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18237

THE JOURNAL
OF
GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

Edited by
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UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

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For Comparative Literature
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European Co-Editor.

VOLUME II

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITOR
BLOOMINGTON, IND., U.S.A.
AGENTS

AMERICA: GINN AND COMPANY, BOSTON, NEW YORK, CHICAGO
EUROPE: GUSTAV FOCK, LEIPZIG, NEUMARKT 40

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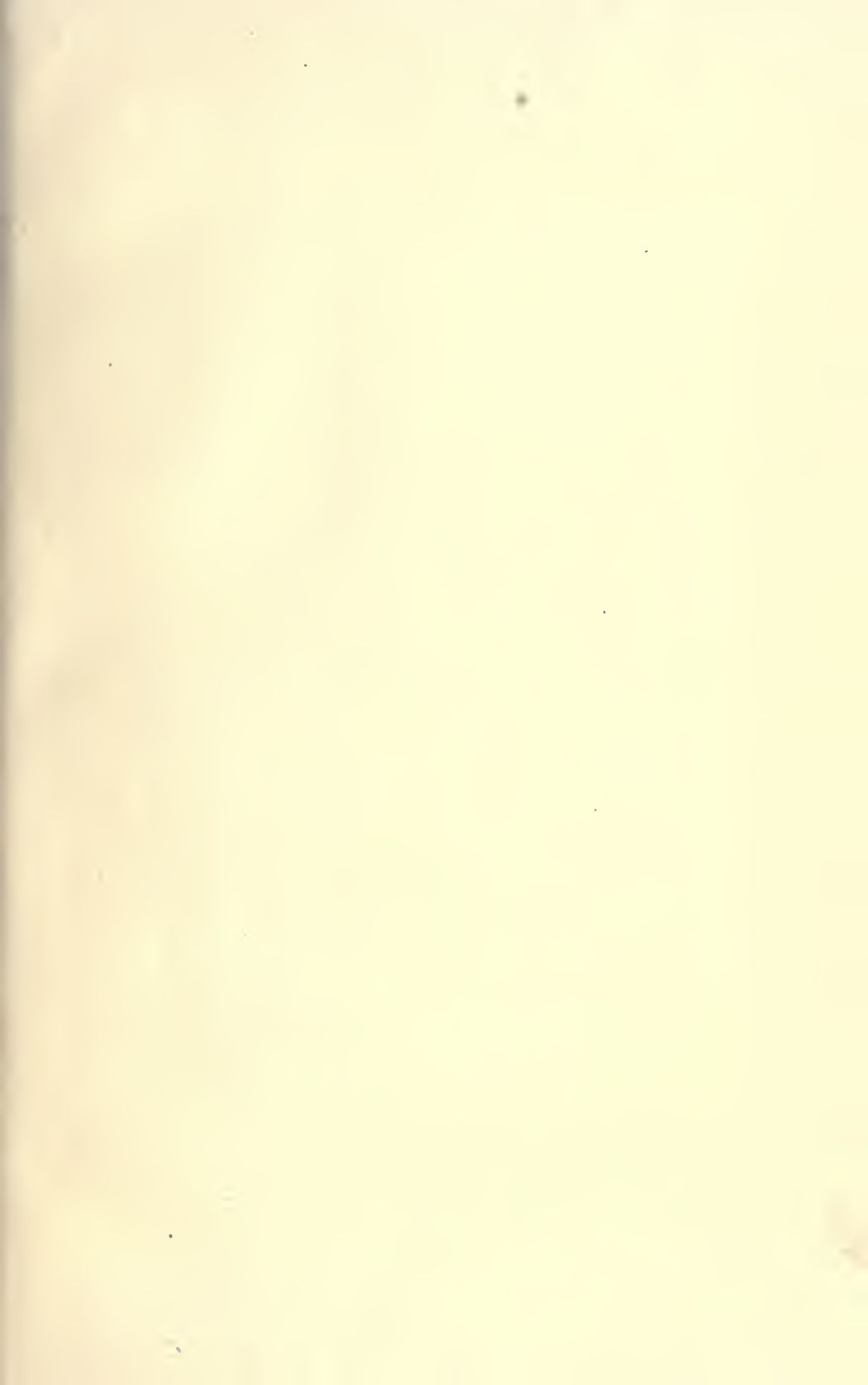
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of

PROFESSOR GEORGE A. HENCH

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UHLAND'S EARLIEST BALLAD AND ITS SOURCE.

IT is well known that Uhland regarded his earlier poetic attempts with a certain respect, and that he preserved them in carefully written copies. Among a number of note-books left at the time of his death are two containing poems which extend from 1800 to 1804, and of which only a part have ever been published. The second of these note-books, bearing the significant motto from Propertius:

Me juvat in prima coluisse Helicon a juvena
Musarumque choris implicuisse manus,

contains on p. 12 his first ballad, in eleven stanzas, dated Dec. 16, 1802.

Some years ago this note-book was lent to Professor Eugen Nägele of the Royal Gymnasium in Tübingen for a very brief inspection, and he transcribed and published two stanzas of the ballad in his *Beiträge zu Uhland (Nachrichten über das Königliche Gymnasium zu Tübingen, 1893, p. 32)*.

Subsequently he was unable to gain further access to this material, which was closely guarded by Uhland's heirs.

In April, 1897, the entire collection of Uhland's literary remains and correspondence was purchased from Dr. Meyer of Stuttgart by the Swabian Schiller Society, which is now in possession of the same.

The ballad bears the title: 'Das Lied vom armen Vater. Ein Harfnerlied aus einem unvollendeten Gedichte.' It begins

Es steht ein Schlosz in einem Wald,
Gar einsam und entlegen,
Darinnen wol ein Räuber haust'
Ein fürchterlicher Degen.

The robber has captured a girl, whom he holds as prisoner. Her father comes before the castle, leaning upon his staff:

‘Gieb, Räuber, mir mein Töchterlein,
Es ist mein Trost im Leben,
Viel Silber und viel rothes Gold
Will ich dafür dir geben !’

Further on in the poem he says that the daughter is ‘seines Alters Freude.’ He meets a knight, and begs him to deliver the girl, but without success, and he then withdraws in sadness to ‘eine enge Zelle.’

Admitting that the literary merits of this production of a youth of less than sixteen years (apart from the sure metrical touch) are extremely scanty, it is still of great importance in showing certain steps in his poetic development. We have here, three years before the appearance of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, a ballad which shows throughout characteristic features of the popular poetry, which, at a later period, was to have so large a share in freshening and strengthening Uhland’s verse. We see him breaking away for the first time from the moralizing ‘school poetry’ upon which he had been trying his youthful hand; he strikes out, in a crude enough fashion, to be sure, into the field in which he was to gain his surest fame as a poet. In a general way, it was probably the influence of Bürger, which was very potent with him at just this time, which led him to attempt such an adaptation of a popular ballad. As has been pointed out by Nägele (p. 32), the poem furnishes important elements for the later ballad *Der blinde König* (1804) which were not supplied by Saxo Grammaticus: the robber, the captured daughter who had been the delight of her aged father, her rescue as the object of the champion’s endeavors. The title, ‘ein Harfnerlied,’ suggests a motive which Uhland later introduced in *Des Sängers Fluch* (1814), in which poem I trace the direct influence of a ballad, *Das Lied von dem Graffen von Rom*, which was first published in Adelung’s *Magazin für die deutsche Sprache*, 1784, 3, pp.

114 ff. It seems likely that Uhland may have known this publication, which contained various interesting *Volkslieder*, before writing the ballad under consideration. One wonders what the plan of the 'incomplete poem,' in which this 'harper's song' appears as an episode, was to be,—perhaps an extended romantic epic?

The source of *Das Lied vom armen Vater* has not hitherto been identified. It lies in the poem *Das Schloss in Oesterreich*, contained in the first volume of the *Deutsches Museum* (1776, pp. 399-402):

Es liegt ein Schloß in Oesterreich,
Das ist ganz wol erbawet,
Von Silber vnd von rothem Gold,
Mit Marmorsteinen verawert.

Darinnen ligt ein junger Knab
Auff seinen Halsz gefangen,
Wol viertzig Klaffter tieff vnter der Erden,
Bey Nattern und bey Schlangen.

Sein Vater kam von Rosenberg
Wol vor den Thurm gegangen.
Ach Sohne, lieber Sohne mein,
Wie hart ligst du gefangen!

Ach Vater, liebster Vater mein,
Gar hart lieg ich gefangen,
Wol viertzig Klaffter tieff vnter der Erden,
Bey Nattern vnd bey Schlangen.

Sein Vater zu dem Herren gieng:
Gebt mir losz den Gefangen,
Drey hundert Gulden will ich euch geben
Wol für desz Knaben sein Leben.

Drey hundert Gulden die helfen da nicht,
Der Knabe musz sterben,
Er trägt von Golde ein Ketten am Halsz,
Die bringet jhn vmb sein Leben.

Trägt er von Gold ein Ketten am Halsz,
Die hat er nicht gestolen,
Es hat sie jhm ein zartes Jungfräwlein verehrt,
Darzu hat sie jhn erzogen.

Man bracht den Knaben wol aus dem Thurm,
Vnd gab jhm das Sacramente ;
Hilff, reicher Christ vom Himmel hoch !
Es geht mir an mein Ende.

Man bracht den Knaben zum Gericht hinaus,
Die Leiter muste er steigen.
Ach Meister, lieber Meister mein,
Lasz mir doch eine kleine Weile.

Eine kleine Weile die lasz ich dir nicht,
Du möchtest mir sonst entrinnen ;
Langt mir ein seiden Tüchlein her,
Dasz ich jhm seine Augen verbinde.

Ach meine Augen verbinde mir nicht,
Ich musz die Welt anschawen ;
Ich sehe sie heut vnd nimmermehr
Mit meinen schwartzbraun Augen.

Sein Vater beym Gerichte stundt,
Sein Hertz wolt jhm zerbrechen :
Ach Sohne, lieber Sohne mein,
Deinen Todt wil ich rächen.

Ach Vater, liebster Vater mein,
Meinen Todt solt jhr nicht rechen,
Bringt meiner Seelen ein schwere Pein,
Vmb Vnschuldt wil ich sterben.

Es ist nicht vmb das Leben mein,
Noch vmb mein stoltzen Leib ;
Es ist vmb mein Fraw Mutter daheim,
Die weinet also sehre.

Es stundt kaum an den dritten Tag,
Ein Engel kam vom Himmel,
Man solt ihn vom Gericht nehmen ab,
Sonst würde die Stadt versinken.

Es stundt kaum an ein halbes Jahr,
Des Knaben Todt ward gerochen,
Es wurden mehr dann drey hundert Mann
Vmbs Knaben willen erstochen.

Wer ist der vns diesz Liedlein sang ?
So frey ist es gesungen.
Das haben drey Jungfräwlein gethan
Zu Wien in Oesterreiche.

The *Deutsches Museum*, conducted by Boie from 1776 to 1791, holds a most important place in the literary history of the times, and the contributions to it were of high character. Bürger, Stolberg, Lenz, Klinger, Cramer, Klopstock, Jacobi, and Voss are among its supporters, and particularly valuable were its contributions to a knowledge of the older German literature. The ballad given above occurs in the second of Eschenburg's *Beyträge zur alten deutschen Literatur*, which begin with the number for February, 1776. Other such contributions, including Müller's announcement of an edition of the *Nibelungenlied*, are of not infrequent occurrence. The magazine was undoubtedly an important feeder of Uhland's growing tastes in this direction. He found it at the home of Ferdinand Christoph Weisse, who was an advocate in Tübingen, not a professor, as stated by Uhland's widow in a very confused passage in the biography of her husband, p. 19. This passage, which professes to be a direct quotation from Uhland, referring to his early student years beginning with 1801, but whose many inaccuracies must have caused him to turn in the grave, contains the following words: 'Um diese Zeit fand ich bei einem Verwandten, dem Professor Weisse, in einem Journal, das *Heidelberger Museum* betitelt, Lieder aus dem Heldenbuche, namentlich das *Lied vom alten Hildebrand*, das tiefen Eindruck auf mich machte.' As a matter of fact the ballad *vom alten Hildebrandt* was published by Eschenburg in the same article with *Das Schloss in Oesterreich* (pp. 391-399), and for the hitherto enigmatic *Heidelberger Museum* we have to read *Deutsches Museum*. Eschenburg obtained *Das Schloss in Oesterreich* from a broadside published in 1697. It was printed later in a much revised form under the title, *Der unschuldige Tod des jungen Knaben*, in the *Wunderhorn*, I, 220. Its close relation to Uhland's ballad, both in situation and in verbal coincidences, is so obvious as to require no demonstration. The hopeless pathos of the original is fully reflected by Uhland, and in this respect the poem is the first fore-

runner of that considerable group of which he later said 'Anfangs sind wir' fast zu kläglich.' Certain particular phrases in the original suggest expressions in some of Uhland's later poems, for instance, in stanzas 15 and 16, 'Es stundt kaum an,' etc., resembles

Es stund nur an eine kleine Weil'

in *Klein Roland*, and the phrase in stanza 8 :

Hilff, reicher Christ vom Himmel hoch !

is not unlike

Hilf, Himmel ! seh' ich recht ?

in the same ballad. In stanza 4,

Ach Vater, liebster Vater mein

suggests

O fasse, lieber Goldschmied mein

in *Des Goldschmieds Töchterlein*, while the expression in the fourth stanza from the end is very much like that in *König Karls Meerfahrt* :

Es ist mir um mich selbst nicht so,
Wie um die Alteclere.

Another indication of Uhland's acquaintance with this number of the *Deutsches Museum* at this time is his use in the ballad of the term *Degen*. This word occurs in the *Hildebrandslied* in the same article, p. 393, where Eschenburg has accompanied it with a foot-note, calling attention to the fact that Lessing has made use of it in *Emilia Galotti*, and recommending it to other writers.

I am indebted to Miss Estelle Caraway, an advanced pupil, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

NOTES ON ELIZABETHAN PLAYS.

'WHILE THE GRASS IS GROWING.'

““WHILE the grass grows”—the proverb is something musty.’ *Hamlet*, 3, 2. 358.

For Hamlet's half-quoted saw, Malone gives two parallels from the sixteenth century:

'Whylst grasse doth growe, ofte sterves the seely steede.'
Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, Pt. II, 1578, 5. 3.¹

'To whom of old this prouerbe wel it serues,
While grasse dooth growe, the selly horse he sterues.'²
Paradise of Dainty Devises, 1578, no. 17.

An instance from the middle of the fifteenth century is pointed out by Dr. H. Logeman (*Le Moyen Age*, 4. 156) in the *Life of St. Katharine* by John Capgrave (1394-1464):

The grey hors whil gres groweth
May sterue for hunger, thus seyth the prouerbe.³

To these may be added 'While the grasse growes the steede starves' printed from Harl. MS. 2321 (sixteenth century), fol. 149, in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, 1. 208.

Much older, however, is the occurrence of the proverb in a letter, written to the council of the Count of Caserta by Count Simon of Chieti in 1243, when besieged in the Castle of St. Lorenzo, the citadel of Viterbo ('Comes Simon obsessus in castro Viterbij, comitarijs comitis Casertani, pro subsidio suo'):

'Excusatis autem uos, quod uicini aduentum principis

¹ [Nichols,] *Six Old Plays*, 1. 100.

² Collier's reprint, p. 26. The poem is by Lord Vaux. See his *Poems*, p. 17 (ed. Grosart, *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, 4).

³ Hermann Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1890, p. 105. The passage is bk. ii, ch. 3, vv 253-254, ed. Horstmann (E. E. T. S.), p. 94.

expectatis, ut nobis abundantius & tutius succurratis, uestris uiribus iunctis suis. Sed timemus ne illius uulgaris prouerbij locus adueniat, & utinam non supersit, Dum herba crescit eꝛuus moritur, & dum fugans canis mingit fugiēs lepus euasit.' (Printed in the *Epistolae* of Petrus de Vineis [Pietro dalle Vigne], lib. ii, cap. 53, Basel, 1566, p. 366, and by Huillard-Bréholles, *Hist. Diplomat. Friderici II*, 6. 128 f.¹)

SIR CLYOMON AND SIR CLAMYDES.

Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes was ascribed to Peele by Dyce, on the strength of a manuscript note on the title-page of a copy of the 1599 edition. But this ascription cannot be right,² for nothing in the drama is at all like Peele. Mr. Bullen³ 'suspects that it was written by some such person as Richard Edwards (author of *Damon and Pythias*).' I venture to suggest Thomas Preston, the author of *Cambyses*, as perhaps the writer of this absurd play. It is conceived throughout in 'King Cambyses' vein.' The general resemblance in style and method is remarkable. The vice, Subtle Shift, is not only very similar to Ambidexter, the vice of the *Cambyses*,—serving on both sides, like that worthy,—but he seems actually to claim kindred with him in the following speech (sc. 6, Bullen, 2. 131):

'Well, such shifting knaves as I am, the ambodexter must play,
And for commodity serve every man, whatsoever the world say.'⁴

Especially significant, however, is the following parallel, which shows such an identity of style between the two plays as almost to settle the question:

¹ Dated September, 1243, by Huillard-Bréholles, 6. 128.

² Though, curiously enough, Mr. Saintsbury accepts it without hesitation (*Hist. of Elizabethan Literature*, ch. iii, p. 71).

³ *Works of Peele*, 1. xlii.

⁴ This parallel is noted by Fleay (*Biog. Chron. of the English Drama*, 2. 296), who, however, refers *Sir Clyomon* to 'R. B.', the author of *Appius and Virginia* and (in Fleay's opinion) of *Common Conditions*. 'R. B.' he supposes to be Richard Bower.

' *Enter a Lord, a Lady, and a Waiting-maid.*

Lord. Lady deer, to king a-kin, forthwith let us proceed
To trace abroad the beauty feelds, as erst we had decreed.
The blowing buds, whose savery sents our sence wil much delight;
The sweet smel of musk white-rose to please the appetite;
The chirping birds, whose pleasant tunes therein shal hear record,
That our great joy we shall it finde in feeld to walk abroad;
On lute and cittern there to play, a heavenly harmony:
Our eares shall heare, hart to content, our sports to beautify.

Lady. Unto your words, most comely lord, my-selfe submit doo I;
To trace with you in feeld so green I meane not to deny.

Heere trace up and downe playing.

Maid. And I, your waiting-maid, at hand with diligence will be,
For to fulfil with hart and hand, when you shal command me.'

Cambises, 861-72, Manly, Pre-Shakspearean Drama, 2. 196.

' *Enter Neronis, daughter to Patranus, King of the Strange Marshes, two
Lords, two Ladies.*

Nero. My lords,
Come, will it please you walk abroad to take the pleasant air,
According to our wonted use, in fields both fresh and fair?
My ladies here, I know right well, will not gainsay the same.

First Lord. Nor we, sure, for to pleasure you, Neronis, noble dame.

* * * * *

Nero. Well, will it please you forth to trace?
That, when we have of fragrant fields the dulcet fumes obtain'd,
We may unto the sea-side go, whereas are to be gain'd
More stranger sights among Neptune's waves in seeing ships to sail,
Which pass here by my father's shore with merry western gale.

First Lord. We shall your highness lead the way to fields erst
spoke before.

Nero. Do so, and, as we do return, we'll come hard by the shore.

* * * * *

Enter Neronis, two Lords, and two Ladies.

Nero. Come, fair dames, sith that we have in fragrant fields obtain'd
Of dulcet flowers the pleasant smell, and that these knights disdain'd
Not to bear us company, our walk more large to make,
Here by the sea of surging waves our home-return we'll take.
My lords, therefore, do keep your way.

First Lord. As it please your grace, we shall obey.'

Sir Clyomon, sc. viii, vv. 17-21, 27-33, 60-65.

Bullen's Peele, 2, 137, 138, 140.

SIR GYLES GOOSECAPPE.

The source of the plot of *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*¹ has, I believe, never been pointed out. It is sufficiently obvious, however, being the first three books of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. Pandarus has become *Earl Monford* (*Momford*), a humorous nobleman. Troilus has become *Clarence*, a poor gentleman allied to Monford in the closest bonds of friendship. Criseyde is now *Eugenia*, a widow, the niece of Monford. Clarence wishes to marry Eugenia and Monford favors his suit. Not only is the correspondence of the stories unmistakable, but the dialogue of the play owes much to Chaucer. It is sufficiently curious to see the skill with which the anonymous playwright has adapted his original to the fashions of Elizabethan comedy conversation.

Act 1, sc. 4 (pp. 21-28) contains the confession of Clarence (in reply to protestations of long-standing friendship on the part of Monford) that he is in love with Monford's niece Eugenia. The narrative corresponds in general to *Troilus*, i, 547-1071, but it is much condensed and shows few, if any, verbal resemblances.

Act 2, sc. 1 (pp. 29 ff.) contains the visit of Monford to his niece's house. The agreement here is closer. One has but to read *Troilus*, 2. 78 ff. to recognize the source of the scene.

<i>Mom.</i> I, and I could tell you a thing would make your Ladyship very dancitive.	P. 32.	'As ever thryve I,' quod this Pandarus, 'Yet coude I telle a thing to doon you pleye.' 'Now uncle dere,' quod she, 'tel it us For goddes love.'	2. 120-23.
--	--------	---	------------

<i>Eug.</i> But I pray tell me my Lord could you tell me of a thing would make me dance say you?	P. 32.	'Ye, holy god !' quod she, 'what thing is that?'	2. 127.
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¹ Bullen, *Old Plays*, 3. 1 ff. Bullen ascribes the play to Chapman, and so Fleay, *Athenacum*, June 9, 1883, p. 731; *Biog. Chron. of the Eng. Drama*, 1. 58; 2. 323. The ascription is reasonable. It may be worth noting that Chapman uses 'Sir Giles Goosecap' as a synonym for a fool in *The Gentleman Usher*, 2. 1 (Pearson ed., 1. 273).

Mom. Well, farewell sweet Neece,
I must needs take my leave in earnest.

Eug. Lord blesse us, heres such a stir with your farewels.

Mom. I will see you againe within these two or three dayes a my word Neece.

Eug. Cods pretious, two or three dayes? why this Lord is in a marualous strange humor. Sit downe, sweet Vnkle; yfaith I have to talke with you about greate matters.

P. 32.

Mom. Let me see a passing prosperous fore-head of an exceeding happy distâce betwixt the eye browes; a cleere lightning eye; a temperate, and fresh bloud in both the cheekes: excellent markes, most excellent markes of good fortune.

Eug. Why, how now Vnkle did you never see me before?

Mom. Yes Neece; but the state of these things at this instant must be specially observed, and these outward signs being now in this cleere elevation, show your untroubled minde is in an excellent power, to preferre them to act forth then a little, deere Neece. Pp. 32-33.

Mom. Never trust me, if all things be not answerable to the prediction of a most Divine fortune towards her; now if she have the grace to apprehend it in the nicke; thers all.

P. 33.

Mom. Neece, *Clarence, Clarence,* rather my soule then my friend Clarence, of too substantiall a worth, to have any figures cast about him (not-with standing, no other woman with Empires could stirre his affections) is

And with that word tho Pandarus,
as blyve,

He took his leve, and seyde, 'I wol go henne.'

'Nay, blame have I, myn uncle,'
quod she, 'thenne.

'What eyleth yow to be thus wery sone,

And namelich of wommen? wol ye so?

Nay, sitteth down; by god, I have to done

With yow, to speke of wisdom er ye go.'

2. 208-14.

And loked on hir in a besy wyse,

And she was war that he byheld hir so,

And seyde, 'lord! so faste ye me avyse!

Sey ye me never er now? what sey ye, no?'

'Yes, yes,' quod he, 'and bet wole er I go;

But, by my trouthe, I thoughte now if ye

Be fortunat, for now men shal it see.'

2. 274-80.

'Good aventure, O bele nece, have ye

Ful lightly founden, and ye conne it take;

And, for the love of god, and eek of me,

Cacche it anoon; lest aventure slake.'

2. 288-91.

'Now, nece myn, the kinges dere sone,

The goode, wyse, worthy, fresshe, and free,

Which alwey for to do wel is his wone,

with your vertues most extremely in love; and without your requitall dead.
P. 33.

The noble Troilus, so loveth thee,
That, bot ye helpe, it wol his
bane be.' 2. 316-20.

Eug. Ay me poore Dame, O you amase me Vnkle.

'This false world, allas! who may
it leve?

Is this the wondrous fortune you presage?

What? is this al the Loye and al
the feste?

What man may miserable women trust?
P. 34.

Is this your reed, is this my
blisful cas?
Is this the verray mede of your
beheste?' 2. 420-3.

Mom. But now I see how you accept my motion: I perceive (how upon true triall) you esteeme me.

'I see ful wel that ye sette lyte
of us.' 2. 432.

P. 34.

In act iii, sc. 2 (pp. 51, 52), Clarence writes a letter at the suggestion of Monford (cf. *Troilus*, 2. 1002, 1023 ff.), which the latter undertakes (p. 54) to deliver to Eugenia.

In act iv (pp. 57 ff.) Monford delivers the letter:

Eug. What winde blowes you hether, troe?
P. 57.

'What maner windes gydeth yow now
here?' 2. 1104.

Mom. Harke you, Madam, the sweet gale of one *Clarences* breath, with this his paper sayle blowes me hether.
P. 57.

He seyde hir thus, and out the
lettre plighte,
'Lo, he that is al hooley youres
free

Him recomaundeth lowly to your
grace,
And sent to you this lettre here by
me.' 2. 1120-23.

Eug. Aye me, still in that humour? beshrewe my heart, if I take anie Papers from him.
P. 57.

'Scrit ne bille,
For love of god, that toucheth
swich matere,
Ne bring me noon.' 2. 1130-32.

Mom. Kinde bosome doe thou take it then.

'Refuse it nought,' quod he, and
hente hir faste,

Eug. Nay then never trust me.

And in her bosom the lettre down
he thraste,

Mom. Let it fall then or cast it away, you were best, that every body may discover your love suits, doe; theres somebody neare, you note it.

And seyde hir, 'now cast it away
anoon,
That folk may seen and gauren on
us tweye.'

P. 57.

Quod she, 'I can abyde til they
be goon.' 2. 1154-8.

There follows the account of Eugenia's writing a reply to Clarence's letter (pp. 58-61), which should be compared with *Troilus*, 2. 171 ff.

The pretended sickness of Troilus (*Troilus*, 2. 1513 ff., 3. 8 ff.) and the supper at Pandarus's house (*Troilus*, 2. 554 ff.) are combined in the fifth act, with some important modifications. A contract of marriage is made between Eugenia and Clarence, and the play closes with a 'measure' and a song.

THE CAPTIVES; OR, THE LOST RECOVERED.

Mr. Bullen, who published Heywood's *Captives*, from the Egerton MS. 1994, in his *Old Plays*, 4. 99 ff., remarks (p. 101) that 'he has not been able to discover the source of the very curious underplot.' This underplot is merely a version of the well-known Old French *fabliau* of *Le Prêtre qu'on porte*,³ already represented in English by the *Mery Jest of Dan Hew of Leicestre* printed by Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, 3. 130 ff. Hazlitt did not know of *The Captives*. He has, however, noted as a parallel to *Dan Hew* 'The tale of Friar John and Friar Richard' in Heywood's *History of Women*, 1624. This story,⁴ which Heywood entitles *The Faire Ladie of Norwich*, is, I find, absolutely identical with the underplot of *The Captives*, and it shows many verbal agreements with the play.

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MAY 16, 1898

¹ Fleay, *Biog. Chron. of the English Drama*, 1. 297, remarks: 'For the friars' part [of *The Captives*] compare *The Jew of Malta*,' referring, of course, to the Barnardine-Jacomo incident in Marlowe's fifth act (Dyce, 1, 311-312).

² There are five distinct versions in Old French (Montaignon et Raynaud, *Recueil général*, 4. 89; 5. 123; 5. 136; 6. 105; 6. 243): see Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 2^e éd., pp. 339, 469.

³ *Ἐναγκαλιον: or Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women*, 1624, lib. 5, pp. 253-6.

THE INDEBTEDNESS OF CHAUCER'S *TROILUS*
TO BENOÎT'S *ROMAN*.

THAT the *Troilus and Criseyde* is very greatly indebted to the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio was demonstrated by Kissner in 1867.¹ W. M. Rossetti clinched Kissner's proof by publishing, in 1875, his comparison² of the *Troilus* with the *Filostrato*. The question as to whether it owes more to Guido da Colonna, after Boccaccio, or to Benoît de Sainte More, has proved more of a puzzle to investigators.

Moland and d'Héricault, in their valuable, though faulty, review of the Troilus and Briseida story, in 1858,³ left this question untouched. Sandras, in 1859,⁴ attempted its solution, but his proofs are not altogether convincing. One of his citations⁵ has value. It will be noticed, later, in connection with Hertzberg, who quoted it. Before H. Dunger, in 1869,⁶ and Aristide Joly, in 1870,⁷ had demonstrated that Guido translated Benoît's *Roman de Troie*, the question was very difficult to approach.

It had been quietly assumed for many centuries that Guido was the originator of the Troy Romance, with its imbedded story of the Trojan lovers, Troilus and Briseida. Probably this belief, even after its falsity had been proved, was latent in the minds of scholars of our own day. Moreover, there have been six⁸ English versions of Guido

¹ *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, Alfons Kissner, Bonn, 1867. ² Chaucer Society's Publications. ³ *Nouvelles Françaises en Prose du XIV Siècle*, L. Moland et C. d'Héricault, Paris, 1858. ⁴ *Étude sur Chaucer*. ⁵ W. Hertzberg, *Die Quellen der Troilus Sage, &c.*, *Sh. Jahrbuch* 6. 204 (3). ⁶ H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom Trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre Antiken Quellen*, Leipzig, 1869. ⁷ A. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte More et Le Roman de Troie*, Paris, 1870-1. ⁸ Pp. 169-249.

preserved, and none of Benoît. Guido, therefore, rather than Benoît, has been regarded as a direct, though secondary, source for the *Troilus*.

In 1871 Hertzberg expressed and defended a contrary opinion. His proofs, given in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Bd. 6,¹ showed pretty conclusively that Chaucer knew and used Benoît. Hertzberg's summation is as follows: 'Hiermit wäre denn Benoît als zweite Quelle für das englische Gedicht erwiesen.'² Ten Brink, 1877, was unwilling to admit so much. In his *History of English Literature*³ he says: 'And even this exception is characteristic—while Chaucer here prefers Guido at the expense of Benoît de Sainte Maure, whom he knew well, he does the exact opposite of what he did in *Troilus*.' Skeat,⁴ in 1894, allows some indebtedness to Benoît, but claims for Guido the main honor. Benoît is by him reduced to an altogether unimportant role as regards the Chaucerian poem. Lounsbury,⁵ in 1892, says: 'Chaucer knew nothing of Benoît. Nowhere in his writings is there even the slightest allusion to that author. His ignorance was shared, apparently, by most of his contemporaries.' Sommer, in 1894, in his account of the Troy-legend in the Middle Ages, does not touch on this point.⁶

Fortunately for the purposes of this investigation, Skeat has given the arguments upon which he bases his opinion, in the preface to his *Troilus*. He there says that Chaucer's obligations to Guido have been insufficiently explored. In 1889 he himself restored the MS. reading 'Guido,' I. 1396, *Leg. of Good Women*. 'A clue was thus obtained to a new source for some of Chaucer's work.'

At this point Skeat subjoins a list of Chaucer's indebtednesses to Guido for *Troilus and Criseyde* material. In considering them, it is obviously important to determine

¹ H. Oskar Sommer, *The Recuyell of The Historyes of Troye*, London, 1894. See pp. XXXIX ff. of the Introduction. ² P. 205. ³ English version, 2, 113. ⁴ *Troilus and Criseyde*, Introduction, liii. ff. ⁵ *Studies in Chaucer*, 2, 309. ⁶ Sommer, *op. cit.* ⁷ Skeat, p. liv.

whether they could have come from any source other than Guido.

(1) Skeat¹ compares the description of Troilus in I. 1072-85, with Guido's description of Troylus in Book VIII.² But Chaucer's lines resemble Guido's very little. The former refer especially to the change that took place in Troilus in consequence of his love. The words, 'vel fuit alius Hector vel secundus ab ipso,' (as Skeat points out) are not translated here (if at all) but in II. 157-161. Whatever in either of Chaucer's descriptions might have been taken from Guido might equally well have been taken from Benoît,³ 5372 ff. These contain, in 5419, the very statement that Troylus was second only to Hector in arms.

(2) The reference to the gate of Dardanus, *T. and C.* II. 618. This, Skeat⁴ says, is named by Guido in Book IV. But it is also named by Benoît, 3130. The form 'Dardanides' is found in both Guido and Benoît.

