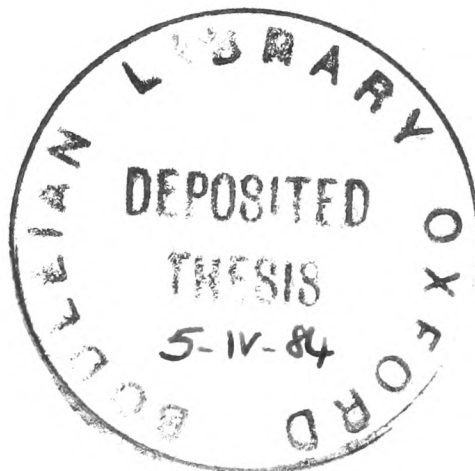


The "Englische Komoedianten" in German-speaking States,
1592-1620: a Generation of Touring Performers as Mediators
Between English and German Cultures.

By Julian K. Hilton,
Brasenose College, Oxford.



HT 1984

J.K. Hilton: Corrections

To the written advice and instruction as to how to revise the submitted draft of my D.Phil thesis I have added, also as advised, the advice of Prof. Brian Rowley, who made some suggestions as to how the thesis could be better shaped as well as detailed comments on presentation. At his suggestion I have amended the title to read:

The "Englische Komoedianten" in German-speaking States, 1592-1620: a Generation of Touring Performers as Mediators Between English and German Cultures.

I have added new sections on Grobianism and Unbeständigkeit, as well as integrating aspects of these new themes into the body of the previous argument. I have further added summary discussions of the authorship issue, of the jigs, and of the relationship between the Komoedianten and two playwrights, Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig and Jakob Ayrer of Nürnberg. In view of the highlighting of the touring aspect of the EK's work, it also seemed advisable to add a more detailed appraisal of their stage.

As a result, the previous pagination has changed substantially, and, where appropriate, errors and omissions are recorded with their present page no. and their previous page no. in parenthesis: eg. an error on previous p. X and now on p. Y is recorded as Y (X).

It goes without saying that the responsibility for the more radical restructuring undertaken after advice from Prof. Rowley lies entirely with me.

2. "Engelische" for "Englische"; "Inventionen" for "Inventionen"; hyphenations changed to "="; "Lieb=habern" for "lieb-habern"; "daß" for "dass"; "Spielweiss" for "Pielweiss"; "vnd" for "das"; "Ergetzlichkeit" for "Ergetzlichkeit"; "Gedruckt im Jahr M.DC,XX." added.

8 (7). middle: "deutschem" for "deutschen".

611 from bottom: "zunächst" for "zu nächst".

11 (10). bottom: comma added after "übersehen"; "waren" for "wären".

15. italicisation of "f r e i e n I d e e n f o l g e" and "e i n e r f r e i e n F o r m".

17. middle: comma added after "Wurzel"

18. middle: "Reformationsspielen" for "Reformationspielen"; "befriedigte" for "befriedigt"; "Mimus" for "mimus".

19-26. New section on authorship.

34. von Hutten quotation:

"geschriben" for "geschrieben"; "was" for "war"; "eim" for "ei'm"; "bekandt" for "bekannt"; "Yetzt" for "Jetzt"; "schrey" for "schrei"; "vatterlandt" for "Vaterland"; "Teütsch" for "Deutsch"; "nation" for "Nation"; "irer" for "ihrer"; "sprach" for "Sprach"; "dißen" for "diesen"; "rach" for "Rach".

39 (32). middle: "vorstellte" for "vorstellet"; "Gulden" for "Gulde".

41 (34). middle: "Sehenswerten" for "Sehenswertes"; "und der Belustigungen" for "und Belustigungen".

bottom: comma added after "cities".

45 (38). 7 lines from bottom: "Loue" for "Love".

46 (39). bottom: "Haupttage" for "Hauptlage"; "Einzugstag"

for "Einzug"; "Draußen" for "Draussen".

47 (40). middle: "beliebter" for "behebter"; "dramatische" for "Dramatische".

50 (43). middle: "als" for "also".

56 (49). top: "but" for "by".

70 (65). Passport: "Comme" for "comme"; "avec leurs consortz estantz mes Joueurs et serviteurs" - added; "par" for "par"; "commedies" for "comedies"; "dict" for "dict".

73-74 (67-69): Letter to Frankfurt Senate:

"Edell" for "Edel"; "Kay~~x~~erlichen>Reichs Stat" for "Kay. Stat"; "derselbich" for "derselblich"; "Commoetias" for "Commoedias"; "Inhaimischen" for "Inhaimlichen"; "dankbaren gemuths (wie in Alle weg billig gewesen) vnser" added between "vnser ... Verhoffens"; "lasterhaffts" for "lasterhaftes"; "h." for "k."; "obehengemelter hochweiser Rath" for "obehengemelter Râth"; "Vorpittschreiben" for "Vorpittsschreiben"; "verstatten" for "verstellen"; "dar-durch" for "dadurch".

77 (70). bottom: "Fuhrman" for "Fehrman".

82 (72). 9 lines from top: "dieweil" for "die weil".

84 (75). 5 lines from top: "abgelehnt" for "abgelehnet".

85 (77). 1st. quotation: "spiel" for "spile"; "dahien" for "dahinn".

pp.89-90 (80-81). Bestallungsdekret.

"Sachssen" for "Sachsen"; "Mannigklich" for "Manniglich";

"Konigk" for "Kinigk"; "Zeittlangk" for "Zeitlangk";

"Dennemarken" for "Denemarken"; "lassenn" for "lassen";

"Das wir solche zu Dienst an Vnsrn Hoff besteldt vnd auffgenommen, Vndt thun solchs hiemit in" added between

"zukommen lassenn" and "crafft des brieffes"; "haltten" for "halten"; "eignet" for "eigent"; "Reuersz" for "Reuer sz"; "Renth" for "Reuth"; "Kleidt" for "Kleindt".

91-95: New section on Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig.

97 (82). italicisation of "r e i c h e n M a n n v n d v o n d e m l a z a r u s".

97 (83) italicisation of opening of quotation, bottom.

98 (83) 3 lines from top: "vnnd" for "und".

inset quotation: opening italicised; "namhafftern" for "namhaften".

99 (84) 6 lines from top: italicisation of "H e r r e n" etc.

"sonderm" for "sondern"; "anfang erweckt" for "anfangerweckt".

101 (86) 4 lines from top: "übermasse" for "über masse";

8 lines from top: "nützen" for "nutzen".

middle: "herrschaft" for "herrschaft".

101 (87) 5 lines from bottom: "auslendische" for "auslendisch"

102 (88) middle: italicisation of quotation.

103 (88) middle: italicisation of opening of indented quotation.

106 (90) italicisation of quotation, middle.

109 (96) 6 lines down: "Den 26. Novembris" for "den 26 November".

115-130 New Section

132 (101) quotation: "ain" for "ein"; "buecher" for "bucher".

134 (103) 9 lines from top: "nayget" for "nayger"; "mercket" for "merket".

bottom: "orten" for "arten"; "kauffleüt" for "kauff leüt".

135 (104) middle: "Vestminster" for "Westminster"; "vnd" for "ond".

136 (105) bottom: "Nürnberg" for "Nurnberg"; "Costenntz" for "Constenntz"; "Nürenberg" for "Nürnberg".

138 (108) 9 lines from bottom: "brinngt" for "bringt";

5 lines from bottom: "yn" for "ym".

139 (109) middle: "nemen" for "nehmen"; "India" for "Indien";
"lannd?" for "Lannd."; "vnnd" for "und".

140 (110) bottom: "tzureytten" for "zureytten".

141 (111) line 5: "des" for "der".

143 (114) line 4: "hertz" for "herz".

middle: "allweg" for "allweh"; "dann" for "denn"; "künig"
for "könig".

145 (116) "gedaechnus" for "gedaechnis" - bottom.

146 (116) line 5: "ist, der hatt" for "ist hatt".

middle: "heüt" for "heute"; "daz" for "das"; "disem" for
"diesem".

148 (119) bottom: "wolgeleertter" for "wolgeleertter".

151 (122) top: "daz" for "das"; "het vnnd" for "het, unnd";
middle: "seinen" for "seinem"; "grossem" for "grossen";

"oder aber ainen" for "oder aianen".

152 (123) line 4: "gehoert" for "yehoert"; "mein" for "main".

middle: "graf" for "Graff".

153 (126) bottom: "wann sy" for "wannsy".

154 (126) top: "kommen" for "komen".

155 (128) top: "vngetrewes" for "ungetrwes".

(129) bottom: "nyemmant" for "nyemant"; "allso" for
"also".

156-58 New section.

162 (134) 3rd. quotation: "glustet" for "gelustet".

164 (136) 3rd. quotation: "rennen" for "renner".

166 (139) 2nd. quotation: "göttlich" for "götzlich";
"gluckßbeutel" for "glückßbeutel".

167 (140) Quotation: "rennen" for "renner".

168 (141) 1st. quotation: "ferrn" for "fern".

171 (144) 1st. quotation: "rechten" for "richten".

2nd. quotation: "lande" for "land".

172-75 New section.

176 (148) quotation: "köngreich" for "königreich".

177 (149) 1st. quotation: "königklich" for "königlich".

182 etc. Characters italicised, e.g. Sould. for Sould.

185 (159) 2nd. quotation: "cherish" for "chersish";

"braunches" for "branches".

191 (166) 2nd. quotation: "whoo'le" for "whoole".

194 (169) 2nd. quotation: "squinteide" for "squintide";

"litle" for "lile".

200 (178) 3rd. quotation: "enioy" for "enjoy"; "then" for "than".

201 (179) 1st. quotation: "circles" for "curckes"; "charmes" for "charms".

202 (181) 1st. quotation: "Couetousnes" for "couetousness".

2nd. quotation: "Squirell" for "Squirrell".

203 (182) 1st. quotation: "powrefull" for "powerfull".

215-17 New section.

218 (194) 1st quotation: "von" for "Von", "sie" for "wie".

219 (195) middle: "hin" for "him".

220 (196) 1st. quotation: "allwege" for "allweg"; "diesen" for "dieseb".

222 (198) 1st. quotation: "reichesten" for "reichsten"; "genawesten" for "geawesten".

bottom: "sicher" for "sichen".

223 (200) Here as throughout, upper case for names of speakers, eg "GRAFFE".

middle: "unterscheid" for "unterschied".

225 (203) 2nd. quotation: "gebohren" for "geboren"; "er mueste sie mir geben" - "mir" previously omitted.

226 (203) 1st. quotation: "einen" for "eine".

Stage directions here, as throughout, italicised.

228 (207) 1st quotation: "mitt" for "mit"; "ainen" for "aianen".

2nd. quotation: "getheilet?" for "Getheilet?"; "Willen" for "Wille"; "unnd" for "und"; "Schimpff" for "Scimpff".

229 (209) 2nd. quotation: "schiede" for "scheide".

231 (212) title: "Jesuitern" for "Jesuite".

234 (215) 1st. quotation: "zunhemmen" for "zu nehmen".

2nd. quotation: "verhehren" for "verhebben".

244 (228) 2nd. stage direction "etlichemal" for "etlichmal".

245-50 New section.

Chapter 6 has been restructured.

253 (232) title: "COMOEDIA" for "Comoedia"; "von" for "Von"; "hoffertigen" for "Hoffertiegn"; "HAMAN" for "Haman".

253 (248) title: "COMOEDIA" added; "von" for "Von"; "verlornen" for "VERLORNEN"; "welcher" for "Welcher"; "Verzweiffelung" for "Verzweiflung"; "INTRODUCIRET" for "introduciret".

256 (233) 1st. quotation: "Ich" for "Ich".

258 (287) title "Eine" for "Ein"; "sehr" for "Sehr"; "klaegliche" for "Klaegliche"; "TRAGAEDIA" for "Tragaedia"; "TITO ANDRONICO" for "Tito Andronico"; "hoffertigen" for "Hoffertiegn"; "darinnen" for "Darinnen"; "denckwuerdige" for "Denckwuerdige"; "ACTIONES" for "Actiones".

260 (288): middle: "moerderey" for "Moederey".

2nd. quotation: "Kaese" for "Kase".

262 (290) 1st. quotation: "einer" for "eiher".

2nd. quotation: "Maul zu." for "Maul".

264 (292) 2nd. quotation: "tausendt" for "tausedt";
"Kriege/" for "Kriege".

266 (273) title: "schoene" for "Schoene"; "lustige" for
"Lustige"; "COMOEDIA" for "Comoedia"; "von" for "Von".

266-69 New section.

270 (275) quotation: "bettruebten" for "bettruebeten".

275-288 New Section.

288-307 Reworked section on Jigs.

307-312 Reworked section on Grobian.

307 (268) title: "kurtzweilige" for "Kurtzweilige";
"lustige" for "Lustige"; "COMOEDIA" for "Comoedia";
"von" for "Von"; "SIDONIA" for "Sidonia"; "und" for
"Und"; "THEAGENE" for "Theagene".

310 (284) title: "TRAGAEDIA" for "Tragaedia"; "JULIO"
for "Julio"; "HYPPOLITA" for "Hyppolita".

312-317 New section.

314 (259) title: "schoene" for "Schoene"; "lustig" for
"Lustig"; "triumphirende" for "Triumphirende"; "COMOEDIA"
for "Comoedia"; "eines" for "Eines"; "auss" for "Auss".

322 (236) quotation: "Recht recht" for "Recht, recht".

324 (238) 2nd. quotation: "MenschenKinder" for "Menchen
Kinder".

330 (253) middle: "all das sein gestolen" for "all das
gestolen".

341 (265) bottom quotation: "Morian" for "Morain".

342 (265) second quotation: "zwoelff" for "zwoelf".

347 (261) first quotation: "austrincken" for "austricken";
"KriegesGebrauch" for "Krieges Gebrauch".

347 (262) second quotation: "Kriegesgebrauch" for "krieges
brauch".

348 (297) first quotation: "wiederfahren" for "widerfahren";
"wieder" for "wider".

348 (294) second quotation: "Mann schreyet/ daß" for
"Mann/ daß".

353-369 New Section.

372 (310) Gryphius sonnet quoted from different edition,
that of Syrocki, not of Palm.

373 (311) first quotation: "Vnd" for "Und".

374 (311) first quotation: "dannen" for "danne".

374 (312) second quotation: "Reichs=Tag" for "Recihs -Tag".

375 (313) quotation: "1. mal 1." for "1 mal 2"; "2. mal
2." for "2 mal 2".

384 (322) 1st quotation: "Vergib" for "vergib"; "Lehr"
for "lehr".

385 (324) quotation: "Vernunfft" for "Vernunft"; "ihm"
for "ihn"; "hegen" for "legen".

386 (324) quotation: "sat" for "satt"; "seinem" for
"seim"; "seinen" for "seinem".

388 (329) first quotation: "entbrennt" for "entbrent";
"O! daß" for "O dass"; "Flamme" for "flamme".

third quotation: "Nein" for "Neine"; "behertzt" for
"beherzt".

THESIS ABSTRACT

The "Englische Komoedianten" in German-speaking States, 1592-1620: a Generation of Touring Performers as Mediators Between English and German Cultures.

By Julian K. Hilton, Brasenose College, Oxford.
Michaelmas Term, 1983. [ie 1984] HT

From the beginning of the Reformation until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, there was brisk and far-reaching cultural interaction between England and German-speaking states. Towards the end of this period, the Englische Komoedianten (EK) - itinerant troupes of English actors and musicians - began a century of touring German courts and cities, with remarkable though neglected success. This thesis is a study of the first, truly English, phase of those tours, 1592-1620, arguing that the EK deserve recognition for their achievement as mediators between English and German cultures in their own right, not because of the remote possibility that they may have been the first to take Shakespeare to Germany.

The thesis concentrates on a collection of EK plays, Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien (1620), which contains a representative selection of their comedies, tragedies and "Singspiele", the genre associated with their clown, Pickelhering, the figure with whom they were most closely associated in the popular mind.

There are five main sections: 1) A survey of scholarly attitudes to the EK; 2) A study of Anglo-German cultural relations in the sixteenth century; 3) The EK on tour, and their dealings with courts, cities and the church; 4) A study of four versions of perhaps the most popular of all fictions in Germany in the sixteenth century, Fortunatus, and his magic gifts, from its origins in the Augsburg Volksbuch (1509), through Hans Sachs (1553), Thomas Dekker (1599), to the EK themselves (1620): this is the one work which crosses from Germany to England and then back again during the century, changing and developing at each step; and 5) a detailed analysis of the 1620 collection of plays, according to questions of recognisability, socio-political immediacy, generic impurity and minimal staging. A brief investigation of English influences on Andreas Gryphius concludes the work.

<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>Page</u>
Chapter One: Critical Impulses	1
Chapter Two: The Background	27
Chapter Three: On the Road	69
Chapter Four: The Repertoire (1), Four Versions of <u>Fortunatus</u>	115
Chapter Five: The Repertoire (2), The 1620 Collection	251
Chapter Six: Towards the Baroque, Andreas Gryphius's "English" Plays	370
Notes	391
Bibliography	437

References and Abbreviations

The Englische Komoedianten are referred to variously as Komoedianten, Comoedianten, Comödianten and Komödianten. I have adopted the form Komoedianten. The abbreviation E.K. was first introduced by Carl Hermann Kaulfuß-Diesch in 1905. This was further curtailed by Anna Baesecke in 1935 to EK, and this latter form I have adopted throughout.

The two principal sources of printed archive material on the EK are the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Berlin und Weimar, 1865-1948, Heidelberg, 1950-65, and the Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte, Leipzig, 1871-87. Since 1965 the "Shakespeare Jahrbuch" has been published in the German Democratic Republic as the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Weimar, 1965- , and in the Federal Republic of Germany as the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft (West), Heidelberg, 1965- . Since 1982 this latter publication is known as Shakespeare Jahrbuch. I abbreviate the original Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, but articles published since the split are given with full details. Abbreviations are as follows:
Sh.Jb. Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft
ALG Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte.

In transcribing "ă", "ȃ" and "ŭ", I have adopted the practice of writing the character out as "ae", "oe" and "ue".

At the entertainement of the Cardinall Alphonsus, and the Infant of Spaine into the Low-countrys, they were presented at Antwerpe, with sundry pageants and playes: the King of Denmarke, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his seruice, a company of English Comedians, commended vnto him by the honourable the Earle of Leicester: the Duke of Brounswicke, and the Landsgraue of Hessen retaine in their Courts certaine of ours of the same quality.

Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors, 1612.

Chapter 1. Critical Impulses

For almost exactly a century, from the opening moves of the Reformation in 1517 until the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, there was brisk and far-reaching cultural interaction between an emergent England and the strife-torn Empire of German-speaking states. At first, the effect of the Reformation was to cause a flow of ideas and influences from Germany to England: but as the century went on, the rise of the Tudor dynasty, and the blossoming of the city of London, turned the tide, and in the years before war broke out, northern Protestants looked to England for inspiration and leadership. This thesis is a study of one aspect of the influence England had on German-speaking states in the last years of the sixteenth and the first decades of the seventeenth centuries, the work of the Englische Komoedianten (EK)¹. My principal concern is to analyse the collection of plays published by the EK in 1620, which marks the end of the first phase of what was to be over a century of touring in Germany; but to understand how it could be that a group of English performers could become so popular in Germany that they completely dominated theatrical taste, I consider their achievements against the overall background of the century of cultural interaction of which they were part. Two characteristic features of this century were to be of particular importance to them: firstly, the essentially common nature of culture in both England and Germany at the time; when they went abroad, they found much to remind them of home. Secondly, they carried with them the same spirit of the merchant-adventurer as their

guildsmen-compatriots in the London trading companies. The EK proved as successful at marketing their wares as the Merchant Adventurers themselves.

In 1620 they published a selection of these wares, that was successful enough to be reprinted four years later, and parts of which were published in other collections elsewhere in the same year:

Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien Das ist: Sehr Schoene/ herrliche vnd außerlesene/ geist= vnd weltliche Comedi vnd Tragedi Spiel/ Sampt dem Pickelhering/ Welche wegen ihrer artigen INVENTIONEN, kurtzweiligen auch theils warhafftigen Geschicht halber/ von den Engellaendern in Deutschland an Koeniglichen/ Chur= vnd Fuerst=lichen Hoefen/ auch in vornehmen Reichs= See= vnd HandelStaedten 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 und gefallen/ der Gestalt in offenen Druck gegeben/ daß sie gar leicht darauß Spielweiß widerumb angerichtet/ vnd zur Ergetzlichkeit vnd Erquickung des Gemueths gehalten werden koennen. Gedruckt im Jahr M.DC,XX.²

In what did the Englishness of the EK and their plays consist? Why was Pickelhering so popular that his name should feature so prominently on the title-page? Why were the EK so successful? The answers to these questions lie, I believe, in the plays themselves, viewed in the context of Anglo-German cultural relations. For, given the fact of the EK's popularity in Germany, it is possible to treat the plays as indexes of taste at the time, taste that toured well.

The most significant neglect in studies of the EK hitherto has been that they were masters of the craft of touring theatre, yet much about their work may only properly be understood in terms of touring. Their minimal staging, stereotypic characterisations and tendency towards the improvised were natural concomitants of working in the main away from "theatres", and of often not adhering

to a written text. The demands of urban audiences meant that excitement, noise, agility, and shrewish strife were the foundations of the repertoire: and while the EK had great success at court, and were fully capable of wit and elegance, their spiritual centre was the city. The EK must then be judged against the standards they set for themselves as touring players: and as such they are unparalleled in European theatre history.

Recent trends in British theatre, both in organisation and funding, and in artistic attitude, have contributed to a climate of opinion that is more favourable to a reconsideration of the EK than at any time perhaps since their own. Theatres on the "Fringe", and in the street, have enriched the British theatre of the past thirty years, and have affinities of motive and style with the work of the EK. The most important of these is a spirit of critical attention to issues of immediate social, economic and political concern. In their attitudes to contemporary matters - the religious debate, the rights and duties of rulers, poverty and inflation, the tension between town and aristocracy - the EK show themselves penetrating critics, unafraid of censure and censorship. And because the times in which they lived seem threatened by similar problems to those which, mutatis mutandis, affect us now, their work has regained some of the immediacy which made it so appealing to its original audience. In 1981 we took one of the plays, on the Parable of the Prodigal Son, as the basis of a production in the Studio Theatre of the University of East Anglia, and, partly to our own surprise, the result was one of the most successful

experiments we have made. Audiences saw in both the Parable itself, and in the performance style a modernity and vitality which gave some inkling of how the EK must have been received. With the simplest of sets, and the most basic of wardrobes, the production emphasised the primacy of the actor acting as the basis of theatre.

Four main impulses to study the EK may be discerned in the scholarship they have generated in the past. The first, and still perhaps the most influential, was the possibility they raised that Shakespeare's works, and even Shakespeare, might have travelled to Germany in his lifetime, or been influenced by German themes. Inspired by Ludwig Tieck, Albert Cohn made the first full-length study of the EK, Shakespeare in Germany (1865)³, to which he attached a selection of their plays; this started a remarkable surge in interest. The writings of Genée (1870 and 1882)⁴, Tittmann (1880)⁵, Meissner (1884)⁶, Crëizenach (1889)⁷, and Herz (1903)⁸, laid a solid foundation of historical monographs, editions of plays and translations, which were supported by a host of articles, especially by Trautmann⁹, and Crüger¹⁰, and all these efforts stem in attitude from Cohn. I return to the differences of accent and emphasis each commentator makes below, and to the special study of the Singspiele by Bolte¹¹ I refer in the section on Pickelhering; but here we may note a common tone in commentary, which derives, again, from a remark of Cohn's: "A weak ray from the sunlight of the Shakespearian drama fell on Germany, and was sufficient to bring new life and motion to the stagnating elements of the German stage"¹². Cohn views the EK as "the first professional actors who

appeared in Germany"¹³, a view open to question both in terms of how one defines professionalism - for some of the better native guild troupes were already accustomed to giving guest performances - and in regard to the established presence in the south of Italian Commedia dell'Arte troupes. He is also tolerant of what he sees as the coarseness of the EK in a way his successors were not. While admitting that the EK's "first and exclusive object was the gratification of the public"¹⁴, and listing all their defects he asks "but what are all these drawbacks in comparison to the advantages which the dramatic life derived from this invasion of the theatre?"¹⁵. Where Cohn's patience has its end is with the collections of plays published under the EK's name, especially that of 1620: "But however important this collection may be as speaking evidence of the influence of the English actors in effecting a transformation of the German stage, it cannot convey to us any conception of the dramatic art of the actors themselves. It is rather an evidence of the manner in which English subjects at that time were remodelled under German hands; and even in this respect its evidence is only of limited importance. For we have to do here with the adaptations of uneducated speculators, whose object was to spoil the market for the English, and to appropriate their subjects for the benefit of German companies, who had begun to compete with the English at an early period. It is impossible to believe for a moment that the English actors themselves made this collection, as has often been asserted"¹⁶.

Cohn's refusal to believe that the EK wrote the plays published under their name themselves is as nothing when compared with the scorn poured on the EK by Friedrich Gundolf in Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist (1911), still widely influential in attitudes to the EK.¹⁷ Where Cohn sees weak rays of Shakespearian light, Gundolf perceives gloom. He wholeheartedly endorses Cohn's closing comment: "It was reserved for Lessing, the great regenerator of the German drama, to impress his countrymen with the genius of Shakespeare and with the conviction that a conscientious study of his works was the only means of rescuing the drama from total decline"¹⁸. But Gundolf is not prepared to think of the EK in any other terms but Shakespearian, by which they, of course, pale into insignificance. In one sense he is right: we would far rather be shipwrecked with a copy of Shakespeare's works than with the collected output of the EK. But most literature, non-dramatic as well as dramatic would lose by such comparison, and it also begs the question of why in their own time the EK were both popular and influential. The only way to the EK is through a study of their achievement as popular touring performers.

Seen across the whole span of Shakespeare's influence in Germany, Gundolf is right to assert: "Die Geschichte Shakespeares in Deutschland ist vor allem das fasslichste und wichtigste Sinnbild für jenen Vorgang durch welchen die schöpferische Wirklichkeit dem Rationalismus erst ausgeliefert, dann abgerungen und der deutschen Dichtung

wieder fruchtbar gemacht wurde". Yet his next sentence gives us pause: "Shakespeare ist wie kein anderer das menschgewordene Schöpfertum des Lebens selbst".¹⁹ The EK's genius can hardly not be rebuked by such a spirit. Not surprisingly Gundolf rejects Cohn's optimism, though from a starting point that Cohn himself suggests, that the EK were the overspill of a crowded London stage.²⁰ This is one of the hardest prejudices of the EK's critics, yet one that bears little substance, as I hope to show. Gundolf disputes that German drama was in a position to be influenced²¹, since whereas the ideals of Humanism and the Renaissance underpinned the English drama - he does not explain either term in great detail - in Germany this central position was occupied by the Bible: "Die Bibel war nicht ein Buch, sondern ein lebendig gewordener Mythos, ein Bereich von Geschichten, Gestalten, Gesinnungen, die nicht so sehr verarbeitet zu werden brauchten als sie vielmehr selbst das Wesen der Epoche bearbeiteten".²² The notion that such a gulf existed between all levels of English and German culture is questionable, especially at city level: and, as I shall, discuss, the fact of substantial affinities, not least in regard to the position of the Bible, between English and German cultures made the EK's task easier.

Gundolf sees important political differences between the two cultures. England did indeed have a capital, and centralised authority, but Gundolf's portrait of local authority is not unfamiliar: "Keiner der deutschen Fürsten stand zu seinem Volk in einem anderen als zufälligen Verhältnis, keiner " - and there were many - "drückte

mehr aus als seine individuelle Person, Willkür oder Schwäche".²³ This political situation was to be a major influence in the EK's work, but, as Laurence Stone has shown, there was little to choose between England and Germany in the practical business of government by local magnates: "All the evidence points to a life of some monotony, concerned principally with hunting and hawking, and relieved only by lawsuits over land, quarrels over taxation, and occasional acts of sheer violence and lawlessness against a neighbouring enemy".²⁴ It was on such people that law and order rested all over Europe.

Gundolf's judgement is impaired not just by his distaste for the EK but by a fear that the perfect genius Shakespeare might somehow be defiled by the pitch of Germany. As a result he tries to define the EK as a totally different phenomenon from the English theatre: "Die englischen Komödianten auf deutschem Boden sind etwas völlig anderes als das englische Theater selbst".²⁵ How actors performing in the same way to similar people can be "völlig anders" in one country from another is mysterious in itself, but Gundolf also sees the theatre itself as a place of sublime reflection, not of popular entertainment. His definition of their activities, out of context, would sound pragmatic and sympathetic: "Die englischen Komödianten in Deutschland sind vor allem Gewerbetreibende und ihre Stücke zunächst körperliche Vorführungen, nicht litterarische Leistungen, ganz im Gegensatz zum englischen Drama selber".²⁶ This is not the place to take up the issue of the nature of English drama, but it is clear that Gundolf is more of a romantic closet critic than a friend of performance art.

A significant change in climate occurred in the 1930s. In 1931, Flemming published Das Schauspiel der Wanderbühne,²⁷ in which he groups the whole of the EK's work under the heading "Barock". With a mixture of Gundolf's force and Cohn's preparedness to see merit, Flemming starts the process of unravelling the EK from Shakespeare studies, trying to locate them on their own terms in European cultural history. I deal with many of his individual points below, but his closing remarks indicate his stance: "So bedeutet die Wanderbühne für das literarische und kulturelle Leben und Schaffen dieser Epoche einen wichtigen Impuls, ohne dessen Kenntnis ihre Eigenart nicht voll zu erfassen ist. Es geht nicht an, sie beiseitezuschieben, als vegetiere auf ihren Brettern 'abgesunkenes Kulturgut'".²⁸ This can only be endorsed; but Flemming's failure to distinguish between the EK's 1620 and 1630 collections, and indeed his case for seeing them as "Barock", leads to a study that is insufficiently sensitive to the special qualities of the 1620 plays. Likewise, in view of the EK's popularity, one may question Flemming's doubt that the EK may have been "Träger des Zeitgeistes"²⁹: one purpose of this study is to emphasise just how deeply the EK understood the spirit of their age.

The second product of the 1930s was Anna Baesecke's Das Schauspiel der Englischen Komoedianten in Deutschland (1935), which, taking Flemming's reasoning considerably further and offering a new theory of popular theatre, within which the EK are challengingly placed, presents a precise and more carefully differentiated aesthetic

view of the EK, dividing their activities into distinct phases and locating their achievement within a general theory of play and not so strictly within the Baroque³⁰. She sees four main phases, which she derives in outline from Herz: 1560-1600, 1600-1620, 1620-1648, and 1648-c. 1700. This pattern, still accepted by writers summarising research on the EK, needs some reconsideration.³¹ The EK first travelled abroad as a recognisable troupe with the Earl of Leicester in 1585, as part of the force that went to the aid of the Dutch "rebels". But it was not until 1592, when Browne's troupe made a highly successful foray to the Frankfurt fair and to the court at Braunschweig that the EK's reputation started to be made in earnest. I therefore, see the beginnings of the artistic phenomenon known as the Englische Komoedianten as best dated 1592. This heralded nearly thirty years of intense activity, which were brought to an end by the Thirty Years' War, and by the Battle of the White Mountain, outside Prague in 1620, when their patron, the Elector Friedrich, was defeated. Robert Browne, the most distinguished EK leader, was in his train, and soon thereafter returned home. In the same year the EK published their first collection of plays.³²

1592-1620 is, therefore, a distinct phase in the EK's history, begun with a German tour and ended with a collection of plays for performance. After 1620, what Cohn calls "Gallomania" sets in,³³ a fact Flemming, who treats all that the EK did as "Barock" overlooks. And only after 1620 does that "Unbeständigkeit" which Flemming sees as the preoccupation of the whole period dominate men's thinking, however much sooner a sense of insecurity had

entered their consciousness.³⁴ This is not to say that a total rift occurred in the nature of the EK's work between 1620 and 1630. Creizenach strikes the correct balance when he summarises "daß der Liebeskampf [the 1630 collection] sowohl in seinen ernsten, wie in seinen komischen Partieen viele gemeinsame Züge mit den englischen Komödien aufweist. Indes müssen auch die beträchtlichen Unterschiede Erwähnung finden, die sich sowohl im Stoff, als auch in der Art der Darstellung zeigen".³⁵ The new French culture was having its influence, and its most distinctive product, Schäferpoesie, was one sign that the aristocracy was pulling away from a common culture with the cities.³⁶

Baesecke's first sentence has lost none of its value: "Das Schauspiel der Englischen Komödianten (EK) hat in der Forschung, mit einer Ausnahme, stets ein abwertendes Urteil erfahren [...]"³⁷ This theme is then developed: "Zwar war der Shakespeareforschung in einigen Fällen damit gedient, aber das Wesen des Komödiantenstücks konnte auf diese Weise nicht gedeutet werden". In this I agree, wondering only to what extent Shakespeare studies as such have profited from research into the EK. Where I do not follow Baesecke is in her next contention: "So wurde übersehen, daß, ähnlich dem Entstehungsvorgang des Volksliedes, hier auf den Trümmern alter Formen neue entstanden waren".³⁸ Not only is it difficult to point to any lasting contribution the EK made to German Volksgut, beyond the period of their direct involvement in it, but Baesecke effectively denies the special nature of the Anglo-German cultural interaction in which the EK were critically and immediately engaged,

being much more directly influenced by specific socio-political pressures than the genuine folk-song. It was rather the case that men like Robert Browne, John Green, Thomas Sackville, Robert Reynolds, John Spencer, Richard Machin and Robert Reeve, to name but the most successful EK troupe leaders, skilfully interpreted the local market forces in German society, from Court to city, and provided the desired forms of entertainment to a new standard of performing excellence.

Baesecke locates the new folk form she postulates within a general theory of drama. Drama, she argues, springs from two sources, the instinct to play born in every child, which seems to have certain affinities in its aesthetic sense with Schiller's theories of play, and the more developed cultural need for representative arts. Where Gundolf sees these two urges as, in Baesecke's words, "Aristokrat" and "Proletarier"³⁹, she places them on an equal, yet opposed footing, suggesting that by process of dialectical interaction they cause great drama. Shakespeare's importance, one may thus infer, is as "World Historical Poet" who embodies the dialectic, and the lack of an equivalent figure must explain the failure of German theatre to develop like the English. Yet there is then a certain inconsistency in her further claiming, as does Gundolf, that the German language could not support great drama, for Shakespeare and his fellows made up their language as they needed it.⁴⁰ Nor is there any reason why great drama should need a vast vocabulary, especially in performance.

Having rightly prised the EK free from the clutches of Shakespearians, Baesecke clings with curious tenacity to a view of theatre, even the EK's, as a mixture of literature in Gundolf's sense and mime. The mixture has a fatally neo-platonic ring, sounding the division of mind and body and seeing the EK as essentially body. In her extensive analysis of the EK as stage artists, this is the dominant motif. At the same time, her description of play also suffers from there being no distinction between the "play" of a child and the "play" on stage, and she assumes that the presence of the one leads automatically to the other. If this were true one wonders why she insisted on the importance of Shakespeare, for in such a scheme the playwright is merely agent of a logical and necessary cultural dialectic. What is most signally missing is an examination of the function of the audience in the process by which one form of play - the child's - is translated into another - the adult's. It is a process by which unconscious role-play becomes conscious, in which the concepts of fictionality, and of reflexivity, start to emerge. What the EK seem to have achieved is wide education of their audiences in such terms, to the point where they were able to understand stage conventions hitherto unknown to them.⁴¹

This success is only partly explained by the fact that they brought professionalism to the German stage, for in cities like Nürnberg, where writers like Hans Sachs⁴² and Jakob Ayrer⁴³ lived and worked, there was already a semi-professional theatre fraternity. It has also to do with the special self-esteem of English culture at its best brought into contact with a German culture

looking for new impulses, but lacking that political and cultural centre that was so important in the generation of that very self-esteem.

Two centuries later, Schiller faced a similar problem in trying to match the German political and aesthetic centres in his "Letters" On the Aesthetic Education of Man. In these "Letters" he explores the link between statecraft and aesthetics for his addressee, his young Prince; and while his level of aspiration is far higher than the EK's, there are logical affinities of a revealing kind behind his attitudes and theirs. He recommends the following strategy: "Nicht genug also, dass alle Aufklärung des Verstandes nur insoferne Achtung verdient, als sie auf den Charakter zurückfliesst; sie geht auch gewissermassen von dem Charakter aus, weil der Weg zu dem Kopf durch das Herz muss geöffnet werden".⁴⁴ At root, Schiller is making the same point as Horace about pleasure as the best means of instruction, but at their level, the EK were doing the same. The heart is more receptive at leisure: "Der Ernst deiner Grundsätze wird sie [his contemporaries] von dir scheuchen, aber im Spiele ertragen sie sie noch; ihr Geschmack ist keuscher als ihr Herz, und hier musst du den scheuen Flüchtling ergreifen. Ihre Maximen wirst du umsonst bestürmen, ihre Taten umsonst verdammen, aber an ihrem Müssiggange kannst du deine bildende Hand versuchen".⁴⁵ While "Müssiggang" can be the mother of sin, it can also be the state of mind that offers most hope to the educator, a fact of political significance, since, as the EK and their employers knew, theatre was a political instrument - a perception widespread of

theatre's function - indicating that in practice the theatre was being used in a manner akin to that which Schiller suggests for "play" in general, if not with the same sense of "freedom" in mind. Schiller accepted that the retrieval of Greek harmony between nature and reason would take time, however, so, on reflection, he may have been prepared to accept the EK as evidence of movement in the right direction.⁴⁶ As men of their time, as natural artists, the EK may be counted a hopeful sign, the more so in that they proved how far German culture had progressed by the end of the eighteenth century. If the Prince is truly to enable all his subjects freely to express themselves within his aesthetic state, he must, like Shakespeare's Hal, learn the art of winning hearts, understand the beauty of the market and the tavern.

While the EK were in no sense forerunners of Schiller's aesthetic state, they evidently embodied a special type of artistic freedom for the society they entertained, and the effect they had on their audiences does not seem so far removed from Schiller's vision of the ideal state of play: "Von diesem Spiel d e r f r e i e n I d e e n - f o l g e, welches noch ganz materieller Art ist und aus blossen Naturgesetzen sich erklärt, macht endlich die Einbildungskraft in dem Versuch e i n e r f r e i e n F o r m den Sprung zum ästhetischen Spiele".⁴⁷ The EK instinctively knew their way to releasing natural energies, not least through their mastery of theatrical improvisation, in itself a free form of play close in conception to the aesthetic goal Schiller describes. The actor's skill in making the rehearsed (i.e. mechanical and reasoned) spontaneous is the peak of theatrical art.

And, if Wilkinson and Willoughby are to be followed in seeing dance as the running metaphor of the "Letters",⁴⁸ and in regarding the novel of theatrical education, Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, as a practical expression of the state of play, the EK's own success in dance, their skill as actors in defining stage types, may mean that they have a natural claim to being at once "Individuum" and "Gattung", individual and typical, which the artist in the aesthetic state strives to be.⁴⁹

Beasecke's terms "geistig" and "mimisch" seem to draw on this theory, the "geistig" expressing individual need, "mimisch" translating individual expression into generic. Between these poles, and dependent for their specific nature on the relative magnetism of each, lie, according to Baesecke, all forms of dramatic representation.⁵⁰ The problem, however, that this single scale theory leads to is that differences in kind are excluded from it, only differences of degree being acknowledged. It also, by analogy, leads her another theory of opposed forces: "Also erst mit dem Augenblick, da ein zuschauendes Publikum vorhanden ist, spielt der Unterschied zwischen Alltagswirklichkeit und Spielwirklichkeit eine Rolle, weil nun nicht mehr die g a n z e Wirklichkeit in die Spielwelt verwandelt wird".⁵¹ Yet, as C.L. Barber argues in his study of festive patterns of comedy,⁵² comedy arises out of a tension already present in the audience, between "holiday" and "workaday" perceptions of the world; the theatre merely gives form to this tension and brings it to an at least temporary resolution - the point of comedy. Theatre does not begin at the moment when an audience

is conscious of itself as audience, so much as when the dramatic poet presents the imitation of an action through the mediation of actors and the whole apparatus of the stage, in a way that makes the audience conscious not of the fictional otherness of the stage world, but rather of the symbolic and universal significance of their own everyday actions: for this reason, Aristotle elevates the poet above the historian, for he perceives patterns where the historian only sees details. Universal truths in which the dramatist should deal are not dialectical oppositions, not moral absolutes, but rather complex human actions.

The consequence of Baesecke's propositions is that she formulates two views of the EK that need revision: firstly, she argues that the clown, Pickelhering is the true centre of their work, and secondly, she claims, like Gundolf, that the German language was incapable at the time of accommodating a Shakespeare. Her first view is put as follows: "Der Clown der EK, Pickelhering, ist gleichsam die Verkörperung des Geistes des Komödiantenstücks. Er ist der Lebensnerv ihres Theaters, die Wurzel, aus dem es seine urwüchsige Lebendigkeit holt".⁵³ To claim this is equivalent to claiming Shakespeare's clowns as the centre of his plays; and while I would not wish to undervalue the importance of Pickelhering in the EK's success, it is to mistake popular acclaim for artistic inspiration to make him so exclusively the EK's "Lebensnerv". The linguistic point is complementary: she argues that the German "Zeitgeist" was physical, while the English was verbal, though her argument is more in

the nature of an assertion than a case.⁵⁴ It seriously misrepresents the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre to make such a distinction between words and actions, and perpetuates a neo-platonic distinction between mind and body in a manner unfitted to the EK's work. The English language certainly had made leaps in efficacy that the German had not matched, but both cultures shared a profound interest in the physical business of theatre.

Baesecke's conclusion about the EK's theatre stems naturally from the argument about the superiority of the English language, because, by implication, the German culture to which the EK went was capable only of receiving the physical aspect of their work. The suppression of the verbal had as consequence "daß es ohne kirchliche, religiöse, politische Tendenzen war (im Gegensatz zu den geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und den polemischen Reformationsspielen), daß es keine Bildungsabsichten verfolgte (im Gegensatz zu den Schuldramen), ohne beziehungsreichen Anlaß (religiöse und volkstümliche Feste) und ohne den Boden soziologischer Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Spieler und Zuschauer (im Gegensatz zu den Fastnachtsspielen und auch den anderen dramatischen Formen des Mittelalters) aufgeführt wurde. Es befriedigte einzig und allein die immer lebendige Freude des Menschen am "Mimus" [...] war Theater um des Theaters willen".⁵⁵ This definition by negatives is highly unsatisfactory, both methodologically and in terms of each proposition: and although this thesis is not a point by point refutation of these contentions, I shall establish five principles in the development

- of this work that relate directly to her five points:
1. that the religious, political and cultural context in which the the EK worked was more European than English or German, providing the EK with a sociological common ground with their audience;
 2. that the moral and socio-political attitudes of their audience, though more polarised than in England, were ones with which the EK were both familiar and able to exploit;
 3. that the 1620 collection itself reflects an acute, if intuitive, understanding of the growing tensions between their two main audience groups, the court and the city;
 4. that the local context for their performances was just the sort of celebration, feast-day, trade fair or simply "time off" that all over Europe was the occasion for theatrical performance;
 5. that "theatre for theatre's sake" contradicts their own and their audience's understanding of the purpose of theatre.

Authorship

A fourth impulse to study the EK, one that in some respects came surprisingly late, was the problem of authorship. Though most scholars had paid the question passing attention, it was Gustav Fréden in his dissertation,⁵⁶ Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland (1939) who made the issue central to his study. He disagrees with Baesecke that the EK's texts are like folk-songs, arguing for a single author, or at least editor. His candidate for the role is the schoolmaster, Friedrich Menius. In so arguing,

he revives a line of thought that began, as we saw, with Cohn's refusal to believe that the EK could have put the 1620 collection together and which found more concrete expression in Tittmann's introduction to his edition of most of the works in the 1620 collection. Here Tittmann issues an identikit of the probable author, one Fréden claims to have found in Menius: "Der Bearbeiter der Schauspiele selbst verräth ebenfalls überall trotz der lateinischen Brocken, die er einzumischen liebt, eine nur sehr oberflächliche Schulbildung. Er stand wahrscheinlich mit Englischen Schauspielern in Verbindung, vielleicht gehörte er als ein heruntergekommener Magister oder Student einer Truppe an. Daß er ein Deutscher war, glaube ich aus einzelnen Anklängen an die deutsche Volksdichtung, namentlich aber aus der Aufnahme eines ältern deutschen Stücks nach eigener Bearbeitung abnehmen zu dürfen".⁵⁷

Given this assessment of the linguistic level of the collection, however, it is hard to see how a Komoediant who had spent perhaps twenty years working in German could not have put the collection together himself.

The position taken by Creizenach lies between Cohn's and Tittmann's, tending more to the former. But first he quotes Johannes Bolte's discovery of the place of publication: "Bolte indes mit Hülfe des Meßkatalogs ermittelt, daß beide Sammlungen [1620 and 1630] bei Gottfried Große in Leipzig erschienen sind. Es war dies einer der angesehensten Buchhändler jener Zeit".⁵⁸ Creizenach does not accept much of Tittmann's linguistic argument,⁵⁹ but he is also certain that the EK did not themselves initiate publication: "Wie die Manuskripte in die Hände des Herausgebers resp. Buchhändlers gerieten,

können wir nicht wissen. Indes schwerlich auf rechtmäßigem Wege, da es ja doch im Interesse der Schauspieler liegen mußte, ihr Repertoire für sich zu behalten".⁶⁰

Creizenach's logic is hard to follow here: why, if the collection was pirated, did the pirate wait until after the outbreak of war to publish it? Why, if Groß was such a notable bookseller, would he wait, and then take part in a shady transaction? Why, in 1620 of all years, would the EK themselves not have wanted to publish, given that their patron's defeat meant their future was in jeopardy? In my view, the date alone speaks of a conscious decision to publish by the EK.

Fréden's major discovery was the evidence for publication of the collection in Leipzig, which, despite a reference to a similar discovery by Bolte, Creizenach does not print. The evidence in question is in Draudius's Bibliotheca librorum germanicorum classica, in which is the entry "Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien sampt dem Pickelhäring, Leiptzig bey Gottfried Gross 8. 1620".⁶¹ This leaves little doubt as to the place of publication, but what of the author? Fréden does not refer to the fact that in the same year, there were two further collections of plays published in which the EK's work was given a prominent part, including plays from the Leipzig group: significantly these two collections were published in the EK's favourite city, Frankfurt.⁶² This fact alone makes the Menius theory highly suspect. Rather, we may suggest three hypotheses: firstly, that Groß sold the rights on certain of his plays to Frankfurt; secondly, that they were pirated; thirdly, that the EK made two deals. The last of these seems most likely.

The next step in Fréden's argument is crucial. He quotes from Menius's own publication of 1635, Syntagma de origine Livonorum, to which he appended a list of his own works, both published and unpublished; "als zweiten Punkt dieses Katalogs gibt er nun folgende Nummer: Englische Comoedien 2. Theil Altenburg in Verlegung Gottfried Groszen Buchhändlers zu Leipzig. A:o 1620, in 8."⁶³ This is the basis for Fréden's investigation, especially of the language of the plays, evidence presented in considerable detail. But while Fréden is able to prove that there is a distinct linguistic colouring to the whole collection, which indicates a specific region of origin for the "author", there is much less evidence, and what there is is circumstantial, to tie Menius to the EK. His summary is as follows: "Noch wichtiger ist jedoch, dass Wortschatz und Satzbau niederdeutsch gefärbt sind, und dass dies für die Sammlung als ein Ganzes zutrifft. Das Letzte deutet ja auf den Niederdeutschen Friedrich Menius als den Bearbeiter; zugleich ist es aber ein kräftiges Beweismittel gegen die Ansicht, die zuletzt Anna Baesecke verfochten hat: dass die Schauspiele in genau derselben Gestalt vorliegen, die sie als Repertoirestücke der englischen Komödianten gehabt haben. Ein einheitlicher mundartlicher Charakter wäre wohl unter solchen Umständen kaum denkbar gewesen".⁶⁴ I agree with Menius in his implication that the texts are not folk-song like; but his logic is suspect. From what we know of the repertoire of the Browne-Green troupe, the plays probably stem from them. Since the troupe had been active since 1592 in virtually unbroken sequence

acting for much of that time in German, there is no real reason to suppose that the EK could not have written the plays themselves.

There are further problems. Menius is not known to have worked with the EK, and the EK were hardly likely to have parted with some of their assets to a stranger. Fréden offers no hard evidence for Menius either as playwright or as partner of any of the EK leaders. Fréden places special emphasis on the fact that he proves that the source of the Vorrede is Thomas Garzoni's Piazza universale di tutte professioni (1585): but this work was so widely known⁶⁵ that many others than Menius would have been able to plagiarise its formulae, not least Browne or Green. The EK were employed at courts as writers, as I shall later discuss, and Green at least knew Latin. What is more, the Vorrede itself was not just used in the Leipzig collection, but also to introduce an anthology published in Frankfurt am Main of the same year, 1620⁶⁶. This fact alone, neglected by Fréden suggests that the EK wrote their own Vorrede, or at least kept a sort of short-term copyright on it.

One small opening remains for Menius: in the information of the 1624 title-page is the remark "Zum Andern mal gedruckt und CORRIGIRT". What better person than a pedantic schoolmaster and grammarian for the job of putting a revised version of the text through the press, Menius probably being glad during the early years of the war to get what extra work he could?

The description Fréden himself offers of the probable author suggests another line of enquiry: "In wenigen Worten: die Vorrede zeugt von einem Verfasser, der allerdings kein tiefgelehrter Mann war, aber auch kein ungebildeter, der aus seiner Quelle das holte, was er brauchen konnte, ohne sich dabei viel Gedanken zu machen, jedoch nicht ohne einen gewissen Sinn für zweckmässige Verwertung des Übernommenen an den Tag zu legen".⁶⁷ Such a man, to my mind, does not write books of grammar or painstaking lists of his own unpublished works. He is rather a Browne or a Green, a Reynolds perhaps.

In 1620 Browne was in Prague, and then was forced to leave after the decisive defeat at the battle of the White Mountain. He retreated to Nürnberg, and probably made his way to London via Frankfurt. The future for him and his troupe must have looked most uncertain, and he was no young man. What more logical step than to go to a Leipzig bookseller, whom he may well have encountered on an earlier tour, to sell some of his repertoire? Leipzig lay on his route from Prague. As the most successful of the early EK leaders, as the one who seems to have created their touring pattern, he would have probably had the main share in the texts and the first right to sell. Since Reynolds, the famous Pickelhering, was with him he would have been able to offer a range of popular Pickelhering jigs as well. Browne was surely skilled enough in German to have compiled such a collection. Indeed, publication must have been the most attractive option for him in 1620.

The case for Reynolds's part in the project is

stronger in some respects than Browne's. He was the Pickelhering so praised on the title page, and this trade mark was only used by him at that time - later it became synonymous with the EK as a whole. As the collection is divided into two distinct parts, "serious" works and jigs and drolls, a joint venture with Browne seems a distinct possibility. This is greatly strengthened by another fact. He, as a member of Green's troupe, spent a great deal of time in the eastern area, touring often to Danzig and, in the period before Browne's return to Germany in 1618, spending several months in the court at Warsaw.⁶⁸ He had every opportunity to acquire the local dialect, a skill which the clown figure tended in any case to use to comic effect.

A third figure in the project may well have been Green. The discovery of a manuscript version in his hand of Niemand und Jemand, written for the Graz court in 1608, makes quite clear that he had more than adequate German for writing plays.⁶⁹ Although Reynolds left him to work with Browne in 1618, it is unlikely that Green and Browne did not meet; and their territorial division smacks of their former practice. All three men were shrewd enough at their business and long enough in it not to give up their wares lightly. Gros was, in Creizenach's words, "einer der angesehensten Buchhändler jener Zeit" which surely rules out piracy or accidental publication. One must conclude then, that one or other of them, probably in agreement, sold a sample of plays to Gros in a quite deliberate move. Green, as we know, returned in 1626 with a new repertoire, which would also argue that he

he was consciously avoiding performing work now in print.

L.M. Price, the distinguished scholar of Anglo-German cultural relations, accepts Fréden's case⁷⁰, as does Oppel⁷¹, in an article that cannot be considered an original contribution to the debate. Kindermann, the man of the theatre, opts for Reynolds as a possibility, while leaving the issue unresolved.⁷² The absence of authorial credit might be held to argue for the active participation of all three Komoedianten I have mentioned, Browne, Reynolds and Green. What is most unlikely is that a man of Menius's vanity would have let go the chance of seeing his name in print.

There are five main sections to this work: the first is a survey of the background of Anglo-German relations against which the EK set out on tour; the second is an analysis of their typical experiences on tour, dealing directly, or indirectly, with the four main estates of which their audience was composed, the court, the city fathers, the church and the populace; the third compares four versions - one English - of perhaps the single most popular fiction in German culture at the time, Fortunatus, as a means of plotting the progress of popular culture through the sixteenth century; the fourth is a detailed appraisal of the 1620 collection; and the last, as a brief coda, examines Andreas Gryphius's two "English" plays, Herr Peter Squentz (c.1647), and Carolus Stuardus (1649/1660) against the background of the gulf created by the Thirty Years' War and the new French culture between the court and city audiences.

Chapter 2. The Background

Two main reasons are customarily adduced for the EK's decision to travel abroad: firstly, that the London stage was overcrowded with fine talents, and that they, as inferior artists, had to seek their fortunes amid the gullible Europeans; secondly, that they were merely interested in money, and so became prototypic Gastarbeiter. Yet neither attitude does them justice: the fact alone of their constant success contradicts the view that they were poor artists - in either sense; and there is every sign that they tried to integrate themselves into native German culture, once established in Germany.

There were however, four factors in their initial decision to tour which were in the short term of even more significance than money, or the evident affinity they developed for their host culture:

1. Nothem European hopes were high in the early 1590s of an Alliance, to be led by England, against Rome, and it was highly significant that the EK's first major patron was the Earl of Leicester;

2. The developed cultural links between England and Germany, as fostered by the Reformation;

3. The rapid advance of London as a trading centre, and the concomitant skill of the Elizabethan trader;

4. The burgeoning of the London theatre, and the rise of the court pageant and ceremonial entry.

The speed with which the EK were to establish themselves depended heavily on the beneficent coalition of all four factors: but in their day-to-day business dealings, their trading skill turned out to be most beneficial.

Trade Connections

During the sixteenth century, London established itself as a powerful international trading centre, and took its place next to Antwerp and Venice in the European financial system. Links with Germany had grown in importance since the founding of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in 1486, under whose aegis the London-Antwerp trade route, and thence into Germany, flourished. In 1557, the French and Hapsburg bankruptcies further boosted London's fortunes at the expense of Antwerp, and by 1564 Cecil was worried that trade with Germany had become so vital to England's economy as to be a political risk: "It were better for this realm for many considerations that the commodities of the same were issued to sundry places, than to one, and specially to such as the lord thereof is of so great power, as he may therewith annoy this realm".¹ But the German trade pattern grew, into Emden, and on into the Baltic.² (Emden, for example, also functioned as a major clearing house for Protestant propaganda, popular with the merchant class.)³ Eventually, the growth had become so vigorous that during the Diet of Worms of 1586 a majority of the Diet was for a trade blockade against England, a move headed off only at the last minute. Only a common fear of Spain stayed the plan.⁴

The trading patterns that merchants developed were to be of great consequence to the logistical planning of the EK, and, as Herz's maps show,⁵ the EK's travels followed the merchants'. Frankfurt, the major trade centre, was the EK's favourite stopping place in Germany,⁶ but wherever there were markets, the EK were to be found.

Intellectual and religious ties

After Erasmus had left his indelible mark on English intellectual life in the first two decades of the **sixteenth** century, especially in Cambridge from 1511-14 as Lady Margaret Reader in Greek, young scholars were predisposed favourably to consider the teachings of other European radicals. As news came in of Luther's stand against abuses in the Catholic church, a group quickly formed in Cambridge, sympathetic to the new gospel. This added a dimension of religious fervour to an already active intellectual exchange with northern central Europe. The leaders of this "Cambridge group" were soon forced to leave the country to take refuge abroad in centres more sympathetic to radical thought, where they then began to operate an illegal propaganda campaign. Large quantities of religious literature were smuggled into East Anglia, mostly from Dutch ports, and found a ready market amongst the proud and independent townsmen. Though the government responded with harsh measures, Tyndale, and others like him, could rely on the merchants⁷ whose ships they used for active support, and the tide of propaganda became unstemmable. Bishop Nix of Norwich soon had to admit defeat to his king, his diocese bearing the brunt of the burden.⁸ Much of the illicit writing was based on German models: a measure of its success was that in 1535 Henry VIII sent scholars to Germany looking for a new approach to foreign policy.⁹

Perhaps unwittingly, Henry VIII was also responsible for adding a new dimension to the influence German religious ideas exercised in England. His last wife, Catherine Parr, was responsive to German Protestant teaching and patronised reforming scholars like Roger Ascham and Sir John Cheke,

both of whom were to influence not only the future King Edward, but also Elizabeth herself. As tutor to Elizabeth, Ascham's temperance must have had some effect on her gradual espousal of Erastian church policies.

With the accession of Protestant Edward to the throne, little stood in the way of a major surge in Protestant activity, although its effect was not always to the advantage of the ruling class. Kett's rebellion was one of several major threats to Tudor authority, and Bishop Gardner commented "Liberty of life [. . .] I would to God Germany had kept thee still"¹⁰. The association of Germany with liberty in his mind is revealing, suggesting that Germany had a popular reputation for being a cradle of free and dangerous thought. Germany, and more precisely Frankfurt, was also to become a haven for Protestant exiles during Mary's reign,¹¹ and it was in Frankfurt that perhaps the most important single religious and political theory to affect the nature of England in the latter half of the sixteenth century was born. This was the theory of the "Elect Nation".

The Elect Nation

While the initial effect of the theory of the "Elect Nation" was to isolate England from Europe, in the longer term it so fostered England's sense of national calling that England was looked to for a lead in a potential Protestant alliance. In effect, the reborn English Nation was held to be the natural heir to the Children of Israel as the chosen people of God. The leader of this Chosen People was its monarch, and he, or she, could feel confident in a special destiny for

his, or her people. Elizabeth's long and productive reign added weight to the belief, and around her in particular grew the cult of the Virgin Queen in the arts, and the martyrology of her Church.

It was the latter which had the wider popular effect, especially through the agency of John Foxe's Actes and Monuments of these latter perilous times touching matter of the Church,¹² known as The Book of Martyrs. This made its first appearance in Latin in Strasbourg in 1559 and was printed in English in 1563. By the time it had reached its full, graphically illustrated form, in 1570, it had become second in importance to the Bible in influence. Its success rested on its unshakeable sense of conviction, and, formally, on its blend of gruesome tale and blunt illustration. The success of this form of speaking picture cannot have been lost on popular dramatists such as the EK.

The literary cult of Eliza required writing of a higher order, and did not penetrate the wider national consciousness to the same effect: but it still drew strength and conviction from the belief in Election, for if the nation were elect, so too, doubly, must be its sovereign. Writers such as Dekker and Spenser used and developed the Eliza/Astraea myth, and even after the death of the great Queen, its power was undiminished as hopes were high for a new Elizabeth, James I's daughter.¹³ I shall consider one aspect of Dekker's use of the myth below.

Social and Economic Parallels

As well as connections between English and German

life, there were also important parallels which indicate that the societies were far closer in sociological structure than Baesecke suggests, and certainly close enough for the EK to find direct contact with their audience.

During the sixteenth century, both countries experienced major upheavals, caused by the new religion, the redistribution of land and the rise of a new land-owning class of great importance. I have already mentioned the importance this class had locally¹⁴ but one major effect of the change was an increased tension between town and country. This reflected itself in a tendency in major cities like Frankfurt and Nürnberg to take to the new faith, while rural areas tended to remain Catholic. A problem for city authorities became the disaffected urban mob, under-employed and under-paid and hardest hit by the inflation in prices experienced during the century.¹⁵ One response by cities was to buy grain and distribute it at subsidised prices, but it could not obviously work as a permanent solution. As in ancient Rome therefore, entertainment of the people took on a new and important significance.

A similar picture can be painted in England where in the larger cities, especially London,¹⁶ the rapid change in trading and land-owning structures had led to vast growth in city sizes and the development of an urban proletariat easily stirred to violence. An indication of the strength of London by 1600 is its subsequently decisive role in the Civil War, a war which also tended to be fought on a city versus country axis. In other words, the town audience to which the EK played was

preoccupied with the same basic issues as their English counterparts, the employment situation, bread prices and the increasing religious and political tensions.

Language

Despite the obvious barrier that German initially presented to English actors, certain affinities in attitude to the use of the vernacular as such are discernible between the two cultures, reflecting the common problem of creating a national language to match a new sense of national identity.¹⁷

In England the call was for an English tongue for English men, but, revealingly, one of the commonest metaphors of linguistic growth was that of trade. Ascham is typical: "And although to have written this book either in Latin or Greek [...] had been more easy and fit for my trade in study; yet nevertheless, I, supposing it no point of honesty, that my commodity should stop and hinder any part either of the pleasure or profit of many, have written this English matter, in the English tongue, for Englishmen".¹⁸ This deep intertwining of language, learning and trade is an important gloss on the attitude with which the EK toured. Mulcaster is even more explicit on the question of trade:¹⁹

Will all kindes of trade, and all sorts of traffik, make a tung of account? If the spreading sea, and the spacious land could vse anie speche, theie would both shew you, where, and in how manie strange places, theie haue sene our peple, and also giue you to wit, that theie deall as much, and as great varietie of matters, as anie other peple do, whether at home or abroad. Which is the reason why our tung doth serue to so manie vses, bycause it is conuersant with so manie peple, and so well acquainted with so manie matters, in so sundrie kindes of dealing. Now all this varietie of matter, and diuersitie of trade, make both matter for our speche, & mean to enlarge it.

There is evident pride in the extent to which "our people" trade throughout the world, and good reason too for thinking that their trade would enrich their language. Most important, however, is the attitude of the two men of learning to trading itself, one that is positive and proud. When Gundolf talks of the EK as "Gewerbetreibende" he overlooks the pride Elizabethans took in being such.

Both a desire for freedom from Rome in religion, and Rome's language, Latin, were preoccupations of Germany's brilliant but wayward humanist, Ulrich von Hutten. Von Hutten saw the Pope as wanting temporal sway:

So ist nûr yetzt des Bapstes sin,
Das er der Welt regierer sey,
Und under jm lebt niemant frey.²⁰

The outward sign of freedom is the ability to use the vernacular, the language of one's own "nation", although nationhood is still a German problem:

Latein ich vor geschriben hab,
Das was eim yeden nit bekandt.
Yetzt schrey ich an das vatterlandt,
Teütsch nation, in irer sprach,²¹
Zu bringen dißen dingen rach.

One man who followed this call, very much under the influence of the new religious teaching, was Hans Sachs, whose version of the Fortunatus story I discuss below.

Travel and Education: Sir Philip Sidney

Living testimony to the cultural unity of Europe despite all religious and political upheavals,²² and of the increasing desire to travel as part of one's education, was Philip Sidney. Since John Buxton's study²³ describes his travels in detail I shall not rehearse what he writes. But certain details are of significance to the EK.

All travellers abroad from England required a licence, one way the government had of controlling movements in and out of the country at a time when Catholic infiltration was much feared. Sidney received his first licence in 1572 "to go out of England into parts beyond the seas, with three servants and four horses etc., to remain the space of two years immediately following his departure out of the realm, for his attaining the knowledge of foreign languages".²⁴ Since Sidney had both Walsingham's and Cecil's support this cannot have presented any problem: but important is the stated purpose. As England grew, so too did its diplomatic status, and after the rapid increase in use of the vernacular referred to above, learning foreign languages suddenly became important for any man intending on a career in national affairs. It also suggests that the linguistic skills which the EK were to acquire had other purposes than simply performing in a foreign language.

This first tour not only taught Sidney the desired languages but also introduced him to the key centres in European culture which he discovered were as tightly knit as before the Reformation; it also introduced him to European intellectual circles with great success, and his Apologie for Poetrie for example, was rapidly translated into Dutch at Leyden and doubtless from that major protestant centre found its way around much of Europe.

Still more important however, is the reaction Sidney's death at Zutphen caused, for it indicates that his fame was by no means confined to Protestant areas, nor was his

loss mourned solely at home. In fact, the first of a large number of collections of memorial verses was published in honour of the Shepherd Knight in Heidelberg. Borders hardened between confessions in the sixteenth century, but in Sidney we have an example of the sort of cultural mobility that the EK were to enjoy at their level.²⁵

The Dutch Expedition

After customary deliberation and delay, Elizabeth was finally persuaded by the Protestant hawks, Leicester and Walsingham, to support the Dutch rebels. William the Silent, their leader, was assassinated in 1584²⁶, an event which dashed hopes of German intervention in the cause. So the leaderless rebels looked across the Channel to the rising power of England. Elizabeth refused their offer of the crown, but agreed to let Leicester put an expeditionary party together²⁷, amongst whom was Sir Philip Sidney, and also the first group of EK, led by Will Kemp.

Leicester's arrival on Dutch soil was as a Prince, even an Heir Apparent. This did not endear him to his mistress Elizabeth, who in any case had cold feet the minute Leicester set sail. To mark his illustrious coming a collection of tributes and pageants appeared entitled Delineatio pompae triumphalis qua Robertus Dudlaeus comes Leicestrensis Hagae Comitatus fuit receptus. This was followed by another in the same vein, Brevis narratio

Triumphus quo a Senatu Populoque Traiectensi Illustrissimus princeps Robertus Dudley Comes Leicestrius [...] Traiecti Batauorum exceptus est (Utrecht, 1586).²⁸ The titles no doubt gave Elizabeth some just cause for anger, but they suggest that the propaganda side of Leicester's mission may have been more successful than the military. Beyond question is the significance Leicester's patronage had in the early phase of the EK's travels, when his name opened many doors. Bearing in mind also Leicester's avowed Protestant sympathies it is not surprising to find a distinct Protestant accent in their work.

Leicester's known role as patron may then be seen as a bridge of considerable significance to Anglo-European intellectual relations: and as Eleanor Rosenberg makes clear, this intellectual exchange was the leading edge of a concerted political and diplomatic effort to bring about some sort of northern Protestant alliance. The entry pageants that greeted Leicester were typical in their use of displays of emblematic importance to make political statements. As David Bevington has argued, this was commonplace: "Art as a weapon of propaganda was a commonplace in the sixteenth century, taken for granted by the politically active noblemen who provided the financial support for many of England's writers. During the formative midcentury years, religious politics was virtually the whole substance of drama, inevitably creating a tradition both of political commentary in the drama and of various dramaturgic techniques by which ideology could be given maximum propagandistic effect".²⁹ The skill the EK acquired in such theatre may well have made them doubly popular at German courts of the time, courts intent on impressing their importance on

subject, ally and foe alike. Nor were the EK overawed by their masters, showing in their often critical representation of current issues notable independence of attitude.

Public Performance: Pageants and Royal Entries

In the matter of celebrations, English and German taste and practice were very similar, as a brief analysis of both royal and guild entry pageants in both cultures reveals. The shared aim was to impress spectator and participant alike of the special and powerful nature of the occasion, an occasion which was in itself a cipher of the status of the main celebrant. For the leader, the entry had the function of a display of strength, wealth and largesse - God's representative on earth being seen to be such. For the guild, the pageant demonstrated common purpose, political weight and pride in the product. Such practice would now be described as propagandist, or what some governments coyly describe as the conveying of "information". At its best, it may be read as a tool the enlightened - in Schiller's sense "aesthetic" - ruler might use for the benefit of his people. At its worst, though none the less effective, it becomes a subtle instrument of manipulation, such as Gundolf's former pupil, Josef Goebbels, was to perfect in the German Third Reich. There are signs in the EK's work, notably in their cynical and volatile portraits of authority, that they were aware of the abuses to which display might be put. As German social cohesion began to give way in the early years of the seventeenth century during the run up to the Thirty Years' War, the jockeying for position which the Augsburg religious settlement came out into the open once more.

This famous settlement - summarised in the catch-phrase

"cuius regio, eius religio" - had not, as had perhaps been hoped, served to protect the legitimate religious freedoms of the individual, but had in practice given the ruler almost unlimited powers to exploit the political benefits of religious adherence. It was not often therefore, that altruistic nobility of soul was the cause of a ruler's actions, but rather self-interest and cynicism. In such a climate, public relations, shows of strength, displays of majesty became an increasingly important aspect of the business of government. Power and authority had to be demonstrated, not just taken for granted. Pageants were used by Leicester in the Netherlands - to better effect than his troops. Catherine di Medici employed pageants in France, Elizabeth in England, the Jesuits in the service of the Counter-Reformation. The EK, particularly John Spencer, staged triumphs for the Hapsburgs. In Regensburg, for example, he played The Storming of Constantinople: "Ein Engländer hatte seine Comödien darin und hatte ungeheuren Zulauf. Bei der Einnahme von Constantinopel, die er am ersten Tag vorstellte, nahm er über 500 Gulden ein".³⁰ Elsewhere is confirmed "dass dieser Comödiant viele herrliche Comödien selbst vor dem Kaiser Mathias aufgeführt [...]".³¹ The popularity of the EK suited Mathias's representative purposes well.

The Guilds³²

In the period when the EK were most active in Germany, the English civic pageant reached its illustrious zenith. In London the guilds were particularly keen to show off their new wealth and esteem, and devised a series of rich,

elaborate processions to celebrate the sovereign, the Lord Mayor, and the individual members of the guilds. But it was not simply display for display's sake: the Queen was fond of pageants and entertainments, but as Chambers comments "one may be sure that this apparent frivolity of demeanour was not inconsistent with a very solid application to the practical business of government; and likewise that the constant willingness to take part in the popular amusements of London [.] had its origin not merely in a taste for spectacle, but in a deliberate intention to win the hearts of the citizens, and to be before all things the people's queen".³³ Elizabeth knew the value of public relations.

Pageant writers were at pains to point out that the office of Lord Mayor of London was analogous to that of the sovereign, enjoying at the same time privileges granted over the centuries by the monarchs whom they had helped. In the sixteenth century, as London's political and financial status grew, its pageants and festivities began to assume more and more the character of displays of power and independence, and to take on the function of diplomatic signals in traffic with the Court. The Tudor dynasty was often in financial trouble, and needed the goodwill, and cash London had to offer. But the Court was also good for business, seen more willingly in Whitehall than elsewhere. So messages had to be discreet, and loyal. And when, for example, the message was thrift, or caution, or adventure, the purpose had to be carefully, though still evidently, set in

cautionary moralising behind the words. The pageant offered both sides a chance to meet in splendour and mutual respect, and both sides could profit from the good effect such displays would have on the common people.

Under the Stuarts matters changed: the Court spent more money but was less interested in business and the "common touch". The increasing popularity of the expensive, aristocratic Masque at court meant that sovereigns neglected their public relations work in the City, a contributing factor in the process whereby the City became an implacable enemy. Sieber comments that German pageantry had a similar public relations function: "das Volk wurde verwöhnt durch ein Zuviel des Sehenswerten und der Belustigungen".³⁴ One may sneer at the people but, as Machiavelli knew, they were needed, a fact implicit in much of the EK's handling of political situations.

The parallels between the sovereign and the civic offices were not just mythological and allegorical: the power of the guild, indeed its most distinctive feature, was its court and the structure of the guild much resembled that of the Royal court. At the centre was the sovereign or Mayor, and around him was ringed his council. Just as the Tudor sovereigns had brought trade increasingly under their scrutiny and patronage, so the town guilds kept a tight rein on local commerce: "In most English towns it would seem that the municipal authorities were careful to keep even the primary jurisdiction in matters of trade in their own hands, and this was also the case in many continental cities, such as Nuremberg".³⁵ Unwin sees the origin of this court in the "Folkmoot", equivalent

and closely related to the German "ungebotene Ding", that is the meeting which one attends without summons, in other words at which one's attendance is mandatory. Clearly such power vested in a court made its officers very powerful men in the community. By 1485 the "Folkmoot" had grown into a "solemn formality". It is the Holymot, the Curia Sancti Motus (Court of Holy Motion)".³⁶ Given both this power and this solemnity, it is hardly surprising that the guild should want to find ways of expressing itself in public nor, given the historical relationship between City and Court, that the forms of expression should be similar to those adopted by the Court. One major side-effect of the Reformation, which vested power over the church in the head of state, was to make major public occasions both religious and political, a feature of English life still very much evident today. When the Stuarts neglected the London guilds the result was quite simple, the Lord Mayor's entry took over the dominant role of the sovereign's, and assumed both its political and some of its religious significance.

One of the powers of the Guild court was to levy money for major public occasions and prosecute members who did not pay. The visit of Christian IV, King of Denmark, in 1610 shows how this process worked, and how seriously the business was taken.³⁷ But the levy raised at the time of £1,000 on the various companies hardly compares with the £41,000 that the visit of Charles I cost the City of Edinburgh in 1632.³⁸ As David Bergeron summarises the financial commitment of the guilds: "Wherever one looks, in London, Edinburgh, Bristol,

same, England is now in hot pursuit of its glorious destiny.⁴¹ And the stately buildings on the Thames are, not just to Webster, concrete evidence of the growing stature of the "scepter'd isle". Fynes Moryson puts London above all other cities he has visited because of four buildings: "London hath foure singularities aboue all other Cittyes, as the Monuments of Westminster, the Goldsmithes rowe in Cheepseyde, the Exchange for marchants meeting, and the Bridge ouer Thames".⁴² A similar admiration for the bridge and for Westminster is recorded by Frederick, Duke of Württemberg: "Over the river at London there is a beautiful long bridge, with quite splendid, handsome and well-built houses, which are occupied by merchants of consequence".⁴³ On August 14th. his Highness went with his suite "to the beautiful and large royal church called Westminster",⁴⁴

In all three accounts particular attention is paid to buildings that combine beauty with use, especially where such a building had a commercial function. This in turn glosses Ascham's concept of study and publication as part of a cycle that combines pleasure with profit. Gundolf's contemptuous view of the EK as "Gewerbetreibende"⁴⁵ surely then misses the point - namely that humanism was quite capable of respecting artistic effort that also earned money and there was no false modesty about great art being in its nature uncommercial. Theatre in such a perspective is of particular significance for the very reason that it combines inextricably the art, or trade, of performance with the art, or trade, of selling seats.

In Webster's view, the reference to Venice not only claims London as a centre of wealth, but also its "Doge" - the Mayor - as a political leader. And one also suspects that

the "silver stream" is partly to be understood literally. There is no doubt that the rise of the guild pageant is a direct function of the rise of the guild; and guilds felt stronger in their commercial endeavours through the self-esteem and prestige they won from their displays. Taken together, such displays express concisely London's new sense of itself, combining representational and practical functions, advertising the wealth and accomplishments of the guilds, while, more implicitly, staking a claim to a say in political decisions. The guild consciously shared the power and the glory of the monarch, because by using the pageant entry form, so intrinsically bound up with the monarch, for their own purposes, they won by association some of the attention due by right to the royal leader. In time, because of Stuart neglect, the Mayor even began to supplant the monarch as the natural centre of London's pageant life, and this had a significant psychological effect on the attitude of the London masses to the crown in the Civil War.

This Stuart development, however, was still in the future when the EK first travelled abroad, and when they did it was with a distinctly Elizabethan form of "Triumph" in their minds. Thomas Dekker summarised well what the pageant meant to his fellows: "Tryumphes, are the most choice and daintiest fruit that spring from Peace and Abundance; Loue begets them; and Much Cost brings them forth. Expectation feeds vpon them, but seldome to a surfeite, for when she is most full, her longing wants something to be satisfied. So inticing a shape they carry, that Princes themselves take pleasure to behold them; they with delight; common people with

admiration".⁴⁶ Peace with plenty, or Otium cum dignitate, are the truest signs of good and stable government, and the London pageants seem to Dekker to be the "daintiest fruit that spring from Peace"; they are equally the signs that Elizabeth's rule was blessed, and seen to be blessed. Elizabeth's willingness to be seen was in itself innately theatrical: the on-stage actor is more formidable than the off-stage presence, and the Royal Actor has to be seen treading the boards of the world. So the pageant writers were of one mind with Shakespeare in wishing for:

A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!
(Henry V, Prologue, 3-4)

This wish was granted in pageantry, and it also so infused the theatre with a sense that what it was doing was an essential part of the development of national identity and destiny that the EK cannot but have been affected by it. In their self-confident attitude to their trade, and to the city and country from which they came, they were typical Elizabethans.

The Court

Some impression of how close the attitudes to public occasions were in both England and Germany may be won from a comparison of the entry pageants and attendant celebrations enjoyed in both cultures. The German entry was like the English, having three phases: "Einer der Haupttage in der ganzen Krönungszeit war aber der Einzugs- tag des Kaisers. Im 15. Jahrhundert war ein dreimaliger Empfang gebräuchlich: Draußen im Felde, am Stadttor und in der Herberge".⁴⁷ As in England this structure also went on into the sixteenth century, growing gradually in the complexity of its detail, but retaining the basic

tripartite form. Henry VII's entry, for example, the first by a Tudor monarch, was especially important in persuading the people of the legitimacy of his right to rule, and it had the classic three features: he is met first at Lambeth, which is outside the city limits⁴⁸; then he processes on the following day to Westminster, being shown a number of pageant scenes on the way⁴⁹; then, after the coronation, he is entertained at a royal banquet.⁵⁰ Common to both English and German entries was the opportunity given the powerful subjects to express both their allegiance and their power: "Maximilian II. und sein Sohn Rudolf wurden 1575 in Regensburg von 1500 geharnischten Bürgern und Bürgersöhnen auf der Brücke empfangen".⁵¹ This powerful force knew how to lobby its formal master. Popular in both countries were the various sports associated with the entry, especially anachronistic exercises in chivalry: "Später zeigten besonders in Frankfurt, das ein sehr beliebter Turnierplatz gewesen sein muß, die hohen und edlen Herren gern ihre Künste, allerdings, der Wandlung des Zeitgeschmacks folgend, nur noch in Ringelrennen, Scheingefechten und unterhaltsamen Schaustellungen, bei denen die Kleidung und der dramatische Aufputz die Hauptsache waren".⁵² Mock tournaments were a favourite Tudor pastime as well, Anglo listing twenty-nine in the period 1485-1552 alone. Of these, the Field of the Cloth of Gold was the most elaborate, chivalric display melting into diplomacy, and mock pageanty into negotiation, even if the show was

not a very successful one.⁵³ What is most important is that Anglo notes just the same emphasis on costume and armour as Sieber, and the same concern for dramatised ritual: "Indeed, the most noteworthy aspect of the jousting was the lavishness of the costumes and devices worn by the combatants".⁵⁴ Thomas Nashe's splendid parody of this sort of spectacle is perhaps a further sign that image was winning the day over courage.⁵⁵ But, equally, rich costume was the necessary garb of the man of high, if not aristocratic, status: and nothing showed the difference between ruler and ruled more self-evidently than the ruler's splendid dress.⁵⁶ This sort of visual expression is important in the EK's plays, where status and dress are closely linked. Fortunatus registers his new-found luck by immediately buying rich clothes.

The guilds had a significant aesthetic and political part to play in entries such as Sieber describes in Frankfurt. They took the responsibility for representing the city, and its freedoms, to the new ruler, and of providing entertainments for their own people. These popular forms of enjoyment were the sine qua non of keeping the people happy, yet their true energy came from the people themselves. As Sieber remarks "Das Volk brauchte, um recht fröhlich zu sein, die von ihm selbst geschaffenen Festformen".⁵⁷ Alongside much needed relaxation for the masses was the more politically important process of a ritual enactment of the contract between the city and the Emperor, in which both sides were able to show their strength. The subject expected special recognition: "Die Zünfte forderten, genau wie die Erbbeamten, für den ersten Dienst, den sie dem neuen Herrscher geleistet hatten,

eine besondere Belohnung".⁵⁸ The similarities with England are self-apparent; but in Germany, unlike England, the spoken word took little part in the entry, a policy enforced by the Emperor to prevent to presentation of suits. The potentially valuable safety-valve for local feeling was thus neglected, to the detriment of court-city relations.

