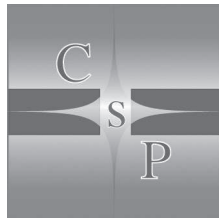


Shakespeare and His Collaborators
over the Centuries

Edited by

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and Matthew Nicholls



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KAREEN KLEIN

PARIS, ROMIO AND JULIETA:
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMAN
SHAKESPEARE

A group of Shakespeare's "collaborators" produced German versions of his texts as early as in the seventeenth century.¹ Originating with groups of English itinerant players who performed on the Continent, these texts have, through transmission and adaptation, travelled a long way from their originals. They made Shakespeare's stories known in Germany before his name and fame reached the Continent. These plays have had a low status in scholarly opinion, even lower than that of the so-called "bad" quartos. Yet to my mind, they need to be placed back into the context of their oral, theatrical provenance. This paper examines the German seventeenth-century text of *Romio und Julieta*,² and compares it with the English versions published in Shakespeare's lifetime, that is the First Quarto of 1597 and the Second Quarto of 1599.³ Such comparisons reveal changes to

¹ Obviously, the term "Shakespeare's collaborators" needs to be stretched somewhat. Although the English itinerant players might have been acquainted with Shakespeare's work and possibly even with his person, this was most probably not the case with the German actors who must at one point have written down the texts which have come down to us. There is no mention of Shakespeare in any of them – the term "collaborators" thus needs to be expanded to include those agents (actors or writers) who worked with his texts and themes without knowing even so much as the author's name.

² Albert Cohn's edition (Cohn 1865 [1971]) of the text is inconsistent about the spelling of Juliet's name: the title gives us "Julietta", although she is otherwise referred to as "Julieta".

³ The inclusion of the First Quarto (Q1) of *Romeo and Juliet* is important, since, like the German version, it is closer to the oral world of theatre. In contrast to the Second Quarto (Q2), which presents a more literary version, Q1 brings us closer to what might have been performed on the Shakespearean stage. As Stephen Orgel also argues, there is "very little evidence that will reveal to us the nature of a performing text in Shakespeare's theatre; but there is a little. There are the 'bad'

the character of Paris, who is much more prominent in the German text than in the two Quarto versions of *Romeo and Juliet*. This is not only due to Paris's additional appearances, but also to structural changes, as will be illustrated below.

Before turning to the textual analysis, I will briefly make an overview of the historical, theatrical and textual situation in which *Romio und Julieta* came into being. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the German-speaking countries did not have a cultural capital, let alone a centre of theatrical activity, as London was for England. There were numerous small territorial entities in the German-speaking part of Europe at the time. Performances in German might not only be given in central Germany, but also in cities as far apart as Strasbourg, Hermannstadt, Zagreb, Prague, Bratislava (Pressburg), Riga, Tallinn and Warsaw (see Brandt and Hogedoorn 1993: 9). German culture was thus historically decentralized. The emergence of acting as a profession did not take place for a considerable time, since there was no centralizing institution which might have facilitated its development (Brandt and Hogedoorn 1993: 4-5). Although not only German, but also French and Italian groups of strolling players were active on the German *Wanderbühne* when groups of English actors arrived on the Continent in the 1580s (see Williams 1990: 28), the English players soon outshone them all in popularity (see Brennecke and Brennecke 1964: 2). The Anglophone players brought new dimensions to the German theatre world. They are not only credited with introducing a more naturalistic way of acting (according to von Leixner 1906: 278), but even with founding the German professional theatre (see Haekel 2004a and Haekel 2004b).

These English travelling players were not only actors, but also experts in pantomime, music, dancing, and clowning, particularly useful skills when one considers the fact that they first performed in English (Brennecke and Brennecke 1964: 5), and had to communicate with their audience in not only aural but also visual ways.⁴ They were "all-round entertainers", and this made them extremely popular with Germans of all social classes (Brandt and Hogedoorn 1993: 44). Simon Williams explains that the development of the German theatre is greatly indebted to the English Comedians since they created "an awareness of theatre as an activity in its own right" (Williams 1990: 28), whereas before it had mainly been seen as didactic or as a diversion on festive days. Around the

quartos, whose evidence, in this respect, is not bad, but excellent" (Orgel 2002: 22).

⁴ For the organization of the itinerant English companies, see Newald (1963: 81-89) and Brandt and Hogedoorn (1993: 6-8, 44-48).

turn of the century, the companies gradually started to perform in German (see Brennecke and Brennecke 1964: 5; Newald 1963: 81; Haekel 2004b). They eventually incorporated German actors, and finally consisted entirely of them. Their repertoire was accordingly translated and adapted.⁵