(3) Criseyde did not reproach Calcas in Chaucer. But she intended to do it (*T. and C.* 1397) and Skeat⁵ finds the germ of the passage expressing the intention in Guido, 19. Here the speech of Briseida is mere railing. But in Chaucer her purpose is wholly different. Criseyde is to speak rilingly to her father to divert him from divination. If, however, the speech comes from either Guido or Benoît, it may as well come from the latter as from the former. See Benoît, 13685 ff.

(4) Skeat⁶ quotes as pertinent Chaucer's line regarding Antenor. In IV. 204, it is said, 'For he was after traytour to the toun.' As Skeat observes, the treason of Antenor is told at great length by Guido. But it is also told at great length by Benoît, 13685 ff.

¹ P. lvi. ² Where reference to Guido is made by *book*, I follow Skeat, both in producing his quotations (where I quote the Latin), and in using his division of the *Historia* into books. Where I cite Guido independently, my references are to page and column. I here use the printed copy, edition 1489, preserved in the Yale Library. ³ Joly's edition, which I follow throughout. ⁴ P. lvii. ⁵ P. lvii.

(5) *T. and C.* 1695-1701. Skeat¹ says that these lines are not in Boccaccio, but that the sense of them is in Guido. The sense, however, is in Benoît too, 13285 *et supra*. There is one point in which Chaucer's description resembles Guido's rather than Benoît's. In the first two it is stated that at break of day Troilus departed. In Benoît this is left to be inferred. But Chaucer's introduction of a circumstance so obvious by no means argues that he must have drawn the lines which contain it from Guido.

(6) Skeat² adduces the fourteen stanzas V. 92-189, of *Troilus and Criseyde*. These are not in Boccaccio. Of their subject matter, Diomedes's conversation with Criseyde on the ride out from Troy, Guido has an account in XIX. Benoît has much the same story. But Benoît has, 13671, the original of the Chaucerian 'thanked Diomedes.' This does not occur in Guido.

(7) Skeat³ cites V. 799-805, as derived from Guido's description of Diomedes, Book VIII. Boccaccio,⁴ it may be noted, describes Diomedes in V, stanza 33. In Boccaccio, V, stanza 34, occurs the statement that enables Chaucer to say, 'And heir he was of Calidoine in Arge.'

Here, so far as the description of Diomedes by Chaucer varies from that of Boccaccio, it resembles rather Benoît than Guido. Benoît says that Diomedes was 'quarrez'—a favorite⁵ adjective with the Norman poet (see line 5194). Chaucer, V. 801, has 'and mighty limes square.'

(8) Skeat⁶ thinks that V. 810, 'to gon y-tressed with hir heres clere'⁷ might have been suggested by the remark in Guido, XIX, that Briseida's hair was unbound in her hour of deepest sorrow. This seems fantastic. Skeat

¹ P. lviii. ² P. lviii. ³ P. lviii. ⁴ Where I refer to Boccaccio, I adopt Rossetti's division into books and stanzas. This does not correspond to either of the editions of the *Filostrato* which I have seen and used, viz: that of 1789 and that of 1832. ⁵ See 5161, where Benoît uses it of Ajax. ⁶ Skeat, p. lviii. ⁷ Guido XIX, 'aureos crines'; Benoît 5259, 'Plus esteit bele et bloie et blanche,' etc. *Bloie* means yellow, of hair, blonde. Benoît's heroines are conventionally light-haired. See 5102, of Helen; 5504, of Andromache; 5557, of Polyxena.

himself lays no stress upon it. There is little enough resemblance between the notion that Criseyde habitually went about with her hair flowing, and one that she loosed and tore her hair.

(9) Skeat¹ notes that Troilus is not described by Boccaccio. It has already been shown (1) that Chaucer's description of Troilus might come from Benoît as well as from Guido.

(10) Skeat² calls attention to V. 1002-4, 1013. See (7), where the details these passages introduce have been discussed. There is nothing here which might not have come from Benoît. The thanking of Diomedes by Criseyde, to gain his friendship, has already been noted as peculiar to Chaucer and Benoît. The glove incident is in Benoît as well as in Guido.

(11) Concerning³ V. 1023-99, Skeat says, 'This passage is not in Boccaccio. Several hints from it seem to have been taken from Guido, Book XIX, whence I quote the following.'

The passage quoted by Skeat contains the following chief particulars: (1) That Briseida changed her intent to return to Troy, before the close of the first day; (2) That her love for Troilus soon began to cool; (3) Diomedes captured Troilus' horse, and sent it to Briseida; (4) She received it with the remark, 'Tell surely to thy lord that I cannot hold in hatred him who cherishes me with such purity of heart'; (5) Briseida made Diomedes suffer in love, and put him off, neither admitting nor denying his suit, so as to increase his ardor.

Concerning these particulars it is sufficient to observe that (1) and (2) are in Benoît, 13403 ff.; (3) in 14238 ff.; (4) is not in Benoît, but neither is it in Chaucer. It seems contrary to the plan of the latter; it is certainly not found in his text; (5) is in Benoît, 14983. The whole of the passage in Chaucer corresponding to (5) is more like Benoît's than Guido's.

(12) Concerning V. 1037 and 1044, Skeat⁴ says, '*the story*

¹ Skeat, p. lix. ² P. lix. ³ Pp. lix, lx. ⁴ P. lx.

means the *Historia Trojana*: and in 1. 1044 'in the stories elleswhere' means, 'elsewhere in the same *History*.' The passage (in Book XXV) is as follows. He then quotes from Guido the account of how Troilus wounded Diomedes, and how Briseida showed her love for the wounded Greek. But at this point Chaucer, if he used Guido at all, supplemented him with Benoît. Criseyde's soliloquy (as Hertzberg¹ showed) is obviously from Benoît. It is simpler to assume that Chaucer took the whole passage from the Norman. 'The story,' etc., would then refer to the *Roman de Troie*. As the statements to which V. 1037 and 1044 refer are in the *Roman*, as well as in the *Historia*, there is no reason for assuming that 'story' refers to Guido's *Historia*, other than that based on the similarity of the words. But this reason is too slight. For in Chaucer, V. 1037, the statement is made that Criseyde gave to Diomedes Troilus' horse. This is found in Benoît; it is not found in Guido. 'The story' then refers to Benoît's poem.

(13) The next citation by Skeat² fails equally with the preceding to prove that Guido was Chaucer's original. The passage is V. 1558-60, which details the treacherous slaughter of Hector by Achilles. Guido gives an account of this in XXV. Benoît's is very similar, but, as Hertzberg remarked, in Benoît alone is the original of the line, 'for as he drough a king by th' eventaille.' Benoît mentions this circumstance in 21418. The detail is a trifling one. Guido says that Hector was drawing away his prisoner. Chaucer might perhaps be allowed to have invented the 'eventaille.' But at least Chaucer's passage is as like to Benoît's as to Guido's, and more like to Benoît's in the detail of the helmet-flap.

(14) In V. 1771, Chaucer speaks of the mighty deeds of Troilus. Skeat³ finds the original of this passage in Guido XXV. It might as readily come from Benoît 20020. Benoît, like Guido, is given frequently to recount-

¹ *Sh. Jahrbuch* 6. 204. ² P. lx. ³ P. lx.

ing the exploits of Troilus. Benoît is here nearer Chaucer than is Guido. Neither Chaucer nor Benoît says that Troilus killed a thousand Greeks. No number is specified in V. 1771. In V. 1802 the statement is that he killed thousands. As for Chaucer's allusion to Dares (in this place), concerning which Skeat says, 'I. e. he only knew of Dares through the medium of Guido,' Dares is quoted as authority by Benoît in this very place, 20020. In fact, Dares is so constantly quoted by Benoît as a principal authority that an allusion to Dares by Chaucer shows nothing as to Chaucer's knowledge of Guido. Guido only followed the example of Benoît in alluding, *passim*, to Dares.

(15) Skeat,¹ 'Bk. V. 1849-1855. The introduction of this stanza is quite irrelevant, unless we remember that in Guido the story of Troy is completely mixed up with invectives against pagan idolatry. In Book X there is a detailed account of the heathen gods, the worship of which is attributed to the instigation of fiends.'

But the stanza of Chaucer is not a translation from Guido's Book X. It merely expresses a sentiment expressed by Guido in other and very different ways. Benoît, like Guido, has nothing resembling Chaucer's stanza mentioned above. But Benoît, like Guido, has opinions which might serve as a source for those of Chaucer. Benoît has not the account of the beginning of idolatry. If he had it would probably occur about 5780 ff. But Benoît had a strong feeling for Christianity, and expressed it. Thus, in 45 he sneers at the paganism of Homer. In 30107 he expresses Christian sentiments. If it is necessary to assume that Chaucer did not insert the stanza for some personal motive, such, for instance, as to propitiate churchmen, but that he re-uttered the sentiment of some original, then we can find his source in Benoît as well as in Guido. Note, for example, the very slight reverence shown by Briseida for Apollo, *Roman de Troie* 13732.

¹ P. lx.

Trop i mes fist Danz Apollin
 Se il tel respons vos dona
 Ne se il ço vos comanda
 Maldiz seit oi icist augurs.

Guido softens this objuration down into a statement that not Apollo, but the furies, were guilty of the false utterance.

(16) Skeat¹ cites the passage from Guido XXV, in which the treachery of Achilles is described, and Homer is blamed for praising him. Skeat apparently does not bring this forward as a proof of Chaucer's indebtedness to Guido. It has, indeed, a precisely contrary bearing. Chaucer has no words of blame for Homer in the lines which tell of Troilus' death, V. 1790-3. Chaucer never, in this poem, blames Homer. Nor does Benoît 21418 blame Homer. Here again Chaucer and Benoît are nearer than Chaucer and Guido.

(17) Here should be noted Skeat's² remark regarding the mysterious work known as *Trophee*: 'In the Monkes Tale, B 3307, he says of Hercules—

At bothe the worldes endes, *seith Trophee*,
 In stede of boundes, he a piler sette.

Whence, we may ask, is this taken? My answer is, *from Guido*.' The citation is here important only in so far as Lydgate, in the Prologue to the Fall of Princes, St. 3, says that Chaucer

made a translacion
 Of a boke which called is Trophe
 In Lumbarde tong, etc.

This translation is considered to be the *T. and C.* If, then, Guido's *Historia* is meant by 'Trophe,' Guido's *Historia* is, by Lydgate's testimony, an original for the *T. and C.* But the passage from the Monk's Tale, like all those which have been discussed, is found in Benoît 795. As for 'Lumbarde tong,' the phrase offers nothing conclusive.

¹ P. lxi. ² P. lv.

Guido did not write in the vernacular, but in Latin. And again, there were Italian translations of Benoît,¹ as of Guido.

It thus appears that none of the passages cited by Skeat to prove Chaucer's use of Guido in the *T. and C.*, proves the claim. Some even go far absolutely to disprove it. The present writer has been unable to discover in the poem anything outside of these passages that would prove the point which they so completely fail of proving. It has at times occurred to him to deny to Chaucer any knowledge of Guido. But this, which would simplify the question of sources for the *Troilus and Criseyde*, would be an untenable position.

Skeat² says that from Guido Chaucer derived the use of Ylion for the citadel of Troy. This is not certain. Benoît used the word, 25275, 26029, 26114. Far the most important use, however, is in 3029. At this point the rebuilding of Troy is described. Benoît says,

A une part font Ylion
De Troie le mestre danjon.

Tyrwhitt (cited by Skeat, p. liv.) affirmed that the Dream of Andromache, in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, came from Guido. It might as well have come from Benoît, as one may see by comparing Chaucer's 4331-35 with Benoît's 15212-18 in the *Roman de Troie*. Far weightier is Lounsbury's remark, 'That Guido³ was known to him the accounts of Medea and Hypsipile in the *Legend of Good Women* furnish positive proof.' In this poem Guido is mentioned by name, 1396 and 1464. The Hypsipile story is expressly stated as not being in Guido, but in Ovid. Ovid is also named as the author of Medea's letter, 1677.

¹ Sommer, xxxi: 'There still exist two Italian versions, one of which is a translation of Benoît's *Roman*: 7. Binduccio dello Scelto translated Benoît's poem about A. D. 1322. 8. The author of the Italian poem *L'Intelligenza* made use of Benoît's *Roman* for his account of the Trojan war.'

² *Ib.* liv. ³ *Studies in Chaucer* II. 313.

But evidence exists that Chaucer followed Guido in the rest of the poem. The Medea story is mainly a condensation from Guido. Its matter generally is found in Benoît, and in the same order. But the allusions to Thessaly (1396, 1619, 1654) stamp it as Guido's. Benoît has 'Greece' (see 705, 918 and 2029). Moreover, a close comparison of Chaucer (1399, 1400) will show that he follows Guido here rather than Benoît (709-714).

Another evidence¹ that Chaucer knew Guido is found in *H. F.* 1469, where Guido is named as one of the authors of the Troy story.

It has been shown that all of the citations made by Skeat to show Chaucer's indebtedness to Guido, as regards the *T. and C.*, could have had their origin in Benoît as well or better. Skeat is by no means oblivious that Chaucer was somewhat indebted to Benoît. He himself gives the following passages of Chaucer as probably from Benoît.

Chaucer V. 1037-78	Benoît 15046
1043	15102-4
1051-7	20233
1074	20308

He adds, 'I doubt if there is much more.' In view of the fact that Skeat has cited nothing that Chaucer could not derive from Benoît, this would seem to be enough. As stated, Hertzberg decided that Benoît was, after Boccaccio, Chaucer's 'second source.' Hertzberg indeed gives no credit to Guido as a source for this poem.

The passages which Hertzberg shows to be in Chaucer and Benoît, but not in Guido, are three. With one exception they lie within the limits of Skeat's citation.

- (1) Criseyde gives Diomede 'a pencill of hir sleve.'²
- (2) Criseyde's soliloquy (in parts).
- (3) Circumstances of Hector's death.

¹ Skeat, p. lxii. ² *Sh. Jahrbuch* 6. 203-5.

As has been already explained, the point of the third lies in Chaucer's statement that Hector was drawing a king by the helmet-flap, when Achilles slew him. Chaucer apparently gets the detail of the helmet-flap from Benoît: it is in neither Boccaccio nor Guido. Skeat omits this comment; probably Hertzberg attached too great importance to it. It is, however, valuable as collateral evidence.

The passages of Benoît which Hertzberg names are worth noting. (Chaucer V. 1043): Benoît 15102:

La destre manche de son braz
Bone et fresche de ciclaton
Li done en leu de gonfanon.¹

(Chaucer V. 1058 ff.): Benoît, 20228:

De moi n'iert ja fet bons² escrit
Ne chantée bone² chancons.

Benoît 20246:

De moi cil qui ne m'aient gaire,
Harront mei mès, et dreit auront
Les dames qui à Troie sont:
Hont i a fait as demeselles
Trop lede, et as riches puceles.

(Ch. V. 1077): Benoît 20308:

Dex donge bien a Troylus.

(Chaucer V. 1561): Benoît 16166:

Hector a un rei abatu
Prendre le volt et retenir
Et as lor par force tolr:
Par la ventaille le teneit,
Fors de la presse le traeit,
De son escu iert discoverz;
Et quant l'aperceit li coverz,
Vers lui broche dreil lo destrier.
Nel pot souffrir hauberc doublier
Que le feie et le polmon, &c.

¹ *Roman de Troie*, Joly's edition, reads *gonfanou*. This is, of course, a misprint. Hertzberg gives the word as above. ² I follow here, as generally, Joly's reading.

Hertzberg and Skeat show cognizance of much the same passages, though varying in the estimate they place on them as evidence. Skeat presents the fuller list, omitting only the rather subordinate detail of the helmet-flap. On the other hand, he quotes a line of Benoît which is of such weight that it is hard to see how Hertzberg could have omitted it.

It will be well to enlarge a little upon some of the evidence presented by Hertzberg and Skeat, and to adduce some which seems to have escaped them both.

In V. 1037 occur the words:

And after this the story telleth us
That she him yaf the faire baye stede,
The whiche she¹ ones wan of Troilus.

Skeat,² but not Hertzberg, notes that this passage corresponds to Benoît 15046; 'lo cheval vos presterai.' The circumstance is of great importance. Guido tells that Diomedes gave Troilus' horse to Briseida, but only in Benoît is it told that she afterwards returned the horse to Diomedes. Chaucer here follows clearly the Norman. The words, 'the story,' are significant. Their appearance in a passage clearly *not* from Guido aids to destroy Skeat's claim that they elsewhere refer to the *Historia Trojana*.

(II) V. 1045 is significant:

When through the body hurt was Diomede.

The nature of Diomedes' hurt is not specified in Guido, but in Benoît 545-6 we read:

Come il navra Diomedes
Parmi le cors de plein eslès.

(III) V. 1050:

And for to hele him of his sorwes smerte
Men seyn, I not, that she yaf him hir herte.

Compare Benoît 20271:

Trop ai en lui ja non cuer mis.

¹ So reads Skeat. ² Skeat, p. lxii.

In the corresponding passage of Guido the word 'corde' occurs once, but only where it is said that Briseida is 'proponens in corde suo amplioribus expectationibus nolle diomedem retrahere.'

The delicacy of the phrase involving this word as a symbol of love was foreign to Guido. His own expression, occurring in the same passage with the line quoted above, is coarse.

Chaucer, to be sure, might independently have employed a phrase which has become conventional. But he here quotes authority, and the corresponding passage in Benoît is sprinkled with the kindred words 'corage' and 'cuers.' See 20220, 20235, 20271, 20290, 20296, 20298, 20316, 20318, 20325.

(IV) Chaucer's description of Criseyde, V. 806-826, is not found in this part of the *Filostrato*, nor is *Filostrato*, I, stanzas 11 and 19, like it. But it is found in both Guido and Benoît. Here Guido and Benoît are so close that but for the last two lines it would be hard to determine Chaucer's source for the passage. Chaucer, however, has, V. 825 :

Tendre herted, slydinge of corage,
But, trewely, I cannot telle hir age.

Compare Benoît 5267 :

Molt fu amée,
Mes ses corages li changeit,
Et si esteit molt amorose.

And Guido :

'Multos traxit propter illecebras amatores, multosque
dilexit dum suis amatoribus animi constantiam non
servasset.'

Chaucer's indebtedness here, even for the word *corage*, is evident. Widely, indeed, do the revisions of Chaucer and Benoît differ from the coarseness of the Italian.

(V) Chaucer's description of Diomedes, V. 799-805, is mainly drawn from the *Filostrato*, V. 33 and 35. It is not very like either Guido's description in Fol. 57, col. 1, or

Benoît's 5193. But there is one circumstance that indicates that Chaucer had the French text under his eye. This is his use of the word 'square.'

V. 801 :

With sterne voys and mighty limes square,

where 'square' would seem to translate 'quarrez' in Benoît 5194 :

Gros et quarrez et granz ades.

(VI) As Hertzberg noticed, the description of Diomedes' first interview with Briesaida, on the ride out, is in both Guido and Benoît. But Hertzberg failed to call attention to the fact that at the conclusion of the interview Criseyde, in Chaucer, thanked Diomede.

Chaucer V. 183 :

But natheles she thanked Diomede
Of al his travaile and his goode chere
And that him liste his friendship hir to bede.

Benoît, 13670 :

Ains que reuist al dessevrer
Li a crié C. feiz merci,
Que de lui face son ami.

Guido has nothing closely similar on this point. The whole of the passage can be, and probably is, from Benoît.

From the facts presented in this article it is possible to draw conclusions as to Chaucer's indebtedness to Benoît for the *Troilus and Criseyde*. Skeat has shown what might have come from Guido. But all of this might have come from Benoît. That it *did* come from Benoît we may be sure, when we know, from certain passages in *T. and C.*, that Chaucer had the Norman author before him when composing the tale of Troilus. These certain passages are not found in Guido at all. Any assumption requiring that Chaucer should have used the *Historia* here violates probability. It requires him to have preferred to take from Guido certain passages found in Benoît, whom he actually used. It is assuming that he

put himself to great unnecessary pains. It is assuming that he used a work far less to his purpose than was the *Roman*. Whatever proofs have been given in this article have been chiefly textual. A more extended and spiritual treatment of the theme would show still more decisively the unlikelihood that Chaucer employed the violent and inartistic Guido, rather than the often poetic Benoît, in a subject about which Benoît presented all the materials necessary to supplement those derived from other authorities.

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ALDHELM'S RUNIC ALPHABET AND THAT
OF THE COD. REG.

IN the *Archiv für das Studium der Neuern Sprachen* vol. 99, Nos. 3-4, p. 425, Holthausen draws attention to the Runic Alphabet discovered by Stokes in the *Codex Reg.* 338 fol. 90. Now, there is a similar Alphabet on record in the works of Aldhelm as edited by J. A. Giles, p. 105. It stands midway between the prosaic and poetical parts of the *Anonymi Epistola ad Sororem Anonymam*, and is remarkable for the mixture of Old English with Old Saxon and Old High German forms of the Rune-names. It may be of interest to compare the two Alphabets by putting them side by side.

COD. REG. 338 :	ALDHELM, P. 105 :
a aac	asc
b berc	berc
c cen	can
d daeg	dour (= docur = dogur)
e eeh (= eoh Holth.)	ehu
f feh	feli (misread for feh)
g geos (= geofu Holth.)	gip (= gifu)
h hegil	ha. gal
i iis	is
k calc	ker (= cen?)
l lago	lagu
m moun (= monn Holth.)	man
n need	not
o coscos (= os, oos? Holth.)	os
p pear (= pearð, peorð? H.)	pert (= perth = peorth?)
q yymoth (queorth H.)	quirun (= quiruh = quiruth = queorth?)
r raad	rat
s sigil	suigil
t tu (= tii, tir Holth.)	lac ¹ (= tuc = tiig?)
u ur	ur
ch ilih (= ilch Holth.)	ilc
y ir (= yr Holth.)	ian (= ior?)
z zaar (= z zaar Holth.)	zar (= zaar)

¹ lac also if found on page 92 between *dunning* and *fridh*. These Old English words have no connection whatsoever with the Latin text of the *Epistola ad Eahfridum ex Hibernia in Patriam Reversum*, where they occur.

After the 'Aldhelm' Alphabet there follows :

- RRR* *Rex Romanorum ruit.*
PPP *Pater Patriae Profectus est.*
FFF *Ferro Frigore Fame.*
MMM *Monitum Monumentum Mortuus est.*
VVV *Victor Vitalis Veniet.*
AAA *Aurum (= Auram?) A nobis Aufert (= Auferet).*

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

ON OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES.

IN vol. I (No. 1, p. 62) of this JOURNAL I conjectured that Old English *ald* was hidden in the gloss *ualdac. uetustas sola* (*Corpus Glossary*) U. 313. I see now that *ualdac* is a corruption of *Baldad*, the name of one of the three friends of Job. The interpretation *uetustas sola* is that of Jerome's *Lib. Nom. Hebr.*, cited by Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, 26.7, p. 656. In regard to the Leiden gloss, No. 257 (OET.) *opere p'cium necessarium uel neos*, it would seem that my conjecture taking *neos* for *neoc* = *neot* = *neod* and explaining 'needful thing,' is borne out by the Aldhelm gloss (Mone. 418. 76) *operae pretium ned thearflice*. However, it has been fully proved by Mr. H. Logeman, of Ghent (see *Academy*, July 19, 1890, p. 52), that Sweet mistook the straight line that was to separate *neos* from the preceding, for the usual abbreviation of *uel*, and that *neos* belongs to *extra* = *extraneos*, the interpretation of *extores*. This is Logeman's reading of the MS:

Citra. bihina; Suricus. brooc; Extores extra
Classica. tuba; Opere p'ciū. necessarium | neos.

Goetz (*CGL*. 5. 425. 23) silently united *extra* and *neos*, without hinting at the actual reading of the MS. In vol. I, No. 3, pp. 324-25, I suggested that Old English *hindan* might be hidden away in the Erfurt² gloss (*CGL*. 5. 322. 24) *pos inter superfluū compositum opere quadratum*. But, as Loewe, *Prodr.* p. 137, has shown, that stands for *pōs* (= *pons*) *iter super fluuiū compositum opere quadrato*, i. e. 'pons' is a road over a river, constructed with hewn stones. As to the *Corpus Gloss* P 188, *partica. reodnaesc*, which I thought represented *pertica. bridd-raest*, I have now discovered evidence leading to a different explanation. In the first place, we read *WW*. 337. 3 *nebris naesc* *oððe heortha*, which has given rise to the entry *naesc* 'skin'

in Sweet's *Dictionary*. On the strength of that we might be inclined to accept the above *reodnaesc* as final, and explain it as 'red skin.' That we really have to do then with a word meaning 'red skin or leather,' of that I have no doubt now, only I do not think that *naesc*, but rather *laesc*, is what we should read for the *naesc* on record. In Old Bavarian *Lösch* designates (according to Schmeller,² *Bair. Wtb.* I, p. 1521) a sort of precious leather. Mention is made of a book bound in 'rothen Lösch.' The Vocabulary of 1445 interprets *rubicorium* by 'Lösch.' In the *Voc. Arch.* f. 44 we find *aluta: loesch, rot leder*. In the *Freyb. Samml.* 2. 123 of the year 1392 there figure 'zwo hawt rotz losch.' Add to that the evidence of the glosses: *Ahd. Gl.* 3. 287. 13 *rubricata pellis. losgihüt*; *ibid.* 2. 644. 54 *ianthino losceshuti*, which refers to Ezek. 16. 10; *Ahd. Gl.* 2. 325. 15 *particis. i. losge* which is a gloss to *ianthinis* of Exod. 26. 14. It will then be seen that *partica* was equivalent with *rubricata pellis*, and, judging by the OHG. interpretation, the Old English for that must have been *reodlaesc*. In regard to *laesc* cp. *Edictum Rotharis*, Tit. CI., §62: *roborem aut cerrum seu quercum modo laiscum* quoted by Schmeller l. l. *Reodlaesc* could by *r-l* interchange become *reodraesc*, and the corruption to *reodnaesc* was easy enough.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

DAS STARKE VERB BEI GRIMMELSHAUSEN:
EIN BEITRAG ZUR GRAMMATIK DES FRÜH-
NEUHOCHDEUTSCHEN.

VORWORT.

Für die folgende Untersuchung sind alle Schriften Grimmelshausen's, die durch Abdrücke zugänglich, herangezogen. Der Rechnung liegt in der Regel der älteste Druck zu Grunde; weitere Ausgaben sind nur dann berücksichtigt, wenn die Priorität eines Textes zweifelhaft oder eine spätere Bearbeitung von Grimmelshausen's Hand wahrscheinlich war. B als Nachdruck wäre zwar auszuschließen, zugleich ist es aber die einzige Überlieferung des verlorenen, wichtigen X. Daher die Doppeltzählung in Teil A der Arbeit; in ihrem zweiten Teile finden sich abweichende Formen aus B in den Anmerkungen zusammen mit den übrigen Varianten.

VERZEICHNIS DER BENUTZTEN TEXTE:¹

- P Lied aus dem Satyrischen Pilgram, Bobertag in Kürschner's *Deutscher National-Litteratur*, Bd. 34.
 Z, δ Keusche Joseph, Keller in *Bibliothek des Stuttgarter litterarischen Vereins*, Bd. 66.
 a, δm Musai, ib.
 B Simplicissimus, ib. Bd. 33, 34.
 A Simplicissimus, Kögel in *Hallenser Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke*, Bd. 19-27.
 A6 Simplicissimus, 6. Buch, ib.
 Om Courage, Kurz, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicianische Schriften*, Leipzig 1863/64, Bd. 3.
 On Courage, Keller Bd. 65.

¹ Besprochen sind dieselben in den Einleitungen ihrer Herausgeber. Über die verschiedenen Drucke des *Simplicissimus*, Kögel XIX ff.

- Wm Springinsfeld, Kurz Bd. 3.
 Wb Springinsfeld, Keller Bd. 65.
 b Bärnhäuter, Tittmann in *deutschen Dichtern des 17. Jhdts.*, Leipzig 1877, Bd. 10.
 g Gaukel-Tasche, Tittmann ib.
 r Ratio status, Bobertag Bd. 35.
 ε Calender, Kurz Bd. 4.
 DI, 2 Simplicissimus, Kurz Bd. 1, resp. 2.
 D6 Simplicissimus, 6. Buch, ib. Bd. 2.
 DI, 2 Simplicissimus, Bobertag Bd. 33, resp. 34.
 DI6 Simplicissimus, 6. Buch, ib. Bd. 34.
 DC Continuationen, Kurz Bd. 2.
 DIC Continuationen, Bobertag Bd. 34.
 R Rathstübel, Bobertag Bd. 35.
 Y, β, M Vogelnest I, Kurz Bd. 3.
 γ Vogelnest II, Kurz Bd. 4.
 ζ Melcher, Kurz Bd. 4.
 η Michel, Kurz Bd. 4.
 c Galgen-Männlein, Kurz Bd. 4.

Die in den Noten gegebenen Formen aus den Gesamtausgaben G, H, K, U, X, sowie solche aus B6 und E, sind nach Keller citiert.

An Hilfsmitteln standen mir zur Verfügung :

- Andresen, *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen*. 7. Auflage, Leipzig 1892.
 Von Bahder, *Grundlagen des neuhochdeutschen Lautsystems*, Strassburg 1890.
 Behaghel, *Sprachgeschichte, Paul's Grundriss I*, 526 ff.
 Benecke, *Mhd. Wörterbuch*.
 Blanckenburg, *Studien über die Sprache Abrahams a S. Clara*. Diss. Halle 1897.
 Blatz, *Nhd. Gr.*, 3. Auflage, Karlsruhe 1895.
 Brenner, *Grundzüge der geschichtlichen Gr. der deutschen Sprache*, München 1896.
 Franke, *Grundzüge der Sprache Luthers*. Görlitz 1888.
 Grimm, *Wörterbuch*.
 Herz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der regelmässigen deutschen Conjugation im XVI. Jhdts.* Diss. Halle 1885.
 Heyne, *Wörterbuch*.
 Von Jagemann, *Notes on the Language of J. G. Schottel: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, New Series, Vol. I, No. 4.
 Kehrein, *Gr. der deutschen Sprache des 15. bis 17. Jhdts.* Leipzig 1854.
 Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*. 2. Auflage. Strassburg 1888.
 Kluge, *Wörterbuch*. 5. Auflage. Strassburg 1894.
 Kräuter, *Untersuchungen zur Elsässer Gr.*, Alemannia Bd. 5.
 Lauchert, *Studien zu Thomas Murner*, ib. Bd. 18.

Lexer, *Mhd. Wörterbuch*.

Moscherosch, *Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald*. Kürschner Bd. 32.

Müller, *Die Sprache in Grimmelhhausen's Simplicissimus*. Programm des Christians-Gymnasiums zu Eisenberg, 1897.¹

Müller-Fraureuth, *Laurentius Albertus*, Straszburg 1895 in John Meyer's *Neudrucken älterer deutscher Grammatiken*, 3.

Paul, *Wörterbuch*.

Sanders, *Wörterbuch*.

Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*. 2. Ausgabe. München 1872.

Schupp, *Kürschner* Bd. 32.

Shumway, *Das ablautende Verb bei Hans Sachs*. Göttinger Diss. Einbeck 1894.

Weidling, *Johannes Clajus*, Straszburg 1894 in Meyer's *Neudrucken*, 2.

Weinhold, *Alemannische Gr.*

Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* 2. Ausgabe. Paderborn 1883.

Wiesner, *Über suffixales E in Grimmelhhausen's Simplicissimus*, Wien 1889.

Wilmanns, *Gr.* 2. Auflage. Strassburg 1897.

A. DIE ENDUNGEN.²

I. S. I. PRAES.³

Es finden sich 760 (+16)⁴ Formen von 58 Verben. Darunter 711 (+2) Formen mit *e*, 49 (+14) ohne *e* oder: 7% der vorkommenden Formen erscheinen apokopiert—5% der langsybligen und 6% der kurzsybligen,⁵ 8% der mit stimmhaftem, 5% der mit stimmlosem Ausgang. Je nach dem Stammesausgang gestaltet sich das Verhältnis zwischen voller (linke Sp.) und gekürzter Form (rechte Sp.) im Einzelnen wie folgt :

¹ Diese wie Blanckenburg's Untersuchung ging mir nach Beendigung meiner Arbeit zu. Dr. Müller's Abhandlung machte eine Einleitung zur Charakterisierung der Sprache Grimmelhhausen's meinerseits überflüssig. Shumway's Artikel über das Verb bei Murner (*Americana Germanica*, Vol. I, No: 3) konnte ich leider gar nicht mehr benutzen.

² Lauchert 148-151.

³ Zu den Praes.-Endungen, Wiesner 18-21. Zur I. S. I. Praes., Herz 14.

