

## Shakespeare's First Folio in Germany

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### **Platonic and Pragmatic Shakespeares**

In this article I try to bring together two distinct - and well-known - fields of Shakespeare study. The first is the central importance of German thinkers, translators and poets to the canonisation of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century and beyond.<sup>1</sup> The second is the study of copies of the 1623 edition of *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* as they move from William and Isaac Jaggard's printshop in London's Barbican, through the early modern book trade, and across England and beyond. This discussion of the First Folio in Germany places the three copies currently in German libraries in a wider context of the distribution and sale of this book across the world. It also suggests that a copy now held by the Morgan Library in New York, but identifiable as part of a progressive school library in Schluechtern in the mid-eighteenth century, offers some tantalising possibilities for reassessing the material foundations of German Shakespeare reception in the Romantic period.

There are methodological difficulties in bringing these ideas together. German reception and scholarship of Shakespeare draws on a model of authorship that David Scott Kastan has usefully summarised as 'platonic writing'.<sup>2</sup> That's to say, this work focuses on the transmission of ideas, appreciations, inspirations, and is not, more materially, concerned with the transmission of books themselves. We do, however, know something about the actual books that lay behind some landmark interventions into Shakespeare studies in Germany.

Johann Joachim Eschenberg worked from Capell's 1779 *Notes and Various Readings* edition.<sup>3</sup> A.W. Schlegel, unmoved by the scholarly controversies that were such a large part of English Shakespearean rediscovery during the eighteenth century, claimed simply 'to present the poet in his true guise'.<sup>4</sup> His working copies were two editions: George Steevens' amplification of edition of Samuel Johnson's edition published by Bell in 1788 and Edmond Malone's edition of 1790. His later collaborator Ludwig Tieck was, by contrast, a serious bibliophile, with a collection that included copies of the second, third and fourth Folios, now in the Austrian National Library.<sup>5</sup> Flyleaf notes in these volumes note the prices paid, and to whom, and the Fourth Folio is annotated with philological notes.

But these textual details can often seem pedantic, even irrelevant, to the creative work these translators undertook. The energy of reception study, including analyses of texts in translation, derives precisely from its permissive and generative dematerialising of the literary work. Translation enables the work to move more freely between cultures, languages, and forms, unencumbered by the weight of paper and binding. By contrast, First Folio studies are, inevitably, bookish – or, in Kastan's terms, 'pragmatic'.<sup>6</sup> They comprehend the apparently transcendent quality of the literary as always in fact inseparable from the contingent forms in which it occurs. These material forms 'are the conditions of [literary] meaning rather than merely the containers of it'.<sup>7</sup> The book itself - materials, labour, sale prices - is the object of study. When this pragmatic version of Shakespeare moves across time and space, it is via translation in a literal sense: in its etymological sense of a carrying across. In this model of translation, First Folios are books which move physically, rather than containers for ideas that circulate metaphysically. Examples quickly multiply, since they are intrinsic to the business of book publication, purchase, and reading – books spread. Edward Dering, the first attested First Folio purchaser in the winter of 1623, took his copies from

London to his family home in Surrenden in Kent; the publisher Jacob Tonson lent out his copy to various Grub Street writers and editors working on his ongoing Shakespeare publications in the eighteenth century; First Folios crossed the Atlantic to feed Henry Folger's growing collection in the early twentieth century; Japanese universities and individual collectors paid out some of the economic boom of the 1960s on First Folios. By focusing on German First Folios in the wider context of these travels, I hope to suggest some new, more material underpinnings for the great work of reception, translation and scholarship in the German language.