Part of this repertoire has survived in written form. As early as 1620 a German collection of *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*⁶ was put into print. This was followed by a second edition in 1624 and a similar publication in 1630, entitled *Liebekampff, oder Ander Theil der Engelischen Comödien und Tragödien*.⁷ Among these collections were also adaptations of some of Shakespeare's plays (although his name is never mentioned), for example an adaptation of *Titus Andronicus* and a play called *Tragædia von Julio und Hyppolita*, which bears resemblances to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. An early German version of *Hamlet*, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord oder: Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark* (commonly known as *Fratricide Punished*), was printed in 1781 in H. A. O. Reichard's periodical *Olla Potrida*. The manuscript from 1710, on which this publication is based, is unfortunately lost (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 238). Several of the seventeenth-century German versions of Shakespeare were published by Albert Cohn (1971 [1865]). In addition to *Romio und Julieta* and the three plays mentioned above, Cohn reprints Jakob Ayrer's

⁵ For more information on the English Players in Germany, see Ralf Haekel 2004a; Baesecke 1935; Creizenach 1967 [1889]; Schrickx 1980; Schrickx 1982; and Schrickx 1983. For English Players in Central and Eastern Europe see Stříbrný 2000; and, Limon 1985. For strolling players in Switzerland see Fehr 1949. For English players in Austria see Meissner 1844; and, Asper 1975.

⁶ Full title: *Engelische Comedien und | Tragedien | Das ist: | Sehr Schöne / herrliche und außerlesene / geist= und weltliche Comedi | und Tragedi Spiel | Sampt dem | Pickelherring / Welche wegen ihrer artigen | Inventionen, kurzweilige auch theils | warhafftigen Geschicht halber / von den Engelländern | in Deutschland an Königlichen / Chur= und Fürst= | lichen Höfen / auch in vornehmen Reichs= See= und | HandelStädten seynd agiret und gehalten | worden/und zuvor nie im Druck auf= | gangen. | An jetzo / Allen der Comedi und Tragedi Lieb= | habern / und Andern zu lieb und gefallen/der der Gestalt | in offenen Druck gegeben/daß sie gar leicht darauß | Erquickung des Gemüthe gehalten wer= | den können. Gedruckt Im Jahr M. DC. XX.* (Here, as below, I use “|” to signal line breaks, “/” is printed in the original.)

⁷ Full title: *Liebekampff, oder Ander Theil der Engelischen Comödien und Tragödien, in welchen sehr schöne außserlesene Comödien und Tragedien zu befinden und zuvor nie in Druck aufgegangen. Gedruckt im Jahr 1630.* Yet, according to Cohn, this collection “contains little English matter” (Cohn 1975 [1865] CXIII).

*Comedia von der schönen Sidea*⁸ (its plot resembles that of *The Tempest*) and *Comedia von der Schönen Phaenicia*⁹ by Jakob Ayrer (its plot bears resemblances to that of *Much Ado About Nothing*). While Cohn also provides the original German texts, Brennecke's edition (Brennecke and Brennecke 1964) contains the English translations only; he offers a version of *Titus Andronicus* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, as Cohn does, but furthermore provides a translation of Andreas Gryphius' *Absurda Comica, oder Herr Peter Squentz* (the *Pyramus and Thisbe* sequence from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), *Tugend und Liebesstreit, oder Was Ihr Wollt* (based on *Twelfth Night*) and *Das Wohlgesprochene Uhrtheil, oder Der Jud von Venedig* (based on *The Merchant of Venice*). Among the plays still extant in manuscript, we find *Die Tragedia von Romio und Julieta*.¹⁰

As for performance history, there are records of versions of *Romeo and Juliet* being given in Dresden in 1626 and in 1646, although we obviously do not know how close the text which has come down to us was to the one performed then.¹¹ The one extant manuscript bears no date, but was most probably written at the end of the seventeenth century.¹² Cohn, in his 1865 edition, emphasizes that we do not have the original performance script of the English players, but rather "a version calculated for the requirements of the stage at a later period" (Cohn 1971 [1865]: CXXIV). This again reminds us of the text's close connection to the oral world of theatre.

The textual relation between *Romio und Julieta* and the two quarto versions of *Romeo and Juliet* is such that Cohn contends: "It is Shakespeare's play, almost scene for scene; many passages indeed are

⁸ Full title: *Comedia | von der | schönen | Sidea, wie es ihr biß zu jrer | Verheüratung ergangen, Mit | 16. Personen, Und hat | 5. Actus.*

⁹ Full title: *Spiegel Weiblicher zucht und Ehr. | Comedia | Von der | schönen | Phaenicia und Graf Tym- | bri von Gol|son auß Arragonien, | wie es jhnen in jhrer Ehrlichen Lieb ergangen, | biß | sie Ehelich zu|ammen komen, Mit | 17. Per|onen, und hat | 6 Actus.*

¹⁰ The manuscript can be consulted in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Cod. 13148). In my analysis, I will be using Cohn's printed text, based on this manuscript.

¹¹ See Williams (1990: 38). Schrickx believes that *Romeo and Juliet* was part of the repertoire of a company of strolling players as early as 1604 (Schrickx 1980: 166-167). See also Wolff (1911: 92-103), for his theory of the "Ur-Romeo".