⁴ Die Zahlen in Klammern geben die in gebundener Rede vorkommenden Formen, Formen aus sprüchwörtlichen Wendungen, aus Formeln und Citaten sowie die Beispiele aus den Briefen von ζ . Sie bleiben in den folgenden Additionen unberücksichtigt.

⁵ d. h. also ausschliesslich aller zweifelhaften Quantitäten.

a. *Vokalische.*

thue	13	thu und lasse A 266, 23 ; D	2 ¹
thue	(1)	schrey	(1)
		thu	(1)
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	13		2

b. *Liquide.*

verhele	2
fahre	3
schwöre, schwere	12
	<hr/>
	17

c. *Nasale.*

a. m.				
komme	21	komm ich a 893, 17. Om 17, 16; On. γ 158, 29	3	
nehme, neme,		hinunter komm Wm 264, 22	1	
nemme	20	nimm	(1)	
		komm Wm 169, 17		1
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	41		4	1
β. n.				
scheine	2			
spinne	1			
	<hr/>			
	3			

d. *Labiale.*

a. b.				
bleibe	5	bleib ich A 341, 11 ; D	2	
schreibe	11	geb ich Z 838, 13. A 364, 31 ; D		
treibe	4	Wm 189, 14. R 283, 3. γ 145, 26. η 397, 1	7	
sterbe	12	gib ich Z 841, 4. Y 326, 6. η 412, 25	3	
gebe	18	gib euch γ 197, 23	1	
hebe	2	geb, gib	(2)	
		gib ²		3
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	52		13	3
β. f.				
werffe	4	hilff ich Wm 186, 30	1	
treffe	1	wirff	(1)	
schlaffe	1			
	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	6		1	

¹ Die 1. Col. rechter Spalte soll zeigen, wie weit sich Apokope resp. Synkope unabhängig vom Stammesausgang erklären liesze. In der 1. P., wo die Endung im Ganzen fest, gelingt dies noch ziemlich gut: mit Abzug der rein oberdeutschen bleiben nur 7 apokopierte Formen (darunter 6 Kürzen) unerklärt. Besagte Col. enthält Formen vor vokalischem Anlaut, mit enklitischem Pronomen und mit hochtonigem Praefix.

² Die durch das *i* als oberdeutsch gekennzeichneten Formen erscheinen auszer bei *sehen* und *sprechen* stets gekürzt.

*e. Gutturale.**a. g.*

schweige (und stets so in geschweige)	10	lig, lieg ich ε 241, 16. R 321, 16	2	
erwege	1	schweig ε 276, 21	(1)	
schlage	1	sing	(1)	
trage	5			
fange	2			
	<hr/>			
	19			2

β. k.

stecke	1			
	<hr/>			
	1			

γ. ch, h.

ziehe	6	befehl ich A 34, 8; D	2	
breche	1	versprech ich Z 788, 16	1	
befehle	4	sprich	(1)	
spreche	4	seh	(1)	
spriche	1	sprich Wm 166, 8		1
sehe	112			
sihe, siehe	14			
stehe	24			
fahe	6			
gehe	8			
	<hr/>			
	180		3	1

*f. Dentale.**a. d.*

finde	18	wird ich Wm 230, 16	1	
werde	160	werd	(2)	
		find		1
	<hr/>			
	178		1	1

β. t.

schreite	3	rath ich η 414, 7	1	
biete	1	halt ich R 274, 30	1	
gelte	2	halt (vor Vok.) R 315, 25	1	
fechte	3	bitt (vor Vok.) η 367, 9	1	
bitte	58	halt	(1)	
halte	61	bitt	(1)	
rathe, rahte	8	bitt		2
bitte	(1)			
	<hr/>			
	136		4	2

g. S-Stämme.

<i>a. s.</i>			
preise	1		
weise	4		
	<hr/>		
	5		
 <i>β. ss, z.</i>			
befleisse	3	schiesz ich A 364, 38; D	2
reisse	2	lasz ich A 366, 24; D. R 328, 22	3
schliesse	3	frisz	3
messe	1	schmeisz	1
sitze	3	sitz	1
lasse	37	wasch	1
saltze	2		
heisse	8		
stosse	1		
schliesse	(1)		
	<hr/>		
	60		
			<hr/>
			5 6

	Volle.	Apokopierte.	Apokope. ¹
a. Vokalische Stämme	13	2	13%
b. Liquide	17		
c. Nasale, <i>a. m</i>	41	5	11%
<i>β. n</i>	3		
d. Labiale, <i>a. b</i>	52	16	24%
<i>β. f</i>	6	1	14%
e. Gutturale, <i>a. g</i>	19	2	9%
<i>β. k</i>	1		
<i>γ. ch, h</i>	180	4	2%
f. Dentale, <i>a. d</i>	178	2	1%
<i>β. t</i>	136	6	4%
g. S—, <i>a. s</i>	5		
<i>β. ss, z</i>	60	11	15%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	711	49	7%

Einmal begegnet als 1. P. *bitten*, D6, 356, 34. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 339. Kehrein I § 345. Da die andern Ausgaben *e* haben und zwei Wortausgänge auf *n* voraufgehen, liegt wohl ein Druckfehler vor.

¹ Die Zahlen der letzten Col. sind natürlich da wertlos, wo das Material zu dürftig. In solchen Fällen wird erst die Summierung aller Personen zu Ende das wahre Verhalten der betreffenden Stämme gegen folgendes *e* darthun.

2. S. I. PRAES.

Sie kommt 206 (+ 8) × von 44 Verben vor—ausschließlich der Verben *werden, sein, thun, wollen* und der Praeterito-praesentia. *Sollen* allein zeigt *e* und ist besonders gezählt—. Volle Formen 124 (+ 1); synkopierte 82 (+ 7), d. h. Synkope bei 40% aller Verben; bei den langstämmigen beträgt sie 30%, bei den kurzstämmigen 60%; bei den Verben mit stimmhaftem Ausgang 54%, bei denen mit stimmlosem 30%; in den Formen mit Infinitivvokal 33%, in denen mit eigentümlichem¹ 44%; Col. II, 1 erklärt kaum noch die Hälfte der Synkope; das % Verhältnis zwischen Col. I, 2² und II, 1 ist 33/44. Ordnet man die Verben wieder nach ihrem Stammesausgang, so ergeben sich obige Resultate wie folgt:

a. Vokalische.

vacat.³

b. Liquide.

verliehrest	1	schierst du Y 373, 7	1
stielest	1	fällst	2
fortfährest A 325, 2; D	2		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2		1
	2		2

c. Nasale.

a. m.

kommest	2	komstu, kommstu, kommst du	
hinweg nimmest A 283, 26; D	2	A 6, 479, 39; D. Wm 192, 24;	
		371, 9; 433, 10	5
		nimstu A 360, 23; D	2
		davon kommst A 17, 22; D	2
		heimkommst Y 327, 17	1
		komst, kommst	(2)
		komst, kommst	8
		nimmst, nimst	6
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2		10
	2		14

¹ Wilmanns I § 282, 2, a, b. Von Jagemann 419, 420.² Die 2. Col. links (I, 2) soll nur zeigen, dasz die Bedingungen, die in Col. I rechts (II, 1) Synkope begünstigen, sie nicht herbeizuführen brauchen.³ Von *thun* findet sich nur das regelrechte *thust*.

β. n.

gewinnest	2
gewinnest du R 340, 17	— 1
	2 1

*d. Labiale.**α. b.*

bleibest	3	bleibst du Y 433, 11	1
gibest, giebest	10	gibst du, gibstu Y 412, 1. γ 182, 6	2
gräbest	2	vorgibst A, D 152, 4; 340, 7	4
bleibest du Z 769, 11	1	gibst	(1)
	—	gibst	— 1
	15	1	7 1

β. f.

hilfest	1	schläffst du Z 734, 16	1
		lauffst du A 56, 9; D	2
		triffst	1
	—	wirffst	— 2
	1		3 3

*e. Gutturale.**α. g.*

schweigest	1	steigst du Y 433, 9	1
betreugest	1	zeugst du Y 401, 7	1
		ligstu A 6, 536, 14; D	2
		fängst du Z 736, 8	1
		zeugst	(3)
		treugst	3
		liegst	2
		trägst	3
	—	hängst	— 1
	2		5 9

β. k.

steckest	1
	—
	1

γ. ch, h.

sihest, siehest	21	wächstu A 256, 31; D	2
stehest	7		
gehest	4		
ziehst du A 322, 32; D	2		
sihestu, siehestu, sihest du,			
siehest du Z 721, 19; 812,			
7. A; D 426, 23; 344, 18.			
Wm 188, 21. g 159, 10. r			
351, 3. D 1, 415, 11, 13.			
ζ 331, 2.	12		
stehestu, stehest du A 33, 7;			
D. γ 183, 20	3		
anzeuhest R 340, 2	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	32 18		2

*f. Dentale.**a. d.*

bindest	2		
findest	4		
findestu, findest du A 261,			
20; D. Om 94, 25; On	3		
	<hr/>		
	6 3		

β. t.

bittest	1	vorhältst A 270, 7	1
hältst	2	hältst	(1)
trittst du A 152, 14; D	2		
hältst du A 29, 17; D	2		
vorhältst D 1, 330, 28	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	3 5		1

*g. S-Stämme.**a. s.*

weist	1	weist	1
liesest	1		
weistu, weist du Wm 193.			
21; 192, 22	2		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2 2		1

<i>β. ss, z.</i>			
beissest	2	lästu, läst du A 287, 29; D.	
geniessest	2	Y 425, 11	3
missest	2	heistu A 336, 30; D	2
sitzest	3	anläst A 359, 14; D	2
lässest	6	heist	2
sitzest	(1)	frisst	4
lässest du Om 108, 12; On	1	vergist, vergiszt	3
heissestu A; D 23, 14;		läst, lässt	7
458, 25, 30	6		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	15		7 16

	Volle.	Synkopierte.	Synkope.
a. Vokalische Stämme			
b. Liquide	4	3	43%
c. Nasale, <i>a. m</i>	4	24	86%
<i>β. n</i>	3		
d. Labiale, <i>a. b</i>	16	8	33%
<i>β. f</i>	1	6	86%
e. Gutturale, <i>a. g</i>	2	14	87%
<i>β. k</i>	1		
<i>γ. ch, h</i>	50	2	4%
f. Dentale, <i>a. d</i>	9		
<i>β. t</i>	8	1	11%
g. S—, <i>a. s</i>	4	1	20%
<i>β. ss, z</i>	22	23	51%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	124	82	40%

Die jüngere 2. P.¹ von *sollen* kommt 36 × vor und zwar: *solst, sollst* 16 ×, *sollest* 20 × z. B. A 32, 28; D.

3. S. I. PRAES.

Wird, ist, thut sind nicht mitgezählt. Sonst kommen 122 Verben in 2074 (+ 247) Formen vor. Volle: 920 (+ 47), synkopierte: 1154 (+ 200); % satz der Synkope: 56. Die langen Stämme synkopieren 35%, die kurzen 78%; die stimmhaften Ausgänge 61%, die stimmlosen 50%; die Formen mit Infinitivvokal 41%, die mit eigentümlichem 71%; Col. II, 1 erklärt nur ein Fünftel der Synkope; %

¹ Franke § 234, 1.

Verhältnis zwischen I, 2 und II, 1: 21/20. Die einzelnen Stammesausgänge verhalten sich folgendermaßen:

	Volle.	Synkopierte.	Synkope.
a. Vokalische Stämme	9	4	31%
b. Liquide	32	76	70%
c. Nasale, a. m	1	233	99%
β. n	41	1	2%
d. Labiale, a. b	120	165	58%
β. f	3	84	97%
e. Gutturale, a. g	48	123	72%
β. k	10	19	66%
γ, ch, h	449	74	14%
f. Dentale, a. d	105	5	4%
β. t	11	151	93%
g. S——, a. s	33	9	21%
β. ss, sch, z	58	210	78%
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	920	1154	56%

I. 3. P. I. PRAES.

Das *e* der Endung ist nur in folgenden Fällen synkopiert: Bei nachgestelltem Pronomen, *gehn wir* ζ 327, 30. Im Metrum: *stehn* A 22, 8; D; *gehn* DI 1, 149 (Kupfer). *Soltn* s 270, 3; *wolln* s 260, 14.

Erwähnung verdient: *thuen* ζ 361, 26.¹

Findend D 2, 348, 9; I (A, B: *finden*) ist durch das folgende 'aufziehend' veranlaszter Druckfehler. Über frühes Verdrängen von *ent* im Elsässischen, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 342.

2. P. I. PRAES.

40 Verben (auszer *seyn*), 341 (+0) Belege. Davon 228 (+0) voll, 113 (+0) synkopiert. Synkope 33%. Bei den langen Stämmen 28%, bei den kurzen 35%; bei den stimmhaften Ausgängen 30%, bei den stimmlosen 38%. Col. II, 1 erklärt über die Hälfte der Synkope; ihr Verhältnis zu I, 2 ist: 57/24. Die einzelnen Stämme:

¹ Shumway 146.

	Volle.	Synkopierte.	Synkope.
a. Vokalische Stämme	2	11	85%
b. Liquide	45	27	38%
c. Nasale, <i>a. m</i>	2	7	78%
<i>β. n</i>	30	14	32%
d. Labiale, <i>a. b</i>	7	3	30%
<i>β. f</i>	2	13	87%
e. Gutturale, <i>a. g</i>	11	4	27%
<i>β. k</i>			
<i>γ. ch, h</i>	24	4	14%
f. Dentale, <i>a. d</i>	58	2	3%
<i>β. t</i>	10		0%
g. S——, <i>a. s</i>	1		
<i>β. ss, sch</i>	36	28	44%
	<hr/> 228	<hr/> 113	<hr/> 33%

S. IMP.¹

Ausschliesslich des oft belegten Imp. von *sehen*, der nur 2 × ohne *e* erscheint, kommen 336 (+ 31) Imperative von 54 Verben vor. 141 (+ 4) Formen oder 42% haben *e* angenommen; von langstämmigen 55%, von kurzen Stämmen 33%; von stimmhaften 25%, von stimmlosen 52%; von denen mit Infinitivvokal 52%, von denen mit eigentümlichem 7%. Die alten *j*-Praesentien finden sich nur 3 × belegt, darunter eine apokopierte Form: *heb* η 392, 19.

	Ohne e.	Mit e.	Mit e.
a. Vokalische Stämme	17	8	32%
b. Liquide	3	3	50%
c. Nasale, <i>a. m</i>	24	3	11%
<i>β. n</i>		1	
d. Labiale, <i>a. b</i>	35	4	10%
<i>β. f</i>	7	3	30%
e. Gutturale, <i>a. g</i>	15	6	29%
<i>β. k</i>		1	
<i>γ. ch, h</i>	11	52	71%
f. Dentale, <i>a. d</i>		3	
<i>β. t</i>	16	5	24%
g. S——, <i>a. s</i>		3	
<i>β. ss, sch</i>	67	49	42%
	<hr/> 195	<hr/> 141	<hr/> 42%

¹ Wilmanns I § 281. Herz 25, 29. Wiesner 20.

P. IMP.

Von 171 (+ 5) Formen—32 Verben—sind 40 (+ 5) oder 23% gekürzt; bei den langstämmigen 11%, bei den kurzstämmigen 40%; bei den stimmhaften 41%, bei den stimmlosen 18%.

‘*Seyd, thut*’ sind nicht miteingerechnet.

	Volle.	Synkopierte.	Synkope.
a. Vokalische Stämme			
b. Liquide	6	2	25%
c. Nasale, a. m	4	7	64%
β. n			
d. Labiale, a. b	6	6	50%
β. f	2	3	60%
e. Gutturale, a. g	4	1	20%
β. k			
γ. ch, h	67	5	7%
f. Dentale, a. d			
β. t	12		0%
g. S——, a. s	3		
β. ss	27	16	37%
	<hr/> 131	<hr/> 40	<hr/> 23%

I. 3. S. C. PRAES.

Abgesehen von *sein* (825 *sey, sei*: 143 *seye*)¹ kommen 1442 (+ 81) Formen von 100 Verben vor. Davon sind 21 (+ 76) oder 1% gekürzt; von den langsyllbigen 2%, von den kurzsyllbigen 1%; von stimmhaften 1%, von stimmlosen 2%.

	Volle.	Apokopierte.	Apokope.
a. Vokalische Stämme	36		
b. Liquide	251	7	3%
c. Nasale, a. m	85		
β. n	92		
d. Labiale, a. b	96	4	4%
β. f	52	2	4%
e. Gutturale, a. g	96	2	2%
β. k	15		
γ. ch, h	158		
f. Dentale, a. d	249		
β. t	49	1	2%
g. S——, a. s	15		
β. ss, sch, z	227	5	2%
	<hr/> 1421	<hr/> 21	<hr/> 1%

¹ In B 108 *sey, sei*: 112 *seye*.

2. S. C. PRAES.

Unter den 151 Formen aller Stämme haben 106 *e*. Ohne *e*: *mögst* A9, 23; D. *seyst*, 23 × (gegen 19 *seyest*) und in den Briefen von *s*: *nemst*, *haltst*, *wolst*.

1. 3. P. C. PRAES.

Die Endung ist *en*. Beim Verbum substantivum, *seyn* 119: *seyn*, *seien* 51.

2. P. C. PRAES.

Es kommen nur 46 Formen und zwar von nur 8 Verben vor. Synkope nur einmal im Metrum: *mögt* ε 204, 2.

1. 3. S. I. PRAET.¹

11237 (+ 29) Formen fast aller Verben. 8214 (+ 24) Formen ohne *e*, 3023 (+ 5) mit *e*. Mithin haben 27% *e* angenommen; von den langsyllbigen 31%, von den kurzsyllbigen 23%; von den stimmhaften Ausgängen 18%, von den stimmlosen 43%.

a. Vokatische.

schnie	2	gehye Y 322, 27	1
schrie	51	schrye, schriehe, schrihe z. B. A 57, 3; D spiehe Z 736, 19	25 1
	—		—
	53		27

b. Liquide.

Nicht mitgezählt ist das häufige *war*. *Ware* findet sich 9 ×, Z 815, 6. Om, On 120, 7; 130, 28. Wm 150, 6; 186, 2. R 299, 35. Y 304, 9. γ 185, 23. ζ 325, 13.

fror	2		
verlor, verlohre	16	verlore, verlohre Om 25, 12; On. Wm 233, 28. Y 374, 2	3
erscholl	2	erscholle Om 138, 21; On γ 152, 32	2
gebar	2		
schur, schor	4	schure A 363, 11; D	2
stahl, stal, stall	23	stahle Om 104, 31; On	1
fuhr, fur	119	fuhre z. B. A 51, 19; D	19
schwur	37		
fiel, fiehl	125	fiele, fiehle z. B. A 192, 37; D	42
fiel	(1)		
	330		69

¹ Wiesner 31-33. Herz 17 ff. Franke § 229.

c. Nasale.

<i>a. m.</i>			
kam, kahn	886	kame, kahme z. B. DC 269, 29; 286, 31	28
kam	(4)		
nam, nahm, namb	431	nahme, name z. B. D 1, 25, 12; 68, 19	27
	1317		55
<i>β. n.</i>			
schien	35	schiene z. B. A 34, 26; D	73
bran	1		
ran, rann	5	ranne	(2)
sann, san, sonn	21	sanne, sonne z. B. D 1, 351, 11	11
		spanne Y 293, 24; 402, 29	2
gewan, gewann	10	gewane, gewanne A6. 569, 23;	
		D. γ 167, 3	3
	72		89

d. Labiale.

<i>a. b.</i>			
blieb, bleib	77	bliebe, blibe z. B. A 6, 525, 12; D	29
rieb	4	riebe D 1, 443, 10. Y 416, 12	2
schrieb, schrib	21	schriebe z. B. A 381, 15; D	22
trieb	36	triebe z. B. Wm 157, 6; 262, 8	15
schob, schoob	6		
stob	2	stobe Om 42, 3; On	1
verdarb	1		
starb	16		
warb	8	warbe Wm 273, 20. R 311, 35. γ 55, 4	3
gab	482	gabe z. B. Om, On 30, 17; 52, 18	10
		gabe	(2)
grub	4		
hub	70	hube z. B. Om, On 63, 24; 115, 33	9
hieb	8	hiebe Om 131, 20; On. Wm 154, 7. γ 109, 26	3
	735		94
<i>β. f.</i>			
griff, grieff	36	griffe, grieffe z. B. A 282, 27; D	17
pfiff	2		
soff	15	soffe A 148, 13; D. Y 391, 12. γ 93, 2	4
halff, half	70	halffe z. B. Om, On 43, 13; 111, 19	11
half	(1)		
warff, warf, wurff	76	warffe Om 39, 6; On. Y. 411, 1	2
traff, traf, troff	58	traffe, trafe z. B. D 1, 427, 1. Om 129, 15; On	7
schuff	2		
schlieff	27	schlieffe z. B. A 106, 34; D	8
		kieffe ε 251, 28	1
lieff, lief	65	lieffe z. B. A 168, 10; D	35
rieff	4	rieffe Y 320, 23	1
	355		86

<i>a. g.</i>		<i>e. Gutturale.</i>	
		gedige A 6, 495, 16 ; D	2
		gige Wm 183, 19	1
schwieg, schwig	35	schwiege Om 75, 26 ; On. γ 47, 18	2
stieg	28	stiege, stige z. B. Om 131, 33 ; On	11
flog	12		
flog	(2)		
log	13		
betrog	6		
zog	107	zoge z. B. DC 269, 30 ; 271, 31	19
trang, drang	15		
		klange Z 761, 20	1
gelung, gelang	6	gelunge Y 303, 8	1
rang	2		
verschlang	5		
schwang	3		
sang	11		
sprang	29	sprange D 1, 378, 11	1
zwang	12		
verbarg	13		
pflag	2		
lag	147	lage DC 267, 15	1
wog, wug	16	woge D 2, 32, 1. DC 269, 29. Y 429, 32	3
schlug	152	schluge ε 224, 6	1
schlug	(1)		
trug	130	truge r 344, 15. R 306, 15	2
fieng, fing	327	fienge, finge z. B. A 6, 577, 26 ; D	33
fieng	(1)		
gieng, ging	821	gienge z. B. Om, On 33, 23 ; 120, 29	15
gieng	(1)		
hing, hieng	40	hienge, hinge z. B. A 261, 32 ; D	5
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1932		98
<i>β. k.</i>			
sanck	5		
stanck	6		
tranck	13		
		malcke Y 347, 22	1
erschrack	32		
stack	25	stacke Z 761, 9 ; 766, 5	2
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	81		3
<i>γ. ch, h.</i>			
		gliche z. B. A 290, 5 ; D	5
		liehe z. B. A 184, 35 ; D	13
schlich, schliech	27	schliche, schlieche z. B. Wm 240, 14 ; 277, 22	22
strich, striech	8	striche z. B. A 328, 25 ; D	8

<i>γ. ch, h.</i>			
		wiche Wm 210, 18. Y 431, 30. Z 828, 21	3
		ziehe A, D 206, 2; 229, 19	4
		flohe z. B. A 393, 22; D	5
ķroch	11		
roch	4	roche A 94, 38; D. Om 138, 4; On. γ 57, 7	4
zoch	1	zohe A 559, 6; D. Om 29, 24; On. Wm 201, 24; 202, 20	5
brach	27		
befahl	90	befahle, befohle z. B. Wm 172, 4	8
sprach	98	sprache D 2, 254, 11	1
sprach	(2)		
stach	8	stache Wm 246, 11	1
geschah	1	geschahe z. B. A 25, 29; D	95
sah	1	sahe z. B. A 13, 31; D	647
sah	(1)		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	276		821

f. Dentale.

<i>a. d.</i>			
schied	8	schiede DC 275, 22. γ 89, 21; 121, 3	3
band	18	bande z. B. Om, On 89, 11; 106, 32	6
fand, fandt, fant, fund	284	fande, fante z. B. Om, On 41, 16; 42, 29	138
schund	2	schunde Wm 234, 14	1
verschwand, ver-			
schwandt	13	verschwande z. B. Y 385, 11; 434, 14	4
wand	9	wande Y 329, 18; 356, 20. b 252, 8	3
ward, wurd	846	wurde, würde z. B. A 19, 34; 21, 9	419
ward, wurd	(5)		
lud	6	lude z. B. Om, On 42, 24; 59, 16	8
stund, stand	229	stunde, stünde	127
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1415		709

β. z.

<i>β. z.</i>			
		litte z. B. A 6, 517, 28; D	8
ritt	26	ritte z. B. A 36, 26; D	26
schnitt, schnit, schnidt	14	schnitte z. B. γ 108, 8; 191, 1	20
		schritte A 138, 27; D	2
		stritte A 8, 21; D	2
bot, bott	30	botte, bote	18
		sotte Y 324, 24	1
		galte, golte z. B. γ 130, 32. ε 252, 4	12
schalt	4	schalte γ 21, 18. Z 765, 8	2
		fochte z. B. A 263, 9; D	5
		flochte Y 359, 21	1
bat, bath, batt	107	bate z. B. R 300, 15; 303, 14	10
trat, tratt	42	tratte, trate z. B. γ 111, 11; 141, 21	12
briet	2		

β. z.

hielt	288	hielte z. B. A, D 31, 39; 90, 36	166
rieth, rieht	35	riethe, riete, riehte z. B. A 19, 30; D	22
		spielte Wm 281, 4. γ 171, 2	2
thät, that	249	thäte, thate z. B. Y 299, 20; 334, 23	26
thät	(1)	thäte	(1)
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	797		335

*g. S-Stämme.**a. s.*

wiesz ¹	11	priese z. B. A 256, 9; D	4
lasz, las	16	wiese, wise z. B. A 27, 31; D	78
genasz	6	lase, lasse z. B. A 50, 15; D	17
wuchs	6	genase A 402, 19, D	2
bliesz, blies	6	wuchse Om, On 18, 32; 84, 5	2
		bliesse, bliese z. B. γ 108, 19; 113, 26	8
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	45		111

β. ss, sch, z.

bisz	14	bisse z. B. A 306, 12; D	4
befisz	10	befisse, befiesse z. B. A 250, 39; D	15
risz, riesz	10	risse, riesse z. B. Z 772, 21	8
		schiesse γ 151, 1	1
schmisz, schmiesz	4	schmiesse ε 249, 19	1
verdrosz	28	verdrosse, vertrosse z. B. Wm 152, 18	9
flosz	8	flosse D 1, 393, 31. Y 322, 5. γ 71, 24	3
gosz	10	gosse z. B. Wm 156, 17; 187, 16	4
genosz	10	genosse z. B. A 50, 36; D	17
schosz	5	schosse D 1, 140, 26	1
schosz	(1)		
schlosz	42	schlosse z. B. Z 753, 27; 754, 22	22
trasch	1		
		verlosche γ 28, 25	1
asz	8	asse z. B. Y 364, 7	5
frasz	4		
vergasz, vergas	14	vergasse Y 410, 18. γ 155, 9	2
masz	16	masse Om 52, 21; On. Wm 280, 33. Y 316, 31	3
sasz	62	sasse, sase z. B. R 271, 9, 16	36
wusch	2		
liesz, lies	472	liesse, liese, liesze, z. B. A 86, 23; 88, 13	348
liesz	(3)		
hiesch	2		
hiesz	56	hiesse, hiese z. B. A 23, 19; D	38
stiesz	28	stiesse, stiese z. B. A 6, 515, 17; D	8
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	806		526

¹ So auch A 180, 19; 368, 12. Wiesner 31. Ein Versehen ist gleichfalls ib. 32 *liesse* als alleinige Form für A; vgl. A 7, 21; 12, 2, etc.

	Ohne e.	Mit e.	Mit e.
a. Vokalische Stämme	53	27	35%
b. Liquide	330	69	17%
c. Nasale, <i>a. m</i>	1317	55	4%
<i>β. n</i>	72	89	55%
d. Labiale, <i>a. b</i>	735	94	11%
<i>β. f</i>	355	86	19%
e. Gutturale, <i>a. g</i>	1932	98	4%
<i>β. k</i>	81	3	4%
<i>γ. ch, h</i>	276	821	75%
f. Dentale, <i>a. d</i>	1415	709	33%
<i>β. t</i>	797	335	30%
g. S-Stämme, <i>a. s</i>	45	111	71%
<i>β. ss, sch, z</i>	806	526	39%
	<hr/> 8214	<hr/> 3023	<hr/> 27%

In D 2, 346, 36 steht *verstunden ich* gegen *verstund* von A und *verstunde* von B. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 201, c, Ende. Es kann aber auch ein bloßer Druckfehler sein, da zwei Infinitive kurz vorausgehen. *Beritten* A 239, 15; B; D, dem kein vokalischer Anlaut folgt, ist als Part. zu fassen.

2. S. I. PRAET.

Diese Person kommt nur 14 × von 9 Verben vor. Die Endung ist stets *est*.

1. 3. P. I. PRAET.

Das *n* der Endung *en* fällt 3 × ab:¹ *auszsahē* γ 417, 5. *ware* A 202, 35; B (D *waren*). *Wm* 443, 20 (Wb *waren*).

In B ist das *e* 3 × nach *r* synkopiert: *warn* B 377, 7; 410, 24; 651, 19.

2. P. I. PRAET.

Nur ein Beleg: *liesset* γ 18, 30.

1. 3. S. C. PRAET.

62 Verben, 2872 (+ 11) Formen, darunter 70 (+ 11) gekürzte. Die Apokope erreicht somit nur 2%, wovon

¹ Von Bahder 73.

Col. II, 1 über die Hälfte erklärt; bei den langen Stämmen beträgt sie 3%, bei den kurzen 1%; bei den stimmhaften 2%, bei den stimmlosen 5%.

	Volle.	Apokopierte.	Apokope.
a. Vokalische Stämme		1	
b. Liquide	1280	33	2%
c. Nasale, a. m	118	4	3%
β. n	3		
d. Labiale, a. b	25		
β. f	32	1	3%
e. Gutturale, a. g	114	19	14%
β. k	1		
γ. ch, h	51		
f. Dentale, a. d	1000		
β. t	66	12	15%
g. S-Stämme, a. s	7		
β. ss, sch, z	96		
	<hr/> 2802	<hr/> 70	<hr/> 2%

2. S. C. PRAET.

14 Verben kommen 99 × vor, 4 darunter in Metrum. E-Synkope 3 ×: *wärst* A 74, 29; D gegen 33 volle Formen. *lieszt* g 263, 7 (Metr.).

1. 3. P. C. PRAET.

Das *n* fällt ab in: *wäre* γ 417, 20. In A XXX, 11; D; I (B *wären*) kann *wäre* auch als S. gefasst werden. *Hülffe*, Lesart von D, wenigstens nach B 442, 36 (Bobertag, Kurz: *hülffen*, wie A, B).

2. P. C. PRAET.

Es kommen nur 6 Verben in dieser Person vor. Unter den 34 Formen findet sich nur eine (mit nachgestelltem Pronomen) ohne *e*: *trügt* γ 88, 19.

INF.

Die Endung ist *en*.¹ Ausgenommen:

1. *Ent* in *betragent* ζ 342, 1. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 178 oder Druckfehler? (Vorauf geht 'irgents').

2. *N*-Apokope: ² *sey* Om 40, 1; On.

3. *E*-Synkope: *verliehrn* ε 238, 22. *stehu* ζ 328, 24; 339, 14, 30. *gehn* A 6, 532, 23. Im Metrum: *grein* P 4, 24, 33. *sehn* A; D 22, 9; 46, 10. *g* 272, 6. *stehu* Z 778, 3. *gehu* Z 778, 2. Die Schreibungen in *s*:³ *stehlu*, *fahru*, *fallu*, *sollu*, *wollu*; *nehmu*; *schreibu*, *treibu*, *gebu*, *grabu*; *helffu*, *werffu*, *lauffu*; *fliehu*, *stehu*, *gehu*; *werdu*, *ladu*; *befleissu*, *gieszu*, *geniessu*, *lassu*, *heissu*, *wissu*.

PART. PRAES.

Neben der gewöhnlichen schriftdeutschen Endung findet sich:

1. gelegentlich *ende*:⁴ *lügende* A 6, 495, 29; D. *findende* A 439, 3; D. *befehlende* A 163, 29; D. R 321, 30. *sprechende* A 34, 36; D. *treffende* A 30, 28; D. A 6, D 481, 7; 587, 2. *gebende* A 6, 575, 36; D. *sehende* Y 391, 17. *schlagende* A 6, 515, 19; D. *lassende* γ 38, 28; 138, 1.

2. alem. *ent*:⁵ *schreyenten* Om 112, 32; On. *stillschweigents* a 874, 28. *siedent* A 420, 6; D. *stinckent* Y 299, 9. *schwerrent* Om 86, 11; On. *stehent* Y 297, 24. *gehent* ε 209, 12; 241, 15.⁶

3. oberdeutsch:⁷ *sitzet* (+ Dativ) a 873, 11; *dm sitzend*.

