

William Shakespeare

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HENRY IV

PART TWO

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SHAKESPEARE

Henry IV

This stirring continuation of the themes begun in Henry IV. Part One again pits a rebellion within the State and that master of misrule. Falstaff, against the maturing of Prince Hal. Alternating scenes between bawdy tavern and regal court, between revelry and politics. Shakespeare probes the sources, uses, and responsibilities of power as an old-king dies and a young king must choose between a ruler's solemn duty and a merry but dissipated friend. Falstaff. The play represents Shakespeare at the peak of his maturity in writing historical drama and comedy.



William Shakespeare was born in Stratford-upon-Avon in April 1564, and his birth-is traditionally celebrated on April 23. The facts of his life, known from surviving documents, are sparse. He was one of eight children born to John Shakespeare, a merchant of some standing in his community. William probably went to the King's New School in Stratford, but he had no university education. In November 1582, at the age of eighteen, he married Anne Hathaway, eight years his senior, who was pregnant with their first child, Susanna. She was born on May 26, 1583. Twins, a boy, Hamnet (who would die at age eleven), and a girl, Judith, were born in 1585. By 1592 Shakespeare had gone to London, working as an actor and already known as a playwright. A rival dramatist, Robert Greene, referred to him as "an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers." Shakespeare became a principal shareholder and playwright of the successful acting troupe, the Lord Chamberlain's Men (later, under James I, called the King's Men). In 1599 the Lord Chamberlain's Men built and occupied the Globe Theatre in Southwark near the Thames River. Here many of Shakespeare's plays were performed by the most famous actors of his time, including Richard Burbage, Will Kempe, and Robert Armin. In addition to his 37 plays, Shakespeare had a hand in others, including Sir Thomas More and The Two Noble Kinsmen, and he wrote poems, including Venus and Adonis and The Rape of Lucrece. His 154 sonnets were published, probably without his authorization, in 1609. In 1611 or 1612 he gave up his lodgings in London and devoted more and more of his time to retirement in Stratford, though he continued writing such plays as The Tempest and Henry VIII until about 1613. He died on April 23, 1616, and was buried in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford. No collected edition of his plays was published during his lifetime, but in 1623 two members of his acting company, John Heminges and Henry Condell, put together the great collection now called the First Folio.

INTRODUCTION



Shakespeare wrote 2 Henry IV quite soon after 1 Henry IV, perhaps in 1597, partly, no doubt, to capitalize on the enormous theatrical success of Falstaff and partly to finish the story of Falstaff's rejection. In writing 2 Henry IV, Shakespeare drew on materials similar to those used for I Henry IV, notably Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles (1587) and the anonymous play The Famous Victories of Henry V (1583-1588). Moreover, he undertook to write a play that structurally is much like its predecessor, revealing more similarity between these plays than one can find elsewhere in Shakespeare. Even the three Henry VI plays do not reiterate structural patterns to the same degree. Is Shakespeare repeating himself, rewriting the earlier play, and, if so, why? Is 2 Henry IV essentially a way of giving audiences more of what they had found so entertaining in the earlier play, or is it a way of reflecting on new and troublesome issues only partially raised in 1 Henry IV? The similarities are indeed marked, though, as we shall see, their chief function may be to highlight the important contrasts that arise through a consideration of the surface resemblances.

The structural pattern runs as follows. In both plays, Shakespeare alternates between scenes of political seriousness and scenes of comic irresponsibility, juxtaposing a rebellion in the land with a rebellion in the King's own family. In 1 Henry IV, we move from a council of war (1.1) to a planning of the robbery at Gad's Hill (1.2). The scenes comment on each other by their nearness and by their mutual concern with lawlessness. Similarly, in 2 Henry IV, we are at first introduced to a political rebellion in the north of England, after which we encounter Falstaff and Prince Hal's page. In both plays, 2.2 shows us Hal with Poins, setting up a future meeting to embarrass Falstaff by