¹² See Williams, 38, and Cohn CXXIII and 307. Adolf Scherl proposes 1688 as a likely date and Southern Bohemia as the point of origin for the manuscript in his introductory note to the Czech translation of *Romio und Julieta* by Jana Altmannová (Scherl 2001: 69-70). According to Cohn, the "dialect and orthography [of the manuscript] point to South Germany or Austria" (Cohn, CXXIV).

literal translations” (Cohn, CXXIV). Of the numerous instances of these literal translations, the following are two key examples, taken from the balcony scene:

ROMIO

[...] ach schönste Julieta, acht sie mich dan nicht würdig ihrer liebe in deme sie daß selbe wider zuruckh wintschet was sie mir versprochen?

JULIETA

Werthester Romio, ich wintsche sie darumb wider zuruckh, auf das ich sie noch einmah l widerschenkhen möchte. (*Romio und Julieta* 2.5)

ROMIO

Ah, fairest [Julieta], do you not think me worthy of your love, that you would take back what you have promised me?

JULIETA

Dearest [Romio]! I wished it back that I might give it you again. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 344; Lothar Bucher’s translation)¹³

The Second Quarto reads:

ROMEO

Wouldst thou withdraw it [your love’s vow]? For what purpose, love?

JULIET

But to be frank and give it thee again. (Q2 of *RJ* 2.1.172-173)

This is followed in the German text by another passage illustrating the similarity between the two texts:

ROMIO

Schönste gebietherin, so laßset vns dan eine Verbindnuß vnserer getrewen liebe anietzo aufrichten, dan ich schwöre allhier bey dem hellglanzenden Mond.

JULIETA

Ach schwöret nicht bey den wankelmuetigen vnd vnbeständigen Mond.

ROMIO

Ach bey wemb solt ich den schwören?

JULIETA

Schwöret lieber gahr nicht. (*Romio und Julieta* 2.5)

¹³ Bucher always substitutes “Juliet” for “Julieta” and “Romeo” for “Romio”. I use the original German names and speech prefixes of all characters in this essay.

ROMIO

Fair lady! Let us set up a contract of our true love here. For here I swear by yonder splendent moon –

JULIETA

Oh swear not by the fickle inconstant moon!

ROMIO

What shall I swear by?

JULIETA

Do not swear at all. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 344)

Here are the corresponding lines from Shakespeare's text:

ROMEO

Th'exchange of thy love's faithful vow for mine. (Q2 of *RJ* 2.1.169)

ROMEO

Lady, by yonder blessed moon I vow, [^{Q1}swear]
That tips with silver all these fruit-tree tops –

JULIET

O swear not by the moon, th'inconstant moon [...]

ROMEO

What shall I swear by?

JULIET

Do not swear at all [...] (Q2 of *RJ* 2.1.149-154)

These are just a few of the striking correspondences which illustrate the close connection between *Romio und Julieta* and its Shakespearean counterpart. Other close textual correspondences with Shakespeare are to be found in 1.3 (the conversation between Romio, Picklhäring and Penuolio), in 2.2 (Romio and Julieta's first meeting), in 2.4 (Mercutius' conjuration of Romio), in 2.5 (the Father's conversation with Romio), in 3.2 and 3.3 (Capulet's urging Julieta to marry Paris), in 3.5 (Mercutius' and Penuolio's discussion of the lovesick Romio), in 4.1 (Mercutius' and Penuolio's conversation preceding Tipold's entry), in 4.2 (Mercutius' and Tipold's banter before their fight), in 4.4 (Romio hiding in the Father's cell), and in 5.3 (the mourning over the supposedly dead Julieta).

Despite these similarities, the German play also contains important structural changes, omissions, and additions. One of the structural changes is that marriage plans between Paris and Julieta are only mentioned *after* she has fallen in love with Romio (in 3.2, whereas in Shakespeare's play they appear as early as 1.2). As will be detailed later, this heightens the tension, especially in the betrothal scene (3.8). A thematically interesting change is that Romeo's complaint about Rosaline's chastity in

Shakespeare (1.1) has been projected onto Julieta in the German version (3.6); interestingly, Rosalina of the German play is not a Capulet. Among the omissions, the brawl at the very beginning of the English play (1.1) can be pointed out. In fact, *Romio und Julieta* starts with a reconciliation between Capolet and Mundige (Shakespeare's Montague), encouraged by the Prince (1.1). The feud is virtually absent from the rest of the play; this, however, does not prevent any of the murders or deaths. A further omission is the potion scene (4.3) which is completely absent from the German text. Concerning the additions, Cohn draws attention to the "insertion of comic scenes", which he considers with little respect (Cohn 1971 [1865]: CXXIV); one other addition is 1.2, a scene where Julieta complains about love-sickness, without knowing for whom she is pining, and laments being confined by her parents. Another added sequence is Romio's plea to the Father, asking for his support for the union of the two protagonists (3.8). Wolff gives a detailed discussion of further additions (Wolff 1911: 94-97).