¹ Einmal findet sich beim schwachen Verb *ene*: *lebene* B 811, 10.

² Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 350, 370.

³ Vgl. ζ 406, 18 ff.

⁴ Von Wiesner nicht behandelt. Brenner 80. *Halteude* Moscherosch 314, 18. *Bittende* Schupp XXV, 5; *sprechende* ib. XXVI, 25. Beim schw. Verb finden sich bei Grimmelshausen 53 Beispiele.

⁵ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 352.

⁶ *schneidenten* G K 279.

⁷ Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 373. Kehrein I § 356, 4.

PART. PERF.¹

A. Das Praefix.

1. Verdopplung. Das Part von *essen*² lautet gewöhnlich *gessen* (21 ×); daneben *geessen* Y 376, 27. R 340, 17 und *gegessen* R 308, 10.

2. Oberdeutsche *e*-Synkope³ begegnet in: *angboren* D 6, 355, 23. *gnommen* η 371, 27 (Metr.) und 10 × in *s*, in *gstohln*; *gnomn*; *gleszn*, *glesn*, *glegn*; *gsehn*; *gtragn*, *gthan*; 2 × in η: *getragn*, *gvesn*.

3. Wegfall.⁴ In der stk. Form der Praeterito-praesentien. *Wissen* ist 1 × belegt, R 335, 8. In analoger Construction erscheinen: *helffen*, *sehen*, *lassen*, *heissen*. Einmal auch *fahen* A 406, 27; D. Stets in *worden*, auch wenn es nicht Hilfsverb, z. B. A 6, 33; 35, 19; 36, 31. *Kommen* (384 ×), *gekommen* findet sich nur: D 1, 1, 12; 203, 5; 2, 67, 22. DC 274, 17; 307, 20. *Gangen*; *gegangen* z. B. A 410, 6; D; Verhältnis 194:9. Gleichhäufig neben erhaltenem Praefix in: *blieben*, *bliben* (21:22); *geben* (Verhältnis beim einfachen Verb 107:108). Gelegentlich neben voller Form in: *trieben* (Metr.) D 1, 7, 33; 52, 23. *vorzogen* A 188, 24; D. *funden* A, D 139, 28; 175, 27. R 313, 23. *anboren* Z 751, 6. *troffen*⁵ ε 234, 19; 248, 14; 249, 26. Z 739, 22. *graben* s 261, 32. *tragen* Z 735, 15. *einsaltzen* D 2, 346, 34 (A, B *eingesaltzen*; I *eingesaltzet*). *sothan* γ 128, 18 [*miszthan* ζ 394, 24].⁶

B. Die Endung.

1. *E*-Synkope. Nach *r*: *geborn*, *gebohrn* z. B. A 77, 10; D. Verhältnis zur vollen Endung 13:131. In *versehn* D 2, 170, 29 (A, B *versehen*); *unangesehen* A 375, 12 (B, D *unangesehen*). *Tragn* Z 735, 15. Im Metrum: *verlohrn*, *gebohrn*, *gegebn*, *begrabn*. In den Briefen von s 22 ×, in η 2 ×.

¹ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 352.

² Grimm, *Wb. essen*.

³ Lauchert 152.

⁴ Franke § 233. Von Bahder 73, 78. Herz 26-28.

⁵ Heyne, *Wb.*

⁶ Moscherosch 394, 26.

2. *N*-Apokope liegt vor in *könne* D 2, 358, 20.

3. Wegfall.¹ *gebunde* Y 456, 31; β (M *gebundene*).

Die folgende Tabelle — eine Summierung aller Personen, bei denen das *e* nicht mehr fest — ist eine Abstufung der Stammesausgänge je nach ihrem Verhalten gegen folgendes *e*.

		<i>E-Apokope, resp. Synkope.</i>			<i>E-Annahme.</i>			
		<i>e</i>		—	—		<i>e</i>	
Stimmhafte.	1 m	255	280	52%	m	1341	58	4%
	2 b	322	202	39%	g	1947	104	5%
	3 g	294	165	36%	b	770	98	11%
	4 Vok.	60	18	23%	Liq.	333	72	18%
	5 s	68	10	13%	Vok.	70	35	33%
	6 Liq.	1644	148	8%	d	1415	712	33%
	7 n	172	15	8%	n	72	90	56%
	8 d	1599	9	1%	s	45	114	72%
Stimmlose.	9 f	98	110	53%	k	81	4	5%
	10 k	28	19	40%	f	362	89	20%
	11 t	292	171	37%	t	813	340	29%
	12 ss, sch, z	526	293	36%	ss, sch, z	873	575	40%
	13 ch, h	979	89	8%	ch, h	287	873	75%
		6337	1529	19%	8409	3164	27%	

Im Ganzen sind somit 19439 Formen untersucht, 7866 auf Kürzung hin, 11573 auf Verlängerung. Die Gesamtkürzung beträgt 19%, die Anfügung von unorganischem *e* 27%. Und zwar kürzen die langen Stämme unter ihnen 12% und verlängern 31%, die kurzen Stämme kürzen 25% und verlängern 24%; die stimmhaften Ausgänge kürzen 16% und verlängern 18%, die stimmlosen kürzen 26%, verlängern jedoch 44%.

Rechnet man das Kürzung, aber auch *e*-Annahme begünstigende B² mit ein, so modifizieren sich obige Resultate folgendermaßen:

¹ *Gebaches* B 177, 12 (A, D *Gebakens*). *geb* B 463, 8 (A, D *geben*).

² Gründe, A XXV.

		E-Apokope, resp. Synkope.			E-Annahme.				
		e		—	—		e		
Stimmhafte.	1	m	322	350	52%	m	1664	89	5%
	2	b	374	274	42%	g	2346	215	8%
	3	g	332	207	38%	b	932	144	13%
	4	Vok.	70	21	23%	Liq.	418	102	20%
	5	s	75	15	17%	Vok.	75	54	42%
	6	n	195	25	11%	d	1512	1137	43%
	7	Liq.	1927	185	9%	n	77	120	61%
	8	d	1935	11	1%	s	50	152	75%
Stimmlose.	9	f	139	133	49%	k	100	6	6%
	10	k	29	25	46%	f	445	120	21%
	11	ss, sch, z	627	374	37%	t	943	520	36%
	12	t	359	202	36%	ss, sch, z	1008	796	44%
	13	ch, h	1172	122	9%	ch, h	358	1131	76%
			7556	1944	20%		9928	4586	32%

Die Kürzung steigt um 1%, die e-Annahme um 5%.

B. DER ABLAUT.¹

I. ABLAUTSREIHE.

Mhd. i — ei (ē), i — i.

A. Praes. Nicht diphthongisiertes \bar{i} ² findet sich 1 × in *geschwiege* D 2, 342, 27.³

B. Praet.⁴ Der Vokal⁵ ist im S. die Regel, der alte Diphthong findet sich nur 5 ×:⁶ *bleib* A 6, 497, 36; D. *schrey* Om 32, 9; On. *schreyi* Wm 444, 30 (Kurz: *schrye* aus Wb). *weise* D 2, 323, 36 (Kurz, Bobertag: *wiese* aus A,

¹ Die Ablautsreihen des 16. Jhd., Herz 20, 21.

² Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 131. Lauchert 143 Von Bahder 79.

³ So auch δ 827, 23.

⁴ Zum Praet. aller Reihen, Herz 28, 29.

⁵ Zur Geschichte der Verdrängung dieses Singulardiphthongs durch den Pluralvokal im Frühneuhochdeutschen vgl. Franke § 236. Lauchert 150. Shumway 19. Weidling XXX. Müller-Fraureuth 100. Von Bahder 78. Von Jagemann 422. Behagel § 115, 2. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 333.

⁶ *schreibe* B 6, 901, 12. *weise* K 693. *greiff* Moscherosch 338, 22.

B).¹ Eindringen von *ei* in den Plural² liegt $2 \times$ vor: *bleiben*³ Wm 212, 8. *schreyen* D 2, 330, 28; I (A, B, Kurz, Bobertag: *schryen*). Über die Dehnung von mhd. *i*, Wilmanns I § 245 und Part.

C. Part. Dehnung alter Kürze ist in offener Sylbe im Nhd. eingetreten: Vor Vokalen, den Liquiden und vor *n*, den germ. Spiranten *h*, *v*, *s*, den Medien *b*, *d*, *g*.⁴ Geht man von der Schreibung aus, so ergibt sich für Grimmelhhausen das folgende Bild:

A.

1. *Vokalische Ausgänge.*

	Praet. S.		Praet. P; C.		Part.	
	i	ie	i	ie	i	ie
geheyen		1				
schneien		2				
schreyen	Y 342, 4	1 75		27		22
speyen		1				3
		—		—		—
		1 79		27		25

2. *Germ. Spiranten h, s.*

gedeyen						1
leihen ⁵		13		7		28
zeihen		4		2		7
weisen	A 6, 476, 27, 30; 522, 18; 527, 14; 582, 23. Wm		Wm 272, 14 I 15		A 6, 505, 21; 523, 8. 7385.	3 38
	179, 33; 184, 23; 185, 9. ε 234, 18; 236, 23 ⁶	10 79				
*preisen						1
preisen		4				1
		—		—		—
		10 100		1 24		3 76

¹ Über die Zeit des Übergangs dieses Verbs in die stk. Flexion, Heyne *Wb*; weitere Belege für *ei* Kehrein I, 251. Lauchert 150.

² Kehrein I, 249 (*greyffen*).

³ So auch β 451, 9.

⁴ Wilmanns I § 238 ff. Von Bahder No: 1.

⁵ *lihe* B 803, 10.

⁶ *wise* B 647, 21. *wisse* B 6, 837, 12, 15; 905, 24. In diesem Verb könnte ahd. *wizan*, das sich mit dem schw. *weisen* mischte, länger erhaltene Kürze erklären. Auch die meisten Belege Kehreins zeigen *ss*.

3. Die Medien b, d, g.

	Praet. S.		Praet. P; C.		Part.	
	i	ie	i	ie	i	ie
bleiben	A 6, 525, 12; D ¹	2 103		24	A 6, 500, 1 A 6, 505, 10; D	3 31
reiben		6		5	Wm 275, 18; 284, 6	2 14
schreiben	A 6, 505, 29	1 42		6	A 6, 425, 26; 479, 16; 497, 34; 506, 14; 520, 24; 521, 16; 563, 13. Wm 159, 8. γ 158, 15. η 354, 9; 371, 9; 372, 25; 382, 32 ²	13 146
treiben		51		31	A 6, 472, 10; 529, 32. Wm 167, 16 ³	3 90
gedeyen	A 6, 495, 16; D	2				
geigen	Wm 183, 19	1				
schweigen	A 6, 584, 9; D ε 260, 20 ⁴	3 33		4	Wm 279, 7. η 410, 14	2 13
steigen	ε 208, 13. Y 389, 27	2 37	η 390, 20	1 12	A 6, D 480, 25; 500, 31; 546, 6. Y 411, 28. ε 333, 20	8 23
		---		---		---
		11 272		1 82		31 317

4. Nasale.

scheinen	108	17	A 6, 508, 13; D	2 17
	---	---		---
	108	17		2 17

¹ *blibe* Wb 113, 4. *bliben* B 679, 15.² *geschriben* B 719, 8; 761, 7.³ *getriben* B 766, 14.⁴ *schwige*, *schwigg* B 789, 11. Wb 157, 22.

B.

1. Ahd. Doppelspiranten *ff, ch, ss*.

	Praet. S.		Praet. P; C.		Part.			
	i	ie	i	ie	i	ie		
greiffen	50	γ 29, 27; 94, 19; 34, 17 ¹	3	14	70	Z 728, 14; 747, 30. ε 209, 8	3	
pfeiffen	2		4	γ 167, 20	1			
schleiffen					7	A 151, 27; D. ε 244, 4	3	
bleichen					4			
gleichen	5		14		9			
schleichen	42	γ 13, 13; 73, 22; 75, 22; 91, 6; 34, 9; 36, 24; 109, 5	7		6			
streichen	15	γ 57, 7	1	2	23			
weichen	3		1		40	ε 325, 2	1	
beissen	18		9		8			
befleissen	23	A 6, 472, 31; D	2	5	ε 241, 7	1	12 a 860, 14. Wm 256, 6. η 352, 28	3
reissen	16	Z 772, 13; 778, 10	2	15	44			
scheissen		γ 151, 2	1		5			
verschleissen					2			
schmeissen	2	A 439, 19; D. ε 249, 19	3		3			
	176		19	64	2	234	10	

2. *t.*²

leiden	8		8		33
meiden					1
reiten	52		12		49
schneiden	34		6		52
schreiten	2		2		6
streiten	2		6		13
	98		34		154

A: 1144 ie; 60 i. B 760 i; 31 ie.

Einen völlig sichern Schlusz auf die Quantität erlaubt nur die Schreibung *ie*. Sie steht nur für Länge. Wir erhalten so die Grenzen, bis zu denen Dehnung verbürgt ist, in Gruppe A bei 95%, in Gruppe B bei 4%. Zweifel-

¹ Von Jagemann 422.

² Wilmanns I § 244.

haft könnte sein, ob *i* stets Kürze bedeute, und von den Konsonantenverdopplungen ist nicht einmal *tt*¹ ganz zuverlässiger Beweis für vorhergehenden kurzen Vokal. Denn *i* erscheint gelegentlich auch für alte Länge (z. B. in den Inf. der II. Reihe) und selbst *tt* einmal (VII. Reihe) nach mhd. *ā*. Gesetzt aber auch, in beiden Fällen läge keine dialektische Kürzung vor, so bleiben diese Schreibungen doch die Ausnahmen. Die Dehnung wird daher nicht wesentlich über die oben gegebenen Zahlen hinausgehen.²

D. Grammatischer Wechsel findet sich noch im Part. vermitteln³ γ 60, 28 und im I. Praet. *gedige*⁴ A 6, 495, 16; D, wo die Anfügung des *e* die Form den regelrecht *g* zeigenden anschloz.

E. Schw. Flexion⁵ findet sich bei *verbleichen*, *geigen*, *gleichen*, *gehøyen*, *leihen*, *scheiden*, *schleichen*, *schneien*, *beschreyen*, *speyen*.⁶

F. Contamination von *stk.* und *schw.* Conjugation liegt vor in *prieszte*.⁷

¹ Müller 13.

² Auf dialektisch erhaltene Kürze weist ferner das stärkere Abweichen von A 6. Kögel XXII; die Druckfehler geben die Aussprache des Druckers wieder. Vgl. auch die Verdopplung der Medien, Lauchert 142 und die Liste, Müller 13.

Gewagt scheint es, Grimmelshausen's Reime zur Quantitätsbestimmung heranzuziehen.

³ Spätester Beleg für grammatischen Wechsel in diesem Verb bei Grimm. Von Jagemann 422. Moscherosch 385, 5. *Vermieden* G K 347.

⁴ Grimm, *Wb.* *gedeihen* I b und *gedeigen* II, 4. b. ⁵ Kehrein I § 360, 9.

⁶ In den Gesamtausgaben ferner bei *gedeyen*, *preisen*. *Spreissen* intr. G K 121, *spreisen* refl. X H 3, 303, mhd. *sprizen* (Lexer refl.), nhd. *spreissen* (Sanders, *Wb.*; Heyne, *Wb.*). *spreiszte* intr. oder refl. G K 572. *gesprissen* refl. (: *geniesen*) G 452, *gesprissen* refl. K 452. Auffällig ist das Praes. *sprisst* refl. G K 406 (Contamination mit *sprisst*, vgl. *spisset* für *spiisset* X H 3, 146? Oder zu mhd. *sprissen*, *spriuzen* (Lexer) gehörig?). Das schwache Faktitivum *spreitzen* A 320, 2; D. G K 572.

⁷ *rüste* (von *reisen*) E 916. *wiesete* B 6, 871, 20.

Auszer bei Grimmelshausen fielen mir an solchen Formen auf: *dichte* Von Jagemann 420. *bandte* Müller-Fraureuth 100. *schuffte* Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 389. *hiengeted* Kehrein I § 364. Ferner ib. I § 339 und Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 345, Ende.

In der folgenden Aufzählung der einzelnen Verben sind die Stammformen stets angeführt, wenn sie belegt sind. Bei Doppelformen bestimmt Häufigkeit des Vorkommens die Reihenfolge. Belegstellen finden sich nur bei den seltenern Formen und sofern sie nicht schon in Teil A gegeben.

1. *beissen* – *bisz*, *bisse* – *gebissen*.

Das Part. *verbaist* A 6, 473, 7; D kommt vom schw. *verbeissen*, Grimm, *Wb.* 12, 101.

2. *bleiben* – *blieb*, *bliebe*, *blibe*, *bleib* – *blieben*, *bleiben* – *geblieben*, *blieben*, *bliben*.

3. **verbleichen* – Part. *verblichen* z. B. R 318, 20. In aktivem Sinne *unverblichen* A 176, 34; D. Kehrein III § 21. Andresen 129. *verblaichte* intr. A 88, 13; D. Über diesen Bedeutungswandel des schw. Verbs, Grimm, *Wb.* 12, 138. Blatz I 496. Zur Schreibung des Diphthongs, Müller 16.

Regelrecht: *gebleicht* tr. A 6, D 514, 37; 517, 26.

4. *gedeyen* z. B. A 255, 21. Zur Schreibung, Grimm, *Wb. gedeihen* I, d. In der Bedeutung 'ausschlagen. bekommen' z. B. A 255, 21; D. Grimm, *Wb. gedeihen* II, 4, e, f. 'Förderlich sein' (unpersönlich) γ 10, 30. Grimm, *Wb. gedeihen* II, 4, d. 'Gereichen' A 495, 16; D. (+ 'lassen') = 'angedeihen' z. B. A 434, 30; trs. γ 87, 13. 'Gelingen' γ 131, 9. Grimm, *Wb. gedeihen* II, 3. Heyne, *Wb. gedeihen* 3 – *gedige*¹ – Part. *gedyen* γ 131, 9.

5. *befleissen*, **fleissen*. Stets refl. auszer im Part. praet. – *beflisse*, *beflisz*, *befliesse*. C. *beflisse*, *befliesse* – Part. *beflissen*, *geflossen* z. B. γ 53, 16, *gefliessen*, *befliessen*.

Daneben das schw. *sich beflüssigen*.

¹ *gedeyte* H K 4, 774. Schw. Flexion tritt nach Grimm, *Wb. gedeihen* I, c im 18. Jhd. auf. H erschien 1685.

6. *geigen* – *gige*. Weitere Spuren stk. Bildung, Grimm, *Wb. geigeten* A 143, 10; D.

7. *vergleichen*. Zur Flexion Grimm, *Wb* Shumway 22. Weidling 103. Von Jagemann 421. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 389. – *vergliche*. *gleichete*, *gleichete*¹ ('war gleich') A, D 10, 12; 334, 31; 240, 30 – Part. *verglichen*.

8. *greiffen*, *greifen* g 258, 4, 8 – *griff*, *griffe*, *grieff*, *grieffe* – *gegriffen*, *gegrieffen*.

9. *geheyen* – *gehye*. Häufig, aber sonst stets schw. bei Grimmelshausen. Bezüglich der Bedeutungsentwicklung, Grimm, *Wb.* und η 399 ff. Ergänze Spuren stk. Bildung des ursprünglich schw. Verbs, Grimm, *Wb. gehyen* 9 c.

10. *leiden*, *leyden* – *litte*. C. *litte*, *lidte* z. B. Y 428, 5 – *gelitten*, *gelidten* A 6, 524, 11; D. *erleiden*, im Sinne von 'verleiden,' ist regelrecht schw.

11. *leihen*, *leyhen* – *liehe*² – *geliehen*.

12. *meiden* – Part. *vermitteln*.

13. *pfeiffen* – *pfiff*. P. *pfiffen*, *pfieffen* – *gepfiffen*.

14. **preisen* – *eingepriesen* η 92, 30 (ingeschnürt). Grimm, *Wb. breisen*, *preisen*.

15. *preisen*. Wenig, und daher nicht schw.,³ belegt. Über seinen Übergang in die stk. Conj., Grimm, *Wb.* – *priese* A 259, 9; D. A 6, 584, 9; D. *prieszte* η 21, 30 – *gepriesen*⁴ Y 316, 12.

16. *reiben* – *rieb*, *riebe* – *gerieben*, *geriben*.

¹ So auch G K 336; 406.

² *leyhete* B 345, 17. Grimm, *Wb.* .Bei Sachs, Clajus, Schottel, Kehrein stk.

³ *prieszte* X H 4, 518.

⁴ *gepriesen* G H K 14. *gepreist* (: *weist*) G K 470.

17. **reissen**. Im Sinne von 'zeichnen' A 58, 1; D — **risz, risse, riesz, riesse**¹ — **gerissen**.

18. **reiten, reuten, reitten** § 328, 6 (*ei* 48 ×, *eu* 23 ×). Zur Schreibung *eu*, Grimm, *Wb.* 8, Sp. 769; zum *tt*, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 172, 2 — **ritt, ritte** — **geritten**.

19. **scheinen** — **schiene, schien** — **geschienen, erschienen**.

20. **scheissen**,² — **schiesse** — **geschissen**.

21. **schleichen**³ intr. Das Tr. stk. A 434, 38; D. γ 73, 22. η 391, 27; 414, 8 — **schlich, schliche, schliech, schlieche** — **geschlichen**. *geschleichet* refl. A 6, 479, 32; D. Grimm, *Wb.* Dasselbe stk. A 280, 13; D.

22. **schleiffen** ('gleiten') Grimm, *Wb. schleifen* I, z. B. A 115, 28; D — **geschliffen, geschlieffen** ('geschärft') Grimm, *Wb. schleifen* II, 2.

Das Faktitivum *schleiffen, schlüiffen, schlaiiffen* ist schw. Zur Bedeutung, Grimm, *Wb. schleifen* B. *schleiffte* Y 332, 26. *geschleiffet, geschleiffet, geschleufft* z. B. Y 312, 1. γ 72, 9.

23. **verschleissen** A 6, 484, 20; D. — Part. **verschlissen**⁴ A 456, 30; D.

24. **schmeissen** — **schmiesz, schmiesz, schmiesse** — **geschmissen**.

25. **schneiden, schneyden** ε 250, 5. *Was geschneids mich* = 'was schert's mich' Wm 180, 11. η 399, 24 — **schnitte, schnitt, schnit**, A 287, 9. A 6, 562, 20; D. *schnidt* A 6, 511, 5; D⁵ — **geschnitten, beschnidten** A 6, 533, 6, *geschniten* A 6, 536, 17.

¹ So auch H K 4, 624.

² *scheust* β 449, 19. Zur Verdunklung des Vokals, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 133. Grimm, *Wb. scheissen* I.

³ Einmal die Schreibung *g*, *schleiegend* M 453, 14. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 212.

⁴ *zerschlissen* G K 806.

⁵ *schniede* B 6, 883, 14.

26. **schneien**. Zur Flexion, Grimm, *Wb.* — **schnie**¹ A 451, 19; D. *schneyete* D 1, 361, 7. C. *schneiete*¹ A 319, 4; D — *geschneyet* Wm 242, 27.

27. **schreiben** — **schriebe, schrieb, schrib** — **geschrieben, geschriben**.

28. **schreyen, schreien** — **schrie, schrye, schriehe, schrihe, schrey, schreye** — **geschrien, geschryen, geschrieen**. Part. *beschreyet, beschreit*² (mhd. *beschr̄ien* ist schon stk. und schw.) Z 803, 11. Wm 167, 31. ε 207, 11.

29. **schreiten, schreitten** r 349, 3 — **schr̄itte** — **geschritten**.

30. **schweigen**. Praes. *schweige, schwiege* — **schwieg, schwiege, schwig** — **geschwiegen, verschwiegen**.

Schw. ist das Faktitiv *schweigen, geschweigen*, ε 223, 9. In der Bedeutung 'ein Kind stillen' γ 150, 30. Y 314, 4. Weitere nhd. Belege bei Heyne, Sanders.

31. **speyen**. Flexion und Belege bei Heyne, Sanders, Kehrein I, 248, 254, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 389 — **sptehe, speyte** A 335, 7; D. DC 299, 23. C *speite* DC 298, 23 — **gespyen, gespyhen**.³

32. **steigen** — **stieg, stiege, stige**. P. *stiegen, stigen* — **gestiegen, gestigen**.

33. **streichen** — **striche, strich, striech** — **gestrichen**.

34. **streiten, streitten** η 386, 13 — **stritte** — **gestritten, erstritten** A 6, 516, 20.

35. **treiben** — **trieb, triebe** — **getrieben, getriben, trieben**.

36. **weichen** — **wiche** — Part. *ver-*, **entwichen, verwiechen**.

¹ *schnye* B 798, 11. *schneyete* B 581, 1.

² Das schw. Simplex Schupp XXIV, 8.

³ *gespiehen*, H K 834.

37. **weisen**, *weissen* D 2, 67, 21. Om 55, 20 (Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 191 oder durch Vermischung mit ahd. *wīzan*), *weysen* – **wiese**, *wiesz*, *wise*, *weise*. P. *wiesen*, *wisen* – **gewiesen**, *gewisen*.

38. **zeihen**, *zeyhen*.¹ Meist im Compositum *verzeihen* (*sich verzeihen* c. gen. = 'verzichten auf' D 2, 159, 12. γ 29, 13. Heyne, *Wb.*); *bezeihen* A 6, 526, 8; D. Z 835, 19 – **ziehe** – **geziehen**, *gezyhen*.²

Zweifelhaft sind, da nur im Inf. belegt:³

grein P 4, 24, 33. **Keifen** A 95, 2; D. **Kreischen** Y 327, 26.

Schw. bleiben:

Freyen. Von Jagemann 421. *freyete* Om 4, 15; On. *Speisen* (stk. Heyne, *Wb.*) *speisete* z. B. Z 815, 19. *gespeiset* Wm 214, 30.

II. ABLAUTSREIHE.

Mhd. ie, iu – ö (ou), u – o.

A. Praes. In der Angleichung⁴ der 2. und 3. S. und des S. Imp. an den P. weicht Grimmelshausen von Schottel's Sprachgebrauch, der nach Von Jagemann kaum den Anfang einer solchen kennt, wesentlich ab. Ausschliesslich der Belege im Reim findet sich altes *ü*⁵ 3 × : *verdrüst* Wm 200, 26. *schlüst*, *schlüszt* A 6, 468, 22;

¹ *zeichen* B 6, 995, 30. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 222.

² Hierzu kommt in B 442, 3 noch das Praet. *stieb* (A, D *stieg*). Es ist wohl kein Druckfehler. Sanders belegt aus Grimmelshausen's Zeitgenossen Olearius von *triefen* die analoge Form *trieff* für *troff*. Es ist entweder direkte Anlehnung an *trieb*, wie auch jetzt *stieb* zuweilen als Praet. verstanden wird oder es ist über *steiben* für *stäuben* (vgl. **stieben**) in die I. Reihe geraten.

³ In den Gesamtausgaben: *gleissen* G K 15, 620. X H 3, 281. H K 3, 466. Schw. Moscherosch 7, 21.

⁴ Franke § 237. Lauchert 149. Shumway 39 ff. Weidling XXX.

⁵ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 334. Herz 25, 29. *zerstübet* G K 450.

567, 8; *eu* 88 × (wovon auf *trügen* allein 32 Formen kommen); *ei*¹ 1 ×: *scheist* A 6, 526, 7 (ein Wortspiel mit dem Verb der I. Reihe); der Pluralvokal 46 ×.² Eine noch weiter vorgeschrittene Entwicklung zeigt das am häufigsten belegte *ziehen*,³ nämlich 17 *eu*, 18 *ie*. Übergreifen⁴ des alemannischen *ü* liegt vor in *rüchend* A 459, 21; D.

Umlaut. *Saugen* ist im S. unbelegt, *sauffen* hat *äu* und *au*.

B. Praet. Das einmal erscheinende *lag* γ 417, 9 (von Keller aufgenommen) ist dialektisch.⁵ Der einzige Rest von altem pluralen *u*⁶ ist *verluhren* γ 109, 30.⁷ Der C. ist von 7 Verben belegt: *gösse*, *kröchen*, *verlöhre*, *söffe*, *beträge*, *zöge* und ohne Umlaut⁸ *verdrosse* Y 315, 19.

C. Part. Die Dehnung hier wie im Praet. erfolgt wie in der I. Reihe. Abweichen von der Regel in dem schwankenden *bieten*.⁹ Die Dehnung wird gelegentlich durch *h* oder Vokalverdopplung ausgedrückt z. B. *gefrohren*, *verbothen*, *schoob*.

D. Grammatischer Wechsel. Der Spirant findet sich vereinzelt neben *g* noch im Praet. von *ziehen*¹⁰: S. *zoch*

¹ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 131. Vgl. auch die Reime in Grimmelshausen. Ferner: *reicht* β 452, 36. *scheibt* (: *bleibt*) P 5, 22. *verdreiszt* Moscherosch 9, 34; 237, 22.

² In B ist das Verhältnis: 12 *eu*, 9 *ie*.

³ Von Jagemann 424.

⁴ *verdrüssen* B 6, 995, 25. *erküst* B 6, 893, 25. *rüchend* B 554, 1. Vgl. auch Brenner § 56.

⁵ Wilmanns I § 227. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 327. Kehrein I § 362, 3.

⁶ Zum Verlust des Pluralvokals vgl. noch Franke § 237. Shumway 39. Clajus hat *o*. Von Jagemann 423. Brenner § 56.

⁷ So auch die Variante E 950. Heyne, *Wb.* Grimm, *Wb.* *verlieren* 1. Weitere Belege für nhd. erhaltenes *u* bei Kehrein.

⁸ Zum Fehlen resp. Auftreten des Umlauts in Grimmelshausen vgl. Müller 16, 17. Von Bahder No: 7. Brenner 79.

⁹ Von Bahder 88, 99. Blanckenburg 18 ff. Müller 13.

¹⁰ *Ch* und *g* bei Luther, Sachs, Clajus; *ch* bei Murner; *g* bei Schottel. Beispiele für Eindringen des Spiranten in den P. aus dem 16. Jhd. bei Heyne und Kehrein. *Wb* 446, 34. Andererseits, in der Spessarter Mundart, der Imp. *zeig* DC 296, 11. Behagel 597, 6.

Y 328, 29; *zohe* (5 ×) gegen 126 *g*-Formen. P. *zohen* Om 59, 34, On während *g* 52 × belegt ist.

E. Schw. Flexion.¹

1. *biegen* Z 722, 20 – *gebogen*, *vorgebogen* (= ‘vorgebeugt’) a 861, 22. Über die Vermischung von *biegen* und *beugen*, Grimm, *Wb. beugen*, I, 2.

2. *bieten*. *beut* – *bot* (28 ×), *botte* (12 ×), *bote* (6 ×), *bott* (2 ×). P. *boten* (4 ×), *botten* (1 ×) – *geboten* (29 ×), *gebotten* (26 ×), *verbothen* Z 789, 13.²

3. *verdriessen*. Die Schreibung *tr*: A 474, 32. Wm 166, 3. Y 293, 19; 306, 28. Über dies Schwanken in obd. Drucken, Müller 10. *verdriesen* (: *wissen*) D I, 114, 2; 159, 3. *verdreust*, *verdreuzt*, *vertreust*, *verdrüst* – *verdrosz*, *verdrosse*, *vertrosse* – Part. *verdrossen*, *vertrossen*.

4. *fliegen*. *fliegt* – *flog* – *geflogen*.

5. *fliehen*. In der Bedeutung ‘fliegen’³ z. B. A 6, 506, 27; D. Grimm, *Wb. fliehen* I. Imp. *fliehe* – *flohe* – *geflohen*.

6. *fliessen*, *fliesen* R 268, 22. *fleust* – *flosz*, *flosse* – *geflossen*.

7. *frieren*. Das Part. perf. in der Bedeutung ‘gefert’ γ 171, 11. Grimm, *Wb. frieren* 5. *freurt* – *fror* – *gefroren*, *ge-*, *erfrohren* γ 171, 11; 180, 24. ε 256, 18.

zugefrört Wm 155, 16 kommt von dem schw. Tr. *frören*. Grimm, *Wb.*

8. *giessen*. *geust*, *giest* – *gosz*, *gosse* – *gegossen*.

¹ Kehrein I § 362, 9. Sie ist eingedrungen in B bei *verlieren*, *trieffen*; in B 6 bei *kiesen*; in G K bei *saugen*.

² B: *ott* 25 ×, *ot* 4 ×.

³ Fast stets so in B 6.

9. *kiesen* R 306, 22 — Part.¹ *erkohren* z. B. Wm 220, 2. *erkoren*.

10. *kriechen*, *krichen*² A 370, 8; D — *kroch* — *gekrochen*.

