspecified number of 'Romans' are addressed in the opening scene by Vespasianus (1.1.1), the Emperor (1.1.16–17) and Tito (1.1.20), and they 'ALL' (1.1.34) acclaim the Emperor when he is crowned. Not in the *1620* 'Personae' list.

Attendant This non-speaking part is required in 5.2. Not in the *1620* or *1624* 'Personae' list.

Servants An unspecified number of non-speaking servants who prepare the banquet at the beginning of 8.2. Not in the *1620* 'Personae' list.

Soldiers The play requires two non-speaking soldiers in 7.3. Not in the *1620* 'Personae' list.

- LIST OF ROLES 1 *son* . . . *Andronico*] Brennecke (son of Titus Andronicus); not in *1620*
4 *daughter* . . . *Andronico*] Brennecke (daughter of Titus Andronicus); not in *1620*
5 *later Roman*] *this edn*; not in *1620*
6 *servant* . . . *Aetiopissa*] Brennecke (an Ethiopian, secret lover of Aetiopissa); not in *1620*
11 VICTORIADES] *Cohn*; Victeriados *1620*; Victoriados *1624*
11 *brother* . . . *Andronico*] Brennecke (brother of Titus Andronicus); not in *1620*
12 TWO MESSENGERS] *this edn*; Messenger (Bote) *1620*
13 MIDWIFE] Brennecke; White Guards *Cohn*; Weise Wächter *1620*
14 SOLDIER] *this edn*; not in *1620*
15 ROMANS] *this edn*; not in *1620*
16 Attendant, Servants, Soldiers] *this edn*; not in *1620*

TITO ANDRONICO

1.[1] VESPASIANUS *enters, the Roman crown in his hand. Enter TITO ANDRONICO wearing a laurel wreath, the EMPEROR also enters, but at this time he is not yet the Roman Emperor. Also enter AETIOPISSA, the Queen of Ethiopia, who is lovely and white, with her two sons HELICATES and SAPHONUS, and MORIAN, who is black and has a humble cloak pulled over his magnificent clothes, being a servant to the Queen and her secret consort. The last four to enter are the prisoners of Tito Andronico. Also enter ANDRONICA [and ROMANS].*

VESPASIANUS Noble Romans, you are aware that our imperial throne is now empty and unfilled, and so to

1.1 generally corresponds to *TA* 1.1 (with some parallels to Aaron's speech about his villainies in 4.3), although it is much shorter, and several of the more elaborate details of *TA* are omitted. Whereas *Tito* has all the principal characters except for Victoriades enter onstage at once, *TA* staggers the action, presenting the initial dispute between Saturninus and Bassianus, followed by Titus' entry, the execution of Alarbus and the burial of the fallen Andronici sons in the family tomb. *Tito* has no equivalent to the dispute between Saturninus and Bassianus, which makes the transition of the crown from Tito to the Emperor simpler than that from Titus to Saturninus. Likewise, the absence of the rival brother figure makes the betrothal of Andronica to the Emperor more straightforward than the equivalent action in *TA*. Whereas in *TA*, Saturninus has cause to reject Lavinia in favour of

Tamora later in the same scene (because the Andronici sons and Marcus choose to support Bassianus' abduction of her), in *Tito* the Emperor has no cause to reject Andronica, whom he leads away at the end of the scene without challenge. Aetiopissa has only two sons, who are never threatened with death, unlike Tamora's three sons, one of whom is killed (which gives her a motive to be revenged on Titus and the Andronici). In *Tito* there is no explicit or sustained ill will between the principal characters, unlike in *TA*, where a significant portion of the lengthy opening scene is devoted to peace-keeping between various factions.

0.1–2 VESPASIANUS . . . *hand* In *TA*, Marcus, not Lucius, holds the crown, '*alofi*' (1.1.18 SD). Victoriades is absent from the first scene, perhaps because of casting exigencies (see Appendix). The opening is proleptic in that the play will end when

1.1] *this edn*; Actus Primus 1620 0 SD11 and ROMANS] *this edn*; not in 1620

avoid great discord and strife among the people, we must soon elect another Emperor. Because I know of no other man to whom this honour is more due than Tito Andronico, who is now the most distinguished and most eligible candidate, and since no-one in this city of Rome has achieved more than him in bloody and perilous combat, and also as everyone proclaims that the crown of Rome is his by right, so let us all wish him good fortune, place the Roman crown upon his head, and for all time hold and honour him as our most gracious Emperor.

EMPEROR What? Shall Tito Andronico wear the crown upon his head, and not I? No, that must never be! I am

Vespasianus agrees to 'receive the crown in the presence of all' (8.2.75–6). For the importance of Vespasianus, see Introduction, pp. 14–15, 39–40.

0.2 **laurel** ... **wreath** In *TA*, in his first speech, Titus mentions that he is returning to Rome 'bound with laurel boughs' (1.1.77). Laurel is the foliage of the bay-tree, used as an emblem of martial victory in Rome.

0.3–4 **at** ... **Emperor** For the narrative and descriptive nature of some of the SD in *Tito* and elsewhere in the Leipzig volume, see Introduction, pp. 69–70.

0.5 **white** ('weiß') Lippner and Brennecke translate this as 'fair complexion', but 'white' seems significant in the context of the play's treatment of race (see Introduction, pp. 19–28).

0.9 **secret consort** Nothing in the subsequent dialogue allows an audience to identify Morian as Aetiopissa's secret lover until he reveals it at 1.1.89–90. In *TA*, the relationship between Aaron and Tamora is also revealed late in the first scene (1.1.512).

1–13 **Noble** ... **Emperor** It is unclear how Vespasianus' position puts him in charge of the election of the new Emperor.

Braekman suggests that the speech is 'wrongly ascribed' to Vespasianus and that Victoriades 'is meant' (9.48), but there is no evidence for this, and the character of Vespasianus is also foregrounded elsewhere (see Introduction, pp. 14–15). In *TA*, Saturninus speaks first and Marcus, brother of Titus and Tribune of the people, holds the crown (1.1.18.1). Like Marcus in *TA*, Vespasianus attempts to influence the process by advocating the election of his kinsman.

2 **imperial throne** ('Keyserthumb') Lippner has 'Empire', but we follow Brennecke, which is supported by Bassianus' reference to the 'imperial seat' (1.1.14) and Tamora's comment on Saturninus being 'but newly planted in your throne' (1.1.449). The chapbook also makes mention of Rome's 'imperial Throne' (35).

2 **empty and unfilled** The first of many hendiadyses in the play, the second following later in the sentence: 'discord and strife'.

4 **elect** As in *TA*, Rome is an elective monarchy, although the exact modalities of the succession are not spelled out.

next in line and the crown is rightfully mine. So, Romans, consider well and wisely what you do, so that no rebellion break out among us to trouble and endanger this noble city of Rome.

- TITO Romans, you must know that this imperial throne 20
 is of no interest to me. I am now an old man and have
 spent all my life in constant and most perilous wars.
 Even if all the votes are cast for me, and everyone
 confers on me the imperial throne, you shall see that
 for the sake of peace I will give it to another, for it is 25
 through *concordiam* and unity between the Emperor
 and the council, and also the common people, that
 Rome has become the head of the entire world. If
 dissension and strife now arose within its walls, the
 city would perish. Therefore, I shall cast aside my 30
 pride and turn instead to humility. So come together

- 16 **next . . . line** ('der neheste') literally, the next one. It is unclear if he, like *TA*'s Saturninus (1.1.5–8), is insisting upon his right of primogeniture.
- 17–18 **Romans . . . us** The veiled warning about armed intervention is weaker than Saturninus' explicit invitations to cause civil unrest: 'Defend the justice of my cause with arms' (1.1.2) and 'Romans, do me right. / Patricians, draw your swords and sheathe them not / Till Saturninus be Rome's emperor' (1.1.207–9).
- 20–1 **this . . . man** In *TA* Titus similarly states that 'A better head her [i.e., Rome's] glorious body fits / Than his that shakes for age and feebleness' (1.1.190–1). As in *TA*, 'old' is a recurrent epithet for the protagonist, used both by himself and others.
- 22 **all my life** ('die Zeit meines Lebens') literally, the time of my life. Compare Titus, who indicates a specific duration: 'Rome, I have been thy soldier forty years' (1.1.196). The duration of Tito's Ethiopian campaign is not specified, whereas Marcus points out in *TA* that 'Ten years are spent since first he [i.e., Titus] undertook / This cause of Rome' (1.1.31–2).
- 23–31 **Even . . . humility** Tito foregrounds the avoidance of civil unrest and the common good in his decision to renounce the crown. Titus, by contrast, insists on his age when explaining his decision (1.1.192–5).
- 26 **concordiam** Latin: harmony, concord, union.
- 27 **council** ('Rathe') Lippner and Brennecke translate this as 'Senate'. Whereas *TA* mentions the 'senate' (1.1.27, 44), '*the Senate House*' (1.1.66 SD1) and the 'Capitol' (1.1.44), which was often assumed to be the site of the Senate House, *Tito* has the vague 'council' ('Rathe') and mentions neither Capitol nor Senate House. Nor does *Tito* mention '*Tribunes . . . and Senators*', whereas *TA* does (1.1.0.1–2). *Tito*'s dramatization of Rome's political institutions remains very vague.
- 29 **dissension** ('*despennation*') a Latinism.

now and let us crown the Emperor, loudly wishing him good fortune and well-being.

*Tito Andronico places the crown upon
the Emperor's head.*

ALL (*cry*) We wish long life, good fortune, and well-being to the invincible and all-powerful Roman Emperor. 35

EMPEROR Well, my dear followers, since you elect and uphold me as your Emperor, I in turn commit myself to favour you with special liberties, to venture life and blood with you for our fatherland, and always to act in good faith. – As for you, Tito Andronico, who have gladly and willingly conferred this imperial throne on me for the common good and peace, I bear you great love and loyalty. Therefore, I desire your lovely daughter, Andronica, as my Empress, and today she shall be crowned as Empress and married to me, if it pleases you. 40 45

TITO Most mighty and invincible Emperor, it gives me special pleasure that you desire my dearest daughter, Andronica, as Empress, which will establish yet more peace and friendship between us. I hereby give you 50

33 SD In *TA* it is Marcus rather than Titus who crowns Saturninus, presumably during or after his speech at 1.1.234–7 (see Ard³ 1.1.237 SD note).

34 ALL (*cry*) 1620 typographically incorporates this passage into the SD that precedes the cry. We derive the SP and the SD '*cry*' from 'vnd sagen alle mit lauter Stimme' (literally, and all say with a loud voice).

41–7 As ... you Like Saturninus (1.1.238–47), the Emperor moves directly from his expression of gratitude ('I give thee

thanks', 1.1.240) to his desire to marry the daughter of his benefactor ('Lavinia will I make my empress', 1.1.244). In both speeches the Emperor ends by asking for Tito's/Titus' agreement ('doth this motion please thee?', 1.1.247). The Emperor's desire to marry and crown his Empress 'today' is only in *Tito*.

48–51 Most ... us Titus says that he is 'highly honoured' (1.1.249) by the match, but only Tito insists (again) on peace (see 23–30).

my daughter and wish you both a peaceful, long, and happy life.

Presents his daughter to him. The Emperor takes her by the hand.

EMPEROR I shall hold her in great respect and honour.
But tell me, please, who are these that stand behind you? 55

TITO Most mighty Emperor, this woman is the Queen of Ethiopia, these two are her sons, and the Moor is her servant, all of whom I have brought as prisoners from Ethiopia. 60

EMPEROR They please me greatly, especially the female creature, and I could wish that they were mine.

TITO Most mighty Emperor, since they please your Majesty, I willingly give them to you.

He takes Aetiopissa and leads her to the Emperor.

Queen of Ethiopia, I hereby pronounce you free and unyoked from me, and present you to my gracious Lord Emperor. 65

AETIOPISSA Great and mighty Emperor of Rome, I, my sons, and my servant have now been handed over

52–3 **my ... life** The equivalent moment in *TA* has Titus give away not only Lavinia but also a number of other entitlements: ‘My sword, my chariot, and my prisoners, / Presents well worthy Rome’s imperious lord: / Receive them then, the tribute that I owe, / Mine honour’s ensigns humbled at thy feet’ (1.1.253–6).

58 **the Moor** (‘der Schwartz’; literally, the black one). The distinction between ‘her sons, and the Moor’ implies that the skin colour of Helicatas and Saphonus, like their mother’s, is considerably lighter than Morian’s.

61–2 **They ... mine** In *TA*, Saturninus focuses more explicitly on Tamora, ‘A goodly lady, trust me, of the hue / That I would choose were I to choose anew’ (1.1.265–6). This comment is made *after* Titus bestows the prisoners upon him, whereas in *Tito* the loosely corresponding comment leads Tito to present his prisoners as a gift to the Emperor.

64 **SD** The early editions of *TA* have no equivalent SD, but Ravenscroft inserted ‘*Presents his Captives to the Emperor*’.

68–72 Tamora does not address Saturninus at the equivalent moment.

as your Majesty's captives, and we offer ourselves to
your Majesty as your humble servants. Do with us
as you please. 70

EMPEROR Lovely Queen of Ethiopia, I am well disposed
towards you and yours. So do not be melancholy and
distressed but of good cheer for I shall raise you to
great things, and you shall be maintained according to
your former status as a high-born queen. 75

AETIOPISSA All-gracious and most mighty Emperor, I
humbly thank your Majesty for this great favour.

EMPEROR Well, time flies, so let us all now go inside. 80
Exeunt. Morian remains.

MORIAN Let me throw off these old rags now, for I see
that my secret mistress holds favour and grace with
the Emperor.

He pulls off the old cloak.

I hope she will attain even greater grace and *gratia*
with him, and that she will win his love with her 85

75–7 **I ... queen** Titus similarly assures Tamora, 'for your honour and your state / [Saturninus] will use you nobly and your followers' (1.1.263–4).

81–130 The equivalent speech in *TA* is part of the opening scene in Q1, but F introduces an act division before it, which many subsequent editions followed, although Ard³ includes it in 1.1. Whereas Aaron's equivalent speech outlines his ambitions for personal advancement at the Roman court via Tamora, Morian's concerns focus on adultery (his former involvement with Aetiopissa), and on his former military career and the Roman invasion of Ethiopia.

83 **SD** With this action, Morian reveals the 'magnificent clothes' mentioned in the opening SD, which have so far been hidden under his cloak. There is no equivalent SD in *TA*, although note Aaron's

'Away with slavish weeds and servile thoughts! / I will be bright, and shine in pearl and gold' (1.1.517–18). Morian thus enacts (a version of) what Aaron says. *Tito's* presentation of Morian in sartorial finery can be read in the wider context of Continental visual representations of black Africans (see Introduction, pp. 25–6). For the racial coding of Ethiopian dress mentioned elsewhere in the Leipzig volume, see Introduction, p. 26 n. 2.

84 **gratia** Latin: grace, mercy.

85–7 **and that ... Rome** Aaron's 'Now climbeth Tamora Olympus' top' (1.1.500) follows after Saturninus has taken Tamora as his consort. In *Tito*, the Emperor has only told Aetiopissa that he is 'well disposed towards' (73–4) her, and Morian expresses no more than speculative hopes at this point.

flattery and caresses and become the Empress of Rome. If that happens, I shall truly cuckold the Emperor and have far more pleasure and joy with her than he will. Everyone thought I was merely the Queen's servant – but no, I was her secret lover and slept more often with her than the King of Ethiopia, her husband, so that at last he noticed the mischief between me and the Queen, and had me closely watched so that I could not go near her. The Queen became very impatient with her husband, for I could not come near her for fourteen days, being guarded so closely, and the King could not pluck her strings half as vigorously as I. Therefore, she took poison and gave it to the King in a goblet of wine so that again I had free access to her. Yes, many who looked with

87–9 **I . . . will** more detailed and cruder than Aaron's plans 'to wanton with this queen' (1.1.520).

89–90 **merely . . . lover** Morian's designation of himself as a mere 'servant' need not be contradicted by his later account of his fame as a soldier. He is insisting that he was not just Aetiopissa's servant (as soldier and perhaps otherwise) but her lover.

90 **secret lover** Aaron speaks more specifically of Tamora's amorous enslavement to him, describing her as a 'prisoner held, fettered in amorous chains / And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes / Than is Prometheus tied to Caucasus' (1.1.514–16).

91 **King of Ethiopia** No equivalent Goth king is mentioned in *TA*. In the chapbook the Goth King is called Tottilius.

91 **King** The German text has 'Keyser' ('Emperor'), but Morian otherwise refers to Aetiopissa's former husband as 'König' ('King'), so 'Keyser' seems erroneous here, perhaps a confusion with the Roman Emperor referred to earlier in Morian's

speech as 'Keyser'. It is possible that the word was abbreviated ('K') in the MS from which *1620* was set up, which would explain the confusion.

97 **pluck . . . strings** ('die Lauten schlagen') literally, beat (i.e. play) the lute. Creizenach notes that this expression was used in an obscene sense by the English comedians, and points to an eighteenth-century dictionary that supports this usage (21, n. 36). The sexualized 'Lauten schlagen' is mentioned again by Morian later in the play (6.1.66). The phrase appears a third time when it is used literally by Tito in lament of Andronica's inability to play the lute following her mutilation: 'But how will you pluck the lute now' (5.1.10, 'Aber wormit wiltu nun die Lauten schlagen').

98 **poison** The German text has 'veniam', flawed Latin derived from 'venenum' ('poison'; see Fredén, 149). No mention is made of Tamora's husband in *TA*. In *Aran en Titus*, Thamera simply mentions that she killed her husband at Aran's behest (Buitendijk, II. 535–6).

displeasure on me and my paramour I have secretly
 killed in their bedchambers by night. I have committed
 thousands and thousands of villainies and robberies,
 and yet it seems to me that I have not done enough
 mischief yet. Yes, everyone, even the King himself, 105
 was very afraid of me because of my great, valorous
 deeds and military might. In battles and perilous wars
 I fought like a formidable lion – not like a man but
 like a very devil. Thus, eventually, I became known
 throughout the whole world for my great, superhuman, 110
 manly exploits and was given the title of ‘Thunder
 and Lightning of Ethiopia’. My fame finally reached
 the Romans, who armed themselves mightily and
 came for us in Ethiopia, devastating and destroying
 the land with unheard-of cruelty. I went out against 115
 them with my army and thought they would cause me
 little trouble and be driven back so that none would
 return to Rome alive. But when the fight began, I saw
 how dreadfully old Tito Andronico hit back; he
 surpassed me and was ten times more fierce. In all my 120
 life I had not seen an army more warlike and battle-
 hardened than these Romans. This frightened me, and

102–5 **committed . . . yet** Compare ‘Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things / As willingly as one would kill a fly, / And nothing grieves me heartily indeed / But that I cannot do ten thousand more’ (5.1.141–4). Unlike Aaron, Morian does not elaborate on these villainous acts beyond the account of his involvement in the murders at the Ethiopian court.

105–12 **Yes . . . Ethiopia** This passage, in which Morian portrays himself as a former military champion of his country, has no equivalent in *TA*, where Aaron’s account of his past life is a catalogue of crimes and not rooted in a geographical location (5.1.125–44).

111–12 **Thunder . . . Lightning** Compare Aaron’s comment that Tamora is ‘Secure of thunder’s crack or lightning flash’ (1.1.502). In *Aran en Titus*, Aran declares that he ‘did terrorize the Roman army with the thunderings of my voice, with the lightnings of mine eyes’ (Buitendijk, ll. 176–9; trans. quoted from Fuller, 25).

116 **my army** That Morian, like Tito, was a military leader establishes a parallel between the two antagonists that *TA* lacks.

119–20 **he . . . me** This may provide a motive for Morian to be revenged upon Tito, which is not in *TA*.

I saw my ranks dissolve, beaten like dogs. Before
 long, old Tito rushed at me and – something that no
 man had ever done before – struck me off my horse 125
 with his lance so fiercely that I didn't know whether
 I were dead or alive. They cut everyone down, so
 that no-one escaped. They took many spoils, among
 them me, the Queen, and her sons, and brought us to
 Rome. But now I shall go and see what comes about. 130
Exit.

[2.1] *Enter the* EMPEROR, AETIOPISSA *with her two*
 sons HELICATES *and* SAPHONUS, *and* MORIAN.

EMPEROR Lovely Queen, my desire and lust for you is
 ten times greater than for Tito Andronico's daughter.

125 **struck . . . horse** Black Africans were associated with expertise in horsemanship in early modern European culture (see Introduction, p. 25). This detail parallels the chapbook history, where Tottilius, the Goth King, 'desperately charged by Andronicus', is 'thrown from his Horse and much wounded' (36).

127–8 **They . . . escaped** This account of cruelty in warfare anticipates the ferocity with which Vespasianus' forces attack Rome (see 7.1.1–15 and 7.2.1–19).

128 **many spoils** In the chapbook the Goth King 'caused the Retreat to be sounded' and 'left the rich Spoils of his Camp, the Wealth of many plunder'd Nations' to Andronicus and his soldiers (36).

2.1 The beginning of this scene corresponds to the second half of the opening scene in *TA* (1.1.304–635), or the end of 1.1 and 2.1 in editions that follow F's act divisions. In *TA*, Saturninus has cause to fall into a dispute with the Andronici because Marcus and his

nephews support Bassianus' claim to Lavinia (1.1.280), but in *Tito*, given the absence of the brothers' rivalry, the Emperor's decision to abandon his promise to marry Andronica (3–4) is more unexpected and seems based on his sexual attraction to Aetiopissa. The dispute between Helicates and Saphonus that follows (18–95) generally corresponds to that of Demetrius and Chiron in *TA*, although Morian's motivation in appeasing the brothers is different from Aaron's. Whereas Aaron rebukes Chiron and Demetrius for the danger they run in publicly fighting over the wife of Bassianus, the Emperor's brother (1.1.545–69), Morian expresses his irritation over their physical violence towards one another and threatens to punish them if they do not desist (96–8). Aaron devises a detailed plan for the brothers (1.1.612–31), but the scene in *Tito* ends without a plan though Morian gives a general promise to assist the brothers.

2.1] *this edn*; not in 1620; Act II *Cohn* 108 SD1 *Exeunt*] *Brennecke*; not in 1620

I have sent her back and informed him that she does
 not please me and will not be the Empress of Rome.
 From now on you shall no longer be called the captive 5
 queen but the Empress of Rome. So now I place the
 crown upon your head, and you shall be my faithful
 consort, for the goddess Venus has wounded me so
 much in your favour that I shall have no peace until I
 have possessed your proud body. 10

Places the crown upon her head.

AETIOPISSA Most mighty Emperor, I am unworthy of
 the great honour and dignity your Majesty confers
 upon me. Although the goddess Venus has likewise
 roused in me an ardent passion for your Majesty,
 modesty did not allow me to reveal it. 15

1–10 This speech seems to follow directly from the opening scene (especially 1.1.73–87), yet the fact that Andronica now has a husband (see 2.1.36–7 and note) suggests that considerable time has elapsed. This inconsistency may be the result of imperfect revision or some form of textual corruption. Compare *TA*, where Lavinia asserts that Tamora’s ‘slips have made him [i.e. Saturninus] noted [i.e. branded with disgrace] long’ (2.2.86), although Tamora and Saturninus have only been married for one day; this suggests a similar ‘double time scheme’, ‘slip’, or ‘corruption’ (Ard³, 214).

3–4 **I . . . Rome** When Saturninus rejects Lavinia, he does so in response to the perceived dishonour he received when Bassianus, Marcus and Titus’ sons removed Lavinia: ‘No, Titus, no, the emperor needs her not, / Nor her, nor thee, nor any of thy stock. / I’ll trust by leisure him that mocks me once, / Thee never, nor thy traitorous haughty sons, /

Confederates all thus to dishonour me’ (1.1.304–8). By contrast, in *Tito*, the only reason the Emperor gives for rejecting Andronica is that ‘she does not please me’.

5–6 **From . . . Rome** The Emperor’s proposal is more assertive than that of Saturninus in the equivalent passage, which is phrased conditionally and leads to a question, ‘If thou be pleased with this my sudden choice, / Behold, I choose thee, Tamora, for my bride, / And will create thee empress of Rome. / Speak, queen of Goths, dost thou applaud my choice?’ (1.1.323–6).

8, 13 **Venus** the classical goddess associated with sexual desire. See also 3.3.125, 128.

12 **dignity** (*‘digniteten’*) a Latinism.

13–15 **Although . . . it** Tamora makes no mention of any attraction to Saturninus when she accepts his offer of marriage, stating only that she ‘will a handmaid be to his desires, / A loving nurse, a mother to his youth’ (1.1.336–7).

EMPEROR So let us now go in, my lovely Empress, and while away our time in delights.

He takes her by the hand and they go within.

Morian follows.

The two sons Helicates and Saphonus remain.

HELICATES Dearest brother, let us now live in joy and bliss, for this prison of ours holds neither harm nor disadvantage for us, but instead brings us great honour. I ask you, dearest brother, where could our mother have come to greater and higher honours than here, where she has become the Empress of Rome? 20

SAPHONUS Yes, dearest brother, I cannot rejoice enough at the great cheer in my heart, for in Ethiopia we would never have been as highly exalted as here – thanks to our mother – among these noble Romans who are renowned throughout the world. So I would like to rejoice with you, but one thing torments and sorely pains my heart. 25 30

HELICATES Dearest brother, I would like to know the sorrow in your heart.

SAPHONUS O dearest brother, then know that I am so greatly overcome with fiery lust for lovely Andronica 35

17 **while . . . delights** In the equivalent passage in *TA*, sexual activity is referred to when Saturninus invites Tamora to ascend the Pantheon (a temple in Rome dedicated to all the gods) in order to ‘consummate [their] spousal rites’ (1.1.342).

17.3 **remain** In *TA*, Aaron remains onstage after his soliloquy, and the quarrelling brothers enter to him; in *Tito*, Morian

exits at the end of Act 1, and the brothers quarrel alone at the beginning of Act 2, until Morian enters to them (66.2–3). Chiron and Demetrius enter ‘braving’ (1.1.524.1) and their argument over who has the better claim to Lavinia is already underway. In *Tito*, by contrast, their relationship is at first harmonious but then gradually deteriorates.

25 **rejoice** (*‘jubiliren’*) a Latinism.

that I do not know what to do. What grieves me most is that she is already married to another.

HELICATES Dear brother, I am very sick for the same reason. I will not believe that your love for her is as fierce as mine. Therefore, give up such thoughts; I am the eldest and will possess her body. I must consult with our mother's servant to think up a secret way of taking her husband's life. 40

SAPHONUS How, brother! Though you are older than I, you shall not thwart me. I hope I have as much of what becomes a man as you, and if we should make a wager over who would best acquit himself in the tournament of Venus, truly, I know I would defeat you. Therefore, dear brother, leave this to me and find yourself another, for I will not give her up and no-one shall have her but I. 45

HELICATES O you poor fool, could you ever satisfy a woman? Indeed not, you are incapable of it! Leave off, brother, leave off. She must be mine and you are much too weak to make me yield. Or shall we fight for her in such a way that dogs may lick up our blood? 55

36–7 **What . . . another** It is unclear how much time has passed since 1.1, when Andronica would have been free to marry the Emperor. Either Andronica's marital status is dramatized inconsistently or her marriage must have taken place since Act 1. There is no indication that she was previously betrothed to a man other than the Emperor, as is the case with Lavinia and Bassianus (1.1.280–90). See 2.1.1–10 and note.

41 **eldest** Demetrius, as the elder brother, similarly draws attention to his superiority by belittling and insulting Chiron: 'thy years want wit, thy wits want edge / And manners to intrude where I am graced' (1.1.525–6). In *TA*, Demetrius' argument for the elder brother's superiority mirrors Saturninus' (1.1.5–8), a

parallel not operative in *Tito* where the Emperor is not known to have a brother.

41–2 **consult . . . servant** ('*consuliren*') a Latinism. In *TA* the brothers have no intention to approach Aaron for help with their undertaking.

44–5 **Though . . . me** This parallels Chiron's assertion that "'Tis not the difference of a year or two / Makes me less gracious, or thee more fortunate' (1.1.530–1). As elsewhere, *TA* indicates a temporal duration, 'a year or two', where *Tito* does not (see 1.1.22 and note).

55 **too weak** Helicates' condescension towards his younger brother mirrors Demetrius' in *TA*, where Chiron is called 'boy' (1.1.537, 544) and 'Youngling' (1.1.572).

SAPHONUS Brother, I say there's no bigger fool in the world than you! That I would give her up and let you have her? That must never be. But it is true that she can have only one of us, therefore draw and let us fight valiantly for her, since I would rather give my life than yield her to another. 60

HELICATES Yes, brother, with pleasure, since one of us must be swept away. And I say likewise that I would rather give my life than let you have her. So let us fight and not hold back. Lay on! 65

*They strike at one another.
In the midst of the scuffle enter MORIAN,
who runs between them.*

MORIAN No, no, my lords! By a thousand devils, what are you doing? Are you brothers so incensed that you seek each other's lives? That simply must not be while I am here. Be content, or else I'll beat you both so soundly that you'll think the elements wage war upon you! Once I begin, I'm worse than the devil himself. But tell me, what's the reason for your quarrel? 70

HELICATES My dear Morian, you must know that I am fiercely in love with Andronica; my brother says that 75

60 **draw** ('ziehe vom Leder') literally, draw from the leather, an expression designating the removal of a sword or other large blade from a scabbard, which was often covered in leather.

66 SD1 **They strike** In *TA*, 'They draw' (1.1.544 SD). Since Saphonus has just invited his brother to 'draw' (60), it may be assumed that the fight in *Tito* involves a bladed weapon. In *TA*, Demetrius identifies his weapon as a 'rapier' (1.1.553). In *Tito* 3.3, both brothers have a sword.

66 SD2 **enter MORIAN** Unlike Morian, Aaron does not leave the stage and witnesses the quarrel between the brothers.

70–2 **I'll . . . you!** Aaron does not threaten the brothers with violence but draws their attention to the likely consequences of openly quarrelling over the wife of Bassianus, 'a prince's right' (1.1.563), in the vicinity of the Emperor's palace: 'I tell you, lords, you do but plot your deaths / By this device' (1.1.577–8). The identity of Andronica's husband is not known, which means that there is no occasion in *Tito* for Aaron's concern over Demetrius and Chiron's desire for someone as distinguished as the Emperor's brother's wife.

he also is greatly in love with her, and that's why we quarrelled. I want to have her, as does he; so he offered to fight me, since she can only be had by one of us.

MORIAN I can only laugh at the two of you fighting over a young lady who already has a husband! But listen to me, Saphonus, I think it would be best if your brother, who is the elder, takes Andronica and you find yourself another – there are Roman women far lovelier than Andronica! 80 85

SAPHONUS No, my dear Morian, that's impossible, for I am far too much in love with Andronica and shall never give her up. So let's fight.

*Saphonus starts attacking his brother again;
Morian intervenes.*

MORIAN No, not so! Listen further. What do you think, Helicates, of giving up Andronica and finding yourself another – the best in all of Rome? I'll help to get her for you. 90

HELICATES No, I cannot give her up – I am too much in love with her. So let's fight and not relent till one of us is killed. 95

*They attack one another. Morian separates
them forcibly.*

MORIAN What the devil! Are you so determined to fight? Once more I advise you to be content or, indeed, I'll beat you both until you howl. Now, listen again to what I have to say, and if you remain unsatisfied, then

83 **elder** Morian echoes Helicates' earlier claim as the elder brother (40–1). Aaron does not favour one brother's claim over the other's.

84 **find ... another** This corresponds to Demetrius' suggestion to Chiron, 'learn thou to make some meaner choice' (1.1.572). However, where Demetrius instructs his

brother to find a *less* attractive woman, Morian goes on to suggest that there are, in fact, *more* attractive women in Rome.

88 SD–95 SD In *TA* there is nothing to suggest that the brothers attempt to fight one another physically again. The second scuffle in *Tito* may be for the benefit of spectacle.

I don't know what else I can do. If neither of you
wants to give her up, don't lose your lives over it. I'll
help you take her husband's life, and then both of you
may have her and satisfy yourselves.

HELICATES My dear Morian, this pleases me; assist us in
this purpose. 105

SAPHONUS I am also content with this.

MORIAN Then follow me, my lords, and let's consider
how to go about the matter. [*Exeunt.*]

3.[1] *Enter* EMPEROR *and* AETIOPISSA,
also TITO ANDRONICO.

TITO Great and mighty Emperor, I have arranged a fine
stag-hunt for tomorrow in honour of your Majesty
and your beloved Empress, and I humbly ask your

104–5 **My . . . purpose** This respectful form of address is markedly different from Chiron's response to Aaron: 'Thy counsel, lad, smells of no cowardice' (1.1.632).

107 **let's consider** In *TA*, Aaron makes his plan known before the stage is cleared: the brothers are to 'strike [Lavinia] home by force' (1.1.618) during the hunt the next day. In *Tito* their eventual attack on Andronica is instigated by their mother, following their chance encounter with her in the forest on the day of the hunt (3.3). Much later in the play, we find out about Morian, Helicates and Saphonus' unsuccessful plot against Andronica and her Husband (7.1.55–60).

3.1 This very brief scene parallels *TA*, 1.1.496–9 and looks ahead to *TA*, 2.1.14–15. In *TA* the hunt takes place on the day after the opening scene (cf. 1.1.496). In *Tito*, we later find out that, following 2.1, Morian, Helicates and Saphonus plotted together that Morian was to kill Andronica's Husband, but that he 'never

had the opportunity to do so' (7.1.59–60), which suggests that some time elapses between Acts 2 and 3.

1–6 **Great . . . pleasure** In *TA* the invitation is offered to Saturninus before the arrangements for the hunt are made: 'Tomorrow, and it please your majesty / To hunt the panther and the hart with me, / With horn and hound we'll give your grace *bonjour*' (1.1.496–8). The point in the scene at which the offer is made in *TA* fits in with the conciliatory tone that follows the violence and quarrels earlier in the same scene. It is less clear why Tito should arrange a hunt after the Emperor's flippant rejection of Andronica. He explains later in the play that he was hoping to 'increase [his] favour with the Emperor' (5.1.35).

2 **stag-hunt** *Tito* does not have *TA*'s exotic panthers (1.1.497), which were of course not hunted in the Roman woods (although they may have been imported for the circus; see Barton, 57).

- Majesty and the lovely Empress to arrive at the
 hunt in the early hours and spend the day in joy and
 pleasure. 5
- EMPEROR Dear Tito Andronico, I shall set out at an
 early hour with my beautiful Empress and be present
 at the hunt. But tell me, will many Romans ride
 with us? 10
- TITO Yes, most mighty Emperor, there will be a
 considerable number, including my brother, Victoriades
 Brutus, and the husband of my daughter, Andronica.
- EMPEROR Very well then, my dear Tito Andronico. We
 shall prepare ourselves for the occasion. *Exeunt.* 15

[3.2] *Morning dawns. The hunting horns and
 trumpets are sounded.*

Enter TITO ANDRONICO.

TITO How sweetly and pleasantly the birds sing in the
 air, each seeking his sustenance; the hunt has begun

- 5 **early hours** parallels Titus' remark on the
 earliness of the hour: 'The hunt is up, the
 morn is bright and grey' (2.1.1).
- 9–10 **will . . . us?** Saturninus does not enquire
 about the size of the retinue in *TA*, but in
Tito the 'considerable number' (12) empha-
 sizes the stateliness of the occasion and pro-
 vides a context for the insults about large
 numbers of followers later (see 3.3.8–18).
- 13 **Brutus** ('Brutinen') the only instance in
 which this Latin cognomen appears in
 connection to Victoriades.
- 13 **husband . . . Andronica** the first mention
 of this character, who greatly differs from
TA's Bassianus (see above, p. 169). *Tito*
 has 'Androva' instead of Andronica here,
 probably a printer's error.
- 3.2 The speech that makes up this scene cor-
 responds to *TA* 2.1.1–10.
- 0.1 **Morning dawns** It is unclear whether
 this SD would have been realized
 onstage and if so, how it could have
 been. It parallels the opening line of
 the equivalent scene in *TA*, Titus' 'The
 hunt is up, the morn is bright and grey'
 (2.2.1).
- 0.1–2 **The . . . sounded** The first of four
 occasions when offstage music or sound
 effects are called for (see the opening SDs
 of 3.3, 7.1 and 8.2).
- 0.3 **Enter TITO ANDRONICO** Tito immediately
 re-enters. For the only other occasion when
 characters do so, see 5.1.0 SD and note.
- 1–3 **How sweetly . . . splendour** This pas-
 sage recalls the protagonist's speech in
TA: 'The hunt is up, the morn is bright
 and grey, / The fields are fragrant and the
 woods are green' (2.1.1–2). The singing

3.2] *this edn; not in 1620*

in delight and splendour. Yet my heart is troubled and heavy, for last night I had a most frightening dream and do not know what it may portend. Now I must ride to the Emperor, who attends the hunt. *Exit.* 5

[3.3] *Enter* ANDRONICA, *hand in hand with her* HUSBAND.
Also enter AETIOPISSA, *walking towards them.*
The hunters sound their horns.

ANDRONICA Dearest husband, in all my days, I have never seen a finer and merrier hunt.

HUSBAND I too, my lovely wife, can say in truth that I have been at many hunts but never a merrier or more joyful one. But what extraordinary thing do I behold! The Empress walks alone and comes quickly towards us. 5

of the birds is commented on by Tamora when she is alone in the woods with Aaron: 'The birds chant melody on every bush' (2.2.12); she also refers to 'sweet melodious birds' (2.2.27).

- 3-5 **Yet . . . portend** Cf. Titus: 'I have been troubled in my sleep this night' (*TA*, 2.1.9). Tito comments later in the play: 'the frightful dream I had the night before the hunt foretold this misfortune' (5.1.37-8).
- 6 SD The German text adds 'etc.' after 'Gehet weg' (i.e., exit). The meaning of 'etc.' here is unclear. See 4.1.23-4 and 5.2.65-6 and notes.
- 3.3 largely corresponds to *TA* 2.2, although there is no equivalent to Aaron's scheme to blame the murder of Bassianus on Quintus and Martius. Whereas the encounter of Morian and Aetiopissa is placed at the end

of the scene, that of Aaron and Tamora occurs early on (2.2.10-50). In *TA*, Bassianus first addresses Tamora (2.2.55-9), whereas the Husband remains silent in *Tito* after Aetiopissa has entered, and only Andronica speaks with her. The conversation is quite different in the two plays: in *TA*, Tamora's indiscretion with Aaron is brought to light (2.2.67-83), whereas Andronica expresses no awareness of the secret relationship between Aetiopissa and Morian.

- 0.1 **hand in hand** The equivalent SD in *TA* does not provide this detail, although physical intimacy between Lavinia and her husband is suggested in the allusion to the consummation of the newlyweds' marriage (2.1.14-17).
- 0.3 **The . . . horns** See 3.2.0.1-2 and note.

3.3] *this edn; not in 1620*

Aetiopissa approaches them.

- AETIOPISSA I am amazed, Andronica, to see you walking alone with your husband like this. Have you not a thousand knights and footmen that follow and serve you? 10
- ANDRONICA Fair Empress, I ask you the same: why do you walk alone and have no crowd of servants waiting upon you? But I take your mockery to be nothing but a trifle, and, as it comes from you, I put up with it easily. I trust that if it were necessary I could summon a thousand knights and foot-soldiers as readily as you. 15
- AETIOPISSA Andronica, since you ask so impudently and craftily why I am walking alone thus, let me tell you that it is because I want to do so. But a question for you: how is it that you answer me with such insolence and defiance? Am I not your Empress and do you not know how much you ought to honour me? Do not think that I shall let this rest! 20 25
- ANDRONICA Indeed, Empress, if one shouts into the woods then one will hear an echo, and as you

8–40 In *Tito*, Andronica and her husband say nothing of the Empress' adultery (unlike Lavinia and Bassianus in *TA*, 2.2.51–88). The present quarrel is, then, necessary to explain Aetiopissa's later cruelty to Andronica. Fredén (368) argues that in *Tito*, unlike in *TA*, the quarrel is poorly motivated, but Aetiopissa's haughtiness along with her discomfort at being surprised alone in the forest may provide some basis for it.

8–11 **I . . . you?** The speech recalls Bassianus' feigned surprise at finding Tamora alone in the forest, having just witnessed Aaron's departure from the scene (2.2.55–9). In *Tito*, however, the Husband's surprise at finding

Aetiopissa alone seems genuine. Late in the play, Morian explains to Vespasianus why Aetiopissa was alone in the forest: 'your father, Tito Andronico, held a great stag-hunt . . . the Empress walked alone in search of me to satisfy her lust' (7.1.61–5).

15–16 **nothing . . . easily** In *TA* it is Tamora who tells Lavinia, 'Why, I have patience to endure all this' (2.2.88).

23–5 **Am . . . rest** Like Aetiopissa, Tamora asserts her rank, calling Bassianus 'Saucy [i.e. 'insolent towards a superior', *Ard*³] controller of my private steps' (2.2.60).

26–7 **if . . . echo** ('wie man ins Holz ruffet, also krieget man ein Wiederschall') proverbial (Wander, 'Holz').

questioned me with a haughty spirit, I will answer
 you in a similar manner. Although you are indeed the
 Empress, I shall not grovel at your feet. Remember 30
 that you were first my father's prisoner, and now that
 you have become an empress you do not know how to
 control your pride. So continue in your pride, and let
 me remain as I am. I wonder, what good has this city
 of Rome received from you and yours? And what 35
 benefits from my father and mine? Indeed, had he not
 fought with his valorous hands as he did, the imperial
 throne and all of Rome would long ago have been
 razed. Yet hurt me as much as you like if you can't
 help it. 40

AETIOPISSA O, my heart will burst within me! Get out of
 my sight, you damned creature! If I am unable to
 punish your arrogance, I shall kill myself! I swear by
 all the gods that I shall neither eat nor drink nor lay

28 **haughty** ('hoffertigen') echoing the play's full title, *Eine sehr klägliche Tragædia von Tito Andronico vnd der hoffertigen Käyserin (A Very Lamentable Tragedy of Tito Andronico and the Haughty Empress)*. The same epithet is used for Aetiopissa by Tito (4.3.10, 19, 79; 8.2.47), Vespasianus (7.1.13, 96) and even Morian (7.1.49). In the chapbook, Attava, the Goth Queen, is called 'an imperious Woman, and of a haughty Spirit' (38). The adjective 'haughty' is not applied to Tamora.

30-1 **Remember ... prisoner** Lavinia reminds Tamora of her former captivity

later in the scene, when threatened with rape, begging her to have pity 'for my father's sake, / That gave thee life when well he might have slain thee' (2.2.158-9).

41 **heart ... burst** a recurrent conceit, used elsewhere by Tito (4.3.61, 5.1.1-2 and 8.2.40) and Vespasianus (8.2.63).

41-6 In *TA*, Tamora's last speech before her sons enter (or possibly prompted by their entrance) is simply, 'Why, I have patience to endure all this' (2.2.88). Aetiopissa is unaware of her sons' plan to rape Andronica, whereas Tamora has been apprised of it earlier in the scene, so her smug response makes sense.

my head to rest until I have taken my fill of vengeance 45
and triumphed joyfully over you.

She steps away.

*Enter her two sons HELICATES and SAPHONUS, who
come to her. Andronica speaks aside with her Husband.*

HELICATES Gracious mother, we are amazed that you
are all alone and wandering away from the others. But
we are even more surprised to find you so troubled
and melancholy. 50

AETIOPISSA O my dear sons, open your ears, listen to
my words, and know that I was walking not far from
here, where Andronica was with her husband; she
assailed me with scornful and jeering words, enough
to drive me frantic and insane. Therefore, come and 55
take revenge on her; be ruthless with her, and, if you
love me, kill her husband by her side. If you fail to do

46 SD1 *She . . . away* The German SD reads 'Gehet ein Schritt sex fort' (in 1620 and 1624). 'Sex' was an accepted spelling for 'sechs', that is, six, so translated literally, the sentence means 'Walks a step six away', perhaps meaning *walks about six steps away* (Kaulfuss-Diesch, 65, 73). Brennecke translates '*She walks six paces away*', which makes sense of 'sex' but seems an awkwardly precise direction. Lippner translated, '*She walks a little further*'.

46 SD2–64 Two conversations take place during this episode on two sides of the stage, one heard by the audience, the other not. Andronica and her Husband, '*aside*' (46.3), are clearly unaware of what Aetiopissa and her sons are saying, and the two brothers do not even know where Andronica and her Husband are (see 61–2). In *TA* the brothers simply enter to the other characters (2.2.88 SD).

48–50 **But . . . melancholy** Demetrius' first

speech after his entrance ends with a similar expression of surprise: 'Why doth your highness look so pale and wan?' (2.2.90).

51 **listen** ('*observiret*') a Latinism.

51–5 **O . . . insane** Whereas Aetiopissa gives her sons a biased account of what really happened, Tamora concocts a fictitious story of how she was lured to a dismal pit in the forest and threatened by Bassianus and Lavinia (2.2.91–115). See note at 4.1.5–8.

55–9 **Therefore . . . sons** Tamora's equivalent speech ends similarly: 'Revenge it as you love your mother's life, / Or be ye not henceforth called my children' (2.2.114–15).

57 **kill . . . husband** There is no explicit command to slay Bassianus in *TA*. Since the Husband in *Tito* remains silent during Andronica's dialogue with Aetiopissa yet still needs to be disposed of for the sake of the plot, the instruction is necessary to clarify the action.

so, I will curse you and never more take you to be my sons.

HELICATES *and* SAPHONUS Gracious mother, we are 60
willing to obey you. Only come and show us where
they are, so that I can take his life immediately.

AETIOPISSA Well then, follow me, and have no mercy on
them.

*They go to Andronica and her Husband. Helicates
draws his sword.*

HELICATES Here we find you both. You have lived far 65
too long.

Stabs him.

[HUSBAND] O, murder, murder!

[*Dies.*]

ANDRONICA Alas! Alas! Will no-one cry out and denounce
this murderous deed?

She goes to sit on the ground with the corpse.

AETIOPISSA Look, you haughty woman! How do you 70
like this? What do you think, have I not kept the oath

60 SP 1620 reads 'Söhne' ('Sons') and so does not clarify how the characters share the speech.

61–2 **Only . . . are** See note above, 46 SD2–64.

66 SD The elder brother commits the murder, whereas in *TA* both sons stab Bassianus in turn (2.2.116–17).

67 SP The SP is missing in 1620 and 1624; we follow Lippner in assigning the speech to Andronica's Husband, although it is possible that Andronica is the speaker.

67 **murder, murder** ('*mordio, mordio*') A call, derived from 'Mord' ('murder'), that proclaims murder and charges a pursuit of the perpetrator (Grimm). It is unclear what is done with the corpse, since *Tito* lacks the pit device. In *Aran en Titus*, Bassianus' body is hung on a shrub; the German adaptations of Vos from 1656 and 1661 have him hung from a tree, and the 1699 programme has him bound to a tree.

69 SD a vivid SD with no equivalent in *TA*.

67 SP] *Cohn*; not in 1620 67 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620

I swore? Indeed, this is but a trifle! I will tame you so
 that you will lie at my feet, and I will tread on your
 corpse. I will murder your entire kin, including your
 parents and brothers, and shall prevail upon my
 gracious Lord Emperor with cunning and guile to let
 them all die a miserable death. I am your mortal
 enemy, haughty woman, and it is impossible for me to
 see you live any longer. [*to Saphonus*] Therefore, my
 dear son, give me your sword so that I myself may
 take away her life.

She attempts to take his sword.

SAPHONUS Dearest mother, I can perform this act, so
 think about it first.

ANDRONICA O, you most merciless woman! Is there
 no spark of pity in you? Should my father learn of
 this, his vengeance would be grim beyond your
 reckoning; he would leave no stone upon another
 but tear down the very earth on which you stand.
 Alas, you haughty Empress, have pity on me and take

74–5 **murder ... brothers** corresponds to Tamora: ‘Ne’er let my heart know merry cheer indeed / Till all the Andronici be made away’ (2.2.188–9).

75 **parents** (‘Väteren’) may stand for ‘kin’ more generally, since Andronica’s mother is not mentioned or alluded to elsewhere in the play.

77–8 **mortal enemy** (‘spinne feindt’) literally, spider enemy, an expression derived from the action of large spiders who devour smaller ones (see Grimm, ‘spinnefeind’).

79–81 **Therefore ... life** recalls Tamora: ‘Give me the poniard. You shall know, my boys, / Your mother’s hand shall right your mother’s wrong’ (2.2.120–1).

82–3 At the equivalent point in *TA*, Demetrius and Chiron suggest raping Lavinia before murdering her (2.2.122–30); in *Tito*, rape is suggested by Aetiopissa later in the scene (101–5).

84 **you** Here Andronica switches from using the formal form of address (‘sie’) to the informal (‘du’). Her use of ‘sie’ before this point contrasts with Aetiopissa’s insistence on ‘du’ when addressing Andronica throughout the scene.

89–90 **have ... now** This plea comes before any threat of rape is verbalized in *Tito* (although Aetiopissa’s later reference to her sons’ ‘great urge for lustful pleasure and ... libidinous sap’ (102–3) may suggest that unscripted stage action is making their

my life now, for I cannot live on; it brings me infernal
anguish. 90

AETIOPISSA Indeed, I believe it is so. Your father and
brothers do not fight in the manner of men but more
furiously than devils, and if they knew of this, they
would tear down to the ground the whole of Rome, 95
with its imperial palace, and rage like fierce lions. But
I must prevent this from happening, and consider
how to keep them from finding out. Since I now hear
that to live any longer is infernal anguish for you,
and that you cannot think of anything more terrible, 100
I shall let you live on for a while. And you, my dear
sons, I know you have a great urge for lustful pleasure
and are full of libidinous sap. So I give her to you;
go with her to the most frightful place in these woods
and take your fill of pleasure with her and use her 105
so harshly that she no longer resembles a human
being. But if you have mercy on her, remember that
my anger will be unleashed on you and promise little
good.

[HELICATES *and* SAPHONUS] Gracious mother, we shall 110
obey your command.

*They go to Andronica, attempting to lift her
up and take her away.*

ANDRONICA O, is there no help? O, is there no pity? I
beg you, leave me, and take my life!

intention known). Lavinia begs for death
after the threat is made: "Tis present death
I beg" (2.2.173).

96 **rage** (*'rumoren'*) a Latinism.

102–3 **I . . . sap** Tamora similarly refers to
her 'spleenful sons' (2.2.191), the spleen
being considered 'the seat of strong

passions' (Ard³).

112–13 Andronica's final speech calls to
mind the beginnings of Lavinia's last two
speeches: 'No grace? No womanhood?'
(2.2.182); "'Tis present death I beg'
(2.2.173).

110 SH] Cohn; Söhne 1620

AETIOPISSA No, I shall certainly have no pity on you.
Now, sons, take her out of my sight. 115

They take her away and go into the forest with her.

Enter MORIAN.

MORIAN I see a wonder of all wonders! What the devil does this mean, Empress, that you walk alone in the forest? The Emperor has ordered me to search for you.

AETIOPISSA My faithful paramour, do not be amazed 120
and angry because I had a desire to walk alone; I shall return with you to the Emperor presently. But, my dearest paramour, we are now quite alone in this fine and delightful forest, and I have a great appetite for the sport of Venus. So let me sport with you and make 125
merry.

MORIAN No, lovely Empress, even though the goddess Venus is tempting you to her games, I am ruled and mastered by the god Mars. Therefore, this cannot be, and you may not have my body at this time. So let us 130
now go to the Emperor, who has been waiting for you for a long time. *Exeunt.*

116–32 *TA*, which places the encounter of Tamora and Aaron early in the scene (10–50), ends it with Aaron's plot against Quintus and Martius (2.2.192–306).

117–18 **alone . . . forest** Morian is the third character to remark on the impropriety of Aetiopissa being unaccompanied, after Andronica (12–13) and Helicates (47–8).

118–19 **ordered . . . you** Not in *TA*, where Tamora comes to meet Aaron in the forest.

123–4 **fine . . . forest** In *TA*, Tamora delivers a lengthy description of the forest as an

idyllic space for amorous encounters (2.2.10–29).

124–5 **I . . . Venus** In *TA* it is Aaron who tells Tamora, 'though Venus govern your desires . . .' (2.2.30).

129 **Mars** Roman god of war. In *TA*, Aaron says he is ruled by 'Saturn' (2.2.31), 'saturnine' meaning gloomy, melancholy. *Tito's* decision to invoke Mars here may be an allusion to Morian's first speech, in which he recounts his military exploits (1.1.107–18).

4.[1] *Enter* TITO ANDRONICO, VESPASIANUS *and*
VICTORIADES. *They stand, dejected.*

TITO O, dearest ones, it troubles my heart that the Emperor has put my sons in prison. I have no idea what the cause may be. I have written to the Emperor, asking him the reason for my sons' sudden imprisonment; he has answered that my sons are prisoners of the Empress, that they have grossly offended her, insulted her with mockery and libels, and therefore must die a swift death. It would cause me great pain and anguish to see my own flesh and blood executed. But whom do I see coming towards me? The Empress' Morian! 5 10

Enter MORIAN *to* Tito Andronico.

MORIAN God speed you, old Tito Andronico! Have hope and be of good cheer; I bring you good news.

4.1 The opening speech has no correspondence in *TA*, where Titus' sons Quintus and Martius are imprisoned because of their alleged murder of Bassianus, not for allegedly insulting Tamora. The rest of the scene is similar to *TA*, 3.1.151–206, but Aaron conveys to Titus the Emperor's request for a severed hand *after* the mutilated Lavinia has been discovered, whereas in *Tito* Morian arrives with his message *before* Andronica is found. *Tito* does not dramatize the procession with Titus' bound sons to the place of execution, nor the pleas of the distraught protagonist to the tribunes and senators (*TA*, 3.1.1–58).

5–8 **he . . . death** The fact that the brothers are imprisoned and sentenced to death due to Aetiopissa's (presumably untrue) report of their insults contributes to the play's depiction of her as the principal antagonist. Note

that her allegations against Titus' sons mirror those against Andronica at 3.3.53–5, where Aetiopissa goes on to announce that she will eliminate Andronica's 'entire kin, including your parents and brothers' (3.3.74–5). In *Aran en Titus*, Thamera falsely claims that two of Titus' sons abused her in the forest, where they pulled her hair and called her a whore (Buitendijk, ll. 761–72). The 1656 programme notes that Aran and the Empress concoct a story about the latter being antagonized by two disguised persons in the forest, whom Aran pursues and recognizes as Titus' sons (2.7). For the 1699 programme, see Cohn, 'Breslau', 280.

12–13 Aaron is more direct in delivering the message: 'Titus Andronicus, my lord the emperor / Sends thee this word' (*TA*, 3.1.151–2).

4.1] *this edn*; Actus Quartus 1620

- TITO You have my thanks, Morian. Say, what news do
you bring? 15
- MORIAN The Empress has sent me to tell you that if
you love your sons and want to save them from death,
you should cut off your right hand and send it to
her by me. Then they shall be sent back to you
immediately. 20
- TITO O my dear Morian, what good news you bring me!
No, if the Empress desired both my hands I would
gladly cut them off. I shall cut off my hand and give it
to you.
- VICTORIADES Dearest brother, I beg you, let me cut off 25
my hand, for it would be a great shame for you to cut
off your noble hand!

16 **Empress** Aaron claims he is sent by the Emperor (*TA*, 3.1.151), although his comments later in the play suggest otherwise (5.1.111–20). In *Tito* the command clearly does come from Aetiopissa (see 5.2.4–10). In the chapbook, Attava is said to have ‘sent the Moor in the Emperor’s Name’ (41).

16–18 **if you . . . hand** The instruction in *TA* is less specific: ‘Let Marcus, Lucius, or thyself, old Titus, / Or any one of you, chop off your hand’ (3.1.153–4). There is an unresolved contradiction between Morian’s request for *Tito*’s hand, and the subsequent argument between *Tito*, Vespasianus and Victoriades about who is to cut off his hand (in keeping with *TA*, 3.1.163–86). If *Tito* and *TA* both derive from an earlier Titus play (see Introduction, pp. 36–40), then it seems likely that the reason for the argument (i.e. that the protagonist, his son and his brother are left to choose whose hand should be cut off) was in that earlier play but was accidentally removed in the process of adaptation that led to *Tito*. See also Fredén, 369–70.

21–4 Titus is equally enthusiastic about the proposal: ‘With all my heart I’ll send the emperor my hand’ (*TA*, 3.1.161). Unlike *Tito*, *TA* may have prepared the audience for the protagonist’s response through his earlier affirmation, upon seeing his mutilated daughter, that he is willing to ‘chop off [his] hands too’ (3.1.73).

23–4 **give . . . you**. The German text adds ‘etc.’ at the end of the speech. The meaning of the expression is unclear here. See 3.2.6 and 5.2.65–6 and notes.

25–7 **Dearest . . . hand!** In *TA* it is Lucius who initially offers to sacrifice his hand in place of his father, to which Marcus responds ‘Which of your hands hath not defended Rome / . . . / O, none of both but are of high desert. / My hand hath been but idle: let it serve’ (3.1.168–72). This distinction is important because Marcus is a tribune, and there is no evidence to suggest that he has ever engaged in military combat like Titus and his warlike sons. In *Tito* it is unclear whether Victoriades holds a civic or military rank, and he does not refer to his ‘idle’ hand.

- VESPASIANUS O, dearest father, I implore you, let me
 chop off my hand, for they are my dearest brothers!
 TITO No, my dearest brother, and my dear son, neither 30
 of you shall give up your hand; that is for me
 to do.

They fall on their knees before him.

- VICTORIADES Dearest brother, we kneel before you and
 implore you to leave your hand unhurt, and to let me
 cut off my hand. 35
 TITO Rise and do not kneel before me. As you plead
 so earnestly, I must yield against my will. Decide
 amongst yourselves who shall lose his hand.
 VICTORIADES Yes, dearest brother, let us draw lots for it.
 Let us go within and fetch an axe. He who gets the lot 40
 shall cut off his hand immediately for the sake of us all.
Exeunt Victoriades and Vespasianus.
 TITO No, now I'll outwit you both, for whilst you draw
 lots and fetch an axe, I'll cut off my hand. *Exit.*

25–41 The passage is quite close to *TA*, although it is notable that Lucius and Marcus there have four pairs of successive speeches (3.1.163–86), whereas in *Tito* Victoriades has three speeches and there is only one by Vespasianus.

28–9 Lucius similarly appeals to brotherhood when asking his father, 'Let me redeem my brothers both from death' (*TA*, 3.1.181). On the other hand, Vespasianus does not, like Lucius, comment on the advantage of being younger: 'My youth can better spare my blood than you, / And therefore mine shall save my brothers' lives' (3.1.166–7).

32 SD not in *TA*. The act of kneeling in *Tito* is an effective way of condensing and intensifying the pleas.

39 **let . . . it** This detail is not in *TA*, where Lucius and Marcus exit the stage without deciding whose hand shall be sacrificed or how the decision will be made.

43 **I'll . . . hand** In *TA*, Titus asks Aaron to help him cut off his hand: 'Lend me thy hand and I will give thee mine' (3.1.188). It may be fitting that Aaron severs the hand, given that he is the play's principal villain, unlike Morian (see Introduction, p. 12).

43 SD Tito cuts off his hand offstage, perhaps because it would have been difficult to stage. In *TA*, the corresponding SD has Aaron cut off Titus' hand (3.1.192 SD1), but in *Aran en Titus* Titus also cuts off his own hand (Buitendijk, II. 1256–84).

MORIAN Now, if that's called deceit, this is how the
 devil deceives his dam. Yet even though I have a 45
 pitiless heart, I pity you, old Tito Andronico, for the
 Empress tricks you out of your hand so that you'll be
 unable to overthrow Rome. When you think you'll
 receive your sons, you'll only get their heads.

Enter TITO *with his hand cut off*. *Also enter*
 VICTORIADES *and* VESPASIANUS.

VESPASIANUS Gracious father, I've won, so now I may 50
 – Alas! Alas, why have you cut off your hand? This is
 indeed a piteous sight, dearest father!

TITO Please say no more, for it is done. – Look here,
 Morian, take this hand of mine to the Empress and
 bring my dear sons back to me immediately. 55

MORIAN Well, adieu. [*aside*] I shall indeed bring back
 something of them. *Exeunt*.

44–5 **this ... devil** 'so pfl eget der Teufel seine Mutter aexieren', corrected to 'Mutter zu vexiren' in 1624. Literally, 'this is how the devil is wont to deceive his mother', which here refers to Tito's deception of his son and his brother. In *TA*, Aaron later refers to Tamora as 'the devil's dam' (4.2.67). The devil and his mother (dam) is proverbial in German (Grimm, 'Teufel', *m.* II 3) as well as in English (Dent, D225).

45–8 **Yet ... Rome** Morian's pity sharply contrasts with Aaron's admission that 'this villainy / Doth fat [i.e., delight] me with the very thoughts of it' (3.1.203–4).

48 **you** ('du') When he is alone onstage Morian uses the informal form of address.

When he addresses Tito directly he uses the formal 'sie'.

48–9 **When ... heads** The equivalent of Morian's soliloquy is dramatized in *TA* as a speech by Aaron addressed to Titus, followed by an aside: 'Look by and by to have thy sons with thee. / [*aside*] Their heads I mean' (3.1.202–3).

50–2 In *TA*, Lucius and Marcus do not verbalize their reaction to Titus' severed hand.

54 **take ... Empress** Titus asks Aaron to 'give his majesty my hand' (*TA*, 3.1.194).

56–7 **I ... them** This is a veiled reference to his earlier mention of the heads (49). In *TA*, Aaron makes one such reference, also in an aside (3.1.203).

56 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620

[4.2] *Enter HELICATES and SAPHONUS, with ANDRONICA between them, coming from the forest. Having satisfied their lust upon her and horribly mutilated her, they have cut off both her hands and torn out her tongue.*

HELICATES This is what a man must do when he has had sex with a beautiful woman to stop her revealing it. He must cut off her tongue so that she can say nothing, and cut off both her hands so that she can write nothing, as we have done with this one. But what shall we do with her now? We must leave her in this wild forest to be torn in pieces by savage beasts. 5

4.2 parallels *TA* 2.3. The initial sequence with Chiron and Demetrius (2.3.1–10) has its equivalent in a single speech by Helicates (1–9), while Marcus' long speech (2.3.11–57) has its equivalent in the much shorter speech by Victoriades (10–16). *Tito* differs from *TA* by its lack of reference to classical mythology; it does not invoke Ovid's tale of Philomel and has none of the poetic language that characterizes Marcus' description of his niece.

0.1–2 *with . . . them* In the German text, the SD ends by mentioning that the brothers 'haben sie zwischen sich' (i.e., have her between them); we transfer this indication to the beginning of the SD to clarify the staging. Lippner and Brennecke mistakenly believed that 'sie' is not the third-person singular feminine pronoun (i.e. *her*) but the third-person plural pronoun (i.e. *them*), and that it refers not to Andronica but to her severed hands and tongue.

Lippner: '*Having also barbarously mutilated her; cut off both her hands, and torn out her tongue, they now bring them with them*'; Brennecke: '*They have cut off both her hands and torn out her tongue, which they carry with them*'. However, the next SD (9 SD2) clarifies that when the brothers exit, '*Andronica bleibet alleine*' ('*Andronica remains alone*'), which implies that they earlier entered with her, not just with her severed body parts.

0.4–5 *torn out* Andronica's tongue has been 'torn out' according to this SD but 'cut off' according to Helicates (2). Morian later says that the brothers 'tore out' (7.1.81) the tongue.