Whether at popular level - with giants on display, tumblers, fencers, free gifts of food and fountains of wine, even the chance to see the Emperor at table - or in the higher political reaches, the forms of celebration in Frankfurt and Westminster were similar. From the roots upwards one may detect a common pattern of festive behaviour throughout Europe, and, as Anglo summarises, this was one clear sign of a European rather than national cultural sense: "The Henrician tournament, in particular, with its early interest in semi-dramatic spectacle, and subsequent concentration on non-dramatic chivalric conceits, reflects general European fashion. The evolution, too, of the disguising, indoor pageant, and mask, as a composite art-form involving the painter, musician, actor, and dancer, was part of a European development".⁵⁹ The EK could offer all these skills, but what was, from a German point of view, surprising, was that they displayed them to court and city alike.

The fact of broad similarities in the chosen modes of display gained in political significance during the latter half of the sixteenth century, as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation gradually drew up their lines of battle. Both sides were adept at exploiting public

occasions for propagandist purposes, the Jesuits in particular with their very successful Martyr drama and the Protestants with entry pageants like those that greeted Leicester on his triumphal visit to the Netherlands. Here again there is evidence of a common pattern, as David Bergeron points out: "The similarities of the qualities and techniques of [the] royal entry into Antwerp and the ones [...] in England suggest that civic pageantry, especially the royal entry form, achieved its own dramatic form which defied parochial boundaries and nationalities, containing parallels that do not necessarily imply indebtedness".⁶⁰ The increasing importance of the religious struggle also tended to bring out the latent religious elements in such pageants when, as in Frankfurt, the political and religious allegiance of the city in question was in doubt: "Die enge Verbindung zwischen Krönung und Heiltumsfahrt übte ihre Wirkung natürlich auf den Einzug insofern, als schon an diesem Tage der zahlreichen Pilger wegen das ganze kirchliche Gepränge entfaltet wurde".⁶¹ As the tension that led to the Thirty Years' War grew, so too did the political significance of these religious displays.

While in Germany pageants were beginning to show signs of the religious strains of the times, the rapidly expanding City of London was increasingly concerned to show off its new found wealth and self-satisfaction. The sums they were prepared to invest in such proud display increased commensurately, and the best writers and performers of the day were engaged. An early sign of this development was the inclusion of dramatic dialogue in James I's entry of 1604, an element that had been missing in Elizabeth's entry.⁶²

By 1610, at the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales the verbal element had become important enough for two of London's best actors, Richard Burbage and John Rice to be engaged to take part. This of course, though significant, indicates the clear trend away from the "popular" processional form which by its very nature allows a large number of people a sight of the show towards the static performance which purely acoustically as well as visually is accessible only to a small proportion of the crowd. It is clearly advantageous to the actors, and had an important influence on the work of the EK that public displays in fact become private displays held as it were in public. It would be wrong however, to see the step as a sophistication of a popular form: rather, two forms come together and for a time are integrated.

Ceremony and Government

It is a commonplace of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama that there is a complex network of forces relating the appearance and the real essence of things. But it has perhaps not sufficiently been stated that the ceremonies attached to the practical business of government, of the reception of envoys and the administration of justice, had in public life at that time much the same effect as imagery and symbolism on the contemporary stage: and the pageant was the point at which the "real" world of politics and government and the "artificial" world of the stage met. So much weight was attached to the element of role-playing in public life that it is one of the most commonly used metaphors of the age. As Sir William Waller wrote to Sir

Ralph Hopton, musing on the fact that they were on opposing sides in the Civil War: "We are both upon the stage and must act these parts that are assigned us in this tragedy; let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities, whatsoever the issue be".⁶³ One of the most important perceptual barriers that separates us from the nature of society as the EK would have understood it is this sense of ceremony, of role-play: we might even describe this mental split as schizophrenic in its ability to dissociate public from private feelings. Yet ceremonious behaviour was at the heart of social intercourse, a fact the war itself upset: "For a nobleman to be compelled to appear with his head uncovered before persons of lower rank was a real humiliation, imposed and felt as such. The strictest rules, generally known and respected, had governed forms of address, who gave place to whom in a crowd, who stood in the presence of whom and who gave leave to sit".⁶⁴ Shifts in dress and manner were instinctively understood as signalling changes in status, a fact the EK exploit with some regularity. Yet the question of role-play has another, specifically theatrical aspect: the actor's roles both help him establish a relationship with his part, and enable the audience to accept a face that last week played one role is now another. The audience is able to accept the convention that person A has become role B, and the actor can exploit the knowledge that for a specific time he is not person A but role B. When this theory is carried over into public life, it helps to explain why Sir William should reach for a theatrical metaphor in describing an undoubted personal agony. For, by projecting the agony onto the role a certain security

from the knowledge that friend is fighting friend is achieved. Likewise, the monarch uses a higher form of play to make the role of monarch, inherited from the previously divinely assigned "actor", real, especially to those who knew the previous actor. At the coronation, but also during the coronation entry, a sacramental union of the monarchs "two bodies" is realised both in spiritual and political terms.⁶⁵ There is then no insincerity in this habit of dividing public from private roles, rather a modified form of stoicism, even fatalism, that the great play of history will take its course, whatever man may do to affect it.

The hardest part of Waller's letter, however, is the phrase "without personal animosity": how can war be fought at such close quarters without the protection for the combatants of animosity towards each other? The answer clearly lies in the metaphor of the world as theatre, Waller's thoughts testifying to the depth which the "theatrum mundi" affected consciousness. The actor who plays Duncan need not feel that the actor who plays Macbeth bear him any grudge because the text of Macbeth requires the one to kill the other. That Orlando professes love to Rosalind on stage does not mean that he does so off-stage, however much the play might suggest that the characters have a life beyond the end of the action presented on the stage.

Yet long exposure to theatrical fictions must have tended to make the boundary between fictional representations and the reality itself hard to distinguish. There must have been an understandable confusion in men's minds as to

what exactly was meant by the world as stage. For, if one pursues Sir William Waller's logic, one comes up against a contradiction that seems to imply that he regarded the two sides of his life, public and private, as effectively distinct universes in which, at least potentially, two entirely different sets of values could operate. This would mean that there are two different notions of truth - the one a private standard, the other what is best for the state. Elizabeth's long agony over what to do with Mary Queen of Scots, and Charles I's self-accusations over his treatment of Strafford seem to indicate that such a contradiction was one of the heaviest burdens that the monarch had to bear.⁶⁶ And it becomes clear that Waller's suggestion to Hopton that they should fight without animosity was the only way out of an otherwise intolerable personal dilemma. Strafford, writing to Charles from the tower, was driven to a similar expedient, that of requesting his own death in the interests of his country, in order that Charles might feel that he was doing his duty as king in signing the order of execution: "To set Your Majesty's conscience at liberty, I do most humbly beseech Your Majesty (for preventing of evils which may happen by your refusal) to pass this bill [...]".⁶⁷ It was one thing to say that the "actor" Strafford was no longer master of his "part" and so replace him, but another to make of his final exit the steps up to the block. For, as the "tragic Actor" Charles himself was to discover, the grim logic of Macbeth's speech applied as much to kings as subjects:

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more [...].

(Macbeth, V, v, 24-6)

A line has to be drawn somewhere between public and private roles, if the one is not to get disproportionately powerful in relation to the other. Even the Mirror of all Christian Kings worries deeply about the issue, although in public his stance is firm - kingdom first. As he remarks to the traitors Scroop, Cambridge and Grey:

Touching our person seek we no revenge;
But we our kingdom's safety must so tender,
Whose ruin you have sought, that to her laws
We do deliver you.

(Henry V, II, ii, 174-7)

In his role as king, and therefore as embodiment of both the people and of justice, Henry condemns the traitors to their deserved death: but does his respect for the law extend as far as submitting to it himself? If the law is so powerful, is there a need for a king, or is justice itself not king? Such questions were close to the political surface, and soon to emerge into the air in the Civil War. What was to be done with a king, such as Richard II, or Charles I, who claimed to be God's agent and above the law, and yet demanded the law, his law, to be executed on others?

Shakespeare, like his sovereign Elizabeth, was not so naive as to believe either that power came as easily to the monarch as by natural succession, nor that the effective use of pageantry was innate. Pageantry, and power, had to be rehearsed, and fought for, and there were limits:

O Ceremony, show me but thy worth! [..]
 Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form,
 Creating awe and fear in other men? [..]
 Canst thou, when thou command'st the beggar's knee,
 Command the health of it?

(Henry V, IV, i, 240, 242-3, 252-3)

If the king is to succeed he has not only to act the part, but also conquer that part, make it his own; and even when he has learned the moves and the lines he needs constant rehearsal. Elizabeth was prepared to do this sort of work: her successor was not, and his lack of interest in public relations must be accounted a significant factor in his difficulties in government.

The complex interaction of the themes display, ceremony and authority, and the potentially divisive conflict of interests between the private and the public selves, lie at the heart of the EK's perception of authority, and of the personality of the ruler. And England had taught them how to represent such issues on stage in a manner new to Germany. This gave their plays on the subject of power an edge of immediacy and realism which their popular audience enjoyed, and which their patrons felt obliged to influence through patronage. The most obvious manifestation of England's rapid development in matters of the representation of authority was the English concern for ceremony, and English perceptions of Germany tend to be coloured with a certain disdain at German lack of ceremony.

Perceptions of Each Other

One English eye-witness to the lack of ceremony in Germany - a crass gap as he saw it - was the travelling man Fynes Moryson; Moryson, with engaging chauvinism,

compared, and naturally found wanting, the men and mores of the countries of western and central Europe. Yet, for all his criticisms, there is no doubt that his attitude to Europe was determined by an assumption of a basic common pattern of life in all its various constituent countries. This is well caught in G.N. Clark's analysis: "though its extent was never fixed, western and central Europe was the territory of a common tradition of religion, government and culture. Within it intercourse of all kinds was comparatively easy: the structure of classes, legal relations, economic organisations, the arts and sciences were sufficiently alike to mark off this region from the rest of the world".⁶⁸ It is therefore, in matters of detail that Moryson reports differences; he was shocked to find in Poland that "They who kept the dore of the Chamber, wherein the king and the Queene did eat were base Groomes, and they admitted any man to enter, so as the roome was full with people of all Conditions [..] They seemed not to know any such reuerence, as kneeling to the king, or putting of the hatt to the Chaire of estate".⁶⁹ Moryson clearly comes with a highly developed sense of ceremony, and treats as primitive a culture in which such ceremony is not at an equivalent level - no latent traces of republicanism here. How, one senses Moryson asking, is one to respect a king who does not respect himself?

An analogous lack of regard for ceremony is a feature of German society as Moryson describes it; not only do men all sit at one table in the inn, but, still more curious for him "the poorest [pays] for his meate at

the Common table asmuch as the best [...].⁷⁰ In part, like any traveller abroad, Moryson regards his own cultural standards as the norm, and any differences he encounters he regards as aberrations: yet chauvinism is not so potent in his writing that a certain degree of truth may not be ascribed to it.

On the other hand, Moryson does note that on special occasions there is as much regard paid to ceremony as in England, only that he thinks German ceremony less well organised, or, perhaps one might say, less English in character. At any event, the German guild class was well prepared for the coming of the EK with their new representational skills: "All seuerall trades of Artizans, haue theire solem feasts yearely, in publike howses for that purpose, whether they all goe together in the morning, marching through the streetes with affected grauity, and there hauing largely dyned, they spend most part of the afternoone, sometymes in daunsing after musicke, sometymes at the table singing and drincking [...]."⁷¹ This habit of celebration surely contradicts Baesecke's view that the EK had no common sociological ground with their audience in the matter of festivity. And attitudes to ceremony are also closely allied: "Touching Ceremonyes, the Germans performe them with great ostentation of pompe, I meane not for any Magnificence or sumptuousness. [...] But I meane for the very great grauity the Germans vse in very small matters [...]."⁷² To this "grauity", the EK were to bring a new sense of wit and lightness.

Independent testimony in support of Moryson's opinions comes, as it were, from the other side of the fence.

Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg notices the rich clothing of Londoners: "The inhabitants are magnificently apparelled, and are extremely proud and overbearing".⁷³ Paul Hentzner writes: "They excel in dancing and music [...]".⁷⁴ With the rising fame of the English court and the growing prosperity of London, reinforced by the fact that James I. was related by marriage to most of the important German princes, came an inevitable fashionable delight in Germany for things English. Rye notices that the "number of Germans who visited us is remarkable",⁷⁵ and points further to the large number of books on travel published in Germany at the time, testifying to a German tourist boom of almost present day proportions: "Beckmann has enumerated as many as nineteen different works on the subject of the art of travelling, which were published in Germany in the last half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Those works are all in Latin, and their great use, not merely by German but by other travellers, is proved by their repeated editions".⁷⁶ In their travels the Germans were no doubt struck by the extent of the ceremonies to be found enriching all aspects of life, and the influence of a rich and cultured society, as the English puritans themselves found was not always easy to avoid, even if one wanted to.

One of the attractions of England to the German was its political unity. Composed as it was of a mass of petty states, Germany lacked any real authoritative centre around which a culture could develop. Sir Thomas Overbury, with a perception that shows his diplomatic skill,

was not altogether disturbed by this fragmentation, since a divided Germany did not constitute a political threat: Europe's history since 1870 has tended to confirm his judgement. "For as Germany, which if it were entirely subject to one monarchy would be terrible to all the rest, so being divided betwixt so many princes, and those of so equal power, it serves only to balance itself, and entertain easy war with the Turk [...]"⁷⁷ The same lack of unity that stood in the way of a politically powerful Germany stood the EK in good stead, for they found many willing patrons for their wares.

Some of the detailed effects of this lack of unity are noticed by Moryson in his extensive itinerary through Europe. Hamburg, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Meissen, Dresden, Prague, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Lindau, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Baden, Basel, Strassburg, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Kassel, Braunschweig and many more feature on his route.⁷⁸ His travels took him across political and religious boundaries, a feat he accomplished by a series of disguises, and which the EK, uniquely perhaps, accomplished quite openly. Likewise, the places he visited tended also to be visited by them. What sort of portrait does he paint?

He is critical of bad habits: the Germans "more frequently sweare and Curse in Common speech, then any Nation, except the Italians [...]" Even worse is the German national vice: "But the Nationall vice, wherein all sorts offend without any measure, yet daily and hourelly is drunckennes [...]"⁷⁹ Since the court of James I was far from spotless in this respect there is a certain case of pots and kettles in the remark, but magistrates

may well have preferred the people to sit in the theatre than lie drunk in the street. The grotesque riots Sieber depicts would also support Moryson's disapprobation.

Moryson notes that the Germans do not spend much on clothing: "The Parcimony of the Germans is singuler, spending sparingly if not basely, in theire apparell [...]".⁸⁰ But as I mentioned above, the Duke of Württemberg associated the richness of the London merchants' dress, by contrast, with their arrogance - an observation which must to some extent qualify Moryson's strictures. The Germans are, however, "excelent in Manuall Artes, by that plodding industrye, and famous for the same among all nations, by which also they bring [...] much mony into Germany".⁸¹ Where this money went, Moryson does not say. What is clear from the tenor of his remarks is, that despite the lack of strong centralised authority, to the outsider at least it was possible to talk of the mass of German states as a single cultural area, with distinct and recognisable characteristics. While a certain disillusionment with political and religious leaders may have made the German people more receptive to the EK, their internal differences did not stop those same leaders supporting the EK, nor did they experience any difficulties in crossing frontiers.

Then as now one of the most important recreational and representative aspects of public life was music, on which significant sums were spent: "In like sorte many Cittyes mantayne at publike charge Musitians, vsing Sagbutts, Hoboyes, and such loude Instruments, which wee call the waytes of Cyttyes, and these play at the publicke house of the Citty each day at Noone, when

the Senatours goe to dinner, and at all publike feasts.

[...] In all their Meetings to drinke, they greatly delight in daunsing, and Musicke, as norishing the present humour of mirth, and cheering them to drinke more largely".⁸² The fact of this widespread interest in music was of great importance to the EK, who not only used music a good deal in their work, but also found in it as ready a means of attracting an audience as other forms of advertising. Nor did music need translating. According to Moryson, however, German interest in music was trumped by English: "All Cittyes, Townes and villages swarme with Companyes of Musicians and Fiddlers, which are rare in other Kingdomes. The Citty of London alone hath foure or fiue Companyes of players [...] to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flocke in great numbers [...]".⁸³ In Germany such companies were evidently not so rare, Moryson affecting a certain chauvinism whenever it comes to talking of England. And it was this common popularity which undoubtedly helped the EK find a foothold during their first civic tours. They themselves barely distinguish between being musicians and actors.

The "plodding industrie", which Moryson describes as being so typical of Germany, seems to have found a form of expression in the German dances, at least as Moryson describes them. (Curious how we now admire a far from "plodding" industry.) The German dance has none of the high-capering flourish of the English, and it must have been a revelation as the EK presented courtly dance forms, and other types of court orientated, lush

material to a chiefly working class audience, in itself a great recommendation to the rather austere tastes forced on them by religious and economic events. Moryson observes further: "But in these Daunces they vse no kynd of Art, for all that are present, or so many as the Circle of the Chamber will Contayne, and of all sortes [. . .] Daunce all together in a large Circle rounde about the Chamber". (In Bavaria and on the Rhine I have myself taken part in similar dances.) "And in the slowe Daunces, which wee call measures, they doe not followe the musicke, with artificiall motion of the feete [. . .] as wee doe, but playnly walke about the roome with grauity inough and to spare, which kynde of dauncing they iustly call Gang, that is going, likewise in the daunces which wee call Gallyardes, of the lusty motion, and they call Lauff that is a leape, they doe not Daunce with measure of paces, and trickes lowe or lofty, as wee doe, but pleaynly first lift vp on legg then the other, so leaping about the Roome, with such force as makes the strongest chambers shake and threaten falling. And for other kyndes of daunces they haue none".⁸⁴ The prevalent influence of court patronage on the development of late Elizabethan taste, which was to lead in time to the exclusively aristocratic masque, clearly had no counterpart in Germany: and the dances that the EK brought with them were assured of great success. It is even possible that this success led to the introduction of dancing into the curriculum of the Ritterakademien, rather than the French influence which is usually held to have caused such a step.⁸⁵ The dancing style which Moryson describes in detail is, however, more closely related to folk customs than to the "artificiall"

world of the court. Yet, as C.L. Barber has pointed out, even the most sophisticated forms of Elizabethan entertainment are related to the old ritual celebrations of the year - or what he has called expressions of the spirit of "holiday". "Mirth took form in morris-dances, sword-dances, wassailings, mock ceremonies of summer kings and queens and of lords of misrule, mummings, disguisings, masques - and a bewildering variety of sports, games, shows, and pageants improvised on traditional models".⁸⁶ What matters here is not which type of dance the English liked, or how deficient the Germans may have been, but rather the fact that celebrations took similar forms in both countries, and on similar occasions - marriages, harvest festivals, Twelfth Night, Fastnacht, and so on. The leaping dance, full of capers, that the English liked is not that distant from the antics of the Perchten runners⁸⁷ and, as Enid Welsford points out, there "is [.] a striking resemblance between Perchta and Mormo [.]".⁸⁸ Brash dancing and vigorous acting stem from a similar popular energy, an energy that reached up into the court. English and German entertainments grew from a substantially similar stock.

Moryson's descriptions of dancing are matched by a critical look at the German stage. His account, though chauvinistic, does compare Germans with what must have been a troupe of EK, and while Moryson is contemptuous of the EK he cannot disguise the sensation they caused:

Germany hath some fewe wandring Comeydians, more deseruing pittty then prayse, for the serious parts are dully penned, and worse acted, and the mirth they make is ridiculous, and nothing lesse than witty [..]. So as I remember that when some of our cast dispised Stage players came out of England into

Germany, and played at Franckford in the tyme of the Mart, hauing nether a Complete number of Actours, nor any good Apparell, nor any ornament of the Stage, yet the Germans, not vnderstanding a worde they sayde, both men and wemen, flocked wonderfully to see theire gesture and Action, rather then heare them, speaking English which they vnderstoode not, and pronowncing peeces and Patches of English playes, which my selfe and some English men there present could not heare without great wearysomenes. Yea my selfe Comming from Franckford in the Company of some cheefe marchants Dutch and Flemish, heard them often bragg of the good markett they had made, only Condoling that they had not the leasure to heare the English players. 89

Chauvinism apart, the passage has much valuable information, not least about German touring theatre companies, which were in some form of existence, according to Moryson, before the advent of the EK. Likewise, they perform on a minimal stage, which suggests attempts to construct for them a much more elaborate stage which various scholars have made, and which I discuss later, may be too ambitious. Most importantly, the audience evidently liked what they saw, the language barrier presenting no problem. As what Moryson describes is probably Browne's very first visit to Frankfurt, it is perhaps not surprising that all they acted were "peeces and Patches".

Success, however, also brought its problems, as Moryson relates on a different occasion: "So as at the same tyme when some cast Players of England came into those partes, the people not vnderstanding what they sayd, only for theire Action followed them with wonderfull Concourse, yea many young virgines fell in loue with some of the players, and followed them from Citty to Citty, till the magistrates were forced to forbid them to play any more".⁹⁰ Moryson derives a certain malicious satisfaction from this variant on a well-known theme of young maidens falling for performing stars.

German Reactions to the English Stage

As may be expected, the German reaction to the English stage depended on the political and religious persuasion of the observer: but even the EK's critics could not remain indifferent. Hentzner describes his visit to the London stage as follows: "Without the city, are some theatres, where English Actors represent almost every day Comedies and Tragedies to very numerous audiences; these are concluded with variety of dances, accompanied by excellent music and the excessive applause of those that are present".⁹¹ It is however, less with the EK's London roots than with their German tours that we are concerned. There seem to have been two schools of thought as to their worth. On the one hand, Cellius, in his Eques Auratus Anglo-Wirtembergicus containing a glowing description of the ceremony at which his master Friedrich was invested with the long-awaited Garter, is all in favour: on the other hand, Daniel von Wensin in his Oratio contra Britanniam, took the opposite line.

First Cellius:⁹²

The royal English music which the illustrious royal Ambassador Lord Spencer had brought with him to enhance the magnificence of the embassy and the present ceremony; and who, though few in number, were eminently skilled in the art. For England produces many excellent musicians, comedians, and tragedians, most skilful in the histrionic art; certain companies of whom, quitting their abodes for a time, are in the habit of visiting foreign countries at particular seasons, exhibiting and representing their art principally at the courts of princes. A few years ago, some English musicians coming over to our Germany with this view, remained for some time at the courts of great princes; their skill both in music and in the histrionic art having procured them such favour that they returned home liberally rewarded [c.].

As well as the description of the EK's financial

success, Cellius's account is significant for the independent evidence it offers to the fact that the EK were equally gifted as actors and musicians. But Cellius's favourable view of the English, influenced no doubt by Friedrich's delight⁹³ was not shared by Wensin:⁹⁴

Meanwhile the English have given their constant attention to the pleasures of gluttony [..] as well as to trifles, and what is more, to the histrionic art, in which they have attained to such perfection that the English players now delight us the most of all. But who are these men? They are puppet-actors, they are buffoons, whom rulers designate as base and disreputable, unworthy to fill or be appointed to any honorable position.

The irritation at the esteem in which the EK are held, and the polemical reference to the disdain rulers feel towards actors - which they evidently did not - cannot disguise the fact that the EK were popular and highly successful. But von Wensin, the Puritan, finds theatre incompatible with the moral seriousness he believes should be the foundation of government.

Perhaps the most significant author to be influenced by the EK, and to praise their skills, was Johann Valentin Andreae (1585-1654), native of Herrenberg in Württemberg,⁹⁵ and inventor of Rosicrucianism. In his Autobiography he refers directly to the EK: "Schon in den J. 1602 und 1603 fieng ich, zur Uebung meiner Talente, an, Aufsätze zu verfassen. Die ersten Versuche waren wohl Esther und Hyacinth zwey Komödien, die ich mit jugendlicher Kühnheit den Englischen Schauspielern nachbildete".⁹⁶ The remark is not simply flattering to the EK, for it also suggests that Andreae believed they were themselves writers of their

work. For Andreae, a serious if not talented dramatist, was trying to copy what to him was the best drama of his day. That Andreae chose the EK as his model must then be taken as objective evidence as to their skills as writers as well as performers.

Conclusions

We may assume that in setting out for Europe the EK were well-informed about the conditions they were to encounter in Europe, and they could expect four factors to be of special help to them, English patronage, English experience in German markets, the common nature of English and German culture, at both court and city level, and the self-confidence of the Elizabethan theatre, that firmly believed itself to be the world in microcosm. All these factors contributed to the EK meeting two preconditions for success in touring: confidence in the product that is being offered, and knowledge of what the audience wants to see. Naturally when the EK got to Germany, they became even more skilled at the latter, but they went well prepared.

Chapter 3. On the Road

While the developments of European politics, on which their freedom of movement on the Continent depended, were beyond their control, the EK show a high level of tactical skill in adapting to local conditions and making the best of them. As such, they belong rather to the class of Merchant Adventurers than to that of the artists of London, expanding a new form of trade into Europe. My concern in this chapter is not to repeat the summary offered by E.K. Chambers of where the EK went and what they performed¹, but rather to analyse in depth how they dealt with the three interest groups that most affected their lives: these were the courts, the city councils and the churches. From such an analysis, we may glean useful information about the pressures on the EK to develop their repertoire in the manner they chose.

Practicalities

Getting from A to B anywhere in Europe in the seventeenth century was slow and hazardous. In summer, the roads were drier and daylight longer, which reduced the chance of attack, but travel in groups was always advisable. In spring and autumn the roads were muddy, and in winter often frozen. One could cover twenty miles a day lightly loaded, but baggage impeded severely. The EK, carrying costumes and props, would have belonged to the slower group of travellers², and they sought to overcome the many days when they could not work because of travel by high prices when they did perform. Councils did however, find it hard to deny them, having travelled so far. Inns

as we know from Erasmus and Montaigne, were expensive, hazardous and unreliable, particularly in the North of Germany, which may have helped nudge the EK South.

In order to get to Europe, the group would have needed a passport; and one such has survived.³ Most interestingly, the passport refers both to the EK taking their "consortz" with them, opening up the question of whether women were actually appearing on stage as EK members, and to their many skills: "Messieurs, Comme les presentz porteurs, Robert Browne, Jehan Bradstriet, Thomas Saxfield, Richard Jones, avec leurs consortz estantz mes Joueurs et seruiteurs ont deliberé de faire vng voyage en Allemagne, avec Intention de passer par les païs de Zelande, Hollande et Frise. Et allantz en leur dict voyage d'exercer leurs qualitez en faict de musique, agilitez et joeuz de commedies, Tragedies et histoires, pour s'entretenir et fournir à leurs despenses en leur dict voyage". The passport in itself throws much light on the EK. The circular financial logic - they are going abroad to cover their costs of going abroad - is typical of the EK; equally typically, they have a powerful patron, Charles Howard (1536-1624), Lord High Admiral from 1585-1619 and patron of the Admiral's men to whom Browne belonged. The list of skills, musical, gymnastic and theatrical, is formidable, and hardly speaks of players of poor quality.

From a letter one member of this group wrote to Edward Alleyn we have an indication that a share system was the basis of the financial structure of the typical EK group: "Mr Allen, I commend my love and humble duty to you, geving you thankes for your great bounty bestoed vpon me in my

sicknes, when I was in great want, God blese you for it, Sir, this it is, I am to go over beyond the seeas with Mr Browne and the company, but not by his meanes, for he is put to half a shaer, and to stay hear, for they ar all against his goinge".⁴ This share system is one sign that the EK saw themselves as a type of travelling guild, with a guild-like organisation and a right to exercise their trade. A "master" actor, like Robert Browne, John Green, John Spencer or Robert Reeve would organise a company with a mixture of established performers - the "journeymen" - and apprentice boys, and with them go on tour. The expectation they took with them was that they would certainly be allowed to perform. In this they were typical of their time, using the assumed right to trade as the motive and justification for their expansion into new markets. As G.N. Clark points out "the main impulse of foundation and expansion came from the trading classes".⁵ In their evident attention to financial solidity, the EK greatly enhanced their chances of success.

There are, however, signs of other aspects to their journeying which have a more diplomatic and political purpose. Robert Browne was involved in arms deals as agent to Maurice of Hessen, and may have been involved with John Webster in a further mission.⁶ Given the extensive network of reconnaissance supported at the time from London, it seems at least possible that they would have supplied such patrons as Charles Howard with information about the courts and cities they visited.

The basic division in the EK's activities was between court and city, between patronage and box-office. The negotiations they undertook with courts doubtless benefited

at the outset from powerful English patronage, but there is no evidence that this background was a handicap when they moved into the more Catholic south. They found German aristocratic support most helpful when dealing with city authorities, although the most independent-minded of the "Free" cities, Nürnberg, was studiously unimpressed by powerful names. Where they performed they had the church to bear in mind, but one of the more surprising facts that emerges from a study of their dealings with city fathers is that the church rarely had the right to do more than protect its own rights: the church could stop the EK performing during mass, but not from performing altogether. In this survey I shall examine in turn the EK in the city, the EK at court, and the EK as a "bridge" between the two worlds. In each case I shall also consider the influence the church had on their dealings, and on the repertoire they at least claimed to be able to perform.

The City

While the EK's political security lay in the hands of influential patrons, the touring circuit of major trade centres, like Frankfurt, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Strasbourg and Köln, offered them the prospect of a good living. I do not propose to treat these movements, or their probable earnings, in any great detail as they have both been well discussed.⁷ But in the pursuit of this factual information, commentary on what it may also tell us about the EK as performers, their expectations and attitudes and the pressures on them to satisfy certain types of market force, has been given much less attention, and it is this commentary that I offer.

Of all the centres the EK visited, Frankfurt was the most prized, its fairs seemingly guaranteeing a large and sympathetic audience. The Frankfurt Senate, well aware of its strong hand in negotiations over licences and ticket prices, seldom refused a request to perform, but evidently required regular and eloquent persuasion. A classic example of how a request was made is offered by a letter the leaders Robert Browne, John Green and Robert Ledbetter wrote to the Senate in August 1606, asking for permission to perform.⁸ Since we know that Browne was very probably in Frankfurt for the first time in 1592 and that the EK were regular visitors, the letter may be taken as almost formulaic in its structure and arguments. The text is as follows:

Edell, Ernveste, Hochachtbare Forsichtig vnd Weyse großgunstig gepietende Herren.
Nachdem ein Ehrnv.[ester] hochweiser Rath dieser weitberumbten Kay[serlichen] Reichs Stat des durchlauchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Maritij Landtgravens zu Hessen p.p. Vnsers gnedigen Herrn Vnss Vnterschiedlicher Zeitten gnedigst ertheylter Vnd E.E. vnd F.E. Wsh. Vnterthaniglich praesentirter Intercessien schreiben in den nechst auff einander Abgewichener Jahres Ostern vnd Herbmessen darin wurklichen gemäß vnß empfinden lasen, daß derselbich vns großgunstig erlaubet vnd zugegeben hat, Vnsere ahnhero brachtte Kunstliche Tragoedias vnd Commoetias dem Außländischen vnd Inhaimischen Volck zu exhibiren.

So haben wir Zur erweysung vnsers dankbaren gemuths (wie in Alle weg billig gewesen) vnsers Verhoffens auch vns dahin beflissen, daß niemand Durch vnsere Spiel geärgert worden, Sondern Jedermann darbey Er sich zu bespiegeln, seiner Schwachheit zu erinnern vnd demnächst was lasterhafft Zu fliehen vnd Vrsach an die Handt gegeben, vberkahme.

Dieweil dan Itzunder die Mess abermahls vor der Thür vnd Wir in der auch h. Reichs Statt Vlm berichtet worden, daß sie 2 Tag eher dan sonst gewöhnlich zugeschehen Pflege, Ihren Ahnfangk nehmen werde. So haben wir, selbst funfzehn Personen vnß ahnhero in Abermahligen Vnterthanigen Zuversicht erhoben, daß ein obehengemelter hochweiser Rath Albier in dieser Vorstehender vnd Intrettender Mess Vnsers gnedigen Fürstens vnd Herrens Verschiedener Vorpittschreiben Vns noch eine alß des anderen Weise großgunstig

genießen vnd in befürderung haben, Vnd darauff also verstaten werde wie die verruretter [früheren] Jahre also auch diese Messe, vnser Comoedias vnd Tragoedias zu agiren vnd zu spielen, Auch in Ansiehung wir mit großen Ohnkosten vnd staten Zu frue alhier ankommen, Zu der Vorigen Whol Vnd Gutthaten deren wir die Zeit Vnseres lebens in Vntherthanigkeit nit genugsamlich bedanken können, noch dieß Thun und Vorgenommen, daß wir biß Schierstkommenden Sambs- Vnd Sontag vnser Kost dardurch zu verdienen, mit denselbigen anfahren, vnd Alß dan des rechten Inganges der Mess vollends erwartten mögen.

Ein - solcher sind vmb E.E. Vnd E.F.W. vnterthäniges gehorsamß Vnd Vermögen iederzeit zu verdienen bereit vnd geflissen, Großgunstiger Willfhariger resolution vnd antwortt erwartende E.E. vnd E.F.W. Unterthanige Dienstwillige

Robert Braun, Johann Grün, Robert Ledbetter vnd Andere Fürstliche Hessische Commoedianten.

Next to the minute referring to the letter, Peter Brand discovered the following comment, that "bis dahin noch kein Mensch durch sein und seiner Gesellen Spiel geärgert, vielmehr zum Bespiegeln seiner Schwachheit und zum Ausüben aller Tugenden angereizt worden sei".⁹ The result of the application was positive, the EK were allowed to perform; but on condition "nichts vppiges zu agiren, bey straff 100. Thaler".¹⁰ The three main components of the letter are the appeal to precedent, the reference to the morally uplifting nature of their work and the hope for further permission to perform. The case is reinforced by the references to Maurice's patronage and further by the flattering and yet firm tone in which the request is couched. Once again we hear of the need to cover costs, and the size of the troupe, fifteen in all, suggests such costs would not have been small.

Certain details of the letter deserve particular attention. The status of Frankfurt as a "Free" city -

answerable formally direct to the Emperor - meant that the use of Maurice's name had to be handled with some care for fear that too aggressive an appeal to noble patronage might achieve the opposite outcome to the one desired. Experience had shown the EK that they could expect permission to perform, but with certain restrictions imposed to placate the church. In anticipation of such difficulties, they give central prominence to the educative function of their work, claiming, like Hamlet to the players, that theatre holds a mirror up to nature. Such an image was clearly felt to be persuasive in itself, no one being ungenerous enough to ask who held the mirror, who decided where it was to point and how the beholder was supposed to be able to discern good and evil in it. The appeal to moral rectitude also had its practical advantages, for it argued a strong case for performing on the prized day of the week, Sunday. Browne must have been well pleased by the reply he received.

The following Easter, Browne returned to Frankfurt having spent the winter in Kassel. His letter of March 17th. 1607 to the Frankfurt Senate is more subdued in tone and is significant precisely because of this difference:¹¹

Edele, Ehrnveste, Hochachtpare, Fürsichtige vnd Weisse, Grossgunstig gepietende Herren.
Nachdem durch E.E. vnndt F.E.W. Wir die Engelländische Comoedianten, ethlich verschiedene Jahr hero, begünstiget worden sindt, vnserre Comoetias vnndt Tragoedias so Inheimischen, so Ausslandern, zu exhibiren, vndt vor zu spielen, darmit sie zu freudt vnd leydts Zeitten darausser sie sich bespiegelten.
Nunmehr aber, durch des Allmächtigen sonderbarhe gnad, diese Instehende Frankfurther freye Mess, beneben E.E. vnd F.W. vor welcher gesundheit wir ihnen auch billich hertzliches Lob vnd Danck sagen, wir widerumb erlebt haben, darin derselbe getreue Gott abermahl auss allen Landtsarttarten Völker vnd Menschen wegen der Menschlichen geschlecht zu gutt erfundener Commerzien zusammenpringen vnd geleyten würdt.

So gelanget ahn E.E. vnd F.W. auch widerumb vnser
 Vnderthenige pitt, nochdemahl, Ob Gott wolle, auss
 vnseren Comoedien vnd Tragoedien niemands geärgert
 sondern mehrertheilss gefunden vnd gesehen, was ihm
 löblich vnd wohl angestanden, auch Hinwiderumb so
 viell Mensch vnd möglich zu fliehen gewest, vns auch
 diesse Mess erbar, vorigen begünstigungen nach, der wir
 vns Jederzeit bedancken. Auch allererst zu Rühmen
 vnvergessen sind zuvorerstatten, vnser neuere Spiel
 von Comoedien vnd Tragoedien allem volck vorzeigen,
 vnd zu exhibiren, dessen erpietens, dass wir vns
 dahin befleissen wollen, dass Menniglich dadurch
 ohngeärgert vndt ohnanstössig behaltten werde.
 Diesses abermahlen denn neben vorigen gütt vndt
 wohlthatten, darmit E.E. vnd E.F.W. vns nunmehr
 fast vberhaufet, vnserm obgleich geringfügigen nach
 vnder dienstlich vmb sie zu beschulden, wir aller-
 wegen Ingedenckh vnd bereit vndt pleiben wöllen, E.E.
 vnd F.W. grossgünstiger Resolution gewärtig E.E.
 vnd F.W. Vnderdienstwillige
 Robert Braun vnd Johan Grün Fürstliche Hessische
 Comoedianten von Cassell.

Most strikingly the references in the previous letter to
 Maurice are here substituted by references to God and
 His divine mercy. Although the EK handed in a letter from
 Maurice together with this application, we know from
 another source that there had been some sort of rift
 between patron and troupe during the winter of 1606-7.¹²
 Though the quarrel was patched up, it can only have been
 a temporary peace, for in 1608 we hear of Browne for
 the last time in Germany for ten years, and Green is
 rediscovered at the court of Graz. In a very brief time,
 therefore, a mood of confidence and comparative strength
 turns to one of vulnerability and weakness, and all the
 risks of the strolling players' profession seem to
 speak through the letter of March 17th. Likewise, the
 formulae about the uncontroversial nature of the plays
 performed take on a new meaning, as the danger of refusal
 looms larger. For all their success, the EK were rarely
 able to relax, and it is a considerable devaluation of
 their achievement to consider that, once established

and with little effective competition, their lives were then easy. Touring theatre is never easy and morale must have been tested by the constant need to apply for licences to perform.

The attraction of the spring and autumn fairs made Frankfurt the natural starting place for the summer tour and likewise a natural termination before the winter. But the fairs also make Frankfurt to some extent untypical of the "normal" EK performance centre. In this respect, Strasbourg is a perhaps more reliable guide to their experiences at city level. From 1597 to 1654 there are regular references to the EK in the Strasbourg archives.¹³ They paint together a reasonably full and comprehensive picture of the EK on tour and to this I now turn.

The first recorded visit by the EK was in August 1596, when Philipp Konigsman (Kingsman), "sambt noch eilff personen aus Engellandt Comoedispieler", asked for permission to perform.¹⁴ Thereafter, Johann Posset (Posset was the stage-name of the first great EK clown, Thomas Sackville), Browne himself, Richard Machin, Rudolph Reeve, also called Robert, John Green, John Spencer and Robert Reinold (Reynolds) are all recorded at least once in Strasbourg before 1618. Konigsman asserts boldly that he has played "bei Fürsten vnnd H[erren]", but does not offer a warrant to prove his point. Then comes the price - "1 batzen oder 4 dolchen" - pitched high, so the claim, "Den sie wegen der zehrung Irer selbs vnnd Roß vnd Fuhrman vil vncosten

anwenden müssen". The reasoning starts to sound familiar. The result was positive: "Erkant: Sollen Ihnen die 14 tag hie zu spielen erlaubt sein, doch dz sie nuhr 3 dolchen von der person nehmen sollen".¹⁵ The horse and driver suggest that they carried a moderate stock of costumes and props with them, which would probably have been supplemented by material loaned or scavenged from wherever they happened to be. The two weeks allowed for performance was common practice and the reduced price of 3 "dolchen" indicates more a desire to protect the audience from excessive charges than a fear that the EK would be unattractive at 1 "batzen". Indeed, the price of entry remains a constant feature in negotiations, the EK relentlessly pursuing their full "batzen".

A year later, on July 23rd. Thomas Sackville was applying to perform, and from his application we get the first indication of the size of the repertoire taken on tour. The minute refers to "Ire Commoedias, deren sie auf 14 haben, so wol weltliche alß geistliche", which sounds suspiciously precise: in the hope of fourteen consecutive days performing (including two Sundays) Sackville offers exactly fourteen plays and adds that some would be suitable for Sunday. His trick, if such it was, was spotted and he was allowed only eight days, but once again the argument about costs seems to have gone in the EK's favour. The entry price, however, stayed at three "dolchen". This same application also indicates how negotiations were conducted: the EK had first talked to "H.Schatz" and "H.Kniebs", the councillors in whose competence theatre licences fell. They in turn informed the council and permission was granted "dz sie morgen

vmb 1 vhr an dem ort, so sie Ihnnen erwehlt, spielen sollen", the councillors choosing the suitable venue. Likewise, the councillors were to put in an appearance so that noone else should take the allotted place.¹⁶

The next round of negotiations took place a week later when Sackville received permission to extend his run for another week, but one further attempt at extension on August 13th., despite a reference to "neue Commoedias", was turned down. It seems likely then that Sackville managed to play for three weeks, a common length of run, but that three weeks was the upper limit. The success he achieved in the short stay is implicit in a letter which was sent to the council on August 3rd. by Hans Bartolme Gressmann, who had a fencing school; he asks permission "vmb die vor dißem [i.e. on July 16th.] Im erlaubte, aber wegen Englischen Commoedianten selbs eingestellte Fechtschul den nechsten Montag nach Irem abreisen zuhalten zuerlauben".¹⁷ Clearly Gressmann's clientele favoured the EK more, and it may even be that they offered fencing training themselves.

The size of the EK troupe lay between ten and eighteen performers. In 1599, Browne arrived with 12 colleagues and twelve plays, and he also brought a new argument - "die strenge kälte" - for his demand for "1 batzen". Since he was travelling in December, the authorities probably felt the appeal lacked force and the customary 3 "dolchen" were allowed. Browne had also apparently promised a special performance for the council only, a ruse which was to be used with some regularity, but when he applied for an extension to his licence it was pointed out that he had not kept his promise. This disrespect to the

magistrate, Browne sought to excuse "wegen vilfeltiger geschefft"; but the minute records that he was tied to his promise; "Man soll Innen noch 8 tag erlauben, was sie agiren sollen, freystellen vnnd den Zinstag benennen".¹⁸ Once again the three week rule seems to have applied.

When Richard Machin arrived in Strasbourg in May 1605, he came well armed: "R i c h a r d u s M e c h i n u s von Londra alß Englischer Comoediant, der sey mit 16 personen angelangt, die hetten 24 schoner Comedien tragoedien vnd pastoral, die sie gantz zuchtig in andern Stetten vermög Irer vrkunden gespielt, auch 4 Jar lang bey landgraff M o r i t z e n gehalten, furnemblich der vrsachen dz sie ein solche Musicam haben, dergleichen nit baldt zu finden".¹⁹ The fact that Maurice was due in Strasbourg no doubt helped Machin get his way; but his application is significant in two other respects. The first is the reference to "pastoral" which is the first concrete sign of the beginnings of a distinctively court repertoire; the second, which glosses Admiral Howard's passport, is the particular mention of the musical skills of the EK. In June they were once again applying for a licence and this time specific mention is made of "ein Instrumental Music von sibem personen", no small number for a touring concern.²⁰ But interestingly, the leader is now Robert Reeve and one must assume that Machin left with Maurice.

Reeve was no amateur when it came to making excuses for extending a run: on July 13th., when the EK had already spun their stay out to two months, he applied once again for an extension. But this time patience had run out:

"Rudolph Riuius wegen Engellandischen Commoetianten dancken wegen verspurter [?] gunsten, u. d[iewei]l sie Ire pferdt nit alle vertriben können, betten sie Innen kunfftige wochen wie auch morgen zu spielen zu erlauben. wollen sie schone geistliche spiel agiren. Erk: Man soll Innen anzeugen, dz sie heut aller dings feurabent machen u. Irer gelegenheit nach vortziehen".²¹ There is more than a touch of Mr. Crummles in this exchange.

While Strasbourg is typical of nearly every city the EK visited, the independent minded city of Nürnberg, with its long tradition of popular drama, displays one or two variants in the negotiating process and an altogether more professional and rigorous judgement than its counterparts. The EK first visit Nürnberg in 1593 and are then regular visitors until the opening of the war. In 1620, Browne in fact returned from Prague via Nürnberg and tried unsuccessfully to obtain permission to perform.²² It was Browne who performed first in Nürnberg, and after him came troupes led by Sackville, Webster and Machin, and John Spencer. Not surprisingly, the name of Maurice of Hessen appears regularly in the minutes, and his influence, while no guarantee of success, was considerable.

Nürnberg was evidently well organised to deal with theatre performances. In 1596, Sackville is allowed to perform, and to charge the prized "batzen", but he is held strictly to his promise of a free performance - "doch das sie das erst spil jn St. Egidij closter vmbsonsten, jhrem selbst anerpieten gemeß, halten sollen".²³ The use of a closed space with a controllable point of entry was a technique well practised in Nürnberg for

public performance, allowing a strict control of the numbers going in, and how much was being actually charged for tickets.

From a minute of April 12th. 1600 we also learn about the EK's audience in the city: "Den vier Englischen comoedianten J o r g e n W e b s e r, J o h a n n H i l l, B e r n h a r d S a n d t vnd R e i n h a r d e n M a t s c h i n, soll man vergunstigen, das sie jre comoedias vnd spiel 14 tag alhie agiren mögen, dieweil das volckh sonst vffs landt laufft vnd jr gelt v[er]zehrt vnd nachdem sie einem Erb. Rhat zu vorderst jrer historien eine sehen lassen wollen, dem Erb. Georg [en] Starckh anzaigen, eine bünn, wie zuuor auch geschen, jm Augustiner-closter auffrichten zulassen".²⁴ The erection of a stage in Nürnberg was a routine affair, and the enclosed space had its advantages for the performers. But control also meant that the terms of the licence, which they often sought elsewhere to circumvent, were strictly kept. And as town councils noticed how successful the EK were it was not long before taxes like stage charges and levies on receipts occurred to city treasurers. This was no doubt one important factor in the ease with which licences seem, on the whole, to have been granted; and it may also be that the three week performance period was the optimum for the city's treasury.²⁵ At least the people's money stayed within city limits.

The Church and the City

The combination of noble patent and their guild-like right to trade made the EK a strong party in any negotiations held between their troupe leaders, or their agents, and

the city and the church. But to head off initial objections in principle, they were often careful to stress that their repertoire was both "weltlich" and "geistlich". To this was added, in one form or another, the argument, so clearly voiced in the letter of August 26th. 1606 to the Frankfurt Senate, that the theatre was an effective instrument in the cause of moral and religious education. This argument tended to work better in Catholic rather than Protestant cities, the Protestants, like their English counterparts, suspecting the devil in any actor. The expectation was, therefore, that, church or not, the licence to perform would be granted. Where the church could raise objections was in the matter of such details of performance as content of individual plays, times of performance and noise.

The first rumbles of church discontent in Strasbourg come during the Christmas period, 1600, when what seems to have been Browne's troupe returned to perform. While no explicit protest is recorded, the church manages to achieve a limitation on performance. The EK may play, "doch dz sie vnder den predigten still seyen bei straff 30 s., welchem m. Hn. niemand widerred".²⁶ Perhaps the church had complained the previous year and obtained a decision in principle from the council on banning performance during the hours of religious service. By 1605 the restriction has been toughened, and now Sunday performance is banned altogether.²⁷ Reeve's attempts to have the Sunday ban lifted were fruitless, with the exception of June 30th.

By 1606, the church clearly felt strong enough almost to attack the EK's right in principle to perform: "H. Amr. meldt, dz Kirchen Convent H. Nesser H. Lippen zu Ime

geschickt und begert, dz den Gaucklern Commoedianten verboten werde in Sontagen vnd den einfallenten beth-tagen nit zu spielen oder zu agiren. hetten auch begert, dz [man] sie im wercktag vnder den predigten nit solt lassen spielen, welches er Innen aber abgelehnt".²⁸ This refusal surely precluded what would have amounted to a virtual ban on performance, the church perhaps over-reaching in the extent of its demands. As a compromise, the EK were bound over not to perform at all on Sunday, not before mid-day on Saints' days and on workdays to make no noise around the Minster during the hours of religious office.²⁹ The church obviously met with no great success in their claim that the EK were "Gaucklern", and subsequent records show no further recourse to this attempt to discredit the acting guild.

When the wily John Spencer took his first troupe to Strasbourg in 1614, the Sunday ban was evidently part of the standard terms of the performance licence. But Spencer was a match for the council. First he invited them to a performance of the "e i n n e h m u n g d e r S t a t t C o n s t a n t i n o p e l", which he had recently performed for the Emperor in Regensburg.³⁰ On June 8th. the council gratefully accepted the offer, with the proviso "dz m. Hn. u. Ir frawenzimmer auf dem gang platz haben".³¹ Spencer repeated his invitation on June 20th. and succeeded in having his stay extended; but the Sunday ban remained in force. Time then for more subtle tactics: Spencer persuaded the church authorities to let his musicians play during the services, which gave him the necessary political weapon for a new assault on the council. The minute of July 2nd. summarises a

finely executed flank attack, successfully completed, on the gullible church:³²

Der Englandisch Commediant Johann Spensler erscheint und lest.... furtragen, weiln bei dieser Messzeyt gar viel spiel Leuth alhie, also dz sie vnderweilen vber 8 fl. nicht auffheben, so aber den kosten bei so vielen Personen nicht außtragen moege, Bitt er ihme die kunfftige beede Sontag zu vergoennen, dz sie auch agiren moegen, wolle er dazu richten, dz es zwüschen der Imbis vnnd der Abend Predig geschehe, vnd woelle gleich vmb 1. Uhr ahnfahen. Erkannt: Weilen demnach Ihren viel, vnnd sie vnnserer Religion bei den Predigern selbst favorizirt, darumb dz sie sich mit Ihrer Music alle Sontag, weiln sie hie, In den Kirchen vff den orgeln brauchen laßen vnnd gute disciplin halten, soll man ihn willfahren, doch dz sie geistliche spiel machen vnnd die Trummel vnd Tromp[et] der gaßen nicht ziehen laßen, sondern es dahien richten, dz sie vor der Abend Predig fertig seien.

It took the church until Monday July 25th. to regroup and counter Spencer, the EK's success having kept the flock away from church.³³

Nürnberg's regular experience of theatre explains perhaps why the church features less in licence negotiations there. A minute of February 3rd. 1604 records why a Sunday performance is refused: "man könne jhnen nit gestatten, der kirchen halb so in der nehe ligt, am sonntag ein zulauff zu machen".³⁴ A group of musicians was allowed to play on July 1st. 1608 on the condition "das es ausserhalb der zeit, da man jn der kirchen das ambt helt, geschehe".³⁵ A similar decision was made on June 22nd. 1613: "Ettlichen Englischen comedianten soll man, auff des churf[ürsten] zu Brandenburg furbitt, drey tag lang zu spielen erlauben, doch das sie erst nach der vesper spielen".³⁶ There is no evidence that the church took particular steps to prevent performance as the conventions were so clearly established to their benefit.

In summary therefore: the EK touring groups were relatively large - averaging about sixteen performers - and composed of both musicians and actors. The size of their repertoire was claimed to be as high as twenty-four different works, but from Andreas Gryphius's parody of the actors' repertoire in Herr Peter Squentz such claims are open to some doubt. This is not to say however, that the EK did not offer a wide and varied range of theatrical and musical entertainment. The standard length of stay in a city was three consecutive weeks, of which two were usually granted in advance and one further week permitted on reapplication. The church, while it had sufficient influence to prevent performance during the hours of service and, for the most part on Sundays, was very much at the mercy of the council in the extent of its rights of refusal. Above all, the EK clearly could count on a right to trade, and, good mercantilists as they evidently were, they traded to good purpose.

The Court

For all their success on tour, and even their willingness to tour in winter, the EK would have found it impossible to sustain their activities for so long without royal and aristocratic patronage. This enabled them both to find a secure haven for the winter months and, of course, to persuade city councils to allow them to perform. Princes impressed by English, and especially London, culture saw in the EK the chance to develop the life of their own courts in the manner of Elizabeth I's, and later James I's. So the EK had the dual responsibility of entertaining the court as court, and representing

that court to the outside world. But their duties on occasion went further still, acting as agents in transactions with London and even in minor ways as counsellors and companions.

The road to Germany was initially somewhat roundabout. Two groups of actors travelled with the Earl of Leicester on his 1585 expedition; one, a comedy duo of Will Kemp, the other consisting of five players. Leicester recommended all seven to his ally King Frederick II of Denmark³⁷ and the second group, after some negotiation, went from Denmark to Christian I of Saxony. In all, this tour lasted until July 1587, and it marks the start of the EK's development. In 1590 we know that the EK were in Leyden and it was perhaps the combined successes of the two types of encounter with European audiences, the one at court the other in the city, which prompted Robert Browne to undertake a well-planned, and extremely successful journey to Germany in February 1592. It may well have taken him this long to make all the necessary arrangements for his troupe.

The first stopping point was at the court of Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, son-in-law of Frederick II of Denmark, and himself a dramatist. The court of Wolfenbüttel was clearly influenced by the Elizabethan model, and Heinrich Julius's readiness to absorb English influence is immediately visible in the collection of plays he had printed following the arrival of Browne's company. Yet Browne was, even at this early stage, speculating on a career between city and court, and in the late summer of 1592 Browne was also applying for permission to perform

at the Frankfurt fair. From here his company divided, some remaining under Sackville at Wolfenbüttel, the rest entering Maurice of Hessen's service with Browne. The court at Kassel was perhaps the most advanced cultural centre in the German-speaking world. Maurice himself was a composer and he had as his court musician none other than Heinrich Schütz. Here in Kassel the EK also performed in the first known theatre in the German-speaking world, the "Ottonium".

While the period 1592-1608 was essentially orientated towards Protestant courts, the rift between Browne and Maurice of Hessen which seems to have been the cause of Browne's return to England in 1608 led to a broadening of activity. Green, Browne's deputy leader, took over the management of the Kassel troupe and moved across the religious divide into the service of the southern Catholics. Meanwhile the Machin/Reeve troupe, strong, as we know from the Strasbourg archives, in musical talent, took over from Browne at Kassel. As, however, both these leaders had also worked with Browne it seems quite likely that Browne had sufficient money and influence from his sixteen years of experience in the German-speaking world to have kept a share in both Green's and Reeve's companies, and it may perhaps have been his idea to divide their forces.³⁸

The most mobile of all the companies however, was John Spencer's which first appeared on the continent in Leyden in 1605. From there, on the recommendation of Eleanor of Brandenburg they were taken into service in Dresden. This was the springboard to a tour which took in Stettin, Königsberg, Danzig in the north and then

proceeded south to the service of the Emperor Mathias. Spencer was perhaps the least scrupulous of all the leaders, for in one of the surviving records from Köln we learn that he and eight members of his troupe became Catholic. This would not in itself be suspicious were it not for the evidence we have from Strasbourg of Spencer's skill in dealing with the church, and one wonders just how many conversions the good man experienced on his tour through Europe. He is last heard of in Nürnberg in 1623.

Kindermann³⁹ summarises the EK's dealings with courts well, but he does not have space for analysis of a typical court contract with the EK, such as the one that has survived from the court of Saxony, an early, yet typical example of what the EK were required to do:

BESTALLUNGSDEKRET

Von Gottes Gnaden, Wir Christian Herzogk zu Sachssen etc. Thuen khuendt gegen Jeder Mannigklich, Nachdem Vnsere liebe getreuen, Tomas Konigk, Tomas Stephan, George Beyzandt, Tomas Papst vnd Rupert Persten Auss Engelandt, Geyger vnd Instrumentisten, einen Zeittlangk bei der Koniglichen Würde zür Dennemarken gewesen die Vnsz Ire Kon. W. Zukommen lassenn, Das wir solche zu Dienst an Vnsern Hoff besteldt vnd auffgenommen, Vndt thun solchs hiemit vnd in crafft des brieffes, Das sie Vnsz getreu und dienstgewertigk vnd schuldigk sein sollen, Sich an Vnserm Hoffe wesentlich zu enthalten, Vnd do wir Raisen, Vns Vf Vnseren beuehlich Jedesmahls folgen, Wan wir taffel haltten, Vnd sünsten so ofte Inen solchs angemeldet wirdt, mit Iren Geygen vnd zugehörigen Instrumenten, auffwarten vnd Musiciren, Vns auch mit Ihrer Springkunst vnd andern, was sie in Zirligkeit gelernett, lüst vnd ergetzlichkeit machen, Vnd sich sünst gegen Vns vorhalten, vnd bezeigen, was getreuen vleissigen Dienern zustehet, eignet vnd gebüret, Welches sie also versprochen vnd zugesagt, Vnsz auch darüber sämbtlich einen Reuersz vbergeben habenn. Dakegen vnd Züergetzlichkeit

solcher Irer Dienste wollen wir Inen Järlich, so lange diese Vnsere Bestallung weret, Funfhundert taler, Zu den Vier quatemala Zeitten von dem 16. Octobris negst Vorschienen anzurechnen, Ausz Vnser Renth Kammer, Deszgleichen Jedem Järlich ein Kleidt, Und Viertzigk Thaler zu Haüsz Zinsz, oder herbrigen Geldt, vff sie alle Zugleich reichen, Vnd sie mit freien Tisch zu Hoffe, Auch wenn wir Raisen, freyen fhuer vorsehenn lassen. 40

The information offered is most valuable. Firstly, the sums of money the five are to receive are considerable, as Christian himself pointed out in his correspondence with Frederick. Then the wide range of skills is apparent, from music, through gymnastics to, one assumes dance and acting, which are covered by the general reference to "was sie in Zirligkeit gelernett". The fact that they are to travel with Christian emphasises the esteem in which he held them, and no doubt his train was all the more impressive with five English performers among its number. The word with particular resonance however, because it also features prominently in the title of the 1620 collection is "ergetzlichkeit", which might be taken as the most characteristic expression of the audience's expectation of what the EK would offer. 41

While Christian's contract stresses the role the EK have as part of his retinue, Maurice's personal contract with Browne makes him more of a companion and master-of-the-revels. It is agreed that Browne "jeder Zeitt schuldig unnd bereitt sein soll, uff unser erforderenn unnd begeren neben seiner gesellschaft unns allerley Artt Lustiger Comoedian, Tragoedien, unnd Spiele wie wir dieselben entweder selbst erfinden unnd ihme angeben werden, oder er vor sich wissen oder erfinden wurt, Anstellen unnd halten, auch sowohl in Musica Vocali als Instrumentali wie auch in allen Andern sachen darinnen

wir Ihnen geubtt erfahren, unnd dinlich wissen guttwillig unnd unverdrossen gebrauchen Lassenn [...] ".⁴² Browne has first to assent to giving Maurice his "gesellschaft", and only second to the various artistic demands in the contract. That this "gesellschaft" could, in practice, mean running arms, we have already seen; but perhaps more significant is the fact that, as a discerning artist, Maurice would hardly have made this sort of contract with a man who had left London because he was not good enough to get employment there. Rather, Browne, like John Dowland, went abroad because he was so good: singer, instrumentalist, actor, writer and gentleman's companion, Browne was something of a Philip Sidney of the European stage.

Some measure of the impact the EK had immediately on German theatre may be gained from a cursory examination of Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig's play, Von einem Buler und Bulerin (1593)⁴³, written the year following the EK's arrival at his court. The full title smacks of the EK, although Heinrich Julius no doubt gave as good as he got: "Von einem Buler und Bulerin/ Wie derselben Hurerey und Unzucht/ Ob sie wol ein zeitlang verborgen gewesen/ gleichwol entlich an den tag kommen/ und von Gott greulich gestraffet worden sey. Jedermenniglich zur Lere und Vermanung mit fleis fürgestellet". The defence of Vice on stage is the same as the EK's to the Frankfurt Senate.

This play is written for "17. Personen", probably by no coincidence, a typical EK troupe size, and four are named as musicians. Like the EK's work, it contains the ever-popular collection of devils, and, again like theirs,

these are comic rather than frightening. Most distinctive of all is character 14 on the list, "Johan Bouset", the clown whom Thomas Sackville created, and who was later to inspire Pickelhering. Von einem Buler und Bulerin, in both plot and structure, works like a Pickelhering jig: the fair, and hitherto chaste, Dina is married to the elderly drunkard Joseph. Not surprisingly, Joseph does not have the physical capability to satisfy Dina's needs and retreats every night to the pub. Dina's chaste tolerance of her husband is suddenly threatened by the appearance in church of the handsome French cavalier, Pamphilus, who is as smitten with Dina as she with him. The familiar cuckold story then takes its course, interspersed with interludes when Johan Bouset, whose greatest handicap is his total honesty, recounts to the audience the comic twists of the plot. This half-choric, half-catalytic function also characterises Pickelhering's role in the EK's own work.

The central conflict of the play is, however, less between lover and husband than between the truth and dishonesty; infidelity to one's husband is only one aspect of a much more fundamental sinfulness, pride in oneself. The full extent of this pride is revealed only in the closing, self-accusatory oration of Dina over the body of her dead lover, when the comic mood turns suddenly sour. This reversal of fortune is a device that also features significantly in the dramaturgy of many EK works. It has however, a dimension to it that is clearly Faustian, for Pamphilus, the proud lover, makes a pact with the devil in order to discover the address of Dina:

P a m p h i l u s. Ich will dir alles geben/ was du von mir wünschest unnd begerest/ nichts ausbescheiden.

S a t y r u s. Sol es gewisse sein?

P a m p h i l u s. Ja/ es sol gewiß sein/ Sihe/
da hastu meine Handt. (pp.286-7)

The outstretched hand, anticipatory as it is of Don Juan's descent to Hell, seals this Faustian pact, and the devils do indeed take the dead body of Pamphilus off with them. This Faustian influence is no accident, as we know from a report of the EK's performance in 1592 that Browne's troupe brought several plays with them by the "dort im Inselland gar berühmten Herren Christopher Marlowe".⁴⁴ Likewise, the 1620 collection contains a good deal of similar devilry.

Pride leads the lovers to the pursuit of pleasure, which in turn is their downfall. Pleasure has a distinctly French accent to it, both in word and deed. Pamphilus dances a "Galliart" for Dina, and talks to her about the "Plesant" he wishes to make her. He then, sin of sins, instructs her in the French art of make-up, in which French women are far more developed than their German counterparts. It is a curious premonition of the course of German culture after 1618. All this is summarised in "ergetzlichkeit", a word which, significantly, Dina introduces into the conversation she holds with Pamphilus:

D i n a. Machet mit mir kundtschafft/
Da habt ihr ja noch ein wenig mehr ergetzlichkeit an/ als
an so einem alten Kerl. (p.296)

Woman is evidently more to blame than man for the proud ignoral of God's word than man. This dialectic between pride and repentance, "Ergetzlichkeit" and what Dina later describes as "Hoffart", is one of the principal themes of the EK's work: and when she cries "Meine Sünde sind grösser/ als das sie mir können vergeben werden",

she anticipates, almost word for word, the crisis in the life of the EK's Prodigal Son. (p.328)

The final significant similarity between Von einem Buler und Bulerin and the EK's repertoire lies in its precise and effective stage directions. The EK's 1620 collection is rich in stage directions, and Heinrich Julius shows himself in this respect very much the Komoediant. When Pamphilus falls for Dina, he is given the following clear indication of how to behave:

(Schweiget stille/ und reisset die Kleider auff/
Wirfft den Mantel und Huet von sich/ unnd stellet sich/
als wenn er gar furiosus were.
Schweiget abermal gar stille dabey/ Leufft auff dem Platz
herumb/ kratzet die Haer/ legt sich einmahl nieder/ und
stehet dann wieder auff/ unnd legt sich wieder nieder/
unnd bleibet entlich ligen.) (p.283)

The awareness of the power of the visual sequence that so typifies the EK is fully absorbed into Heinrich Julius's working method. But it is unlikely that the master did not learn as well from the aristocratic pupil. At both the courts of Braunschweig and Hessen-Kassel, the EK had an ideal opportunity to study the nature of local taste, and to begin to mould their own style to the German. That they had a quick pupil no doubt helped, for good pupils tend to encourage masters to greater efforts. At the same time, we may assume that the nature of the exchange between the two parties was not restricted to the much discussed Jan Posset, important though he doubtless was.

The broad similarity between the EK's and Heinrich Julius's dramaturgy has one further implication when read in the context of Maurice's contract with Browne. Browne went to Wolfenbüttel, as Sackville stayed in Braunschweig, as a form of artistic director, a master of revels.

Both men's duties went well beyond those of actor-singer, Browne's as far as arms trader. They were both not only in a position to influence taste, but to be influenced by it, a situation which gave their stays at court something of the character of "Lehrjahre", during which they acquired the skills that were to make them such successful "Meister". Sackville, strikingly enough, graduated to financial not artistic master, as did his colleague Kingsman in Strasbourg. Neither his nor Browne's progress accords with a view that the EK were the overspill of a London stage.

As late as 1612, twenty years after Browne's opening tour, the EK, this time under Browne's former pupil Robert Reeve, were admired for their skill and novelty, and their ability consistently to renew and overhaul their repertoire was decisive in their continuing success. The Nürnberg Patrician Starck witnessed a guest performance in Nürnberg with great pleasure: ⁴⁵

Den 20., 21., 22. vnd 23. Oktobris haben etliche Engelender, des Landgraffen Zu Caßel in Heßen bestalte Comedianten, Auß vergunstigung des Herrn Burgermeisters Jm Halßprunner Hoff alhie etliche schone vnd Zum theil Jnn Tēutschlandt vnbekandte Comedien vnd tragoedien vnd darbey eine gute liebliche Musica gehalten, Auch allerley wölsche tantze mit wunderlichem vertrehen, hupfen, hinter vnd fur sich springen, vberworffen vnd andern seltzamen geberten getrieben, welches lustig Zu sehen; dahin ein groß Zulauffen von Alten vnd Jungen, von Man vnd weibs Personen, auch von Herrn deß Raths vnd Doctorn geweßen, den sie mit Zweien trummeln vnd 4 trometen in der Statt vmgangen vnd das volckh vfgemohnet vnd ein Jede person solche schone kurtzweillige sachen vnd spiel Zu sehen ein halben Patzen geben mueßen, dauon sie, die Comoedianten, ein groß geld vfgelohben vnd mit ihnen auß dieser Statt gebracht haben.

Since the EK were elsewhere able to charge a whole "batzen", the implication is that the mayor set the ticket price: but even the half-batzen they were allowed brought the EK a sizeable income.

The most significant aspect of the report, however, is its positive tone, for in Nürnberg, of all cities the richest in local dramatic tradition, the standard of judgement must have been high. The acrobatic dancing and the comic behaviour, taken together with the delightful music clearly made a good entertainment. We also have, once again, a description of the favoured advertising method, a parade of drums and trumpets through the streets. By 1612, this signal must have become as familiar to city audiences as the ice-cream man's jingles to children now.

The Church and Court

In both Catholic and Protestant courts, the EK were not only welcome but had little to fear from church interference in their activities. In the South, the Jesuits in particular, with canny good grace, decided to use the popularity and skill of the foreign visitors to improve the techniques of their own martyr plays. In the North, at least at Pommern-Wolgast, the church was by no means acquiescent. The EK's popularity in the South is evident from the ease with which Green and his troupe moved from Kassel to Graz; in Pommern-Wolgast the EK were resident for longer than at any other court.

From the Fasching festivities at Graz, a letter has survived which both adds significantly to our knowledge of the EK's repertoire at the time, but also illuminates the Jesuit position vis à vis the EK. The Archduchess Magdalena, writing to her brother relates "wie wöll denn Engellender das Tanzen gefallen hat", and lists, not always by name, their repertoire. Here we learn that Fortunatus was part of the programme, surely not, as Kindermann

writes, in Dekker's, but rather in the EK's own version.⁴⁶ Most significant however, is the information she offers about two plays, performed one after the other, the first by the Jesuits, the second by the EK. She tells with pleasure of the Jesuit piece "v o n l a u t e r v o l l e n l e u t e n", and then of the EK's "Comedi [..] von dem r e i c h e n m a n n v n d v o n d e m l a z a r u s [..]".⁴⁷ The naturalness with which she reports the event signals how the event was itself natural, the EK fitting comfortably into a Jesuit-influenced court: and this suggests a further political dimension to the EK's success, one that was to gain in importance during the Counter-Reformation, as feeder of ideas to those using drama for propagandist purposes. The EK's crowd-pulling ability meant that they were the natural tutors for the Jesuits in popular education and entertainment. From two contemporary sources come confirmation of the Jesuit skill in theatre, one of which relating that skill to the EK quite directly.

The first such source is Die Grewel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts (Ingolstadt, 1610), by Hippolyt Guarinonius, a Jesuit-trained doctor at the Austrian court.⁴⁸ He states that Aristotle had affirmed the value of "ergötzlichkeit dess gemühts", and uses this to support the claim that "d i e C o m o e d i e n / T r a g o e d i e n v n n d S c h a w s p i e l d i e g w a l t i g s t e n v n d f ü r n e m b s t e n / d a s s m e n s c h l i c h g e m ü h t z u e r f r e w e n [..]".⁴⁹ "Dergleichen schaw- vnd hörspiel seyn der zeit im Teutschland zufinden/ vnd dern Comoe- dianten/ wie ich selbst gesehen auss den Nider- vnd Engell-

ändischen Stätten/ so von eim ort zum andern herumb ziehen/
 vnd jre lächrige bossen vnd gauckelspiel/ doch ohne ungebür/
 vmb dass gelt denen/ so es zusehen vnnd hörn begeren/
 zimlicher massen/ soviel man in Teutscher Sprach vnd
 geberden zuwegen bringen kan/ verrichten".⁵⁰ The suggestion
 is that in the pursuit of "ergötzlichkeit", and of comic
 beauty, a man's health may be maintained, or even improved.
 This theory of drama smacks distinctly of Aristotle's
Poetics, a neat substitution being effected of "ergötzlig-
 keit" for "catharsis": the arousal of humour and beauty
 has the beneficent effect, according to Guarinonius, that
 Aristotle claims for pity and fear. Nor, in view of the
 preface to the 1620 collection, is it impossible that
 the EK themselves quite consciously pursued such an
 aesthetic. Whatever else, the EK certainly knew that
 comedies tend to draw larger crowds than tragedies.

Guarinonius also takes up one of the themes in
 classical philosophical disputes, whether art has a
 beneficent or corrupting effect, and he comes down firmly
 on art's side:⁵¹

E i n f ü r t r e f l i c h e r / h e r r l i c h e r /
 h o c h l ö b l i c h e r / n u t z e r b r a u c h
 in vilen vnd den namhafftern orten vnd Stätten/
 Teutschen sowol als Welschen vnd andern manchen Lands/
 dern schaw vnd Hörspielen erdacht/ vnd öffentlich ans
 liecht gebracht/ vnd bissher in guter vbung gehalten
 worden/ dadurch nit allein die eusserlichen vnd
 viehischen ohren vnd augen/ sonder auch die vernünfft-
 igen/ vnd nit allein die jungen vnd leichtfertigen
 Menschen/ sonder auch die alten vnd verständigen/
 die hohen vnd nidern stands/ die geistlichen vnd
 weltlichen/ mit einem wort alle Menschen vberauss
 nit allein ergötzt/ sondern auch bewegt werden.

The crucial statement is the very last one, in which the
 pleasure the audience experiences is made the means by
 which they are also moved, and once again we are on terr-
 itory covered by Schiller in his "Letters". Guarinonius

also applauds the Jesuits for their special interest
in the theatre:

Diese nutzbare/ schöne vnd Gottselige schaw vnn
hörspiel haben neben andern vnzahlbarn gutthaten
vnn wercken/ die niemals gnug gelobte/ trew-
hertzige/ hochverständige/ hochgelehrte/ tugend-
reiche/ Geistliche/ Gottselige

H e r r e n d e r S o c i e t e t J e s u
mit sonderer Gnad vnd mitwürckung Gottes vilen
tausenden frommen Seelen zu sonderm nutz von
anfang erweckt/ ins werck vnd trefliche vbung
gebracht/ dardurch sonderlich die liebe Jugend zu
Gottseligem Wandel/ zu zucht vnd ehr/ zu künst-
licher abrichtung in den freyen vnn hohen Künsten⁵²
wunderlich erfrischt vnd auffgemundert wirdt [c.] .

Guarinonius's style itself reveals affinities with the
EK's, and his defence of theatre is similarly close to
the tone of the preface to their collection. Perhaps
most significant is his ordering of "nutzbar", "schön"
and "Gottselig" as the three concepts by which theatre
in the service of religion can be justified. The most
substantial difference between the Jesuits and the EK
at this time was that the EK wanted payment in "batzen",
while the Jesuits required payments of souls.

Unbeknown to him, Guarinonius had an ally in
Lord Bacon in his defence of the theatre, although
Bacon is a much more reluctant admirer of the Jesuits
than Guarinonius:

It will not be amiss to observe also, that even
mean faculties, when they fall into great men or
great matters, sometimes work great and important
effects. Of this I will adduce a memorable example;
the rather, because the Jesuits appear not to despise
this kind of discipline; therein judging (as I think)
well. It is a thing indeed, if practised professionally,
of low repute; but if it be made a part of discipline,
it is of excellent use. I mean stage-playing: an art
which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and
effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a
decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives
not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to
bear being looked at. 53

There is then, potentially at least, a sense in which men like Browne would have been understood as "masters" in a strictly educational capacity, and it is not impossible that Maurice retained Browne in part in such a role. The theatre, as we are familiar from Shakespeare, is to be understood as metaphor of the world, the actor therefore the representer of the traffic of the world in metaphoric, model form. Those, like Browne, who are responsible for the manner in which such metaphors are shown, or, to use the mirror metaphor, those who decide where the mirror is to be pointed, are in a position of decisive importance, since they determine the curriculum their audience have to "study".

While the EK were doubly welcome in a Counter-Reformation court, in a strictly Protestant atmosphere they seemed to the pastor the work of the devil and the Pope combined. Such was the case at the court of Pommern-Wolgast, the seat of Duke Philipp Julius. Philipp Julius had spent a part of his student life in England, namely from September 10th. to October 3rd. 1602, and in this time he had occasion to visit the theatre. In 1604 he was formally declared to have come of age, and took over the business of government himself. It is likely that soon after his majority, he brought an EK troupe to his court, for in April 1606 there are signs that his extravagance, not least in respect of his support for his resident actors, was causing difficulties. Later in the same year matters came to a head when the pastor, Gregorius Hagius, fired off a salvo of letters at both Duke and his mother, with the express purpose of banishing the devil from their court.⁵⁴

According to a pained entry in the Hausbuch des Herrn Joachim von Wedel, there was some cause for concern: "weil der hertzog seine Sachen noch zu weniger frugalität angestellet, sondern vielmehr täglich die übermasse der Zehrung sich immer häufet, inmassen er denn neulich etliche und zwantzig Engländer, musicanten, springer tändler und der pussenreisser, so die artes voluptarias üben und anders nirgends zu nützen[.]"⁵⁵ Maurice evidently knew how to get a better deal from his actors than Philipp Julius. The "pussenreisser" was probably Reynolds and it was this troupe and its successors which Fredén believes came into contact with Friedrich Menius, so setting the scene for the 1620 collection. Hagijs's wrath grew during the following summer until, provoked perhaps by one of Reynolds's practical jokes, he could take no more. His first letter, of August 25th. is lost, but the second, of the following day survives. He heads his request: "Des Hofpredigers Magistri Gregorij/pitte und erinnerung ahn die herrschafft vnd Rätthe, das die Englische Comoetianten Thren in der Schloßkirchen zu Loitz vffgebawten Spielplatz wieder vffnehmen muchten".⁵⁶ One can hardly have expected the poor man to have reacted in any other way, unless perhaps to resign his office. He then, referring to the Duke in passing as "einem Evangelischen Fürsten", appeals to his Christian conscience by stating "wie nachteilich vnd gefährlich vnserer reinen Religion diß sein werde, das dieselbe E.F.G. auslendische Diener, in dem Haus Gottes, welches ein Bethaus ist, Ire possen, steckerey, tantz, lieder vnd fantasey vorhaben vnd treiben, vnd also ein Spielhaus, ein Tantzplatz, ein Possenkram vnd Narrenmarckt davon machen[.]"⁵⁷ We have his anger to thank for the

full list of the EK's shameful activities, which once again confirms the rich variety of their skills.

A passage later in the letter has particular resonance when read next to Spencer's masterly outflanking of the Strasbourg council. Hagius states the EK are not: "vnseres glaubens, sondern vnserer Religion feind sindt, auch vber das allerlei hochergerliche vnd vnchristliche thorheit vnd leichtfertigkeit, wie ich glaubwürdig berichtet werde, mit unterzumengen pflegen sollen".⁵⁸ Hagius apparently remained unconvinced by the thought of a broad Protestant alliance; and like certain more recent opponents of the evils of the stage, he felt it unnecessary actually to have witnessed the sins he decries. Closing with the warning that the EK might bring God's wrath down upon the house of Pommern-Wolgast, (was this why Philipp had no heir?) he repeats his request for action.

Hagius's energy was by no means sapped by this first letter and on the same day, August 26th., he assailed Philipp Julius's mother. This letter contains two most useful pieces of information. The first concerns the EK's use of biblical sources; as Hagius puts it they "mit h e i l i g e n H i s t o r i e n v o m I s a a c v n d a n d e r e n auswexeln vnd durchstecken, vnd alß Gottes nam vnd wort zum Schanddeckel Irer leichtfertigkeit vnd thorheit (.die sie ex professo treiben.) verkehren vnd mißbrauchen wollen".⁵⁹ Hagius is not afraid of calling a spade a spade, and in contrast to Guarinonius, for whom the theatre was a place of beauty, Hagius sees both theatre and those who profess it as frivolous and foolish. The use of the Bible as a source is merely an excuse for the most reprehensible of activities and Hagius

makes it quite clear that he is not impressed by the EK's claim to be performing "sacred" plays. This in turn glosses the EK's own use of the argument that their repertoire was a balanced mixture of sacred and profane: the argument itself was not convincing, but their audience was very willing to be persuaded. The second is that the range of plays the EK performed from biblical sources was much wider than the two represented in the 1620 collection suggest, for, taken in conjunction with Archduchess Magdalena's letter, the evidence is that the EK were telling the truth about their repertoire.

Three more letters followed on August 27th. none of which survives, and finally on August 28th. Hagius wrote a manifesto-like summary of his position. There are four main headings, followed by a tirade against the EK as enactors of the devil's will. Headings 1., 3. and 4. offer nothing new: the EK are not of the right religion, they dare to present profane topics in church and, rather vaguely, they have done unchristian things. But heading 2. is most helpful:⁶⁰

2. Weil Ire Comedien in vn bekannter sprach geschrieben sindt und agirt werden, das man nicht weis, wer der Meister vnd Dichter derselben, was darinnen neben den Historien selbst tractirt vnd eingebracht wirdt, ob es Gottes Wort, dem Christlichen Glauben, vnserer reinen Evangelischen Religion, der gottesfurcht, zucht vnd erbarkeit gemes sey oder nicht.

The popularity of the Bible as a source for the EK is simply explained - it offered them a wide range of plots that their audiences could follow even if the performance was held in English. More striking is Hagius's genuine fear of an unknown tongue, a fear that testifies eloquently to a society easily led to believe in devilry and magic.

Hagius's fear is that under cover of English, all sorts of naughty things might be being said, although it is hard to imagine his flock taking much harm from this as their own knowledge of English would surely not have surpassed his. His use of "Meister" confirms the prevalent view of touring actors as members of a, perhaps disreputable, guild.

In his anger Hagius regards the EK as being as bad "als wenn der Teufel selber in vnserer kirchen predigte vnd Sacrament reichte".⁶¹ And this theme of devilry surfaces again in his apparent condemnation of the EK as both Zwinglian and Papist at one and the same time:⁶²

Denn eben darumb, weil die Actorn Calvinisch oder Bäbstisch, vnd also Corruptores oder Verfelscher der Schrifft, oder ja solcher leüt jünger vnd nachfolger, vnserer Religion aber feind vnd widersprecher sindt, so sollen wir Irer vermeinten geistlichen hendel, sie predigens, oder singens oder spielens vns für, durchaus müssig gehen, vnd vielmehr es dafür halten, das wir durch anhörung oder schauung der Zwinglianer vnd Papisten action, bevorab, wenn sie in vnserer Kirchen zu halten verstattet wirdt, vns Ires Antichristlichen vnd Sacramentirischen falschen glaubens, wo nicht teilhafftig, doch verdecktig machen, das wir In heimlich approbiren, sie darinnen stercken vnd Inen heücheln, welches aber vnchristlich vnd hochverweißlich ist.