### **Shakespeare's canonization in England and Germany**

The place of the First Folio in the canonization of Shakespeare in both England and Germany accounts for its spectacular rise in value in the later part of the eighteenth century. German scholarship and reception was contemporaneous with, and perhaps a driver, of increasing prices. The first mention of Shakespeare in German letters dates from 1682, when Daniel Georg Morhof included references to the poet in a series on modern poetry. The writer, philosopher, and dramaturge Gotthold Lessing's works of criticism and commentary on Shakespeare's tragedies in the 1750s coincided with the first complete translation of Shakespeare's plays into German. Christoph Martin Weiland's *Shakespear: theatralische Werke* (1762) is generally accepted as an early landmark in German reception, providing 'a reading text of considerable fluency and a basis for translations by others'.<sup>8</sup> In 1773, Johann Gottfried Herder expressed his wish to 'explain him, feel him as he is, use him, and—if possible—make him alive for us in Germany'.<sup>9</sup> Some three decades after Weiland's work, the Schlegel-Tieck translation, published from 1797-1810, became the standard text.

Shakespeare's role in catalysing a new national German literature has been a much-repeated

historical truism, first promulgated in Friedrich Gundolf's influential *Shakespeare und der Deutsche Geist* (1911). German activity in the fields of scholarship and translation developed the philological and literary appreciation of his works for the anglophone world, and established the centrality of the English playwright in a German context.

In England, this same period saw the establishment of Shakespeare as, in Michael Dobson's words, 'the National Bard'. For Dobson, the processes of cultural valorisation by which Shakespeare became the national poet had solidified by the time of Garrick's jubilee in 1769;<sup>10</sup> Gary Taylor dates 'Shakespeare's coronation as the King of English Poets' to the period between 1740 and 1770;<sup>11</sup> Margreta de Grazia dates the modern study of Shakespeare to Edmond Malone's edition of 1790 (her questions about the epistemology of Shakespeare study attach it firmly to this particular period: 'Why does this construct emerge in England at the end of the eighteenth century? To what end? At what cost? Most urgently, why should it still prevail?').<sup>12</sup> And while early-eighteenth century editors tended to draw on the most recent – the fourth – Folio as a preferred copy text, the authority of the 1623 edition was gradually being acknowledged, firstly by Samuel Johnson, and later by Edward Capell, whose 1767-8 edition claimed that 'the first folio is follow'd; the text of which is by far the most faultless of the editions in that form; and has also the advantage in three quarto plays, in "2 Henry IV", "Othello", and "Richard III"'.<sup>13</sup> As so often, the decisive shift in editorial attitude can be attributed to Edmond Malone, who toyed with the idea of marking up a First Folio as copy text for his edition, and sending it 'to the press with such corrections as the editor might think proper'.<sup>14</sup>

Shakespeare thus attained his dominant cultural position in both England and Germany in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, when sales and prices of the First Folio rose accordingly.

Anthony James West traces twice as many First Folio sales in the second half of the century as the first, and a distinct increase in their sale value in the 1780s and 1790s (even though the book has not yet settled on its popular name of ‘First Folio’). The Duke of Roxburghe’s purchase of a copy for £35 14s in 1790 was a new high; Henry Jennings paid 70 guineas a couple of years later. The gun had been fired on the Folio price race.<sup>15</sup> Michael Dobson puts it in more striking terms: ‘around the 1750s, though, something absolutely extraordinary began to happen to F1’s perceived value, something which hasn’t finished happening yet. In 1756 a copy fetched £3 3s., 105 loaves; over the following decade the usual cost rose to more like that of 200 loaves; and by the 1790s the average price of a First Folio had risen to about £35, the equivalent of nearly 900 loaves’.<sup>16</sup> The First Folio thus became a desirable and collectable item – we might even say, it became ‘the First Folio’ - in the immediate wake of Shakespeare’s rise to cultural prominence. To return to David Scott Kastan’s terms, the rising appreciation of a platonic Shakespeare had had a decisive economic effect on attitudes to the pragmatic one.