6–7 *We . . . beasts* In *TA* there is no plan to dispose of Lavinia in this way. After Chiron mockingly tells her to go home and wash her hands (2.3.6), Demetrius adds, 'And so let's leave her to her silent walks (2.3.8).

4.2] *this edn; not in 1620*

Come, dear brother, let us go. – Now farewell,
Andronica, farewell.

Exeunt Helicates and Saphonus.

*Andronica remains alone, sighing and looking
wretchedly up to heaven.*

*Presently enter her uncle VICTORIADES, who sees
her; but when she sees him, she flees into the forest.*

VICTORIADES Alas, alas! What great affliction do I find 10
here! Andronica, but no longer resembling a human
being. O, do not hide from me.

He runs within and brings her back.

O, you poor creature, who has abused you with such
malice and barbarity? Alas, your tongue is torn out;
both your hands are cut off. O, alas, this would rouse 15
a stone to pity! O, come with me, do not remain here.

Exeunt.

9 SD2 *Andronica* . . . *heaven* This is another SD with no equivalent in *TA*. See Introduction, p. 6.

9 SD3 *uncle* ‘Vater’ (father) in *1620* and *1624* must be a misprint for ‘Vetter’, which today means ‘cousin’ but in early modern German could mean ‘uncle’ (Grimm, ‘Vetter’, 1).

9 SD3 *when* . . . *forest* In *TA*, Lavinia similarly attempts to flee from her uncle who says, ‘Who is this – my niece that flies away so fast?’ (2.3.11).

12 SD Modern editors of *TA* have suggested that Lavinia ‘turns’ to Marcus (Ard³) or that ‘either he blocks her escape or she is too weak and disoriented to get away’ (NOS). But in *Tito*, Andronica does get away; she is pursued by her uncle who ‘brings her back’.

15–16 *this* . . . *pity* The reference to a stone may anticipate the next scene, where Tito laments to the stone (4.3.63–5). In *TA*, Marcus makes no mention of a stone.

[4.3] *Enter* TITO ANDRONICO *and* VESPASIANUS.
Also enter MORIAN, *who brings the heads*
of both sons and Tito's hand.

MORIAN Behold, old Tito, I pity you, for you have been tricked out of your noble and valiant hand. The Empress sends it back to you. And here are the heads of your sons.

Lays them down before him. Tito and Vespasianus are struck dumb with horror and stand as though lifeless.

Now I shall go. If you let this rest, the Empress will 5
 destroy you and your kin with affliction and treachery,
 and thus put you out of the way. *Exit.*

4.3 Apart from Tito's long speech, the first part of this scene (1–54) remains close to *TA*, 3.1.235–301, except that Morian, not a messenger, brings the severed heads. The second part of the scene (55–86), where Andronica is brought in by Victoriades, corresponds to an earlier passage in *TA* (3.1.59–150). *Tito's* order of these episodes is identical with that in the chapbook, which places the mutilation of Titus before Lavinia's rape and discovery by her uncle.

1–4 In *TA*, a Messenger delivers the message along with the severed heads, not Aaron. Whereas the Messenger tells Titus, 'ill art thou repaid' (3.1.235), without specifying by whom, Morian affirms Aetiopissa's responsibility for the devious plot, which she later confirms (see 5.2.7–12). In *Titus und Tomyris*, Aran also delivers the hand, whilst in Vos' *Aran en Titus* (and the 1656 programme),

it is Aran's page, Quintus (a Moor), who does so.

5 **If ... rest** ('wirstu aber dieses also darbey bleiben lassen') Morian's affirmation that the Empress will punish Tito if he lets things rest may seem surprising. Lippner inserts a tentative emendation: 'if you rest (not?) satisfied with this the Empress will exterminate you and your stock'. Brennecke emends more confidently: 'if you will not be content with this ...'. Our translation follows the German text because its reading is defensible. Morian, who was earlier moved to pity by Tito, may be giving sincere advice by warning Tito against inaction. Alternatively, Morian may be provoking Tito to retaliate in the hope of precipitating his downfall. What is at stake in this crux is the conception of Morian's character, on which there are differing views.

4.3] *this edn; not in 1620*

TITO O, O, O, let there be an outcry for you, bloodthirsty and treacherous woman! Was there ever a more perfidious, haughty, and bloodthirsty woman than this detestable Empress? O, I could spit at myself because I let her live and did not cut her throat when she was my prisoner. – O, you most ruthless and ungrateful woman, how is it that the stars in heaven are not your enemies? Even brute beasts will wail and lament with me. – O you heavenly gods, you cannot suffer such iniquity. Ah, grant me the wit and cunning to consider shrewdly how to take a double vengeance on the haughty Empress. – O you damnable creature, how maliciously you have robbed me of my hand. 10
15
20

Takes the hand up from the ground.

Yes, you valiant hand, how have you been repaid for your faithful service? – O ungrateful Rome, this hand often saved you from cruel enemies. Yes, had it not done so, you would have been razed long ago, and no Roman would still be spoken of. O noble hand, how often did you have to fight against a thousand hands; 25

8 **let ... outcry** ('zeter vnd mordio') The German expression is a cry for help (Grimm, 'Zeter', m. 1), similar to the now archaic English expression 'hue and cry'.

8–20 This passage is important for presenting Aetiopissa as Tito's nemesis (see Introduction, p. 12).

8–35 Tito's long speech, in which he successively apostrophizes Aetiopissa, the gods, his hand, Rome and his sons' heads, has no equivalent in *TA*, where the protagonist responds with a rhetorical question – 'When will this fearful slumber have an end?' (3.1.253) – and laughter: 'Ha, ha, ha!' (3.1.265).

12 **cut her throat** proleptically announces his killing of Aetiopissa's sons in 7.3.

16–19 **O ... Empress** Tito does not drama-

tize the protagonist's shooting of arrows with messages to the gods, but the present appeal to the gods resembles the following passage in that scene: 'We will solicit heaven and move the gods / To send down Justice for to wreak our wrongs' (*TA*, 4.3.51–2).

21 **how ... repaid** *TA*'s Messenger who brings Titus his hand expresses a similar sentiment: 'ill art thou repaid' (3.1.235).

22 **ungrateful Rome** Titus uses the same phrase in the arrow-shooting scene (*TA*, 4.3.17). See the note at 16–19 above.

26 **a ... hands** Hand synecdoches are frequent in *TA* but much rarer in *Tito*, so the present instance, with no equivalent in *TA*, is exceptional.

you were victorious in the most perilous, bloody wars.
 – Ah, my dear sons, what anguish and pain it gives
 me to see your heads lying in front of me like this. O,
 never shall you be laid to rest until I behold my
 enemies' heads in front of me in the same way. Alas, 30
 alas, you fought valiantly and manfully for Rome, and
 inherited a brave heart from me. – But you, ungrateful
 Rome, how have you repaid them? O ungrateful
 Rome, how swiftly you hasten to your doom. 35

VESPASIANUS O dearest father, such tyranny and devilish
 ingratitude have not been heard of since the world
 began. I would not be worthy to tread upon the earth
 if I did not avenge it; and I can no longer hold back.
 Please, let me put on my armour and weapons, and 40
 give me a long, warlike sword for each hand, so that I
 may go to the palace and cut down all that comes in
 front of me. I shall fight not like a man but like a
 raging devil. No iron door will be impregnable, for
 I'll assail and shatter it, and when I have slain the 45
 Emperor and the Empress, I'll cut down the ungrateful
 Romans as long as I have strength and will, until I am
 struck down myself, as I no longer value my life.

29–31 **O . . . me** Compare the protagonist's words in *TA*: 'For these two heads do seem to speak to me / And threat me I shall never come to bliss / Till all these mischiefs be returned again / Even in their throats that hath committed them' (3.1.272–5). Tito speaks to the heads, whereas the heads 'seem to speak' to Titus. In *Aran en Titus* the heads may have spoken onstage (see Fuller, 31; Baldwin, 437; Braekman, 10.46).

36–48 Vespasianus' fantasy of almost limit-

less power in solo revenge, which comes before he discovers his raped sister, is followed in the next scene by his pledge 'by the god Mars' (5.1.69) to gain revenge after raising an army. In *TA*, Lucius promises revenge in a soliloquy at the end of 3.1.

38–9 **I . . . back** In *TA*, Lucius articulates his desire for revenge in a similar conditional sentence: 'If Lucius live, he will requite your wrongs / . . . / To be revenged on Rome and Saturnine' (3.1.297–301).

TITO No, dearest son, it is impossible, you would not get
 into the palace alive. You are now my only dearest 50
 son. We must consider wisely how to avenge
 ourselves. Although I have only one hand, I shall do
 plenty of harm and damage with it. But you, dearest
 son, you must do your best.

Enter VICTORIADES, leading ANDRONICA.

VICTORIADES O dearest brother, look at this, the most 55
 dreadful spectacle that you ever saw. Here is your
 daughter Andronica, whom I found in the forest, her
 tongue torn out and both her hands cut off.

*Tito is struck with horror; he shudders and
 trembles, overcome with distress.*

VESPASIANUS Alas, alas!

*He falls to the ground in a swoon. Victoriades
 approaches the heads and weeps bitterly.
 Tito falls to his knees.*

49 **No ... impossible** In *TA*, Young Lucius (who has no equivalent in *Tito*) imagines immediate revenge ‘with my dagger in their bosoms’ (4.1.118), and Titus’ tempering response is not unlike Tito’s present answer to Vespasianus: ‘No boy, not so; I’ll teach thee another course’ (4.1.119).

50–1 **my ... son** In *TA*, Lucius is likewise Titus’ only remaining son, although Titus does not point this out in the equivalent scene. In the absence of a character equivalent to Young Lucius, Vespasianus is the character on whom all hope for the future hangs, as these words stress. See also Tito’s words to his son at 5.1.80–1: ‘In you I place all my hope’.

52–3 **Although ... it** Titus does not refer to his remaining hand until later, when he is about to kill Chiron and Demetrius: ‘This one hand yet is left to cut your throats’ (*TA*, 5.2.181).

56–8 **Here ... off** Victoriades narrates and describes the spectacle, which contrasts with Marcus’ powerfully simple ‘This was thy daughter’ (3.1.63).

58 SD Tito’s shuddering and trembling has no equivalent in *TA*, where Titus instead calls Lucius a ‘faint-hearted boy’ (3.1.66) because of his strong reaction.

59 SD **He ... swoon** Lucius’ response to the sight of his sister is ‘Ay me, this object kills me’, and in the subsequent line Titus asks him to ‘arise and look upon her’ (*TA*, 3.1.65–6). According to an added SD in Ard³, Lucius ‘*fall[s] to his knees*’ (3.1.65 SD), whereas *NOS* comments that ‘Lucius must have sat, fallen, or knelt, or perhaps fainted at the sign of Lavinia’s injuries’. *Tito* supports the last possibility (see Introduction, p. 7).

59 SD **Victoriades ... bitterly** Marcus is onstage when the messenger delivers the

TITO O! O great misfortune, how quickly you overtake 60
 me! It is a wonder that my heart does not burst out of
 my chest. O, murder! O, murder! These barbarous
 misdeeds! – Alas, alas, I lament to you, O stone, and
 although you cannot help me, at least you do not
 chide me and remain silent. I will lie here and will not 65
 cease my bitter laments until a great tide of tears
 pours from me. In winter I will melt the snow and
 frost with my tears. Alas, alas, these grim and
 overwhelming thoughts are too dismal!

Rises and goes to Andronica.

O you, my dearest daughter, who has torn out your 70
 tongue? I may well guess that you have been robbed
 of your chastity and had your tongue torn out so that
 you cannot denounce the villain, and your snow-
 white hands cut off so that you cannot reveal it in
 writing. Is it not so, dearest daughter? Alas, alas, you 75
 can say nothing.

She sighs and nods her head.

Perhaps you can tell me with signs that this is so.

- heads of his nephews (*TA*, 3.1.235–41), but Victoriades is not and only discovers them at this point. The SD has no equivalent in *TA*.
- 61 **heart . . . burst** See note at 3.3.41.
- 62 **murder . . . murder** See 3.3.67 and note.
- 63–5 **I . . . silent** In *TA*, Titus tells his ‘sorrows to the stones’ (3.1.37) earlier in the play, when Quintus and Martius have been sentenced to death. Titus develops the conceit over a passage of some length (3.1.37–47).
- 65 **I . . . lie** In *TA*, Titus prostrates himself as he pleads with the Judges and Senators for his sons’ lives (3.1.11 SD).
- 71–2 **I . . . chastity** An implied SD, indicating that visual signs suggest Andronica’s loss of chastity.
- 70–6 **O . . . nothing** Tito is more active than Titus in attempting to ascertain the identity of the attacker(s). In *TA*, Lucius is the one who asks his sister, ‘who hath martyred thee?’ (3.1.82).
- 75 SD–77 SD These SDs are not in *TA*, where Lavinia has no scripted reaction to the questions by her father (3.1.67–8) and her brother (3.1.82, 88).
- 77 **tell . . . signs** corresponds to Titus’ observation that he understands her signs (3.1.144), although it is unclear whether the signs in *TA* are wholly imagined by Titus, or whether Lavinia makes some physical gesture or facial expression.

She nods her head once more.

But look, dearest daughter, here are the heads of your two brothers, which the haughty Empress caused to be cut off. 80

She stands appalled, moans and looks up to heaven, then goes to the heads and kisses them.

VICTORIADES O, this great unhappiness could move stones to pity. But what good does it do to stand here and weep? Let us all go in and consider how we can find out who has abused her thus.

TITO Yes, dearest brother, that is the best advice. Let us go in and have no rest until we have found them out. 85
Exeunt.

5.[1] *Enter* TITO ANDRONICO, ANDRONICA
and VICTORIADES.

TITO Alas, alas, dearest daughter, my old heart is ready to burst in my breast as I see you so wretched before

80 SD No equivalent SD appears in the early editions of *TA*. Shortly after the messenger has set down the heads and Titus' hand (3.1.241 SD), Marcus says, 'Alas, poor heart, that kiss is comfortless' (3.1.251). Editors have interpreted the line by inserting various SDs, suggesting, for instance, that Lavinia kisses Lucius, or Titus (Ard³, 47), or that Lucius kisses a head (Ravenscroft). Bate suggests that *Tito* is an important witness to the likely performance of this moment in *TA* (see Ard³, 47–8) and inserts a SD that is based on it: '*Lavinia kisses the heads*' (3.1.250 SD). Note that Capell also had Lavinia kissing the heads, although he does not seem to have been aware of *Tito*.

83 **weep** an implied SD, though who weeps is

not clarified. Titus weeps at the equivalent moment, and Lucius asks him to stop, whereupon Marcus offers him a handkerchief: 'good Titus, dry thine eyes' (*TA*, 3.1.139).

5.1 continues the action of the previous scene (see 0 SD n.): 4.3 ends as Andronica's relatives wonder how to find out who mutilated her, and 5.1 dramatizes the solution. The scene largely corresponds to parts of *TA*, 4.1 (in which Lavinia reveals the identity of her rapists) and 4.3 (where the Clown is sent by Titus to the Emperor).

0 SD Three of the four characters who exited at the end of 4.3 re-enter (for the only other immediate re-entry, see 3.2.0.3 and note). *Tito* is an eight-act play, and there may have been a break between Acts 4 and 5.

1–2 **heart . . . burst** See note at 3.3.41.

5.1] *this edn*; Actus Quintus 1620

me. I have had such love and esteem for you all my life, I have reared you with such trouble and care! Yes, when I returned to Rome in triumph, my body greatly wounded by the enemy and suffering terrible pain, I would see you run cheerfully towards me with your lute to welcome me, and you would drive out painful sorrow and refresh my old heart with your sweet voice. But how will you pluck the lute now with which you rejoiced me? And how will you speak? You are robbed of all this. O, O, a terrible deed has been done upon you! O, alas, if only I knew who committed it and abused you so barbarously, I would have some peace. But it is impossible for you to reveal it. Look, here comes your brother. – Tell me, what do you bring?

Enter VESPASIANUS with a basket of sand and a stick.

VESPASIANUS Dearest father, I have some sand here, to enable my dearest sister Andronica to write with this stick and reveal who has maimed her so shamefully. 20

TITO O, dearest son, if she could bring it to light in this way then I would find a little peace for my sick old heart. Now pour the sand on the ground, and give her the stick.

He pours the sand on the ground. Tito Andronico puts the staff between his daughter's stumps.

7–8 see . . . **welcome me** This reminiscence of familial tenderness is not in *TA*. Marcus mentions Lavinia's skilful lute playing when he finds her earlier in the play (2.3.45).

17 SD In *TA* no basket of sand or stick are brought in. Marcus finds a suitable part of the ground on which to write – 'This sandy plot is plain' (4.1.69) – a task he carries out with '*his staff*' (4.1.68.1). Lucius, being

banished, is absent from the scene.

18–20 Vespasianus initiates the revelation of Andronica's rapists, whereas in *TA* Lavinia initiates the process by using one of Young Lucius' books to alert her family to the similarities between her and Ovid's Philomel (4.1.30–58).

24 SD In *TA*, Marcus offers Lavinia the staff (4.1.73–6), and Titus has no active part in the action.

Look here, dearest daughter, and write with it in the sand the names of those who robbed you of your tongue and hands. 25

She takes the stick and writes with it.

O, dearest daughter, this is enough for me. There is 'Helicates' and also 'hunt'. O, dearest daughter, did Helicates and Saphonus maim you at the recent hunt? 30

Andronica inclines her head.

Show me also, dearest daughter, is the Empress likewise to blame?

Andronica nods her head.

O, cursed be this hunt and the day on which it was held! I thought it would be a joyful occasion and that it would increase my favour with the Emperor, but now I see it has caused my greatest misfortune. O, the frightful dream I had the night before the hunt foretold this misfortune. Come now, if we must perish then hear me, dearest brother and dearest 35

26 **names of those** Earlier references to Andronica's attacker were in the singular (which corresponds to *TA*, 2.3.26–50, 3.1.67, 69, 92 and 4.1.36). The present plural has its equivalent in *TA*, where Lavinia has gestured with her arms to indicate that 'there were more than one' attacker (4.1.38). In *Tito* the reason for the shift to the plural is unclear, as she only writes one name. Braekman commented on the passage that 'the text is very corrupt' (9.88).

29 **'Helicates' ... 'hunt'** corresponds to Lavinia's writing of '*Stuprum – Chiron – Demetrius*' (*TA*, 4.1.78).

29–30 **did ... hunt?** corresponds to Marcus' speech after both names have been

written and read out: 'What, what? The lustful sons of Tamora / Performers of this heinous bloody deed?' (4.1.79–80). In *Tito*, however, only Helicates' name has been written, and it is unclear why Tito assumes that Saphonus was also involved.

31–2 **Show ... blame?** Titus does not ask about Tamora's involvement, but he does demonstrate an awareness that taking revenge on Chiron and Demetrius will incur their mother's wrath and invite retaliation (*TA*, 4.1.96–100).

38–54 **Come ... grasp** Titus pronounces a call to arms, which is approved by his brother, whereas in *TA* Marcus calls for revenge and Titus warns him that they must proceed with care (4.1.83–100).

son, and listen closely to my words. We must prepare 40
 for perilous, bloody war and raise many soldiers to
 overthrow Rome and cause such ravage and ruin
 for them as was never heard before. Not one stone
 shall be left upon another. So let us all unite here
 and swear to our gods not to cease bloody, perilous 45
 warfare until Rome is overthrown and we have in our
 grasp the Emperor and the murderous Empress with
 her two damnable sons. Likewise, let us conclude
 no peace with them nor have pity on them, but treat
 them in the most cruel and dreadful way that can be 50
 imagined.

VICTORIADES Dearest brother, I swear by all the gods in
 heaven not to cease my vengeance until we have the
 Empress and her sons in our grasp. I shall sell all my
 possessions and levy warlike men. 55

TITO O, my dearest and faithful brother, how it makes
 me glad that you promise such great and powerful
 assistance. I will now swear never to cease my
 vengeance for as long as I live. First, I will swear by
 the warlike hand that once was mine, then by the 60
 heads of my sons, and then by my daughter.

52–5 **Dearest . . . men** While Marcus swears
 revenge along with Titus and Lucius (*TA*,
 3.1.279 SD), he does not mention a prag-
 matic means of achieving it.

58–61 **SD I . . . rise** Whereas Tito swears by
 the various severed body parts and by
 Andronica, Titus invites his family to
 form a circle to swear to right their
 wrongs (*TA*, 3.1.276–9).

61 **SD** No equivalent SD appears in the early
 editions of *TA*. Bate argues that *Tito* may
 offer an insight into how the oath in *TA*

would have been performed (see
 Introduction, p. 4, and Ard³, 46).

61.1 **dirge** ('Klagelied') a song of lament.
 While some of the entertainments in the
 Leipzig volume contain musical notation,
 there is none for *Tito*.

61.2 **the . . . heads** This suggests that the
 characters do not form a circle around
Tito, as is the case in *TA* (3.1.277).

61.6–8 **approaches . . . others** that is, aligns the
 severed body parts with Andronica from
 whom body parts have also been severed.

Tito Andronico kneels and begins to sing a dirge; the others sit down by the heads. He takes up his hand, raises it, and looks to heaven, sighs, utters an oath, strikes his breast, and puts down the hand after having sworn. He then takes up the heads and swears by each of them in turn. Finally, he approaches Andronica and swears by her as before with the others. This done, they all rise.

Now that I have taken this oath and sworn, I shall sell all my property and goods so that my son may raise the bravest and most valiant men. Listen, dearest son, take all the vast store of my treasury; set out with it directly and enlist as many men as you can get. 65

VESPASIANUS Dearest father, I am eager for it, and so I swear by the god Mars that I shall not cease my rage and fury until pale Death has triumphed over my heart. Now, farewell, beloved father, I go from here to raise brave men. Before long, you will hear the blast of trumpets and in this way know that I bring ruthless men who shall pillage, burn, and kill, like the god Mars himself. And so, farewell, farewell. 70
Exit. 75

TITO Dearest son, may the gods favour you. Although I have lost my hand, I hope that my dearest son will fight the better, for in the recent battle with the Moors

62–5 **I shall . . . treasury** In *TA* there is no indication of how Lucius is to finance the raising of an army (3.1.286), nor of Titus' wealth. Tito's plan to sell his property corresponds to the chapbook, where Titus 'got together Friends, and sold whatever he had of value to hire Soldiers' (36). See Introduction, p. 43.

68–76 Lucius' final speech before he departs from Rome is a soliloquy that concludes the scene (3.1.289–301).

69, 75 **god Mars** the Roman god of war, previously mentioned by Morian (3.3.129).

70 **pale Death** a rare personification. The triumph of death was a popular medieval and early modern conceit.

73 **blast of trumpets** Compare the '*flourish of trumpets*' (7.1.0.1) as Vespasianus enters on his approach to Rome.

74–5 **ruthless . . . kill** reminiscent of Morian's account of the Roman invasion of Ethiopia (1.1.112–15, 120–2).

I saw him fight like a fierce tiger. In you I place all my hope, and if I must end my old life here, I know that you will take vengeance on our enemies. But now I shall send the Emperor word of eternal enmity. – Holla, messenger! Come here. 80

Enter MESSENGER.

MESSENGER I am here, my lord. Have you any orders for me? 85

TITO Listen, and mark the words I speak to you. Go to the Emperor and deliver to him this sword with these words: that I am, and ever will be, his eternal enemy, that I will loose my military forces upon him, and not cease until I have him in my grasp, together with the Empress and her two sons. Go now, and deliver this clearly. 90

MESSENGER Gracious lord, it will be done accordingly.

He takes the sword.

TITO But listen further; when you have spoken this, give him this letter together with its contents. 95

80 **fierce tiger** There are several references to tigers in *TA*, always in relation to the enemies of the Andronici, notably Tamora (2.2.142, 5.3.194), Aaron (5.3.5) and Rome (3.1.54–5).

80–1 **In . . . hope** See Tito's earlier comment at 4.3.50–1 and note.

84 **Holla . . . here** No messenger is summoned in *TA*; instead, Titus mistakenly chooses a Clown as the messenger to whom he entrusts a message for Saturninus (4.3.77–119).

88 **deliver . . . sword** cf. the swords that Young Lucius delivers to the court (*TA*, 4.2.1–17).

88–9 **with . . . words** Tito sends his message orally, whereas Titus writes it down on paper (*TA*, 4.3.105).

95–6 **when . . . contents** The letter may seem redundant, since Tito has conveyed his missive orally to the Messenger, but it is necessary because the 'contents' alludes to the naked blade within it. Titus writes the letter onstage and asks for a knife to fold into it (*TA*, 4.3.114–15), whereas the letter seems to have been prepared earlier in *Tito*, which means that the blade sealed in the letter may not be visible to the audience.

Messenger takes the letter.

Address him roughly, as suits a messenger of the enemy.

MESSENGER Very well, gracious lord, I shall deliver everything to him. *Exeunt.* 100

[5.2] *Enter* EMPEROR *and* AETIOPISSA.

EMPEROR Lovely Empress, I admire the cunning with which you had the heads of Tito Andronico's sons struck off, who so grossly sinned against you, as you say. And in order that we may not be harmed by him, you cheated him out of that right hand with which he caused terrible bloodshed all his life. 5

AETIOPISSA Yes, gracious lord and Emperor, this is how we must prevent misfortune. I know well that if I had not taken his hand, he would have razed the imperial palace to the ground. But now we may scorn his might and resist it, though he will probably not rest, but wage war upon us. 10

EMPEROR Indeed, lovely Empress, Tito shall never more

97–8 **Address . . . enemy** Titus, by contrast, gives instructions to the Clown to make his delivery as polite as possible (*TA*, 4.3.109–12).

5.2 corresponds to *TA*, 4.4. *Tito* conflates the two separate messages brought to Saturninus by the Clown (4.4.39–48) and Emillius (4.4.60–106).

0.1 In *TA*, Chiron, Demetrius and attendants are also onstage.

1–8 **Lovely . . . misfortune** confirms Aetiopissa's responsibility for the earlier plot against Tito and his sons, as affirmed by Morian at 4.3.1–4. The passage also provides a rationale for her earlier actions. In *TA*, Saturninus enters with the arrows that were fired by Titus in the previous scene, and Tamora reassures him (4.4.1–38).

5.2] *this edn; not in 1620*

perform great deeds. Yet I fear his son, Vespasianus,
who is said to be his father's equal in battle. 15

AETIOPISSA Yes, gracious lord and Emperor, it is true
that in Ethiopia, where his father made me his captive,
it was said that he fought with a ferocity equal to his
father's. But, gracious lord and Emperor, do not fear him,
for I shall contrive a means how to put him out 20
of the way. But what news does this man bring who
makes such haste towards us?

[Enter MESSENGER, with an attendant.]

MESSENGER Almighty Emperor of Rome, I am a
messenger from Tito Andronico, who sends a sword
to signify eternal war between you and him. He will 25
forever seek revenge and be your extreme enemy, and
will never rest until he has you, the Empress, and her
two sons in his grasp and in his power.

EMPEROR Well now, messenger, you deliver your
message defiantly enough. I would never have thought 30

14–15 **Yet ... battle** Whereas the Emperor fears Vespasianus' military prowess, Saturninus is concerned about Lucius' popularity with the populace: 'Ay, now begins our sorrows to approach. / 'Tis he the common people love so much; / Myself hath often heard them say, / When I have walked like a private man, / That Lucius' banishment was wrongfully' (*TA*, 4.4.71–5).

19–21 **gracious ... way** Aetiopissa does not elaborate on how she plans to eliminate Tito. In *TA*, after news of the Goth forces is brought by Emillius, Tamora notes that Titus is the key to stopping Lucius: 'know thou, emperor, / I will enchant the old Andronicus / With words more sweet and yet more dangerous / Than baits to fish' (4.4.87–90). At the end of the scene she

makes explicit the need to work upon Titus in order to prevent Lucius from causing them harm: 'Now will I to that old Andronicus, / And temper him with all the art I have / To pluck proud Lucius from the warlike Goths' (4.4.107–9).

22 **SD attendant** The Emperor later asks an attendant to deliver the Messenger to the hangman (see 56–66), and it seems likely that he enters with the Messenger.

23–8 In keeping with Tito's instructions, the Messenger addresses the Emperor 'roughly' (5.1.97), which is also reflected in his use of the German familiar second-person singular pronouns ('du' and 'dir'). In *TA*, the Clown simply presents the letter, which Saturninus reads before ordering that the Clown be taken away immediately and hanged.

22 SD] *this edn; not in 1620*

that Tito Andronico could wage a bloody war against me. Give me the sword.

Takes it.

And tell him roundly, that since strife is what he wants, I shall be enemy enough, and that I shall now resist his insufficient might with ease and shall not honour it. 35

MESSENGER O almighty Emperor, a great misfortune is in store for you and yours, and although he no longer has his hand, his warlike son even now travels through many kingdoms and raises great, powerful, warlike, and choice men, in order to rage and better assault you. I know for certain that he will soon attack the palace with a powerful force and lay siege to it; he will not stop until he has overthrown it and has you and yours in his grasp. I have a letter here which you must read. 40 45

The Emperor takes the letter.

EMPEROR You insolent messenger, how dare you address me in so bold and brazen a manner. I swear by all the gods that on account of your brazen words you will never leave this place and I shall give you fitting punishment. 50

33–6 Whereas Saturninus orders the hanging of the Clown straight after reading the letter (*TA*, 4.4.43–4), Tito’s Emperor does so only after seeing the naked blade (52–3).

37–46 corresponds to the speech of Emillius (*TA*, 4.4.61–7), who brings news about Lucius and the Goths. While the

Messenger’s earlier speech (23–8) reflects the message Tito asked to be delivered (5.1.87–93), the present one does not.

39–41 **travels . . . men** The chapbook mentions that the Roman Emperor ‘raised a mighty Army in Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England’ (35). See Introduction, p. 45.

Opens the letter.

What do I find here in this letter but a naked blade! May the gods never help me again if I do not avenge this great outrage and maliciousness. You, messenger, shall be sent away immediately to be hanged on the gallows – Attendant, take him away and deliver him to the hangman, so that he may hang this very minute. 55

MESSENGER Gracious lord Emperor, I hope I shall not have violence done to me and shall not be entrusted to the hangman, for it would be contrary to the customs of war. I have done nothing but deliver my lord's message as he asked me to do. 60

EMPEROR This will not help you, your life is lost. – Do you not hear me, attendant? Get him out of my sight at once. 65
[*Exeunt.*]

52–3 **What ... blade!** In *TA*, Saturninus does not remark on the knife inside the letter, but Bate suggests that his strong reaction after opening the letter is 'provoked by the knife' (Ard³, 280).

54–8 **You ... minute** This parallels *TA*, where Saturninus, upon reading the letter, immediately bids an attendant to 'Go, take him away and hang him presently' (4.4.44).

59–63 **Gracious ... do** Whereas the Messenger draws attention to the Emperor's lack of regard for the customs of war, the Clown in *TA* makes a punning

response to the announcement that he must be hanged: 'Hanged, by'Lady? Then I have brought up a neck to a fair end' (4.4.47–8). See also 7.1.114–15 and note.

61–2 **customs of war** 'By the seventeenth century, England had a full system of Articles of War', and 'Similar codes existed ... in Germany' (Green, 23).

65–6 **Get ... once.** The German text adds 'etc.' at the end of the speech. The meaning of the expression is unclear here. See 3.2.6 and 4.1.23–4 and notes.

6.[1] *Enter* MIDWIFE *cradling a black child which has been fathered by Morian on the Empress.*

MIDWIFE I search everywhere for Morian, to whom I must present this child, so that he may secretly put it out of the way. This night it was born by the Empress into this world. It was fathered by Morian, her secret paramour. Alas, I cannot find him anywhere and I don't know where to go with the child. 5

[*Enter* HELICATES *and* SAPHONUS.]

But here come the Empress' sons, who mustn't know of this. Alas, I don't know what to do!

HELICATES Let me see, midwife, what you have there.
– Dearest brother, come and see this great prodigy: 10
here is a young black devil!

SAPHONUS I am amazed at it. But listen, midwife, tell us the truth if you want to leave from here with your life.

6.1 largely corresponds to 4.2.52–182. In *TA*, Tamora's sons and Aaron are already onstage when the Nurse arrives, and they remain onstage until after the Nurse's murder. In *Tito*, the Midwife enters alone, is joined by the two brothers and eventually Morian, who argues with Saphonus and Helicates and then orders them to leave before murdering the Midwife. The brothers leave, unlike Chiron and Demetrius, who agree to cooperate with him in his efforts to save his child and keep the scandal from becoming public. Unlike Aaron (4.2.100–5 and 118–20), Morian does not deliver a diatribe against whiteness, and less is made of the child's blackness.

3–4 **it was . . . Morian** The birth of the miscegenated child is also in the chapbook. It

is absent from Vos' *Aran en Titus* (and its subsequent German adaptations), although in Vos' play *Aran* has a young Moor named Quintus, who serves as his page.

5 **cannot . . . anywhere** In *TA*, Aaron is onstage when the Nurse enters, but she does not immediately recognize him, asking instead, 'O tell me, did you see Aaron the Moor?' (4.2.53).

7–8 **who . . . this** There is no indication in *TA* that Tamora wishes to keep the birth secret from her sons.

11 **here . . . devil** anticipates Morian's later remark about the likely response that the infant's appearance will prompt: 'men will say "There sits a devil"' (6.1.112–13). In *TA* the Nurse similarly describes the infant as a 'devil' (4.2.66).

6.1] *this edn*; Actus Sextus 1620 6 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620

- Who is this child's mother? I see that he is the father,
so with whom has our Morian slept? 15
- MIDWIFE Gracious lord, I shall readily reveal it to you if
you can keep it secret, for no-one knows of it but I. If
she should learn that this came from me, I would die
a miserable death.
- SAPHONUS No, midwife, it shall never be made known 20
by us, we shall keep it secret. Confess and tell us the
truth, but should you tell us anything other than the
truth, expect nothing but a cruel death.
- MIDWIFE No, I'll tell you the truth. Black Morian, your
mother's secret paramour, fathered this child, and 25
when she saw that the child was black she was very
frightened, and asked me go in secret to Morian and
take the child to him, so that he can have it brought up
in secret to make sure that no-one knows about it; but
I cannot find him anywhere. 30

They stand, amazed at her words.

- SAPHONUS Alas, what great shame! A curse on the
treacherous villain Morian, who has brought our

- 14 **Who . . . mother?** In *TA*, Demetrius and Chiron know that Tamora is the newborn's mother. Demetrius remarks upon Tamora's labour pains; the trumpets then sound, which Chiron interprets as a sign that Tamora has given birth to a son, following which the child is brought onstage (4.2.46–51).
- 14 **I . . . father** The infant's black skin makes him easily recognizable as Morian's offspring, which corresponds loosely to the Nurse's identification of Aaron's child as 'thy stamp, thy seal' (4.2.71).
- 25 **this child** This neutral reference to the infant is very different from the Nurse's description in *TA*: 'A joyless, dismal, black and sorrowful issue. / Here is the babe, as loathsome as a toad' (4.2.68–9).
- 28–9 **that he . . . it** This clarifies the Midwife's earlier comment in lines 2–3 about putting the baby out of the way. Aetiopissa's desire to preserve her baby's life is not to be found in *TA*, where Tamora wishes to have the baby killed (see 84–8 and note).
- 32–46 **brought . . . us** Unlike Tamora's sons in *TA*, Saphonus and Helicates are worried about how the discovery of the infant will impact on their own reputations and bring 'dishonour' and 'shame' upon them. *TA*'s Nurse exclaims 'we are all undone' and considers the wider implications of 'stately Rome's disgrace' (4.2.56, 61).

mother to shame, for which we must suffer mockery
and scorn. Dearest brother, let us no longer suffer the
detestable rogue, but instead kill him miserably as 35
soon as we lay eyes upon him.

HELICATES O, dearest brother, my heart is troubled. I
do not know what to do about the murderous and
treacherous rogue, who has brought us such great 40
dishonour. He deserves to be boiled in hot oil. But
what are we to do with the damnable villain? For if
we strike against him, we shall not escape from his
hands alive.

SAPHONUS Indeed, I do not know what can be done. If
the child remains alive, all will be known and bring 45
shame upon us. Therefore, give me the child, so that I
may kill it at once.

*He takes the child from the midwife, draws his
sword and is about to kill the child.*

*Enter MORIAN, who, seeing that Saphonus is about to
kill the child, rushes at him and snatches the child
out of his hands.*

35 **kill him** In *TA*, Demetrius and Chiron do not consider murdering Aaron.

40 **boiled . . . oil** Since the Middle Ages, boiling in oil had been used as a form of capital punishment in parts of Europe, usually for the crime of coin counterfeiting (Miethe and Lu, 42). Helicates may be implying that Morian has counterfeited a child, and therefore deserves to be punished in this manner.

46–7 **give . . . once** In *TA*, Chiron states that the child cannot be allowed to live, and, after responses from Aaron and the Nurse, Demetrius offers to murder the

infant (4.2.82–8). Since Morian is not present in this scene, the action is condensed.

47 SD1 There is no indication in *TA* that Demetrius manages to seize the infant when he demands ‘Nurse, give it me’ (4.2.88). Ravenscroft inserted a SD, ‘Aron takes the child from the Woman’, and Hughes comments that ‘Aaron probably takes the child from the Nurse’ (126). The stage action in *Tito* is different and arguably more dramatic, Saphonus taking the child from the Midwife before having it snatched from him by Morian.

- MORIAN No, no, stop, for I see that it is my child; don't kill it or I'll give you such a box on the ears that you will not escape alive. 50
- SAPHONUS O you treacherous villain! What shame have you brought upon us and our mother! How could you be so bold as to take your pleasure with our mother? Did you not know that you would pay for it with your life? 55
- MORIAN Why, my lords, there is no need to be half so angry with me; it is uncalled-for. But if you insist on satisfying your wrath, you should know that you are bringing an angry devil onto your backs, and that you will thank the gods if you have my friendship once again. I made love to your mother and she bore this son to me. I ask, was I not above all her servant and bound to obey dutifully whatever she commanded? Let me tell you that she urged and compelled me to make love to her because neither your father nor this present Emperor could pluck her strings as vigorously as I. Therefore, make peace, you lords, and be content with me, for I have become your stepfather and this, my son, is your stepbrother. How can you be angry with your father and your brother? 70

48 **for ... child** At the equivalent moment in *TA*, Aaron appeals to a different kindred relationship: 'will you kill your brother?' (4.2.90). It is not until later in the scene that Morian reminds Helicatus and Saphonus that 'this, my son, is your stepbrother' (68–9).

51–2 **What ... mother!** Demetrius similarly exclaims that 'By this our mother is for ever shamed' (*TA*, 4.2.114). For the sons' concern for their own reputations, see 32–46 and note.

54–5 **Did ... life?** Saphonus' sword may still be drawn (cf. 47 SD1) and his words thus

accompanied by an appropriately menacing gesture. In *TA*, no equivalent punishment is considered for Aaron.

61–5 **I ... her** Morian's feigned innocence has no equivalent in *TA*, where Aaron is defiant and unapologetic.

66 **pluck ... strings** ('die Lauten ... schlagen') See 1.1.97 and note.

68–70 **stepfather ... brother?** Aaron repeatedly reminds Demetrius and Chiron that the newborn is their 'brother' (*TA*, 4.2.90, 124, 128), but he does not refer to himself as their (step)father.

SAPHONUS O treacherous villain! You are the devil's father and not ours. I advise you to stop your insolent words, or else you shall come to harm. It is enough that you have brought such insult and disgrace upon us.

75

MORIAN What, you lords, are you getting more and more angry? I swear by all the gods that if you don't get out of my sight I shall beat you both so soundly that someone will have to come and gather up the pieces.

*Morian begins to speak to the midwife.
Helicates and Saphonus shake their heads in
anger and exeunt.*

But listen, midwife. How is it with the Empress? Was she happy to become a mother, and where are you taking the child? 80

MIDWIFE Yes, gracious lord, she is well and content, and a happy mother. But she told me to search for you, deliver the child, and instruct you to take it in secret to Mount Thaurin, where your father lives, so that he 85

71–5 **O . . . us** Saphonus' outrage contrasts with the reaction of Demetrius, who peacefully goes along with Aaron's plan: 'Advise thee, Aaron, what is to be done / And we will all subscribe to thy advice' (*TA*, 4.2.131–2).

77–9 **if . . . pieces** At the equivalent point in *TA*, Aaron similarly threatens the two brothers in a conditional clause: 'if you brave the Moor, / The chafed boar, the mountain lioness, / The ocean, swells not so as Aaron storms' (4.2.139–41).

80–1 **How . . . mother** Aaron also talks to the Nurse (*TA*, 4.2.142–5) but does not enquire about Tamora's well-being and post-natal condition.

84–8 **But . . . Empress** Tamora has different plans for the infant: 'The empress sends it thee, thy stamp, thy seal, / And bids thee christen it with thy dagger's point'

(4.2.71–2). Aaron's father is not mentioned in *TA*.

86 **Mount Thaurin** ('Berg Thaurin') Morian is later caught on Mount Thaurin (7.1.16–18) by Vespasianus, who is levying men (see 5.1.71–2). Marti suggests the location refers to Monte Taurino or Pizzo S. Michele, which is part of the Picentini mountain range in the Campanian Apennines, south-east of Naples (384, n. 19). Fredén (377) argues that the implied location is the 'Taurisani montes', a designation that goes back to the 'Taurini', an ancient Celtic people in what is now northern Italy. Alfred Noe proposes that 'Thaurin' designates Turin (Brauneck and Noe, 6.40), but apart from the difference in spelling, it is not clear what 'Mount' would refer to.

can raise it; no-one must know that it was born of the Empress.

MORIAN Very well, I shall do so. But hear me further and tell me, does any other creature know that this child belongs to the Empress? Tell me also, who was in attendance when the child was born? 90

MIDWIFE Gracious lord, there is not a creature alive that knows the child belongs to the Empress except myself and the Empress' sons, who met me when I was searching for you, made enquiries and then threatened to kill me if I did not confess the truth. But let me tell you that when the child was delivered, I was alone with the mistress. 95

MORIAN It pleases me ten times over that none but you were there, but you must lose your life for it. 100

Draws his sword and stabs her.

MIDWIFE Alas, alas!

Falls dead to the ground.

MORIAN So, lie there. I know that you will reveal nothing; your death is my guarantee. Had there been more who knew of it, they should also have died by 105

90–2 **does ... born?** In *TA*, Demetrius enquires about the number of women who saw the child (4.2.137), and Aaron repeats the question (4.2.142).

93–4 **not ... Empress** *TA*'s Nurse admits that Cornelia the midwife also knows about the child (4.2.143). In *TA* there are two women who aid Thamora's delivery: the Nurse and Cornelia the Midwife, who does not appear onstage.

100–1 **you ... it** There is no equivalent in *Tito* to Aaron's farcical jesting at the dying Nurse: "Wheak, wheak!" – so cries a pig prepared to the spit' (*TA*, 4.2.148).

103 **So ... there** Morian makes no plans to dispose of the body, unlike Aaron: 'Hark ye, lords, you see I have given her physic, / And you must needs bestow her funeral; / The fields are near and you are gallant grooms' (4.2.164–6). See 3.3.67 and note.

103–4 **I ... guarantee** a pithier statement than Aaron's 'tis a deed of policy: / Shall she live to betray this guilt of ours? / A long-tongued, babbling gossip? No, lords, no' (4.2.150–2).

my hand. None but the Empress' sons know of it, and I hope they will keep quiet and not reveal their mother's shame, but instead help to cloak it.

*He pauses and looks at his infant son
sleeping in his arms.*

But you, my dearest newborn son, did your brothers wish to kill you? No, they must not do it or they will die. You have a shape like my own, except for a sharp nose and chin like your mother's, but men will say 'There sits a devil'. You are indeed flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone. I must now consider how to rear you so that you may one day emulate your father. Dog milk and whey will be your food till you can

109–11 **But ... die** Morian's intimate address to the infant calls to mind Aaron's 'Sweet blowze, you are a beauteous blossom, sure' (*TA*, 4.2.74), which occurs earlier in the corresponding scene.

111–12 **a sharp ... mother's** Aaron does not comment on his son's facial features, but he does state earlier in the scene that he is 'myself, / The vigour and the picture of my youth' (*TA*, 4.2.109–10).

112–13 **men ... devil** This echoes Saphonus' words in lines 9–10: 'here is a young black devil!

113–14 **flesh ... bone** This inverts the structure of Adam's comment about Eve after her creation from one of Adam's ribs: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh' (Gen. 2.23).

116 **Dog ... whey** The German text reads, 'Hundemilch Käse vnd Wasser'. The reference to dog milk may allude to the story of Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome, who were succoured by a wolf in a cave. The absence of a comma between 'Hundemilch' (dog milk) and 'Käse' (cheese) raises the question of whether the words form a compound (cheese of dog's

milk) or not (dog milk and cheese). Fredén (378) convincingly argues for a third possibility, namely that 'Käse vnd Wasser' is a mistake for 'Käsewasser' (i.e. whey; see Grimm), with the implication that the word 'vnd' (and) was misplaced in the sentence: 'Hundemilch Käse vnd Wasser' instead of 'Hundemilch vnd Käsewasser'. If so, the implied meaning is neither 'dog milk, cheese and water' nor 'cheese of dog's milk and water' but 'dog milk and whey', which partly corresponds to the 'curds and whey' (*TA*, 4.2.180) Aaron intends to make his son consume. Marti (385, n. 20) uses the *OED* to argue that 'Hundemilch' is a literal translation of 'whey' and that *TA*'s 'curds and whey' correspond to 'Hundemilch' and 'Käse' (cheese). In the process of making cheese curd, the milk separates into the solid curd and watery whey, which, as the *OED* suggests, was historically fed to dogs ('whey', n. 1a, 1600), probably because of its low lactose content. However, we have found no evidence in Grimm or elsewhere to suggest that 'Hundemilch' was used as a synonym for 'whey' (Molke) in early modern German.

walk. I will teach you all kinds of exercises so that you learn how to put up with hardship, how to fight and battle bravely, and tear a suit of armour apart with your hands, as I can. I will tutor you in all villainies and bloody business so that you will fear no devil, and, like myself, obtain much grace and favour from high-born ladies, so that in the end they will revere you. – Now, I shall go away from here, and take the child to my father, who is a black devil like myself and lives on Mount Thaurin, to let him raise it and say it is his own, so that nobody will know to whom it belongs. The Empress can now think about another one for next year. [Exeunt.]

- 116–17 **Dog ... walk** Aaron envisages a slightly more varied diet: ‘I’ll make you feed on berries and on roots, / And fat on curds and whey, and suck the goat’ (*TA*, 4.2.179–80).
- 117–18 **all ... hardship** a loose parallel to Aaron’s desire to have the infant ‘cabin in a cave’ (4.2.181), which implies harsh conditions.
- 118–19 **fight ... bravely** corresponds to Aaron’s intention to ‘bring [his son] up / To be a warrior and command a camp’ (4.2.181–2).
- 119–24 **tear ... you** After a sequence (see 116–19 and notes) with obvious resemblances to Aaron’s soliloquy at the end of 4.2, the present passage (which adds to Morian’s vision of what it means for him to rear his child successfully) has no correspondence in *TA*.
- 119–20 **tear ... can** perhaps an example of the ‘great, superhuman, manly exploits’ (‘grosse, vnmenschliche Mannliche Thaten’) that Morian mentions at 1.1.110–11.
- 120–1 **I will ... devil** Morian’s intended tutoring may be modelled on his own villainous deeds as described at 1.1.102–5.
- 124–8 **Now ... belongs** not in *TA*, where Aaron outlines a plan secretly to exchange his son for a white infant born to his countryman (4.2.154–63). However, the proximity of Morian’s father’s home loosely parallels Aaron’s assertion that ‘Not far one Muly lives, my countryman’ (4.2.154).

7.[1] *Beating of drums and flourish of trumpets. Enter VESPASIANUS advancing on Rome with his army, which has raged cruelly and devastated all the cities of the Romans.*

VESPASIANUS I march against Rome with a great and valiant army of choice and seasoned troops. I have sixty thousand horsemen in full armour, and a hundred thousand men on foot, with whom I have marched across the whole of Italy and razed all the cities we came upon, with the result that no stone was left on another. We have unnerved all Italy so that the people run about to no avail, like fugitives. We have already slaughtered a horrendous and vast number, so now they cry ‘oh, no!’ wherever we come. But this is nothing yet, for we shall attack them with ten times greater cruelty. Once more, I swear by all the gods never to withdraw my army until the haughty Empress

7.1 corresponds to *TA* 5.1, although the last part of the scene in *TA*, with Emillius, the messenger from Rome, has no equivalent in *Tito*. Morian does not share Aaron’s glee at being a villain (5.1.124–44), and Vespasianus, unlike Lucius, promises to spare Morian’s life only to subsequently break his promise. Whereas Morian is presumably executed immediately after this scene and makes no further appearance in the play, Aaron’s execution is postponed and he is brought onstage again at the end of *TA* (5.3.175–89).

0.1 *Beating . . . trumpets* See 3.2.0.1–2 and note.

0.3 *army* In *TA*, Lucius enters ‘with an army of Goths’ (5.1.0.1). The loyalty of Vespasianus’ soldiers has presumably been secured with the store of wealth from Tito’s treasury (see 5.1.64–7),

whereas Lucius’ Goths in *TA* are motivated by their personal grievances against Rome (cf. 5.1.7–8).

1–15 **I . . . now?** parallels Lucius’ conversation with the Goth soldiers (5.1.1–19).

3–4 **sixty . . . foot** In *TA*, Lucius does not specify the type or number of soldiers at his disposal. The chapbook recounts that the Emperor levied men from different countries when trying to fight off the invading Goths but notes that he lost ‘threescore thousand of his Men’ in the fight (35).

7–10 **We . . . come** Vespasianus’ indiscriminate slaughter of innocent people contrasts with Lucius’ mission to aid Rome in ousting an unpopular emperor: ‘I have received letters from great Rome / Which signifies what hate they bear their emperor, / And how desirous of our sight they are’ (*TA*, 5.1.2–4).

and her two sons are in my power. But what wondrous
sight greets me now? 15

Enter SOLDIER, with MORIAN and his son as prisoners.

SOLDIER Gracious prince and lord, I humbly deliver up
to your highness this Moor, whom I made prisoner on
Mount Thaurin.

VESPASIANUS My dear and trusty soldier, I rejoice at this
prisoner, for he is one of our greatest enemies; he is 20
the Empress' attendant, I know him well. – Listen,
black devil, you are a welcome guest to me. But tell
me, what were you doing on Mount Thaurin? And
what kind of a black devil is that in your arms?

MORIAN Never in my life has a lone fellow so shamefully 25
taken me prisoner as this man. I must say that you and
your followers are like devils in battle and combat.
I am so madly enraged that I don't know what to do. I
could curse myself for the fact that I am now your
prisoner. If you spare my life and show me mercy, 30
I shall fill your ears with wonder and amazement at
what the Empress and her two sons have done to your

16–18 **Gracious . . . Thaurin** The equivalent account of Aaron's arrest by the second Goth is considerably more detailed (5.1.20–39).

18 **Mount Thaurin** See note at 6.1.86. This is the geographical location of the 'ruinous monastery' (5.1.21) where Aaron is captured is not specified.

20 **greatest enemies** Unlike Lucius, who knows that Aaron 'robbed Andronicus of his good hand' (TA, 5.1.41), Vespasianus only knows at this point that Morian was the bearer of the severed hand and heads at the beginning of 4.3.

22 **black devil** Lucius also calls Aaron 'devil' (TA, 5.1.40, 145) though not 'black devil'. Morian uses the word for himself (and his

father) in the preceding scene (6.1.125).

24 **black devil** echoes the type of response imagined by Morian in 6.1.112–13.

25–37 Morian's verbosity contrasts with Aaron, who refuses to speak until Lucius threatens to kill his son (5.1.46–8).

30 **If . . . mercy** Morian's desire for self-preservation has no equivalent in TA; the only life Aaron wants to preserve is his son's.

31–4 **I . . . lives** Aaron makes a similar promise ('I'll show thee wondrous things', 5.1.55), but gives a non-specific list of things he will divulge: 'murders, rapes and massacres, / Acts of black night, abominable deeds, / Complots of mischief, treasons, villainies' (5.1.63–5).

sister, Andronica, and how your brothers lost their lives. I will also serve you faithfully and help you fight the Emperor; but if you show me no mercy, I shall reveal nothing, for here I am. Having surrendered myself, I can now meet my death. 35

VESPASIANUS Although a prisoner, you do not lack defiance. But tell me everything and speak the truth: say who, in which place, at what time, and for what reason, robbed my sister Andronica of her hands and tongue. Likewise, say how my brothers were taken prisoner and for what reason they were condemned to death. When I have heard all this, then you shall keep your life. 40 45

MORIAN Then open your ears, and listen to me carefully. Know that I have always been the Empress' secret lover, when she was the Queen of Ethiopia as well as here. And because she always had a haughty and highly arrogant disposition, she could not suffer a rival, and when she saw that you and yours stood in such great and high renown, and were as mighty and rich as the Emperor, she could not suffer it in her proud spirit, but persecuted you to the utmost at every turn. But the Empress' sons were overcome with love 50 55

34–5 **I . . . Emperor** Morian's offer to cooperate contrasts with Aaron's defiance throughout 5.1.

38–45 **Although . . . life** Since Morian does not refuse to speak, there is no need for Vespasianus to threaten the child's life and to utter the oaths that Aaron makes Lucius swear (5.1.51–86).

40 **who** Vespasianus already knows who mutilated Andronica and when (see 5.1.24–7.1), and Morian has just stated (32–4) that Aetiopissa and her sons are responsible for the attack.

46–91 Morian's account corresponds to

Aaron's in *Ti* (5.1.87–120). The chief villain in Morian's account is Aetiopissa, whereas in Aaron's account it is Aaron himself.

47–9 **Know . . . here** Lucius is aware of the affair (5.1.42–43), but there is no reason to suppose that Vespasianus suspects Morian of being Aetiopissa's lover.

49–55 **because . . . turn** The sacrifice of Alarbus (*Ti*, 1.1.99–150) provides a motive for Tamora's revenge for which there is no equivalent in *Tito*. The present passage provides the clearest motive for Aetiopissa's villainous actions against the Andronici.

for your sister Andronica, and instructed me to keep watch on her husband and kill him, so that they could satisfy their lust on her. I waited with all diligence on him so that I could murder him, but never had the opportunity to do so, and could not kill him. Now 60 your father, Tito Andronico, held a great stag-hunt, attended by the Emperor and Empress, her two sons, and also your sister, Andronica, and her husband. And at that time the Empress walked alone in search of me to satisfy her lust. She could not find me but came 65 across Andronica and her husband, who were alone. She addressed them with arrogant words to which Andronica did not submit and answered defiantly. So the Empress left discontentedly, swearing a high oath that she would neither eat nor drink until she had 70 satisfied her rage on Andronica. Her sons happened to meet her, and she commanded them to take vengeance on Andronica, and to stab her husband at her side, or she would not consider them her sons any more. They willingly went with her to the place where 75 Andronica was, and there stabbed her husband to death at her side. Then she commanded them to take Andronica and spend their lust on her, and afterwards to maim her so that she would no longer look like a human being. So they took her away, and 80 afterwards they cut off her hands and tore out her tongue. The Empress then resolved to annihilate your kin, and so had me take your brothers prisoner on

58–60 **I ... him** The audience has no previous knowledge of Morian's unsuccessful plot against Andronica's husband.

60–80 **Now ... away** is a condensed version of 3.3.8–109 (but see 64–5 and note).

64–5 **the ... lust** Aetiopissa does not spell out in 3.3 that she has gone to the forest in search of Morian, although when he finds her, she does attempt to engage him in an amorous encounter (3.3.120–6).

81 **tore out** See 4.2.0.3–5 and note.

- trivial grounds and beheaded them. To secure herself
 against future harm from your father, she sent him 85
 word that his sons had insulted her roughly and would
 consequently have to die for it, but if he loved them,
 he should give up his hand for them, and then they
 would be returned to him alive. Thus she cheated him
 out of his warlike hand and sent it back to him with 90
 the heads. So now you have heard the entire business
 from me. You must also know finally that I fathered
 the Empress' child, which I was going to take to
 Mount Thaurin.
- VESPASIANUS Your words have filled my ears with 95
 wonder upon wonder. – Alas, haughty Empress, may
 you and your sons never be well; I rejoice because
 I now know how everything came about and how
 I may act accordingly, for you shall suffer the same in
 everything, and ten times worse. [*to Morian*] I have 100
 no need to keep the promise I made you, since the
 damnable Empress robbed my aged father of his
 warlike hand, and promised him the lives of his sons
 but did not keep her word. So, Morian, you must die
 without any grace or mercy. – Attendant, take him 105
 away from here. Deliver him to the hangman, so that
 he may hang him and his child immediately.

84–91 **To . . . heads** Whereas Aetiopissa is responsible for devising the scheme in *Tito*, it is Aaron's idea in *TA* (5.1.111–20).

92–3 **know . . . child** Aaron begins his narrative with the equivalent information: 'First know thou I begot him on the empress' (*TA*, 5.1.87).

96–100 **Alas . . . worse** There is no equivalent apostrophe to Tamora in *TA*. It reinforces Aetiopissa's status as the principal

enemy of the Andronici (see Introduction, p. 12).

97 **sons** The singular 'son' ('Sohne') in the German text must be an accidental error, perhaps a confusion with Morian's one son.

105–6 **Attendant . . . here** ('Diener nimb jhn von hinnen') is presented typographically as a SD in the German text. The use of the imperative suggests that the sentence is part of Vespasianus' speech.

100 SD] *this edn; not in 1620*

- MORIAN What now, though the devil sends me to hang,
I don't think it would become me! Is there no mercy?
I beg you, spare my life. 110
- VESPASIANUS No, I shall not spare your life nor have the
least mercy. – Therefore, take him away so that he
may hang, and his child with him.
- MORIAN Well now, wait a little. If I am to eat hanging
pears, there is time enough for that. If there is nothing 115
else but death in store for me, I shall be willing, for I
have long deserved it. But I beg you, pity my child
and do not let it die with me, for it has done no evil
yet. Just let him be brought up as a soldier and I am
certain he will be a brave and valiant hero. 120
- VESPASIANUS I will pity this child and have it brought
up to fight and battle; but you, get you away from
here. *Exit.*

108–10 **What . . . life** Cf. Aaron: 'If there be devils, would I were a devil, / To live and burn in everlasting fire, / So I might have your company in hell / But to torment you with my bitter tongue' (*TA*, 5.1.147–50). Whereas Aaron remains defiant, Morian pleads for mercy.

112–13 **take . . . him** is the first time that a threat is posed to the infant. Cf. Lucius: 'A halter, soldiers! Hang him on this tree, / And by his side his fruit of bastardy' (*TA*, 5.1.47–8).

114–15 **If . . . pears** ('sol ich Hangelbeeren fressen') Creizenach (46) suggests that 'Hangelbeeren' refers to a type of pear with a long stem (see Grimm, *hängelbirne*) and that the expression is synonymous with hanging from the gallows (see also Marti, 389, and Fredén, 146). Lippner's translation makes the pun on 'henge' (i.e. hang) explicit: 'if I must eat gallows pears'; Brennecke spells out the meaning: 'If I'm to swing by the neck on the gallows'. Fredén (391–2) argues that Morian's comic

reaction as he finds out that he will be hanged corresponds to the Clown's similarly comic response to Tamora's announcement that he 'must be hanged': 'Then I have brought up a neck to a fair end' (*TA*, 4.4.46–8). See also 5.2.56–63 and note.

117–18 **I . . . me** Morian's show of concern for his son comes late in the scene compared to that of Aaron who repeatedly pleads for his son's life and makes Lucius swear that the boy will live (*TA*, 5.1.49, 53–4, 67–8, 70, 78–85).

118–19 **has . . . yet** Rather than emphasizing the child's innocence, Aaron insists on his royalty: 'Touch not the boy, he is of royal blood' (*TA*, 5.1.49).

119–20 **let . . . hero** Aaron asks Lucius 'To save my boy, to nurse and bring him up' (*TA*, 5.1.84). Morian's desire for the child to have a military upbringing is in keeping with his earlier hopes for his son (6.1.103, 106–8).

121–2 **I . . . battle** Lucius similarly promises that the boy shall live (*TA*, 5.1.60, 69, 86).

MORIAN In all my days I never thought I would be
hanged in the end. Now, let us go, and hang me 125
quickly before I have time to think more about it.

Exeunt.

[7.2]

Enter EMPEROR.

EMPEROR Such great bloodshed and so dangerous a war
have never been heard of. Rome has never stood in
such fear and peril before. Vespasianus has devastated
the city so violently and ravaged the surrounding
lands so cruelly that it moves one to pity. We have 5
fought four battles with him, but he has won them all
and slaughtered a great host of people. He fights so
fiercely that no-one comes near him in battle, all flee
before him. Yesterday, he took the whole imperial
palace in defiance of me. Yes, all my troops have 10
become so fearful that they refuse to go out against
him, saying they witness daily that all who venture

124–6 In ... it has no equivalent in *TA*. Since Aaron is gagged following 5.1.151, he is unable to speak at the end of the scene.

7.2 is not in *TA*, where the action moves from Lucius and Aaron straight to Tamora's visit to Titus with her sons (5.2). This brief scene confirms that Vespasianus is ravaging the empire (see 7.1.1–9) and sets up the next scene by mentioning the disguises worn by Aetiopissa and her sons.

5–7 **We ... people** In *TA*, Lucius does not attack Rome before he is invited for a parley (5.1.156–9).

9–10 **he ... me** ('Mein Keyserlichen Pallast hat er gestriges Tages mir zu trotze voller Flenten geschlossen') The German passage is probably corrupt. Fredén (370–1) and Marti (389) conjecture that 'Flenten'

refers to the arrows of *TA*, 4.3, and propose that 'geschlossen' is a printer's error for 'geschossen' (i.e., shot). Yet 'Flinte' ('shotgun') was not in use before the second half of the seventeenth century (Grimm), and 'Flenten' has no separate entry in Grimm. Brauneck and Noe conjecture that it means 'Klagen' (lament, complaint). The Emperor's report of the attack fulfils Vespasianus' earlier promise in 4.3.41–5. It is not clear where the present scene takes place, since the Emperor may have been forced to flee the palace either before or during the attack.

10–12 **all ... him** implies that the troops are otherwise loyal, which is significantly different from Saturninus' fears that 'the citizens favour Lucius / And will revolt from me to succour him' (*TA*, 4.4.78–9).

7.2] *this edn; not in 1620*

out against the enemy never return. My heart is so
 alarmed that I do not know what to do, for my power
 diminishes day by day, and the enemy grows stronger. 15
 So we shall no longer be able to resist his forces
 unless we weaken him with cunning and treachery,
 and unless he is deceived by my Empress, who,
 together with her sons, is disguising herself. Even
 now they are gone; may the gods favour them and 20
 give them grace! I shall leave and eagerly wait to hear
 what they accomplish and bring about.

Exit.

[7.3] *Enter* AETIOPISSA, *with her two sons*, SAPHONUS
and HELICATES, *in disguise.*

AETIOPISSA Dearest sons, now no-one will know us, for
 we are well disguised. But hear me, and note what
 you are to do with Tito Andronico. Lend careful
 attention to the cunning stratagems he will use in

17–19 **weaken . . . sons** In *TA*, Tamora states,
 ‘Now will I to that old Andronicus, / And
 temper him with all the art I have, / To
 pluck proud Lucius from the warlike
 Goths. / And now, sweet emperor, be
 blithe again / And bury all thy fear in my
 devices’ (4.4.107–11). The wording in *Tito*
 leaves the exact nature of the plan unclear.