The EK were perhaps flattered at the powers Hagius ascribes to them: but, more significantly, the arguments Hagius advances are almost mirror-images of those offered by Guarinonius, the one seeing the seductive power of the theatre as the devil's work, the other interpreting just this power as the highest beauty and thus a step on the road to God.

Hagius closes his letter with a gesture of reconciliation,

suggesting that if performances are really necessary, why not use local, and right-thinking, talent? Philipp Julius would hardly have spent so much money on foreign actors if he had thought his own subjects could entertain him so well, and not unexpectedly he ignored Hagius's mixture of threat and plea. The EK were nowhere better served than at the court of Pommern-Wolgast.⁶³

The church at court was even less influential than in the city when it came to decisions about the EK. The skilful churchmen, particularly the Jesuits, swam with rather than against the tide of taste, with the result that they were able to secure their own position and develop their own propaganda. The high-minded, or perhaps the naive, held out for an uncompromising rejection of foreign influences, but to no evident avail.

A "bridge" performance: the Kaiser in Regensburg

Within the general representative function of the ruler's train, the actors had a special place as the most popular manifestation of his splendour. Christian I of Saxony and Maurice of Hessen both made it conditions of service that their actors should travel with them, and Browne's journey to Prague with Elector Frederick had, in part at least, a representative function. An illuminating example of a ruler's use of actors to present himself to his people is offered by the Emperor Mathias's entry in Regensburg in 1612, with John Spencer in his train. It is not clear what part, if any, Spencer took in the actual entry, but he was allowed to set up stage in the city centre to perform to the masses: "Ein Engländer hatte seine Comödien darin und hatte ungeheuren Zulauf. Bei

der Einnahme von Constantinopel, die er am ersten Tag vorstellte, nahm er über 500 Gulden ein".⁶⁴ He could not have made an apter choice, nor one more likely to suit the public relations needs of his employer. The war with the Turks was by no means over and any convincing bolster to morale would have been welcome to Mathias. The chances are high that Mathias required Spencer to perform such a work, and Mathias would have been no more than typical as ruler in exploiting this type of theatrical event. Spencer did doubly well from the play: as we saw, he took it on tour, showing the work in Strasbourg. But he was also well paid: "Denn Vierundzwainzigsten October Ain Taussenth Sechshundert Drei Zehenntes Jarrs, bezallte ich Johann Speeser Engellenndtischen Commedianten, so auf dem Reichstage, zu unterschiedlichenmallen, vor Ir. Kay. ast. x. gespüllt, seine verwilligte Verehrung, lautt seiner Quitung mit zwaihundert gulden reinisch - id est 200 fl."⁶⁵ One can only assume Mathias valued Spencer's services, and we know that his link with the emperor continued at least until 1617, when he was once again being paid off.⁶⁶ Player "kings" like Spencer, schooled in the wide world of the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage were of political as well as aesthetic and religious significance.

Language

When the EK first came to Germany they performed in English, and subsequent new arrivals, such as the troupe in Pommern-Wolgast, evidently performed in English as well. But it would not have taken a business-like leader long to recognise the advantages of performing in

German to Germans. Nor would it be right to overstate the nature of the EK's achievement in acquiring sufficient linguistic skill to perform in German. The English nation's present inability to conceive of languages other than its own as having any value was, at the least, less pronounced in the sixteenth century, and, as I have discussed, England's close affinity with the rest of Europe ensured a much more active cultural exchange than is often allowed. Sidney, it will be remembered, went abroad to learn languages,⁶⁷ and while one might not expect the lower classes to have either the will or opportunity to travel to the same purpose, there was no great psychological barrier to learning another language. Indeed, the urge to trade, or even, as in Moryson's case, sheer curiosity, made acquiring languages only natural across a relatively wide social range. As soon as the EK recognised that the new market they had discovered for their wares was both rich and willing they would - sheer logic dictates - have quickly learned to speak the language of the market place. And, again following classic business development, the successful opening of a new foreign market was followed by the establishment of a base in that foreign country. Here the process of product management led quite naturally to the evolution of a hybrid product based on extended experience of the new market; and the 1620 collection is just such a hybrid product.

It is again, perhaps, English insularity - as seen from outside - that has led commentators like Fredén to the conclusion that no Englishman could have composed plays such as the 1620 collection represents. I would not wish to turn Browne or Green into linguistic geniuses,

but I can see no reason why Browne, with perhaps a total of eighteen years experience of working in Germany, and Green, with possibly as many as thirty in unbroken sequence, could not have compiled a collection such as the one published in 1620. Even the problem of authorship itself may be misleading. By their nature, touring companies like the EK tend to produce working scripts as a group process, and it is seldom possible to tell where a particular idea for a scene, or even a play, originated. In maintaining a considerable repertoire, however, the troupe leader would have needed to rehearse from prepared scripts since it cannot have been possible to rewrite material, as Green did with Jemand und Niemand, for every new performance - even at court.

It is practical considerations such as these that Gundolf's criticism of the EK's language does not take into account. Whereas a company at a permanent theatre like the Globe can rehearse in its spare time, travelling companies use their spare time for travelling, and for negotiating new performance licences. Complex poetic texts necessarily demand more detailed, and time-consuming rehearsal, of the kind the EK could not afford. But the question is not as simple as poetic versus realistic stage language. For the most "poetic" moments in the theatre tend to be the simplest. When Leontes says "Oh, she's warm" it is not the complexity of imagery, the linguistic grandeur that impresses, but the sheer fact of the simplicity of the statement at such a moment. This is not to deny Shakespeare's vast linguistic superiority over the EK, but in respect of their awareness of how to deploy purely theatrical devices the distance between them was

considerably smaller.

One indication of how the EK mastered the language barrier at a time when only a limited number of performers knew German, or when new members were being trained, is given by the report of a performance in Münster on November 26th. 1601. "Den 26. Novembris sindt alhir angekommen elven Engellender, so alle jungi und rasche Gesellen waren, ausgenommen einer, so tzemlichen alters war, der alle dinge regerede. Dieselben agerden[.]in ihrer engelschen Sprache".⁶⁸ It is possible that Browne had returned to England in the summer of 1601 after performing in Strasbourg and brought a new group with him, and it would certainly fit with his function that he should direct the performance. But he was also, by implication, directing the audience, instructing it not just in the movements of the plot, but also, more tacitly in the new performance idiom the EK brought: "Sie hetten bei sich einen schalkes naren, so in duescher sprache vielle bötze und geckerei machede under den ageren, wenn sie einen neuen actum wolten anfangen und sich umbkledden[.]".⁶⁹ Half-way between audience and performers, half-way linguistically between English and German, the clown seems simultaneously to have concentrated the audience's attention on the performance and disturbed the naturalistic flow of the plot. He mediates therefore, not only between the spectator and the spectacle but also between reality and fiction; he, perhaps, holds the mirror that is so often discussed.

One senses in the word "rasch" one clue to the EK's

appeal. In their self-confident professionalism, their knowledge of influential support, their awareness of a growing reputation they drew on those social energies that make actors, and writers, strong, charismatic - the feeling of being at the heart of society, at once its motor and its most subtle representative. This gave their style a quick, confident, boldly compressed manner, full of the sort of physical and psychological energy that is required for rapid shifts from gymnastic dancing to lyric singing. It was not just the fact that the EK brought new skills with them that impressed, but that they deployed them at such a pace, and in such complexity that made them so remarkable. Such qualities tend to be ensemble-based, dependant on years of regular cooperation between the key members of a group. Shakespeare benefited greatly from regular and critical contact with as gifted a group of actors as there has perhaps been. The EK, while not breathing quite the same heady air, were masters of ensemble performance.

Women

Joris Jolliphus, the principal EK leader after the Peace of Münster(1648) had terminated the Thirty Years' War, is known to have included women performers in his troupe. His activities lie beyond the scope of this work, but they prompt the question as to whether women had in fact been performing earlier on the German stage. The reference to "consortsz" in the 1592 passport is enigmatic but provides no evidence of women players. But of all the leaders who might have taken such a step, Spencer seems the most likely.

In 1597, Sackville and two other members of his troupe had their wives with them in Frankfurt, Sackville perhaps already planning his defection to the world of Frankfurt commerce.⁷⁰ But it is Spencer who leaves the more enigmatic traces: in 1613, he is using his wife to take money on the door, as a record from Rothenburg shows.⁷¹ The presence of a woman may well have boosted custom, and while it cannot strictly be counted as part of the performance it constituted a significant step in that direction. In 1615, his wife joins him in his "conversion" to Catholicism, which may well have been one of many.⁷² We cannot tell whether Spencer ever risked putting his wife into a show; but her presence must have affected the attitude to women in the theatre, and the more "normal" it was considered to be that the EK included women, the more likely the breakthrough became that women would start to perform.

The three estates, court, council and church, and a fourth, the "volck", as they are described in Nürnberg, in determining the audience the EK had to please, or placate, also determined the principles of their repertoire. Actors who have to live off patronage and the box-office cannot afford to lose sight of their audience's wishes. The 1620 collection satisfies all tastes. There are plays based on the Bible, plays about kings and princes, plays about merchant adventurers and Pickelhering jigs. No less remarkable than the fact that from 1592 to 1620 city and court seemed to have closely allied tastes in theatre is the fact that in one volume such a wide range of taste should be represented. This gives some

weight to the EK's claim to be holding up the mirror to nature as a whole, and it also suggests that the similarities between court and city taste up to 1620 outweigh the differences. Heinrich Julius shows no sign of prudishness, but no sign of aristocratic self-satisfaction either, in displaying the antics of his subjects. The EK found him a ready pupil and a generous patron.

If we then measure the EK's organisational and tactical achievements in terms of the four headings with which I concluded the previous chapter, patronage, trading experience, cultural orientation and belief in the theatre we can say with some precision what those achievements were:

- 1) Patronage. Launched into Europe with the backing of men like Leicester, the EK succeeded in two remarkable ways in securing patrons. Firstly, they built a base for themselves in the northern Protestant courts, but secondly, they crossed the religious border with ease and did just as well in the Catholic south. This security at court gave them the freedom, and the diplomatic weight, to pursue their tours.
- 2) Trading Experience. The relative ease with which the EK established their right to perform, and the generous conditions under which they, for the most part, had to operate in respect of censorship and income indicate a positive trading climate, which only the war interrupted.
- 3) Cultural Orientation. The right cultural attitude helped the EK get a toehold in Germany, first at the Frankfurt fair and at the court in Braunschweig. This in turn helped them to a more precise view of what was popular in Germany, a balanced mixture of sacred and profane, of naturalism and

magic. It was abundantly clear to them, from the speed with which Heinrich Julius adopted Jahn Posset into his plays, that they would find a court audience for their work, and we have Moryson's testimony to their immediate success at the Frankfurt fair in 1592. But the EK, as I shall now examine in detail, also did their bit to help. They chose well-known and well loved stories for their plots, such as the Volksbuch Fortunatus; and whatever their plot, the range of characters they put on display tended to be easily recognisable. The ruler, the wise father, the prodigal lover, the dupe, the girl of marriageable age, the crafty servant, the strong-willed woman, allegorical figures of Good and Evil, devilish villain, and Pickelhering, constituted a pack of playing cards capable of almost endless variation.⁷³

4) Belief in the Theatre: The belief the EK shared with their colleagues of the London stage, that the world could be read as a stage, infused their performances with an irresistible conviction that theatre mattered, that theatre had to be accepted as a necessity of life. Theatre had a specific social function, that of holding a mirror to the world, rich in images suitable for both enjoyment and education. Theatre informed and it analysed, theatre criticised abuse. As such, it took over for a while the mantle of the classical poet to be the conscience of society, its diagnostician and physician. But the EK's belief in theatre had another aspect: they believed, quite rightly, that it would make them a living, that through theatre they could live. The horizon of expectation of an actor on tour is of

necessity limited by the demands of the next city and the next audience: but in planning the tours to Germany in the first place, and then in running the EK's programme, men like Browne clearly did take time on occasion to contemplate a longer perspective. What they saw, or would have liked to have seen in the not too distant future, was the same vision as the conceiver's of the popular hero, Fortunatus, a reward for endless roaming in endless gold.

The next two chapters concern themselves principally with the effects of the EK's combined belief in themselves as performing artists with their uncanny gift of reading their audience's minds, the plays published in 1620.

Chapter 4. The Repertoire (1): Four Versions of Fortunatus

The analysis of a collection of plays published in a single year, yet evidently the product of many years of performance may be approached in two distinct, though complementary, ways. The first concerns the historical developments the plays, their plots and their characters, underwent both in the EK's hands and, before they took them up, in the principal preceding versions. The second concerns the collection as a collection, treating all the works as if written and published, or performed, simultaneously. The former method permits a diachronic history of the EK in the tradition of popular culture to which they belonged, and which they enriched: the latter sustains a synchronic study of the EK's repertoire at the time they chose to put that repertoire to their audiences in the form of print. Yet theatre, by its nature, demands an integration of the two methodologies, in that the performance of a work written in the past is simultaneously an act of recovering the past and of enhancing the present. In an attempt to make sense of the EK's achievement in its own terms, I have chosen to pursue in this chapter the diachronic method, tracing through the century preceding publication of their plays the development of one figure, Fortunatus, and in the next chapter I consider the repertoire as a whole in a synchronic manner. But I am aware that such a method tends to distort the true picture of the EK as performers in that performance by its nature is hard to describe in any other medium but its own. My argument is based on the assumption therefore, that what is now accessible

to analysis in the EK's work is more in the nature of a record of performance than a set of texts of great merit in themselves, and it trusts in the judgement of the EK's contemporaries that they were the best performers of the time.

Because both of the significance of such an assumption, and because of the methodological difficulties about analysing an essentially performance art on the basis of its texts, we need to return to the question raised in the first chapter as to why the EK have been studied in the past, and why they deserve more recognition than they, for the most part, have. This is best done by reconsidering the five points made by Baesecke as a prelude to a brief appraisal of the history of the reception of the EK so far:

1. Baesecke's principal assertion about the EK's repertoire is that it was wholly German, and built on the principle of the "Volkslied" in that it was a natural outpouring of German "Volkskunst". My contention is that the repertoire was typically European in origin, drawing on universally popular sources, such as the Bible, popular history, collections of tales and legends. In this respect, the Fortunatus story is of crucial importance since this alone of the many plots the EK treated, demonstrably made the trip across the channel to England, was written up there by Thomas Dekker and returned to Germany to influence the EK in their play on the theme. In the study of the progeny of the Volksbuch Fortunatus that is the main concern of this chapter, lies therefore, a vital test of this most challenging of Baesecke's theories.¹

2. Baesecke claims that the EK's plays were written without political or religious tendencies. I suggest that, quite apart from the question of whether anything can be written and performed wholly free of ideological assumptions, the EK had clear and recognisable religious and political beliefs which inform their whole repertoire.

3. As her views, referred to in 2., suggest, Baesecke does not believe that the EK had any meaningful understanding of their audience. Yet I believe quite the reverse to be true, that they not only understood quite brilliantly what it was their audiences wanted, and why, but also, more subtly, why the two main audience groups, the courts and the cities, were drifting towards conflict.

4. Baesecke does not believe that the context for performance the EK experienced was the same in Germany as in England, yet, once again, the opposite seems to be true. The EK crop up wherever the court holds special festivals, whether those be for public or private consumption. And their strategy with the cities was always to perform on or around special occasions, such as the biennial markets at Frankfurt, when their audiences were not only more willing to pay out money, but also expected entertainments and revelry.

5. Finally, Baesecke argues that the EK's attitude to performance was as "art for art's sake". Yet this is to foist late nineteenth century aesthetics onto the late sixteenth century actor in a manner which wholly misunderstands the nature of performance at the time. Not only must there be doubt that the EK would have aspired

to art as expressed in the phrase, but also there was no distinction made in their minds between art and money in the sense that the reason for the artist producing art was to make a living.

To balance the scholarly tradition of text-based analysis which Baesecke, historically, brought to its peak, with the contemporary view of the EK as great performers I start therefore, with a summary of contemporary attitudes to the EK, as expressed by certain typical eye-witnesses, which I then match against a re-examination of scholarly positions; the purpose of this is to work out what both groups of observers were actually trying to discover about the EK, in the hope that a more productive balance between contemporary enthusiasm and scholarly scepticism may be found than hitherto. Only by acknowledging the importance the EK had in their own time can full justice be done them.

Against this background I set a detailed interpretation of the four principle versions of the Fortunatus story in the period 1509 to 1620. These were the Volksbuch, published in Augsburg in 1509, Hans Sachs's play, 1553, Dekker's play, 1599, and the EK's, 1620. The persistent interest in Fortunatus during the century is based on a fascination with the types of gift he received - a magic purse and a magic hat - and on the fact that he travelled so extensively and to such exotic places. It is peculiarly appropriate therefore, that a group of touring players should treat a story about travel, that itself travelled most successfully. Analogous affinities between the EK and their chosen plots will be evident in the following chapter.

Critical Perspectives

Three early German references to the EK illustrate the regard in which they were held as performers. On September 13th. 1592, the Nürnberger, Balthasar Paumgartner the Younger, wrote to his wife that the EK "habenn so ein herliche, guette musicha, unnd sinnd sie so perfect mitt springen, tantzen, deren gleichen ich noch nye gehöertt noch gesehen hab".² Soon after, Browne was to perform in Nürnberg with his troupe, and perhaps Paumgartner, writing here from Frankfurt, spoke for them with the City Council. A second reference is also connected with Nürnberg, which, with its long tradition of guild drama, was perhaps the most discerning city in central Europe in matters theatrical. It concerns the relationship between Nürnberg's Jakob Ayrer and the EK. I do not propose here to enter the question of whether this relationship also had an effect on Shakespeare, Ayrer's debt to the EK being significant enough in itself. In the Introduction to his Opus Theatricum (1618), Ayrer's editors inform the "CHRISTLICHEN GUTHERTZIGEN LESER" "Wie er dann die feder gar angesetzt vnd dieses Opus ~~Thae~~atricum von allerhand Geistlichen vnd Weltlichen Comedien vnd Tragedien über vralte langverloffene, herrliche vnd woldenckwürdige Geschichten, Thaten vnd Sachen so artlich, künstlich vnd compendiose componirt vnd gestellt, welche nicht allein zu Lesen so anmütig vnd lieblich, das, wer darinnen anfengt, nicht wol davon lassen kan, biß er das endt vnd außgang vernommen, sondern auch alles nach dem Leben angestellt vnd dahin gerichtet, das mans (gleichsam auff die neue

Englische manier vnnd art) alles Persönlich Agirn vnd Spilen kan, auch so lieblich vnd begierig den Agenten zuzusehen ist, als hette sich alles erst ferden oder heuer verlossen vnd zugetragen".³ It is probably no accident that this reference to the "neue Englische manier" should be made in the same year as Browne's return to Nürnberg after a long absence. But what matters more than this reference to the novelty of the EK's style is the fact that the plays are sold as true to life and on historically immediate themes, evidence that the taste of the time was very much for such critical realism. The EK were prized for such critical realism themselves.

Of particular interest to us in the Opus Theatricum are the Singspiele which Ayrrer wrote under the influence of the success of the EK clown, Jan Posset, the persona of Thomas Sackville, an early visitor to Nürnberg and a highly successful businessman.⁴ The following titles are typical:⁵

21. Von dem Engelländischen Jahn Posset, wie er sich in seinem dienst verhalten, mit 8 Personen. 106.

22. Ein Singets Spiel von dem Engelländischen Jahn Posset, wie er sich in seinen diensten verhalten, In deß Rohlands Thon, mit 8 Personen. 110.

23. Der verlohren Engelländisch Jahn Posset, mit 4 Personen. 114.

The "Rohlands Thon" was evidently a form of jig that enjoyed huge popularity all over Europe, as a result of Sackville's success, and the nature of these jigs will be considered below. Their very existence, however, taken with the allusion to the EK in the Introduction

is significant in a consideration of the reasons the EK themselves may have had for publishing their work in 1620.

Browne returned to Nürnberg in 1618, and for two years he, Green and Reeve worked their old circuits, even during the opening battles of the war. Browne's previous diplomatic activity suggests that his reasons for returning may well have been as much political as financial, and he was in a useful place for the English government, attached eventually to the court of the Elector Palatine. He very probably read the signs and predicted a long war, so that the sale of his repertoire became an inevitable consequence, his last bid to raise money from his reputation. Green was young enough to return. But Ayrer's collection is not just important for its date; for its structure, and the structure of the EK's 1620 collection are very similar. Both have introductions stressing the realism of the work and the ease with which they can be performed; both have a section of serious plays and then a section of Possen. Even the wording of Ayrer's title page may have been a model for the EK:⁶

OPUS THAEATRICUM. Dreissig aussbündt~~ige~~ schöne COMEDIEN VND TRAGEDIEN vonn allerhand denckwürdigen alten römischen Historien vnd andern politischen Geschichten vnd Gedichten sampt noch andern sechs und dreissig schönen lustigen vnd kurtzweiligen Fasnacht- oder Possenspielen durch weyland den erbarn vnd wolgelährten Herrn JACOBUM AYRER, Notarium Publicum vnd Gerichts Procuratorn zu Nürnberg seeligen auss mancherley alten Poeten vnd Scribenten zu seiner Weil vnd Lust mit sonderem Fleiss zusammengelligirt vnd in Teutsche Reimen spilweiss verfasst, das man alles persönlich agirn kan, sampt einem darzu gehörigen Register. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Balthasar Scherffen Anno MDCXVIII.

Had Browne seen Ayrrer's plays in print, and there is every chance that he did, he might have been stimulated to publish his own works in a similar manner.

A third contemporary record of the EK survives from the court of Kassel, where they were regular guests. Johannes Rhenanus mentions the EK in the Introduction to his comedy speculum aistheticum (1613), in a manner that smacks of the cliché; the English are best at theatre "beids was die composition vnd dann auch die action belangt".⁷ Gabler assumes that Rhenanus knew England and so had first-hand experience of the English stage:⁸ but he himself proves that the most likely occasion for such a visit actually saw Rhenanus staying at home while his royal master went off to enjoy himself.⁹ The remark sounds to me more like a formula calculated to please Maurice, who was the trusty patron of English theatre in Germany.

These three statements about the EK, coming from different sources, and from different perspectives on their work constitute an important measure of contemporary opinion against which scholarly judgement can be reviewed. Since Cohn there have, as I described in my opening chapter, been three main impulses to study the EK: firstly, to prove that they carried Shakespeare to Germany; secondly, to prove that under no circumstances could they have done so; and thirdly, that the EK, despite being called English are really a German phenomenon. It is now time to explore these critical attitudes further, and in a more differentiated way, in order to find a means

to understand better why scholars have been so reluctant to share contemporary enthusiasm.

Here again it is Cohn who sets the tone, for in the title of his study alone, Shakespeare in Germany,¹⁰ the EK are disadvantaged. The nature of this disadvantage is complex: the reference to Shakespeare excludes from consideration the popular and populist success the EK enjoyed, a fact no less significant in a study of the Zeitgeist than Shakespeare's possible links with Germany. This in turn leads to an analysis of plays not according to their intrinsic merits, but rather as ciphers of possible Shakespearian allusion, which reduces them to the status of long-winded clues in a cultural cross-word puzzle. As a result Cohn set future scholars the task of unravelling Shakespeare and the EK, both historically and dramaturgically.

In 1870 Rudolph Genée, responding to the challenge, took up the Shakespeare question, and pointed to a number of weaknesses in Cohn's case, especially in regard to extravagant claims about links between the writings of Jakob Ayrer and The Tempest.¹¹ I have no wish to revive this now moribund issue, but it is necessary to record the importance it had as a milestone on the path of modern EK reception. Genée had another go at the problem in his Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels (1882)¹², in which he takes the argument about the EK into the correct terrain, that of Volks theater, placing them in a pattern of theatrical development from the dark Middle Ages to the light Lessing-led Enlightenment.¹³ He,

in his chapters on the EK and Pickelhering, states:¹⁴

Der Uebergang aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert in das siebzehnte bezeichnet auch für das deutsche Schauspiel eine Wendung durch den Eintritt neuer Elemente. Der frische Geist der Reformation war längst auch aus den Schauspieldichtungen geschwunden. Ziel- und rathlos schwankten die Dichter nach verschiedenen Richtungen hin und her, ohne irgendwo zu einer klaren Erkenntnis zu kommen über das, was man wollte und was man sollte. In dieser Zeit, und noch vor dem Ende des Jahrhunderts, war es einem fremden Einflusse vorbehalten, der theils stockenden, theils in Verwirrung gerathenen Bewegung eine neue Richtung anzuweisen und dem irrenden Schauspielwesen mit neuen Zielen auch neue Mittel zu geben. Dies neue Element waren die seit etwa 1590 in Deutschland herumziehenden Truppen englischer Schauspieler, gemeinhin die englischen Komödianten genannt.¹⁵

Perhaps because he is too concerned to make the progress of German drama from its medieval origins to Lessing a continuous apprenticeship, Genée overstates the nature of the confusion at the end of the sixteenth century, but his case has much force. Strangely however, his chapter then seems to contradict the logic of his book hitherto. First he criticises the plays of Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig; then, having dealt with Ayler and Shakespeare is unable to shake free of the heady atmosphere of Shakespeare's genius in his largely negative portrait of the EK. Somewhat to his own surprise, he has to acknowledge that the apprenticeship has taken a step back.¹⁶ From here it is a short step to Gundolf's position, and all the praise of the "Volk"-orientated drama with which the book opens vanishes.¹⁷

The one lasting contribution is the introduction of the acting profession as profession into German theatre:

"Nur der Eine Gewinn, den das Beispiel der englischen Komödianten uns gebracht hatte -: die Bildung eines bestimmten Schauspielersstandes und in sich organisirter Schauspielersgruppen - pflanzte sich durch diese Zeit

um so eher fort, als bei dem Elend, das über das Land hereingebrochen war, so manche Erwerbszweige darniederlagen, weshalb jedes sich bietende neue Gewerbe begierig ergriffen wurde".¹⁸ The logic is curious, for all the evidence we have suggests that the Thirty Years' War was a much less profitable period for the EK than in the previous thirty years. And it is most improbable that a group comprising solely, or even mainly, of untrained amateurs looking for a new profession could hope to match the successes of Browne. The EK fall victim to Genée's disapproval of the German people's taste, for all his avowed praise of that very thing.

The fascination with the distasteful art of the EK seems to underlie the decision to publish a collection of their plays in 1880 under the editorship of Julius Tittmann.¹⁹ Tittmann's collection is taken entirely from the 1620 publication, leaving out Tito Andronico and the bulk of the Pickelhering plays. It has the great virtue that Shakespeare features very little in the introduction, Cohn's theories alone coming under justifiable fire. But, as if afraid to torpedo his own book with moral and artistic charges, Tittmann's introduction almost completely avoids judgement, the bulk of it concerning source study and plot description. Tittmann's opinions on the individual plays I shall discuss at the appropriate moment; but his one outright statement concerns us here: "Fragen wir jetzt, wo wir über Gehalt und Werth des Englischen Repertoires uns ein Urtheil bilden können, worin denn eigentlich der vielfach bezeugte außerordentliche Erfolg derartiger Vorstellungen

begründet war. Es liegt nahe, denselben in dem Reiz der Neuheit zu finden, der ja durch die Wanderungen von Ort zu Ort immer frisch erhalten wurde, noch wirksamer gemacht durch eine ungewohnte Pracht der äußern Erscheinung, durch die Garderobe, welche immer bunt und schimmernd, wenn auch zuweilen fadenscheinig, oft aber wirklich glänzend und solid, wie an den Höfen der Fürsten und von ihnen bezahlt, dem Stück angepasst und im ganzen zusammenstimmend sich zeigte".²⁰ The explanation lacks even Genée's moral indignation. How a troupe was supposed to survive on "Neuheit" for, in Green's case, nearly thirty consecutive years is a mystery; and any actor who has been on tour for a long stretch will know just how thin "Neuheit" wears. Even the central position he accords the clothing neither fits with Moryson's jokes about the poor wardrobe of the EK troupe he saw, nor the relatively small amount of luggage the EK carried around - one wagon - for a wide repertoire of plays.

Tittmann's attitude to the EK as a whole is well caught in this statement: "Das Wanderleben, wobei es doch zunächst auf Gelderwerb abgesehen war, ließ am Ende auch die Bessern andere und höhere Zwecke aus den Augen verlieren und verführte leicht zu Oberflächlichkeit und Flüchtigkeit in der Vorführung dessen, was sie zu leisten im Stande waren; dazu fehlte es oft an ausreichendem Personal zur genügenden Besetzung aller Rollen und an einheitlicher Leitung, durch welche allein ein erträgliches Zusammenspiel zu erzielen ist. Mit der Bildung stehender Gesellschaften an deutschen Höfen wurde das anders".²¹

Taking Genée's and Tittmann cases together, one may infer that the higher purpose to which Tittmann refers, only to accuse the EK of neglecting it, was the "mastery" of the trade of German-language theatre. But this makes two curious assumptions: firstly, that because it was performed in German that their theatre was thoroughly German in nature; and secondly, that such an apprenticeship was indeed in progress. In fact it was not, nor was the EK's theatre a German growth, but one that depended utterly on the combination of English acting skills and themes popular with German audiences. This is of particular significance, because it establishes that the EK were in many respects culturally rootless, not part of a tradition, but rather a guest phenomenon, and one that did not become properly embedded in local folk culture. As a result it is difficult to agree with Meissner's claim that the EK were "die Väter unsrer Schauspielkunst"²² which is his nicer way of arguing the apprenticeship thesis. True, there is a very faint sense in which the EK herald Lessing, but this is only circumstantial, and can only be established with hindsight. Creizenach proceeds from a position close to Genée's, that the EK's decisive achievement was in their contribution to the cause of German theatre: "Es wirkte nicht die englische dramatische Poesie auf die deutschen Dichter, sondern die englische Schauspielkunst auf das deutsche Theater. Die wandernden Komödianten, die aus England herüberkamen, wurden in Deutschland von Bedeutung für die Begründung eines Theaters im modernen Sinne des Wortes, indem sie

zur regelrechten Entwicklung eines berufsmäßigen Schauspielersstandes den Anstoß gaben".²³ At most, one may say that the EK were catalytic in their effect on the growth of a native professional theatre in Germany. On the one hand, bearing in mind Sieber's remarks about the need of the common people to make their own forms of entertainment, the cities were only likely in the long term to be happy with their own, guild-based performers.²⁴ On the other hand, the coming Baroque courts were only happy with their own troupes, and it would be hard to argue either that the Baroque court troupe was a national theatre resource, or that that there was the sort of necessary and logical rise of such a professional acting class as Genée or Creizenach imply. In fact, Creizenach see no great difference between Sachs and the EK²⁵, and while he is prepared to treat them as a phenomenon in their own right, there is a constant sense in his writing that he is dutifully filling a gap in theatre history rather than seeking an answer to why the EK succeeded in their blend of English performance style with German themes.

One trap Creizenach avoids that Herz falls into is that of moral censure, or rather, sheer anger. Herz saves himself till the end of his study, then lets fly at Jemand und Niemandt: "Dies elende Machwerk, das einem der gefeiertsten englischen Komödiantenführer seine Entstehung verdankt und den begeisterten Beifall eines deutschen Fürstenhofes gefunden hat, ist für die theatergeschichtliche Forschung von der größten Bedeutung; es

zeigt [...] in welch unverantwortlicher Weise die englischen Schauspieler mit den Schätzen ihrer heimischen Literatur Mißbrauch trieben, wie sie, auf bloßen Gelderwerb und Augenblickserfolg bedacht, jede Rücksicht auf den innern Wert ihrer Darbietungen, auf künstlerische Ehrlichkeit verächtlich beiseite schoben [...].²⁶ When placed next to Paumgartner's enthusiasm, this constitutes the most extreme, and yet quite typical failure, to understand the nature of theatre as opposed to dramatic literature on the part of the EK's critics, and it is precisely this problem which so handicaps them. Even those expressing faith in the Volkstheater, actually, when it comes to an aesthetic judgement, blame men whose living they know and even admit to have been precarious for ensuring popularity with their audiences.

Flemming knew this to be the case, and is eloquent in the EK's defence: "wie schwankend sind die Verhältnisse bei diesem Wanderleben".²⁷ For the first time, there is a glimmer of recognition that it lay in the nature of the EK's trade to write and perform as they did; yet Flemming goes too far the other way, discrediting the EK precisely because they had to spend so much energy staying alive they could not be expected to think about the wider implications of what they were doing. Here he is as severe as he is at first understanding: "Immer spekuliert man auf die primitivsten Instinkte der Masse, der es zu gefallen und imponieren gilt".²⁸ The problem lies in the fact that the "Wanderbühne bleibt [...] innerlich vulgär".²⁹ So Flemming ultimately comes down against the EK because they do not penetrate the sacred "Ring der barocken Welt", but one must ask, as Baesecke then did,

whether the EK even wanted to.

Even in Baesecke's hands, the EK's achievements as writers fare no better, despite her high praise of their physical and mime skills. But there is little evidence that the EK were mime artists, certainly not as we would now understand mime, and there is a long way between mime and highly gestural acting styles. She does not succeed in scotching the thesis that the EK came to Germany as overflow of an overcrowded London stage, so that Stahl, even after 1945 is still advancing this theory³⁰, although Stahl is prepared to concede a certain interest the EK may have for the theatre historian.³¹ Nor does Baesecke shake off a perennial problem of German theatre studies, how to relate the dramatic text to the performance.³² So we are left with one commentator whose understanding of the EK truly values them in their own terms, Heinz Kindermann: "diese Englischen Komödianten waren Botschafter ihres Landes. Es gibt in der gesamten Theatergeschichte Europas nur wenige Beispiele einer derartigen Kollektiv-Übertragung von einer Nation zur anderen".³³ Only Kindermann captures in his reponse to the EK the enthusiasm of Paumgartner and the admiration of Rhenanus, yet without these two qualities the critic is helpless when assessing what the EK's "Botschaft" to Germany was.

Four Versions of Fortunatus: the Growth of a Myth

Of the cultural embassies crossing from Germany to England, or vice versa, of which there were many,³⁴ none is more significant that the story of Fortunatus, born in 1509 in Augsburg³⁵, treated by Hans Sachs as a play³⁶, and rapidly becoming a major sixteenth-century myth. From an

edition published in Frankfurt, and perhaps via a Dutch translation, as there was no translation till some time later into English, it found its way into Thomas Dekker's hands.³⁷ Soon afterwards, it was back in Germany in a version performed by the EK at Graz in 1608, which may be the same version as was printed in 1620.³⁸

The very popularity of Fortunatus³⁹ was one good reason for the EK to use him as the basis of a play. But there were others, connected with the nature of his magic gifts. Fortunatus's magic purse delivers to its owner endless supplies of gold coin, an expression of one of the two dominant myths of the sixteenth century, the belief in the power of alchemy to turn base matter into gold. Fortunatus seemed then to have been granted access to this secret, and this gave him, as the playwrights spotted, affinities with Dr. Faustus. The second myth was also the basis of the second gift, that of flight: for Fortunatus's hat allows him to fly, unseen, through the air, to whatever destination he chooses. So the hat combines the Tarnhelm of the Nibelungen mythology, with its gift of invisibility, with the dream of Daedalus, flight. It is one significant sign of the EK's ability at reading popular taste that they understood the importance of the background to these gifts as well as the gifts themselves, and it is rather the background that they investigate in their play.

1) The Augsburger Volksbuch

The story of Fortunatus and his journeys probably evolved in the manner of oral epic, developing form quite

gradually as information about travel through the world became more available. In any case, Augsburg, as a major banking centre, was an admirable place for gathering comments about the world's main cities. From a reference to Mandeville's Travels in the text, it has been argued that Fortunatus must post-date the first German publication of Mandeville. But since the Volksbuch reveals a quite detailed knowledge of life in London at the time, which suggests the author might have known Mandeville in English, it would be wrong to build too substantial a case on one allusion. Rather, the passage in question seems more intended to direct the reader of the Volksbuch to the authority on travel and adventure: "Was wunder, aben=teür vnd sitten in den landen ist, waer ain sonder vnd groß bûch von zuschreiben. wellicher aber das geren wissen welle, der leß das bûch Johannem de Monteuilla vnnd andere mer buecher deren, die solch land alle durchtzen sind [..]". (pp.82-3) Equally striking about the statement is its analysis of the lure of far-away places - "wunder", "aben=teür" and "sitten" - all of which Fortunatus encounters in abundance.

As Fortunatus was first printed in Augsburg, and as Augsburg at the time was probably Europe's leading money market, thus attracting many well-travelled merchants with just the information its author would have required, the chances must be high that the text was written by an Augsburg merchant, perhaps even for the Fuggers as an educational entertainment.⁴⁰ Indeed, the Fugger connections with Spain might well explain the names of Fortunatus's two sons, Ampedo and Andolosia: on the other hand, the work deals with so many, varied and often mythological

countries that this is, ultimately, of little significance. What does matter is that the Volksbuch is a compendious catalogue of themes and attitudes that concerned the new class of vernacular readers in Germany at the start of the sixteenth century, and functions as a form of manual of popular taste with which we can interpret the subsequent treatments of the story by the playwrights.

The essential themes of the Volksbuch, ones that I also use as the basis for my analysis of the plays are: travel, trade and wealth, the courtly life, the Bible and religious attitudes, fairy tale and romance, the law and royal authority, and mutability and death. As the century progresses, the relative weight given to each theme changes, and with such changes we may plot shifts in popular consciousness.

Travel

Although the avowed purpose of the Volksbuch is to teach the reader that, given Fortunatus's choice between wisdom and riches, he should himself choose wisdom, the book's main interest is in the travels of Fortunatus and his son Andolosia. With them we visit nearly all the then known countries of the world, and in particular their capitals and courts. By the close we have also been thoroughly acquainted with the political geography of the business world.

Fortunatus aspires, even before he gets his magic purse, to the life of the romance hero, travelling through the world and helping weak damsels, jousting, and enjoying himself. But all the while he remains an outsider, not unlike Don Quijote in nature. (He also, like Don Quijote,

soon acquires a faithful servant, Lüpoldus.) Son of "ain edler purger", (p.1) a somewhat inappropriately named money-waster and fop called Theodorus, he is too well born to take up an artisan or menial occupation, and yet too poor and politically insignificant to lay claim to the privileges of rank. As a result he is dependent on patronage. By good fortune, the Earl of Flanders is on a visit to Cyprus, and Fortunatus introduces himself successfully: "[er] zoch ab sein pareet vnd nayget sich gar schon, darbey der graff wol mercket, das er nit aines pauren sun was[...]" (pp.6-7) The express need to emphasise "das er nit aines pauren sun was" underlines the difficult status Fortunatus has, and the oft-repeated objection that "er hat weder land noch leüt" (p.64, 71, 72, 105, etc.), dogs him and his son for the whole of their lives.

Despite his handicap, Fortunatus is not long in establishing himself in his royal master's good graces, his skills at courtly pursuits making him a conspicuous figure. But this very success provokes jealousy amongst his fellows and those talents which in a romance would secure his advancement to the very highest positions in fact bring about his first disappointing encounter with social prejudice. Here a link is cast between Fortunatus and the narrator, both of whom evidently belong to the merchant class. The narrator makes his own position clear in several intrusions into the story, such as the revealing first-person statement that Fortunatus's purse is as good as a letter of credit. (p.85)

Tricked and cast out in Flanders he goes to London, "da nun von allen orten der welt kauffleüt ligend vnd da iren gewerb tribent". (p.17) London's fame as a commercial

centre would certainly have been well known in Augsburg, but the author's interest in details of London life, and the assured manner of his description suggest his knowledge may have been first hand. He talks of shipping: "die grossen schif kunden bey zwaintzig meillen nit zu der stat kommen. doch so fert man von der stat auf ainem schifreichen wasser biß in das moer [..]". (p.19) He also knows about sumptuary habits, referring to "ain pint bier", (p.19), and describing the length of meals: "Als dann der Englichen gewonhait ist, das sy bey zway stunden tischen, besonder wenn sy gest haben".(p.22) One wonders if he was the guest himself. Next to shipping and eating come the famous buildings: "Vestminster, ist gar ain schoener pallast, ist darinne des künigs radthauß vnd ain grosse schoene kirchen, also das man zwischen der stat vnnd dem pallast mer wandels dann sunst in der gantzen stat hett".(p.29) The story makes good reading for future merchant visitors.

Fortunatus then leaves London for the land of magic and romance, Britanny: there, in a remarkably Dantesque wood, he encounters Fraw Glueck, the turning point in his career. She makes him a gift of a magic purse and, before vanishing, explains its secret to him: "so offt du darein greiffest (in welchem land du ymer bist oder kommest, was dann von guldin in dem land leüffig seind), als offt findestu zehen stuck goldes des selben lands werung [..] ". (p.35) The formulation betrays the merchant author, for what romance would care about currencies? The gift itself, however, fits awkwardly with the logic of the plot: Fortunatus's purpose in leaving Cyprus was to repair his fortunes,

hoping thereby to regain his status in the courtly world in which his father had moved. Logically, then, he should now return home and receive his reward. But the taste of freedom, freedom above all to travel, is stronger than the call of home. Yet here again there are inconsistencies: with his new-found wealth, Fortunatus could travel like a Prince; but he does not, preferring the character of a mighty merchant. This directly contradicts his early aspirations as a courtier and may be explained by reference to the origins of the story in Augsburg. Augsburg, as a flourishing merchant capital, embodied in itself the contradictions of Fortunatus's class; on the one hand, a princely self-esteem and independence which money conferred; on the other, a feeling of inferiority to the landed aristocracy who, though poorer, had ancestry, land and political weight. The view of the aristocracy that emerges in Fortunatus is similarly ambiguous, combining a fascination with the court and the personalities of rulers, with a shrewd awareness of the court's weaknesses.

Unlike the aristocrat who travels to be seen by his people, or to visit his peers, the merchant travels to trade. And it is the trade centres that dominate the journey, with travelling times listed as part of the narrative: "Nürnberg, gen Woerd, Augspurg, Noerlingen, Ulm, Costenntz, Basel, Stroßburg, Mentz, Cöln [...] von Nürenberg gen Koellen, moecht ainer in achtagen reüten". (p.44) Hardly a city mentioned that the EK did not visit, and it is most likely they played in Mainz and Basel as well. The attention to travel time, however, was not something one would expect of a Prince.

The concrete product of all this journeying is a book in which Fortunatus sets down his impressions of what he has seen, and which, one assumes, is more or less what the reader has in his hands: "vnd do er allso die laender vnd die künigreich alle durchtzen, ir sitten vnnd gewonhaiten vnd ire gelauben gar eben gesehen vnd gemerckt het, auch selb ain buechlin gemacht [...] ". (p.61)

This book is however, a mixed blessing, for while it is a valuable guide to the would-be traveller as to what to expect on his travels, it is also the spur to Andolosia to go out and taste the fruits of the world, which leads to the end of Fortunatus's family. Knowledge of this kind is no guarantee of power.

The second journey, whose structural purpose is to place Fortunatus in possession of the magic hat, is less naturalistic than the first, taking Fortunatus into a mysterious, fabulous East. There he meets a Sultan, who, as a pagan, is fair game for a treacherous Christian, and Fortunatus robs this Eastern potentate of his most prized possession, the hat. He then flies back to Cyprus and dies rich, respectable, and blessed by God. This man can win the world and keep his soul, comfort indeed for the fraternity of rich banker-princes.

After one year's mourning, Andolosia, younger son of the family, decides to follow in father's footsteps, and sets off for London, hoping there to win by wealth and charm the hand of the fair Agripina, Princess of England. The work then stops being an episodic travelogue and concentrates on Andolosia's forlorn quest. The tone changes as well, no longer factual, realistic, ob-

servational, but personal and more passionate: Andolosia is the burger who steps innocently into a disreputable aristocratic world, his head turned with impossible hopes, like marrying above himself. We feel more sympathy with him because we see more of him as a character, and this fact evidently struck the three dramatists who used the story, since each one concentrates more on the son than the father. There is even a generic relationship **evident** in the stories of father and son, the father's epic giving way to the son's romance.

Trade

Before Fortunatus is given the magic purse, his travels take him first to a noble court and then, to complete his education, to the house of a London merchant. Even in 1509 Augsburg rated London highly as a business centre. So successful is Fortunatus at trade and commerce that he is made overseer of the business, a fact which stands him in good stead later on. But success, as at court, also generates envy, and Fortunatus is lucky to escape London with his life.

The merchant training pays off when he goes to see the Sultan, armed with the knowledge "wer bringgt, wirt bald eingelassen, wer aber haben will, der muß lang vor der thür ston". (p.79) And indeed, he is admitted; but his gift is too expensive, indecorously so, "do der künig das hort, nam es yn gar frembd, das ain ainiger kauffman jm solt so ain grosse schanckung thun [f.].". (p.79) Wherever he goes, there is always something about Fortunatus which marks him as a member of the "kauffman" class, and although he can buy his way

into almost anywhere, he is aware of the degradation of having to do so. There is a fundamental problem of rank, and of the proper behaviour of respective ranks towards one another; and in their negotiations with courts and cities, the EK knew this very well, developing especial expertise at using the power of courtly rank to assert themselves in cities. Yet they, like Fortunatus, also discovered limits to the power of rank, governed by a principle of decorum that forbade one class to ask too much of another, however the power relationships between them functioned.

One way the merchant could respond to the aristocracy's grip on political power was to expand his financial network, and there is solid practical advice to the adventurous merchant in the Volksbuch - go East: "Moecht etwann ains wunder nemen, so man so grosse land findt, warumb nit mer leüt auß teütschen landen auch dahin ziechen [...]". (p.83) Equally important however, is the observation: "Moecht ainen wunder nemen, warumb die auß India vnnd andern landen nicht herauß kaemen in vnsere lannd?" (p.83) One hears the same sentiments today in West Germany, only of China, the same reawakening of pride in achievement at home leading to expansion into markets abroad.

While Germany was no fabulous India for the EK, their manner of travelling to do business abroad was in the spirit proposed by the Volksbuch, and their choice of Fortunatus as character derives in part from his self-assured business style. He like they is a northerner,

however, seeing the Italian and Spanish south as his natural trading rivals. (p.80) The fact that he trumps them all - and wins the magic hat - demonstrates where the Augsburg author thought would be the financial centre of Europe in the coming years. And this realism is matched by a warning of the fragility of trade domination, for the Volksbuch describes not just the rise but also the fall of a merchant-prince family. When one compares the fortunes of the mythical family Fortunatus with the real family Palavicino, bankers to Elizabeth Tudor, the realism of the warning is underlined, for a generation after the death of Sir Horatio Palavicino as multi-millionaire his family, like Fortunatus's was destitute and discredited.⁴¹ When both France and Spain defaulted on their debts in 1557, the same fate befell the Fuggers. In the age of the aristocrat, the life of the city banker was one of constant risk.

The Courtly Life

A further warning to the merchant class not to try to live like the nobility is contained in the history of the three generations of Fortunatus's family. His father, Theodorus, ruins himself by trying to live above himself; Fortunatus learns the hard way not to live beyond what ought to be his means; and Andolosia, ill-prepared for life by his father as Fortunatus had been by his, ruins the family by attempting to leap high social hurdles and failing. The "purger" Theodorus transgresses the boundaries of his class: "Vnd nam an sich ainen kostlichen stand mitt stechenn, turnieren, dem künig gen hoff tzureytten [...]". (p.4) The courtly habit

unfortunately runs in the family, and, unmoved by his father's disasters, Fortunatus tries his hand at the same life-style. He takes part in the jousting to celebrate the wedding of the Earl of Flanders and, in romance manner, wins: "vnd als sy des andern tags stachen, aber zwaintzig wider zwaintzig, do gwan Fortunatus den preiß". (p.9) Although he is good at courtly pursuits, he arouses jealousies: "Do h  b sich erst gro   neid vnd ha   [...]". (p.10) It is clear from the manner of narration that the author sees no fault on Fortunatus's part, no lack of tact: it is even made an implicit failure in the Earl that he does not notice the growing tension Fortunatus causes. "Der graff we  t aber nit vmb den vnwillen, so seine diener gegen Fortunato hetten, so torst es auch kainer dem graffen sagenn". (p.10) In respect of discipline, and of communication, the merchants are better organised than the court; and the Volksbuch is well spiced with such anti-aristocratic observations.

Fortunatus's virtue, one he does not pass to his sons, is his ability to learn from experience, and, when later asked by Fraw Glueck to choose between riches and wisdom, takes riches in the seemingly correct belief that his life hitherto had taught him worldly wisdom. Andolosia's troubles stem from the fact that he had no such apprenticeship in the school of the world, and never not having had money, has no idea of its worth. This makes him both more aggressive than his father and much more vulnerable, a phenomenon that the children of rich fathers have often had cause to observe in themselves. Nor is it all his fault, for Fortunatus educates his son in the courtly manner: "[er] hielt sy auch gar eerlich vnd kostlich vnd

dinget yn knecht, die sy leerten ritterspil, das ist mit stechen, turnieren vnd mitt scharpff rennen [...]" (p.93) Like his father, Andolosia always wins - "das best thet vnd den breuß gewan" - and one begins to sense that these two are halves of the same whole, the one good, the other, if not evil, doomed. A cycle of merchant success, followed by aristocratic envy and revenge, is matched by an internal, generational conflict between good and evil, humility and "Hoffart", justified "Ergetzlichkeit" and "Leichtfertigkeit". In the father, the conflict ends to the good; in the son, not least because of the father's success, the result is disastrous. But in the inevitability with which alternate generations contradict each other there seems to be more a merchant's record of a natural cycle of wealth and poverty, of rise and fall, than a moral imperative, to be obeyed or disobeyed.

Andolosia's doom, rather than his evil nature, leads him to be tricked several times, especially by women - Fraw Glueck thus takes her revenge. He offers a court lady ten thousand ducats to sleep with her, but she, by a bed-trick more familiar to us from Measure for Measure or The Changeling, both wins the money and gets another woman to take her place. The narrator is clearly on Andolosia's side, the court lady, true to court colours, shown to be exploiting the merchant son. That the endlessly wealthy Andolosia is in fact not paying at all for his desire - because he has no limit, he cannot be held to have paid - is beyond the narrator's conception: rather, the contract should be honoured, and the lady's acceptance of the terms, which was an act of free will, is held to be binding.

The epitomy of the scheming court lady is Agripina, who is

both temptress and thief, a true daughter of Eve: "O almaechtiger got, wie seind deine wunderwerck so groß, wie vermag das die natur, das so vnder ainem schoenen weiblichen weibs bild so ain falsch vngetrewes hertz getragen werden mag?" (p.117) Andolosia's cry is a blend of disappointment, anger, betrayal and pain: but he too has betrayed the secret of the purse, and broken his oath to his father.

While Fortunatus, for the most part, knows his place, his son does not, but rather "kam er allweg kostlicher vnd baß gerüst auff den plan dann der anderen kainer, on allain dem künig macht er sich nit geleich [...]". (p.143) In his "Hoffart" he is soon cast down, robbed first of his purse, then of his hat. He finds himself lost in a wood, where there are two apples trees, bearing two kinds of fruit: the one gives its eater horns, the other takes them away. Andolosia has found the fruits of the knowledge of good and evil, and armed with these he returns to London. He succeeds in selling Agripina an apple, with the desired effect: then, changing shape into a doctor, he gets access to her chamber, finds his hat, and flies off with her. (How the hat can carry two is not explained.) But with Agripina in his power, he shows signs of new wisdom: he forgives her treachery, recognises the social impossibility of his love for her, and, in a divine act of generosity, acts as agent for her in her desire to marry the Prince of Cyprus. Class structures allow no upward mobility, even for the fabulously wealthy.

The Bible

The technique of Biblical allusion, such as to the properties of the magic apples, is typical of the way the author uses the Bible as source. It is a continuous point of reference in the work. It also has the more explicit function of glossing certain key encounters in distinctly Christian terms, especially those in which forgiveness and mercy are demanded. Theodorus has wasted his son's birthright, a Prodigal Father, and begs his son to forgive him. In a neat reversal, Fortunatus not only forgives but also asks forgiveness, inquiring "hab ich dich erzürnet in aincherlay weg oder volfuer ich mein leben nitt nach deinem willenn?" (p.5) Yet this Christ-like magnanimity is unsettling: not only does the immature son possess a nobler spirit than the mature father, but the whole cultural expectation that age brings wisdom is under investigation.

Cast from the start as an innocent, a sufferer, Fortunatus's next encounter is with a "Judas", the evil knight Rupert, who so hates his ability that he tricks him into fleeing the Flanders court. The author seems fully behind his hero: "O was g^oütter wort giengen da auß ainem falschen hertzen! O Judas, wie hast du souil erben hinder dir gelassen!" (p.14) Not that this is the last, or worst, Judas he will meet. In contrast to his son, however, he survives betrayals and dies content. Not so Andolosia: betrayed by a kiss from Agripina, who betrays for gold not silver, his doom is assured. Yet, perhaps illogically, he can still forgive, bearing his misfortune at the last with heroic fortitude. Such altruism smacks of moral supremacy, a resolution of the merchant's socio-

political vulnerability and immobility in moral ascendance. This was itself a factor in the rising interest of the merchant class in Lutheranism, the new teaching. The Volksbuch lacks strictures on the love of money, camels and needles. The Patrician's money is a talent, given by God, to be used, not buried in the ground; sin is a function of recklessness not wealth. It is no surprise, then, that Fortunatus dies a rich, content and old man, after a hard but rewarding life. Good behaviour and careful house-keeping can get the camel through the needle's eye.

Two generations experience the same responsibilities in different ways, the father with success, the son with failure. One senses behind this pattern a reference to the Old and New Testaments, not least because the narrative proportions of the Volksbuch are akin to the distribution of books in the Bible. Fortunatus is tempted like Job, only to be blessed at the close with more than ever. Andolosia's reward is to be in heaven for forgiving his tormentors, but on earth his lot is to suffer. One theme, however, binds father with son, that of resurrection, or rather regeneration. The most striking incident of this kind is set in Ireland at the entrance to "St. Patricius Loch". The series of caves dedicated to St. Patrick are an underworld of almost Coleridgean cast, and as Fortunatus descends into it he is warned of its dangers: "so ir dann ye darein woellen, so gond nit zu weit, wann darinn seind vil abweg, das man leüchtlich verirren mag, als etlichen bey meiner gedaechtnus geschehen ist [..]". (p.47). From the world of finance and capital we move into the domain of the quest, of the search for a truth that only the elect are

intended to discover. In the underworld, with no Virgil as guide, the two get lost; (p.48) nor is there a friendly Evangelist waiting at the corner for the tired Pilgrim.

What may the caves signify? One answer is supplied by the author: "wer ain nacht darinnen ist, der hatt ablaßs aller seiner sünd".(p.47) The cave is a place of penance and of grace, but also of darkness, despair and death, since many, evidently, do not survive the night. But there is more to the cave than this. Fortunatus is saved "an dem dritten morgen", (p.48) by the one man who knows the way out. "Mit der hylff gots vnd des alten mans kamen sy wider zu den leüten". It is as if Fortunatus were trying his hand at the Harrowing of Hell and learning thereby that only God has such power. His humility saves him from an otherwise certain death. This episode glosses several others which follow the pattern of the hero being lost and in despair and on the third day being rescued by the intervention of superior powers. Fortunatus for instance, is three days in a very Dantesque wood when Lady Fortune appears before him and grants him a wish. As Fortunatus explains, "es ist heüt der dritt tag daz ich in disem wald vmbgang on alle speiß", (p.35) rescue once again coming on the third day. The terrors and deprivations have their good effect on Fortunatus, but not unfortunately, on Andolosia. He, too, gets lost in a wild wood, and as a mark of his sin develops horns from eating the apples of evil: he is rescued by a hermit and guided out of the perplexity he is in. But he does not take the good man's counsel to heart, as a knight in his position in a romance should have done. (p.120) One hears the voice of Don Juan. A Christian may well sin, that is only human

as Saint Augustine pointed out, but he must learn how to use his sin, or his awareness of his sinfulness, to progress through penitence to grace. Andolosia's strategy is one of self- not divine help, and even his acts of forgiveness may be tainted with heroic pride.

The hermit's gift to Andolosia of the knowledge of the property of the fruits of the two apple trees exactly parallels Fortunatus's two gifts to his sons and, wiser after the event, Andolosia knows this time how to keep the secret. Such a use of the apple draws consciously on the Old Testament symbolism of betrayal and of knowledge, and it illuminates the Volksbuch author's understanding of the learning process as a whole. This is understood to be both cyclical and linear: on the one hand, there are continuous cycles of betrayal, explanation and knowledge, on the other, the constant confrontation with the evil of the world leads slowly, if painfully, towards grace and understanding. The problem this raises is that knowledge is seen to be a product of experience not of class; and it is the political impossibility that this perception could be generally acknowledged which perhaps most of all leads the author to the conclusion that the house of Fortunatus has to die out. For if knowledge is power, and knowledge is not given from above but learned by the individual, the aristocratic structure of social wisdom, even social order, is destroyed. This is symbolised in the way Andolosia treats the apples. With some cause he first uses them to take revenge on Agripina; but his heart softens, and, as between God and sinful man, mercy follows hard on wrath. In his action however, the merchant class seems to be laying claim to deep truths hitherto known only

to kings and priests. Such a claim was hardly likely to be met without resistance.

Fairy Tale and Romance

The symbolic apples are the intersection of the religious and the romance planes in the tale, Eve's temptation of Adam the spiritual coordinate, the magic fruit, the romance. Romance however, also has its pseudo-scientific aspect, and in the dream of endless riches lay the seeds of serious alchemy. The popularity of the alchemist dream of turning all to gold need no explanation here, but it provides an important clue to why Fortunatus's choice of riches is not in fact punished as Fraw Glueck warns it will be. To the alchemist wisdom and wealth are the same, that is, the highest of all wisdoms leads to endless wealth. All Fortunatus has done is short-circuit the process of acquiring wisdom and opted for wealth. Indeed, there are good reasons for supporting his choice. Had Fortunatus chosen wisdom he would, at least, have run the risk of Faustian temptations, of believing himself God-like. This defence is not offered in the Volksbuch; merchant common-sense dictated that Fortunatus take the purse. But the three subsequent versions of the story I shall discuss all examine this aspect of the story closely. Good luck and moral good may well be in conflict with one another.

The magic hat is a similarly ambiguous emblem. One of the chief signs of witch-craft was the ability to fly, and it was "ain hoher wolgeleertter doctor in der kunst der nigromancia", (p.87) who made the hat. When Andolosia uses the hat he too earns the reputation of being a necromancer, a diabolic aspect which grows when he eats the

apples, for he then adopts the devilish practice of disguise, as a jeweller, an apple seller and a doctor, to forward his revenge. The doctor disguise links him immediately with evil power and though in the Volksbuch Andolosia at the end resigns his use of evil, it is the potential battle between good and evil in him which is developed by the dramatists.

One theme one might have expected the dramatists to take up but which is left untouched by all three, is the three promises Fortunatus makes to Fraw Glueck on receipt of the purse: he agrees every year to celebrate the anniversary of the gift, to avoid sexual intercourse and to help some poor maiden to marry, whose parents cannot afford the necessary dowry.(p.36) The complex of vows is a blend of biblical and fairy-tale elements of which the rule about celebration needs no comment; but the combined avoidance of sexual intercourse and gift of a dowry is striking. There is of course, a strong connection between gold and fertility, and the purse as a sexual symbol needs no particular explanation. But each time the purse is subsequently taken Fortunatus has a sort of castration shock similar to that which he received when he was fooled into thinking the Earl of Flanders wanted to castrate him on suspicion of having slept with his wife. It may be therefore, that the gift of a dowry is a transferred act of sexuality, the passing on of a small part of his sexual-cum-financial power, hence the reason for his own abstinence on that day. When the dramatists use the castration image it is in the context of Agripina's theft

of the purse from Andolosia and the scene is in all three dramatised versions the turning point of the action - a sign perhaps that they have condensed the combined shocks of Fortunatus and his son more or less into one decisive moment, or gestus.

Another incident, the exchange of bed-partners, (p.98) is also omitted by the dramatists, which in view of its popularity as a dramatic device in comedy is surprising. A possible reason for this is that while plays like Measure for Measure and All's Well that Ends Well the device is used to resolve a potential tragedy into comic reconciliation, the Fortunatus dramatists see their plot as tragic and resist the possibility of a happy ending.

The Law and Royal Authority

As one might expect from an author who evidently knew a great deal about the hard facts of trade and travel, the Volksbuch contains a strong vein of legal realism to contrast with the fairy-tale matter. The background to the law is a firm Old Testament sense of right and wrong, although the law itself is often used to oppress the innocent but weak. In German states, as in England, the administration of the law in remote areas of the country was a hazardous and erratic business, the fate of the criminal, or accused, depending almost entirely on the whim of the local magistrate. No sooner has Fortunatus been given his magic purse than he falls foul of one such worthy. Fortunatus has been silly enough to throw gold coin around while still

dressed in his old and soiled clothes, a classic infringement of norms: "Es gedaucht den wirt spotlich, daz er so reichlich redt vnd nit klaider darnach an het vnnd auch zu fuß gieng". (pp.37-8) Though the innkeeper is suspicious of Fortunatus's conduct, his gold persuades him to do what he is asked, namely arrange for Fortunatus to buy some horses that had been promised the Earl of the countryside. This act of Fortunatus's is seen by the Earl as a direct provocation, especially because Fortunatus is not of noble blood: "do der graf hort, das er nit ain geborner edelman was, sprach er zu seinen dienern auß grossem zorn: geend hyn vnd vahent den man, wann er hat das gelt gestolen, geraubt oder aber ainen ermort". (pp.38-9) It is a notable feature of the Volksbuch that its author repeatedly distances - alienates - the reader from the action by such intrusions into the text, or by the sheer speed and surprise with which a change in fortunes takes place. The Earl's kangaroo court draws an aside from the author on the relative commonness of such behaviour, "als man ir noch vil findet, die den leüten das ir nemen wider alle recht". (p.40) Justice and law are poles apart.

Instead of the romantic hero finding himself suddenly rich and at last being able to sue for the hand of the princess we knew all along he would marry, he is confronted with the social barriers of his age and with such strong prejudices against his rank that he is close to losing his life on suspicion of committing theft. Fortunatus explains that he found a purse after wandering for three days in the wood and it had six hundred and ten crowns in

it. The purse he threw away, he says. At this, the Earl breaks out in anger again: "du solt wissen, das mir dein leib vnd g^ot verfallen ist, wann was in dem wald ist, das gehoert mir zu vnd ist mein aigen g^ot". (p.39) It is only a stirring of mercy in the Earl which allows Fortunatus to escape with his life, and the author leaves us in no doubt that, had he wanted to, the Earl could have had Fortunatus killed. Fortunatus does, however, add to his own problems by spending prodigally, and only his recourse to guile saves him: he invents a story about finding the purse. As the author comments "wann hette der graf die rechte mer gewi^st, er waer allso daruon nit kommen". (p.40) For anyone not born into the ranks of the noble life could be hazardous indeed.

At one point, Andolosia is so angry he goes to law, to recover money a court lady had fraudulently taken from him for favours never granted. The wry conclusion to this episode is a condensed version of the moral of Bleak House: "Die sach was ain ebens spil für die advocaten vnd ander schreiber vnd procuratores, wann yn ward der maist tail darumb". (p.100) The litigant is at the mercy of the judge and of the whole legal apparatus, and the reader is advised implicitly not to expect justice if he goes to court. It is not, however, reform of the system that the Volksbuch advocates, but, rather, its application. Yet the fact that the criticism it makes of corruption is so open, gives the statement a critical realist edge which the EK further develop. Justice remained an expensive and elusive commodity throughout the sixteenth century.

The issue where political implications come most obviously out into the open concerns the rights and duties of the ultimate authority in the land, the king. As social, legal and spiritual head of his nation, or people, he has a special nature which deserves special analysis. Merchants had financial power over monarchs in that they had the money the monarchs required with which to wage war: but monarchs had the power of life and death over merchants. Their resultant relationship was one of a delicate and fascinating kind, a situation in which one party was the snake and the other the mouse, though neither absolutely sure which role he was playing at any one time. So there grew up the unwritten code of decorum in their dealings to give some sort of expression to the subtleties implicit in them.

The principles of decorum, which regulate the interaction of people of different social groups, are not just designed to enable those with power to oppress those who have none, for decorum protects both sides from overreaching. There is a nice irony therefore, when Fortunatus's wedding guests leave his splendid wedding early for fear that he, by such expense, will bankrupt himself as his father had done before him. This reaction must have brought him up with a jolt of recognition that his secret purse, for all its benefits, cannot buy him the right to spend money as freely as he can or would like to do: "Fortunatus het geren gesehen, das man lenger da waer beliben [. . .] . das wolten sy nit thun, wann sy sahen den grossen kosten, so über yn gienge vnd forchten, er moecht dardurch in armüt

kommen vnnd wolten nit beleiben". (p.73) The limits imposed on Fortunatus are for his own good. But the paradox of the richest man in the world not being able to spend his money for social reasons is one of the cleverest insights into the nature of class in the whole of the Volksbuch.

As Fortunatus is favoured by a beneficent king, God's true deputy in Cyprus, so Fortunatus, king in his little kingdom, treats his servant beneficently as reward for having helped him through many dangers. The faithful Lüpoldus becomes in effect part of the kinship structure of Fortunatus's family. So Fortunatus offers him three choices, to return to his family in Ireland, to have a house of his own in Cyprus, with servants, or to stay in retirement in Fortunatus's palace. Lüpoldus makes an interesting choice, in that he wishes still to be near his master, pointing out that he would hardly know what to do with himself in Ireland, but not stay in the master's house. In choosing his own place, Lüpoldus reminds us that he too is "edel". He remarks "er haette es nye verdienet vmb got noch vmb yn, das ym erst in seinen alten tagen so vil eer vnd gūthait widerfahren soltt [. . .]". (p.74) The juxtaposition of "got" and "yn" is indicative enough of the nature of master-servant relations at all points in the social hierarchy.

Precisely the protective principle of decorum is infringed when Agripina abuses Andolosia's trust. As he points out to her, if she had accepted his love for what it was, he would have allowed her to have

benefitted for life from the magic purse: "O falsches, vngetrewes weyb, yetz bist du mir zutail worden, yetzund wil ich solche trew mit dir tailen, als du mitt mir getailt hast, do du mir den seckel abtrantest vnnd ainen vntugentlichen seckel an sein stat stricktest [...] Ich hett mein hertz, mein seel, leib vnd g^ot mitt dir getailt". (pp.130-1) Andolosia is quite within his rights as subject to complain in this way to his mistress, for she has broken the essential bond of trust.

Agripina's betrayal of Andolosia is a serious assault on the social structure, and the horns she has to wear seem well-deserved. Only after a period of penance and critical self-examination is she permitted back into the world, a clear statement of the rights of the subject to punish his ruler. Her father, the king, acknowledges as well the extent of the injury done to Andolosia, and admits openly, in the only such admission in the Volksbuch, that there are limits even to his power. Power is his, but the purse is not: "Ich kan wol betrachten, das der, der ym sollich gelück verlyhen hatt, er verleich ym auch weißhait, wenn er vmb den seckel kaeme, das er ym mueßt wider werden. Das gelück will, das er den seckel habe vnnd sunst nyemmant, vnd wenn das gelück woelt, so hett ich oder ain anderer auch ainen solchen seckel. Vil mann seind in Enngeland vnnd ist nur ain König darunder, das byn ich, Als mir von got vnnd dem gelück solliches verlihenn ist. Vnnd allso ist auch

Andolosia verlihen, das er allain den seckel haben soll vnd sunst nyemant".(p.130) One cannot imagine Louis XIV admitting the force of "gelück" in his claim to the throne of France, nor to a certain even-handedness of fate, for the absolute monarch has absolute claim to all power and all riches. The fact that the King of England, who represents untarnished authority in the Volksbuch, should affirm Andolosia's rights is not simply remarkable in itself, but also opens another perspective on the work. While the King has ultimate authority over the law, social behaviour and policy, the merchant "king" - king in the limitless power he has over money - has absolute authority in the treasury. In self-confident Augsburg, this sort of division of power was probably regarded as both pragmatically effective and sanctioned by God. At the same time, the King's suggestion that Andolosia may have been endowed with wisdom, while ironic in the broader context of the narration, not only undermines still further the threat Fraw Glueck makes about the fundamental folly of choosing riches, but also suggests a central tenet of mercantile philosophy. Anyone can acquire wisdom; money is a good deal harder to come by.

"Unbeständigkeit" and Death.

Despite the implicit invitation to consider the nature of fortune which Fortunatus's name alone contains, the Volksbuch is remarkably free from references to the mutability and transience of earthly things. The coordinates of life are clearly set, and behaviour ruled by decorum. Success is determined by the interaction of God and death, good fortune acting as a shield to the fortunate from the claims of death. At the end of Fortunatus's first

journey we are told "got gab ym aber glück, daz er allenthalb durch kam", (p.62) and just before his second journey he tells his wife to accept his decision to travel, "wann das mag niemant wenden, dann got vnd der tod".(p.76) When Fortunatus does die, his end is peaceful and his place in heaven apparently safe. Absent from crises in his life are homilies on pride, the one occasion where there is a suggestion of such a purpose a fleeting cri de coeur: "O ich armer, do ich die wal het vnder den sechs gaben, warumb erwelt ich nit weißhait für reichthumb[.]"(p.40) This is the one time when his choice seems genuinely to be punished.

This absence of homiletic comment in the Volksbuch is the more striking when compared with the homilising in the three subsequent versions of the story. Indeed, by the time Grimmelshausen refers to Fortunatus, the name has become synonymous with the vanity of human wishes: "Ich fuehrte wenig zu Gemuet/ daß derjenige/ welcher das alte Fabelbuch vom Fortunato seinem Seckel und Wuensch=huetlein geschrieben/ nichts anders sagen thun/ und damit vormahlen wollen/ als der gantzen Welt zu weisen/ daß dergleichen verwunderliche Stueck/ dardurch unsere vorwitzige Begierden an Statt voelliger Befriedigung umb etwas auffgehalten: und die Gemueter mit eiteln Traeumen angefuellt/ mit nichten aber genugsam contentirt worden/ endlich sonst nichts als alles Unglueck auf dem Rucken mit sich bringen; [...] Wie man dann auß der Erfahrung weiß/ daß viele an Statt Fortunatischen Glueckseckels sich der Galgen=Maennlein/ Diebs=Daumen/ und dergleichen/ und an Statt des Wuensch=huetleins der Boeck/ oder vielmehr des Teufels selbst gebrauchen/ der einen und anderen

ihrem Wunsch nach von einem Ort zum andern traegt [c.c.]".⁴²

The Volksbuch author by contrast is mild and brief:

"BEy diser hystoria ist tzu vermercken: hette der jung Fortunatus im walde betrachtlichen Weißhait für den seckel der reichtumb von der junckfrawen des gelücks erwoelt vnnd begert, sy waere ym auch mit hauffen gegeben worden, den selben schatz ym nyemandt hett mügen enpfieren".

(p.153) To the last the argument is financial. There is no closing catalogue of misdemeanours, no threnodic climax on "Hoffart".⁴³

Death is formidable in this world but not without fairness. After years of happy marriage, Fortunatus's wife dies; he is content soon to follow. Lüpoldus dies in contented retirement, after a long life of faithful service. Andolosia, by contrast, has provoked his own violent death, and the threat of death he holds over Agripina is real and drastic. But he forgives, and even his own death is truly mourned - he erred but was not evil. This death is not without its irony, for Andolosia is killed by a man with the same name, Theodorus, as his grandfather. Theodorus opens and closes the tale.

Realism - the Chamberlain Letters

A brief comparison between the Volksbuch and the Chamberlain letters throws up significant similarities between the attitudes of English and German societies, and underlines the fundamental realism of the Fortunatus story. Privilege and responsibility are central issues: "Yesterday a goldsmith in Cheapside was fined in the Star Chamber for arresting the Countess of Rutland upon an execution, and it was thoroughly argued how far noblemen and women are privileged in their persons from arrests".⁴⁴

The goldsmith came off worse, though not before the debate had been thorough and heated, and his loss signalled continuing, even strengthening, privilege.

Rank also dictated the way one presented oneself in public, and the same rules as the Volksbuch advanced for weddings applied to funerals. John Chamberlain's brother, Robert, was said to have had an expensive funeral, costing "above a thousand marks, which is too much for a private man".⁴⁵ Family criticism presumably preceded comments from other quarters on the same theme.

Holding the social pyramid together was the ideal of justice in relations between men, but Fortunatus's brush with corrupt and arbitrary law is no different from the state of the English legal system. Lord Bacon had taken bribes and we learn that "all men approve the Lord Coke, who upon discovery of these matters exclaimed that a corrupt Judge was the grievance of grievances".⁴⁶

The Volksbuch offers a strikingly realistic appraisal not only of German but also of European culture and mores in the early sixteenth century, and delineates problems of rank, finance, power, birth and politics that were to remain at the centre of European history for the next two centuries. Its very accuracy and its clever blend of mythology and fact not only made it highly popular with readers, but also with dramatists, who, as readers on the look-out for sources are doubly valuable in their implicit comment, through choice as source, on the state of popular taste. I now turn to three dramatisations of the story, treating them in sequence in the same manner as the Volksbuch. The dramatists' treatment

of the source reflects changing priorities in the concerns of their audiences as the century progressed, but the fascination with the source as such remains undiminished.

Hans Sachs, Tragedia mit 22 personen, der Fortunatus mit dem wunschseckel, unnd hat 5 actus.⁴⁷

The title alone of Hans Sachs's play indicates the accent he gives the story, making it a moral tragedy of the rise and fall of a family from poverty to fortune and back again. The play is far shorter than the Volksbuch and achieves greater concentration in its narrative: its moral, that wisdom not wealth is the highest felicity, is forcefully driven home.

Travel

A brief Prologue spoken by the "ehrnholdt" opens the action, sketching in its three main phases: these are Fortunatus's travels before the gift of the purse, his travels with the purse, and Andolosia's dissipation of the wealth he inherits. Even after radically reducing the number of incidents in the original, the narrative difficulties are still considerable, but Sachs knows that audiences can be trained to be very tolerant on the question of place in dramatic action, and he worries no more about unity than Shakespeare in Antony and Cleopatra. This sort of awareness of the flexibility of the empty space was one the EK would already have found therefore, in at least some of their urban audiences. Sachs's standard solution to the problem of travel is to have the new place announced at the start of a scene. A character will leave the stage, reenter and then

say "Nun sey wir zu Constantinopel", (p.197) and there we are indeed. And with the mobility of Shakespeare's globe we speed with him and his master around the world.

The protagonist, as in the Volksbuch, is well-born and disposed to travel. We learn in the prologue that he is:

Ein jüngeling gantz adeleich,
Mit nam Fortunatus genandt,
Raist zu erforschen frembde landt. (p.187)

He has, however, taken a significant step up the social ladder in that he is now "gantz adeleich", and in so doing much of the class tension of the source is removed. Like Philip Sidney, this Fortunatus travels as part of his education. His itinerary is to include "Schotten", "Engelandt", "Franckreich", "Hispania", "Aragon", "Navarra" and "Portugal", and as many other states to the East of his home. By the mere process of listing the names of these far away lands, Sachs achieves both a sense of space and of grandeur, the stage functioning very precisely as a metaphor of the whole world, (p.196). Yet it lies in the nature of travel that the traveller is an outsider, an observer of what to him are strange practices and conventions. Fortunatus's character is, as in the Volksbuch, much influenced by this outsider status.

Soon after the itinerary is announced we are ferried rapidly to Constantinople where Fortunatus is robbed and Leupoldt kills the thief. Fearing for their lives, they proceed to Alexandria, where Fortunatus wins the magic hat, (pp.198-201) and with that his journeys are over. Fortunatus is understandably proud of what he has seen:

Nun hab ich gar in wenig jaren
 Schier alle königreich durchfahren,
 Vil wunder gsehen in der zeit [...] (p.202)

Like his Volksbuch counterpart, Fortunatus dies a natural and quiet death and there is no sense in which his dying is seen as punishment for the errors of his life. Rather, we see an aged traveller going to his eternal rest. On his death, however, his mantle passes to his younger son, and the cycle begins again:

Mein bruder, wöll wir auch dermassen
 Durch-ziehen all köngreich und stett,
 Wie unser lieber vatter thet [...] (p.203)

At first, it seems as if the son is about merely to repeat the experiences of the father, but one detail in the son's behaviour signals the recklessness that is to bring him low. For rather than waiting for a year in mourning for his father, Andolosia decides to set off on his travels without delay, and there is a direct connection made between this untimely act and the untimeliness of his own death. Sachs is strict in his views on propriety, but not however, wholly consistent in their representation, for "moral" Ampedo comes across as dull and cowardly. From the start he has no wish to travel:

Mich glustet keines reisens sehr,
 Ich will zu Famagusta bleiben [...] (p.203)

This is hardly the stuff that makes audiences warm to a character, and Sachs implicitly affirms Andolosia's conduct by his unsympathetic characterisation of Ampedo.

Sachs shows some interest in the miraculous properties of the purse (p.196), and the hat appeals as a device to enable travel at unimaginable speeds, but such stress

as there is, is placed on the potential of the hat. Although Andolosia says he intends to travel like his father, we only see him on the way to London, and none of his intermediary stops is mentioned. After Fortunatus's death, in fact, the plot turns more into a love tragedy, and travel is relegated to circumstantial status. Andolosia has to whisk around the world to get his purse back, but this is more of a punishment than a joy-ride.

Trade

In the Volksbuch, Fortunatus shifts constantly and uneasily between the ruling and the trading classes, though bearing always more the mark of the latter than the former. Sachs's Fortunatus is "gantz adeleich", and so neatly sidesteps many of the difficult social encounters which so plague his Volksbuch namesake. A further effect of his promotion is that he is less perturbed by the problem of what to do in life, as trade is more or less out of the question. He refers to service in London:

Zu Lunden thet nach dienst ich schawen,
Fand C auch ein herrn an diesem ort. (p.192)

But the status of the "herrn" is sufficiently ambiguous for his "dienst" to be understood as service in a noble house. Consistent with the aristocratic manner is the fact that Fortunatus's first act after receiving the purse is not to get arrested for spending money dressed as a beggar, but to acquire the right clothes first. He also acquires the patent of nobility by hiring a servant. Gone too is the encounter with rough justice, and we soon learn that his servant is "ein edelmann". Sachs seems to have the finer social instinct, as the Volksbuch portrayal

of Lüpoldus as "edel" is less convincing, at least in social terms.

The rise in social status does, however, lead to certain contradictions in the plot, which Sachs either overlooked, or did not perceive as such. Though now a noble, Fortunatus still courts the favour of the Sultan in the guise of a merchant, and his hat trick is surely below the dignity of the nobleman. Leupoldt tells us of the cost of the journey:

Doch wenn ir sollichs woltet than,
Würd grosser unkost drüber gan,
Das denn ein fürst kaumbmöcht verlegen. (p.199)

The description makes an implicit comparison between Fortunatus and a prince, one which testifies however, more to Fortunatus's wealth than to his behaviour. Then, to underline the distance between princely spending and princely manners, Fortunatus himself announces that he and his servant are to stop in Venice to buy jewels:

Zu Venedig wöll wir kleinot kauffen,
Das wir ein zerung mit erlauffen. (p.199)

The real Princess, Agripina, waits for the merchant to come to her.

In the Sultan's mind there is no doubt as to the true character of his visitor:

Man sagt, es sey ankumen da
Ein schiff in Alexandria
Mit kaufmanschatz, köstlichen kleinaten. (p.199)

In fact, Fortunatus is a merchant of the stamp the Volksbuch would approve, opening up new markets. The Sultan adds:

Der kaufleut hab ich in vil jaren
Vorhin in meim reich kein erfaren. (p.200)

One remembers the Volksbuch injunctions to open up new trade routes to India.

Fortunatus has read his instruction manual with care, and knows the way to men's hearts. The Admiraldo notes approvingly "diß ist ein kostfrey man./ Dergleich wir kaum gesehen han". (p.200) In the Admiraldo's naive belief in Fortunatus's goodwill lies a moral for the Christian observer, not to trust appearances. But this moral only underlines the internal contradictions in Fortunatus as Christian merchant and thief. Two modes of thought appear to coalesce: the one, that Christians may deceive non-Christians with impunity; the other, specific perhaps to Nürnberg, was the belief that the "vir fortunatus" was also a "vir beatus", that election had both temporal and spiritual advantages. Psychologically, this view was probably the merchants' best response to the aristocratic theory of power, under which they permanently suffered.