Through some of the structural changes mentioned above, Paris gains in importance in the German version. He could be considered one of the least interesting characters in Shakespeare's play, his role being subordinate to the needs of the plot. Shakespeare's German adaptors give him more presence, weight, and importance throughout. He appears in additional scenes and is at times portrayed as a more sympathetic character. As a result, Julieta's dilemma is heightened, and so, in some respects, is the plot. This can be seen, for instance, when Paris first appears in Shakespeare's play and is immediately established as an obstacle to Juliet's happy marriage with Romeo: "But now, my lord: what say you to my suit?" (Q2 of *RJ* 1.2.6). In the German version, by contrast, all he does is exchange courtesies with Capolet, his host, without mentioning Julieta:

PARIS

Herr Capolet ich bin Niemahlen gewohnet eine solche Ehr zu empfangen, da ich dieselbe nicht mit Ehr belohnen solle, darumb schätze ich sein Hauß preiſswürdig mich darinnen zu bewürden.

CAPOLET

Mein schlechte wohnung wird preiſswürdig durch dero gegenwarth.

PARIS

Herr Capolet ich bitte.

CAPOLET

Sie befehlen Herr Graff.

PARIS

Mich zu verschonen.

CAPOLET

Mit was?

PARIS

Mit solchen Ehren ceremonien. (*Romio und Julieta* 1.3)

PARIS

Sir! I am not at all accustomed to receiving such honour, as I am not able to return it. Therefore I think your house quite worthy to receive me.

CAPOLET

My poor habitation becomes worthy by your presence.

PARIS

Sir! I beg –

CAPOLET

What is your command, Count?

PARIS

To forbear.

CAPOLET

What?

PARIS

Treating me with such honour and ceremony. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 322)

This sequence serves a different purpose than in Shakespeare, namely to show the high esteem in which Capulet holds Count Paris; According to Wolff, Capulet sets Paris above himself in the social hierarchy (Wolff 1911: 95).

The ball scene is a similar instance: the Shakespearean versions leave open to conjecture the question of Paris' presence; even though he has been invited to the ball by Capulet, no stage direction nor anything in the dialogue confirms his presence. This contrasts greatly with the German version, which takes great care to show that Paris' status has been raised from that of a functional character in Shakespeare's text to that of a key figure in the German version. Romeo and Paris jointly thank Capulet for his hospitality. Paris says: "Wür sind Ihnen höchlich verpflichtet vor dise Ehr so sie hierinnen un|s beweisen" ("We are deeply indebted to you for the honour you shew us" 2.3; Cohn, 1971 [1865]: 333). After Julieta and Romeo have met, fallen in love, and kissed, Paris joins Capulet in urging Romeo and Penuolio (Shakespeare's Benvolio) to stay:

CAPPOL[ET]

Ich bitte ihr Herrn sie verbleiben.

PENUOL[IO]

Komb forth Romio la|s vn|s gehen vnser kurtzweil ist geendet.

PARIS

Wo es möglich so wollen Sie noch verbleiben.

ROMIO

Wir bedankhen vn[s] aller Ehre vnd nehmen also abschied. (*Romio und Julieta* 2.3)

CAPPOL[ET]

Pray, gentlemen, stay.

PENUOL[IO]

Come Romio, let us go, our pastime is over.

PARIS

Pray, remain, if possible.

ROMIO

We thank you for all the honour and take our leave. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 336)

Paris thus actually asks his rival to stay longer, which suggests that he is unaware at this point that Romio is his rival. Just after the Mundiges have left, Paris utters another few lines not present in Shakespeare:

PARIS

Ich habe offtermahl gewünscht da[s] das Haus Capolet mit Mundige möchte vereinbahret werden, habe auch vernohmen, da[s] sich gar die Herrschafft bemühet di[s] lebensstreit beyzulegen.

CAPPOL[ET]

Es ist deme also Herr Graff, aber Ihro fürstl. Gn. haben es noch nicht proclamiren lassen, so stehet die feindschafft noch bis dato. (*Romio und Julieta* 2.3)

PARIS

I have often wished the house of Capolet might become reconciled with that of Mundige, and hear that even the Prince endeavours to lay this deadly strife.

CAPPOL[ET]

So it is, Count Paris, but His Grace has not yet issued the proclamation. Therefore the feud stands to this hour. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 336)

This passage presents an intriguing difference to Shakespeare's texts: not only does Paris wish for the feud to end, but it has even come to his attention that such an end is planned. Capolet confirms this and adds that the sole reason why the enmities have not yet ceased is that the Prince has hitherto failed to "proclaim" the peace. Shakespeare never gives a reason for the feud, perhaps to show its irrationality. In the German version, however, the deaths become even more pointless from the very beginning of the play since there is no obvious mention of the feud at all; five young

people die, simply because a proclamation has been omitted. The idea of the absent mention of the feud is reinforced when Romio announces that he is safe as he ventures into Capolet's garden to see Julieta: "die sicherheit zeit mir den weeg, weil der frid geschlossen zwischen meinen Herrn Vatter vnd den Capolet" ("Safety points to [sic] the way, since peace is concluded between my father and Capolet" 2.5; Cohn 1971 [1865]: 340).¹⁴ These words point to a considerable change in the dramatic structure of Shakespeare's play.