7.3 corresponds largely to 5.2 in *TA*, but the
 scene is condensed and no information is
 provided about the types of disguise worn
 by Aetiopissa and her sons. Tito readily
 welcomes Aetiopissa’s sons (21–3),
 without the extended dialogue between
 Titus and Tamora in *TA* (5.2.9–69).
 Andronica is not present when Tito kills
 her attackers, unlike Lavinia, who is
 onstage during Titus’ long speech to the
 brothers (5.2.166–205), and collects their

blood in a receptacle. In *Titus und Tomyris*,
 Titus’ daughter is similarly uninvolved in
 the slaughter of her attackers, whereas in
Aran en Titus, Titus orders her to bite out
 Quiro’s heart (Buitendijk, ll. 1896–906).

2–3 **we . . . Andronico** Cf. Tamora: ‘Thus, in
 this strange and sad habiliment, / I will
 encounter with Andronicus, / And say I
 am Revenge, sent from below / To join
 with him and right his heinous wrongs’
 (*TA*, 5.2.1–4). There is no explicit indica-
 tion in *Tito* that Aetiopissa disguises her-
 self as Revenge.

3–6 **Lend . . . guard** Whereas Aetiopissa
 plans to have her sons gather intelligence
 about the Andronici’s military strategies,
 Tamora intends to busy Titus and Lucius
 so that their Goth army may be disbanded
 in the meantime (*TA*, 5.2.75–9).

7.3] *this edn; not in 1620*

battle to overthrow the Emperor, so that we can 5
 recognise them at once, and be on our guard. So if you
 see that he continues to rage and ravage, and that this
 cruel bloodshed against us does not stop, contrive to
 murder secretly Tito and his valiant son, Vespasianus,
 so that this perilous war can end in victory. Follow me 10
 now, we will go to his palace at once.

They go to the palace. Aetiopissa calls to old Tito.

Holla! Holla, good friend Tito Andronico, come down
 to me.

[*Enter TITO above.*] *He looks down.*

TITO Who are you that call on me like this?

AETIOPISSA Old Tito Andronico, we are your good 15
 friends, and the gods have sent me to you with these

8–10 **contrive . . . victory** This suggestion is not made in *TA*. Marti (390) argues that this is the only point where the German play dramatizes motivation with greater clarity than the English version.

11 **his palace** In *TA*, Tamora and her sons visit Titus ‘at his study’ (5.2.5).

11 SD In *TA*, Tamora and her sons ‘*knock, and TITUS . . . opens his study door*’ (5.2.8 SD). Editors since Capell (1767–8) usually indicate that Titus appears ‘above’, as implied in Tamora’s later request for Titus to come down (5.2.33, 43).

13 SD The use of a space ‘above’ is rare in the German plays of the English comedians. Of those in the 1620 *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien, Fortunato* and *A King’s Son of England* perhaps make use of it, but only *Tito* clearly does, whereas the other plays do not (Kaulfuss-Diesch, 66–7, 69, 74, 76).

15–20 Since Aetiopissa’s plan is to deliver her sons to Titus, it is fitting that she includes them in the introduction, unlike Tamora,

who introduces herself as someone who would like to speak with Titus (5.2.16), then presents herself as Revenge (5.2.30–40), and only introduces her sons as Rape and Murder when prompted by Titus (5.2.45–64). Aetiopissa identifies her children as Tito’s ‘good friends’ but does not comment on their disguise. Marti (390) notes that ‘good friends’ may refer to the Eumenides in Greek mythology, whose name literally (and ironically) meant ‘the kindly ones’. In *Aran en Titus*, Thamera introduces herself as Vengeance (‘Wraakzucht’; l. 1781); the 1656 programme simply states that Thamera and her sons disguise themselves (4.3 and 4.4); in *Titus und Tomyris*, the Empress disguises herself as Justice, accompanied by Revenge and Mercy (sig. L1v); and the 1699 programme notes that Thamera and her sons disguise themselves as ghosts (Cohn, ‘Breslau’, 281).

16 **gods . . . me** is not in *TA*. In her disguise as Revenge, Tamora claims that she has been ‘sent from th’infernal kingdom’ (5.2.30).

13 SD *Enter . . . above* this *edn*; Titus sieht von oben hinunter 1620

fellows so that I may deliver them to you, for they were ordained by the gods to help you with good counsel in these wars, to ensure that the enemy may be speedily overthrown. 20

TITO O, they shall be most welcome, and be held in great honour. I shall come down to you now to receive them with pleasure.

He goes down, [exit].

AETIOPISSA Now, my hearts, I have presented you to him, farewell. I shall go now. *Exit.* 25

Enter TITO ANDRONICO, below.

TITO Tell me, where is the third?

HELICATES She left after presenting us to you.

TITO Yes, indeed, you shall be the most welcome guests I ever had. – Holla, soldiers, come here, quick!

Enter two soldiers.

Come here and lay hold on them both, steady and fast. – Now, you cursed and murderous villains, do you think I have lost my senses and cannot recognize you? 30

17 **deliver them** Tamora does not intend to leave her sons with Titus: 'Now will I hence about my business, / And take my ministers along with me' (*TA*, 5.2.132–3); she only lets them stay after Titus demands it (*TA*, 5.2.134).

21 **they . . . welcome** Titus is less welcoming to his visitors (*TA*, 5.2.17–19) and first refuses to go down to Tamora: 'Do me some service ere I come to thee' (*TA*, 5.2.44).

22–3 **I . . . pleasure** corresponds to Titus' 'O sweet Revenge, now do I come to thee'

(*TA*, 5.2.67) and 'Welcome, dread Fury, to my woeful house; / Rapine and Murder, you are welcome too' (*TA*, 5.2.82–3).

24–5 **Now . . . now** In *TA*, Tamora remains onstage for some time after Titus has come down and confers with her sons before bidding Titus farewell (5.2.137–47).

29 **Holla, soldiers** Titus calls Publius, Caius and Valentine, kinsmen of the Andronici (*TA*, 5.2.151).

33 SD There is no equivalent SD in *TA*, and it is not clear whether masks are worn by the brothers.

23 SD *exit* this edn; not in 1620

He takes the masks from their faces.

Are you not the Empress' sons? And do you not seek
to take my life with treachery? Yet now I have means 35
to take my revenge. – One of you, bring me a sharp
knife and a butcher's apron at once.

[Exit first soldier.]

Yes, now I have thought up a secret stratagem
whereby I shall ensnare all my enemies and satisfy 40
my rage on you.

*Enter [first soldier], bringing a sharp knife and a
butcher's apron. Tito puts on the apron,
as if he would slaughter them.*

Go and get a vessel, too.

[Exit first soldier.]

[to second soldier] And you, come here with that
murderer and hold his throat here, so that I may cut it.

[Enter first soldier,] bringing a vessel.

– And you, come here with your bowl, hold it under
his throat and catch all the blood in it. 45

36–7 **bring . . . apron** In *TA*, Titus fetches the knife himself and does not call for an apron. He may wear an apron only in the final scene, when he enters 'like a cook' (5.3.25.2).

41 **Go . . . vessel** In *TA*, Lavinia enters 'with a basin' (5.2.165.2).

43 **hold . . . here** Titus asks the bound brothers to 'prepare your throats' (*TA*, 5.2.196).

44–5 **come . . . in it** Titus has Lavinia hold the basin (*TA*, 5.2.182–3, 196–7), which establishes a link between the blood lost by the ravished and mutilated Lavinia

earlier in the play and the blood that she collects from her attackers, a link that is missing from *Tito*.

45 SD–46 SD These SDs are considerably more detailed than in *TA*: 'He cuts their throats' (5.2.203 SD).

45 SD **He . . . stopped** Whereas in *Tito*, the brothers' mouths are stopped as a reaction to their attempts to speak shortly before they are killed, in *TA*, once the brothers have been gagged, Titus makes them listen to a lengthy speech about their crimes (5.2.167–205).

37 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620 40 SD1 *first soldier*] Brennecke (a soldier); einer 1620 41 SD Brennecke (The soldier goes); not in 1620 42 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620 43 SD *Enter: first soldier*] *this edn*; Bringt Gefäß 1620

Helicates is first held down. He tries to speak, but his mouth is stopped. Tito cuts his throat. The blood runs into the bowl. Once the blood has drained, they lay him on the floor, dead.

– Now, the next fellow, bring him too.

Holds his throat in the same way. Saphonus violently attempts to resist death and tries to speak, but they stop his mouth. Tito cuts his throat, and the blood is collected; then they lay him on the floor, dead.

Now I have cut their throats. What I have slaughtered I shall cook myself. I shall mince these heads and bake them into pies, and then invite their mother and the Emperor. A messenger of peace shall be sent to the Emperor at once. – But you, make haste and bring the bodies to me in the kitchen. 50

Exeunt with the dead bodies.

8.[1] *Enter* EMPEROR *and* AETIOPISSA.

EMPEROR Lovely Empress, pray tell me, was Tito Andronico pleased with your sons when you presented them as being sent to him by the gods?

AETIOPISSA Gracious lord and Emperor, old Tito was delighted; he came down to them immediately. 5

47–50 **What ... Emperor** is a condensed version of *TA*, 5.2.186–205. Unlike Tito, Titus shares his plan with his captives before he kills them.

48–9 **mince ... pies** Titus describes this process twice in *TA*, at 5.2.186–9 and 5.2.197–200.

49–50 **invite ... Emperor** In *TA*, the disguised Tamora proposes earlier in the scene that Titus invite Lucius to a banquet while she, as Revenge, will bring all of

Titus' enemies so that revenge may be taken (5.2.111–19).

8.1 This scene, which follows directly from 7.3, has no equivalent in *TA*: Tamora plans the banquet even before Titus kills Chiron and Demetrius (4.4.99–102; 5.1.156–61), so it is not necessary for Titus to send an invitation. The scene dramatizes the Emperor and Aetiopissa's misplaced joy about the apparent success of the disguise scheme.

8.1] Actus Octavus 1620

Meanwhile I departed, trusting that my sons would be held in great honour by him, and that he would follow all their advice. But here comes a messenger; what good news does he bring us?

Enter MESSENGER, to the Emperor.

- MESSENGER Fortune, health, and all prosperity to your imperial majesty, almighty and invincible Emperor of Rome. I am a messenger sent from my gracious lord, Tito Andronico, to your imperial majesty to proclaim peace and amity. He will never take arms against your majesty again, but wishes to make a peaceful alliance with your majesty. Likewise, he requests your majesty and your fair Empress to come to a banquet, so that peace and unity may be established all the better. 10
- EMPEROR The message you deliver brings me great pleasure, and it cheers my heart that old Tito Andronico desires to make peace with me. Tell him this from me: I am very pleased and shall immediately come in person with my Empress. 20
- MESSENGER Almighty Emperor, I shall deliver this message faithfully. *Exit.* 25
- AETIOPISSA It is quite certain, gracious lord and Emperor, that my two sons have advised this peace and old Tito has followed their suggestions.

6–7 **trusting ... honour** echoes the sons' reflection upon their newfound position at the Roman court in 2.1.18–29.

10–18 **Fortune ... better** Tito's proclamation of peace and his invitation of the Emperor and Aetiopissa to the banquet mean that he has complete control over the circumstances of his revenge. This is unlike *TA*, where Tamora first has Saturninus invite Lucius to a parley at his

father's house (4.4.99–102) and then, in disguise, effectively invites herself to the banquet (5.2.111–19). Tito seems to offer unconditional peace; the message sent to Lucius does not (5.1.159–61).

19–23 **The ... Empress** While their belief in Titus' 'lunacy' (*TA*, 5.2.70) explains why Saturninus and Tamora go to Titus' banquet, the Emperor's acceptance of the invitation seems comparatively simplistic and naive.

EMPEROR If they have arranged this for me, I promise
to advance them to the highest honours. But, lovely 30
Empress, let us no longer delay but go to Tito
Andronico at once. [Exeunt.]

[8.2] *Music. Enter servants who dress a table and
bring out the pies. Not long thereafter, enter
TITO ANDRONICO wearing the blood-stained
apron, with a knife in his hand. After him, enter
EMPEROR and AETIOPISSA, followed by
ANDRONICA, VESPASIANUS and VICTORIADES.*

TITO Almighty Emperor and fair Empress, my greatest
thanks for accepting my invitation. Please, your

8.2 chiefly corresponds to *TA* 5.3.26–65.

Vespasianus has presumably been in Rome for some time, and peace has already been established through Tito's message in the previous scene, so there is no need for an equivalent of the opening part of the scene in *TA* (5.3.1–25). *Tito* dramatizes the banquet as a private, domestic event and swiftly concludes after the killings, unlike *TA*, where Lucius and Marcus, after Saturninus has been killed (5.3.65 SD), withdraw to a space above, protected by the Goths, from where they justify their deeds to the Romans, who then proclaim Lucius emperor (5.3.66–147). Nor does *Tito* have an equivalent of the Andronici's mourning of dead Titus (*TA*, 5.3.148–74), or of Aaron's return onstage 'under guard' (*TA*, 5.3.174.1–89).

0.1 *Music* The play's other SDs that call for offstage music or sound effects designate specific instruments, horns, trumpets and drums (see 3.2.0.1–2 and note). At the equivalent moment in *TA*, there are 'Trumpets sounding' (5.3.25.1).

0.1–4 *Enter . . . hand* *TA* has Titus set the

dishes on the table himself (5.3.25.2).

0.3–4 *wearing . . . hand* Tito put on the apron at 7.3.40.2, before murdering Saphonus and Helicates. In *TA*, Titus enters 'like a cook' (5.3.25.2–3). The 'knife' may be the same as the 'sharp knife' (7.3.40.1) with which Tito cut the throats of Saphonus and Helicates. No knife is mentioned in the equivalent SD in *TA* (5.3.25).

0.6 *ANDRONICA* In *TA*, Lavinia wears 'a veil over her face' (5.3.25.3), which Titus presumably removes at 5.3.44–5. There is no evidence in *Tito*'s SDs to suggest that Andronica is also veiled.

1–23 The issue of sitting down occupies much of the beginning of the scene. Like the opening of the Banquet Scene in *Mac* (3.4), it follows a hierarchical order, first the Emperor and Aetiopissa (2–4), then Victoriades (8 SD) and Vespasianus (18 SD), the last of these only after his father asks him to do so. Tito is asked to sit down (by the Emperor) or to let his daughter sit down (by Aetiopissa) but refuses. *TA* does not foreground the action of sitting down, and Ard³ simply has an added SD: 'They sit' (5.3.25.1).

32 SD] *this edn; not in 1620* 8.2] *this edn; not in 1620*

majesty, sit with the Empress, and help yourselves to my offerings.

EMPEROR My good friend, Tito Andronico, I am delighted 5
that this bloody, perilous war has come to an end and
that we have arrived at peace and harmony.

He goes to sit at the head of the table; Aetiopissa sits next to him.

But tell me, why do you wear this apron?

Victoriades sits down.

TITO Almighty Emperor, I myself have been the cook
and have made these pies for your majesty. 10

EMPEROR Now, this is very good. I say, Tito, come with
your son and sit beside us.

TITO No, almighty Emperor, I will not sit down now, but
rather wait upon your majesty. – But you, dearest
son Vespasianus, go and sit, and keep the Emperor 15
company.

VESPASIANUS Yes, dearest father, I am always willing to
obey your command.

He sits.

AETIOPISSA Dear Tito Andronico, please, let your
daughter Andronica also sit. 20

5–7 **I . . . harmony** is not in *TA*, where Lucius and Saturninus have a hostile exchange and Marcus encourages them to make peace at the banquet (5.3.17–24).

8 Saturninus similarly asks, ‘Why art thou thus attired . . .?’ (*TA*, 5.3.30).

9–10 **I . . . majesty** In *TA*, Titus does not state that he has baked the pies himself.

19–22 **let . . . you** Aetiopissa is aware of

Andronica’s presence, and it is unclear whether the Empress pretends not to know about her mutilation, or whether its fact is known but Aetiopissa assumes that its perpetrators have remained unidentified. In *TA*, Tamora is presumably unaware of Lavinia’s presence until Titus unveils her immediately before killing her (5.3.44–6).

TITO No, fair Empress, I cannot do that; she must stand and wait upon you. I beg your majesty, eat and be merry.

He goes to the pies, cuts portions for the Emperor and Aetiopissa, but Vespasianus eats nothing. Old Tito walks sorrowfully about the table.

AETIOPISSA Truly, in all my life I have never eaten better pies than these. I cannot imagine how they have been prepared or what is baked inside them. 25

TITO O lovely Empress, please eat more of them if they are to your liking. [*aside*] I'll tell the Empress later what they are made of.

He cuts another piece and places it before Aetiopissa.

AETIOPISSA But please tell me, my dear Tito Andronico, 30 why are you so melancholy and do not eat?

23 SD *He ... Aetiopissa* In *TA*, Titus 'plac[es] the dishes' (5.3.25.2) as soon as he has entered, and the business of cutting the pie is not mentioned in *TA*'s SDs.

23 SD–29 SD In keeping with its emphasis on physical action and spectacle, *Tito* emphasizes the point at which Tito's Thyestean revenge succeeds. In *TA*, Tamora does not comment upon the pie, and it is only after killing his daughter that Titus mentions that Tamora 'daintily hath fed' on the pie (5.3.60).

28–29 *I'll ... of* ('worvon er aber gemacht, wil ich der Keyserinnen darnach

erzehlen') Brennecke alters 'Empress' to 'you', but the sentence is probably an aside.

30–8 *But ... afflicted* In *TA* the dialogue leading up to Titus' killing of his daughter is between Titus and Saturninus. It is initiated by Titus and is about the legendary slaying of Virginia by her father (5.3.35–42), whereas in *Tito*, it is between Tito and Aetiopissa, is initiated by Aetiopissa and deals with the reason for Tito's grief. As with Ovid's tale of Philomel, the reference to classical literature is thus absent from *Tito*.

28 SD] *this edn*; not in 1620

TITO O lovely Empress, eat your fill. But I am too full of grief for it. Yes, the most distressed in all the world! I do not know what I may do in my anguish.

AETIOPISSA I ask you, tell me, why are you so sad, what has driven you to such grief? 35

Tito goes to Andronica.

TITO Empress, it is for this wretched creature, for my dearest daughter, that I am so sorely afflicted. [*to Andronica*] But now it is impossible for me to see you so wretched before me; my heart wants to burst within me! Take this. 40

Thrusts his knife into her heart. She falls to the ground, dead.

EMPEROR Alas, alas, Tito Andronico, have you lost your wits? Why do you murder your own flesh and blood? Alas, this pitiful creature.

TITO Yes, Emperor, I suffered the greatest pain and infernal anguish because of her. But hear what I say, your cursed and haughty Empress is the sole cause, for she made her sons hew off the hands and cut out 45

32 **eat . . . fill** In *TA*, it is not until after Titus' killing of Lavinia that Titus asks Saturninus, 'Will't please you eat? Will't please your highness feed?' (5.3.53).

39–41 **it . . . me!** In *TA* there is a similar emphasis on the tremendous pain that Lavinia's condition causes Titus, but he identifies shame as the principal motive for her murder: 'Die, die, Lavinia, and thy shame with thee, / And with thy shame thy father's sorrow die' (5.3.45–6).

40 **heart . . . burst** See note at 3.3.41.

43 **Why . . . blood?** At the equivalent moment in *TA* this question is posed

twice, first by Saturninus ('What hast thou done, unnatural and unkind?', 5.3.47) and then by Tamora ('Why hast thou slain thine only daughter thus?', 5.3.54).

45–61 The order of actions and speeches corresponds to that in *TA*, with the exception of Aetiopissa's exclamation at l. 54, which has no equivalent in *TA*.

47–9 **your . . . daughter** In *TA*, Titus holds the Empress' sons responsible: 'twas Chiron and Demetrius: / They ravished her and cut away her tongue, / And they, 'twas they, that did her all this wrong' (5.3.55–7).

the tongue of my unfortunate daughter. – But know,
 cursed Empress, even now you have feasted on your 50
 sons' heads, which I baked in the pies.

Aetiopissa shakes and trembles violently in fright.

Now you shall never again afflict any other man as
 you have afflicted me. Take this for it!

*He attacks her with his knife and stabs her at
 the table beside the Emperor.*

[AETIOPISSA] O, murder, alas!

Falls to the ground, dead.

EMPEROR Alas, shall I suffer such a murder? Impossible! 55

*Draws his sword, stabs Tito Andronico, who falls
 dead to the ground in front of the table. Vespasianus
 leaps over the table at the Emperor.*

VESPASIANUS Emperor, now you must die, even if you
 had a thousand lives.

He stabs the Emperor, who falls to the ground dead.

50–1 **you . . . heads** Titus tells Tamora that her sons have been ‘both baked in this pie’ (*TA*, 5.3.59) but only Tito singles out the ‘sons’ heads’.

51 SD There is no equivalent SD in *TA* (see Introduction, p. 5).

52–3 **Now . . . me** In *TA*, Titus makes no equivalent comment to Tamora before stabbing her (5.3.62).

53 SD *TA*'s SD is less detailed: ‘*He stabs the Empress*’ (5.3.62 SD). Tito’s knife ties together the key actions in this scene: after entering with it ‘*in his hand*’ (0.4), he ‘*cuts*’ the pie with it (23.1, 29.1), ‘*Thrusts*’ it into his daughter’s ‘*heart*’

(41.1) and here ‘*stabs*’ Aetiopissa with it. 54 SP The SP is missing in 1620 and 1624; we follow Lippner in assigning the speech to Aetiopissa. See 3.3.67 SP and note.

54 **murder** (‘*mordio*’) See 3.3.67 and note.

55 SD Ravenscroft (‘*Emp. stabs Titus*’) and Rowe (‘*He stabs Titus*’) are the first ones to add a SD at the equivalent point in *TA*, but neither is as detailed as *Tito*'s.

56–7 Saturninus likewise points out that his killing is retaliatory: ‘*Die, frantic wretch, for this accursed deed*’ (*TA*, 5.3.63).

57 SD There is no equivalent SD in the early quarto and Folio texts of *TA*; Ravenscroft added ‘*Lucius stabs the Emperour*’.

54 SP] *Cohn* (EMPRESS); *not in 1620*

- VICTORIADES Alas, alas, this wretched and despicable creature. Alas, I will never find peace. – Now, Vespasianus, the empire belongs to you. Set the crown on your head, and rule in peace. 60
- VESPASIANUS O gracious lord uncle, how can I rule the empire? My heart is ready to burst at this tragedy, the most pitiful that has ever been heard of. I do not know what to do in my wretchedness, so bear the imperial crown upon your head, for your claim to it is the strongest. 65
- VICTORIADES O, no. I have no wish to wear it. You are the rightful heir to it, and your brave deeds have won you much renown throughout the world; you have no equal. And you know that the empire faces many troubles and enemies, and lacks a strong ruler. So do not refuse, accept the imperial seat, make a universal peace, and rule in harmony and joy. 70
- VESPASIANUS Then let us go in, so that I may receive the crown in the presence of all, though I shall never be happy again. 75
[Exeunt.]

58–9 **this . . . creature** It is unclear whether Victoriades is referring to the Emperor or to Aetiopissa.

59–77 **Now . . . again** The ending in *Tito* is very brief by comparison with the protracted ending of *TA* (5.3.66–199). See Introduction, pp. 17–18. *Tito*'s final moments are reminiscent of the conclusion of *Lear* (5.3.318–25): the imperial crown is offered to two characters; the older one declines and the younger accepts.

68 **I . . . it** In his unwillingness to accept the crown, Victoriades resembles his brother, Tito, in the play's opening scene.

69 **rightful heir** In Act 1, Rome is an elec-

tive monarchy, whereas only Vespasianus and Victoriades are involved in choosing the new emperor at the play's close. In *TA*, the election of Lucius is legitimized by the 'common voice' (5.3.139), and 'ALL ROMANS' (5.3.145) acclaim him as their new emperor.

71–4 **And . . . joy** Similar ideas are expressed by Marcus, 'O let me teach you how to knit again / This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf, / These broken limbs again into one body' (*TA*, 5.3.69–71), and Lucius, 'May I govern so / To heal Rome's harms and wipe away her woe' (*TA*, 5.3.146–7).

77 SD] not in 1620

*KUNST ÜBER
ALLE KÜNSTE,
EIN BÖS WEIB
GUT ZU
MACHEN*
IN ENGLISH
TRANSLATION

AN ART BEYOND ALL ARTS,
TO MAKE A BAD WIFE GOOD

LIST OF ROLES

PATIENT JOB	<i>in the trousers of pious Socrates. Speaks the prologue.</i>	
THEOBALD	<i>of Griffingen, gentleman</i>	
CATHARINA	<i>Hurlyburly, [his older daughter]</i>	
SABINA	<i>Sweetmouth, [his younger daughter]</i>	5
VEIT	<i>Carver, [Theobald's] servant</i>	
SYBILLA	<i>Fleafur, maid [to Catharina]</i>	
HARDMAN	<i>Madfeather, gentleman, heir and owner of Whirlwind Heights, Catharina's suitor</i>	
Ludolf WORMFIRE	<i>[his] servant</i>	10
SEBASTIAN	<i>of Inability, gentleman, [suitor to Sabina]</i>	
ALFONS	<i>of Nistlingen, gentleman, disguised as musician, [suitor to Sabina]</i>	
ADRIAN	<i>of Liebenthal, the elder, gentleman</i>	
HILARIUS	<i>of Liebenthal, the younger, gentleman, suitor to Sabina, disguised as Mr Johannes</i>	15
FELIX	<i>Muchwind, [Hilarius'] servant, acting as [Hilarius of] Liebenthal, the younger</i>	
FABIAN	<i>Apetail, [Hilarius'] servant</i>	20
Mrs EULALIA	<i>of Hohunk Wittib, Mr Alfons' confidante</i>	
Magister BLASIUS	<i>Noseyparker, Rector paganus, acting as [Adrian of] Liebenthal, the elder</i>	
Master FRITZ	<i>Thimble of Scratch-Hill, artful tailor</i>	
MATZ	<i>Trumper, well-established oven-raker and firekeeper</i>	25
Three SERVANTS	<i>who only speak one word [called] Lazypaunch, Alwayswet, and Noosehalter</i>	

LIST OF ROLES Headed 'Personen dieses Freuden-Spiels' ('The Persons of this Comedy') in D1 and D2, and reproduced here in identical order. In keeping with the play's relocation, *KK*'s names are Germanized where *TS* offers Italianate names. *KK* thus does not preserve *TS*'s names with the exception of Catharina, a German name that closely resembles Katherine/Katherina (both names are used of her in *TS*). Telling names (e.g., 'Hartman', 'Wurmbrand') have been translated (e.g., 'Hardman', 'Wormfire').

PATIENT JOB Character added by *KK*, perhaps as a replacement for *TS*'s Induction. Job is the protagonist of the eponymous book in the Old Testament, and is often referred to as an archetype of patience in the face of undeserved adversity. The German describes him as appearing 'in the trousers of pious Socrates' ('in des frommen Socratis Hosen'). Socrates, the ancient Greek philosopher, was famous for having a shrewish wife, Xanthippe; see Prologue, 12–13n.

THEOBALD of Grifflingen 'Baptista' in *TS*. The name may be derived from 'Grüfflingen' (a village at the Belgian–German border) or 'finger, pen' (Grimm, 'Griffing').

CATHARINA Hurlyburly 'Katherine'/ 'Katherina' in *TS*. The diminutive 'Trina' ('Trine') is used by Hardman during their first encounter in 2.1 as a means of belittling her. 'Trine' was a generic name for a woman of low rank, represented as common and stupid (see Grimm). The English equivalent scene (2.1) plays on 'Kate' and 'cates' (food, dainties, *OED* 1, 2). Catharina's epithet 'Hurlyburly' ('Hurleputz') only occurs in the List of Roles. 'Hurliburli' is a person who hurries around headlessly (Grimm). It may be derived from 'to roll' ('hurlen'). The second part of 'Hurleputz' may come from 'to tumble' ('purzeln') (Grimm). Similarly spelt words exist in French ('hurluberlu', a scatterbrained person) and English ('hurlyburly', commotion, *OED* 1.a). Their connection is unclear (see *OED*, etymology of 'hurlyburly').

SABINA Sweetmouth 'Bianca' in *TS*. An allusion to the classical myth of the rape of

the Sabines may be implied. After declining to marry their daughters into the burgeoning Roman city, the Romans invite the Sabines to a supposedly peaceful festivity. They rob the unarmed Sabines of their unmarried women, a moment often represented in sculpture and painting. The women largely integrate into their new families, and make peace between their husbands and fathers after subsequent battles. The name here is presumably ironic, implying that she will be an obedient wife, while also gesturing towards the surreptitious marriage scheme in which she actually engages with Hilarius. For the classical myth, see Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri* 1,9–13. 'Sweetmouth' (in German the diminutive 'Süsmäulchen') only occurs in the List of Roles. The name has an ambiguous ring, referring both to a pet name like 'darling' and to a flatterer, who makes things sweet by talking (Grimm, 'süßmaul', 1).

VEIT Carver Servant to Theobald, a character with no direct equivalent in *TS*. 'Carver' translates the German 'Schnitzer'.

SYBILLA Fleafur Maid to Catharina, and lover and wife of Wormfire; there is no equivalent in *TS*. 'Old Sibylle' was a condescending expression for a woman (Grimm, 'Sibylle'). The name may contain an ironic allusion to the classical Sybils, female oracles in ancient Greece. There are several spelling variations of Sybilla's name in D1 and D2, including 'Sibilla' and 'Sibylla'. 'Fleafur', which translates the German 'Flöhpeitz', only appears in the List of Roles and may mockingly refer to a lack of cleanliness (Grimm, 'Pelz', 3, for human skin).

HARDMAN ... Heights 'Petruccio' in *TS*. 'Hardman' translates 'Hartman', while 'Madfeather' is a translation for 'Dollfeder', and 'of Whirlwind Heights' of 'Zum Würbelwind'. The only other two mentions of 'whirlwind' in the play in connection to Hardman are when Wormfire brags about his master's ability to tame Catharina at 1.3.124, and when Hardman introduces himself as 'Hardman Madfeather . . . heir of Whirlwind Heights' (2.1.118–20).

LUDOLF WORMFIRE ‘Grumio’ in *TS*. ‘Wormfire’ (in the German text ‘Wurmbrand’) is a general insult, perhaps alluding to an illness such as a rash (see Grimm, ‘Wurmbrand’). It could also refer to one who will burn in hell, or indeed to the devil himself (Grimm, ‘Höllenbrand’). The name ‘Ludolf’ only appears in the List of Roles.

SEBASTIAN of Inability ‘Gremio’ in *TS*. ‘Inability’ translates the German ‘Unvermögen’. The character is reminiscent of the Pantaloon, a stock figure of the Italian *commedia dell’arte*, often a miserly old man who intends to marry a young woman.

ALFONS of Nistlingen ‘Hortensio’ in *TS*. ‘Nistling’ is a bird of prey caught in a nest, a young and inexperienced person (Grimm). As in ‘Grifflingen’, the suffix may indicate a place name. In 3.1, when Alfons is disguised as a musician, his SPs in D1 and D2 are ‘Musicus’ throughout, which contributes to the play’s interest in being and seeming. Our edition standardizes the SPs.

ADRIAN of Liebenthal ‘Vincenzio’ in *TS*. The last name could be roughly translated as ‘love dale’.

HILARIUS of Liebenthal ‘Lucentio’ in *TS*. As a poetry tutor, Hilarius takes on the name of Johannes. D1 and D2 consistently call the disguised Hilarius Johannes in SDs and SPs, switching to Hilarius once he reassumes his real identity, thereby perpetuating the play’s interest in being and seeming. Our edition standardizes the SPs.

FELIX Muchwind ‘Tranio’ in *TS*. ‘Muchwind’ is a translation of ‘Vielwind’, referring to a braggart (Grimm).

FABIAN Apetail ‘Biondello’ in *TS*. ‘Apetail’ is a translation of the German ‘Affenschwanz’.

The word may contain a sexual allusion to an ape’s penis or refer to the proverb ‘to lead one on an ape’s tail’, i.e., to mock someone (Wander, ‘Affenschwanz’, 2).

EULALIA ... Wittib ‘Widow’ in *TS*. ‘Eulalia’ comes from the Greek and means ‘the one that speaks well’, a rare first name. ‘Wittib’ means ‘widow’, whereas the meaning or origin of ‘Hohunk’ is unclear. The List of Roles calls her Alfons’ ‘confidante’ (‘Vertraute’), though by 5.2, the only scene in which she appears, she is his wife.

BLASIUS Noseyparker a ‘Merchant’ in *TS*. The German second name reads ‘Nasenweis’, literally ‘nose-wise’, a conceited meddlesome person that seeks to put their nose into everything, here translated as ‘Noseyparker’ (Grimm, ‘nasenweis’). The designation ‘*Rector paganus*’, i.e. ‘rustic rector’, is not fully clarified by the play.

FRITZ ... Scratch-Hill The tailor in *KK* is a conflation of the ‘Haberdasher’ and the ‘Tailor’ in *TS*. The name is a translation of the German (‘Fingerhut vom Kratzenberg’). Calling the tailor ‘Thimble’ makes fun of his profession and connotes something small enough in quantity to be placed in a thimble (Grimm, ‘Fingerhut’, 2).

MATZ Trumper ‘Curtis’ in *TS*. The meaning of ‘Trumper’ is unclear. Perhaps it refers to a ‘drummer’ or a ‘trumpet player’ (Grimm), or originates in ‘to stomp’ (Grimm, ‘trumpeln’). The word ‘oven-raker’ is a literal translation of ‘Ofenschürer’ (not recorded in Grimm).

Three ... Noosehalter. ‘Petruccio’s Servants’ in *TS*. In both plays, the servants are named, though not consistently either in the *dramatis personae* or in the play itself. The edition translates the German literally, including ‘Faulwamst’ (‘Lazypaunch’), ‘Immernaß’ (‘Alwayswet’) and ‘Schlingenstrick’ (‘Noosehalter’).

AN ART BEYOND ALL ARTS, TO MAKE A BAD WIFE GOOD

[Prologue]

[*Enter* PATIENT JOB.]

[PATIENT JOB] *Multa tulit fecit que sudavit et alsit*, most honoured audience, *multa tulit*, I say it again, the man who has been oppressed by an evil, shrewish wife, and who has been her poor patient martyr all day, stung by her biting tongue, plagued by her murderous mood, and often tortured by her untameable hands; at night, when the cards lie still after many quarrels by day, has this reward – that when the *vires corporis* has been given to someone else – patience puts horns on his head. Unfortunately, I have experienced a lot of this, and more than a lot, I, patient Job who have

Prologue *KK* does not translate *TS*'s induction, but has a similarly meta-theatrical prologue, setting the play within a context of patient men and shrewish wives.

- 1 **Multa . . . alsit** Latin, 'He has suffered and achieved much, he has sweated and frozen' (from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, l. 413). For Latin in *KK*, see Introduction, pp. 119–21.
- 3 **shrewish** ('eyterbissigen', literally 'pus-biting'). See 2.1.403–4 and note.

7–8 **when . . . day** Proverbial. When a couple quarrels during the day, they will reconcile at night, and lie quietly in bed, much like playing cards that have been mixed and distributed in a game, and afterwards lie calmly next to each other in their box (see Köhler, 214).

- 8 **vires corporis** Latin, bodily strength; presumably an allusion to sexual intercourse.
- 9–10 **horns . . . head** horns are the proverbial attribute of the cuckold (see Grimm, 'Horn', 58).

Prologue 0 SD] *this edn*; Vorredner *D1, D2, Köhler*

always worn the trousers of pious Socrates. Rather
 than being blessed, I have been tortured by a wife
 who must have been made from a rib without the
 addition of one ounce of flesh. Her stubborn, sullen 15
 behaviour and her deliberate neglect bear ample
 witness to the fact that she is one of the evil seven.
 Whether the other six are still alive I do not know.
 Would to God that in my time there had lived the
 teacher of morals who will now appear; I would have 20
 wanted to go to his school in order to learn how to
 chase out madness from the obstinate brain of an evil
 wife, or how to exorcize the devil's head which she
 has put on, as she herself admits. You find yourselves
 in happier times; you can learn from him, because he 25
 will show you the best way to go about it. This is
 especially useful for you young people who have
 someone young to handle and shape, and are not
 trying to tame some evil old dog. Understand that art
 well, and thank me for the good advice and for 30
 reminding you of it. But if there is anyone who cannot
 conceive of such an art or cannot apply it, let him
 come, and be instructed in patience by me, who have
 as my symbol *perfer perpatienda*.

12–13 **Socrates . . . wife** Xanthippe, the wife of the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, was believed to have been shrewish and cantankerous, giving rise to the stereotype of the recalcitrant wife. Petruccio uses Xanthippe for comparison with Katherina (*TS*, 1.2.70) in a passage which *KK* omits.

14 **made . . . rib** According to Genesis 2.22, Eve was created from Adam's rib.

17 **evil seven** Perhaps a reference to a satiric poem about seven evil female characters by Joachim Rachel, 'Das Poetische Frauen-Zimmer oder Böse Sieben' (1664; 'The Poetic Woman, or the Evil Seven'), published in Rachel's *Teutsche Satyrische Gedichte* (Frankfurt, 1664; VD17 23:244496T).

29 **art** the art of wife-taming.

34 **perfer perpatienda** Latin, you shall suffer what is to be suffered.

1.[1] *Enter* THEOBALD, CATHARINA, SEBASTIAN,
ALFONS *and* VEIT.

THEOBALD To speak frankly with you, my lord, it is to
no avail that you continue to make your suit to me. I
am determined not to make my younger daughter's
dowry known before the elder is married. Should any
of you be interested in the latter, she shall not be
denied you, for I know of your good name as well as
of your honourable character and wealth. 5

SEBASTIAN My good Sir Theobald, may I give you great
thanks for such an offer. You know well, however,
that my waning forces would be a little too weak to
endure her untamed nature. Sir Alfons is younger and
stronger, she will not be unsuitable for him. 10

1.1 is presumably set in front of Theobald's house, although no location is specified. The scene is divided into four parts, a long one followed by three shorter: 1–76 (to Theobald's exit), 77–103 (to Catharina's exit), 104–40 (to Veit's exit) and 141–77 (Sebastian and Alfons alone). The first part starts by following *TS* quite closely (1–35; *TS* 1.1.48–66) but then diverges. The second part is largely independent of *TS*: in Shakespeare, Katherina exits right after Baptista does (1.1.101–4), whereas Catharina remains onstage longer, engaging in an aggressive verbal give and take with Sebastian and Alfons. The third part, in which Sebastian and Alfons discuss with Veit Catharina's shrewishness and Sabina's desirability, has no equivalent in *TS*. The fourth part, except for the first speech, again follows *TS* quite closely (153–77; *TS* 1.1.112–44). *TS*'s opening scene is framed by two passages with Lucentio and Tranio (1.1.1–47, 145–246, joined by Biondello

from 1.1.220), who remain onstage, unnoticed by the other characters for the rest of the scene. These two passages have no equivalent in *KK*.

0 SD *TS*'s Bianca also enters at this point, whereas *KK*'s Sabina does not appear until 2.1. In *TS*, Lucentio and Tranio remain onstage; they '*stand by*' (1.1.47.3).

1 **you, my lord** It is unclear to which of the two suitors Theobald's first sentence is addressed; Baptista speaks to both 'Gentlemen' (*TS*, 1.1.48).

5–6 **she ... you** In *TS*, Baptista encourages the two suitors to 'court' (1.1.54) Katherina, but only Theobald promises that his daughter shall not be denied them.

8–11 **My ... nature.** The politeness and indirection of Sebastian's response to Theobald's offer contrasts with the harsh directness of Gremio's 'To cart her rather. She's too rough for me' (*TS*, 1.1.55) in response to Baptista's invitation to court Katherina.

1.[1]] *this edn*; Erste Handlung, *D1, D2, Köhler*

- ALFONS Please, sir, mind your own business. I am not your ward, and I am no longer a minor.
- CATHARINA Father, I am amazed at your gross negligence, that you will offer me to these fools with such disdain. 15
- VEIT (*aside*) What the merchant can't sell needs a bargain like this.
- ALFONS As for us, the maid is mistaken: we are not such fools as to take pains over her, and, indeed, I would think twice before buying such stuff as a wife. Though the colour may be good, the worth is small. 20
- CATHARINA My high-ranked lord has no reason to run away from someone who is not in the least eager to follow him. Indeed, I have no intention to be bound with you. But if I were, my greatest care would be to comb your bristles with a three-legged stool, to ruffle your rabbit-beard with the fire tongs, to die your face scarlet with a pan, and to show you around to everyone as the fool you are. 25 30
- VEIT [*aside*] Now she's armed, now blows will rain down! Strike him, strike him!

15–16 *TS*'s question, 'sir, is it your will / To make a stale of me amongst these mates?' (1.1.57–8), becomes an accusatory statement in *KK*. Katharina's 'sir' (1.1.57) suggests a politely distant relationship to Baptista, whereas Catharina's 'Father' renders her accusation all the more striking.

19–22 **we ... small.** The beginning of the speech corresponds to Hortensio's (*TS*, 1.1.59–60), but *KK* adds Alfons' description of Catharina as goods on the marriage market.

21–2 **Though ... small.** Alfons presumably means that although Catharina has beauty (the 'colour'), her behaviour reduces her worth.

23–5 **My ... him.** *KK* adapts *TS* ('I'faith, sir, you shall never need to fear', 1.1.61) but adds an imaginative insult, 'Mein hoch-

geöhrter Herr' ('My high-ranked lord'), which puns on 'highly honoured' ('hoch geehrt') and 'having big ears' ('hoch geöhrt'), like a donkey (see Grimm, 'geöhrt').

25–30 **Indeed ... are.** *KK* is close to *TS* (1.1.62–5) but adds to the triplet of insults a fourth, threatening to 'ruffle [Alfons'] rabbit-beard with the fire tongs' (27–8). For another 'rabbit' insult, see 1.3.182.

31–2 Added by *KK*. Veit relishes the increasing tension, characterizing Catharina as being, literally, 'in the armour' ('im Harnisch') like a soldier. He expects yet more volleys of insults from her, which follow promptly. For our editorial decision to consider this and other speeches of his as *asides*, see Introduction, p. 110.

- ALFONS Her maidenly modesty will be above such
trouble. I will always include her in the litany. May
the good Lord protect us from such evil. 35
- SEBASTIAN Amen.
- CATHARINA You grey-bearded ass, you'd better stay at
home with your poor servants; you couldn't tease
a dog out from under the oven. You're a lame old
horse, you can do nothing but neigh. A fine Sir 40
Sebastian, indeed! Touching her with his little stick.
Why, you may believe the girls gaze greedily at
you, but you will have to run after them. My sister
will certainly leave 'it' open for you, you know
where. 45
- SEBASTIAN Your sister has better virtues making her
lovelier than you. Sir Theobald would be wise to
bring her out sooner, since he is acquiring a bad name
because of your lack of virtue.
- CATHARINA Your wisdom sits nowhere except in your 50
ass-grey hair. You have not yet been made judge
between me and my sister, that silly child. Even if she

- 34 **I . . . litany.** ('Dann ich sie stets mit in die Litaney setze') *TS*'s Hortensio quotes from the Litany in *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559), 'From all such devils, good Lord deliver us!' (1.1.66). Alfons presumably means he will pray for protection against Catharina's assaults.
- 37–57 A passage with no equivalent in *TS*, offering more space for Catharina's eloquent insults, but also reflecting on expected behaviour in young, unmarried women.
- 37 **grey-bearded ass** ('ein graubartiger gEsel') With its unusual capitalization of the second letter, D1 puns on 'fellow' ('Gesell') and 'ass' (Grimm, 'Esel', 15e). D2 reads 'Esel'.
- 38–9 **you . . . oven** ('Dann jhr ja nicht könnt einen Hund auß dem Ofen locken'), a proverb (Wander, 'Hund', 1399) implying that if Sebastian cannot even make a dog move, he will not be able to evoke desire in a young woman.
- 40–1 **A . . . stick.** ('ein feiner Herr Sebastian, grif jhr mit den Spänchen dran') The German's rhyming couplet enhances Catharina's mockery of the old suitor's lack of virility.
- 43–5 **My . . . where.** It is not clear what Catharina (sarcastically?) claims Sabina will leave open for Sebastian. She may mean a window to her chamber or perhaps this is a more directly sexual metaphor. There is no equivalent statement in *TS*.
- 52 **silly child** Katherina mocks Bianca as a 'pretty peat' (*TS*, 1.1.78), a spoilt child.

- were not brought out into the open for your pleasure,
I would still wish her burnt by the sun, ruffled by the
wind or stung by a fly when she's exposed under 55
the open sky. My father knows better how to watch
over her.
- THEOBALD Unnatural child, would to God you had a
single vein in you like hers. She does not run around
the streets like you, but practises all womanly virtues. 60
- CATHARINA (*aside*) That lazy girl will pay for such
hatred towards me when I find her alone.
- THEOBALD [*to Alfons and Sebastian*] I intend to offer
her some delight and have her instructed in poetry
and music. 65
- CATHARINA This is needed above everything, so that she
can please men, for she lacks certain courtly qualities.
- ALFONS I would gladly be of use for such instruction.
- THEOBALD I fear the gentleman would ask too much for
his wages. 70
- SEBASTIAN And I would say no to it.
- CATHARINA O, how the fools quarrel about what isn't
theirs, and above all not even worth the trouble.
- THEOBALD Gentlemen, make peace. In the meantime,
I shall excuse myself. I remain at your service, 75
gentlemen. *Exit.*

52–6 **Even . . . sky.** Young women of rank kept to the house in order to safeguard both their chastity and the whiteness of skin, considered a sign of beauty. Catharina taps into these cultural norms while mocking them as producing someone weak and spoiled. Catharina's concern with the proper spaces for young women may originate in Baptista's order that Bianca return to the house, followed by her obedient consent, which evokes Lucentio's inflamed *aside*, praising her wisdom (*TS*, 1.1.75–84). This sequence is missing in *KK*, which chooses to introduce both the lover and the younger

sister in subsequent scenes.

61 **lazy girl** ('Schleppsack', literally 'a bag to drag around') a lazy, untidy woman (Grimm, 2.b), or a kept mistress (Wander). There is no indication of a threat in *TS* at this point, but the elder hits the younger sister in 2.1 of both plays.

63–5 It is Theobald who seeks instruction for his younger daughter, while *TS* clarifies that it is Bianca who takes 'delight / In music, instruments and poetry' (1.1.92–3). Unlike in *KK*, Baptista tells the men of his request for schoolmasters, encouraging the two suitors to send him possible candidates (1.1.95–7).

- SEBASTIAN We remain ever obedient to your lordship.
- VEIT [*aside*] I'll listen a little longer, she's got more in her yet!
- SEBASTIAN Will you not follow your father? 80
- CATHARINA This old ape-face is surely called to be the tutor. [*to Sebastian*] You're very concerned about what's not your business; go about your own, if you like, you old vagabond, and let me go about mine. Unless you want to have a good mouthful of what comes from my behind. Pull in your snout, mouse-beard, or else it is going to rain muck, I warn you. 85
- SEBASTIAN I had rather deal with evil spirits than with such a one.
- CATHARINA If I were a spirit, I'd torment you. 90
- ALFONS The holy cross is good for protection from that, and he who gets her will have no need to make it himself. She'll bring it to him soon enough.
- CATHARINA You're much too dishonourable an ass to bear such a cross, and may the devil protect you from it. 95

76 SD In *TS*, Baptista leaves the stage at 1.1.101, shortly afterwards followed by Katherina (1.1.104 SD). *KK*'s Catharina stays for another twenty-seven lines and exchanges abuse with Sebastian and Alfons (77–103). Baptista explicitly allows his daughter to remain onstage, which she understands as an attempt to control her movements (*TS*, 1.1.102–4), while Theobald simply exits.

77–152 Before reverting to a closer rendition of the original (153–77), *KK* considerably enlarges the insults between Catharina and the suitors, and the conversation between Sebastian and Alfons in which they seek to use Theobald's servant Veit as a means to enter the household.

82–3 **You're . . . business** Catharina uses an evocative proverb, literally saying 'you are much occupied with unhatched eggs'

('Ihr bekümmert euch sehr um ungelegte Eyer'; Wander, 'Ei', 124).

84 **old vagabond** ('Staudenhecht') highwayman (literally 'shrub pike', a long thin fish) ambushing travellers on roads. In Germany, as in other European countries, travellers were criminalized as robbers owing to their nomadic lifestyle.

86–7 **mouse-beard** For another insult mocking beard size, see note at 25–30.

90 **you** ('dich') Catharina's use of the second-person singular pronoun adds to the impoliteness of her remark, given that Sebastian is her senior in age though probably not in rank.

91–3 Alfons first suggests that a holy cross protects against evil spirits such as Catharina, before alluding to the expression 'to bear one's cross', i.e. accepting the trials of life.

- ALFONS I'd rather call upon God.
- CATHARINA I'll waste no more time with this fantastico.
- SEBASTIAN And we won't force you to stay with us.
- CATHARINA Hold your tongue, old man, or I'll pluck off
your beard. 100
- ALFONS Be not swayed by anger, maid.
- CATHARINA You rude milksop, pull in your pipe, or I'll
give you some food for your snout. *Exit.*
- VEIT [*aside*] I bet the gentlemen have enough for the
time being. That will keep them busy. 105
- ALFONS Let us part now. Sir Sebastian, should you
be interested, I will let you have my part of the
proceedings, for I know that you are a lover of all that
concerns the ladies.
- SEBASTIAN Keep what you have, sir, and have my part 110
for free.
- ALFONS Thanks, sir. I know well that you are sometimes
a little short-winded. Therefore make yourself a
poultice for the chest from these spices. – But, Veit,
what do you think about the civility of your maid? 115
- VEIT She speaks in a certain manner that I don't
understand, and which is perhaps only familiar to

97 **fantastico** ('Fantasten') raver, fool (Grimm). See also 2.1.434, 496, 5.2.150, 154.

102 **milksop** Catharina makes fun of Alfons' youth by calling him a 'Milchmaul', literally 'a milk maw', which could refer to someone with downy beard hair appearing at puberty (Grimm). For beard jokes, see notes at 25–30 and 86–7.

102 **pull . . . pipe** ('ziehe nur die Pfeiffe ein') keep quiet (see Grimm, 'Pfeife', l.c. in reference to bagpipes)

103 **food . . . snout** literally, 'nose food'

('Nasenfutter'). Grimm records no relevant meaning for the German word, but it seems clear that Catharina threatens Alfons with violence.

108 **proceedings** ('Traictements') Alfons may offer to keep Sebastian informed of how he fares in his courtship of Sabina.

113–14 **Therefore . . . spices.** Alfons may hand Sebastian spices, or pretend to do so in order to provoke him.

114 **poultice** ('Umschlag') A medicinal substance put on the skin and held in place with a bandage.

- gentlemen. I am at your service if you seek to insinuate yourself into her company, or to leave something with her. I am more than willing if it is lawful. 120
- SEBASTIAN My goodness, that lady can go to the gallows and the hangman can insinuate himself into her company.
- ALFONS I ask you nothing except to write my name in the book of exemptions. But if you truly wish to do something, appeal to her mild-mannered sister. Your reward will be good. 125
- VEIT Ha ha! There's a cat in the nest! Will she be easier to deal with? I'd rather lodge by her than with the dean, no matter how holy he may be. 130
- SEBASTIAN Ho, that morsel would be a little too good for you.
- VEIT However delicious it may be, neither you nor I will be allowed to have a little nibble. But I shall be off now. Adieu, gentlemen. 135
- ALFONS Commend me to my lady.
- SEBASTIAN Commend me first, I am next in line.

118 **insinuate** (*'insinuieren'*) Veit mockingly uses the Latinate word in the sense of wheedling himself into Catharina's trust, probably with a sexual connotation, especially in the context of his following words, 'to leave something with her'.

125 **book of exemptions** ('Buch der Verschonung') Meaning unclear. Grimm ('Verschonung') paraphrases the expression as 'if one wants to have nothing more to do with someone' ('wenn man mit jemand nichts mehr zu thun haben will').

128 **There's . . . nest!** ('saß da die Katze im Nest', literally 'is that where the cat sat in the nest') Veit mocks the suitors' slyness. For the proverb, see Wander,

'Katze', 988: 'Da sass die Katze im Nest', meaning 'das war der Grund' ('that was the reason').

129–30 **I'd . . . be.** Meaning unclear. Presumably, Veit would rather commit the sin of fornication with Sabina than receive a blessing from the dean (in German, 'Superintendent'), an overseer of any larger ecclesiastical unit (Grimm). The term refers to Protestant Church structures.

131 **morsel** Sebastian warns Veit against his interest in Sabina while equating her with a tasty bit of food ('Bischen', literally 'a little bite') or a small person ('Bischen', literally 'a little one').

- VEIT That shall be my work. I will remember one thing,
and forget the other. I'll seek money for my pains.
Nothing is free. [Exit.] 140
- SEBASTIAN I am glad at heart that the monster's gone. I
wonder greatly that such a fine house has such an
evil owner, but more about the difference between
the sisters, for their characters are so opposite. What
one possesses in virtue, the other lacks, and what one 145
lacks in vice, the other possesses. And the more one
makes herself loathed through her disobedience, the
more the other makes herself beloved through her fair
and commendable behaviour. I am angry that we must
forget about modest Sabina because of this savage 150
animal, this raging Catharina. I wish she were out of
my sight altogether.
- ALFONS Not so fast, I have good advice on how to open
the way to our lady: we need to find a man for the
elder sister. 155
- SEBASTIAN A man? A devil!
- ALFONS I say a man.

139 **I'll . . . pains.** ('Den Danckhabt bring ich nun ein Trinckgelt', literally 'I'm carrying a tip to the thanks') Veit seems to suggest that he may obey the suitors if he is paid for it. One or both of them may hand him money.

141 **I . . . gone.** After *KK*'s interpolated flying between the suitors and Catharina, and the dialogue with Veit, *KK* reverts to *TS* at the moment Katherina has left the stage (1.1.105). Owing to this textual patchwork, Sebastian's 'monster', adapting 'the devil's dam' (*TS*, 1.1.105), refers to Catharina rather than to Veit who has just exited.

150–1 **because . . . Catharina** Sebastian portrays Catharina as a wild animal ('unbändiges tier', literally 'untameable animal') and introduces her epithet 'raging' ('rasend'), which substitutes for

the English 'curst' (see *KK* 1.3.134–5; *TS* 1.2.127).

151–2 **I . . . altogether.** The German uses an evocative proverb, 'Ich wolte daß sie wäre, wo der Pfeffer wächst', literally 'I wished she was where the pepper grows', meaning in foreign countries, as far away as possible (Wander, 'Pfeffer', 37).

153–4 **Not . . . lady** Alfons condenses Hortensio's speech (*TS*, 1.1.112–17), offering Sebastian a pact in order to enable the wooing of Sabina. Both *KK* and *TS* use the first-person plural pronoun, 'our lady' (1.1.154) and 'our fair mistress' (*TS*, 1.1.115).

154–7 **we . . . man.** Closely adapted from *TS* (1.1.119–24). *KK*'s 'Mann' exploits the fact that the German word can mean both 'husband' and 'man'.

- SEBASTIAN And I say a devil. What man would throw
himself into hell in good faith, and all for the sake of
riches? 160
- ALFONS It seems to me, Sir Sebastian, you still don't
know that nowadays *ratio status* governs marriage as
it does every other thing that follows people's fancy.
Whereas you and I don't care about the money when
someone is peevish and unworthy, there are some 165
who put their need for gold before the bride. Well,
God willing, may this succeed.
- SEBASTIAN I don't object to anyone taking her as long
as he's not one of my friends. I'd marry her for her
money as readily as I'd stand on the pillory every 170
morning, whipped bloody with rods. And while I
don't usually waste money, I would be generous with
any man who agrees to be joined with her in order to
release the younger.

- 158–60 adapts Gremio's speech in *TS* (1.1.122–4), which equates Katherina with 'hell' itself.
- 161–7 Alfons' speech adapts Hortensio's (*TS*, 1.1.125–9), but adds reflections on economic motivations for marriage.
- 162 *ratio status* Latin, 'reason of state', 'a purely political ground of action on the part of a ruler or government, esp. as involving expediency or some departure from strict justice, honesty, or open dealing' (*OED*, reason, P1 b.). '*Status ratio*' appears in the poem explaining the copper engraving on the title page (see Introduction, pp. 139–40). *Simplicianischer Zweyköpffiger Ratio Status*, a tract in the 'mirror for magistrates' tradition by the German author Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (best known for his picaresque novel *Simplicius Simplicissimus*), was published in 1670 (VD17 23:233095F).
- 165–6 **there ... bride** ('so ist doch manchem der sein bedarff, welcher dieses Samen Metall für, und die Braut nachsetzet'). The German literally says 'there are some who put their need for this seed of metal before the bride'. The expression 'the seed of metal' for 'gold' originates in the proverbial concept of God planting metal seeds in mountains for mining (Grimm, 'Same', 4.a).
- 171–4 **And ... younger**. The passage contains the gist of lines spoken by Hortensio (*TS*, 1.1.133–40), but cancels *TS*'s reiterated affirmations of a temporary support between the two suitors (1.1.134–5), which is in line with Sebastian's distrust of Alfons elsewhere (see 1.3.190–216 and note).

ALFONS Time will tell. I know that some hungry fellow 175
will come who'll do the work for us, so let him come,
we'll have liberal hands.

[*Exeunt.*]

[1.2] Enter FELIX disguised [*as Hilarius*] and
[HILARIUS] disguised as Johannes.

FELIX My lord, the more I think about your behaviour,
the less I understand it. O, strange effects of love that
can change minds in one short moment!

HILARIUS Remember now, you are none other than 5
myself, and bear yourself as I told you. Your good

175–7 In *TS*, Gremio speaks the equivalent lines (1.1.141–4), including the proverbial triplet ‘woo her, wed her, and bed her’ (1.1.143).

175 **Time . . . tell.** *KK* employs the common proverb ‘kommt zeit kommt rat’, literally ‘when time comes, advice comes’ (Grimm, ‘Zeit’, 3a, and Wander, ‘Zeit’, 374). The end of the scene prepares for Hardman’s arrival in 1.3.

1.2 In *TS*, 1.1 consists of three scenic movements: one, Lucentio and Tranio are newly arrived in Padua (1–47); two, they remain onstage, unnoticed by Baptista and the other characters, while Lucentio falls in love with Bianca (48–144); three, their dialogue resumes when the other characters have left, and they are joined by Biondello (145–246). This scene corresponds to the third part of *TS*’s 1.1, but unlike in the Shakespeare play, the characters appear onstage for the first time. Hilarius’ explanation for his disguise is significantly shorter than Lucentio’s (4–12; *TS*, 1.1.185–219). Hilarius has already fallen in love with Sabina, and he and Felix have already exchanged clothes so that Hilarius can woo her. *KK* adds dialogue between the two servants (Felix and Fabian, corresponding to Tranio and Biondello in *TS*) on the (in)ability of clothes to turn a servant into a master (15–31; 60–67). The

scene in *TS* ends on a brief dialogue between Sly and two servants (1.1.247–52) which has no equivalent in *KK*.

0 SD Lucentio and Tranio exchange clothes onstage (*TS*, 1.1.205–6), whereas Felix and Hilarius enter already in disguise. For Hilarius’ name in SDs and SPs, see the List of Roles.

1–3 In *TS*, the audience witnesses Lucentio fall in love with Bianca while she is onstage, and he verbalizes this process when he and Tranio are alone (1.1.147–55), using lavish rhetoric and Petrarchan clichés. In *KK*, Hilarius enters already in love, and Felix’s mystified response to his master’s strange behaviour with which the scene begins mirrors the audience’s initial loss of its bearings.

4–12 Hilarius recaps his plans to Felix, collapsing the invention of the disguise scheme by Lucentio and Tranio (*TS*, 1.1.184–206) into a summary of the planned proceedings. In *KK* the respective roles are more clearly demarcated than in *TS*: Felix is to ‘do what [he] can’ (10) with the father, and ‘leave wooing’ (12) the daughter to Hilarius. The threat posed by the other suitors is conveyed through the proverbial-sounding ‘Chase away the wasps that swarm around the honey’ (10–11), a passage with no equivalent in *TS*.

nature shall not fail you. I will and must aim straight and hit the target. I know no other means than this. I will play my part to my lady in this lowly disguise as best I can. You, meanwhile, present a sumptuous show, and do what you can for me with her father. Chase away the wasps that swarm around the honey. Drive off my fellow suitors, and leave wooing her to me. 10

Enter FABIAN. Looks at both in dismay.

But here he is, the dull rogue. Where have you been so long?

FABIAN Where have I been? My lord, first tell me where you are? Or where my companion here is going? Circe has effected a wondrous transformation! One who was almost my equal not long ago has become a lord, or rather an ape in disguise, and a noble lord a miserable tutor. It's a mad world! O, it is my misfortune that I have erred and travelled so long. Had I arrived in time, I might have bettered myself as well. 15 20

FELIX That could easily have happened, that a jester becomes a fool.

FABIAN *Horres morres* it is with you. I see nothing to make me lift my hat but my lord's garments. A thief 25

8 **my lady** Sabina's name is not mentioned in this scene, and Hilarius is not explicitly identified as a suitor of Sabina until the subsequent scene.

12 SD *dismay* The surprise Biondello expresses in *TS* (1.1.221–3) is conveyed by *KK* in a SD.

15–31 In *TS*, Biondello addresses his master with a series of brief questions about what has happened (1.1.221–3). *KK* amplifies the passage by having the servants talk to each other, elaborating the seemingly magical power of clothes to make the man. There is a hint of aggression between the servants (26–31) that is absent from *TS*.

16 **Circe** Fabian alludes to the mythological enchantress in Homer's *Odyssey*, Book X.

20 **tutor** ('Pedant') Like the English word 'pedant', the German term designated a teacher or tutor in the early modern period.

21 **erred . . . long** perhaps an allusion to Odysseus given the preceding reference to Circe

25 ***Horres morres*** Probably a corruption of the proverbial 'honores mutant mores' ('honours change customs'; see Köhler, 218). Fabian accuses Felix of behaving proudly towards his former equal after rising socially, if only by way of disguise.

might steal and wear these. I could pretend to be a prince in such a worthy fashion, and I wouldn't need to borrow your hare's head for that.

FELIX Ho, not so fast. Remember who I have become, 30
and what you are.

HILARIUS There's no time for such foolery now. Fabian,
I order you to obey your formerly equal fellow servant
who replaces me as your master. Obey him, and hold 35
your tongue. The reason why we proceed like this is
important, as you will learn from him. [*to Fabian and
Felix*] For the sake of your real master, behave
yourselves well. You will not lack reward. *Exit.*

FABIAN Now I am the fool of a fool! Fortune will smile 40
on me from now on. How now, my brand-new lord,
avec permission, may I interrogate you and receive
report through my *quaestiones*? What does this
Shrovetide mummery mean?

FELIX A misfortune has happened to your lord: on his 45
arrival, he quarrelled with a noble gentleman and
gave him a deadly wound. That is why he disguises
himself to avoid danger. He has given me his best
clothes so that I, who am a stranger in this place, may
plead his cause.