11. *verlieren*, *verlichren* z. B. Y 423, 15; *verliehnrn*. *verliehrest*. *verliert*, *verliehrt*, *verleurt* — *verlor*,³ *verlohr* z. B. A 317, 32; D. *verlohre*, *verlore*. P. *verloren*, *verlohren*, *verluhren* — Part. *verloren*, *verlohren*, *verlohrn*.

12. *lügen*. Über die Substitution von *ü* für *ie* in diesem Verb, Grimm, *Wb. lügen* I, 2. Die Schreibung *ü* findet sich 29 X, *ie* Z 771, 28. Wm 176, 3, *ligen* γ 54, 18. ε 218, 9. *lügende*. *leugt* — *log*, *lag* — *gelogen*.

13. *geniessen*, *geniesen* A 6, 484, 3. Das Simplex *niessen* Z 847, 29. Grimm, *Wb. niessen*. *geniesset*. *geneust*, *geniesset*. Imp. *geniesse* — *genosse*, *genosz* — Part. *genossen*.

14. *riechen*, *rüchen*. *reucht* — *roch*, *roche* — *gerochen*.

Daneben im selben Sinne (das zuweilen noch rückumlautende) *schmecken* z. B. D 1, 392, 16. Im fig. Sinne z. B. Om 13, 23; On. Grimm, *Wb. schmecken* B.

15. *sauffen*. *säufft* A 86, 11; D. *saufft*⁴ η 393, 4. Über das Auftreten des Umlauts, Grimm, *Wb. saufen* I, 2. Andresen 81. Müller 17. Imp. *sauff* — *soff*, *soffe* — *gesoffen*.

16. *saugen* α 894, 30. A 109, 11; D. — P. *sogen* A 71, 11; D. — *gesogen*⁵ z. B. Y 395, 25.

¹ *erküst* B 6, 893, 25. Grimm, *Wb. kiesen* 4 e. Lauchert 151.

² Blanckenburg 20. Die Formen in Grimmelshausen weisen auf wirkliche, lautliche Kürzung im Obd. *I* findet sich auch nicht nur vor geschärfter Konsonanz; vgl. *sieden*, *liegen*, *ziehen*.

³ C. Praet. *verlierte* B 775, 13 (A, D haben das Praes. *verliere*). Spuren schw. Flexion Grimm, *Wb. verlieren* 1.

⁴ *sauffet* X H 3, 342.

⁵ *gesauget* G K 100. Grimm, *Wb. saugen* 1.

17. **schieben.** *scheibt* — **schob**, *schoob* Wm 152, 4 — **geschoben.**

18. **schiessen.** Das Compositum *beschiessen* (persönlich) = 'nützen' s 283, 16. Grimm, *Wb. beschiessen* 6. *scheust*, *schiessst*, *schiesset*, *schieset*, *scheist*. Imp. *schiesz*, *schiesze* — **schosz**, *schosse* — **geschossen.**

19. **schließen**¹ A 24, 7; D. Wm 283, 21. D 1, 166, 5; 2, 47, 15. Y 334, 3 — **geschlossen** A 111, 32. A 112, 8; D. A 6, 552, 34, D. Om 44, 23; On.

20. **schliessen.** *schleust*, *schlüst*, *schlüstzt*. Imp. *schliesz* — **schloss**, *schlosse* — **geschlossen.**

21. **sieden**, *siden* A 6, D 557, 11, 14; 584, 25 — **sotte** — **gesotten.**

22. **entspriessen** Z 845, 14 — **entsprossen.**

23. ***stieben**² — **stob**, *stobe* — **ge-**, *zerstoben.*

24. **trieffen** Y 332, 28. *triefft* — P. **troffen**³ A 180, 17; D.

25. **betrügen**, *trügen.* Ü 47 ×, *ie*⁴ 13 × z. B. Wm 171, 30; über die Zeit der Einführung des Vokals des Nomens, Heyne, *Wb. betrügen.* Das Simplex nur 1 ×, im Metrum, g 265, 8. *betreugst*, *betreugest.* *betreugt*, *treugt*, *betriegt*, *betrügt.* Imp. *betrüge* — **betrog** — Part. **betrogen.** In aktiver Bedeutung ('betrügerisch') ε 227, 4. Grimm, *Wb. betrogen.*

¹ Das schw. Intensivum *schlupffen* kommt 1 × als Variante zu *schlurpfen* vor, β 450, 20.

² Der Inf. ist nicht belegt, wohl aber *stäuben* im gleichen Sinne. Heyne, *Wb. stieben*, *stäuben*, *stauben*; Berührung von *stieben* und *stäuben*, Sanders, *Wb.* Intr. Belege DC 310, 27 (*verstoben* A 172, 21), *heraus stäuben* D 1, 376, 1. *hinausz stäuben* A 378, 38; D.

³ *triefften* B 335, 21. Schw. Praet. aus dem 18. Jhd. bei Heyne. Spätere schw. Formen, Sanders, *Wb.*

⁴ So auch öfter in den Zusätzen von G, K, H, X.

26. **ziehen**, *ziehen* A 6, 533, 20; D. *zeugst*, *zeuchst*, *zeuhest*, *ziehest*. *ziehet*, *zieht*, *zeucht*. Imp. *zeuch*, *ziehe* – **zog**, *zoge*, *zohe*, *zoch*. P. *zogen*, *zohen* – **gezogen**, *vorzogen*.

Zweifelhaft ist die Flexion von:

schmiegen¹ r 347, 35. Grimm, *Wb.* *schmiegen* 3, 4. *schmiegte* A 93, 21; D.

Schw. flektieren:

Kriegen ('greiffen'). Grimm, *Wb.* *kriebte* ε 251, 7. *Reuen*. Stark im Part. Moscherosch 334, 24. *reuete* z. B. DC 301, 20. *gerewet* z. B. ε 211, 11. **Schnauben**. Seine interessante Flexion Grimm, *Wb.* *schnaubte* A 364, 9; D. *erschnaubet* Wm 243, 26. **Schrauben**. Heyne, *Wb.* (Bei Schottel und Adelong stk.). *schraubte* z. B. Y 302, 22. *geschraubt* b 251, 35.

III. ABLAUTSREIHE.

I. VERBA MIT *i* IM INF.

a. dem Nasal + nicht nasaler Kons. folgt.

Mhd. *i* – *a*, *u* – *u*.

A. Praet.² Der Pluralvokal findet sich bei 3 Verben³ im S. Alleinherrschend bei *schinden*,⁴ überwiegend bei *gelingen*⁴ und einmal bei *finden*.⁵ In stk. Flexion im S. un belegt ist *hincken*.^{4, 5} Die 2. S. der Verben der Reihe III, 1 ist nicht belegt. Im P. haben nur *a*: *binden*, *dringen*, *schlingen*,⁶ *verschwinden*, *winden*; nur *u*: die nur je einmal

¹ Der Inf. auch G K 339.

² Zur Geschichte des praeteritalen Vokals dieser ganzen Reihe vgl. Franke § 238–240. Lauchert 149. Shumway 59–87. Weidling XXX, III. Von Jagemann 427. Von Bahder 73, 74. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 331. Brenner § 56. Behaghel § 115, 3.

³ *stuncke* B 657, 19. *trung* X H K 3, 49. I. *überwünde* B 6, 855, 24 (A, D *überwand*).

⁴ Grimm, *Wb.*

⁵ Heyne, *Wb.*

⁶ *verschlungen* K 518.

belegten *hincken, klingen*;¹ selten *u* neben *a*: *finden, singen, springen, trincken, zwingen*.² Von den im P. nicht belegten 6 Verben haben 2 im S. noch *u*. Ungünstiger für *u* im P. stellt sich das Zahlenverhältnis: 136 *a* (davon *banden* + *fanden* = 104), 12 *u*. Diese am häufigsten gebrauchten zwei Verben — siehe auch schon den C. *fünde* — beweisen, dass Grimmelshausen dicht vor der heutigen Entwicklung steht, der Sieg des singularen *a* ist bei ihm gesichert, ein Ergebnis, mit dem die von dem Grammatiker Schottel gemachte Aufstellung schwer vereinbar ist. Der C. ist nur von 3 Verben belegt: *trünge, verschwunde* und *fünde* vereinzelt neben *fünde, fande*.

B. Part. Sein Vokal ist *u* wie mhd. und heute.

C. Schw. Flexion ist bei *hincken* eingedrungen.³

1. **binden.** *binten* A 221, 23. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 171 — **band, bande — banden, — gebunden.**

2. **dringen, tringen.** *dr* 23 X, *tr* 20 X; vgl. **verdrriessen.** Oft in tr. Bedeutung z. B. A 447, 17; D; *verdringen* R 276, 12; refl. z. B. Om 83, 25; On.⁴ Grimm, *Wb. dringen* 2. Andresen 76 — **drang, trang — trangen** A 452, 14; D. C. *trünge* γ 70, 11 — **gedrungen.**

3. **finden.** *findend, findende — fand, fande, fandt*⁵ ε 253, 4, *fante* DC 282, 30 (vgl. **binden**), *fang* D 2, 325, 24; Druckfehler oder Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 144, *fund* DC 307, 28 — **fanden, funden** Om 235, 31; On. DC 283, 16. R 272, 7. C. *fünde* (23 X), *fünde*⁶ γ 28, 3. ε 209, 5, *fünd* A 13, 6; D, *fande* Om 64, 3; On — **gefunden, funden.**

¹ Grimm, *Wb. klingen* I e.

² Über das Schwanken zwischen den zwei Vokalen in diesen Verben, Heyne, *Wb.*

³ Ferner bei *gelingen* in K. Vgl. hierzu wie zu III, 1, b, C und III, 2, D Kehrein I § 352, 7.

⁴ G K 242.

⁵ So auch *Wb* 89, 1.

⁶ B 192, 22. X H 3, 138.

4. *hincken* – *hinckte* A 367, 1; D. Grimm, *Wb.* – *huncken* ζ 327, 10.

5. *klingen* – *klange* Z 761, 20 – *klungen* 805, 20.¹

6. *gelingen* a 894, 16. Om 28, 13; On – *gelung*² A 6, D 511, 10; 546, 31. *gelunge* Y 303, 8. *gelang* A 224, 16; D – Part. *gelungen*.

7. *ringen* – *rang* A 334, 25; D – *gerungen*.

8. *schinden* – *schund* A 70, 38; D. *schunde*³ Wm 234, 14 – *geschunden*.

9. *verschlingen*⁴ – *verschlang* – *verschlangen* A 286, 16; D – Part. *verschlungen* Z 801, 7.

10. *verschwinden* – *verschwand*, *verschwande*, *verschwandt* γ 29, 28 – *verschwanden*. C. *verschwunde* Y 290, 1 – Part. *verschunden*.

11. *schwingen* A 6, 489, 6; D. R 294, 4 – *schwang* A 248, 36; D. DC 303, 31 – *geschwungen*.

12. *singen* – *sang* – *sangen* Om 123, 4; On. γ 167, 19. *sungen* Y 310, 20 – Part. *besungen* A 35, 24; D.

13. *sincken* – *sanck* – *gesuncken*.

14. *springen* – *sprang*, *sprange* – *sprangen*, *sprungen* A 103, 29; D – *gesprungen*.

Sich sprengen = 'springen' A 422, 1; D.

15. *stincken* – *stanck*.

16. *trincken* – *tranck* – *trancken*, *truncken* γ 83, 20 – *getruncken*. *Ungetruncken* mit aktiver Bedeutung Y 334, 13. S. *verbleichen*.

¹ *klingen* Schupp XXIV, 17.

² So auch B 417, 14. C. *miszlingte* K 570. Grimm, *Wb.* *gelingen* 1 c.

³ So auch B 148, 11.

⁴ *schlinden* Moscherosch 162, 3, 4. Kluge, *Wb.*

17. *winden*, *wünden* Wm 162, 30. Müller 15 — *wand*, *wande* — *wanden* A 6, 543, 20; D — *gewunden*.

18. *zwingen* — *zwang* — *zwingen*, *zwingen* A 16, 19; D — *gezwungen*.¹

Das Denominativum *nothzwingen* Z 784, 24.

Zweifelhaft, da im Part. unbelegt, ist:

wincken. Stk. obd. Belege bei Sanders, Heyne² — *winckte* z. B. A 287, 37; D.

Schw. bleibt:

Dingen. *dingete*, *dingte* z. B. A 133, 4; D. *gedingt* z. B. A 287, 6; D. Über die Zeit seines Eintritts in die stk. Flexion, Grimm, *Wb*.

b. dem Doppelnasal folgt.

A. Praet. Im S. ist *a* die Regel. Daneben findet sich *o*, die md. Gestaltung des alten Pluralvokals,³ bei *sinnen* und *gewinnen*. Der P. begegnet nur 14 X, so dasz *o* nur noch 2 X, bei *sinnen*, neben singularem *a* belegt ist. Der C. hat *ö* bei *gewinnen*, unumgelauteten mhd. Vokal in *runne*.⁴

B. Part. Es hat *o*, daneben *u* bei *rinnen*.⁵

C. Schw. Formen finden sich bei **brinnen*, *beginnen*, *sinnen*.⁶

1. **brinnen*⁷ — *bran* γ 150, 23 — Part. *verbronnen*

¹ In den Zusätzen der Gesamtausgaben findet sich ausserdem noch stk.: *verzwuntzen* H K 4, 564. X H 4, 622. Benecke, *Wb. zuwinzen*. Hier adj. 'fein, hübsch, artig.' Schmeller 2, 1179. Im ersten Beleg jedoch sicher nicht ironisch. S. auch Kehrein I, 232.

² *gewuncken* K 933.

³ Wilmanns I § 225.

⁴ Über die Zeit des Eintritts resp. Schwunds dieser praeteritalen Vokale vgl. auch Von Bahder 189 ff. und die einzelnen Verben in Heyne.

⁵ Von Bahder 197.

⁶ In B auch bei *gewinnen*.

⁷ *branne* B 205, 30. *gebrunnen* aus G von Grimm, *Wb.* 2, Sp. 392 citiert. Part. *verbronnen* (: *Bronnen*) Moscherosch 76, 9. *verbrunnen* ib. 194, 2.

a 863, 17. Beide Male in intr. Bedeutung; Grimm, *Wb. brinnen*. Sonst schw., rückumlautend und nicht: *brante, brannte, brande, brandte; brennte, brennete, brennet*. Part. *ge-, ver-, brant, brannt, brand, brandt; ge-, ver-, brennt, brennet, brenndt, brändt, bränt*.

2. **beginnen**. C. *begune* γ 11, 20 (Keller: *beginne*), durch Vermischung mit *gunnen* (S. dieses und Blatz I, 476) — *begunte* z. B. DC 271, 1; 297, 11. Die Form lebt bis ins 19. Jhrhd.; Grimm, *Wb. beginnte*¹ DC 275, 15. P. *begunten, begundten* ζ 327, 11 — Part. **begonnen** γ 13, 10; 17, 26; 154, 15.

3. **rinnen** (fast ausschliesslich in den Compositis *ent-, zer-*) — *ran, rann, ranne, — rannen* A 6, 503, 27; D. C. *runne* Wm 163, 3 — Part. *ent-, zerronnen* (23 X), *ge-, entrunnen* (10 X) z. B. γ 61, 10. A 6, 496, 8; D.

4. **schwimmen — schwammen** Om 89, 15; On.

5. **sinnen** (das stk. Verb meist in Compositis). *Neu = ersinnende Fünde* γ 95, 25. Zu der bei Grimmelshausen nicht ungewöhnlichen Verwendung des Part. praes. im passiven Sinne, Kehrein III, § 19, 20. Andresen p. 125 ff. — *sann, san, sanne* (22 a); *sonne, sonn*² (10 o) z. B. A 6, 495, 25, D. *sinnete* (refl. + nach) A 151, 5; D. Die schw. Form taucht schon im Mhd. auf (Lexer) — *sannen* A 346, 35; D. *sonnen* A 6, 564, 3; D — Part. *er-, be-, etc. sonnen, gesonnen* DC 278, 7. *gesinnet, gesinnt, besint* R 280, 7. Nicht nur als Verbaladj. (Blatz I, 476, 16). Verhältnis der stk. zur schw. Form 37 : 50.

6. **spinnen — spanne** Y 293, 24; 402, 29 — **spannen** A 6, 517, 31; D. Y 359, 23 — **gesponnen**.

¹ *beginnete* X H 3, 171. Eine zweite schw. anscheinend sonst nicht belegte Bildung.

² So auch B 809, 7.

7. **gewinnen** – **gewan**, **gewann**, *gewane*, *gewanne* (12 a), *gewonne* γ 167, 3¹ – **gewannen** A, D 151, 6; 153, 18. C. *gewönnen* A 42, 16; D – Part. **gewonnen**.²

2. VERBA MIT *e* IM INF.

Mhd. *ë*, *i* – *a*, *u* – *o*.

A. Praes. Wechsel zwischen *ë* und *i*.³ Von den 5 in der 1. S. belegten Verben haben *werden* und *werffen* seltene Nebenformen mit *i*, *helffen* kommt 1 × als *hilff* vor. Von schriftsprachlichem und obd. *i*⁴ der 2. 3. S. weicht *schelten* 1 × im Reim ab. *Erschallet* und *verwirret* sind schw.

Im Imp. 7 *i*: 6 *ë*.⁵ Es haben *i*: *helffen*, *ë* neben *i*: *sterben*, *werben*, nur *ë*: *melcken*,⁶ *werden*, *werffen*.⁷

P. Praet. Im S. erscheint *u* halb so oft wie *a* bei *werden*, ganz vereinzelt bei *werffen*; *o* bei *schallen*, *o* gleich oft mit *a* bei *gelten*.⁸ Sonst herrscht *a*. Weitergreifen des Umlauts des C. liegt vor in der seltenen Nebenform *würde*.⁹ In der 2. S. ist nur *wurdest* belegt. Im P. überwiegt *a*. *Werden* allein hat stets *u*, *verderben* gleich häufig *u* und *a*, *sturban*, *wurffen* stehen vereinzelt neben der *a*-Form, *golten* ist 1 × neben *galten* belegt.¹⁰ Der hinläng-

¹ *gewinnete* B 567, 9. *gewinneten* B 283, 28. Schmeller, *Wb. gewänen* B 283, 24. C. *gewönne* G K 329.

² Zweifelhaft ist *klimmen* K 831.

³ Über das Auseinandergehen von Mhd. u. Obd. hierin, in den in Frage kommenden drei Reihen, Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 347–349. Behaghel § 124, 3. Brenner 79. Herz 28. Franke § 240, 1. § 241, 1. Luther folgen Clajus, Schottel, etc. Für das Obd., Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 331, a, c. § 341. Lauchert 149. Shumway 99. Von Bahder 73, 78. Kluge, Luther bis Lessing 136.

⁴ Übergreifen des Vok. der 3. S. in die 2. P. liegt vor in *wirfft* K 1072.

⁵ Herz 25.

⁶ Über seinen Übergang in die schw. Flexion, Grimm, *Wb. melcken* 3. Heyne, *Wb.* Weidling 104.

⁷ Heyne, *Wb.* Blatz I 474, 510.

⁸ Grimm, *Wb. gelten* 1 c.

⁹ Von Jagemann 424. Vgl. das Part. *wörden* H K 3, 142.

¹⁰ Über den Kampf zwischen altem und neuem Vokal s. die einzelnen Verben bei Heyne und Grimm, *Wb.*

lich belegte C. zeigt, *bellen* vielleicht ausgenommen, ü,¹ geschrieben *ue* in *schuelten*. Bei *werden* daneben unumgelauteter Vokal.

C. Das Part. hat *o*.

D. Schw. Flexion mischt sich mit *stk.* bei *bellen*, *schallen*, *verwirren*.

1. *bellen* – *bellete* A 194, 24; D. *belleten* R 296, 33. Zur schw. Flexion, Heyne, *Wb.* – C. *bellen* A 6, 471, 33; D. Es kann jedoch auch als Praes. genommen werden; **ballen*, **bällén* scheinen anderweitig nicht belegt zu sein – *gebollen* A 6, 532; D.

2. *verbergen*, *bergen* A 6, 589, 12; D. *verbirgt* – *verbarg* – *verborgen*.

3. *verderben* intr. *verdirbt* – *verdarb* γ 167, 14 – *verdurben* a 866, 15. A 6, 514, 26; D. *verdarben* A 44, 6; D. C. *verdürben* γ 104, 15 – Part. *verdorben* z. B. A 241, 31; D. Das Tr. *verderben* ist schw. 3. S. I. Praes. *verderbet*,² *verderbt* z. B. A 6, 23; 24, 13. *verderbte*, *verderbete* z. B. A 84, 17; 395, 15. Part. *verderbt*, *verderbet*, *verdörbet* z. B. A 213, 23. Y 382, 2. ζ 342, 11. Im Pass. kommt seine Bedeutung der des Intr. sehr nahe z. B. A 349, 38.

4. *gelten*.³ *gelte*. *gilt*.³ – *galte*³ z. B. Om 41, 14. *golte* z. B. Om 48, 1; On – *galten* A 99, 6; D. Om 85, 6; On. *golten* a 880, 21. C. *gülte* A, D 140, 7; 250, 24; 293, 12 – Part. *vergolten* A 38, 37; D. Om 76, 4; On. *widergolten* A 6, 538, 3; D.

5. *helffen*. *hilff* Wm 186, 30. *hilffest*. *hilfft*. Imp. *hilff* – *halff*, *halffe*, *half* z. B. D 1, 205, 13 – *halffen*.

¹ *gälte* X H 3, 413.

² *verdirbet* tr. G K 407, 408. Andresen 75.

³ *gelden* Wb 119, 13. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 171. *gielt* G K 113. *galte* öfter in X H.

C. *hülffe* z. B. A 163, 9; D — *geholfen*, *gc-*, *beholffen* a 883, 10; 901, 6.

6. **melcken*¹ Y 321, 22. Imp. *melcke* η 392, 24. *Eine melckende Kuh* A 188, 23; D. Vgl. *sinnen* — *malcke* Y 347, 22 — *gemolcken*.

7. *quellen*. *quillet* A 436, 36; D. A 6, 529, 18; D. R 329, 14.

8. *erschallen*. *erschallet* A 6, 473, 25; D. R 326, 19. Über die schw. Flexion, Grimm, Heyne — *erscholl* A 203, 7; D, *erscholle* Om 138, 21; On. γ 152, 2. *erschallete* Z 805, 20. A, D 138, 22; 143, 16. *gleichschallete* s 266, 19 — Part. *erschollen* z. B. A 262, 10; D.

9. *schelten*, *schelden* Wm 164, 15. Vgl. *gelten*. *schilt*. *schelt* (: *stelt*) s 297, 13 — *schalt*, *schalte* — *schalten* A 124, 18; D. ε 217, 27. C. *schuelten* η 420, 18 — *gescholten*.

10. *schmeltzen* intr. A 459, 16; D. Y 358, 1 — *geschmoltzen* A 6, D 528, 39; 541, 3. Andresen 74.

Schw. ist das Kausativum *schmeltzen*, *schmältzen*² z. B. A, D 350, 14; 459, 16. *geschmeltzt* Wm 168, 19. *zerschmeltzet* R 313, 23.

11. **schwellen* — *geschwollen* DC 305, 31. Wm 52, 30.

12. *sterben*. *sterbe*. *stirbt*. Imp. *stirb*, *sterb* DC 303, 14 — *starb* — *starben* A 44, 6; D. ε 251, 33. *sturben* s 294, 23. C. *stürbe* z. B. γ 61, 13 — *gestorben*.

13. *werben*. *wirbt*. Imp. *wirb*, *werbe*³ R 341, 10 — *warb*, *warbe*. C. *würbe* A 233, 39; D — *geworben*.

14. *werden*, *werdten* η 354, 16. Vgl. *binden*. *werde*, *werd*, *wird* Wm 230, 16. *wirst*. *wird*, *wirt* § 342, 9, 12;

¹ Das schw. Denominativum *milchen* G K 572. X H 3, 367.

² *schmeltzte* G K 911.

³ *werbe* B 454, 30.

343, 7. *werden*. *werdet*, *werdt* γ 78, 26, *werd* ϵ 232, 12. *werden*. Imp. *werde* — *ward* (840 \times), *wurde*, *wurd* (424 *u*),¹ *würde* Om, On 52, 15; 65, 9; 70, 33. Y 382, 7. ϵ 216, 30. C. *würde*, *wurde* (28 \times) z. B. A 6, 580, 20. DC 281, 28 — Part. *worden*.

15. *werffen*. *werffe*, *wirff* Om 2, 7; On *wirffst*. *wirfft*, *wirft* Om 4, 13; On. Imp. *werff* R 296, 2 — *warff*, *warf* D 1, 230, 8. R 271, 28, *warffe*, *wurff* A 124, 17; D² — *warffen*, *wurffen* A 151, 14; D. C. *würffe* A 405, 19; D. ϵ 238, 12 — *geworffen*.

16. *verwirren* r 346, 5 ist eine schw. Bildung vom Adj. *wirre* — Part. *verwirrt*, *verwirret*, *verwirt* D 1, 190, 21. In aktivem Sinne: *verwirrte Betrübniß* Y 351, 28. Vgl. *verbleichen*. Das alte stk. *werren* ist nur in dem Verbaladj. *verworren* erhalten. Das stk. wie schw. Verbaladj. kommt in eigentlicher — η 376, 33. A 199, 9; D — wie figürlicher Bedeutung — ϵ XI, 15. A 21, 11; D — vor, aber sie differenzieren wohl schon nach Sanders, *Wb.* 3, 1630, Sp. 3.

Schw. bleibt:

Schencken. Von Jagemann 425; stk. auch im Praet. *verschancen* Moscherosch 283, 10. *schenckte* z. B. A 61, 7; D. *geschencket* A 68, 30; D.

IV. ABLAUTSREIHE.

Mhd. \ddot{e} , i — a , \bar{a} — o .

A. Praes. Wechsel zwischen \ddot{e} und i . In der 1. S. haben von 9 Verben i neben \ddot{e} : *nehmen*, *sprechen*. In der 2. 3. S. regelrecht i auszer in den auch schw. flektierenden *pflügen*, *rüchen*; *trefft*³ einmal neben gewöhnlichem *trifft*. *Kommen* ohne Umlaut.⁴

¹ In B 309 *u*, 22 *a*.

² *wurffe* B 240, 6. G K 522.

³ *flecht* Lauchert 142. Herz 25.

⁴ Mit Umlaut H K 675. Grimm, *Wb. kommen* I, 2, d; 7, b.

Von den im Imp. belegten *befehlen*, *nehmen*, *scheren*, *sprechen*¹ ist nur *nehmen* ohne Nebenform mit *ë*.

B. Praet.² Im S. erscheint participiales *o* statt des regelrechten *a* in *fechten*, *flechten*, *erlöschen*;³ *o* neben *a* in *befehlen*,⁴ *treffen*,⁵ und *kommen*;⁶ *o* neben *u* in *scheren*.⁷ Der weniger belegte P. weicht, ebenfalls durch Einfluß des Part., bei *befehlen* und *stehlen*⁸ zuweilen von normalem *a* ab. Der C. hat *ä*, auch *e* geschrieben.⁹

C. Part: *o*.¹⁰

D. Quantität. Vom heutigen Nhd. weichen noch ab: 1) *befehlen* in der Form *befilcht* η 371, 34. Vgl. das Part. *befelcht* und das Nomen *Befelch* z. B. A 57, 27. A 6, 522, 31. 2) *nehmen* und *stehlen* mit schwankendem Vokal. Zum erstern vgl. Grimm, *Wb.* *nehmen* 2, a, b. Ferner Von Bahder 92, 99 ff. Blanckenburg 17 ff. Selten ist die Kürze bei *stehlen* (*stellen*, *stilt*).¹¹ Für sein Praet. beweist die Schreibung *stall* zum Teil unersetzte singulare Kürze. Eine Spur ungedehnten Vokals liegt vor im Part. *gestollen* Y 294, 14 (Von Bahder 272). *Genomen* A 6, 490, 22 ist in D in das gewöhnliche *genommen* geändert.

¹ S. *fechten*, Note.

² Zur Geschichte dieses frühneuhochdeutschen praeteritalen Vokals, Behaghel § 115, 4. Brenner 77. Franke § 241, 2, 3. Lauchert 149. Weidling XXX, IV. Shumway 87. Schottel 428.

³ Zum Rücktritt dieser 3 Verben in ihre alte Klasse III, Heyne, *Wb.*

⁴ Sanders, *Wb.*

⁵ Sonst mit *o* wenig belegt. Heyne, *Wb.*

⁶ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 331 b. Ergänze Grimm, *Wb.* I 2, c. Vielleicht auch noch einmal ein Plural *kommen* (oder Part.) Wb 120, 5; Wm: *kamen*.

⁷ Grimm, *Wb.* 8, Sp. 2570.

⁸ *stohle* B 6, 863, 13.

⁹ Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 121, 122. Von Bahder 113, 116 ff. Müller 13. — Einmal ohne Umlaut *kame* B 417, 24.

¹⁰ *verjahren* B 6, 967, 17. Dasselbe Übergreifen des alten Vokals des Praet. in *gescharen*; Grimm, *Wb.* *scheeren*, Sp. 2570. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 349.

¹¹ *stellend* G K 447 und die Note zu *stehlen*.

E. Schw. Formen begegnen bei *befehlen*, *verhelen*, *löschen*, *pflügen*, *rüchen*, *stecken*.¹

1. **gebären**, *gebähren* a 876, 12.² Zur Schreibung *ä*, Von Bahder 130 — *gebar* — Part. **geboren**, *geborn*, *geböhren*, *geböhrn*, *angboren*, *anboren*.

2. **zerbersten**.³

Inf: *zerborsten* D 1, 270, 1. Sanders, *Wb. borsten* 2.

3. **brechen**. *breche*. *bricht* — **brach** — **brachen**. C. *breche* A, D 100, 37; 274, 2. *brüche* Om 103, 27; On — **gebrochen**.

Das Part. *gebrücht* (vom Flachse) A 6, 515, 31; D. Grimm, *Wb.* 2, 351. Blatz I, 482. *Geradbrecht* z. B. A 292, 15; D. Grimm, *Wb. radebrechen*. Blatz I, 482.

4. **dreschen**, *dröschēn* A 103, 17, *tröschēn* Wm 153, 1. Die Schreibung *dr* 8 ×, *tr* 5 ×; s. *verdrriessen*. Zum Vokal, Von Bahder 170 ff. *drischt* — *träsch* Y 293, 14 — **gedroschen**, *getroschen*.

5. **fechten**. *fechte*⁴ — *fochte*⁴ — *fochten* — *gefochten*.

6. **befehlen**. Über seinen Übertritt aus Reihe III und die 1 × belegte alte Form, Grimm, *Wb. befehlen* und *Befchl. befehle*, *befehl*. *befielet*, *befiehlt*, *befilcht*.⁵ Imp. *befihle*, *befiehl*, *befihle*⁶ D 1, 138, 18, *befehl* R 298, 26 — **befahl**, *befahle*, *befohle*⁶ z. B. Z 818, 5 — **befahlen** A 308, 27; D. A 551, 22. **befohlen**⁶ Z 721, 14. D 2, 221, 13 — Part. **befohlen**. *befelcht*⁷ a 872, 12; ðm *befelht*. Obd. schw. Flexion im Praes. und Praet. bei Sanders. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 389.

¹ und bei *fechten* in G K. Kehrein I § 354, 8.

² *gebähret* G 426. *gebähret* K 426. Grimm, *Wb. gebären* I, c, ß.

³ *zerbörsten* B 6, 983, 17. *gebristen* Moscherosch 105, 3 in mhd. Gestaltung.

⁴ Imp. *ficht* G K 331. *fechte*, *fecht* G K 349. Weitere Belege für *e* bei Heyne. C. *fechtete* G K 329. Spätere Spuren schw. Flexion bei Sanders.

⁵ *befilcht* öfter bei Moscherosch z. B. 15, 16; 26, 21. Imp. *befehle* B. 399, 1.

⁶ In B meist *befohl*, *befohle*. *Befohlen* B 560, 28.

⁷ Moscherosch 119, 17.

Empfehlen, für das sonst *befehlen* gebraucht ist, kommt nur einmal vor: Y 398, 10.

7. *flechten* – *flochte* Y 359, 21 – *flochten* A 31, 30; D – *geflochten*.

8. *verhelen*, *verhōlen*, *verhālen*. Zur Schreibung *e* (8×), *ö* (5×), *ä* (1×) s. *dreschen* und Grimm, *Wb.* *verhele* – *verhelete* A 366, 12; D. *verhölete* γ 179, 12. *verhālet* γ 152, 15. Zur schw. Flexion, Grimm, *Wb.* – Part.¹ nur in dem Adv. *unverholen*.