Yet this is not all – the German version of the ball scene has one last surprise to offer. At the end of the feast, the host invites his honored guest to converse in private:

CAPPOL[ET]

Herr Graff er wolle ihme belieben lassen weil die Mahlzeit vorbey vnd alle Vrlaub nehmen mit mir ins Zimmer zu gehen, ich habe mehrers mit dero selben zu reden.

PARIS

Ich folge Herr Capolet, aber schöne Julieta beliebt ihr mit zu kommen. [*abit.*]

JULIETA

Ich bin schuldig mit Ihro Gn. auf den fues zu folgen. – Amma gehe sehe vnd frage wer diser gewesen so mit mir gedantz. (*Romio und Julieta* 2.3)

CAPPOL[ET]

As supper is over and all the guests taking leave, may it please you to go with me to my cabinet; I have various things to discuss with you.

PARIS

I follow, my lord; but, fair Julieta, be pleased to go with us. [*Exit.*]

JULIETA

I am bound to follow your Grace instantly. – Nurse dear, go and enquire who the gentleman was who danced with me. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 336)

¹⁴ Yet a few lines later Julieta somewhat inconsistently warns Romio that his life *is* in danger: "Ach Romio macht euch von hier, der orth ist gefährlich, wofern euch meines Vatters Diener alhier solten gewahr werden, dörfften sie euch das leben nehmen" ("Oh Romio, go, the place is dangerous. If my father's servants were to find you here, they might take your life" 2.5; Cohn 1971 [1865]: 344). These could either be remnants of Shakespeare's text, or Julieta may simply be referring to the fact that two young people were not allowed to meet alone at this time of night, feud or no feud. On the inconsistency of the absent feud, see also Wolff (1911: 99).

In stark contrast to Shakespeare's play, Paris and Julieta actually speak to each other in the ball scene. One might even suppose that this is the moment when Paris falls in love with his host's daughter – since he has not mentioned her before. Julieta's attention quite obviously focuses on the young man who has just danced with her, since, as in Shakespeare's play, she sends the Nurse to ask for his name. In fact, she can do so free of all worries, since her mother only proposes the marriage to Paris *after* the scene which corresponds to the balcony scene in Shakespeare's play. In both quartos, Paris has been mentioned before, and was possibly meant to appear on stage in the ball scene, as is the case here. Indeed, one might conjecture that the German version actually lends support to the hypothesis that this was the stage practice in Shakespeare's time.

Furthermore, *Romio und Julieta* presents the threat Paris poses much more visibly than Shakespeare does. Instead of having Lady Capulet prepare Juliet for her suitor, Paris is physically present at the ball scene as a guest of honor, and speaks to Romio *and* Julieta. The German version thus offers a much more visual way of introducing the triangular relationship between Romio, Julieta and Paris. It seems an adequate way of dealing with the matter for a text whose theatrical origins should always be emphasized.

Whereas Williams complains about the "refusal to employ tension as a structural principle" in the German version of *Romeo and Juliet* (Williams 1990: 39), I would like to argue that the tension is in fact heightened. This can be shown by looking at the betrothal scene in *Romio und Julieta*, which comes precisely after Capolet has given Julieta's hand to Paris, and this in her presence. This fact makes the marriage sequence in the German version all the more poignant. Let us analyze the whole sequence: in 3.8 of the German version, Romio persuades the Father to help him and Julieta. However, he makes no mention of marriage. There is, interestingly, no scene division between this and the following sequence, where Paris finally asks Capolet for Julieta's hand and this in the girl's presence ("Herr Capulet, ihm ist wissendt die lieb vnd affection so ich zu seiner tochter trage, entlich von ihme Herr Capulet ein gewintsches Ja vnd antwort zu empfangen" 3.8). Her parents have put sufficient pressure on her to present an obedient daughter in this scene. Julieta repeatedly emphasizes this obedience herself:

CAPU[LET]

Geliebtes Kindt Julieta, hier hab ich mit Graff Paris die vnderredung deiner bersohn halber gethan, du wirst dirs gefallen disen tapffern gualier vor deinen Eheherrn zu erkiesen, dadurch wirst du mich vnd deine Muetter glickseelig machen.

JULI[ETA]

Waßs mein Herr Vatter thuet, das ist auch mein gehorsamb vnd will.

PARIS

Schönste Julieta, von dero Herrn Vatter vnd fraw Muetter habe ich das Jawordt erhalten sie vor meine liebste vnd gemahlin zu nehmen, so verhoffe ich auch das meine lieb vnd affection bey dero Schönheit platz vnd statt finden werde.

JULI[ETA]

Herr Graff , wie vor vermeld, waßs meiner Eltern befehl, ist auch mein will vnd alßs einer gehorsamben tochter haben Sie mit mir zu befehlen.
(*Romio und Julieta* 3.8)

CAPU[LET]

Dear child, I have just conversed with Count Paris on thy behalf. Thou wilt be pleased to choose this gallant cavalier for thy husband, for thus wilt thou make me and thy mother quite happy.

JULI[ETA]

What my lord and father does, is also my obedience and will.