means of a plot, and, in both plays, 2.4 is a long, centrally located scene at the tavern, involving Hal and Falstaff in a contest of wits devised to expose Falstaff as a resourceful liar. The festivities in both scenes are brought to an end by a knocking at the door. (The act-scene divisions may not be Shakespeare's, for they do not appear in the early quartos of either play; nevertheless, the structural location of these scenes is similar.) Between these linked scenes of comic action, we turn in both plays to the rebel camp of the Percys for a discussion of military planning against King Henry (2.3). In both plays, Falstaff goes off supposedly to fight against the rebels, but instead manages to abuse his authority as recruiting officer and to garner undeserved honors, either through wounding the dead Hotspur in the leg or through capturing Coleville of the Dale with the aid of an inflated reputation. The battle scenes are punctuated by Falstaff's wry soliloquies; his disputation on wine in 2 Henry IV (4.3.88-123) serves a function like that of his better-known catechism on honor in 1 Henry IV (5.1.129-40). Both plays introduce a confrontation between Hal and his father: the son is penitent for his waywardness, the father lectures on statecraft, and the prodigal son is recovered into kingly grace. Prince Hal goes on thereafter to win public honor and to prove himself his father's true son. Even the rejection of Falstaff, with which the second play ends, finds its counterpart in 1 Henry IV in Hal's impatience with Falstaff during the battle of Shrewsbury, his elegy over the seemingly dead body of his onetime companion, and his resolve to be henceforth a prince.

These resemblances, and still others, are further highlighted when we realize that Shakespeare continues to use in his second play the structural device of foils, or paired characters, around Hal, who help define alternative models of conduct. The father is, as before, an awesome figure of authority—one whose sternness Hal never fully adopts and yet one whose public role as king Hal must inherit. Falstaff, as before, offers himself as a companion in revelry, dissipation, and joie de vivre, and must be rejected, even though much of what he says offers insight into the coldness of King Henry and especially of Hal's

dutiful brother Prince John. Yet the chief purpose of these recapitulations is to suggest profound differences. 2 Henry IV does not simply go over familiar material. Even the resemblances noted so far embody significant changes: the opening scene of the first play takes place at court, the second in the country; the second scene of the first play sets up the trick to be played on Falstaff, whereas in the second play this event takes place in 2.2; this same second scene of the first play is chiefly a battle of wits between Hal and Falstaff, whereas in the second play Falstaff has to cope with the pointed questioning of the Lord Chief Justice; and so on. Repeatedly, the similarities of situations reveal how much Hal has still to learn, how much Falstaff has changed, and how much more complicated the political process is than it first appeared. The foil relationships in this play focus less on honor, as in 1 Henry IV, than on two related matters: rumor or reputation, and justice.

Rumor begins the play-quite literally, since Rumor is presented to us in allegorized form as portrayed by Virgil, painted full of tongues, spreading false information about the battle of Shrewsbury just ended. Rumor takes particular delight in its most cruel trick of all-raising false hopes and then dashing them. In the scene following at the Percys' household, we see Rumor as it manifests itself in the real world of men, beguiling Northumberland with the "news" of his son Hotspur's triumph, only to disappoint him afterward with the stark truth of defeat and death. What is the function of the uncharacteristic allegory at the start of this play? It serves first to establish a new dispiriting tone. The rebels are in disarray, and their cause is in jeopardy. Hotspur is dead, and with him has died the bright honor of his cause. His kinsmen, always more Machiavellian than he, are now warier than ever. Northumberland is persuaded, in a later scene, to prevaricate to his allies and to withdraw to Scotland when they most need his support, waiting to come in on their side only when he can be sure of success. The atmosphere of realpolitik and of dealing in false appearances is a consequence of a world governed by rumor. The rebels' case is

never as attractive in this play as in 1 Henry IV; Hotspur's idealism and chivalry are sorely missed.