The greater part of the play, unlike the Volksbuch, is concerned with Andolosia's "courtly" love for Agripina, but it is significant that when she tricks him of his purse he adopts the character of a diamond merchant in order to repossess it. As his father had done, he steps down the social scale into the persona of a trader, and he announces his intention to fly off to Italy to purchase his wares:

Ich will in luft auffschwingen mich,
 Will hinfaren gehn Jenua,
 Ghen Florentz und Venedig, da
 Will ich umb köstlich kleinot kauffen.
 (p.209)

The man of the theatre, Sachs, cannot resist at this point the introduction of a few remarks on the manner and techniques of disguise in the theatre, involving both the face and the costume:

Mich wol machen gantz unbekandt,
 Mein angsicht versteln mit einer nasen
 Und mich verkleiden aller masen,
 Samb ich ein kleinot-kremer sey,
 Ob ich möcht kumen dem beutel bey [. . .].(p.209)

With the introduction of the motif of disguise we are suddenly in a new kind of world, one in which fraud and breaches of one's word are the order of the day, and in which trading gives way to trickery: the "kauffman" becomes the "kleinot-kremer", and the scale of business is no longer princely but petty.

Greater insistence on shortcomings such as these and an accentuation of Agripina's deception leads naturally to a greater preoccupation with guilt. Agripina, in her guilt, sees her punishment as God's vengeance:

Ich förcht, es sey die göttlich rach,
 Das ich meim Andolosiam
 Sein gluckßbeutel stal und nam. (p.216)

The apples then become God's not Andolosia's agent of punishment, although this God, or at least his agent seems decidedly devilish:

Sag, ob du den artzet nit kenst!
 Er geht umb mit teuffels gespenst. (p.217)

The almost obligatory appearance of a devil in sixteenth-century melodrama is a good excuse for a series of dis-

guises and flight through the air unseen. In Sachs's hands, therefore, the story begins to take on a more conscious air of devilry and magic.

The Courtly Life

The clearest sign of Sachs's interest in courtly life is his location of Fortunatus in the noble class from the start and his shift in the emphasis of the story from father to son. While the Volksbuch is apportioned two-thirds to father and one-third to son, in Sachs the proportions are exactly reversed. This is perhaps not surprising, as the one extended story in the Volksbuch is that of Andolosia in England; the section offers greatest variety of incident and both hat and purse play an important part. The court is fickle and the play opens on a warning note to this effect, with Fortunatus's father, renamed Fortus, lamenting his lost wealth as a result of his obsession with the pastimes of the court:

Gott hett mir groß reichthumb beschert,
Die hab ich so unnütz verthan.
Ich wolt all mal sein vornen dran
Zu hoff mit rennen und mit stechen[.](p.188)

Fortus's crime is not solely to have squandered his goods, but also to have robbed his son thereby of his birthright: his behaviour is therefore, a great risk to the society in which he lives which depends not on the privileges of wealth but of birth. His heirs cannot, as a result of his behaviour, maintain the life-style to which they are born, to the lasting shame of the family. Fortunatus, as a noble son, reassures his father:

Umb mich solt du nit sorgen mehr.
 Ich bin jung und kan in der ferrn
 Wol dienen graffen, fürsten und herrn.
 All hofzucht hab ich wol gelert.
 Wer weiß, wo mir glück ist beschert? (p.189)

The last hint of things to come is the hallmark of the dramatist, catching his audience's attention by the prospect of the rise of the central protagonist. What will Fortunatus's fortune be? Here, though, an important departure from the source signals Sachs's different attitude, for Sachs's Fortunatus does not ask if he has offended his father, but rather Fortus, the father, is held up to the son as a model of what not to become. By contrast, Fortus does give his son a blessing - all, in fact, he has to give him, and some useful advice:

Mein son, ich will dirs gleid nauß geben.
 Sey frumb! thu Gott vor augen hon
 Und sey getrew bey iedermon!
 Red wenig und hör aber vill!
 Meid fürwitz, böß gselschaft und spil,
 Füllerey sambt allen bösen stücken! (p.189)

The speech reads like a fine mixture of Polonius and the Prodigal Son's father.

The very next characters to appear on stage test this advice, as well as Fortunatus's courage, the knights of Flanders, who play their castration trick on him. While the Volksbuch here mentions only one name, Rupert, and a number of anonymous assistants, Sachs reduces the overall number to two, and calls the second Wilhelm. This pair of villains, by their concerted efforts, frighten Fortunatus away, but also prepare us for the two courtly villains who close the action by murdering

Andolosia. Throughout, the court is presented as a corrupt place, ruining Fortus, drawing Fortunatus constantly into danger, and causing Andolosia's untimely demise. Courtly life is not for the innocent and well-intentioned romance hero, and there are only jealousies. Wilhelm complains about Fortunatus's success:

Der uns all hat zu schandt gemacht [. . .]
Und er das best kleinat gewun. (p.190)

There is no comment here, as in the Volksbuch, to the effect that Fortunatus is a stranger: Wilhelm's motive is sheer envy. Yet Rupert does play his castration trick almost before Fortunatus has had time to settle in Flanders, warning Fortunatus, as a friend, that "man euch [. . .] Außschneiden wird die ewren niern" (p.190). He compounds this deception with a Judas-like gesture of amity:

Ich sag dir das auß trewem hertzen,
Darmit als meinen freund zu warnen [. . .]. (p.191)

No sooner has his friend run off in despair at the prospect than this Judas breaks out into devilish laughter, one more sign that Sachs sees his villains as morality devils.

In Sachs's play, Fortunatus's meeting with Fraw Glück follows immediately on his departure from Flanders, so the trip to London, and the merchant apprenticeship is cut out. Sachs achieves his effect by juxtaposing scenes, the hero seeking his fortune at court, but actually receiving it after fleeing from there, finding it in the most unexpected, yet mythically most appropriate

place, a forest. The technique is not unlike that in As You Like It. The forest is a symbol of despair and danger, of being lost both spiritually and psychologically, but the religious dimension plays a lesser role in Sachs's play than the political: for his forest is more of an anti-court environment, unpolluted by court behaviour. It is doubly fitting that the burger-prince to be should not find favour and fortune at court, but, as it were, by election.

Andolosia, the second generation of the burger-prince family, has not learned the hard way the evil nature of the court, and his father has not disabused him of his rosy vision of high-life mores. At first the English court does think he must be a prince:

Man sagt, es sey auß frembden landen
Ein junger ritter hie vor handen [..]
Der ein brechtig hoffhalten hat,
Als ob er sey ein junger fürst. (p.205)

But even the use of "als ob" signals doubts as to how the court could for so long have been ignorant of such a wealthy family as Andolosia appears to come from. The princeliness is somehow suspect, even if Andolosia is highly accomplished:

Ja, er ist auch kün und gedürst.
Mit rennen, thurnieren und stechen
Thut er gar manig sper zerbrechen
Für allen adl in Engellandt. (p.205)

The shadow of a romance Lancelot is cast for a while over the court, but this is no world of Round Tables, and speculations are rife on who he is. The Queen says "Er wird sein eines königs sohn" (p.205), but that only raises the further question of which king. The fault is

not solely with the court, for Andolosia does pose as a Prince, though he is none. So the questioning goes on:

Rath, wie den dingen wer zu thon,
Das man erfüßr den rechten grund! (p.205)

The "grund" they are looking for is the source of Andolosia's waelth, and to forward the conspiratorial investigation, Sachs adds a new figure to the story, Agripina's maid.

It is her idea, readily accepted, that Agripina should deceive Andolosia with promises of love into worming his secret out of him. It is women in particular whom Sachs treats with suspicion, whether they be princesses or maids, and men tend to be their victims. As if to underline this point, Sachs has Agripina locked up for ever at the end of the play, neither forgiving her her treachery, nor allowing her to marry the Prince of Cyprus. Andolosia informs her of her fate:

Nun, so fñhr ich dich gleich mit mir
In dem lande Hipernia
In ein reich frauenkloster. Da
Beschleuß fërthin zu buß dein Leben! (p.218)

From this moment of everlasting damnation, doubly damned for Protestant Sachs by being consigned to a cloister, Sachs's tragic view of the play takes complete control. Andolosia is soon foully murdered, and his death reported in Greek tragic manner, by a "bostbot", and the work closes on a strongly moral note, with a choric comment on the lessons to be learned from what we have just witnessed. Sachs knew how to catch the conscience off guard, and so more effectively prick it, by enter-

taining, and then instructing.

The Bible and Lutheranism

The closing speech of the play illuminates Sachs's understanding of the relationship between man and his "glück":

Wie wanckel sey das waltzendt glück,
So schlüpfferig, unstät und flück
Mit allen seinen hohen gaben;
Wenn mans meint am festen zu haben,
Dem menschen es sein gab abkürtzt,
In von glück in unglück stürtzt [...]
Der halb soll niemand dem glück trawen,
Sonder auff Gottes güte bauen [...]. (p.225)

On the surface, this seems to be a statement about the fickle and mutable nature of fortune: but matters are not quite this simple, for Sachs, the Lutheran, believed in man's own powers of choice in the making of his own fate. The result is that the "Catholic" source and the "Protestant" rewrite are still in conflict in Sachs's text. The problem is this: if Fortunatus and his heirs are predestined to die brutally, then it is a nasty trick played by God first to will them wealth and then take it away from them by premature death; if, however, they have choice in their affairs, as Sachs shows them to have, then the close of the play, in the sudden and unexpected deaths of Andolosia and his brother, is abhorrent and vindictive rather than divinely just. Doubtless, Sachs had a severe view of what judgement would be like, but even he saw a relationship between the extent of the crime and the nature of the punishment. In Andolosia's case, the suffering he experiences is out of all proportion to his own shortcomings.

In one important respect, Sachs does clarify our moral view of the two protagonists, Fortunatus and Andolosia, accentuating the tragedy of the son's decline and abbreviating the father's journeys. With this clarification doubts as to the nature of "justice" are dispelled: the wicked are to be punished in eternity and the good (or perhaps the elect) are to die content. There is no equivalent of the purgatorial cleansing Fortunatus undergoes in the caves of St. Patrick, Agripina's banishment has no reprieve. Because the moral lines are better defined, if contradictory in nature, there is less need for express reference to the Bible, since the teaching of the Bible is fully absorbed into the consciousness of both author and his Nürnberg audience. Sachs himself accepted the new Lutheran teaching early on in his career, and in 1523 he published Die Wittembergisch Nachtigall as his own statement of faith in Lutheranism and its founder. Yet this very Lutheranism points to a further apparent inconsistency in Sachs's handling of the source. Why, if Sachs were as true to Lutheranism as was surely the case, does Sachs still have Agripina consigned to a cloister? The place itself still reeks of Catholicism, and, as Andolosia firmly points out, it is "zu buß" (p.218) that he takes her there. It suggests therefore, that some thought of reform, of penance, of contrition is possible, only for this hope to be crushed by the finality of Agripina's acceptance of her fate.

While Agripina is punished, Fortunatus, the elect man, is able to repent his sins and, in a manner becoming a Prodigal Son who has neglected his Father's teaching

but seen the error of his ways, be received back into grace. The prerequisite is admission of sinfulness:

Ach du unstät waltzendes glück,
Wie hast du mir gewent den rück!
Seit ich bin von dem graffen kumen,
Hab ich böß gselschaft angenumen
Wider meins vatters lehr zu vorn. (p.192)

Like his Volksbuch counterpart, this Fortunatus hardly distinguishes between his earthly and his heavenly father, though again like his forerunner, one wonders how deep his admission of guilt truly is. As a sign of his election, Fortunatus is allowed to die rich and fulfilled, sad only that his beloved wife has died before him and content to follow her. Andolosia's fault lies in the fact that he tries to do too much of his own accord, not paying God the respect he is due for the gift of such blessings. While his father represents the positive aspects of wealth, he is the living embodiment of the negative: morality is not just the business of exhortation to good, but also the graphic representation of evil. Indeed, the moralist in Sachs probably felt that avoiding evil was a more likely cause of man's pursuit of good than any faith he might have in promises of future - or even present - fortune.

The dating of the play, March 4th. 1553, suggests a possible, more immediate explanation of Agripina's banishment to a cloister. Under Protestant King Edward VI, England had advanced beyond its relatively moderate nascent Anglicanism in the direction of strictly Lutheran dogma, and had he not died so young, this progress may well have turned England into a country after Sachs's heart. Perhaps in Agripina's punishment Sachs saw the Catholic church in England being shut away for ever, a

mythical incarceration like Merlin's in the rock. Yet within months Mary was on her way to London as Queen; was Sachs disappointed that this Agripina was out again?

Fairy-Tale and Romance

His elevation of Fortunatus from "burger" to "adeleich" is Sachs's only major departure from the source in respect of romance and mythic elements, and even this change is more in the nature of a fine adjustment than a radical transformation as far as the mythology is concerned. The purse, the hat, the fight with the bear, and the oddly Orphean command not to look over his shoulder as he leaves the wood of destiny are all in the Volksbuch. The descent into the purgatorial St. Patrick's cave is left out on religious grounds, but also because Sachs's strategy is to highlight, even in the mythology, the tragic, and moral aspects of the tale at the expense of the consolatory. Behind this strategy does lie the tougher moral consciousness of the new teaching, a desire to avoid the abuses of the old church in the drama of the new. This "Tragedia" was not a Fastnachtspiel, not a mere entertainment, and the Lenten period in which it was first performed suggests that it has more to do with penance and sack-cloth than with carnival. So the Volksbuch proportions, giving most weight to the happy and long life of the father, are reversed, to stress the brief and tragic life of the son.

The Law and Royal Authority

In the Volksbuch, law stands most frequently in

opposition to any ideal concept of justice. Fortunatus suffers at the hands of the London authorities because he is a foreigner, and escapes from death when a man in the crowd watching the execution calls out his innocence. He also narrowly escapes death at the hands of the Breton Earl. What saves him on both occasions is providence, not the law. Sachs, by contrast, has a stern concept of justice, as reposed in the hands of God alone. The guilty receive punishment, which is only what they deserve. Fortunatus mentions his brush with the law in London, but in such a way that takes the sense of arbitrariness from the original. There is great matter-of-factness in his allusion:

Weil diß mord geschehen war im hauß,
Da ward ich loß, solt doch zu handt
Raumen das köngreich Engellandt. (p.192)

England emerges as a dangerous place to be for a foreigner, but there is also an implicit recognition in the manner of telling, that even being in the same house where a murder is committed does reflect on all concerned, to their detriment. Sachs's strategy when dealing with the problem of justice is to save up the full force of judgement till the final scene, when Andolosia's murderers are to be executed in punishment for their crime. The result is a powerful warning to the violent criminal. When Lüpoldus kills the "wirt" in Constantinople, Sachs clearly sees the act as justifiable homicide, and he has less moral scruples about his hero's behaviour than the Volksbuch author. He even gives Leupoldt's Volksbuch suggestion as to how to dispose of the body

to Fortunatus, so further approving of the action.

The scene of judgement is imposing in its measured tone and brutal implications. The King of Cyprus, for Sachs the idealised justice-figure in the play, speaks of the treatment the criminals will receive at law:

Hie werd ir gestelt für gericht
Und auff ewer beider vergicht,
Und nach königlich strengen recht
Solt ir beid werden geradbrecht. (p.224)

The "hencker", like a figure from the Last Judgement, then reminds his victims with grim finality what the implementation of sentence actually means:

Ich will euch stossen mit dem rad,
Weil ir on schuld, auß neid, ohn gnad
Andolosiam und sein knecht
Ermörd habt widr Gott, ehr und recht. (p.224)

The constellation of "Gott, ehr und recht" is the key to the play's sense of right and wrong, one that admits of far less differentiation and extenuation than the Volksbuch's. The king as God's agent is the guardian of law, but also of religion and honour: and it is precisely religion and honour that give the law its hard edge. The Dukes murder two men in cold blood, and that costs them their lives and their honours: Agripina tricks and steals, and that sentences her to incarceration for life. Even Andolosia's death has to be interpreted as a form of punishment for proud and reckless living, and for a breach of a sacred oath to his dying father. So the law itself takes second place to a higher system of judgement, based on the view of sinfulness the new teaching had spread: this was taking the concept of law itself back towards theology and

punishing men as sinners rather than as criminals. The result was that the court of legal judgement, or the king acting as judge, gave the criminal an intimation of the judgement of God, even before death. The very harshness of the resultant justice was intended both to reinforce to the onlooker the need for obedience and moral rectitude, and to convince man that the real sufferer for his sins was God and not his fellow men. The logic is then quite simple: the law is the law, and is as absolute in nature as its begetter, God. The king is God's agent, and speaks for him, so the king's word is to be understood as enriched with God's immanent authority. For this reason, the King of Cyprus is called Maximus, the highest authority. The King of England, who distinguishes himself in the source by his misdemeanours, is left out altogether in order not to sully the concept of absolutely authoritative kingship.

Although at first sight Sachs's play seems close in spirit and conception to the Volksbuch, they are often worlds apart in belief and in issues of principle, which is as one might expect given what had happened in European theology and politics in the period between their dates of composition, 1509 and 1553. Artistically, however, Sachs had proved that the source was well suited to a dramatisation, and his types of choice in what of the original to use for performance were ones both Dekker and the EK followed. So close at times are the similarities between versions that one must wonder if both Dekker and the EK knew Sachs's work, as they knew each other's.

Thomas Dekker's version: The Pleasant Comedie of
Old Fortunatus.⁴⁸

Dekker's title is, in its way, as indicative of the nature of his play as is Sachs's, although the circumstances of composition leave many questions as to its origins unanswered. The piece was apparently performed at court before the Queen on December 27th. 1599, and certain parts of the printed text were clearly written for the occasion.⁴⁹ On November 9th. 1599, Dekker received forty shillings for the "hole hystory of ffortunatus", and on November 24th. three pounds more. On November 30th. a final twenty shillings was paid, totalling six pounds for the job. The following day, however, he was given a further pound for "the altrenge of the boocke of the wholl history of fortewnat^us", and this was followed on December 12th. by forty shillings for "the eande of fortewnat^us for the corte."⁵⁰ The saga smacks of a Hollywood script, but nevertheless, by 1600 the work was popular enough to be printed. From the various payments Dekker received we may conclude that he reshaped the play more than once, and that his work must have been substantial.

The mystery of the origins of the work lie less in these transactions than in references in Henslowe's diary four years earlier, the first of which is dated February 3rd. 1595/6, referring enigmatically to the "j p of fortewnat^us", and which continue through that month, April and May 1596.⁵¹ One may suppose that the initial conception had two parts, the first describing the rise of Fortunatus, the second, the fall of his son, Andelocia. Where exactly the impetus for the plan came from is uncertain. In its finally published form, the play is an essentially popular

work, with special sections appended for the court. As such, it offers the basis for a comparison of the two main component groups of the English theatre audience, the court and the city, both of which seemed equally intrigued and repelled by each other's tastes. This comparison in turn sheds light on the sort of practical education in audience behaviour and taste that the EK would have experienced in London before going abroad, and their choice of the Fortunatus story for their repertoire must have been influenced by its sociological flexibility, a story suited to any audience.

Travel

Whether or not Dekker knew of Hans Sachs's version of the story, in his own play the tendency to diminish Fortunatus's part in the proceedings is continued. Dekker makes him an old man in the very first scene and he is immediately confronted with the choice between riches and wisdom. Dekker thus dispenses with any explanation of why he is in the mysterious wood, and with the contrast between his former life and his life after the receipt of the purse; in fact, the sole purpose of the character seems to be to get the two magic gifts introduced into the story.

Dekker's interest in the piece is not primarily the chance it offers to present the wonders of the world, but rather to investigate the effect of unlimited wealth on man. In Fortunatus's travels it is his riches that are stressed, appearing, as it were, in a shower of gold wherever he goes; and Andelocia goes straight to London from Cyprus, thus cutting out all his preliminary journeying. From this it might appear that travel has only a very

minor part to play in the action, which is more concentrated and intense than in either the Volksbuch or Sachs's play. But at the same time, Dekker neatly turns the travel motif to another use, that of religious travel, or pilgrimage - a journey to truth and self-discovery, or of penance.

In Fortunatus's choice of riches he ignores the dire warnings of Fortune, warnings missing from the source: unlike Faust, he chooses riches not wisdom. This decision should therefore, throw all his subsequent travels into the moral shade, but this does not happen. Dekker's character sturdily resists both Fortuna's and, one senses, his author's attempts to bring him to heel. Not Fortunatus but Fortune has to fix the "travel/ travail" pun:

This trauell now expires: yet from this circle,
Where I and these with fairie troopes abide,
Thou canst not stir, vnlesse I be thy guide.
(I, i, 159-161)

This hints at a contradiction in Dekker's reading of Fortunatus, for on the one hand he holds over him the threat of "travail" and yet he lets him escape with barely a scratch from the thorny path of life. Fortunatus suffers a good deal less even than a "normal" man might have been expected to, and for an ass he does very well. Even in the descriptions of his travels there is little sign of the evil effects of wealth, more its splendour. Dekker reprimands him for his choice of wealth, and for wasting the rich blessings of Fortune, but his heart appears to be on Fortunatus's side. Perhaps Henslowe's tight house-keeping made Dekker aware of the difficulty of his protagonist's choice.

In both the Volksbuch and Sachs's play, the chief benefit Fortunatus's purse brought him was ease of travel; Dekker, in a Marlovian flight of images, sees the other side of the coin, its sheer opulence:

Sould. Where is that purse which threw abroad such treasure?

Fortunat. I gaue it to the Turkish Soliman,
A second I bestowed on Prester Iohn,
A third the great Tartarian Cham receiued:
For with these Monarches haue I banquetted,
And rid with them in triumph through their
courts [..].
(II, i, 9-14)

That the money is "thrown abroad" is a criticism of Fortunatus but even moral Dekker cannot resist the vision of splendour that the purse conjures up - "is it not passing brave[.]" As Fortunatus says:

I am like the Sunne, if Ioue once chide,
My gilded browes from amorous heauen I hide.
(II, i, 22-3)

Predictably, Dekker's imagery is considerably more complex than either the Volksbuch's or Sachs's. He relates gold to the sun and to sovereignty in the figure of the triumph, in classic Renaissance manner: the sun is drawn across the heavens like a triumphal car, golden and brilliant, but it is also, like the splendour of Fortunatus, never more splendid than just before its setting. In the setting, a different interpretation of the flight of triumph suggests itself, likening Fortunatus to Icarus. Like Icarus, he flies too close to the sun of gold and splendour, and, suddenly at Fortune's command, he is plunged into the dark sea of death. Through this alternative reading of the triumphal flight, Dekker establishes an ambiguity at the very heart of the notion of triumph, suggestive of

the brittle and unpredictable nature of earthly good fortune. This ambiguity is caught perfectly in the "travel"/ "travail" homophone.

Just before his death, in Dekker, unlike his two predecessors, unexpected and unprepared for, Fortunatus tells his sons of the joys of travel, so inspiring his younger son to emulate him:

Andel. Faith father, what pleasure haue you met by walking your stations?

Fortunat. What pleasure, boy? I haue reueled with kings, daunc'd with Queenes, dallied with Ladies, worne straunge attires [.]. I haue spent the day in triumphes, and the night in banquetting.
(II, ii, 146-152)

These are not only precisely the pleasures Andelocia himself is soon to taste, but they describe an outsider's dominant impressions of court life. That this life is morally suspect is evident from the vocabulary Fortunatus deploys - "pleasure", "reueled", "daunc'd", "dallied" etc; but to reinforce the point, Dekker has Ampedo ask "Why, brother, are not all these vanities?". (II, ii, 157) Dekker is sailing close to the wind; but Fortunatus soon deflects attention away from criticism of aristocratic practices to an aristocratic rejection of the city throng:

I scorn'd to crowd among the muddie throng
Of the rancke multitude [.]. (II, ii, 174-5)

Fortunatus has been reading his Horace ("Odi profanum vulgus[.]") - but he has neglected his Machiavelli. His death, following so soon this discourse with his sons, seems then a comment on it. He is punished as a burger aspiring to courtly life, but also as the sort of aristocrat who neglects his duty to the people in favour of "pleasure" and "vanities". For all that, he has lived a rich and happy life and one wonders how many of Dekker's audience would have noticed the moral implications of

his death.

Fortunatus's travels embody Dekker's vision of the triumphant progress of mammon in the world. The only antidote is to travel in humility and penance rather than in showers of gold - to become a pilgrim. We are all travellers on life's road: what matters is how we travel. Two old men in "The Prologue at Court" set the tone:

1. Are you then traueelling to the temple of Eliza?
2. Euen to her temple are my feeble limmes traueelling.

("The Prologue at Court", 1-2)

That even feeble-limbed old men should be travelling to the temple makes that temple's importance plain, their journey a pilgrimage of worship. The temple itself is a compound of the Queen's radiance and the deep truth her office embodies, the seat of all wisdom.

The function of the theatre is to be an analog both of the temple and of the wide world that Fortunatus explores. In "The Prologue", Dekker makes explicit use of the favourite "Theatrum mundi" conceit:

[.]this smal Circumference must stand,
For the imagind Sur-face of much land,
Of many kingdomes, and since many a mile,
Should here be measurd out [.] ("The Prologue", 15-18)

In this he not only draws on the rich tradition of interpreting the theatre as globe, but he also implies that the whole world is lying at the spectators' feet - and at the feet of the Queen in particular. The theatre may transport around the known and imagined world without constraint of money or matter, and so in itself embodies Fortunatus's own gifts. It may also take man into himself, on a voyage of inner discovery, a voyage exploring the

limits of the soul. The purpose of moral drama is to take the spectator on journeys without his having in reality to travel. All the author and his performers need is attention: "Your gracious eye/ Giues life to Fortunatus historie". ("The Prologue", 23-4) The key word however, is "measure". Not only does measure counter-balance pleasure, it also unites in a single term the physical act of surveying with the moral act of judgement. This sort of measurement is referred to by the character of Virtue, Dekker's introduction into the plot:

How many kingdomes haue I measured,
Onely to find a Climat, apt to cherish
These withering braunches? (I, iii, 4-6)

In introducing Virtue and Vice into his plot, Dekker was doing no more than rationalising the sub-text of the source into morality figures of the sort that are present in embryonic form in Sachs's play. But the act of personification also sharpened still further the moral focus. In travel Dekker sees a metaphor of self-exploration and self-judgement: one measures oneself against what one sees, and one attempts to find measure in one's own life. Measure unites both wisdom and truth, it is these ideals in their applied form.

In Fortunatus's world, however, measure is as hard to discover as wisdom. Virtue is seeking wisdom:

[.] We wander once more through the world:
Wisedome I know hath with her blessed wings
Fled to some bosome [.] (I, iii, 79-81)

As it turns out, wisdom has only one repose, in the "bosome" of the Queen; and it is perhaps unjust that Fortunatus should be made to suffer for the evident weakness of the whole race (from which the Queen was not excluded) the desire for gold. But the Queen, as God's agent, is

by virtue of her office a "measure": it is in the very nature of monarchy that the subject should take his measure from the sovereign. Gold, that false sovereign, is but the image of power, the bearer of the emblem of power but not real power itself - or so the argument.

Like his father, Andelocia is excited by travel, and immediately after his father's death he plans to depart. Significantly, he ushers in the second part of the play with reference to measure:

Ile tread after my Fathers steps;
ile goe measure the world, therefore
lets share these Iewels [c. 2]. (II, ii, 370-1)

In his unseemingly haste, Andelocia, in a negative manner, suggests a further moral facet to "measure"; he overreaches the measure of acceptable behaviour, and so is held to act in a socially "unwise" way. He establishes a close relation between moral behaviour and social behaviour, which leads in turn to the perception that morality may in fact be a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy for controlling the burger. This is very much Volksbuch terrain. The aristocrat claims proximity to God, the king in particular regarding himself as God's anointed. So the limitless power of God descends from king to noble, and so on through the social pyramid. Each translation of power across a class

boundary weakens that power; yet each boundary is not just political but also religious in nature. Andelocia, more than his father, attempts to storm across these boundaries in a manner almost Promethean in its boldness. He makes his purpose plain in a reference to the power of gold:

gold is an Eagle, that can flie to any place,
and like death, that dares enter all places.

(II, ii, 389-90)

In returning to the image complex of gold, flight and power, Dekker also reintroduces the Icarus motif into the play, for Andelocia will fall; at the same time, he continues his strategy of imagistic ambiguity through the Eagle, for not only is the Eagle the king of the birds, but he also bears the thunderbolts that strike down the over-bearing subject. Andelocia's appeal to the power of money is quite correct, but this "wisdom" is not for his kind to know.

Why then was Andelocia not warned by his father? In both the Volksbuch and Sachs there are clear indications that gold is limited in its power, particularly over death. Dekker's Fortunatus is called an "ass" but he is a remarkably canny ass, and it seems at least an inconsistency that no word of warning should be given. One reason is that Andelocia would not have been able to understand a warning, a point that is established in a nice misunderstanding between Andelocia and his servant Shaddow (that cousin of death):

Shad. [E.]but what shall we learne by trauaile?

Andel. Fashions. (II, ii, 394-6)

Once again the source of the ambiguity is the "travel" pun, but Andelocia's idée fixe has such a hold on him that he has also lost the measure of words. This loss of measure affects his whole manner of speech, and he does not see the contradictory nature of his own formulations. He plans, for example, to "trie what vertue gold has to inflame", not realising that gold's "vertue" is indeed to inflame men to the point of self-destruction. (II,ii,416)

The resolution of the quest for wisdom is familiar, a long and slow climb up the steep cliffs of truth:

The path that leades to Vertues court is narrow,
 Thornie and vp a hill, a bitter iorney,
 But being gon through, you find all heau'nly sweetes [...].
 (IV, 1, 208-10)

This journey conflates the emblematic climb of Donne's Hill of Truth, with Christian's crossing of the River of Death - the truth is in the dark glass. Death is the ultimate measure, and a man is nowhere more accurately measured than in the manner of his death.

Dekker achieves the complete integration of the Volksbuch's dominant interest in travel into the metaphoric structure of his play, at the same time amplifying its significance. Where Sachs merely dramatised the source, Dekker has translated it into his own audience's idiom, and in so doing he recovers from the Volksbuch that sense of picaresque breadth which Sachs had substantially edited out. The price Dekker paid for this breadth however, was the loss of moral focus on the perils of money, and the ambiguity of his Fortunatus's destiny.

Trade

For Dekker, the fact that Fortunatus is a member of the trading class is of little importance; it is much more relevant to his view of the plot that Fortunatus be portrayed as a fool obsessed by wealth, a role which, by implication, criticises the merchant mentality. More significant is the evident Schadenfreude the court must have felt in enjoying the sight of a merchant Croesus discomfited by death. Yet Fortunatus's generosity in itself is an aristocratic trait, his triumphant visits to Eastern kings, hardly the mark of a mere merchant. The aristocracy, strong more in privilege than in possessions, cannot

have laughed too heartily either at the revelation that they too could be bought if the price was high enough. (A few years later Francis Bacon fell from power for allegedly taking bribes.)⁵² The only scene where trade plays a role is the apple-selling, but this is played for its comic value. The scene in which Andelocia sells jewels to Agripyne is not shown by Dekker, and is only related in reported speech. What interested Dekker was the theme of the Faust-like man who chose not wisdom but wealth.

The Courtly Life

Whereas Sachs seems consciously to limit the reference to supreme authority in his work in a way that separates the concepts of nobility and sovereignty, for Dekker they are inextricably bound up with each other, and it is impossible to conceive of someone pursuing an aristocratic way of life who himself has not the numen of an aristocrat. The great exceptions, and therefore the point of the story, are Fortunatus and Andelocia, whose intrusion into the world which should be closed to them creates the tension on which the whole plot rests. The gift of the purse is then the burger's passport to the seat of power, a recognition perhaps of the rising importance of the power of capital by the government of the day. For Dekker, the very fact that Fortunatus has a magic purse means that he has no reason to travel but for pleasure, and, as we have seen, the trader in Fortunatus is almost completely suppressed by Dekker, while for Sachs it plays a very important part.

For Fortunatus, the courtly life is a succession of feasts, dances and triumphs, all infused with majesty. The majestic is the key to Dekker's whole presentation of the court, and, as such, it belongs more properly to a discussion of royal authority, and I shall consider it under that section. But Dekker does introduce an entirely new type of courtly scene into the play, evidently for the Court performances. These deal with the love-life at court in London, as centred on Agripyne, and emerge as good-natured, though pointed parody.

The entry of love-sick Orleans, with a boy and a lute, alludes surely to Twelfth Night, but, equally surely to the ill-fated flirt with the Duke of Alencon:

if the King aske for me, sweare to him
I am sicke, and thou shalt not lie, pray
thee leaue me. (III, i, 1-3)

Even more Orsine-like is the next remark:

This musicke makes me but more out of tune.
(III, i, 5)

So love, intrigue and politics are woven together in a manner typical of Elizabeth's dealings: we are in a world of sophistications, manners, wit and conceits unknown to Sachs, as indeed to the Volksbuch author. This very world was what drew the German crowned heads to London, to breathe a heady whiff of opulence and privilege, such as they had only dreamed of: small wonder that Philipp-Julius of Pommern-Wolgast had his head turned. Love is however, the key: endlessly discussed, relentlessly pursued, Elizabeth had turned a courtly habit into a diplomatic tool. Dekker leads us gently into

a recognition of the full implications of a whole way of life turned around the principles of love;

Gall. Gentle friend, no more.
Thou saiest loue is a madnes, hate it then,
Euen for the names sake.

Orle. O, I loue that madnes,
Euen for the names sake. (III, i, 5-9)

The language of courtly life, with its elegant turns of phrase is but one signal to the deeper function of wit and conceit in diplomatic exchange. This theme is brought out into the open by Agripyne:

Agrip. Ile try this strangers cunning in a daunce.

Andel. My cunning is but small, yet whoo'le not proue
To shame himselfe for such a Ladies loue?
(III, i, 265-6)

Just such a cunning dance had been led by Elizabeth in her foreign and domestic policy right through her reign, and now, at the end of it, she was probably pleased to hear her conduct so analysed, especially when it came to applying the metaphor to relations with Spain: Agripyne asks Insultado "Doth my Spanish prisoner denie to daunce?" (III, i, 291), in response to a highly suggestive statement from him about dance. He claims majesty for the Spanish dance that the English does not share:

la danza spagnola, es muy alta, Maiestica, y para Monarcas: vuestra Inglesa, Baxa, Fantastica, y muy humilde. (III, i, 289-90)

Once again we have independent confirmation of the closeness of the dance metaphor to the world of politics that Willoughby and Wilkinson see as so central to understanding Schiller, and Moryson saw as so revelatory about relative attitudes to ceremony in England and Germany. Only

cultures that could dream up dances like the English could also become involved in the type of diplomatic work that so typified Elizabethan policy. The training the EK had in such a culture not only led them to being able to impress the Graz court as dancers, but likewise as diplomats.

No sooner has Andelocia been "danced " off the stage by her clever contrivance, than the purpose behind the dance reveals itself: Andelocia is to be taken down a peg, and his secret is to be uncovered. Athelstane says to Cyprus:⁵³

His pride weelee somewhat tame, and curb the head
Of his rebellious prodigalitie. (III, i, 326-27)

In that he transgresses the boundaries of what his rank and apparent financial status should allow him, Andelocia is indeed a rebel, that is, a threat to the stability of the political and social pyramid in the English kingdom; for in being wealthier than the King he strikes at the heart of the principle of order in society that in all things the King should be most advantaged. In this Dekker shares an identical perception with Sachs and with the Volksbuch, and he too sees a higher theological implication in Andelocia's transgressions, sins of pride. Andelocia, by his pride, is the true begetter of the intrigues spawned against him, a view of him which emerges in the affair of the meal cooked on spices. The King, to embarrass him, orders that he be sold no fuel to cook on:

He hath invited vs, and all out Peeres,
To feast with him to morrow, his prouision,

I vnderstand may entertaine three kings.
 But Lincolne, let our Subiects secretly
 Be chargde on paine of life that not a man
 Sell any kind of Fewell to his seruants. (III, i, 328-33)

In the source, Andelocia circumvents the ban by cooking on costly spices: but Dekker chooses simply to discomfit him, which has curious implications for the story. Firstly, the King's action is shown to be merely spiteful, and Andelocia wins rather than loses our sympathy as a result. Secondly, the order in which events happen, and their interrelation, gets muddled: in the source, Andelocia is first involved in the meal affair, and when he succeeds in passing that test of initiative, Agripina seduces him. Her act is a direct consequence of his. But Dekker removes the real cause of the seduction by having Andelocia fail the meal test, and he even transposes the events, so that the seduction is shown before the meal invitation is issued, with the result that both scenes give the impression of unmitigated royal bullying. Perhaps Dekker was trying to be tactful to Elizabeth, and not show a subject flouting a royal ban with ease; but even she must have been aware that the overall impression Dekker gave of court life was unflattering, to say the least.

The Bible and Religion

Dekker, like Sachs, was acutely aware of the new moral sternness with which reformers had confronted society, and the religious and moral debate colours the whole play. Of especial importance to him was the fact that the temporal and spiritual ruler were the same person, a fact he alludes to in "The Prologue at Court", when a journey to court, to her, is a Pilgrimage:

O pardon me your Pilgrim, I haue measurd
 Many a mile to find you. ("The Prologue at Court", 50-1)

Just as travel has about it the sense of an inner journey through a paysage interieur, so too it carries the suggestion of pilgrimage, especially when it leads to Eliza's temple. The Queen, as head of church and state, carries both God's authority as priest and as judge, and her statements have both legal and religious force. In his explicit use of this aspect of royal power to frame the Fortunatus story, Dekker clearly locates his play within a more general literature of Erastian Anglicanism, a literature whose energy was drawn precisely from the Queen's "two bodies". In Ampedo and Andelocia he portrays two extremes which Erastian thought seeks to unite, extreme Puritanism and opulent Catholicism. Ampedo's position is straightforward:

I am not enamoured of this painted Idoll,
 This strumpet world [c.] her Cynthian beames
 Will wantonly daunce on the siluer streames;
 But [c.] this squinteide age sees vertue poore,
 And by a litle spark sits shiuering [c.]
 (I, ii, 49-50, 52-55)

The use of "daunce" in this context glosses the later court behaviour in a less attractive manner, highlighting the intrigue at the expense of the beauty; but the reference to "siluer streames" is also curiously resonant when compared with Webster's praise for the Thames as just such a stream.⁵⁴ Ampedo's use of "squinteide" also introduces the question of perspective into the play in a manner than seeks to align perception and morality. The eyes of evil men cannot see straight: and the product of this evil is a battle between Virtue and Vice, in which Virtue

is "poore" and "begging at all", while Vice triumphs, for the time being at least. Like Malvolio, however, Ampedo's very rectitude is his weakness, and Dekker can hardly have expected his audience to have taken the side of a stick-in-the-mud.

Dekker further prepares us for the allegory of Virtue and Vice by Andelocia's own allusion to "vertue":

Shaddow, when thou prouest a substance, then
the tree of vertue and honestie, and such fruit
of heauen shall florish vpon earth. (I, ii, 70-2)

The irony is not quite as complete as it sounds here, for the tree will, at the close, indeed flourish, in Eliza's park: but a little later the other half of the allegory is also introduced, to make the audience aware of the coming conflict. Shaddow and Andelocia exchange conceits:

Andel. [.] whilst my brother vertue here -

Shad. And you his brother Vice.

Andel. Most true, my little leane Iniquitie [.] .
(I, ii, 91-3)

The patter is contrived, but no more so than the literal and metaphorical dance figures in which the court subsequently becomes engaged. In the next scene, we are prepared for the pageant of Virtue and Vice, described in a highly elaborate manner by the stage directions:

Musick sounds: Enter Vice with a gilded face, and hornes on her head: her garments long, painted before with siluer halfe moones, increasing by litle and litle, till they come to the full: in the midst of them in Capitall letters this written: CRESCIT EVNDO [.] . (I, iii)

This is a classic speaking picture sequence, in the same mode as the EK were to use a great deal in their work.

When they do come, the spoken words rather explain what has been shown than advance the action, subordinating speech to image. Dekker presents a series of morally corrupt images: Vice has a "faire tree of Gold with apples on it", while Virtue brings in a "tree with greene and withered leaues mingled together, and litle fruit on it". To make matters more explicit still, Virtue wears a "coxecombe on her head", though Vice and her retinue are patently enough "attirde like deuils". We need know nothing about the subject of the play to be able to read it as a tale about the universal struggle of Good and Evil.

Fortunatus dies because, according to Fortune, he has "plaid the Ruffian, wasted that in ryots,/ Which as a blessing I bestowed on thee". (II, ii, 236-7) The tone is similar to that of the Volksbuch; Fortunatus is possessed of limitless "talents", but he has not employed them as he should have done: so we sense that it is not misfortune but moral shortcoming that has brought him low. Fortune underlines the unpleasant destiny awaiting his sons as well:

[.] as death strikes thee,
So shall their ends sudden and wretched bee.

(II, ii, 251-2)

This is not a forgiving world, nor one in which reform seems possible: Ampedo and Andolosia are doomed from birth, and their destiny is set. While the Volksbuch offers a way out, Dekker does not. At one stage, however,

there is a curious trace of the Volksbuch source, in a reference to St. Patrick's caves, which is the more remarkable when one considers that Sachs left it out. Andelocia and Shaddow have disguised themselves as Irishmen to sell apples from the tree of Vice, when Andelocia remarks:

So, this is admirable, Shaddow, here end my torments in Saint Patrickes Purgatorie [.]

(IV, ii, 95-6)

What Dekker intended by the reference is not immediately clear, since the rest of the episode in the caves is not used, and in any case, it was Fortunatus who, in the source, paid the visit there. In one sense, the introduction of "Purgatorie" into the story complicates it, for having established that there is no mercy in the world, only virtue or vice, Dekker apparently allows the possibility of conversion from vice to virtue after all. The brevity of the reference may in fact suggest that this was an area on which Dekker had spent time in earlier drafts, only then to condense perhaps a whole scene into a line.

Yet in a further sense, the reference lends credence to the possibility that Dekker saw in Andelocia the other religious extreme which the Elizabethan settlement was to incorporate, the Catholic opposition. If Ampedo is the Protestant kill-joy, Andelocia is the "rebellious" Catholic, buying his way into the court to cause disruption. Dekker's "measured" way lies between the two. Other opportunities of developing the Catholic case are, however, avoided: Agripyne retires not to a cloister but a cave, where, like the mythological fate of Merlin she is

to be sealed in:

Locke me in some caue
Where staring wonders eye shall not be guiltie
To my abhorred lookes, and I will die,
To thee as ful of loue as miserie. (V, i, 56-9)

Then, in a gesture contrary to the spirit he has shown hitherto, Andelocia changes his mind and releases her: in the Volksbuch this is the point at which Andelocia becomes wise and mends his ways. Not so for Dekker, who has him return to his reckless life. The lesson seems to be that the hardened Catholic cannot enjoy salvation, but that the more erratic, if sinful, true believer, such as Agripyne, still can be saved. Andelocia gets the hard part of the bargain.

Fairy-tale and Romance

Dekker's concern with the devilish side of romance and fairy-tale is more pronounced than either the Volksbuch's or Sachs's, and while the morality figures of Virtue and Vice were introduced to suit the court taste for Masque, the town would rather have enjoyed the devilry. Dekker does however, use the theme of endless riches to provoke discussions about the evils of lucre, alchemy and necromancy, so that neither court nor town escape the moral implications of the plot.

It was not just the moral aspects of the romance themes that intrigued Dekker, however, but also their metaphoric properties. Even the act of imagination Dekker asked of his audience, to transform the stage in front of them into an image of the whole world carried with it an element of necromancy, and of limitlessness analogous

to Fortunatus's purse. Just as reckless spending could be condemned, so too could recklessness in the pursuit of the pleasures of the imagination, and measure was a moral duty the playwright had to share. Dekker could not allow himself to turn what Fortunatus terms a "coniuring circle" (I, i, 18-19) into a place of prodigal fantasy, and so allow his audience to turn from moral concerns to enjoyment of revelry and magic. Yet he was not always able to sustain a tough moral stance.

Like Bottom in A Midsummer Night's Dream, Fortunatus is transformed into an ass, through a passage through the magic circle of the stage. Though having no outward ears to mark this transformation, no sooner is he in his "Elizium" (I, i, 148) than he starts to speak verse:

Oh, how am I transported? Is this earth?
Or blest Elizium? (I, i, 147-8)

Dekker's implicit warning to the town is that they should not become so assinine as to seek to imitate the language of the court; his message to the court is that he shares their contemptuous laughter at such ineffectual attempts to be aristocratic in spirit. Lest we miss the point, Dekker has his wise fool, Shaddow, gloss the emblem of the ass-man loaded with riches and speaking verse that we have all just seen:

it vexes me no more to see such a picture,
then to see an Asse laden with riches,
because I know when hee can beare no longer,
he must leaue his burthen to some other beast.

(I, ii, 96-98)

This other beast is to be his son, and the "devil"
Fortunatus is a rich ass.

Complementary to the power of gold to transform
is the charm of love, which can make ass's heads objects
of desire. Orleans vows, Titania-like, to be:

In loue with nothing but deformitie.
O faire Deformitie, I muse all eyes
Are not enamord of thee [c..]. (III, i, 67-70)

While Andelocia is deformed in spirit, Agripyne is
deformed literally, with horns; and these horns equally
literally test Orleans's claim to love "Deformitie".
Agripyne comments herself on love's power:

Oh, why this is rare, there's a certaine deitie
in this, when a Lady by the Magicke of her lookes,
can turne a man into twentie shapes. (III, i, 145-7)

Elizabeth may have detected a compliment to her in this
of the kind she liked in her ugly old age, but there
is also an allusion to the devilish powers of women
which might have made her less enthusiastic: and Agripyne
herself was soon to rue her arrogance in thinking
herself a "deitie".

Love enchants, and love tortures, as Orleans knows
to his cost:

But to loue a Lady and neuer to enioy her,
oh it is not death, but worse then damnation;
Tis hell, tis [c..]. (III, i, 98-100)

He is further tested by Agripyne's infidelity and deformity.
Nor is he the only one to suffer: Agripyne makes the
poor Spaniard, Insultado, dance for her, and, morally
worse, she tricks Andelocia by seduction. Dekker takes
something of a risk here, for he has the English king
involved in the plot:

If by the soueraigne Magicke of thine eye,
 Thou canst inchant his lookes to keepe the circles
 Of thy faire cheekes, be bold to trie thy charmes[. .] .
 (III, i, 257-9)

The key word is "charmes", uniting sexual with magic power, and so suggesting darker mysteries than mere love in the "circles" of her cheeks. To sustain the mood of devilry, music then sounds, and a curtain parts to reveal a gulled Andelocia asleep in his Judas's lap. The image blends the Circean triumph of enchantment with a Delilan triumph of sexual attraction, the mythical hero transformed into a lap-dog.

Even after the successful duping of Andelocia doubts remain about who he is, and one theory links him with devilry, making him a moneyed version of Dr. Faustus:

Vnlesse he melt himselfe to liquid gold,
 Or be some God, some diuell, or can transport
 A mint about him, (by inchantèd power)
 He cannot raine such shewers. (III, i, 342-5)

The king then circles in on his true suspicions:

Hees a Magician sure, and to some fiend,
 His soule (by infernall couenants) has he sold[. .] .
 (III, i, 348-9)

Given the fact that Elizabeth herself had spent so much on alchemical research, Dekker is once again sailing close to the wind, since Elizabeth would, given the choice, rather have taken the "shewers" of gold than rejected them. But she would have drawn the line at the sort of tricks to which Andelocia resorts to recover his property, not least because she would have tended temperamentally to side with the Princess. He causes Agripyne to ask "What diuell art thou that affrightst

me thus [.]?", to which he replies:

Indeed the diuel and the pick-purse should alwaies flie together [.] but Madam Couetousnes, I am neither a diuel as you cal me, nor a Jeweller as I call my selfe, no, nor a Iugler [.]. (IV, i, 1-7)

Andelocia has now the chance to vent his anger and frustration and, at the same time, sit in judgement on the infidelity with which he has been treated. He threatens Agripyne with death and then, in a rhetorical twist, claims her power to transform for his own:

Agrip. If I must die, doome me some easier death.

Andel. Or transforme you (because you loue picking) into a Squirell [.]. (IV, i, 37-9)

The reference to the squirrel conceals yet another witty transformation, as the image recalls the very first scene of the play, in which Fortunatus is the "squirrel", hungrily gathering nuts in a hoarding gesture that prepares us for the treasure motif to come. But while Fortunatus, when rich, is simply prodigal, and Agripyne covetous, Andelocia becomes devilish, tempting Agripyne in the same terms Satan tempted Christ: "Loue me, and I will make the whole world thine". (IV, i, 56) Agripyne does not yield to this devilish pact, rectitude which saves her from perpetual incarceration; but Andelocia has shown us his blackest aspect. As Fortune comments:

See where my new-turnd diuel has built his hel.
(IV, i, 112)

Fortune's function is not unlike that of the Evangelist in Pilgrim's Progress, commenting, directing, analysing and predicting, Fortunatus and Andelocia taking part in a form of religious-picaresque education.

At this late stage, even devilish Andelocia-Dr. Faustus is not so far steeped in the pitch of sinfulness to be beyond

redemption and forgiveness, and in a Catholic-sounding cry he asks:

Away, why tempt you me? some powrefull grace
Come and redeeme me from this hideous place.
(IV, i, 143-4)

The possibility that Dekker saw Andelocia as a member of the Roman faith is strengthened by the short exchange between Fortune and Andelocia, because the Volksbuch pattern of sinning and forgiveness is turned upside down. Instead of genuinely repenting and mending his ways, Andelocia puts on a highly "Jesuitical" face and pretends virtue where he is, in fact, as black as night. What is hurt is his pride, and his appearance of penance is itself devilishly vain. An equivalent hypocritical vanity is evident in the way he asks Fortune for aid, in tones that implicitly question the Catholic attitude to confession:

O, re-transforme me to a glorious shape,
And I will learne how I may loue to hate her.
(IV, i, 185-6)

How can one ever know if the secret confession the sinner makes is genuine, or feigned as Andelocia's? Nevertheless, it is hard to see why Virtue should fall for Andelocia's trickery as she does.

Andelocia's devilishness comes out in his casuistry, his disguises, and in his ability to change the nature of "truth" by lies: he assumes the garb and role of Jeweller, apple-merchant and Doctor, and it is in the duality of this last role, as healer and infecter in one, that the dangerousness of his flawed morality

is most evident. When the apples take their effect the devil is loose, as the shocked King implies to the suitor, Cyprus:

See, prince of Cyprus, thy faire Agripyne
Hath turnd her beautie to deformitie.
(V, i, 9-10)

The beauty who is deformed is a classic guise for the devil to take, as he did when appearing to Juliana of Norwich as an angel of light. But Andelocia is not the only beauty of this kind: the "angel" Agripyne made herself a devil for the sake of "angels" that came out of the magic purse. Dekker, like the Volksbuch source, tends, for all the presence of the Queen, to the view that the merchant is hopelessly outclassed in the corrupt world of court intrigue. Finally, Agripyne sees the error of her ways, and sees through the outward show of the tormentor, commenting to her father "Your maiestie fights with no mortall power". (V, i, 3)

The constraint of a power above that of ordinary mortals affects the King just as much as the subject, and Dekker implies, as does Sachs, that there is this significant limit to the power of the absolute ruler which some of them tend to overlook. The King is rewarded for his willingness to acknowledge limits to power with the gift of the purse after Andelocia's death: how Elizabeth must have envied him.

Royal Power and the Law

Dekker realised that it would be politic to award his royal spectator some palm, and he does so by making

her more powerfully virtuous than even Virtue herself. The Queen is Virtue, she is the Virgin Mother, she is Astraea, and as all these, she is ideally fitted to lead the Elect Nation she rules.⁵⁵ The Queen was central to the mythological component of the attempt to generate a Northern Protestant alliance in her role as Astraea, and such was her charisma, that even moderate Catholics who still hoped for re-union saw in her a potential leader of a new, harmonious Europe. Had she married Philip of Spain, there is a slim chance such a re-union could have been brought about, but the realities of political life were against such a dream. In one respect however, the dream did have a practical effect, in that it contributed to the positive artistic climate in which the EK, as representative of the Astraean culture, performed.

Dekker casts the Queen into the play as a Silent Actor, a part she had had to play so often in the many pageants and entries in her honour that it was second nature to her: and although she does not ever speak or act in the play, there are several moments during "The Prologue at Court" and during the closing scene when she could be expected to make some gesture of acknowledgement of what was going on. The two old pilgrims approach her shining presence, and offer a compliment of the kind she particularly liked:

2. See howe gloriously the Moone shines vpon vs.

1. Peace foole: tremble, and kneele: The Moone saist thou? Both kneele.

Our eyes are dazled by Elizaes beames,
 See (if at least thou dare see) where shee sits [..].
 ("The Prologue at Court", 26-9)

There would be little point in the exchange were the Queen not present, and she was doubtless pleased to be compared with the Moon, whose goddess was patron of chastity, however much her reason must have told her that the flattery exceeded even the most generously drawn boundaries of probability. Even more dubious was the later couplet:

2. I weepe for ioy to see the world decay,
 Yet see Eliza flourishing like May [..].
 ("The Prologue at Court", 48-9)

Dekker cannot have been the only writer to wonder amid all the adulation of the Virgin Queen whether the myth had not got out of hand, even to the point of becoming self-defeating: the last years of Elizabeth's reign were among the most troubled of all, and Dekker's tongue-in-cheek references to May must have brought wry smiles to the faces of her ministers.

Behind the facade of compliment, there is however, one important truth that has a direct bearing on the EK's fate in Europe, the fact that, for all the trimmings for court, Fortunatus in Dekker's hands is still very much the same story as the Volksbuch offers, and as such testifies to a remarkable homogeneity of popular and court taste that the intervention of French culture was soon to begin to change. One of the more attractive features of the late-Renaissance theatre is this integrative understanding of the whole world as stage, and while the parts are distributed according to rank, they are at least all in the same play.

The Queen comes closest to being written into the script in the last scene, when she is asked to pronounce her verdict on which of the two goddesses, Virtue or Vice, has won the day:

Vertue: Fortune th'art vanquisht: sacred deitie,
 O now pronounce who winnes the victorie,
 And yet that sentence needes not, since alone
 Your vertuous presence Vice hath ouer-throwne [...].
 (V, ii, 321-24)

More important, however, than her actual status, is the moral sytem which the Queen's mere presence represents: as the sovereign could claim to be God's agent, anointed to be God's image on earth, all values were embodied in her person. It mattered little what she thought and felt in private so long as in public she gave a religious and political lead, gave the impression of a power beyond mere mortal comprehension. This perception leads Dekker natural trick of perspective. Eliza is both person and kingdom, her stage is both theatre and world:

The world to the circumference of heauen,
 Is as a small point in Geometrie,
 Whose greatnes is so little, that a lesse
 Cannot be made: into that narrow roome,
 Your quicke imaginations we must charme,
 To turne that world: and (turn'd) againe to part it
 Into large kingdomes [...].
 (Chorus, II, 1-7).

One sees an affinity between this trick of perspective and Schiller's interest in the capacity of the self to be both individual and specific. Dekker's play ends on a note of expansion, the individual filling the whole centre of the world, as the sun is the centre of the great cosmic system:

Vertue. All these that thus doe kneele before your eyes,
 Are shaddowes like my selfe, dred Nymph it lyes
 In you to make vs substances. O doe it,
Vertue I am sure you loue, shee woes you to it.
 I read a verdict in your Sun-like eyes,
 And this it is: Vertue the victorie.
 (V, ii, 337-42)

The whole is then wound up with an even more explicit allusion to this trick of perspective, when the two old pilgrims, stunned by the magnificence of what they have witnessed, relate in an image the thematic pattern of the sun's majesty, the magic circle of the stage and - that little world - Elizabeth's own person:

1. Nay stay, poore pilgrims, when I entred first
 The circle of this bright celestiaall Sphaere,
 I wept for ioy, now I could weepe for feare.
 ("The Epilogue at Court", 1-3)

Divinely sanctioned Elizabeth is both the light of the world, its sun, and its divinity, its circle of infinite radius. In the mystery of her two bodies lies the secret of the ultimate mystery, the "charisma". Legal power, social status, fine clothes, are but signs of this power, emblems that announce that the bearer embodies the will of God. The two bodies of the monarch solve the otherwise intractable dilemma of human understanding, the attempt to describe the perfect in imperfect terms, because the monarch unites the imperfect human body with the divine spirit. The subject thus feels a Pauline mixture of love and fear, a fear that is born of awe, at his glimpse of "celestiaall" truth.

There is, however, a fly in the ointment. Fortune's first entry is accompanied by a train of fallen monarchs, for the wheel of fate is hardest of all on the mighty. While flattered at the conceit which closes the play, honouring her virtue, Elizabeth knew only too well the dangers of office. It would not be long before the Elector

Palatine and his Elizabeth would be raised and then cast down by this same wheel, capriciously and fast. Perhaps the very fact that Elizabeth had, in the face of considerable odds, held Fortune at bay all her reign gave Dekker real grounds for his praise. It was indeed an achievement to defeat the wile of the woman whom one of the kings describes in these most unflattering terms:

Thou painted strumpet, that with honied smiles,
Openest the gates of heauen and criest, Come in,
Whose glories being seene, thou with one frowne,
(In pride) lower then hell tumblest vs downe.
(I,i,134-7)

Lurking behind this attack on Fortune however, is a more delicate topic, the key to which lies once again in the geometrical perspective images I have discussed. The Monk who has been made Pope by Fortune comments:

True center of this wide circumference,
Sacred commaundresse of the destinies,
Our tongues shall onely sownd thy excellence.
(I,i,130-2)

The flattery is suspiciously close to the terms Dekker uses of Elizabeth: and is not the favour of kings and courts as fickle as Fortune herself? Cannot the monarch with a frown like Fortune make or break the lives of his servants? It would seem that Dekker, in making Elizabeth triumph over Fortune, is not just paying her a compliment, but also using the play to put across a message, just as it was customary to do in the royal entries. Elizabeth must conquer Fortune, that is to say personal whim, and reward merit and loyalty. She should not abuse those God-given powers, for subjects without a true queen is no worse than a queen without true subjects. Despite all the

theory of Divine Right monarchy, the real basis of power was an unwritten contract between ruler and ruled to stay within those limits which God, in blessing the monarch, had laid down. Royal power was ultimately only as effective as the monarch's power over himself.

If the silent presence of the Queen may be said to be the "true" prophet of royal authority, the apparent strength of gold is the false prophet, who reveals himself in the end by, Icarus-like, flying too close to the sun of true majesty. Fortunatus enters bragging of his new-found wealth, and Andelocia, frustrated by talk and no sight of the gold asks:

You gild our eares with a talke of Gold,
but I pray dazell our eyes with the maiestie of it.
(I,ii,155-6)

Our eyes have only just been dazzled by Eliza's beams when we are confronted with a new source of majesty, gold. Such is the lure of gold that we confuse its outer brilliance with the true brilliance of the monarch. If there were true majesty in Fortunatus's bearing as he enters, his son would not need to doubt his father's claims: but the very fact of his having to ask alerts our suspicions. But not alas Andelocia's, who is thoroughly duped. A brief warning on the theme is sounded soon afterwards by the Chorus, who, presumably for the court audience's benefit relates the story of Fortunatus's encounter with the Breton Earl:

On slight quarrell, by a couetous Earle,
Fortunes deere minion is imprisoned;
There thinke you see him sit with folded armes,
Teares dropping downe his cheekes[.]
Bitterly cursing that his squint-eide soule
Did not make choice of wisdomes sacred lore[.]
(II,Chorus,19-22, 24-25)

While his Volksbuch counterpart learns from this experience, Fortunatus's tears are no more a true sign of a change of heart than Andelocia's apparent repentance. Ampedo, in fact, use the same term, "squinteide" to describe the evil practices of his age, and the same image of false perspective explains Dekker's purpose here; Fortunatus's faith in gold, and in the goodwill of Fortune is based on a fundamentally wrong (and sinful) conception of the true nature of goodness and majesty. Only a slight quarrel suffices to put Fortunatus down from the peak of fortune to the depths of despair. It is the Parable of the house built on the sand: gold brings quick success but is no safeguard against fate. It is strangely inconsistent therefore, to find Fortunatus himself later philosophising on this theme to his sons in terms that show he has seen through the false face of riches:

In some Courts shall you see ambition
 Sit piecing Dedalus old waxen wings,
 But being clapt on, and they about to flie,
 Even when their hopes are busied in the clouds,
 They melt against the Sunne of maiestie,
 And downe they tumble to destruction. (II,ii,200-6)

Dekker is perhaps speaking with his own voice: the favour of courts is as uncertain as that of Fortune, and just as you think you are a success you find you are cast out. Was this his own experience? He relates the images of the monarch to those of the sun, and the glister of gold is seen to be but a false reflection of the true light. But Fortunatus is hardly the person who should be saying this: either his pride in himself blinded him to the truth of his own teaching or he believed himself beyond the reach of royal favour again a sign of pride. He goes even further in his

mus ing :

For since the heavens strong armes teach kings to stand,
Angels are plac'd about their glorious throne,
To gard it from the strokes of Traitous hands.
(II:ii.206-8)

Though Fortunatus's gift gives him unlimited wealth, and the hat unlimited power to travel, neither gift in his hands threatens royal authority; he is an admirer of the court, and his highest felicity is to become part of the court circle. It is rather Andelocia who, by his extravagance threatens the court, for what he spends is not, like his father, to honour and enhance the King, but rather establishes an alternative to power by right which is power by virtue of capital holdings. Implicit in Fortunatus's behaviour is, admittedly back-handed, an affirmation of the supreme importance of the court. In Andelocia's manner however, there is the implied belief that each social grade had its price, and the only distinguishing feature about kings was that their price was beyond the reach of any subject, and that they were thus vulnerable only to each other. The magic purse questions this defence of the ruling class and throws it back on its true bulwark, divine appointment. If one believes in God, one believes in the King. There was however, a growing party that believed in God, but not in the divinely appointed King, that believed each man was sovereign of his own immortal soul, answerable to no man but himself and his God. This was a type of learning that attacked the monarchy at its spiritual roots, and could only be equated, by the defenders of the King, with devilry - the devil being the one who wanted to supplant God. Matters

by 1600 had not become so critical that the monarchy as such needed explicit defence; but the pressure on it was strong enough to suggest a less skilful sovereign than Elizabeth would be in considerable difficulties.

Dekker's treatment of the magic purse was determined by a realisation that the power of limitless capital could constitute a threat to the crown. The growing self-esteem of the London merchant class can only have confirmed this prognostication, and with the Queen heirless and old the future must have seemed unstable and uncertain to him. The court theme, and the cult of "Eliza" are then not just compliments to a fading majesty, but gestures in the direction of political stability. Even if Eliza herself were to die, her spirit would continue to watch over her people, and her divine sanction would be carried over to her successor. The play's moral, political and social attitudes all underline the need for a strong and stable central authority, vested in the monarch. There is short shrift for anyone who, like Andelocia, presents a threat.

Mutability

While the Volksbuch leaves the theme of mutability largely untouched and Sachs reserves his forceful comments on God and fortune for the chorus, for Dekker mutability, especially the conflict in man between devil and angel which gold engenders, becomes a central concern. From the moment of Fortune's entry with a train of fallen kings it is clear that no class is safe from her whims. Fortunatus is not allowed to die content in his bed; and Andelocia's many escapades do not pass without homiletic comment.

The reasons for this trend towards more explicit

moral interpretation of the story of the "vir fortunatus" are substantially religious and political. While the Volksbuch is rich in tension between court and city, that tension has not yet taken on the extra, decisive religious dimension that was to overtake it only eight years after publication, in Luther's act of defiance of 1517. By 1553, the peace settlement of Augsburg had achieved a provisional settlement of religious issues, and Sachs's play is firmly confident in its new religious position. When Dekker came to treat the story, tension was once again mounting, not just within the countries of Europe, most of which were to experience some sort of civil war or major disturbance, but also across national boundaries as the spirit of compromise and temporise gave way to forceful ideological exchange. It was his hope that Elizabeth would still be able to achieve a strong and lasting religious peace, a peace that could act as model in Europe that underpinned Dekker's version of Fortunatus for the court; this compromise was eventually achieved, but only at the price of civil war. Yet it was perhaps the broad church strategy which Dekker felt, at least politically, would solve the religious crisis which equipped the EK with the intellectual ability to satisfy both religious parties in their German tours. In overtly ironising the gifts Fortunatus receives, Dekker makes it plain that, enjoyable as myths are, realities must be our first concern. And myths that destabilise royal authority, for whatever reason, need as much scrutiny as heresies.

Eight years after Fortunatus was performed to the English court it was entertaining the Fasching guests in Graz, in yet another version.

The "Englische" Fortunatus ⁵⁶

The Comoedia von Fortunato und seinem Seckel und Wuenschhuetlein/ darinnen erstlich drey verstorbenen Seelen als Geister/ darnach die Tugendt und Schande eingefuehret werden was first published in 1620: a version of the story, probably close in spirit to the published text, was performed in Graz in 1608.⁵⁷ In a century, therefore, four major versions of the story had been written, in which time Europe had undergone more spiritual and religious upheaval than at any time since the fall of the Roman empire. By the end of the sixteenth century however, the signs were that a reaction against so much "progress" was setting in, led by an aristocracy concerned at the rapid erosion of its powers. The EK's play was written against a background of social tension, and published when that tension had already climaxed in conflict. It draws on both the Volksbuch and Dekker's play, its debt to the former consisting in language and mood, to the latter in structure, individual characterisation and moral strategy. Cyrus Hoy has recently argued that the EK used not the 1509 Augsburg edition of the Volksbuch but the version published in Frankfurt in 1551 as source.⁵⁸ The differences between the two are summarised by Herford thus: "The Augsburg texts, written in a Bavarian dialect, are in many places ampler in detail and circumstance: they use Romance forms more readily; the woodcuts are wholly different, and on the whole superior, though less elaborate".⁵⁹ As the book went through so many editions it is not possible to pinpoint exactly which one the EK used, although for a performance in Graz the Bavarian dialect text would have been a more suitable source. On the other hand, the less

discursive 1551 edition would have been easier to edit for performance.

The EK could have encountered the story in Frankfurt, since they were regular visitors to the fair; but they were also no strangers to Augsburg, and they might well have met the local hero there. The linguistic evidence points to a Frankfurt text as the immediate source of the EK's 1620 version, and Hoy prints a passage from the play and from 1551 to demonstrate their proximity. I add to these two a passage from the 1509 Volksbuch which seems to me to be closer to its 1551 cousin than either to the play. First, the play: (I reprint here from Hoy)⁶⁰

Agrippina, O Agrippina wo seid ihr? O Agrippina hast du dich vnwissend mit meinem Wünschhut auch weg gewünschet, O weh, O mordio, verfluchet sei dieser Bawm, verfluchet sei auch die Frucht darauff, unnd der welcher ihn gepflanzet, verfluchet sei die Stunde darin ich gebohren war, der Tag und die Stunde die ich je erlebet, O du bleicher Todt, warumb erwürgtestn mich nicht, ehe ich in diese HellenAngst und Noth gekõmen bin? Verfluchet sei der Tag unnd die Stunde, worin ich Agrippinan zum erstenmal ansahe, verfluchet sei auch meine Hand, womit ich ihr den Wunschhut auffsetzet. Nun wolt ich nichts mehr wünschen, als das mein Bruder in diesen Waldt bei mir wehre, so wolt ich in erwürgen, uñ mich darnach an diesen Bawm hencken:

The 1551 text reads:

Als nu Andolosia auff dem Baun sasz, unnd sahe das Agrippina hinweg was mit dem Hütlin, darzu mit alle den Klenoten so er in dreien großen und mechtigen Stedten auffbracht het, Verfluchet er den Baum, die Frucht darauff, und der den daher gepflanzt het, sprach auch wetter, Verfluchet sey die stund darinn ich geboren ward, die Tag und Stund die ich jhe gelebt hab. O grimmiger Todt, warumb hast du mich nicht, erwürget, eh das ich in diese angst und Not kommen bin? Verfluchet sey der Tag und Stund, darinn ich Agrippinam zu dem ersten mal ansahe, Nu wolte Gott das mein Bruder in dieser Wildenuss bey mir wer, so wolt ich ihn erwürgen, unnd mich selber an ein Baum hencken,

The 1509 text reads:

als er nun auff dem baum saßs vnnd sach, daz Agripina hinweg was mit dem seckel, mit dem huettlin, dartzu mitt allen den klainaten, so er in dreyen grossen vnd maechtigen stoetten auf bracht het [.] er klam bald ab dem baum vnd sach den baum an vnnd sprach: verflucht sey der baum vnd die frucht, so darauff ist vnd der dich daher gepflantzet hat vnnd die stund, darinn ich kommen bin [.] verflucht sey die stund, darinn ich geborn ward vnd die tag vnd stund, die ich ye gelebt hab. O grymer tod, warumb hast du mich nit erwirget, ee das ich in dise angst vnd not kommen byn? verflucht sey der tag vnd die stund, darinn ich Agripina zu dem erstenmal ansach! [.] Nun woelte got, das mein brüder in diser wilttnuß bey mir waere, so wolt ich yn erwirgen vnd mich selber mit meiner gürtel an ainen baum hencken. (p.117).

The 1551 edition is marginally briefer than that of 1509, but there are few variations of any substance between them. The EK seem to have borrowed the spelling and inflection of Agripina rather from 1551 than 1509, but their play is distinctly different from both possible sources in its rhetorical strategy. For example, they use the term "bleich" for the "grimmig" of the original, "bleich" being perhaps easier to visualise than "grimmig", which could cover a multitude of expressions: and they turn the "Wildenuss" (1551), "wilttnuß" (1509), into a "Waldt", both to explain the reference to the tree, and to make more of the metaphor of the wood. Most revealingly, the EK substitute "wolt ich" for the "wolte Gott" of both versions of the source. Because the two editions of the Volksbuch are far closer to each other than the play to either, I have, for the sake of the argument, therefore continued to use the 1509 edition as the basis of comparison.

Travel

From the very first scene, a double debt to Dekker and to the Volksbuch is manifest in the EK text, a fact which alone questions Baesecke's "folk-song" analogy, for the EK's play is a highly conscious art-work. Their play

opens in a wood, but, as if to cover a logical gap in Dekker's text - how did Fortunatus get to the wood? - the EK lay great stress on Fortunatus's acute poverty as the reason for his leaving home:

von meinen Eltern bin ich gezogen/ weil sie gar
verarmet/ auff daß ich mein Glueck unter Frembden
moege suchen. (p.131)

Our hero is no longer an "edler purger", still less "gantz adeleich"; it is not his rank which matters but his sorry state, "ich armer/ Elender Mensch bin so voller Truebsal [c.]". (p.131) This shift in emphasis derives from Dekker, and the brief Echo scene with which the play gets under way is likewise drawn from Dekker. Fortunatus is at the end of his tether, waiting for something hopefully to turn up. To the town labourer at the time, this was probably exactly what seeking one's fortune meant; and one senses it was not a desire for coarseness or vulgarity that led the EK to follow Dekker's characterisation, but realism.

The theme of poverty recurs when Fortuna asks Fortunatus what brought him to the wood; he replies:

O Goettin FORTUNA, die Armuth zwinget mich und
bin von meinen Eltern gezogen [c.]. (p.133)

The insistence on poverty makes it a more telling force in this than in any of the preceding versions, and, in underlining his plight, makes his choice of riches not wisdom not only plausible but justified. Forced, against his will, to travel it is only natural that he should make the choice he does. What step is more sensible for a member of a social group on the breadline? His choice made, Fortunatus is led out of the wood, instructed, as in the Volksbuch, not to look back. "Sieh hie diesen Weg

gehe eilends fuer dir hin/ aber kehre dich nicht umb/
 sehe auch nicht wor ich hinkomme". (p.136) The wording
 is very close to the 1509 edition: "volg mir nach! [. . .]
 disen weg gang gerad für dich vnd ker dich nit vmb vnd
 lûg nit, wo ich hyn komme [. . .]". (p.36) His reaction when
 he discovers his good fortune is not, as in the source,
 to decide to travel to see the world but to dress up like
 a prince. The Volksbuch hero of 1509 was of sufficient
 status for travel to be a natural decision; his 1620
 counterpart was no such person: "nun will ich auch hin
 gehen/ frisch einkauffen/ und mich gleich einem Fuersten
 halten/ denn weil mir kein Geldt oder Goldt mangelt/ habe
 ich auch keine Noth". (p.137) Significantly, his decision
 it met with no salutary check, like a wilful Breton Earl,
 to remind him that money and rank are two separate things.
 Indeed, the very next time we see Fortunatus, he is in
 the East, triumphing with the Sultan.

More exciting to the EK than travel overland - they
 knew enough about that activity not to feel over-enthused
 about it - was flight through the air. They must themselves
 have longed for such a hat on the long stretches down the
 Main or across the Swabian alps. The Sultan expands
 gleefully on the delights of the hat: it brings not only
 wealth, and aid to the defenders of the kingdom (an early
 AWACS) but has a much more practical use, a means of
 invisible access to beautiful women, "ja wo ich in
 erfahrung komme/ daß einer eine schöne Tochter hat/
 wuensche ich mich bey ihr [. . .]", explains the Sultan. (p.139)
 If the aristocrats of the Volksbuch look at times like
 Patricians with noble clothes, the princes here are

labourers in fancy dress, and their wish-fulfilment the motor energy of the play. One can go to see the Pygmies if one wishes,⁶¹ and Fortunatus has just booked his magic-hat tour to the West Indies⁶² when Fortune comes to tell him death is at hand. A detail from the Volksbuch is then interposed to explain that Fortunatus has had his purse for sixty years before Fortunatus passes the gifts and their secrets to his sons:

aber Gott hat mich allwege/ ja auch offtmal von
dem Tode errettet/ daß ich nun diesen Seckel bey
60. Jahren bey mir gehabt [c.]. (p.144)

This Fortunatus has shown no fear of God or man, and, although his sudden death seems ironic in the light of his remark, the EK are no more able convincingly to punish him for his choice of riches than his predecessors.

As in the two previous dramatic versions, Andolosia is the true hero, or rather villain, of the play: no sooner has Fortunatus breathed his last than his son is joyously helping himself to liberal handfuls of gold. He proposes to travel, although, rather inconsistently, he waits for a year of mourning before going - as in the source. It is less travel that he seeks than experience:

ist mir denn auch vergoennet in frembde Lande
zu ziehen/ denn all mein begehren stehet nur
darnach daß ich mich wol versuchen moege. (p.145)

The EK's Prodigal Son travels for just the same purpose. In the plan lies a trace of the aristocratic ideal of testing and improving the mind, but it soon turns out that Andolosia's interests lie elsewhere.

The brothers split the purse and the hat, against their father's wishes, Ampedo taking the hat and Andolosia the purse, a contract lasting six years as in the source.

(Dekker has only one) Andolosia's main concern is to reach the English court, home of the fair Agrippina, and his journey seems an ironic counterpart to the old mens' pilgrimage to Eliza's shrine:

ein jederman weiß zu sagen von der uberauß Schoene/
der Princessin AGRIPPINA auß Engelland/ also das
keine in der gantzen Welt sie in Schoenheit
ubertreffen soll [c.]. (p.150)

Andolosia leaves and, after a break in which Pickelhering performs, he re-enters, now in London, "Nun bin ich zu Lunden", he remarks in identical manner to his counterpart in Sachs's play. The abruptness of the transition confirms that travel is the least of Andolosia's interests; and it is not long before we hear him criticise his father for his attitude:

ihme wars nur eine frewde frembde Land zu besuchen
[c.]. Mich aber erfrewet nicht anders/ denn schoenen
Frawen und Jungfrawen zu gefallen/ und ihnen zu
dienen. (p.156)

Fortunatus, at heart a sensible if cunning man, knew his place; Andolosia, his overweening son, does not. However much certain sections of the EK audience would have sympathised with the son, envying his dallying with fine ladies, this rejection of his father is Andolosia's formal moment of rupture from moral values. This is reflected in an increasingly negative view of travel as a tedious burden for the traveller, and when Andolosia remarks "gar einen weiten Weg habe ich noch zu reisen/ denn jetzt bin ich noch in HIBERNIA", (p.174) his journey back to London even assumes the character of a penitential pilgrimage.

Trade

Sooner or later a man's true nature will out; while Fortunatus has no occasion to trade and his son no need

as long as he safeguards the secret of the purse, the theft of both hat and purse force on him the character of diamond-merchant and apple-seller, and in the ease with which he plays his parts his true self seems revealed. His sales patter is a model:

Gnaedige Koenigin/ ihr als die Reichste/ sollet billich auch die reichesten Kleinodien haben. Aber hiervor bietet ihr mir nur die helffte/ was ich fordere/ sie kosten mich schier mehr/ ich bitt begehret meine ubele Zeit nicht/ denn ich also ferne durch frembde Landen mit grossen Sorgen und Gefahr gereiset/ daß ich meines Lebens darbey nicht sicher gewesen. Ich will Ewr Majestaet jetzt den genawesten Kauff sagen. Vier tausend Kronen und kein heller ringer/ denn ich weiß gewiß/ ich muß ein tausendt Kronen schaden daran leiden. (p.169)

Though less than ten lines long, the speech catches the true voice of the merchant better than either of the two previous plays. Its language is economical and compact and the logic of the sales routine is exactly mirrored in the sentence structure. Andolosia has prepared his victim by flattery, "und nach dem ich in erfahrung kommen/ das ewer May estaet die aller reicheste Koenigin auff der Welt seyn/ [c.] bin ich Ihr Majestaet etliche hundert Meylen nachgezogen/ ihr dieselben schawen zu lassen". (pp. 168-69) What queen does not like to think herself the richest in the world? He bridges flattery and logic, "ihr als die Reichste/ sollet billich auch die reichesten Kleinodien haben". But then he appears to withdraw, claiming she offers him only half the real value of the stones: what jeweller does not speak like this? Andolosia returns to the offensive with a powerful argument ad feminam: "denn ich also ferne durch frembde Landen mit grossen Sorgen und Gefahr gereiset/ daß ich meines Lebens darbey nicht sicher gewesen". Having softened his customer, he drops a smart

thousand or two off the "real" value, commenting, as always: "ich muß ein tausendt Kronen schaden daran leiden". Andolosia has his customer's measure, for while she knows him - "O ihr Betrieger oder Jubilirer/ was ihr sagt 1000. Kronen must ihr Schaden [...] ein tausend weiß ich gewiss habt ihr Gewinn darauff" (p.169) - she has, almost ex officio as Queen, to buy the jewel. Neatly the EK expose the vulnerability of absolutism to the constant pressure of having always to be the best.

The exposure, mixed again with a witty patter, continues in the sales sequence involving the magic apples:

GRAFFE. Wie ruffestu allhie mit deinen Epffeln/
wie meynestu daß man allhier keine Epffel
bekommen kan.

ANDOLOSIA. O mein Herr dieses seynd viel andere Epffel
sie seynd von DAMASCO.

GRAFFE. Von DAMASCO? was haben sie dann mehr fuer
Tugendt denn dieses Landes Epffel?

ANDOLOSIA. O mein Herr/ es ist so groß unterscheid
zwischen diesen Epffeln/ gleich als zwischen
Kupffer und Goldt. Denn die Epffel von
DAMASCO machen den Menschen eine gar
liebliche schoene Gestalt/ das thün die
andern nicht. (pp.175-6)

The trick is the same as the king's new clothes, and no doubt the city enjoyed the discomfiture of a vain noble by a merchant. One by one, Andolosia exposes his clients, first a second Graf, and then the Princess:

ANDER. Ich bin ein grewlicher Kerl/ und fuerwar
wenn ich schoen wuerde/ wolt ich dich
ruehmen/ du werest vom Himmel meinerwegen
gesand/ ich werde sehen. (p.178)

The point at issue is not just that nobles should be gulled, but that the nobility, blessed by God, should also be ugly.