26 **lift my hat** a sign of respect

29 **hare's head** ('Hasenkopf') an insult (see 2.1.288n)

32–8 Hilarius' speech follows Lucentio's (*TS*, 1.1.224–33), particularly the admonition to the servants to behave according to plan. Hilarius delays the revelation of the 'reason why we proceed like this' (35), however, and leaves it to Felix to give Fabian an invented explanation. This adds to the swiftness of Hilarius' exit, conveying a sense of urgency to his scheme. *KK* thus condenses Lucentio's falling in love and invention of the wooing scheme, but amplifies the servants' dialogue.

41–2 *avec ... quaestiones* Fabian mocks Felix's newfound noble status through bragging French ('*avec permission*', 'with permission') and Latin (e.g. '*quaestiones*', 'questions').

43 **Shrovetide mummery** ('Fastnachts Mummeren') Shrove-tide, the three days before Ash Wednesday, designates the carnival season of merriment, which includes dressing up in costumes ('Mummeren') and inverting the social order.

44–9 Felix explains to Fabian the supposed reasons for the identity swap. The speech is closely modelled on *TS* where, however, it is spoken by Lucentio (1.1.226–30).

- FABIAN If I had been with him, I might well have become 50
a lord.
- FELIX I would willingly let you have that mock power
if I were permitted to act as he does with the dear
angel. [*aside*] But hands off the vat while the grapes
are inside. 55
- FABIAN What are you murmuring to yourself?
- FELIX I must remind you to obey your lord's orders
when we are in company. When we're alone, we'll
make merry as before.
- FABIAN And so shall it be, says the fool. Well, I can 60
endure your lordship that way. Should you become
too great, it would be over, and we'd fall out of
friendship. But you shall let me enjoy your under- or
quasi-lordship without harm to your greater prosperity
and that of our master. 65
- FELIX I understand you, too, will enjoy the master's
prosperity. All shall be well. *Exeunt.*

- 50–9 The dialogue between the servants runs roughly parallel to *TS* (1.1.236–42) but adds proverbial diction characteristic of *KK* (see Introduction, pp. 116–17).
- 52 **mock power** The German 'Spiel-Herrschaft' (literally, 'play rule') draws attention to the play's concern with how clothes produce social rank.
- 54–5 **hands ... inside** ('die Hand von der Bütte, es seynd Weinbeer darinnen') Having imagined wooing Sabina in the person of his master, Felix chastises himself by saying, literally, that he must 'take his hands off the wine tub, there are grapes inside', a proverbial expression, meaning to desist from something (Grimm, 'Butte', 1).
- 58–9 **we'll ... before** ('so geht es auff den alten Kayser in gutem Vertrauen los') Felix promises Fabian to behave like the servant he is and drink with him when they are alone, literally living 'in trust of the old Emperor'. This proverbial expression constitutes an excuse for irresponsible behaviour on the grounds that it occurred during the reign of the former emperor and was therefore expunged with the accession of the new (see Köhler, 219–20).
- 60–7 has no equivalent in *TS*.
- 60 **And ... fool.** ('Es bleib darbey sagt Spalter-Hans.') literally 'it remains thus, says Cleaver-John', an obscure proverbial expression that refers to a rude and loutish person (Grimm, 'Spalterhans').
- 62 **it ... over** ('würde der Hund auff dem A. reiten') Proverbial (Köhler, 220). The German literally means 'the dog would ride on the a.', i.e. 'arse', when he is too tired to hunt any longer.
- 64 **your ... prosperity** Felix exploits the ambiguity created by the disguise since 'master' can refer both to himself and to their actual master, Hilarius.

[1.3]

Enter HARDMAN *and* WORMFIRE.

HARDMAN If I'm not mistaken, this is Master Alfons' house. Ho, you, go knock.

WORMFIRE Knock what? When, what shall I knock? I see no one. Nobody has hurt you whom I should knock.

HARDMAN Villain, knock, I say, and knock soundly. 5

WORMFIRE This is another cause *pro more* of Jauer, to burden my back with knocking. Shall I knock you? St Nicholas forbid!

HARDMAN Fool, I tell you, knock there for me, and do it soundly, or I'll knock off your villainous head. 10

1.3 This scene closely corresponds to *TS*, 1.2. It has four main movements: the first shows Hardman and Wormfire's arrival at Alfons' house (1–22; cf. *TS*, 1.2.1–19); in the second, Alfons joins them and recaps the wooing situation, proposing to Hardman the scheme to marry Catharina in order to free up Sabina for the suitors (23–153; cf. *TS*, 1.2.20–135); in the third, Sebastian and the disguised Hilarius arrive, and Sebastian commits to the scheme (154–316; cf. *TS*, 1.2.136–216); and the fourth brings onstage Fabian and the disguised Felix, who is accepted as third suitor by Sebastian and Alfons (316–416; cf. *TS*, 1.2.217–81). *KK* adds a brief dialogue between Sebastian and Wormfire on the latter's origins (299–316), and ends on a short exchange of fellowship between Wormfire and Fabian (417–28).

0 SD As in 1.1, *KK* omits Petruccio's indication of place (he has arrived at Padua from Verona, *TS*, 1.2.1–2).

1–22 This farcical passage closely corresponds to *TS* (1.2.4–19). The humour depends on the now archaic dative in 'knock me here' (*TS*, 1.2.8), meaning 'knock for me', which Grumio chooses

to understand as 'hit me here'. The dative is also possible in German grammar, so *KK* replicates the joke: 'knock there for me' (line 9; 'da schlag mir an').

- 6 *pro* . . . **Jauer** (*pro more*, vom Jauer') Meaning unclear, as acknowledged by Köhler (220). Cohn translates 'according to the custom of Jauer' (cxxxviii) but provides no explanation. 'Jauer' might refer to the town of Jauer in Silesia (today Jawor, Poland), to a person (perhaps Nikolas Magni of Jauer, a fifteenth-century Silesian theologian who wrote about superstitious practices and the reform of the Church), or to a Romansh dialect in Switzerland. We have found no evidence to support any of these hypotheses.
- 8 **St Nicholas** A fourth-century bishop of Myra in Turkey, St Nicholas was a popular saint in the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and a patron of diverse groups of people. The reference here is probably a general invocation for protection.
- 9 **there** *KK* substitutes a deictic adverb for *TS*'s 'at this gate' (1.2.11). Both versions play with the possibility of referring to the knocking about of Hardman and Petruccio, rather than the door.

WORMFIRE I knew the song would end on such a note.

My master must have noise in his head, horns
must have ravaged his brain. Me knock him? May the
devil knock him! Yes, so he may, as long as I am
spared.

15

HARDMAN I see that the bell will not ring, so I shall pull
the handle. I'll pull your ears and see if you can sing
fa, sol, la.

He pulls him back and forth by the ears.

WORMFIRE Murder, murder! Alarm in all the streets!

Help, ho, help! My master has parted with his wits,
and wants to lodge with me!

20

HARDMAN You reckless bird, will you sing now?

Enter ALFONS, hastily.

ALFONS What does this mean? Do my eyes deceive
me? Is it my lord, my brother? What does this brawl
mean?

25

11 **I . . . note.** *KK* adds Wormfire's musical metaphor which anticipates Hardman's subsequent speech.

12–13 **My . . . brain.** *KK* turns Grumio's 'My master is grown quarrelsome' (*TS*, 1.2.13) into two related metaphors for madness, anticipating Grumio's 'My master is mad' (1.2.18) slightly later in the scene.

18 ***fa, sol, la*** '*sol-fa*' in *TS* (1.2.17). Syllables in the solmization system in which each syllable indicates a note in the scale.

18 SD The corresponding SD in *TS* plays with the preceding musical conceit: '*He wrings* [spelt '*rings*' in F] *him by the ears*' (1.2.17 SD). *KK* adds the vivid detail of Hardman who '*pulls*' Wormfire '*back and forth*' like the handle of a bell.

19 **Murder, murder** ('Mordio, Mordio') derived from 'Mord' ('murder'). A call that proclaims murder and encourages pursuit of the perpetrator (Grimm).

22 SD Hortensio simply '*Enter[s]*' (*TS*, 1.2.19.1), whereas Alfons does so hastily ('Springet heraus', literally 'jumps out').

23–4 **Do . . . me?** *KK* amplifies Alfons' surprise by adding this question (cf. *TS*, 1.2.20–2).

24 **Is . . . brother?** *KK* omits *TS*'s greeting of Grumio (1.2.20–1). Whereas Hortensio and Petruccio address each other by their first name, Alfons and Hardman repeatedly call each other 'brother' (cf. 29, 52, 68, etc.), here a term of address rather than an indication of consanguinity.

- HARDMAN [*to Wormfire*] I'll spare you the reckoning
until later, you rogue.
- WORMFIRE May that time never come.
- HARDMAN [*to Alfons*] I beg your pardon, brother, I am
sorry that you find me in such labour. 30
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] May the hangman pay you for it.
- HARDMAN [*to Alfons*] How do you like this life?
- WORMFIRE I am weary of such a life. May the devil take
the master or the servant.
- HARDMAN I still hear you, you marmot. 35
- ALFONS Hush, Wormfire. I will help to settle this quarrel.
- WORMFIRE Then you should have come before I received
the blows. The hangman thanks the arbitrator after
the broil. If I had knocked my mad master soundly,
perhaps I would not have been knocked at all. 40
- HARDMAN You brainless villain! I said you should knock
on the door, but I could not get this service from you,
you deaf thick-skinned ass.
- WORMFIRE Knock on the door, *o mon dieu*! Knock here,
knock there, knock soundly. Is this what knock on the 45

26–7 Hardman delays his punishment of Wormfire with a proverbial saying ('Ich will dir Schelmen bis zu ander zeit die Zeche borgen', literally 'I will lend you, knave, the tap until some other time', i.e., I will let it pass (Wander, 'Zeche', 5)). Wormfire develops Hardman's conceit, wishing to postpone the punishment indefinitely ('Der Teuffel hole solchen Wirth', literally 'May the devil fetch such a host').

31 Proverbial (Wander, 'Henker', 30). The first of Wormfire's many asides in the play, with no equivalent in *TS*, demonstrating *KK*'s interest in how the servants reflect on the play's themes (see Introduction, pp. 103–4, 107–8, 110–13).

35 Hardman likens Wormfire's interruptions to the murmuring sounds made by a marmot (a large ground squirrel), which may have given rise to its German name

(Grimm, 'Murmeltier', literally 'murmuring animal').

37–9 **Then . . . broil.** *KK* substitutes this passage for several lines from a speech by Grumio on the legitimacy of leaving service due to bad treatment by the master (*TS*, 1.2.28–33).

38–9 **The . . . broil.** Proverbial (Wander, 'Henker', 54). Wormfire alludes to his earlier proverb (31), suggesting he (the hangman) would only thank Alfons (the arbitrator) if he had done his duty of judging. The meaning is opaque: Wormfire may intimate that a quarrel and a death sentence would be good business for a hangman, but since Alfons has arrived too late to prevent him from getting hit, he will not thank him.

44 ***o mon dieu*** French, 'oh my God'. *TS* has 'O heavens' (1.2.39).

- door means? My master's wits run away from him, and he means to find them by knocking me, but he'll sooner chase away my own wits too.
- HARDMAN Do I hear you still? I shall have to go back to where I left off. 50
- WORMFIRE No need, my lord, you may save the labour.
- ALFONS [*to Hardman*] Brother, accept my plea for your entertaining servant. Release him from blows, and instead tell me what good wind brings you here.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) A stormy, whizzing wind. 55
- HARDMAN The same wind that spurs so many young people around the world. My father is dead, and I am heir to all his estate. I lack nothing except a fitting wife. Until I get one, I have put a hundred ducats in my purse to go out into the world and see what is lacking in my fatherland. 60
- ALFONS I would be happy to help my brother to a wife who is young and rich enough, but –
- HARDMAN Give me your hand on these words. An honest man keeps his word. 65

46–8 **My ... too.** Wormfire develops his earlier conceit at lines 19–21. Neither passage has an equivalent in *TS*.

50 **left off** Our translation relies on Köhler's emendation of 'gewendet' (i.e. turned) in *D1* and *D2* to 'geendet' (i.e. ended, left off).

54 **here** *TS* provides geographical locations at this point ('to Padua ... from old Verona', 1.2.48) and elsewhere (e.g., 1.1.2 and 1.2.2), while *KK* is careful to omit them.

55 **whizzing wind** ('Sausewind') perhaps an allusion to Hardman's title, 'heir and owner of Whirlwind Heights' ('Erbsas zum Würbelwind'); see List of Roles.

'Sausewind' could designate a skittish person (Grimm).

56–61 The speech follows Petruccio's (*TS*, 1.2.49–57) but adds Hardman's insistence on his status as lord over his lands. *KK* does not mention the father's name ('Antonio', *TS*, 1.2.53), which is in keeping with its omission of names elsewhere (see 2.1.104–5 and note).

59 **hundred ducats** Cf. 'Crowns in my purse I have' (*TS*, 1.2.56). The ducat was the main trade coin in early modern Germany. In the wager passage, Hardman raises the stakes from twenty to a hundred ducats (5.2.272–5).

1.3.50 left off] Köhler (geendet); *D1*, *D2* gewendet

WORMFIRE [*aside*] She'll be good enough if she's rich enough. Money, money.

ALFONS Brother, don't be overhasty in this bargain. You should have let me finish speaking. She is extremely evil. 70

WORMFIRE [*aside*] Then she's right for him. They're birds of the same feather.

HARDMAN Evil is the least impediment, my lord. If she were as evil and grim as a lion, as roaring and sullen as a bear, as unfriendly as a marmot, as prone to bite and scratch as a dog or a cat, it would be a small impediment; indeed, it is no blemish at all if there is money enough. 75

ALFONS I don't know if you are joking or not.

WORMFIRE No, my lord, by our old maidservant's undershirt, he's absolutely serious. He's telling you his true heart. Just marry him with the money, and 80

71–2 **They're ... feather.** The German uses an evocative, presumably proverbial expression (see Köhler, 220): 'Gleich und gleich, sagt der Teuffel zum Köhler' (literally, 'like to like, says the devil to the charcoal-burner'). The devil and the charcoal-burner are imagined as black (and sinister) in the same way as Catharina and Hardman are both rough and evil, according to Wormfire.

73–8 Hardman's speech is modelled on Petruccio's (*TS*, 1.2.64–75). It preserves the general emphasis on money as the main reason for marrying the shrew but omits Petruccio's insistence on Padua (1.2.74–5). Like Petruccio, Hardman chooses four elements for hypothetical comparison to Catharina, but *KK* replaces *TS*'s literary allusions to undesirable women ('Florentius' love ... Sibyl ... Socrates' Xanthippe', 1.2.68–70) with undesirable animals. For Socrates and Xanthippe in *KK*, see the Prologue.

75 **unfriendly ... marmot** Wander records an expression, 'Es ist ein altes Marmelthier' (i.e., 'she is an old marmot'), that suggests that marmots were associated with unfriendly women.

80–91 Wormfire's speech is modelled on Grumio's (*TS*, 1.2.76–81), but expands on the original with colourful elaborations on the undesirability of Hardman's imagined wife.

80–1 **by ... undershirt** Wormfire's mock oath makes fun of Hardman's previous grandiloquence, bathetically swearing by the least expensive or elegant bit of clothing women would wear. Wander cites *KK* as unique witness to this expression ('Magd', 84). There is a similar mock oath in the same author's *Der Pedantische Irrthum* ('Ich schwüre bei unser Magd Mäusefallen', literally 'I swear by our maid's mousetrap', p. 273). See Introduction, p. 144.

you can give him either a silly puppet or an old
withered hag without a tooth left in her chops, and no
hair on her skull, making the shameful head shiver, 85
and the ugly legs shake. If she were fouler than the
devil's dam, and had more diseases than fifty-two old
rotten nags, it's no impediment as long as there's
money, and money enough. Money passes through
the world, rules the world, seduces the world, and my 90
lord is a child of the world.

ALFONS What I started as a joke I will end seriously if
you are serious, although I do not wish a friend like
you anything but what I wish for myself, namely only 95
good. She is young enough, has beauty enough,
money enough. The only blemish, and that is blemish
enough, is that she is so very shrewish and brawling,
which is why I would not have her for all the wealth
in the world.

- 83 **silly puppet** ('eine läppische Kinderpuppe', literally a slight children's doll). *KK* condenses two elements in *TS*, 'a puppet or an aglet-baby' (1.2.78). The meaning of 'aglet-baby' is unclear; perhaps it designates a decorated tag (Ard³, 180). The translator may not have known the word but understood that it functions as a contemptuous term.
- 84–6 **and ... shake** This addition to *TS* shows the adaptor expanding on the effect of ugliness. Inspired by 'ne'er a tooth in her head' (*TS*, 1.2.78–9), he moves from 'no hair' and 'shameful head' to ugly 'legs' in a kind of anti-blazon (see Hillman and Mazzio, 3–22).
- 87 **devil's dam** Hardman also hypothetically compares Catharina to the devil's mother at 2.1.266.
- 87–8 **and ... nags** *KK* surpasses its original by turning 'as many diseases as' (*TS*,

1.2.79) into 'more diseases than', and 'two and fifty horses' (*TS*, 1.2.80) into 'fifty-two old rotten nags' ('alte verdorbene Schindmehren').

89–91 **Money . . . world.** In *TS*, Grumio caps his flamboyant speech with a memorable parallel construction on money's power to persuade: 'nothing comes amiss – so money comes withal' (1.2.80–1). *KK* surpasses the original in rhetorical amplification by paraphrasing it with four sayings on the theme.

92–9 Alfons' speech follows Hortensio's (*TS*, 1.2.82–91) while also integrating the end of Hortensio's previous speech: 'But thou'rt too much my friend, / And I'll not wish thee to her' (1.2.62–3). The only element *KK* omits is Hortensio's assurance of Katherina's social acceptability since she has been '[b]rought up as best becomes a gentlewoman' (1.2.86).

HARDMAN O, my good brother, you don't know the 100
 effects of money. Just tell me who she is, and
 it's enough. I will marry her, even if she has the
 biting tongue of a dog, yes, even if her shrewish
 voice rattles more than thunder rolling through high
 mountains. 105

ALFONS Her father is Sir Theobald, a noble and affable
 gentleman. Her name is Catharina.

WORMFIRE It would be a good sign if she were called
 Margaret.

HARDMAN I know this gentleman well. I have heard 110
 enough and shall not rest until I have finished this
 affair. I take my leave, unless my brother chooses to
 accompany me.

ALFONS Do not start this business too hastily.

WORMFIRE My lord, for your life's sake, don't fight this 115
 storm but let him be, since he is stung by these wasps.
 His mind is set now. He will go about the thing
 properly. If she knew him as well as I do, she would

100–5 A close adaptation of Petruccio's
 speech (*TS*, 1.2.92–5), except that
 Petruccio asks for 'her father's name'
 (1.2.93), not 'who she is' (101).

106–7 *KK* omits the surname ('Minola', *TS*,
 1.2.96, 98) and place name ('Padua',
 1.2.99) in Hortensio's equivalent speech
 (1.2.96–9).

108–9 The meaning of this expression,
 which has no equivalent in *TS*, is unclear.
 Köhler (224) suspects a connection to
 Saint Margaret of Antioch who reputedly
 escaped alive after being swallowed by
 Satan in the shape of a dragon.

110–13 Petruccio's equivalent speech (*TS*,
 1.2.100–5) mentions that Katherina's father
 'knew [his] deceased father well' (1.2.101).

114 has no equivalent in *TS*.

116 **storm** perhaps another allusion to
 Hardman's title 'heir and owner of
 Whirlwind Heights' (see 1.3.55, 124, and
 List of Roles).

116 **let . . . wasps** Grumio advises Hortensio
 to 'let [Petruccio] go while the humour
 lasts' (*TS*, 1.2.106), i.e., while Petruccio
 acts upon a whim. *KK* translates this idea
 into, literally, being 'driven by these
 crickets' ('wenn jhn diese Grillen
 treiben'), i.e. 'foolish and amusing
 inventions' (Grimm, 'Grille', 2). This
 idiom recalls the beginning of the scene
 where Wormfire accuses Hardman of
 having hornets buzzing in his brain (see
 12–13 and note).

soon leave her scolding. If she calls him a rogue once
or ten times, he will interpret it as if she hailed him as 120
a lord. He will take other immodest, peevish words as
the best compliments, and when he's well warmed
up, he'll chase away her impetuous blasts with his
whirlwind. He'll cut such a strange figure in her face
that she'll have no more eyes than a blind cat. He'll 125
treat her so properly that she won't know up from
down, or whether she is in the barn or in the cellar
with him.

HARDMAN I'm only wasting my time by staying here
longer. May God be with you. 130

ALFONS Brother, wait, I will go with you. My treasure is
also hidden in the house of your future wife. This
occasion allows me to see my heart, Sabina, whom I
hope to conquer as soon as raging Catharina is gone.

WORMFIRE Raging Catharina, that's a very encomiastic 135
epithet for a maid. She must be a pretty angel who
belongs in the devil's heaven.

119–22 **If ... compliments.** *KK* translates Grumio's supposition that Katherina 'may perhaps call [Petruccio] half a score knaves or so' (*TS*, 1.2.108–9), but adds that Hardman will understand Catharina's insults as compliments. Wormfire, unlike Grumio, thus provides a first glimpse of his master's taming method of pretending to understand the reverse of Catharina's words (see *KK*, 2.1.260–85, and *TS*, 2.1.169–79).

124 **whirlwind** See notes at 1.3.55, 116.

124–5 **He'll ... cat.** *KK* does not reproduce the English pun on cat/Kate (*TS*, 1.2.114), which does not work in German, and simply translates the original (1.2.111–14), including Grumio's anticipation that Petruccio will 'disfigure' (1.2.112) Katherina.

131–4 *KK* considerably condenses Hortensio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 1.2.115–26), notably by omitting Baptista's stipulation that his older daughter must be married before his

younger, which has been explained before (*KK*, 1.1.1–7; *TS*, 1.1.48–54). Hortensio describes his 'treasure' as in 'Baptista's keep' (*TS*, 1.2.116). Alfons, by contrast, says that his treasure (Sabina) is in 'the house of your [i.e. Hardman's] future wife', which takes for granted that Hardman's suit will be successful and that the inheritance of the oldest child will become his.

135–6 **encomiastic epithet** ('*encomisches epitheton*') translates Grumio's 'of all titles the worst' (*TS*, 1.2.128), replacing the untranslatable rhyme ('*Curst*' / 'worst', 1.2.127–8) with tongue-in-cheek irony.

137 **the devil's** ('*Meister Hämmerleins*') literally 'Master Small Hammer', a designation for the devil, derived from the Germanic hammer-wielding god Thor, who came to be associated with the devil (Grimm, 'Hämmerlein', 2a). Wormfire equates Catharina with a fallen angel.

ALFONS [*to Hardman*] But I beg one thing of you, brother, that you introduce me into Sir Theobald's house as a musician when the time is right. Since she intends to learn to play the lute, this occasion will serve to win her favour. 140

WORMFIRE I believe that when she lends you the belly-cittern, you'll forget the lute.

ALFONS Well guessed. [*to Hardman*] But do you agree, brother? 145

HARDMAN You know that our friendship puts me at your service, and I swear I shall not say a word, since you are helping me in such a desired affair. So come, we shall do well. 150

WORMFIRE The young stick together when it comes to duping the old. The world is full of rascals. But, sir, who's coming there?

Enter SEBASTIAN [*and* HILARIUS *as*] *Johannes*.
[*Alfons, Hardman and Wormfire stand aside.*]

ALFONS Hush, Wormfire! He is my rival suitor. He also strives to win the love of beautiful Sabina. 155

140 **musician** compresses Hortensio's scheme to be 'disguised in sober robes / ... as a schoolmaster / Well seen in music' (*TS*, 1.2.130–2).

140–1 **she ... lute** Hortensio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 1.2.129–35) does not provide this information.

143–4 Wormfire, in a speech with no equivalent in *TS*, coins a word, 'belly-cittern' ('Bauchzitter'), with a bawdy reference to the female genitals, which he may imagine being fingered like the strings of the instrument. The word is used by the same author and with the same innuendo in *Alamodisch Technologisches Interim*

(1675): 'Ich spielte gestern Abend der Liese ein wenig auff der Bauchzitter' (sig. O9v; 'last night I played a bit for Liz on the belly-cittern', or '... on Liz's belly-cittern'). A cittern is a stringed instrument that is smaller and easier to play than the lute. For other sexual puns on musical instruments, see 2.1.99–104, 3.1.82–4 and notes.

153 SD2 Although *KK* omits the implied SD in Hortensio's 'Petruccio, stand by awhile' (*TS*, 1.2.140), it is clear that Sebastian and Hilarius are unaware of Alfons, Hardman and Wormfire until the latter 'step forward' (185.1).

- WORMFIRE If it's about running a race for her, he's already lost.
- SEBASTIAN [*to Hilarius*] The next thing I want is that you buy for her the best books about love that you can find. These have great power to enflame the fire of love in the hearts of maidens. 160
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) But not for you.
- SEBASTIAN And they should be bound in the daintiest and prettiest manner. The paper that you use must be well perfumed, for she whom my soul loves is worth more than all exquisite spices. And may I remind you, Johannes, to be as diligent in her service as you can. Your reward from me will exceed even Sir Theobald's generosity. 165
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] He looks to me as if he would receive his salary from her without your knowledge or will. 170
- SEBASTIAN But what matters will you treat with her?
- HILARIUS My noble lord, do not trouble yourself with that. Everything that I undertake with her is intended to speak for you as my lord patron, and that just as if 175

156–7 **If ... lost.** In *TS*'s equivalent speech, Grumio comments on the entry of Gremio and Lucentio, '[a] proper stripling, and an amorous' (1.2.141), which could refer to either character. *KK* resolves the ambiguity: Wormfire sarcastically comments on Sebastian's age, which makes it impossible for him to outrun the young suitors.

158–73 This passage corresponds to a single speech by Gremio in *TS* (1.2.142–51) into which *KK* inserts two acerbic asides by Wormfire that have no equivalent in *TS*.

158–60 **The ... find.** *KK* follows *TS* (1.2.142–57) in having the old suitor and the disguised lover enter in conversation. Gremio hands a 'note' (*TS*, 1.2.142) to Lucentio, presumably with a list of the books the latter is using in his instruction

of Bianca, an implied SD that *KK* omits.

160–1 **These ... maidens.** Sebastian's hope of enflaming ('anzublasen', literally 'to blow on') love in the woman he is wooing is implied in the 'books of love' (*TS*, 1.2.144) Gremio wants to be read to Bianca, but only in *KK* is it spelled out.

163–9 *KK* adds Sebastian's encouragement of Hilarius to be 'diligent in her service' (167), unaware of the sexual implications of his words which provoke Wormfire's subsequent innuendo.

174–9 adapts Lucentio's speech (*TS*, 1.2.152–6). By calling him 'a very learned gentleman' (178), Hilarius flatters Sebastian, unlike Lucentio who suggests that Gremio lacks eloquence (*TS*, 1.2.155–6).

you were present yourself. Do not doubt my faith, especially since I do this for a very learned gentleman such as you.

SEBASTIAN O, learning, what an excellent piece of work 180
this is!

WORMFIRE O this old Master Rabbit, what a fool he is!

HARDMAN Shut your mouth, or I'll bridle you.

ALFONS Keep your maw shut, Wormfire, don't spoil our 185
bargain.

They step forward.

Good day to you, Sir Sebastian.

SEBASTIAN My lord, let me thank you heartily. Is this
how we meet?

ALFONS This time it is. Where are you going?

SEBASTIAN Where you, my lord, are perhaps not allowed 190
to come for now.

ALFONS That's too much. I'm sure my feet can do more
than yours. My way leads straight to Sir Theobald's
house.

SEBASTIAN Hum! I thought such a way was open only to 195
me, as I have found a diligent person experienced
in poetry, music and other sciences to instruct his
beautiful daughter.

182 **Master Rabbit** ('Herr Gehasi') 'Gehasi' is the name of Elisha's dishonest servant who became leprous as punishment for his duplicity (see 2 Kings 5.20–7). Owing to its similarity to 'Hase' ('rabbit'), it is used as a term of abuse for 'fool'. For another 'rabbit' insult, see 1.1.28. See also Köhler, 222–3.

185 SD The SD is implicit in *TS*, or inserted by modern editors, e.g., '*Coming forward*' (*NOS*, 4.153 SD).

189 **Where . . . going?** *KK* assigns Gremio's rhetorical question, 'Trow you [i.e., do

you know] wither I am going?' (*TS*, 1.2.163), to Alfons.

190–216 The rivalry between the two suitors is given greater scope than in the corresponding passage in *TS* (1.2.163–77). Sebastian, in particular, is more argumentative and distrustful towards the proposed plan than Gremio.

196–7 **experienced . . . sciences** adapts Gremio's sexual innuendo of the young tutor possessing 'learning and behaviour / Fit for her turn' (*TS*, 1.2.167–8).

- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Men use strange ways of introducing themselves nowadays. 200
- ALFONS If that is all it takes to open the door, I also have the key in my hands. This nobleman here has promised to present me with a very skilful person who is an excellent musician. He will instruct the lovely Sabina whom I love so ardently. 205
- SEBASTIAN Whom I love so ardently, as you and everyone will find out from my deeds.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) And I believe your purse will find it out too.
- ALFONS Sir Sebastian, your heart must be overcome with passion since you are in such a hurry to put on your armour, although there is no war as yet. But this is no time to let jealousy overrule us, since we need to proceed together in this affair, whether Fortune smiles on you or on me. Let us thus set aside our ancient hate. 210 215
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) He means the old hare. How sweetly he whistles when he seeks to catch the bird.
- SEBASTIAN I cannot see what should make us stick together, but I will willingly hear what you say. 220
- ALFONS By chance this nobleman, my good friend, has come to visit me today. He happens to be willing and eager to marry Catharina who is rich and noble, though too rough and evil for us. Provided, however, that he receives her dowry and a few other essentials. 225

201–2 **If . . . hands.** has no equivalent in *TS*, adding another sexual innuendo.

210–11 **Sir . . . passion** *KK* adds to *TS* Alfons' denigration of Sebastian, alleging he has 'Wust' (dirt, slimy secretion from internal organs; Grimm 1 and B1a) around the heart.

215–16 **our . . . hate** In *TS* there is no evidence of an ancient grudge between Hortensio and Gremio.

217 **old hare** i.e. Alfons referred to Sebastian.

217–18 **How . . . bird.** Wormfire literally says, 'how sweetly he whistles when the bird should get into the net' ('Wie süß pfeiffet man: Wann der Vogel ins Garn soll'; proverbial, see Wander, 'Garn', 15).

219–32 mostly follows the dialogue in *TS* (1.2.180–7) but adds Hardman's need for 'a few other essentials' (225), according to Alfons.

- SEBASTIAN It would be a good thing to do it in this way.
But I fear that even if he were in earnest, he would soon repent when he realizes her defects, which you have perhaps not told him about.
- HARDMAN I hear her temper is a little strange, apart from 230
her other qualities, and that she has a nimble tongue, ready to chide. If that's all, I hear nothing evil of her.
- SEBASTIAN Not a little strange, but as strange as any creature in the world.
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] That will not alter my lord's resolve. 235
Hard upon hard, speaks the devil and beats the anvil again.
- HARDMAN Let me worry about that myself if you are too simple and fearful to marry such a heroic lady, as I believe you are, given your almost-perished blood. 240
- SEBASTIAN If, my lord, your deeds match your words, I shall not consider you a swaggerer, but it is hard to believe. What country are you from?
- WORMFIRE It would be polite to beg leave to ask.
- HARDMAN The old gentleman talks a little too sharply. If 245
you were younger, we would dance the sword dance together. I think it doesn't matter whether you know

233–48 **Not ... up** Only Sebastian's question about Hardman's origins is based on *TS* ('GREMIO ... What countryman?', 1.2.188). The passage adds to the confrontation between Hardman and Sebastian a sense of barely contained violence that has no equivalent in *TS*.

236–7 **Hard ... again.** Wormfire suggests that Catharina and Hardman will match each other, using a proverb, 'Hart wieder hart, sagt der Teuffel und schmeiß wieder einen Ambos', literally 'Hard against hard, and throws another anvil'. The anvil and, implicitly, the

hammer that strikes on it are equally hard objects, and will not hurt each other (see Wander, 'Amboss', 21).

245–9 No reason is provided for Hardman's (and later Wormfire's, 301–4) evasiveness about their origins. Unlike Petruccio ('old Antonio's son. / My father dead' (*TS*, 1.2.189–90)), Hardman does not provide the name of his father.

246–7 **dance ... together** Hardman presumably means that they would fight. The Germanic sword dance referred to in Tacitus' *Germania* (chapter 24) involves leaping over bare swords.

my name or not, but I can make you shut up: I am from Worms. My father is dead.

WORMFIRE (*aside*) It's a marvel he doesn't say 'Thank 250 God'.

HARDMAN I am heir to all his estate, and hope to spend a long and happy life.

SEBASTIAN I hope, my lord, you have not misunderstood my words, there was no bad intention in them. If you 255 wish to have such a life, you must not take this lady as your wife. But if you seek to hang a wild cat about your neck, I shall be glad to help you.

WORMFIRE He will not be afraid of her scratching like this old woodcock. Once he's got her in his clutches, 260 he'll romp with her, and make her tame.

HARDMAN I'll soon teach you to speak on my behalf, and in a way that won't please you. [*to Sebastian*] Sir, whoever you are, I have come here to marry a rich woman. If she be rich, I'll have her in despite of the 265

248–53 **I . . . life.** Wormfire's aside is added to what is otherwise a close adaptation of Petruccio's speech at *TS*, 1.2.189–91.

249 **Worms** A Free Imperial City of the Roman Empire, on the Upper Rhine, about forty miles south of Frankfurt (the play's likely place of publication, see Introduction, pp. 147–9). It has several connotations: it is the capital of the Nibelungs in the medieval myth of Siegfried the dragon slayer. It gives Hardman an urban air like Verona (*TS*, 1.2.189). In the tenth century, Worms was a seat of the Emperor Charlemagne. In 1521, it hosted the Diet of Worms during which Luther publicly defended his reformist thought in the presence of Emperor Charles V. The city remained linked to Protestantism in the sixteenth century, attracting reformers like William Tyndale. During the Thirty Years' War, it

came under attack several times, most heavily in 1634.

254–7 **I . . . wife.** *KK* adds Sebastian's attempt to defuse the situation ('I hope . . . intention') to a speech which otherwise adapts Gremio's at *TS*, 1.2.192–4.

262–79 *KK*'s version of Petruccio's speech (*TS*, 2.1.197–209) imitates the structure of the original but amplifies many of its elements. For example, *TS* has 'lions roar' (1.2.199) but *KK* has the 'bel-lowing, howling and growling of lions' (269–70). *KK* also adds the colourful comparison between the pitch of a woman's voice and a fart (275–7).

262–3 **I'll . . . you.** The strained master-servant relationship is absent from *TS* at the equivalent point.

263–4 **Sir . . . are** *KK* adds Hardman's implication that, while Sebastian asked for his identity, he never introduced himself.

devil. She shall be friendly enough, even though her brawling chops don't speak one good letter, let alone a word. What do I care for a maid and her scolding voice? Has the bellowing, howling and growling of lions, bears and wolves ever startled me? 270
 Have I not seen the roaring sea throw its cruel waves over my head, and open its throat to swallow my entire body? The cracking and crashing of the fire-spitting cannon and thunder, that artillery of heaven, have never frightened me. And should I now fear 275
 a woman's voice that makes no greater bang than wind pressed out from behind, or a nut thrown into the fire? Go away, and scare boys with bubbles, not men.

SEBASTIAN My lord, you have great courage, and, I 280
 admit, more than I have.

WORMFIRE My lord fears no woman, whether she is born of the devil or hatched by all Margarets of whom seven banned the devil from hell.

SEBASTIAN I confess, this brave nobleman has arrived at 285
 the right time. I promise him all advancement if he marries the older and sets the other free.

ALFONS He'll do it, for although he doesn't need it, his mind runs on money. That is why I have promised

282–4 Wormfire's speech begins with a version of Grumio's short line ('For he fears none,' *TS*, 1.2.209) and adds speculations about Catharina's sinister origins (cf. 137 and note). The origins of the reference to seven Margarets who banned the devil from hell ('von allen Margarethen, deren sieben den Teuffel auß der Hölle gebannet, außgebrutet seyn') are unknown. They are mentioned in a book of comic tales, *Facetiae facetiarum hoc est joco seriorum fasciculus novus* (1647,

VD17 23:288361L): 'Margaretha . . . derer sieben den Teuffel die Höllen zu eng machen' (sig. X9v; in English, literally 'Margretha . . . seven of whom make hell too narrow for the devil'). The book seems to have been first published in 1615 (VD17 39:139709Q).

285–7 Sebastian's speech mirrors Gremio's (*TS*, 1.2.210–12) but adds the insistence on Hardman's task of setting Sabina free.

288–9 **He'll . . . money.** has no equivalent in *TS*.

him that you and I will pay all the expenses he might incur in this affair. 290

SEBASTIAN I'm ready to do my part.

WORMFIRE (*aside*) It will make a hole in your purse, that's for sure.

SEBASTIAN I fear he may not take her when he meets her. 295

WORMFIRE If I received such a dainty dish with such a pleasant drink as he will take, I'd know how to satisfy my thirsty throat.

SEBASTIAN You seem to be an exceedingly good brother. What country are you from? 300

WORMFIRE To satisfy my lord's curiosity, I am a European, and my mother's body is my birthplace. If my lord means to enter in at the gate, he'll need to go nose first.

ALFONS Not too fast, Wormfire. 305

WORMFIRE Treat every man as he deserves. Truly, this old sir deserves to be told.

SEBASTIAN I think this fellow is a bit mad.

WORMFIRE We served in a regiment under the Dragon at Bautzen. My lord was hit on the head with a scrap of 310

296–316 This passage is added by *KK* and is humorously concerned with issues of identity similar to those dramatized in relation to Hardman earlier in the scene (241–9).

299–304 Sebastian is as curious about Wormfire's origins as he was about those of Hardman (241–3), and, like Hardman (245–9), Wormfire gives no straightforward answer.

302–5 **my ... Wormfire** The conflation of body and town provokes a sexual innuendo for which Alfons rebukes Wormfire.

306–7 Wormfire defends himself by implying that he speaks in the same vein as he was spoken to (by Sebastian), literally saying that one fries the herring according to the man who eats it; 'Nach

dem der Mann ist brätet man jhm einen Häring' (Wander, 'Hering', 55).

309–12 Wormfire wilfully misunderstands Sebastian, who voices doubts about Wormfire's mental sanity, not Hardman's.

309–10 **We ... Bautzen.** Wormfire refers to his and Hardman's alleged military service at Bautzen, a town in east Saxony, which may be intended to recall events from the Thirty Years' War, notably the siege in 1620 and its destruction by fire during occupation by the Catholic imperial army in 1633. Wormfire may also be recalling the now obscure proverb, 'er war vor Bautzen geschossen' (literally 'he was shot before Bautzen'; see Köhler, 225). The present meaning of 'Dragon' ('Lindwurm') is unclear.

rabbit fur in such a dangerous encounter that he almost lost all of his brain.

SEBASTIAN A man who speaks with fools mustn't expect wise answers.

WORMFIRE Then, my over-wise lord, you shouldn't 315 speak with yourself.

Enter FELIX and FABIAN.

Goodness me, what have we here, strutting like a turkey cock?

FELIX Here are good people who will show me the way.
– Gentlemen, forgive your humble servant if he 320 enquires where Sir Theobald lives.

WORMFIRE [*aside*] Here's another fellow following the piper into town. – Do you mean the gentleman with those two elegant daughters?

SEBASTIAN [*to Felix*] One word before the answer, my 325 lord. You don't mean her, do you?

FELIX Perhaps she and him. What business is it of yours?

HARDMAN The scolding daughter is not your business, that I advise you.

WORMFIRE And I too, if you want to save your skin. 330

FELIX I don't hold with squabbling. – Come, Fabian, I'm wasting my time here.

316 SD–18 *KK* does not preserve *TS*'s SD of Tranio entering '*brave*', i.e. finely dressed in his disguise as Lucentio (1.2.216 SD). Yet the German play picks up on it by having Wormfire describe Felix as a 'turkey cock' ('Schnautzhan'), a conceited, swaggering person (Grimm, 'Schnautzhahn').

322–3 **Here's . . . town.** ('Dem Kerl stehet gewiß auch die Pfeiffe nach dem Dorff,' literally 'the pipe points to the village for this man') This obscure expression also occurs in the same author's *Der Pedantische Irrthum* (p. 27; see

Introduction, p. 144), where it seems to contain a sexual innuendo (Grimm, 'Pfeife', 3b). Wormfire may suspect Felix and the other suitors of being driven by lust in their courtship.

323–4 **Do . . . daughters?** In *TS* it is Biondello who asks whether Baptista is he 'that has the two fair daughters' (1.2.220). *KK*'s assignment of the speech to Wormfire contributes to his increased disruptive presence towards the end of the act.

323–55 **Do . . . Alfons.** *KK* remains close to *TS* (1.2.220–36), but punctuates the dialogue with Wormfire's sarcastic remarks.

- FABIAN I'd rather spend time in the tavern.
- WORMFIRE Well said! We two will be great friends!
- HILARIUS The man plays his part well if it ends as it 335
started.
- ALFONS [*to Felix*] My lord, a word before you go. Are
you in love with the maid? Yes or no?
- FELIX That's a brief question. Would it worry you if I
said yes? 340
- SEBASTIAN No, as long as you go away without another
word.
- FELIX At your command? It makes me laugh that you
want to threaten me. Think on your grave rather, and
leave the world and what's pleasant in it to young folks. 345
Tell me, is the road not as free for me as it is for you?
- SEBASTIAN Yes, but not the maid.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) Upon my life, she's not free for you
either.
- FELIX And for what reason, fine old sir? 350
- SEBASTIAN For this reason: Sir Sebastian has already
chosen her as his beloved.
- WORMFIRE It takes two to make such a choice.
- ALFONS No. Instead she has been chosen and elected by
Sir Alfons. 355
- FELIX To this I could and should say: Sir Hilarius of
Liebenthal wants her to be his. But what's the cause
of this childish quarrel?
- WORMFIRE It is *vero verius*, truer than truth: where carrion

337–8 **Are ... maid?** *KK* replaces Hortensio's question about whether Gremio is 'a suitor' (*TS*, 1.2.228) with an enquiry as to whether he is 'in love'.

346–53 **Tell ... choice.** A passage that is otherwise close to *TS* (1.2.231–5) inserts two biting comments by Wormfire on Sebastian's presumptuous wooing of a much younger woman.

359 **vero verius** Latin (Wormfire goes on to translate); a short form of the common Latin tag *vero nihil verius*, nothing truer than truth.

359–60 **where ... gather.** This proverbial-sounding phrase imagines Sabina as carrion over which the suitors ('ravens') fight.

is stinking, there the ravens will gather. I imagine it 360
will be in this affair as it was with the honourable dogs'
wedding: one got the taste of it, and the rest only the
smell. My master comes off the best. Nobody wants to
lodge in his lady's nest or invade his park.

[FELIX] Gentlemen, hear me if you are truly noble and 365
of sound mind. The maid for whom we doff our hats
is not yet promised to anyone. You are already more
than one sighing for her. Why should you not permit
there to be another, since you cannot refuse it? It is
well known that the mouth waters when one sees a 370
pleasant morsel. Leda's beautiful daughter had a
hundred suitors, so beautiful Sabina may indeed have
one more. I wish to be among them as though Paris
himself came to marry her.

SEBASTIAN This man means to make us all mute with 375
his prattling.

WORMFIRE He has a quick tongue; he would make an
excellent mountebank or a wordy lawyer.

360–3 I ... **smell**. Wormfire continues the conceit that compares his betters to animals, suggesting the courting will lead to a 'Hunde Hochzeit' ('dogs' wedding'), which seems to refer to sexual consummation ('the taste') prompted by lust rather than marriage (Grimm, 'Hunde Hochzeit').

364 **invade ... park** Wormfire likens Catharina to a wild animal kept by Hardman in his park ('Gehäge'). For this proverbial expression, see Grimm, 'Gehege' 2d.

365 D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Fabian.

371 **morsel** For an earlier reference to Sabina as a tasty morsel, see 1.1.131. Neither

reference has a direct equivalent in *TS*.

371–4 **Leda's ... her**. A close adaptation of *TS*, 1.2.243–6. In Greek mythology, Leda's daughter is Helen of Troy whose elopement with (or abduction by) Prince Paris precipitated the Trojan War. That Felix casts himself in the role of Paris may indicate that he is an illicit suitor.

378 **wordy lawyer** Wormfire uses the evocative 'Zungendrescher', literally 'tongue thresher', someone who uses his tongue, i.e. language, not his hands, to thresh corn. The word probably refers to unscrupulous lawyers using their eloquence to justify wrong for personal gain (see Grimm, 'Zungendrescher'). Perhaps Wormfire sees through Felix's disguise.

365 SP] *this edn*; Fabian D1, D2, Köhler

- HILARIUS [*to Sebastian*] My honoured lord, let him try
his luck a little. His preposterous actions will have a 380
ridiculous end.
- HARDMAN Brother Alfons, why all these vain words?
- ALFONS [*to Felix*] With your permission, my lord, I will
be so bold as to ask you one more question. Have you
ever seen Sir Theobald's daughters? 385
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) Only a fool loves those he doesn't
know.
- FELIX No, but I have learnt from others that he has two:
one as famous for her rough tongue and manner as
the other for her virtue and meek modesty. This has 390
led me to see and woo her if she truly has such noble
gifts.
- HARDMAN Friend, turn your thoughts away from the
first sister. I seek to win her liking.
- SEBASTIAN Yes, yes, my lord, do not fear. We leave this 395
task to great Hercules.
- WORMFIRE My lord has the club ready with which he
will attack her flesh. It is long and thick enough, and
covered with good leather.
- HARDMAN [*to Felix*] My lord, you should know that the 400
father will not let go of the younger daughter whom
you all three think about, before he rids himself of the
elder who is to be mine.

385 **Sir . . . daughters** Unlike *TS*'s Hortensio (1.2.251), Alfons refers to Theobald's daughters in the plural, which explains Hardman's touchiness at 393–4.

395–6 *KK* adapts Gremio's speech (*TS*, 1.2.256–7) but omits his mocking exaggeration that Katharine's taming would top all of Hercules' labours.

397–9 has no equivalent in *TS*. Wormfire builds on Sebastian's comparison of Hardman and Hercules to use Hercules' club as a phallic image.

400–3 Unlike Petruccio in the equivalent passage in *TS* (1.2.259–63), Hardman insists that the elder daughter 'is to be [his]'.

[FELIX] Very well, my lord. Because you are the man
 who dares to marry the elder sister, I will show you 405
 all possible friendship. You are setting the younger
 free.

WORMFIRE But not free from penetration, which is the
 lot of womanfolk.

ALFONS Well now, gentlemen, let us make peace. We 410
 can as little ban him from wooing as he can ban us. It
 is folly to quarrel and brawl over what's not yet one's
 own.

FELIX I am content with this way of handling it. Come,
 gentlemen, let us go in and drink to our fellowship. 415

ALFONS We are happy to follow.

[*Exeunt Felix, Hardman, Sebastian,
 Hilarius and Alfons.*]

WORMFIRE You and I will thus also get good fellowship.

FABIAN I'll refuse nothing, except a box on the ears.

WORMFIRE I heard a delicious word today that tickles

404–7 streamlines the equivalent speech by
 Tranio (*TS*, 1.2.264–9).

404 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the
 speech to Fabian. This and a number of
 other speeches are misassigned to char-
 acters whose names start with the same
 letter, which may suggest that the manu-
 script that served as the printer's copy
 used abbreviated SPs (see SPs at 4.4.54,
 5.2.15, 27, 43, 136, 263 and notes).

408 **But . . . penetration.** Wormfire suggests
 that, even though Sabina might be set
 free to be wooed, she is not free from the
 penetration of the hymen. The German
 word is 'stich frey' (literally 'sting free')
 with the common meaning of 'invulner-
 able in battle', but, more specifically,
 pertaining to women whose hymen does
 not break when having sex (Grimm,
 'stichfrei', esp. 3).

410–13 Whereas Alfons emphasizes the
 suitors' peacemaking, Hortensio's corre-
 sponding speech in *TS* (1.2.270–3)
 focuses on Tranio's funding of
 Petruccio's endeavours.

414–15 condenses the equivalent speech by
 Tranio (*TS*, 1.2.274–8).

416 Before Hortensio's equivalent speech
 (*TS*, 1.2.280–1) which ends the scene,
 Grumio and Biondello speak in unison:
 'O excellent motion! Fellows, let's be
 gone' (*TS*, 1.2.279). *KK* omits the serv-
 ants' line, but amplifies its import, the
 rough camaraderie and anticipated joys of
 drinking, in a subsequent dialogue after
 the suitors have left the stage (417–28).

416 SD In *TS*, all the characters exit jointly at
 the end of the scene (1.2.281 SD).

419 **word** presumably Felix's reference to
 'drink' before his exit.

404 SP] *this edn*; Fabian D1, D2, Köhler

my thirsty throat. Be merry, my throat! I know that 420
 all the cups that come to my hand will have holes
 in them, drink will never stop pouring through.
 How beautifully it will flow! But the longer here,
 the later there. We are missing out. Let's go, my
 friend. 425

FABIAN Rogues speak like this when they seek to leave.
 I follow more than willingly if we go to work this
 way. No honest man refuses another's invitation.

Exeunt.

2.[1] *Enter CATHARINA and SABINA.*

CATHARINA Now I have you alone in my power, you
 shall dance to my tune, you spoilt child.

421 **holes** Compare the German expression 'saufen wie ein Loch' (literally 'to drink like a hole'), i.e. to drink like a fish (Wander, 'saufen', 65).

2.1 No location is specified, but the scene is presumably set in front of Theobald's house. The scene falls into five parts: 1–81 (to the entry of the suitors, the suitors in disguise, and Wormfire), 82–285 (to Catharina's re-entry), 286–486 (Hardman and Catharina alone), 487–574 (to the exit of Hardman and Catharina), and 575–670 (the bartering of Sebastian and Felix). The first part, the confrontation between the sisters, follows *TS* (2.1.1–38), but adds Veit's innuendos. The second part, the introductions of the new suitors Hardman and Felix, is closely adapted from *TS* (2.1.39–179) but inserts Wormfire's comments and a brief dialogue between servant and master on Hardman's taming technique (235–59). The third part, with Catharina

and Hardman's first encounter, remains close to *TS* (2.1.180–282) but includes more banter. The fourth part, dramatizing the conclusion of the match between Hardman and Theobald, is equivalent to *TS* (2.1.283–328). The fifth part, which shows Sebastian and Felix vying for Sabina's hand, remains close to *TS* (2.1.329–414) but adds two vignettes on the conflict between youth and age (594–602, 609–20).

1–2 Whereas *TS*'s scene (2.1) begins with Bianca's plea to her sister (2.1.1–7), *KK* starts with Catharina's gleeful taunting of Sabina.

1–2 **Now . . . tune** ('nun soltu nach meiner Pfeiffe tanzen', literally 'now thou wilt dance according to my whistle') proverbial (Wander, 'Pfeife', 34).

2 **spoilt child** Catharina uses the colourful expression 'Zartlappe', literally 'tender morsel', meaning a spoilt child (see Wander).

2.[1]] *this edn*; Zweyte Handlung. D1, D2, Köhler

- SABINA Dearest sister, do not wrong me. I have never done you any harm, but you mean to trample me under your feet. 5
- CATHARINA Confess here and now, and promptly too, which of your suitors is your favourite, for if you keep the truth to yourself, I'll not spare you.
- SABINA Believe me as you believe truth itself that among all the men I have ever set eyes upon, none has yet entered my heart. 10
- CATHARINA A box on the ear is the answer to a lie.

Beats her.

- You wild cat, have you not fallen in love with Alfons?
- SABINA Sister, I think it is you who are in love with him. If it is so, be content, I'll gladly leave him to you. 15
- CATHARINA O, now I see, that's the way the wind blows! Your ambition angles for wealth! You want to elevate yourself through marrying the old shitpants, and be splendidly kept by him in order to please others! And when that one is ridden to death, you will get a new pot for the old. 20

3–5 *KK* condenses Bianca's speech (*TS*, 2.1.1–7). For Sabina's weakened presence early in the play, see Introduction, p. 96.

6–8 Instead of Katherina's vague threat, '[s]ee thou dissemble not' (*TS*, 2.1.9), Catharina more menacingly says 'I'll not spare you' ('ich will deines Fells nicht schonen,' literally 'I will not spare your fur').

9 **Believe me** *KK* remains close to the original, but, instead of keeping the affective 'sister' (*TS*, 2.1.10), it has Sabina equate herself proverbially with sober 'truth itself' ('als wie der Wahrheit selbst'; see Köhler, 227).

12 *SD* *TS* delays explicit physical violence until line 22 ('*Strikes her.*').

13 **have . . . love** Catharina uses a colloquial German expression for 'falling in love', 'hastu dich . . . vergaffet' (Grimm, 'vergaffen', 2).

16 **that's . . . blows** Catharina uses the proverb 'wo der Hase im Pfeffer lieget' (literally 'where the hare lies in the pepper'). It is based on the idea that 'nobody knows where the hare lies in the pepper [here meaning 'broth'; Grimm, 'Brühe', 2] but he who dressed it' ('keiner aber weiß, wo der haas im pfeffer ligt, als der ihn angericht'; see Grimm, 'Hase', 1).

SABINA You do me great wrong, as in many things. If it is for his sake that you are so set against me, put your mind at rest.

Catharina binds her hands.

But what games are you playing with me? Dear sister, 25
unbind my hands.

CATHARINA I see, the maid wants to be played with. Just you wait (*beats her*), if this is play, all else was play too. I'll whistle for you while you dance.

Enter THEOBALD and VEIT.

THEOBALD What, you raging beast! What's to be done? 30
What wicked mischief is this? Who gave you power to lord it over this poor child? I reckon you want to be her very own hangman, you malicious tyrant! [*to Sabina*] Go in, my child, run away from this dragon.

Sabina weeps.

CATHARINA O, this darling daughter needs to be flattered, 35
to be greatly spoiled. [*to Sabina*] But I must give you another punch for the journey.

Moves to beat her again.

THEOBALD What, in your father's presence? Is there no respect left in you, you savage beast?

Exit Sabina.

24 **SD** spells out *TS*'s implied stage direction: 'I prithee, sister Kate, untie my hands' (2.1.21).

27 **played with** Catharina picks up on Sabina's word 'kurtzweil' ('game') and turns it into a passive, 'gekurtzweilet', 'played with'.

30 **raging beast!** Baptista, by contrast, addresses Katherina as 'dame' (*TS*, 2.1.23). Compare her change of epithet from 'curst Katherine' (*TS*, 1.2.182) to 'raging Catharina' (*KK*, 1.3.134).

34 **Go ... dragon.** In *TS*, it is not clear

whether Baptista's equivalent line, 'Go ply thy Needle, meddle not with her' (2.1.25), addresses Katherina or Bianca, an ambiguity *KK* resolves.

34 **SD** In *TS*, the SD is again implied: 'BAPTISTA ... Poor girl, she weeps' (2.1.24). Cf. 24 SD.

38–9 **Is ... beast?** replaces Baptista's order to Bianca ('get thee in', *TS*, 2.1.30) with Theobald's abuse towards Catharina. Cf. note at 30.

- CATHARINA Will you prevent my revenge on her? Now I see that you care nothing for me, but this undeserving thing is the apple of your eye, and not to be touched. Hang her around your neck or she'll be lost. But no, she must have a suitor who woos her. She's late already, and I am even further behind, and may dance barefoot in her honour at the wedding. I will be scoffed at, and may go lead apes in hell. But before this happens, I will revenge myself on her thoroughly, and smash her pretty mouth, that dainty dish of her suitors. 40
45
50
- THEOBALD I am the unhappy father of a disobedient daughter who tortures virtue itself only to grieve me.
- VEIT My lord, if I may speak, perhaps I know where the trouble lies. Lady Catharina rants because Lady Sabina has suitors and she has none, though she is the older and riper. 55
- CATHARINA Who told you that, you snivelling boy?
- VEIT Dear madam, I know well how it is with virgins: when they are old enough, they yearn to be burdened by a man. 60

42 **apple ... eye** transforms Katherina's 'She is your treasure' (*TS*, 2.1.32) into a different metaphor.

44–5 **She's ... behind** Unlike in *TS*, this suggests that both sisters are late in getting married.

47 **may ... hell** faithfully translates the proverbs in *TS* (2.1.33–4). Probably because the second proverb was not known in Germany (Köhler, 227), Catharina clarifies the meaning by adding a further idiom, 'wann mir der Bock, zum Schimpff, geschencket wird', literally 'when I am given the goat for contumely', translated as 'I will be scoffed at'.

47–50 **But ... suitors.** replaces Katherina's admission of passive suffering ('Talk not to me, I will go sit and weep', *TS*, 2.1.35) with a violent threat.

51–2 Baptista's equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.37–8) caps the scene's first movement and introduces the next by greeting the approaching suitors.

53–76 has no equivalent in *TS*.

53–4 **where ... lies** ('wo der Has im Kraut sitzt', literally 'where the hare sits in the grass') a version of the earlier hare proverb (see 16 and note).

58–60 Veit literally says 'I know well how it is when virgins can put the thumb into the nose. Then May is burdensome to them' ('ich weiß wohl, wie es ist, wann die Mägdchens den Daumen können in die Nase bringen, dann ist jhnen der May beschwerlich'). Veit picks up on Catharina's nose-related expression, adding a now obscure idiom. But the suggestion of sexual desire and awakening in spring time is clear.

CATHARINA I'll give you something on the nose.

THEOBALD Don't be so rude in my presence.

VEIT If you wish to give me something, madam, I have
a brave young fellow for you. He will please you
when you see him, I know it well. He is tall and 65
strong, has big eyes with a lot of white in them, a big
broad nose, strong, forceful loins and round, firm
calves. His nicely curled hair is blond and red around
the parting like a cock's. You can imagine the rest. I
am sure that when you see him, your heart will open 70
up to him. He will please you and chase away your
silly ideas.

CATHARINA I'll give you your salary: a bop on the head
instead of a wedding gift! I wish the wooer, with his
bits, were knocked to the dirty ground, since he 75
already lies lowest. *Exit.*

VEIT Go on, pretend to be angry. I know your belly is
tickled.

THEOBALD Hold your peace, rude slave, and get out of
here. – Here come a great group of people, known and 80
unknown.

63–72 Veit elaborately describes a 'brave young fellow' (his penis) who would gladly please Catharina.

71–2 **chase . . . ideas.** Veit literally says his *fellow* will 'chase away the crickets' ('wird euch auch die Grillen wohl vertreiben'), an idiom for cheering up a melancholic person imagined as having crickets in their head, making them restless (Grimm, 'Grille', 5c).

74 **wedding gift!** ('Brautstück') a gift offered to the servants by the bride (Köhler, 228).

74–6 **I . . . lowest.** Catharina understands that the wooer (Veit) implicitly refers to

his penis, and threatens to knock him (whether Veit or the penis is left unclear) down.

77 **belly** For the sexual innuendo, see 'belly-cittern', 1.3.143–4 and note.

80–1 **Here . . . unknown.** After the added interlude between Catharina and Veit, *KK* reverts to the source text: 'But who comes here?' (*TS*, 2.1.38).

81 **SD** *TS*'s SD mentions that Lucentio (as Cambio) enters '*in the habit of a mean man*', and that Biondello (as Lucentio's boy) bears '*a lute and books*' (2.1.38.1–2, 4). Unlike Wormfire, Grumio does not appear onstage in this scene.

Enter SEBASTIAN, HARDMAN, FELIX [*as Hilarius*],
[HILARIUS *as*] *Johannes*, [ALFONS *as*] *Musician*,
WORMFIRE *and* FABIAN.

- SEBASTIAN A happy day to you, my lord neighbour.
 THEOBALD Many thanks, my lord Sebastian, welcome
 to you and your whole company.
 HARDMAN My lord, let me know without delay if you 85
 have a virtuous and dainty daughter called Catharina.
 THEOBALD Yes, I have a daughter of that name.
 SEBASTIAN [*to Hardman*] You speak a bit too bluntly. I
 wish you would use more modesty.
 HARDMAN Ha, what do I care, Sir Sebastian? I am no 90
 longer beardless.
 WORMFIRE [*aside*] I suspected these thanks would be
 remembered.
 HARDMAN I am, to put things briefly, a nobleman from
 Worms, and since, my lord, I heard of the beauty, 95
 virtue, honour and maidenly modesty of your virgin
 daughter Catharina, I could not rest until I came
 here to become her suitor. To be more welcome as
 the stranger that I am, I offer to you this person

90 **what . . . care** Hardman uses an obscure expression to convey his indifference to Sebastian ('Ey was küsset mich im Leibe, Herr Sebastian', literally 'what kisses me in the body, Sir Sebastian').

90-1 **I am . . . beardless.** Hardman refuses to be patronized by Sebastian by literally saying 'leave me unshaved' ('lasset mich unbalbieret'), a beard betokening age and manhood.

92-223 Wormfire's many *asides*, all exclusive to *KK*, constitute the major difference from the equivalent passage in *TS* (2.1.46-138).

92-3 ('Ich gedachte wohl daß dieser danckhabet auff die Erinnerung kommen würde') The meaning is obscure. In the preceding scene, it was Hardman who accused Sebastian of 'talk[ing] a little too sharply' (1.3.245), and Wormfire

may have anticipated that Sebastian would remember that slight; alternatively, Wormfire may simply have anticipated Hardman's objection to Sebastian's criticism.

94-101 Hardman's introduction is closely modelled on Petruccio's (*TS*, 2.1.47-53), moving from his origins (Worms, as opposed to Petruccio's Verona) to praise for Catharina (95-8) and to an admission that he is a stranger.

99-104 **I offer . . . arts.** Petruccio specifies Licio's abilities in 'music and the mathematics' and other 'sciences' (*TS*, 2.1.56-7). Hardman omits mathematics, and instead adds that the musician will teach 'the lute', which prompts an obscure sexual innuendo by Wormfire. For music and sexual innuendos, see also 3.1.82-4, 112-16.

- who will instruct her in music, and especially the lute – 100
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) On which many hundreds of chords resound.
- HARDMAN – and who is experienced in other fine arts. I beg you to accept myself and him most favourably. 105
- THEOBALD Be my guest, dear lord, and this person for your sake too. But I am sorry you came from so far away for my daughter.
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Now we're getting there!
- HARDMAN I see that my person is not acceptable, or she is already taken. God be with you then. 110
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Show us the wares, there's a market in Hanover too.
- THEOBALD No, my lord, do not be so hasty. Understand me well. I am only very sorry that you will not find such virtues in my daughter as you imagine. Be that as it may, what is your name, my lord, please? 115
- HARDMAN My name is Hardman Madfeather. My father, known throughout the country, has died, and left me heir of Whirlwind Heights. 120
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] I hear that often enough.
- THEOBALD He was my good friend. I am truly sorry about his death.

104–5 **I . . . favourably.** *KK* omits Petruccio's naming of 'Licio, born in Mantua' (*TS*, 2.1.60), in keeping with the play's omission of names and place names elsewhere (see 3.2.317–19 and note).

106–8 Theobald's speech is close to Baptista's (*TS*, 2.1.61–3), but adds the information that Worms is 'far away' from the unknown setting of the play.