Rumor has profound consequences for the King's side as well, and for Falstaff and Prince Hal. Falstaff rides on false reputation through the early scenes of 2 Henry IV. He evades arrest at the hands of the Lord Chief Justice because of his presumed deeds at Shrewsbury, which we know to be illusory. His day's service at Shrewsbury "hath a little gilded over" his "night's exploit on Gad's Hill," as the Lord Chief Justice reluctantly concedes (1.2.147–8). His reputation makes possible his capture of Coleville of the Dale at Gaultree Forest, even though, by this time, Falstaff's reputation is clearly beginning to wear thin.

Conversely, Hal discovers that his reputation for prodigality will not leave him. Despite his having lost track of Falstaff, not even knowing of the old man's whereabouts until he agrees to revisit his onetime companion in the tavern for old times' sake, Hal realizes that everyone assumes the worst of him. All expect his future reign to be one of continual riot. He himself characterizes his visit to the tavern, in order to see Falstaff again, as a base "transformation" like those Ovidian portrayals of Jove in lowly human disguise. Talking with Poins in 2.2.1-44, Hal professes to be "exceeding weary" of the "disgrace" it is in him to remember all his vile companions, including Poins, and he sardonically congratulates his companion on thinking like everyone else when Poins assumes that any weeping on Hal's part for his father's death would be no more than princely hypocrisy. "Let the end try the man," says Hal, in what should be a plain notice of his reformation, but no one credits him with sincerity. When his father does take to his deathbed, surrounded by hushed courtiers, Hal, until now notably absent from court, enters with exaggerated offhandedness, as though eschewing the show of mourning he knows cannot be believed in him. His taking the crown from the pillow of his seemingly dead father strikes King Henry and his courtiers as one last confirmation of Hal's desire to supplant his father, and indeed we, too, are forced to wonder at Hal's imprudence. (The patricidal overtones in one of Shakespeare's sources, The Famous Victories of Henry V, are much more overt than those in Shakespeare's

play.)

The structural recapitulations of 2 Henry IV, then, in which Hal first jests with Falstaff at the tavern and afterward confronts his father at court, are no mere repetitions; they stress the dreary fact that a reputation for riotous conduct persists, that the father's embracing of his son has lapsed into renewed distrust, and that "reformation" is not the simple process Hal once supposed. Reformation is first a matter of improving one's own conduct, but it is also a matter of improving one's image. Hal has been aware of the need for attending to one's image, even as early as his famous "I know you all" soliloquy (1.2.189-211) in 1 Henry IV, but he has grossly underestimated the difficulty of overcoming an unsavory reputation. This is not a happy revelation to a young man who is impatient of ceremony and public display, but it is the way of the world and an integral part of any successful kingship. King Henry's last advice to Hal, in fact, once they have been reconciled anew, concerns the manipulations of appearances in the name of statecraft; the father urges the son to resolve civil strife by going to war against some foreign enemy. He must "busy giddy minds / With foreign quarrels" (4.5.212-13). Hal will adopt this stratagem in Henry V by warring against the French. Meantime, in 2 Henry IV, he must overcome his reputation, not only with his father, but also with the Lord Chief Justice, the nobles of the court, and his brothers. Not until the play's end do they believe other than that Hal will turn riot loose in his kingdom. The intransigent nature of false "rumor" or reputation does much to explain why the new King must reject Falstaff so publicly and so sharply. He has, in fact, already rejected Falstaff in the sense of leaving him, but no one has taken the point-least of all Falstaff, who now presses in upon the new King with hopes of reward and license to act as he pleases. "The laws of England are at my commandment," he exults (5.3.139-40). Only a public repudiation can meet the demands of kingship by making full use of the act's symbolic value. Hal must reject Falstaff, not only in his heart, but also in the view of his nation. It is a distasteful

act, perhaps as much to him as to us, but it is made necessary by the political exigencies of the moment.