Agrippina is not ugly, but she is foolish; her first exemplary encounter with a merchant has not taught her healthy scepticism, and she falls for the same trick twice:

ANDOLOSIA. Schoene Princessine diese Epffel seind
ein sonderlich Geschoepff Gottes/ also
daß sie einen Menschen gar schoen machen/
darzu scharffe Vernunfft [c.]. (p.178)

"Scharffe Vernunfft" has not hitherto been Agrippina's strength, and the joke is neatly ambiguous. Andolosia, by contrast, has the salesman's knack of selling the customer what he does not need but still making him feel his purchase was worthwhile. In his dealings with the aristocracy, they come off distinctly the worse, and they seem to have lost the respect which in the Volksbuch they could command by right; here they are naive, obsessed with themselves and incapable of learning even from the most scarring of experiences. It is hard to imagine a German noble being flattered by such a portrait of his class, although he may have thought the joke directed at his English cousins and not at himself. Yet it speaks for the Graz court that they were able to take the joke, while Dekker tactfully leaves the jewellery sale in reported speech and turns the sale of the apples into a parody of the Irish.

The Courtly Life

Perhaps predictably the long "amour courtois" scene in Dekker, the most radical departure from the source, did not make the trip across the channel. It presented a world much admired by German aristocratic visitors, and imitated by such courts as Kassel; but it was a world in which the aristocracy was unter sich. A Spaniard and Englishman discussing the finer points of dancing

would have made little sense to the audience in front of the Kölner Dom or the Fugger house in Augsburg. Similarly, the Eliza-myth frame to the play was left at home, the EK not even attempting to rework the idea for a local worthy. This may suggest that the version of Dekker's play they used as source did not include the specifically courtly sections, giving us some impression of what the play was like before reworking. What remains, however, is a picture of courtly life drawn in essence from the Volksbuch, i.e. from outside, and bearing little relationship to the ideal court of Castiglione's Courtier. Andolosia's first concern at court is to show off his chivalric skills:

nun soll meine Frewde erstlich angehen/ ja in
Pracht und Herrligkeit/ in Ritterlichen kempffen/
spielen und turnieren wil ich mich gebrauchen [...].
(p.147)

His naive delight in courtly athleticism is dampened only by his awareness of his status:

O moechte ich von Koeniglichen Stammen gebohren
seyn/ so wolte ich dem Koenige so getrewlich dienen/
er mueste sie [Agrippina] mir geben/ aber ich
bin gar zu gering [...].
(p.150)

The last words give the game away, for this hero does not even have the aggressive self-assurance of the Patrician class that he, in his way, is a match for the Emperor.

It is as if the whole world had been taken down a social notch, leaving a vacuum at the top: the court seems suspiciously burger, and nobility, at least as Eliza would have understood it, nowhere to be seen. While Sachs and the Volksbuch keep the King out of any conspiracy, the EK make him as keen to get the treasure

as his daughter:

KOENIG. Nun sehe ich das ANDOLOSIA einen heimlichen Schatz haben muß/ denn kein Fuerst wuerd es also außhalten koennen [..].

AGRIPPINA. Und solches deucht mir auch hertzlieber Herr Vater/ daß er ein heimlichen Schatz muß haben/ wovon er so prechtig stoltzietet [..].
(p.154)

The repetition of "heimlichen Schatz" links father and daughter in their intrigue and in their guilt. Naive Andolosia wished to serve the King so well that Agrippina would be his reward: no one had told him that one could serve too well, one could overreach and become "rebellious". Surprisingly, and inconsistent with his merchant skill, there is no Nostromo-like cunning in him either, no realisation that sudden riches excite suspicion. Tax evaders face similar problems.

Despite the general rejection of Dekker's courtly scenes, there are one or two traces of the courtly life left in the EK's text. Dekker has Orleans refer to the power of love to transform, and it is just this power to which Agrippina refers in her plan to steal the purse:

Solches daucht mir auch rathsam zu seyn/ und verhoffte ihn durch VENERIS List wol zu bethoeren/ wil meine beste Liste hierinnen gebrauchen [..].
(p.155)

Sachs makes no such reference to Venus, nor does the Volksbuch, which might have provided the inspiration for the remark. Likewise, the EK borrow from Dekker his use of music to heighten both the sense of enchantment in the theft scene and the sexual tension. The stage direction reads "Jetzt fangen sie an zu geigen", a sound which lasts until Andolosia realises he has been duped: ⁶³

O ihr lieblichen MUSICANTEN hoeret auff mit MUSICIREN und spielen/ denn meine Seele ist betruebet biß in den Todt.
(p.161)

The music is carefully synchronised with the mood, Andolosia's return to reality coinciding with the end of the music. The effectiveness of incidental music as such needs no further comment here. But the EK's skill as musicians was obviously another "language" at their disposal for the conveyance of the meaning of scenes, and, as in the days of silent film, music would have overcome problems with speech.

Agrippina's guile tricks Andolosia of more than his purse:

O ich armer elendesterMensche/ wo ist nun mein
Pracht/ mein Hoffart? (p.161)

Fortuna's power to cast down the mighty has caught up at last with the overbearing Andolosia and, in robbing him of his magic gift, has exposed the shallowness of his pretensions to courtly status. Yet the court fares none too well either, a place of pride, rapacity and deceit. True nobility can neither be stolen, or so the implicit moral, nor is it innate. Worse even than a burger's aspirations to grandeur however, is a court with power and no sense of responsibility.

While the EK's play up to and including the trading sequences blends Dekker with the Volksbuch in relatively even balance, the closing scenes are substantially drawn from the Volksbuch. The reason for this is once again that the absence of the English court context, which decides the outcome of Dekker's play in the extensive compliment to Eliza, forces the EK back to the original plot. A measure of how closely this was followed may be gained from a brief comparison of the angry dressing

down Andolosia gives Agrippina. The 1509 edition reads:

Ich hett mein hertz, mein seel, leib vnd g^ot mitt
 dir getailt. wie mochtestu es an deinem hertzen
 hon, ainen so manlichen ritter, der da alletag
 durch deynen willen stach, scharpff rant vnd alle
 manliche ritterspil getriben hat, in so grossen
 arm^ut richten v^und kainerlay erbaermd hast mit
 mir gehebt, sonder der k^ung vnd die k^unigin mit
 mir getriben haben iren spot und faßnachtschymppf [..].
 (p.131)

The EK have:

[..] ich hett mein Hertz/ Seel Leib Blut und Gut
 mit dir getheilet? Ist dieses nicht ein unbarm-
 hertziges Ding einen so maennlichen Ritter/ der
 da alle Tage durch deinet Willen/ stach/ turnierte
 und maennliche Ritterspiel gehalten hat/ in solch
 Armuth und Elende zu bringen [..] unnd keynerley
 die geringste Erbarmung mit mir gehabt/ sondern der
 Koenig/ du/ und alle deine falsche und diebische
 Rathgeber/haben nur mit mir Schimpff Spott und
 ein Fastnachtspiel getrieben [..]. (p.191)

Surprisingly enough, Sachs does not use the reference to Fastnacht at all, which makes the EK's borrowing the more striking. Probably, as the Graz record suggests, Fortunato was the ideal Fasching play. Clear though the EK's debt to the source is, it is also apparent that they have firmly turned the rhetorical screw.

As in the Volksbuch Andolosia undergoes a sudden change in Ireland, from nouveau riche to authoritative judge, a shift that the EK make much less convincingly in view of the socially downgraded Andolosia we have hitherto encountered. Nevertheless the scene is used, as in the source, to prepare us for the final judgement scene, when the King of Cyprus, as agent of divine justice, condemns Andolosia's murderers to a grim death. For the EK, Andolosia is much more the role-player than in the Volksbuch, a qualitative change which perhaps reflects the polarisation of social positions that German society experienced in the run up to the

Thirty Years' War. What in the Volksbuch seem transitions across relatively fluid social frontiers in the EK work like voltes faces.

This impression is underlined by the manner in which Agrippina addresses Andolosia: first he is "gestrenger Ritter", but when that fails she tries a different tack, "Mein lieber ANDOLOSIA erbarmet euch meiner [..]". (pp.192-3) Her respectful "euch" comes in nice contrast to her previous use of "du", but the shift gives her the appearance of playing the role of penitent rather than actually meaning it. Indeed, she does not mean it, for as soon as she has played her part well enough to make Andolosia speak like a merciful God she reverts to type. This change is the most radical sign that the world in which the EK were living was rapidly losing moral orientation. The Volksbuch has Agripina repent and return to grace; Sachs has her punished and not released; Dekker has Agripyne forgiven by Andelocia in a moment of genuine mercy. But the EK's conclusion is cynical:

ANDOLOSIA. [..] ich kom dir jetzt zu fragen/ ob du
noch so unwillig uber die Hoerner bist/
als du warest/ da ich von dir schiede.

AGRIPPINA. O ANDOLOSIA solt ich nicht unwillig seyn/
je laenger je erger/ und wenn ihr mir
nicht so gehaessig/ wolt ich ein froelicher
Mensche seyn. (p.199)

Andolosia lets Agrippina go, and one does not have the impression that she has been improved by her tribulation.

This conclusion is one sign of a fractured moral consciousness in the play: if the horns have any moral force, they must be shown to be corrective, bringing

the strayed lamb Agrippina back to the fold of virtue: but she shows no change of heart. Likewise, in allowing her back to court little the wiser for her experience, the EK seem implicitly to affirm that it is rank that counts not moral strength: in which case there is little point in having her criticised at all. This moral uncertainty highlights the internal weakness of a ruling class rapidly losing contact with those it rules; the nobility stands, de facto as God's appointed, for moral rectitude but behaves immorally, and it claims the privileges of rank but shirks the responsibility. How is the subject to behave if the ruler misbehaves?

The Bible and Religion

Moral flaws have religious counterparts and the confusion about standards of conduct is matched by an ambiguous religious attitude, the call of the forbidden arts being strong. There is no cyclical pattern of sin, repentance and return to grace, nor quasi-divine intervention, as in Sachs. Even Dekker's morality figures, Virtue and Vice, taken over by the EK, start to smell grotesque, Jonsonian parodies of outmoded allegories.

There is however, one aspect to the play's religion which may, though I have no conclusive proof, establish a link between the EK and the spiritual theories of the Rosicrucian movement. Frances Yates, to whom I am deeply indebted, traces the cult of Astraea both in England and on mainland Europe, and sees in the figure of Elizabeth, daughter of James I and wife to the Elector Palatine, a brief continuer of the Eliza myth.⁶⁴ The circumstantial evidence for such a connection is considerable. John Spencer's troupe visited the new

Elizabethan court of Heidelberg; EK were present during the preparations for the trip to Prague in 1620, among them Robert Browne, and their acting style decisively influenced the cultural life of the Elector's court. The most significant influence however, was on the originator of the Order of the Rosy Cross, Johann Valentin Andreae whose literary career began in writing imitations of the EK's work. As Frances Yates points out, Andreae was a committed neo-Elizabethan, and in the revived spirit of the new *Astraea* he evidently hoped to find the spiritual and political answer on behalf of the Protestant church to the rising star of the Jesuits. His work of 1614 is entitled: Allgemeine und General Reformation, der gantzen weiten Welt. Beneben der Fama Fraternitatis dess Löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreutzes, an alle gelehrte und Häupter Europae geschrieben: Auch einer kurtzen Responsion von des Herrn Haselmeyer gestellet, welcher desswegen von den Jesuitern ist gefänglich eingezogen, und auff eine Galleren geschmiedet [c.].⁶⁵ In this work, not small in aspiration, Andreae addresses himself to the problem of building within the ranks of Protestantism an order as powerful and as closely ranked as the Jesuits. Much of what he wrote is highly mystical, and equally obscure, so that few firm conclusions may be drawn from it. But his interest in the EK suggests that he saw them, and possibly their type of organisation, as a model for his own fraternity.

In certain significant details, Andreae also reveals similar concerns to those of the EK. He is attracted by Fortunatus's purse:

The year following, after he had performed his

school right and was minded now to travel, being for that purpose sufficiently provided with Fortunatus's purse, he thought (he being a good architect) to alter something of his building and to make it more fit. 66

Andreae would surely have known the Volksbuch, but, as the EK seem to play a decisive influence in his early writing career it is quite possible that he had also seen their Fortunato, or a version even closer to Dekker's. A further link with Fortunatus's gifts makes the story of particular interest: one of the main propensities of the Rosicrucians was their ability to fly around unseen, Fortunatus's ability with the magic hat. Many had heard of the brothers, and Descartes had spent time in southern Germany looking for the magic brotherhood. It may well be therefore that the gifts of gold - the alchemist's dream - and the gift of invisibility, both of which feature as part of Andreae's new world derive from the Fortunatus story.

Rosencreutz has certain personal affinities with Fortunatus, not least in that he is chosen by Fortune in the sense of being a man apart, elect. Both figures are interested in travel for its own sake, and both are builders: it is possible that the great house Fortunatus builds in the mythical land of Cyprus was a model for Andreae's Christianopolis. It is particularly appropriate that on Fortunatus's death the king, God's agent, should take over the palace, since Christianopolis is a city to be ruled by a king and God. Rosencreutz is possessed of secret knowledge, as is Fortunatus, who on his death passes the mystical secrets onto his sons. Fortunatus has the purse sixty years, and his sons an

unspecified time, but as the Rosicrucians were supposed to have sworn secrecy for one hundred years, one might assume the sons outlived their father by forty years.

Fortunatus's second journey takes him to a world beyond the direct experience of the Völketsbuch author, a world the reader has to draw on Mandeville's help to understand. It is on this journey that he acquires the magic hat, and on which Dekker makes him appear like a sun-god and a shower of gold, both images well suited to the Rosicrucian ideal leader. It seems no accident then to learn that Rosencreutz makes a similar journey:⁶⁷

vir sui seculi divinis revelationibus subtilissimis imaginationibus, indefessis laboribus ad coelestia, atque humana mysteria; arcanave admissus postquam suam (quam Arabico, & Africano itineribus Collegerat) plusquam regiam, atque imperatoriam Gazam suo seculo nondum convenientem, posteritati eruendam custodivisset & jam suarum Artium, ut & nominis, fides acconjunctissimos herides instituisset[...].

Both the "humana mysteria" and the reference "quam

Arabico & Africano itineribus" suggest that this journey has a Fortunatus-like quality. Fortunatus's father is Theodorus, suggestive of a divine connection; Fortunatus is chosen to share deep secrets, yet secrecy itself is as important a part of his knowledge as the gifts themselves. In this he is very much a Rosicrucian, and in both cases the source of mystical knowledge is the Middle East. Dekker grants the special knowledge to the real Eliza in passing her the purse and allowing her to triumph over Fortune herself; but by the time Andreae wrote Eliza was dead. Was he thinking of Friedrich as a possible Christian Rosencreutz? The idea may have suggested itself to him in a curiously inconsistent passage in the EK play. While they abandoned all the

Eliza material, one detail survives, the award of the purse to the sovereign. Did the EK play Fortunato in Heidelberg and give Friedrich the purse? If so, and if Andreae saw it, he may have felt a mystical power in the gesture and tried to incorporate the experience into his own vision. Fortune addresses him thus:

Wie ich dich und dein Koenigreich vor mit deinen
gaben gezieret/ so wil ich dich hinfuro auch
begaben und sollet zunehmen wie die Lorberbaeume.
(p.209)

Were the laurels the spoils of coming victory over the Jesuitical enemy? There is no such scene in Sachs, no such suggestion in the Volksbuch, and there is no reason why the EK, who had omitted all other Eliza material should absent-mindedly retain this triumphant conclusion. The scene must therefore, be regarded as deliberate, and in the improbable reform of the corrupt King into a leader in the cause of liberty and right the EK infuse the comedy of Fortunatus with the spirit of the Protestant Alliance. As the King says to Fortuna:

[wir] bitten du wollest hinfuro dir unser Koenig-
reich lassen befohlen seyn/ und mit deinen milden
Gaben zieren/ und uns VICTORIAM und Sieg wieder
alle unsere maechtige Feinde so dieses Koenigreich
gar zu verzehren und verhehren in Willens haben/
geben.
(p.209)

The Protestant accent that the Fortunatus story carries from Sachs's version onwards here expresses itself in an implicit speech for the cause. The foes which threatened the King, and which Andreae sought to fight through his magic brotherhood, are to be beaten off, with Fortune's help. When one considers how effective a weapon the theatre was in the hands of the Jesuits, it is not surprising to find Protestants exploring the same medium. Perhaps this was to have been Browne's duty

in Prague.

Although the play ends on a note of optimism, the train of fallen kings which accompanies Fortuna might have warned the Elector, had he seen the play, not to go to Prague. The first king was lord of Spain, the second an Emperor and the third, unnamed in this version, perhaps presented in protestant circles as the Pope. It is significant within the overall Protestant picture that all three were probably Catholic, while the Protestant king receives Fortuna's gift. Harder to fit into the Protestant frame, however, is the fact that the play was staged in Catholic Graz. Perhaps there the canny Green gave Fortune a train of fallen Protestants. What is clear is that the spirits have themselves to blame for their fate, "daß ihr ewer Leben und Seel verlohren/ ist nicht mein/ sondern ewer eigen schuldt/ denn ich euch wol die Gaben gegeben/ aber ihr habt sie freventlich mißbrauchet". (p.135) This remark seems addressed directly to the corrupt nobility, and while Dekker makes the scene an exemplum on the fickleness of Fortune, the EK are forthright in their condemnation of abuse of power. Their criticism is not, however, partisan, for there is general condemnation of the moral condition of the human majority. Virtue says to Vice:

Nein mein Bawm sol auffrichtig bestehen bleiben/
ob du schon zehenmal mehr hast/ die dich und deine
Fruechte lieben. (p.167)

The remark is doubtless formulaic; but in the political context of the time, with Catholicism on the offensive, it has a prosaic truth, Protestants were outnumbered in the South.

The political dimension to the morality figures

is visible again in a seemingly superfluous remark
Vice makes to Virtue:

Ich werde doch nimmer mit dir einig/ denn du
mir nicht wilt nachgeben/ ich auch viel weniger
dir.
(p.168)

Given that the two figures are opposites in every sense there is no reason why Vice should refer to agreement at all, unless, that is, there was still some political hope of compromise. Virtue is confident of the outcome, "Du magst immer hin hassen/ aber siehe zu wer VICTORIAM darvon tragen wird". (p.168) When the capitalised "VICTORIAM" is repeated in the closing scene of the play and the King of England promised victory over his foes, this assurance has significance for the Protestant cause as a whole. In such a context, even the apples the trees bear take on political meaning, the horns being the mark of the Papist Anti-Christ, (the EK make no joke on cuckoldry, as does Dekker) and to take the horns off only the bitter, but then so sweet, fruit of Virtue will suffice. This difficult process exactly parallels the thorny path to truth that Dekker's morality figure Virtue recommends.

While the EK's purpose in Fortunato is not as explicit as Dekker's in that they are not addressing themselves to a specific court and their allegory is more elusive, it is hard to imagine that they were unaware of the political aspect of their play. Since the previous versions of the story all had topical significance, the EK were no more than continuing an established practice.

Fairy Tale and Magic

The hardening of moral and religious fronts was matched by a similarly uncompromising attitude to devilry and magic, and although the devil in his various guises was a stock figure in German popular theatre, the growing witch crazes made even harmless fun a risky business. The purse and hat become very much functional items; we see no outward signs of wealth, and the opulence of Dekker's imagery has no direct counterpart. No mention is made of the Necromancer who is supposed to have made the hat, suggesting the word may have become unacceptable. Magic as such takes second place to devilish goings-on at court, in itself a significant shift in emphasis, and what has hitherto been intrigue becomes more explicitly evil.

Andolosia suspects the devil's hand in the plan to deny him wood, "Dieses muß der Teuffel wollen/ daß kein Holtz solte zu bekommen seyn ¶.¶". (p.153) It is indeed the "devilish" English King who issues the decree forbidding the supply of wood; yet Andolosia's own decision to cook on a fire of costly spice is devilish as well, not just because of the extraordinary smell the fire makes, but because the natural order is totally reversed. His extravagance, what Dekker would call his "rebellious prodigalitie", is the trigger to further devilish twists in the plot. Agrippina uses her sexual wiles to inflame Andolosia to the point of carelessness of his secret, and so takes on the character of a Circean enchantress. And both she and her father are transformed into devils of greed by the thought of Andolosia's riches. At every turn, however, devilry is shown as a property of the

court.

The devil is also in the apples that produce the horns, not just by association with the Fall, but by direct comment:

ANDER. ein jeglich Mensche siehet mich an/ gleich
ein Meerwunder und Teuffel. (p.180)

Andolosia is a devil for causing the horns, the apple is devilish, and the Graf sees himself as a devil. Not surprisingly, therefore, the man who can undo the damage is seen as an angel:

O mein hertzlieber DOCTOR, koennet ihr sie
vertreiben/ so mag ich sagen ihr seyd mir ein
Engel vom Himmel gesand [c.]. (p.183)

Andolosia's dual nature originates in the Volksbuch and is continued, with variations, throughout the century, but none of the treatments is as explicit in its relation of the court to devilry as the EK's. This has the effect of making a scene such as the seduction of Andolosia an emblematic "Fall", a fall which, like that of Adam, signals death. No surprise then, when Andolosia cries, "meine Seele ist betruebet biß in den Todt" as his defeat at Agrippina's hands dawns on him.

The Law and Royal Authority

The only point in the EK's play when the law actively intervenes in the plot is the closing judgement on the two nobles who murder Andolosia. But this intervention is problematic since the king who speaks the sentence is hardly the sort of representative of divine authority one would expect to be given such power. In Sachs and the Volksbuch, judgement is passed by the all-powerful,

and untainted, King of Cyprus. Dekker's English King, who passes the sentence, is no saint, but Dekker covers this deficiency by deferring to the ultimate sanction of Eliza's opinion, thus making the King no more than a mouthpiece. The EK, following Dekker, have involved the English King too deeply in the trickery to be able to extricate him as an emblem of authority, so that when he turns suddenly into a judge, it is of a most Machiavellian kind. Realism has priority.

Striking about the EK's play, in fact, is that the law features so little. While Dekker reduces the crucial encounter between Fortunatus and the Breton Earl to a mere allusion, it is at least in the text. The EK's Fortunatus has no encounter with the law to teach him caution, and the audience is never given an orientation-point by which standards of behaviour may be judged. Such an absence of standards, reflective of deep social uncertainty, reinforces, if negatively, the special strength of the Eliza myth, in that Eliza united both the real and the mythopoeic energies of her subjects in a way no ruler in the German-speaking world could achieve. The EK must then have seemed to the German not unlike Henry James's Americans to the late nineteenth century European, charged with an heroic self-esteem.

Pickelhering⁶⁸

The most widely popular EK character was the clown. The role was often taken by the troupe leader, Sackville performing as Jan Posset, Spencer as Junker Stockfish, Reynolds as Pickelhering and Green and Browne, perhaps, as Hans Knapkaese. While the names varied, however, the

essential characteristics of the role did not; mime, acrobatics, songs, commentary on the action and wit in varying mixtures. Part in, part out of the action, this role allowed the troupe leader to direct even during performance and at the same time draw the most enthusiastic applause. This is not to say, however, that the clown was the embodiment of the EK's own sense of themselves; I do not agree with Baesecke then when she argues that Pickelhering is the true spirit of the EK. The clown's first duty was to attract attention and with his special prop, the drum, he would probably have headed the street procession to advertise performances. It would be natural that the troupe leader should head the troupe, and dressed as a clown he would stand out more than the other characters. On the performance site itself he would have kept the audience occupied while the seats were filling up, and entertained during scene changes. His gymnastic skill would have needed no translation and he would doubtless have warmed the audience up, just as television studio audiences are warmed up now. A further function, which probably developed in Germany, was to play the comic devil, a character highly popular in the cities. Very similar in manner and purpose to Ben Jonson's protagonist in The Devil is an Asse his devilry consisted more in leaping around and making a noise than in serious forbidden arts.

In Fortunato, as in many EK plays, Pickelhering functions both in his own right and dispersed through other roles. In his own right his main task is to cover

scene changes, but his appearances were calculated to contribute to the action as well. The stage directions are sparse in the extreme: Allhier agiret Pickelhering is often the limit of what we are told. In Fortunato Pickelhering makes his first appearance between act one and act two. Fortunatus is the last to leave the stage at the end of act one and the first to enter for the new act, needing to change from rags to riches in the interval. The intervention of Pickelhering allows the change time to take place, but it also, quite deliberately, breaks the flow of the action, giving the illusion of time passing and generating tension as to how the play will develop. At the end of act two, Fortunatus dies and his sons have to carry off the body. As a sort of vestigial trace of Dekker's dance of Satyrs at the same point in the action, Pickelhering then enters in a devilish dance. This glee makes a smooth bridge to Andolosia's dance of joy at the start of act three - "Tanzet und springet", as we are told.(p.147) It is appropriate at this moment that Andolosia should become the clowning devil, a role which the antics of Pickelhering seem to prepare him for.

This combination of disjunctive act structure and fluid characterisation are important signals as to the EK's perception of structural strategy. Rather than bind the phases of the action together, the EK very often use Pickelhering to emphasise the episodic, emblematic function of individual scenes. The technique, now more familiar in political theatre as the Verfremdungseffekt, though here with a less rigid didactic purpose,

constantly reinforces the sense of theatricality in the plot, highlighting role at the expense of character, incident at the expense of narrative continuity. It is perhaps no accident that the troubled political times that generated the context for Brecht's V-Effekt should, in similar circumstances in the early seventeenth century, have produced a related technique. In both theatrical styles laughter has a central function, laughter that verges constantly on the edge of the grotesque. Brecht makes us laugh at Arturo Ui performing Julius Caesar, and then asks us why we laugh. The EK make us laugh with Andolosia at the death of his father until we begin to ask ourselves why we are laughing.

Half-way through act three, Pickelhering's skills are required again to cover Andolosia's flight to London to participate in a jousting tournament. A similar break occurs later in the same act when Agrippina exits to find Andolosia, intent on robbing him of his purse. While the victim is being sought, the devilish clown dances, and, the dance over, Agrippina returns with Andolosia in tow. This implicit comment on the action reinforces the evil nature of the trick to be played. The care with which Pickelhering is built into the play is matched by care in the choice of when not to have him perform. At the end of act three no break is required in the action and Pickelhering does not perform. More significantly, however, at the end of act four, when according to previous precedent Pickelhering should cover a scene change, no such intervention occurs. The tension here depends on continuity.

The function of Pickelhering as presiding genius

of the comic devilry suggests a certain affinity with the use of Eliza in Dekker's play. The dramatic connection between monarch and fool needs no gloss here; both have privileged positions, both, in two specific ways, represent the society to which they belong. In the overall shift from Dekker's "high" to the EK's "low" comedy, the transition from monarch to fool as frame to the action is perfectly consistent with the general pattern. Yet the commensurate disadvantage lies in the nature of the characters themselves, for while the monarch is the embodiment of order, whose mere presence establishes the necessary relationship between signifier and signified, the fool's existence depends substantially on the freedom to interfere with that order, to disrupt the accepted system of meaning. When the fool has no pre-existing system to disrupt, the result is a disintegration of parody into railling. The one safeguard for meaning lies however, in the conventions of the theatre itself, which fill the vacuum left by the dissolution of political power. Pickelhering's importance lies therefore not so much in his being the incarnate spirit of the EK as in being their "corrupter of plots", a calculated theatrical disturber in an otherwise evenly flowing medium. In the constant dialectic between Pickelhering and plot, a dialectic between continuity and discontinuity, lies the special power of the EK. And when Pickelhering mediated between audience and action, his power derived from his ability to make the audience feel that in a very real sense they made the play. He became the personification of their will, his glee theirs, his

anger a vent to their frustration. The compliment Dekker pays Eliza, Pickelhering pays the whole audience, that in them his actors live.

Staging

The tantalising sparseness of the directions to Pickelhering stand in stark contrast to the full instructions in the main body of the play, a fact which in itself might suggest that Reynolds or Browne, both clowns, might have been responsible for writing the texts for publication since their own roles would have been so second nature to them as not to need extensive description.⁶⁹ Andolosia's anger at Agrippina is fully documented:

Jetzt koempt ANDOLOSIA setzt AGRIPPINAM gar zorniglich zur Erden/ gehet gleich wie ein Beere herumb/ wirffet den Rock abe/ verkehret die Augen im Kopffe/ sie zittert und bebet. (p.190)

Andolosia could doubtless have helped out in The Winter's Tale. From such directions one may infer that the acting was rhetorical and emphatic, formulaic in its expressions of emotions like love, melancholy, and anger and, bearing in mind the audience size, visible from the back rows. Action also counter-balances speech, the EK demonstrating special skill in the use of mime to further the plot. When Fortunatus dies, a "speaking picture" tells the audience how his sons react to his death:

Stirbet/ AMPEDO weinet bitterlich/ ANDOLOSIA lest sich nichts anfechten/ nimbt alßbald den Seckel vom Vater/ greifft daran/ und langet etlichemal Goldt herauß ꝛ.ꝓ. (p.146)

The sight of the son triumphing so horribly over the still warm body of his dead father is a strong moment in the play, but there is no speech to accompany it - none is required.

The effect of the stage-directions is to emphasise the actor and his ability to perform various roles and, as one might expect of touring theatre, this is achieved with little secondary help. No formal set is required, and effects are achieved through costume and props. As we know that the EK not only performed in a great variety of places, but also had stages built for them, their first principle must have been adaptability. It is therefore, a hazardous undertaking to consider what sort of stage shape they might have used since they probably performed on whatever was made available to them. The directions are noticeably silent on setting. Props, by contrast, abound: apples, swords, cups and sticks, chains, a purse and a hat. Costumes were equally important, especially when signalling such changes at Fortunatus's rise to wealth. The spirits are dressed in chains, and the two goddesses must have been distinctively clad. No doubt many of the costumes would have fitted roles in other plays, Fortunatus's torn clothes at the start of act one being easily redeployable. The most bulky items are the two apple trees which have to be planted in act four. The question of what sort of stage the EK would ideally have liked I shall discuss below. All Fortunato demands is a concealed area for costume change and for storing props and special make-up, namely the horns. A single back-drop would suffice.

Fortuna - Unbeständigkeit in person.⁷⁰

The social disorientation which projects Pickelhering to the centre of the German audience's perception of the EK is also responsible for a rising awareness of

the mutability and uncertainty of life. To some extent this is a literary and artistic mode, but it is also a predictable consequence of a long war. The 1620 collection, published at the start of war shows only traces of the growing anxiety, but in the treatment of characters like Fortuna these traces are particularly evident. Fortuna's fickleness was not in itself new; far from it. But Dekker was the first to develop the role of Fraw Glueck into a central part of the Fortunatus story, a step the EK followed. The basis of her character lies in the theological ambiguity with which women as a whole were viewed, daughters of Eve, yet mothers of God, whores and madonnas. The curse of womanhood is the rapidity with which the one half of their nature, usually the evil, may triumph over the good; and in Heinrich Julius's play Von einem Buler, which I discussed above, one gets a clear idea how this process may happen. The hitherto chaste wife, long-suffering and pure, suddenly turns whore and no one feels any sympathy. In addition to being the most unpredictable of an unpredictable sex, Fortuna takes particular delight in humiliating the mighty. In the EK's hands therefore, Fortuna and Agrippina start to look like two manifestations of the same force, their changes of mood part of a clever plan to ruin the house of Fortunatus having maliciously raised it up.

The extent of this capricious, malicious nature the EK attribute to Fortuna and Agrippina may be measured against their Volksbuch namesakes' characters. Fraw Glueck is little more than an agent in the story;

Agripina vain and misguided but not at heart evil. In her excuse for her behaviour she describes the view of her sex in 1509:

O tugentreicher, strenger ritter Andolosia, ich bekenne, das ich vneerberlich, groß vnd schwaer wider eüch gethon hab, bittüch, ir woellen ansehen die bloedigkait, vnwissenhaitt vnd leüchtmuetikait, so dann von natur mer in dem dem geschoepfft der weiber ist, in den iungen vnnd in den alten dann in mannlichem geschlecht, vnnd woellen mir die sache nitt in das ergest keren vnnd eweren zoren gegen mir armen tochter hynlegen. (p.131)

The key terms are "vnwissenhaitt" and "mer", the one an implicit excuse in that she "knows not what she does", the other establishing a relativity which by no means exonerates men from the same qualities as disable her. Her appeal to Andolosia has some force therefore, when she asks him to be merciful, for there, but for the grace of God, goes he. This relatively unprejudiced position is replaced in Dekker and the EK's play by a much more aggressively anti-feminine position, a change which is most noticeable in the person of Fortune. In the Volksbuch there is no question that the gifts Fraw Glueck has to offer are unambiguous; Fortunatus is free to choose and his sons' failings are not the result of Fraw Glueck's malicious interventions but of their own stupidity. In the EK's play, Fortunatus is warned not to take any of her gifts because, coming from her, whatever they are they are untrustworthy:

Ich rathe dir armen Menschen/ nimb ihre Gaben nicht an/ sie ist mir auch guenstig gewesen/ und machte mich zu einen Großmaechtigsten Keyser/ ja dadurch kam ich umb Leib und Leben/ ja auch umb meine arme Seele/ und thue dich O FORTUNA derhalben gaentzlich verfluchen. (p.134)

While this King can hardly be unpartisan, his warning is consistent with the new character of Fortuna that

emerges in the play.

It is too much to expect of a man like Fortunatus to heed the warning, still less perceive the rich irony in Fortuna's name. But the warning itself is much more effective coming from a sufferer as Fortuna's hands than from Fortuna herself, as in the source. The problem this new Fortuna sets, however, lies in end of the play, for how is a goddess who has tricked three kings to be trusted in her gift of "VICTORIAM" to the English King? Worse still: Fortuna proves by her fickleness that she is not to be trusted, yet a man's fortune seems beyond his own control. Would it have made any difference had Fortunatus chosen wisdom? The ultimate folly seems to be a belief that one in any way affects one's own destiny. Consciousness is determined by a constant and insoluble dialectic between the recognition that fortune is mutable and yet in its progress unchangeable. Ironically, this suggests a new sense in which Fortunatus may be a happy man, for in his naive belief in Fortune's goodness he is protected from the hideous realisation of her malice. Folly, ignorance or innocence are a man's best defence against mutability.

Summary

When compared with the three earlier versions of the Fortunatus story, the EK's has neither the narrative continuity of the Volksbuch, nor the clear moral message of Sachs, nor the subtle metaphoric richness of Dekker: yet it has a tough realism and social immediacy that none of the others can match. Its episodic, picaresque structure relies more on the individual scene than

an architectonic understanding of plot, and only in performance may the work be said fully to exist. The very sparseness of the printed text, a sparseness that is not born of crudeness in composition or inexperience, but rather of a desire to leave the performer as much room to perform as possible, underlines the extent to which performance was for the EK and act of translation and intensification.

The success of Fortunato depends on the observance of four main principles, all of which the EK exploit throughout their work: the immediate recognisability of the central figures, either by name or by type; the liberal mixture of genres and performances modes (such as speech, music and action); the examination of socio-political concerns of an immediate kind; and the very economical staging.

1) Recognisability: Fortunatus was, as we have seen, among the best known figures in German culture of the period, so he was a natural and obvious candidate for inclusion in the repertoire. But his very fame was a little constricting for the performer, so the emphasis in the EK's play shifts from father to prodigal son, who was himself a famous and much-loved type.

2) Generic Impurity: For a comedy, Fortunato is surprisingly full of death and pain, trickery and betrayal. At the same time, it uses music and the clown, and it leaves opportunities for tumbling and fighting. Andolosia in particular, has the opportunity to show off a whole range of characters.

3) Socio-Political Tension: the basic issue behind the play, one constantly close to the surface of the action,

is the dealings the merchants, and city classes, had with the courts, dealings which end in this play at least with the demise of the merchants' dreams of integration with the aristocracy. The EK's audiences from both camps would have seen immediately how clearly the EK understood what was going on, and how their instincts were on the side of integration and of compromise.

4) Minimal Staging: Apart from the two trees, this play requires very little in the way of set, and the costumes are more or less those in the basic repertory stock, a king, a princess, a doctor, an apple-seller etc. This naturally complements, and assists, the strategy of recognisability the EK adopted, and yet had a further advantage to the audience that they too had room "on stage" for their own imaginations, or, in Shakespeare's terms, they were free to add their effort to the peopling of the wooden O.

It had taken a century of exploration of the potential of the vernacular, and of the popular theatre, to work this four-part recipe out, and the four works this chapter has examined were milestones along the road of this development as well as touchstones of the cultures for which they were written. In turning now to the remaining plays in the 1620 collection, my purpose is to analyse them according to the principles identified in Fortunato, and in the knowledge of the popular vernacular tradition of which Fortunato was so significant a part.

Chapter 6. The Repertoire (2): The 1620 Collection¹

The strategic demands of touring theatre are such that the first task a travelling company must set itself is to make its name known to its potential audience, so that whatever is performed the audience will come to see the performers, trusting in their reputation. The EK were evidently particularly successful at fixing their name and style in the public memory, so much so that plays were sold under their trademark that had precious little to do with them. The EK had two means at their disposal to make a lasting impression: both appear in the title of the collection, "Inventionen" and "Spielweiß". In a strict sense only one of these is true, for little of what the EK did can be regarded textually as "Inventionen"; but their manner of performance was a discovery for their audience. Textually, in fact, the EK relied on almost the opposite to "Invention", immediate recognisability of types, even of sources. If they could rely on their audience's ability quickly to pick up the threads of the plot, then they could embroider and improvise as they saw fit.

As the EK's gallery of types became known, audience pressure will have grown to repeat them, and this was a major factor in the loose sense of genre the EK display. They refer to "Tragedien" and "Comedien", and Pickelhering's name stands for their third main genre "Singspiele", but much of their work contain traces of all three. So the specific reasons for the EK's popularity led to the generation of a dramatic style that fits uneasily in the classic generic frame. And one sign that their work is

not to be read according to strict Baroque standards is the mere arbitrariness with which some generic designations are given.

The sociological emphasis of the collection is comparative, high-life being matched explicitly or implicitly against low-life, and comparisons being drawn between high-life attitudes to power, intrigue and sexuality and their equivalents in the low-life. Not least in this is the influence of the London theatre evident. There are many signs of personal and social tension, and also of severe social problems, such as hunger, debt, pillage, deceit, which point to a widespread collapse of social morality, especially in the years before the start of the Thirty Years' War. Touring theatre has a freedom of criticism because it is here today and gone tomorrow that the static court theatre has not; and the dialectical tension of strolling players and static audiences is one source of the EK's cultural energy.

Much has been written about the stage of the EK, but not from the point of view of the touring actor. Touring, like travelling on foot, requires as much as possible to be left behind, and elaborate theories of balconies and complex stage levels which may have validity for the court performances invalidate themselves on sheerly logistical grounds. Even the range of costumes and props is limited, one feature of the repertoire being the fact that certain elements keep recurring, as much as anything for reasons of cost. The principle of reduction to essentials may be taken as the basis of the EK's attitude to their stage, but also to their task as a whole.

This chapter has therefore, four sections, based on the above concerns: recognisability, generic impurity, socio-political tension and minimal staging. I shall treat each in turn.

Recognisability

There are two strategies for achieving easy and immediate recognition - the use of a known source, and the use of a known character type. The EK's sources were for the most part well known even to the civic audience, and their types likewise. Pickelhering made a special impact because he seemed a new type, but even he draws on German native traditions of satire and foolery.

i) Types of Source

The collection is careful to put two religious plays at the front, and these illustrate well how the Bible acted as direct source. The plays are the COMOEDIA von der Koenigin Esther und hoffertigen HAMAN,² (Esther) and the COMOEDIA von dem verlornen Sohn in welcher die Verzweiffelung und Hoffnung gar artig INTRODUCIRET werden,³ (Von dem verlornen Sohn). Not only are these two stories the most popular Biblical sources for artistic treatments of all kinds, but they offered a wide range of characters and situations for the dramatist and the actor to explore and exploit.

The treatment of the source in Esther is a good example of the point preacher Hagius made about the EK to his master at Pommern-Wolgast. The setting, in India, has closer affinities with mythical India of the Volksbuch Fortunatus than with any real country, and Ahasverus's court is much like that of the Volksbuch Sultan's. By contrast,

the debt to the Bible in the portrayal of Mardocheus is self-evident, and the play achieves a successful blend of the religious, the magical and the critically realist in a language as accessible as Luther's.

In the Bible, Ahasveros has a kingdom stretching from India to "Mohrenland", consisting of 127 provinces, four more than the EK give him which not only suggests a typographic error but may also indicate speed in setting which fastidious Menius might have prevented. (Esther, 1, 1-4) The palace is called "Susan", and there Queen Vashti is brought to the scaffold for refusing to obey her husband. Memuchan, conflated with Haman by the EK, says that the Queen has harmed both the King and himself, and, by extension, all men: so at his instigation a law is passed demanding that "alle Weiber jre Maenner in ehren halten". (Esther, 1, 20) Next in the Biblical account, followed faithfully by the EK, comes the search for a new Queen: Esther is found with Mordechai, her guardian, and taken off to court. She is purified, with other candidates, for a year, but this year causes no interruption in the EK's plot, merely being referred to in passing by Bigthan and Theres while presenting Esther to the King. Next (Esther, 2) follows the treachery of Bigthan and Theres themselves, which is overheard and revealed by Mordechai, so raising him and causing their deaths. At this stage in the Bible (Esther, 3) Haman makes his first appearance, and in doing so, a tension is created between him and Mordechai, which establishes the principal tension in the plot,

the plan to exterminate the Jews (Esther, 4). Not only is this a topic never very far from the surface of European history, but it must also have seemed to the beleaguered Protestants in particular an allegory of their own condition in relation to the Catholics. Esther, in breach of all the laws about women, approaches the King uninvited (Esther, 5) and succeeds where Vashti fails in successfully breaking the law. At this stage in the Bible there is a character introduced, Seres, who is evidently the basis of Hans Knapkaese in the play. Then the Jews get their own back (Esther, 6), first by the neat device of having Mordechai read his King the court chronicle, which initiates the downfall of Haman, and then by Mordechai's ordering the destruction of all enemies of the Jews, especially Haman's sons, who are in fact innocent victims of a palace coup. In the broad outlines of the plot, the EK, as one would expect, follow their source closely: but they do add from a mere hint in the source a whole sub-plot, and they change many details in the main plot. The sub-plot I deal with later, but the main plot concerns me here.

Firstly, the King has now only three servants, as the EK's company was not equipped with sufficient actors to allow him more: the effect is to reduce the epic scale of the Bible to the small court environment of Germany in a naturalistic fashion. Haman, the villain, is based on the Old Testament source figure, Memuchan, but he is developed by the EK, consistently with the change in the nature of the court to which he belongs,

into the Machiavellian intriguer par excellence. This enables the EK to use him in their plot earlier on than the source suggests, which has the advantages of condensation and clarification.

The implicit narrator of the original is disposed of, and in his place characters introduce themselves: "Ich Koenig AHASVERUS" is the opening of the play and the subsequent speech summarises the opening of Esther. Vashti is quickly dispensed with, but her disobedience is the cue for an important interpolation, in which the EK stress, in contradistinction to the Bible, the humanity and mercy of Ahasverus. What in the Bible is a comment specific to the feasting - "daß ein jglicher solt thun/ wie es jm wolgefiehl" (Esther, 1, 8) - is transmuted into a general proclamation of compassion and justice, which hardly accords with the later, **brutal** deaths of Bigthan and Therese, brutality which is likewise an interpolation. In similar vein is the plea made by Mordechai for mercy for Haman's sons, a complete reversal of his attitude in the Bible, where his revenge is extensive and wholly unjust. In such alterations a change is worked in the play's atmosphere, making the problems of mercy as opposed to Realpolitik central concerns.

The language of the play and that of the source are close in style and accessibility, and this very proximity explains one of the reasons for the EK's popular success, their skill at using the vernacular. The Bible has:

Den Man den der König gerne wolt ehren sol man
her bringen/ das man jm königliche Kleider
anziehe/ die der König pfleget zu tragen/
vnd das Ros da der König auff reitet/ vnd
das man die königliche Krone auff sein heubt
setze. (Esther, 6, 7-8)

The EK's versions reads:

den Mann den Ihr Koen<igliche> Majestaet gerne
ehren wolte/ sol man herbringen/ daß man ihn
außziehre mit Koeniglichen Kleidern/ die der
Koenig selbst zu tragen pflegt/ und setzen auff
das Ros/ da der Koenig auffreitet/ und daß man
die Koenigliche Crone auff sein Haeupt setze [.] . (p.60
(p.60)

The EK add stylistic flourishes, but these do not
disguise their debt.

The principles according to which the EK worked
in preparing a performance text are clear from this play.
A well-known source, likely to be familiar even to the
least educated parts of their audience is followed both
structurally and linguistically, changes being made
only for the sake of clarity, economy or flourish. Additions
stem from suggestions in the text, and tend to form
sub-plots that are easily recognisable from their
stereotypic construction. In every case the emphasis
is on ease of recognition, and ease of access.

Von dem verlorenen Sohn sets the EK a task of a
different kind, that of dealing with a short source,
the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Not that this constituted
much of a problem, either for them or for the many
other playwrights who expanded the Parable with relish.
The EK's particular contribution to the evolution of
the Prodigal Son dramatic tradition is however, an
unexpected one, in that they make it morally even tighter
than the original. The Son's brother actually forgives
him in the last speech of the play:

Hertzlieber Vater/ ihr habt mich nun erst recht
berichtet/ ich bin von Herten froelich/ daß sich

mein Bruder bekehret hat/ damit er mit uns
 ererbe das Reich Gottes. Ich gehe nun mit hinein/
 und wollen darueber froelich seyn. (p.127)

This new accent suggests that the occasion on which the play was performed may have demanded clearer theological signals even than the source gives. In general, however, the Prodigal belongs more to the group of EK types (another is Andolosia) than to the specific problems of source study, and so I shall return to the story in a later section.

The use of the Bible as source for the opening two comedies is balanced in the collection by the use of history as source in the most gruesome tragedy, based on the blend of legend and historical fact that underlay the story of Titus Andronicus. This work has particular interest for us, because it is the only one in the collection to tackle the same subject as one of Shakespeare's plays. Eine sehr klaegliche TRAGAEDIA von TITO ANDRONICO und der hoffertigen/ Kaeyserin/ darinnen denckwuerdige ACTIONES zu befinden⁴ (Tito Andronico), testifies to the general European delight in blood and guts, with suggestions of all sorts of naughtiness in family relations. In this, critics have tended to regard Shakespeare's play on the subject as an aberration, and the EK's play as typical of their degraded sense of theatre. Stahl is typical in calling Shakespeare's the "weitaus primitivsten aller Shakespeare-Dramen".⁵ I do not propose here to go into a defence either of Shakespeare or of the EK, nor do I wish to enter a debate about whether Shakespeare and the EK used the same source, or whether the play is as primitive as Stahl suggests. It is very bloody, but some of the best of Shakespeare's poetry is to be found

in its recesses. What matters is how the two versions of the same theme reflect the different strategies of performance for which they were written: Shakespeare's was a play for a specific theatre, the EK's for touring.

Titus Andronicus is almost certainly Shakespeare's first tragedy, Alexander dating it between 1584 and 1592.⁶ It belongs then to a small group of Shakespearian plays written during the early years of EK activity, and in particular before Browne made his decisive tour of 1592. It is quite possible therefore, that Shakespeare's treatment of the subject matter may have led the EK to take it up themselves. On first analysis however, the differences between the texts are more striking than the similarities, bearing in mind the common orientation of both to singularly bloody and macabre behaviour. The names are mostly different: Aaron the Moor is Morian, Saturninus merely der Keyser, Lavinia is Andronica, Tamora's sons are not Demetrius and Chiron, but Helicates and Saphonus. Tamora herself is the Keyserin, a simple but revealing assimilation of her character into the ranks of the Roman ruling class that Tamora never achieves in Shakespeare. The EK's play has no verse, is shorter, and, if anything more bloody; it has none of the redeeming features of the Shakespearian text and cannot be counted an error of exuberant youthful judgement. It seems rather to justify the EK's critics assertion that they are interested solely, or at least primarily in show: "Es kommt an solchen Stellen augenscheinlich gar nicht darauf an, wie etwas gesagt wird; man greift zum Wort, weil es nicht anders geht".⁷ Flemming here is milder than many of his forerunners in the critical field.

Yet matters are not quite this clear-cut. Despite the differences in names, in character and attitude most of the protagonists are recognisably of the same stock. Titus is old and powerful, proud and tormented in both; the moorish slave is hideous and scheming, but also funny; the Empress's sons are evil and murderous. The violent and painful scenes, full of lopped limbs and drenched with blood, are similar, and the EK's use of the spoken word, while no match for Shakespeare's is as effective for its economy as his is for flourish.

The most complex character in the EK's play is Morian, a mixture of Iago's cunning, the devilish side of Pickelhering, and Grobian, an aspect of him I treat later. He is black and hideous, and is referred to as a devil, but nowhere does his devilry seem more complex than in his address to his son: "In aller Schelmerey und Moerderey wil ich dich abrichten/ damit du keinen Teufel achtest [..]". (p.505) In his description of how he proposes to nurture this child his and Shakespeare's words come quite close together:

Hundemilch Kaese und Wasser sol deine Nahrung
seyn/ biß so lange du gehen kanst/ so wil ich
dich in allen sachen uben/ damit du solst hart
lernen/ und dermal eins ritterlich streiten und
kempffen [..] (p.505)

This compares with:

I'll make you feed on berries and on roots,
And feed on curds and whey, and suck the goat,
And cabin in a cave, and bring you up
To be a warrior and command a camp. (IV, ii, 178-81)

While Aaron speaks in verse and has a language rich in evil sensuality, he has not the black humour of Morian.

This humour surfaces when Morian plays diplomat, sorting out a squabble over who is to rape Andronica:

Weil dann nun keiner von sie lassen wil/
sollet ihr derhalben ewer leben nicht nehmen/
sondern ich wil euch darzu behuelfflich seyn/
daß ihr Gemahl sol umbs leben kommen/ und
nehmet sie denn alle beyde/ und brauchet sie
genugsam. (p.473)

The equivalent takes a number of exchanges in Shakespeare, and while certain aspects of the superior play are lost, the radical reduction does generate what Brooke calls "horrid laughter"⁸, laughter lying at the grotesque end of tragedy.

Similar condensations occur in the scene in which Vespasian (Shakespeare's Lucius) bargains with the Moor for information about the Empress's treachery. In Shakespeare, Aaron makes it a condition of his testimony that he be spared, or if not he, his child, a point that is dwelt on as Lucius will not answer to Aaron's satisfaction. For the EK, this issue is resolved into a piece of Galgenhumor. Morian says:

Hette ich doch all mein Tage nicht gedacht/ daß
ich noch sollte auff's letzte erhencket werden/ nun
so gehe fort und erhencke mich geschwinde weg/
ehe ich noch mehr dran gedencke. (p.511)

The child is saved, but perfunctorily, in a comic change of heart, and while Lucius sees to it that Aaron's punishment fits the crime, there is a sense at the end of the EK's play that Morian has got off lightly.

The subsequent effect of the horrid laughter that Morian's closing words generate is to contextualise all the other deaths as grimly funny. Next, as in Shakespeare, the Empress's two sons arrive at Titus's

villa, masked, but not well enough. They are captured, and then put to death in a carefully sacrificial way, like lambs on the altar. The stage directions are precise to the last detail, and offer valuable information as to how stage violence was handled by the EK:

Jetzt koempt einer/ bringet ihm ein scharffes
Scheermesser und Schlacht Tuch/ er macht das
Tuch umb/ gleich als wenn er schlachten will.
 (p.514)

Andronicus becomes a priest of death in an act of celebratory butchery, an act which itself is minutely depicted:

Der elteste Bruder wird erstlich herueber
gehalten/ er wil reden/ aber sie halten ihm
das Maul zu. TITUS schneidet ihm die Gurgel
halb abe. Das Blut rennet in das Gefaess/ legen
ihn da das Blut außgerennet/ todt an die Erden.
 (p.514)

The blood is caught in a bowl, not just for the nice visual effect of red blood falling into a, probably, white bowl, but also because it can thus be used again in the next performance, stored, presumably, in a small bladder or bag around the actor's neck. Where Shakespeare builds up carefully to the equivalent moment in his play, so achieving his effect by the remorseless nature of the taking of revenge, in the EK's play the accent is on the brutality and yet curious beauty of the act of butchery, particularly as spectacle.

Both in the construction of the butchery scene, and in the first scenes of their play, there are signs that the EK's text is corrupt or incomplete, internal evidence that it was set in a hurry, and not written by anyone like Menius. It may even be that the EK were

groping in their memories for a garbled version of Shakespeare's play from which they were working. When the Empress goes to Titus's villa, she plays the part of Revenge, a role that is soon to take a turn not envisaged in her version of the script. Titus acts madder than he is, and so manages to get her sons on their own, as a prelude to killing them. All this happens very fast in the EK play, and the disguises which they have their characters assume are not properly motivated, despite the fact that the outcome is the same as in Shakespeare's version. This would suggest that the disguise as a factor in the scene was taken over from Shakespeare, without a full awareness of quite why disguise should be used. Similar sorts of half-remembered allusion occur right at the beginning. The new Emperor has sworn to take Andronica to be his wife, as in Shakespeare. But then in the EK's next act, Andronica already has a husband, completely unexplained. What is missing is the scene when Bassanius takes Lavinia away, leaving the field clear for the Ethiopian Queen to get the Emperor. Poor memory again seems to have done an unfortunate edit. Missing too is the brutal scene in which Titus kills the Queen's eldest son in revenge for the death of his own sons, an act which for Shakespeare initiates the chain of violence. Strikingly similar in both versions are the explanations given for the Emperor's rejection of Andronica/Lavinia. The EK have the Keyser say:

Scheene Koenigin/ zehenmal groesser lust und
 Begierden habe ich zu euch dann zu des TITI
 ANDRONICI Tochter [..] (p.469)

That sounds very like Saturninus's aside on the subject of Tamora:

A goodly lady, trust me; of the hue
That I would choose, were I to choose anew.
(I, i, 261-2)

Though the EK make the sexual lust motif explicit, Shakespeare leaves us in no doubt that sexual attraction is the main factor in Saturninus's choice.

In their title, the EK signal a different accent to their treatment of the story from Shakespeare's (not consciously, of course) in their reference to "Denckwuerdige actiones". The explicit purpose of the play for the EK is to present a series of pictures for moral contemplation and education, and their source here may even directly have been the horrific woodcuts of The Book of Martyrs, which would have given them ideas of how to vary stage violence. This moral purpose reflects itself most clearly in the scene where Titus lops his hand, hoping thereby to save his sons. Titus contemplates his hand, so signalling to the audience to do the same, and talks to it on their behalf:

Ja du edele Hand/ wie bistu so bezahlet fuer deine trewe Dienste/ O du undanckbare Rom/ diese Hand hat dich offte und vielmal von deinen grawsamen Feinden errettet [...] O wie offte hastu edele Hand gegen tausendt Haende streiten muessen/ und die gefaehrlichsten blutigsten Kriege/ hastu mit VICTORIA überwunden [...] (p.488)

This brief history lesson not only reinforces to the audience the general moral about the efficacy of history as moral tutor, but also, in particular, reemphasises the central function of honour in the Roman (and Holy Roman) empire. In Shakespeare, the scene is directed

rather inwards, and the moral is offered to Titus, not directly to us, by Lucius and Marcius.

Lucius. Stay, father! for that noble hand of thine,
That hath thrown down so many enemies,
Shall not be sent. (III, i, 162-4)

Marcius then adds:

Which of your hands hath not defended Rome
And rear'd aloft the bloody battle-axe,
Writing destruction on the enemy's castle?
(III, i, 168-70)

As an exchange, this is no less effective than the EK's, but the EK have a moral advantage over Shakespeare in the directness with which they point out the enormity of Titus's sacrifice.

The horror climaxes in a scene initiated by Morian, in a manner that suggests the EK saw it as horridly funny. Morian, not the Shakespearian messenger, returns with the severed heads of Titus's sons. Titus then takes his lopped hand and swears to heaven, an oath swiftly followed by the entry of Lavinia, also with lopped hands, totally crushing Titus's spirit. Shakespeare has Lavinia enter before Titus has lopped his hand, and in this he does not catch the same visual shock as the EK. With justice Victoriades points out:

O hertzlieber Bruder/ das grewlichste SPECTACUL,
so jemalen fuer ewren Augen kommen/ sehet ihr nun.
(p.489)

Indeed it is, and the EK have a fine instinct for horror: Shakespeare has Lavinia kiss Titus to comfort him, but the EK have Andronica kiss her brothers' heads.

It seems possible, for all the gulf between them, that the EK did draw on, admittedly garbled, memories of an earlier play for their own version of the Titus Andronicus story, and that certain verbal similarities I

have demonstrated may suggest this play was Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus. The chief difference lies in the EK's far simpler language, but they also show more concern for the visual aspects of their play, in accordance with the need for their audience's need to be able to follow a plot that would have been less familiar to them than those of Biblical origin.

The story of Fortunatus is reflective in its four versions of a century's development in European popular culture: the story of Nobody and Somebody experienced a much more intensive, but similarly popular evolution. Eine schoene lustige COMOEDIA/ von Jemand und Niemandt⁹ (Jemand und Niemandt) has both an English and a German antecedent, the former probably being a direct source. The German antecedent is in itself of particular interest since it stems from the pen of John Green, or at least Green had a substantial hand in it, and was performed at the Graz court during Fasching, 1608.¹⁰

The English play, No-body and Some-body. With the true Chronicle Historie of Elydure, who was fortunately three several times crowned King of England,¹¹ is undated and anonymous, the sharp social comment perhaps being too risky to acknowledge. Simpson reckons the first printing to have been in 1592,¹² but the evidence is uncertain. The play itself is based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae, and deals with the curious destiny of King Elydure, who was crowned king no less than three times.¹³ Imbedded into a cycle of tyrannous rulers is the restoration of justice and order three times by Elydure, and the sub-plot, which in fact takes over the main plot, of Nobody's battle with Somebody. The

play is written in verse of a relatively straightforward kind, concentrating on immediate social abuses and with little metaphoric sub-text. Three worlds co-exist, the country, the city and the court. Abuse at court is reflected in poverty and extortion in the country and lawlessness in the city. We follow Nobody as he is driven from country to city to court, and then triumph with him in his final victory over Somebody. Likewise king Elydure by sheer goodness and concern for his people, triumphs over his tyrannous brothers. The whole play reads as an eloquent plea for just government and social equity.

Green's Niemand und Jemand: Ein warhafftige unndt glaubwürdige History unnd Geschicht, wie es sich vor villen Jarrn in Engllandt mit Khünig Artzngall und seinen dreyen Prüder zu getragen,¹⁴ dedicated to his royal patron Maximilian, is longer than the English play, written in prose, and slightly more cautious in its assault on abuse than No-Body and Some-body. It foregrounds the bitter rivalry between the two queens, Elidor's and Artzngall's, as they alternate in positions of triumph and defeat with each turn of Fortune's wheel. Flemming states "das ganze Stück zeigt die vollzogene Barockisierung", but, as in the English play, the fate of the protagonists in reality depends less on Fortune than their own attitudes to responsibility.¹⁵ Green has, however, made a number of concessions to Catholicism in the play, perhaps even drawing on the help of the Jesuits performing at the court for the formulation of his Latin dedication. Most obviously, the Jesuit engagement in the cause of justified removal of tyrants finds ample support in the story, Green enhancing the evils his tyrants perpetrate.

But Niemand too takes on a distinctly Counter-Reformation aspect, armed with Rosary, founding monasteries and planning a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (p.93). We hear of "Pueß" and "Paenitentia", and in Jemantß's description of Niemandß there is a distinctively Jesuitical strategy of positive indoctrination through negative example:

Niemandß hat an den Khinig ernstlich begert, daß Geiczigkeit und Wuhereinus mag auß den Landt gebanet werden; zum andern hat er begert, daß alle seine Untertanen magen alle Tag in der Khirchen erscheinen auf gebognen Khnien zwei gancze Stundt lang, welches Jemantß nit woll gefallen thuet; zum dritten, Niemandß hat begert, daß Jederman soll fasten und beten und unsern Herr Gott mit Fleiß anruffen; zum fürten hat Niemandß dem Khönig geraten, den Türkhen zu widerstehen und daß ein jeder Unterthan soll sein Gelt darzue geben und Niemandß wirt zum ersten anfangen; Niemandß will zehen Tunen Goldts darzue geben. (p.110)

One can well imagine the order of eminences grises liking the persona of Niemandß. The final detail however, in which an English king is to be helped in fighting the Turks, indicates that the process of "Barockisierung" is still going on, Green laying a veneer of local hue over what is still an English renaissance frame. His compliment outweighed considerations of historical logic.

The EK's play is shorter than Green's and more direct. It is difficult to date its composition, which in turn makes any argument of a chronological kind hard to sustain. It is even possible that the English version post-dates Green's in its extant form. One may agree then with Flemming in his assessment of the 1608 play: "Als er [Green] in Graz den "Niemand" aufführte, flocht er schleunigst katholisierende Züge in diese Rolle, betonte jedoch auch die Züge des Hofmannes".¹⁶ But there is no firm evidence for his contention that Green then took the process of Barockisierung further in 1620: "Unter

seinen Händen wandelt sich die Gestalt in dieser Richtung weiter, wie die Fassung von 1620 erweist".¹⁷ Indeed, there is a certain contradiction in the claim that the play was an example of "vollzogene Barockisierung" in 1608 and then made more Baroque in 1620.

Green's play is clearly a version of the English original, in structure and language showing many similarities. It is however, more harsh in its social attitudes, which is visible in the following comparison of equivalent moments in the 1608 and English plays. First Green:

Niemandß: Diese ungeschikhte und plumpen Paurn haben mich nit lieb, sie machen mich zum Schellm und zum Dieb.

Jung: Folgt mein Rath und bleibt nit lenger hier unter denen plumpen und ungeschickhten Paurn; hie laß uns Wohnung haben in der großen Stadt, dan ich weiß wohl, die Purgerschafft wird euch gar wohl tractiren und wird Niemandß vom Herzen willkham heissen. (p.85)

This "translates", but also glosses in local terms the original exchange:

Clowne. Maister, I would wish you to leave the Country, and see what good entertainment you will have in the Cittie. [.]

Nobod. Then Ile to London, for the Country tires me With exclamations and with open wrongs. Sith in the Cittie they affect me so. (p.294)

In both plays, the hope of better reception in the city proves to be ill-founded.

Flemming characterises the EK's work according to three main principles, "Eindeutigkeit", "Lebhaftigkeit" and "Spannung", ¹⁸ terms which one might apply to any popular theatre. To examine his belief more closely therefore, that the EK's 1620 play is the last, and most Baroque of the three versions to hand, I turn to their play, and to the differences it has from the other two.

In all three plays power proceeds from the throne, but the throne and its occupant seem soon parted. Arcial's speech on "Glueck" seems then to take on central significance:

Wie das Glueck so unbestaendig/ lesen wir in vielen Historien/ solch Unbestaendigkeit mag von mir be-
 truebten Menschen wol gesagt werden. Ich war ein
 reicher und prechtiger Koenig von Engelland/ mein
 eigen Unthertanen verbanneten mich auß dem Lande/
 und theten mich gaentzlich vertreiben/ da ich nun
 ein geraume zeit in Elend und Armuth mein Leben
 hab SPENDIREN müssen. O Armuth welch ein sawre
 Last bistu zu tragen/ mit was Kummer/ Hertzzeleidt
 und Elende muß ich mein Brodt suchen. (p.370)

Flemming is right to stress the importance of "Unbestaendigkeit"; yet the speech is not unambiguous on this subject. First, it is Arcial who is speaking, a man whose tyranny led to his fall. While he might like to think that it was sheer misfortune that brought him low, it has been made clear that he has himself to blame. Second, his protest is not unlike Fortunatus's in the Volksbuch at the emptiness of his stomach, and, as other scenes in the play make clear, his fate in this respect is no worse than that of the "Paur". There is then justice in his fall, and mercy when Ellidorus reinstates him on the throne. In both justice and mercy, men seem to be in control of their own world, and "Unbestaendigkeit" has more the status of a necessary illusion of helplessness than a real feeling of disorientation. History, one may add, was by nature "sad stories of the death of kings", and one can detect little difference in the attitude of this English king from that of his brother in God, Richard II, whom he much resembles.

"Barmherzigkeit" determines Ellidorus's actions in both 1608 and 1620 versions, but in 1608 Arczngal

is markedly less penitent than in 1620:

Bistu nach nicht zufriden, Elidor, mit mein verguldt
Cron und Scepter und Khönigreich? aber willst du mich
verjagen zu allen Unruhe und Herznleidt? Hie in diß weit
Wildnuß hab ich mein Wohnung; mein khöniglich Pallast
ist nun verendert zu einer khlein Zell und Meistet
mit Armut ist beladen. Mein khöstlich Khleinott
und Edlgestein bin ich beraubt und auß mein
Khönigreich bin ich verbanet; dach solches verdruß
mich nicht, nicht halb sovill, allß mein Khönigin;
ihr Unngelückh bringt mich gewiß umbs Leben; eß ist
mer allßzuvill, verreterisch Elidor, daß du mich
meiner Cron und Khänigreichs beraubt hast, du
tarfst mein Khenigin darzue nit aufhalten. (p.99)

Here is no explicit appeal to "Unbestaendigkeit", but the self-deception of the king is the same. Elidor was not treacherous, but rather Arczngal deposed as a tyrant, and the reason for his wife's melancholy is her acute annoyance at losing power. When she regains it she shows no sign of repentance in either version. The 1620 version has therefore, a more explicit reference to the mutability of life, but set within a context that calls the speaker's appeal to mutability into doubt.

At the same point in the English text, Archigallo seems caught between the stances of self-pity and complaint:

Archi. I was a King, but now I am [a] slave.
How happie were I in this base estate
If I had never tasted royaltie!
But the remembrance that I was a king,
Unseasons the content of povertie. (p.310)

But he also has no illusions about the change in his state, and when he addresses Elidure he is quite clear about the injustice done him:

All that thou hast is mine; the Crowne is mine,
Thy royaltie is mine; these hunting pleasures
Thou doost usurpe. Ambitious Elidure,
I was a king. (p.311)

He shares with his counterparts an unwillingness, however, to face the facts of his own wrongs. And whereas the 1608 version includes the Queen in the woe, both the English

and 1620 versions concentrate on the king alone, which further clouds the problem of a possible chronological development between the three plays.

The English play and the 1620 counterpart seem closest at the point of their discussions of the problems of "Ambition" and "Hoffart", both of which occupy much of their respective works' attention.

Ellidorus summarises:

Daß die Hoffart die groessest Unzier des Menschen
sey/ lesen wir gnugsamlich/ und was sie vor Wirckung
hat/ habe ich leider an meinen Leiblichen Bruedern
sehen müssen [c.]. (p.417)

The most striking point about the summary is that Ellidorus refers to the source of his thoughts as a book, which gives the statesman who reads, in his eyes at least, an edge of humane authority over his unread counterpart. The English Elidure has no ambitions and is glad to give up his throne: "My unambitious thoughts have bin long tird/ With this great charge, and now they rest desird". (p.332) Both works are forthright in their advocacy of the humane ruler, humble enough to respect the wishes of his subjects, and both give the impression of attempting to resist the new and forceful theory of absolute rule.

A significant departure from the two earlier plays is the scene in the 1620 version which describes an entry pageant, such as the EK would have witnessed and perhaps taken part in; Niemandt's boy, Gar Nichts is the narrator, and his description gives independent confirmation to the tripartite entry structure described above. First the banquet:

Mein Herr da waren unzehlich viel Braten/ gleich
einer Koeniglichen Taffel/ da waren so mancherley
Gerichte/ Pasteten/ Schawessen/ daß ich mir auch
bald die Augen außgesehen [c.]. (p.378)

The son dines royally, the father imperially - "weil
ich der Herr war/ ward mir ein Keyserliche Taffel
zubereitet". There is also attention to protocol,
"die Buergermeister und Rathmaenner stunden vorn Tische
unnd diene[n]ten mir [c.].". Next comes the procession:

alle Handtweragsleute/ von allen Guelden Stunden
mit Fahnen Pfeiffen Trummeln/ in voller Ruestung/
unnd beleiteten mich also hinauß in voller Pracht/
und in allen Gassen/ wordurch ich ritt biß ans
Thor/ war eytel Frewde/ und vor Frewden hatten
sie Fewrwercke gemacht/ und ein Hauffen Pechpfannen
in die Hohe gesetzt [c.]. (p.379)

Green's version leaves out any such suggestion that
Niemandt, the man of the people, could be a Keyser, or
even have the right to expect a processional pageant
on his departure from the city. But the town audience
would much have enjoyed the thought that a man from
their midst could in fact be the Emperor, and be
treated to all the delights of the entry. In a comparison
of Green's with the 1620 version, we can see then how
different accents are set in the treatment of the plot,
according to the nature of the expected audience:
and this interpolation in particular emphasises that
the 1620 collection was directed primarily at an urban
rather than courtly culture.

The pursuit of the ideal form of monarchy is
the natural complement to the criticism of "Hoffart":
as in Esther, the king's nature and his appearance are
closely related, and Ellidorus's reading is in stark
contrast to Niemandt's entry. Ellidorus is also exceptional

in that he freely admits to being a man, and a man who has no claims to divinely sanctioned infallibility or special wisdom:

O mein liebe getrewen gedencket doch/ daß der
Mensch kein Gott ist/ sondern solch einer
der taeglich fehlen kan [c.]. (p.373)

Even Queen Elizabeth would have had trouble making such a formal admission of infallibility, but the EK are not content with this moral and theological admission, but carry their logic through into the political world, when the reformed Arcial signals his new self by stating:

Zu dem ist mein Wille/ daß ein Landtag moege
außgeschrieben werden/ damit in Koenigreiche
alle verwirrete Sachen moegen zu rechte gebracht
werden (p.394)

Arcial dies before putting his will into effect, and it is some time before there seems any prospect of Ellidorus being able to carry out his brother's wish, but it is striking that his statement contradicts the prevalent political development towards absolutism. Arcial is far more a Renaissance than a Baroque king, and in himself contradicts Flemming's assertion that the play is affirmative of Baroque styles and values.

Appearance and reality are raised as dyadic opposites in the matter of clothing. Jemand claims "Mein Wort muß gelten/ weil ich schoene Kleider anhave" (p.355) but his claim is refuted by Niemandt:

Du bist ein Narr. Stattliche hoffertige Kleider
machen keinen Edelmann/ sondern Tugent und
Ritterliche Thaten. (p.423)

Such statements sound sweeter in city ears, and the city makes the ultimate claim to power-sharing when Ellidorus,

crowned a third time, promises Niemandt "Alle mein heimliche Sachen/ die ich keinen Menschen offenbahret/ werde ich Niemandt zeugen". (p.425) For a moment the ghost of Oedipus confiding in Theseus crosses the stage.

The presence of the all-important book in Jemand und Niemandt, and the description of the entry pageant are two obvious indications of the importance the EK accorded one particular source, their own environment, both political and intellectual. The book as a cultural force was a relatively new phenomenon, even at the start of the seventeenth century, and it is significant that reading should be taken as a sign of the good ruler. At the same time, the EK knew that local colour, such as entry pageantry, would anchor the plays they were performing in the context that their audiences knew and understood - their own. The theatre became a place where the audience saw itself, if in caricature, rather than simply seeing wonders and illusions. And probably because they toured so much, the EK knew the Germans as a whole better than any German, of whatever rank. Recognition was then a fruit of a combined attention to literary and social stereotypes: from their sources the EK extracted what was well-known, or easily identifiable, while they took from the life they observed character types suited to the plays.

ii) Types of Character

The bulk of the EK's stock of characters have ancestries as old as theatre, and concern us only in so far as they gloss each other as they appear in different guises in the 1620 collection. But in the case of their

best loved character, Pickelhering, the fact that they were perceived to have developed a character new to the theatrical repertoire makes that character specially significant. I shall therefore, consider first the English and the German roots from which Pickelhering grew, and then see how in practice the role was explored.

The EK, or their publisher, saw Picklehering as a central figure in their market appeal, and the plays were sold with special reference to him. He has a section, at the end of the volume all to himself. As a result, scholarship has not only given him separate treatment, as for example in the studies of Creizenach¹⁹, and Baesecke²⁰, but also confirmed the EK's own claim to the peculiar importance of Pickelhering by seeing in him the familiar spirit of the EK. Popular though he was, I do not believe that the EK had to rely on Pickelhering for their appeal, even if he was the clearest sign that they had read the needs of their market very skilfully. Indeed, Pickelhering's success was only possible as a result of the EK's all-round theatrical achievement.

Two studies deal in detail with Pickelhering and his repertoire: Bolte's Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten (1893),²¹ and Baskervill's The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama (1923),²² to both of which I am indebted. Bolte lists the known repertoire of jigs ballads, and dance routines, traces known sources, and follows the bibliographical history of the various EK clowns. Baskervill's more extensive study locates the EK within a predominantly English popular tradition,

whose success in Europe was based largely on the novelty value of a new type of song-and-dance entertainer in Germany, and the similarities in popular taste in both England and Germany.

The elements in the character of the English clown are his singing and dancing, his licence to criticise, his ability to corrupt words and his individualism within the world whose Fool he is. His skills as dancer and tumbler would undoubtedly have helped the EK in the early days abroad because these required no translation; and once the popular image of the EK had been bound up with Pickelhering, then he became a useful trademark for them, enabling them to sell a wide variety of works to their audiences under his name. At the same time, the very fact of his success tended to inspire imitators, who themselves, or in cooperation with the EK, began to marry the specifically English qualities with original German elements. Perhaps the key to his success however, lay in the fact that he, like Niemandt, was the popular representative with the mighty: he seemed to have access to the places and people of power, and his shamelessness evinced a form of energy that offered faint hopes to a populace increasingly caught in a political and religious cross-fire. That humour can be a political defence mechanism we know, not least in our own time from the function humour plays in Polish society.

From the outset, the role of the clown tended to be taken by the troupe leader. Thomas Sackville played

Jan Posset, Robert Reynolds, Pickelhering, John Spencer, Junker Stockfisch and perhaps Browne, who seems the exception, played Hans Knapkaese. All the names are associated with food or drink; Posset is probably taken from the drink, Stockfisch and Pickelhering both are fish, and smelly ones. The role of the clown during such events as May festivities needs no special explanation here, and it is clear that the European festival tradition was the prime factor in the ease with which the EK's clowns were able to make a name abroad. What was special was that they had developed the clown's role to a profession, and to a standard of performance that was unknown abroad. In 1547, as Baskervill records, the name "Stockfish" occurs in a letter written by Bishop Gardner, designating the fool whose antics were more interesting to the faithful in the period before Lent than the Church's own offerings.²³ Pickle Herring appears in the Revesby play, although²⁴ it is hard to say whether he does so on the basis of an old English custom or because of his success in Germany influencing the course of the Jig in England. Either way, the EK's clown grew out of a carnival mode, with a tradition of infringing social norms, satire, rudeness, coarseness, song and dance behind him. Baskervill is surely right in his belief that it was one clown in particular, Richard Tarlton, whose skill and fame effected the transition of the local costermonger and general entertainer into a professional performer.²⁵ Likewise, the fact that Will Kemp was in the first EK group on the continent, as Leicester's man,²⁶ must be seen as the first encounter on record between the new mode of clown and European mainland culture. In my own

view, however, it was less Kemp, who was only abroad once, and then not in Germany, but Sackville who achieved the breakthrough for the role into huge popularity. Sackville, we know, influenced Heinrich Julius's plays,²⁷ and Jan Posset features not only in the Nürnberg archives, but as a central figure in Jakob Ayrer's works, as I discuss below. After the successful introduction of the role, the task was then to maintain it, which, in view of the vast repertoire of Jigs Baskervill lists, would not have been difficult.

Posset had other factors working in his, and his gender's favour. The tradition of foolery was particularly strong in sixteenth century German literature. Herford divides the "fools" into three groups, those drawing on Erasmus's and Brandt's humanistic presentation of folly, those in the Eulenspiegel tradition, and the most successful of all, the Grobians. Widely popular, Grobian features as fool in two of the EK's plays, and must be accounted a source of the character of Morian in Tito Andronico, so the EK were consciously adapting to that taste; but Pickelhering perhaps more commonly belongs in the jesting and antic tradition of Eulenspiegel and the legion of jest-books. Missing, which is perhaps one reason for the general condemnation he has received, is a more intellectual, humanistic dimension, missing that is on the surface. In his development, however, he is as negatively dependent on humanism as Grobian, only not specialising all the time in being gross. To his coarse humour must be reckoned his dancing, his singing, his characteristic drum and flat shoes and his gymnastic skill.

The English attitude to the German fool is most evident in Dekker's The Gvls Horne-booke, to which I return below. Here the spirit of Grobian is anglicised, and a match made between the folk-anti-hero of Germany and the London gallant. Dekker makes one possible allusion to the EK in the book, which suggests that he saw the EK fool as very much in the Grobian mode; he recommends the man who wishes to journey to the home of Grobianism "to haue ye Guls Hornebooke by hearte; by which in time he may be promoted to serue any Lord in Europe, as his crafty foole, or his bawdy Jester, yea and to be so deere to his Lordship, as for the excellency of his fooling, to be admitted both to ride in Coach with him, and to lie at his very feete on a truckle-bed".²⁸ Moryson may well have brought word of the financial success of Sackville at Braunschweig back to London, and it is quite possible that Sackville is his target here,

Herford points out the extent to which the Grobian tradition depends on German class structures, "distinctions singularly inveterate in Germany, and no less palpable in her literature than in her history".²⁹ There is a strong connection therefore, between the socio-political awareness of the EK in their play repertoire with the success of Pickelhering, and in such a character as Fortunatus or the Prodigal Son, one can sense the traces of the Grobian, political-fool tradition finding new outlets. That a man like Fortunatus should try to make a life at court is a joke in the carnival style, suggestive of breaches of social behaviour reserved

for special occasions. No wonder Hans Sachs should feel drawn to the story. Likewise in the props the EK use in their plays one can detect the influence of fooling. Both the Prodigal Son and the Prince of England hop and dance, they both probably ride hobby horses. The Prince of England dances while the King of Scotland looks in a mirror, a mirror out of Eulenspiegel's jest-book. In the Revesby play just such a mirror forms the core of one of the jig-like exchanges.³⁰ The seed of EK foolery fell on rich and fertile ground.

Where previous opinion had regarded Pickelhering as the ultimate expression of the mass taste, Baskervill's research would suggest that this may not be the whole story. Baskervill does not himself consider this particular issue, but his evidence allows us to reassess the social status of Pickelhering. The general assumption is that Pickelhering entertained the groundlings, looked after the masses. He headed the street parades with his drum, and took the final curtain with his afterpiece. But Baskervill repeatedly draws attention to the popularity of the Jig with the court. "The farce jig at the end of the sixteenth century was an expression of the naive and racy taste of the common man. From an early period in the seventeenth century it was the cavalier who more and more completely set the tone of theatrical performances, and the progressive coarsening of his taste is doubtless responsible for the more farcical spirit shown in the songs and dances of plays".³¹ Precisely this phenomenon is visible in the 1620 collection, where, for example, the Prodigal Son

breaks into a capering dance, or sings a brief ballad, or the Prince of England dresses up as a jester. For this very reason the EK were highly successful in Graz, bringing with them their exciting high-capering dance to replace the slow and stately dances that Moryson records.³² In other words, Pickelhering can by no means be seen as a solely popular figure, appealing to the masses, but must also be understood as a continuation of the court tradition of the jester, not more nor less coarse, racy and entertaining than Shakespeare's fools. This in turn illuminates the ease with which the EK were able to move from court to city with their repertoire, because in every respect they offered work that appealed to all social groups. It was not that one aspect of their work appealed to one class, another to another, but that the manner in which they performed was of a quality hitherto unknown. This leads me again to question Baesecke's understanding of the EK as in a "Volkslied" tradition, since the success of Pickelhering, to whom she ascribes such significance, is perfectly commensurate with current aristocratic tastes. The Prodigal Son's claim to be a "Cavalier" was not just ironic, the fool playing the king; as depicted, this "Cavalier" was a portrait of some accuracy of his generation and class. He accords with the satiric tradition of the jig, a tradition of close social scrutiny. When the EK are taken to task for being "üppig" it is just as likely that their satire had gone too far than that they were being obscene; indeed, the very fact of the success of the obscenities of Grobian make the satirical explanation more likely, obscenity as such, as today,

causing less stir than political satire.

The emphasis of the clown's role lay then in the jig, singing and dancing, and entertaining generally, on the subject of love, sex, marriage and devilry. He played all types of character, from the wily lover to the duped peasant, from choric observer to messenger, from performer of interludes to central figure. He combined the gambolling of Touchstone or Autolycus with the grossness of Grobian. But he was only one of a range of character types the EK developed in their plays, each of which had a distinctive and immediately recognisable function and style. To put Pickelhering in context as a character I shall therefore, review briefly the other stereotypes in the cast list of the EK.