### **International First Folio travels**

Glimpses of copies over the seventeenth century attest to the gradual dispersal of copies of the First Folio from Edward Blount’s shop at London’s Black Bear, firstly across London and then beyond. John Cosin, later Bishop of Durham, took his copy to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where it stayed during his exile after the execution of Charles I before moving with him to Durham at the Restoration.<sup>17</sup> John Buxton, book collector and Norfolk sheriff, took his to the family estate in Channonz Hall;<sup>18</sup> William Johnstoune annotated his in the Scottish Borders.<sup>19</sup> The early advertisements for the First Folio at seventeenth-century Frankfurt book fairs suggest that there was always an ambition to sell the book in other European markets. In

autumn 1622, a full year before the book appeared, a list of English-language publications included, in anticipation, the title ‘Playes written by Mr. William Shakespeare, all in one volume, printed by Isaac Jaggard, in fol.’. In the spring of 1624, the book was pitched slightly differently: ‘Master *William Shakesperes workes*, printed for *Edward Blount*, in fol.’.<sup>20</sup> Karen Newman, discussing the placing of Shakespeare’s works in this cosmopolitan context, points out that English actors often performed in at the early modern Frankfurt market, and suggests that theatrical popularity on the continent was the key to the selling of English playtexts there. For her, the Frankfurt catalogue entries suggest that from the outset, ‘Shakespeare was always already multilingual and transnational, an incipient global cultural commodity’.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps prompted by this ambitious marketing, the first known copy to leave Britain was that belonging to the poet and diplomat to the court of James I, Constantijn Huygens. Ultraviolet imaging at the Folger Shakespeare Library (the Folgers acquired this copy in 1928) revealed Huygens’ signature and the date 1647. The date suggests that Huygens did not acquire this in London on one of his visits in the 1620s or in the 1660s, and so it may well also claim another first, as the earliest currently known to have been purchased outside England.

Anthony West suggests that it may have been exported to The Hague by the royalist émigré bookdealer Samuel Browne, who set up shop there in 1646.<sup>22</sup> This discovery antedated the previously identified earliest expatriate First Folio by almost 150 years. Before the identification of Huygens’ copy, the 1791 signature of the New Hampshire judge William Parker, in a First Folio now at Princeton University, was thought to mark the earliest known owner outside Britain. The discovery is significant also in identifying Europe as the first market, rather than colonial America.

The First Folio in Europe has been an understudied topic, even as discovery of an uncatalogued copy in St-Omer in northern France in 2014 reignited some interest beyond the immediate story-tale appeal of the sleepy seminary library.<sup>23</sup> Previously, the story of its global distribution had been differently preoccupied. One strand is concerned with the cultural resonances of unexpectedly far-flung copies. A number of copies were acquired by Japanese collectors and institutions in the post-war economic boom of the later twentieth century, for example. Three copies in the southern hemisphere are symptoms of colonial beneficence. The copies in Auckland, New Zealand, and Cape Town, South Africa were each gifted by the same bibliophile governor Sir George Grey; an engineering entrepreneur, Richard Tangye of Birmingham, gave a copy to Sydney's civic library at the end of the nineteenth century. The other major interest in the geographical distribution of First Folios is structured around the rivalry between the old and new worlds. This was exemplified, even for contemporaries, by the flight of folios to Gilded Age America, where newly-wealthy men like the financier J. Pierpont Morgan and railroad magnate Henry Huntington sought the cultural capital of European art, artefacts, and books. Sidney Lee had a ringside seat at the changing economic status and cultural dominance of America over Britain at the turn of the twentieth century. He produced two publications attempting to provide a census of First Folio copies. The first was published in 1902. It was immediately out of date: Lee had missed some owners, who wrote to point out their omission; he had sometimes categorised copies as less perfect than their owners considered them to be; and his work both reflected and stimulated more sales. The result was an addition to the census, published in 1906. Lee ended this update with a prediction that the tide of ownership was running westwards. 'No diminution of the American demand during the next quarter of a century looks probable at the moment. The chances are that at the close of that epoch, the existing ratio of American and British copies, sixty-two to one hundred and five, will be exactly reversed'.<sup>24</sup> He was broadly right, but even he

underestimated the extent of the transfer. There are currently 151 copies in the US, and 51 in the UK.<sup>25</sup>