9. *verjären* A 6, 555, 31; D. Über seinen Übertritt aus Klasse V, Grimm, *Wb.* 12, 377. Zur Schreibung s. *ge-ären* – Part. *verjoren* A 6, 564, 25; D. Wm 156, 19.

10. *kommen*.² *komme*, *komm*. *kommst*, *komst*, *kommest*. *komt*, *kommt*, *kompt*, *kombt*, *komet*. Über die Schreibung *pt*, *bt*, Grimm, *Wb.* *kommen* I, 7, c. Imp. *komm*, *komme*, *kom̄* ζ 338, 18 – *kam*, *kame*, *kahm* Om 55, 9; On. ε 229, 28; 238, 17. *kahme* ε 214, 12. *kom* D 2, 328, 25 (A, B, Kurz, Bobertag: *kam*), *komm* Wm 444, 14; Wb (Keller: *kom*, Kurz: *kam*) – *kamen*, *kahmen* Om 33, 29; On. ε 211, 11. C. *kūme*, *kām* – *kommen*, *gekommen*.

11. *er-*, *verlöschen*,³ intr. *verlischt* – *verlosche* γ 28, 25. *löschte ausz* A 6, 575, 12, D. Über Vermischung von Tr. und Intr., Grimm, *Wb.* Andresen 75 – Part. *er-*, *verloschen*.

Abgesehen von dem Beleg im Praet., beschränkt sich die schw. Flexion auf das Tr. *löschen*, *leschen*, *lāschen* (*sich auszleschen* A 6, 530, 21). *löschet* z. B. A 86, 12; D. *löschte*, *leschte*, *löschete*, *lescht* z. B. A 35, 37; D. *gelescht*, *gelöschet*, *gelöscht*, *gelüscht* z. B. A 6, 522, 33; D.

12. *nehmen* (614 ×), *nemen* (111 ×) *nehmen* (50 ×).

¹ In verbaler Funktion, *verhālet* G K 725.

² *kumm* (: *umb*) G K 217. Moscherosch 142, 1.

³ *verleschen* B 749, 1.

nehme, neme, nemme, nimm P 5, 31 (: *ym*).¹ *nimmst, nimst, nimmest. nimmt, nimt, nimbt, nimpt.* Imp. *nimm, nim, nimb* — **nam** (270 ×), **nahm** (160 ×), **nahme** (20 ×), **name** (7 ×), **namb** Wm 203, 13² — **namen** (40 ×), **nahmen** (28 ×). C. *nehme* z. B. A 279, 12; D — **genommen, genomen, gnommen.**

13. **pflagen.** Über die Zeit seines Übertritts aus Reihe V, Heyne, *Wb.* Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 348. Bei Grimmelshausen überwiegend schw., in stk. Flexion nur: **pflag** γ 43, 4; 146, 7 — **pflagen** ε 216, 10 — **gepflagen** Z 723, 9.

14. **rächen.** Zur Schreibung s. **gebären.** *rächet* D I, 354, 26; 445, 13 — *rächete* Om 84, 19; On. γ 163, 20. Zur schw. Flexion, Grimm, *Wb.* *rächen* I. — **gerochen**³ z. B. A 203, 3; D.

15. **scheren, schären** z. B. A 6, 497, 6; D, *scheeren.* Zur Schreibung s. auch Grimm, *Wb.* Stk. auch in der Bedeutung 'sich um etwas scheren' z. B. Y 373, 7. Stk. mit und ohne *i*-Wechsel im Imp. in der Bedeutung 'sich (fort)scheren.' Grimm, *Wb.* 8, 2570, 2576, 2577. *schierst* Y 373, 7. *schiert*⁴ (: *wird*) A 47, 12; D. Imp. *schiere* (*dich herunter*) R 298, 24. *scher* (*dich*) r 350, 35. *scheer* (*dich*) ε 241, 20 — **schur, schure** (u 5 ×), *schor* b 252, 10 — **geschoren.** *Bescheren, beschehren* ist regelrecht schw.

16. **erschrecken, erschröcken** intr. Zur Schreibung ö s. **dreschen** — **erschrack.** Zur Schreibung *ck*, Von Bahder 91 — **erschracken** — Part. **erschrocken.**

Das Tr. *schrecken, schröcken* ist schw. *Erschreckt* D I 1, 237 (Kupfer). *erschreckte, erschröckte* z. B. A 57, 27; D. Part. *ge-, er-schreckt, schröckt, schröcket, schreckt* z. B. A 5, 12; 18, 23.

¹ B 520, 18; 614, 7 und auch G K 791.

² *namb* Wb. 100, 23; 130, 21. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 155. Grimm, *Wb.* *nehmen* 2, b, δ.

³ So auch H K 4, 823.

⁴ So auch G K 334, H K 1090.

17. **sprechen.** *sprechend, sprechende. spreche, sprich* P 3, 25. Wm 166, 8, *sprech, spriche* Wm 194, 9. *spricht.* Imp. *sprich, sprech* Wm 192, 10 — **sprach, sprache — sprachen.**
C. **sprüche — gesprochen.**

Daneben das schw. *sprachen* (ahd. *sprāhlhōn.* Belege für's Nhd. Sanders, *Wb. sprechen*, Anmerkung) γ 124, 24. *besprachet*¹ D 2, 4, 9; 68, 20. *sprachte* Z 816, 22.

18. **stechen.** *sticht — stach, stache — stachen — gestochen.*

19. **stecken,** intr. Zu seinem Übergang zur stk. Flexion — in Analogie zu *stechen, crschrecken* —, Heyne, *Wb. stecken* 2. *stecke. steckest. steckt, stecket — stack, stacke. steckte* z. B. Om 95, 2; On — **stacken** C. *stücke* Om 106, 22; On — **gestocken**² A 138, 11; D. *gesteckt, gesteckt* z. B. A 143, 21; D.

Das Tr. *stecken* ist schw. Einmal mit Rückumlaut: *stackte* Om 104, 9; On. Heyne, *Wb. stecken* 1. Begriffsvertauschung mit *stechen* Y 428, 23. Heyne, *Wb. stecken* b, *stechen* 5 oder Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 221. Vgl. *geschichte* Z 789, 1 für *geschickt* in δ.

20. **stehlen** (94 ×), *stelen* (21 ×), *stellen* Y 449, 14. *stielest* (1 ×). *stilet* (4 ×), *stieht* (3 ×), *stilt* (3 ×), *stihlt* (2 ×), *stielct* (1 ×)³ — **stahl** (14 ×), **stall** (11 ×), *stahle, stall* D 2, 330, 27 — **stalen** (2 ×), **stahlen** (2 ×), *stohlen* Om 67, 5; On. C. *stehlest* γ 186, 25 — **gestolen** (59 ×), **gestohlen** (45 ×), *gestollen*.

21. **treffen.** *treffend, treffende. treffe. triffst. trifft, trift* Om 4, 19; On. *trefft* Z 826, 29; *trifft* in δ — **traff,** *traffe, trafe*, z. B. Om 135, 16; On, *traf, troff* DC 282, 23 — **traffen** C. *träffe* A 6, 560, 27; D — **getroffen, treffen.**

¹ *gesprächt* G K 538. Vom Nomen Gespräch oder mhd. stk. *gesprechen*?

² Diese seltene Form ferner in *Wb* 447, 36. B 6, 887, 12.

³ Imp. *still* G 349, 367. *stihl* K 349. *stiel* K 367.

V. ABLAUTSREIHE.

Mhd. *ë, i – a, ā – ë.*

A. Praes. Wechsel zwischen *ë* und *i*. In der 1. S. sind 6 Verben belegt. Nur mit *i*: *fressen*; mit *i*- Nebenformen *geben, sehen*; mit *ë*: *lesen, messen, wegen*. Die 3. S. zeigt keinen Wechsel bei dem auch schw. flektierten und in ihr nur 4 × belegten *wegen*.¹

Im Imp. nur *i* bei *fressen, messen*; *ë* neben *i* bei *essen, geben, vergessen, sehen*; nur *ë* bei *lesen, wegen*.

B. Praet. und Part. Zu seinen Vokalen vgl. **C.** *Wegen* hat im Praet. *u* und *o*, im Part *o*.² Der C. hat *e* und *ä*, unumgelautetes *a* in *lage* D C 292, 5 und *sahe* Y 292, 28.

C. Quantität. 1) Mhd. *ë, ä* findet sich noch bei *bitten* und *tretten*.³ *ë* ist neben *ë* bei *bitten* durch die Schreibung *th* bezeugt. Da diese bei *tretten* nicht vorkommt, dies Verb auch md. die Kürze länger bewahrt, ist es bei Grimelshausen wohl als durchgehend kurz anzusetzen. Dem entsprechend zeigt *tretten* nachweisbares Eindringen des singularen *ä* in den C. Praet.,⁴ *bitten* aber nicht mehr (*batten*, Lauchert 150). 2) Die überwiegende Schreibung *i* im Praes. von *geben* und *ligen* weist auf Kürze (bei langer Nebenform); dasselbe gilt von *sehen*. Zwischen langem und kurzem *i* schwankt *geschehen*. Liszt η 403, 3 findet sich einmal neben *ie*.

D. Auch schw.⁵ flektiert: *wegen*.

E. Contamination kann vorliegen in *ermaszte*.

I. *bitten – bat* (102 ×), *bate* (10 ×), *bath* a 897, 22. Om 138, 29; On. Y 407, 31. *ë* 235, 13, *batt* Wm 184, 12⁶ –

¹ S. *wegen* c, Note. Heyne, *Wb. bewegen*.

² Behaghel § 118, 2. Shumway 108. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 351. Kehrein I, 242. Heyne, Sanders *erwägen*.

³ Kräuter 191. Lauchert 142. Müller 13. Vgl. auch *nehmen*.

⁴ und in den P. I. *tratten* B 95, 23; 254, 14; 550, 5. Wb 128, 1.

⁵ Kehrein I § 356, 10.

⁶ *batt* Wb. 139, 3. *batte* B 6, 915, 13. Stets *gebellen* in B.

baten (8 ×), *bathen* Om 61, 32; On. C. *bäthe* Om 29, 14; On — **gebeten** (20 ×), **gebetten** (15 ×),¹ *er-, gebethen* Z 743, 7; 764, 21.

Schw. *beten* im Sinne von 'bitten' (Grimm, *Wb. bitten* 5)¹: tr. A 50, 23; D. Mit 'um' (oder C. Praet.) Z 785, 23; δ: *bittet*.

2. **essen**. *isset, isst*. Imp. *isz, esse* η 393, 23² — **asz, asse** — **assen** — **gessen**, *geessen, gegessen*. In aktiver Bedeutung Y 410, 3. S. **vergleichen**. Grimm, *Wb. essen, truncken*.²

C. Praet. ? *gace* (Kurz = 'g'ätzte') in der Bedeutung 'zu essen gab' ε 214, 24.

3. **fressen**. *frisz* A 21, 5; D. Y 310, 28. 2 *frisst*. 3 *frisst, frist* Om 99, 20; On. Imp. *frisz* — **frasz** — **frassen** — **gefressen**.

4. **geben**. *gebend, gebende*. *gebe, geb, gib*⁴ Z 841, 4. Om 82, 29; On. Wm 267, 23. r 345, 15. Y 326, 6. γ 187, 9; 197, 23. η 412, 25. *gibest* (9 ×), *gibst* (8 ×), *giebest* D 1, 31, 31. *gibt* (90 ×), *gibet* (41 ×), *gibt* (16 ×), *giebet* (11 ×), *geyt* P 4, 13; 5, 21. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 336, 103. Imp. *gib* (8 ×), *gieb* Z 768, 23. D 1, 236, 5. ε 206, 26, *gebe*³ D 11, 115 (Kupfer). η 391, 12, *geb* η 392, 25 — **gab**, *gabe* — **gaben** C. *gebe* — Part. **geben, gegeben, gegeben**. *Vergeben* DC 303, 23 für heutiges 'vergebens.'

5. **vergessen**. 2 *vergist*. 3 *vergist, vergisset, vergisst*. Imp. *vergisz, vergesse* R 334, 6 — **vergasz, vergasse, vergas** Om 5, 19; On — **vergassen** C. *vergässe, vergesse* — Part. **vergessen**. In der Bedeutung 'vergeszlich' (im Wortspiel mit vertrunken) ε 213, 11.

6. **lesen**. *lese, löse* Y 454, 16. Von Bahder 118. *liesest* (1 ×). *lieset* (9 ×), *licst* (4 ×), *liszt*. Imp. *lese* γ 187, 17.

¹ *angebetten* (für heutiges 'angebetet') Moscherosch 230, 3. Kehrein I § 356, 8.

² So auch B 66, 13, 20.

³ Moscherosch 215, 13; 281, 28, etc.

⁴ *gib* B 655, 3. G K 573, 574. Imp. *gebe* B 391, 12.

η 393, 22 — *lase*, *lasz*, *las* A 271, 29. D 1, 68, 22, *lasse* Y 389, 31. ε 240, 5 — *lasen* — *gelesen*.

7. *ligen* (217 ×), *liegen* (129 ×)¹ Als Verb der Bewegung: *hinein ligen* A 356, 32; D. *niderligen* Y 329, 19. *schlafen liegen* Y 300, 21; 301, 3. Als 3. Person findet sich im Sprüchwort einmal *leith* ε 216, 22; vgl. *geyt* — *lag*, *lage* — *lagen*. C. *lege*, *lüge*, *lage* — *gelegen*.

8. *messen*, *müssen* A 391, 19; D. *messe*. *misses*. Imp. *mis*se — *masz*, *masse* — *massen* — *gemessen*, *gemüssen* A 432, 20; D. γ 101, 14.

Neben dem häufig gebrauchten *ermessen* einmal das schw. *ermaszte* γ 177, 13. Mhd. *māsen*, Benecke, *Wb.* oder Mischform.

9. *genesen* D 1, 4, 9 — *genasz*, *gnase* — Part. *genesen* A 6, 519, 10; D.

10. *geschehen*. Daneben *beschehen* (Grimm, *Wb.*) z. B. A 210, 17; D. *gcschiehet* (32 ×), *gcschihet* (11 ×), *geschicht* (8 ×), *geschihet* D 1, 421, 11 — *geschahe*, *geschah* A 334, 24 — *geschahen*, C. *geschche* — Part. *geschehen*.

11. *sehen*. *schend*, *sehende*, der *Gcschende* γ 21, 17; 164, 19. Grimm, *Wb.* *sehe*, *sihe* Z 756, 31; 768, 31; 819, 25; 894, 22. Wm 188, 23; 189, 23; 194, 2. D 2, 204, 26.² *siche*³ A 6, 537, 22. *seh*. *sihst* (27 ×), *sichst* (6 ×). *sihet* (64 ×), *siehet* (37 ×), *sicht* (15 ×), *siht* (9 ×). Imp. *sihe* (83 ×), *siehe* (39 ×), *sehe*⁴ A 178, 11; D. Wm 158, 21. γ 112, 14. *sieh* (2 ×) — *sahe*, *sah* b 249, 6 — *sahen*, *sahe*. C. *sehe*, *sähe*, *sahe* — *gesehen*, *sehen*, *versehn*, *unangesen*.

12. *sitzen*. Nicht selten als Verb der Bewegung, z. B. A, D 59, 21; 242, 4; 249, 33. *hinsitzen* A 275, 28; D. *nider sitzen* z. B. R 271, 9. *auffsitzen* z. B. A 142, 20; D;

¹ In B 67 i, 1 *ie*.

² So auch B 63, 6; 74, 19; 633, 8; 674, 13; 763, 9.

³ In B findet sich die Schreibung *ie* im Praes. nur 1 ×.

⁴ So auch B 205, 1; 267, 19.

444, 27 (= 'sich einschiffen'). *Sizen* γ 63, 11. *besietzen* Z 740, 3. *sitzend, sitzet* — **sasz**, *sasse, sase* D 1, 426, 22 — **sassen**. C. *sässe, sesse* — **gessen**.

13. **tretten**¹ (40 ×), **treten** (34 ×). *trittest. tritt, trit* A 6, 533, 22 — **trat** (34 ×), *tratte* (9 ×), *tratt* (8 ×), *trate* (3 ×) — **traten**. C. *trette* γ 42, 24 — **getretten** (21 ×), **getreten** (14 ×).

14. Wegen der bei *wegen* schon mhd. geschehenen Vermengung von stk. Intr. und schw. Kausativum seien die Belege aus Grimmelshausen möglichst vollständig gegeben.

a) das Simplex. Es ist im Praes.-Stamm nicht belegt² — **wug** tr.³ A 268, 18; D — **gewogen** intr. A 247, 14; D.

b) *bewegen* (die gewöhnliche Schreibung), *bewögen* z. B. Wm 283, 11, *bewügen* A 6, 469, 13. Von Bahder 130. Es ist stk. und schw. Heyne, *Wb. bewegen*. Schw. stets in eigentlicher Bedeutung. Sonst unterschiedlos (Andresen 78) stk. und schw. z. B. A, D 182, 10; 463, 29. Z 826, 5. Die stk. Belege sind: **bewog** A 407, 12; D — **bewogen** A 463, 29; D — Part. **bewogen** Z 749, 25. γ 11, 15.

c) die übrigen Composita. *Abwegen* tr. z. B. A 65, 20; D. *auszwägen* tr. A 44, 2; D. *erwägen* tr. z. B. Z 785, 25. *hin- und herwägen* tr. Y 397, 17. *überwägen* tr. γ 129, 16. *sich verwegen* cum gen. Z 784, 28. Grimm, *Wb. erwägen* 2. Sanders II, 2, 1455. Sie sind belegt wie folgt: *erwege* η 405, 23. *überwäget* γ 129, 16. *erwegt* η 405, 17.⁴ Imp. *erwege* s 271, 23. Z 804, 21 — **erwug** (10 ×) z. B. A 72, 11; D. **erwog, erwoge** (o 4 ×), z. B. A 463, 28. **hin- und herwoge** Y 429, 32 — **abgewogen** A 6, 516, 27; D. **erwogen** A 128, 11; D. γ 128, 7.

Zweifelhaft ist die Flexion von:

weben. *gewebet, gewebt* z. B. γ 12, 26; 116, 17.⁵

¹ In B findet sich Doppel-*t* fast ausnahmslos in allen Stammformen.

² *wiegen* intr. G H K 15.

³ *wog* tr. B 519, 1, wie B auch in den Compositis stets die *o*-Form hat.

⁴ *erwigt, erwieget* tr. K 1116. XH3, 40. Imp. *erwieg* tr. G K 808.

⁵ *geweben* B 118, 29. Ebenfalls B 6, 891, 11, 18.

Schw. geworden sind :

Jetten. Grimm, *Wb. gäten* 2. Bei Grimmelshausen nur 1 × belegt: *ausgejettet* ζ 344, 21. Sein Verb ist *reuten*. *Knetten.* Imp. *knette* η 392, 19. Praet. *zerknettet* Y 388, 18. *geknettet* A 6, 564, 5; D.

VI. ABLAUTSREIHE.

Mhd. a — uo, uo — a.

A. Praes. Der Umlaut fehlt bei *laden*,¹ das auch schw. Nebenform zeigt, bei *backen* und *mahlen*, zuweilen bei *fahren* und *wachsen*.² Zum Umlaut vor *sch* in *wäschen*, Von Bahder 107, 82, 117. Kehrein I § 358, 8.

B. Praet. *U* zeigen noch durchweg *heben*³ und *schwören*,⁴ fast stets *stehen* (*a* nur erst 4 ×).⁵ Umlaut aus dem C. dringt ein in *stünde* Y 427, 28. Im C. findet sich unumgelauteter Vokal neben Umlaut⁶ bei *fahren*, *schlagen*, *stehen*.

C. Part. Alt ist *o* in *geschworen*; *heben* schwankt noch (63 *o* : 19 *a*).⁷ *Ä* (auszer in *gewaschen*) einmal: *geständen*.

D. Die **schw. Flexion** ist eingedrungen bei: *heben*, *laden*, *schaben*, *schwören*.⁸

E. Contamination liegt vor in *hubten*.

1. ***backen, bachen.*** *Ck* 30 ×, *ch* 14 ×. Hierzu und zur Flexionsgeschichte, Heyne, *Wb. backt* A 136, 1; D —

¹ *lädet* K 421, 421. X H 3, 375.

² Brenner 79.

³ *hob* H 3, 72. X 3, 437. *haben* B 6, 921, 5 (aus dem Part. oder dialektische Lautentwicklung. Vgl. *lag*, Reihe II). Grimm, *Wb. heben* 2.

⁴ Heyne, *Wb.*

⁵ Behaghel § 118, 3.

⁶ *schwüren* H K 4, 466.

⁷ Grimm, *Wb. heben* 3. Von Jagemann 430. Weidling 95. Behaghel § 118, 3.

⁸ In B ferner bei *backen*, *wäschen*; in H bei *mahlen*. Kehrein I § 358, 8.

buchen A 30, 8; D¹— **gebacken**, *gebachen*, *gepacken* D I, 433, 6.

2. **fahren**. Zu 'fahret sinnig' γ 38, 7, Grimm, *Wb. fahren* 11. *fährest*. *fährt*, *fähret*, *fahret* Wm 222, 18. ε 217, 33, *fahrt* η 382, 15 — **fuhr**, *fuhre*, *fur* D I, 192, 4. C. *führe*, *fuhre* A 6, 493, 5, D — **gefahren**.

Daneben das schw. *führen* tr. in derselben Bedeutung: A, D 8, 19; 233, 16. ε 215, 28; 219, 3. R 280, 27. Grimm, *Wb. führen* I, 12. Zu A 6, 546, 31; D vgl. ib. III, 5.

3. **graben**. *gräbest*. *grübet*, *gräbt* — **grub** — **gegraben**, *graben*, *grabu*.

4. **heben**. *Sich geheben* = 'sich gehaben' (Grimm, *Wb. gehaben* 3 c) stk. z. B. A 377, 24 (D *sich gehaben*). A 139, 6; D. γ 79, 31. Im Part. nicht belegt. — **hub**,² *hube*, *hubten* Y 347, 12. C. *hübe* Z 839, 12. ε 253, 28 — **gehoben**, *ge*, *cr*-, *überhaben* z. B. Z 783, 18. A 47, 19; D. *gehebt*² Z 847, 3. D C 299, 13. R 295, 3. Y 355, 15.

5. **laden**. *ladet* (loads) A 233, 15; D. γ 192, 20. *ladet*, *ladt* (invites) Y 426, 19. P. 5, 24. Über Vermischung von ahd. *hladan* und *ladōn* in mhd. Zeit, Blatz I, 491, 8 — **lude**, **lud** — **geladen**, *entladet* R 309, 17. Dasselbe Compositum stk. A 177, 17, 35; D. γ 80, 2.

6. **mahlen** a 861, 8; 862, 30. *mahlt* A 136, 1; D — **gemahlen**³ A 146, 32; D. *zermahlen* Y 360, 3.

Die Geschichte des leider unbelegten Praet. bei Grimm, *Wb*.

7. **schaben**, *erschaben* R 288, 22.⁴ *schabte hinein* A 315, 18; D. Nach Sanders noch stk. im ältern Nhd. — **abgeschaben** (nur als Adj.)⁵ z. B. A, D 182, 29; 190, 21.

¹ *backten* B 78, 14.

² *hehte* B 165, 12. *hehte* X H 4, 634. *gehebt* B 161, 3; 412, 6; so auch H K 720. 4, 843, 843. X H 4, 678 (: *gelebt*). Schon mhd. schw. (Lexer). Müller-Fraureuth 101, 114. *Gehaben* auch zuweilen in den Zusätzen von G K.

³ *gemahlt* aus H von Kehrein I, 247 citiert.

⁴ *schabet*, *schabt* G K 523, 523. X H 3, 254.

⁵ *geschabet* in selber Funktion K 343. G K 357.

8. **schaffen** (meist in der Composition mit *er*) — **erschuff** — Part. **erschaffen**, *geschaffen*, *anerschaffen*, *angeschaffen*.

Daneben, aber unvermischt mit dem stk. Verb, das schw. *schaffen*, häufig mit den Präfixen *ab*, *ver*, *bey*, *herbey*, *anher*, *ausz*.

9. **schlagen**.¹ *schlagend*, *schlagende*. *schlägt*, *schläget* — **schlug**, *schluge*. C. *schlüge*, *schlüg*, *schlug* Wm 182, 15 — **geschlagen**.

10. **schwören**, **schweren**. Ö 45 X, e 24 X; s. **dreschen**. *schwörend*, *schwerrent* — **schwur**. *beschweret* e 227, 24. Zur schw. Flexion, Heyne, Schmeller, Paul, *Wb*. — **geschworen**, *un-*, *ohnbeschwert*? A 429, 37; D. Wm 162, 15.

11. **stehen**, *stehn*.² Als Verb der Bewegung A 193, 7; D. A 6, 526, 7; D. η 388, 7. *Aufstehen*. *Sich einstehen* D 2, 338, 5. In der 3. P. I. Praes. einmal *stand* P 5, 12. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 323 — **stund**, **stunde**, *stünde*, *stand* A 32, 4; 239, 3. A 182, 22; D. C. *stünde*, *stunde* (7 X) z. B. D 1, 292, 29. Y 409, 8, *stünd* — **gestanden**, *geständen* adj. = 'mittleren Alters (Kurz)' e 216, 16, *verstannen* D 2, 329, 14. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 204.

12. **tragen**.³ *trägst*. *trägt*, *träget*, *treite* (: *bereite*) P 3, 33, *treit* P 4, 11, 14; 5, 15. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 336 — **trug**, *truge*. C. *trüge*, *trüg* — **getragen**, *tragn*.

Praet. *vertragen* D C 292, 28. Schw. Denominativum. Sanders, *Wb.* II, 2, 1349. Schw. Praet. des Simplex aus Santa Clara ib. 1346.

13. **wachsen**. 2. *wächst*. 3. *wächset*, *wächst*, *wachset* s 289, 16 — **wuchs**, *wuchse*. C. *wüchse* — **gewachsen**.

14. **wäschen** (17 X), **waschen** (8 X) — **wusch**⁴ — **gewaschen** (14 X), *gewäschen* A 6, 519; D. η 34, 8.

¹ Noch mit Wechsel bei Moscherosch, Imp. *schlahe* 305, 17.

² *stahn* B 343, 18.

³ Das Part. praes. in passiver Verwendung Z 751, 24; 803, 5; 812, 1. A, D 158, 38; 301, 38. γ 32, 32. η 411, 9. Vgl. **sinnen**.

⁴ *wäschten* B 579, 15. So auch B 6, 951, 14. Schmeller, *Wb.* Vgl. auch Paul, *Wb.*

Zweifelhaft in seiner Flexion ist:

watten γ 120, 2. Überreste stk. Flexion, Sanders, *Wb.*

Schw. sind geworden, resp. verblieben:

Jagen. jagte z. B. A 438, 38; D. *gejaget, gejagt* A 378, 18;

D. *Nagen.* nagte A 179, 26; D. *benagt* A 285, 10; D.

Zwagen. zwagte A 58, 8; D. *gezwaget* Om 121, 9; On.

VII. ALTE REDUPLICIERENDE KLASSE.

Mhd. 1. a, ā — ie, ie — a, ā.

2. ei — ie, ie — ei.

3. ou, ō — ie, ie — ou, ō.

4. uo — ie, ie — uo.

A. Praes.¹ Unumgelautes *a* findet sich vereinzelt bei *fangen*,² *fahen*, *halten*, *lassen*, *rathen* und im Reim bei *hangen*. *Hauen* und *ruffen* haben keinen, *stossen*³ stets Umlaut. *Läufft* findet sich 1 × neben gewöhnlichem *laufft*.⁴

B. Part. Bei *scheiden* überwiegt der Vokal der ersten Reihe (10 *ie*), der alte Diphthong findet sich noch 2 ×. Zum Übertritt, Grimm, *Wb. scheiden* I. Von Jagemann 421. Blatz I, 497. *Lauffen* hat 82 × *o*, 17 *au*. Grimm, *Wb. laufen* I, 3, b. Behaghel § 120. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 337.

C. Schw. Flexion⁵ erscheint bei *hängen*, *hangen*?, *saltzen*, *spalten*, *hauen*, *kauffen*, *schroten*, *ruffen*.⁶

¹ Für das gleichzeitige Md. vgl. Von Jagemann 430, 431.—Aufällig ist der umgelaute C. *bräte* G K 904.

² Andresen 81.

³ Heyne, *Wb.*

⁴ Grimm, *Wb. laufen* I, 2. Ferner *sauffen*.

⁵ Vgl. Kehrein I § 364, 5; 366, 4; 368, 3; 370, 5.

⁶ Die Mischform *lieste* E 856, 858, 860, 905.

I. VERBA MIT *a*, *ā* IM INF.

1. **blasen**, *blassen*¹ Wm 184, 13; 185, 11; 186, 14. *bläset*, *bläst* — *bliesz*, *bliesse*, *bliesc*, *blies*. P. *blisen* A 143, 8; D — *geblasen*, *geblassen*¹ Wm 184, 30.

2. **braten** — *briet*, *briete*. P. *briethen* — *gebraten*, *gebratten* Wm 154, 10.

3. **fallen**. *fällst*. *fällt*, *fält*, *fället*, *felt* (: *schelt*) s 297, 14. *fallet* A, XXX, 4 ist ein durch das *gefället* der folgenden Reihe zu erklärender Druckfehler — *fiel*, *fiele*, *fiel*, *fiel* — *gefallen*.

4. **fangen**, *fahen*. Im Praes.-Stamm ist *fangen* 141 ×, *fahen* 69 × belegt.² *fängst*. *fängt*, *fänget*, *fangt* Wm 227, 20. γ 88, 5; 165, 4, 13. *fähet*, *fahet* Wm 212, 5. Y 432, 15. γ 66, 16. s 285, 15 — *fieng*, *fiing*, *fienge*, *fiinge* — *gefangen*,³ *anfahen*.

5. **gehen**, *gehn*.⁴ Die 3. S. 1. Praes. einmal in der Schreibung *geet* P 4, 18. *Gaht* P 4, 36. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 330 — *gieng*, *ging*, *gienge* — *gangen*, *gegangen*.

6. **halten**. *hältst*, *hältst*. *hält*, *halt* ε 218, 10. s 288, 12; 290, 22. P 5, 25 — *hielt*, *hielte* — *gehalten*.

7. **hangen**. Das stk. Verb kommt 84 × vor, davon 20 × in tr. Bedeutung. Über die Vermischung von *hangen* und *hängen* Grimm, *Wb. hangen*. Andresén 74. Belege fürs tr. Praet. z. B. A 138, 31; 193, 37; fürs Part. s 278, 19; refl. A 325, 36; D. *hängst*. *hänget*, *hängt*, *hangt* (: *langt*) A 231, 30; D. γ 15, 4 — *hing*, *hieng*, *hienge*, *hinge* — *ge-*, *erhangen*. Ein schw. Part. in tr. Bedeutung *verhangt* D 2, 103, 25 (A hat *verhängt*) findet sich nur

¹ Zu den Konsonantenverdopplungen in den Nebenformen dieser Reihe vgl. **kriechen**. *geblassen* B 6, 842, 18.

² In B ist das Verhältnis 1 : 3. Kluge, *Wb.*

³ *angefahen* Moscherosch 191, 16.

⁴ *begehende Sünd* γ 120, 5. Vgl. **sinnen**.

1 × und kann Druckfehler sein. Grimm kennt die schw. Flexion nur beim Intr.

hängen, hengen findet sich 8 × in intr. Bedeutung, nämlich A, D 452, 6; 489, 23. D 1, 426, 21. Om, On 17, 3; 69, 13. § 297, 2. Grimm, *Wb. hängen* II.

Das schw. Tr. ist *hencken* (nicht nur im Sinne des heutigen terminus technicus, Grimm, *Wb. hencken*), *hängen, hengen, häncken*. Praet. *henckte, henckt, hängte, hängete, hängt, hänget, hänckte*. Part. *gehenckt, gehencket, gehängt, gehengt, gehenget, gehänckt*.

8. **lassen**. *lassend, lassende. lüst, lüsst, lüsst. lüst, lüsst, lüsst, last* η 377, 7, *lat* P 4, 45; 5, 37, 44. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 330 — **liesz, liesse, liese, lies, liesze**¹ — **gelassen, lassen**.

9. **rathen, rahten, raten** A 298, 14. *räth, räht, rath* η 355, 11. P 5, 51, *rathet* DC 312, 18 — **rieth, riethe, rieht, riete** z. B. A 6, 564, 11; D, *richte* — **gerathen, gerahnten, geraten** A 37, 13.²

10. **saltzen**. *saltzte* A 100, 28; D — **gesaltzen**. *Eingesaltzet* DI II, 120, 15. Dies ist die Lesart von I. D hat *einsaltzen*; A, B *ingesaltzen*. Grimm, *Wb.*

11. **schlaffen, schlafen** in A 6, D z. B. ib. 532, 16. *schlüffst. schlüfft* — **schlieff, schlieffe, schliff** DC 291, 15 — **geschlaffen**.