The play's concern with justice emerges in the first confrontation between the Lord Chief Justice and Falstaff (1.2.54-226). The one represents law; the other, license. Who is to represent and administer the law during Henry V's reign? The Lord Chief Justice is a firm and austere figure, a deputy or substitute for the father-king-one who has presumed to imprison Hal for resisting his authority. This Lord Chief Justice does not expect to remain in office once the new King is crowned; like other serious characters in the play, he longs for reassurance in the troubled times of civil war and of change of administration under a monarchy. In contrast to this somewhat awesome parental figure, Falstaff offers hedonism and irresponsibility. His wit is, in a sense, no less engaging than in 1 Henry IV. His scenes with Shallow and Silence, as they choose soldiers for the upcoming campaign or prepare for the golden time they anticipate, are as funny as the best of Falstaff. The pairing of the Lord Chief Justice and Falstaff as foils might suggest at first that one is lacking where the other is strong and that Hal must steer between extremes.

Yet this play does not give us a genuine debate on justice, like that on honor in *1 Henry IV*, in which Falstaff's comments on honor strike home because of Hotspur's fanaticism. The Lord Chief Justice of this play is essentially in the right, however austere, and Falstaff is essentially in the wrong, however funny. The Lord Chief Justice sees through Falstaff and patiently bides his time. Falstaff's excesses are more pronounced than in the earlier play. We see him with Doll Tearsheet, a whore, in maudlin, drunken conversation. He is associated with images of disease—gout, the pox, or syphilis, consumption, lameness—and of purging. His lying is not as consistently clever as before. Hal recalls the brilliant lie about the Gad's Hill robbery and credits Falstaff (perhaps ironically) with having seen through the Prince's trick on that occasion (2.4.306–8), but, in the second to very scene, Falstaff can only

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stammer uninventively that he had no idea that Hal was behind him in disguise, listening to his foulmouthed reproaches. Falstaff's rioting with Pistol disturbs the peace, and in such brawls homicides occur, necessitating arrest and punishment (5.4). When Falstaff appears with the diminutive page, as in 1.2, we are forcefully reminded of the grossness of his body, even if he, too, laughs at this. His mooching off Mistress Quickly and his breach of promise of marriage to her, though hinted at in the earlier play, are much more open here; the humor is keen, but we cannot forget that Falstaff is victimizing a gullible woman. Lawsuits and arrests are more prominent in this play than in its predecessor. Falstaff's abuse of authority to recruit soldiers, about which he discourses wittily in the earlier play, is here fully shown, both in its hilarity and in its lawless consequences.

Falstaff's new companions, Pistol, Doll, and then Justice Shallow and Justice Silence, sharpen our perception of Falstaff's increasingly flagrant lawlessness. Shallow and Silence are, by their very profession, counterparts to the Lord Chief Justice. In their complacent interest in their own prosperity ("How a good voke of bullocks at Stamford fair?" 3.2.39), in their countenancing of influence peddling by their subordinates (5.1.37-52), and in Shallow's foxy aspirations to deceive Falstaff before Falstaff can deceive him, these pillars of rural respectability reveal how far injustice has permeated the English countryside. They are fit companions for Falstaff when he hears the news of his rejection and are suitably victimized by Falstaff's inability to repay a loan that Justice Shallow has advanced to him from motives of self-interest. These old men, myopically recollecting the jolly days of their youth, accentuate Falstaff's physical frailty and aging. Falstaff mocks the stories of their escapades, but he, too, as he confesses to Doll over his drink, is old. The necessary course of justice is made plain by the structural configurations of the play. Falstaff and his companions seek lawlessness and must be rebuked; the Lord Chief Justice, who fears rejection, must instead be embraced by Hal explicitly as a father figure ("You shall be as a father to my youth," 5.2.118) in order to reaffirm public decency. The Lord Chief Justice is to bear "the balance and the sword" (line 103) as emblems of justice and its stern role in maintaining order; Falstaff is dismissed as "The tutor and the feeder of my riots" (5.5.62). These necessities are plain, even though they do not answer the emotionally complicated issue of Hal's (and our) fondness for the companion of his youth.