PARIS

Beautiful Julieta, I have got the consent of both your father and your mother to make you my beloved wife; let me hope that my love and affection will find a place also with your beauty.

JULI[ETA]

My lord, as I have said before, whatever may be the command of my parents is my will also; you may dispose of me as of an obedient daughter. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 360-362)

While obeying the convention of courteous speech which seems to have been established between her father and her suitor, Julieta never says that she will marry Paris of her own accord; she merely repeats that she obeys her parents. After this sequence Julieta marries Romio. Paris is even mentioned by Julieta when she explains her decision to the clergyman:

Herr Pater ich habe ihm geoffenbahret meiner Elter Meinung, die gäntzlich haben wollen den Graff Paris zu nehmen, welches ich aber bey mir beschlossen nicht zu thuen, sondern Romio meine getrewe liebe zu schenken. (*Romio und Julieta* 3.8)

Father I have made known to you the opinion of my parents, who insist upon my taking Count Paris, while I am resolved never to do that, but, to give my true love to Romio. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 362)

The shift in emphasis from Shakespeare's texts to the German version is also present here: Paris' name is perpetually on everyone's minds and lips in *Romio und Julieta*.

Last but not least, Paris is very prominent in the final tragic scene. We find him at Julieta's "monument", where his speech is much longer than in Shakespeare's play. This is especially striking in a play where most monologues are cut.¹⁵ In *Romio und Julieta*, Paris is given space and time to articulate his grief:

Traurige Music, Julieta ligt in Monument.

Paris mit ein Korb vol Blumen und Jung.

PARIS

Auf Paris, gehe Julieta zu besuchen, erzeige ihr die letzte Ehr, weil du in ihren leben nicht gewürdiget worden sie zu bedienen, o grausamber vnd tyrannischer todt, wie bald hast du mein gedachte frewd in da[s] gröste leyd verändert, [...] Ist di[s] köstliche Hochzeitfest meiner frewde, ist di[s] der Lust Saal, darin ich mich soll ergötzen? wo bleibt der wohl gezierte brauth Crantz? wo die Stein vnd perlen? wo der Kleider Pracht? Ach ach, es ist leider nichts von nöthen, al[s] da[s] schwähre Seuffzen und Clagen. [...] Wohl, liebste Julieta, also will ich alle tag, dir zu Ehren deinen leichnamb mit Blumen ziehren. [*Strüt die blumen auff sie. (Romio und Julieta 5.3)*]

[Doleful music, Julieta lies in the monument.]

Paris with a basket full of flowers. Page.

PARIS

Now Paris go and visit her, and show her the last honours, as thou wast not found worthy of serving her in life. Cruel, tyrant death, how quickly hast thou changed my anticipated joys to the deepest grief! [...] Is this the delicious marriage-feast of my joy, this the hall of my revel? Where is the richly ornamented bridal wreath? Where are the jewels and the pearls? where the splendid dresses? Alas, nothing is required but heavy sighing and lamenting. [...] Dearest Julieta, thus will I daily strew flowers on thy body in thy honour. [*Scatters the flowers over her. (Cohn 1971 [1865]: 396-398)*]

As in the First Quarto (5.3.6), the stage direction details that Paris strews flowers on Juliet's tomb: another indication of the texts' close connection to the stage. The Count's speech (only partly quoted here) has elements which can be found in both the First and the Second Quartos (see Q1 5.3.6-12, and Q2 5.3.12-17), but it adds graphic details not found in Shakespeare. Paris voices his longing for 'the richly ornamented bridal

¹⁵ Many other monologues are also omitted, for example the above-mentioned potion speech (Q2 of *RJ* 4.3.14-57), or Mercutio's Queen Mab speech (Q2 of *RJ* 1.4.53-95; the corresponding scene in *Romio und Julieta* is 2.1), or the Friar's first speech (Q2 of *RJ* 2.2.1-30; the equivalent scene being 2.5 in the German play).

wreath”, “the jewels and the pearls”, and “the splendid dresses”; his presence is reinforced through his long, descriptive monologue. Paris’ speech echoes his lines in the lamentation scene of Shakespeare’s play (4.4), especially so in Q1 (4.4.46-53), but also in Q2 (4.4.67-68).

An omission in the German version is the reason of Paris’ wrath over Romeo’s appearance:

PARIS

This is that banished haughty Montague
That murdered my love’s cousin, *with which grief*
It is supposed the fair creature died,
And here is come to do some villainous shame
To the dead bodies. I will apprehend him.
Stop thy unhallowed toil, vile Montague!
Can vengeance be pursued further than death?
Condemnèd villain, I do apprehend thee.
Obey and go with me, for thou must die.

(Q2 of *RJ* 5.3.49-57; the italicized passage is only in Q2)

In the corresponding passage the German version is closer to Q1 than to Q2, whose text goes one step further in Paris’ aggression, making him suspect that Romeo “is come to do some villainous shame | To the dead bodies” (5.3.52-53).