12. **spalten — spielte** Wm 281, 4. γ 171, 2. *spaltete* A, D 41, 3; 359, 4. Heyne, *Wb.* — **gespalten**.

2. VERBA MIT *ei* IM INF.

1. **heischen** Om 101, 10; On. Y 307, 20 — **hiesch** A 367, 18; D. Über Fortleben des stk. Part. im spätern Nhd., Grimm, *Wb.*

¹ *lisse* Wb 157, 23.

² *ungeraden* B 6, 844, 2. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 143.

2. **heissen** – **hiesz, hiesse, hiese** a 897, 4. Om, On 71, 32; 114, 17. D 1, 423, 20 – **geheissen**, *heissen, haessen* Wm 210, 32. Kluge, *Luther bis Lessing* 131. *ungeheisen* Wm 158, 17.

3. **scheiden**¹ – **schied, schiede**. *scheidete* intr. Y 341, 15. Über die Vermischung mit ahd. *sceidōn*, Grimm, *Wb. scheiden* I – **geschieden, gescheiden** Om, On 111, 3; 114, 9.²

3. VERBA MIT *au, ō* IM INF.

1. **hauen**. *hauet, haut* – **hieb, hiebe**. *hauete* Wm 214, 16. Grimm, *Wb. hauen* I – **gehauen**,³ *gehawen* ε 240, 6. s 293, 27. *ghauen* DC 291, 32 (Kurz, Bobertag = 'geheuer')?

2. **kauffen**. Grimm, *Wb. kaufen* c. Andresen 80 – **kieffe**⁴ ε 251, 28. C. P. *kieffen* ε 210, 2. Sonst in diesen wie den andern Formen schw.

3. **lauffen**. *lauffst* A 56, 9; D. *lanfft, lanffet, laufft* Wm 243, 24, *läufft* Z 710, 11 – **lieff, lieffe, lief** z. B. Om 7, 31; On – **geloffen**,⁵ *gelauffen*.

4. **schroten**. Praet. *schroten* R 343, 1. Wiesner 30. Zur schw. Flexion, Lexer, *Wb.* – **geschroten** a 895, 29, **geschrotten** § 342, 20.

5. **stossen**. *stöst, stösst, stöszt* – **stiesz, stiesse, stiese** Om 92, 30; On. Y 371, 1 – **gestossen**.

¹ *schaiden* Wb 98, 23. Vgl. *verbleichen*.

² *unterscheiden* B 291, 8.

³ *gehaul* G K 574, 575. H K 1089.

⁴ *kieffe* B 518, 5; 577, 9. *kieffen* B 579, 18.

⁵ Stets so in B.

4. VERBA MIT *u* IM INF.

1. **ruffen**, *rueffen* Wm 163, 18. η 388, 15, *rüffen* DC 269, 26. Von Bahder 211. *rufft* — **rieff**, *rief* D 1, 204, 5, *rieffe*. *ruffte*, *ruft*, *rueffete* η 397, 32. 8 × stk., 33 × schw. flektiert, Grimm, *Wb. rufen* I — **geruffen**.

Zweifelhaft sind :

falten. *faltete* z. B. A 6, 560, 9; D. **waltzen**, intr. Y 423, 27. refl. Om 72, 17; On. Nach Heyne, *Wb.* mit noch heut im Obd. erhaltenem stk. Part. Es ist in Grimmelshausen mit seinem Kausativum (γ 96, 12; 185, 25) vermischt: Intr. *umweltzen* Wm 144, 14. *umgewälzt* Wm 191, 7.

Schwach flektieren :

Schmälzen η 409, 16. *geschmälzt*¹ A 285, 22; D. *Spannen*. *spannte* z. B. A 235, 15; D. *gespannet*² A 85, 25; D. *Bauen*, *bawen*. *baute* z. B. A 28, 3; D. *erbawet*³ s 261, 16.

Ein Druckfehler musz sein, wiewohl Kurz und Bobertag es in den Text aufnehmen, das Part. *gegeisseln*⁴ Om 60, 7; On: 'daz sie mich auch mit Brennesseln *gegeisseln* hätten.'

VIII. DIE PRAETERITO-PRAESENTIA.

1. **Wissen**. *wissend* — **weisz**, *weis* z. B. D 1, 315, 28. *weist*, *waist*⁵ Wm 160, 7. *weisz*, *weis*, *weist*⁶ D 1, 114, 36; 228, 25 (Kurz, Bobertag — kann aber auch sehr wohl als 'zeigt' verstanden werden) Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 385. **wissen**. *wist*,⁷ *wiszt*, *wüst* Om 93, 30; On. C. und Imp.

¹ *geschmälzen* G K 158 (Dies ist Kehrein's Citat). H K 936.

² *gespannen* Moscherosch 24, 27.

³ *gebawen* Moscherosch 87, 18.

⁴ Schw. Flexion : *abgeisselten* H U K 683. *gegeisselt* H 3, 269.

⁵ *Du weissest* ist gewöhnlich bei Moscherosch z. B. 23, 20; 37, 18.

⁶ Bei Murner vorherrschend, Lauchert 153. *weist* M 454, 24.

⁷ Stets *i* bei Murner. Zum Wandel von *i* zu *ü* in diesem Verb vgl. ferner Von Bahder No: 5.

sind regelmässig. — *wuste*, *wusste*, *wüste* A 65, 31; D. Om 92, 11; On, *wust*. Zum *u*, Brenner 85. *wustest*, *wusten*, *wuste* D 2, 358, 20. DC 364, 11, *wustend* D 2, 349, 1 ist ein Druckfehler, durch das voraufgehende 'zitternd' veranlaszt. C. *wüste*, *wüsste*, *wiste*, *wiszte*, *wisste*. Die Nebenform mit *i* kommt 9 × vor, z. B. R 319, 1. Y 363, 14. *wuste* DC 288, 8 — *gewust*, *gewüst* (12 ×) z. B. Om 75, 15, *gewüst*¹ γ 152, 19; 185, 9. § 335, 23, *wissen*.

2. *taugen*.² In der Bedeutung 'dienen' (ohne Negation) z. B. A, D 57, 11; 420, 2 — I. 3. *taug* A 350, 5; D. b 248, 33. Sonst schw.; Grimm, *Wb. taugen* I, 1; z. B. Y 413, 13. A 38, 6; D. Das Part. praet. ist nicht belegt.

3. *können*, *könden*³ η 406, 10. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 182 — *kan*, *kann*, *kane* (: *Manne*) P 5, 32. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 381. *kanst* — *können*. C. regelmässig — *könte*, *konnte*, *kunte*⁴ (20 ×) z. B. Om 134, 27. *könte* z. B. γ 32, 6. *könte* (10 ×) z. B. Wm 151, 9. Zur Erweichung des *t* nach *n*, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 180. *könte* D 2, 327, 20. Wm 254, 5. Y 318, 6; 350, 8. ε 216, 3. *kont*. *könnte* A 31, 6. DC 364, 2. *kunde* Wm 179, 19. Zu den *u*-Formen, Von Bahder 188 ff, 197. C. *könte*, *könnte*, *köndte*, *könde* (13 ×), *konte* (7 ×) z. B. Wm 183, 5, *könt*, *könnt*, *könde* η 406, 23, *künte* Wm 230, 26⁵ — Part. *können*, *könen* A 6, 588, 18, *könten* Y 453, 6. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 175, *könten*⁶ γ 417, 25. *könne* D 2, 358, 20. *gekönt* Z 766, 3. A 113, 20; D. η 358, 7; 359, 10. *gekönnt* Om 89, 27. Wm 288, 9. *gekönt* R 344, 25.⁷

4. *dörffen*. Zur Konjugation und Schreibung, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 383, 116, 117. Müller 14. Noch in der

¹ *wiste* B 739, 5. *gewüst* B 138, 23; 222, 24. *gewisst* B 6, 983, 19.

² *tügen* G K 76. *tügte* H K 4, 808.

³ So auch Wb 46, 22; 62, 19.

⁴ So auch öfter in den Zusätzen von G, K, H, X.

⁵ *künten* (: *unterstünden*) X H 3, 331. *känte* B 454, 17. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 399.

⁶ *könden* Wb 81, 22; 112, 24. *könten* Wb 62, 19; 147, 27. *könten* M 452, 8.

⁷ *gekönt* G K 58. H K 4, 852 (: *Hund*).

Bedeutung a) 'bedürfen,' Grimm, *Wb. dürfen* 1, z. B. Wm 220, 10; 254, 12. b) 'brauchen,' Grimm, *Wb. dürfen* 2, z. B. A, D 97, 13; 140, 3. c) 'wagen,' Grimm, *Wb. dürfen* 4, z. B. A, D 136, 5; 227, 27. Das Compositum *bedürffen* begegnet gewöhnlich mit dem Genitiv der Person oder Sache, aber auch mit dem Accusativ z. B. A 271, 14; D. ε 246, 13. Grimm, *Wb. bedürfen* 2. Mit folgendem Inf., Grimm, *Wb. bedürfen* 4, z. B. Om, On 49, 9; 113, 28. Unpersönlich mit folgendem 'daz,' Grimm, *Wb. bedürfen* 6, = 'es ist nötig' A 122, 21; D — **darff**, *darf* z. B. A 268, 35, *dörff* § 386, 9 (mit Pluralvokal).¹ *darffst* — **dörffen**,² *dörfft*, *dürfft* § 367, 15.³ C. *dörffe* — **dorffte**, *dorfft*, *dörffte*, Z 768, 6. A 30, 23; D. D 2, 337, 22. Wm 284, 12, *durffte*⁴ Z 747, 13. Om 16, 3; On s 284, 7, *dorffte* D 2, 216, 19, 30, *darffte* Y 328, 17 (aus dem C. *dürffte* oder Neubildung aus dem Praes., Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 400). C. *dörffte*, *dörffte*, *dorffte* Om 102, 19; On. D 1, 313, 32, *dürffte* DC 277, 21,⁵ *dorfft*⁶ — Part. **dorffen**,⁷ *bedürfft*, *bedorfft* γ 151, 1.

5. **sollen** — *soll*, *sol* z. B. A 6, 20; 11, 17. *sollest*, *sollst*, *solst*, *solt* (12 ×) z. B. A 66, 38; 72, 7 — **sollen**. *sollet*, *solt*. C. *solle*, *soll* — **solte**, *solt*. C. *solte*, *sollte* z. B. D 1, 214, 32; 221, 32, *solt*, *sollt*. In der 2. Plur. einmal *solt* γ 363, 26 und in der 3. Plur. einmal *solte* γ 417, 14 — Part. **sollen**.

6. **mögen**, *mügen* D 1 34, 16. Das Verbalsubstantiv *vermögen* A 6, 518, 39; D. Von Bahder 197. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 378. Müller 14. Oft in der Bedeutung 'vermögen,' Grimm, *Wb. mögen* II, 1 z. B. A 12, 9; 35, 18. *hochmügend* γ 81, 6; 85, 26 Grimm, *Wb. mögen* II, 2. Das Compositum *vermögen* = 'besitzen' z. B. Wm 226, 5; 252,

¹ *därff* H K 4, 808.

² *dörffen* zuweilen in den Zusätzen von G, H, K, X. *darfen*, *darffen* (mit Singularvokal) G K 275. X H 3, 14.

³ *dorfft* Wb 152, 21. *därffet* K 776.

⁴ *durffte* G K 571. H U K 680. B 453, 5.

⁵ *dürffte* G K H 11. H K 4, 774.

⁶ *därffte*, *därffte* öfter in G, H, K, U.

⁷ *dörffen* H K 1070, 1088. H 3, 32. *bedürfft* H 3, 423.

15. Grimm, *Wb. vermögen* 2. Zum Part. *vermögt* γ 21, 27 vgl. Grimm, *Wb. vermögen* 2, Ende. — **mag.** *magst* — **mögen**, *vermögen* A, D 33, 7; 133, 14. *möget, möcht, mögt*. Zur Vermischung der Schreibungen *ch* und *g* in diesem Verb, Müller 11. C. *möge, mög* — **mochte**, *mogte, möchte* A 6, 492, 29; D. Om. 177, 5; On. Wm 252, 15; 253, 3. C. *möchte, mögte, möcht, mochte* D 2, 321, 29. Wm 446, 4. Y 397, 14 — Part. **mögen**, *vermögt, vermocht, vermöcht, vermögt*.

7. **müssen**, *mussen*, Y 411, 11. Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 384 — **musz**, *mus* z. B. Wm 162, 12; 178, 19. *must* — **müssen**, *müst, müszt, müsset*. C. *müsse, müsz* — *muszte, muszte, musste, müste, müszte* (ü II ×) z. B. Wm 210, 10, *must*. Im Plur. einmal *muszte* Wm 444, 2. C. *müste, müszte, müsste, müst, muszte* Wm 446, 27. Die 2. Plur. *müst* Om 77, 3; On — Part. **müssen**, *müszen, gemüst* A 174, 37; D. s 285, 22.

Schw. ist :

gönnen.¹ Nicht selten in der Bedeutung 'erlauben' z. B. A, D 260, 34; 273, 27. Heyne, *Wb. gönnen* 1. *Ich gönne*, etc., A 118, 2; D. A 6, D 484, 6; 475, 24. *gönnete* z. B. A 49, 20; D. *gegönnet* z. B. A 93, 29; D.

IX. VERBA ANOMALA.

1. **Das Verbum substantivum.** Zuweilen zur Umschreibung des Aktivs z. B. A, D 21, 24; 94, 28; 169, 6. γ 181, 8, Kehrein III § 6–8. Zur Flexion, Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 353. Beachtenswert ist das Eindringen des pluralen *seyn* in den S. und des *bin* der 1. in die 2. Person. Inf. **seyn**, *sein, sey* — **bin**, *seyn* A 25, 17, 17; D.² *bist, bisz*, D 1, 236, 1, *bin* R 338, 7. *ist*.² *seynd, seind* (durch Mischung von *sind* und *seyn*; 198 ×), *seyn, sein* (158 ×), *sind*

¹ C. *gunne* G. K 243. Praet. *gunt* (: *stund*) X H 4, 815. Part. *verguntt, vergunt* K 439. G K 573. Von Bahder 197.

² 1. Person *sein* B 66, 8, 8. 3. Person *isz* B 226, 21.

(122 ×). *seyd, seyt, seind* A 6, 533, 9; D. Lauchert 152. Müller-Fraureuth 111. C. *sey, seye, sei. seyst, seyest. seyn, seyen. seyet.* Imp. *sey, seye. seyd — war, ware, was* (im Reim und Sprichwort; Von Bahder 78) A 6, 495, 18; D. γ 181, 8. § 337, 19. *warest. waren, warn, ware.* C. *wäre, wär, wehre* z. B. ε 221, 22, *were* z. B. A 6, 566, 38; D, *wer, wehr, ware* (4 ×) z. B. Y 380, 18 — **gewesen** (935), *gewessen* Om 140, 25; On. R 310, 18, *gewest* (67 ×),¹ *gesin* ε 225, 26.

2. **Das Verbum thun.** Gelegentlich zur Umschreibung des Aktivs z. B. Wm 153, 3. Y 384, 17. s 261, 23, 24. Zu beachten ist einmal das Eindringen des *e* in den Praes.-Stamm (allerdings bewahrt das Elsässische noch heute den Diphthong; Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* § 354), dann das Vorrherrschen des alten Reduplikationsvokals im Praet. — **thue, thu.** *thust. thut, thute* (: gute) P 5, 34. Vgl. **tragen.** *thun, thuen. thut, thuet.* C. *thue, thu.* Imp. *thue, thut — thät, thäte* (261 ü), *that, thate*² (16 a) z. B. Wm 180, 28. Zum Übergreifen des pluralen Vokals in den S., Weinhold, *Al. Gr.* 357. *thättest* γ 186, 11. *thäten* (40 ×), *thaten* (9 ×). C. *thäte, thät, thete* R 281, 3 — **gethun, sothan, missthan.**

3. **Wollen — will, wil** z. B. A 460, 6, 7, 8; D. *wilst, willst* (65 st), *wilt*³ (46 ×) z. B. A, D 40, 30; 41, 3. *wollen. wollet, wolt.* C. *wolle, woll, wölle*⁴ A 6, 579, 25; D. (: stellen) Om, On 33, 18; 64, 26. Y 433, 31? (β *wolle*), *wol* D 1, 177, 23. Imp. *wollet — wolte, wollte* z. B. γ 36, 23, *wolt.* C. *wolte, wolt, wollte* (*wollete* § 385, 27) — Part. **wollen, wöllen** A 6, 524, 26; D. D 1, 220, 24, *gewolt, gewollt.*

¹ In B 156 *gewesen*, 41 *gewest*.

² Nie *a* in B, aber oft in den Zusätzen von G K.

³ In B *wilt* 15 ×, *wilst* 10 ×.

⁴ So auch in den Zusätzen von G K. Brenner § 63, 1. Lauchert 153.

PAUL O. KERN.

DER SEE AND DIE SEE.

AS shown in the various dictionaries, the distinction in the meaning of this word according as it is masculine or feminine is comparatively recent. It arose in the literary language, and is not yet generally true of the language of the people. The matter presents a very interesting phase of linguistic life.

The word was originally masculine, and designated a large body of water, whether an inland lake or the sea. The feminine gender arose in the North, and is also found, by the side of the masculine, in Old English. On the continent it prevailed in Holland and in that part of North Germany that adjoined the sea. This portion of Germany was, however, small in comparison with what remained true to the masculine gender. Under ordinary circumstances, there can be no doubt that, on the rise of the literary language, the masculine would have prevailed, and the use of the feminine be regarded as provincial. And just this thing did happen where the two genders met on an equal footing, that is, in the sense of 'lake.' With reference to the other meaning of the word, namely that of 'sea,' the North German had the advantage in spite of his being in the minority. He lived on the shores of the sea, and it made up a large part of his life; he had a hundred occasions to mention it in general literature where the writer in the inland had but one, and it was he who wrote almost the whole of the technical literature of the subject. Thus it came about that when Germans, no matter where they lived, read of the sea, in almost every case it was what a native of the northern coast had written. Hence all Germans that read became familiar with the use of 'See' as a feminine when it referred to the sea, though they continued to designate a familiar

inland body of water as 'der See.' Later, the grammarian formulated the distinction, and the school-teacher began to teach it to those whose speech would otherwise have maintained the local usage—whether masculine or feminine—in both senses of the word. That even literary usage did not at once become crystallized along the line of gender, is but natural: hence we find some Southerners continuing to use the masculine when writing of the sea, and some Northerners employing the feminine when speaking of a lake; indeed, now and then, a Northerner, willing to yield his natural usage in the case of an inland body of water, has counted even the Mediterranean as a 'Binnensee' and called it 'der Südsee.'

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MIDDLE ENGLISH $W\bar{o} : W\bar{o}$.

I AM glad that the hope I expressed on page 23 of the first volume of this Journal has so soon been fulfilled, and that Mr. Blackwell has so carefully applied the $w\bar{o} : w\bar{o}$ rime test to Middle English texts. He also corrects my figures in three cases, giving 42 for 41 $-w\bar{o} : s\bar{o}$ rimes, 39 for 37 $\bar{o} : tw\bar{o}$ rimes, and 4 for 2 $d\bar{o} : s\bar{o}$ rimes. This last slip is also responsible for the slight discrepancy between our statements as to the relative force of the evidence presented by the *C. T.* and the *T. & C.* The cases Blackwell gives of rimes with final Latin *-o* I had, but I purposely avoided using them as evidence because of the uncertain value of the *'-o*. I made no attempt to find cases of rimes of $w\bar{o}t$ in *T. & C.*, because, as I stated, the word regularly rimes with \bar{o} in Middle English, and the rimes in the index to the *C. T.* clearly showed that Chaucer was no exception. The statement (p. 479) that even the Midland belt has $w\bar{o}$, not $w\bar{o}$ is not a contradiction but a corroboration of my statement (p. 29). Prof. Manley writes me that he has made use of the $w\bar{o} : w\bar{o}$ test in differentiating the authorship of parts of the Chester and York Cycles.

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REVIEWS.

Selections from Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur. Edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by William Edward Mead, Ph.D. Ginn & Company, Athenaeum Press Series: Boston, 1897. Pp. lxii, 348.

Selections from Malory's Le Morte D'Arthur. Edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by A. T. Martin, M.A., F.S.A. The Macmillan Company: London and New York, 1897. Pp. xxxvi, 254.

PROFESSOR MEAD'S *Selections* may claim a definite place among the happily increasing number of contributions to the study of our fifteenth-century literature. For serious investigation of Malory, of course only Sommer's¹ monumental work can be considered. The kind of reader that Malory wrote for is so well provided in Sir Edward Strachey's² edition that those who are not annoyed by its small print will do well to resist even the pretty volumes of the Temple Classics.³ Professor Mead's book is for college classes. The 'general reader,' though he is included in the design of the series, should not be encouraged to read Malory in selections.

Still these selections are typical, and they are whole books: the first book and the last, the book of Balyn and Balan (II), and the Grail books (XIII, XVII, and XVIII). The text is that of Sommer, but with modern punctuation and the expansion (in italics) of Caxton's contractions. The critical apparatus is admirably compact and serviceable. There are two indexes and a glossary.

At the head of the notes stands a list of a dozen main sources of information, which, barring Kellner's *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, are both well chosen and accessible.

¹ *Le Morte Darthur* by Syr Thomas Malory. The original edition of William Caxton, now reprinted and edited with an Introduction and Glossary by H. Oskar Sommer, Ph.B. David Nutt: London. Vol. I, Text, 1889; vol. II, Introduction and glossary, 1890; vol. III, Studies on the Sources, 1891.

² In the Macmillans' 'Globe' series.

³ Edited by Israel Gollancz, for Dent of London.

The notes (pp. 241-323) consist mainly of references to these, and brief quotations from them; but there are also some interesting parallels. The glossary (pp. 325-336), by wisely omitting etymologies, is sufficient in small space. I note only a few trifling inaccuracies. *Atte* is cited only as a contraction, though its use as a simple preposition is noted on page 292. *Pyghe* (*pitch*, v.) is doubtful as a present form. *Tone* for *true*, as a definition of *sothe*, seems to be the only misprint.

The most important single part of the introduction (ii) is the probable identification of Sir Thomas Malory, abridged by the general editor of the series, Professor Kittredge, from his article in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 5, 85-105. Professor Mead's own sections deal with (i) the literary character of the fifteenth century, (iii) editions of the *Morte Darthur*, (iv) the purpose and method, (v) the sources, (vi) the history and influence, (vii) the literary value. These sixty pages contain a really remarkable amount of summary information.

In his concluding section, the editor passes from a simple, right statement of the literary value of translation (pp. lii-liii) to a summary of the literary value of Malory's method as a whole. Professor Mead is free from Sommer's mechanical conception. He demurs at Sommer's assumption of 'sources' that cannot be found; and in another place (Notes, pp. 305-310) he disproves the charge of servile copying. Yet, with all this, he seems to lay undue stress on Malory's weakness in construction. Of course, as Professor Mead himself observes, this must remain an open question, at least for some years; but meantime it is important to give students, so far as we can, the right point of view. Therefore it is unfortunate to take up (xxv-xxvi) the word *epic* of previous discussions, as if it were in this connection something more than a vague misuse. Malory's work is not epic, for the sufficient reason that it is a romance; but we have still to discuss its construction. And, again, how can our conception of Malory's originality (p. li, foot-note) be affected by the discovery of a source for Book vii? What is meant by originality?

On the other hand, Professor Mead furnishes all the materials for the judgment on Malory's constructive skill which he hesitates to pronounce. If Malory reduced by nine-tenths an enormous mass of material that almost baffles analysis; if in

this reduction he re-arranged and recombined the main sources which have been analyzed by Sommer and others, not only suppressing, but also inserting, in a way to irritate the critic whose eye is on those sources; then in his translation he worked in the fashion of a constructive artist. Much of his material was by tradition inflexible. He would not have been easily pardoned for omitting any cardinal part of the vast accretion. His readers would have felt cheated. Yet, in spite of this, he has not only come nearer to unity than his own time dreamed of coming; he has also achieved a romance that even now, in our time of dramatic ideals in narrative, may be felt as a whole.

Every one feels that the last book is a culmination. Every one feels also the office of the earlier, Merlin parts, in giving the tone of mystery. The Grail books, in spite of many lapses from coherence, crown the struggles that precede, and prepare for the end. Balyn and Balan, or Beaumayns, may serve simply as cumulative impressions of the romantic chivalry. They may be out of proportion. Certainly Tristram is out of proportion; but Tristram, Isoude, King Mark, are made foils for Lancelot, Guinevere, King Arthur. In a word, Malory's work has literary quality, not only of diction, though that of course is its main charm, but also to a remarkable degree, all things considered, of construction. He was not Chaucer; but he was, in his way, an artist. It will not do to regard him as 'a plain man who has a plain task,—to reduce a set of French romances to portable form, and to suppress his own personality as much as possible' (p. lx). How then should we 'find no romance in English to compare with the *Morte Darthur*' (p. xxviii)?

Mr. Martin's *Selections* are gauged for younger students. He presents (pp. 1-186) such an abridgement of Strachey's text as makes a continuous narrative. A brief introduction summarizes the historical basis and Malory's main sources, repeats in serene unconsciousness the obsolete speculations as to Malory himself, and adds a few pertinent observations on the style. The notes on the grammar display an ignorance of both inflections and syntax that is little short of astounding. There is a brief glossary, an index, and a table showing the chapters in Strachey from which the selections are taken.

CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN.

Goethe's Faust. ed. by Calvin Thomas. Vol. II : The Second Part. D. C. Heath & Co.: Boston, 1897.

PROFESSOR THOMAS' Introduction to his annotated edition of the Second Part of Goethe's *Faust* is characterized by the same keenness of observation, independence of judgment, and practical good sense, that render his edition of the First Part a notable contribution to the study of the poem. Of a total of seventy-one pages, forty-one are devoted to genetic considerations, sixteen to a lucid analysis of the argument of this part of the work, and fourteen to critical observations, suggested by the views of the critics and by Goethe's text.

No one who cares for the poet's art more than for the possible gamut of philosophic theory that may be read into its symbols will find fault with the emphasis attached by the editor to the genesis of the First and Second Parts of Goethe's *Faust*. Studies along this line check vagaries of interpretation that spring from regarding the whole as a sudden, full-blown creation, like Minerva from the brow of Jove, and yield what seems to me an indispensable basis for a full appreciation and enjoyment of the poem as a work of art (cf. Pref. p. i). Equally refreshing is Thomas' conspicuous neglect of the *quam pulchre*, so lavishly furnished by the aesthetically inclined editors of the world's literature. He traces the course by which the Second Part of *Faust* has become what it now is, furnishes the reader with a clear-cut analysis of the same, and treats with impartiality and discrimination the opinions of the critics past and present. While by no means concerned to defend the work against just strictures from whatever source, Thomas reminds himself and us (Pref. p. ii), that 'the initial presumption is always in the great poet's favor.' Silence about elementary matters of Greek and Roman mythology, only scanty citations of conflicting interpretations, and a similar neglect of all but very illuminative parallel passages (cf. *ibidem*) seem to me amply justified by the imperative need of conciseness. I also regard it wise to refer to the *Paralipomena* given in vol. 15 of the Weimar *Goethe*,—a work that should be in the library of every institution, where Goethe's *Faust* is made an object of serious study,—instead of burdening this edition with a bulky apparatus, whose utility would

be obvious to but few. With slight deviations (cf. ll. 9843-50) Thomas' interpretative Notes, pp. 339-457, assume the correctness of the Weimar text, which is followed throughout. Paralipomena and variant readings receive attention only 'where they are clearly and highly important for the understanding of the text in its final form.' In these ways Thomas secures space for a detailed study of the gradual growth of the poem under the influence of the multiplicity of the poet's other tasks and interests and of his painful consciousness of the long gap between the Promethean mood of the seventies and the serener temper of his own old age.

Pages v-xlvi are concerned with this part of the task, and the luminous style of the editor is admirably adapted to presenting concretely the whole process of filling-in and rounding-out in its chronological sequence. The authorities here employed: (1) Goethe's diary, (2) Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, (3) Goethe's letters, (4) numerous dated paralipomena (vol. 15 of the Weimar *Goethe*), (5) Düntzer's studies in *Zfdph.* 23.67 ff., and his *Zur Goetheforschung*, pp. 246 ff., and (6) Niejahr's article in *Euphorion* 1. 81 ff. (cf. foot-note, Introd. p. xxi) have been wisely used and with such an adjustment of paraphrase, literal quotation, and combination as adequately to meet the need of the case. It is not my purpose to paraphrase the compact prose of this sketch. Its satisfactory presentation would involve its entire reproduction. For in the whole *Introduction* Thomas sets before us a model of perspicuity and pith. Occasionally I should prefer a slightly different attitude toward the evidence presented. So, for instance, in the consideration of the earliest date for the conception of a bipartite poem (Introd. v, vi, and vii, with foot-notes). I recall the tone of Schiller's letter to Goethe of Sept. 13, 1800, with its allusion to the Second Part, as to a foregone conclusion, and infer from it that the pros and cons for the bipartition had been frequently weighed by the friends in private conversation (cf. Gustav E. Karsten: *Fauststudien*, 1., s. 300-301. *Phil. Studien. Festgabe für Edu. Sievers.* Halle, 1896). In this implication and in the brisk correspondence of the friends concerning the enlarged plan of 1797 (cf. letters of June 22, 23, 24, and 26, 1797), I find warrant for the inference that the idea of the Second Part is referable to the summer

of 1797. Thomas' rejection of E. W. Manning's plea for 1773 on the basis of a paralipomenon published by the latter in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVII, 209, seems to me well founded upon the abstract thought and vague expression of this outline of the play. The same abstractness and groping uncertainty of expression, when compared with the concrete objectivity of the *Witches' Kitchen* (written in Rome), render very dubious, too, Harnack's argument for 1788 (V.L. 4, 169). In other words, I feel that the evidence for 1797 is stronger than it seems to our editor, although its subjective nature certainly admits of no dogmatizing. Again I am unable to accept Thomas' reflection that 'punishment and penance were alike unavailable in a dramatic action dominated throughout by magic,—. . . were foreign to the tone of the legend,' offered (Intro. p. xxx) to account for the apparent release of the criminal Faust from all consequences of his guilt incurred in the First Part. Certainly remorse and punishment were not foreign to the spirit or letter of the chap-books. No small part of the mental anguish endured by the Faust of the Anonymous proceeds from his despairing attempts under the sneering taunts of Mephistophiles to repent and to turn to God. Not therefore, to my mind, because of the predominance of magic but because (1) of Goethe's own view of Faust's errors as unintentional stumblings, not willful transgressions of a clearly recognized moral law, and (2) of the impotence of dramatic realism and the necessity of dramatic symbolism for the presentation of character development do we find Faust's punishment treated as an inconspicuous item in the sum total of his life.

Thomas says (Intro. p. xxxiv): 'The paralytic shock, with resulting trance, is indeed, an invention of Goethe,' a statement that should be qualified to match the editor's own note (Notes, p. 377), in which, following Düntzer, he recognizes in Anthony (Antoine) Hamilton's story *L'Enchanteur Faustus* a probable prototype of the magician's becoming the sufferer in case of a rash attempt of a spectator to touch the apparition.

The sub-headings (1) *The Bipartition of the Poem*, (2) *The Helena of 1800*, (3) *The Prose Sketch of 1816*, (4) *The Helena of 1827*, i. e. *The Third Act*, (5) *The First and Second Acts*, (6) *The*

Fourth and Fifth Acts indicate the scope and general sequence of the genetic discussions of pages v–xlvi. These give a clear conspectus of what we know as to the interruptions, alterations, and adaptations involved in the poet's work upon the Second Part.

Pages xlvi–lxii contain a consideration of the more obvious meaning of the whole Second Part. This analysis of the argument is given with such deftness and sense of proportion that the reader finds in it an effective guide to the labyrinth of paths and by-paths, in which the second half of Goethe's *Faust* abounds. Our editor indulges in no wild-goose chase after the elusive 'meaning' of the individual characters of the poem and is concerned in maintaining no thesis as to the 'meaning' of the work as a whole. Acting in accordance with the conviction that Goethe never allegorizes but always proceeds from an observed fact to its philosophy—from a 'pregnant point' (Introd. lxix) to what may be derived from it,—Thomas sees in the 'totality of what happens and not in any pivotal doctrine' (lxxi) the field of interest for the reader seeking enjoyment or instruction. His analysis has to do, therefore, exclusively with the sequence of occurrences and not at all with their problematical 'meaning.' In the rigid application of this objective treatment he is, as far as I know, a pioneer among Faust scholars. While utilizing freely the researches of many other workers past and present (cf. the bibliographical notices in an Appendix at the end of Vol. I of this edition, besides explicit references in both volumes), he preserves everywhere an independence of judgment that leads him to weigh, accept, reject, modify, or supplement, according to his own interpretation of the evidence.