109 The German is obscure, literally saying 'Now the dog is riding on the plug' ('Nun reitet der Hund auff dem Spunde'). See 1.2.62n.

112–13 Wormfire's perhaps idiomatic comment is obscure. Its beginning literally

translates as 'Get the goat around' ('Herum mit der Ziegen'). From 1636 to 1692, Hanover, in northern Germany, was the capital of the Principality of Calenberg.

118–20 Unlike Petruccio, Hardman mentions his family name (see List of Roles), not his father's first name, Antonio (*TS*, 2.1.68).

120 **Whirlwind Heights** See List of Roles, *HARDMAN*.

122–3 Unlike Baptista in the equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.70), Theobald expresses his condolences, prompting Wormfire's dry observation (124).

- WORMFIRE (*aside*) But my lord not sorry at all.
- THEOBALD For his sake, my lord, I hope you will be all 125
the more favourable towards me. I am at your service.
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Now it'll work better than before!
Things will go well from now on. Leipzig surrenders.
- SEBASTIAN Your speeches notwithstanding, Sir Hardman,
I also have some words to address to Sir Theobald. – 130
As I promised you, my lord, I myself have taken pains
to find this young student [*pointing to Hilarius*] who
will be apt –
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) At all times apter than you.
- SEBASTIAN – to instruct your maidenly daughter. I 135
promise his service will satisfy you.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) But it will satisfy the daughter better
than him if she holds still.
- THEOBALD I will requite it in every possible way.
Meanwhile, I thank you for such great pains. [*to* 140
Hilarius] You shall be kept and paid by me, for
your virtuous character shows that you are of good
breeding.
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Students generally have good breeding
sano sensu. 145
- THEOBALD [*to Felix*] Good sir, pardon my boldness,
what is your name?
- FELIX My lord, you are permitted to enquire without
pardon after your servant's name which will surely

128 **Leipzig surrenders.** Wormfire probably alludes to the Battle of Breitenfeld (1642) in the Thirty Years' War in which Leipzig surrendered to the Swedish forces (see Forssberg, 109).

131–8 **As . . . still.** *KK* omits a short hostile exchange between Gremio and Petruccio (*TS*, 2.1.71–5). Sebastian introduces the supposed instructor Johannes (as Gremio does Cambio, 2.1.76–82), but omits his name and the qualifications Gremio lists (2.1.79–82).

145 *sano sensu* Latin, of sound mind.

148–69 *KK* retains Tranio's introduction to Baptista but departs from it in structure and wording: Tranio presents himself as a suitor to Bianca (*TS*, 2.1.89) with gifts of 'Greek and Latin books' (2.1.99) before disclosing his origins (2.1.102). *KK* turns the passage into a polite dialogue that foregrounds the friendship between the two families.

be known to you: I am Sir Hilarius of Liebenthal the 150
Younger.

THEOBALD My heart told me you must be the son of a
good friend. I am most happy to find you in good
health, and I will be pleased to show you my
affectionate friendship. 155

FABIAN (*aside*) That goes down well.

THEOBALD But what brings you here?

FELIX My father, who sends his humble greetings, –

THEOBALD Accept my thanks.

FELIX – has sent me away to gain experience and 160
learning. This has brought me to you, my lord, from
whose wit and famous ability my youth seeks to
profit. I have also come because I have heard of your
maiden daughter's excellent gifts which I would like
to see, and I would be happy if the friendship of the 165
parents could be continued by the children.

THEOBALD This must have been counselled by the gods.
It will be my greatest concern to keep and continue
such friendship.

SEBASTIAN [*aside*] This fellow has got himself 170
straightaway into more favour than all of us.

THEOBALD Gentlemen, you are all welcome to walk in. I
hope you will do me the honour of accepting what my
humble house can offer. – You, Veit, lead them to the
hall, and tell my people to do them every honourable 175
service.

[*Exeunt Veit, Fabian, Felix, Alfons, Hilarius
and Sebastian.*]

156 Fabian says, 'Das muß dem Esel krauen',
literally 'That scratches the donkey,' a
proverb indicating mutual flattery as in
the English 'You scratch my back and
I'll scratch yours' (Grimm, 'krauen',

2by, and Wander, 'Esel', 183).
176 SD D1 and D2 have no exit SD, but it
seems likely that only Theobald,
Hardman and Wormfire remain onstage.

- Sir Hardman, please stay with me a while.
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] The old nag is the first, but wants to be the last, or stay at home even, and make good use of his tool. 180
- HARDMAN My affairs require my prompt attention. My lord, you know I live far from here, and cannot journey up and down all the time. I love the maid, your daughter. My family and my wealth are known to you. If I become your daughter's husband, how much do you intend to offer as a dowry? 185
- THEOBALD It is known that I am willing to give 5,000 in ready money. After my death, half of my possessions are guaranteed.
- HARDMAN I am glad to hear this, and will in return promise my house, my farm and all my lands if she survives me. There is nothing left to do but for you to make the customary contract, my lord, so that it may be signed by both parties, confirmed and acted upon. 195
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] He's forgetting something important.

177–95 The dialogue between Hardman and Theobald remains close to the original (*TS*, 2.1.113–26), but omits Petruccio's specification that he is 'solely heir' and has 'bettered' his father's bequest (2.1.116–17).

178 **old nag** ('Krippenbeißer', literally 'trough biter') An imaginative term for a horse whose teeth scrape the edges of the trough when drinking, thus scratching the wood (Grimm, 'Krippenbeißer', 1); a shrewish person (Grimm, 2). Presumably an acerbic reference to Theobald.

180 **his tool** ('seinen Lümmel') 'Lümmel' designates a rude person (Grimm, 1), so the word presumably refers to Hardman here.

For the sexual meaning, see Grimm, 3.

183–4 **I ... daughter.** a comic addition to Petruccio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.113–19) given that Hardman has never met her.

187–8 **5,000 ... money** Given the uneven monetary situation of the politically divided German territories, it is hard to gauge the value of Theobald's offer, but it is clear that the sum is immense, like Baptista's 'twenty thousand crowns' (*TS*, 2.1.121).

196 Wormfire uses a proverb, literally saying 'my Master calculates the bill without the host' ('Mein Herr macht die Rechnung ohne den Wirt'; Wander, 'Rechnung', 14).

- THEOBALD Good sir, do not be too hasty. One does not sell the skin unless one has caught the bear.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) Do not shout ‘herring’ unless you have got it by its tail. 200
- THEOBALD This is what worries me: will you be able to win my daughter’s love?
- HARDMAN O, my lord father, you are wide of the mark. Do not worry. I will speak to her in such a way that it will be delightful. 205
- THEOBALD You seem to mean it as young folks do, but her humour is very strange.
- HARDMAN Father, do not make everything so hard. My humour is well suited to hers. I am as ready to reject anger and words of scorn as she is ready to promote them. It will be with us as when two strong fires come together: each feeds on the other’s force and thereby swallows it up. If a small, soft breeze blows, it makes a fire big and impossible to tame. A storm, however, disperses it. You can do what you please, thus it will be with us. I am rather rough and wild, and so must have someone like myself. I never loved tenderlings. 210 215
- THEOBALD You are courageous and may make a bold attempt. It is my heart’s desire that you start and end this joyfully. But first I must warn you: be well armed for peevish words. 220
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Such words are his best music when he is in the vein.

197–8 **One . . . bear.** Our literal translation of the German expression ‘Man verkauft die Haut nicht, man habe dann den Bären gefangen’ (Wander, ‘Haut’, 77), which is used to warn against overhastiness.

199–200 Wormfire builds on Theobald’s previous proverb with an obscure but proverbial-sounding expression: ‘rufet nicht

Hering, man ihn dann beim Schwanz’, which we translate literally.

203–17 Petruccio’s equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.129–36) is slightly expanded and briefly interrupted by Theobald.

218–27 closely adapts the equivalent speeches by Baptista and Petruccio (*TS*, 2.1.137–40), while adding Wormfire’s aside.

HARDMAN I worry as little about those as high stone cliffs worry about furious, blustering winds, even if they are exposed to horrible storms. I am immovable, be it sweet or sour with her. 225

THEOBALD Do it your own way. Will you come in with me, or shall I send my daughter to you?

HARDMAN I think it is advisable that I await her arrival here, so that we have our first little dance alone. Womenfolk are shy, and a little silly, when other people are around. 230

THEOBALD As you wish. [Exit Theobald.]

WORMFIRE I do not think your mistress will be too shy and silly to set the *capitolium* right. 235

HARDMAN I was not serious. Just let her come, she will find her man. One honour for another.

WORMFIRE But I hope I may use my *testiculos* as witnesses for this first meeting, so that I can produce them in case of need. 240

HARDMAN Produce a damned gallows for your roguish neck. I need no witnesses nearby.

WORMFIRE My lord, I expect you are worried that I may witness how worthy you are of your title and the name which you keep reminding me about. But it would not be unlawful to assist you in case of need. 245

HARDMAN Fool, shut up now, and go away. I need to think.

228 **Do . . . way.** *KK* here omits a transitional comic passage in *TS*: Hortensio re-enters ‘with his head broke’ (2.1.140.1), i.e. injured, and reports how Katherina has hit him with the lute, much to Petruccio’s amusement (2.1.141–61).

228–33 **Will . . . around.** The passage follows *TS*, 2.1.165–8, but only Hardman explains why he wants to wait alone. He describes his first meeting with Catharina as a ‘little dance’ (‘Gängelchen’, literally ‘little walk’). See Grimm, ‘Gängchen’.

235–59 has no equivalent in *TS*.

236 **capitolium** figurative for ‘head’ (see Grimm). Wormfire seems to warn Hardman of Catharina’s probable resistance.

239 **testiculos** Wormfire plays with the similar sounds of the Latin word for ‘testicles’ and ‘to bear witness’ (‘testieren’, Grimm, 1).

244–6 **My . . . about.** The German is unclear, but Wormfire probably suggests that Hardman is afraid that his servant will see him having his ‘title and name’ of shrew-tamer tested.

WORMFIRE I can well believe you: there will be brave 250
lectiones, you will receive the *contra*. I will go in and
 see what kind of maidservant my lord *Signor*'s virgin
 lady keeps. If she is pliable and worth the trouble, I
 will take pains to introduce my tool into her good
 favours. The servant must walk in the footsteps of the 255
 master. Meanwhile, my lord, you have my blessing,
 and good luck for your work. I will say a solemn
 Lord's Prayer for both of you with the maidservant of
 your dear lady. *Exit.*

HARDMAN The moment is at hand. I am ready, come 260
 what may: if she chides and rages according to
 her laudable habit, I will praise her grace, and will
 prefer her sweet voice to the artificial song of the
 nightingale. If she growls and complains, I will praise
 her daintiness all the more. If she looks as sour 265
 and shrewish as all the furies and the devil's dam
 together, I will praise her friendly and clear face
 above the bright gleam of the sun. I will compare
 her face to lovely roses and lilies, washed clean by
 purest dew. If she is mute on purpose and does not 270
 honour me with one word, I will scrape eloquence out
 of both my pockets, and will glorify her eloquence
 above all eloquence. If she bids me a shameful

250–9 Wormfire uses Latin (e.g., '*lectiones*'), Italian ('*Signor*') and a religious register (e.g. the 'Lord's Prayer') to lend a mock formality to his bawdy speech.

250–1 **there ... contra**. Wormfire imagines the first meeting between Hardman and Catharina parallels an educational formula consisting of lessons (*lectiones*), and 'pro et contra' debating, with Catharina resisting Hardman's proposal.

251–6 **I ... master**. Wormfire's first reference to Catharina's maid Sybilla, whom he hopes to seduce.

252 **maidservant** ('Kammerkätzchen', literally 'chamber kitten'). The German word connotes 'lover' (Köhler, 230).

254 **tool** See note at 180.

260–85 **KK** follows Petruccio's soliloquy on his taming technique (*TS*, 2.1.167–79) but amplifies the speech by increasing the number of conditionals from five to six and adding a summary of his strategy ('In short ... it', 279–83).

266 **furies** See 1.3.282–4n.

266 **devil's dam** See 1.3.87n.

goodbye with abuse, teasing and curses, I will give
 obedient thanks, as if she had invited me to the 275
 best banquet. If she refuses to honour me with the
 slightest favour, I will wish for the day and hour of
 our wedding and bedding as if she had set them
 herself. In short, I will make such a mixture of sugar 280
 and wormwood that she won't know how to annoy
 me. This confusion will be to my advantage. A proper
 art not known to everyone is how to enter into the
 humour of others, and to master it. But here she
 comes. The coin is good, and may be accepted for
 sterling. 285

[Enter CATHARINA.]

Sprightly now: good day, Madame Trina, for they say
 this is your name.

CATHARINA Your fool's head has heard right, although
 you are hard of hearing. Sensible people call me
 Catharina. 290

HARDMAN You cut yourself, Lady Trina, with a big
 knife. Like Matz, they give you a bad name, like silly

280 **wormwood** ('Wermuth') proverbial for
 the plant's bitter taste (Grimm, 2a).

284–5 **The ... sterling.** presumably an
 approving comment about Catharina on
 seeing her approach.

285 SD D1 and D2 provide no entrance SD
 for Catharina.

286 **Trina** Petruccio habitually calls
 Katherina by the shortened name 'Kate',
 while Hardman calls Catharina 'Trina'
 ('Trine' in German). *KK* may choose
 'Trine' over the more common forms
 'Käthe' or 'Kätchen' because of Trine's
 secondary meaning: silly stupid woman
 (Grimm, 'Trine', 4). Unlike Petruccio,
 who uses 'Kate' throughout the play,
 Hardman calls Catharina 'Trina' only in

this and his next speech. See also 5.1.57n.

288 **fool's head** The German literally means
 'hare's head' ('Hasenkopff'). 'Hase'
 ('hare') was a designation in early
 modern German for a foolish person (see
 Köhler, 232–3). For other hare insults,
 see 1.2.29, 2.1.394–5, 455, 3.1.186–7.

291–304 *KK* preserves much of the shape of
TS (2.1.184–93) but amplifies the hyper-
 bolic praise with further laudatory ad-
 jectives, and adds Hardman's (mock) reli-
 gious point that he has come 'by divine
 providence' (303).

292 **Matz** A diminutive of Mathäus
 ('Matthew'), Matz denotes a common
 name (like Jack or Jill) as well as a cow-
 ardly man (Grimm, 'Matz', 4).

- Trina, and often evil Trina, shrewish Trina. O, you tenderest example of all Trinas in the world, you loveliest of all virtuous Trinas, most excellent coy Trina, blessed be all praiseworthy Trinas for your sake, you never-sufficiently-praised Trina. Your beauty, meekness, your great maiden bashfulness, modesty and worthiness, besides other laudable and fair virtues, are known far and wide. Because I have heard of these (which are merely a shadow compared with the creature herself), I have been moved to come here by divine providence to woo you to be my dearest wife, my flesh and blood.
- CATHARINA You have been moved by your worm-eaten brain to come here. Let the rogue who led you here lead you away again. I think you are a movable.
- HARDMAN What kind of animal is that, a movable?
- CATHARINA A chair one can move about.
- HARDMAN Well said, come and sit on my lap then.
- CATHARINA That bench is not clean enough for maidens. Asses like you carry something else.
- HARDMAN Women are made to carry us, and so are you.
- CATHARINA But no such clay-brained rogues as you.
- HARDMAN Well, let us cut this short. Dearest Catharina, I do not want to burden your beautiful body since I know you are young and tender.
- CATHARINA All too tender to carry so big a swine.

305–79 This passage follows *TS* (2.1.194–243) mostly speech by speech but occasionally adds a short sentence (see 312, 316, 327, 340, 364 and 377 and notes), condenses a few lines (see 320–1 and note) and adds two short passages (332–8, 369–75).

312 **That . . . maidens.** has no equivalent in *TS*.

315 **clay-brained** ('mausköpfige', literally 'mouse-headed') an insult (see Grimm, 'Mäusekopf', 2).

316 **Well . . . short.** has no equivalent in *TS*.

HARDMAN Buzz not so much, you wasp, you are too 320
angry.

CATHARINA If I'm a wasp, why aren't you wary of my
sting?

HARDMAN I know a good remedy: it needs pulling.

CATHARINA True, if the fool knew where it sits. 325

HARDMAN Who doesn't know that? In her tail.

CATHARINA O, silly boy, that was a little too green. In
her tongue.

HARDMAN Ha, ha, you speak truth with your tongue.

CATHARINA I do, because I am already tired of your 330
boring jokes.

HARDMAN Fairest Catharina, stop joking with your
servant. I know you are not serious. Your natural
friendliness shines through your performed spite.

CATHARINA I am weary of this foolery. Take such useless 335
wind to another place. It bears no fruit here.

She starts to leave.

HARDMAN My dearest lady and heart's darling, you
must not speak thus about your love. I am worthy of
more honour as a nobleman.

CATHARINA I will test your nobility with a slap in the face. 340

[She strikes him.]

320–1 condenses *TS*, 2.1.206–10, whose homophonic punning (e.g. 'buzz' and 'buzzard', 2.1.207–8) may have been impossible to adapt into German.

327 **O, . . . green** has no equivalent in *TS*.

327 **silly boy** ('O alber[n]er Tropf', literally 'O, silly drop'). 'Tropf' designates an uneducated person as well as a rogue (Grimm, 'Tropf', 3b).

332–8 **Fairest . . . love**. While *KK* translates the image of Catharina as wasp from *TS*

(2.1.210–15), it does not continue with the original's sexually suggestive punning on tails and tales (2.1.216–19), presumably owing to the lack of a linguistic equivalent in German. Instead, *KK* adds a brief exchange about wooing and refusal.

335–6 **Take . . . place**. ('Wendet solchen unnützen Wind an andern Orte an.') Proverbial (Wander, 'Wind'. 209).

340 has no equivalent in *TS*.

- HARDMAN You are quick and valiant, but I swear I'll slap you back if you dare to do this again.
- CATHARINA You would lose your coat of arms if you beat a woman. And with your coat of arms lost, you'd be a poor nobleman. 345
- HARDMAN You conclude well, but are an all too pretty gaoler. Tenderest Catharina, draw my coat of arms in the book of your favours.
- CATHARINA And what is your coat of arms? A coxcomb?
- HARDMAN My dear child, a cock without a fight if the virtuous Catharina agrees to be my hen. 350
- CATHARINA O, my good lord, you are no cock for me. You crow like an owl.
- HARDMAN No, come, fairest Catharina. Don't sour the friendliness of your dear face with frowning. 355
- CATHARINA It's my fashion when I meet an ape.
- HARDMAN What! Well, then you have no occasion, since there is no ape here.
- CATHARINA Truly, there is, there is.
- HARDMAN (*Looks around him.*) I am not blind, show him to me. 360
- CATHARINA It would be easy if I had a mirror.
- HARDMAN Perhaps it would reflect my face?
- CATHARINA Well guessed. Or did someone tell you?
- HARDMAN By Saint Velten, I am almost too green for you. 365

346–7 **You ... gaoler.** Petruccio describes Katherina as a 'herald' (*TS*, 2.1.226), well versed in the rules of nobility. Hardman spells out his admiration with a pun, literally saying to Catharina 'you close well' ('Du schliesest wohl'), capitalizing on the double meaning of the German 'to close' as locking and as concluding, which gives rise to his designation of her as 'gaoler'.

353 **owl** a 'craven' in *TS* (2.1.229).

356 **ape** Inspired by Petruccio's imperative not to 'look so sour' (*TS*, 2.1.230), Katherina

answers that she does so because she sees a 'crab' (2.1.231), alluding to sour crab apples, a word play the German cannot reproduce. *KK*'s substitute activates the idea of imitation (i.e. aping).

364 **Or ... you?** has no equivalent in *TS*.

365 **Velten** A short form of Valentine, the early Christian martyr Valentine of Terni. *KK* replaces *TS*'s 'George' (2.1.238), patron saint of England, perhaps owing to St Valentine's greater currency on the continent. See 4.1.92 and note.

- CATHARINA And yet you pretend to be fantastical.
 HARDMAN Everything I do is meant to amuse you.
 CATHARINA But I don't care for it.
 HARDMAN O, my dearest child, I love you more than
 anything in the world, so let my heart have a place 370
 in yours. Let my body be yours, and yours mine. You
 will not believe how well I know how to please
 womenfolk.
 CATHARINA Every fool praises himself. Such praise
 stinks, and I am against all stench, so farewell. 375
 [*She starts to leave. He holds her back.*]
 HARDMAN No, little Catharina, don't go away like this.
 Acquit yourself better.
 CATHARINA I'll scratch you if you hold me back one
 more time. Let me go, in the devil's name.
 HARDMAN If you will act like a cat, then know you have 380
 met a true bear. But blessed image, do not go from me
 yet. I cannot let the soul part from the body thus.
 CATHARINA My soul is much too pure to live on such
 carrion.
 HARDMAN Such carrion shall feed you with what is 385
 daintiest about it, my love.
 CATHARINA Stick such dainties in the mud. You talk
 like a fool, and you are a fool, and I take you for a
 fool.
 HARDMAN It is your pleasure to joke with your servant 390

369–75 has no equivalent in *TS*.

370 **place** We translate Köhler's emendation, 'Platz'; D1 and D2 read 'Plag' (i.e. 'nuisance').

377 **Acquit . . . better.** has no equivalent in *TS*.

380–95 **If . . . perfection.** *KK* adds this short passage on Catharina's refusal to accept his advances, and Hardman's insistence on offering them.

370 place] Köhler (Platz); D1, D2 Plag

in all friendliness. I know well that my poor self does not deserve such great praise.

CATHARINA Indeed, I shall have to bring the *ABC of Fools* and talk you through the *praedicamenta hasionis*. 395

[HARDMAN] A learned maid is truly a delightful piece of work. What a pity the skilful Catharina does not travel, but she shall do so now, with me. It gladdens my flesh, bones and marrow that I shall live in such a gifted body. I discern its highest perfection. You, my heart's love, were depicted as blacker to me than our Lord God's ape, yet I see you are whiter than his best likeness. I was told you were shrewish, choleric, blustering and sullen. Yet I see you are bathed in grace, pickled with courtesy and spiced with modest chastity. I will put you on the spit of my constancy, and roast you so well in my hot love as will do you good in body and soul. You are as sweet and agreeable as the most delicious claret, and an exquisite woodcock bathed in her own gravy. It 400 405 410

393–4 *ABC of Fools* (Gecken A.B.C.) The reference to the Fools' Alphabet is obscure. Köhler suggests that there may have been an alphabetical list of characteristics of a fool (232).

394–5 *praedicamenta hasionis* combines the scholastic *praedicamenta*, or categories, which apply to objects of human apprehension, with mock Latin for 'Hase' ('hare'). Catharina insults Hardman by suggesting that he is a fool. For hare jokes and insults, see 2.1.288, 455, 3.1.186–7.

396 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Catharina.

396–400 **A . . . perfection.** has no equivalent in *TS*. The beginning of Hardman's speech about Catharina's learning seems to be prompted by her use of Latin.

399–400 **live . . . body** presumably by having sex with her.

402 **Lord God's ape** ('Herr Gotts Affe') proverbial for the devil (Köhler, 234).

403–4 **shrewish . . . sullen.** *TS* has three adjectives at the equivalent moment ('rough and coy and sullen', 2.1.245). *KK* adds a fourth, explicitly referring to Catharina's fame as 'shrewish' ('eyterbüßig', literally 'pus-biting'); see Prologue, 3.

406–10 **I . . . gravy.** The vivid image for Hardman's comically ambiguous praise of Catharina has no direct equivalent in *TS*.

410 **gravy** The German literally reads 'spiced in thy own dirt' ('in deinem eigenen Dreck gewürtzet'), referring to the remains of butter in a pan after melting (Grimm, 'Dreck', 9).

396 SP] Köhler; Catharina D1, D2

is impossible for you to look sour unless you have drunk vinegar. You cannot show a resentful face to anyone, nor bite your coral lips, nor twist the rose red of your ruby mouth, nor make wrinkles on the lily of your fair forehead as evil wives do. You receive those who love you with virtuous politeness, and you entertain them with graceful conversation. A modest blush adorns your face whenever you hear a wicked or unnecessary word. Your bright sparkling eyes hide themselves when something immodest strikes them. Why then does the unjust world say virtuous Catharina is filled with vices? O, vicious topsy-turvy world! Catharina is as upright and strong as a well-grown hazel bush, and as brown and smooth as the shell of a ripe hazelnut, though so much sweeter than the dainty kernel inside.

CATHARINA Dirty flatterer, be careful not to bite open such a nut, as it shits into the mouth.

HARDMAN There is no danger. That only happens with those nuts that are worm-eaten, but Catharina is far from being so. With your inestimable permission, I would like to ask you to walk to and fro before me. I know you do not limp.

CATHARINA Go away, fantastico! Go, it is time you went to the gallows or wherever you have come from.

HARDMAN Dearest Catharina, you mean the knee-gallows. You are right, my child, yours shall be for me, it is perfectly shaped for me.

427–33 *KK* inserts a scatological exchange before its adaptation of the last line of Petruccio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.258) about Catharina's regular gait.

434 **fantastico** (Fantast) See 1.1.97n.

436–49 **Dearest ... over-adorable**. *KK* inserts a brief passage with no equivalent

in *TS* containing sexual innuendoes and more false praise by Hardman.

436–7 **knee-gallows** a euphemism for 'vagina' (Grimm, 'Kniegalgen'), probably owing to its shaft-like shape to which Hardman alludes. 'Knee' was used to refer to the genitals (Grimm, 'Knie', II.1.i).

- CATHARINA Nothing else is. You may present yourself,
but at the right time. 440
- HARDMAN I will not miss this time. The sooner, the better.
- CATHARINA Do not sell yourself before the time.
- HARDMAN There is no hurry. The solemnities have
already been agreed upon, and are witnessed between
us. But what sense Catharina speaks as if she borrowed 445
from the sayings of the wisest. She is a true oracle
whose voice is pure reason. Praised be the excellent
host who lives in such a beautiful house. Her reason
is more than admirable, her body over-adorable. Has
beautiful Diana ever illuminated the woods with 450
her loveliness more than Catharina brings light to
this place with her singular form? O sweet Catharina,
you be Diana, and let Diana be Catharina. May that
Catharina be coy and chaste, and that Diana cheerful.
- CATHARINA Astonishing inventions! From where did 455
you borrow all these wise speeches?
- HARDMAN They flow to me extempore, without study,
from my natural mother, reason.
- CATHARINA A foolish son for such a sage mother.
- HARDMAN Am I not exceedingly wise, my reason-rich 460
Catharina?

446 **sayings . . . wisest** ('Sprüchwörtern der weisesten') probably a reference to the Old Testament Book of Proverbs (Buch der Sprichwörter), whose central theme is wisdom.

447–9 **Praised . . . over-adorable.** The body/house metaphor has a long history in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Compare Sebastian's reference to Catharina as 'a fine house' with 'an evil owner' (1.1.142–3).

449–86 **Has . . . wife.** This passage adapts *TS* (2.1.260–82) speech by speech, with the

exception of a short passage added by *KK* (466–70).

449–52 **Has . . . form?** In the equivalent passage in *TS*, Katherina is compared to Diana, the Roman goddess of hunting and chastity, because of her 'princely gait' (2.1.261).

455 **Astonishing inventions!** Catharina literally says 'hare inventions worthy-of-astonishment' ('Verwundern würdige Hasen Einfälle'). For other comic references to hares, see 2.1.288, 394–5, 3.1.186–7.

CATHARINA Yes, and so beware of excess.

HARDMAN You speak well according to your good fashion. I will do what you say, when I lie in your soft bed and warm lap. 465

CATHARINA Be as keen as you like. One does not burden the cradle with an ass.

HARDMAN That would not be worthwhile. For now I only wish to take care of your bed, lovely Catharina. The cradle will follow when the time is right. I will also hold back all other words for now, and tell you my suit in plain German: your father has wholly agreed that you shall be my wife. We are of one mind concerning the dowry. I will have your hand this very moment, whether you like it or not; whether you look sweet or sour, I must and will have you, I and no other. By this clear light by which I see your shining beauty, I swear that you please me mightily, and that I do not and cannot love any other in the world, and that you must not trust any other but myself. Dearest Catharina, I have been born to do you honour and to tame you with friendliness, in order to turn a wild cat into a Catharina as virtuous as all other virtuous Catharinas. Here comes your father. Do not refuse, it cannot be otherwise. I can, will and must have you as my dear wife. 470 475 480 485

462 **beware** ... **excess** In the German text, Hardman's reference to himself as 'weiß' (wise) is deliberately misunderstood by Catharina as meaning *white* (also 'weiß' in German), an indication, Catharina implies, that he may have caught cold, whence her mock advice to him to keep warm ('haltet euch nur warm'). Given the impossibility of preserving the German wordplay in translation, we substitute for it the pun on 'exceedingly' and 'excess'.

466–70 **Be ... right.** has no equivalent in *TS*. Catharina's second sentence ('Man leget

keinen Esel in die Wiege.') is probably proverbial (Köhler, 235), prompting Hardman's reference to their future offspring.

468–86 mostly a close rendering of Petruccio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 2.1.269–82), with two additions in which Hardman affirms their mutual exclusivity: 'I and no other' (476–7) and 'I do not and cannot love any other in the world' (479).

486 SD Baptista enters with Gremio and Tranio (as Lucentio) (*TS*, 2.1.277 SD), Veit having no equivalent in *TS*.

Enter THEOBALD, SEBASTIAN, FELIX
[*as Hilarius*] and VEIT.

- THEOBALD Well, Sir Hardman, how is it with you? How is fortune dealing with you both?
- HARDMAN Very well, very well, father. How could I be unfortunate with such a dear favourite of fortune? 490
- THEOBALD But why so sad and sullen, my daughter?
- CATHARINA Can you still call me daughter? You have proved unfatherly to me and given me to such a madman without my knowledge or consent, a raging, bloodthirsty fellow, a swearing and blaspheming 495 fantastico who intends to outwit me with all sorts of evil and foolish wiles. Is this the work of a well-meaning father?
- HARDMAN You are rightly angry, dearest heart. [*to Theobald*] It is true, father. It offends her that you and 500 all the world have done her such injustice by painting her as evil, raging, stubborn, sullen, roaring, choleric and I don't know what else. From now on I will not permit anyone to do so again, and will defend her name with my life. Indeed, though she is a little mad, 505 she is so for her own reasons, that is, in order to protect her modesty and honour from deceptive seducers. I know this angelic image is as modest and

487–574 This passage is mostly a close adaptation of *TS* (2.1.278–328), with some short additions (see 497–8, 516–17, 519–24, 528–9, 530–1, 560, 569–70) and one that is slightly longer (544–52). The most significant omissions are two short speeches by Tranio (*TS*, 2.1.305, 324); Felix remains silent in this passage.

493 **proved unfatherly** Katherina, by contrast, uses sarcasm: ‘showed a tender fatherly regard’ (*TS*, 2.1.289).

496 **outwit** (‘überteufln’, literally ‘out-devil’)

497–8 **Is . . . father?** *KK* adds the last sentence to *TS*'s equivalent speech (2.1.288–92).

499–515 Hardman's speech is close to Petruccio's but adds the first sentence, addressed to Catharina, with the feigned acknowledgement that she is ‘rightly angry’, and inserts the pledge to defend Catharina's name against slander (‘From . . . life’, 503–5).

507–8 **from . . . seducers** (‘für vernaschten Vögeln’, literally ‘from nibbling birds’) See Grimm, ‘vernaschen’, 2, and ‘Vogel’, 14.

- meek as a turtle-dove, with no gall or choler. She is as moderate as the dawn in summer time. Her great 510
 patience makes me believe she is another Griselda who endures every injury. Her chastity makes her into another Lucrece. In short, because she pleases me, and I please her too, we have concluded between us that we want next Sunday to be our wedding day. 515
- CATHARINA Deny it, deny it, you rogue! I'd rather see you hanged on Sunday!
- SEBASTIAN Do you hear what she says, Sir Hardman?
- HARDMAN Shut your mouth. You try to poke your nose in everything, don't you? I took her as mine, and she 520
 took me as hers. If we are content, what has it to do with you and others? Who would speak against our marriage? What are these rogues who desire to sow discord between the betrothed? We are of one heart. Our cause is right, and we have decided between us to 525
 speak indirectly. There are certain necessary reasons why I allow her to be shrewish when we are in the

511 **Griselda** (Chryssilla) The context and the equivalent name in *TS* ('Grissell', 2.1.298) make clear that 'Chryssilla' is a variant of 'Griselda', the model of wifely patience known from Boccaccio, Chaucer and elsewhere. The German text praises the patience of Griselda by using a probably proverbial but now obscure expression, literally saying that 'mice have nested in her body' ('welcher auch gar die Mäuse in den Leib genistet'). See Köhler, 237.

513 **Lucrece** Roman model of wifely chastity who killed herself after being raped by Tarquin. Cf. 'Roman Lucrece' (*TS*, 2.1.299).

516–17 *KK* adds the forceful first sentence to *TS*'s equivalent speech (2.1.302).

519–58 adapts Petruccio's speech at *TS*, 2.1.306–21, by adding several short passages and inserting a short dialogue with Catharina ('Your . . . her', 542–55).

519–24 **Shut . . . betrothed?** The degree of Hardman's (pretended) irritability has no equivalent in *TS*, where Petruccio simply says, 'Be patient, gentlemen', and asks, 'If she and I be pleased, what's that to you?' (2.1.306–7).

522–3 **Who . . . marriage?** ('Es heisset mit euch nun verbott die Kaute.') The German is obscure, but Hardman's objection to any opposition to the marriage is clear.

525–6 **to . . . indirectly** ('so verblümet zu reden', literally 'to speak with such flowers') See Grimm, 'verblümen', 2.

company of fools. When we are alone, the business is quite different. She loves me as fervently and whole-heartedly as I love her. I dare anyone who lays a finger on her! She is the friendliest Catharina that ever was born. The dear child fell upon my neck, and wound herself around me as ivy circles around a tree. She gave me one kiss after the other. O, you gentlemen are mere novices in the world: you do not know how the world runs. You will not believe how graciously she behaves when we are *solus cum sola*. But since my cause is well advanced, I must travel to Frankfurt now, and buy the most gorgeous robes and jewels. My dearest must make her beauty yet more beautiful with beautiful gems. She shall not lack ornaments whatever the price. – Your little hand on this, my heart’s darling.

He extends his hand to her.

CATHARINA A hand is not to be thrown away like that.

528–9 **When ... different.** has no equivalent in *TS*.

530–1 **I dare ... her!** (‘Trotz dem der jhr ein Haar krümmt’, literally ‘Beware he who bends one hair of her hairs’). For this proverb, see Grimm, ‘Haar’, 17g, and Wander, ‘Haar’, 128. The sentence has no equivalent in *TS*.

533–4 **wound ... tree** *KK* substitutes this vivid image for *TS*’s ‘hung about my neck’ (2.1.312).

535–6 **you ... runs** (‘Ihr wisset noch nicht, wo Barthel den Most holet’, literally ‘you do not know yet where Barthel gets the must’, i.e. the freshly-pressed grape juice) a proverb, referring to someone who is worldly wise and concludes well (Grimm, ‘Barthel’).

537 ***solus cum sola*** Latin, a man alone with a woman.

539 **Frankfurt** a Free Imperial City of the Holy Roman Empire in which trade flourished; presumably the play’s place of publication (see Introduction, pp. 147–9). See also ‘Worms’ at 1.3.249 and note.

542–7 **SD Your ... his.** *KK* repositions Petruccio’s order, ‘Give me thy hand, Kate’ (*TS*, 2.1.318), adds a *SD* in which he extends his hand to her (543 *SD*) and only later grabs her hand for a forced consent (547 *SD*). For the clarification of action through *KK*’s *SD*s that is not spelled out in *TS*, see Introduction, pp. 121–4.

544–52 **A ... ourselves.** *KK* inserts this brief exchange into the adaptation of Petruccio’s speech (*TS*, 2.1.306–21), making Catharina articulate her resistance.

HARDMAN Be not ashamed, my heart. All these 545
people present are our friends. Come, give me your
hand.

He takes her hand and presses it into his.

CATHARINA I believe this rogue is not only a magician
but also stark mad.

HARDMAN You speak well, fairest Catharina. I, Hardman, 550
have bewitched you, and you me through the poison
of love. We will help ourselves. – Indeed, father,
you have raised the good child too simply: she is
ashamed and blushes when someone so much as
looks at her. There is nothing more to do now but 555
arrange the wedding festivities and invite merry
guests. This coming Sunday we will stand in church;
today I must leave.

THEOBALD I am so confused by this thing, I hardly know
what to say. I am signing a pact with the devil. 560

HARDMAN Pardon me, father, do you wish to go back on
your word? How is it with you?

THEOBALD If the match is ordained by the Highest,
so may it be. May your hearts be like your hands,
indissolubly locked together. May God give you 565
joy.

SEBASTIAN We all join in that wish from the bottom of
our hearts.

547 SD The violent action contrasts with *TS*, where Baptista politely asks for both their hands in order to join them (2.1.322).

560 I . . . **devil**. Theobald literally says ‘now I am holding the wolf by the ears’ (‘Ich halte jetzt recht den Wolff bey den Ohren’), expressing his concern that his daughter has vocally resisted the match. The proverb refers to someone in a com-

plicated situation in which they can neither advance nor return. For its Latin origins, see Köhler, 238. See also Wander, ‘Wolf’, 580. The passage has no equivalent in *TS*.

567–8 Gremio and Tranio jointly say they ‘will be witnesses’ (*TS*, 2.1.324) to the match. *KK* assigns the speech to Sebastian alone.

- VEIT [*aside*] Hit the virgin mark, that will not be hard.
Remember my wedding gift. 570
- HARDMAN We two lovers wish you the same, and now
adieu, gentlemen, until we meet again. – Come, my
dearest darling, we shall take loving leave of each
other inside.
- [*Exeunt Catharina and Hardman.*]
- SEBASTIAN This iron is oiled quickly. I have never seen 575
a marriage concluded so swiftly.
- THEOBALD May God on High bless this marriage. I have
played the adventurous merchant and pawned my
goods at great risk.
- SEBASTIAN Venture often wins. I have no doubt about 580
its success and wish it wholeheartedly. But my lord,
what about your resolution concerning your younger
daughter? I am your neighbour and was the first to
court her. I have the oldest letters.
- VEIT (*aside*) But they were ill-received. 585
- FELIX And I am the one who loves and deserves this
beautiful lady most.
- SEBASTIAN My young lord, you could not love as
faithfully and steadily as I do.
- FELIX Old frost-beard, your love is as frozen as your 590
powers.

569–70 Veit's bawdy *aside* is added by *KK*.
For the 'wedding gift' ('Brautstück'), see
74 and note.

573–4 **we ... inside** in marked contrast to
Petruccio's 'And kiss me, Kate' (*TS*, 2.1.328).

575 **This ... quickly**. ('Dieses Eysen ist
bald, und hurtig geschmieret.') added by
KK, perhaps proverbial.

577–84 **May ... her**. *KK* remains close to *TS*
(2.1.330–7), but omits Tranio's continua-
tion of Baptista's conceit, imagining
Katherina as a commodity (2.1.332–3),
and its conclusion in a couplet shared by

Baptista and Gremio (2.1.334–5).

584–5 **I ... ill-received**. *KK* adds the vivid
detail of Sebastian's 'oldest letters' and
its subversion in Veit's *aside*.

586–602 This passage at first follows *TS*
closely (586–91; 2.1.339–42) but then
replaces a brief tit for tat on Tranio's
youth and Gremio's age (2.1.343–4) by a
longer version, including the extended
horse-riding conceit, with a suggestive
comment by Tranio that Sabina is a
'young jade' who needs to be ridden by a
vigorous 'horseman' like Felix.

SEBASTIAN I trust I am more able-bodied than you,
milksoop.

FELIX What do you want, old man? Your spirit is
willing, but your flesh is weak. You are much too 595
stiff to mount a fresh young jade, and to manage it
like a good horseman.

SEBASTIAN Young fellow, you are too light, and would
soon be unsaddled.

FELIX And you, old schoolboy, have lost your spurs. 600
Your whip is much too limp. When others dance, you
must hold the lights.

THEOBALD It is not seemly that you gentlemen should
quarrel like boys. Sir Hilarius, I wish to talk with
you in private for a while before I inform you of my 605
decision.

They go to the side.

SEBASTIAN This doesn't please me at all. Such great
confidence between them, O me.

VEIT [*aside*] I fear you will come second. Our maid
likes the young man more than the old. 610

SEBASTIAN It's a shame that people who lack
understanding have small respect for honourable old
age. *Magna fuit capitis quondam reverentia cani.*

VEIT [*aside*] Even if you gather all the maxims from

592 **you** From this point in their confrontation (592–602), Sebastian and Felix use the familiar (and here impolite) second-person singular pronoun, 'du', to address each other.

593 **milksoop** (Milch-Maul) See 1.1.102 and note.

594–5 **Your ... weak.** proverbial, derived from Matthew 26.41 / Mark 14.38.

594 **old man** The German literally says 'turnip robber' ('Rübendieb'). Not in Grimm.

601–2 **When ... lights.** proverbial (Wander, 'tanzen'. 110). Felix charges Sebastian with the inability to engage in (sexual) action.

604–20 **Sir ... alive.** Whereas in *TS*,

Baptista directly goes on to ask the two suitors about the dowry, *KK* inserts a private talk between Theobald and Felix during which Sebastian complains to Veit about disrespect for old age.

613 **Magna ... cani.** Latin, reverence towards the white head used to be great in the past. From Ovid's *Fasti* (V, 57).

614 **maxims** ('Sprüche', literally 'sayings') Veit mocks Sebastian's pompous Latin quotation by referring to the humanist pedagogical practice of commonplacing, i.e. collecting quotations from classical authors in order to use them at opportune moments.

Cicero and Seneca, you will not convince a pretty 615
 maid that you are more suitable for her than a fresh
 young gentleman. I would not recommend our maid
 to you; she has too much fire and would melt your
 remaining strength. You would sink into your grave
 alive. *Exit.* 620

THEOBALD Gentlemen, because it is my fatherly task
 to do the best for my daughter, I have taken the
 decision that he who can and will keep his promises
 towards her, and who receives her consent, he shall
 have her. 625

SEBASTIAN My wealth is well known to you, my lord.
 My house is filled with many beautiful wares for use
 and ornament. My coffers hold many coins and other
 valuables. My estates outside town have oxen, horses,
 cattle, sheep and enough of everything else. My acres 630
 are well tilled. I myself am somewhat old, but if I pay
 my debt to nature tomorrow, my love will inherit
 everything.

FELIX The last sounds best, the first least. I can set three
 houses against his, the least of them better than his by 635
 far. Everyone knows that they are abundantly and
 most nobly furnished. The rent of my estates adds up
 to at least 2,000 thaler a year, not counting the sale of
 the harvest. Have I tickled you with that, sir?

621–5 *KK* stays close to *TS* (2.1.345–8) but has Theobald add that the suitors need to ‘receive [Sabina’s] consent’ (624).

626–33 *KK* follows *TS* (2.1.350–66) but condenses Gremio’s lavish description of his wealth, notably by collapsing exotic luxuries like ‘Tyrian tapestry’ and ‘Turkey cushions’ (2.1.353–7) into general ‘ornament’.

634–9 *KK* follows Tranio’s bragging response (*TS*, 2.1.367–75), but omits the

place names (‘Pisa’, ‘Padua’, *TS*, 2.1.371–2), as elsewhere (see 3.2.317–19 and note).

634 **The . . . least.** ‘The last’ probably refers to Sebastian’s death; ‘the first’ presumably to his wealth.

638 **thaler** (‘Reichsthaler’) a silver coin that was widely in use in the Holy Roman Empire from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Cf. Tranio’s ‘two thousand ducats’ (*TS*, 2.1.373).

SEBASTIAN If this is true, you outstrip me. Yet I still 640
have 20,000 ducats *in banco*. This concludes my case,
will you accept it?

FELIX Say no more. My father has a ton of gold in
exchange, discounting what is here and there in other 645
goods. I will assure this beautiful lady of what I have
said here, and ten times more than you. Besides I am
a fresh young man who will please her in everything
else.

SEBASTIAN I must not promise more than I have.

FELIX Then the bride is mine according to my lord. 650

THEOBALD Yes, as long as your father gives his consent
and assurance. Should you die before Lord Sebastian,
my daughter would be in a delicate position given
your promise.

FELIX O, have no fear on that account. He is old, I am 655
young.

SEBASTIAN Can young people not die? Fine reasoning!

FELIX According to the ordinary course of nature, I
mean, if Sir Know-It-All can understand that.

640–2 **Yet . . . it?** *KK* replaces Gremio's offer of riches bound up in merchandise (*TS*, 2.1.378–80) by money 'in banco', and eliminates all references to argosies, galleys and other sea vessels (*TS*, 2.1.380–3), perhaps because the locations mentioned in the play are all distant from the sea.

641 **This . . . case** The German uses a metaphor that literally says, 'this will close the door' ('dis wird die Thür zuthun').

645–8 **I will . . . else.** Tranio offers 'twice as much whate'er' Gremio proposes' (*TS*, 2.1.384). The last sentence of this pas-

sage has no equivalent in Tranio's corresponding speech (*TS*, 2.1.381–4).

649–59 ***KK*** follows *TS* speech by speech (2.1.385–95), except that it adds the last one, allowing Felix to have the last word in his confrontation with Sebastian.

649 ***KK*** omits Gremio's promised gift of all his possessions including himself ('me and mine', *TS*, 2.1.387).

659 **Sir Know-It-All** ('eure nasenweisheit', literally 'your nose-whiteness') with a pun on 'Weisheit' and 'Weissheit' (wisdom and whiteness). See Grimm, 'nasenweis', 3.

THEOBALD It remains as I've said: if your father does 660
not consent to the conditions, Sir Sebastian still has
hope. Meanwhile, please step inside with me.

Exeunt [Theobald and Sebastian].

FELIX An ill hope it is for him. I served my master well
in this first bout. Now, I must think about further
schemes: I think we need another player for the game. 665
The unlawful son needs an unlawful father. I must
look for one. All is topsy-turvy: usually parents
produce children; now I must produce a father. But
there's no harm in that; I hope my work will be
handsomely rewarded. *Exit.* 670

[2.2]

Enter WORMFIRE.

WORMFIRE What the devil, not a soul here? Has the devil
already taken my lord? Or is he hiding inside his lady?
There's a mad wasp in the hornets' nest! May fortune
smile on him. But he will not lose himself. What
belongs to the gallows doesn't drown in the bath. I 5

660–2 **It ... hope.** *KK* omits Baptista's reminder that 'Katherine is to be married' (*TS*, 2.1.397) on Sunday, followed by Bianca a week later, which increases the urgency of the disguise schemes in *TS*. If Lucentio fails to meet Baptista's ultimatum, Gremio is to marry Bianca (*TS*, 2.1.400), a certainty which *KK* dilutes by merely allowing Sebastian to 'still have hope'.

662 **SD** Theobald and Sebastian exit together, while Gremio lingers after Baptista's exit in order to taunt Tranio with his increased chances of success (*TS*, 2.1.402–6).

663–70 *KK* stays close to *TS* (2.1.407–14), but transforms Tranio's reference to gambling ('I have faced it with a card of

ten', 2.1.408) into the newly arisen necessity to seek 'another player for the game' (665) of winning Sabina.

2.2 Wormfire's soliloquy has no equivalent in *TS*. For the soliloquies added to *KK*, see Introduction, pp. 104–9.

1 **What ... devil** ('Wie nun zum Hencker', literally 'What the hangman'). A common expression for surprise or discontent in which 'Henker' is a euphemism for 'devil' (Grimm, 'Henker', 3).

3 **There's ... nest!** For the use of hornets and wasps to figure madness, see 1.3.12–13, 116 and notes.

4–5 **What ... bath.** ('Was an den Galgen gehört, ersäuffet nicht im Bade.') proverbial (Wander, 'Galgen', 34).

have set up my cause well. She is ready on certain conditions. If my lord says yes, and her lady yes, the whore will be mine. I thought my tool would have it my way, but not this time. Such an honourable tree will not fall with one stroke. I think she must be *harum bonarum* and one of our kind, since her sign shows that the host is a mad wag. Well, the more the merrier. I will become an honourable cuckold from now on, and cry cuckoo to my brothers. No matter, it's the fashion now. I have many high and noble brothers in the order, and doubtless some among you here, good gentlemen, since I see your wives are laughing. The whore pretends to be honourable towards my chaste person. One is allowed to finger her a little, but to pluck the cittern properly, that is not allowed. Patience,

6 **She** Sybilla, Catharina's maid (see 2.1.251–6).

7–8 **the whore** ('die Hure') Köhler bowdlerizes the text here and at line 18 by substituting 'sie' (i.e. 'she').

8 **tool** (Lümmel) See note at 2.1.180.

9–10 **Such ... stroke**. ('Ein solcher ehrbarer Baum fällt nicht von einem Streiche.') proverbial (Wander, 'Baum', 109).

10–11 **harum bonarum** Latin, of these good ones. The reference is obscure, but Wormfire presumably means that Sybilla is among those women who are easily persuaded to have a sexual relationship.

11 **one ... kind** ('unsers Volcks', literally 'of our people') here, those who are sexually available.

11–12 **her ... wag** ('der Schild [i.e. heraldic sign] zeigt bey jhr an, daß der Wirth ein Schalck sey') proverbial (Wander, 'Schild', II.3).

12 **the ... merrier** Wormfire literally says, 'many brothers-in-law, many friends'

('viel Schwäger, viel Freunde'). Wormfire happily embraces his suggestion that Sybilla has promiscuous relationships with several men as long as he is among them.

13–14 **I ... brothers**. Wormfire alludes to the cuckoo's habit of laying its eggs in other birds' nests, which accounts for the term 'cuckolding'.

17–18 **The whore** See 7–8 and note.

19–23 **One ... better**. The first of four passages Köhler omitted in his edition because he considered them 'besonders schmutzig' (xxxviii), i.e. particularly dirty (see Introduction, p. 158). See also 5.2.110–39, 146–54, 345–93 and notes.

19–20 **pluck ... cittern** a sexual metaphor. See 1.3.143–4 and note.

20–1 **Patience ... farting** ('Was hilffts patience ein par Fürtze') The German text is unclear. Wormfire may jokingly consider farting as a way to while the time away.

2.2.7–8 the whore] *DI*, *D2* (die Hure); sie Köhler 17–18 The whore] *DI*, *D2* (Die Hure); Sie Köhler 19–23 One ... better.] *not in Köhler*

patience, a bit of farting, one stays *in atrio* the first time. But if the opportunity comes around again, the wind shall swell my sails better. I will drift into the Netherlands, though I aimed for England. It is good to walk on a paved road, and the rider on a trained horse doesn't stumble so easily. I must find my lord now to see how it fares with his love, and to find something wet. The heat of wooing has dried up my throat. 25

Exit.

3.[1] *Enter* SABINA, [HILARIUS *as*] *Johannes*,
and [ALFONS *as*] *Musician* [*with a lute*].

HILARIUS I tell you, dallier, put your pipe away, or blow a milder note. Or else I'll set your mouthpiece straight and show you a fingering that shall make your face fall.

21 *in atrio* Latin, in the entrance hall.

23–4 **I ... England.** The German uses 'Holland' for 'the Netherlands', suggestively punning on its similar sound to 'hollow' ('hohl'). Wormfire seeks the 'hollow land' of Sybilla's genitals which he also describes as 'England' ('Engeland', literally 'tight land').

3.1 No location is specified, but the scene is presumably set inside Sir Theobald's house. The scene falls into four parts: 1–105 (Hilarius' poetry lesson), 105–42 (Alfons' music lesson), 143–78 (Alfons' song) and 179–249 (to Alfons' concluding soliloquy). The first part closely follows *TS* (3.1.1–54), but replaces Lucentio's Latin lesson by dactylic composition in German. The second preserves the frame of *TS*'s music lesson (3.1.54–79), but delays the indirect discovery of the suitor's name to the third part, Alfons' song, for which there is no precedent in the English. The last part adds a brief discussion of the song between Sabina and Hilarius (179–91)

before it returns to equivalence with *TS* in having the servant call the daughter away from the teachers (*TS*, 3.1.80–4). *KK* inserts a short dialogue between Veit and Alfons, speculating on Hilarius' identity (203–23), followed by Alfons' reflections on his rival and Sabina's relationship to him, equivalent to *TS* (3.1.85–90) though greatly elaborated.

1 dallier Although both Hortensio and Alfons carry a lute, both plays use a term of general abuse for a bad musician regardless of the instrument in question. *TS* uses '[f]iddler' (3.1.1), *KK* the lyre, literally saying 'lyre Matz' ('Leyermatzen', see Grimm).

1–3 or ... fall. In the equivalent passage in *TS* (3.1.1–3), Lucentio menacingly reminds Hortensio of 'the entertainment' with which Katherina 'welcomed' him when he attempted to give her a music lesson (that is, hitting him on the head). *KK* realizes the threatened violence, portraying a more aggressive Hilarius who '*starts to beat*' (18.1) Alfons.

3.[1]] *this edn*; Dritte Handlung. *D1, D2, Köhler*

- ALFONS You quarrelsome peevish pedantic school fox,
 don't you know that noble music takes precedence, 5
 and so do we her kindred. So be kind and give me
 precedence, so that I may instruct this beauty for the
 space of an hour. You then have the remaining time to
 purvey your tittle-tattling drudgery.
- HILARIUS You brainless flog-worthy stockfish, you don't 10
 have enough reason to understand that music is just a
parergon to refresh the mind when the higher *studia*
 tire it. So stand back, and let me instruct her first, or I
 will teach you to sing the *la mi*.
- ALFONS You are truly a brute. Beware or I'll explain the 15
syntax to you so well that the grammar hits your head.
- HILARIUS *Melius praevenire, quam praeveniri* is what I
 learnt at school.

He starts to beat him.

- SABINA Hold, my lord. It's strange that you should
 quarrel about what lies in my choice alone. I am not a 20

4 SP Here and throughout this scene, the SP for Alfons in D1 and D2 is 'Musicus', i.e. musician. For the same convention regarding Hilarius, see 1.2.0 SD and note. Our edition standardizes the SPs.

4 **school fox** ('Schulfuchs') *KK*'s adaptation of *TS*'s 'pedant' (3.1.4), referring to petty pretentious teachers who were said to wear cheap fox-furred coats (Grimm, 3).

8-9 **to . . . drudgery** *KK* replaces *TS*'s neutral 'lecture' (3.1.8) with an insult.

10-16 *KK* stays close to *TS* (3.1.9-15) but has the suitors compete by adding learned words (see notes at 14 and 16).

10 **flog-worthy stockfish** ('blauenswürdiger Stockfisch') 'Stockfisch' was used as an insult, particularly in relation to beating someone up (Köhler, 240). '[B]lauenswürdig' literally means 'worthy

to be made blue' with bruises (Grimm 1, 'bleuen').

12 **parergon** Latin, accessory.

14 **the la mi** The names of notes from tonic solfa (see note at 1.3.18). 'Auf ein lami ausgehen' (literally, 'ending on a lami') also designated a pitiful ending, stemming from the melodic movement from la to mi which gives a plaintive close to certain tunes (Grimm, 'Lami').

16 **the grammar** Alfons literally says he will hit Hilarius with 'the Donat', a common school grammar of Latin whose title was inspired by the popularity of the works of Aelius Donatus, a fourth-century Roman teacher of grammar and rhetoric (Grimm, 'Donat').

17 **Melius . . . praeveniri** Latin, better to forestall than to be forestalled. Unattributed Latin proverb (see Philippi, 1.245).

- schoolboy to whom you can give orders, and I do not want to be bound to any lessons of yours, but to take what pleases me. [*to Alfons*] There, go and tune your instrument. In the meantime, I will hear something from this gentleman. 25
- ALFONS And turn to me when I have tuned?
- HILARIUS Time will tell. As it is, the instrument does not please; go and tune.
- ALFONS [*aside*] There is something strange behind this preference. I must watch. 30
- HILARIUS My most beautiful lady, please be seated.
- SABINA How far did we get?
- HILARIUS Dearest, not yet as far as I would wish. I have explained the necessary rules of poetry and shown you the manner of the short long, namely when two long hang from one short. But I notice that you do not like it. 35
- SABINA I admit it seems a little boring. Show me another manner.
- HILARIUS The best manner is the reverse, namely when two short hang from one long. This manner is very graceful and is called the *dactylic* manner, because the *dactylis* shows its pleasant leaping fashion in its own name: one longer syllable from which two 40

29–30 *KK* inserts Alfons' suspicions much earlier than *TS* does (3.1.87–9), which may suggest Sabina's greater forwardness in comparison to Bianca.

33–60 *KK* preserves the idea of *TS*, showing the teacher express his interest in the pupil through poetry, but departs substantially from the original by having Hilarius treat native versification rather than Latin translation (see Introduction, pp. 118–19).

35–6 **the ... short** Hilarius describes the seldom-used bacchius, a verse foot con-

sisting of an unstressed and two stressed syllables: da-DUM-DUM.

40–50 Unlike Lucentio (*TS*, 3.1.31–6), Hilarius does not reveal his true identity in the course of his teaching (but has presumably done so earlier). Instead, he makes an elaborate sexual allusion to the dactyl as his penis ('one longer syllable', 44) from which hang his testicles ('two shorter syllables', 44–5), before reciting a dactylic quatrain about their love, including their physical union. For the origins of the dactyl as a figure for the penis, see Wollin.

shorter syllables hang in the most elegant fashion. 45

Listen to this example:

Love me, my **darling**, my **love** will be **only**

For **you**, the dear **lovely** one, **cherished** forever,

So that not **only** our **souls**, but our **bodies**

May **lovingly move** and with **love** come **together**. 50

SABINA I admit this manner is very delightful and pleasant. But I find it is a little difficult and therefore hard to learn.

HILARIUS My dearest, one simply needs to understand well the qualities of the *dactyli*, and what kind of nature and force lie in the three parts. Do not imagine the thing to be more difficult than it is. Although it may appear to you a little sour the first time, afterwards it will seem so sweet that your appetite will not be stilled. 60

ALFONS Honoured lady, my instrument is tuned.

SABINA Let's hear. Bah, how it jars!

HILARIUS Fellow, spit into the hole. The peg is not right. Pull it higher. [*to Sabina*] Now try how the verse works for you. 65

SABINA Well, I will try:

Loving is not what has **been** my past **practice**,

So should I choose **now** as the **moment** to **start**?

47–50 Our translation seeks to replicate the German's dactylic quatrain with cross-rhymes and four stresses to each line, here displayed in bold.

51–60 Sabina and Hilarius jointly extend his conceit, equating the loss of virginity and sexual intercourse with the composition of dactylic poetry.

61–81 After replacing *TS*'s Latin with a class on native poetry, *KK* returns to *TS* (*KK* 61–6; *TS* 3.1.37–40) only then to diverge again, substituting Sabina's dactylic attempt for Bianca's supposed Latin translation (*KK* 67–81; *TS* 3.1.40–3), in

which the women neither dismiss nor encourage their suitor.

63–4 **Fellow** ... **higher**. Pegs of a lute tended to slip out of place, but could be made to stick by spitting into the peg hole.

67–81 Sabina's dactylic composition answers Hilarius' in kind, delaying her answer to his suit (67–70). *KK* then transforms Bianca's distrust (coupled with the quiet encouragement expressed by her translation (*TS*, 3.1.40–3)) into a brief added dialogue between Sabina and Hilarius (71–81).

- Taking their time** is how **maids** please to **ponder**
Unless there's some **foolish mistake** on my **part**. 70
- HILARIUS You will improve in this form of poetry, but
 you need to choose better words. These are a little too
 rough and hard.
- SABINA Be content. The beginning is hard. It will
 improve. 75
- HILARIUS Indeed, I desire it, my love.
- SABINA Your wish will become true the sooner if I can
 trust your art. Mistrust sometimes weighs heavily on
 us women.
- [HILARIUS] I hope my heart's love shall yet find faith in 80
 me, because I will surely prove what I have spoken.
- ALFONS My instrument has a good tone now, Madam.
- HILARIUS [*aside*] But an ill one for me if your tuning has
 determined it.

[Hilarius and Sabina speak aside]

- I have little trust in this cord-twanger, he looks quite 85
 fiery.
- SABINA Perhaps the tuning warmed him up.
- HILARIUS I judge this fire differently and half believe

80 SP We follow Köhler in assigning the speech to Hilarius. D1 and D2 mistakenly ascribe it to Sabina.

82–106 KK loosely corresponds to and expands upon the equivalent moment in *TS* (3.1.44–54), flagging up the distrust between the two teachers, as well as between teachers and pupil.

82–4 KK converts *TS*'s musical joke into a more explicitly sexual one: Hortensio interrupts the lovers, saying that his instrument is 'now in tune' (3.1.44), to which Lucentio's reply ('All but the bass,' 3.1.44)

plays on 'bass' (the lowest voice in a song) and 'base' (of low character). Alfons literally says 'my instrument now stands in a good tone' ('Mein Instrument stehet nunmehr im rechten Thon'), potentially with phallic insinuations. Hilarius picks these up, playing on the German 'Stimmung' ('tuning'), which could also mean 'mood'. SD D1 and D2 have no SD here, nor at 98 SD and 178 SD. It seems clear, however, that the dialogue between Hilarius and Sabina at 85–96, 99–106 and 179–91 is spoken aside, unheard by Alfons.

80 SP] Köhler (Johannes); Sabina *D1, D2*

that you have lit it in his liver, my dearest. A lover
always wears the spectacles of jealousy on his ears. I 90
think I must put these on my nose now.

SABINA You have nothing to fear.

HILARIUS My dearest, do not hold it against me that I
keep some watch over him. Distrust is an effect of
love. 95

SABINA Do not doubt me.

ALFONS Lady, would you like to hear me too now?

SABINA Sir, you hurry as if you were dying.

[*Hilarius and Sabina speak aside*]

HILARIUS My highly honoured Sir Fiddle Artist has an
appetite that is much too keen. I bet my life the rogue 100
loves what I love. I have great reason to keep watch.

SABINA Don't wrong me with this distrust.

HILARIUS Trusting him and trusting you are two different
things, my lovely heart.

SABINA The end will tell. [*to Alfons*] So come here, sir, 105
and let me hear your instrument.

ALFONS Most honoured lady, I will not treat the matter
superficially with you, as we *musicci* usually do, but
will deal with it quite deeply so as to impress the
science upon you. 110

HILARIUS (*aside*) The devil take that pressing.

ALFONS Here is the *scala* which I have devised in a
perfect new manner. Women usually conceive better

89 **you . . . liver** Love was believed to start in the liver (see Grimm, 'Leber', 3).

99–100 **has . . . keen** Hilarius literally says that Alfons 'is keen on the dear bread' ('ist gar eyfrig auff das liebe Brod'), equating Sabina with the most basic sustenance.

107–16 *KK* follows *TS* (3.1.62–8) in having Alfons introduce his lesson by presenting

his particular method of gamut teaching (107–10), but adds Hilarius' jealous aside and elaborates the sexual musical joke (*KK*, 111–16; *TS*, 3.1.62–3). Alfons' new '*scala*' (i.e. scale, 112), a euphemism for his penis, depends on his innuendo on the German for *b flat major* ('dur', Latin for 'hard'), a rising series of notes (*ascendendo*) followed by a falling series (*descendendo*).