Lee's concern was trans-Atlantic trade, since that was the active locale for Folio exchange. By contrast, he recorded no change in the European distribution of First Folios in the two attempts at a census. Each of Lee's early twentieth century publications catalogued only two Folios in mainland Europe: in Berlin, and in Padua. He missed the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris which had been acquired at auction in 1840, and with it, its cheerfully disobliging marginalia, claiming at *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was 'bad' and *The Tempest* 'better in Dryden'. Of course, Lee did not have wind either of the First Folio later uncovered in the Jesuit library at St-Omer. Other European copies were acquired after Lee's censuses. The Swiss collector Martin Bodmer acquired a First Folio from American Folio-whisperer A.S.W. Rosenbach in 1951, now in the Foundation and Library bearing his name in Geneva.<sup>26</sup> That makes five of the eight known in continental Europe. A sixth, formerly in the library of Meisei University in Japan is now in – presumably reasonably local – recent private ownership, displayed for a day at the Munich Lyrik Kabinett in April 2023. Two others have been acquired by German institutions in the post-war period, at Stuttgart and Koln. Of the eight European copies, then, three are in public or scholarly ownership in Germany.

### **German First Folios**

These three copies are described in order of their accession in Germany.

1. The earliest, as Lee noted, is in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturebesitz, and was given to the Royal Library in Berlin by William I of Prussia.

William bought the book from Joseph Lilly – described by Sidney Lee as ‘a mighty trader in First Folios’ - in London in 1858 and donated it to the library shortly afterwards.<sup>27</sup> There is no prior history of the copy before Lilly’s ownership. It is a classic mid-nineteenth century copy, bound in gold-tooled leather by Francis Bedford. The Berlin copy has a facsimile title page, with red ink box rules around the text and a genuine pasted-in portrait, and signs of use including pen facsimiles, ink blots and paper repairs.<sup>28</sup>

2. More than a century lapses between the royal gift to Berlin and the two other German acquisitions. In 1960, the Universitäts und Stadtbibliothek Köln acquired a copy via the notorious collector and scrap-booker James Halliwell-Phillips, and later the Earl of Carysfort, whose Elton Hall bookplate is in the flyleaf. The Carysfort copy was sold to the US in 1923, in the Folio frenzy of the early twentieth century. It has no attested provenance before the nineteenth century, but thereafter passed through many hands in the UK and the US. It was bound by Riviere and Son, in red Morocco. The university acquired it as part of a set of all four seventeenth century folios plus the 1640 *Poems*, at the time when the city was undergoing reconstruction after the extensive Allied bombing raids during the Second World War, and eight years after it had twinned with Liverpool under the Council of European Municipalities twinning movement. The First Folio seems to serve in this context as a contribution towards post-war cultural reconciliation. Advertising its display for the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2023, the university claimed that theirs is one of a handful of perfect copies: ‘While many First Folios are smeared with marks from sweaty fingers, wine stains or even muddy cat paws, the copy in Cologne is in excellent condition and has never needed restoration. There are only five other copies that are just as well preserved’.<sup>29</sup>

Notwithstanding the boast, there are a couple of corrections to signature marks, and the standard catalogue suggests that ‘the pages appear to have been washed’.<sup>30</sup>

3. In the same year, 1960, the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart also acquired a First Folio for a then record-breaking price of around £26,000, via the generosity of the controversial Hamburg newspaper proprietor Axel Springer (numerous newspaper articles dub him, for anglophone readers, ‘the German Murdoch’).<sup>31</sup> Like Köln, Stuttgart had been heavily bombed during the Second World War, and it, too, had twinned with an English town early in the post war period, this time St Helen’s. The Stuttgart copy had been previously owned by Martin Bodmer, who traded it in for a higher quality example, mentioned above. It is bound by Riviere, in blue morocco. Extensive commonplacing marks, particularly in the comedies, indicate some interesting and careful early close reading that would repay more detailed analysis: the copy is digitised.<sup>32</sup>

The acquisition dates for these three copies make clear that these First Folios reached Germany as a consequence of Shakespeare’s cultural pre-eminence. They are belated symbols of the value already attached to Shakespeare’s works in a German context. One further German copy, however, offers a different perspective on copies of this book, and might productively be further considered as a driver, rather than a symptom, of Shakespeare’s role in Germany. Although this article cannot offer a German sighting to predate the Huygens copy in the seventeenth century, it does give us more detail on what is, on current knowledge, the second attested copy to live outside Britain, a century after Huygens. Further, new information about a First Folio in a German school library around the middle of the eighteenth century offers a new route to understanding the German reception of Shakespeare in the age of translation.