In Shakespeare’s text, Paris emphasizes that the intruder is a Montague, whom he holds personally responsible for Juliet’s death. He even accuses Romeo of wanting to pursue his “vengeance further than death” and declares that he “must die.”¹⁶ In *Romio und Julieta*, possibly because the end of the feud is only a proclamation away, Paris is less violent:

PARIS

Holla, weiche zuruckh, Vermessener, wer gibt dir Befehl, disen orth zu betretten?

(*Romio und Julieta* 5.3)

PARIS

Hollah, keep off, audacious man! Who gave thee authority to enter this place?

(Cohn 1971 [1865]: 398)

¹⁶ In the First Quarto he even says: “The law condemns thee” (5.3.43).

Again, Paris is presented as a more sympathetic character: whereas Shakespeare's Paris threatens to kill Romeo, the German Paris simply asks why Romeo has come to the monument.

The following struggle is similar in both versions. Romeo bids him, "tempt not a desp'rate man" (Q2, 5.3.59), and the German version reads: "saget das ein verzweifelter Mensch Euch Euer leben geschenkhet" ("say, that a desperate man spared your life" 5.3, Cohn 1971 [1865]: 400). Paris objects and is killed. In this case, it is Romeo who is more violent and cruel than his Shakespearean counterpart, actually sending his victim to "hell" (5.3). However, he does show signs of remorse upon discovering whom he has just killed: "ach Himmel es ist der vnglickseelige Graff Paris, ich glaube daß diser Cörper auch von allen Vnglickh zusammen gemacht" ("Heavens, it is the unfortunate Paris. I think, this body too was made up of misfortune" 5.3, Cohn 1971 [1865]: 399).¹⁷ Romeo sees Paris as one of the tragic heroes in the play, an opinion which is confirmed by the German text as a whole.

In the First Quarto Romeo lays Paris next to Juliet, acknowledging his "last request": "For thou hast prized thy love above thy life" (Q1 5.3.62-63).¹⁸ In both *Romio und Julieta* and Q1, Romeo acknowledges his rival's feelings to some extent. In the German version, Romeo even asks heaven for forgiveness just before he dies:

ROMIO
 Himmel, verzeihe mir,
 Waß ich hier hab gethan.
 Ich sterbe willig gahr
 Als Julieta Mann. [*Stirbt.*]
 (*Romio und Julieta* 5.3)

ROMIO
 Mercy for what I did
 In heaven's eye!
 Husband of Juliet

¹⁷ In Q2 Romeo calls Paris "one writ with me in sour misfortune's book" (Q2, 5.3.82), acknowledging a link between him and the Count, at least to a certain extent.

¹⁸ In Q2, Romeo merely replies to Paris' request: "In faith, I will" (Q2, 5.3.74). He later goes on to say: "I'll bury thee in a triumphant grave" (Q2, 5.3.3). Yet this grave is "triumphant" to Romeo because of Juliet's presence. He does not acknowledge Paris' feelings to the same extent as in Q1 and in the German version.

Willingly I die. [*He dies.*¹⁹
(Cohn 1971 [1865]: 400)

For the dying words of each character, the early German collaborators of Shakespeare have reverted to verse. In his last lines Paris addresses Julieta in a way which foreshadows Romeo's last words:

PARIS
Ach wehe ich sterbe hier,
Julieta, liebste brauth,
Jezt komm ich auch zu dir,
Weil du mir warst vertraut. [*Stirbt.*
(*Romio und Julieta* 5.3)

PARIS
Alas, I'm dying here!
Now I too, Julieta, come to thee,
To thee, my bride so dear,
For thou belong'st to me. [*He dies.*
(Cohn 1971 [1865]: 400)²⁰

Julieta awakes alone, whereas the Shakespearean heroine does so in the presence of Friar Laurence. In the German version, she actually first discovers Paris' corpse among the "dead people" surrounding her:

JULI[ETA]
Aber ihr götter bewahret mich, waßs ligen hier todter leuth? [...]
[*Nimbt ein liecht geht zu Paris.*
Hilff Himmel, hilff, waßs ist daßs? ist das nicht Graff Paris? Ja er ist es,
ach er hat sich gewißs ermord vmb meinetwillen, weillen seine

¹⁹ A more literal translation would be:
ROMIO

Heaven, forgive me
For that which I have done here
I willingly die
As Julieta's husband. [*Dies.*

²⁰ As in the previous case with Romio, Bucher aims at a more poetic translation of Paris' last words. A more literal translation would be:

PARIS
Oh woe here I die,
Julieta, dearest bride,
Now I come to you too
Since you were entrusted to me. (Or: Since you were familiar to me.)
[*Dies.*

muethma]sung gewesen, ich sey gestorben, ach armer liebhaber ich
beklage deinen todt mit Seufftzen, weil du vmb meinetwillen gestorben
[...] (*Romio und Julieta* 5.3)

JULI[ETA]

But ye gods preserve me! what dead [people] are lying here? [...]

[*Takes a candle, and approaches Paris.*]

Help, Heaven, help! what is this? Is this not Count Paris? Yes, it is he.

No doubt, he has [killed] himself and for my sake, thinking me dead.