- of *b flat major* than *b flat minor*, so I will first instruct you in the *ascendendo*, and then in the *descendendo* which teaches itself. 115
- SABINA I already know much of this and wish to know nothing further from you. There is no need to teach it again.
- ALFONS But, Madam, here is a new manner. I do not show it to everyone, but I will not be guilty of keeping it from you. 120
- SABINA Sir, I am not so curious, so stick with the old manner.
- ALFONS Will you take a lesson on the lute then? 125
- SABINA I am not in the mood now, nor ready to be attentive enough.
- ALFONS Hear only one song which I composed yesterday in honour of your favourite whom you know very well. 130
- SABINA You must be mistaken, as I have not yet chosen anyone as my favourite.
- ALFONS Your amusing politeness is well known. Do you not know Sir Alfons of Nistlingen?
- SABINA Not more than I know you, nor do I love him more. 135
- ALFONS As he is my great friend, I entreat you to listen kindly to my composition, and to bless him with your well-disposed favour.
- SABINA This last requires some time and ample 140

117–19 *KK* translates Bianca's rebarbative rejection of the gamut (*TS*, 3.1.69), adding that she is not desirous to learn more about it through Alfons ('from you', 118).

120–4 *KK* faithfully renders Hortensio's

offer and Bianca's rejection of the lesson (*TS*, 3.1.70 and 3.1.77–8), but omits the 'gamut of Hortensio' (3.1.70–6). Instead, *KK* adds a brief dialogue between the two (125–42) in which Alfons' identity is decoded.

consideration. If your song is fit for a maiden's ear, I shan't forbid you to play, since I love a good invention.

ALFONS *sits down a little apart, and sings the following song to the lute. To the melody of 'Is there anyone still living like me', &c.*

How oft has mighty Jove,
 Lord of the heavens above,
 Disguised himself to win 145
 Some nymph that he has seen,
 Her body made for play
 To pass the time away.

Once he became a bull 150
 Upon the beautiful
 Europa strand, so named
 For that sweet maid who came
 Into his arms. O see
 How lovely that can be!

142 SD *To . . . &c.* ('*Lebt jemand noch wie ich &c.*') The text of the song to whose tune Alfons performs his composition was printed in a contemporary song book, *Tugendhafter Jungfrauen und Jungengesellen Zeit-Vertreiber* (place of publication unknown, c. 1670; VD17 1:739188Q), by Hilarius Lustig von Freuden-Thal (Song 109, sigs G6v–G7r); see Scheitler, 1.1053–4. Hilarius Lustig von Freuden-Thal appears to be a pseudonym that may have inspired the name of 'Hilarius von Liebenthal' in *KK*.

143–78 Alfons reveals his identity to Sabina through a song telling how Jove seduced mortal women by transforming himself into various animals. Alfons' analogy

between Jove and himself is unintentionally comic. The German song consists of rhymed iambic trimeter couplets, six stanzas of six lines each, as in our translation. Additionally, in the German version the second couplet in each stanza has feminine endings, the other couplets masculine ones.

143–66 The myth of Jove's transformations is told, most famously, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a hugely popular work in early modern Europe (see Keith and Rupp).

149–54 For Jove's transformation into a white bull and his ravishing of the princess Europa, see *Metamorphoses*, 2.833–75, 6.103–7.

When he became a swan 155
 The same old game went on.
 With warm white legs wrapped round,
 He was not fully bound,
 For wandering at ease,
 His beak went where it pleased. 160

A cuckoo in the nest
 Was what he tried out next,
 Leaving behind a pair
 Of eggs to show how there
 He was love's lucky one, 165
 Like all who have such fun.

What Jove found easy then
 Is much too hard for men;
 We mortals must devise
 Some less extreme disguise. 170
 A man remains a man
 Whatever he puts on.

He who now pines for you
 With all his heart, he too
 Has put on this disguise 175
 To come before your eyes.
 Ah! take him, grant relief
 Lest he should die of grief.

155–66 Ovid merely alludes to Leda and the swan as one in a list of Jupiter's affairs (*Metamorphoses*, 6.109), suggesting that the myth was well known by his time. Leda gave birth to two eggs, one of them containing Helen. See also 2.2.13–14 and note.

157 The German literally says that her 'warm white legs enclosed his' ('Die warmen weisen Beine / Umschlossen ja die seine'), perhaps suggesting Leda's (and by extension Sabina's) willing surrender.

[*Hilarius and Sabina speak aside*]

- HILARIUS What comfort or wisdom do you draw from
this song, my heart? 180
- SABINA It is too high for my low wit.
- HILARIUS It seems to me he has either presented my
person in it, or is not who he pretends to be. I hardly
know what to say or think.
- SABINA I know this bird from his song, although he 185
covers himself in other's feathers. But he should not
believe he can get away with his trick.
- HILARIUS I'd rather cut his throat.
- SABINA Don't be angry. If your words are true and I may
trust them, then trust me likewise. 190
- HILARIUS These are golden words from a ruby-red mouth.

Enter VEIT.

- VEIT Madam, for some reason your father asks you to
leave the books and tidy your chamber as best you can.
- SABINA What is going on?
- VEIT I don't know, but I think pelt-mongers have arrived. 195
They'll want to work on fur if the maid gives them
something to do.

179–91 Like Alfons' song, the short dialogue between Hilarius and Sabina, in which they reflect on the song's meaning and Alfons' disguise, has no equivalent in *TS*.

185–6 **although ... feathers** ('ob er sich schon mit andern Federn behencket') proverbial (see Wander, 'Feder', 133). Sabina refers back to Alfons' song about Jove's disguise, and alludes to Alfons' own disguise as a musician.

186–7 **But ... trick**. Sabina literally says, 'may he not believe that he will be able to fix his hare-eggs here' ('aber er glaube nur nicht / daß er seine Hasen-Eyer anbringen werde'), mocking Alfons' song by referring to the 'foul play' sug-

gested by the cuckoo eggs, which she intends to prevent. For other hare jokes and insults, see 2.1.288, 394–5, 455.

188 For Hilarius' anger and aggressiveness, see 1–3 and note.

192–9 *KK* inserts this brief exchange between Sabina and Veit, with a characteristic sexual innuendo by the latter, 'fur' (196), presumably alluding to Sabina's pubic hair.

192–3 *KK* returns to *TS*, assigning to Veit the lines of a servant who reports Baptista's request to end her lesson (*TS*, 3.1.80–2). While the servant reminds Bianca to 'dress [her] sister's chamber up', since 'tomorrow is the wedding day', *KK* avoids all temporal markers.

- SABINA O, you and your foolery. But I think I must go.
 [to *Hilarius*] Farewell, sir. *Exit.*
- HILARIUS I have nothing left to do here. Shadow follows 200
 light. *Exit.*
- VEIT Go forth with the blessing of the Lord.
- ALFONS This ink-eater follows her as if he were
 something other than a servant. Honest Veit, what do
 you think of your maid's fine Sir *Praeceptor*, will he 205
 instruct her well?
- VEIT Between you and me, I almost think that he
 instructs her as do other *Praeceptores* to whom noble
 virgins are entrusted. They take them for their
 underlings. He is a fresh young man named Johannes. 210
 Perhaps he seeks to prepare the way to qualify our
 maid according to the current mode, because he heard
 it is no longer the fashion to enter the wedding bed as
 a virgin. I cannot hold it against him. If I had the
 means or the permission to do it, for all my sins, I 215
 would. A saddled horse rides well.
- ALFONS Did you not observe their behaviour? Are they
 very friendly together when they are alone?
- VEIT If I had seen that they bit into each other's mouths
 in an over-trusting fashion, and rubbed against each 220

202–23 *KK* adds an exchange between Veit and Alfons which anticipates the latter's doubts about Sabina's chastity repeated at 224–49, in accordance with *TS* (3.1.87–9).

203 **ink-eater** ('Dintenfresser') Scribbler (see Grimm).

205 ***Praeceptor*** Latin, teacher.

205–6 **will . . . well?** As earlier in the scene, instruction implies ambiguously humanist teaching and sexual initiation.

207 **Between . . . me** The German reads '*sub rosa*', Latin for 'under the rose', meaning 'in secret'. According to legend, roses decked the ceilings of political meetings in ancient Rome, so that everything that was

said 'sub rosa' ('under the rose') remained in the room, i.e., was confidential.

211–12 **qualify . . . mode** Veit implies that the current mode is not to be a virgin, and so the qualification he has in mind is sex.

216 **A . . . well.** Veit suggests that sleeping with a sexually experienced woman is more pleasurable than with a virgin. Compare Wormfire's comment at 2.2.23–4.

217 **their behaviour** The German allows for the possibility that Alfons refers to 'her behaviour' ('jhr thu[n]'), rather than theirs, which would suggest Sabina's forwardness.

219 **they . . . mouths** i.e. they kiss.

other, I would not have permission to say so plainly. I must go now. There is work inside, and I come away empty-handed. [Exit.]

ALFONS It tortures me. I noticed it at once. I don't know what to make or say of my fine colleague. I see 225 familiarity between them. Her friendliness to him is too great. What loving looks she gave him when they parted, while she hardly granted me one at all! It is impossible she should not know me in this disguise since I make myself known quite clearly. Does she 230 prefer a miserable tutoring fool, a lousy knave, a scurvy school fox like him to a nobleman like me? Who knows if this Veit is complicit with this tutor? Let the hangman swear to it! But who is he? Nobody knows who he is, although his character and brave appearance show 235 something noble. Yet it is the custom of noblemen to sow seed in common earth. Many a brave lad has no

222–3 **I . . . empty-handed.** The German literally says 'it's up to me to wipe my maw' ('Mein Maul wischen gilt mit'), as if Veit had nothing to eat and could only wipe away his saliva.

224–49 **KK** broadly follows *TS* (3.1.85–90) in conveying Alfons' suspicions and thoughts of revenge, but greatly amplifies his brooding by adding insult upon insult (e.g. 230–2) and sketching out his suspicions about Hilarius' identity (234–6). Unlike *TS*, **KK** has Alfons dwell on Sabina's guilt in 'prefer[ring] a miserable tutoring fool' (231) to a nobleman like himself, and accuses her of giving him 'loving looks' (227). While Hortensio ends his brief soliloquy on a rhymed promise to 'quit' Bianca by 'changing' his favour (*TS*, 3.1.90), i.e. courting another woman, should she prefer the supposed lowly poetry teacher, Alfons plans to expose Sabina by revealing her liaison to Felix, the supposed 'Monsieur of Liebenenthal' (244–7).

231 **miserable . . . fool** The German literally says 'a miserable labour shitter' ('einen elenden Plackscheisser'), meaning a poor teacher (see Grimm, 'Blackscheißer').

232 **school fox** See note at 4.

233 **complicit . . . tutor** ('unter dieser Pedantendecke ist') Alfons draws on the expression 'mit jemandem unter einer Decke stecken' (Wander, 'Decke', 22), literally to stick with someone under one cover, i.e. to be complicit with him or her. For 'Pedant', see 1.2.20n.

233, 238 **hangman** For other invocations of the hangman, see 1.1.122, 1.3.31, 38, 2.1.33, 3.2.19 and 3.3.139.

236–7 **Yet . . . earth.** This proverbial sounding expression means that noblemen often have illegitimate children with common women, and the subsequent sentence indicates that Alfons suspects Hilarius of being of such illegitimate origins.

bad parents. But whoever he is, I wish the hangman would break his neck. He is just too forward. He may be a rogue who tempts her and shames her reputation 240 through his fraud and mischief. Who knows what he has done to her or given her to drink. It is impossible that so noble a lady should be attracted to such a poor lowly servant. I will observe a little longer. If I learn something for certain, I will revenge myself on them 245 most grievously, and I will inform Monsieur of Liebenthal how things are with her. As a virtuous gentleman, he will leave her to public shame, and this double-dealer will get his just punishment. *Exit.*

239 **He . . . forward.** Alfons literally says 'he plays bad tricks for my taste' ('Er macht mir schlechte Possen'). 'Possen' could refer to tricks, pranks or jokes (Grimm,

2), but also specifically to farcical plays with Pickelherring, the itinerant players' fool figure (Grimm, 2b).

[3.2]

Enter CATHARINA.

[CATHARINA] Now it is as I feared. I am put to shame. O, had I never been born! If only my father had died before he created me! I am a fine bride who is supposed to hold her wedding dance today. My heart warned me that this mad devil would torture me – me, who have tortured many, tit for tat. Now evil Catharina will become scorned Catharina. Dogs will pass by me and lift their leg. O, shame beyond shame! If this monster returns, I will give him the kindest words, 5

3.2 There is no specified location, but the scene is presumably set in front of Theobald's house. It falls into five parts: 1–85 (to Wormfire and Hardman's entrance), 86–147 (to Theobald and Wormfire's exit to the wedding), 148–232 (to the re-entry of the wedding group), 233–348 (to the exit of Theobald, Sabina and Felix) and 349–98 (the dialogues between Sebastian and Hilarius, and Veit and Fabian). The first part, in which Catharina and her father anxiously wait for the groom, follows *TS* (3.2.1–83), but adds Catharina's soliloquy at 1–12, and shortens Biondello's report on the strange clothing of bridegroom and servant (*TS*, 3.2.43–61 and *KK*, 72–80). The second part, the arrival of Hardman and Wormfire, fantastically dressed, remains close to *TS* (3.2.84–126) but inserts Wormfire's humorous comments. The third part has Hilarius and Felix update each other on their disguise scheme, and Sebastian report on the wedding ceremony. It follows *TS* (3.2.127–82) but elaborates on the shocking and amusing descriptions of the wedding and adds Fabian's caustic observations on service and money (164–76). The fourth part, which includes the re-entry of the company after the ceremony and Hardman's insistence on leaving abruptly, is closely

adapted from *TS* (3.2.183–253), but adds Wormfire's comments and augments the fast-paced exchange between Catharina and Hardman (258–312), while omitting most of Petruccio's speech claiming Katherina as his property (3.2.228–40). The last part has no equivalent in *TS*. It includes Sebastian and Hilarius talking about the suit to Sabina (349–67), and Veit and Fabian trying to make sense of recent events (368–98).

1–12 Before adapting *TS*'s beginning of the scene (11), *KK* adds a brief soliloquy by Catharina in which she expresses her fear of acquiring the reputation of scorned bride, and promises to improve her behaviour towards Hardman upon his return (see Introduction, pp. 105–6).

1 SP In D1 and D2, the SP is implied in the entrance SD.

1 **I am . . . shame** Catharina literally says 'I sit in the jeer' ('Ich sitze im Schimpf'); see Grimm, 'Schimpf', 2.

4 **wedding dance** Catharina refers to the communal festivities that she thinks will be denied her, but she may also allude to the wedding night (Wander, 'Tanz', 77).

6 **tit for tat** Catharina literally says 'sausage for sausage' ('Wurst wieder Wurst'), a proverb that reflects the custom of offering one's neighbours fresh sausage when a pig is slaughtered (Wander, 'Wurst', 67).

and force myself to be friendly even though it is 10
 against my nature. Here comes the man who has
 caused all this evil.

Enter THEOBALD *and* FELIX [*as Hilarius*].

THEOBALD Now I greatly desire news from the lad.
 Today is the appointed wedding-day. Everything is
 ready, but nobody has had any news from the groom. 15

Enter VEIT.

VEIT My lord, I asked at Sir Hardman's usual lodgings
 and all other sorts of places in search of news, but
 could not discover the least trace of him or when he
 will arrive. I reckon the hangman has broken his mad
 neck. 20

CATHARINA I would to God you were a prophet.

THEOBALD I do not know what to do. This insult is too
 great for my noble degree; with others it would seem
 a farce. What will they say, those scornful people to
 whom the high status of nobility is always a thorn in 25
 the side? O, that I must endure such mockery!

11–12 **the ... evil** Compare Catharina's accusations against Sir Theobald in her speech at 27–41.

12 SD In *TS*, Baptista and Tranio enter with Katherina, Bianca, Gremio 'and others, *Attendants*' (3.2.0.3), including presumably Lucentio. In *KK*, Catharina is already onstage, while Sabina, Sebastian and Hilarius do not enter until later, at lines 232, 176 and 152 respectively.

13–26 *KK* adapts Baptista's speech (*TS*, 3.2.1–7) but interrupts it with speeches by Veit and Catharina, added by *KK*, that heighten the suspense about Hardman's arrival.

22–6 *KK* preserves Baptista's fear of mockery (*TS*, 3.2.4) but adds the humorously self-reflective statement that the

situation would seem like a scene from a farce ('*Posse*') if only others experienced it too.

24–6 **What ... side?** Theobald literally asks, 'what verdicts will the splinter-judges render who are constantly stung in the eye by nobility's preference' ('Was für urtheilen werden die Splitter-Richter führen / welche doch des Adels Fürzug stäts in die Augen sticht'). Those harshly judging the petty foibles of others were called 'splinter judges' (Grimm, 'Splitterrichter'), a term derived from Christ's Sermon on the Mount: 'why beholdest thou the mote [i.e. splinter] that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?' (Matthew 7.3).

CATHARINA You should keep quiet, for who bears the shame, father, except for me who am innocent? Against my will I must submit to the desire of this raging madcap. I must be promised to a rough rogue 30 who has no intention of keeping his word. I must be forced to offer my faith to one who is faithless. That kind of faithless man who would swear a hundred oaths and then play his tricks. Here is your bride, now marry her. O, that this should happen even to wisdom 35 like yours, yet even old hens lay in nettles sometimes. But I am the one who has to suffer most, I mean the jeering voice of the people. They will laugh enough at mad Hardman and his bride, and make a song about them. They will point their fingers at me, O, what a 40 shame!

FELIX Peace, madam. Sir Hardman is not so thoughtless as to expose Sir Theobald to shame and leave you to the mockery of the people. Who knows what has prevented his journey? Such things are common with 45 travellers. He will not fail us.

CATHARINA If only I had never seen him! I wish him the gallows or the wheel for his faithfulness! But none of this does me any good. *Exit.*

27–41 Catharina's speech remains reasonably close to *TS* (3.2.8–20) but shows a more independent Catharina, pitching her 'will' (29) against Theobald's, while Katherina is 'forced / To give [her] hand opposed against [her] heart' (3.2.8–9).

36 **even ... sometimes.** Proverbial (Wander, 'Huhn', 158).

37–8 **the jeering ... people** Catharina literally says 'the people's fairy-tale voice' ('der Leute Mährlein Stimm'), linking the oral and fictive quality of these popular stories to the way news of her slight will spread.

38–40 **They ... them.** *KK* adds the idea of

the slanderous song, concluding it with a rhyme ('Die des tollen Hartmans und seiner Braut genug lachen, ein Liedlein von jhnen machen').

42–6 *KK* stays close to *TS*, but omits *Tranio's* supposed acquaintance with *Petruccio* ('I know him passing wise', 3.2.24) and offers instead a commonsensical explanation for *Hardman's* absence, adding that '[h]e will not fail us', a reference to his status as *Sabina's* supposed husband-to-be.

49 *SD* In *TS*, *Katherina* exits at the equivalent moment, and she does so 'weeping' (3.2.26.1).

VEIT He could do her good. I take it our lady has 50
understood that there's something good about him.

THEOBALD The poor child has cause enough to grieve
and grumble. It would make a patient lamb impatient,
let alone an angry cat.

Enter FABIAN.

FABIAN Sir, sir, *mirabilia nova, mirabiliorum novissima* 55
mirabilissima. Strange news of old stories the like of
which you've never heard before, nor never will as
long as the newsforgers fool men with lies.

FELIX You speak merrily. Is it new and old at the same 60
time?

FABIAN The thing is merry indeed. It is Sir Hardman's
arrival.

THEOBALD How is he coming?

FABIAN I do not say he is coming, but his horse is.

THEOBALD Did he meet with some mishap on the way? 65

FABIAN I have no report of that. The horse brings him on
its back.

FELIX You are indeed a fool. So he must be coming as
well, since they are one.

FABIAN Far off the mark: a horse and its man are two. 70

50–4 *KK* preserves Baptista's speech, substituting 'lamb' for 'saint', and 'angry cat' for 'shrew' (*TS*, 3.2.28–9), but inserts Veit's sexually suggestive remark before it.

55–8 *KK* adapts Biondello's excitement (*TS*, 3.2.30–1), adding the Latin *mirabilia nova, mirabiliorum novissima mirabilissima* ('new wonders, newest most wonderful of all wonders'), perhaps alluding to the satiric anti-Catholic pamphlet *Nova Mirabilia oder Neue Zeitung aus dem Fegefeuer* (Nova Mirabilia or News from Purgatory) by the pseudonymous Theophilum Antipapium, which went through a number of editions in 1668 and

1669 (see VD17 3:318763B, 12:154610G, 3:653749G, 14:678664E and 12:107853P).

59–70 *KK* assigns two speeches by Baptista to Felix (*TS*, 3.2.32 and 3.2.78; *KK*, 59–60 and 68–9), transposes *TS*'s later conceit of the horse and its rider (3.2.76–83) and omits the somewhat obscure reference to 'Saint Jamy' (3.2.79). *KK* also omits the brief dialogue between Baptista and Biondello about whether Petruccio has 'come' or 'is coming' (3.2.35 and 38), a grammatical play that cannot be reproduced in German.

70 **Far ... mark** Proverbial, referring to hitting the mark in archery (Wander, 'fehlen', 41).

- FELIX Well, what is your old and your new news?
- FABIAN He comes very honourably dressed with a new hat and old garments. He goes about in such Shrove-tide honours, and is surrounded by much *comitat*.
- THEOBALD Who is coming with him? 75
- FABIAN My lord brother, the lord's servant, decked out the same way. They both present themselves in such a peculiar way that you could take their garments for monsters and them for fools without hurting your conscience. 80
- THEOBALD I am glad he is here, let him be dressed as he pleases. It would be a good thing if the man could be as easily changed as the garment.
- FABIAN [*aside*] My vice-lord was fortunate in that, but hush, *pudeat te talia protulere*. 85

Enter HARDMAN *and* WORMFIRE, *strangely dressed*.

- WORMFIRE Ha, courage, in the name of all the saints, we have returned to German ground. Lord of a thousand

72–4 *KK* adapts Biondello's first words ('Why, Petruccio is coming in a new hat and an old jerkin', *TS*, 3.2.43–4), but radically condenses his lengthy description of Petruccio's outlandish dress (3.2.43–61).

73–4 **Shrove-tide** See 1.2.43n.

74 **comitat** Latin, retinue, companions.

75–80 *KK* faithfully translates Baptista's question (*TS*, 3.2.62) but compresses Biondello's description of Grumio's clothes (3.2.63–8).

81–3 *KK* translates Baptista's concession that he is 'glad' Petruccio has come 'howsoe'er he comes' (*TS*, 3.2.71), but adds Theobald's proverbial second sentence (see Wander, 'Kleid', 28).

84 **My . . . that** presumably a reference to Felix and his disguise as Hilarius.

85 **pudeat . . . protulere** Latin, you should

be ashamed to say such things. The speech has no equivalent in *TS*.

85 **SD *strangely dressed*** Not mentioned in *TS*'s equivalent SD (3.2.83 SD).

86–147 While Grumio is present in the equivalent passage in *TS* (3.2.84–122), he does not speak. Wormfire's four speeches (86–90, 117, 124–5, 138–9) strengthen his comical presence. See also 246–331 and note.

87 **returned . . . ground** Presumably a foolish comment by Wormfire rather than an indication that he and Hardman have gone on foreign travels. In 2.1, Hardman affirmed that he 'must travel to Frankfurt' (538–9) to make purchases for the wedding.

87–8 **Lord . . . years** ('Tausend guter Jahr Herr') probably a reference to Christ's thousand-year reign announced in the Book of Revelation (20.1–4).

- good years, how nicely we shall be welcomed by our
flesh and blood, what affectionate rubbing there will
be, how it tickles me! 90
- HARDMAN Shut up, you babbling rogue, or I'll give you
a clout. But ye gods and little fishes! Greetings, father,
and greetings to you, gentlemen! Why do you stand
here with gaping mouths?
- THEOBALD Welcome, my lord. 95
- HARDMAN Yet I see I have not come well.
- FELIX We are pleased to see you but would rather see
you in more pleasing clothes.
- HARDMAN You don't understand, so please spare me
your further wisdom. If I were dressed even more 100
strangely, it would please me well. Why am I wasting
my time with fools here? Where is my dearest
Catharina? My sense and inclination are for her.
Where is my heart's beloved? How are you, father?
You gentlemen all gape at me as if you had never seen 105

88–9 **our ... blood** The German literally says 'the opposites of our belly' ('unsers Bauchs Gegentheilen'), i.e. the female genitals (see Grimm, 'Bauch', 3).

92 **ye ... fishes** Our translation of Hardman's blasphemous interjection, 'potz hundert tausend Sack voll enten' (literally, 'a hundred thousand bags full of ducks'), which collapses 'sacment' (sacrament) into 'Sack' (bag) and 'Ente' (duck). The word 'potz' is derived from 'Gottes' ('God's').

94 **gaping mouths** Hardman literally says 'you stand here and sell maw apes' ('Stehet jhr hier und haltet Maulaffen veil'). 'Maw apes' is a corruption of 'Maul offen' ('maw open'), which probably originates in the custom of selling earthen pots in the shape of heads with open mouths into which people would stick kindling.

95–8 *KK* adapts *TS*'s pun on 'welcome' and 'come not well' (3.2.86–7), i.e. well dressed, by means of 'willkommen' (welcome) and 'nicht wohl nach jhrem Willen kommen' (not come according to your will). *KK* omits Baptista's continuation of the word play (*TS*, 3.2.88) and instead inserts a punning speech by Felix.

99–107 *KK* closely adapts Petruccio's speech (*TS*, 3.2.90–5), but adds Hardman's sarcastic comments about his interlocutors' 'wisdom' (100) and their inability to 'understand' (107).

105–6 **You ... man.** Hardman literally says, 'you lords gape at me like the goose at a new gate' ('Ihr Herren gaffet mich alle an wie die Gans ein neues Thor'), referring to a proverbial conception of geese as being easily puzzled by commonplace objects (Grimm, 'Gans', 2a γ).

- a man. Am I a demi-beast? It's a wretched situation when inexperienced people fail to understand things.
- THEOBALD This appearance will seem strange to every reasonable person. You know that today is your day of honour, and yet you come thus unready. A little while ago we were disappointed about your absence, now we are dismayed by your appearance in such an unfitting fashion. Come, take off these foolish clothes! It is shameful for you and for us. 110
- FELIX [*to Hardman*] Speak, sir, what held you up so long? 115
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] That which does not press us down.
- HARDMAN It would be annoying for me to tell you at this busy time, and still more boring for you to hear. Why do you care? It is enough that I am here to deliver myself up to my dearest lady and to fill her arms. That's why I must go. Time flies, and I haven't finished anything yet. 120
- WORMFIRE [*aside*] Damn it, time is getting long for me and my appendage too. 125
- FELIX Wait, don't go in like that. Please, go to my chamber and put on more suitable clothes first.
- HARDMAN Let me be hit by lightning if my love does not

106 **Am ... demi-beast?** *KK* transforms *TS*'s cosmic marvels ('Some comet or unusual prodigy', 3.2.95) into, literally, a 'wonder-animal' ('Wunder-Thier'), that is, a monster or a creature half-human, half-animal (Grimm, 'Wundertier', 1a).

108–14 Theobald's speech remains close to Baptista's in *TS* (3.2.96–100) except that *KK* adds Theobald's first sentence.

115–16 Felix's question is a condensed version of Tranio's (*TS*, 3.2.101–3), but Wormfire's aside, with its play on prepositions – 'held you up' ('aufhalten') and

'press us down' ('niederdrücken') – has no equivalent in *TS*.

118–23 *KK* stays close to *TS* (3.2.104–10) but omits Petruccio's hint at excusable reasons for his late arrival (3.2.106–8).

124–5 *KK* adds Wormfire's aside about his appendage (i.e. penis), as eager for Sybilla as Hardman is for Catharina.

126–32 *KK* remains close to *TS* (3.2.111–14) except that it turns Petruccio's straightforward 'Not I, believe me; thus I'll visit her' (3.2.113) into a more emphatic rejection of Felix's suggestion.

receive me in this outfit! A whole consistory of the holiest people will not prevent me. My will is my 130 compass.

THEOBALD But I hope you will not marry her like this.

HARDMAN Exactly like this, or else may I drop dead! It is me she marries, and not my garments. Why do I need to argue? I have no need for a steward. I'm 135 wasting my time with these foolish antics. I will go in and greet my bride with a lovely kiss. *Exit.*

WORMFIRE I will not be absent from there either. *A Dieu, mon frère*, we'll drink to health and happiness today!

FABIAN I am *pro* and *contra* to dispute this matter. 140

FELIX [*aside to Fabian and Wormfire*] You are two fine gentlemen.

FABIAN Indeed, in fine drinking health!

THEOBALD I must follow to be present at the reception.

If he doesn't take off these fool's robes, I think it 145

129 **consistory** ('*Consistorium*') a high-level ecclesiastical court.

130–1 **My ... compass.** Hardman literally says, 'mein Will ist meine Richtschnur' ('my will is my plumb line'), referring to the device used to gauge the straightness of surfaces (Grimm, 'Richtschnur', 2).

133–7 **KK** closely adapts Petruccio's equivalent soliloquy (*TS*, 3.2.115–22) except that it omits the middle sentence (3.2.117–19) about what 'Kate' will 'wear' in him, i.e. possess and enjoy, including sexually.

137 **SD**–43 Modern editors of *TS* assume that Grumio leaves with Petruccio (3.2.122 **SD**), but **KK** inserts a short exchange between the servants and has Wormfire exit a bit later.

138–9 **A ... frère** French, farewell, my brother. Wormfire takes leave of Fabian.

139–40 **we'll ... matter** Wormfire literally says 'today, drink shall set the cheers on top of the toast' ('heut soll noch ein Trunck das *prosit* auff *salus* setzen'). Wormfire's use of student Latin provokes Felix's subsequent allusion to the manner of university disputations.

141–2 Felix sarcastically describes Wormfire and Fabian as, literally, 'modest' ('bescheidene') gentlemen. Fabian puns on the word by using an expression that refers to pledging when being toasted ('Bescheid thun', Grimm, 'Bescheid', 8).

144–52 **KK** inverts the order of the corresponding speeches in *TS*, where Tranio speaks before Baptista (3.2.123–6).

144–7 **KK** closely adapts Baptista's short speech (*TS*, 3.2.126) before adding Theobald's anxious plan to hide the wedding party to avoid public scandal.

would be wise to invite you all to my home. I would rather not be scorned by the people.

Exit [with Wormfire].

FELIX I think that would be for the best. He will no doubt play some other tricks. I believe his own reasons have brought him to this. His good sense 150 shines through his mad and foolish behaviour. The fool's cap covers many a shrewd mind.

Enter [HILARIUS as] Johannes.

Here comes my master just at the right moment! – How is it going with your own affairs? What you have entrusted to me will soon be brought to a happy 155 end.

HILARIUS Indeed I like the sound of this, since my business looks pretty fair, too. Only one thing plagues me, and it is no small problem: I have a fellow suitor who doesn't seem to be the man he pretends to be. I 160 believe he is known to my lady, but so far I have learned nothing from her, although I see her heart belongs to nobody but me. But – (*They go to the side.*)

147 SD *KK* does not mention Wormfire's exit, but as he has announced it (138–9) and does not speak before he re-enters at 232 SD, we assume that he leaves the stage with Theobald. Modern editors assume that Biondello exits with Baptista (*TS*, 3.2.126 SD), but Fabian remains onstage, witnessing and then commenting on the conversation between Hilarius and Felix (148–76). The other character whom modern editors assume exits at the equivalent moment is Gremio, who is mentioned in the entrance SD at the beginning of the scene (*TS*, 3.2.0.1) but has remained silent. In *KK*, by contrast, Sebastian is offstage at this point and does not enter until 176 SD.

148–52 Felix's speech expands on Tranio's line, 'He [i.e. Petruccio] hath some

meaning in his mad attire' (*TS*, 3.2.123).

151–2 **The ... mind.** ('Die Narren-Kappe decket manchen klugen Kopff.') proverbial (Wander, 'Narrenkappe', 4).

152 SD Most editors of *TS* since Rowe assume that Lucentio has been onstage since the beginning of the scene; in *KK*, Hilarius only enters here. *Oxf* begins a new scene at this point, whereas in *KK* it is clear that Felix remains onstage when Theobald and Wormfire exit, and does not leave the stage until Hilarius arrives.

153–63 Whereas in *TS* (3.2.127–47), Tranio and Lucentio discuss the need to find a fake father and float the possibility of abducting Bianca 'to steal our marriage' (3.2.139), *KK* has Hilarius speculate about Alfons' identity and talk aside with Felix.

FABIAN He'll sting her soon. I take it she's still to be stung. I thought there was something else behind it. 165
 What rogues there are in the world! One can rise through such tricks. I could have helped my lord to trick the people as much as this upstart does, strutting around in such gorgeous clothes, and spending the time feasting and guzzling. It plagues my blood when 170
 I have to serve him. But when we're among people who have nothing to do with my lord's business, I'll happily let others do it. But what help is there? I must bear it. *Spes lucri* is a pretty thing. If it were not for that and my master, we would start a fight to change 175
 places in this masquerade.

Enter SEBASTIAN laughing.

[*aside*] What's the matter with this old flatterer? Laughter looks as pretty on him as on an ape that wrinkles its nose when emptying its behind. O, blind world, that this old, incapable man desires to venture 180
 into someone young.

SEBASTIAN I cannot breathe for laughter! But what's the meaning of this, my go-between with my fellow suitor?

164–76 *TS* has no equivalent to Fabian's soliloquy about the dishonour of serving a fellow-servant (see Introduction, pp. 104–5).

164 **sting** take her virginity.

173–4 **I . . . it.** Fabian literally says 'I have to bite it away', that is, 'swallow it' ('ich muß es so verbeissen') (see Grimm, 'verbeissen', 2d).

174 *Spes lucri* Latin, in the hope of reward.

175–6 **we . . . places** Fabian literally says 'we would start a movement of caps' ('wir wolten ein Kappenrückens anfangen'), that is, a fight symbolized by the dislocation of caps when pushing each other (see Grimm, 'Kappenrücken', 2).

176 *SD laughing* not mentioned in *TS*'s equivalent *SD* (3.2.147 *SD*).

177–81 As in the preceding *SD*, the insistence on Sebastian's laughter has no equivalent in *TS*.

177 **this . . . flatterer** Fabian mocks Sebastian by literally calling him a 'soft treader' ('Leisetreter'), an insult that presumably stems from the care with which flatterers need to move in the presence of a patron (see Grimm).

182 **I . . . laughter!** Sebastian literally says 'I have nearly laughed myself into having a bloated belly' ('Ich habe mich fast bauchblässig gelachtet'), i.e. he has been struggling to breathe.

182–6 **But . . . news.** Sebastian's suspicion and Felix's reassurance have no equivalent in *TS*.

- FELIX Your servant, Sir Sebastian. I recognized my 185
countryman, and asked for the news. Where have you
just come from?
- SEBASTIAN You ask where; well, from Sir Theobald's
lodgings, where I attended an amusing *copulation*.
- FELIX Of what sort, my lord? 190
- SEBASTIAN And you ask? I see it is I rather than you
who have been given the honour of being witness to
this business. Sir Hardman is bound to Lady Catharina.
There's a couple that is mad beyond all measure. But
he is past compare. He's a true devil. 195
- FELIX And she is a fury among the devil's lovers.
- SEBASTIAN She's not to be compared to him. She's a
patient lamb with a raging wolf, a meek dove with an
angry hawk. Not even the devil can resemble his
extraordinary nature. He cares for neither heaven 200
nor hell.
- FELIX But what did he do inside?
- SEBASTIAN The priest had to hurry there, and then
Hardman ordered him abruptly to couple them in
God's name. The priest begged to be excused, pleading 205
a lack of preparation. When he said he did not even
have the book with him, Hardman threw a calendar
into his hands and threatened him, ordering him not to

188–95 **You ... compare.** *KK* loosely adapts the beginning of Gremio's account of the wedding and Tranio's questions (*TS*, 3.2.149–53).

188–9 **Sir ... lodgings** In *TS*, Gremio has come 'from the church' (3.2.148).

189 **copulation (copulation)** a joining; more specifically, a wedding. In German it was not until later that the generative act became the dominant meaning.

195–9 **He's ... hawk.** This closely adapts the exchange between Gremio and Tranio (*TS*, 3.2.154–6) but adds the 'raging wolf' and 'angry hawk' to Sebastian's characterization of Hardman.

197–202 **KK** adds to the equivalent passage in *TS* both the hyperbolic conclusion to Sebastian's description of Hardman and Felix's subsequent question.

203–17 Sebastian's account begins with a passage that has no equivalent in *TS*: Hardman's roughness with the priest (203–10), who is forced to perform the ceremony with a calendar. The second half of the speech, by contrast, closely follows Gremio's (*TS*, 3.2.157–63).

208–9 **not ... fuss** Sebastian literally says Hardman ordered the priest not 'to make too much equipment' ('viel Geschirr zu machen'); see Grimm, 'Geschirr', 20 g β.

make so much fuss. In sheer terror, the priest performed his office as swiftly as possible. When he came to ask the bride whether she wished to be Hardman's wife, Hardman shouted a loud yes, and swore so abominably that the good father dropped his fine book of ceremonies for fear, and, as he stooped to pick it up again, a cold sweat broke from the fat man who was so amazed that the raging bridegroom gave him a blow that knocked the book to the ground again.

FELIX What did she say to this? Did she take no part in all this raging?

SEBASTIAN She trembled and shook like a leaf. When Hardman saw that, he growled and thundered with a violence that made all his previous oaths seem tame, and he behaved without sense as if we wished to take away his bride. When all was done, he seized his bride by the neck and pressed her so hard against him that she almost shit herself and turned blue in the face. Then he kissed her loudly, which sent an echo through the hall, and I ran out –

FABIAN [*aside*] – as fast as I could.

SEBASTIAN – because I could no longer stay or watch for laughing. Nothing like this has ever happened before or will ever happen again. But here comes the madcap.

215 **the fat man** the priest.

218–32 *KK* places Felix's question at the same moment as Tranio's in *TS* (3.2.165) and preserves some specific features of Gremio's speech (*TS*, 3.2.166–82) in Sebastian's, notably Katherina's reaction ('Trembled and shook', 3.2.166) and Petruccio's 'clamorous smack' (3.2.177).

The rest of the speech is more loosely adapted, and *KK* adds Fabian's aside at 229.

226 **shit herself** Sebastian literally says

Hardman pressed Catharina so hard she had almost 'let marrow' ('Marck lassen'), a euphemism for defecating (see Wander, 'Mark', 13).

232 *SD* In *TS*, unlike in *KK*, '*Music plays*' (3.2.181 *SD*) as the newly-weds and the wedding guests enter. Alfons is not among the characters who enter, whereas Hortensio (as Licio) is (*TS*, 3.2.182 *SD*), although he remains silent for the rest of the scene.

Enter HARDMAN, CATHARINA, THEOBALD, SABINA,
WORMFIRE *and* VEIT.

- HARDMAN It's no use pleading with me. I have no choice
but to go away even if the table were more richly set
or there were even greater friends present. I am not 235
a man who acts against his nature on account of
entertainment and company. My affairs are absolutely
essential. Thus, be it sour or sweet, the moment of
parting has come.
- THEOBALD Do you really want to leave tonight? 240
- HARDMAN Tonight? Today, this hour and moment! If
you knew my business, father, you would hurry me
on my way. So, gentlemen, may God be with you. Be
merry, feast and drink as if you were mad. Drink to
both our healths, drink whole cups and half ones! 245
- WORMFIRE Master, shall I stay and see that they drink
everything up?
- HARDMAN A rope round your neck!
- WORMFIRE That would hardly suit me. A cup of
Bacherach wine would be better. 250
- FELIX [*to Hardman*] Brother, relent and stay here.
- WORMFIRE Yes, my lord, I would dearly like to stay here.
- HARDMAN It cannot be.
- SEBASTIAN Sir, shall I beg you?
- WORMFIRE O, yes please, beg for me too. 255
- HARDMAN [*to Sebastian*] You are the right person to
move me.

233–45 *KK* paraphrases *TS*, but omits Petruccio's assertion that he gave himself away to Katherina (*TS*, 3.2.193–4), which alludes to his usurpation of the priest's authority during the ceremony.
246–331 As in the scenic movement before the wedding (see note at 86–147), Wormfire's comical presence is much greater than in *TS* (3.2.183–240), where Grumio has only one short speech (3.2.206–7).

250 **Bacherach wine** Wormfire literally says a cup of 'Bacheracher', a wine from the famous wine-growing region of Bacherach in the Rhine-Palatinate (see Köhler, 246).
251–69 *KK* follows *TS* speech by speech except for Wormfire's added interjections.
256–7 Compare Hardman's scoffing rejection of Sebastian with Petruccio's simple dismissal of Gremio ('It cannot be', *TS*, 3.2.200).

- CATHARINA And if I asked, my darling?
 HARDMAN With that I would be content.
 CATHARINA I love to hear that you are content to stay. 260
 WORMFIRE And I even more so.
 HARDMAN I am content that you ask me, but not that you
 ask me to stay.
 WORMFIRE [*aside*] Alas, that sounds bad.
 CATHARINA Well, if you love me, stay. This is my first 265
 request to you.
 HARDMAN Wormfire, are my horses ready?
 WORMFIRE Yes, my lord. The horses have eaten the oats
 by now, but I still haven't said goodbye to my lady.
 HARDMAN I'll write such shit on your back with my club 270
 that it will make you break into a cold sweat! Away,
 away!
 CATHARINA Well then, do what you have to do.
 HARDMAN You do well to bend to my will, my dearest
 darling. I love you all the more for it. 275
 CATHARINA Go then, I shan't go away today, nor
 tomorrow either.
 WORMFIRE [*aside*] That's music to my ears. I shan't go
 at all.
 CATHARINA I'll go when it pleases me. 280
 WORMFIRE [*aside*] I wish I could say the same.
 HARDMAN That's right, Catharina, you will leave when
 it pleases me. That is how it must be.

260 *KK* replaces Katherina's careful question ('Are you content to stay?', *TS*, 3.2.202) with an affirmation.

265–6 *KK* translates Katherina's 'if you love me, stay' (*TS*, 3.2.205), but adds the remark that this is her 'first request' to her new husband.

268–9 *KK* translates Grumio's nonsense about the oats eating the horses (*TS*, 3.2.206–7) and adds the phrase about

taking leave of his lady, i.e. Sybilla, who has no equivalent in *TS*.

270–2 has no equivalent in *TS*. For the fact that Hardman's violence and abuse exceed Petruccio's, see 3.3.104 *SD* and note.

273–89 *KK* closely adapts Katherina's speech (*TS*, 3.2.208–15), but splits it into several parts by having it interrupted by Hardman and Wormfire.

- CATHARINA The door is open to you, and you know the way. Dance while your feet are itching. As for me, 285
I won't.
- HARDMAN What's this tune now? I do not like it.
- CATHARINA Nor I yours. You'll be an evil cock if you
crow so strangely so early.
- HARDMAN Sweetest Catharina, I crow and scratch the 290
ground for your own good, so be a good and patient
hen, not an ill-tempered and angry one.
- CATHARINA I will be angry. – Gentlemen, pay no
attention to his behaviour.
- SEBASTIAN Now the dragon starts to stir. 295
- HARDMAN Gentlemen, mind your own business, and
don't mind my darling.
- CATHARINA A pretty darling you are.
- HARDMAN And your favourite darling, I know that for
sure. 300
- CATHARINA This would make a fool out of a woman if
she didn't have the spirit to resist. – Gentlemen, let's
go in to the bridal feast.
- HARDMAN That's right, fairest, they ought to go as you
command. – Away, gentlemen, obey the bride, feast 305
and lord it like God's children. Be merry and mad, or
go and hang yourselves from despair. But my dearest

285 **Dance ... itching.** *KK* translates *TS*'s proverb ('be jogging while your boots are green', 3.2.212) with an equivalent, proverbial-sounding sentence.

288–92 *KK* transforms Katherina's expression of discontent towards her 'surly groom' (*TS*, 3.2.214) into a conceit that makes Hardman 'an evil cock', which he develops by asking her to be 'a good and patient hen', whereas Petruccio simply asks, 'O Kate, content thee; prithe be not angry' (*TS*, 3.2.216).

293–303 *KK* adapts Katherina's two speeches and Gremio's glee at witnessing the

impending power struggle between her and Petruccio (*TS*, 3.2.217–22), but adds Hardman's intervention and his 'darling' exchange with Catharina.

304–28 The passage corresponds to a single speech by Petruccio at the end of which he, Katherina and Grumio exit (*TS*, 3.2.223–40). *KK* interrupts the speech with Catharina's and Theobald's petitions to leave her there, and two comic interjections by Wormfire.

304–8 **That's ... me.** A close adaptation of the first part of Petruccio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 3.2.223–8).

Catharina shall come with me. I cannot leave my
dearest earthly possession behind.

He takes her by the hand.

- CATHARINA Leave me, and go away if you wish. 310
 HARDMAN Don't be angry, my heart's child, nobody will
do you any harm when you're with me.
 THEOBALD Then leave her here, sir.
 HARDMAN Why do you seek to steal away my heart? –
You, pretty soul. (*He kisses her.*) You are my all, my 315
nothing, my life and death depend on you. – Here my
treasure stands. Woe to him who is bold enough to
touch her. I will protect her against you all, and all the
world, yes, the devil himself will not take her from me.
What, you rogues! Wormfire, out with your pistol! 320
 WORMFIRE My lord, my warm beer has frozen in this
heat.
 HARDMAN I see, we are beset by rogues and thieves who
want to block our way. Help, save your lady, my
faithful servant, if you have a heart in your stomach! 325

309 SD There is no SD at the equivalent moment in *TS* (3.2.228).

310–13 Theobald's petition echoes Catharina's and shows him taking her part. Baptista, in contrast, remains silent, and the next that is heard from him, after his daughter and son-in-law have left, is 'Nay, let them go – a couple of quiet ones' (*TS*, 3.2.241).

315–16 **You ... you.** *KK* adds Hardman's address to Catharina and his kiss. The equivalent passage in Petruccio's speech is addressed not to Katherina but to the wedding guests he is about to leave (*TS*, 3.2.231–3). Whereas Petruccio reduces Katherina to one of his possessions amongst other 'goods' (3.2.231), Hardman calls Catharina his 'all' and 'nothing' on whom his 'life and death depend'.

317–19 **Woe ... me.** *KK* has no equivalent for Petruccio's mention of 'Padua' in the equivalent passage (*TS*, 3.2.236), in keeping with the play's omission of place names elsewhere (see 1.3.106–7, 2.1.104–5, 634–9 and notes).

320 **you rogues** Hardman literally says 'you mice heads' ('ihr Mausköpfe'), referring to thievish dishonourable people (see Grimm, 'Mäusekopf', 2).

320–8 **Wormfire ... protection.** *KK* closely adapts the equivalent portion of Petruccio's speech in *TS* (3.2.236–40) and adds Wormfire's interjections.

321 **warm beer** ('Warmbier') Wormfire plays on the word 'warm beer', referring to both a firearm and a rich drink with beer, eggs and spices (see Grimm).

WORMFIRE That's not much.

HARDMAN Have no fear, my dearest child. Not a soul shall harm you, you are under my protection.

He carries her out in his arms.

WORMFIRE May the devil thank my lord that he is holding such a drunken wedding. Let the gallows host him, as long as he leaves me behind. *Exit.* 330

SABINA What a merry company! But it is wrong not to keep the bride at least until the wedding feast. It would be good to keep her here awhile.

FELIX I don't think it's good that his stubborn head could not be tamed to stay. 335

THEOBALD We must let them leave together. God grant that they tame each other.

HILARIUS What does my most beautiful lady think of her sister? 340

SABINA I think she is mad herself, and now has a mad husband who suits her perfectly.

THEOBALD Gentlemen, please step inside. Sir Hilarius of Liebenthal will replace the groom, and my daughter will keep him company. 345

FELIX Thus the groom's place is filled. A good prelude.

328 SD While the equivalent SD in *TS* is a simple 'Exeunt' (3.2.240.1), *KK*'s spells out how they do so.

331 SD The early editions of *TS* have no exit SD for Grumio, but editors since Capell usually assume that he exits at the same time as Petruccio and Katherina (3.2.240 SD).

332–6 There is no equivalent in *TS* to Sabina's and Felix's disapproving comments on Hardman's behaviour.

337–8 *KK* transforms Baptista's ironic description of Petruccio and Katherina as

'quiet ones' (*TS*, 2.3.241) into a prayer that they will tame each other or, literally, make each other cease raging ('sich wohl vertoben').

339–42 *KK* closely adapts Lucentio's question and Bianca's answer about her sister (*TS*, 3.2.244–5), but omits Gremio's and Tranio's comments on the comical nature of the situation (*TS*, 3.2.242–3, 246).

343–5 Theobald, like Baptista, determines to make the younger sister and her suitor substitutes for the newly-weds at the wedding feast (*TS*, 3.2.247–51).

HILARIUS I wish she would do this with her dearest love.

SABINA I hope both our wishes will be granted.

Exeunt Theobald, Sabina and Felix.

SEBASTIAN I will follow the gentlemen soon. Sir
Johannes, stay awhile. 350

HILARIUS I am bound and desirous to obey my lord.

SEBASTIAN I must tell you about my sorrows for a little
while. This Liebenthal has received her father's
consent under certain circumstances. I am out of the
race, unless you have something to comfort me with. 355

HILARIUS I am sorry to hear this, since I already have
the maid quite on my side.

SEBASTIAN That fills me with joy. But is there hope?

HILARIUS Yes, if I still have time, for as you can imagine,
my lord, I cannot bring her to requite my love fully in 360
such a short time.

SEBASTIAN I will be ready *communicato consilio* to help
in every way with what is to be done next. Let us go
in now. In there, I shall easily get to her myself and
continue what you have begun. *Exit.* 365

HILARIUS [*aside*] Just go inside, your continuation will
be of no avail. *Exit.*

FABIAN Who's this black-coat? He's all too friendly
with your lady.

347–8 Whereas *TS* has Baptista conclude the scene ('Come gentlemen, let's go', 3.2.253), *KK* ends the scenic movement with a brief exchange between Sabina and Hilarius; here she reciprocates his love.

349–98 *KK* adds two dialogues after the end of the equivalent scene in *TS*, one between Sebastian and Hilarius on the success of the latter's love suit, suppos-

edly in the name of the former (349–67), and one between the two servants Fabian and Veit, who forthrightly comment on the sexual mores of their social superiors (368–98).

362 *communicato consilio* Latin, when the plan has been imparted.

368 **black-coat** ('Schwartzmantel') a cloak worn by students, particularly those studying theology (see Grimm).

- VEIT He is her *praeceptor*, though I think he teaches her 370
too much. I bet if your master knew it, he'd give him
bad wages for that information.
- FABIAN It is the fashion now, noblemen make children
for the peasants, and the peasants are thankful for it.
One honour for another. 375
- VEIT That's a fine thing. But I wonder how the blood
will be changed, though it is none of our concern. If
we're needed, we'll offer help without thinking twice
about it. I wonder why our lady is so friendly with this
rogue; she cared little for men before. She has surely 380
seen something good in him.
- FABIAN Don't you know what rascals these students are?
- VEIT I once waited on one, and he was bad enough.
- FABIAN Those who desire grafting, let them go to the
students, I say. I know many noble maids who desire 385
to be near a university. Our master's wife has often
mentioned how full of pleasure those academies are.
You may guess why. But do you think this student
cloak covers a bad core?
- VEIT I don't know. 390
- FABIAN If you can keep your mouth shut, I might tell
you something in confidence.

370 *praeceptor* Latin, teacher.

373–5 For the same idea, see Alfons at 3.1.236–8.

376–7 **how ... changed** Veit refers to the idea of the pure blood of the nobility which the non-noble mistress threatens to dilute (see Kautsky, 205–10).

378–9 **without ... it** Veit literally says 'without worrying a hair about it' ('bekümmern uns nicht ein Haar darum'), referring to the insignificance of a hair (see Grimm, 'Haar', 17).

380 **rogue** The German is 'Mauser', describing someone who stealthily preys on others,

like a cat hunting mice (see Grimm).

384 **grafting** ('propfreiser') The German word designates grafts or scions and, as in English, was also used figuratively.

387 **academies** Academies along the classical models of intellectual societies concerned with language or science flourished in Renaissance Europe (see Moran).

388–9 **this ... cloak** ('dieses Penal Mäntelchen') 'Penal' refers to a box with writing feathers and was used as a condescending designation for students (see Grimm, Pennal, *m.*); also, a penis (see Grimm, Pennal, *n.* 2).

VEIT You know well that what is unknown to me is safe
with me.

FABIAN I'll tell you in your ear. 395

[*Fabian whispers in Veit's ear.*]

VEIT I would never have believed this! Well, fortune be
my guide.

FABIAN But brother, we tarry too long, *i prae sequar*.
Exeunt.

[3.3] Enter WORMFIRE.

WORMFIRE Ugh, disgusting! The devil take all tired
horses, all mad masters and all shitty paths! I'm so
knackered! Cold, rain and mud have thoroughly
drenched and covered me inside and out, and yet I
must act the quartermaster and am sent to order a fire, 5
so that those behind me may shake off the cold. If I
were not a small fast-boiling pot, my lips would have
frozen to my teeth, my tongue to the roof of my mouth
and my heart to my breast before I came by a fire. I
marvel how our women have fared, since they are 10
open and cannot easily defend themselves against the
cold. In short, the weather is cold, and a man as big as

395 SD Fabian presumably tells Veit about the disguise of Hilarius and Felix.

398 *i prae sequar* Latin, go before, I follow.

3.3 The scene is set in Hardman's house. It falls into two parts: the dialogue between Matz and Wormfire (1–95), and Hardman's anger towards his servants (96–186). The first part showing Wormfire's arrival and his exchange with Matz stays close to *TS* (4.1.1–105), but has an additional short passage about Sybilla (27–32) and omits a hearty welcome of Grumio by the household (4.1.95–101). The second part includes Hardman's irate refusal to wash or eat.

KK loosely follows *TS* (4.1.106–67) but rearranges and transforms the source passage, in particular adding short passages that demonstrate Hardman's roughness and Catharina's attempts at peacemaking.

1–14 *KK* follows *TS* (4.1.1–10).

1 **Ugh, disgusting!** The German literally says 'Fie, illness' ('Pfyu kränckheit'). For the word as expletive, see Grimm, 'krankt', 2b.
5 **quartermaster** ('*Fourier*') a military officer responsible for food provision and other supplies.

9–12 **I . . . cold.** There is no direct equivalent in *TS* for this reference to the female genitals.

I am is easily robbed of warmth by the violence of the frost. Holla holla, Matz Trumper!

Enter MATZ.

- MATZ Who calls with such a cold voice? 15
- WORMFIRE A mere block of ice. If you doubt it, run a sleigh down my shoulders to the heels, you'll find ice all the way. O, Matz, a good fire now.
- MATZ Does my master come with his wife?
- WORMFIRE Yes, yes, he comes, and so throw wood on the fire, and cast no water, Matz. Fire and wood! 20
- MATZ Is she as angry and shrewish as she is said to be?
- WORMFIRE She was half-half, good Matz, before this frost. But your reason well knows that winter tames men and women, yes, all evil animals, and it has done so with my old evil master, my angry mistress and my new fellow servant and faithful owner of my enamoured heart. 25
- MATZ Are you in love?
- WORMFIRE What's that to you in any case? Yes, she has tamed me, my honest Matz, so that everything about us is limp except for what's stiff from the cold. Just kindle the fire, Matz, or shall I hand my mad master a libel to complain of your disobedience? I know you shall feel his hands soon enough, and rightly so for your cold comfort, since you are slow in your warm office. 30 35

15–28 Almost a verbatim translation of *TS* (4.1.11–28), except that *KK* replaces a short passage about Grumio and his size ('myself . . . least'; *TS*, 4.1.21–5) with a passage about Sybilla and Wormfire's love for her ('my new . . . cold', 27–32).
 23 **half-half** Whereas Grumio merely confirms that Katherina was as bad as her reputation ('She was', *TS*, 4.1.19),

Wormfire's answer is more nuanced.
 31–2 **everything . . . cold** with a salacious joke on the state of his penis.
 33–4 **shall . . . disobedience** Whereas Grumio's threat is to tell 'our mistress' (*TS*, 4.1.26), Wormfire's is to complain to Hardman, perhaps in keeping with *KK*'s increasing of the male protagonist's roughness.

- MATZ Tell me, my honest man –
 WORMFIRE – ho, careful, that’s yet to be proved.
 MATZ – how does the world go? 40
 WORMFIRE O, the world is very cold, Matz, in all offices
 except yours. So, kindle the fire, do your Vulcanic
 office and feed your warm element. My master and
 mistress will soon be frozen to dirt.
 MATZ The fire is ready, so tell me something new from 45
 the old world, Wormfire.
 WORMFIRE That term suits you well. But where’s the
 cook? Is supper ready? The house swept and polished?
 Are the servants dressed in their best robes? Are
 the maids wearing their feast-day ornaments? Is 50
 everything in order?
 MATZ It is all ready. So, say, my good man, what news?
 WORMFIRE *Pro primus*, an old woman laid a new egg.
 MATZ That’s old news.
 WORMFIRE Indeed, then take it to you while it is still 55
 warm. Moreover, my horse is very tired, I am

- 39 **that’s ... proved** Wormfire jokingly
 calls into doubt his own honesty.
 40–6 **KK** closely follows *TS* (4.1.29–35), but
 adds Wormfire’s evocative command to
 Matz to do his ‘Vulcanic office’ (42–3),
 from Vulcan, the Roman god of fire.
 43 **feed ... element** presumably by adding
 wood to the fire.
 44 **dirt** **KK** replaces Grumio’s ‘frozen to
 death’ (*TS*, 4.1.33) with ‘frozen to dirt’,
 which becomes understandable a little
 later when Wormfire mentions Hardman
 and Catharina’s fall ‘into the mud’ (57–8).
 45–7 **tell ... well** In asking Wormfire to tell
 him some news, Matz uses the Latinate
 word ‘narrire’, which here alludes to the
 German for ‘fool’ (‘Narr’), an insult that
 Wormfire returns to Matz himself.
 47–51 Before adapting Grumio’s series of

- inquiries about the household prepara-
 tions (*TS*, 4.1.40–5), **KK** omits a brief
 exchange between the two servants on
 the news (*TS*, 4.1.36–40), possibly
 owing to its intricate puns and allusions.
 53 **Pro primus** Latin, first of all.
 53–6 **Pro ... warm**. **KK** inserts a joke on fan-
 ciful fake news before returning to *TS*.
 55–6 **while ... warm** presumably referring
 to the newly laid egg.
 56–8 **Moreover, .. it**. Wormfire’s speech is
 close to Grumio’s (*TS*, 4.1.47–8) but adds
 the description of his exhaustion as
 ‘checkmated’, in German ‘schachmatt’
 (D1), the word ‘matt’ referring to feeling
 weak. D2 drives home the point by
 reading ‘schwach mat’, literally ‘weak
 weary’, punning on the phonic similarity
 to ‘schachmatt’.

checkmated, and my mistress and master fell into the mud. There you have it.

MATZ You speak too briefly, tell me more.

WORMFIRE Now I'll start. First, we slowly rode down a 60
foul mountain, my master behind my mistress.

MATZ Both on one horse?

WORMFIRE What's it got to do with you?

MATZ I ask whether they both rode on one horse.

WORMFIRE Make a song of your story if you want to 65
become an absolute fool. If you hadn't interrupted me
and disturbed my invention, you would have known
how our mistress fell from the jade into the mud, how
soiled she was, how her skirt fell over her head, and
what I saw there. How my master hit me because she 70
fell and because of what I saw there. How my master
hit me because she fell and I looked there. How he
cursed, how she prayed who had never prayed before,
how the maid scraped the mud off her, and I the shit,
how I shouted and my own lady wailed. How my 75
horse ran away, and my lord's bridle broke, with
many other things worth eternal remembrance for
posterity's sake which will now die and rot in oblivion,
and you, like all others, shall crawl uninstructed to
your grave. 80

MATZ It appears from what you say that our lord is more
evil than she after all.

59–80 *KK* stays close to *TS* (4.1.59–75) but inserts the detail of Catharina's skirt falling over her head and Wormfire looking at what is revealed there (69–72).

61 **foul mountain** 'foul hill' in *TS* (4.1.59). In the German text, 'faulen Berg' (literally 'lazy mountain') seems to result from a

misunderstanding of the meaning of 'foul'.
65–6 **Make . . . fool.** Wormfire literally says 'tell the news until you become a total fool' ('Narrre du die Zeitung, biß du zum gantzen Narren wirst'). He teases Matz through the same pun on fool ('Narr') as at 45–7 (see note).

- WORMFIRE Indeed, and experience will perhaps teach you that when he comes home. But why do I linger here, where are Lazypaunch, Alwayswet, Noosehalter and the others? Did they prepare themselves to make a good *révérence avec baise les mains* and a fine compliment to our ruling lady? Order them for the sake of our lord, *meo nomine*, not to touch my master's horse's tail before they have kissed our noble lady's hand. Are they ready? 85
- MATZ They are. Out, boys! You must greet your master and mistress. Are they far off? 90
- WORMFIRE They are nearby. Peace now! He's coming with a great hubbub. I can hear him. 95

Enter HARDMAN, CATHARINA *and* SYBILLA.

- HARDMAN Where are these lazy rogues? May a hundred thousand pounds of lead strike them dead! What? Why do I keep these fellows? Nobody by the door to

- 83–91 *KK* stays close to *TS* (4.1.77–84), but reduces the number of named servants from six to three and omits Grumio's insistence on their tidy appearance (4.1.80–2). It also replaces his suggestion that they 'curtsy with their left legs' (4.1.82) with a polite greeting expressed in French.
- 84–5 **But ... here** Wormfire literally says 'but I uselessly blow the wind into the world here' ('Aber blase ich hier vergebens den Wind in die Welt'), suggesting a vain effort. For the proverb, see Wander, 'Wind', 413.
- 85 **Lazypaunch ... Noosehalter** See the List of Roles.
- 87 **révérence ... mains** French, curtsy with a kiss of the hands.
- 88 **compliment** a tribute of courtesy.
- 89 **meo nomine** Latin, on my behalf.
- 92–3 *KK* translates Curtis' call to the servants (*TS*, 4.1.87–8), but omits the subsequent joke (4.1.89–102) prompted by his use of the word 'to countenance' for 'to greet', perhaps owing to the lack of German equivalent.
- 95 *SD* In *TS*, Petruccio and Katherina appear onstage (*TS*, 4.1.105 *SD*) after the entrance of 'four or five Servants' (*TS*, 4.1.93 *SD*). *KK* delays their entrance and omits their welcome to Grumio (4.1.94–103). Sybilla has no equivalent in *TS* (see pp. 107–9). She remains silent until her exit with Wormfire (113 *SD*).
- 96–113 a fairly close adaptation of *TS*, 4.1.106–24, that occasionally condenses passages.
- 96–100 Hardman's speech corresponds to Petruccio's (*TS*, 4.1.106–8), but Hardman replaces the servants' names with a generic insult ('these lazy rogues').
- 98 **fellows** Hardman describes the servants as, literally, 'birds' ('Vögel'), an image of carelessness also used as an insult (Grimm, Vogel, 14).

hold my stirrup, or to take my lady's horse and mine?
Where are you, you gallows-birds? 100

Enter three SERVANTS.

[SERVANTS] Here!