Hal's brother, Prince John of Lancaster, is another oppositeto Falstaff. Here the contrast is less prejudicial to Falstaff. Prince John takes charge of his ailing father's wars and engineers a surrender of the rebels at Gaultree Forest that is a triumph of equivocation and double-dealing. It also saves the nation from further civil conflict, at least for the time being, and establishes the peace that Hal inherits and turns to his advantage against France. It seems all too much in keeping with the realpolitik that has characterized the conduct of both sides heretofore and may thus be said to be a suitable conclusion. The dismaying "revolution of the times" (3.1.46) brings with it the cooling of friendships and the recollection of dire prophecies from the days of Richard II. The only justification possible for what John does is that it succeeds. It surely lacks the glory and honor attendant on the conflict of Hal and Hotspur in 1 Henry IV. Not coincidentally, Hal is far away from Gaultree Forest when this dismal surrender is brought about. Prince John is a master at knowing how to "construe the times to their necessities" (4.1.104). His acts scarcely represent justice any more than honor. "Is this proceeding just and honorable?" ask the betraved rebels, and they are answered merely "Is your assembly so?" (4.2.110-11). The end justifies the means. Falstaff's observations at Prince John's expense therefore have a point. John is, as Falstaff characterizes him, "sober-blooded"; he drinks no wine and relies not on valor but on sagacity. Falstaff hopes that Hal will prove more valiant, tempering "the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father" (4.3.87-117) with the imbibing of sherry and other pleasures learned from Falstaff. Whatever the merits of drinking as an inducement to courage, we do perceive that Prince John is too much his father's son and that Hal

will avoid this chilly extreme in his quest for a kingly identity that is both symbol and substance.

Hal has thus learned something from Falstaff, if only as a caution against extremes, and partly for this reason his rejection of Falstaff must come as a shock no matter how inevitable it is. Hal may well appear to dwindle in the process, for he has given up a good deal of his private self to adopt the public role thrust upon him. In performance, this dwindling can turn out to be more than the prize of maturity is worth (see the essays on the play "On Stage" and "On Screen"). Perhaps, then, Prince Hal accepts the public role thrust upon him in this play not unwillingly but at the same time with an awareness that he does so at some cost to himself-and to Falstaff. His terms of rejection are not wholly ungenerous-he allows the possibility of Falstaff's returning to court if he reforms, and makes financial allowance so that Falstaff will have no need to continue in crime-but the finality of the action remains stunning. We are left with a broken Falstaff, on his way to the Fleet prison by order of the Lord Chief Justice, trying to deceive himself into believing that all will be well. Hal and England have turned in a new direction; a war against the French is clearly in prospect already, which will absorb the energies of the new King and of his father's erstwhile political enemies as well. For better and for worse, the emergence of Hal into his public role is complete.

HENRY IV, PART TWO ON STAGE



2 Henry IV has not enjoyed the popularity on stage of 1 Henry IV, despite the continuing presence of Falstaff. Perhaps audiences have felt uncomfortable with a Falstaff who is visibly older, more disreputable, surrounded by such companions as Pistol, Doll Tearsheet, and Justice Shallow, and at last rejected by King Henry V; or perhaps producers have been unwilling to offer a play with no dignified women's roles; or perhaps (especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) audiences have been reluctant to see their heroic Henry do such a meanspirited thing as rejecting his old companion. No doubt it is a darker and more disillusioned play than 1 Henry IV.