Poor lover, I bewail thy death, because thou hast died for my sake.

(Cohn 1971 [1865]: 400-402)

Julieta thus joins Romio in lamenting Paris' fate, and foreshadows what the older generation will say a few lines later. Only then does she discover Romio:

[A]ber wa]s ligt hier vor einer – ach gerechter Himmel bewahre mich,
wa]s sehen meine Augen? ach ihr götter, es ist Romio vnd ligt auch
ermordet, ach pein[...]

(*Romio und Julieta* 5.3)

But [who lies here]? Ah just Heaven defend me! What do my eyes
behold? Ah ye gods, it is Romio, and he also lies here, murdered! Oh
torment[...]

(Cohn 1971 [1865]: 402)

By having Julieta notice Paris' corpse before her eyes light on Romio's body, the Count is again brought to the fore.

In contrast to the Shakespearean texts, the feud is conspicuously absent from the end of the German play. The Prince does not accuse Capulet in any way and Montague is not even present. The Father is also rapidly forgiven. What the Prince,²¹ Capulet and the Father rather concentrate on is blaming youth and love for the three dead bodies they have found. Accordingly, Paris' presence is again emphasized. Capulet's concluding lament only names one person:

CAPULET

Kunt Paris nicht mein Kündt in seinen Leben krigen,

So soll er nach dem todt in ihren grabe liegen.

O werthe schawer Zahl, heist di]s nicht recht betrüben,

²¹ The speech prefix here is "Hertzog", although the Prince is also referred to as "Fürst".

Ein ieder hütte sich vor solchen Vnglicks Lieben. (*Romio und Julieta* 5.3).

CAPULET

If Paris during life my daughter could not wed
 In one grave shall he lie with her now that he's dead.
 Is't not a sorry sight, O ye spectators all,
 Beware that none of you, such ill-starred love befall. (Cohn 1971
 [1865]: 406)²²

He decides that Paris and not Romio is to be buried “in one grave” with his daughter. Julieta cannot even escape Paris in death, as she does in Shakespeare’s play. Comparing these last lines with those that end *Romeo and Juliet*, one can see that Paris has been substituted for Romeo in the epilogue:

PRINCE

A glooming peace this morning with it brings;
The sun for sorrow will not show his head.
 Go hence to have more talk of these sad things;
 Some shall be pardoned and some punished.
 For never was a story of more woe
 Than this of Juliet and her Romeo. (Q2, 5.3.305-310, the italicized line
 is not in Q1)

The German play is not the story of “Juliet and her Romeo” driven to a tragic death by their feuding fathers. Whereas in Shakespeare the Prince scolds the feuding families, in the German version no one is “punished”. We are rather presented with the story of three young people who exemplify where impetuous love can lead. “Die Jugend ist nicht klug, sie liebet vnbedacht” (“Youth is not wise at all, it loves without a thought” 5.3, Cohn 1971 [1865]: 406), preaches the Father at the end, echoing Friar Laurence’s words in the betrothal scene: “These violent delights have violent ends [...] Therefore love moderately: long love doth so” (Q2 2.5.9-14). But whereas Shakespeare has the warning precede the tragic events,

²² As before, Bucher translates in verse, and quite adequately catches the tone of the original. Let me again provide a more literal and therefore less poetic translation of the German version:

CAPULET

Could Paris not have my child in his (or its) life,
 So shall he lie in her grave after death.
 O all esteemed spectators, does this not mean to grieve,
 Let every one be wary of such love misfortunes.

his German collaborators merely comment on their result. The ending of *Romio und Julieta* thus promotes a different moral value for the play, focusing on the dangers of youthful love, and standing in contrast to *Romeo and Juliet*'s warning against feuding families.²³ As part of this change in emphasis, Paris is included in the play's tragic conclusion. The German play also laments the tragic ending, but with a slight nuance – we have here three equally prominent dead bodies, and only one of them is mentioned by name in the final lines: Paris. The Count may therefore be considered as one of the tragic heroes of the German version of *Romeo and Juliet*, with an enlarged role and a more likeable character.

By analyzing the prominence of Paris' character in *Romio und Julieta*, I have aimed to show how the German *Wanderbühne* adapted Shakespeare's texts for its own needs, for example, by changing and condensing the plot, shifting moral emphasis and generally bringing the play closer to the oral, theatrical world of the itinerant players. As the present instance suggests, these adaptations are worthy of our attention as they are interesting both for their relationship to the Shakespearean originals and for what they tell us about the practices of the German itinerant players in the seventeenth century.

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²³ In this respect, the German play parallels Shakespeare's source, Arthur Brooke's narrative poem *The Tragicall Historie of Romeus and Juliet* (1562), whose address "To the reader" is similarly moralistic: "And to this ende (good Reader) is this tragical matter written, to describe unto thee a coople of unfortunate lovers, thralling themselves to dishonest desire, neglecting the authoritie and advise of parents and frendes" (Arthur Brooke, "The Tragicall Historie of Romeus and Juliet", in Bullough 1957: 284). Also see Wolff (1911: 98).

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