HARDMAN Here, here, here. You block-headed slaves
and lazy dogs! May your legs become lame! Is there
no respect and dutiful attendance anymore?

He strikes them.

Where is the foolish thief I sent ahead? May lice 105
choke him!

WORMFIRE Here, my lord. As foolish as I was before.

HARDMAN You galley-slave! You beast, didn't I order
you to come and meet me for the honour of my love
and to bring these cursed thieves with you? 110

WORMFIRE My lord, Alwayswet's frock was not ready,
and Noosehalter lost his thievish hat, and Lazypaunch
couldn't find his rapier.

Exit with Sybilla [and Matz].

100 SD In *TS*, the servants enter before the couple's arrival and heartily greet Grumio (4.1.95–100).

101 In D1 and D2, the servants' call is implied in the preceding SD which reads, 'Drey Diener gehen ein, ruffen alle hier' ('Three servants enter, all call here').

104 SD The first of several SDs indicating Hardman's physical violence towards his servants (see also 127 SD and 133 SD); there is no unambiguous equivalent in *TS* (see Ard³, 248). For Hardman's extra violence when compared to Petruccio, see also 1.3.233–48, 3.2.270–2, 3.5.15–25 and notes.

108–13 *KK* remains close to *TS* (4.1.115–24), but condenses Grumio's speech about the servants' failure to arrive.

108 **galley-slave** ('Galeywürdiger *esclave*') a strong term of abuse (see Grimm, 'galeiwürdig', i.e. deserving the galley). From the late Middle Ages, slaves were

increasingly employed as rowers.

110 **cursed thieves** Hardman literally calls the servants 'cursed halters' ('verfluchte Galgenschwengel'), metonymically referring to the criminals hanging from them. 'Galgenschwengel' evokes the gallows ('Galgen') and swinging ('schwengen') (see Grimm, 'Galgenschwengel').

112 **thievish hat** *KK* literally says 'thief's lid' ('Diebs-Deckel'), in reference to the clothes thieves need in order to hide (see Grimm, 'Diebsdeckel').

113 SD The German text provides no exit SD for Matz in this scene. He may well leave at this point with Wormfire and Sybilla, although he could also do so with an unnamed servant at 113 SD or with the servants and Wormfire at 164 SD. Most modern editors leave it unclear when Grumio exits in the equivalent scene; in Ard³, he does so considerably later (4.1.156 SD).

HARDMAN You are useless cowards and lazy dogs. I
 have been away from home for a short while, and 115
 what has happened to my authority? Where is the life
 that I led before? Is there no awe anymore? I will put
 some order into you birds. Is there no slave ready to
 bring my love a chair? – Be welcome, dearest darling.

He kisses her, while she stands still.

Don't be upset by this disorder, I will put everything 120
 in order for you.

CATHARINA O, the order is good.

HARDMAN You do well, my love, to praise what I have
 done. [*to the Servants*] Why are you standing around,
 you gallows-birds? Bring in the food. 125

[Exit First Servant.]

Sit down, my heart's love. – You, rogue, take off my
 boots.

He strikes the [Second] Servant.

- 114–21 Following the servants' exit, Petruccio immediately shouts for supper, asks Katherina to sit down, demands his boots be removed and sings snatches of ballads (*TS*, 4.1.125–32); Hardman instead complains about his loss of authority, requests a chair for Catharina, kisses her and comments on the disorder, all actions with no immediate equivalent in *TS*.
- 116–17 **Where ... before?** *KK* preserves Petruccio's quotation of the first line of a popular ballad ('Where is the life that late I led,' *TS*, 4.1.126), but there is no indication that the translator or adaptor was aware that this was a musical reference.
- 118 **birds** (Vögel) See note at 98.
- 119 **SD** Another kiss by Hardman with no equivalent in *TS* (see above, 3.2.315–16 and note).
- 122 Catharina objects to the mistreatment of the household earlier than Katherina does (*TS*, 4.1.142).
- 123–41 Like Petruccio (*TS*, 4.1.125–40), Hardman alternates between making irascible commands to his servants and seemingly supplying good-natured invitations to his wife. While some elements are the same or similar in the two versions ('supper ... be merry ... boots ... water', *TS*, 4.1.125–40), others are specific to *TS* (the domestic 'Where's my spaniel Troilus? ... Where are my slippers?', 4.1.136–9) or to *KK* (e.g., Hardman's request for a 'towel' and 'clean water', 135–7).
- 125 **gallows-birds** ('Galgenschwengel') literally 'halter'; see note at 110.
- 126 **rogue** ('Schinder') literally 'hangman' (see Grimm).
- 127 **SD** Most modern editors since Rowe have understood Petruccio's 'Take that' (*TS*, 4.1.134) to be an implied *SD* and assumed that he strikes the servant. In *KK*, the stage action is spelled out. See note at 104 *SD*.

You slave, do you want to tear off my foot? – How are you, my lady? You look sad. – Will you dull dogs not bring water for us to wash our hands? – Be merry, my child, it will soon be better. 130

[*The Second and Third Servants*] bring water.

You, stupid brute, did someone shit on your fists? Are you spilling the water?

He strikes [a servant].

Dearest Catharina, wash yourself and be glad. – Rotten wretch, can't you bring a towel? What kind of water is this? Dish-water? 135

He strikes [a servant] down with the bowl.

I'll show you clean water, may the devil take you. – Come to the table, dearest heart.

Enter WORMFIRE.

Where did the hangman hide you? You're always warming your whore's nest. Get out, and fetch Master Rich-With-Joy to keep my love company. 140

WORMFIRE That's the company she needs.

Enter [FIRST] SERVANT with food.

HARDMAN What do you say, whoreson villain?

133 SD Modern editors of *TS* often insert a SD at the equivalent point (4.1.141) – e.g. Thompson: '*He strikes the Servant.*' – though Ard³ does not. See note at 104 SD.

138 SD–44 Unlike Grumio (who may have exited or remains onstage silently; see note at 113 SD), Wormfire re-enters, makes a (probably sarcastic) comment on the character of Master Freudenreich and receives Hardman's insult.

139–40 **You're . . . nest.** Hardman suggests Wormfire is not on duty because he is in Sybilla's bed.

140–1 **Master Rich-With-Joy** ('Herr Freudenreich'); the only mention of this shadowy figure who never appears, like the equivalent 'cousin Ferdinand' in *TS* (4.1.137).

WORMFIRE Nothing, my lord, I obey your every order.

HARDMAN What, you rogue, will you spill the broth on
my lady's lap? 145

He beats him.

CATHARINA It was an unwilling fault, my love.

HARDMAN He is a fool-born, stupid animal. Be content,
dearest Catharina, I must keep order in my own home
the way I see fit. – What food is this? How dare you
welcome my love with this? Is there nothing better? 150

WORMFIRE I will return it, God willing.

HARDMAN Let us sit now. My darling, will you say
grace, or shall I? – Where is the rascal cook? Is this
baked? Is this roasted? It's all burnt up and fried! 155
Catch the boar-pig and bind him to the trough. Whip
him till his blood spills out.

CATHARINA My dearest, really, the food is very good.

HARDMAN You are too polite, my darling, to put up with
things for the sake of such an incompetent fellow. The
dirty dog has spoiled everything, and it offends me
that you will think it is always like this in my house. 160

CATHARINA Have no fear of that. I like it very well.

HARDMAN Now I see you are being politic and only
speak to flatter me. The food is all burnt, fried and 165

145–8 **What . . . animal.** *KK* closely adapts Petruccio's anger and Katherina's plea for indulgence (*TS*, 4.1.141–3).

146 *SD* literally, 'It rains cuffs' ('Es regnet stösse').

150–2 **What . . . willing.** *KK* retains Petruccio's question ('What's this', *TS*, 4.1.146), but has Hardman stress his domestic authority, and replaces the unnamed servant in *TS* by Wormfire. In terms of staging, it is not clear whether Hardman addresses the first servant or Wormfire, who replies perhaps for himself, perhaps for the servant (152).

153–62 **Where . . . house.** *KK* corresponds to *TS* (4.1.150–6), but Hardman's anger focuses on the cook, not the servants.

154 **Where . . . cook?** ('wo ist der Saumage der Koch') literally, 'where is the sow's stomach of a cook'. As a pig's stomach takes a lot of filling, the term came to be used as an insult to a gluttonous, unclean person (Grimm, 'Saumagen', 3).

163–9 **Have . . . victim.** *KK* closely adapts the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.1.157–64), but adds Hardman's observation about Catharina's 'politic' navigation (164) of the power dynamics in her new home.

dried up. The juice and power are gone. Only the burnt bones are left, and these my doctor expressly forbids me to eat, because it increases gall and choler to which we are both victim. – There, you dogs, feed and may it choke you. (*He throws it to them.*) With 170
what shall I treat my love?

CATHARINA I would be well-contented with these foods.

HARDMAN I praise your good cheer, my darling, but you must be treated to better food, or nothing at all. [*to Wormfire*] Villain, serve us better tomorrow, and take 175
that to the cook. (*He strikes him.*)

WORMFIRE Lord, you may save your labour. I have a good memory.

HARDMAN Away, you beasts.

Exeunt [*Servants and Wormfire*].

Dearest darling, it's not my fault, and it pains my soul 180
that you have been so poorly welcomed and served. I would offer my blood for your sake. But comfort yourself that the fault was not mine because I was absent. I will make up for everything. Today's fasting will be broken tomorrow. Come, my darling, I will 185
lead you to bed, you shall be served better there.

Exeunt.

167 **bones** ('Schindknochen ') literally, 'hangman's bones'.

169–79 **There . . . beasts.** Between a rendition of Petruccio's speech on his choleric humour (164–9; *TS*, 4.1.159–64) and his promise to Katherina to mend her welcome the next day (180–6; *TS*, 4.1.165–7), *KK* inserts another version of the scene's theme, that is, Hardman's studied anger and Catharina's attempt to defuse it.

170 *SD* *KK*'s *SD* and the preceding sentence

have no equivalent in *TS*. In *A Shrew*, a *SD* reads, '*Manent servingmen and eat up all the meat*' (Miller, 6.32.2).

176 *SD* There is no equivalent *SD* in *TS*. See note at 104 *SD*.

180–6 Unlike in *TS*, Hardman and Catharina are alone onstage for his last speech of this scene, corresponding to *TS*, 4.1.165–7. Hardman stresses his devotion to his new wife more so than Petruccio, suggestively adding that she will be 'served better' in bed (186).

[3.4] *Enter* MATZ *Trumper* and WORMFIRE.

- WORMFIRE Monsieur Matz, what do you think of this fine wedding day? Has anything like this ever happened to you? No food and no drink, hey? The devil take such weddings!
- MATZ I don't believe such a wedding has been recorded 5
in the chronicles since the destruction of Troy.
- WORMFIRE You talk well given your fire-stoker's wit.
- MATZ I could not have believed that there would ever be such a holiday. It's as though Poverty were to marry Necessity, and would invite Hunger and Thirst to the 10
wedding. But where is he?
- WORMFIRE He is with her in the bridal chamber, and continues making his speech on unhealthy food which he firmly denigrates with curses and complaints in a true litany of sayings. 15
- MATZ But what does she do?

- 3.4 The scene is set in Hardman's house and corresponds to a brief passage in *TS* (4.1.168–76) that consists of a brief exchange between four servants (Nathaniel, Peter, Grumio and Curtis) who comment on Petruccio's shocking taming techniques. *KK* substitutes a dialogue between Matz and Wormfire in which they deplore the lack of wedding celebrations and Wormfire reports on the goings-on in the bridal chamber.
- 2–3 **Has ... drink** Wormfire literally says, 'did the like ever happen to you, that the teeth were saved and the throat had a holiday?' ('Ist dir dergleichen wohl fürkommen / daran man die Zähne gespart / und der Hals einen Feyrtag gehabt'), humorously pointing towards the neglect of providing the customary food and drink at a wedding.
- 6 **destruction ... Troy** by the Greeks in the Trojan war, as recounted in Homer's *Iliad*.
- 7 **fire-stoker's** ('stubenheizerischen') Wormfire's condescending reference to Matz's occupation. 'Stubenheizer' is a term recorded from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century for an indoors fire-keeper (Grimm).
- 9–11 **Poverty ... wedding**. Matz imagines a wedding with allegorical personifications. Compare Wormfire's personified 'Patience' at 17.
- 11 **where ... he?** In *TS*, this question is asked by Grumio (4.1.170).
- 12–24 *KK* adapts Curtis' speech (*TS*, 4.1.171–6) but divides it into three parts, signalled by Matz's brief interruptions at lines 16 and 20.

WORMFIRE She sits in her chamber like holy Patience,
her face as dark as if she had woken from some sad
dream, and did not know where she was.

MATZ He will kill her with such inhuman treatment. 20

WORMFIRE It seems as though she doesn't know whether
she's standing or walking, or what she ought to do.
One devil has met another. I think I hear him. Let's
go, or he'll dismiss us. *Exeunt.*

[3.5]

Enter HARDMAN.

HARDMAN Thus it must be. I have begun my reign most
politically. With my friendliness mingled with angry
rage, I have given her such doubts that she cannot
altogether trust my professed love, nor complain
about my pretended anger, which looks like affection. 5
I am now like the rowers that turn their backs on the
way they seek to go. A Scythian shoots while fleeing.
I confess I love her dearly. In order to make her all the
worthier of my love, I must perform the moral tutor

17 **holy Patience** Wormfire refers to the proverbial patience of saints (Wander, 'Geduld', 178). Compare Matz's personifications at 9–11.

23 **One . . . another** Wormfire literally says, 'one devil above another' ('ein Teuffel über den andern Teufel'). See Wander, 'Teufel', 538.

24 **dismiss us** *KK* adds Wormfire's suggestion that Hardman may dismiss the men from his service.

3.5 The scene, presumably set in Hardman's house, corresponds to Petruccio's soliloquy at *TS*, 4.1.177–200. It closely adapts the original but inserts a reflection on the paradoxical effect of Hardman's taming technique (2–7) and the necessity to play-act (8–12). For another version of this

speech, see *A Shrew* (Miller, 6.37–47).

1–2 **Thus . . . politically.** Petruccio's soliloquy begins similarly: 'Thus have I politicly begun my reign' (*TS*, 4.1.177).

6–7 **rowers . . . go** Hardman means he needs to do the opposite of what might seem necessary in order to succeed. For the proverb, see Wander, 'Rudersmann'.

7 **A . . . fleeing.** Reiterating the idea of the previous proverb, Hardman alludes to the classical myth that warriors from Scythia, a people in Central Asia famed for horsemanship, hit their target by riding past it and turning around to shoot their arrows.

9 **moral tutor** (Sitten-Lehrer) The same German word is used in Patient Job's reference to 'the teacher of morals who will now appear' (Prologue, 19–20).

under the guise of *Jean Potage*, and play several 10
 persons. Not every fool can do this since it is the
 office of the master. I have already achieved wonders.
 My falcon is sharp and hungry now, and will not be
 fed until it humbles itself. I must therefore adopt the
 manner in which wild animals are tamed. She hasn't 15
 eaten the whole day, and she had little yesterday, and
 shall not eat tonight. She had no rest last night, and
 shall be allowed to rest even less tonight. I will find
 fault with the bed as I did with the food. The maids'
 backs will bear the brunt of my rage. I will throw the 20
 pillows around and stamp on the linen and pull up the
 bed to make the feathers fly. Little of the curtains and
 bedframe will be kept whole, and the straw shall be
 made to cover the chamber ground. Additionally I
 shall curse and rage till the beams tremble. But in the 25
 midst of this madness I will cuddle with her and swear
 it happens out of great affection to her. I will continue
 this the whole night, turning from one to the other so
 that she will be unable to close an eye or rest her head.
 It is the right way: make a bad wife good through 30
 friendliness, or kill her. Her heated stubbornness

10 **under ... Potage** Hardman literally describes himself as having to 'act under the hat and coat of Jean Potage' ('unter *Jean Potage* seinem Hut und Mantel agiren'), alluding to the French clown figure (see Asper).

13–15 **My ... tamed.** *KK* continues its close rendition of *TS*, translating the first four lines of Petruccio's falconry metaphor (4.1.179–82), but replacing the subsequent more technical elaboration (4.1.183–5) by a generic summary that he must 'adopt the manner in which wild animals are tamed'.

15–25 **She ... tremble.** *KK* translates the uproar Petruccio creates (*TS*, 4.1.186–

91), but makes Hardman more gratuitously violent by adding that he will beat the maids for the supposed untidiness of the beds. See also 3.3.104 *SD* and note.

20 **bear the brunt** Hardman literally says that 'the maids' hump backs will have to atone' ('der Mägde Buckel werden büßen müssen').

30–1 **It ... her.** In adapting *TS*'s proverbial '[t]his is a way to kill a wife with kindness' (4.1.197), *KK* provides the two options of making her 'good through friendliness' or killing her in the process. The sentence incorporates part of the play's title. *TS* alludes to its title slightly later in the corresponding speech (4.1.199).

will cool when a stronger one overcomes her. If she changes her tune, I will strike a milder chord afterwards. He who knows a better way than mine, let him come forward. We shall see who prevails. 35

Exit.

4.[1] *Enter FELIX [as Hilarius] and
[ALFONS as] Musician.*

FELIX I can hardly believe what you tell me, good sir.
ALFONS My lord Hilarius of Liebenthal, rest assured that it is nothing other than the bare truth. Let us hide a little here to discover it better. Her lesson is taking place now. By witnessing the charming instruction she receives, you will see in action what I have disclosed to you in words. 5

34–5 **He . . . prevails.** Like Petruccio at the equivalent moment (*TS*, 4.1.199–200), Hardman addresses the audience.

35 **We . . . prevails.** Hardman literally says ‘let us pull for being the master’ (‘Wir wollen uns um den Meister ziehen’), proposing a tug of war (see Köhler, 249).

4.1 There is no specification of location, but the scene is presumably set in Sir Theobald’s house and roughly corresponds to *TS*, 4.2.1–72. It falls into two parts: the first shows Alfons and Felix witnessing the love scene between Sabina and Hilarius (1–85, *TS*, 4.2.1–59); the second shows the scheme of finding someone to impersonate Hilarius’ father (86–105, *TS*, 4.2.60–72). *KK* has

an added soliloquy by Sabina, expressing her strong love for Hilarius, and it elaborates upon the subsequent exchange between the lovers (9–40). It omits the entire dialogue between Tranio and the Merchant (*TS*, 4.2.73–122), compressing the scheme’s description into a brief explanation by Fabian (90–7).

1–7 *KK* largely follows the original (*TS*, 4.2.1–5), but while *TS* reveals Bianca’s and Lucentio’s affair straight away through Tranio’s mock surprise, *KK* has Alfons merely suggest the dishonour of Sabina’s ‘instruction’ (5), increasing the impact of the subsequent passage which dramatizes the love between the young couple.

4.[1] *this edn*; Die vierdte Handlung. *D1, D2, Köhler*

FELIX I obey your will.

They go to the side.

Enter SABINA and sits down at a table on the inner stage.

SABINA Happy hour which will bring my soul to my
body. O love, never tried by me before, how great is 10
your sweetness! Everything else in the world is stale
and miserable in comparison! True joy and pleasure
lie in you alone, pervading all my senses, body and
soul. Many things can be found to entertain the body,
but the soul cannot find pleasure and contentment 15
except through another soul, united in sweet love. But
where is the comfort that I long for so much? Does his
mind not feel the same yearning desire as mine?

Enter [HILARIUS as] Johannes.

But why do I complain? The light of my sun rises
bright and clear. My dearest, be welcome. 20

She kisses him.

HILARIUS My beautiful lady, to receive such lovely
words, accompanied by such pretty works, makes me

8 SD1–8 SD2 *KK* adds careful stage directions, suggestive of the spatial organization of the early modern German stage. An inner stage ('innere Scene' as in *KK*, or 'innerer Schauplatz') is mentioned in various other German plays of the mid to late seventeenth century, for instance, Christian Weise's *Baurischer Machiavellus* (Dresden, 1679; VD17 23:290747H), sig. A3v, and Johannes Rist, *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland* (n.p., 1647; VD17 23:249118M), sig. F3r. See also Willi Flemming, *Andreas Gryphius und die Bühne* (Halle a. S., 1921), 424.

9–20 SD Before adapting *TS*'s dialogue between the lovers, *KK* inserts a soliloquy by Sabina which is notable for its frank

expressions of intense love and female desire, in keeping with her initiative in kissing Hilarius later in the scene (20 SD and 84 SD). See Introduction, pp. 106–7.
21–40 SD In the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.2.6–10), Lucentio and Bianca flirt by referring to an actual book he claims to be reading, Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* ('*The Art to Love*', 4.2.8). *KK* replaces the learned courting with the explicit affirmations of love by Sabina and Hilarius. It gently mocks the original's literary games by having the couple describe how they have put away actual books (see 24–6), and adds an elaborate conceit in which 'book' stands for each character's heart.

- your happy servant. I hope to find in them the constancy I look for. But, my darling, are you here without any books at all? 25
- SABINA I wish to have no other book than your heart, and in that my name, just as your name is indelibly written in mine; and this I hope is assured through the faith of your mouth and your eyes.
- HILARIUS My soul pledges to assure you of this. I am glad to have accomplished my instruction fully by teaching you to feel love for me, my dear heart's heart. I do not wish to study in any other library but to leaf through your beautiful book for ever. My mind will read in it as long as it has a brain. Are you content with that, my lovely angel? 30 35
- SABINA I do not know what your quips mean. But my love, you know I am wholly yours.
- HILARIUS And I yours, my heart's child, as long as there is breath in my body. 40

They embrace and kiss.

- ALFONS Are my words now confirmed by the action? Or do they need more proofs?
- FELIX I believe this, and much else. But Monsieur lute-player, who would have thought so?
- ALFONS I no longer wish to be mocked in this guise. I am not a lute-player, but a nobleman well-known to you: Alfons of Nistlingen. I will no longer be a suitor to this unworthy person, but will give my love where 45

41–4 *KK* stays close to *TS* (4.2.11–15) but, rather than translating Tranio's pretended railing against 'unconstant womankind', it adds Felix's mocking of Alfons as 'Monsieur lute-player'.

45–60 *KK* reconfigures the dialogue between Tranio and Hortensio (*TS*, 4.2.16–43),

omitting Tranio's indictment of Bianca's supposed 'lightness' (4.2.24) and Hortensio's promise to abandon the pursuit of 'beautous looks' (4.2.41) in women, and adding the two men's expression of supposed solidarity.

47 **Alfons . . . Nistlingen** See the List of Roles.

my offer is returned. I swear never more to honour
her in this way. I will reciprocate the friendliness 50
and desire of a young rich widow, and will link my
life to hers. You, sir, do as you wish, and suffer what
you can.

FELIX Alfons, to please you I swear to withdraw my suit
to her. May you prosper in all your further endeavours. 55

ALFONS I dutifully thank you, both for your good
decision to leave this light lady and for your good
wishes which I offer in return. May we be eternally
linked in constant friendship.

FELIX Rest assured that I will be yours for ever. 60

Exit Alfons.

Felix goes towards Sabina and Hilarius.

Now you may help yourselves to each other. Surely
Master Tutor's lessons are very delightful, as the
student proves so good.

HILARIUS Such lovely students can give orders to the
tutor. 65

SABINA And such worthy tutors have the heart of the
student in their hand.

FELIX This union is the reason why I and Sir Alfons
forswear you. I may not aim so high in any case, nor
want to, but he wishes to link himself to a widow, and 70
will take pains to make her tame and pious.

51 **young . . . widow** 'a wealthy widow' in
TS (4.2.37), with no indication of her
age. She is called 'Eulalia' in *KK* in 5.2,
the only scene in which she appears. See
also the List of Roles.

60 SD2 *TS* has no equivalent SD.

61–7 **Surely . . . hand.** *TS* has no equivalent
to Felix's tongue-in-cheek comment on
the student–tutor fiction of Hilarius and
Sabina.

68–70 **This . . . widow** *KK* condenses

Tranio's news of Bianca's freedom from
suits and Alfons' intention to marry a
widow, and omits the response to it (*TS*,
4.2.46–52), while adding the assurance
that he had never had the intention to
marry his social superior.

71–9 **take . . . tongue.** follows speech-by-
speech Tranio and Bianca's exchange
about 'the taming school' to which
Hortensio is said to have gone (*TS*,
4.2.53–9, 55).

SABINA How presumptuously he flatters himself! That's not how the world runs.

FELIX He believes he has understood the art of the taming-school. 75

SABINA Is there such a place?

FELIX Yes, and Sir Hardman is its tutor. He teaches how to make eleven and twenty be even: how to tame a bad wife, and heal her shrewish tongue.

SABINA That's a hard thing. But my lesson is over. My darling, take care. 80

HILARIUS A goodbye without a kiss?

SABINA (*laughing*) I had almost forgotten the most delightful thing.

She kisses him and exits.

HILARIUS My heart, farewell. 85

Enter FABIAN.

But who comes here?

FELIX Well, Fabian? I hope you have found an honourable father for me. How does our business stand?

77–8 **He . . . even** In *TS*, Petruccio, according to Tranio, 'teacheth eleven-and-twenty long / To tame a shrew' (4.2.58–9). The numbers in *KK* and *TS* are the same, but Felix's point differs from Tranio's: while Felix comments on the impossibility of the taming task, Tranio's reference to the card game Thirty-one, in which the goal is to get a hand which has thirty-one points, implies that Petruccio's teaching is just right. The author of *KK* may well

have failed to understand the reference to the card game.

79 **heal . . . tongue** Similarly, the effect of Petruccio's teaching is said to be to 'charm her chattering tongue' (*TS*, 4.2.59).

80–5 The leave-taking between Sabina and Hilarius has no equivalent in *TS* where Bianca remains onstage and so becomes complicit in the scheme of the fake father.

84 **SD She . . . him** See note at 9–20 SD.

- FABIAN Pretty well, thanks to my great effort. I am dog- 90
tired from searching for a grave gentleman. He looks
as honourable as Saint Valentine, is filled to the brim
with imagined wisdom, and when it comes to natural
philosophy, thinks he is the biggest pig in the sty. In
sum, he agrees to your business, although he is not 95
the man he thinks he is. That aside, he is willing to do
anything for gain.
- FELIX It is good to have him. I will train him to become
an apt sub-father.
- HILARIUS It will be good to rely on a trick this time. A 100
little one can do no harm.
- FABIAN My comrade is apt enough for that. But *vel*
quasi, my lord, won't you come? He waits for you in
our lodging.
- FELIX Immediately. Let us neglect nothing. [*Exeunt.*] 105

90–105 This passage corresponds to *TS*'s introduction of the fake father (4.2.60–72), but substantially departs in its treatment of the scheme: Tranio refrains from revealing his strategy of duping the Merchant, which is dramatized after Bianca and Lucentio have left the stage at 4.2.72. *KK* omits the passage in which Tranio tricks the Merchant into agreeing to the disguise (4.2.73–122), which is rendered irrelevant by *KK*'s emphasis on the business transaction between the schemers and the 'grave gentleman' (91) who is 'willing to do anything for gain' (96–7).

90–1 I ... **searching** *KK* literally says 'I

have become dog-tired over this' ('ich bin aber Hund müde darüber worden'), echoing the English 'dog-weary' (*TS*, 4.2.61). The proverb probably comes from hunting dogs tiring themselves out (Wander, 'Hund', 12).

92 **Saint Valentine** The patron saint of travellers and lovers was often referred to on the early modern German stage (see note at 2.1.365).

100–1 While Lucentio seems uninvolved in Tranio's doings (see *TS*, 4.2.67), Hilarius explicitly approves of the proceedings.

102–3 *vel quasi* Latin, or as if / or almost. The meaning in the present context is unclear.

[4.2] *Enter WORMFIRE and SYBILLA with a cup of wine and cold roast.*

WORMFIRE Now, you dear container of my appendage, come here. I know it will taste good tonight. He who works is worthy of his food, *exemplum gratia* the threshing ox. But shall we first perform a courtly *cochleation* or charitably fill our guts with the ingredients? 5

SYBILLA I prefer to fill our gaping mouths.

She feeds eagerly.

4.2 There is no specified location, but the scene is presumably set in Hardman's house. It corresponds to Act 4, Scene 3 in *TS*, and falls into four parts: part one to the arrival of Hardman and Alfons (1–104), part two to the arrival of Fritz the tailor (105–138), part three to Fritz's dismissal (139–297), and part four, Hardman's plans to visit his father-in-law (298–326). The first part, in which Wormfire and Sybilla tease the hungry Catharina, stays close to *TS* (4.3.1–35) but adds two short dialogues between the two servants on their affair (1–25), and between the two women about Hardman's behaviour (73–104). Part two corresponds to *TS* 4.3.36–62 in Hardman's starvation of Catharina, but adds Hardman's anger with the tailor for coming at meal time (131–8). Part three, the confrontation with the tailor, adapts *TS*, 4.3.63–167 and comically elaborates the description of the fine clothes (238–68). The sequence of events is slightly changed and there is some addition to the dialogue between Catharina and Hardman (180–205). The last part stays particularly close to *TS* (4.3.168–95).

1–25 Wormfire and Sybilla's dialogue, for which there is no equivalent in *TS*, contributes to a mini-subplot through which the servants' love throws light on that of their social betters. For *KK*'s addition of Sybilla, see Introduction pp. 107–9.

1 **appendage** ('Anhang') penis, see note at 3.2.124–5 and note.

2–3 **He ... food** ('wer arbeitet ist der Nahrung wert') an adaptation of Luke 10.7: 'the labourer is worthy of his hire' ('ein Arbeiter ist seines Lohnes wert').

3 ***exemplum gratia*** Latin, for example; Wormfire's first of several learned foreign-language terms in this passage (1–72), which contrast with the down-to-earth subject matter.

4 **threshing ox** The implicit reference is to 1 Corinthians 9.9: 'For it is written in the law of Moses, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.'

5 ***cochleation*** Latin, from *cochlear*, spoon. Wormfire may play on the German word the Latin translates, 'löffeln', which means both to behave like a fool (Grimm, 1) and to court (Grimm, 2). See Köhler, 250.

- WORMFIRE Above or below? Or both? But no, mine
counts as well. You think perhaps that man and
woman are one body. But it doesn't work in this case. 10
- SYBILLA A man and his wife? It's a bit too soon.
- WORMFIRE But not too soon for us to crawl into each
other.
- SYBILLA Yes. In a way that conforms to *courtoisie*.
- WORMFIRE If the thing finds a jolly outbreak before its 15
time, we shall have to make spiritual amends for our
courtesy, and sing the *poenitere* aloud in front of an
honourable congregation. Well, the heart has its
reasons.
- SYBILLA There's no harm, it's the fashion. We shall not 20
be the first nor the last. As long as the baptism doesn't
come before the wedding.
- WORMFIRE The parson counsels so. But much talk fills
few maws. Fill the cup!
- SYBILLA May God bless us. What will be, will be. 25

They feed eagerly.

Enter CATHARINA.

- 8–9 **Above . . . well.** Wormfire's suggestive remarks refer to various bodily orifices.
- 9–11 **You . . . soon.** Wormfire alludes to the religious teaching that man and woman in marriage become one flesh (see, for example, Mark 10.6–8). The German 'Mann und Weib' can be translated as both 'man and woman' (9–10) and '[a] man and his wife' (11; i.e. husband and wife). Sybilla reminds Wormfire that man and woman are said to become one flesh (or body) in marriage, and that they are not (yet) married.
- 12–13 **crawl . . . other** have sex.
- 14 **conforms . . . courtoisie** Sybilla seems to suggest that by having sex outside marriage, they are conforming to courtly manners.
- 15–18 **If . . . congregation.** Wormfire suggests that if a pregnancy results from their affair, they will atone by marrying, imagined as singing their repentance (*the poenitere*). Public penitence for sexual sins was fairly common in Protestant countries.
- 24 **Fill the cup!** ('Es gilt / Hänschens im Keller') Wormfire alludes to a certain kind of cup, literally called 'little John in the cellar', that contains a figurine that rises from the base (the 'cellar') to the top when it is filled. The process of filling the empty vessel and the resulting emergence of the little man suggest insemination and conception, or birth. Such cups were used for drinking toasts to women who wished to conceive, or were about to give birth (Wander, 'Hänschen', 1).

- CATHARINA Well, the two of you know how to take care
of yourselves.
- WORMFIRE Yes, that's right. Thank you for saying so. It
is such fitting weather tonight.
- SYBILLA My lady, you have arrived a little late. But 30
you would not have accepted our company anyway,
I think.
- CATHARINA I would not have rejected it this time. But do
you know if the cook still has something cold in the
pantry? 35
- SYBILLA I believe not. He refuses to give out anything.
We managed to get our food in special ways.
- WORMFIRE Will my lady take a piece of this mustard-
flavoured ox rump? And a Paderborn beer?
- [CATHARINA] It sounds very good if it is to hand. 40
- WORMFIRE I am afraid the mustard is too choleric. It will
be *contraire* to your humour. But how good would a
cloth taste that had purged the hind of a cow, with a
delicate broth from raisins spiced with *Citrocynamo-*

26–37 In the equivalent passage in *TS*, Grumio and Katherina enter the stage in mid-conversation: Katherina has begged Grumio for food in vain and laments Petruccio's treatment of her (4.3.1–16). *KK* replaces this passage with a dialogue between the starving Catharina and the two servants finishing their dinner.

38–58 The succession of offers and answers roughly corresponds to that in the equivalent dialogue in *TS* (4.3.17–35). Wormfire's descriptions of the kind of food he would offer his mistress are more elaborate, however, and add unsavoury culinary details, like capers being 'farted from a goat's fundament' (53–4), a humorous element absent from *TS*.

39 **Paderborn beer?** Wormfire literally says 'a drink of man-poem from Paderborn' ('einen Tunck Paderbornisch Menschen

Gedicht'), referring to beer from the town of Paderborn in north Rhine-Westphalia (Wander, 'Menschengedicht', 2).

40 SP D1 and D2 assign the speech (and that from line 57) to Sybilla, probably the result of a printer's error or other textual corruption.

44–5 ***Citrocynamo-Cariophyllikāç*** This inventive compound of Greek words is obscure but could pertain to prawns (*Cario* from 'karis') stuffed in wine leaves (*phyllikāç* from 'phyllikos' meaning 'leaf-like'), and seasoned with lemon (*Citro*) and cinnamon (*cynamo* from 'kinnamomon'). This exotic dish stands in stark contrast to Wormfire's previous references which are to rustic food. A possible source for this exchange could be Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, a fictive account of a series of philosophical banquets from the third century AD.

- Cariophyllikāç*, especially with an *arrière-garde* that 45
contains a Bacheracher, Hochheymer or Necker nectar?
- CATHARINA It would be even better if there were some.
- WORMFIRE Sweetness increases choler too much,
particularly when mingled with the heat of grape
juice. What do you say to a dish of morels prepared 50
with the best wild pears, qualified with an onionish
garlic-broth? Or a nice dish of Westphalian field-
beans with sour milk and capers farted from a goat's
fundament, excellently spiced, hey! Alongside that a
good claret of the kind that the Marburgers name after 55
your own rigour.
- [CATHARINA] Keep these dishes for your own hoggish
maw, you fool! Go away, or I'll make you clear off.
- WORMFIRE There's no need for that job, for right now I
am busy preparing to make my fine companion 60
another set of feet. But I must go in now. My lord has
commanded me to go to the top chef today. Thus,
honoured lady, rejoice that you have an appetite.
There will be a fine dinner, the whole kitchen is
polished, the servants are turning the roast like fools, 65
the cook goes around the kitchen like a madman, the
pots, kettles and pans boil, fry and foam on the fire
most nonsensically. The cake pans and pastries in the

45 *arrière-garde* French, rearguard.

46 **Bacheracher** ... **Necker** Wormfire mentions three wine regions in south-west Germany.

52 **Westphalian** from the region of Westphalia in north-western Germany.

53–4 **farted** ... **hey!** Wormfire puns on 'farted' ('gefürzet') and 'spiced' ('gewürtzet').

56 **your** ... **rigour**. Wormfire addresses Catharina as 'Ihr Strenghheit' ('your

rigour'), a title for nobility (see Grimm, 'Gestrenge'). Köhler (251) suggests that the wine may have been called Catharinenclaret, prompting Wormfire's allusion.

57 SP See note at 40.

59–72 *KK* adds Wormfire's vivid description of the busy kitchen in order to tease the hungry Catharina.

60–1 **preparing** ... **feet** i.e. getting Sybilla pregnant.

- oven are about to give birth and all the fine baking
stuff looks delicious. In sum, Bacchus will honour 70
Ceres, and she will refresh him with many delicacies.
Today shall be better than yesterday. *Exit.*
- CATHARINA If it were otherwise, to the devil with today!
It is as though he wanted to kill me with hunger out of
love: the beggars that came to my father's house did 75
better.
- SYBILLA Madam, perhaps your night was better than
your day?
- CATHARINA May God have pity on me, so that I don't
experience such another. I did not close an eye. More 80
such nights would soon kill me.
- SYBILLA But surely he did not handle you roughly,
madam. Sensible grooms do not show too much to
their brides on the first night.
- CATHARINA You need not address me as a married 85
woman. He has left me all too pure so far. He did not
once seem to think there was something womanly
in me.
- SYBILLA That's strange, he otherwise seemed to have
good inclinations. 90
- CATHARINA I do not doubt his goodness in this thing at
all, I have noticed it enough. I don't know why he
keeps to himself like this.

70–1 **Bacchus** ... **Ceres** Bacchus is the Roman god of wine and drinking, Ceres the Roman goddess of wheat and agriculture.

73–6 *KK* transposes three lines from Katherina's otherwise completely suppressed complaint to Grumio at the beginning of the scene (*TS*, 4.3.2–16, 4–6). See note at 26–37.

77–104 *KK* adds this exchange between

Catharina and her maid about the newly-weds' first night, Catharina's continuing virginity, and her admission that she has been 'bewitched' by Hardman and 'have to be gentle to him almost against [her] will' (103–4). See Introduction, pp. 102–3.

91 **goodness** ... **thing** interest in, or ability to perform, sex. The German 'stück', like the English 'thing' with which we translate it, may contain a phallic pun.

SYBILLA Who knows what his thoughts are in this matter. I hope and wish most heartily that his mad manner would change to a better one, since there is much pretended method in it. I wish to God you could bend your mind to his. He will surely stop his raving soon, and you will have the best of husbands. 95

CATHARINA I think I am bent already, but only my heart knows just how bitter I am, and those who are acquainted with the mind of women. I believe this man has bewitched me, because I have to be gentle to him almost against my will. 100

Enter ALFONS and HARDMAN, both bearing food, [and enter a Servant].

HARDMAN Are you here, my heart's darling? See, how I take pains for your sake? And do you like it? Are you silent? – There, young friend, take the stuff away again. My love does not like it. 105

CATHARINA Wait, I like it! Leave it!

HARDMAN Even a boy would repay a small service with thanks. Shall my lady spurn mine? 110

He bears the bowls away.

[Exit.]

Alfons gives his to the Servant.

[Exit Servant.]

104 SD In *TS*, Petruccio and Hortensio enter 'with meat' (4.3.35.1). No servant is onstage in the equivalent passage in *TS*.

105–11 *KK* remains relatively close to the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.3.36–48), but omits Hortensio's 'Mistress, what cheer?' (4.3.37) and Katherina's remark that she is 'cold' (4.3.38).

107 **the stuff** the food.

111 SD–24 **He bears ... hurry.** In *TS*

(4.3.49–54), Petruccio is immediately pacified by Katherina's thanks, remains onstage and invites her and Hortensio to eat. *KK* complicates the passage by having Hardman and the servant bear the food away, offering Catharina and Alfons a moment to speak amongst themselves, before Hardman re-enters, pacified, and invites Catharina and Alfons to 'come in for the meal' (123–4).

CATHARINA Indeed, I am thankful, my darling. It's just that you don't know my way of showing it.

ALFONS My dearest lady, reconcile yourself a little to his stormy manner. I assure you he loves you heartily. 115
If you offer him friendliness, you will be able to live with him very pleasantly.

CATHARINA It's much too difficult for a stubborn woman to change so swiftly; the transformation would have to be complete. 120

ALFONS If you are reasonable enough, you will be able to turn this transformation to your advantage.

Enter HARDMAN.

HARDMAN Well, my darling, and brother Alfons, come in for the meal, we have to hurry. I have much to do before our journey to your lord father's house 125 tomorrow. I must acquire some jewels for you today, and many other costly things for both of us, to enable the people to see that we are not of mean rank. We will walk around in our magnificence, so that they will talk of nobody but us. So, come in. Dinner is getting cold. 130

Enter WORMFIRE.

WORMFIRE My lord, the tailor is waiting outside, all laden with his stuff.

123–30 In the equivalent speech in *TS* (4.3.52–62), Petruccio revels in imagining the extravagant clothes the couple will wear upon returning to Katherina's father, an elaborate rhetorical flight reduced in *KK* to the plain information that they will have 'costly things' (127).

126 **tomorrow** Hardman's intention to leave the next day, which has no equivalent in *TS*, is contradicted by his later wish to 'be gone today' (310).

128 **we . . . rank** *KK* literally reads 'that a donkey did not bring us to the market' ('daß uns kein Esel auff's Marckt gebracht'). This obscure, perhaps proverbial expression alludes to market days when sellers would show off their wares.

131–8 *KK* adds this short passage to the equivalent scene in *TS*, where the tailor simply enters (4.3.62 SD).

HARDMAN Must this fool come at mealtime? Tell the
rogue, if he has fed himself, he must grant me and my
love time for a meal too. 135

CATHARINA He can come after the meal.

HARDMAN Tell him to go away at once! But, wait, let the
fool come in. I can jest with him during the meal.

[Enter FRITZ.]

WORMFIRE [*to Fritz*] Move your bones inside, my
thread-wise and needle-sage lord. 140

FRITZ A blessed day to you, gentlemen, health and long
prosperity.

HARDMAN Let's see what pretty stuff you have made to
grace the beautiful form of my lady. What's this?

FRITZ Your honour, a shirt made according to the 145
fashion, as your honour ordered.

HARDMAN A carnival cap, a jester's blanket around
rabbit fur! Will you make fools of us? Will you dress
children, and decorate dolls? Away, cover a post with
your things and put it up amidst pea stalks. My love 150
must not wear such clothes as are made by fools.
Such children's stuff is not seemly.

CATHARINA The camisole is good, both the material and
the work.

138 SD–42 *TS* has a haberdasher and a tailor, two unnamed figures, present their wares: the tailor enters first and is greeted by Petruccio (4.3.63), but only speaks after the haberdasher, who has entered immediately after him (4.3.64), has been dismissed (4.3.88 SD). *KK* simplifies the sequence by conflating the two roles into one, the tailor Fritz Thimble of Scratch-hill (see the List of Roles).

145–52 *KK* remains close to the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.3.65–70), but has Fritz

offer a shirt rather than the haberdasher's 'cap' (4.3.65).

147 **jester's blanket** ('Narrendecke') This rare word is also used by the same author in *Der Pedantische Irrthum*, 133 (see Introduction, p. 144).

150 **put . . . stalks** Hardman suggests the shirt be worn by a scarecrow to protect peas from birds.

153–7 *KK* interpolates Catharina's defence of the dress and Hardman's argument against it.

- HARDMAN My heart, the material is good, I have chosen 155
it myself for you, but this sloppy apprentice has
utterly spoiled it with his work.
- CATHARINA It is well done, the way gentlefolk wear
things nowadays.
- HARDMAN We must not look to become gentlefolk 160
through garments. – What ape’s ware have you there?
What can this be?
- FRITZ Your honour can surely see that it is a well-made
piece.
- HARDMAN A well-made piece! A piece for a fool! An 165
ass! Is this frippery to be worn in Tom Thumb’s place?
What have you done with the sleeves, you witless
block?
- FRITZ It is done the way it should be. I would like to see
a tailor who can show me better work whether he had 170
been in France or all over Europe. I know my craft as
a tailor *de façon* should do.
- CATHARINA You talk well, Master. It is well made, and I
see the dress will fit like a glove.
- ALFONS [*aside*] She’s getting warm. There’ll be blows 175
soon.

158–61 **It ... garments.** *KK* corresponds to the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.3.71–7), but has Catharina replace Katherina’s remark on ‘gentlewomen’ (4.3.72) by ‘gentlefolk’ (‘Edelleute’), leading to Hardman’s comment on gentility and clothes. Petruccio picks up on Katherina’s ‘gentlewomen’ by applying the adjective ‘gentle’ to Katherina (‘When you are gentle you shall have one too’ (4.3.73), i.e. a cap), playing on the polysemy of ‘gentle’ as ‘noble’ and ‘mild’. This pun is impossible in German.

161–83 This sequence of Hardman’s humorous debasing of Fritz’s work, and

Fritz’s and Catharina’s defence of it has no equivalent in the corresponding passage in *TS*.

166 **frippery** (‘Firlfantz’) The German word’s roots are obscure but originally refer to an outlandishly dressed fool figure performing strange dances (see Grimm, ‘Firlfanz’).

166 **Tom ... place** (‘an statt eines Däumlings’) Tom Thumb (in the German version, ‘ein Däumling’) is a little man the size of a thumb, popular in European folklore.

172 **tailor de façon** a proper tailor, from French, *de façon*, i.e. in the (right) manner.

- HARDMAN [*to Fritz*] You know your craft like a fool *de façon*, and you would make my love a fool. I'll crush your brains before that happens.
- CATHARINA I see you take me for a stupid child. You intend to cloud my reason with your strange antics. I see you have little respect for me. Your pretended love is a mere semblance. 180
- HARDMAN What are you saying, dearest?
- CATHARINA I hope I am not denied words. 185
- HARDMAN My love is free to do as she likes. [*to Fritz*] But what else do you have, you cheating rogue? Is this the skirt? Dear me, this beautiful stuff is spoilt by your thievery! You have stolen half of it. I'd rather have paid you double than have a thing spoilt like this. 190
- CATHARINA I do not know what to say. Are you mad, or are we? I say the tailor has made no fault in anything.
- Fritz I confirm this. Sir, you're mistaken. I have made everything according to your order that was delivered to me by Wormfire. 195
- WORMFIRE The villain wants to make me guilty of the spoilt stuff! He lies if he says I gave him orders rather than material for the garments.
- HARDMAN [*to Fritz*] You old goat, don't abuse my patience, or I'll rain blows. You have worked like an apprentice. 200

185 *KK* radically reduces Katherina's outburst against Petruccio's patronizing (*TS*, 4.3.75–82), and condenses her eloquent claim to verbal self-expression into a single line. For a similar implosion of Katherina's eloquence, see *KK*, 5.2.340–1 and note.

186–90 Hardman's renewed rejection of the tailor's work follows Petruccio's at *TS*, 4.3.88–94.

188 **Dear me** The German literally says 'sorrow and damage' ('Jammer und Schad'). For the formulae, see Grimm, 'Jammer', 7.

193–201 *KK* follows the equivalent passage of *TS* (4.3.96–102) but inserts the tailor's accusation against Wormfire and Wormfire's response to it (193–8), transposed from a later point of *TS* (4.3.117–20).

196–7 **guilty . . . stuff!** Wormfire literally says that Fritz wants to 'pour the spoilt stuff' into his shoes' ('die verdorbene sache in die Schue schütten'), drawing on a proverb about incriminating somebody else for one's actions (Wander, 'Schuh', 185).

- CATHARINA I say he has worked well. You want to make a rogue of him, and a fool of me.
- HARDMAN You speak right. It's the rogue who wants to make a fool of you. 205
- FRITZ She says, my lord, it is you who wants to make a fool of her.
- HARDMAN O, great presumption by the shadow of a man in my own house! You lie, you lie, you thread, you Tom Thumb, you needle tip, you flaky-headed clod of earth, you! I'll soon measure your mangy back with your mete-yard and make you remember it all your life. You've wasted everything that's been put into your hands. 210
- FRITZ May I die this very moment if all is not made as your honour ordered it through the man who stands here. 215
- WORMFIRE I told you to make it with thread and needle.
- FRITZ But it needs to be cut first.
- WORMFIRE A rogue told you to cut it, now stop lying and flattering yourself, or you'll be sorry for it. 220
- HARDMAN Whichever of you two birds is wrong has to pay the bill.
- FRITZ I am right, and the lady is well pleased with my work, let this fool say what he will.
- WORMFIRE What, you miserable skeleton of a tired old goat, you quintessence of all that is mangy, you home of lice and fleas, you needle-noble and thread-honour, 225

202–18 *KK* closely follows the original (*TS*, 4.3.103–23).

203–7 **fool . . . fool** The threefold use of the same term corresponds to *TS*, but *TS*'s characters say 'puppet' (4.3.105–7) instead of 'fool' ('Närrin').

210 **Tom Thumb** See 166n.

210–11 **flaky-headed . . . earth** The German uses 'Grindschulpe', an obscure word that we have not found elsewhere. It may derive from (or be a corruption of) 'Grindschüppel', a rare term of abuse

recorded by Grimm, composed of 'Grind' (a term for 'head') and 'Schüppel' (from 'Schuppe', 'dandruff'). 219–20 *KK* reduces the increasingly heated exchange between Grumio and the Tailor (*TS*, 4.3.124–9) to Wormfire's threat.

221–33 **Whichever . . . quarrelling?** A passage with no equivalent in *TS*.

227–8 **needle-noble . . . clout-commissary** Wormfire insults Fritz by relating terms of social respectability to simple objects from tailoring.

you clippers-commandant and clout-commissary whom I respect as much as a fart, do you address my reason thus? If I didn't respect my lordship, I'd chase you out of the world. 230

FRITZ I'd serve you well. But what good is there in quarrelling? [*holds out the paper to Wormfire*] Here is your own paper. That will show the instructions.

WORMFIRE What paper? You are lying through your teeth! 235

HARDMAN Come, read it.

WORMFIRE But truthfully, without lies.

FRITZ 'Extracted small memorial from the great instruction given regarding our dear and gracious lady: how the slender shaft of her noble body is to be divided, encompassed and elaborated in the nicest manner, and be concentrated in the narrowest part *memoriae juvandae*.' 240

ALFONS The rubric is apt.

WORMFIRE My lord, it is my own invention. 245

ALFONS The work shows that clearly enough.

HARDMAN [*to Wormfire*] Shut up, fool – and you, read on.

FRITZ '*Pro primus*, a conjugated fishbone breast armour

232–89 This passage with Wormfire's written instructions, read out by Fritz and commented upon by Hardman, Wormfire and Alfons, rearranges and expands the corresponding passage in *TS* (4.3.130–51). In *TS*, the 'loose-bodied gown', a particularly contentious item, is mentioned first (4.3.133–4), whereas in *KK* there is a considerable build-up towards it, with items Wormfire grants he commissioned, before its mention in line 271. Whereas the 'note' (4.3.130) in *TS* consists of no more than a short list of items, the 'paper' (234) in *KK* is considerably more elaborate (238–43, 248–51, 256–9, 262–8, etc.). The note's suggestive language (e.g., 'the slender shaft of her

noble body is to be divided', 240–1), pompous diction (e.g., 'small memorial from the great instruction', 238–9), repeated use of Latin and French, convoluted syntax and elaborate sartorial descriptions all add to the comedy of the passage.

232 **I'd ... well** a threat to retaliate if Wormfire tried to 'chase [him] out of the world' (230–1).

243 ***memoriae juvandae*** Latin, of pleasant memory.

244 **rubric** (Rubric) i.e. the instructions.

248 ***Pro primus*** Latin, first of all.

248 **conjugated ... armour** a corset stiffened with boning, i.e. the rigid parts that form its frame.

- in linen with trunk sleeves *à la mode*, and *euphonia gratia* covered with silk which we call a ladies' gown 250
in our German mother tongue.'
- WORMFIRE I confess, a lady's doublet with two sleeves.
- FRITZ Confess what you will, here is the letter.
- WORMFIRE The letter, too, can be by a lying thieving
villain like you. Shut your prating mouth. 255
- FRITZ 'A black silken coat with bobbinlace mingled with
silk embroidered according to the craft, and an added
train with a long long untapering stick, as pleases
women, belonging to the bodice instead of a tunic.'
- WORMFIRE I let all of this pass if only the tail of my 260
gracious lady be well placed.
- FRITZ 'And another cape of linen hangings, covering the
lower cupboard with a cloth of mixed silver and gold
threads, prepared and *à la mode*, from German money
acquired *à la française*, also the sun and moon entwined 265
together in curious fabric, daintily covered and
decorated. *Explicatius*, an undergarment with pieces of
gold and silver and lace of such like material.'
- WORMFIRE I grant all this. It'll come to an end now, I
hope, for fear makes time seem long. 270
- FRITZ 'Further, a loose-bodied gown.'

249 *à la mode* French, fashionable.

249–50 *euphonia gratia* Latin, for the sake of euphony. The words may indicate that the silk should give the gown a pleasantly rustling sound.

256 *coat* ('Windfang') literally a windscreen (Grimm A.1.c).

258–9 *train* ... *bodice* another passage in which the sartorial description offers occasion for sexual innuendo (see 232–89 and note).

263 *lower cupboard* a periphrasis for 'female genitalia'.

264 *à la mode* See note at 249.

265 *à la française* French, in the French manner; the meaning of the phrase in the present context is unclear.

265 *sun and moon* a proleptic allusion to the 'sun and moon' passage (see 4.4.11–27).

265–6 *entwined together* ('spinnenmässig elaborirtem Gewebe') literally, spider-like elaborated fabric

267 *Explicatius* Latin, completed.

269–70 *It'll ... long*. This sentence may be spoken as an aside.

271–89 *KK* remains close to the equivalent passages in *TS* (4.3.133–7 and 4.3.142–51).

- HARDMAN What folly is this?
- WORMFIRE Master, if I said loose-bodied, sew me into the gown and beat me as dead as a doornail with a whole spool of blue thread. I said a proper and modest gown. 275
- HARDMAN [*to Fritz*] Fool, read on.
- FRITZ ‘With a pleated body, the sleeves prettily cut.’
- HARDMAN Rogue, do you think I am a fool?
- WORMFIRE My lord, a mistake, an error in the paper, the witless thief has not understood me well. I told him to cut the sleeves and then sew them. [*to Fritz*] I will defend myself against you, you wasteful fly-catcher, even if all your fingers are armed. 280
- FRITZ What! I say it is true! And if I met you in another place, we’d have a little dance. 285
- WORMFIRE To the tailor’s song. But ho, come now, give me the mete-yard, you take the paper, and we’ll fence for the honour.
- HARDMAN I told you just now, Master Mex, you have spoiled everything, and shall pay me damages. My love should not wear such worthless stuff on her precious body. 290

He beckons Alfons to come nearer.

Get out of my sight.

- 274 **dead ... doornail** Wormfire literally says ‘mouse-dead’ (‘Mäuse tod’), that is, as easily killed as a mouse (Grimm, ‘mausetod’).
- 283–4 **wasteful ... armed.** Wormfire insults Fritz by debasing his profession, mockingly referring to thimbles as armour, and calling him, literally, a ‘light fly catcher’ (‘leichten Fliegenfänger’), someone who is content with small exploits (Grimm, ‘Fliegenfänger’).
- 286 **little dance** i.e. they would fight.
- 290 **Mex** a derisory term for tailors, originating in a now obscure connection to goats and the sound the animals were thought to produce (Wander, ‘Mex’).
- 293 SD In *TS*, Petruccio, in an aside, asks Hortensio, ‘say thou wilt see the tailor paid’ (4.3.163), an action that is implied in *KK* in the present SD. Hortensio, in the subsequent speech, promises the tailor payment (4.3.165–7), just as Alfons does (*KK*, 295–6).

ALFONS Good master Fritz, keep the things for me. I 295
will pay you tomorrow.

FRITZ My lord, I am content. *Exit.*

HARDMAN We must travel to your people in rags, dearest
Catharina. Does the covering matter if the man is
good? It is better to be able to pay for costly goods 300
than to hang them around us. Our purses shall be rich
with gold; ourselves in poor clothes. Add virtue to
this: the best garment to grace us both.

WORMFIRE (*aside*) But it's invisible.

HARDMAN Is the hoopoe better than the lark because his 305
feathers are more beautiful, or the snake than the
eel because he is decorated with such gleaming
colours? So do not be unwilling, dearest heart. It is
not shameful for us to wear this mean array. If it is,
blame me, I will stand for it. Let us be gone today. 310
Brother Alfons travels with us. It is now around seven
o'clock.

WORMFIRE The hand of the clock is surely ruled by a
fool.

HARDMAN We can go some of the way before noon until 315
we find good lodgings.

CATHARINA Seven o'clock? It is midday. What are you
saying?

298–323 *KK* remains close to *TS* (4.3.168–95), but omits Petruccio's mention of their means of transportation (4.3.183–5) and punctuates Hardman's grandiloquent moralizing speech by inserting Wormfire's deflating comments (304 and 313–14).

305 **hoopoe** ... **lark** ('Wiedehopff' ... *Lerche*) 'the jay' and 'the lark' in the corresponding passage in *TS* (4.3.174). The hoopoe and the jay are both colourful birds.

306–7 **snake** ... **eel** ('Schlange ... Aal') 'the adder' and 'the eel' in *TS* (4.3.176). The visually striking zigzag pattern on the adder's back means that the passage may work better in the English original than in the German adaptation.

317 **midday** 'almost two' according to Katherina in *TS* (4.3.188). Petruccio's reference to 'seven o'clock' (4.3.186), by contrast, is faithfully preserved by *KK* (317).

- HARDMAN What are you saying, dearest Catharina?
 Always against me? I think my love for you deserves 320
 more. We will not go from here until the clock says
 what I say it says. Come what may. *Exit.*
- ALFONS Commanding the sun, that's something new.
Exeunt [Alfons, Catharina and Sybilla].
- WORMFIRE Not for my honourable master. I thank God
 it is over with Master Scratch-hill. My back was ready 325
 to be hurt. *Exit.*

[4.3] *Enter FELIX [as Hilarius] and BLASIUS.*

- BLASIUS I will take care of everything and settle the
 business to my lord's liking. I have acted in a comedy
 before now.
- FELIX You must study to acquire an unstudied freedom
 of manner. 5

- 323 Hortensio's equivalent speech (*TS*, 4.3.195), which occurs when Petruccio is still onstage, is sometimes assumed by editors to be an aside (e.g. Oxf, Thompson).
- 323 SD *Sybilla* D1 and D2 do not specify when Sybilla exits the stage. Although she never speaks after line 99, it makes sense for her to remain onstage in order to attend to her mistress. She might, however, exit at another point, for instance after line 104, leaving Catharina alone onstage to meet Hardman and Alfons, or with Wormfire at the very end of the scene.
- 323–6 *TS* concludes the scene with Hortensio's comment, 'Why so, this gallant will command the sun' (4.3.195), adapted in Alfons' speech, to which *KK* adds Wormfire's humorous reflection on the escalating situation with 'Master Scratch-hill' (325), a reference to Fritz, the tailor.
- 4.3 No location is specified, but the scene is presumably set in front of Hilarius' lodgings. It corresponds to a brief dialogue in *TS* between Lucentio's servants and the

false father (4.4.1–18). *KK* omits the subsequent passage in *TS* in which Baptista and the Merchant meet, verbally conclude the marriage contract, and leave for Baptista's house in order to sign the documents in private (4.4.19–71). It also leaves out Biondello's report of their success to Lucentio, and his advice to take Bianca to church for a secret marriage (4.4.72–106). By omitting much of the corresponding scene in *TS*, *KK* thus asks its audience to accept as given the wedding between Hilarius and Sabina. The effect of the omissions is that *KK* focuses *TS*'s several strands of interweaving action into a single line pointing to the resolution in 5.1.

1–5 The exchange between Felix and Blasius adapts the brief dialogue between Tranio and the Merchant (*TS*, 4.4.1–7). In both plays, the men are rehearsing how to convince as Hilarius' / Lucentio's father. While *TS*'s Merchant is already in his role as Lucentio's father, Blasius metatheatrically thinks of his future performance as a 'comedy' (2).

Enter FABIAN.

So, what's the answer?

FABIAN Sir Theobald has instructed me to offer his regards, and will shortly pay my lord a visit.

FELIX This respect is too great an honour for us, but since it is his wish, we must obey. Swiftly, Fabian, clean your chamber. Let's go inside to welcome him in the best possible way. *Exeunt.* 10

[4.4]

Enter ADRIAN.

[ADRIAN] Fatherly love as well as care have brought me here. My son left me some time ago, and I have no news of his fortune either from him or from anyone else. I almost fear that something bad has happened to him. His nature always tended towards virtue, so I 5

6–12 The passage corresponds to Biondello's return from his errand to Baptista (*TS*, 4.4.14–18). While Fabian announces Theobald's imminent visit before they 'go inside' (11) in preparation for it, *TS*'s characters remain onstage where they are joined by Baptista and Lucentio (4.4.18 SD).

4.4 The location is not specified, but the scene is presumably set on the street (1–88) and in front of Hilarius' lodgings (89–205). It corresponds to two successive scenes in *TS*, Act 4, Scene 5 and Act 5, Scene 1. It falls into three parts: one, Hardman's deliberate confusion of the sun and the moon and the party's encounter with Adrian (1–98, *TS*, 4.5.1–77); two, the confrontation between the real and the fake father of Hilarius (99–175, *TS*, 5.1.1–99); and, three, the conciliatory dialogue between Hardman and Catharina (176–205, *TS*, 5.1.132–41). In its adaptation of *TS*, *KK* shows signifi-

cant independence in the second part, and omits the presence of Katherina, Petruccio and Baptista at the confrontation. It replaces the increasingly violent conflict between the real and the fake Vincentio (*TS*, 5.1.57–99) with Adrian's loss of consciousness (149–70), and delays the resolution of the plot through the entry of Bianca and Lucentio (*TS*, 5.1.100–31) by moving the announcement of the marriage of Hilarius and Sabina to the next act (5.1). *KK* rounds off the scene with Sybilla's reflections on the conciliatory power of sex and marriage (196–205).

1–9 The first appearance of Hilarius' father. Unlike his equivalent in *TS*, Vincentio (who first enters at 4.5.26 SD), Adrian is given a short soliloquy in which he expresses his worries about the lack of news from his son (see Introduction, p. 105).

1 SP In D1 and D2, the SP is implied in the entrance SD.

4.4.1 SP] *Köhler*; no SP D1, D2

hope bad company has not seduced him into a dishonest life. The message I received from him is strange, and I need to know what is going on. But who are these people here?

Enter ALFONS, HARDMAN, CATHARINA,
WORMFIRE *and* SYBILLA.

- HARDMAN Now let us bravely ambush old Sir Theobald. 10
How bright the moon is shining: it must be a full moon.
- CATHARINA The moon? Why, darling, it's the sun.
- HARDMAN What sun? So now I can't see straight?
Wormfire, get the horses from the inn. We must go 15
home in this moonlight which shines as certainly as my father's son wears my own trousers.
- ALFONS [*to Catharina*] Tell him what he wants, you know his meaning.
- CATHARINA [*to Hardman*] Well, then, stay here in this 20
moonlight.
- HARDMAN I say it over again, it's the moon.
- CATHARINA Now I see, it is nothing else.
- HARDMAN Now you are mistaken after all, it is the 25
blessed sun.
- CATHARINA Good Lord, then let it be the sun. I am content, be it a wax light, star, torch or what you wish.
- ALFONS My brother may now gently lay his weapons down: the field is won.
- HARDMAN That's how the river should flow. But what's 30
this? [*to Adrian*] Good day, fairest maid. Why are you walking alone?

10–17 *KK* stays close to *TS* (4.5.1–10) but omits Petruccio's wilful threat that '[i]t shall be moon or star or what [he] list[s]' (4.5.7).