The King or Ruler: in the eight plays of the 1620 collection there are many kings and rulers, with common properties; Ahasverus is the definitive absolute ruler, and, with the exception of Ellidorus, the ideal king, all the rulers take their cue from him. The king's duty is to be kingly, to strut and swagger, whether he is good or bad at heart. He has to show authority and talk authoritatively, and his will has to be forceful and transparent. Bad kings like Arcial and the Roman Emperor betray themselves in their triviality and pride; good kings show themselves malleable in certain circumstances, as Ahasverus is in his dealings with Esther.

The Wise Father: while one might expect the king to be the wise father of his country, the EK show that this was seldom the case. The ideal father is the white-haired figure we see in Von dem verlorren Sohn, whose age itself demands our respect. But there are younger examples: Mordechai is Esther's adoptive father, and a model of wisdom; both Ellidorus and Niemandt are wise; Hyppolita's father is deceived, but still belongs to the class of wise fathers, and Vespasian is promoted to this group in the course of Tito Andronico. As audience we can tell, by measuring the bad ruler against the combination of ruler and wise father types who is, and who is not worthy of power. The King in Fortunato fails the initial test in this respect, but passes it at the close, as do both the Kings of England and Scotland. The Keyser fails on both counts. The most important character to reform is Arcial, who expresses his wisdom in his recognition that all men, even kings, can fail. Most significantly, this recognition challenges the increasing tendency of the absolute rule to claim God-given infallibility of judgement.

The Prodigal: while the obvious source of the Prodigal type is the Biblical Prodigal, there are also older Prodigals. Ahasverus comes close to prodigality, and Haman's visions of power are prodigal. Andolosia throws his money around. Arcial is prodigal with power, and his brothers Secretarius and Edowart die of prodigal ambition. The Keyser, and all who surround him, are recklessly prodigal in all their actions. The dramatic interest in the Prodigal is both in the extent to which

the type explores new dimensions of excess, and whether or not he confesses his sins. Even the black Prodigal, Morian finishes his life by concluding he deserves to be executed.

The Strong-Willed Woman: the EK have a soft spot for the woman who through her will, often aided by her sex, asserts herself, even if they have reservations about women taking power. The model of Elizabeth of England would have served them well as an example of what feminine guile, wit and will could achieve. In this category fall Esther, the Landlord's wife, and later her daughter, Agrippina, Sidonia and her mother Chrasilla. These women in effect combine, in various degrees of moral rectitude, two types of woman, the innocent young girl, and the shrewish mother. The innocent young girls in the collection are Hyppolita and the Princess of Scotland, and Andronica, Andronicus's daughter. The shrewish mothers are typified by Hans Knapkaese's wife, and reach their most satiric expression in the feuding queens in Jemand und Niemandt, Arcials and Ellidoris. They conduct themselves utterly recklessly, and so constitute a form of female Prodigal, as does the Keyserin in Tito Andronico who adds sexual lust to her evident sins of pride. The dramatic interest in women is based on whether in the end they reveal themselves as fundamentally good or bad, and the uncomfortable fact of the 1620 collection is that nearly all the women belong to the morally bad group.

The Dupe: contiguous to the Prodigal type is that of the Dupe, but there are two types of Dupe, those

who deserve their fate and those who do not. The Prodigal certainly deserves his, but Romulus, duped by a faithful friend does not, nor does Andronicus, who is horribly duped. In the category of deserved dupe fall Fortunatus, Andolosia, Agrippina, the two Graffen, Haman, Bigthan und Theres, the King of Scotland, Nausiclus and Sidonia's father, Jemand, and the two warring queens. Undeserved is the fate of Hyppolita, duped by Julius, or Andronica, Niemand and all the many poor people in Jemand und Niemandt whom Jemand exploits.

The Allegorical Characters: the moral strategy of character in the EK's plays is essentially simple; there are good kings and bad kings, wise men and foolish men, innocent girls and evil shrews. The allegorical types make this dualistic pattern conscious. The Prodigal Son is tempted by Despair, and rescued by Hope. And the trees in Fortunate belong to Virtue and Vice. These four concepts determine in principle the attitudes of the EK's characters: they either hope or despair, and are either good or bad. Drama develops around characters who have a mixed structure, such as those who have hopes for evil, such as Morian, or those whose hopes conflict with established norms of Virtue, such as the Prodigal's. There is however, a different aspect to the notion of Virtue and Vice which also plays a central role in the plays, that which sees a conflict between social and moral codes. The social imperative for children to obey father contradicts the moral code for wife to love husband, at points where the father's choice of husband, or wife, is at odds with

the principle of love.

The importance of Fortunatus's experience in this respect is that he shows that man has a distinct choice in making his life in the way he wishes it to be. Fortunatus can genuinely choose between riches and wisdom; the Prodigal has a choice between despair and hope; Andolosia can choose whether or not to forgive Agrippina; Andronicus can choose how to react to the offer of the crown. It is up to us how we use the talents and choices we are given. This is an important point, because in the works of Andreas Gryphius, particularly Carolus Stuardus which I shall be examining in the next chapter, man has far less control over fate, which is held to be synonymous with the will of God.

The Evil Man: because man has choice as to how he will be, the evil man bears a particularly heavy burden of guilt, because he is evil by choice, or at least by weakness. Morian is a self-confessed evil man, while Julius and the Keyser fall into this category through sexual and political weakness. Haman is an evil man, as are his associates in intrigue, the Landlord is an evil man in Von dem verlorren Sohn. Of particular interest, however, are those characters who very nearly fall into the pit of evil, and just escape. These include the King of Scotland, who appears to poison the Prince of England, the King of England who takes part in the robbery of Andolosia, the Prodigal's brother, who nearly turns against him, and Arcial, who sees the error of his ways. The existence of these figures underlines still further the guilt of those who choose evil and stay evil to the

last.

The extent to which these basic types are used and varied points to the fact that the EK tended to stick to the successful repertoire they had found, and that their strategy was rather conservative than revolutionary when it came to plots and characterisation. Pickelhering was seen as so important more because he was exposed as an individual to the audience than because he was the special achievement of the EK: he was noticed, while the other dramatis personae, well bedded into their plays, were not as such. Pickelhering also had an important catalytic effect, in that his mere appearance quickened the pulse of both the actors and the audience: he seemed a guarantee of entertainment.

Generic Impurity

The EK's approach to genre is more distinctive than their approach to character, and although they refer on the title page of the 1620 collection to tragedies, comedies and Pickelhering plays, they do so more for form's sake than for any reasons of generic propriety. Their purpose was to generate good theatre, and they quickly exposed the limitations of genre: and in this respect they are much more sixteenth than seventeenth century performers. Hugh Powell summarises the background to the question as follows:

The Meistergesang was the highly characteristic expression of the craftsman class in a century when the burgher was the stoutest pillar of society. In the seventeenth century, the age of princely absolutism, German literature underwent a re-orientation to become oligarchic and aristocratic.³³

The EK were such craftsmen, and their closest affinity was to the Meistergesang. Their work was brutal, socially

acute, it used all conceivable performance disciplines in the course of a single performance. It mixed genres, it paid little regard to dramatic rules, it concentrated on plot less than character, it made parallelism and balance a fundamental principle of dramaturgy, and it created a hugely popular clown.

In the Vorrede to Rollenhagen's Spiel vom reichen Manne und armen Lazaro (1590), ³⁴ one can sense just how ready Germany was for the EK:

ES haben jeder zeit vernünfftige Leut nicht allein darümb viel von den Comoedien gehalten vnd gros Gelt vnd vleis darauff gewand, das es dem gemeinen mühseligen Volck bey seiner teglichen arbeit eine besondere lustige vernewerung vnd ergetzlichkeit were, so man in friedlicher, gesunder, guter zeit jme billich gönnen vnd freundlich befördern solte, sondern viel mehr der vrsach halben das solche Schawspiel ein künstlicher spiegel vnd allgemeine, ansehnliche Predigt sein, darin ein jeder etwas von seinen sachen spielweis hören vnd sehen vnd sich daraus nützlich bessern köndte.

The terms "ergetzlichkeit", "spiegel", "spielweis" and "sich daraus nützlich bessern köndte", is as much the EK's as Rollenhagen's, and "gros Gelt" has particular resonance in the knowledge of what was to come. The EK's own Vorrede seems almost to claim to have fulfilled the task Rollenhagen accords comedy:

Wann dann zu unsern Zeiten die Englischen COMOEDIANTEN, theils wegen artiger INVENTION, theils wegen Anmutigkeit ihrer Geberden/ auch offters Zierligkeit im Reden bey hohen und Niederstands Personen mit grosses Lob erlangen/ und dardurch viel hurtige und wackere INGENIA zu dergleichen INVENTIONEN lust und beliebung haben sich darin zu ueben [..]. (p.2)

In the eyes, and ears, of their audiences, this description of the EK as men of imagination, grace and even eloquence was evidently deserved.

Against the standards of Martin Opitz, however, the EK were none of these. ³⁵ His Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, a collection of pseudo-Aristotelian rules, was published in

the same year in which the 1620 collection was reprinted. On three counts the EK fail to meet Opitz's standards, generic, linguistic and teleological, each of which I shall briefly consider.

In the matter of genre, the EK infringe the basic principle that tragedy and comedy should be held apart. Their mixture in Jemand und Niemandt of the fall of kings and the black farce of the tribulations of Nobody crosses not just the Opitzian boundaries between tragedy and comedy but also between both genres and satire. And the typically English mixture of styles throughout their work flies in the face of the rules. It is hard to see Opitz approving of the characterisation of Esther, or the distasteful presentation of the English court in Fortunato: "Haben derowegen die, welche heutiges tages Comedien geschrieben, weit geirret, die Keyser vnd Potentaten eingefuehret, weil solches den regeln der Comedien schnurstracks zuewieder laufft".³⁶ Was he addressing himself to the EK?

In the matter of language, quite apart from the fact that the tragedies are far from the high style Opitz requires, being in common prose, the EK also pepper their speech with foreign terms. Opitz writes: "So stehet es auch zum hefftigsten vn sauber, wenn allerley Lateinische, Frantzoesische, Spanische vnnnd Welsche woerter in den text vnserer rede geflickt werden [c..]".³⁷ Nor do the EK observe the proprieties of linguistic decorum, a consequence of their generic laxity: "so muß man auch nicht von allen dingen auff einerley weise reden; sondern zue niedrigen sachen schlechte, zue hohen ansehnliche, zue mittel-

maessigen auch maessige vnd weder zue grosse noch zue gemeine worte brauchen".³⁸ As we saw in the comparison between Dekker's and the EK's Fortunatus, this is the most obvious difference between the two, the one in decorously controlled, sociologically suitable language, the one in the common tongue.

It is perhaps, however, in the third respect that the difference is most apparent. Opitz recounts that the origins of poetry lie in religion, and that the poet waits for inspiration from above: "Dann ein Poete kan nicht schreiben wenn er wil, sondern wenn er kan, vnd jhn die regung des Geistes, welchen Ovidius vnnd andere vom Himmel her zue kommen vermeinen, treibet".³⁹ One can hardly imagine Spencer waiting for the "melancholy fit". More than this, a poet's job is less to show what is than what may, or should be: "Das ferner die Poeten mit der warheit nicht allzeit vbereinstimmen, ist zum theil oben deßenthalben Vrsache erzehlet worden, vnd soll man auch wissen, das die gantze Poeterey im nach=aeffen der Natur bestehe, vnd die dinge nicht so sehr beschreibe wie sie sein, als wie sie etwan sein koendten oder solten".⁴⁰ One hears Pope, and "Nature to advantage dressed", not the EK's beloved mirror, that only shows what it sees, what is.

i) The Pickelhering Genre

The new genre the EK were credited with having introduced to Germany was the Pickelhering play. While this genre grew quite naturally out of existent traditions of German "holiday" theatre - masking, Fasching, and satirical pieces - it obviously was sufficiently different from existing styles to merit special praise. In this section

I shall consider the plays written for Pickelhering, but also those incidents in the tragedies and comedies where Pickelhering, or a Pickelhering-like character is called on to perform, and then compare them with the "Pickelhering" plays of Jakob Ayrer that were published in Nürnberg only two years before the EK's collection. From such a comparison we can trace just how deeply the EK affected popular theatrical forms as typified by Ayrer, and this in turn serves as the basis for an analysis in the next chapter of how far Andreas Gryphius reshaped the Meistergesang tradition in his own "Pickelhering" play - Herr Peter Squentz - towards the new, stricter generic principles of the Baroque. The looseness of the Pickelhering genre can be measured by the number of different roles the character of Pickelhering plays: he is a naive dupe, a wily servant, a lover and a clown. What mattered, was that he should appear at all.

The first Pickelhering play of the collection is Ein lustig Pickelherings Spiel/ von der schoenen Maria und alten Hanrey.⁴¹ It is a droll in the tradition of the merry jest and the sexually raucous Fastnachtspiel. Pickelhering plays the cheeky servant, and his technique of direct address to the audience is designed to subvert the authority of his master, Hanrey, in the eyes of an audience clearly anticipating such subversion. Hanrey decides to marry the beautiful Maria, a girl far his junior in years, who he thinks is virtuous, but who, in fact, is the town whore. His son Peter, returning after

six years study, tries to warn him off, but to no avail. Next, a soldier returns from the war, penniless but a far more exciting sexual proposition than Hanrey to the promiscuous Maria. Under the pretence of his being her brother, and with Pickelhering's aid, she arranges to have him admitted to her house. (Variations of this basic plot tend to turn on how the lover is admitted to the house.) The neighbours, however, notice the trick and contrive to reveal Maria's deceit to her husband, while at the same time reuniting father and son in each other's affections. The plot's structure is very similar to that of Heinrich Julius's Von einem Buler und Bulerin, but varies from it in that Maria is not chaste at the outset and in the comic end.

The opening dialogue sets the tone for Pickelhering:

ALTER HANREY. Holla/ holla/ mein getreuer Diener
Hans mein lieber Diener wo bistu?

HANS. Hie hie alter Narr bin ich.

ALTER. Wie sagstu Hans? Mein Hans wie sagstu?

HANS. Wie sollte ich sagen/ ich sagte alter Herr.

Ad spectatores.

Alter Schelm.

(p.525)

Versions of this exchange are so common that one senses the audience might have joined in. Pickelhering is greedy and treacherous, demanding money before the execution of any service, and ideally twice for the same act. He tells his master "ihr muesset mir erstlich Trinckgeldt geben/ ehe ihr weg ziehet". (p.540) He gets far less than he asks for, so, in spite, sells his services to the next bidder, Maria: "Ja Fraw ich wils euch sagen/ aber gebt mir erstlich Trinckgeldt". (p.541) In the triangle

of the soldier, Maria and Hanrey he has then the function of messenger, but also to some extent of Pandar.

In the visual scenes Pickelhering has the central role. When Hanrey comes home to trap the soldier in the house, Pickelhering outwits him by a brilliant device. Under pretext of holding up a sheet that has been burnt during ironing he screens the soldier's exit from Hanrey's cuckolded eyes:

Hier holet die FRAW das Lacken/ PICKELHERING hilft ihr das hart bey den Kasten von einander spreiten/ halten es ins schraw in die hoehe/ der SOLDAT koempt hinter dem Kasten hervor/ und gehet hinter dem Lacken zur Thuer hinaus. (p.547)

In order that the audience be let in on the joke, the sheet must have bisected the stage down the centre line, enabling them to see both the Soldier's escape and Hanrey's deception. The second major visual effect shows Pickelhering in his typical role as drummer. The Soldier and Maria, thinking Hanrey dead, are off to be married:

Koempt die FRAW mit den SOLDATEN und wollen sich vertrauen lassen/ PICKELHERING gehet forne an mit der Trummel/ da sie aber mitten auff die Gassen kommen begegnet ihn der ALTE/ hat in der einen Handt eine Fackel/ in der andern ein Stieffel/ stellet sich gar ungestalt/ zertrennet die Ordnung/ der SOLDAT leufft mit PICKELHERING/ der lest vor Angst die Trummel fallen/ der ALTE kriegt daß Weib in der mitten und spricht. (p.554)

The drum and the torch have more recent associations that more than cloud the comic reaction such a scene might now generate, but there is no doubting the effectiveness of the dumb-show. Pickelhering's final reward is a kick "mit den Fuß vor den Arß" (p.555), a neat pun on the end.

A contemporary account of Sackville's performance in such a role has survived, and is reprinted by Creizenach. This is Marx Mangoldt's ballad in the tradition of

German "Possen". Mangoldt recounts:⁴²

Wie der Narr drinnen, J a n genennt,
Mit Bossen wer so excellent:
Welches ich auch bekenn fürwar,
Daß er damit ist Meister gar.
Verstellt also sein Angesicht,
Daß er keim Menschen gleich mehr sicht.
Auf Tölpisch Bossen ist sehr geschickt,
Hat Schuch, der keiner ihn nicht trückt.
In sein Hosen noch einr hett Platz,
Hat dran ein vngewhren Latz.
Sein Juppen ihn zum Narren macht,
Mit der Schlappen, die er nicht acht,
Wann er da fängt zu löffeln an,
Und dünckt sich seyn ein fein Person. 11.17-30

There are certain affinities between this clown and Charlie Chaplin, in both cases the characteristics of the costume having a central function in the development of the role.

Pickelhering's wit does not only depend on his rudeness to his master, but also on the contrast, noted above, between his behaviour and that of Peter, the student. Peter's function in the play is to be calculatedly asymmetrical, an element of genuine concern in a farce about otherwise unattractive people. He has returned home after "langwirdig reisen" (p.529) only to find his father about to waste himself. He has grown a beard:

ALTER. O mein Sohn Peter/ einen Bart/ einen grossen
Bart zugelegt/ daß ist mein Sohn/ willkommen
mein Sohn/ mein liebster Sohn.

PETER. Ich dancke euch mein liebster Vater/ die
hoechste Frewde/ so ich jemals empfangen/
ist diese/ das ich euch in Gesundtheit
wieder finde.

ALTER. Stehe auff mein lieber Sohn/ du bist nun
kommen zu rechter Zeit/ denn ich jetzt
Hochzeit halte/ Hochzeit/ hastu auch
COMOEDIEN womit du die Hochzeitleute lustig
machest. (p.530)

For a passing moment the scene is resonant with the return of the Prodigal Son, only for us to discover

that the true Prodigal is the father. The scene shifts momentarily into a genuine emotion that qualifies the rest of the action. At the same time, the EK "sign" their moment of pathos with a self-reflexive question - has Peter brought comedies with him to entertain the wedding guests? The question shocks Peter only in retrospect as he learns what sort of a marriage his father is proposing. Peter, then, is as much a portrait of how the EK saw themselves as is Pickelhering.

The one moment in the play when the ballad-jig seems to be employed as a part of the action is when Maria and the Soldier are caught in the act. The Soldier says to Maria "fuerwar voller Frewde bin ich/ ich muß einmal ohne Musica tantzen". (p.535) At which he starts to sing: "Singet fa la la la fa la la. Interim koempt DER ALTE. SOLDAT kuesset sie/ ALT reisset die Augen auff/ sie tantzen fort". The ballad of two wooers is thus integrated into the action, at the same time giving occasion for a dance. Hanrey then takes up the melody and in doing so also lays into the lovers with his stick. In this foretaste of the climax of the play, the EK reveal once again the attention they paid to the structure of such "simple" pieces as these; and it is hard to see, and still harder when one bears in mind the scenes between father and son, how such work can simply be dismissed as appealing to the base instincts of the masses.

A step closer to the song-and-dance jig is the droll of Hans "der Bawr": Ein ander lustig Pickelherings Spiel/ darinnen er mit einen Stein gar lustige Possen machet.⁴³

Pickelhering plays a specific part in this story as Wilhelm, the comic trickster, but he is also in Hans as well.

There are only three characters in the work, but comic devilry enables the EK to exploit the skills of Wilhelm "der Mueller" to add a necromancer to the figures who appear on stage. Hans is married to a shrewish lady and suspects her of having an affair with his neighbour Wilhelm. His wife overhears him planning to surprise them together and decides on revenge. Hans, meanwhile, explains that there is a necromancer in the town who can change people's shapes, and he plans to have himself turned into Wilhelm. All this is overheard, and Wilhelm dresses up as the necromancer to outwit Hans. The opportunities for fun are then endless.

Wilhelm has donned the black cloak and apparatus of magic, and on Hans's entry starts his ritual:

Hans koempt/ WILHELM macht einen Circul/ creutzet
schlaegt das Buch auff. (p.563)

The stage direction then asks Wilhelm to fantasise, while Hans initiates a classic comic routine:

WILHELM. Ich habe hier etwas zu thun/ laß mich
unmolestiret.

Fantesiret / HANS schmeist sein Hut in den
Circul.

HANS. O ho Herr Teufel Meister es ist nicht war
was ihr von Circkel saget.

WILHELM. Warumb solt das nicht war seyn/ wie weistu das?

HANS. Ja seht ihr wol/ mein Hut habe ich in den
Circul geschmissen/ unnd der Teufel wil ihn
nicht weg nehmen.

WILHELM. Ja der Teufel fragt viel nach deinen alten
beschißnen Hut [..]. (p.564)

Hans is finally convinced and told to go to the churchyard at midnight; there he is to find a large stone which has the magic property of turning him into his neighbour.
(p.566)

The joke climaxes in the churchyard, where Hans,

having performed the prescribed rituals, finds the stone. Wilhelm then acts two people, according to whether Hans has the stone on or not:

HANS. Legt den Stein auff die Achsel.

Dieser Edelgestein ist mit keinem Gelde zu bezahlen.

WILHELM koempt wieder.

Mein guter Nachbar. Sieh sieh du Schelm bistu da wieder/ dich sollen potz schlapperment holen.

Laufft hinein/ er legt den Stein abe.

Wo ist der Schelm? wo blieb er mein guter Nachbar Hans/ ihr habt ihn ja gesehen? Wo lieff er hin.

HANS. Ja ich hab ihn gesehen/ und hette geschworen ihr werets selbst/ hie lieff er hin.

Er laeufft hin.

Nun TeuffelsMeister ich werde dir mehr Geldt geben/ denn du hast mich eine solche Kunst gelehret/ davon ich mehr halte als von meiner Frawen.
(pp.570-71)

Hans is not freed from his belief in the efficacy of the stone even at the close. The audience's pleasure in the trick may have been mildly dampened by this manner of conclusion, for sometime, one assumes, Hans will find out what has been going on. The disguise trick in itself has "noble" cousins, one for example being the double-bluff Hal plays on Falstaff in Henry IV, Part One, robbing the robber; and the ruse to trap Malvolio may be counted another.

In Falstaff, in fact, but also in Feste, one sees similar attractions to Pickelhering's, similar reasons for popularity. The catch sung in Twelfth Night is a ballad-jig, and indeed the sub-plot with Malvolio has jig-like structures and tones. Falstaff was no less

popular with the Court than with the Groundlings, and there is no reason to suppose the same was not true of Pickelhering.

The Ballad Jigs

The remaining pieces in the collection fit closely with Baskervill's understanding of the nature of the Elizabethan jig and indeed comprise a substantial part of the repertoire. Both he and Bolte deal in detail with them and I do not propose to rehearse their conclusions at length. The essential difference between the preceding drolls and these jigs is that the jigs are sung, and, presumably, danced.

The first, untitled jig is perhaps the most interesting of all. Bolte gives it the title Pickelhering in der Kiste, in his parallel reproduction of the text with the English jig of Singing Simpkin, which was one of the most popular of all jigs, second only, as Baskervill points out, to the famous "Roland" jig, of which no original now exists.⁴⁴ It was still popular in 1673, when Francis Kirkman printed it in his collection, The Wits, or Sport upon Sport. In the EK version,⁴⁵ for once Pickelhering is the lover, or one of two, and is wooing the willing wife when lover number two, a soldier knocks at the door. The similarities with Maria und Hanrey are evident. Pickelhering is put in a chest and the soldier comes in. He is in turn disturbed by the return of the husband, but by a ruse the Soldier escapes unpunished and, the sting, Pickelhering is invited to stay the night. Pickelhering closes the jig on a quite explicit note: "ad spectatores): Mein Herrn uber 40 Wochen/ Solt ihr Gevatter seyn". (p.589) :

It would be typical of the EK if they were responsible for the addition of this double-bluff to the story of the lovers surprised by the foolish husband.

The second jig is entitled Der Narr als Reitpferd⁴⁶ by Bolte, and deals with the humiliation of the Narr as wooer by the woman and her "Jung". The Narr is finally forced to behave as a horse or donkey and is ridden by the woman. He is, allegedly, "geschnitten" and so constitutes no sexual danger (one is reminded of the threat to castrate Fortunatus), but at the end of the jig one learns this is not the case:

NARR. Ihr habt mich noch nicht angeruert/
Ich hab alls was eim Mann gebuehrt. (p.596)

When one remembers that this sort of joke is at the heart of William Wycherley's The Country Wife the enduring popularity of the idea is not hard to imagine.

My favourite is next in the collection, Den Windelwaescher zu Agirn mit Drey Personen,⁴⁷ not least from a certain historical sympathy with the husband who is sent to wash nappies. The husband gets up after a night of drinking and discovers his hat is missing. His wife tells him in no uncertain terms that he lost it in the street:

Auff der Gassen du volle Saw/
Hast ihn verlohren/ darumb schaw/
Zur Straff solstu auß unserm Hauß/
Die Waesche tragen selber rauß. (p.600)

A neighbour intervenes to protest at the humiliation, but is beaten off by the wife. The husband's destiny is fixed. There would perhaps have been a certain appropriateness in performing this jig after Tito Andronico.

The next jig is a variant on the version of Pickel-

hering in der Kiste, with two lovers and a deception.⁴⁸
 The husband has gone away, which gives Pickelhering the thought that he might take her place; not so the wife, who has her eyes on the local Magister. She arranges for him to call on her at night, much to the annoyance of Pickelhering. As in Sidonia und Theagene the young lover wins the wife and the clown is left to woo the maid, though not quite with Cnemon's success. The next morning the contented wife gives her imagined Magister money for his pains, but then when a student turns up at her shop to buy cloth with the same money she had, so she thought, given her lover, she realises that it was the student who slept all night with her. He is enjoined to silence and paid still further with the cloth. The romance "bed-exchange" is made into a curiously moral jig on the results of deception and intrigue.

The final jig has Pickelhering cast again in the servant's role, and opens with the familiar call of master to servant: "PICKELHERING kom geschwind herzu", (p.623)
⁴⁹
 only here set as a melodious jig. Pickelhering misbehaves in usual fashion, but then acts as Pandar in bringing his Edelmänn to another type of ride than the one with which the jig opens. This is no less than a ride with a young woman he also agrees to serve, though as usual he collects tips from both parties. As the ride gets under way, however, the husband returns. By a ruse, this time needing to "go outside", the wife manages to outwit her husband (who also wants a ride) and go to her Edelmänn. Once again the foolish husband is not let into the secret.

The insistence on the sexual metaphor of riding

in the jigs glosses the hobby-horse ridden in the other plays in the collection, and the Prodigal in particular is clearly expressing a sexual energy in his riding that is closely associated with the jig style. In this, and in other respects, the EK built patterns of behaviour and set pieces of dialogue, familiar to their audience from jigs, into their longer works. The jig therefore, like Pickelhering within such plays as Vom Fortunato, had a mediating function between audience and extended plots, providing them with a form of reference with which the more complex actions could be understood. This technique of internal cross-referencing was evidently successful, not just for the EK, but also for writers coming from a German tradition. I shall consider the relationship between Gryphius and the EK in the next chapter; but as a sign of how quickly the EK's ideas were assimilated by a city writer, as opposed to the courtier Heinrich Julius, I turn now briefly to the plays of Jakob Ayrer of Nürnberg.

Jakob Ayrer⁵⁰

Jakob Ayrer's considerable debt to the EK cannot be denied: Willibald Wodick's thorough study, Jakob Ayrsers Dramen in ihrem Verhältnis zur einheimischen Literatur und zum Schauspiel der Englischen Komödianten (1912), makes this abundantly clear. This debt is the more interesting in that it is not slavish, but evident in the combination of native and English traditions in his plays. Wodick summarises thus: "Die Grundlage für Ayrsers dramatische Dichtung ist das alte einheimische Meistersingerdrama, die englischen Elemente eine Zutat".⁵¹

Yet there comes a point when the "Zutat" threatens to overwhelm the "Grundlage", as is the case in a distinct portion of Ayrer's repertoire. My concern here then, is to amplify Wodick's conclusion in two respects, on the one hand, surveying briefly the jig-like "Singspiele" written under the EK's influence, on the other, considering a "Tragaedia" that Wodick does not discuss on the parable of Dives and Lazarus, of particular interest as we know the EK performed a "Comedia" on this subject in Graz in 1608.⁵² I do not propose to consider the problem of Ayrer and Shakespeare, which is well summarised by Wodick.

Bolte lists ten "Singspiele" in which the EK's influence on Ayrer is apparent,⁵³ and Wodick lists a wide range of characters and functions the clown Jahn fulfills. Wodick concludes: "Wir sehen im allgemeinen also eine ziemlich starke Einwirkung des englischen Clowns in seiner typischen Ausbildung auf Ayrers Jahn, und es ist unmöglich, daß er diesen unabhängig von den Komödianten so gestaltet haben kann".⁵⁴ The most obvious signs of this influence are references to the style of performance and to the clown himself, Jahn Posset. Entry 51 in his Opus Thaeatricum is the "Fassnachtspil von dem Engelländischen Jann Posset, wie er sich in seinem Dienst verhalten, mit acht Personen". The name Jann Posset is taken directly from Thomas Sackville, whose success with this clown figure was greatly influential in his rise to wealth in Braunschweig. Perhaps his performances documented by Trautmann,⁵⁵ were the original inspiration for Ayrer to write. Jann, like the Prodigal, wishes to see the world: "Hört, jhr Eltern, ich wil wandern". (V, 2869)

He sets off and soon finds a master. His simplicity is mixed, however, with a certain cunning, and while capital is made of the fact that he can neither read nor write, he is capable of avoiding most of the punishments he deserves. The final affliction he cannot escape, mistreatment by his shrewish wife, Ela, and his cry "O wer ich blieben beim Vatter mein!" (V,2887) returns the play to its opening allusion to the Prodigal. As well as an obligatory "calling" sequence, with Jann off-stage and master on-stage, there is much use of verbal misunderstanding.

This plot served Ayrrer well, for he returned to it for a further "Fassnachtspiel", only this time "in deß Rolandts Thon" (Opus Thaeatricum, 52), the eight-line balladic stanza that proved so popular wherever the EK performed. Another aspect of Posset is presented in entry 50, "Ein Fassnachtspiel, der vberwunden Trummelschlager, mit sibem Personen", in which a trick is played on him in the same manner as he was wont to trick others. We learn first, however, of his wide-ranging musical talents:

Der Thurhüter Jahn Posset,
Dem all sein sach gar wohl ansteht,
Der kann auff Zitter, Geign vnd Trummen. (V,2850)

He is also referred to as "stockfisch" (V,2851), which suggests Spencer may have taken the name from Sackville. He is sent as a messenger to a nearby convent by his master, hoping at the same time to get new hides for his drum. But the letter he bears is forged; in it is the information that whenever he says "Trummen" or the like he is about to have a fit and try to kill people. He is consequently bound, and the devil beaten out of him by the monks. The jokes on devilry are also

typical EK motifs, ones that accord wholly with popular German interest in devilry.

The connection I suggested above between Pickelhering and Till Eulenspiegel, and the tradition of jests, is the foundation of entry 66, "Ein Schöns neus Singents Spil von dem Eulenspiegel mit dem Kauffmann vnd Pfeiffenmacher, mit sechs Personen, In des Engelendischen Rolands Thon". Once again reference is made to "stockfisch" (V,3148) and like Jahn, Eulenspiegel is looking for a master. Most characteristic, however, is the opening description of himself that Eulenspiegel offers, one virtually interchangeable with Pickelhering or Jahn Posset's entry in a theatrical Who's Who:

Zu Knodlingen ich geboren bin
Vnd Eulenspiegel genannt,
In dem Land zieh ich her vnd hin
Vnd bin gar wol bekant;
Das machet als mein Schalckheit,
Die ich getrieben han,
Die ist offenbar weid vnd breit
Vnd könnt sie jederman. (V,3139)

In both the Fastnachtspiele and the Eulenspiegel literature the EK found a tradition well-suited to the sophisticated jesting they brought to Germany: and Ayrrer, for one, saw in the EK an important impetus to dramatic advance.

Like the EK's, Ayrrer's repertoire is divided into serious works and "Singspiele", the serious being sub-divided into comedies, which end more or less happily, and tragedies, which end in death. There are also a number of histories. Entry 67 is of interest because the EK performed a work on the same subject, perhaps even a version of Ayrrer's play: "Tragedia vom reichen Man und armen Lazaro, Lucae am 16 Capitel, Mit 6 Actus."⁵⁶ In this play the old Meistersinger tradition is apparent, but so too are the structural influences of the EK. These are clearest in

the jig-like interruptions and intrusions into the main plot, but also in the fact that Dives has a jester Dhonlein, who is much like Posset and Pickêlhering in nature. Dives describes the good life in terms the EK would have approved:

Dann Essen, trinckhen, dantzen Vnd springen,
Musica haben Vnd drein lassen singen. (V,3163)

His list reads almost like the basis of a contract between the EK and a court. Most characteristic of the EK, however, is the dance that Dives wishes to watch: "Hie soll man Pfreyffen Vnd singen (NB, vnd jr zwen kommen vnd danzen)". (V,3194) This in turn, is matched by a complementary interlude that follows Lazarus's death: "(NB. Wen man wil, kan man Ein schöne Musica Von gesang oder seitenspiel disorts halten)". (V,3200) The mourning of Lazarus is that much more poignant with the memory of Dives's entertainment still fresh in our minds. This type of interruption is common in Ayrrer, and once again Wodick is right: "Die in den Dramen Ayrrers so überraschend große Zahl der eingeschobenen Lieder und anderer Intermezzi beruht unzweifelhaft auf einer Einwirkung durch das Vorbild der E.K.". ⁵⁷ Wodick does, however, tend to underestimate the achievements of Ayrrer himself, and in the composition of works like Lazaro, Ayrrer's blend of music, dance and drama, as well as his skill in the use of interruption as a dramaturgic tool, reveals a conscious artistry of some quality.

There is some doubt as to whether Ayrrer's plays were staged, or even intended for the stage. ⁵⁸ I cannot see any reason to doubt the editorial claim that they were. For my purposes, however, the mere fact of the

appeal his editors make to the English style is what counts: by 1618 the EK were not merely assimilated into native German culture, they had become one of the standards by which it judged itself, a remarkable achievement. Both the courtier, Heinrich Julius and the citizen, Jakob Ayrer saw in the EK their masters. Yet, as at Braunschweig in the early days, the EK were adept learners and borrowers, and just as Ayrer saw the value of stealing Posset from the EK, so they saw the value of introducing Grobianus, the great native clown and satiric figure into their plays.

Grobian

Grobian features twice in the 1620 collection, once as himself, and once as a coarse servant called Cnemon. One of the nicer of the EK's cultural jokes is that when he does appear as Grobian he is in fact a model of all that his historical original is not, manners. Cnemon, by contrast, is to the manner born. Cnemon's job in Eine kurtzweilige lustige COMOEDIA von SIDONIA und THEAGENE⁵⁹ is to act as go-between between the lovers, Sidonia and Theagene. This allows him a number of solos in the course of the action as he is on his way from one to the other. As a result, the character of Grobian is integrated into the interruptive strategy of the EK's dramaturgy quite effortlessly, so that it becomes impossible to tell where the native stops and the English begins. The EK's achievement does not stop, however, at the demonstration to the German audience of the dramatic potential of a figure whose origins lie in satiric verse; they, by a fine cultural irony, also translate into German Rollenhagen's Latin play Amentes amentes as the basis of their own

treatment. Köhler was the first to point out the EK's debt to Rollenhagen⁶⁰ but he missed the most curious part of the story out, failing to comment on the EK's role as translators. Yet in such an act of translation, complemented by the generic translation Grobian undergoes, lies their art.

In his behaviour, Cnemon is the classic Grobian, drunk, rude, crude and yet disarmingly honest. He is even prepared to try his hand as wooer:

SIDONIA. Was wiltu denn mit mir machen?

CNEMON. Ha/ ha/ ha/ fragt ihr/ was macht der Vater mit der Mutter?

SIDONIA. Du magst mir wol ein Gesell seyn?

CNEMON. Ja recht? Ich habe auch fein starck Hinterstelle.

SIDONIA. Du Unflat must nicht so grob seyn.

CNEMON. So must ihr mir die Schnautze verschmieren/
ich weiß nicht schnuptiler außzureden/
ihr moechts meiner Grobheit zurechnen/ ich
nehm es so genaw nicht. (p.286)

Cnemon's "verschmieren" has special resonance when set next to Sidoni 's use of "geschmierete glatte Wort" to Theagene, his Grobheit, for all its vulgarity, having about it the security of straightforwardness. The exchange seem to amplify an injunction in the source of Grobianism as to how to behave with "Jungfrawen":⁶¹

Dergleichen solt dich mercken lassen,
Wann dir ein Junckfraw auff der strassen
Begegnet, so mach dich züthaetig,
Mit greiffen, tasten, nuß unflaetig. (ll. 1148-51)

Shortly after his exchange with Sidonia, a stage direction enjoins him to stroke her breasts - much according to the book. One cannot imagine a servant of Fortunatus's approaching Cassandra in this manner: and yet when we see Theagene later embracing Sidonia, his gesture

is inevitably invested in our minds with shades of Cnemon's grossness.

The Pickelhering function in the play is split between Cnemon as clown, corrupter of words and licensed critic, and Nausiclus, the old suitor for Sidonia, who is the singer of ballads. The effect is to ridicule Nausiclus even more, by his association with the clown, and he and his class come off badly at the EK's hands. But so too do the "Juncker" class, of which Theagene is a member. He has to summon Theagene to lunch, but Cnemon does not know how to address him:

Je daß wird ein grosser Juncker seyn/ wie sol
ichs aber fein bey ihm machen.

Alloquitur baculum

Stock geht und seydt Tagnes/ ich wil CNEMON seyn
auß unserm Hauß/ nun muß ich mich erst fein neigen.

Cincuravit se

Also muß man die Knie beugen/ darnach mach ich
auch Baselmaenigs/ das wird recht greintelpisch
stehen/ nu das geht an (macht ein Bickling) das
ist nicht recht/ so machen es die Bawren/ noch
einmal/ Herr ich muß mich erst butzen/ Botz
fickermment nun werde ich stutzen/ je guten Tag
Herr Juncker/ nein daß ist nicht recht/ das klingt
nicht fein/ guten morgen Herr Staudirsknecht/
daß dich botz marter/ das war nicht recht/ Juncker
Tagnes ein guten Tag/ das war getroffen/ das
passiret/ unsere Mutter lest euch sagen/ ihr
solt bey ihrer Tochter schlaffen/ das war
unrecht/ das war zu grob/ er ist auch noch
umb den Schnabel zu geel/ ir sollet zu der
Mahlzeit kommen [f.]. (pp.329-30)

In his doubt, error, and self-correction he exposes the hypocrisy of the fine speakers of the classes above him, in a manner strongly reminiscent of Launce in Two Gentlemen of Verona. Another possible source for both the speech and the character is the "Gul" of Dekker's The Gvls Horne-booke.⁶² "This tree of Guls

was planted long since, but not taking root, could never beare till now. It hath a relish of Grobianism, and tastes very strongly of it in the beginning".⁶³

By association with this tree, the apple trees in Fortunatus smack likewise of Grobianism. The EK may have had access in England to a translation of Grobian, entered in the Stationers Register on December 15th. 1602 and again on May 21st. 1604, by R.F., under the title The School of Slovenly, but the original by then would have held no linguistic terrors for them.

The crudely parodic behaviour of Cnemon is matched by a much subtler parodic strategy in the portrayal of Grobian in the TRAGAEDIA von JULIO und HYPPOLITA.⁶⁴ In this play the Grobian in fact becomes the polite and upright servant to a corrupt master. Even Grobian's speech works according to this principle, and can be anything but "grob":

Gnaediger Herr/ ich bin bereit Ihr Gn<aden> in allen zu folgen und gehorsamen/ auch die Sachen also zu verrichten/ daß es Ihr Gn<aden> nicht besser begehren sol. (p.443)

As the text is evidently corrupt in places there is the possibility that more typically Grobian behaviour has been excised: but it is more likely that the joke is that the clown is the courtly speaker. The first scene in which he appears makes clear that he has a high standard of linguistic decorum; Julius whistles off-stage for Grobianus who has just entered:

GROBIANUS. Mein Herr muß ja meynen/ daß er einen Hundt vor sich habe.

JULIUS pfeiffet noch einmal.

GROBIANUS. Pfeiff du immer hin/ ich bin dein
Hundt nicht. (p.434)

His response to his master's rudeness is to be rude back, changing "Gnaden" for his dutzen. When Julius enters, he reverts to his decorous speech:

JULIUS. Jung hastu nicht gehoeret/ daß ich
ich dich geruffen/ wornach stehestu dann?

GROBIANUS. Nein Gnaediger Herr/ ich hab kein ruffen
gehoert/ sondern pfeiffen/ und gemeinet
ihr Gn<aden> hetten den Hundt zu sich
gepfiffen. (pp.434-35)

A servant knows his place, but also his worth, and in Grobianus's implicit condemnation of the wrong done him by his master, the audience is both alerted to the dubious nature of Julius, and also given a chance to see the tragedy from the perspective of the servants.

Cross-reading from these two EK Grobians, one can see that the infusion of the spirit of Grobian into the EK's work is more substantial than just two minor servant roles. The King of Scotland behaves as a Grobian in his treatment of Prince Serule, the Landlord in Von dem verlorren Sohn behaves likewise, and Morian in Tito Andronico is a classic Grobian: all these I treat later under the general heading of "Moral Breakdown". But it is worth pausing here over the Grobianic influences in the character of the Prodigal Son, which combine the generic and stylistic "translations" at which the EK were so skilled. From the outset the Prodigal Son is madcap blend of Grobian and young braggart, his Grobianism showing itself most clearly in his blatant rudeness to his father. No sooner has his father left to fetch the Prodigal his birthright than the Prodigal breaks into a song-and-dance routine: "Last mich nun lustig seyn/

daß mein Vater ist jetzt hin [..] Tantzet und singet". (p.83). The inversion of social mores is here complete, and typically Grobian. As such, it demonstrates how the EK knew the techniques of cultural assimilation extended beyond obvious and direct plagiarism towards the integration of styles in the pursuit of the new. This novelty, a deeper and altogether more lasting form of innovation than the cheap novelty Tittmann allows, was a major factor in their success.

ii) Problem and Genre

The EK's generic policy appears on the surface to be haphazard and to break any conceivable rule. Yet this appearance is deceptive. Just as characters in their plays change their role and status with often alarming rapidity, so too do their plays shift genre with frequency and, more significantly, with purpose. The EK see genre not as a spectrum with tragedy at one end and comedy at the other, but rather a mode of perception: it is even possible for such modes to exist simultaneously within a scene, as for example when the Prodigal triumphs at his ability to leave home while his father grieves. So the EK exploit the special property of theatre to present simultaneously contradictory attitudes, a property which has implications for both structure and character.

Even the simplest of distinctions between tragedy and comedy, that the former ends in death, the latter in marriage, does not hold for the EK. Fortunato, a comedy, ends in deaths; Jemand und Niemandt, containing the grimmest vision of all, is a comedy. The tragedy of Tito Andronico goes beyond the tragic towards the black farce, even

the grotesqueness of the "Singspiel".

In exploring the implications of such generic turbulence, the EK not only lay down an implicit challenge to the notion of genre in the theatre (a challenge which expresses how profoundly they are at odds with classic Baroque thinking on genre) but they also raise the question of why they treat genres with such disrespect. Once again, the answer lies in the realism with which the EK deal with their subject matter, a realism born of a mixture of moral courage and box-office wisdom: the courage lay in tackling themes of immediate concern, the wisdom in knowing the market. What were the themes?

Esther is concerned with two main issues, the rights and responsibilities of the absolute monarch, an issue of growing importance in the seventeenth century, and the rights of women. The resolution of the battle between the absolutist and the self-assured woman is the woman's triumph, as much as anything through sexual charm, and the taming of the excesses of the man. Striking is the parallel in the low-life plot, added to the source, of the battle between a shrewish wife and a brow-beaten husband, and peace at the high-life level is matched by peace among the subjects. Yet the play is not simple, in that cutting across this battle of the sexes is a story of palace intrigue, in which sex is recognised as playing a central role. Esther becomes then a portrait of the dangers, and possible solutions to those dangers, of absolutism at all levels. In the resolution of the limits to absolutism lies the resolution of all other social problems. Even though resolution involves horrible

deaths, such as the murder of Haman's innocent children, the fact that there is resolution at all seems to qualify the action as comic.

Von dem verlornen Sohn deals with two problems, the rights of children to do what they like, and the nature of penance and forgiveness. Generational tension, and even conflict, are problems that are constant, only their form changes. So there is nothing special in the fact that the Son feels hemmed in by his father; what matters is the manner in which he learns of the extent of his father's love, first by being robbed and beaten, then by being forgiven. So the play balances paternal love against a portrait of a society which is totally corrupt, the inn-society which robs the Son of his money. As in Esther there are radical alternatives as to how one can behave, either totally honestly or totally corruptly; and the force of the play lies as much in the exposure of the horrors of corruption as in any plea for integrity.

Fortunato takes another dominant socio-political problem as its centre, the rights of the merchant class in their dealings with aristocracy. The details of this problem have already been discussed, but there is surely a deliberate irony in calling the resolution of the play comic, a resolution which involves the deaths of the threateningly wealthy merchant dynasty. That is, the play's end is comic, from an aristocratic perspective, for the merchants lose in the socio-political struggle.

Eine schoene lustig triumphirende COMOEDIA von eines Koenigs Sohne auss Engellandt und des Koenigs Tochter auss Schottlandt⁶⁵ (Engellandt und Schottlandt) is set exclusively in a courtly world of war, love and disguise,

but although it ends in marriage, it runs perilously close to tragedy, and even has a false ending on a tragic note. There is generational conflict in that the wishes of royal children conflict with the political realities of war between the respective nations from which the children come, and the personal conflict is seen in the context of national interests. This raises a nice dilemma for the absolutist, as to whether to perform according to personal or national motives. Such a dilemma lies at the heart of Henry V as I discussed earlier, and it exposes a basic unresolved conflict at the heart of absolutism, between personal and public will. Ahasverus is caught in a similar trap. As in Fortunato, however, matters are livened up by a necromancer called Barrabas, and by the love-sick Prince turning into a Pickelhering, so once again polluting the generic comedy with Singspiel traces.

Sidonia und Theagene seems the least complex of the plays of the collection, tending generically as it does towards the "Singspiel" and the Grobianic satire, for all its designation as a comedy. Nevertheless, even here there is a fundamental social problem under discussion, the rights of girls (and not just boys) to marry whom they wish rather than whom their parents want. In this play mother and daughter combine to out-play father in the choice of husband. While father wants daughter to marry a rich lecher, daughter, understandably wants to marry a young man (who is also sexually more promising). To discredit the rich lecher, the EK make him take on some of the characteristics of Pickelhering,

and the play is comic in resolution in that all parties in the dispute ultimately end up satisfied. Once again a form of absolutism, paternal will, is shown as circumventable.

Jemand und Niemandt offers the most comprehensive study of social and political abuse in the collection. It deals with three bad absolutist kings, and one king who is good, with leanings towards democracy, showing that total corruption in ruling families affects the country they rule to such an extent that it is totally corrupt as well. The result is that everyone suffers, and the resolution of the play is comic in that the symbol of chaos and corruption, Jemand, is finally discomfited, but ambiguous in that one cannot be sure the cycles of violence and treachery we have witnessed are over.

Jemand und Niemandt is the right play to make a generic bridge to the two subsequent tragedies in the collection, the first of which deals with failures of personal relations, the second with failures of political alliances, which themselves then take a terrible toll on people. Julio und Hyppolita is a version of the classic story of the faithless best friend, and exposes the power of sexual attraction to overwhelm moral scruple. The irony is that the power that rescues Persia from the wrath of Ahasverus, sex, causes the breach of friendship and death in this play. The implication is that the EK saw infidelity to friend or to spouse as the worst of personal crimes.

In Tito Andronico treachery is not just confined to the public world but is shown as a product of the breakdown of private values. A man cannot be immoral

at home and moral in public seems to be the answer. The plot then explores what happens once the constraints on normal behaviour are removed, and the resultant cycle of blood-letting is seen as a logical development of the first breach of faith. Not surprisingly, the play is a tragedy.

The point of this brief survey of the central moral and political dilemmas of the eight plays in the collection has been to underline the extent to which each represents an idea or an issue of particular significance to the EK's audience. These have a private and a public aspect, but morality is the common factor. So what the EK are in effect doing generically is inventing the 'moral dilemma' play, or the 'idea' play, in a manner we more commonly associate with plays of the later part of the nineteenth century. These dilemmas are:

The rights of the absolute ruler,

The rights of women,

The rights of children in dealings with their parents,

The inflexibility of rank,

The moral imperative of fidelity,

The dilemma of personal versus public interest,

The parental imperative of love,

The utter dependancy of the ruled on the ruler.

The emblematic nature of the staging is then part and parcel of a strategy of moral and political enquiry in the plays, and before turning to the staging, I shall consider the detailed aspects of the moral dilemmas in respect of what they tell us about the sociological problems the EK describe.

Socio-Political Tension

The first decades of the seventeenth century were years of mounting tension throughout Europe. The relative quiet that followed Luther's death had given way to the Counter-Reformation, to the French Wars of Religion, to the rebellion of the Dutch against Spain, and, particularly in German-speaking states there was a sense of inevitability about the coming conflict. This is not the place to consider the causes of the Thirty Years' War, but the contributory factors to the outbreak of hostilities are of significance to the plays of the EK. These were religious, the fight between Protestantism and Catholicism; economic, the struggle for financial mastery; socio-political, the withdrawal of the aristocracy to their estates; and personal, a shift in the nature of morality. Perceived from the perspective of the poor, this conflict meant that they suffered either way; from the perspective of the aristocracy, the conflict had more the characteristics of a fight between powerful neighbours than an international war. This private aspect to a public war suited the theatre well, and the EK show particular skill in representing politics as strife between families, a skill Machiavelli would have admired. The poor are regularly intrusive into the struggle, but circumstantially, helplessly.

The basic socio-political tension is between the "high" and the "low" ranks, the merchants caught awkwardly in the middle. The preoccupations of the "high" ranks are with power, privilege, intrigue, majesty, sexuality and wealth. The poor make do with their opposites: service, duty, fisticuffs, wonder, sexuality and poverty. Sex

is a common factor, the most powerful lever the poor may have to move the powerful and the rich.

Esther: The Model of the World

In the range of its exploration of the relationship between high and low, and in the extent to which power, privilege, intrigue, majesty, sex and wealth are seen to interlock, Esther, the first play in the collection, offers a model of the world which the subsequent plays in the collection explore and vary. The tension between ranks which we analysed in Fortunato is matched by a conflict of interest between the sexes; and power is seen as a question affecting both national and domestic relationships. It also counterbalances the merchant perspective of Fortunato with a portrait of absolutism that ends in the continued unquestioned dominance of the King.

Esther opens with the entry of the King, accompanied by three servants, all of whom turn out to be treacherous. The emphasis is on magnitude and splendour:

ICH Koenig AHASVERUS Regierer und Gebieter von
INDIA, biß in Mohren/ uber 123. Laender [c.c.] (p.5)

The vision of a huge kingdom is then matched by his description of incredible wealth:

damit ihr aber den grossen/ unzehlichen und
unaußsprechlichen Reichthumb recht sehen
moechtet/ habe ich darzu verordnet 180. Tage/
in dero Tagen ihr die Pracht anschawen moechtet. (p.5)

The EK's audience seem naturally included in the "ihr", even if the riches they see on stage bear little resemblance to the riches they are called upon to imagine. Ahasverus next announces an open invitation to a dinner, such as the EK would have witnessed in Frankfurt at a coronation:

Welches pancketiren und grosse Pracht dann nun
vollendet/ die hundert und achtzig Tage verflossen/
zu dem haben wir nun einen jedern Mann jung und
alt/ klein und groß/ arm und reich allhie zu Schloß
zusammen am Hofe des Gartens zu pancketiren zurichten
lassen/ auch befohlen einen jedern seinen Willen
zu lassen/ und daß er/ was ihme nur sein Hertz
geluestet bekommen kan/ denn an unsern grossen
Reichthumb kans uns nicht schaden. (p.5)

Here is Fortunatus in the guise of a real king, one born to wealth and rank. Key words and phrases are repeated to reinforce this impression of splendour, and while the set would have not quite matched the realities of Ahasverus's court, the language does its best to compensate. Yet the speech has its satiric edge: the portrait of the absolute king inviting all his subjects to feast with him, and to claim all they desire, conflicts with the realities of European absolutism, making it not a little shabby by comparison.

But all is not well in this kingdom: Vashti, the Queen and, ex officio, the most beautiful woman in the world, has been disobedient, for which she is put to death. The problem of feminine disobedience is not, however, restricted to the palace, and a law is enacted "das ein jederman Herr und das Haeupt im Hause seyn soll/ und die Frawe dem Manne unterthan". (p.8) The King has power not just to put off an unwanted wife, but to search his kingdoms for a new one. Eventually, Esther is discovered, an orphan under the guardianship of her cousin, Mardocheus. Mardocheus is aware of the limits of his power to protect his ward:

Dem Gebot unsers Koeniges muessen wir untherthaenig gehorsamen. (p.16)

The King's right to command is above question, even if one

may question the morality, and even the wisdom, of his doing so. The irony of the play, however, lies in its exploration of the ways in which woman can subvert the authority of their "kings" - their husbands. In the high-life plot, Esther, by a mixture of piety and cunning, manages to outwit her cruel husband's will: in the low-life sub-plot, Hans Knapkaese's wife gets the better of him by trickery. Intrigue is the answer to authoritarianism.

Although we are never allowed to see any weakness on the part of the King, his power is shown as circumscribed in three principal ways. The first is one of the few, but telling, references in the play to the power of kings, and seems to belong more to the realm of authorial comment - what the character might ideally say - than to actual practice. Ahasverus announces:

Wiewol wir maechtig seyn und groß auff Erden/
haben wir dennoch unser Gewalt nicht wollen
uberheben/ sondern meistens theils beflissen
gnaediglich und sanfft zu regieren/ und den
lieben Friede/ dessen sich jederman von
Hertzen erfrewet/ zu halten [..]. (p.6)

One can hear the voice of London addressing Elizabeth I, but in this context the speech is out of character; one must suppose that the author, reading the troubled political signs, felt a plea for peace would not do any harm. As if to reinforce the King's powerlessness, he is next shown as in the hands of an overmighty subject, Haman, whose vanity is such that he is seen equating himself with the King, a fault that brought Andolosia down:

Großmaechtiger Koenig/ die Koenigin VASHTI hat
nicht allein an ihrer Majestaet ubel gethan/
sondern auch an uns [..]. (p.7)

Haman's reference to his own feelings suggests both the treachery he is meditating in wanting the kingdom for himself and that he may himself have had a hand in removing the Queen. Through such hints the apparent invincibility of the King is questioned without any weakness being explicitly exposed: such a technique shows some skill on the EK's part in tackling a particularly sensitive topic in a manner still acceptable to the court without surrendering an independent and critical standpoint.

The first direct warning to the King not to take the loyalty of his subjects for granted comes in the revelation that his two counsellors, Bigthan and Theres, are plotting to overthrow him; Theres makes their intentions plain:

Recht recht hastu gesagt getrewer Bruder
bleib standthafftig in deiner Meynung. So
laß uns gehen und PRAEPARIREN daß wir den Koenig
beyseits bringen. (p.24)

Theres's speech is nicely, and unintentionally, ironic: his use of "recht", "getrewer" and "standthafftig" in a sentence confirming his treachery demonstrates not only a skill in verbal irony on the part of the EK not allowed them by critics of the paucity of their language, but also a neat sense of the ambiguities of political loyalty. Fortunately for Ahasverus, the conspiracy is overheard by Mardocheus, who reveals his loyalty by betraying the conspiratorial secret to the King. His eventual reward is to replace Haman as the King's right hand, and the conspirators meet with the sort of sticky end in which only absolute forms of government seem to revel:

Darumb HAMAN ubergib sie den Scharfffrichter/
 daß er ihnen die Haende von Glied zu Glied
 abhawe/ darnach die Augen außgrabe/ die Nase
 und Ohren abschneide/ die Fuesse in zerschmeltzten
 Bley abmalme/ und letztlich sie in einer Pfannen
 Oele brate. (p.26)

If, for practical reasons, a scene is unstageable - only Nero seems to have gone in for realism on this scale - at least describe it as graphically as you can. A similar fate awaits Haman, though presented in his case, with rather more finesse. The King is suddenly made mindful of his debt to Mardocheus by the clever ruse of having the court chronicle, in which Mardocheus features large, read out to him. He summons Haman and asks him, without telling him the hidden reason, what he should do to reward a subject to whom he owes a great debt. Thinking the candidate for honour to be himself, Haman replies:

daß man ihn außziere mit Koeniglichen Kleidern/
 die der Koenig selbst zu tragen pflegt/ und setzen
 auff das Roß/ da der Keenig auffreitet/ und
 daß man die Koenigliche Crone auff sein Haeupt
 setze [c. 7]. (p.60)

Haman soon discovers the question was a trap: while Mardocheus is to be so honoured, he is to die. It may not be a coup de théâtre in the grand manner, but it is no mean scene either, as we see how Haman reacts to his treachery. At the same time, Haman's portrait of the King demonstrates just how much value was placed on outward signs of office - robes, crown, mighty horse - as signals of status and power. Only a king who wished to impress his people, and ride among them like Bolingbroke perhaps, who also rode the king's horse, would be concerned with such details. The description supplements an earlier moment when the King appears to Esther as king:

Koempt der KOENIG und HAMAN, der KOENIG siehet zornig auß/ sie verschricket/ sincket nieder zur Erden/ der KOENIG springet zu ihr und umbfaenget sie. (p.54)

Love has power to move the angry King-God to most un-royal gestures. Esther is even able to break the King's command that no one may approach him unsummoned without paying Vashti's penalty for disobedience.

Esther's principal weapon is intrigue, and, in a mixture of cunning and courage, she invites Ahasverus and Haman to a banquet, in the course of which she frustrates Haman's scheme to massacre the Jews, exposes his treachery to her husband and succeeds in having her guardian installed in Haman's place. Haman, in an irony of the kind the EK enjoyed, is hung on the gallows he had built for Mardocheus, but not before warning the audience of the perils of overreaching ambition:

O ihr MenschenKinder alle die ihr zu DIGNITETEN erhoben werdet/ erhebet euch nicht in Hoffart und Uppigkeit/ denn sonst wird es euch gehen wie es mir jetzt/ leider/ gehet. (p.68)

His unexpected "leider" is almost more persuasive than the moral, which, one might suppose, should close the play. But no: a coda reveals the unexpected cruelty of Esther, and suddenly her behaviour throughout the play is shown in a new light. The issue is whether Haman's ten sons should follow their father to the scaffold: Esther believes they should, despite the fact that Mardocheus argues that the move would be unjust. He addresses the King:

Allergnaedigster Koenig/ ich bitte Ihr May<estaet> umb verzeihen/ mich deucht es unrecht seyn/ daß die Soehne mit dem Vater sterben sollen. (p.71)

The King will have none of this, and despite his opening protestation of justice, has the enemy totally rooted out in best Machiavellian manner.

The question of power affects the low-life characters in respect of marital relations, and here the EK introduce into the plot a woman much like Mrs. Noah of the Mystery Play cycles, Hans Knapkaese's wife. Hans suffers a good deal from the shrewishness of this lady, he seemingly being the cheese that she is to bite. The struggle between the two low-life figures is however, a mirror image of the struggles at court between Esther and Ahasverus, and the parallels the EK establish between the two classes are close in nature to those Shakespeare exploits in Measure for Measure. By implication, Esther herself becomes a shrew, and by implication, the law that says that men are to have power over their wives is necessary because Ahasverus has lost power over his own. The EK's skills at tumbling and fighting also come into play in the low-life marriage, with beatings the order of the day. First Hans beats his wife, then she him, until a behavioural pattern in marital relations is established, according to a perception intrinsic to Western humour, that small men being beaten over the head by large women is funny.

The law for a while changes things: we learn from Hans's neighbour of a remarkable change in his wife, who after the decree on obedience, has been transformed into sweetness and light itself. He remarks: "gestern war

sie noch ein böses Weib/ aber nun ist sie so fromb wie ein Engel [..].” (p.12) Hans decides to try the same thing, and, to his surprise and ours, he succeeds, which is a good cue for a fight. First the wife beats Hans, then Hans the wife, etc. An ironic twist is then introduced: Hans, it transpires, has a son who has been to France (as a member of Browne's troupe visiting Lille?⁶⁶) where he has learned acrobatics, especially complex tricks with hoops. Hans tries to imitate his son and gets stuck in the hoop, at which point his wife wins revenge by beating him again. This show needs no comment. Into the Bible story a sub-plot is introduced, taking up a substantial part of the action, in which clowning, gymnastics and pure slapstick are the ingredients. Yet there is more to this than mere "vulgarity": the sub-plot, not unlike in Measure for Measure, acts as foil to the main plot. At the close the domestic harmony of Ahasverus and Esther is mirrored by Hans settling his differences with his wife and their both being taken into royal service. This happy end is presumably the main reason for the play's designation as "Comeedia".

As in the main plot, the sub-plot contains occasional moments when there seems to be direct authorial intrusion. In the main-plot we have two interpolated references to the desirability - and quality - of mercy. Set against these in the sub-plot are satirical thrusts at the nobility, of which I would instance three. The first is a mock duel between Hans and his shrewish wife. Hans goes off to get drunk to muster up the courage to take on

his wife (the similarity is striking here with the behaviour of the husband in Heinrich Julius's Von einem Buler und Bulerin) and returns armed with a sword and shield. Such directions as "Machet ein hauffen Fechter-streiche" (p.27), and "Lauffen zusammen er ergreiffet ihren Stock" (p.29), with their parodic representations of the lists and fencing tournaments (and one remembers the poor fencing teacher in Strasbourg who suffered losses during the EK's visit) leave no doubt as to the satiric intent. This is matched by a second example, already referred to, when Hans gets stuck in his son's hoops. The scene is physically funny, but it has another aspect. Hans had wanted:

in grosses ansehen kommen bey grossen Herren/
bey welchen ich trefflich gerne seyn mag/ darumb
daß man allda gewaltig sauffen muß. (pp. 38-9)

This back-handed compliment to the aristocracy has the hallmark of Andelosia's efforts at courtly recognition stamped on it; and when Hans gets stuck in the "hoop" vain aspiration is emblematically punished. The scene's message lies in the tension between word and image, between Hans's hopes and his ridiculous posture. Yet the time was coming when aristocratic life would become an ever-more complicated game of passing through hoops. Perhaps, though, the EK were also thinking of themselves in the image, passing through courtly and civic hoops to earn a living.

The third example reflects the skill with which high and low styles are bound together in a typical EK way. Haman, the high-life villain and court intriguer, tries to get Knapkaese, the low-life schemer, to murder his rival, Mardocheus. Knapkaese agrees, but in a scene

so subverted by humour that the heroic aspect is ridiculed. Hans can even be devilishly disconcerting:

HAMAN. Sieh Zimmermann du bist gleich als werestu
geruffen.

HANS. O ja ich bin ein solch wunderbarlich Kerl/ ich
kom ehe man mich rufft.

HAMAN. Ich sehe daß du ein wunderlicher Narr mit zu
bist. (p.57)

Haman's plot is somewhat incredible when one considers who his agent is; yet Hans's foolery has its devilish component, for the devil too comes before he is called.

Concealed devilry is a leit-motif of the sub-plot: when the two low-life shrews transform, it is from devils to angels that they turn. Hans makes the comparison explicit:

O man meynt es wol/ meine Fraw ist nicht
wie andere boese Weiber/ die da umb eine
Sache einmal zuernen/ sondern ist der
Teuffel selbst. (p.12)

The neighbour, who is also plagued by a shrewish wife then gives Hans the advice that he should beat the devil out of her, a recipe that worked on his wife. The idea was evidently popular, when one thinks of the mock exorcism in Comedy of Errors. The neighbour relates:

gestern war sie noch ein boeses Weib/ aber nun
ist sie so fromb wie ein Engel/ denn ich ihr
den Teuffel außgebannet mit einen grossen
Pruegel. (p.12)

The final irony of the play draws part of its sting from just this mood of comic devilry: Knapkaese's wife's reform is most probably only skin deep, and she will soon have the palace jumping. Likewise, Esther, who seems never to have submitted to her husband's authority, promises to remain as cunningly successful as she has been so far, and as ruthless as her last act in the play, the killing of Haman's sons.

Esther may be read as a model of the world on two accounts: firstly, it represents the world as divided into two main classes, the rulers and the ruled, whose personal affairs mirror one another's, and who behave towards each other in predictable, and largely self-seeking ways. Secondly, it bears a message of political cynicism, that change affects more the holders of office than the office itself. Haman may be dead, but political vindictiveness survives in Esther herself.

Prodigality: the World Upside Down

The popularity of the Fortunatus story rested on the enduring dream of the poor of sudden riches. But the obverse of the magic coin is an unpreparedness for a life of wealth and splendour which can have tragic consequences. It clearly lay in the interests of the wealthy class to enforce this moral, that those born into poverty could not hope to learn the ways of the rich, and as the plays on the subject of Fortunatus were written through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries one has the sense that the negative sides of sudden wealth are accented at the expense of the positive.

In the story of the Prodigal Son the EK effectively condense the fates of Fortunatus and Andolosia into one life-span, even into a few years, or perhaps days, of that life. The Son is given his inheritance, which has strong similarities with Fortunatus's receipt of the purse. He like Fortunatus wishes to travel, but as he has no experience in trade, he cannot make his wealth work for him and soon meets a sticky end. Significantly, he is tricked of his wealth in a low inn, and he is

vulnerable to trickery, not just because he is so wealthy but also because he is moving into a world below him in rank, and whose rules, or lack of them, he does not comprehend. He is especially vulnerable therefore, to the woman who seems well-intentioned.

Just such a woman is waiting for him, the daughter of the landlord of an inn whom his servant meets by chance in the street. This nightingale, as he calls her, lures him into a seeming paradise, only to turn it for him into an inferno. The vindictiveness with which he is treated is an explicitly class-motivated feeling, for although the inn-keeper's wife calls him a "Cavallier", which pleases him, this is also her reason for fleecing him: "Derhalben muessen wir uns an ihn machen/ biß wir ihn all das sein gestolen und abvexiret haben". (p.97) With this admission our sympathies begin to waver in the Son's favour, and the EK manage an apparent paradox that this sympathy grows with every new folly that he commits. In particular, the use of "abvexiret" captures a malice with which the scheme to rob him is to be executed which is suggestive of slow torture rather than just revenge. While Andolosia's punishment of Agrippina is just and swift, this sentence passed on the Son is slow and evil. Robbery signals a social hatred that springs from a deep social paradox of the dependence of the victimiser on the victim, and some of the social anger of the inn-keepers stemmed from the perhaps unarticulated sense they had that

while the low-life robber hates the high-life victim he cannot do without him.

Soon the Son is made drunk, and invites his host to gamble with him, to which the host "reluctantly" agrees. The Son loses, no surprise, but is too drunk to know why; so he asks his "Jungfraw" to play for him. She does, losing all to her father. Off she and the Son then go to bed, the Son barely able to walk, although in the morning he claims the girl and he were busy all night: "denn es war ein Nachtigal verhanden/ die hielt mich immer auff vom Schlaffe". (p.106) Hard to imagine what Keats would have made of this bird. While the seduction is charged with a mixture of drunken eroticism and sadism, the scene is no more obscene than the bulk of similar encounters in Meistersinger drama, and is, in fact a good deal more dramatic and less purely coarse for coarseness's sake than the usual Fastnacht equivalent. In fact, the EK tend in their use of sexual tension to link sexual excitement with danger, the victim of a plot, like the Son and Andolosia, being baited with sexual lures before being robbed or deceived. Where the erotic is used for its own sake, it tends to be marginally less grotesque than was the common taste, except, of course in the jigs. What is noticeably absent from the plays is any guilt about sexual promiscuity, such as one finds in the way Grimmelshausen's figures, like Mutter Courasche, express their memories of sexual deeds.

The play's climax is in the fourth act. The Son comes to breakfast in good spirits, ready to play a sexy

game with the daughter:

TOCHTER. Ihr sollet ewer Kleidt/ so ihr jetzt uber
ewrem Leibe habet/ zusetzen/ und ich meinen
Rock/ so ich jetzt antrage/ und der es verleuret/
sol sich alßbald außziehen/ und es demselben
ders gewinnet/ geben.

SOHN. O mein schoene Jungfraw und schoenes Lieb/
ihr habt ein außbuendig schoen Spiel erdacht [E.].
(p.107)

Before this game may begin, the Son has to settle his "debts", and so feels for his purse: but, as the audience already knows, it has been filched. All the sexual excitement abruptly becomes translated into a premonition of disaster, and in the neatest of all their voltes faces the stripping of the lover turns into the stripping of the sacrificial victim, a moment the EK never better. Indeed, the scene even earns Tittmann's praise.⁶⁷ Two stage directions then summarise the abrupt and total fall of the Son from the top to the bottom of Fortune's cycle:

Sie ziehen ihn auß/ besuchen und nehmen in die Schluessel/ und alles was er bey sich hat/ schlagen ihn auch darzu. (p.113)

Schmeisset ihn alt Hosen und Wammes zu. (p.114)

Yet abrupt though this fall is, it is entirely of the Son's own making, and while he might like to attribute it to Fortune's famous fickleness, in fact he has only himself to blame. When he cries "Ach weh ist dann kein Erbarmniß" (p.113) it is thus all the more effective, since in a world governed by one's own behaviour, mercy from above has no real meaning. When mercy does arrive it wears a very human face, in the shape of the passer-by who hires the Son even though he needs no more servants.

The Son's fall is the result of his breaches of morals.

The Son is in clear breach of the moral code when he leaves his aging father in the knowledge that his father may die before his return, and his punishment is to be robbed and humiliated. Fortunatus is in clear breach of the moral code when he takes wealth not wisdom, though in his case retribution takes a generation to work itself through. And immorality is revealed in person in the deeds of Jemand. Jemand's task is to explore the limits of morality by negative example: he does everything he should not.

In Jemand und Niemandt, poverty is shown to be as much the root of all evil as the love of money. First we are shown suffering peasants:

O wir armen Bawren/ O wir armen Bawren/ wie
sollen wirs machen/ die Soldaten die Soldaten/
haben uns unsere Kirchen zu Grunde verstoeret/
und ist kein Geld vorhanden/ worvon wir sie
wieder bawen lassen [.] . (p.380)

But the soldiers, as we soon learn, have reasons for their conduct, for they have not been paid, and so are in prison for debt:

O ist dennoch niemandt kommen/ der uns erloese auß
dem Gefaengnueß [.] . (p.381)

While Niemandt is at hand to pay their debts, we see evil as a chain of events, causally linked, starting with the evils of the ruling class; and we are acutely aware that poverty is the agent forging each new link, so causing the collapse of a cohesive society into the fight for life and survival of each class. Justice too is the victim of social breakdown, a theme which struck a chord in England as resonantly as in Germany. No-body and his two German counterparts want justice, but all three learn how hard a task they have set themselves. First No-body:

From thence I went
 To see the law Courts, held at Westminster;
 There, meeting with a friend, I straight was askt
 If I had any sute? I answered, yes,
 Marry, I wanted money. Sir, quoth he,
 For you, because your name is Nobody,
 I will sollicit law; and nobody,
 Assure yourselfe, shall thrive by sutes in Law. (p.322)

Green, and the EK, turn this reported encounter into an actual exchange in the plot on the subject of justice and they both reverse the cultural joke by making Jemand sue for justice. First Green:

Jemantß: Mein Herr, khan ich ain halbeß Pfundt
 Gerechtigkeith umb Gelt bekhamen oder nit?

Herr: Umb Gelt meht ihr vill Gerehtigkeith
 bekhamen; ober mein Sell, ich hab nit sovil
 bei mir, und wen ich gleich sovil bei mir
 het, ich glaub nit, daß der Herr sovil
 khauffen wurdt, dan Gerechtigkeith ist
 gar ein teureß Khleinoth; ein 1/2 Loth,
 mein Herr, cost fünffhundert Taller.

Niemantß: Ha, ha, ha, hab ich nit zuvor gesagt. (p.122)

The EK's version is similar:

Mein Herr/ Gerechtigkeith/ wie euch selbst bewust/
 ist in den jetzigen Jahren gar thewr worden/ also
 daß auch fuer den armen und geringen Mann gar
 nichts zu bekommen/ wegen Thewrung dessen/ daß
 sie es nicht koennen bezahlen. (p.385)

The EK are less wordy than Green, directing their remarks at a city rather than a court audience: but in essence they say the same, critical thing. When money gets the upper hand, it destroys justice, morality and social cohesion.

Poverty can however, be an equivalent trap, tempting a man to the sin of despair. Andolosia despairs before finding the magic trees; peasants despair at losing their church, soldiers at not being paid. Poverty is in each case the precondition for falling a victim to the

most dire of sins, that against the Holy Spirit.

Robbed, cheated, beaten and thrown out into the street, the Son is a prime target for just this temptation, as the audience immediately recognises from his changed appearance:

Jetzt koempt herauß der VERLOHRNE SOHN/ hat einen
Korb unter den Arm/ und ein Stock in der Hand.
(p.121)

The Rich Man has suddenly turned into Lazarus, and his road to wisdom turns out to be a lot more rugged and steep than the primrose path he had been on. In such a state the Son is initiated into the other side of wealth, the receiving end, or, rather, the begging end.

SOHN. O mein lieber Herr/ wie gerne wolte ich arbeiten/
wenn ich nur einen Herrn bekommen koente. [..]

BUERGER. [..] keinen Diener hette ich zwar von nothen [..]
Aber deiner wil ich mich erbarmen [..]
(p.120)

Nothing is more devastating to the Son than the receipt of charity, and it is a mark of the EK's psychological awareness that they place the Son's true despair after the charitable act and not before. It also gives them the chance to bring on their favourite figure:

Seufftzet hefftig/ weinet bitterlich koempt zu
ihm die VERZWEIFFELUNG. (p.122)

Satan (alias Verzweiffelung) tries to persuade him to kill himself, for his sins are too many to be forgiven him, but, in the nick of time, in races Hoffnung to snatch the drawn sword out of his grasp. God is gracious and will forgive, if man will first admit his sin. Yet Despair is such a ticklish sin, precisely because it makes one believe one is too far gone for rescue.

The allegorical encounter between Hoffnung and Verzweiflung is conducted against a background not of mutability but rather of infringed codes of morality, both social and familial. The Son is not the victim of Fortune's wheel turning on, but of his own folly and sinfulness, first in abandoning his father and then in abandoning himself to pleasure. So in his case, to appeal for pity at the mutability of the world would be a simple refusal to look the facts in the face. There is also a class point at stake: the higher ranks are expected to exercise moral self-control, while it is expected of the lower ranks that they will be either immoral or beyond good and evil. The high ranks do, the low ranks obey, the high ranks have choice, for which privilege they have to exercise restraint, and the low ranks field whatever destiny bats at them. The Son, a member of the higher ranks, should have known better, and no excuse is offered for his behaviour. The pillaging soldiers, by contrast, are accorded some understanding, because the reasons for their pillaging are the failure of the higher ranks to pay them, and lack of control by their officers. So the way the Son's foibles are treated indicates that the EK saw a firm division in the world between those born into power and those not, and morality was very much a function of relative degrees of power and privilege.

Sexual Mores

The EK frequently come under scholarly fire for

their sexual licence, an area where they felt moral and religious censure. They were often warned, on pain of fine, not to act immodestly, and, as Flemming summarises, bans for breaking the rules were not that uncommon: "Angesichts dessen, was der Pickelhering sich in den erhaltenen Drucken und Handschriften leistet, verwundert es uns nicht, wenn 1607 in Elbing das Weiterspielen wegen 'schandbarer Sachen' verboten wird, in Nürnberg 1695 die abgelaufene Spielfrist nicht verlängert wird, weil 'viel grobe und der Jugend zum ärgernus gereichende possen eingemenget', oder der Rat 1606 in Frankfurt überhaupt keine Truppe mehr zulässt, weil er von den 'Zodden und läppigtem Gezeug' genug habe".⁶⁸ But one may say equally, that it is surprising, if the EK were so immoral, that they were not banned much more often. It is self-evident that Pickelhering was enormously popular, and one doubts how effective any ban would have been on him, probably rather promoting than diminishing interest in him: but there is also an aspect to the EK's use of sexuality that Flemming overlooks. The Son, for example, is taught a very severe lesson for letting his sexual appetite get away with him, as is Andolosia, who loses his purse for sex. Naturally, the EK were to some extent covering themselves against censure by first presenting sexual scenes and then condemning them, but there is also a strong undercurrent of morality rather than licence in their work, which, though perhaps not as strict as Flemming's, reflected a genuine system of belief and not a market-

place convenience.

Before he decides to leave home, the Son is already sexually active, and "Jungfrauen" are an essential part of the world he wishes to explore. He complains about his father's spying on him:

dann war ich hier bey Gesellschaft/ bey schoenen
Frawen und Jungfrawen/ unnd meynte es wuerde
kein Mensche in der gantzen Stadt wissen/ ja so
bald ich aber zu Hause kam/ wuste es mein Vater/
da gieng es an ein schelten [c.] . (p.83)

As soon as the Son gets his birth right he exclaims:

Juch seydt nun lustig ihr schoenen Jungfrawen/
frewet euch nun mit mich/ denn ich habe Geldes
genung/ worvon ich lange kan zehren. (p.86)

The fascination with Jungfrawen is reinforced by the fact that the word is used no less than twenty-one times in the play. And here, as in Fortunato, there is a distinct connection between the urge to travel and explore and sexual interest. Both share an ability to transform, either by education or by sexual charm.

In Julio und Hyppolita, it is sexual charm rather than the lure of the world that causes the tragedy, but there is a travel component in the disaster, in that Romulus's journey to Rome exposes his friend to temptation. Love then transforms a friendship into a series of betrayals and deaths, and Julius is charmed by sex as the Son and Andolosia are in their turn. A significant similarity between Julius's and the Son's sexual behaviour under the bewitching influence of beauty is that they both tend to the Grobianic. Julius forges a letter from his friend, to discredit him with Hyppolita's father: "Gruesse mir den alten Narren/ HYPPOLITAE Vater den alten Scheisser/ mit dem ich ja wol den Narren getrieben".

(p.440) His tone reveals a side to his character which is anything but the upright, faithful friend, and yet it also betrays a characteristic blend in the EK's plays of sexuality, grossness and clowning, only here the clowning turns into disaster.

Disaster is close to the surface of Engellandt und Schottlandt, which has many affinities with Romeo and Juliet. A pair of feuding families, the royal houses of England and Scotland, produce a pair of lovers, who seem for much of the play to be star-crossed, only in the very last lines arriving at the happy end. It explores thereby the way in which the imperatives of personal relationships will naturally be in conflict with the imperatives of politics and diplomacy. In love, the Prince falls victim, first to the classic fit of melancholy and then, from the public perspective, to the foolish ambition of winning his love. He lies to his father, telling him he wishes to journey to France (p.226) but once free of England, makes his way to Scotland. This act of independence has affinities with the behaviour of a much better known English Prince, Hal, although love is not Hal's motive for striking out on his own. Where Hal and this Prince are at their closest, however, is on the moral and political problem that a Prince who lies and disguises raises. What sort of government can the subject expect from a ruler with apparently loose moral standards? Both have good reasons for their deceptions, but one must doubt the integrity of Serule for his conduct just as one doubts the morality of Harry's night visit to his troops. Even

the nature of Serule's love is open to moral doubt:

"wenn man nicht anders zu schoenen Jungfrauen kommen kan/ so muß man durch Narrenwerck hinzu ihnen dringen [.]". (p.233)

The word "dringen" has a force one would not expect a lover, welcome to his beloved, to use, and it recalls the military aspect of the Prince's nature. Then he carried the emblem of the warrior, the sword, now he is about to put on the motley; the connection lies in his darker nature. Roused to anger early in the play, the Princess cries "Du blutdurstig und tyrannisch Teuffel" (p.217), and one senses the devil beneath the lover's skin. It is also highly subversive in such a society for the Prince to change shape (like Harry in the Night) for if the leaders of society may change at will, how is the subject to orientate himself?