Before turning to Hadermann's library, however, a short parenthesis on the wider circulation of Shakespeare and contemporary literature in Europe from the seventeenth century. First Folios have had a specific bibliographic history that has tended to separate them from adjacent Shakespeare texts and from works of contemporary literature: they have been trophy books, alongside Gutenberg Bibles or rare American colonial printed books, not literary texts amid the wider phenomenon of early modern drama in print. Put back into this larger bibliographical context, the First Folios' international itinerary comes surprising late compared with other related works. For example, two Zurich travellers to England showed an active interest in Shakespeare quartos as early as 1613, as attested by books bearing their names now in the Zurich Central Library and the Elizabethan Club at Yale.<sup>33</sup> Pioneering work on early modern German texts by Lukas Erne, Florence Hazrat, and Maria Schmygol has brought to prominence the 1620 volume of *Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien (English Comedies and Tragedies)* published in octavo in Leipzig, Germany, in 1620. The version of *Titus Andronicus* included in the collection may indeed 'be based on an earlier version of [Shakespeare's] play or a common source play', but it is a reminder of just how far back the connections between Shakespeare and Germany can be traced.<sup>34</sup> Alexander Marr's discussion of a manuscript book catalogue in the Bibliotheque nationale establishes early editions of Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* in an as-yet untraced continental library around 1621.<sup>35</sup> Lukas Erne has identified a copy of Q5 *Hamlet* (1637) in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, where it was catalogued by 1730.<sup>36</sup> A Second Folio (1632) was evidently acquired in the seventeenth century by the Frey-Grynaean Institute at the University of Basel, either as the gift of Johann Jakob Frey (1606-36), or his son Johann Ludwig Frey.<sup>37</sup> Shakespeare circulated in early texts, therefore, in different ways in and around the German states, before the first known acquisition of the First Folio in the early

eighteenth century. The impact of these earlier texts on the development of German Shakespeares remains to be fully traced.

### **Hadermann's First Folio**

The earliest First Folio known to be in Germany is now in the Morgan Library, New York, marked with the inscription 'Ex Bibliotheca J.H. Hadermanni'. Johann Heinrich Hadermann (1710–85) had studied in Leiden and had progressive religious views. He was Rector of the school in Schluechtern, north east of Frankfurt in the Hessen region, and presided over the development of an impressive library. It may be that some of this library is still preserved in Bergwinkelmuseum, the local history museum in Schluechtern. He was clearly an unconventional schoolmaster, and was criticised for treating his students as equals.<sup>38</sup> On the Folio titlepage (fig.1), a crossed-out signature, perhaps reading 'George Hooker' (the Morgan catalogue's reading of the faint marks; Rasmussen and West suggest 'George Cook')<sup>39</sup> with the date 1646. This gives no clue as to when Hadermann might have acquired it, or how.

The Morgan Library currently holds two First Folios (a third was sold as a duplicate to Konan Women's University in Kobe, Japan, in 1978). It is their other copy, with its contested connection to the Sidney family due to a borrowed armorial binding, which has received more critical and bibliographical attention. It is not clear how Hadermann's book might have got from Germany to America, but others from the dispersed library can now be found in collections in the US and UK. There is no clear provenance for it before Morgan's purchase from Sotheran in 1896. It is a copy with marks of early use that tantalise with the possibility that they might have been part of Hadermann's school curriculum or private reading. Scattered marginal crosses mark preferred lines in several plays, including *Romeo and Juliet*,

*All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. More work is needed to clarify the Morgan's catalogue suggestion that the title page is imported from another copy (since all title pages are single sheets because of the different process needed to produce the print of the engraving, this is particularly difficult to prove).