18–32 *KK* closely follows the equivalent passage in *TS* (4.5.11–28), except that it

omits a short passage (4.5.20–3) and transposes the equivalent of Katherina's exasperated admission of any name for the sun (4.5.13–15) to Catharina's last speech in this passage (26–7).

- ALFONS I do not understand, my lord.
- HARDMAN Tell me, dearest Catharina, have you ever
seen such a beautiful maid in all your life? 35
- WORMFIRE And you, Sybilla, are you also transformed?
- SYBILLA Yes, you have made a boy of me by attaching
something of yours to me.
- HARDMAN My darling, go and greet this fair maid with a
kiss. 40
- CATHARINA I see no one maidenly.
- HARDMAN What, do you resist me in everything?
- CATHARINA My darling, calm yourself. I believe the
ancient sire is a beautiful maid. [*to Adrian*] Therefore,
fairest maid, take this kiss from an unknown friend. 45

[*She kisses Adrian.*]

- ALFONS Brother, leave off this joking.
- HARDMAN [*to Catharina*] I do not know if I am the fool
or you. This is an old gentleman whom you think a
maid, dearest darling.
- CATHARINA I see now. [*to Adrian*] My lord, pardon my
error. The rays of the moon-changed sun have so
bedazzled my face that I can no longer tell black from
white. 50

34–8 *KK* follows the beginning and end of Petruccio's equivalent address to Katherina, asking her to greet Vincentio as a young maid (*TS*, 4.5.29–35), but omits Petruccio's commonplace praise of the supposed maid's beauty (4.5.31–3) and inserts the brief exchange between Wormfire and Sybilla.

37–8 Sybilla's allusion to her copulation with Wormfire constitutes another addition in *KK* to the equivalent material in *TS*. The servants provide a comic reflection of the behaviour of their social superiors (see

3.2.349–98, 4.2.1–25, 5.2.345–93 and notes). Sybilla's supposed transformation has an Ovidian flavour and is reminiscent of the third quatrain of Shakespeare's Sonnet 20.

41 Catharina's last moment of resistance to Hardman has no counterpart in the equivalent passage in *TS*.

42–53 *KK* stays close to the equivalent moment in *TS* (4.5.38–50), but inserts Alfons' objection (46) and omits Katherina's second polite excuse to Vincentio (4.5.49–50).

- [ADRIAN] I gladly pardon you, my merry lady. I do not know how to understand your comic behaviour and speech, but it has made me laugh. 55
- CATHARINA Do not resent my behaviour. My love has infected me with his merry manner.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) That will show in three quarters of a year. 60
- CATHARINA To avoid further confusion, I will go in and announce the arrival of my dearest.
- Exit with Sybilla.*
- HARDMAN I will follow soon. – My lord, pardon me, I beg to know your name.
- ADRIAN I am the older Liebenthal, and have come here to visit my son. 65
- HARDMAN It gladdens my heart to bid you welcome, good sir, the more so because you come on time to attend a wedding.
- ADRIAN I don't understand what you are saying, my lord. 70
- HARDMAN I am the first to inform you that your son is a bridegroom, and will hold his wedding feast soon.

54–62 *KK* preserves the father's good-humoured excuse of the prank in *TS* (4.5.54–5), but omits Petruccio's invitation to Vincentio to accompany them on their way (4.5.51–3) and adds Wormfire's bawdy aside (59–60). While Katherina remains onstage, *KK* has Catharina exit with Sybilla in order to go and announce their arrival (61–2).

54 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Alfons; Köhler emends the SP. See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

59–60 Wormfire bawdily suggests that Hardman has 'infected' (58) Catharina with a baby, to be born in 'three quarters of a year'.

65–82 *KK* adapts the equivalent passage in

TS (4.5.56–68), notably by inserting into it Adrian's expressions of incredulity and outrage (70 and 73–4). It also adds Hardman's attempt to appease Adrian by letting him know that his son's bride is the daughter of Sir Theobald, who happens to be Adrian's good friend (75–9; see also 155 and note). Petruccio simply tells Vincentio that his daughter-in-law is 'wealthy, and of worthy birth' (4.5.66).

65 **Liebenthal** See the List of Roles.

68–9 **you ... wedding** In *TS*, by contrast, Petruccio informs Vincentio that his 'son by this hath married' (4.5.64). For the two plays' different treatments of the wedding, see the headnote to 4.3.

54 SP] Köhler; Alfons D1, D2

- ADRIAN This is madness! I sent my son abroad to study,
not to get married!
- HARDMAN My lord, don't be surprised. The lady he 75
takes is my darling's sister, rich with gifts of both
body and mind. She is blessed by fortune. Her
friendship and family cannot seem unfitting to you,
given that she is the daughter of Sir Theobald.
- ADRIAN Your last words give me some comfort, and will 80
assure my son forgiveness for his fault as he is linking
two intimate friends.
- HARDMAN I wish to be included in this band of friendship.
Sir, I beg you to be like a father to me.
- ADRIAN I will assist you in all your desires. But, my 85
lord, can you not tell me where my son is staying? I
wish to surprise him without warning and to shock
him most horribly.
- HARDMAN He may be where I am going right now. Here
are his lodgings. I will accompany you, my lord, if 90
you would like me to.
- ADRIAN I beg to see him privately first. We will speak
afterwards. Meanwhile, send fair greetings to Sir
Theobald.
- HARDMAN Thank you, I am at your service. – Brother 95
Alfons, come, let's see what is to be done within.
- WORMFIRE And I shall see what business the cup can
give to my throat.

Exeunt [all but Adrian].

83–98 *KK* considerably departs from *TS* by adding Adrian's wish to surprise his son alone, as a result of which Adrian is left onstage alone. In *TS*, Vincentio accepts Petruccio's proposal to proceed jointly to go and 'see [his] honest son' (4.5.70), after which all the characters exit (4.5.77 SD), the last being Hortensio, who, in a short concluding soliloquy, decides to go to his

widow and tame her if need be (4.5.78–80). 89–90 **Here ... lodgings.** Whereas *TS*'s Vincentio does not meet his fake alter ego until the next scene after travelling onward with Petruccio, *KK*'s scene directly continues to Adrian's encounter with Blasius, so that the scene's location, at least from this point, must be outside Hilarius' lodgings.

ADRIAN Now I shall see whether my arrival brings joy
or fear. Ho, ho! 100

Knocks on the door.

[*Enter BLASIUS above as Adrian of Liebenthal.*]

BLASIUS (*from the window*) Who is knocking so loudly?

ADRIAN Someone who wishes to speak to Monsieur of
Liebenthal.

BLASIUS He cannot receive any stranger at present; he is
going about his business. 105

ADRIAN Hum! And if someone came with a bag of gold
for him? What then?

BLASIUS He expects nothing like that, because I have
already lined his bag.

ADRIAN You? And who are you to shower money on
him? 110

BLASIUS I take it a father will not deny his son anything.

ADRIAN You, his father?

BLASIUS Yes, I am. But who are you?

ADRIAN [*aside*] What devilment is this? First I am taken
for a maid. Then another man pretends to be me. I
hope to God there is nothing evil behind this. 115

Enter FABIAN.

99–100 SD By the time Vincentio knocks on the door at his son's lodgings (*TS*, 5.1.12 SD), Lucentio and Bianca have hurried to church to get married (5.1.1–5) and Vincentio has re-entered in the company of Petruccio, Katherina and Grumio (5.1.6 SD).

101–17 KK remains close to *TS* (5.1.15–36) but

omits Petruccio's interventions (5.1.23–7, 33–4), Hardman having previously left the stage. The Merchant's threat to '[l]ay hands on' Vincentio (*TS*, 5.1.35) is replaced by Adrian's puzzled aside (115–17).

101 SD Similarly, the Merchant in *TS* 'looks out of the window' (5.1.14.1).

- [FABIAN] What, do I see ghosts?
 ADRIAN You monkey, where do you come from?
 FABIAN Monkey? What Anabaptist are you? 120
 ADRIAN Listen. What's happening in your master's
 house? Rascals are dwelling in there.
 FABIAN What, rascals? That word will cost you dear. My
 master's father does not belong to such a guild.
 ADRIAN But who is this honest father? Do you not 125
 recognize me?
 FABIAN I have never even dreamt of you. I swear I've
 never seen you in my life.
 ADRIAN A curse on you, do you still know my hands at
 least, you mad bird? 130

He beats him.

- FABIAN Help, ho, help! The man is mad!

118–31 *KK* roughly corresponds to the equivalent passage in *TS* (5.1.41–53), climaxing in Adrian/Vincenzio beating Fabian/Biondello (130 SD / 5.1.51 SD). *KK* retains the gist of the misunderstanding in *TS* while verbally departing from it. The passage contains no trace of Biondello's report of having 'seen [Bianca and Lucentio] in the church together' (*TS*, 5.1.37–8), and of his realization that their scheme will be discovered when he recognizes his old master (5.1.38–40).

118 SP In D1 and D2, the SP is implied in the preceding entrance SD.

119 **monkey** ('Meerkatze') A more common term of abuse than *TS*'s 'crackhemp' (5.1.41), although it was generally applied to women (Grimm, 'Meerkatze', 2).

120 **Anabaptist** ('Wiedertäufer') The Anabaptists, members of a radical Protestant movement, were often persecuted in various parts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.

- BLASIUS (*runs out*) What! Treating my servant thus?
- ADRIAN Who are you, slave, to bewitch this rogue in order to impersonate me?
- BLASIUS What? Addressing a gentleman like this? If 135
you're mad, you rogue, you should be bound in chains.
- ADRIAN Thus honest people are insulted abroad. You'll regret these words, and my son will regret consorting with such guests and playing such tricks.
- FABIAN (*aside*) I fear this business will have a bad end. 140
- ADRIAN Where is this honest son?

Enter FELIX [as Hilarius].

- BLASIUS There you have him.
- FELIX (*all aghast*) O, I wish I were far from here!
- ADRIAN (*shocked*) This one may be your son if you are a brush-maker. But these garments are not suitable 145
for him.

132–70 *KK* considerably transforms and shortens the equivalent passage in *TS* (5.1.57–131). In *TS*, the Merchant appears on the main stage in the company of Baptista and Tranio (as Lucentio) (5.1.56 SD), and the conflict over who is Lucentio's real father intensifies until an officer arrives who is charged by Tranio and Baptista to take Vincentio to jail (5.1.57–97). The entrance of the newly-married Lucentio and Bianca (5.1.97 SD) results in the flight of Biondello, Tranio and the Merchant '*as fast as may be*' (5.1.101.1) and clears up the misunderstanding regarding Vincentio's identity. In *KK*, the conflict between Lucentio's real and his fake father, Adrian and Blasius (131–41), is cut short when the arrival of Felix as Hilarius (141 SD) makes Adrian suspect that his son has been killed (149–50), so that he swoons (150 SD1). Fabian,

Felix and Blasius exit (150 SD2), like their equivalent characters in *TS*, but the arrival of Hilarius and Sabina is postponed until the next scene. Instead, Theobald and Hardman arrive (150 SD3) and help Adrian recover (151–70).

132 SD '*Läufft heraus*' in the German text, which suggests that he comes to the main stage in a horizontal, not in a vertical, movement. Blasius has been speaking '*from the window*' ('*Aus dem Fenster*') since 4.4.101 SD. Shakespeare's editors usually assume that the Merchant, when he '*looks out of the window*' (*TS*, 5.1.14.1), finds himself above, and that he later re-enters '*below*' (*TS*, 5.1.56.1). What exact movement is involved when Blasius '*runs out*' remains unclear, but it should not be taken for granted that a space above from which he descends is involved.

BLASIUS What, a brush-maker? Neither the elder nor the younger Liebenthal will tolerate this!

ADRIAN O Justice, unsheathe your sword! These knaves must have strangled my poor son and now – 150

He falls in a swoon.

Exeunt Blasius, Felix and Fabian.

Enter THEOBALD and HARDMAN.

HARDMAN Father, what's this? What has happened to this honourable old man? Why do these rogues run for their lives?

THEOBALD These things are killing me!

They shake [Adrian].

My bosom friend! My other self! And do you give me 155
grief, though I come to rejoice with you? O, it is true,
he's dead and gone. O, how this fair day is darkened!
How joy turns to sorrow!

They rub him with balm. He recovers a little.

HARDMAN Father, there is no need to grieve. Life is still 160
in him.

ADRIAN O, my son! My only comfort!

He sinks down again.

THEOBALD O, my brother! My dear close friend! How painful to lose you!

HARDMAN Father, do not mourn for those who are still 165
alive as if they were dead. – [to Adrian] I will call the

155 **My bosom . . . self!** Whereas Baptista in *TS* is taken in by the Merchant (4.4.19–71) and considers Vincentio a madman whom he wants taken to jail (5.1.57–97),

Theobald happens to be a good friend of Adrian's, as we found out earlier in the scene (see 77–82).

servants so that you can be carried inside where you will be better looked after. – Ho! Servants, boys, come out here!

Enter Servants.

THEOBALD Take up this honourable old man, and carry him gently inside. 170

Exit with [Adrian and the servants].

HARDMAN This is a mad thing. What could be behind this? I will see what is the matter at my brother-in-law's lodgings. *Exit.*

[HARDMAN] *re-enters shortly after.*

The nest is completely empty, and the birds flown. Something is the matter. 175

Enter CATHARINA and SYBILLA.

Now the hen follows the rooster. This is a fine thing. Where are you going, my darling, where?

CATHARINA Where but to you.

HARDMAN Then come and kiss me heartily.

CATHARINA What, in front of all these people? 180

HARDMAN Are you ashamed of me? I don't deserve that. – Sybilla, call my servant.

171–5 Whereas the newly-married Lucentio and Bianca have appeared onstage by the equivalent point in *TS* (5.1.97), Hilarius and Sabina have not been onstage since 4.1 and will not reappear, newly married, until the next scene. The present passage reminds us of their prolonged absence and creates a certain suspense.

176–95 *KK* adapts the equivalent passage in *TS* (5.1.132–41). Notably, *KK* expands

Petruccio's couplet which ends the scene – 'Is not this well? Come, my sweet Kate. / Better once than never, for never too late' (5.1.140–1) – into a fuller passage about Hardman and Catharina's reformation and newly-found peace.

180 **all . . . people** Only Sybilla is onstage with Catharina and Hardman, so Catharina may be gesturing to the audience.

CATHARINA How strange. I am not ashamed of you,
 except in front of these people. But let shame be put
 away. 185

She kisses him.

HARDMAN Do you see now, my love, that this is much
 better than when we are at odds? So let us put away
 all tricks and stubbornness, and live in peace and
 pleasure after wearing down our horns. I will chase
 away the mad Hardman, and you must chase away the 190
 bad Catharina. Thus we shall be an honourable couple
 renowned in all the world.

CATHARINA I am content with you if you are content
 with me.

HARDMAN Amen. *Exeunt [Hardman and Catharina].* 195

SYBILLA Well, I take it she is content with him now. She
 has had better nights than the first. I've heard the
instrumentum pacis is a pretty thing. But I do wish to
 be bound to my man as well, even though this obstacle
 doesn't hinder us. It doesn't hinder me much for I live 200
 more safely than when I lacked a man to cover me,
 but we must be honourably conjoined. Our guests
 shall feast at young Sabina's wedding banquet, and
 my dear fiancé will not lust after the bride because I
 shall already have said yes to him. *Exit.* 205

196–205 Sybilla's humorous soliloquy on
 marital and pre-marital sex has no equiv-
 alent in *TS*.

198 *instrumentum pacis* Latin, the instrument
 of peace, i.e., the male member.

5.[1] *Enter* ADRIAN *and* THEOBALD, *sad*.

THEOBALD I am so shocked and truly sorry, I do not know what to say.

ADRIAN O, I am sad indeed, that at my age, expecting extreme gladness, I must exchange it now for deadly sorrow. 5

THEOBALD I do not know what hope still sustains me.

ADRIAN O miserable hope.

THEOBALD Let hope not leave us before we capture the deceitful birds. They shall not slip through our fingers with unplucked feathers. O, how timely that this fraud was discovered before my daughter was given to a brush-maker's son, an eternal insult to nobility. 10

ADRIAN My bosom friend, at least you can console yourself. I cannot do the same since I have lost all; you nothing. 15

THEOBALD I lose as much as you do in losing a dear son.

ADRIAN O, pity, pity, pity.

Enter HILARIUS *and* SABINA, *both well dressed, and accompanied by* HARDMAN *and* CATHARINA.

5.1 No location is specified, but the scene is presumably in front of Sir Theobald's house, and corresponds to *TS*, 5.1.102–31. It falls into three short parts: in part one, Theobald and Adrian comfort each other for the supposed death of Hilarius (1–17); part two includes the revelation of Hilarius' disguise scheme and his marriage to Sabina (18–56); and in part three, Catharina and Hardman make a pact of peaceful communication (57–70). *KK* adapts some of part two from *TS* (5.1.102–31) but adds parts one and three, and inserts a dialogue into part two on the happy union between the two families (37–56) in a general move-

ment towards reconciliation and acceptance that is absent from *TS*.

1–17 Before returning to *TS* for the resolution of the plot, *KK* adds a dialogue between Theobald and the revived Adrian about the supposed murder of Hilarius (see 4.4.149–50), whom they had hoped to see as Bianca's husband (see line 16).

12 **brush-maker's son** i.e. Felix (see 4.4.141–8).

17 *SD* The entrance of the two sisters and their spouses, with the newly-weds 'well dressed', creates an image of balance and harmony, a 'pageant' (18) which strikes the onlookers with wonder.

- THEOBALD What is this pageant?
 ADRIAN What! What do I see? The ghost of my son?
 HILARIUS [*kneeling*] Not the ghost, but the true living 20
 son who hopes to receive forgiveness for his
 mistake.
 SABINA Having been in all else an obedient daughter, I
 also beg for this.
 ADRIAN Stand, my son. I know of no fault. 25
- [*Hilarius rises.*]
- THEOBALD [*to Sabina*] How could my daughter have
 angered me?
 SABINA I know of no reason, but that I turned this
 honourable gentleman into a tutor. But he has now
 reverted to his former standing. 30
 THEOBALD Is this not the man we thought was Johannes?
 HILARIUS I am all you wish to make me, father.
 SABINA Love has provided him with an object, my
 father with a worthy son, and my lord Adrian with an
 obedient daughter, as I shall call myself with my 35
 father's permission.

18–56 *KK* transposes the revelation of the disguise scheme from its original context in *TS* (where it occurs as the conflict over the fake and the real father of Lucentio comes to a head; 5.1.102–31) to a separate, subsequent scene. This has allowed the two fathers to meet and discuss the seemingly shattered union between their children. The recovery of seemingly lost children, typical of the romance genre, results in paternal appeasement and harmony, whereas *TS*'s fathers storm off-stage 'to be revenged for this villainy' and 'sound the depth of this knavery' (5.1.126–7), and Gremio leaves in frustration (5.1.130–1).

18–25 In the equivalent passage in *TS*,

Lucentio and Bianca simply ask their respective fathers for '[p]ardon' (5.1.102, 104).

20 *SD* Whereas the Folio spells out the fact that Lucentio kneels, the same action is implied here by Adrian's 'Stand, my son' (25).

28–30 In *TS*, Lucentio, not Bianca, answers Baptista's question (5.1.106–8) and dispels the confusion over the disguises.

28–9 **this . . . gentleman** i.e. Hilarius.

29 **tutor** (Pedanten) See 1.2.20n.

31 *KK* preserves a version of Baptista's question, 'is not this my Cambio?' (*TS*, 5.1.112), but omits Lucentio's explanations about his disguise scheme with Tranio (5.1.114–20).

- ADRIAN I love most dearly my lovely daughter who gives me my son again, and my son who brings me such a daughter.
- THEOBALD And I must approve of my daughter's otherwise culpable behaviour for the sake of such a dear son, and am glad about these events. But why was the need for such disguises? 40
- HILARIUS Father, you will hear this with amusement. I must now also beg forgiveness for all those who have acted in this, for my sake, as others than themselves. 45
- ADRIAN They should at least be frightened, especially that fool who wanted to make me mad.
- HARDMAN This day is a day of joy. We should mingle nothing upsetting or grievous with it. 50
- ADRIAN Then they should undergo an amusing kind of punishment, and all for their own good.
- THEOBALD I add my voice to this, because my house ought to be a place of pleasure and gladness. So bring them all in, please. 55
- Exeunt [all but Catharina and Hardman].*
- HARDMAN Come here, my lovely little Trina. We two fare best in the end, because we have proceeded in the best way. The beginning was rough and hard, but it has improved in the very fairest manner. Let us continue in this vein. 60
- CATHARINA And let us not think about the past, and inflict punishments because of it, or do the same when we disagree.

37–56 In *TS*, both fathers continue to be shocked at the disobedience of their children and servants (5.1.121–9). *KK* turns their barely suppressed violence into forgiveness and joy.

57–70 *KK* adds a dialogue between Hardman

and Catharina which enlarges the scene's themes of peace, forgiveness and cooperation.

57 **little Trina** ('Trinchen') the diminutive of the shortened form of Catharina's name Hardman used at 2.1.286–97. See 2.1.286n.

HARDMAN If I do so, I won't sleep with you. If you do 65
so, you shall lie alone.

CATHARINA I am content. But I will take heed of what
you say, since I am no longer used to sleeping alone.

HARDMAN Me neither. This is how it is when both know
what they have in each other. *Exeunt.* 70

[5.2] *Enter* ADRIAN, THEOBALD, SEBASTIAN, ALFONS,
EULALIA, HARDMAN, CATHARINA, HILARIUS
and SABINA. *They sit.*

Enter VEIT.

THEOBALD Gentlemen, if it is your pleasure, let us view
the criminals and give them their sentence.

ADRIAN It will please everybody.

THEOBALD You, Veit, order them to appear.

VEIT I leave to obey my master's order. 5

Exits and re-enters.

Here they come.

Enter BLASIVS, FELIX, FABIAN *and*
WORMFIRE, *who acts as bailiff.*

THEOBALD [*to Blasius, Felix and Fabian*] You three,
your crime is so great that it must not go unpunished.

5.2 No location is specified, but the scene is presumably set in Sir Theobald's house, and adapts *TS*, 5.2. The scene falls into five parts: the mock trial (1–193), the confrontation between Catharina and the widow (194–216), Felix's hunting song (217–66), the wager about which wife is most obedient (267–344), and a final sequence with the four servants, including Fabian's song (345–93). The first, third and fifth parts have no equivalent in *TS*. The second and fourth parts

are fairly close adaptations of *TS* (5.2.1–49, 64–141), although *KK* strikingly replaces Katherina's long and eloquent speech on wifely obedience (5.2.142–85) with a brief statement (340–1).

0 SD EULALIA The first appearance of the 'widow' mentioned earlier by Alfons (see 4.1.51 and note). See also the List of Roles.

1–193 The mock trial and the betrothal of Wormfire and Sybilla have no equivalent in *TS*.

- As justice requires, hear this judgment, and bear your
punishment. 10
- WORMFIRE Be merry, there are still things to be done!
- THEOBALD Sir Sebastian, read the judgment, loud and
clear.
- WORMFIRE But without glasses.
- [SEBASTIAN] The three accused are present, namely 15
Master Blasius Nosewhite and Felix Muchwind, who,
having credited themselves, contrary to all laws, with
the honour and character of nobility, the last-named
meeting his master face to face, have severely
transgressed against holy justice and their superiors 20
and lords. They will therefore be stripped of their
honours as punishment and as an example to others.
Master Blasius Nosewhite and Felix are condemned
to sweat out the nobility they wrongfully assumed in
a hot bath house for three days. Fabian will wait upon 25
them and serve them food, but no drink.
- [FELIX] I'd rather die! O, O! No drink! Brother Wormfire,
beg for me!
- WORMFIRE It is not my current duty. – But, O, gentlemen,
the poor devil cannot bear it. Condemn him rather to 30
sit in a wine tub, and make me the gaoler.
- BLASIUS I hope, setting aside all strict justice, that the
power of mercy will do some good. I will therefore

14 **glasses** ('Brill') perhaps an implied SD (Sebastian may look for his glasses).

15 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Sabina; Köhler assigns it to Sebastian. See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

25 **hot . . . house** ('Badstube') a public bath with hot steam, a sauna.

27 SP D1, D2 and Köhler assign the speech

to Fabian, but since he does not suffer from the judgement, it makes more sense to attribute it to Felix. See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

27 **I'd . . . die!** ('Lieber Tod!') The German is ambiguous and, literally translated, could mean either 'dear death!' or 'rather death!'.

5.2.15 SP] Köhler; Sabina D1, D2 27 SP] *this edn*; Fabian D1, D2, Köhler

- ask the old gentleman whom I have insulted to
intercede for me. 35
- FELIX My master, for whose service I did it all, will
speak for me.
- FABIAN My comrade has already presented my dearest
desire.
- THEOBALD Today shall be a day of joy, so let the 40
punishment to the accused not be grievous; instead
turn mercy into merriment.
- [SEBASTIAN] Gracious Mercy has seen that strict justice
has committed some *errorem calculi* in the conferring
of this punishment and has not applied its legal rule 45
well. Taking this into consideration, she has corrected
correction, and turned its rough side inwards and its
soft side outwards. Here follows her judgment to the
effect that rather than three days in a hot bath house,
Master Blasius shall join Ceres and Bacchus, and 50
make friends with them for eight days and longer in
Sir Theobald's lodgings in tolerable temperatures. To
repair and augment his little honour, he shall act as
quasi-marshal at Sir Hilarius' wedding, grace the
office with his usual dexterity, and introduce Sir 55
Gelasium in his pleasant manner. Felix will hear an
acceptably merciful judgment from his own master,

43–68 Imitating legal language, the speech is full of Latinate terms and intricate grammatical turns that make it at times hard to understand.

43 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Sabina. Sebastian continues to 'read the judgment' (12). See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

44 *errorem calculi* Latin, error in calculation.

50 **Ceres and Bacchus** See note at 4.2.70–1.

54 **quasi-marshal** ('quasi Marschalck') The German term 'Marschalck', like its English equivalent, can refer to the person responsible for the arrangement at ceremonies.

55–6 **Sir Gelasium** It is unclear to whom this name refers. Church history knows of two popes called 'Gelasius', one from the late fifth and one from the early twelfth century.

43 SP] Köhler; Sabina D1, D2

and will behave like a modest guest. Fabian, on the other hand, will be handed over to Wormfire for his excesses, who will put him into the pillory, and run wine through him until he falls to the ground powerless, having done his duty to justice. When he has recovered his modest standing, he shall be made an inspector over the law of the jug. He shall diligently pour the cups overfull. They will be drunk to the bottom, and he shall not forget himself in his duty. He may remain in further expectation of what will be done to him. 60 65

BLASIUS Thanks be to holy justice for this mercy.

FELIX I would never have expected anything else from my lordship. 70

FABIAN [*to Wormfire*] Brother, do your office.

WORMFIRE It shall not lack through any fault of mine. But holy law has not yet closed justice's case, and so I have to *praemissis praemittendis, et vel quasi* prettily *omnibus solennibus requisitis introducendibus introductis*. And I must confer another more or less dirty thing to the *Sacro-Sanctae Justitiae* in 75

60 **put . . . pillory** literally 'put him into the Bacheracher neck-iron' ('Er jhn erstlich an das Bacheracher Hals-Eisen stelle'). The 'neck-iron' was an iron chain that attached the neck of criminals to the pillory for public shaming (Grimm 1, 'Halseisen'). 'Bacheracher' was a wine (see 3.2.250n). Sebastian says that Fabian will be punished by being made drunk.

61 **wine** The German literally reads 'a Roman from Heilbronn' ('Heylbronner Römern'), a kind of wine (Grimm, 'Römer', 2), here from the city Heilbronn, a Roman settlement in the south-west of Germany.

64 **law . . . jug** ('Kannen-Recht') literally, jug-law. The word may pun on 'jus canonicum', canon law.

73–87 Wormfire struggles to be clear about

Sybilla's pre-marital pregnancy and hides his embarrassment in confusing syntax, diction and Latin, with the result that Hardman, like the audience, fails at first to understand.

75 **praemissis . . . quasi**. Latin, the things that are requiring to be sent out in advance having been sent out in advance, or the like. Here and in what follows, Wormfire's pseudo-learned language is meant to impress but often fails to make good sense and is not properly integrated into the text in English.

76–7 **omnibus . . . introductis** Latin, all solemn requirements having been introduced that are requiring to be introduced.

77–8 **another . . . thing** an oblique reference to Sybilla's pre-marital pregnancy.

78 **Sacro-Sanctae Justitiae** Latin, sacrosanct Justice.

- order to wash the chambermaid. The *dominationibus permission* to effect the like I have lately acquired. 80
- HARDMAN What is it you say, fool?
- WORMFIRE Nothing much understandable. But now to the wisest and foolishest in the world: it concerns a lawful thing. Another interested lady is required, so I request permission once again to introduce such a one, and to propose my pretty thing, to acquire orally a benevolent rescript. 85
- THEOBALD You have pleasant permission. All must be entertained today. *Exit Wormfire.*
- Something fine may be afoot. 90

Enter WORMFIRE *with* SYBILLA.

- WORMFIRE Here comes one *membrum* of my plaint, I am the other. *Salvis salvandis Titulisque titillandis.* Honourable gentlemen, through seduction of that cursed rogue, the old Adam, of my own flesh and of the lusty world, my maid here, I mean my lady comrade, for one must not lie at a trial, and my flesh 95

79 **wash . . . chambermaid** i.e. to regularize Sybilla's situation through marriage?

79–80 **dominationibus permission** garbled Latin ('*permissio*' would be Latin but '*permission*' is not), the permission of the powers, of those who hold power.

80 **to . . . like** ('solches zu effectuiren') Wormfire rephrases his plan to regularize Sybilla's situation in stilted language.

83 **wisest . . . world** presumably a reference to Wormfire himself ('the wisest') and to Sybilla (the 'foolishest').

84 **lawful thing** marriage (see Wormfire's subsequent speech).

86 **pretty thing** presumably a reference to Sybilla.

86–7 **to . . . rescript** presumably an oblique reference to his and Sybilla's lawful marriage by a priest (see Wormfire's

subsequent speech).

88 **pleasant permission** ('Vergnügünstigung') Theobald puns on 'permission' ('Vergünstigung') and 'amusement' ('Vergnügen') by conflating the two words.

91 **membrum** Latin, part, limb.

92 **Salvis . . . titillandis** Latin, those things being safe that are required to be safe and titles requiring to be tickled. The exact meaning of Wormfire's Latin is again obscure.

93–5 **through . . . world** Wormfire seems to explain Sybilla's pre-marital pregnancy as a result of original sin, of his own lust and, more generally, of lust in the world.

95–6 **my maid . . . trial** Wormfire means that it would be a lie to claim that Sybilla is still a 'maid' (i.e. virgin).

- and blood have come together, which has produced a conjunction that will separate itself in three quarters of a year from my modest companion. In order that this conjunction may not part from honour, and because it originated in the unchaste marriage bed, we both pray that priestly glue may agglutinate and conjugate us so that thereafter no error may separate us. We pray, expecting what is right from the helpful *officio Judicis*, being the viceroy of holy *Astraea* herself.
- THEOBALD This is a matter of the highest importance which concerns the women. We will therefore hear their voices through what the youngest has to say, and draw our conclusions from that.
- SABINA I think they ought to be put into the hole for a time, and they can be together afterwards.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) The former happened a long while ago, and I will continue it.
- HILARIUS I think they ought not be permitted to be bedfellows after this wedding.
- WORMFIRE O, please! No, I pray you!
- SYBILLA And I pray you even more. [*to Sabina*] O, dear lady, mercy, mercy!
- WORMFIRE O, merciful lord, mercy!
- CATHARINA What can you do with whores and knaves? Have them married.
- SYBILLA Great thanks for this judgment.

101 **unchaste . . . bed** before wedlock.

104 **officio Judicis** Latin, the office of the judge.

105 **Astraea** A goddess symbolizing innocence and just judgement.

110–39 This passage was omitted in Köhler's edition; see 2.2.19–23n.

110–13 Sabina uses 'hole' to refer to the prison (Grimm, 'Loch', 4), while Wormfire thinks of the physical orifice in Sybilla's body.

115 **wedding** (copulation) See 3.2.189n.

110–39] *not in Köhler*

- HARDMAN I am of my Cathy's opinion concerning the coupling. But after that, give the honest groom a fine strong purgation, good food and drink aplenty. The chaste bride must keep him in her lap the whole night without getting up once. 125
- WORMFIRE Sir, sir, the purgation and the food are good.
- EULALIA I will be merciful to them and deliver them to the priest. 130
- ALFONS I will not gainsay my dearest, and Sir Wormfire is my good friend.
- SEBASTIAN I think it would be advisable to cater for the groom with bread and water after the coupling.
- WORMFIRE (*aside*) He's an old thief. 135
- [SEBASTIAN] And to rub the bride's ticklish flesh with nettles.
- SYBILLA (*aside*) And to clean your mouth with them afterwards, you old shitter.
- [THEOBALD] After hearing everyone's voices, Sir Adrian and I will pronounce the sentence. 140
- WORMFIRE O merciful, wise lord, if you have reason, pronounce the best.
- SYBILLA I also humbly beg for this.
- THEOBALD It will be what is just. 145

123 **Cathy's** ('Käthen') The only occurrence of this form of Catharina's name in the play (cf. 206). Elsewhere, Hardman calls her 'Trina' ('Trine'; see 2.1.286n) or 'little Trina' ('Trinchen', 5.1.57n), although he most commonly uses her full name. See also the List of Roles.

136 SP D1 and D2 assign this speech to Sabina, but Sebastian seems to continue his judgement begun at 133–4, and Sybilla is unlikely to call her former mis-

trous an 'old shitter' (139). See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

140 SP As at 136, the speech is mistakenly assigned to Sabina in D1 and D2. Wormfire's response to the 'wise lord' (142) makes better sense if addressed to Theobald, who pronounces the sentence from line 161. Köhler assigns the speech to Sabina but correctly mentions in the notes (256) that the words are no doubt spoken by Theobald.

136 SP] *this edn*; Sabina D1, D2 140 SP] *this edn*; Sabina D1, D2, Köhler

- WORMFIRE Sybilla, did you not notice whether the good
tease us more than the bad?
- SYBILLA Who can tell me that? As long as there are no
nettles. O, how I would like to shit into the beard of
this old fantastico. 150
- WORMFIRE My darling, think of drinking water for three
days. If you wish, keep remembering his words, for
the purgation could also mean good food for us.
- SYBILLA Let us ask the old fantastico to be our guest.
- BLASIUS *Silentium, silentium.* 155
- WORMFIRE That's school-boy Latin. Listen diligently,
Sybilla, in case something good is coming.
- THEOBALD Because we are more mindful of joy than
sadness these days –
- WORMFIRE That's a good start. 160
- THEOBALD Ludolf Wormfire and Sybilla Fleafur will be
coupled with each other, and handed over to the
priest. Furthermore, these two will not bring together
their maidenheads in the wedding bed, but will be
burdened with having to act as honourable spouses 165
and shall lead the dance. For this, Wormfire will
borrow the short frock and the ruff. When his helper
is lightened of her load, this whole company shall
serve as godparents.

146–54 This passage was omitted in Köhler's edition; see 2.2.19–23n. Wormfire and Sybilla are likely to talk aside, unheard by the other characters.

149 **shit** Sybilla uses the word 'hofieren', which originally connoted 'to woo' but had evolved into 'to shit' (Grimm, 'hofieren', 9).

150, 154 **fantastico** ('Fantasten') See 1.1.97n.

152 **keep . . . words** Wormfire literally says 'don't forget his maw' ('Drum vergiß

jhm / meinetwegen / deß Mauls nicht').

155 **Silentium** Latin, silence.

160 Wormfire literally says 'that sounds well *pro primus*' (i.e., first of all), in German 'Das lautet *pro primus* wohl'.

167 **ruff** Theobald says that Wormfire can borrow the 'paper lapel' ('papiernen Kragen'), referring to the expensive fashion accessory of the higher classes.

167–8 **When . . . load** when Sybilla will have given birth.

- WORMFIRE Not couple in bed? Is this a good decree? 170
- SYBILLA I think it is. Go, and thank them.
- WORMFIRE Dear Lord Justices and assistants of this tribunal, which is hard as a bone and painful, you are by diamond chains insurmountably linked to dear Justice. *Quantas, quam solidas, solidiores, solidissimas, maximas, debitissimas agam gratiarum gratiosè gratias gratus, nescio.* Hum! Latin suddenly sticks in my throat at the moment when too much of it wants to get out. I'll say the rest in German. My mistress, *à la française*, and I are extremely content with the sentence, particularly concerning point one. There is no need for point two, for we have already done it. In order to fulfil point three, we would like to assume the title *Juris de Edendo*, and add that of *de Bibendo*, both of which we will illustrate most prettily. We will dutifully exercise point four with the agility of our joints and it will be decorated with fitting ornaments. For the last and fifth point, you recommend to us what the wisdom of our brain has already concluded, because *est, interest regit dativum*: we thus thank you

170–1 Wormfire and Sybilla are again conversing aside, unheard by the other characters (see 146–54).

170 **Is ... decree?** In the German text, Wormfire says 'Secret' (i.e. privy or excrement; Grimm, 'Sekret', 3) before correcting himself: 'holla decret' (i.e. 'no, decree'), a slip of the tongue that allows Wormfire to indicate what he thinks of the 'decree'.

172–5 **Dear ... Justice.** The beginning of Wormfire's speech is excessively convoluted and unintelligible, perhaps a mock imitation of legal language.

175–7 **Quantas ... nescio.** Latin, how great, how genuine, more genuine, most genuine, greatest, owed thanks I will give

being gratefully grateful, I do not know. Wormfire's Latin is again more designed to impress than to make sense.

179–80 **à la française** French, in the French manner. The meaning in the present context is unclear.

181–2 **There ... it.** Wormfire is saying that Sybilla and he have already brought 'together their maidenheads' (163–4).

183 **point three** i.e. 'act[ing] as honourable spouses' (165).

184 **Juris de Edendo** Latin, the Judge of Eating.

184 **de Bibendo** Latin, of Drinking.

190 **est ... dativum** Latin, 'est' and 'interest' take the dative case. Wormfire's Latin phrase seems another *non sequitur* here.

most prettily, and rest obliged and dutifully bound to our masters in all similar cases. *Dixi*.

THEOBALD Now all is joyful, and will be amicable.

ALFONS [*to Hardman*] That would be a pretty word, would it not, brother? 195

HARDMAN I think you are afraid of your wife.

EULALIA He whose head is dizzy thinks the whole world is going round.

CATHARINA What do you mean by this?

EULALIA Your darling understands me well enough. 200

CATHARINA And I not a bit more clearly.

EULALIA He thinks that because he has received something bad, my husband has done so too.

CATHARINA That would be a simple opinion and utterly groundless. 205

HARDMAN To her, dear Cath!

ALFONS To her, defend yourself, my dear!

EULALIA I do not want to be your fool any longer. *Exit*.

CATHARINA I must find out what's the matter with her.

Exit swiftly.

192 *Dixi* Latin, I have spoken.

193–216 While the previous material in this scene has no equivalent in *TS*, the confrontation between Catharina and the widow adapts *TS* (5.2.1–49).

193 In *TS*, it is Lucentio who announces the happy resolution and invites the company to his house (5.2.1–11).

194–6 *KK* remains close to the equivalent exchange between Hortensio and Petruccio (*TS*, 5.2.15–16).

194 **word** As in the equivalent passage in *TS* (PETRUCCIO Padua affords nothing but what is kind. / HORTENSIO For both our sakes I would that word were true.', 5.2.14–15), 'word' ('Wort') seems to refer not to a single word but to the preceding utterance more generally.

197–209 *KK* adapts the confrontation

between Katherina and the Widow fairly closely (see *TS*, 5.2.17–35), but omits word play on 'conceive' (i.e. having ideas as well as getting pregnant; see 5.2.23–5) that fails to work in German.

206 **Cath** ('Cathrinchen') The only occurrence of this form of Catharina's name in the play. See 123 and note.

206–9 After Petruccio's 'To her, Kate!' and Hortensio's 'To her, widow!' (*TS*, 5.2.34–5), Katherina and the Widow have no scripted reaction. 'Katherine may chase the Widow . . . or otherwise physically intimidate her' (*NOS*), but there is no exit *SD*, and editors since Nicholas Rowe usually assume that they do not depart until later, with Bianca (*TS*, 5.2.49 *SD*). Eulalia and Catharina, however, leave earlier and separately, after their respective short speeches.

HARDMAN But without help. I know she'll put her down. 210

ALFONS That's usually my duty. [*to Sabina*] But my
lady bride, why so quiet? You are surely tired.

HARDMAN She is also somewhat hit. The little bird must
not go home alone.

SABINA If I were a bird, I would fly to a bush so that you 215
could not hit me. *Exit.*

FELIX In order to show my penitence, I have composed
a little wedding wish in prison. Please observe my
good intentions, not the bad words.

HILARIUS I thank you most amicably, and know that 220
your heart and words are good. Rest assured of my
eternal favour towards you. But now, read us your
invention.

[FELIX] The tale that I must tell you is a story of the
chase

In which three gallant huntsmen set out upon the
trace 225

210 **put ... down** ('*leget sie nieder*') The ambiguity of the phrase – carried over from Petruccio's 'my Kate does put her down' (*TS*, 5.2.36) – as meaning either 'winning an argument' or 'dominating during sex' equally works in German. Alfons activates the second meaning in his response.

213–16 The passage adapts the exchange between Petruccio and Bianca at *TS*, 5.2.45–8.

217–66 The passage with Felix's song replaces suggestive banter between Petruccio, Hortensio, Lucentio and Tranio (*TS*, 5.2.50–63).

224–55 The German song consists of fairly rough octameter couplets, with a caesura dividing each octameter into two tetrameter half-lines. Our English translation approximates this form by using fourteeners (with occasional variation in the syllable count), with the aim of providing the impression of a fairly rudimentary

verse technique. The fourteeners usually fall into two half-lines, the first with four stresses or feet and the second with three. End-rhymes in the German original are usually full, but are translated here by a mixture of full and half-rhyme.

224–45 The main part of Felix's song uses a transparent hunting conceit to summarize the plot: a 'hind' (226; Sabina) was hunted by 'three ... huntsmen' (225), 'one [who] was old' (227; Sebastian) and two 'youths' (228; Hilarius and Alfons), of whom one (Hilarius), who had 'a helper' (232; Felix), won 'the prize' (238). The 'second' (239; Alfons) also 'found a prey', though less 'lovely' (242; Eulalia, the widow), yet still better than 'the wild beast' (243; Catharina) found by 'the stern huntsman' (243; Hardman).

224 SP D1 and D2 have no SP prior to the song, but the context makes clear that it is delivered by Felix.

224 SP] Köhler; no SP D1, D2

Of a fair hind untamed and free, a prey they prized
the most,
But one was old already, and his hunting skills were
lost.
The other two, however, were lusty youths and
strong,
And when they shot an arrow it never went far
wrong.
Yet one surpassed the other in hunting of this kind, 230
Choosing to stalk the deer himself and leave the dog
behind.
He also left a helper, whom he trusted with the
work
To stop all rival huntsmen from intruding in the
park,
If thus he should desire; and his wishes were
obeyed
By that same second huntsman who was ready with
his aid. 235
As for the old companion with his white and feeble
staff,
The faithful helper soon arranged for him to be
sent off.
It was the first best huntsman who won the prize he
sought;
His efforts were rewarded. The second too had thought
To catch the deer but failed because his strategy was
wrong, 240
For he was too impatient and could not wait so long.
Yet he, too, found a prey, though not so lovely as
the hind
Nor yet as bad as the wild beast that the stern
huntsman found
Deep in the bush and firmly bound. Now they all
have their part;

Except for one who was too fast and another slow to
 start. 245
 But still the fast one made a catch and he is well
 content,
 Because through him his master gained the prize for
 which he spent
 So many drops of burning sweat that streaked his
 frozen skin.
 Thus he who sends down wagon loads of all good
 things throws in
 A goodly dose of what's called luck, and the man
 that has that name 250
 Hopes that he'll be remembered then and that he will
 remain
 Fixed in his master's favour and never be betrayed.
 By him to whom his loyal vows of endless faith
 were made;
 And if such trust is so rewarded and his hopes
 fulfilled,
 Then will he always follow him and be his servant
 still. 255
 But now, you other hunters:
 Follow your hounds while they are fresh and while
 the woods are green
 Range through the flowering forest, and let it not
 be seen
 That when you shoot an arrow your strong stiff bow
 goes soft:
 To get your fill of pleasure prepare another shaft. 260

245 **one . . . start** Felix and Fabian.

246–55 This part of Felix's song is a plea to Hilarius for continued patronage and employment.

249–50 **luck . . . name** The name 'Felix', a common cognomen since Roman times, means 'happy' or 'fortunate'.

256–60 Felix's song concludes with advice to other 'hunters' (256; i.e. men) for successful wooing, with suggestive phallic puns on 'arrow', 'stiff', 'soft' and 'shaft' (259–60). The passage may well be an address to the audience.

- HILARIUS The invention is good.
- HARDMAN Only that it's a little too like doggerel.
- [SEBASTIAN] Everyone has their fortune expressed in it,
and I most of all, because I have not caught anything.
But I prefer this to getting something I'd be frightened 265
of.
- THEOBALD [*to Hardman*] Son, that's a reference to you,
since I believe you have obtained the worst thing.
- HARDMAN I do not believe so, and let us prove it. Let
every man send for his wife, and we shall see which 270
comes most obediently.
- HILARIUS Here, I bet twenty ducats that I win.
- ALFONS I bet as many.
- HARDMAN What, twenty, I bet as many on my whippet.
A hundred is not enough. 275
- HILARIUS Content, here is my hand. – Fabian, go and
tell my love to come to me.
- FABIAN I go, my lord. *Exit.*
- THEOBALD I'll bet half with you, good son, she'll come
at once. 280
- HILARIUS I do not seek halves. A whole, or none.

[*Enter* FABIAN.]

- 262 **doggerel** ('hündisch') The German word was generally used in reference to the abject qualities of dogs (Grimm, 2), not, like the English 'doggerel', specifically in the context of verse.
- 263 SP D1 and D2 assign the speech to Sabina, but it makes better sense when given to Sebastian, who has 'not caught anything' (264), i.e., has no wife, unlike Hardman, Hilarius and Alfons. See also 1.3.404 SP and note.
- 267–308 With few exceptions, the wager

passage follows *TS* (5.2.64–112) speech by speech and often word for word: *KK* slightly rearranges and condenses the negotiations of the terms of the wager (269–76; *TS*, 5.2.67–76), but has no equivalent for Baptista's interjection when Katherina enters ('Now, by my halidom, here comes Katherina', 5.2.105), and adds Wormfire's words at 297 and Catharina's confident assertion that she will 'know how to tame them' (307), i.e. Sabina and Eulalia.

263 SP] *Köhler*; Sabina D1, D2

FABIAN My lord, she sends word she is busy and cannot come.

HARDMAN What, she is busy and cannot come? Is this an answer? 285

SEBASTIAN Yes, and a kind one. How will yours be?

HARDMAN Sir Sebastian always tries to fool us. Wait for the end.

ALFONS Go, and tell my wife I entreat her to come. [Exit Fabian.]

HARDMAN I entreat her to come, O, O! 290

ALFONS Yours will surely not come upon any entreaty.

[Enter FABIAN.]

Well, where is she?

FABIAN She says you must be jesting and bids you come to her.

HARDMAN Graver than grave! You, Wormfire, go tell my wife to come to me at once. 295

WORMFIRE Incontinently, swift as the wind. [Exit Wormfire.]

ALFONS I know her answer. She'll not come.

HARDMAN Then no one wins the bet. But she'll come with another answer. 300

Enter CATHARINA.

CATHARINA What is your will, my darling?

HARDMAN Where is your sister, and the wife of brother Alfons?

CATHARINA They are sitting outside clattering away.

HARDMAN Fetch them in. Should they resist, carry those disobedient women here. 305

297 **Incontinently** The German text has 'Incontinent', from Latin 'incontinenter', i.e. instantly.

304 **clattering away** ('bey der Klappermühle') literally, at the clapper-mill (see Grimm, 'klappern', II.2).

CATHARINA I know how to tame them.

[*Exit Catharina.*]

HILARIUS If we must talk of miracles, here is one.

THEOBALD My son, your effort must be rewarded.

Another daughter, another dowry. I add 5,000 ducats 310
to the previous one. Look, how she brings them in
like prisoners!

[*Enter CATHARINA with SABINA and EULALIA.*]

SABINA I don't know if she is mad or not.

HILARIUS I wish we were mad. Your wisdom costs me
too much. 315

ALFONS [*to Eulalia*] You could have saved me a hundred
ducats; I have bet and lost because of you.

EULALIA Why are you such a fool then to put such trust
in me?

ALFONS I admit I feared what I had nothing to worry 320
about, and by trusting one I have been cheated by
both.

[SEBASTIAN] I thank God that the goat I made gardener

309–12 Theobald's speech adapts that of Baptista (*TS*, 5.2.117–21), who promises 'twenty thousand crowns' (5.2.119). *KK* omits *TS*'s preceding speech, Petruccio's rhapsody on married life with a tamed wife (5.2.114–16), as well as his slightly later request for Katherina to trample on her cap, eliciting scorn in Bianca and the Widow (5.2.127–31).

311–12 **Look ... prisoners!** In *TS*, the equivalent announcement is made by Petruccio: 'See where she comes, and brings your froward wives / As prisoners to her womanly persuasion' (5.2.125–6).

313–19 closely adapts *TS* (5.2.131–5) but assigns part of the hostile exchange between Lucentio and Bianca (5.2.133–5) to Alfons and Eulalia.

320–2 Alfons' slightly cryptic sentence

seems to acknowledge that he has been wrong about both Catharina and Eulalia, leading to his loss of the wager.

320–34 ALFONS ... **that.** This passage seems to have no equivalent in *TS*.

323 SP D1 and D2 mistakenly assign the speech to Sabina. Köhler (259) rightly observes that the SP does not fit the speech but unconvincingly suggests that the speaker may be Theobald. See also 1.3.404 SP and note.

323 **the ... gardener** ('der Bock / den ich zum Gärtner gesetzt') refers to Hilarius through whose proxy Sebastian sought to woo Sabina. Sebastian may allude to a proverb according to which goats make for poor gardeners since they eat the plants instead of caring for them (Wander, 'Bock', 14, 67).

323 SP *this edn*; Sabina D1, D2, Köhler; Theobald Köhler (*conj.*)

- has become the master. My horns would otherwise
have been far too weak. 325
- ADRIAN It may be true that all maids are pious.
- HARDMAN Then their husbands would need to make
them bad afterwards. But it is not so.
- HILARIUS That one had as his symbol *Non cernuntur et
adsunt.* 330
- THEOBALD I am overjoyed by my new daughter.
- CATHARINA I hope I will be doubly obedient towards my
father because I sinned before.
- THEOBALD You will renew my old age through that. O,
what an excellent thing it is when children are 335
obedient.
- HILARIUS But it is very gross when wives are stubborn.
- HARDMAN My dear Catharina, give these shrewish
women a lesson.
- CATHARINA Let me put it briefly. You men, love your 340
wives. And you women, obey your husbands.
- THEOBALD You make a good conclusion, daughter. So
let us now make a good beginning to our joy.
Gentlemen, you are warmly invited inside.
Exeunt [all but Wormfire, Sybilla, Fabian and Felix.]

327–8 The implication, to which Hardman objects, is that married women are no longer pious.

329 **That one** It is not quite clear to whom Hilarius refers: to himself, present but not seen because of his disguise?

229–30 **Non . . . adsunt** Latin, they are not seen, and yet they are present.

334–7 **O, . . . stubborn.** In *TS*, the equivalent passage occurs after Katherina's long speech, and the first statement is made by Vincentio, not by Baptista (5.2.188–9).

338–9 This speech adapts Petruccio's request to Katherina to give the 'headstrong women' a lesson in wifely obedience (*TS*, 5.2.136–7).

340–1 *KK* compresses Katherina's elaborate and multi-layered defence of female obedience in marriage (*TS*, 5.2.142–85) into

a brief and sober speech. Its content and balanced grammatical structure are indebted to St Paul's Letter to the Ephesians: 'Husbands, love your wives . . .' (5.25); 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands . . .' (5.22).

342–4 *KK* replaces a dialogue between the three husbands about their respective marital success (*TS*, 5.2.186–95) with a more peaceful conclusion by Theobald.

344 *SD* Among the characters who exit are Hardman and Catharina. According to the early editions of *TS*, Petruccio leaves separately (5.2.193 *SD*), before the other characters (5.2.195 *SD*), although editors since Rowe have usually emended the text to give Petruccio and Katherina a joint exit (see Ard³, 306–8).

- WORMFIRE The sequence is now ours. 345
- FABIAN Ho, brother; first you must see my learned
invention. Felix should not think he is the only one
who has sucked up wisdom. I can do something, too.
- WORMFIRE Well then, let us hear what little learning you
have to offer. I wonder how the horse of *Bacchus* 350
inspired the lustfulness of your folly.
- FABIAN You're mad, my brother Worm-
fire, yes, mad as a storm,
With horns on head so high
They almost touch the sky. 355
This was your finest sport,
To climb into the fort-
ress. O then you were warm
When your vigorous third arm
Pushed hard into the press; 360
And though it felt the stress,
It chose to make no stay
Until it forced its way
Along the secret ditch,
The watery passage which 365

345–93 *KK* adds a concluding sequence with four of the play's servants. For the play's interest in the servants as foils and comic mirrors of their social betters, see 4.4.37–8n. The passage was omitted in Köhler's edition; see 2.2.19–23n.

345 **sequence** (sequens) a musical term, originally designating a chant that followed (Latin, *sequi*) the Alleluia in the liturgy of the Eucharist.

350–1 **I wonder . . . folly.** Wormfire encourages Fabian so that, literally, 'Pegasus of Bacchus makes your Venus' folly flow' ('wie das *Bacchi Pegasus* die *Venam* deiner Würmerey in den Fluß gebracht'). Wormfire seems to suggest that the com-

position was shaped by Fabian's drinking and lust. For Wormfire's other references to Bacchus, see 4.2.70–1n and 5.2.50n.

352–79 Fabian's poem, addressed to Wormfire, deals with Sybilla's possible marital infidelity. Its fairly stumbling trimeter couplets have been translated here into lines of the same length, with the exception of the final couplet which has an extra foot.

354 **horns** ('Hörner') The traditional cuckold's horns introduce the poem's themes of marital infidelity and cuckoldry.

356–68 The barely disguised conceit is that of Wormfire's sexual penetration of Sybilla.

Is where it caught the hare,
 Fresh, young and sitting there,
 Fool, croaking in the reed.
 Your hen now croaks indeed,
 So cry as cuckolds do, 370
 Get down to work anew,
 Run after those bold men
 Who are ahead, and lend
 You cuckoo's eggs. I too
 Found your dove and played cuckoo 375
 So merrily that after
 She almost burst with laughter.
 So take your turn and have your due
 As I, and all kind cousins do.

WORMFIRE I admit it is prettily elaborated, and well 380
 worth pricking, I mean, printing. [*to Sybilla*] But now,
 my darling, come inside, our shameful wedding day
 has arrived. I hope nobody will raise verbally what
 they secretly have in mind. I doubt I lack cousins.

SYBILLA When a man seeks to be happy, he must not 385
 believe this or think about it.

WORMFIRE Well, it comes without our bidding. But who

369–77 Fabian claims to be one of the men who
 have cuckolded Wormfire with Sybilla.

379 **all ... do** ('nach Schwagers Brauch')
 'Schwager' could mean brother-in-law
 as well as, more generally, any relative
 acquired through marriage; here the
 'cousins' stand for Wormfire's sexual
 rivals. See also 384–7n.

380–1 **well ... printing**. Wormfire literally
 says that the song is 'well worth giving
 over to the dirt (*inquam* [i.e., I mean]
 printing)' ('wohl werth daß es in den
 Dreck (*inquam* Druck) gegeben werde').
 The pun relies on phonetic similarity
 between 'Dreck ('dirt') and 'Druck'

('printing'). For a similar slip of the
 tongue by Wormfire, see 170.

382 **shameful ... day** ('schändlicher
 Ehren-Tag') 'Ehren-Tag', literally 'day
 of honour', designated the wedding day
 (Grimm), resulting in an oxymoron, a
 shameful (given Sybilla's pregnancy)
 day of honour.

384–7 **I doubt ... bidding**. Wormfire seems
 to fear being cuckolded by Sybilla who
 tries but fails to reassure him. According
 to D1 and D2, he does *not* doubt he lacks
 cousins (i.e. sexual rivals), but the pas-
 sage makes better sense without the
 negation (see also 379n).

384 doubt] *this edn*; nicht zweifele D1, D2, Köhler

amongst the two of us will lift the shirt tonight?

SYBILLA I think whoever comes first.

FABIAN I would gladly be of service.

390

WORMFIRE Yes, at the halter of a gallows' bell. But it is
altum tempus, claudite jam rivos pueri sat prata
biberunt, et plaudite. *Exeunt.*

388 **lift ... shirt** ('das Hemd aufheben') presumably a suggestive allusion to sexual activity.

391 **gallows' bell** ('Galgen Glocke') The exact meaning is obscure, but Wormfire clearly rejects Fabian's bawdy offer to be 'of service' during the wedding night.

392–3 **altum ... plaudite.** Latin, it is high

time; close up the streams, boys, the fields have drunk enough, and applause. Wormfire quotes from Virgil's *Eclogues* (3.111).

393 **plaudite** a conventional appeal for applause at the end of a play or, conceivably, a statement of applause, relating to readers what happened in performance.

APPENDIX

Doubling charts for Tito Andronico and Kunst über alle Künste, ein böß Weib gut zu machen

The following doubling charts rely on the assumption that the plays were performed with as few actors as possible. Like Scott McMillin, we ‘never count immediately juxtaposed roles as fit for doubling’ (185), and we follow William A. Ringler in assuming that ‘a plural for mute “attendants”, “soldiers”, etc., should usually be interpreted as no more than two’ (115).

SYMBOLS

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| - | enters after the scene begins |
| - | exits before the scene ends |
| ? | presence on stage uncertain |

female

male

mute

TITO ANDRONICO

Tito Andronico may be staged by a minimum of ten actors, who would perform the three female parts (Aetiopissa, Andronica and the Midwife), the eleven male speaking parts (Tito, Vespasianus, Victoriades, the Emperor, Morian, Saphonus, Helicates, Andronica's Husband, Tito's Messenger in Act 5, Tito's Messenger in 8.1, and the Soldier who arrests Morian in 7.1), the 'Romans' who acclaim the new Emperor in 1.1, and the three mute parts (the attendant in 5.2 and the two soldiers in 7.3).¹ The scene with the greatest number of actors on stage is the first one, and it is noticeable that Victoriades (unlike Marcus in *TA*) is absent from the scene, perhaps because the actor was needed to double as a Roman citizen. The same actor may have performed the attendant in 5.2. In 6.1 the Midwife may have been doubled by the actor playing Andronica (though not by Aetiopissa, who is onstage at the end of Act 5).² In the final scene the servants preparing the banquet who bring out the pies may be doubled by the actors performing Helicates and Saphonus (who were killed in 7.3), with the added irony that the pies contain some of the brothers' remains.

Abbreviations

A	Actor	Mor	Morian
Aet	Aetiopissa	Rom	Roman
And	Andronica	Sap	Saphonus
Att	Attendant	Ser	Servant
Emp	Emperor	Sol	Soldier
Hel	Helicates	Tit	Tito
Hus	Andronica's Husband	Ves	Vespasianus
Mes	Messenger	Vic	Victoriades

¹ Shakespeare's play requires a considerably larger cast: 'thirteen adults, three boys, [and] at least four extras' (*NOS CRE*, 1.143).

² As a rule, 'British troupes on the continent had no actresses before the 1650s' (Katritzky, 'English', 38).

Scene	1.1	2.1	3.1	3.2	3.3	4.1	4.2	4.3	5.1	5.2	6.1	7.1	7.2	7.3	8.1	8.2
A 1	Ves-					Ves		Ves	-Ves-			Ves				Ves
A 2	Emp-	Emp-	Emp							Emp			Emp		Emp	Emp
A 3	Tit-		Tit	Tit		Tit		Tit	Tit					-Tit		Tit
A 4	<u>And-</u>				<i>And-</i>		<u>And</u>	<i>-And</i>	<u>And</u>		<i>Mid</i>					<u>And</u>
A 5	<i>Aet-</i>	<i>Aet-</i>	<i>Aet</i>		<i>Aet</i>					<i>Aet</i>				<i>Aet-</i>	<i>Aet</i>	<i>Aet</i>
A 6	Mor	Mor			-Mor	-Mor		Mor-			-Mor	-Mor				
A 7	<u>Hel-</u>	Hel			-Hel-		Hel-				-Hel-			Hel		Ser
A 8	<u>Sap-</u>	Sap			-Sap-		<u>Sap-</u>				-Sap-			Sap		Ser
A 9	Rom-					Vic	-Vic	-Vic	Vic	<u>-Att</u>		-Sol		<u>-Sol</u>		Vic
A 10	Rom-				Hus				-Mes	-Mes				<u>-Sol</u>	-Mes-	

KUNST ÜBER ALLE KÜNSTE

Kunst über alle Künste can be performed with fifteen actors, four of them female.¹ Act 5, Scene 2 is the scene with the largest number of actors onstage at the same time. There are various doubling options. For instance, Patient Job can be doubled by Hardman; the servants in Act 3, Scene 3 by Theobald, Sebastian and Hilarius, and Matz by Felix in Act 3, Scene 3 and Act 3, Scene 4; Fritz can be doubled by Veit and the servant by Sebastian in Act 4, Scene 2; the servants in Act 4, Scene 4 can be doubled by Veit and Sebastian.

Abbreviations

A	Actor	Fri	Fritz	Se1	Servant 1
Adr	Adrian	Har	Hardman	Se2	Servant 2
Alf	Alfons	Hil	Hilarius	Se3	Servant 3
Bla	Blasius	Job	Patient Job	Syb	Sybilla
Cat	Catharina	Mat	Matz	The	Theobald
Eul	Eulalia	Sab	Sabina	Vei	Veit
Fab	Fabian	Seb	Sebastian	Wor	Wormfire
Fel	Felix	Ser	Servant		

¹ Performances of *The Taming of the Shrew* probably required a cast of at least fifteen (see the Appendix on ‘Casting’ in *Ard3 TS*, 399–402).

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Quotations from and references to works by Shakespeare are from The Arden Shakespeare Third Series.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

app.	appendix
conj.	conjecture
edn	edition
Fig.	figure
fn.	footnote
l., ll.	line, lines
MS	manuscript
SD	stage direction
sig., sigs	signature, signatures
SP	speech prefix

WORKS BY AND PARTLY BY SHAKESPEARE

<i>Ham</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>
<i>Lear</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
<i>Mac</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>
<i>Oth</i>	<i>Othello</i>
<i>RJ</i>	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>

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Hochweisen Raths Einwilligung, nebst der Wunderbahren Heyrath Petruvio mit der bösen Katharinen, auff öffentlicher Schau-Bühne zu einer nützlichen und erbaulichen Schul-Ubung Die bey der Görlitzischen Ober-Schule Studierende Jugend im October des MDCLXXVIII Jahrs, so Gott will, auffzuführen gewillet. (Görlitz, 1678)

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