Still, 2 Henry IV has had significant stage successes. Thomas Betterton, playing Falstaff, apparently did well with a revival about 1704 at the theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, albeit in a much-changed version that cut Rumor's prologue and the Northumberland-Lady Percy scenes, and ended with material added from the early part of Henry V to provide a less dispiriting conclusion than that found in Shakespeare's 2 Henry IV. In similarly rearranged form the play was again well received in 1720 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, with Barton Booth as Henry IV, John Mills as Falstaff, and Robert Wilks as Hal; and the play was revived with some regularity through the rest of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A production at Drury Lane in 1736 advertised itself as "Written by Shakespeare, in which will be restored scenes, soliloquies, and other circumstances, originally in the part of Falstaff, which have been for many years omitted." Two years later the rival theater at Covent Garden also produced "the genuine play of

Shakespeare, and not that altered by Mr. Betterton." Nonetheless, Betterton's version was not entirely displaced from the stage, and clearly the success of productions of 2 Henry IV depended less on the acting text than on the skill of the actor playing Falstaff. James Quin, John Henderson, and George Frederick Cooke were among those who ensured that the play, in whatever version, continued in the repertory.

Though David Garrick produced 2 Henry IV and acted the King, first in 1758, during the period of his management at Drury Lane, he had no great success with the play, in large part because he lacked an actor to play Falstaff with the ebullience the role demands. Perhaps for the same reason, John Philip Kemble's production of 2 Henry IV at Covent Garden in 1804 introduced new pageantry and spectacle to refocus attention on the King. An essay of that year admired this strategy, claiming that Kemble "in giving the scene all the splendor the chamber of a monarch requires, and his person all the elegance of costume, shows a desire to render stage exhibitions as perfect as possible for public gratification." The final scene introduced the arrest of Falstaff before the reconciliation of Henry V with the Lord Chief Justice so that the play could end with a triumphant restoration of order.

Covent Garden's production of 2 Henry IV in 1821 illustrates the extent to which the play could be rewritten to accommodate audiences' desire to see King Henry and the English monarchy in an attractive light. The show was designed, in fact, as a way of celebrating the accession to the throne in that year of King George IV. To that end the theater managers, who included Charles Kemble, staged a spectacular coronation procession for Henry V in a stage replica of Westminster Abbey, its galleries and aisles filled with noble spectators. The procession led off with the King's herb-woman, six strewers of flowers, the Dean's Beadle of Westminster, the High Constable of Westminster, drums and trumpets, chaplains, sheriffs and aldermen of London, Masters in Chancery, the King's Sergeant and Attorney General, judges, the Lord Chief Justice, a choir singing

the coronation anthem, and many more. The King then followed under the royal canopy, escorted by two bishops, train bearers, mace bearers, and halberdiers. The critic for *John Bull* objected to the inclusion of the Yeomen of the Guard, on the grounds that they had not in fact been established until the reign of Henry VII, but admitted that "a more splendid pageant never graced a theatre." The production, extravagant and unwieldy by today's standards, merely amplified the realistic attention to detail and glorification of English royalty of Kemble's version seventeen years earlier.

The production also cut and rearranged scenes to minimize the unpleasantness of Shakespeare's conclusion. A reordering of events enabled audiences to hear the reassuring news of Henry V's accession even before his appearance as king. Gone were the arrests of Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet (5.4). with their reminder of the disreputable past that Prince Hal had once known in the company of Falstaff. The rejection of Falstaff could scarcely be left out, but any negative effect it might have had on the spectators' view of King Henry was, as in Kemble's text of 1804, neutralized by a subsequent upbeat ending: the King was reconciled to his Lord Chief Justice and no mention was made of the Lord Chief Justice's imprisonment of Falstaff and Shallow (5.5.99ff.). Clearly the actor-managers of this age were intent on presenting Henry as the future King. no longer encumbered by his association with a thoroughly dissipated Falstaff. Predictably, the spectacular production, starring William Charles Macready as the King and Charles Kemble as Hal, was a great success, and for its performance on July 19, the coronation day itself, the theater was opened free to the public.

Royalty obviously approved of 2 Henry IV as it was acted in the nineteenth century, and when Samuel Phelps was asked to give a command performance before Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle in January of 1853, he chose 2 Henry IV. This was his first production of the play; his own theater at Sadler's Wells had to wait until March for a performance. Phelps revived the play at Sadler's Wells in 1861. His unusually versatile

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