No catalogue of the eighteenth-century Schluechtern library exists. So far, it has been possible to find six further titles in libraries around the world with the same 'Ex Bibliotheca' inscription. The hand is the same in all – perhaps Hadermann's own - and each has the ownership mark squeezed into a space on the work's titlepage. It is unclear how far these books formed a private or more communal collection at the school. Four of these works are in Latin: 1) H.C.L. Stochausen's *De cultu ac usu luminum antiquo* (1726); 2) the Latin works of the seventeenth-century Jesuit poet Sidronius Hosschius (de Hossche) *Elegiarum Libri Sex* (1656); 3) fellow schoolmaster Edo Neuhusius' *Fatidica sacra* (1648: only the third volume); and 4) the Latin edition, published in Amsterdam, of Henry Savile's Tacitus (1649). There is one German title, 5) a 1635 blackletter volume, *Anmütige vnterhaltung Vnd Zeitvertreib Edeler Gemühter Vber Der Eytelkeit der Welt* (Kassel 1635), a translation of *L'entretien des bons esprits svr les vanitez dv monde* (1629) by Jean Puget de La Serre (1594–1665). This volume has been recently acquired by the Herzog August library who are most interested in its earlier provenance mark of Prince Christian II of Anhalt-Bernburg.<sup>40</sup> The only other English title so far identified also attests to the library's liberal educational philosophy: 6) a 1699 translation of the free-thinking empiricist Pierre Gassendi's *Three Discourses on Happiness*. This small sample suggests that seventeenth century books (perhaps because of their lower price) were attractive to this collection. The latest dated volume, the Stochausen of 1726, gives the only terminus post quem: Hadermann became rector of the school in 1744.

Because Hadermann's library mark is so distinctive, it may be possible to add to this list and to reconstitute something further of the intellectual context of the first First Folio in Germany.

The spread of specific Shakespeare books into Germany offers a material counterpart to more familiar narratives of the adoption of Shakespeare's works via translation and critical commentary. Until the discovery of Hadermann's copy in New York, it seemed that First Folios corroborated, rather than enabled, the cultural work of Shakespeare in the eighteenth-century German context, and that the institutional acquisition of these books post-dated the major work of reception. The Schluechtern library offers a glimpse of a different narrative of the travels of the pragmatic, as well as the platonic, Shakespeare.

<sup>1</sup> I am extremely grateful to the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft for their kind invitation to the 2023 conference in Weimar, and the opportunity to deliver an early version of this paper. Two readers for the journal have added immeasurably to my knowledge of this topic, and I am grateful to them for their generosity and expertise.

<sup>2</sup> David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.117.

<sup>3</sup> Achim Hölter and Paul Ferstl, 'Ludwig Tieck's Book Collection: the Holdings of the Austrian National Library (ONB)', in *Taking Stock: Twenty-Five Years of Comparative Literary Research, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 200* (2020) eds Norbert Bachleitner, Achim Hölter and John A. McCarthy, pp 90-117 p.105.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Paulin, *The Life of August Wilhelm Schlegel: Cosmopolitan of Art and Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Open Book, 2016), p. 92

<sup>5</sup> Hölter and Ferstl, p.98.

<sup>6</sup> Kastan, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> Kastan, p.4.

<sup>8</sup> Roger Paulin, 'Shakespeare and Germany' in *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* eds Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.314-20, p.317.

<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Bate (ed.), *The Romantics on Shakespeare* (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (London: Hogarth Press, 1990), p.114.

<sup>12</sup> Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.1.

<sup>13</sup> Edward Capell (ed.), *Mr. William Shakespeare: his comedies, histories and tragedies* (London: D. Leach for J. and R. Tonson, 1767–8), p. 21.