The Prince's method of entry into court life gives the EK another excuse for satire. He rides in on a hobby-horse, "Jetzt koempt der SOHN und reitet auff einen Stecken" (p.235), and initiates a parody, in the manner of Hans Knapkaese, of the courtly pursuits. He calls himself "Caballirer" like the Prodigal Son, and yet the pun on Cabal is as appropriate as his parodic title. The Fool-Prince then assaults, through wit, the status of the King. Addressing the Princess, he asks "Wo du mein lieber Koenig?" And then he starts to riddle with words:

O mein Herr Koenig ich kom jetzund von Hauß
geritten/ und was mein begehren anlanget/ ist
eine wichtige Sache und auch nichts besonders.

PRINCESSIN unnd KOENIG werden lachen. (p.235)

The fool, like his Shakespearian counterpart, has the

right to make requests, as the King then confirms:

"Aber sage mir nur was sol ich dir thun/ und was wiltu von mir haben". (p.236) The fact that the audience knows who the Fool is gives the scene its tension and the characteristic marks of the fool, wit, licence and privilege, here assume more aggressive tones. This subtlety of parodic manner is one of the clearer signs of English influence; it also makes clear that the comic impetus the EK undoubtedly had was by no means solely directed into Pickelhering interludes, but rather adapted to satiric purpose in the more serious plays.

This double function of the Prince-Fool is the device by which the Scottish King is made to look foolish; the Prince drops his mask to reveal himself to the Princess, but then hears the King coming: "Er ziehet wieder uber und reitet herumb/ alßbald koempt der KOENIG". (p.241) The absolute monarch should know absolutely everything, knowledge being power, but this absolutist is tricked. Such conscious use of disguise can hardly be described as the work of crude strollers, but rather goes to the heart of the problem that so exercises Shakespearian characters, as to the relation between a man's appearance and his real nature.

Disguise is a running concern of the play, and soon a new variant is introduced. The Prince is unmasked as Fool, but then, like Fortunatus's Andolosia, disguises himself as a merchant selling precious jewels. He lets the audience in on the secret in a classic aside:

Ich hab ein List erfunden/ wie ich zum andernmal kan zu ihr kommen. Ich wil mich außkleiden/ gleich ein Morian/ und habe da edele Kleinodien/ so mir mein Herr Vater mit auff die Reise geben/ die wil ich dem Koenige anbieten zu verkauffen/ daß ich also gleich mit in den Palast komme. (p.249)

The speech is particularly resonant. The audience is once again let in on a secret, so drawing them into the action, but it is a secret bound up with a "black"man, whose devilish appearance can hardly have been overlooked. At the same time, there are echoes of many other key EK moments. The Prince, like Fortunatus, knows that he who brings is quickly admitted, he who wants, waits. He bears jewels with him on his journey, like the Prodigal Son, and he knows that the two surest ways into the palace for the non-noble are wealth and folly.

His disguises are prepared for by the introduction of a practitioner of the darker arts, Barrabas, whose name was perhaps taken from Marlowe. Barrabas is the finest conjurer in Europe (modelled on John Dee?), the man to whom the king of Spain turns for advice in the search for his abducted daughter. He paces the stage in a distracted manner, making all the signs a necromancer might be expected to display: ⁶⁹

Er macht mit den Stecken einen Circul umb sich/
schlaegt das Buch auff/ machet viel Creutze hin
und her [c.] (p.229)

This direction comes on top of a mighty piece of knowledge imparted to us by the Master:

Den zwoelff Geister habe ich/ dieselben muessen
 mir alles kund thun/ und kan sie in einen
 Augenblick schicken in ITALIEN, GERMANIEN,
 SPANIEN, INDIEN, und was mein Hertz luestet
 sie mir bringen muessen und koennen. (p.229)

The closing "koennen" somehow gives his speech a weight that the otherwise airy claims lack, and smacks of the pragmatic logic of the EK, the same logic that has the Prince explain, in the passage above, how he came by his jewels. No wonder then that this scene precedes the first appearance of the Prince dressed as Fool.

The manner in which the Barrabas scene is staged suggests considerable visual sophistication. He has a magic mirror, one of the EK's favourite emblems, in which he can show anything going on in the world - a recycled wooden O here making its appearance as television. It has similar status to Fortunatus's gifts, but a German popular ancestry as well in the mirror of Till Eulenspiegel. While the King looks into the mirror the magic takes its course, but not before the necromancer has made a prophecy that whoever is seen dancing with the Princess will win her: "denn der zu letzt mit davon tantzet/ wird sie bekommen". (p.245) Naturally the enchantment has accompanying music; "Der KOENIG sieht in Spiegel/ wird gezeiget/ der NARR tantzt mit der PRINCESSIN darvon". (p.245) As in the Prodigal Son and Fortunatus plays, the violin signals devilry and enchantment, and it would have enhanced the effectiveness of the stage device. The use of an empty frame in this way suggests an audience capable of reading relatively complex visual codes and actors capable of conveying the meaning of the codes.

The EK themselves obviously thought well of the effect for it is soon repeated, only in rather greater detail:

Der KOENIG nimpt den Spiegel/ alsobald wird auffgezeiget/ der MORIAN und die PRINCESSIN kommen herauß/ tantzen/ so bald der KOENIG den Spiegel nieder leget/ gehen sie hinein. (p.254)

The king's reaction has a whiff of Macbeth about it, the mirror eloquent of defeat: "Wie zum tausend Teuffel sollte das zugehen [.]". (p.254), and it may be no accident that this king of Scotland, at war with

England, should consult dark forces and learn information he dislikes. At the same time, the sight of a black man dancing with a white woman might have suggested a different ancestry to the scene, in Shakespeare's Othello. Love has the power to transform white into black, and black into white. It also has the power to overcome two warring fathers, and to unite two kingdoms. Were the EK referring to events in England in 1603? The union of England and Scotland under James VI of Scotland alias James I of England would have been fresh enough in their minds to have provided a basis for such a reference. And the fact that the Princess is also called Astraea would only reinforce such a possibility.

The one play in the collection in which sex is not set in a context any wider than that of family relations is the odd-man-out, Sidonia und Theagene. This concerns Sidonia, strong-willed daughter of a city patrician family, who wishes a husband of her own choice not her father's. The strange nature of the city in which they live is established immediately in the protagonists' habits of speech, which are noticeably more latinate and rhetorical than those of characters in any other EK work. Terms like "AFFECTION", "TEMPERAMENT", "MORIBUS", and "AUTORITET" place the play on a less naturalist plane linguistically than is the EK's wont, and the neo-classicism is reinforced by appeals to deities otherwise unfamiliar to the repertoire, Jupiter, Venus, and in particular, Amor. Sidonia's father, Calarisis, has set his sights on rich Nausiclus, but Sidonia has other ideas. The lines of conflict are set

from the beginning by Calarisis's expository speech:

Was hoere ich von unser Tochter/ ist es so weit
mit ihr kommen/ hat CUPIDO sie also verletzt? So
duerffte sie wol uber unser verhoffen/ ungeachtet
ihrer Ehren/ noch AUTORITET meiner Person/ ihren
boesen Begierden den Zaum verhängen/ alle Scham
verlieren/ und aller Geilheit sich ergeben/ welches
denn uns zu grossen Unehren gereichen wuerde/ solchen
demnach fuerzukommen/ unser guten Namen/ so wol
auch ihr Ehren beschirmen/ als muessen wir bedacht
seyn/ eine solche Person fuer sie zu ELIGIREN, mit
welcher sie ihr Leben in Fried/ Ruh/ und aller
Ergetzlichkeit zubringen koendte. (pp.271-2)

The characteristic "Ergetzlichkeit" is preceded by two terms one does not expect to find this early in an EK play, "Fried" and "Ruh", and one senses a new social concern on the part of this father for the well-being of his daughter. By a mixture of cunning, persuasion and good staff-work, Sidonia wins the choice she has made, Theagene, with her father's assent. But in Theagene's status there is also uncertainty, moving between that of love-sick apprentice, which he probably is, to "Juncker", the title which Cnemon accords him.

Sidonia is no novice, and makes her shrewdness plain to Theagene when she tells him "gleichwol hat man oft erfahren/ daß durch geschmierte glatte Wort manch frommes Kind betrogen worden [c.]". (p.316) She then tests him, not unlike Cressida, and capitulates in like manner:

SIDONIA. Mein Hertzchen ich wolte euch nur probiren/
ob es ewr ernst war/ denn ich gar wol glaube
daß euch die Lieb zu mir getrieben/ wenn
ihr mir getrew zu seyn verheisset/ alß
wil ich auch hingegen/ euch mein trewes
Hertz OFFERIREN unnd versprechen.

THEAGENES. So Hertzchen/ meyne ichs falsch/ so hole
mich der Geyer.

SIDONIA. Ach verschweret euch nicht so sehre/ es
moechte euch wieder gerewen/ darzu wer
weiß ob auch unsere Eltern zufrieden seyn [c.].
(p.319)

These two lovers are fortunate in that no Trojan war is in train to take them apart, but parting, or betrayal are fears always close to the surface of Sidonia's mind, and for Cressida's reasons: in that once she has given herself to a lover there is no second chance for her reputation and honour. She expresses her insecurity in a classic doubt as to whether a statement is "Ernst" or "Scherz", and the counter-point of "Ernst" and "Scherz" is evident throughout the play, both structurally in the technique of balancing scenes of foolery with those of love, but also within the ambiguities of the behaviour of the lovers. Sidonia intuits that her attractions are also her handicaps: "ich bin ja also von der Guetigkeit der Natur FORMIRET, daß jederman in Liebe gegen mir entzuendet wird/ wie koempt es aber/ das unter solchen sich keiner findet/ so mich in trewen meynet[...]". (p.302) Women are in the invidious position of having to provoke behaviour in men by their looks, but not being able to share responsibility with men if they provoke the wrong reaction: they alone suffer. So there are good reasons for Sidonia's almost obsessive concern with constancy.

Moral and Social Breakdown

The threat of moral and social breakdown is always close to the surface of the EK's work. In Esther, Haman nearly wins, and Esther herself surrenders to revenge at the close; the Prodigal Son explores the depths of immorality before repenting; Fortunatus experiences social rejection, and his sons moral and social collapse; and in Engellandt und Schottlandt, catastrophe is close.

Serule is prisoner of the Scottish king, and his love is captured by the English: the King of Scotland then threatens Serule with death, and denies any bond with his daughter for her "treachery" in running to the English camp. The threat is in the form of a poisoned drink, perhaps with Hamlet here as source, a crime of a personal but also political kind; Serule protests:

Diesen vergifftigen Tranck/ austrincken? O
womit habe ich dieses verwircket/ ich bin nur
ein Gefangener/ dieses were wider alle
KriegesGebrauch. (p.265)

The rules governing dealings between people as people and people as politicians here coincide, the taking of life under such circumstances being doubly heinous. As it turns out, the draught in question is only a sleeping potion, but not before a scene like the close of Romeo and Juliet has been enacted. Two implacable enemies look on as first a son is poisoned and then a daughter throws herself over his body, intending to die: at which point, like Bully Bottom, Serule gets up, and the Scottish King claims he did not really mean it. "Meinstu daß ich ihn wieder alle Kriegesgebrauch sollte sein Leben nehmen?" (p.267) His daughter was not the only one to be taken in by this ruse, and the end seems remarkably like a happy one tacked onto a tragic plot.

The major breach of the rules of war is similar to a moment in Tito Andronico which does not end as happily for the key participant, a messenger; for he, in blatant contravention of the practice of war is executed. The messenger points out:

Gnaediger Herr Kaeyser/ ich hoffe nicht/ daß
 mir hie wird Gewalt wiederfahren/ unnd den
 Hencker uberantwortet werden/ dann solches were
 wieder allen Kriegesgebruch [̄.]. (p.499)

But his appeal goes unheeded, and the Kaeyser's act is not just reprehensible in its own terms, but signals to us that in every aspect of his behaviour he is in breach of accepted codes. In Tito Andronico all decencies are abandoned.

The origins of disaster lie in Andronicus's own mistaken sense of duty towards his Kaeyser, because although he himself is patently the best man for the job, he accepts the right of the Kaeyser to claim the crown by inheritance. So the EK not only appreciate the political irony of disaster stemming from an act of blameless integrity, but they also are prepared to criticise implicitly the notion of heredity in the right to absolute power. This is the basis then of the ensuing conflict between the right of the successor by blood and the right of the successor by virtue of superior ability, a battle that is fought out in analogous, if less bloody ways, in Richard II's struggle with Bolingbroke. Two opening speeches establish the principles on which the conflict rests: on the one hand, there is Andronicus of whom "ein jeglich Mann schreyet/ daß ihm von Rechtes wegen die Roemische Krone gebueret zu tragen" (p.463), and, on the other, there is the Kaeyser, who asserts "dann ich der neheste bin/ und sie mir von Rechteswegen gebuehret zu tragen" (pp.463-4). Titus breaks two rules; as the best man for the job, he ought to hold on to power, and as a politician he ought to know that no rival in Rome, once in power would allow his clan to

remain strong. In Germany in the seventeenth century, both these questions had a relevance far more immediate than in England, one that can be glossed by reference to the other major work in the collection about moral and political collapse, Jemand und Niemandt. This presents a cycle of violence and moral failure within a single ruling family, which is finally broken only by the best man for the job, Ellidorus, accepting his duty to rule. His decision is doubly significant in that it is both pragmatic, and based on the principle of heredity rather than primo-geniture. What is more, Ellidorus is educated: "Allhie in diesen Buch finde ich/ wie der Mensch sein gantzes Leben REGULIREN und richten soll. Wie Koenige und POTENTATEN ihre Unterthanen beschirmen und in Hut haben sollen". (p.351) This is what Ahasverus does, and what Andronicus, for the best of motives, does not. And the EK show in both Andronico and Jemand und Niemandt how the vacuum left by the refusal of the best man for the job to take power is filled by the naturally corrupt men who desire power for themselves. It is almost a paradox with which they ultimately view power, that the man who wants it will wield it badly and the man who could wield it well does not want it. They recognise that absolute power carries the seeds of absolute corruption. This is not to say that the EK are anti-monarchical, but rather convinced that the task of the monarch is to mediate between the wills of his people, for which the people reward him with absolute trust. The basis of power has, ideally, to be trust not hate. Such is the lesson King Arcial learns when deposed and then reinstated by his

brother Ellidorus, and he gives expression to his new wisdom by calling a Landtag, in an attempt to include the people more in government.

The implications of Tito Andronico and of Jemand und Niemandt are that social chaos is close to the surface in any state, and can only be avoided by forceful but fair government. And because the demands of government are so heavy, it is more likely that succession will not provide the answer to the question of who should rule than that it will. The conclusion seems the same as that reached by Shakespeare in the Histories, that however much it helps to be king by fair sequence and succession, in the end it comes down to how well the king, chosen by whatever means, does his job.

The disintegration of values in the collection is summarised in the appearance and behaviour of one figure in Tito Andronico, Morian, whose very name combines the attributes of the Moor and the Grobian. He is a devil, a Grobian, a lecher, a black man, an amoralist, but he has a strange mesmeric power, like that of Richard III's. After the first scene in which Andronicus crowns the Keyser, Morian is left alone on stage:

Laß mich auch nu diese alte Lumpen ablegen/ weil
ich sehe/ daß meine heimliche Bulinne Gunst und
Gnad beym Keyser hat.

Ziehet den alten Rock abe. (p.466.)

The social and political affront is complete: a black Grobian has a secret affair with the Queen who is to become the new Empress. This reversal of the ideal is based on a complete disregard for social propriety, but only the audience is initiated into the extent of his plan:

Denn ich hoffe sie wird noch vielmehr groesser
Gnad und GRATIA bey ihm erlangen/ [.] wenn dann
das also keme/ so mache ich den Keyser warlich
zum Hanrey/ und treib vielmehr meine Lust und
Frewde mit ihr/ denn der Keyser. (p.467)

This man is Jemand crept into the Keyser's bed. But he is far
more:

ja der Koenig selbst/ und ein jeglich Mann/ hatten
eine grosse Furcht fuer mir/ wegen meinen grosse
Ritterlichen Thaten und Kriegesmacht/ dann ich
allewege in SchlachtOrdnungen/ auch gefehrlichen
Kriegen umb mich geschlagen/ gleich wie ein grimmiger
Loewe/ auch nicht wie ein Mensche/ sondern wie ein
lebendiger Teuffel [.] (p.467)

The pride he takes in his devilishness is evident, and
there is grim comedy in the way he describes everyone
as terrified of him. Only then does he admit that the
real reason he is in Rome is that Andronicus is even
more devilish a fighter than he, and one senses that he
intends revenge. It is as if a white Othello, Andronicus,
were fighting his black alter ego, a mixture of Iago's
cunning and his own fearlessness.

Nowhere does the Keyserin debase herself more than
asking sexual favours of him, an exchange that removes
any doubts we may have as to the truth of Morian's claim
to be her "Buler":

Aber mein hertzlieber Bule/ wir seyn jetzt gar alleine
in diesem schoenen lustigen Walde/ und ich ein groß
APPETIT gekriegen zum Spiele der Goettin VENERE/
derhalben laß mir von dir ergetzet werden/ und mache
mir Frewde. (p.481)

But this Fortunatus is not at all persuaded that Fortune
is offering him a worthwhile gift:

Nein schoene Kaeyserin/ ob euch jetzt wol die
Goettin VENUS gewaltig thut reitezn zu ihren Spiele/
so regieret/ und hat mich doch wiederumb eingenommen
Gott MARS. (p.482)

The elegance of the refusal presents the gruesome thought
that this devil incarnate is also an intelligent and
cynical operator, not just a bloodthirsty Morian.

He also has the last laugh in the relatively relaxed manner with which he accepts his death:

VESPASIANUS. Nein dein Leben sol dir nicht geschencket seyn/ und nicht die geringeste Gnade haben/ derhalben nimb ihn von hinnen/ daß er alßbald wird erhencket/ und das Kind mit ihm.

MORIAN. Wo nun/ harre ein wenig/ sol ich Hangel-beeren fressen/ kom ich heute noch zeitig genug/ kan es dann nicht anders seyn/ daß ich sterben muß/ so bin ich willig/ weil ichs gar wol und vorlaengst verdienet. Aber ich bitte euch/ erbarmet euch meines Kindes [.] denn es hat noch nichts boeses gethan. (p.510)

In granting this last wish, Vespasian restores a ray of mercy and justice to the decayed world, and with it the prospect that the new Rome will be better than the old. Yet Morian remains a mixture of devil and Pickelhering to the last, so contributing substantially to the audience's sense of moral and generic disorientation, even in the closing moments of the play.

It is left to Victoriades finally to close the circle the play's political action describes, from the opportunity that Andronicus turns down, to be the best man for the imperial task, to Vespasian who recognises, like Ellidorus, his duty to the state to rule:

VICTORIADES. So wisset ihr/ daß das Keyserthumb viel Anfechtung und Feinde hat/ auch sehr hoch von noethen hat einen streitbaren Regenten/ derhalben weigert euch nit/ und empfaht das Keyserthumb/ und machet darnach allenthalben widerumb Fried/ und regieret es mit Einigkeit und Frewde.

VESPASIANUS. So last uns nun hinein gehen/ daß ich die Krone fuer jedermaenniglich empfahe/ aber nimmermehr werd ich koennen froelich sey. (p.522)

Vespasian's melancholy seems to be the people's best hope that he will not turn tyrant, a melancholy similar to the tone on which Shakespeare ends King Lear.

This exchange, which ends the plays section of the 1620 collection, seems a consciously placed summary of the EK's discussions about the nature of power. Power has to be wielded for the public good, with unity and peace as its goals: once the ruler has abandoned these ideals in favour of his own pleasure or advancement there is no hope left for his subjects.

Minimal Staging: the Touring Imperative

The most obvious factor in the EK's decisions about staging is the one that is frequently ignored, the imperative of touring to take as little as possible with one. While at court, and with the additional resources they could call on there, the EK would certainly have been able to erect elaborate constructions, as, on occasion, we know they did. In Pommern-Wolgast they erected a permanent stage in the church, in Kassel they performed in the Ottonium, and in Regensburg they had a complex stage built for an entry celebration. But the town circuit, where they were able to perform for between two and three weeks on average, dictated economy in set construction, and a stage form that would do as many jobs as possible. I shall first consider how minimal the touring stage could have been, and then how the courts would have permitted more elaborate undertakings.

Both Kaulfuß-Diesch⁷⁰ and Pascal⁷¹ are correct in emphasising the touring nature of the EK's stage strategy, against which Creizenach's and Flemming's attempts to describe the EK stage must be treated with caution.⁷² As Pascal summarises: "Kaulfuß-Diesch

and Flemming make the mistake of attempting to define a fixed stage of the English Players, when there was no such definite structure".⁷³ As I mentioned above, Kaulfuß-Diesch is rather less rigid than this criticism implies. Not so Flemming. Pascal also rightly takes Flemming to task for reading evidence drawn from the 1630 and 1670 collections back into the 1620 plays:

"It should be noted that the collection Liebeskampff of 1630, though claiming to be 'English comedies and tragedies', differs in content and form from the English tradition".⁷⁴

Pascal distinguishes three particular issues in the debate on the nature of the EK's stage, the stage itself, the balcony and the entrances. I shall consider each briefly in turn.

Kaulfuß-Diesch argues, quite rightly, that the stage of the EK grew out of a mixture of English and German practices, as one would expect, but that the dominant influence was English. He sets this against the Meistersinger stage of Hans Sachs. The Meistersinger stage is "Neutral", that is to say it does not distinguish between a "Vorderbühne" and a "Hinterbühne", but uses rather a medieval concept of place. It has no balcony, but, when butted up against a wall of an inn, or in a courtyard, the windows above may have housed musicians. Kaulfuß-Diesch sees the EK's stage as divide in principle into a "Vorderbühne" and a "Hinterbühne", the "Vorderbühne" acting as an undetermined space like the street, the "Hinterbühne" serving as an interior, or a specially defined location. He sees no evidence at all for the centre-curtain that both Creizenach and Flemming claim to be so important to the EK.⁷⁵

The question of the centre-curtain may be disposed of quickly: there is no evidence in the stage directions of the collection of such a feature, nor is there any need for one. We may safely assume that there was none.

At the rear, however, there were most probably hangings; in Von dem verlorenen Sohn there is a reference to "Tapetichten", which suggest heavy wall-hangings, and the two entrances would have been at the rear of the stage, to either side of the rear hanging. The tiring space would conveniently have been located behind the hanging. The two entrances themselves are required by such scenes as the battle in the play of England and Scotland, and would presumably have been exploited in the procession scene in the droll of Maria and Hanrey when Hanrey stops the bridal train. It is curious, however, given Kaulfuß-Diesch's correct assessment of the centre curtain question, and his awareness of the constraints of touring, that he should argue for a relatively stiff and inflexible divided stage. One example will illustrate the issue: he argues⁷⁶ that during the seduction scene in front of the inn in Von dem verlorenen Sohn, that the Son waits on the "Vorderbühne" while the inn is set on the "Hinterbühne". But this has a number of theatrical disadvantages. If the Son paces the forestage he is likely to block the sight-lines of the important conspiracy back-stage, and it is implausible in the extreme that he should be between the audience and the conspirators and yet impervious to what they say. Further, when he goes into the inn and gambles there he is some way away from the audience, and that during a scene in which he is seated. It is far more likely that the stage was "Neutral" and that during the seduction

scene he would occupy, say, the left of the stage and the conspirators the right. His fall would commence at the point that he crossed from his space into theirs. Then all of them go into the inn, i.e. they leave the stage, coming out of the other door to indicate that outside the inn is now inside. The tables would be best set up at the front of the stage, and could be left there for the following act. Once again, Pascal is right to argue "we cannot postulate anything more than a plain platform as the stage of the English Players in the first half of the century".⁷⁷

The question of the balcony also depends substantially on the fact that the EK were on tour. A balcony designed to bear any substantial weight, such as musicians, has to be a strong structure and would have meant considerable additional expense. It is unlikely therefore, that the EK would have used one except where they had assistance from their sponsors, which means at court. Creizenach⁷⁸ argues that a balcony is needed in Esther for the scene in which Haman is hung, but a more effective exploitation of this classic moment of stage violence would be to build the scaffold during the play, as Kaulfuß-Diesch⁷⁹ argues. A free-standing gallows is also more realistic than a noose strung from a balcony. But in one play, Tito Andronico, there is no doubting the direction Titus "siehet von oben hinunter"⁸⁰ at the point when the Keyserin and her two sons visit him. Since this is the one occasion where a balcony seems unavoidable, the weight of statistical evidence still suggests that a balcony would not have been standard practice, but

more an occasional device. Kaulfuß-Diesch proceeds⁸¹ from the argument that this gallery was permanent to the notion that it housed the musicians. Yet here again the evidence is extremely thin. Nowhere are the musical interludes and interventions in the collection indicated as coming from a particular place, but rather attention is paid to the dynamic level and style of music. It would surely add to the colour and excitement of a battle scene to have the drums and trumpets on stage, or at least visible to the audience at stage level; likewise, there would be no loss, but rather a gain in theatrical effect if the musicians in the theft scene in Fortunato took an active part in it. In general, a balcony will only have been erected when absolutely necessary, and when an overhead window would not do instead. It is possible that Titus could be standing merely on a raised part of the rear stage for the entry of the Keyserin, rather than a balcony, and the entry itself could be made through the audience to emphasise Titus's height.

The one clear direction as to stage shape is the demand for a throne, which, in plays where a court was represented, would have been on stage throughout, mounted on a raised dais. The best example of this is in Jemand und Niemandt, where the number of coronations alone would have made the throne an essential part of the staging. Ellidorus makes his mood clear by wanting to descend from the throne "wil herunter/ sie helt ihn mit Gewalt". (p.354) His wife is quite clear in the opposite inclination: she "gehet auff den Pallast" (p.356), the seat of authority she spends most of the play disputing with Queen Arcial. Indeed, the throne and its

occupants constitute the single most dominant image of the play. Yet this, like the tables and chairs, the meals and even the trees of other plays, differs from the balcony in that it belongs to the requirements of a specific play and not to the basic stage shape. The one principle that one may establish therefore, is that the EK concentrated, as one would expect from touring groups, on what could be brought onto and carried off from a basically empty stage and wherever possible avoided additional expense on the stage itself.

The question of entrances and exits can be over-emphasised, especially in the attempt to see some sort of neat historical progression in stage practice from one to two to several entry and exit points. Given that the EK probably performed on a bare stage, open on three sides to the audience and contiguous to a wall for the improvement of the acoustic, and for the provision at the back of the stage of a tiring house, the most obvious points of entry would have been in the rear corners, from behind the hangings. But there is no reason, since we know of many references to gangways through the audience, why Pickelhering in particular should not have entered from the front. There may even have been a space between the stage and the audience on which he could sing while the scene was being changed, such as after the Prodigal has been thrown out of the inn. The fluidity of space so apparent in the texts of the plays is hardly likely to have been contradicted by rigid adherence to rules of stage procedure.

Practice at court, and for the court, may have allowed more elaborate stage apparatus, although from

the plays of the 1620 collection there is no obvious evidence that additional complexity would have been required. On the other hand, it is surely also unlikely that Germans who had been so impressed by Elizabeth's court would not want to see some of the more elaborate apparatus of the courtly mask introduced into their own courts. Allegorical scenes, such as those in Fortunato seem to call, at least at court, for more elaborate scenery than just trees, and the general European interest in triumphs and pageants would have added to the likelihood that at court the EK would have been more ambitious than on tour.

One sign of the time is the extensive stage built for John Spencer at Regensburg in 1612, which Pascal rightly argues is to be understood as a triumphal structure⁸² rather than one in a theatrical tradition. Spencer did however, perform on it, and one can sense here another English influence at work, in the addition of spoken dialogue to the allegorical shows of the entry. At the same time, the expense of the EK at Pommern-Wolgast, as well as their naughty habits, caused concern, and one must assume that such expense was partly caused by their stage. The growing interest of the Kassel court in the new pastoral forms suggests that scenery of a more elaborate kind would have been introduced there with the building of the Ottonium, along with more obviously French tastes in theatre. Inigo Jones's connection with the Heidelberg court might suggest that the EK who performed there were increasingly involved with the mask form. And we know that Spencer

staged an elaborate and expensive "triumph" at the Königsberg court in 1611 and 1612,⁸³ involving a great deal of decoration and carpentry. One cannot, of course, generalise about a court stage from this evidence, since the emphasis seems to have been more on the ceremonial and display than on the dramatic. But, as we know from London at the same time, actors commonly engaged in both strictly theatrical and more pageant-like presentations. What can be inferred, however, is that while the touring stage was essentially medieval, or at best renaissance in its conception, simple and proceeding from the convention that the space had the metaphoric property of being any space of any size anywhere - in the manner of Shakespeare's "O" - the new form, of which Spencer's extravagant structures were the first clear sign, was a court form, and baroque in nature. The 1620 collection was written for the touring stage, the 1630 was a product of the new taste.

Kaulfuß-Diesch raises one further question, although not specifically about the nature of the stage, which is surprisingly rarely posed: what was the attitude the individual Komoediant had to his part? On the whole, this problem has simply been ignored, to my knowledge only he and Baesecke attempting an answer. He sets his answer in the context of the relative importance of stage and actor for the EK: "Einen viel unmittelbaren Eindruck als diese sekundären Dinge [questions about the stage form] machten die Schauspieler selbst mit ihrer neuen Kunst, mit der sie alle bisherigen Traditionen umstürzten".⁸⁴ Curiously, he seems to contradict this position in his later conclusion: "Nicht die einzelnen

komischen Züge an sich, sondern die Art und Weise des Zusammenwirkens aller dieser Züge ist es, was für das deutsche Schauspiel an der Wende des 16. und 17. Jh.s. neu war".⁸⁵ On the one hand, he appears to argue that the EK took their basic ingredients from existing German - or perhaps European - theatre and by some mysterious alchemy wrought them new; on the other, he talks of "Umsturz", which suggests a radical innovation. He adds a further dimension to the puzzle at the very close: "Die E.K. sind die Schöpfer einer neuen Schauspielkunst. Der Naturalismus in der Darstellung, das vollständige Aufgehen des Darstellers in seiner Rolle war von allen Neuen, was die Engländer brachten, dasjenige, was den tiefsten und nachhaltigsten Eindruck machten".⁸⁶ Perhaps the date of Kaulfuß-Diesch's work explains this enthusiasm for Naturalism, which in 1905 was having a similar effect on European acting styles as the EK in 1605. But I am not sure that this was the true strength of the EK. Their success as actors grew quite clearly from two sources, their popularity at court, where they would have been doubly welcome as representatives, or "Botschafter" as Kindermann calls them, of a flourishing new culture; and from their ability to graft new skills onto the trunk of existing German theatre. Does this accord with Naturalism? The flexible and neutral stage, sparsely decorated is of course, far distant from nineteenth century European Naturalism, far in concept from the theory of the missing fourth wall. Rather, their stage, and their acting, depends on the generally accepted convention of the fictionality of the stage, which the EK, like Shakespeare, tend to reinforce rather

than seek to circumscribe. The very technique of direct address ad spectatores breaches the fourth wall illusion, for the actor is always aware that he is in front of an audience. More, he proceeds from a generally held belief that public life is an act on the stage of the world, and that he has a part to play in that act. The EK seem therefore, to pursue not Naturalism but Realism, a conscious exploitation of the stage as a model for making sense of the inchoate experience of the world, a laying bare of the rules and principles of human affairs. The actor presented the audience therefore, not with an empathic reproduction of his character, but rather with an interpretation of that character that was never anything but theatrical in conception. He performed in a manner we now associate with "epic theatre", but without the doctrinal associations: and the detachment he was able to convey to the audience between himself as performer and his role was the reason why he held the mirror to nature so persuasively. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War however, came a desire less for the truth of the mirror than escape: the magic reflections had turned out to be prophecies. The battles of Ellidorus and his brothers, the trials of Nobody, suddenly looked very real. Small wonder then, that the Court backed away from the old style and sought relief in pastoral, in the new vogue of opera,

The EK's use of the basic touring stage was what distinguished them from previous forms of theatre that their audiences had seen. Consonant with the minimal

staging was a complementary emphasis on the actor, and on performing: and it is as performers that the EK laid a claim to a place in European theatre history. In this respect, they may be said substantially to have contributed to, if not decisively influenced, a European tradition of "Poor Theatre".

The EK were not above making private jokes about their skills as performers, skills that included music, dancing and fencing as well as acting. In their tragedy, Julio und Hyppolita, this leads to an illuminating exchange; Julius asks:

Saget mir doch mein tausent Schatz/ wie gefallen
euch die MUSICANTEN und COMAEDIANTEN so gestrieges
Tages die TRAGAEDIAM AGIRTEN.

To which Hyppolita replies:

Schoenes Lieb die MUSICANTEN gefallen mir nicht
ubel/ die COMOEDIANTEN aber gefielen mir auß
dermassen wol/ denn ein jeglicher agierte seine
Person wol und praechtig. (pp.455-6)

The EK were fond of signing their works in this way, and in Jemand und Niemandt there is an analogous moment.

Queen Arcial, newly back in power, wishes to celebrate her return to the throne:

Verschafft auch/ daß allerley Kurtzweil moegen
gehalten werden/ mit turnieren/ Kraentzlein lauffen/
und am Abend die COMOEDIANTEN eine schoene COMOEDIAM
AGIREN, verschaffet ja alles mit fleiß/daß nichts
mangele. (p.396)

Perhaps Sidonia und Theagene would have been the play of her choice. This self-referentiality once again betrays the EK's interest in the theatre as critical image of life.

The seduction scene in Von dem verlornen Sohn, like

its equivalent in Fortunato, takes this technique one step further, towards the play-within-a-play, as its stage directions indicate. When the Prodigal Son is about to be seduced we are told: "Die Spielleute geigen auff/ der SOHN trinckt der TOCHTER eins zu/ und also Reihe umb zweymal/ essen von den Confect. Der VERLOHRNE SOHN hat die TOCHTER in Armen/ und kuesset sie". (p.99)

The connection between sexuality, sweets and drink is a nice one, the son tasting the sweets of the daughter while being robbed, and the drink acting as metaphor of his folly. The daughter's kiss, by contrast, signals another Judas at work, selling her victim not for silver, but gold and precious stones. The Son has no idea of what is happening and his cry "Juch hollah lustig/ rustig/ frisch und froelich" suggests he may have danced another jig at this point. Then the stage directions intervene again with a precise instruction as to the dynamic level of the incidental music to the scene:

Die Spielleute fangen wider an/ geigen gar submissè, also daß man dabey reden kan [c..]. (p.100)

The violin expresses a mixture of devilry and sweetness which the scene draws on for its ambiguously sexual and diabolic power. The audience is thus given a frame through which to perceive the scene, the music, and this framing device makes its theatricality transparent.

In Julio und Hyppolita there is a different accent given the self-referentiality, in harmony with the tragic undertone of the whole work. And this time music

is combined with dance to create the perceptual frame for the scene. The direction instructs:

JULIUS. Koempt mit der Braut auß der Kirchen ROMULUS
stehet von ferne und siehet zu/gehet darnach
weg/ und verummert sich/ man faenget an zu
tantzen. (p.455)

Not knowing who Romulus is because of his disguise, Julius accedes to his sometime friend's request to dance the "TRAGAEDIEN Tantz" with his new bride. There are few moments in the whole repertoire better than this, where a celebration of love turns into a dance of revenge, and the spirit of the Revenge dumb show infuses the spectacle. The economy with which this is achieved is notable in itself, but it points to an overall strategy of reduction of the plot to its bare essentials to keep in step with the minimal staging.

The fact that the play climaxes in a dance gives us an insight into another aspect of the EK's performance strategy. Willoughby and Wilkinson aptly describe the implicit metaphor of Schiller's "Letters" on aesthetic education as a dance.⁸⁷ And one may, by analogy, see the EK's visual strategy as having a philosophical foundation, as Schiller's "Letters" do, which, though perhaps not comparable in terms of depth, nevertheless indicates a serious artistic purpose behind their entertainment. Instinctively the EK grasped the principle of the "speaking picture", and within each play they constructed a dynamic sequence of such pictures. Like a dance, these picture sequences followed a recognisable pattern of steps that gave both audience and participants the combined pleasures of familiarity of medium and virtuosity of execution.

Combining the EK's talents as choreographers and fencers were their fights, which were certainly skilful and often quite elaborate, given the restrictions under which they had to work. The most elaborate fight is that between the English and Scottish armies at the end of Engellandt und Schottlandt:

Alsbald wird an zweyen Orten geblasen/ und kommen immer zween und zween herauß/ die da fechten mit Schildt und kurtzen Schwerdten/ worvon dann einer liegend bleibet. Nach diesem allen koempt der KOENIG VON ENGELLANDT/ mit blossen Gewehr herauß/ auff der ander Seiten/ der KOENIG SCHOTTLANDT und ein jegliches Volck bey sich. (pp.262-3)

The structure of the battle is reminiscent of the duels between Macbeth and Young Siward, or Hal and Hotspur, where the individual encounter, by process of synecdoche, becomes emblematic of the whole, while the piling of bodies maintains the Revenge atmosphere, so when the kings enter we are ready for a tragic rather than comic conclusion. The emblem of the naked sword is also associated with Satan, alias Despair, who threatens the Prodigal with death, only to be chased off by Hope, and at other moments when swords are drawn there is the feeling of evil in the air. An unintentional subversion of the evil of a fight is however, caused by a stage direction in Jemand und Niemandt. The warring brothers, Peridorus and Edowart have been fighting for the crown, and having been upstairs and downstairs, they reenter:

Lauffen wieder zusammen/ seynd beyde verwundet/ wollen nieder fallen erschiessen sich beyde mit den Schwerdten. (p.406)

Any king would have pleasure in such multi-purpose instruments of war.

The appeal of the visual, in fights of blood and

flashing swords, is complemented by visual and sensual delight in banquets. Ahasverus talks of his huge banquet, we hear of the entry banquet in Jemand und Niemandt, and the Prodigal orders such a banquet, at which we see him robbed. The peace in Sidonia's family is sealed with a celebratory meal, and it is doubly significant that the Son is shown as starving so soon after ordering a princely meal. After the dream of riches, the dream of endless supplies of rich food took second place in the list of popular wishes: and the mood of sensuality which rich banquets evoke is matched by a sexual element in the role of food, such as connects the sweets of the table and the Landlord's daughter in Von dem verlorenen Sohn.

Not surprisingly Grobian takes sensuality beyond the then limits of correct moral behaviour, which also provides the EK with the opportunity for a brilliantly ambiguous aside, which catches the off-stage audience by surprise. Cnemon, the Grobian, starts to feel Aleke's breasts, when she cries "Pfuy<schaemmet> euch doch fuer den Leuten/ sehet ihr nicht wie sie zu sehen". (p.293) The "Leute" are both those on the fictional street, and the audience, and Aleke's protest is a subtle Verfremdungseffekt, underlining the theatricality of the scene by reminding the audience that the actors know they are there. Nor is this knowledge confined to moments of humour, for in Julio und Hyppolita we are allowed to discern a trace of self-disgust in Julius:

Was ist mir nun geluestet/ mein Untrew/ so ich
 an meinen getrewsten Freunde auff Erden/ der
 sein Leben vor mich gelassen/ vollbracht JULI
 JULI. Worein hastu dich gefuehret? (p.450)

Here, as everywhere in the 1620 collection, the simplicity and brevity of the utterance is deceptive. It is neither easy to write with such economy, nor a fault, when measured against poetic exuberance. In their economy, the EK avoid patronising their audience, while at the same time make full use of that most precious of all theatrical properties, suggestivity. They instinctively know just how much can be left off their stage, out of their plot to leave the audience's imagination room for its own movement. They know how, in Shakespeare's term to construct satisfying and rich dramatic ciphers, ciphers that travelled - toured - well:

Or may we cram
 Within this wooden O the very casques
 That did affright the air at Agincourt?
 O, pardon! since a crooked figure may
 Attest in little place a million;
 And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,
 On your imaginary forces work.

Henry V, Prologue, 12-18.

The EK are at their most effective when giving full rein to our "imaginary forces", and their chosen means of doing so is to make a virtue of the economies dictated by the touring stage.

Conclusion

Touring theatre has not, historically, been accorded the same status as that produced by companies resident in specific buildings, yet in the matter of international influences in the theatre touring cannot but be the more significant form. Had the EK persisted in a single place with the same success as they had in many, they would probably be far better known and respected than they are.

Instead, they chose to inhabit spaces more ephemeral, but more rewarding, than theatre buildings, "empty" spaces which they filled with their figures. Their texts, which constitute the most concrete evidence of their work, are paradoxically the least of their virtues, "crooked figures" which "attest in little place a million".

The EK continued to be active into the eighteenth century, the last known reprint of their work in 1727, appearing a mere three years before the beginnings of Gottsched's reforming crusade. Richter and others have shown, however, that after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War what Ayres's editors knew as the "Englische Manier" underwent a sea-change,⁸⁸ in response to the new conditions in Europe that war brought about. For the period 1592-1620 when the EK were at their most English, there was still a faint hope, at least in the minds of artists, that some way back might be found to pre-Reformation cultural and religious integrity, to the ease of discourse across national and linguistic boundaries that had made Erasmus teacher of all Europe. The EK seem torn by a similar humanist hope for the re-union of Europe, a hope they seem to have taken with them to Germany in 1592, and an increasing recognition that in their lifetimes at least this would not be. They deserve high praise, nevertheless, for retaining the hope of mediation so long, and contributing so effectively to cultural traffic between England and Germany. It was not their doing that the Baroque division of culture into court and city camps was waiting in the wings.

Chapter 6. Towards the Baroque: Andreas Gryphius's "English" Plays

Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) was the most significant playwright of the German Baroque, and two of his plays have English connections.¹ Herr Peter Squentz is a comedy that grows out of Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, although at several removes. Carolus Stuardus is a tragedy of a pure Baroque kind, directly about the events in England in late 1648 and early 1649 that preceded the execution of King Charles I. In many respects the works complement each other: generically they are pure in the manner Opitz suggests the genres should be kept distinct; thematically they both deal with courts and the common people, but the one has a comic and satiric edge, the other a tragic consistency. It is however, the class from which Squentz comes that in Stuardus kills the king. The purpose of this chapter is to compare these two unquestionably Baroque works with the Shakespearian plays with which they have affinities in order to measure how far Gryphius's style differs from that of the London stage out of which the EK emerged. In this context, the EK seem even more the last outburst of a late-Reformation, Protestant culture, as opposed to the court-centred Baroque. In particular, Gryphius's dense and complex rhetoric is cumbersome and often unactable as compared with the EK's bluntness and common speech, and while they strive still to offer hopes of social reconciliation, for Gryphius there is only social disdain.

Gryphius's life has been thoroughly researched by Powell² and Syrocki³, whose work I summarise in as far as it illuminates the nature of Gryphius's established

connection with England. Gryphius maintained a life-long interest in English affairs, but never crossed the Channel. A Lutheran he nevertheless had many contacts with Jesuits, and in the English Civil War his sympathies were for the King. Born in Glogau on the Oder, in Silesia, on October 2nd. 1616, he grew up, as did his whole generation, in Germany at war. Silesia was particularly hotly contested, not just for its political and strategic value, but also as a battle-ground of the opposed forces of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. His education was classical, and he soon proved himself an able pupil and poet of talent. When the kindliest of his patrons, Georg Schönborner, died in 1637,⁴ he moved to Leyden to study, coming there under the influence of such thinkers as Salmasius. His last two years as student coincided with the outbreak of war in England, and he was no doubt affected by the controversy this generated, and Salmasius's part in it.⁵ At Leyden he may well have encountered troupes of EK on tour, and it is possible that he came to hear of Shakespeare.⁶

From the biography published in 1665 by his son-in-law, Baltzer Siegmund von Stosch,⁷ we know that Gryphius kept a diary, now lost, on which Stosch drew. It is not possible to say how closely Gryphius recorded events in England, but his knowledge of the period covering the trial of Charles I is excellent. Gryphius did, however, come into direct contact with England in exile in the persons of the Winter Queen, and the Pfalzgräfin Elizabeth, who was herself a scholar of some repute. He had a direct connection, therefore, with one of Browne's former patrons and stayed in touch with Elizabeth for the rest of his

life.⁸

Travelling with a rich Pomeranian, Wilhelm Schlegel, Gryphius left the Hague on June 4th. 1644, and arrived in Paris a month later. He spent about sixteen months there, a good deal of which he seems to have enjoyed in libraries. On August 14th. 1644 he saw the refugee English Queen arrive in Angers, and wrote a sonnet in lament:⁹

Die Fraw', auff welche sich viel tausend Mann verschworē/
Verhaßt bey jhrem Volck/ geacht bey frembder Schaar
Bey Nachbarn sonder lust/ bey Freunden in gefahr/
Verjagt ins Vaterland/ vermißt doch nicht verloren [̄.̄.̄].
(11.5-8)

The tone and accent is soon heard again in Carolus Stuardus. Powell believes there may be a connection between Gryphius's relationship with the Stuart family and his subsequent visit to Venice, which was an active supporter of the Stuart cause. He dedicated his Olivetum to the city, and it is possible he had a secret embassy to fulfil during his visit, perhaps trying to raise money.¹⁰ Whatever other purpose his journey may have had, his education - what Powell calls his "Wanderjahre" - was enhanced by the experience, as was his reputation as scholar, for on his way home he was offered two scholarly posts. These he refused, and returned to Glogau in May 1649, as Syndic, an administrative post that required diplomatic rather than scholarly skills. While Squentz was probably composed while Gryphius was still travelling, and Carolus Stuardus perhaps started before he arrived in Glogau, the final version of the tragedy is a product of his mature years as Syndic. Gryphius died on July 16th. 1664, having achieved a considerable reputation. The memorial tributes are reminiscent of those published for Philip Sidney,

and Mühlport spoke for all:¹¹

Es mus Ihm Opitz selbst die Oberstelle geben/
Vnd Tscherning achtet sich vor diesem Phönix klein.

Modern German scholarship, despite more recent moves towards a reassessment of the Catholic Baroque, places Gryphius next to Grimmelshausen as the best of his age.¹²

Absurda Comica Oder Herr Peter Squentz, Schimpff=
Spiel and A Midsummer Night's Dream.¹³

There is considerable doubt as to whether Gryphius knew of Shakespeare's play, but although the story of Pyramus and Thisbe would have been known to him from Ovid, it is hard to see where else Squentz could come from but Shakespeare, at whatever remove. Brennecke, in the introduction to his translation of Squentz,¹⁴ reprints Rist's description of a performance of a play on the subject by an EK troupe¹⁵ and it may well be this that Gryphius would have seen elsewhere. At the same time, the close verbal affinities with Shakespeare at certain points suggests Gryphius had a text to hand of a German jig or droll, which was itself a translation of a droll based on the Dream.¹⁶ Powell summarises: "At all events it seems most likely that the Squentz material was brought over to Germany by English strolling players".¹⁷ Squentz is not a long work, and may well have been designed as an after-piece, in the EK manner, to one of the heroic tragedies, perhaps Cardenio und Celinde¹⁸, a piece with certain affinities to the EK's Sidonia und Theagene.

Gryphius's description of how he came by the play has the hallmark of parody, and suggests that source

study itself might be being taken to task. He had the idea from Daniel Schwenter who "zum ersten zu Altdorff auf den Schauplatz geführt/ von dannen er je länger je weiter gezogen/ biß er endlich meinem liebsten Freunde begegnet/ welcher ihn besser ausgerüstet/ mit neuen Per=sonen vermehret/ und nebens einem seiner Traurspiele aller Augen und Vrtheil vorstellen lassen".¹⁹ We do know that the EK performed a Pyramus and Thisbe play in Nördlingen in 1604²⁰ and that the plot was popular. But Gryphius, I believe, was including his introduction in the general parody of the play, almost as if Squentz himself had written it.

What then of the link with Shakespeare? The names display similarities and differences: Duke Theseus is now Theodorus (Fortunatus's Volksbuch father) and Hippolyta becomes Cassandra (Fortunatus's Volksbuch wife). The occasion is a Reichstag, which in the EK's Jemand und Niemandt also calls for revelry, not a marriage:

T h e o d o r u s. Wir erfreuen uns höchst/ das wir
den nunmehr ver=gangenen Reichs=Tag glücklich
geendet/ auch anwesende Abge=sandten mit guter
Vergnügung abgefertiget/ mit was Kurtzweil
Herr Marschalck passiren wir vorstehenden Abend?
(p.11)

The use of "passiren" seems a deliberate echo of the EK, but the shift of context is significant for the mood of the court during the entertainment. Theodorus wishes to amuse himself before retiring after a hard day in the Reichstag, Theseus wishes to beguile the hours before bed:

Theseus. Say, what abridgement have you for this
evening?
What masque? what music? How shall we beguile
The lazy time, if not with some delight?
(V,1,39-41)

Both courts have masters of the revels, one thinks of Browne at Kassel and Sackville in Braunschweig, Eubulus and Philostrate respectively. The audiences in both plays are small, the atmosphere intimate.

Similar changes of accent are apparent in the troupe of performing artisans. They are led by Squentz (Quince), but he is now a schoolmaster. Education is not his strong point, however, and when Serenus, the Prince, asks a question the answer is alarming:

S e r e n. Was haltet ihr denn vor eine Weise?

P. S q. Wenn sie können 1. mal 1. ist eins/ und
2. mal 2. ist sieben/ so gebe ich ihnen
 außgelernet/ und mache sie zu Rechenmeistern/
 so gut als Seckerwitz und Adam Riese. 21
 (p.37)

Menius was presumably rather more gifted than this. Klipperling (mallet - perhaps punning on wooden-head) is a joiner, and he plays the lion; Bulla Butäin, who cannot but be descended from Bully Bottom, is a bellows-mender, Flute's trade, and Butäin has Snout's role. Bottom's mantle passes to Pickelhering, who plays Pyramus, as is only his due as "des Königes lustiger Rath". (p.4) Turning the court jester into a civil servant has its humorous aspect, but behind the joke lies the fact of the EK's becoming well-enough known for Pickelhering to stand for a particular type of aristocratic taste whose origins lie in their works. Thisbe is played by Klotz-George, a bobbin-maker, and the moon, Starveling's part, is taken by Kricks the tinker.

Gryphius's most significant addition, however, one that underlines the relationship between the EK and the Meistersinger drama, is the character of Lollinger, who is both weaver, Bottom's trade, and Meistersinger. In

the play he takes the part of a spring, as he has to sing mellifluously, and Powell thinks he may be based on the historical Leonhard Nonnenbeck, Hans Sachs's teacher, who was both weaver and Meistersinger. Lollinger's song is the only major addition to the Pyramus and Thisbe play.²²

While Gryphius follows the outline of the Shakespearian plot closely, it is clear that he is forging a new, German style in his technique of composition, which Powell likens to the Meistersinger techniques of "flourish" and "embellishment". The result is that to the Shakespearian "theme" as such little is added, but a series of new flourishes and embellishment gives that theme a different accent. The first scene of Squentz amalgamates two from the Dream, I,ii and III,i, stopping before Bottom's dream, which is omitted. The cast is called together in similar fashion, but Pickelhering makes more of his higher status by being patronisingly acid. To compensate, Gryphius embellishes the titles accorded each player. Pickelhering is "EDler/ Woledler/ Hochedler/ Woledel-geborner Herr Pickel=häring/ von Pickelhäringsheim und Saltznasen". (p.5) And Butäin is "Tugendsamer/ auff-geblasener und windbrechender Mester Bullabutän/ Blase-balckenmacher". (p.5) Gryphius is not over-affectionate towards his fools, nor does he spurn parody of the long lists of titles such worthies as the magistrates with whom the EK were constantly in contact enjoyed. Elsewhere Shakespearian lines get transferred almost at random from character to character. Pickelhering announces "Ey so wil ich der Löwe seyn/ denn ich lerne nicht gerne viel außwendig". (p.6) This is the same sentiment as Snug

expresses in the Dream:

Have you the Lion's part written? Pray you, if it
be, give it me, for I am slow of study. (I,ii,58-9)

It is strange that the King's "lustiger Rath" should
find learning lines so hard, especially when he is to
play Pyramus. By the same token, it is curious that Kricks
should be given one of Quince's lines:

M. K r i c k s. Ja mich düncket aber/ es solte zu
schrecklich lauten/ wenn ein grimmiger Löwe
hereingesprungen käme/ und gar kein Wort
sagte/ das Frauenzimmer würde sich zu hefftig
entsetzen. (p.7)

This, in Quince's words is:

An you should do it too terribly, you would
fright the Duchess and the ladies [c.].
(I, ii, 66-7)

The intermediate version he was using was clearly fairly
garbled, and one may presume that Robert Cox's droll of
Bottom the Weaver was not the basis of the German droll
to which Gryphius had access,²³ however much it empha-
sises the widespread popularity of the subject matter.
The subject of the Lion does however, raise a question
not present in Shakespeare and which underlines the
change in attitudes to the guildsmen. Kricks does not
like the idea of skinning a few cats to make a costume,
and refers to guild statutes:²⁴

Es wäre ein schöner Handel/ sind wir nicht
mehrentheils Zunfftmässige Leute? würden
wir nicht wegen des Katzenschindens unredlich
werden? (p.7)

As in the EK's Jemand und Niemandt, their world knows
two authorities, court and city, and they are paralysed
by the thought of infringing either. Yet the triviality
of the question is in itself significant: while Egeus,
in appealing to the "ancient law of Athens" points to

a social and legal practice which lies at the heart of his society, the law in Squentz is superficial. What matters is not principles but opinions, as a subtle change in the source shows. Bottom says "but I will aggravate my voice so, that I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove". (I,ii,72-3) He appeals to no other authority than himself. Klipperling's sentiments are the same: "ich wil so lieblich brüllen/ daß der König und die Königin sagen sollen/ mein liebes Löwichen brülle noch einmal". (p.7) But he appeals to the authority of the King, so anticipating Demetrius's approbation from Act V of the Dream.

Gryphius's second act embellishes the original quite considerably, following a similar pattern to the changes in the first act. In the Dream Theseus calls for Philostrate, who hands him a list of plays in competition with one another for the honour of playing at the wedding. Theseus is struck by "A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus/ And his love Thisby; very tragical mirth". (V,i,56-7) Yet his laughter at the generic confusion is kind, and mixed with genuine sympathy for his subjects:

For never anything can be amiss
When simpleness and duty tender it. (V,i,82-3)

In his remark he not only absolves the actors from base motives, but directs the audience to think likewise. The guileless enthusiasm of the mechanicals is irresistible. But in Squentz there is much guile, much ambition, and the ruler shows little affection for his people, only amusement at their failures. Gone is the competition, and in its stead, at Lollinger's suggestion, a fake list of plays offered to impress their patron - one

cannot avoid the thought that Gryphius here is referring directly to the EK. Where Shakespeare's men are unpretentious, Squentz sets a new tone by claiming "ich bin ein Universalem, das ist in allen Wissenschaften erfahren". (p.13) The play then exposes him mercilessly.

It is precisely the manner of this exposure which highlights how different Gryphius and the EK in their phase before 1620 are. For while the EK recognise and record social tensions, it is the Jemands of the world whom they expose, not the Squentzes. This is an important distinction, since what separates Jemand and Squentz is the malice with which the former perpetrates his misdeeds. Jemand means evil and causes it: Squentz means well, even if he is foolish and arrogant. The result is that Gryphius's satire is of the Juvenalian kind, that lacerates and divides, while the EK's, for all its bluntness, is actually directed at healing social wounds, in the Horatian manner. While in Squentz court and peasant-artisan speak two different languages, in the EK's plays there is not much to choose between the language of all estates, with the result that Gryphius reinforces sociological boundaries by language (sociolect), while the EK encourage sociological homogeneity by a single linguistic style. Whereas the themes of Squentz are close in kind to those in Jemand und Niemandt, in their treatment they widely differ, so that the reconciliation between Ellidorus and Niemand is out of the question in Squentz. It is therefore, doubly significant when the action of Squentz closes in a mood

of bad temper, the artisans fighting each other, and being viewed with patronising condescension by the court. Social disintegration does not merely affect the relationships between one class and another, but also dealings within classes themselves.

If one reads back from the world of Squentz to that of the 1620 collection, it is the Grobianic servant, Cnemon, who appears to be the father of the new age, and his blend of bluntness, vitriol and foolishness informs the behaviour of the troupe that entertains at Theodorus's court. Theodorus concludes that the actors are to be paid for their mistakes rather than their success, and Squentz answers:

Grossen danck/ grossen danck lieber Herr König/
hätten wir dieses gewüst/ wir wolten mehr Säu
gemachet haben. Doch ich höre wol/ wir bekommen
nur Tranckgeld für die Säu/ und für die Comoedi
nichts. (p.37)

In the Dream, the mechanicals are neither judged so harshly nor, perhaps significantly, is money ever mentioned explicitly, for the bridge between court and people is still sufficiently broad and trustworthy for the context of performance to be more generous and confident. In Squentz, the performers perform solely for money, and the court watches them out of a malicious sense of fun. So, in microcosm, the changed climate in court-city relations is caught by these two plays written either side of the divide of the Thirty Years' War.

Yet there is another aspect to the court's relations with its subjects that is ultimately even more threatening when viewed in the context of Stuardus, namely, that the Squentzes of the world, at least in Gryphius's view

were the perpetrators of the outrage on the sacred majesty of Charles Stuart. In Stuardus, we are shown what happens when Grobianism gets so out of hand that it takes over the throne itself. There are of course, intimations of this possibility in the EK's Jemand und Niemandt, in the machinations of Jemand, but ultimately Ellidorus's reason and Niemand's generosity triumph. In Gryphius's world however, reason is powerless against mob anger and against the fanaticism of Grobian-Cromwell.

Ermordete Majestät. Oder CAROLUS STUARDUS König von Groß Britanien. Trauer=Spil²⁵

Carolus Stuardus is a "Trauer=Spil", not a "Schimpff=Spil", like Squentz, and, in a sense, the differences between them proceed logically from this generic distinction. While in Jemand und Niemandt, the EK's play about royal misdemeanours and dispossession, high and low rub shoulders, king and subject eventually meeting, Carolus Stuardus can only be understood in a classical tradition of "Odi profanum vulgus", where the ultimate sacrilege the "vulgus" commits is to murder its king. The work has, obviously, no Shakespearian source, but, as a theme Shakespeare returned to time and again, the question of the nature of royal power and responsibility links Carolus Stuardus to Shakespearian plays like Richard II. Whether the Shakespearian echoes are deliberate, or, more likely, product of a general European fascination with king-killing, in which the English were held to be expert, is less important than that there are such echoes. And the Shakespearian view of royal history

as like a pageant, is one Gryphius shares.

Gryphius began his first version, designated "A" by Powell, soon after hearing of the news of Charles's death (p.5), which would suggest that he may have started on it before reaching Glogau. The twin themes of heroic martyrdom and criminally fickle mob dominate the work, but version "B", Gryphius's revised text, proceeds from the knowledge of the Restoration of Charles II and is thus more assured than version "A", written when no such, for Gryphius happy, end was in sight. Central to both versions is the attempt by Lady Fairfax to rescue Charles from the scaffold, as she is rumoured to have done the night before his death. But the extent to which Charles is the only true character in the play is indicated by the fact that when Gryphius discovered that Cromwell not Fairfax was the true villain, he simply substituted the names, and left key speeches untouched. Wysocki regards the play as a rhetorical exercise: "À mon avis cette pièce est au même titre que Cardenio un simple exercice de rhétorique".²⁶ Powell has ensured that the play receive a more sympathetic hearing than this, and rhetoric was perhaps the only way of making Charles a workable stage figure when in real terms his death had none of the effects such a crime ought, according to Gryphius, to have had. When compared however, with the later theatrical treatments of Egmont's or Danton's last walks to death, this Charles's is pale.

Gryphius's concern was with the religious and ritualistic aspects of Charles's death, the triumph over the self and the belief in the justice of the

world to come. In tragedy, the poet's sacred duty is to explore such questions of martyrdom, and the sacramental nature of the martyr's death, be he Lutheran or Catholic. He displays quiet, but rich learning,²⁷ he lets himself be inspired by God, and tries to justify to men the works of God, incomprehensible though they may seem. Fortunately, perhaps, for Gryphius, the higher sense, to his way of thinking, of the martyr's death was revealed in 1660, when the monarchy was restored: only when a thing is denied us for a while do we learn its true worth. The closest equivalent in English literature is Milton's Samson Agonistes, which likewise deals in the heroic death of a martyr, in the triumph over the self and which has a similarly elevated view of tragedy as the "agony" of the protagonist. Such affinity, however could hardly be more ironic when one considers the radically opposed views of the two men on the subject of the monarchy.

While Powell hardly does the EK justice in calling Jesuit theatre "the most progressive on the Continent in the seventeenth century"²⁸, let alone the achievements of Molière or the new mode of opera, the affinity of Carolus Stuardus to Jesuit martyr drama cannot be overlooked. In its didactic, but also ritualistic purpose, but also in its interest in the cult of death, Gryphius's work is closer in spirit to Catholicism than to the Reformation satires of Manuel and Gengenbach. Lady Fairfax sets the tone: "Bebt die ihr herscht und schaffft! bebt ob dem Trauerspill!". (I, 11) From this reference on, the work is liberally sprinkled with allusions to Charles's final hours as a form of play. Yet this play has more

similarity with Christ's passion than with the revenge drama its extensive use of ghosts - Maria Stuart, Archbishop Laud, Strafford - might suggest. Nor is Charles the only one to think in these terms, since Lady Fairfax enjoins her husband to such forgiveness as Christ enjoins:

Er denck' an Jesus Wort/ Vergib/ wie wir vergeben.
 Mein Trost! er nehme doch des Höchsten Lehr in acht!
 (I,190-1)

This is in fact, what Charles does, an irony Gryphius exploits with some pleasure in his treatment of the evil Parliamentarians, whose "Christianity", as personified in Hugo Peter, Gryphius more than doubts: and in Charles's psychomachia, he seems to work through the various stations of the cross, emblematic encounters with pain and self-doubt, all of which Charles passes with flying colours.

At the beginning of Act II, Gryphius seeks to establish a connection between Senecan revenge drama and Christian Passion through the person of Strafford, who appears not, like Hamlet's father, to demand justice for himself but to try to avert the catastrophe awaiting his country. He sees his own path to the scaffold as a way of abnegation:

Ich hab! Ach HErr ich hab! als ich die Zeit beschlossen
 Mich auff dem Traurgerüst/ dem rauhen Mord=Altar
 Noch unter disem Beil geopffert für die Schar [. . .] .
 (II,18-20)

But his sacrifice appears to have been in vain, and we learn from Strafford how to understand the people: "Das allzeit=blinde Volck sucht GOtt und Printz zu rächen/ Und dem der nichts verbrach den schwachen Hals zu brechen". (II,77-8) Strafford did indeed "request" his death²⁹ but I am doubtful whether he would have regarded the king in quite such terms as these, one of

the speeches in which Gryphius displays a certain blindness to the realities of political life.

In this respect, the EK are far his superior, in that the sharpness of their political vision, especially in respect of the issue of absolute power, far exceeds his. The reasons for this are not simple: firstly, Gryphius as a loyal monarchist, thought it not the subject's duty to worry himself about questions of political principle. Charles, in his representation, is divinely appointed, and so beyond man's power of question. Not for this Charles Ellidorus's readings in the art of government and management of the people, nor for him Arcial's solution of the Landtag to iron out problems. Relations between city and court have become too strained for that kind of compromise, and portrayals of queens as laughable victims of their own vanity are breaches of taste Gryphius could never countenance. Secondly, Gryphius seems to have understood the historical process as a dialectic of reason and revelation, on the part of the nobility, opposed to lust and ignorance, on the part of the people. When they take over, the world is rocked to its foundations:

Wo jemand hören kan/
Wo jemand mit Vernunft/ diß Stück wil überlegen:
Der denck ihm etwas nach! Kan Recht ein Urtheil hegen
Wenn thörichte Gewalt den Richterstuhl besetzt.
(II, 184-7)

That Gryphius should capture his vision of chaos in the image of the people sitting in the judge's chair is indicative of the respect he held for the concept of law as a whole, which is a far cry from the EK's view of law, a scarce, but purchaseable commodity.

The issue of the legality of the execution is complemented by a more complex dilemma for the Christian absolutist, how God, who sanctions kings, can sanction their fall - least of all in public. Charles is clear in his personal priorities, and has found comfort in a higher calling:

Brich an gewünsdhtes Licht/ wir sind des Lebens sat/
Und schau den König an/ der selbst ein Creutz betrat
Verhast von seinem Volck/ verlacht von seinen Scharen
Verkennt von Ländern die auff ihn vertröstet waren/
Den Freund/ wie uns verkaufft/ den Feind/ wie uns
verklagt/
Vnd kränckt umb Frembde Schuld/ und biß zum Tode plagt.
(II. 259-64)

The argument combines "Welt-Ekel" with a real sense of Judas-like betrayal, resolving itself in a lonely perception of being a Christ, sacrificed by his own people. It is even right that God's agent should be prepared to suffer like God for the well-being of his people, the reward being life everlasting. Yet even Charles cannot have found the realisation that God's angels were not going to rescue him easy to accept, the same dilemma as faces Shakespeare's Richard II.³⁰

Both Carolus Stuardus and Richard II deal directly with the problem of king-killing, the one in public, the other in private. Both raise the issue of the legality of deposition, its morality, the function of the people, and the nature of history as pageant-like. Both imply that rebellion is Grobianic, even, in its carnivalesque sense, a form of comic reversal, though Gryphius only raises the last possibility to denounce it. Their questions are similar. God placed the king on the throne: how may men cast him off without casting God out of heaven as well? How can the law in person, the king, be tried? Is the

deposer not perhaps Anti-Christ? As Carlisle puts it, "What subject can give sentence on his king?" (IV,i,121)

The difference between the writers, however, shows itself in the generic function of the king, from which most other differences stem: Richard is both king and jester, an antic rhetorician, whose struggle to establish real authority for his kingly words fails. Such duality for Gryphius is out of the question. He sees no difficulty in the uniting of the man with the office, the basis of so much Shakespearian drama. He cannot conceive of the king as, in a religious sense, "wrong", let alone as antic.

Parallels between the plays are common, especially when the "pageant" of history is under consideration, in which the king is principal actor:

As in a theatre the eyes of men
After a well-grac'd actor leaves the stage
Are idly bent on him that enters next [C..]
Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes
Did scowl on gentle Richard [C..] (V,ii,23-5,26-7)

The death of Charles is hastened, as if the other actors in the play were ashamed of the text:

G r a f f. Es blickt nur mehr denn vill! man eilt das
Spill zu schlissen/
Vnd das gerechte Blut des Königs zu vergessen/
Vnd theilt durch Gaß und Gaß das angefrischte
Heer.
(V,33-5)

Shakespeare has choric characters allude to further acts in the pageant, bearing evils as yet unknown:

Abbot. A woeful pageant have we here beheld.

Carlisle. The woe's to come; the children yet unborn
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.
(IV, i, 321-3)

The unexpected rhyme underlines the force of the vision,

which has its equivalent in the horrors Laud foresees in Act II, and in the ambassador's fears in Act III:

G e s a n. Wie? ist euch eine Stund/ in diser Zeit
so theuer:

C r o m. In einem Augenblick entbrent ein grosses
Feuer!

G e s a n. O! daß die Flamme nicht gantz Albion verzehr!
(III,769-71)

Both "actors" play their parts best when accepting their fate:

Richard. Exton, thy fierce hand
Hast with the King's blood stain'd the King's
own land.
Mount, mount, my soul! Thy seat is up on high.
(V,v,109-11)

Charles has longer to think about his death, but is as noble:

Wird uns die rauhe Last der nahen Pein so schwer!
Nein! Carl ist noch behertzt die Jahre zu beschliessen/
Vnd sein nicht schuldig Blut vor Abends zu vergessen.
(II, 256-8)

And at the very last we learn that all attempts to shake the royal actor's repose are to no avail:

Man sucht Ihn/ wie man kan/ zu reitzen zu Verdruß.
Vmbsonst! der grosse Geist läst durch so schnöde Sachen
Von der gefasten Ruh sich nicht abwendig machen.
(V,52-4)

But, as in Squentz, subtle differences of accent point to often widely diverse perceptions of the meaning of the events portrayed. Shakespeare disentangles the political necessity of Richard's death from the dignity of his personal suffering, revealing that only in suffering does Richard become a true king. His death forms part of a cycle that is to culminate in the "mirror" of all Christian kings, Henry V. For Gryphius there is no wider historical perspective, merely a mixture of anger, grief and shock that such a step could have been taken.

As theatre, Squentz fares reasonably well in comparison with the works of the EK, but Stuardus is stiff and unrewarding: too little happens, and there is insufficient psychological tension, of the kind Racine, for example, achieves in similar situations. Part of the problem lies in the classic dilemma of making good figures dramatically interesting,³¹ but part also lies in the generic perceptions with which Gryphius approached theatre, writing to rules laid down by thinkers such as Opitz, who had no more practical experience of audiences than he had himself. There is however, one further factor in the difference between the EK and Gryphius that is most significant of all: as Powell points out, it is the motif "vanitas" which lies at the heart of Gryphius's work.³² Gryphius is not so much afraid of the uncertain perils of life, but of pride in the face of the certainty of death and judgement. Even in the blooming of the rose there is a warning to mortal man not to lose sight of that very mortality in pride.³³ For the EK life is uncertain, but to be lived: death has less mystique, comes fast and unannounced. One minute Haman is the most powerful figure in the whole of Ahasverus's empire, the next he and his family are dead. Morian begs for life, but quickly accepts the justice of his own death. No doubt, the long and harrowing war contributed to Gryphius's mood, but there was also a problem specific to the new absolutism that Gryphius sensed: this problem was how God could will the death of his divinely appointed agent, such as Charles I. If God willed everything, he must have willed Charles's martyrdom, but to what point? For the

EK there was only one sort of answer to that question: the king who is removed from office deserves to be so, for breaching the rules of behaviour that office demands. While Gryphius sees power and authority descending from God, the EK, ultimately, see it as ascending from the people. This fundamental difference of perception colours all their other attitudes.

If one applies the Clausewitzian test of results to a comparison of the EK and Gryphius, the former have won the theatrical oak-leaves, the latter the literary palm. But the oak-leaves have never since Gryphius's own time meant as much in terms of cultural approbation as the palm. This is now changing, at least in that the achievements of theatre practitioners are now accorded more importance than was once the case. The EK's principal legacy was as performers, which means we can never fully explain what they achieved, since we have no means of recalling their performances. But through their collection of plays, Engelische Comedien vnd Tragedien, we can approach by inference and deduction what such performances were like. The ultimate test of the EK's work would be to perform them now, and there has been no better time since their own day to do so than the present.

Notes

Chapter 1. Introduction: Critical Impulses

- 1) In this practice I follow Anna Baesecke, Das Schauspiel der Englischen Komoedianten in Deutschland: Seine dramatische Form und seine Entwicklung, Studien zur Englischen Philologie LXXXVII, (Halle, 1935), p.4.
- 2) The text quoted throughout, and to which page nos. refer, is Manfred Brauneck, (Hrsg.), Spieltexte der Wanderbühne Erster Band: Englische Comedien und Tragedien, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, (Berlin, 1970). A second imprint followed in 1624, with the following additional information on the title page, "Zum Andern mal gedruckt und CORRIGIRT." Cp. Brauneck, pp.680-81.
- 3) Albert Cohn, Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the Plays Performed by Them During the Same Period, (London, 1865).
- 4) Rudolph Genée, Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland, (Leipzig, 1870), and Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels. Vom Beginn der Reformation bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts, (Berlin, 1882).
- 5) Julius Tittmann, Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland, Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, 13ter Bd., (Leipzig, 1880).
- 6) Johannes Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten zur Zeit Shakespeares in Oesterreich, Beiträe zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und des geistigen Lebens in Oesterreich, IV, (Wien, 1884).
- 7) W. Creizenach, Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-Literatur: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe,

- 23, (Berlin und Stuttgart, 1889).
- 8) E. Herz, Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland, Theater-geschichtliche Forschungen, XVIII, (Hamburg, und Leipzig, 1903).
- 9) Karl Trautmann, "Englische Komödianten in Nürnberg bis zum Schlusse des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1593-1648)", Archiv für Literaturgeschichte, XIV, 1886, 113-36.
- 10) Johannes Crüger, "Englische Komödianten in Strass-burg im Elsass", Archiv für Literaturgeschichte, XV, 1887, 113-25.
- 11) See below pp. 347-50. Other articles, notably from the Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, are discussed at relevant points in this work.
- 12) Cohn, p.IX.
- 13) Cp. Cohn, pp. XXXVI-VII, Creizenach, p.I, and Genée, (1882), p.283. Herz, pp.2-3, does not agree they were first.
- 14) Cohn, p.XXXVII.
- 15) Cohn, p.XXXVII.
- 16) Cohn, p.CIV.
- 17) Friedrich Gundolf, Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist, (Berlin, 1914).
- 18) Cohn, p.CXXXVII.
- 19) Gundolf, p.VII.
- 20) Gundolf, p.9. Cp. Cohn, p.XXI, Genée (1882), p.264, Herz, p.8.
- 21) Cp. Gundolf, p.11.
- 22) Gundolf, p.2. William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation, (London, 1963), does not support Gundolf's conclusions as to the differences between England and Germany but rather offers a similar view of the Bible

in England to that Gundolf argues for Germany: "What the Bible offered was an imaginative representation of the life of a single people having a unique sense of their own identity as a people set apart from all others by a peculiar destiny". p.53.

23) Gundolf, p. 7.

24) Laurence Stone, An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino, (Oxford, 1956), p.288. Cp. S.T. Bindeff, Tudor England, (London, 1950), p.217.

25) Gundolf, p.8.

26) Gundolf, p.8.

27) W. Flemming, (Hrsg.) Das Schauspiel der Wanderbühne, Deutsche Literatur Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Barock, Barockdrama, Bd. 3, Leipzig, 1931.

28) Flemming, p.69.

29) Flemming, p.11.

30) See above, n.1.

31) See, for example, Horst Oppel, Englisch-Deutsche Literaturbeziehungen I: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts, Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik, (Berlin, 1971), pp.42-52, and Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, (Stuttgart, 1969), pp.207-209.

32) See Meissner, pp. 65-6. Cp. Herz, pp.22-23.

33) Cohn, p.CXXXVI.

34) Flemming, p.18: "Unbeständigkeit ist das Kennzeichen des Menschenlebens".

35) Creizenach, pp.CVIII-CIX.

36) Creizenach, p.CIX.

- 37) Baesecke, p.1.
- 38) Baesecke, pp.1-2
- 39) Baesecke, p.2.
- 40) Cp. Baesecke, p.104.
- 41) Cp. Flemming, pp. 34-5.
- 42) Cohn's summary of Sachs's importance cannot be bettered:
 "His great importance for the German Drama consists in his having emancipated its form from its previous coarseness, and its subject matter from the narrow limits which had hitherto been imposed on it". (p.V) Cohn sees this as a result of the Reformation: "This great revolution in the drama was effected partly through the lofty genius of the man himself, but partly also through the new energy infused into the public and political life of the nation by the Reformation, the cause of which was espoused by Hans Sachs with the most zealous enthusiasm". (p.V) Cp. Genée (1882), pp.85-116. I discuss Hans Sachs's version of Fortunatus below, pp.150-69.
- 43) I do not propose in this work to take up the question, started by Cohn, pp.LXI-LXXV as to possible influences of Ayrrer on Shakespeare, or vice versa. I discuss the relationship between Ayrrer and the EK, and in particular his use of Thomas Sackville's clown, Jan Posset, below, pp.120-22.
- 44) Friedrich Schiller, On the Aesthetic Education of Man: In a Series of Letters, Ed. and trsl. with an Introd. Commentary and Glossary of Terms, Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby, (Oxford, 1967), p.52, Letter VIII, 7. Page nos. from this edition.
- 45) Ibid. p.60, Letter IX, 7.
- 46) Two of Schiller's statements towards the end of the

"Letters" suggest he might, if asked, have found a place for the EK in his history of the forerunners of the Aesthetic State. In Letter XXVI he writes: "Insofern also das Bedürfnis der Realität und die Anhänglichkeit an das Wirkliche bloße Folgen des Mangels sind, ist die Gleichgültigkeit gegen Realität und das Interesse am Schein eine wahre Erweiterung der Menschheit und ein entschiedener Schritt zur Kultur." (p.192) The EK, by making their audiences acutely aware of appearance and semblance, would have raised the German level of consciousness in this respect. In the concluding Letter, XXVII, he describes an important breakthrough in the nature of movement: "Der gesetzlose Sprung der Freude wird zum Tanz, die ungestaltete Geste zu einer anmutigen harmonischen Gebärdensprache [...]". (p.212) Again, German admiration for the EK as dancers and acrobats may be seen as a consciousness-raising development in German culture.

47) Aesthetic Education, p.208, Letter XXVII, 4.

48) Cp. Aesthetic Education, pp.cxxxi-ii, and cxvii.

49) This formulation is common throughout Aesthetic Education, and is first used p.8, Letter II, 4.

50) Baesecke, p.6.

51) Baesecke, p.7.

52) C.L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and its Relation to Convention, (Princeton, 1959), passim.

53) Baesecke, p.68.

54) Baesecke, pp.79-88. Cp. Gundolf, p.12.

55) Baesecke, p.13.

56) Gustaf Fréden, Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland, Diss. (Stockholm, 1939)

- 57) Tittmann, p.IX.
- 58) Creizenach, p.LXVIII. Cp. Georg Wittkowski, "Englische Komödianten in Leipzig", Euphorion, 15 (1908), p.442.
- 59) Creizenach, pp.LXXV-VI. Flemming, p.34, calls the publications an "Indiskretion", which "mit dem Zerfall von Greens Truppe und seiner Rückkehr nach England zusammenhängt".
- 60) Creizenach, p.LXXV.
- 61) Quoted by Fréden, p.16. G. Draudius, Bibliotheca librorum germanicorum classica, (Frankfurt am Main, 1625), p.537.
- 62) Cp. Brauneck, pp.682-83, where the full titles of the two Frankfurt works are reprinted.
- 63) Fréden, p.4.
- 64) Fréden, p.153.
- 65) The vast popularity of this work may be measured from its continuing influence. Alfred Jericke points out that it also formed the basis of Johann Rist's theory of theatre in his Monatsgespräch "Die alleredelste Belustigung": "Die Rede kommt zunächst auf das Ansehen und die Fähigkeit einiger antiker und neuzeitlicher Schauspieler. Und ganz im Sinne der Zeit wird bei ihrem Können nur auf die Erregung der Affekte bei den Zuschauern gesehen. - Diese Betrachtungen sind, wie bei Quellenproben in einem gesonderten Abschnitt noch nachgewiesen sein wird, bis auf weniges Garzons 'Piazza Universale' (Frankfurt am Main, 1659, 103 Diskurs entnommen)". Alfred Jericke, Johann Rists Monatsgespräche, Germanisch und Deutsch Studien zur Sprache und Kultur, Heft 2, (Berlin und Leipzig, 1928) p.72. The comparison of Rist and Garzoni is on pp.140-43.

- 66) Cp. Brauneck, p.681.
- 67) Fréden, p.14. The detailed linguistic evidence is on pp.119-53.
- 68) Cp. Herz, pp.27-9.
- 69) Cp. Flemming, p.34. The play is reprinted in Flemming, pp.73-131. See below, pp.305-18.
- 70) Cp. L.M. Price, English Literature in Germany, (Los Angeles, 1953), pp.20-22.
- 71) Cp. Oppel, p.46.
- 72) Cp. Heinz Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, III, (Salzburg, 1959), p.365. Kindermann's valuable summary of the EK is to be found on pp.349-378 of vol. III.

Chapter 2. The Background

- 1) Quoted by Bindoff, Tudor England, p.203.
- 2) Cp. J. H. Elliott, Europe Divided: 1559-1598, (London, 1968), p. 49.
- 3) Cp. C.H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism, (Cambridge, 1938), p.49.
- 4) Cp. Stone, Palavicino, p.132.
- 5) Cp. Herz, Englische Schauspieler, pp. 9-10, 144ff.
- 6) Cp. Herz, pp.9-10, and Stone, p.124.
- 7) Cp. Garrett, p.49.
- 8) Cp. D.M. Loades, Politics and the Nation 1450-1660, (London, 1974), p.150, and Garrett, p.44.
- 9) Cp. W.G.Zeeveld, Foundations of Tudor Policy, (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp.136-7.
- 10) Quoted in Loades, p.213.
- 11) Cp. Garrett, p.47.
- 12) For a full history of this work and its place in the development of the theory of the Elect Nation see Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs, passim.
- 13) For a full an stimulating account of this movement see Frances Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, (London, 1972).
- 14) Cp. above ch.1, n.12.
- 15) Cp. G.R. Elton, Reformation Europe 1517-1559, (London, 1963) p.26.
- 16) Cp. Bindoff, pp.23ff.
- 17) A detailed analysis of this process is contained in A.C. Partridge, Tudor to Augustan English, (London, 1969). Partridge asserts: "It is doubtful whether any three centuries could equal the period from 1450-1750 in the achievement of wielding home growths and alien borrowings into a serviceable instrument of the national mind. [...] from 1590-1625 events

moved more rapidly than in any other comparable time in the evolution of the language". p.13 This would suggest that Gundolf's thesis about the relative strengths of English and German was not true when the EK first set out for Germany.

18) Richard Mulcaster, The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chiefly of the Writing of the English Tongue, (London, 1582), quoted in W.F. Bolton, (ed.), The English Language, (Cambridge, 1966), p.10.

19) J.A. Giles, (ed.), The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, Now First Collected and Revised, (London, 1864), Vol. II, "Toxophilus", p.2.

20) Ulrich von Hutten, "Clag und vormanung gegen dem übermässigen, unchristlichen gewalt des Bapsts zu Rom, und der ungeistlichen", 11.93-95, in Die deutschen Dichtungen, (Darmstadt, 1967), p.27.

21) Ibid., 11. 262-266, p.32.

22) Cp. G.N. Clark, The Seventeenth Century, 2nd. ed. revised, (Oxford, 1960), p.xix.

23) John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance, (London, 1954), passim.

24) Buxton, p.43.

25) For an account of Sidney's death, see Roger Howell, Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight, (Boston and Toronto, 1968), pp.257-67. Sidney's own attitude to travel is explained in a letter to Robert Sidney: "This therefore is one noteable use of travaile, which standes in the mixed and correlative knowledge of thinges, in which kinde come in the knowledge of all leauges, betwixt Prince, and Prince, the topograficall description of eache Countrie, howe the one

- lyes by scituacion to hurte or helpe the other". In Albert Feuillerat, (ed.) Sir Philip Sidney: The Prose Works, (Cambridge, 1912) vol. III, p.125.
- 26) Cp. Elliott, p.297.
- 27) Cp. Elliott, p.311. For Leicester's role as patron of the new Protestant culture, see Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, (New York, 1955) passim.
- 28) Cp. Rosenberg, p.311, and n.69, p.312.
- 29) David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics, (Cambridge Mass., 1968) p.3. Cf. Conyers Read, "William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations", in S.T. Bindoff, (ed.) Elizabethan Government and Society, (London, 1961), p.21, and Clark, Seventeenth Century, p.xviii.
- 30) Quoted in Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.53.
- 31) Quoted in Meissner, p.53.
- 32) F.P. Wilson, The English Drama 1485-1585, ed. G.K. Hunter, (Oxford, 1969), summarises the function of the guilds in the creation of modern, vernacular drama: "Recent research is inclined to assign to the last quarter rather than the early years of the fourteenth century, the shift from the liturgical plays, acted by the clergy in churches, to the miracle plays, acted by craft guilds in the streets, with the consequent shift from Latin to English". p.2.
- 33) E.K. Chambers, "The Court" in Shakespeare's England, (Oxford, 1916), vol. I, pp.79-80.
- 34) Siegfried Sieber, "Volksbelustigungen bei deutschen Kaiserkrönungen", in Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst 3te. Folge, 11, (1913), p. 59.
- 35) George Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London, (London, 1908), p.29.
- 36) Unwin, p.36.

- 37) Cp. David M. Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642, (London, 1971), pp.261-62.
- 38) Bergeron, p.263.
- 39) Ibid., p.263.
- 40) Unwin, pp.267-292, treats the whole question of London in considerable detail. The quotation from Webster is on p.285.
- 41) "Richard II", II,ii,31-68, in William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, ed. Peter Alexander, (London, 1951). All subsequent quotations from Shakespeare are from this edition.
- 42) Charles Hughes, (ed.) Shakespeare's Europe: A Survey of the Conditions of Europe at the End of the 16th. Century Being Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1617), (repr. New York, 1967), p.478. Hereinafter referred to as Moryson.
- 43) "A True and Faithful Narrative of the Bathing Excursion, which his Serene Highness Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, Count Mümpelgart, Knight of the Garter, Made a Few Years Ago to the Far-famed Kingdom of England", in England as seen by Foreigners, ed. William B. Rye, (London, 1895), p.9.
- 44) Rye, p.9.
- 45) Gundolf, Shakespeare, p.8.
- 46) Thomas Dekker, "Troia-Nova Triumphans. London Triumphant", in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, (Cambridge, 1958), vol.III, p.230.
- 47) Sieber, p.33.
- 48) Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry and early Tudor Policy, Oxford-Warburg Studies, (Oxford, 1969), p.13.
- 49) Anglo, p.14.
- 50) Anglo, p.15.
- 51) Sieber, p. 34.

- 52) Sieber, p.45.
- 53) Cp. Anglo, pp.124-169.
- 54) Anglo, p.153.
- 55) Cp. Thomas Nashe, "The Unfortunate Traveller", in The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R.B. McKerrow, (Oxford, 1958), vol. II, pp.271-279.
- 56) Cp. John Harington, Nugae Antiquae (London, 1779):
 "She <Elizabeth> did love riche cloathynge, but often chid those that bought more finery than became their state". Vol. II, p.139.
- 57) Sieber, p.99.
- 58) Sieber, p.96.
- 59) Anglo, p.5.
- 60) Bergeron, p.51.
- 61) Sieber, p.40.
- 62) Cp. Bergeron, p.89.
- 63) C.V. Wedgwood, The Great Rebellion: The King's War 1641-1647, (London, 1958), p.226.
- 64) Wedgwood, p.586.
- 65) Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology, (Princeton, 1957), passim.
 Kantorowicz devotes a chapter to Richard II, "Shakespeare: King Richard II", pp.24-41.
- 66) The ghosts of both Strafford and Archbishop Laud appear in Andreas Gryphius's play, Carolus Stuardus.
 See below, pp.384-85.
- 67) C.V. Wedgwood, The Great Rebellion: The King's Peace 1637-1641, (London, 1955), p.424.
- 68) Clark, p.xiv.
- 69) Moryson, p.79.
- 70) Moryson, p.290.

- 71) Moryson, pp.299-300.
- 72) Moryson, p.324.
- 73) Rye, p.7.
- 74) "Extracts from Paul Hentzner's Travels in England, 1598", Rye, op. cit., p.110. Hentzner regarded the English as "grave".
- 75) Rye, p.x.
- 76) Rye, p.xxvii.
- 77) Quoted by Clark, p.136.
- 78) The full routes may be found in Moryson, pp.iv-vii.
- 79) Moryson, p.268.
- 80) Moryson, p.292.
- 81) Moryson, p.298.
- 82) Moryson, p.301.
- 83) Moryson, p.476.
- 84) Moryson, pp.326-27.
- 85) Cp. Clark, p.295.
- 86) Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy, p.5.
- 87) Cp. E. Welsford, The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels, (Cambridge, 1927), p.14.
- 88) Welsford, p.35.
- 89) Moryson, p.304.
- 90) Moryson, p. 373.
- 91) Rye, p. 215.
- 92) Erhardus Cellius, Eques Auratus Anglo-Wirtembergicus, (Tübingen, 1605) quoted in Rye, pp.cvi-vii. See also John Dowland's experience as musician on the German circuit: "When I came to the Duke of Brunswick he used me kindly and gave me a rich chain of gold, £23 in money [...]. From thence I went to the Lantgrave of Hessen who gave me the greatest welcome that might be for one of my quality [...]" Quoted in A.F. Scott, Everyone a Witness: The Stuart Age, (London,

1974), p.111.

93) Cp. Rye, pp.lx-lxxxviii.

94) Daniel von Wensin, Oratio contra Britanniam, (Tübingen, 1613), quoted by Rye, p.cviii.

95) For a study of Andreae and his part in the development of Rosicrucianism, see B.Gorcieux, La Bible des Rose-croix. Traduction et Commentaire des trois premiers écrits rosicruciens, (Paris, 1970). For his links with the court at Heidelberg see Frances Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, (London, 1972), and below, pp. 228-34.

96) Selbstbiographie Andreä's, übersetzt von Prof. Seybold, (1799), p.15, quoted in Rye, p.259.

Chapter 3. On the Road

- 1) Cp. E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), Vol.II, pp.270-294. Further information in English is printed in E.Wikland, Elizabethan Players in Sweden 1591-2, (Stockholm, 1962, revised, 1971, 1977), which ranges rather wider than its title suggests. A helpful checklist of places the EK visited and the dates is contained in W.Flemming, "Die Englische Komödianten", in Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 2te Auflage, 4 Bde., (Berlin, 1958), pp.345-53. Herz, Englische Schauspieler, prints several maps at the end of his volume depicting the probable tours of the EK troupes.
- 2) Cp. Charles Hughes, "Land Travel", in Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age, ed. Walter Raleigh et.al., 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1916), vol.I, pp. 198-223.
- 3) General Archives, The Hague, Lias England of 1591 (Staten Generaal 5882 1). The full text has recently been reprinted by Willem Schrickx, "English Actors at the Courts of Wolfenbüttel, Brussels and Graz During the Lifetime of Shakespeare", Shakespeare Survey, 33, (1980), p.153. The passport is correctly printed in Wikland, (1962), p.99, and the error was pointed out by J.G.Riewald, "New Light on English Actors in the Netherlands, c. 1590-c.1660", English Studies, 41, (1960), p.71.
- 4) Quoted in Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, II, p.287.
- 5) Clark, The Seventeenth Century, p.38.

For a useful summary of the guild-like organisation of the English acting troupe cp. T.W.Baldwin, The Organisation and Personnel of the Shakespearian Company, (Princeton,

1927), pp.25-6. Independent testimony as to the financial skill of one of the EK leaders, Thomas Sackville, is given by Thomas Coryat: "The wealth that I sawe here [Frankfurt] was incredible [...]. The goodliest shew of ware that I sawe in all Franckford, saving that of the Goldsmithes, was made by an Englishman, one Thomas Sackfield a Dorsetshire man, once a servant of my father, who went out of England but in a meane estate, but after he had spent a few yeares at the Duke of Brunswicks Court, hee so inriched himselfe of late, that his glittering shewe of ware in Franckford did farre excell all the Dutchmen, French, Italians or whomsoever else", Coryat's Crudities, (Edinburgh, 1905), Vol.II, p.291.

Sackville's rise is well documented in Hans Niedecken-Gebhart, "Neues Aktenmaterial über die Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland", Euphorion, 21 (1914), pp.72-85, in which the Kammerrechnungen relating to Sackville are reprinted.

6) Cp. E. Nungezer, A Dictionary of Actors, (New York, 1929), pp.60-63. I am also greatly indebted to Peter Brand who put the first draft of his study of Robert Browne, Das Itinerar des Robert Browne, M.A. Diss. (Heidelberg, 1976) at my disposal, and for providing me with transcripts of the EK's dealings with the authorities in Frankfurt. Browne was particularly active in the first years in Kassel, and, as well as the arms negotiations, he was part of the Earl of Lincoln's party to Kassel for the christening of Maurice's daughter, Elizabeth, to whom Elizabeth Tudor stood Godmother. Dr. Hans Walter Gabler has drawn my attention to three works on the

journey and celebrations: Edward Monings, The Landgrave of Hessen his princelie receiuing of her Maiesties Ambassador, (London, 1596), Wilhelm Dillich, Beschreibung und Abriß dero Ritterspiel so [...] Herr Moritz Landgraff zu Hessen etc. auff die Fürstliche Kindtauffen Frewlein Elisabethen [...] angeordnet und halten lassen, (Kassel, 1598), and, by the same author, Das Ander Buch Von der Beschreibung dero Fürstlichen Kindttauff [...] unnd von denen dazumals verbrachten und celebrirten Ritterspielen, (Kassel, 1601).

It is significant that the EK should have been a part of this very courtly celebration.

7) For the most recent summary of the EK's movements and repertoire see Heinz Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, III, (Salzburg, 1959) pp.349-378. On the financial side cp. Creizenach, Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, pp.XVII-XXI, and Charles Harris, "The English Comedians in Germany before the Thirty Years' War: The Financial Side", PMLA, XXII, (1907), pp.446-464.

8) Stadt Archiv, Frankfurt am Main, Rathssitzungen, 1606, III, fol. 242r-243v, August 26th. Quoted by Brand op. cit. pp.73-74.

9) Quoted by Brand, p.74.

10) Stadt Archiv, Frankfurt am Main, Bürgermeisterbuch, 1606, fol. 69v. August 26th. 1606. Quoted by Brand, p.74.

11) Stadt Archiv, F.a.M., Rathssitzungen, 1607, I, fol. 303r-404v, March 17th. Quoted Brand, pp.76-7.

12) Cp. Hans Hartleb, Deutschlands erster Theaterbau, (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936), p.53. For an illuminating brief account of Kassel's relations with England at the time, see Hans Walter Gabler, "Tourism and Theatre: or,

some links between Kassel and London in Jacobean times", in Großbritannien und Deutschland: Europäische Aspekte der politisch-kulturellen Beziehungen beider Länder in Geschichte und Gegenwart, hrsg. Ortwin Kuhn, (München, 1974), pp.280-292.

13) The entries are reprinted by Johannes Crüger, "Englische Komoedianten in Strassburg im Elsass", ALG, XV, (1887), pp.113-25.

14) Crüger, p.114. Philip Kingman had been in the pay of Maurice, with the explicit task of translating plays, at the same time as Browne, cp. Wikland (1962), p.104.

15) Crüger, pp. 114-15. A useful gloss on the price of 4 Batzen is contained in one of Jakob Ayrer's plays in which we learn that a pair of shoes cost 8 Batzen:

"Kauff ich mir schuch hin in der statt,

So kost wol acht patzen ein Paar[...]."

Jakob Ayrer, Tragedia vom reichen Man und armen Lazaro [...] in Ayrers Dramen, hrsg. Adelbert von Keller, 5 Bde., Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, LXXVI-LXXX, Bd. 5, p.3181.

16) Crüger, p.115. Baron Waldstein records ten plays in his Diary: de quodam Duce Farrari, de Filio Perdito, de Zuzanna, de Fausto, de Esther, de quodam Viro quem defruadavit Diabolus, de Judith, de Judaeo Divite, de Sene, qui Oxori diffidebat, and de Errasto. Whether he missed four of Sackville's fourteen is not clear. It is however, a valuable confirmation that Dr. Faustus was a popular early piece in the EK repertoire, and it is also striking that Esther and the Prodigal Son, both of whom appear in the 1620 collection, are favourites that were performed over thirty years. The story de

Sene, qui Oxori diffidebat, sounds like a Sackville jig.
Cp. The Diary of Baron Waldstein, Transl. and annotated,
G.W.Groos, (London, 1981), p.11.

17) Crüger, p.115, n.2. The EK's fencing skills got
them into duels one of which caused a stir in Graz, 1608,
cp. Meissner, pp.80-82.

18) Crüger, p.116. Harris, p.455, offers a statistical
survey of the EK troupe size which reveals that
Browne's troupe was average size.

19) Crüger, pp.116-17.

20) Crüger, p.117.

21) Crüger, p.117.

22) Cp. Karl Trautmann, "Englische Komoedianten in
Nürnberg bis zum Schlusse des Dreissigjährigen Krieges
(1593-1648)", ALG, XIV, (1886), p.130.

23) Trautmann, p.117.

24) Trautmann, p.119.

25) Cp. Harris, pp.462-63, and Georg Wittkowski, "Englische
Komödianten in Leipzig", Euphorion, 15, (1908), p.443.

26) Crüger, p.116.

27) Cp. Crüger, p.117.

28) Crüger, pp.117-18.

29) Cp. Crüger, p.118.

30) See below, pp.105-6.

31) Crüger, p.118.

32) Crüger, pp.118-9. Cp. Herz, p.48.

33) Crüger, p.119.

34) Trautmann, p.123.

35) Trautmann, p.125.

- 36) Trautmann, p.127.
- 37) The correspondence between Frederick and Christian is reprinted by Johannes Bolte, "Englische Komoedianten in Dänemark und Schweden", Sh.Jb., 23 (1888), pp.104-6. Incidents during the stay in Denmark are recorded by Gunnar Sjögren, "Thomas Bull and other 'English Instrumentalists' in Denmark in the 1580s.", Shakespeare Survey, 22 (1969), pp.119-24. Cp. Riewald, p.70.
- 38) The document which reveals the split is printed by Richard P. Wülcker, "Englische Schauspieler in Kassel", Sh.Jb., 14 (1879), pp.360-61. The division of a company was orthodox English practice: cp. Baldwin, pp.24-5, and J.T. Murray, English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642, (London, 1910), Vol.I, pp.11ff. Browne had probably agreed a split with Sackville in 1592 when he went to Kassel and Sackville remained in Braunschweig. Browne may also have organised the split in 1604, when Richard Machin went to the court of Christian of Brandenburg, cp. A. Cohn, "Englische Komödianten in Köln (1592-1656)", Sh.Jb., 21 (1886), p.253. The history of the Ottonium is described in Hans Hartleb, Deutschlands erster Theaterbau, (Kassel, 1936). Gabler, "Tourism and Theatre", p.291, summarises Hartleb's and other descriptions of the Ottonium thus:
- "The building, approx. 35m long, was on an essentially trapeze-shaped ground-plan, with the stage backed against the narrow end. The depth of the stage cannot be determined with certainty; however, flying machines could be accommodated on a floor level above it. In the auditorium, the curved public seating ascended as in an amphitheatre up towards the apsidically arched rear wall. The "state" seats for the Landgraf and the Court were apparently raised

on stone pedestals opposite stage-centre in the middle of the auditorium. Altogether the theatre held an audience of about 500".

39) Cp. Kindermann, III, pp.361-2. Kindermann is, however, wrong to say that Spencer disappears with the outbreak of war, since he is recorded with a German troupe in Nürnberg, 1623, cp. Trautmann, p.131.

40) Cohn, p.XXV. It is likely that this group also played in Leipzig, cp. Wittkowski, "Englische Komödianten in Leipzig", p.441. The court-city axis existed from the outset.

41) Cp. p.1, for the use of "ergetzlichkeit" on the title page of the 1620 Collection.

42) Hartleb, p.31. Cp. Brand, p.42, Herz, p.14.

43) Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, Von einem Buler und Bulerin, printed in Flemming, Schauspiel der Wanderbühne, pp.277-331. Page refs. are to this ed. See A.H.J. Knight, Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick, (Oxford, 1948) for a full study of the subject.

44) Cp. E. Mentzel, Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main, (Frankfurt am Main, 1882), p.21.

Cp. Schrickx, "English Actors", p.156, and Kindermann, III, p.353.

45) Trautmann, pp.126-27.

46) The full text of the letter is printed in Meissner, Die Englischen Komoedianten, pp.76-82. An excerpt is reprinted in Flemming, pp.71-2. Irene Morris, "A Hapsburg Letter", Modern Language Review, 69 (1974), pp.12-22, has recently edited the text. The letter itself has resulted in a good deal of attention being paid to the Graz court, not least recently by Orlene Murad, The English Comedians at the Habsburg Court in Graz 1607-1608,

Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan Studies, 81, (Salzburg, 1978). Kindermann's claim derives from an article by Johannes Meissner, "Die englischen Komoedianten in Oesterreich", Sh.Jb., 19 (1884), p.130, which is not supported by any evidence. In the absence of the text the 1620 version seems the more likely.

47) Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.79. The parable of Dives and Lazarus was popular. Cp. Karl Trautmann, "Archivalische Nachrichten über die Theaterzustände der schwäbischen Reichsstädte im 16. Jahrhundert", ALG, XII (1885), p.70. For Jakob Ayrer's play on the theme see below, pp. 353-54.

48) Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, pp.4-11. It is possible that Guarinonius's interest in the EK stemmed from his having been taught by two Englishmen at Ingolstadt, cp. Meissner, "Englische Komödianten", p.129.

49) Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.5.

50) Ibid., p.6. "ergötzlichkeit" is also mentioned on this page.

51) Ibid., p.7.

52) Ibid., pp.7-8.

53) James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, (eds.), The Works of Francis Bacon, (London 1857-74), Vol.IV, p.496. Cp. Vol.III, p.416.

54) Cp. C.F.Meyer, "Englische Komoedianten am Hofe des Herzogs Philipp Julius zu Pommern-Wolgast", Sh.Jb. 38, (1902), pp.196-211.

55) J. von Bohlen Bohlendorf, Das Hausbuch des Herrn Joachim von Wedel auf Krempzow Schloß und Blumberg erbgesessen, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, CLXI, (Tübingen, 1882), p.535. Cp. Meyer, p.199.

- 56) Meyer, p.200.
- 57) Meyer, pp.200-01.
- 58) Meyer, p.201.
- 59) Meyer, p.202.
- 60) Meyer, pp.203-04.
- 61) Meyer, p.204.
- 62) Meyer, p.205.
- 63) As Meyer describes, Richard Jones, who had been in Browne's original EK troupe, was one of a group who stayed on in Pommern-Wolgast even into the Thirty Years' War, pp.208-10. Meissner, "Die englischen Komödianten", p.115, argues that the very popularity of the EK at court made his task easier, since he had merely to find a record of a court festival and he could be reasonably certain the EK would also be present.
- 64) Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.53. Cp. Meissner, "Die englischen Komödianten", p.120.
- 65) Meissner, "Die englischen Komödianten", pp.120-21.
- 66) Cp. Meissner, "Die englischen Komödianten", p.122.
- 67) See above, p.35.
- 68) Johannes Bolte, "Englische Komödianten in Münster und Ulm.", Sh.Jb., 36 (1900), pp.273-6 describes the EK in Münster. The specific record is printed in Herz, p.11.
- 69) Herz, p.11.
- 70) See above n.5
- 71) Cp. Karl Trautmann, "Englische Komödianten in Rothenburg ob der Tauber", Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, Neue Folge, Bd. VII (1895), pp.60-67. Cp. Kindermann, III, p.363.
- 72) Cp. Cohn, "Englische Komödianten in Köln", p.260.

73) For a discussion of these types, see below pp.275-88.

Chapter 4. The Repertoire (1): Four Versions of Fortunatus

- 1) Fortunatus, Nach dem Augsburger Druck von 1509, hrsg. Hans Günther, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 240-41, (Halle, 1914). All quotations and page references are from this edition.
- 2) G. Steinhausen, (Hrsg.), Briefwechsel Balthasar Paumgartners des jüngeren mit seiner Gattin Magdalena, geb. Behaim, (1582-1598), Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, CCIV, (Tübingen, 1895), p.176.
- 3) Ayrers Dramen, hrsg. Adalbert von Keller, 5 Bde., Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, LXXVI-LXXX, (Stuttgart, 1865), Bd.1, pp.5-6.
- 4) Cp. Trautmann, "Englische Komoedianten in Nürnberg", pp.116-17.
- 5) Ayrers Dramen, Bd.1, p.12.
- 6) Ayrers Dramen, Bd.1, p.1.
- 7) The introduction is printed in Creizenach, pp.327-29, the passage quoted being on p.328.
- 8) Gabler, "Tourism and Theatre", p.290.
- 9) Gabler, "Tourism and Theatre", p.281.
- 10) See above, pp.4ff.
- 11) Cp. Rudolf Genée, Geschichte der Shakespear'schen Dramen in Deutschland, (Leipzig, 1870), pp.20-31.
- 12) Rudolf Genée, Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels, (Berlin, 1882).
- 13) The pattern was set by Cohn, Shakespeare in Germany, and was followed by Genée (1882), and Baesecke.
- 14) Genée, Lehr- und Wanderjahre, pp.221-64.
- 15) Ibid., p.221.

- 16) Ibid., p.290.
- 17) Ibid., p.1.
- 18) Ibid., p.283.
- 19) Julius Tittmann, (Hrsg.), Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland, (Leipzig, 1880).
- 20) Tittmann, pp.LV-LVI.
- 21) Tittmann, p.LX.
- 22) Meissner, "Die englischen Komödianten", p.113.
- 23) Creizenach, pp.I-II.
- 24) See above, p.48.
- 25) Creizenach, p.LXXXV.
- 26) Herz, Englische Schauspieler, pp.115-16.
- 27) Flemming, Schauspiel der Wanderbühne, p.5.
- 28) Flemming, p.10.
- 29) Flemming, p.16.
- 30) Ernst Leopold Stahl, Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater. Wanderung und Wandelung seines Werkes in dreiundeinhalb Jahrhunderten, (Stuttgart, 1947), pp.13-14.
- 31) Ibid., p.16.
- 32) Cp. Helmar Klier, (Hrsg.), Theaterwissenschaft im deutschsprachigen Raum Texte zum Selbstverständnis, Wege der Forschung, 548, (Darmstadt, 1981), p.1.
- 33) Kindermann, Theatergeschichte Europas, III, p.366.
- 34) Cp. F.S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, (Oxford, 1914), p.19, and Charles H. Herford, Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1884), pp.33ff.
- 35) Cp. R. Wiemann, Die Erzählstruktur im Volksbuch Fortunatus, (Hildesheim, 1970), p.1.

- 36) See below, pp.160-78.
- 37) See below, pp.179-214.
- 38) Cp. Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.78, and Flemming, p.204.
- 39) Cp. Wiemann, p.1, and Herford, p.204.
- 40) Roger Ascham, who visited Augsburg as a diplomat, wrote of its wealth and status: "If I should tell you nothing of Augusta, I should do such a noble city much wrong. At a few things, guess the rest. Here be five merchants in this town, thought able to disburse as much ready money as five of the greatest kings in Christendom", The Whole Works, I, p.266.
- 41) Cp. L. Stone, An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino, (Oxford, 1956), passim.
- 42) Grimmelshausen, Das Wunderbarliche Vogelnest, hrsg. Rolf Tarot, Grimmelshausen, Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben, Bd.9, (Tübingen, 1970), p.6.
- 43) Cp. Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, Von einem Buler und Bulerin, in which such a threnody is part of the play.
- 44) Elizabeth McClure Thomson, (Ed.) The Chamberlain Letters: A Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626, (London, 1965), p.36.
- 45) Chamberlain Letters, p.63.
- 46) Ibid., p.253.
- 47) The text is printed in Hans Sachs, hrsg. Adalbert von Keller, Bd.12, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart, CXL, (Stuttgart, 1879), pp.187-226. All references and quotations are from this edition.

48) The text is printed in The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, I, (Cambridge, 1953). Commentary on this edition is to be found in Cyrus Hoy, Introductions, Notes and Commentaries to Texts in "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker" Edited by Fredson Bowers, I, (Cambridge, 1980), pp.71-128. Further commentary on the problem of Dekker's possible debt to the Volksbuch is contained in Willibald Scheffler, Thomas Dekker als Dramatiker, Diss. (Borna-Leipzig, 1910), pp.44-55, and Hans Scherer, "The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus" by Thomas Dekker, hrsg. nach dem Drucke von 1600, Münchner Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie, XXI, (Erlangen und Leipzig, 1901), pp.8-12. Cp. the general issue of generic indebtedness, in Peggy Faye Shirley, Serious and Tragic Elements in the Comedy of Thomas Dekker, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Jacobean Drama Studies, 50, (Salzburg, 1975). The issue of how Dekker may have encountered the source is discussed in Mary Leland Hunt, Thomas Dekker: A Study, Columbia Studies in English, (New York, 1911), p.16, concluding that Dekker read the story in Dutch; James Conover, Thomas Dekker: An Analysis of Dramatic Structure, Studies in English Literature, XXXVIII, (The Hague and Paris, 1969), p.56, is unsure.

49) Bowers, Dekker, I, p.107.

50) Henslowe's Diary, Ed. with Supplementary Material, Introduction and Notes, R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert, (Cambridge, 1961), pp.126-28.

- 51) Henslowe's Diary, pp.34-7.
- 52) See above, p.159.
- 53) The use of "prodigalitie" in this context would presumably have alerted the audience to the parable nature of what they were seeing.
- 54) See above, p.43.
- 55) For a full analysis of the cult of Eliza/Astraea, see Frances Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century, (London, 1975), pp.29-87, and Roy Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry, (London, 1977).
- 56) As well as being published in Leipzig (1620, repr. 1624), Fortunato, along with other plays in the 1620 collection, was published in Frankfurt (1620), as part of an anthology, Schau-Buehnen Englischer und Frantzoesischer Comoedianten Ander Theil [..] (Frankfurt, 1620), cp. Brauneck, p.681. The play was reprinted by Tittmann, (Hrsg.), Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komoedianten in Deutschland, Deutsche Dichter des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, 13, (Leipzig, 1880), pp.75-123. The text used for this study is printed in Brauneck, pp.129-209. Commentary is offered by Tittmann, pp.XXVI-XLI, Creizenach, p.XLV, and Herz, pp.96-8. A different play on the Fortunatus theme was also written in Kassel, c.1610. This is compared with Dekker's and the EK's versions in Paul Harms, Die deutschen Fortunatus-Dramen und ein Kasseler Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, V, (Hamburg und Leipzig, 1892), pp.3-54. The Kassel play owes an obvious debt to Sachs's version, but Harms is perhaps over enthusiastic in tracing

Dekker's influence as well.

57) Cp. Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.78.

58) Cp. Hoy, Thomas Dekker, I, pp.88-91, and Harms, p.20, who says the same thing.

59) Herford, p.205, n.1.

60) Hoy, Thomas Dekker, I, p.91.

61) Brauneck, p.139.

62) Brauneck, p.141.

63) Andolosia's words are surely a deliberate echo of the opening line of the EK's "Roland" jig, "Mein Hertz ist betruet biß in den Todt/ fa la la la la la", (p.583).

64) The Elector's court is fully discussed in Frances Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, (London, 1972), to which I am much indebted. Miss Yates points, among other things, to the connection the EK had with the court: "And amongst the influences already passing between England and this part of Germany were those of the travelling companies of English players", p.13.

65) Quoted from Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.236.

66) Quoted from The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.245.

In her related study, Theatre of the World, (London, 1969) Miss Yates refers to Dr. John Dee's praise of the many skills of the Vitruvian architect, which glosses Andreae's enthusiasm for architecture, but may also suggest the way in which Andreae might, in his literary apprenticeship, have idealised an EK leader like Browne: "An Architect (sayth he) ought to understand languages, to be skilfull of Painting, well instructed in Geometrie, not ignorant of Perspective, furnished

with Arithmetike, haue knowledge of many histories, and diligently haue Astronomie, and the courses Celestiall, in good knowledge. He geueth reason, orderly, wherefore all these Artes, Doctrines, and Instructions, are requisite in an excellent Architecte", p.25. One detects certain affinities between this and the contracts with which some of the EK leaders were issued in court service, and Dee himself went into Hapsburg service.

67) Quoted from The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.247.

68) For a further discussion of Pickelhering, see below, pp.291-307.

69) The whole issue of stage directions at the time is dealt with by Siegfried Mauermann, Die Bühnenanweisungen im deutschen Drama bis 1700, Palaestra, CII, (Berlin, 1911).

70) In view of the fact that Fortune's wheel is an established medieval emblem, and Boethius's De consolatione philosophiae the most significant source of consolatory philosophy of that period, Flemming's overall claim that Unbeständigkeit is a peculiarly Baroque word seems hard to justify. Rather, it is a combination of an awareness of the perils of vanitas and of the Vergänglichkeit of all that exists, that dominates the early Baroque, and there is even a certain pleasure taken in the fact that death is part of the Beständigkeit of the world, the one constant in a world in flux. This is certainly closer to Gryphius's position, see below, chapter six.

Chapter 6. The Repertoire (2): The 1620 Collection

- 1) Quotations and references throughout this chapter are from the edition of the 1620 collection by Brauneck, Engelische Comedien und Tragedien, passim. Brauneck collates the copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, with the copy in the Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, Hannover. The British Library Shelf Mark is C 95.b.36. A bibliographical description of the second printing, (Leipzig, 1624), is printed in Creizenach, Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, pp. LXIX-LXXV.
- 2) Esther, (Leipzig, 1620), was reprinted in Leipzig, (1624), and printed in a different collection in Frankfurt, (1620), under the general title Schau-Buehnen Englischer und Frantzoesischer Comoedianten Dritter Theil [...] ., (Frankfurt am Main, 1620), cp. Brauneck, p.682. Quotations are taken from Brauneck, pp.3-77. The play has also been edited by Tittmann, Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komoedianten, pp.3-44. Commentaries are to be found in Tittmann, pp.XXI-XXIV, Creizenach, p.LII, and Herz, pp.111-12. All quotations from the Bible are taken from D. Martin Luther, Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch, (Wittenberg, 1545), Letzte zu Luthers Lebzeiten erschienene Ausgabe, hrsg. Hans Holz, 2 Bde., (Darmstadt, 1972). Esther is printed in Bd. I, pp.901-915.
- 3) Von dem verlornen Sohn, (Leipzig, 1620), was reprinted Leipzig, (1624), and was also printed in Frankfurt (1620) in part of the same collection as Esther (see above, n.2). Quotations are taken from Brauneck, pp.79-127. It was also edited by Tittmann, pp.45-73. Commentaries

are to be found in Tittmann, pp.XXIV-VI, Creizenach, pp.L-LII, and Herz, pp.107-110. Studies of the whole Prodigal Son complex as source for playwrights include F. Spengler, Der Verlorene Sohn im Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts, (Innsbruck, 1888), Hugo Holstein, "Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Drama", in Programm des Progymnasiums zu Geestemünde, (Geestemünde, 1880), pp.1-53, especially pp.40-1, and Adolf Schweckendieck, Bühnengeschichte des verlorenen Sohnes in Deutschland, I. Teil, (1527-1627), Theater-geschichtliche Forschungen 40, (Leipzig, 1930). This last study makes it particularly clear how thoroughly Germanic in conception the EK's play is.

4) Tito Andronico, (Leipzig, 1620) was reprinted in Leipzig, (1624) but is not part of any Frankfurt edition of 1620. Tittmann excludes the play, but Cohn, Shakespeare in Germany, prints the work with a translation, cols. 157-236, and Ernest Brennecke, in collaboration with Henry Brennecke, prints a translation in Shakespeare in Germany 1590-1700, Curtain Playwrights, (Chicago, 1964) pp.13-51. Commentaries deal in particular with the possible link with Shakespeare: Tittmann, pp.X-XII, Creizenach, pp.1-16, and Herz, pp.85-6.

5) Stahl, Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater, pp.14-15.

6) Cp. P. Alexander, William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, (London, 1951), p.xv. J.C. Maxwell in the Arden edition (revised, 1961), is more precise, offering the dating 1589-90, p.xxv. All quotations are from Alexander, (ed.) Works.

- 7) Flemming, Das Schauspiel der Wanderbühne, p.29.
- 8) I use the term "horrid laughter" here as defined by N.S. Brooke, Horrid Laughter in Jacobean Tragedy, (London, 1979).
- 9) Jemand und Niemandt, (Leipzig, 1620) was reprinted in Leipzig (1624), but despite its popularity is not contained in a Frankfurt anthology. Quotations are from Brauneck, pp.345-425. Commentaries are to be found in Tittmann, pp. XLI-XLVII, who also edits it, pp.125-174, Creizenach, p.LIII, and Herz, pp.112-17. We know that Niemandt was performed by Robert Reynolds (the original Pickelhering) from a broadside that has survived:

Vorm Jahr war ich nicht gering
 Ein aus der Maßen gut Pickelhäring,
 Mein Antlitz in tausend Manieren
 Konnt ich holdselig figuriren,
 Alles was ich hab vorgebracht,
 Das hat man ja stattlich belacht.
 Ich war der Niemand, kennt ihr mich?

Quoted from J. Scheible, (Hrsg.) Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Volkskundliche Quellen Neudrucke europäische Texte und Untersuchungen I, Allgemein, (Hildesheim und New York, 1972), p.87.

- 10) Cp. Meissner, Englische Comoedianten, p.78.
- 11) No-Body and Some-body is printed in Richard Simpson, (Ed.), The School of Shakspeare, 2 vols., (London, 1878), vol.1, pp.275-356. Refs. to this ed. The play was printed in Tieck's translation, with an Introduction, by Johannes Bolte, (Hrsg.) "Niemand und Jemand. Ein Englisches Drama aus Shakespeare's Zeit, übersetzt von Ludwig Tieck", Sh. Jb., 29/30 (1894), pp.4-91. Bolte dates the English original 1606, (p.5), and locates it both within a German tradition of "Nemo" satire, stemming

from von Hutten, and an English tradition of satiric carnivalesque.

12) Simpson, vol. I, pp.269-272. Cp. Bolte, "Niemand und Jemand", p.5.

13) Cp. Simpson, vol. I, pp.269-70.

14) John Green's Niemand und Jemand is printed in Flemming, pp.73-131.

15) Cp. Flemming, p.54.

16) Flemming, p.53.

17) Flemming, p.53.

18) Flemming, pp.22-25.

19) Creizenach, pp.XCIII-CVIII.

20) Baesecke, pp.68-69.

21) Johannes Bolte, Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten und ihrer Nachfolger in Deutschland, Holland und Skandinavien, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, VII, (Hamburg und Leipzig, 1893).

22) Charles Read Baskervill, The Elizabethan Stage Jig and Related Song Drama, (Chicago, 1929).

23) Cp. Baskervill, p.47.

24) The Revesby Play is printed in E.K. Chambers, The English Folk Play, (London, 1932), pp.104-20. Pickle Herring appears as Godfather to Gluttony in Dr. Faustus, cp. Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, ed. John Jump, The Revels Plays, (London, 1962), I, vi, 150-1, but here there is no obvious clowning aspect to the role. Herford, pp.323-68, lists the sorts of fool in German fooling tradition on whom the EK could have built.

25) Cp. Baskervill, pp.95-105.

26) See above, p.36.

- 27) See above, pp. 92-95.
- 28) Dekker, Non-Dramatic Works, ed. Grosart, vol.2, p.203.
- 29) Herford, p.246.
- 30) Cp. The English Folk-Play, p.108.
- 31) Baskervill, p.154.
- 32) See above, pp.62-3.
- 33) Andreas Gryphius, Herr Peter Squentz, ed. Hugh Powell, (Leicester, 1957), p.xlviii. (Cp. Ch.6., n.13)
- 34) Georg Rollenhagens Spiel vom reichen Manne und armen Lazaro, 1590, hrsg. Johannes Bolte, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 270-73, (Halle, 1929), p.3.
- 35) Martin Opitz, Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe, (1624), Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 1, (Halle, 1882).
- 36) Opitz, p.23.
- 37) Opitz, p.27.
- 38) Opitz, p.33.
- 39) Opitz, p.13.
- 40) Opitz, p.13.
- 41) Maria und Hanrey is printed in Brauneck, pp.523-555.
- 42) From Marckschiffs Nachen, Darinn nachgeföhret wirdt, was in dem nächst abgefahnen Marckschiff auß geblieben: verpichet vnd auffs beste verkeult mit Naupentheurlichen Schwencken vnd Bossen, Max Mangoldt, M.D.XCVII. Quoted from Creizenach, p.325.
- 43) This droll was evidently very popular. It is printed in Brauneck, pp.557-80, and was also one of the 1620 collection to be reprinted in Frankfurt as part of the anthology Schau-Buehnen/ Englischer und Frantzoesischer/

Comoedianten/ Ander Theil [..] , (Frankfurt am Main, 1620), pp.167-189, cp. Brauneck, p.681. Tittmann prints it, pp. 235-248.

44) Singing Simpkin is particularly associated with Will Kemp, see Baskervill, p.108. The first extant printing of this influential jig was in a collection entitled Actaeon and Diana, with a Pastorall Story of the Nymph Oenone; Followed By the several conceited humors of Bumpkin, the Huntsman, Hobbinal, the Shepherd. Singing Simpkin. And John Swabber, the Sea-man Printed at London by T. Newcomb, for the use of the Author Robert Cox (London, n.d.), cp. Baskervill, p.123. The jig was printed again in Francis Kirkman, The Wits, or, Sport upon Sport, (London, 1673) cp. Baskervill, p.122.

45) The jig is printed in Brauneck, pp.581-589, and Bolte, pp.50-62, in parallel with Singing Simpkin. Commentary is contained in Bolte, pp.17-20. The "Roland" jig, which so influenced Jakob Ayrer, is dealt with by Bolte, pp.8-11. Baskervill prints a "Roland" jig, pp. 491-93.

46) The text is printed in Brauneck, pp.591-96, and Baskervill, pp.515-18. Commentary is in Bolte, pp.21-4.

47) The text is printed in Brauneck, pp.597-603, and Baskervill, pp.519-23. Commentary is contained in Baskervill, pp.231-2, and Bolte, p.24.

48) The text is printed in Brauneck, pp.605-17, and Baskervill, pp.524-35. Commentary is in Bolte, pp.24-5, and the melody is printed in Bolte, p.171.

49) The text and melody is printed in Brauneck, pp.619-638.

50) All quotations and references are from Ayrers Dramen, hrsg. Adalbert von Keller, see above, Ch.4, n.3.

- 51) Willibald Wodick, Jakob Ayrers Dramen in ihrem Verhältnis zur einheimischen Literatur und zum Schauspiel der Englischen Komödianten, (Halle, 1912), p.106.
- 52) Cp. Flemming, p.72.
- 53) Bolte, pp.12-16.
- 54) Wodick, p.95. The list of roles is on pp.93-5.
- 55) Cp. Trautmann, "Englische Komödianten in Nürnberg", pp.117-19.
- 56) Ayrers Dramen, V, pp.3159-3230.
- 57) Wodick, p.90.
- 58) Wodick debates thoroughly the issue of whether or not Ayrrer wrote for the stage, and concludes from the internal evidence of the texts that this must have been his intention. Wodick even reconstructs the likely stage, pp.97ff.
- 59) Sidonia und Theagene, (Leipzig, 1620) was reprinted in Leipzig, (1624), and also published in Frankfurt in the same collection as the Pickelhering jig, Lustiges Pickelhaerings Spiel, see above, n.43, cp. Brauneck, p.681. Tittmann excludes the play. Commentary is contained in Tittmann, pp.XII-XIV, and Herz, p.128.
- 60) Cp. Reinhard Köhler, "Einige Bemerkungen und Nachträge zu Albert Cohn's 'Shakespeare in Germany'", Sh. Jb., 1, (1865), pp.408-14. Odd traces of rhyme are still apparent in the EK's text.
- 61) Friedrich Dedekinds Grobianus verdeutscht von Kaspar Scheidt, Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe, (1551), hrsg. Gustav Milchsack, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 34-5, (Halle, 1882), p.41.
- 62) Thomas Deckar, The Gvls Horne-booke: Stultorum plena sunt omnia, (London, 1609), printed in The Non-Dramatic

Works, ed. Grosart, vol.2, pp.193-266. On the popularity of Grobianus and its English versions, see Milchsack, Grobianus, pp. VII-VIII, and Herford, pp.379-398.

63) Dekker, The Non-Dramatic Works, vol. 2, p.199.

64) Julio und Hyppolita (Leipzig, 1620) was reprinted in Leipzig in 1624. It is edited by Tittmann, pp. 175-195, and printed with a parallel translation by Cohn, Shakespeare in Germany, cols. 113-156. Cohn's interest in the piece stems from his belief that it shows similarities with Shakespeare's Two Gentlemen of Verona, a thesis which is discussed by all subsequent commentators on both plays. The evidence, which is thin, is admirably summarised by Clifford Leech, the Arden Edition, pp. xxxix-xl. I am doubtful whether the few genuine affinities between the plays cannot best be attributed to chance. Probability dictates that two plays on the favourite theme of the faithful/faithless friend will at times sound like each other. Leech seems to waver towards accepting a more than chance affinity.

65) Engellandt und Schottlandt (Leipzig, 1620), was reprinted in Leipzig (1624). It was edited by Tittmann, pp.197-233. Commentaries are contained in Tittmann, pp.L-LIV, Creizenach, pp.LVII-LIX, and Herz, pp.122-3. Johannes Rist refers to a version of this play in his Monatsgespräch, Die AllerEdelste Belustigung [..], (Hamburg, 1666), printed in Johann Rist Sämtliche Werke, V, "Epische Dichtungen", hrsg. Eberhard Mannack, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, (Berlin, 1974), pp.313-317. In turn the/parody the soldiers, then at war, and the citizenry, but then, facing a hostile

audience, they turn their wit in on themselves and receive general applause.

66) Cp. Schrickx, "English Actors", pp.162-63, and Riewald, "New Light on the English Actors", pp.73-75.

67) Cp. Tittmann, pp. XXIV-XXV.

68) Flemming, p.13.

69) This magic business suggests an affinity with another English play, Robert Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, as for example, in the following exchange:

RAFE. I prithee tell me, Ned, art thou in love with the keeper's daughter?

EDWARD. How if I be, what then?

RAFE. Why then, sirrah, I'll teach thee how to deceive love.

EDWARD. How, Rafe?

RAFE. Marry, sirrah Ned, thou shalt put on my cap and my coat and my dagger, and I will put on thy clothes and thy sword, and so thou shalt be my fool. (Act 1, 24-31)

Quoted from Robert Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ed. J.A. Lavin, The New Mermaids, (London, 1969), p.6.

Other similarities include those between the characters of the magicians Bacon and Barrabas and their common use of the (Eulenspiegel?) mirror, cp. Herford, pp.189-90.

70) Carl Hermann Kaulfuß-Diesch, Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur älteren deutschen Bühnengeschichte, Probefahrten, III, (Leipzig, 1905).

71) Roy Pascal, "The Stage of the 'Englische Komödianten' - Three Problems", Modern Language Review, XXXV, (1940), pp.367-376.

72) Cp. Creizenach, pp.LXXXVII-XCIII and Flemming, pp.34-49.

- 73) Pascal, p.370.
- 74) Pascal, p.368.
- 75) Kaulfuß-Diesch, p.53.
- 76) Kaulfuß-Diesch, pp.65-6.
- 77) Pascal, p.374.
- 78) Creizenach, pp.XCII-XCIII.
- 79) Kaulfuß-Diesch, pp.73-74.
- 80) Brauneck, p.512.
- 81) Cp. Kaulfuß-Diesch, p.76.
- 82) Pascal, p.371. Cp. Meissner, Die Englischen Comoedianten, p.53.
- 83) Cp. Kindermann, III, pp.361-62.
- 84) Kaulfuß-Diesch, p.107.
- 85) Kaulfuß-Diesch, p.119.
- 86) Kaulfuß-Diesch, p.222.
- 87) See above, p.16.
- 88) Werner Richter, Liebeskampf und Schaubühne, pp.1-7.
cp. Pascal, p.368.

Chapter 6. Andreas Gryphius's "English" Plays

- 1) Andreas Gryphius, Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke, hrsg. Marian Syrocki und Hugh Powell, 8 Bde., Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, Neue Folge, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 23, (Tübingen, 1963-72).
- 2) Cp. Andreas Gryphius, Carolus Stuardus, ed. Hugh Powell, (Leicester, 1955), pp.xxiii-xl and lviii-lxxvi.
- 3) Cp. Marian Syrocki, Andreas Gryphius. Sein Leben und Werk, (Tübingen, 1964).
- 4) Cp. Powell, Stuardus, pp.xxvii-xxviii, and Syrocki, Leben, pp.24-28.
- 5) Cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.xxx, and Syrocki, Leben, p.30.
- 6) Cp. L. Wysocki, Andreas Gryphius et la tragédie allemande au 17^{me} siècle, (Paris, 1893), pp.258-93.
Powell does not believe Gryphius can have encountered Shakespeare in this manner, cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.lxxv, n.1.
- 7) Cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.xxiii.
- 8) Gryphius's father was a supporter of Elector Friedrich V, cp. Syrocki, Leben, p.14. On the relationship between Gryphius and Elizabeth, cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.xxx.
Gryphius also mentions this in a footnote of his own to Catharina von Georgien: cp. Andreas Gryphius, Trauerspiele III, hrsg. Hugh Powell, Gesamtausgabe, Bd.6, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, N.F.15, (Tübingen, 1966), p.222.
- 9) Andreas Gryphius, Sonette, hrsg. Marian Syrocki, Gesamtausgabe, Bd.1, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, N.F.9, (Tübingen, 1963), p.73. Cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.xxxii.
- 10) Cp. Powell, Stuardus, pp.xxxii-iii.
- 11) Quoted in Powell, Stuardus, p.xxxvi.

- 12) Cp. Erich Trunz, "Entstehung und Ergebnisse der neuen Barockforschung", in Deutsche Barockforschung Dokumentation einer Epoche, hrsg. Richard Alewyn, Neue Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 7, Literaturwissenschaft, (Köln und Berlin, 1965), pp.449-458, p.456.
- 13) Andreas Gryphius, Herr Peter Squentz, ed., with an Introduction and Commentary, Hugh Powell, (Leicester, 1957). All quotations from this ed. William Shakespeare, A Midsummer Night's Dream, in Complete Works, ed. P. Alexander, (London, 1951). All quotations from this ed. Herr Peter Squentz is also to be found in Andreas Gryphius, Lustspiele I, hrsg. Hugh Powell, Gesamtausgabe, Bd.7, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, N.F.21, (Tübingen, 1969), pp.1-40.
- 14) Ernest Brennecke, in collaboration with Henry Brennecke, Shakespeare in Germany, 1590-1700, Curtain Playwrights, (Chicago, 1964), pp.52-104.
- 15) The relevant passage from Johann Rist's Monatsgespräch for April is printed in Brennecke, pp.57-68. Cp. Johann Rist, Die AllerEdelste Belustigung [. . .] (Hamburg, 1666), in Sämtliche Werke, hrsg. Eberhard Mannack, 7 Bde., Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 5, pp. 287-303.
- 16) The known droll on the subject, The Merry Conceited Humors of Bottom the Weaver, as it hath been often publikely Acted by some of his Majesties Co-medians [. . .] (London, 1661) was certainly not the source for Gryphius as it keeps much closer to the original than Gryphius or his probable source, including the Fairies, which Gryphius does not, and departs only at the start and finish from Shakespeare.

Cp. Powell, Squentz, p.xlii, n.2.

17) Powell, Squentz, p.xlii. Powell, Squentz, p.xliii, is sure that Shakespeare is the "ultimate" source, which closes the long debate on the source, at least, that is until a German jig on the subject should be discovered that might be Gryphius's source. Cp. Cohn, pp.CXXX-CXXXIII, Creizenach, pp.XXXV-XXXIX, and Herz, pp.79-82.

18) Andreas Gryphius, Cardenio und Celinde, ed. with Introduction and Commentary, Hugh Powell, (Leicester, 1961). This work is remarkable for the fact that in it Gryphius breaches the conventions of classical tragedy and makes characters of bourgeois status into tragic protagonists, "Die Personen so eingeführet sind fast zu nidrig vor ein Traur=Spiel [...]", as Gryphius himself admits, (p.3).

19) Powell, Squentz, p.3.

20) Cp. Karl Trautmann, "Die älteste Nachricht über eine Aufführung von Shakespeares Romeo und Julie in Deutschland (1604)", in Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte, XI (1882), pp.625-26, p.626, and Karl Trautmann, "Archivalische Nachrichten über die Theaterzustände der schwäbischen Reichsstädte im 16. Jahrhundert.I", Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte, XIII (1885), pp.34-72, p.70.

21) Adam Riese was a famous mathematician. Johann Seckerwitz was a poet rather than mathematician, which may, according to Powell, be the point of the joke. Cp.

Powell, Squentz, pp.48-49. There were, however, as Powell points out, chairs of poetry and mathematics.

22) Cp. Powell, Squentz, pp.26-7.

23) See above, n.16.

24) Cp. Powell, Squentz, p.xlvii.

- 25) All quotations from Powell, Stuardus. See above, n.2. The text is also to be found in Andreas Gryphius, Trauerspiele I, hrsg. Hugh Powell, Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 4, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, N.F.12, (Tübingen, 1964), Version A, pp.1-52, Version B, pp.53-159. A further edition, Carolus Stuardus Trauerspiel, hrsg. Hans Wagener, Reclam UB Nr.9366-67, (Stuttgart, 1972), is clearly indebted to Powell.
- 26) Wysocki, p.104.
- 27) Gryphius not only lists his sources, cp. Powell Stuardus, pp.cxxxv-viii, but also wrote his own footnotes, cp. Powell, Stuardus, pp.85-104.
- 28) For the relationship between Gryphius and Jesuit theatre cp. Powell, Stuardus, p.lxiii and Syrocki, Leben, p.88.
- 29) Powell, Stuardus, p.lxiii.
- 30) All quotations from Complete Works, ed. Alexander. The issue of the similarity between Shakespeare and Gryphius is discussed in Syrocki, Leben, p.84, who considers affinities between Richard III and Leo Armenius, and Dieter Baacke, "And tell sad stories of the death of kings Das Schicksal der Könige bei Gryphius und Shakespeare", Text und Kritik Zeitschrift für Literatur, 7-8 (n.d.), pp.24-30.
- 31) Lothar Baier, "Persona und Exemplum Formeln der Erkenntnis bei Gryphius und Lohenstein", Text und Kritik 7-8, pp.31-36, argues that Gryphius's purpose was not to present Charles's death in the style of "dramatischen Realismus", (p.33), but, even so, the play is less effective than Shakespearian accounts of the "death of kings".
- 32) The "vanitas" motif, and its connected concern with

"Vergänglichkeit" is dominant in all Gryphius's work. Cp. Powell, Stuardus, pp.xlviii-lvii, Syrocki, Leben, p.55, and Heinz Ludwig Arnold, "Diß Leben kömmt mir vor alß eine renne bahn. Einführender Bericht über Leben und Werk des Andreas Gryphius", Text und Kritik 7-8, pp.1-7, p.1.

33) Cp. Gerhard Fricke, "Die allgemeine Struktur und die ästhetische Funktion des Bildes bei Gryphius", in Deutsche Barockforschung, hrsg. Alewyn, pp.312-323, p.312. Fricke quotes from Catharine von Georgien, citing the rose image:

Die edlen Rosen leben

So kurtze Zeit/ vnd sind mit Dornen doch vmbgeben.

Alsbald die Sonn' entsteht/ schmueckt sie der Gaerte
Zelt;

Vnd wird in nichts verkehrt so bald die Sonne felt.
(I, 315-8).

Andreas Gryphius, Catharine von Georgien, in Gesamtausgabe, Bd.6, p.148.

Bibliography

- Alewyn, Richard. (Hrsg.) Deutsche Barockforschung Dokumentation einer Epoche, Neue Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek 7, Literaturwissenschaft. Köln und Berlin, 1965.
- Anglo, Sydney. Spectacle Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy, Oxford-Warburg Studies. Oxford, 1969.
- Arnold, Heinz Ludwig. (Hrsg.) Andreas Gryphius. Text und Kritik Zeitschrift für Literatur, 7-8, Aachen, n.d.
- Ayrers Dramen, hrsg. Adelbert von Keller. 5 Bde., Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, LXXVI-LXXX. Stuttgart, 1865.
- The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans and Lord High Chancellor of England, Collected and Edited, James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis and D.D. Heath. XIV vols. London, 1858-74.
- Baesecke, Anna. Das Schauspiel der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland. Seine dramatische Form und seine Entwicklung, Studien zur englischen Philologie, LXXXVII. Halle, 1935.
- Baldwin, T.W. The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearian Company. Princeton, 1927.
- Barber, C.L. Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and its Relation to Social Custom. Princeton, 1959.
- Baskervill, Charles Read. The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama. Chicago, 1929.
- Beckingsale, B.W. Burghley: Tudor Statesman. London, 1967.
- Bentley, G.E. The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players. 7 vols. Oxford, 1941-68.
- Bergeron, David M. English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642. London, 1971.
- Bevington, David. Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning. Cambridge, Mass., 1968.
- Boas, F.S. University Drama in the Tudor Age. Oxford, 1914.
- von Bohlen Bohlendorf, Julius Freiherr. (Hrsg.) Hausbuch des Herrn Joachim von Wedel auf Krempzow Schloss und Blumberg Erbgewesen, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart, CLXI. Tübingen, 1882.
- Bolte, Johannes. "Der Jude von Venetien, die älteste deutsche Bearbeitung des 'Merchant of Venice'", Sh.Jb. 22, 1887, pp.189-201.
- "Englische Komödianten in Dänemark und Schweden", Sh.Jb. 23, 1888, pp.99-106.

- "Eine Holländische Uebersetzung von Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew vom Jahre 1654", Sh.Jb. 26, 1891, pp.78-86.
- Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten und ihrer Nachfolger in Deutschland, Holland und Skandinavien, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, VII. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1893.
- (Hrsg.) "Niemand und Jemand. Ein englisches Drama aus Shakespeare's Zeit, übersetzt von L u d w i g T i e c k", Sh.Jb. 29/30, 1894, pp.4-91.
- Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, XII. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1895.
- "Eine Hamburger Aufführung von 'Nobody and Somebody'", Sh.Jb. 41, 1905, pp.188-193.
- "Englische Komödianten in Münster und Ulm", Sh.Jb. 36, 1900, pp.273-276.
- (Hrsg.) Georg Rollenhagens Spiel vom reichen Manne und armen Lazaro 1590, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts Nr.270-73. Halle, 1929.
- Bolton, W.F. (Ed.) The English Language: Essays by English and American Men of Letters 1490-1839. Cambridge, 1966.
- Brand, Peter. Das Itinerar des Robert Browne, M.A. Diss., Heidelberg, 1977.
- Der englische Komödiant Robert Browne, (1563 - c. 1621/39), M.A. Diss. (revised), Heidelberg, 1978.
- Brandl, A. "Englische Komoedianten in Frankfurt am Main", Sh.Jb. 40, 1904, pp.229-30.
- Brauneck, Manfred. (Hrsg.) Spieltexte der Wanderbühne, Erster Band. Engalische Comedien und Tragedien, Ausgaben Deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1970.
- Brennecke, Ernest. (In collaboration with Henry Brennecke) Shakespeare in Germany 1590-1700: With Translations of Five Early Plays, Curtain Playwrights. Chicago, 1964.
- Brüggemann, Fritz. Versuch einer Zeitfolge der Dramen des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig aus den Jahren 1590 bis 1594, Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Instituts an der technischen Hochschule in Aachen, 2. Aachen, 1926.
- Buxton, John. Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance. London, 1954.
- Chambers, E.K. The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols. Oxford, 1923.
- The English Folk-Play. Oxford, 1933.

- Clark, G.N. The Seventeenth Century. 2nd. ed. Oxford, 1947.
- Cohn, Albert. Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the Plays Performed by Them During the Same Period. London, 1865.
- "Englische Komödianten in Köln (1592-1656)", Sh.Jb., 21, 1886, pp.245-276.
- Conover, James. Thomas Dekker: An Analysis of Dramatic Structure, Studies in English Literature, XXXVIII. The Hague and Paris, 1969.
- Creizenach, W. "Die Englische Komoedianten in Frankfurt am Main", Sh.Jb. 18, 1883, pp.268-70.
- (Hrsg.) Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-Litteratur Historisch kritische Ausgabe, Bd.23. Berlin und Stuttgart, 1889.
- Geschichte des neueren Dramas, 5 Bde. Halle, 1893-1916.
- "Ein Repertoirestück der englischen Komödianten", Sh.Jb. 41, 1905, p.201.
- Crüger, Johannes. "Englische Komoedianten in Strassburg in Elsass", ALG, XV, 1887, pp.113-125.
- Dekker, Thomas. The Dramatic Works. Ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. Cambridge, 1953-61.
- Devrient, Eduard. Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst, Neu bearbeitet und bis in die Gegenwart fortgeführt als "Illustrierte deutsche Theatergeschichte" von Intendant Willy Stuhlfeld. Berlin und Zürich, 1929.
- Doebler, John. Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures: Studies in Iconic Imagery. Albuquerque, 1974.
- Doran, Madeleine. Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama. Madison, 1954.
- Einstein, Lewis. Tudor Ideals. New York, 1921.
- Elliott, J.H. Europe Divided: 1559-1598, The Fontana History of Europe. London, 1968.
- Elton, G.R. Reformation Europe: 1517-1559, The Fontana History of Europe. London, 1963.
- Elze. Th. "John Spencer in Regensburg", Sh.Jb. 14, 1879, p.362.
- Flemming, Willi. (Hrsg.) Das Schauspiel der Wanderbühne, Deutsche Literatur Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Barock, Barockdrama, Bd.3. Leipzig, 1931.
- "Englische Komödianten", in Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, 4 Bde., 2te. Auflage, Berlin, 1958, Bd.1, pp.345-353.

- Fredén, Gustaf. Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der englischen Komödianten in Deutschland. Stockholm, 1939.
- Feuillerat, Albert. The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney, 4 vols. Cambridge, 1912.
- Gabler, Hans Walter. "Tourism and Theatre: or, some links between Kassel and London in Jacobean times", in Großbritannien und Deutschland. Europäische Aspekte der politisch-kulturellen Beziehungen beider Länder in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Hrsg. Ortwin Kuhn, München, 1974, pp.280-292.
- Garrett, C.H. The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism. Cambridge, 1938.
- Genée, Rudolf. Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland. Leipzig, 1870
- Lehr- und Wanderjahre des deutschen Schauspiels. Berlin, 1882.
- Giles, J.A. (Ed.) The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, Now First Collected and Revised with a Life of the Author. 3 vols. in 4. London, 1864-65.
- Grabau, Carl. "Englische Komödianten in Deutschland", Sh.Jb. 45, 1909, pp.311-12.
- Greene, Robert. Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. Ed. J.A. Lavin, The New Mermaids. London, 1969.
- von Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Christoph. Das Wunderbarliche Vogelnest. Hrsg. Rolf Tarot, Grimmelshausen Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben. Bd. 9. Tübingen, 1970.
- Gundolf, Friedrich. Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist. Berlin, 1911.
- Grosart, Alexander B. (Ed.) The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene, M.A. 15 vols. London, 1881-86.
- (Ed.) The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, For the First Time Collected and Edited, with Memorial Introduction, Notes and Illustrations. 5 vols. London, 1884-86.
- Gryphius, Andreas. Carolus Stuardus. Ed. with Introduction and Commentary, Hugh Powell. Leicester, 1955.
- Herr Peter Squentz. Ed. with an Introduction and Commentary, Hugh Powell. Leicester, 1957.
- Cardenio und Celinde. Ed. with Introduction and Commentary, Hugh Powell. Leicester, 1961.
- Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke. Hrsg. Marian Syrocki und Hugh Powell. 8 Bde., Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, Neue Folge, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 23. Tübingen, 1963-1972.

----- Carolus Stuardus Trauerspiel. Hrsg. Hans Wagener. Reclam UB, 9366-67. Stuttgart, 1972.

Günther, Hans. (Hrsg.) Fortunatus. Nach dem Augsburger Druck von 1509. Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 240-41. Halle, 1914.

----- Zur Herkunft des Volksbuches von Fortunatus und seinen Söhnen. Diss. Freiburg, 1914.

Harington, John. Nugae Antiquae: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers In Prose and Verse; Written in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Mary, Elizabeth, King James etc. Selected from Authentic Remains by Hen. Harington. A new, corrected and enlarged Edition, 3 vols. London, 1779.

Harris, Charles. "The English Comedians in Germany before the Thirty Years' War: The Financial Side", PMLA, XXII, New Series XV, 1907, pp.446-464.

Harrison, G.B. The Elizabethan Journals: Being a Record of Those Things Most Talked of During the Years 1591-1603. Comprising An Elizabethan Journal 1591-94, A Second Elizabethan Journal 1595-98, A Last Elizabethan Journal 1599-1603. Revised ed. in 1 vol. London, 1938.

Harms, Paul. Die deutschen Fortunatus Dramen und ein Kasseler Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts. Theater-geschichtliche Forschungen, V. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1892.

Hartleb, Hans. Deutschlands erster Theaterbau Eine Geschichte des Theaterlebens und der englischen Komödianten unter Landgraf Moritz dem gelehrten von Hessen-Kassel. Berlin und Leipzig, 1936.

Henslowe's Diary. Ed. with Supplementary Material and Notes, R.A.Foakes and R.T.Rickert. Cambridge, 1961.

Herford, Charles H. Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge, 1886.

Herz, E. Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland, Theater-geschichtliche Forschungen, XVIII. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1903.

Hewins, W.A.S. English Trade and Finance. London, 1892.

Heywood, Thomas. An Apology for Actors 1612. Introductory Notes, J.W.Binns. London, 1972.

Holstein, Hugo. "Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas", in Programm des Progymnasiums zu Geestemünde. Ostern, 1880. Geestemünde, 1880, pp.1-53.

-----"Pickelhäring", ALG, XII, 1887, p.643.

Holl, Karl. Geschichte des deutschen Lustspiels. Leipzig, 1923.

- Hoppe, Harry R. "English Actors at Ghent in the Seventeenth Century", Review of English Studies XXV, 1949, pp.305-321.
- "George Jolly at Bruges, 1648", Review of English Studies, New Series V, 1954, pp.265-68.
- "English Acting Companies at the Court of Brussels in the Seventeenth Century", Review of English Studies, New Series VI, 1955, pp.26-33.
- Howell, Roger. Sir Philip Sidney: The Shepherd Knight. London, 1968.
- Hoy, Cyrus. Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker' edited by Fredson Bowers. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1980.
- Hughes, Charles. (Ed.) Shakespeare's Europe: A Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century Being unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1617). 2nd. ed. New York, 1967.
- Hunt, Mary Leland. Thomas Dekker: A Study, Columbia University Studies in English XIII. New York, 1911.
- Hurstfield, Joel. Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England. London, 1973
- von Hutten, Ulrich. Die deutschen Dichtungen. Unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Stuttgart 1890-91, Deutsche Nationalliteratur, Bd. 17, 1. Abteilung, pp.201-333. Darmstadt, 1967.
- Jericke, Alfred. Johann Rists Monatsgespräche. Germanisch und Deutsch Studien zur Sprache und Kultur, Heft 2. Berlin und Leipzig, 1928.
- Ben Jonson. Ed. C.H. Herford and Percy and E. Simpson, IX vols. Oxford, 1925-1952.
- Kantorowicz, E. The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology. Princeton, 1957.
- Kaulfuß-Diesch, Carl Hermann. Die Inszenierung des deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur älteren deutschen Bühnengeschichte. Probefahrten VII. Leipzig, 1905.
- Kindermann, Heinz. "Shakespeare und das deutsche Volkstheater", Sh.Jb. 72, 1936, pp.9-41.
- Theatergeschichte Europas. 5 Bde. Salzburg, 1957-62.
- Klier, Helmar. Theaterwissenschaft im deutschsprachigen Raum Texte zum Selbstverständnis. Wege der Forschung 548, Darmstadt, 1981.
- Knight, A.H.J. Heinrich Julius, Duke of Brunswick. Modern Language Studies. Oxford, 1948.

- Koberstein, August. "Shakespeare in Deutschland", Sh.Jb. 1, 1865, pp.1-17.
- Köhler, Reinhold. "Einige Bemerkungen und Nachträge zu Albert Cohn's 'Shakespeare in Germany'", Sh.Jb. 1, 1865, pp.406-417.
- Könnecke, Gustav. "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Komödianten", Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte, Neue Folge I, 1887, pp.85-88.
- Kollewijn, Roeland Anthonie. "Ueber die Quelle des Peter Squentz", ALG, IX, 1880, pp.445-452.
- Loades, D.N. Politics and the Nation 1450-1660: Obedience, Resistance and Public Order. London, 1974.
- Loffelt, A.C. "English Actors on the Continent", Sh.Jb. 4, 1869, pp.377-80.
- "A German Version of the Novel of Romeo and Juliet", Sh.Jb. 4, 1869, pp.380-81.
- Luther, D. Martin. Die gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch, (Wittenberg, 1545), Letzte zu Luthers Lebzeiten erschienene Ausgabe, hrsg., Hans Holz, 2 Bde. Darmstadt, 1972.
- Manly, John Matthews. (Ed.) Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperian Drama: With an Introduction, Notes and a Glossary. Boston, New York, Chicago, London, 1897.
- McGrath, P. Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I. London, 1967.
- McKerrow, R.B. (Ed.) The Works of Thomas Nashe, Oxford, 1904-1910, reprinted from the original with corrections and supplementary Note, ed. F.P.Wilson, 5 vols. Oxford, 1958.
- Margoliouth, H.M. (Ed.) The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell. 2 vols. Oxford, 1927.
- Marx, Theodor. "Bericht eines zeitgenössischen Deutschen über die Aufführung von Chapman's 'Maske of Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inne' am 14. Februar 1613", Sh.Jb. 29-30, 1894, pp.172-82.
- Mauermann, Siegfried. Die Bühnenanweisungen im deutschen Drama bis 1700, Palaestra CII, Berlin, 1911.
- Meinert, Hermann. Von Wahl und Krönung der deutschen Kaiser zu Frankfurt am Main. Mit dem Krönungsdiarium des Kaisers Matthias aus dem Jahre 1612. Frankfurt am Main, 1956.
- Meissner, Johannes. Die Englischen Comoedianten zur Zeit Shakespeares in Oesterreich, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur und des geistigen Lebens in Oesterreich IV. Wien, 1884.
- "Die englischen Komödianten in Oesterreich", Sh. Jb. 19, 1884, pp.113-154.

- Mentzel, E. Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main von ihren Anfängen bis zur Eröffnung des städtischen Komödienhauses. Frankfurt am Main, 1882.
- Das alte Frankfurter Schauspielhaus und seine Vorgeschichte. Frankfurt am Main, 1902.
- Meyer, C.F. "Englische Komoedianten am Hofe des Herzogs Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast", Sh.Jb. 38, 1902, pp.196-211.
- Milchsack, Gustav. (Hrsg.) Friedrich Dedekinds Grobianus verdeutscht von Kaspar Scheidt, Abdruck der ersten Ausgabe, Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, 34-5. Halle, 1882.
- Morris, Irene. "A Hapsburg Letter", Modern Language Review, 69, 1974, pp.12-22.
- Munro, John. (Ed.) The Shakspeare Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakspeare from 1591 to 1700: Originally Compiled by C.M. Ingelby, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, and Dr. F.J. Furnivall [...] Now Reedited. The Shakespeare Library, 2 vols. London, 1909.
- Murray, J.T. English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642, 2 vols. London, 1910.
- Nichols, John. The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: Among which are Interspersed Other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events, During the Reign of that Illustrious Princess. Collected from Original Manuscripts, Scarce Pamphlets, Corporation Records, Parochial Registers etc. etc. New ed. in 3 vols. London, 1823.
- Niedecken-Gebhard, Hans. "Neues Aktenmaterial über die Englischen Komoedianten in Deutschland", Euphorion 21, 1914, pp.72-85.
- Niessen, Carl. Die dramatischen Darstellungen in Köln, 1526-1700. Veröffentlichungen des Kölner Geschichtsvereins III, Köln, 1917.
- Nungezer, E. A Dictionary of Actors: And of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642. New Haven and London, 1929.
- Oppel, Horst. Englisch-Deutsche Literaturbeziehungen I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts, Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik I. Berlin, 1971.
- Osborn, James M. Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577. Published for the Elizabethan Club. New Haven and London, 1972.
- Partridge, A.C. Tudor to Augustan English, The Language Library. London, 1969.
- Pascal, Roy. "The Stage of the 'Englische Komödianten' - Three Problems", Modern Language Review XXXV, 1940, pp.367-376.

- Polisensky, J.V. "England and Bohemia in Shakespeare's Day", in Charles University on Shakespeare, ed. Zdenek Stribrny. Prague, 1966, pp.65-82.
- The Thirty Years War. London, 1974.
- Price, L.M. English Literature in Germany, Univ. of California Pubs. in Modern Philology 37. Los Angeles, 1953.
- Raleigh, Walter. et al. Shakespeare's England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age, 2 vols. Oxford, 1916.
- Richter, Werner. Liebeskampf 1630 und Schaubühne 1670. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, Palaestra, LXXVIII. Berlin, 1910.
- Riewald, J.G. "New Light on English Actors in the Netherlands, c.1590-c.1660", English Studies, 41, 1960, pp.65-92.
- Rist, Johann. Sämtliche Werke. Hrsg. Eberhard Mannack, 7 Bde., Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVII. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1967-82.
- Rosenberg, Eleanor. Leicester Patron of Letters. New York, 1955.
- Rowse, A.L. William Shakespeare: A Biography. London, 1963.
- Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age. London, 1974.
- Ryan, Lawrence V. Roger Ascham. London and Stanford, 1963.
- Rye, William. (Ed.) England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First With extracts from the travels of foreign Princes and others. London, 1865.
- Hans Sachs. Hrsg. Adelbert von Keller. 26 Bde. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart, 102-6, 110, 115, 121, 125, 131, 140, 159, 173, 179, 181, 188, 191, 193, 195, 201, 207, 220, 225, 250, Stuttgart, 1870-1908.
- Scheffler, Willibald. Thomas Dekker als Dramatiker. Diss. Leipzig, 1910.
- Scheible, J. (Hrsg.) Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, in sogenannten Einblatt-Drucken mit Kupferstichen und Holzschnitten; zunächst aus dem Gebiete der politischen und religiösen Caricatur, Volkskundliche Quellen Neudrucke europäischer Texte und Untersuchungen I Allgemein. Hildesheim und New York, 1972.
- Schiller, Friedrich. On the Aesthetic Education of Man in a Series of Letters. Ed. and translated with an Introduction Commentary and Glossary of Terms, Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L.A. Willoughby. Oxford, 1967.

- Schlienger, Armin. Das Komische in den Komödien des Andreas Gryphius. Ein Beitrag zu Ernst und Scherz im Barocktheater. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe I Deutsche Literatur und Germanistik, 28, Bern, 1970.
- Schrickx, Willem. "English Actors at the Courts of Wolfenbüttel, Brussels and Graz During the Lifetime of Shakespeare", Shakespeare Survey 33, 1980, pp. 153-68.
- "English Actors' Names in German Archives and Elizabethan Theatre History", Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft (West), 1982, pp.146-161.
- Schweckendieck, Adolf. Bühnengeschichte des verlorenen Sohnes in Deutschland I. Teil(1527-1627), Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen 40. Leipzig, 1930.
- Scott, A.F. Everyone a Witness: The Stuart Age, Commentaries of an Era. London, 1974.
- Shaaber, Matthias. Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476-1622. London, 1929.
- Shirley, Peggy Faye. Serious and Tragic Elements in the Comedy of Thomas Dekker, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Jacobean Drama Studies, 50. Salzburg, 1975.
- Shakespeare, William. The Complete Works. Ed. P. Alexander. London, 1951.
- A Midsommer Nights Dreame. Ed. H.H. Furness, A New Variorum Edition, Philadelphia, 1895.
- Two Gentlemen of Verona. Ed. Clifford Leech, The Arden Edition. London, 1969.
- Titus Andronicus. Ed. J.C.Maxwell, The Arden Edition, 3rd. ed. London, 1961.
- Sieber, Siegfried. Volksbelustigungen bei deutschen Kaiserkrönungen, Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst, 3te. Folge, Bd.11. Frankfurt am Main, 1913.
- Simpson, Richard. (Ed.) The School of Shakspere, 2 vols. London, 1878.
- Sjögren, Gunnar. "Thomas Bull and Other 'English Instrumentalists' in Denmark in the 1580's", Shakespeare Survey 22, 1969, pp.119-124.
- Stahl, Ernst Leopold. Shakespeare und das Deutsche Theater. Wanderung und Wandelung seines Werkes in dreiundehalb Jahrhunderten. Mit Bilddokumenten zusammengestellt von Carl Nießen. Stuttgart, 1947.
- Steinhausen, G. (Hrsg.) Briefwechsel Balthasar Paumgartners des Jüngern mit seiner Gattin Magdalena, geb. Behaim, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart, CCIV, Tübingen, 1895.

- Stone, Laurence. An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino. Oxford, 1956.
- Strong, Roy. The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry. London, 1977.
- Syrocki, Marian. Andreas Gryphius: Sein Leben und Werk. Tübingen, 1964.
- Thieme, Heinz. Zur Verfasserfrage des Dekkerschen Stückes "The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus". Diss. Borna-Leipzig, 1934.
- Thornton, Thomas Perry. (Hrsg.) Grobianische Tischzuchten, Nach den Vorarbeiten Arno Schirokauers, Texte des späten Mittelalters 5. Berlin, 1957.
- Tittmann, J. (Hrsg.) Die Schauspiele des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, Deutsche Dichter des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 14. Leipzig, 1880.
- Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komoedianten in Deutschland, Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, Bd. 13. Leipzig, 1880.
- Trautmann, Karl. "Englische Komoedianten in Ulm", ALG XI, 1882, pp. 315-324.
- "Die älteste Nachricht über eine Aufführung von Shakespeares Romeo und Julie in Deutschland (1604)", ALG XI, 1882, pp. 625-26.
- "Englische Komoedianten in München (1597, 1600, 1607)", ALG XII, 1884, pp. 319-320.
- "Archivalische Nachrichten über die Theaterzustände der schwäbischen Reichstädte im 16. Jahrhundert", ALG XIII, 1885, pp. 34-71.
- "Englische Komoedianten in Nürnberg bis zum Schlusse des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1593-1648)", ALG XIV, 1886, pp. 113-136.
- "Englische Komoedianten in Stuttgart (1600, 1609, 1613-14) und Tübingen (1597)", ALG XV, 1887, pp. 211-16.
- "Englische Komoedianten in Ulm (1602)", ALG XV, 1887, pp. 216-17.
- "'Englische Komödianten in Rothenburg ob der Tauber", Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, Neue Folge VII, 1895, pp. 60-67.
- Unwin, George. The Gilds and Companies of London. London, 1908.

The Diary of Baron Waldstein. Translated and Annotated,
G.W. Groos. London, 1981.

Welsford, Enid. The Court Masque: A Study in the
Relationship between Poetry and the Revels.
Cambridge, 1927.

Wickham, Glynne. Early English Stages 1300 to 1600.
2 vols. in 3. London, 1959-63.

Wiemann, R. Die Erzählstruktur im Volksbuch Fortunatus.
Hildesheim, 1970.

Wikland, Erik. Elizabethan Players in Sweden 1591-92:
Facts and Problems. Stockholm, 1962.

----- 2nd. ed. revised, 1971.

----- 3rd. ed. revised, 1977.

Wilpert, Gero von. Sachwoerterbuch der Literatur.
Stuttgart, 1969.

Wilson, F.P. The English Drama, 1485-1585. Ed. with a
Bibliography, G.K. Hunter. The Oxford History of
English Literature, IV,1. Oxford, 1969.

Withington, Robert. English Pageantry: An Historical
Outline. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1918-20.

----- "The Lord Mayor's Show for 1623", PMLA XXX (No.1),
1915, pp.110-15.

----- "The Lord Mayor's Show for 1590", Modern Language
Notes XXXIII, Jan. 1918, pp.8-13.

Wittkowski, Georg. "Englische Komödianten in Leipzig",
Euphorion 15, 1908, pp.441-444.

Wodick, Willibald. Jakob Ayrers Dramen in ihrem Verhältnis
zur einheimischen Literatur und zum Schauspiel
der Englischen Komödianten. Halle, 1912.

Worp, J.A. "Die englischen Komödianten Jollifus und
Rowe", Sh.Jb. 46, 1910, pp.128-29.

Wülcker, Richard. "Englische Schauspieler in Kassel",
Sh.Jb. 14, 1879, pp.360-61.

Wysocki, L. Andreas Gryphius et la tragédie allemande
au 17me. siècle. Paris, 1893.

Yates, F.A. "English Actors in Paris During the Lifetime
of Shakespeare", Review of English Studies 1, 1925,
pp.392-403.

- The Art of Memory. London, 1966.
- Theatre of the World. London, 1969.
- The Rosicrucian Enlightenment. London, 1972.
- Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century.
London, 1975.
- Zall, P.M. (Ed.) A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English
Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.
Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963.
- Zeeveld, W.G. Foundations of Tudor Policy. Cambridge, Mass.,
1948.
- Zimmermann, Paul. "Englische Komödianten am Hofe zu
Wolfenbüttel", Braunschweigisches Magazin VIII,
1902, pp.37-45 and 53-57.