<sup>14</sup> Edmond Malone (ed.), *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, in ten volumes; collated verbatim with the most authentick copies* (London: H. Baldwin for J. Rivington and Sons, 1790), vol. I, p. xlv.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Volume I. An Account of the First Folio Based on its Sales and Prices, 1623-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.81-2.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Dobson, 'Whatever you do, buy', *London Review of Books* 23:22, November 2001. The most recent prices of First Folios would now be the equivalent of millions of loaves: this measure has broken as a way of tracking price inflation.

<sup>17</sup> Anthony James West, 'Proving the Identity of the Stolen Durham University First Folio' *Library* 14 (2013), pp. 428–440.

<sup>18</sup> David McKitterick, 'Ovid with a Littleton', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11 (1997), pp. 184-234.

<sup>19</sup> See Akhiro Yamada's invaluable transcription of these annotations, at <http://shakes.meisei-u.ac.jp/ALL.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Both documents are reproduced, described, and discussed at the *Shakespeare Documented* website: [shakespearedocumented.folger.edu](http://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu).

<sup>21</sup> Karen Newman, 'Continental Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Survey* 73 (2020), pp.1-9; 9.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony James West 'Constantijn Huygens's Shakespeare First Folio: the First to go Abroad; now at the Folger', *Notes and Queries*, Volume 60, Issue 1 (March 2013) p.49.

<sup>23</sup> I discuss the narratives around this rediscovery in my article 'The hero, the villain, the princess, and the book: stories about the First Folio', *Cahiers élisabéthains* 93 (2017), pp.77-89.

<sup>24</sup> Sidney Lee, *Notes and Additions to the Census of Copies of the Shakespeare First Folio* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1906), p.30.

<sup>25</sup> The website folio400.com has a map of all known locations of First Folios.

- <sup>26</sup> For Bodmer's acquisition of the Rosenbach collection, see Lukas Erne and Devani Singh, *Shakespeare in Geneva: Early Modern English Books (1475-1700) at the Martin Bodmer Foundation* (Ithaque: Paris, 2018), pp. 46-5.
- <sup>27</sup> Lee, p.133.
- <sup>28</sup> This description draws on the information in the invaluable work edited by Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West: *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 781-4.
- <sup>29</sup> <https://portal.uni-koeln.de/en/universitaet/aktuell/cologne-university-magazine/unimag-single-view/400-years-first-folio-no-6>, (accessed September 2023).
- <sup>30</sup> Rasmussen and West, p. 788.
- <sup>31</sup> Erne and Singh, p.45; see also
- <sup>32</sup> It is part of the AM site firstfolios.com, which gathers over fifty digitised First Folios for analysis and comparison.
- <sup>33</sup> Lukas Erne, 'The Two Gentlemen of Zurich: Marcus Stapfer and Johann Rudolph Hess, Swiss Travellers to England (1611–13), and Their Shakespeare Quartos', *The Library* 24.1 (2023), 51-67.
- <sup>34</sup> 'Titus Andronicus' and 'The Taming of the Shrew': 'Tito Andronico' and 'Kunst über alle Künste, ein Bös Weib Gut zu Machen' in *Translation: Early Modern German Shakespeare*, Volume 2, eds Lukas Erne, Florence Hazrat and Maria Shmygol (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2022), p.7.
- <sup>35</sup> Alexander Marr, 'Shakespeare, Sidney, and Spenser in an Early Continental Library', *The Library* 17 (2016), 40-55.
- <sup>36</sup> Lukas Erne, 'A Newly-Discovered Copy of the Fifth Quarto of *Hamlet* (1637), With a Performance Record of *Hamlet* in 1664', *Notes and Queries* 67.2 (2020), 243-44.
- <sup>37</sup> Shakespearecensus.org, #6140.
- <sup>38</sup> Unattributed quotation on <https://www.schluechtern.de/unsere-stadt/persolichkeiten/> (accessed September 2023).
- <sup>39</sup> Rasmussen and West, p.690.
- <sup>40</sup> [http://www.tagebuch-christian-ii-anhalt.de/index.php?article\\_id=39](http://www.tagebuch-christian-ii-anhalt.de/index.php?article_id=39) (Accessed September 2023).