In that part of the Introduction entitled Critical Observations (pp. lxii–lxviii) Thomas' word is brief and to the point. He recalls the unanimity with which the earliest interpreters sought and found in the poem didactic lessons throughout. Proceeding upon the supposition of a fundamental controlling idea, their task centered in discovering the connection between the First and the Second Part and the relation of each to the ground-plan of the whole. Baffled in their attempts to make the obvious meaning of Goethe's words dove-tail into the didactic frame-work created, not by the poet, but by his inter-

preters, the latter ascribed to the former the use of allegorism and of veiled biography. Thus Goethe's poetry, his symbolism, his wit, and his humor were spoiled through well-meant attempts to paraphrase and schematize the whole for the philosophic intellect (Introd. p. lxiii). Hence the later natural conclusion of the critics that the search for the much vaunted oracular wisdom of the poem was a game not worth the candle. Religious and political enemies of the poet heartily concurred in this, so that it finally 'became an accepted dogma of the literary world that the Second Part of *Faust* was a colossal failure' (Introd. p. lxiv), 'labored, incoherent, without plan and without action, and loaded down with an old man's crotchets.' (Cf. Fr. Vischer: *Neue Beiträge*; R. von Raumer: *Vom deutschen Geist*, 1850, p. 167; Gruppe: *Gesch. d. d. Poesie*, 1868, 4. 411; R. Gottschall: *Litteraturgesch.*, 1. 123; Wilh. Gwinner: *Goethe's Faustidee*, etc., 1892; Weitbrecht: *Diesseits von Weimar*, 1895, etc.) Disregarding the habit of Goethe's mind to look at the world concretely and ever to keep in touch with the facts of his personal experience, the wildest theories as to the symbolical import of the poem were proposed. Thus there arose a sort of hare-brained interpretation whose sole claim to consideration was its Quixotic extravagance. In spite of Köstlin's protest (*Goethe's Faust, seine Kritiker und Ausleger*, Tübingen, 1860) against this allegorizing nonsense, in spite of Fr. Vischer's dramatic satire (*Faust, Der dritte Teil in drei Akten von D. S. Allegoriowitsch Mystifizinsky*, 1862), aimed chiefly at the Second Part and secondarily at its philosophical expounders, and in spite of von Loeper's warning (*Faust 1st ed.*, 1870) against the double sin of the critics, (1) in reading into the text particular life experiences of the poet and (2) in mistaking symbolism for allegory, the metaphysical mania has not yet entirely subsided (cf. W. L. Gage: *The Salvation of Faust*, etc., Boston, 1889; Ferd. Aug. Louvier: *Sphinx locuta est*, Berlin, 1887). In view of this the timeliness of Thomas' word concerning the critics is at once obvious. The relief of the public at feeling it no longer necessary to chase philosophical abstractions and fragments of personal history in a game of intellectual hide-and-seek behind the poet's fancies will be due in no slight degree to the clear vision and sane expression of our American editor.

Thomas follows the shift of accent from the Second to the First Part by calling attention to the suggestive studies of Scherer and Fischer, as the starting point of numerous contributions that were greatly stimulated by the discovery in 1887 of the Göchhausen Ms. (Introd., lxv). Schröer's valuable, though rather overlaid commentary upon both parts of the poem, wrought in the spirit of von Loeper, is mentioned approvingly (p. lxvi), as a contribution to the Socratic task of bringing philosophy down from the clouds. The recently opened Weimar Archives, in spite of the trivial nature of much of the material, make it to the mind of our editor 'forever impossible to speak of the Second Part as an afterthought, or even to speak of it as the work of Goethe's old age without duly qualifying the statement.' Former harsh criticism was largely the fruit of misapprehension of Goethe's point of view, and the stylistic senilities, urged so vigorously by critics like Vischer, 'can often be either defended upon philological grounds or paralleled with others equally "bad" from the poet's early writings.' As conducive to a better general understanding of the import of the poem, Thomas mentions (p. lxvi sq.) the efforts of Otto Devrient (Weimar, 1875), of Wilbrandt (Vienna, 1883), and of Possart (Munich, 1894) in adequately staging the drama. Goethe, whose artistic strength lay in vivid intuition, always appeals to the eye as well as to the mind. The final paragraph of this subdivision of the Introduction (p. lxvii), with its admission of blemishes in the Second Part,—prolixity, occasional erudition that is too recondite, here and there a bit of tantalizing symbolism, faults of style and of dramatic construction,—clearly evinces the judicial temper of our editor. We are, however, reminded that these defects are all present in the First Part too, and that, quite aside from 'its didactic interest, it (the Second Part) presents a series of fascinating pictures, matchless in variety of interest and in many-sided suggestiveness. . . . As to the "wisdom," it is at any rate the matured wisdom of Goethe; a man not infallible, a man with his hobbies and vagaries, like other men, but upon the whole the broadest, sanest, and the most helpful among the great critics of modern life.'

Thomas' consideration of the didactic element (p. lxviii-lxxvi) is one of the most suggestive passages in the *Introduc-*

tion. He is certainly right in emphasizing at the outset the intuitive nature of Goethe's genius. The latter's own testimony of 1822 is quoted against all attempts to see in him a metaphysician: 'Certain large *motifs*, legends, ancient traditions, impressed themselves so deeply upon my mind that I kept them alive and effective within me for forty or fifty years. It seemed to me the most beautiful of possessions to see such dear pictures frequently renewed in my imagination as they kept ever transforming themselves, but without changing their character, and ripening toward a clear shape, a more definite representation' (*Bedeutendes Fördernis durch ein einziges geistreiches Wort*, Werke, H. 27, 350) (Introd. p. lxxviii). The poet's further statement in the same essay, that he does not rest until he finds a 'pregnant point' from which much can be derived is also quoted, to show the psychological cause of Goethe's symbolism, which always proceeds from the concrete and is, therefore, the opposite of allegory, which proceeds from the abstract (p. lxxix). In the effect upon Faust's character of his contact with an ancient Greek ideal of womanly beauty the poet discovered the 'pregnant point' of the legendary Helena incident. Its embodiment became his poetic task, whose 'meaning' admits no succinct statement like the answer to a conundrum. Similarly Goethe looked objectively upon Homunculus, the embryonic *homo* of learned superstition until, in 'an imputed yearning for a corporeal existence,' he discovered in him capacity for a dramatic rôle, as concrete as that of Shakespeare's *Ariel* or *Puck*. Through these illustrations Thomas shows us (p. lxx) the absurdity of attempting to rationalize Goethe's fantastic creations for the logical understanding. 'As well ask what Puck means, or Robin Goodfellow, or Jack-the-Giant-Killer.'

Goethe's protest in a conversation with Eckermann (*Gespräche mit Goethe*, 3, 118, May 6, 1827) against the imputation that he had tried to embody an idea in his Faust and his distinct statement that, speaking broadly, it was never his way as poet to attempt the embodiment of any abstraction is aptly cited by Thomas (p. lxx) against those who like Gwinner (*Goethe's Faustidee*, Frankf. a/m., 1892, p. 14) illustrate the German saying: *Das Ei will klüger sein als die Henne*. This oft-quoted passage is especially valuable as an explicit statement of the

author concerning the poem in question and is entirely in harmony with the spirit of all his other utterances along this line. Gwinner naïvely opposes to these words of Goethe the latter's statement in a letter of July, 1797, that he had undertaken again the execution of the plan of *Faust*, which was really only an idea (*eine Idee*), apparently without reflecting at all upon the difference between the meanings of the term in the two passages. The word *Idee* conveys such a variety of meaning according to the context, that we only need to ignore the latter to stultify ourselves and to involve almost any German author in an apparently hopeless tangle of contradictions. One of the conspicuous merits of Thomas' editorial work is sharp discrimination in matters of evidence hitherto left murky by the critics.

Without objecting seriously to the term 'secular bible' as applied to *Faust*, Thomas warns us against regarding its various scenes as 'a series of moral texts converging with strenuous logic upon a plan of salvation' (p. lxxj). He once more quotes Goethe appositely (*Über das Lehrgedicht*, Werke, H. 29, 226) to enforce his position: 'All poetry should be instructive, but not noticeably so. It should draw one's attention so that whereof instruction might appear desirable. One should then extract the doctrine for himself, just as from life.' When the angels tell us towards the end of the drama that they can save Faust because he has always 'striven,' we remember that he has striven in our sight for numerous objects of more than doubtful worth. His longing before the magic mirror in the Witches' Kitchen, his efforts to save the realm of the spendthrift ruler by fiat money, his assistance to the weakling Emperor against the usurper, and his efforts to oust from their possessions the harmless old couple, Philemon and Baucis, need a liberal interpretation to save them from a suspicion of baseness. *Streben* is here evidently not the constant and deliberate choice of the higher and nobler of two courses of action. It is the groping of one dominated on the whole by idealism, who is, however, often actuated by lower motives (p. lxxi sq.). We recall the words of the *Prolog: Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange*, etc. Faust leads his life in a large, open-eyed way, stumbles, and even falls, only to rally and push on to new experiences and to renew the struggle

with greater zest. This constant belief in the goodliness and constant relish for the multifarious experiences of life rest upon his fundamental idealism. 'A soul constituted like this is, by the central rightness of things, entitled to a further chance of growth' (cf. *Gespr. mit Goethe* II, 40, Feb. 4, 1829) (Intro. p. lxxii). From this point of view Faust's late conversion to altruism is, not the cause of his salvation, but a fruit of the same rightness of constitution that conditions the latter. Thomas regards as the theme of Faust on its purely ethical side in accordance with the melioristic philosophy of Goethe the 'redemption of a self-tormenting pessimist through an enlarged experience of life culminating in self-forgetful activity.' This seems to me a clear and right conception of the case. But we must also agree with our editor in his strictures upon the way in which this ethical program, clear enough in outline, is wrought out in detail (lxxiv). The 'final conclusion of wisdom' that 'he only deserves freedom and life who is daily compelled to conquer them' is indeed reached *per saltum*. Certainly the magic locus-pocus at the emperor's court, Faust's infatuation for and fleeting union with Helena, his subsequent struggle for the unworthy monarch, and engineering project for the utilization of his swampy fief are not clear-cut logical steps that lead to the lofty altruistic mood of Faust's death-scene. While mindful, therefore, that we can not rightly demand of Goethe's poem the logical nicety of a philosophical treatise, we remain unsatisfied with the obvious hiatus, and must with Thomas find for this an explanation, though no justification in the poet's gradual change of base. Purposing at the outset to give us a dramatic picture of a life, as suggested by the chap-book, between which and his own the points of similarity were numerous, he naturally conceived the hero as ultimately arriving at such views concerning human betterment, the goodness of life, and the blessedness of devotion to man, as came to the poet after the ebb of his own storm and stress. Then the poetic possibilities of the chap-book data claimed an increasing share of his interest so that he involuntarily yielded to the temptation to desert the ethical point of view (Intro. lxxv-lxxvi).

Following the 337 pages of text are the editor's explanatory

notes, including prefatory words in case of each scene, with references to corresponding parts of the Introduction and with supplementary remarks upon the genesis of the scenes and of their function in the economy of the poem. These Notes (pp. 339-457) deal with real difficulties in the shape of linguistic and metrical peculiarities, somewhat rare historical and mythological allusions, and the organic connection of the successive parts of the drama with the work as a whole. While based, to be sure, in large part, upon the work of Düntzer, Schröer, and other commentators, they reveal through the choice of words and passages for elucidation as well as in numerous original contributions the independent worker, who gauges aright the needs of his public. Schiller's words: *Was er weise verschweigt zeigt mir den Meister des Styls* voice the prime merit of these *Notes*, as of Thomas' editorial work in general.

I can not however agree with our editor in his interpretation of '*des Tages Pforte* (l. 4641) = *the eyelids*—without any mythological allusion, such as Strehlke sees, to the Homeric cloud-gates (*Iliad* 5. 749) which are kept by the Horae.' This seems to me forced and very improbable. Schröer regards *des Tages Pforte* as equivalent to *der Tag* (cf. Schröer's ed. of *Faust* II, Heilbronn, 1888, p. 5). It is certainly not necessary to see with Strehlke any conscious allusion on the part of the poet to the Homeric cloud-gates, even if we insist that *the gate(s) of day* (*des Tages Pforte(n)*) is, in the modern phraseology of the poets, synonymous with *the day* or *the light of day*. Surely to open or to close the *gate of day* refers not to the opening and closing of the eyelids, but to the natural phenomena of dawn and twilight (here, *Dämmerung*). Cf. Milton's *Par. Lost* 6. 2, *Wak'd by the circling hours with rosy hand,*

Unbarred the gates of light; Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, 3. 2. 1:

See how the morning opes her golden gates, etc.; Longfellow's *Saint Gilgen*, Ch. IV:

Day, like a weary pilgrim, had reached the western gates of heaven,
etc.; and Anna L. Barbauld's *A Summer Evening's Meditation*:

*The shadows spread apace, while unkind Eve,
Her cheek yet warm with blushes, slow retires
Through the Hesperian gardens of the West
And shuts the gates of day.*

Equally unsatisfactory is Thomas' explanation of l. 4800, which is practically identical with that of Schröer. Düntzer and the other commentators are silent at this point, as far as I have observed. Thomas says: '*vernichtigen*; supply *will sich*. *Vernichtigen* from *nichtig* means "to make futile" (not the same as *vernichten*, "annihilate"). "Thus all the world is going to pieces and the right (*was sich gebührt*) is becoming an empty form." This seems better than to take *was sich gebührt* as object.' Schröer's comment upon ll. 4799-4800 runs: '*So will sich alle Welt zerstückeln*: so ist alles in Begriff, in Stücke zu zerfallen, sich in gusammenhangslose Atome aufzulösen.—*Vernichtigen will sich, was sich gebührt, was in der Ordnung ist.*—*vernichtigen* ist von *nichtig* abgeleitet, also *nichtig* wertlos werden [sic!], nicht vernichten.'

Now Sanders defines *vernichtigen* (*Wörterbuch* 2. 435 b. unten) by referring to *vernichten* and quoting from Brockes, Fischart, Goethe (*Faust II.*, 4800), Herrig, Immermann, Kant, and other passages that show that the feeling for the etymological difference between the two words is, at most, but slight. Thomas and Schröer have apparently been misled by dwelling upon the composition of the word *ver-nichtig-en* into (1) emphasizing unduly the aforesaid difference, (2) into regarding the verb as reflexive, to match what looked like *sich zerstückeln* in the preceding line, and (3) into ignoring the obvious meaning of *alle Welt* = *tout le monde*, not *everything*, but *everybody*. We say in German: *Ich zerpfücke (zerstückle) mir* (dativus ethicus) *alles, was mir in die Hände kommt*.

I construe the lines, therefore, as follows: *So will sich* (dat.) *alle Welt, was sich gebührt* (acc.), *zerstückeln, vernichtigen* = *Also will jedermann das Ordnungsmässige* (was in der Ordnung ist) *zerstückeln, null und nichtig machen* = 'Thus everybody is bent upon tearing to pieces, upon nullifying the right.' Cf. Bayard Taylor's rendering:

*They all
Pull down what they should care for,—
Destroy their weal in self-despite,*

whose proper grasp of subject and predicate is not entirely obscured by the padding of the verse.

Erspulen is defined by Thomas thus: "earn with the *Spule*" i. e., with the *Webspule* or weaver's spool; "earn by weaving".

Now *spulen* means *Fäden auf die Spulen bringen* = to wind bobbins, to quill, as intermediate step between spinning and weaving (cf. Sanders: *Wörterbuch* 3. 1063, b, oben). It means therefore to fill, not to empty bobbins (*Spulen*), and is used at times synonymously with *spinnen*, not *weben*. Cf. the dialectic expression: *Die Katze sitzt hinterm Ofen und spult (spinnt)*. Hence *erspulen* = to get (earn) by quilling, bobbin-winding,—rather *erspinnen* than *erweben*.

The punctuation of l. 5391, as given by the Weimar ed. and as reproduced by Thomas, with its exclamation point separating the subject *Echo* from its verb *erwidert*, seems to me dictated by an unwarranted *Pietätsgefühl* and not by sound principles of text-criticism. Von Loeper, Düntzer, and Schröer have a comma to cut off the interjection *Horch!* from what precedes, thus avoiding a syntactical dead-lock (cf. my objection to the Weimar punctuation of *Faust I*, l. 719, Mod. Lang. Notes 9. 2. 98 f.) The very questionable policy of the Weimar editors in slavish adherence to even the careless omission of commas, needed to isolate a vocative from its context or a subordinate from a principal sentence, all because in line with the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* (cf. ll. 5521, 5742, 5837, 5911, 5879 etc.), is thrust upon our attention afresh in this edition of Thomas. The word *Windesbraut* (l. 5612) Thomas explains by a reference to his ed. of the First Part, l. 3936: 'a very ancient (O. H. G. *wintes brát*) and not fully explained name for "tempest," "whirlwind." See Grimm's D. M. 1. 525.' I wish he had called attention to the very convincing argument of B. Schmidt, PBB. 21. 111-24, in which the latter maintains by such parallels as A. S. *sprecan, specan*; L. G. *sprütjen, spütjen*; Eng. *sprout, spout* that *Wind-spraut* (Eng. *spurt*) is literally a *Sprühwind*, a term formed like the Eng. waterspout, with no early mythological history.

Line 6767 tallies so closely with the Chap-book Faust's discovery of coal and spooks in place of the treasure sought, that the latter may quite likely be the literary prototype of the former. Lines 4718-20 seem to have been misunderstood by the commentators. I here call attention to Professor Otto Heller's interpretation of this passage in the *Modern Language Notes* for May, which seems to me unquestionably correct.

The typography of the book is in the main excellent. I note the following misprints: p. lxxvi, l. 11, *One* for *On*; p. xxxv, l. 3, *1826* for *1816*; p. 62, l. 6079, *Wett* for *Welt*; p. 64, l. 6119, *Paper* for *Papier*; p. 65, l. 6150, *Schatzen* for *Schätzen*; p. 67, l. 6167, *Bieh* for *Vieh*; p. 67, l. 6170, *Fch* for *Ich*; p. 84, l. 6474, *erfricht* for *erfrischt*; p. 91, l. 6604, *Schöpffuug* for *Schöpfung*; p. 92, (stage direction,) *erfchallen* for *erschallen*; p. 96, l. 6716, *Bliesz* for *Vliesz*; p. 97, l. 6748, *er* for *es*; p. 108, l. 6975, *fol's* for *soll's*; p. 113, l. 7069, *srisch* for *frisch*; p. 113, l. 7071, *Wär's* for *War's*; p. 118, l. 7175, *Trallern* for *Trüllern*; p. 119, l. 7195, *muszt* for *müsz*; p. 125, l. 7329, *Schon* for *Sohn*; p. 136, l. 7584, *Shatz* for *Schatz*; p. 150, l. 7940, *nochzusragen* for *nachzufragen*; p. 191, l. 8851, *Aphindus* for *Aphidnus*; p. 198, l. 8990, *an* for *am*; p. 199, l. 8999, *Eeschlecht* for *Geschlecht*; p. 201, l. 9052, *das* for *dasz*; p. 202, l. 9058, *fo* for *so*; p. 202, l. 9069, superfluous *es*; p. 204, l. 9126, *wir* for *wie*; p. 221, l. 9553, *find* for *sind*; p. 224, l. 9597, *fpürt* for *spürt*; p. 224, l. 9611, *Crdensohn* for *Erdensohn*; p. 229, l. 9717, *maszig* for *mäszig*; p. 247, l. 10098, *sich* for *sie*; p. 250, l. 10160, *Dann* for *Damm*; p. 272, l. 10663, *sine* for *sind*; p. 281, l. 10837, defective type; p. 283, l. 10890, *besten* for *Besten*; p. 284, l. 10907, *bie* for *die*; p. 286, l. 10975, *bamit* for *damit*; p. 290, l. 11044, *ih* for *in*; p. 293, l. 11114, *Digen* for *Dingen*; p. 298, l. 11227, *stelle* for *Stelle*; p. 302, l. 11291, *Gesällt* for *Gefüllt*; p. 304, l. 11348, *Gesühl* for *Gefühl*; p. 311, l. 11483, *befreien* for *Befreien*; p. 319, l. 11661, *ans* for *aus*; p. 321, l. 11715, *vör* for *vor*; p. 323, l. 11772, *kämt* for *kommt*; p. 370, l. 33, *Gurtel* for *Gürtel*; p. 379, l. 1, 6647 for 6477; p. 383, l. 8, *Bartigen* for *Bärtigen*; p. 394, l. 8, *Gefällig* for *Gesellig*.

In his edition of the Second Part Thomas has, on the whole, amply redeemed the promise explicitly made in the Preface to his edition of the First Part, 1892. The same absence of verbiage, the same power of seeing clearly the gist of the matter and of effectively presenting the results of independent observation and reflection in the light of present Goethe scholarship that distinguished the First Part dominate throughout the Second.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.

Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart. Von Prof. Dr. Friedrich Vogt und Prof. Dr. Max Koch. Mit 125 Abbildungen im Text, 25 Tafeln in Farbendruck, Kupferstich und Holzschnitt, 2 Buchdruck- und 32 Faksimile-Beilagen. Leipzig und Wien. Bibliographisches Institut. 1897. X u. 760 S. gr. 8° (M. 14. geb. 16).

‘So mögen nun Wort und Bild im Verein dem Leser das mehr als tausendjährige Werden und Wachsen jenes nationalen Schatzes vor Augen führen, der wie die Sprache noch heute als das grosse Gemeingut alle deutschen Stämme über die politischen Grenzen hinaus verbindet. Hoffen wir, dass in seiner gemeinsamen Wertung, Wahrung und Mehrung sich die Zukunft der Vergangenheit würdig erweise.’ Mit diesen Worten entlassen die Verfasser ihr Buch, nachdem sie unmittelbar vorher der Verlagsanstalt, die ‘keine Mühe und kein Opfer gescheut hat, um den Illustrationen einen selbständigen wissenschaftlichen Wert zu sichern,’ den gebührenden Dank ausgesprochen haben. Einen ‘wissenschaftlichen Wert’: nicht als ob das Buch ein *streng* wissenschaftliches sein wollte. Es ist vielmehr für die weiten Kreise der Gebildeten geschrieben, aber ‘auf Grund der gesicherten Ergebnisse der germanistischen und allgemein litterargeschichtlichen Forschung aus den Quellen heraus,’ wie dies die Gebildeten gegen Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts von den Gelehrten ihrer Zeit erwarten dürfen. Und darum hat es *zwei* Verfasser, deren jeder sich auf das engere Gebiet seiner wissenschaftlichen Thätigkeit beschränken konnte: Vogt für die Zeit von den ersten Anfängen der Litteratur bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts, Koch von der Opitzischen Reform bis zur Gegenwart, jener durch seine Bearbeitung der mittelhochdeutschen Litteratur in Paul’s *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (Bd. II¹, S. 245–418), dieser durch die Neubearbeitung der Abschnitte über Goethe und Schiller in Goedeke’s *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Bd. IV, S. 419–767 und Bd. V, S. 15–237), durch seine Übersichten über die neuere Goethe- und Schillerlitteratur in den *Berichten des Freien Deutschen Hochstiftes zu Frankfurt a. M.* (von 1888 ab) sowie durch die Herausgabe einer Anzahl neuerer Dichter in Kürsch-

ner's *Deutscher Nationallitteratur* in seinem Berufe zu einer solchen Arbeit ganz besonders beglaubigt. Und da diese beiden Verfasser an einer und derselben Universität (Breslau) wirken, so war ihnen auch die Möglichkeit gegeben, in Anlage und Behandlung des Ganzen und Einzelnen auf Grund wechselseitigen Gedankenaustausches zu verfahren, also dass auch die Vorbedingung zur Einheitlichkeit des Werkes aufs beste erfüllt war.

Nichtsdestoweniger trat ein, was sich schon während des Erscheinens der Lieferungs-Ausgabe (Herbst 1896 bis Herbst 1897) in einzelnen Anzeichen zu erkennen gegeben hatte: der erste Teil des Werkes, etwa ein Drittel des ganzen, erfreute sich einer ziemlich allgemeinen Anerkennung; der zweite begegnete einer Reihe gleich ehrender Besprechungen, daneben aber einer heftigen Opposition, die sich mitunter bis zu masslosen Angriffen steigerte. Koch hatte i. j. 1893 eine kleinere, zum Gebrauche in höheren Schulen bestimmte, nun in 2. Auflage vorliegende Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur (*Sammlung Göschen*, No. 31) geschrieben, die, ganz in Übereinstimmung mit dem Plane des grösseren Werkes, die Litteraturgeschichte als einen Teil der allgemeinen Geschichte betrachtete, also auch die Entwicklung der Dichtung zunächst verwandten Künste, der Schauspielkunst und der Musik, zum Gegenstande der Darstellung machte. Das hatte allerdings schon Wilhelm Scherer gethan, in dessen Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur wir die Namen der Komponisten Bach, Beethoven, Gluck, Händel, Hayden, Hiller, Keiser, Mozart, Reichert, Schubert, Schütz, Weber, Zelter, der Schauspieler Ackermann, Ekhof, Hensel, Kurz, Laroche, Schröder, P. A. Wolff, die Überschriften Drama, Theater (darunter auch die Oper), u. s. w., finden, wofür er sich allerdings den Ruf eines 'modernen Menschen' unter den Litterarhistorikern zuzog. Aber Scherer hatte seine Litteraturgeschichte nur bis zu Goethe's Tode geführt, war also den weltbewegenden Fragen der Gegenwart, insbesondere der Wagnerfrage, nicht näher getreten. Koch, dagegen, hatte einen Abschnitt, 'Von Goethe's Tod bis zu den Bayreuther Festspielen,' aufgenommen: den einen ein Ärgernis, den andern eine Thorheit, ganz wie es der Meister von Bayreuth selbst gewesen ist, den erst das ausgehende 19. Jahrhundert in seiner vollen Grösse zu

begreifen beginnt. Und als nun in dem neuen Werke die Vorzeichen eines unentwegten Beharrens auf diesem Standpunkte zutage traten, als gar wiederum jener ominöse Abschnitt, diesmal freilich bei der Möglichkeit einer ausgedehnteren Behandlung des Stoffes unter der Überschrift, *Vom Tode Immermanns bis zu den Bayreuther Festspielen*, erschien, da war das Losungswort gegeben, mit dem die Philologen, die 'Freunde des Wortes,' gegen den zweiten Teil dieses neuen Werkes anstürmten: am heftigsten ein Gelehrter der *Grenzboten*, einer Zeitschrift, die schon recht viel Gutes, daneben aber auch manches recht Schlimme auf dem Felde der litterarischen Kritik geleistet hat.

Es ist nicht unsere Absicht, das vorliegende Werk nach seinem Gesamtinhalte einer Betrachtung zu unterziehen. Nur einige der erwähnten, von den Gegnern des Wagner'schen Kunstwerkes mit der Kriegsfahne markierten Stellen wollten wir an der Hand des Buches etwas eingehender beleuchten.

In der 2. Auflage der kleineren Litteraturgeschichte (1895) hatte Max Koch jenen Gegnern mit den einfachen Sätzen geantwortet: 'Der nun ein halbes Jahrhundert füllende Streit für und gegen Wagner gilt keineswegs einer musikalischen Frage. Wer so verblendet sein mag, Wagner als Musiker aus der Litteraturgeschichte fern halten zu wollen, verkennt eben seine entscheidende Stellung für die ganze deutsche, ja europäische Kunstentwicklung. Ein so beispielloses Ereignis wie die Bayreuther Spiele bildet *einen Markstein auch für die Litteraturgeschichte*, denn um ein nationales Drama durch Zusammenwirken der Musik und Dichtung, wie Lessing, Mozart, Schiller, Jean Paul es erhofften, nicht um Musikaufführungen handelt es sich in Bayreuth.'—Zu den angeführten Namen hätte der Verfasser recht wohl auch den des grössten deutschen Dichters stellen dürfen, der z. B. bei einem Rückblick auf seine Thätigkeit am Theater zu Weimar in die Worte ausbricht (Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 22. März 1825): 'Da ist Poesie, da ist Malerei, da ist Gesang und Musik, da ist Schauspielkunst, und was nicht noch alles! Wenn alle diese Künste und Reize von Jugend und Schönheit an einem einzigen Abend, und zwar auf bedeutender Stufe, zusammenwirken, so giebt es ein Fest, das mit keinem andern zu vergleichen.' Jedenfalls aber hätten die Gegner, anstatt weiter

zu keifen, die herbeigeführten Zeugen anhören, sodann die theoretischen Schriften Wagners wirklich lesen und endlich auch die weiter folgenden Worte des Verfassers: 'Was er mit Lehre und That wollte und 1876 erreichte, entspricht auf künstlerischem Gebiete dem durch Bismarck und die deutschen Waffen 1870 auf politischem Gebiete Errungenen,' nach seiner vollen Bedeutung beherzigen sollen. Aber: 'Thut nichts, der Jude wird verbrannt!' Und diesmal war es ein Gegner der Juden, der, vielfach gerade darum, verbrannt werden sollte.

Den ersten Anlass zur Berührung der musikalischen Frage hatte Koch in dem neuen Werke (S. 333 f.) bei Besprechung der ersten deutschen Oper: der Übersetzung von Rinuccinis *Dafna* durch Martin Opitz und ihrer Aufführung in der Komposition von Heinrich Schütz (1627). Das Ereigniss gehört ohne Zweifel der Litteraturgeschichte an und wird selbst in Leitfäden für den Schulgebrauch erwähnt. Wenn aber Koch hinzufügt: 'Opitz selbst würde wohl Bedenken gegen die Arbeit gehegt haben, wenn er hätte voraussehen können, dass er, der Vorkämpfer der deutschen Sprache, damit ihre Verdrängung vom Schauplatz zu gunsten der italienischen vorbereite,' so lässt sich schon darin der 'Markstein auch für die Litteraturgeschichte' erkennen, der den Verfasser nicht nur litterarische Notizen häufen, sondern überall den Höhepunkt der Entwicklung scharf im Auge behalten lässt.

Eine andere Stelle führen wir aus dem Abschnitt über die Bühnenreform durch Gottsched an. Sie heisst (S. 416): 'Für die Oper erhoben sich in einer ganzen Reihe von Städten bereits feste Sitze, als das deutsche Drama noch auf ruheloser Wanderschaft um die jeweilige Zulassung für ein paar Wochen oder Monate bescheidenst petitionieren musste. In der Oper aber hatten die italienischen Sängerinnen und Kastraten sehr bald ihre Sprache zur alleinherrschenden gemacht. Von 1729 an war der Italiener Pietro Metastasio am Wiener Hofe angestellt, vor allem zur Verfertigung italienischer Operntexte. Kein deutscher Dichter noch Musiker ist auch in folgender Zeit in Wien in gleicher Weise verwöhnt worden wie der wegen seiner süssen melodischen Verse vergötterte Maëstro. Und noch nach den Befreiungskriegen hatte Karl Maria von Weber den Kampf um die Gleichberechtigung der deutschen

mit der italienischen Sprache in der Oper zu führen.'—Das ist, denken wir, auch Philologie; aber nicht die mit Worten streitende und mit Worten ein System bereitende, sondern Philologie im Sinne Wilhelms von Humboldt: als 'Wissenschaft von der Nationalität.'

Als dritte Stelle greifen wir einige Sätze aus dem Abschnitt über Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (S. 529 f.) heraus, den Komponisten, den nur gänzlicher Unverstand im Gegensatze zu Richard Wagner aufzuspielen vermag. Hören wir ihn aus unserm Buche selbst zu uns reden: 'Wenn er in früheren Jahren welsche Textdichtungen vorgezogen hatte, so schrieb er 1783: 'Jede Nation hat ihre Oper, warum sollen wir Deutsche sie nicht haben? Ist deutsche Sprache nicht so leicht singbar wie französische und englische?' Und als zwei Jahre später die deutsche Oper in Wien gänzlich zu stürzen drohte, da klagte er voll ingrimmigen Hohnes: 'Wäre nur ein einziger Patriot mit am Brette, es sollte ein ganz anderes Gesicht bekommen? Doch da würde vielleicht das so schön aufkeimende National-Theater zur Blüthe gedeihen, und das wäre ja ein ewiger Schandfleck für Deutschland, wenn wir Deutsche einmal mit Ernst anfangen, deutsch zu denken, deutsch zu handeln, deutsch zu reden und gar deutsch zu singen!' Freilich musste der deutschgesinnte Musiker notgedrungen wiederum zu italienischen Libretti greifen. Aber *Die Hochzeit des Figaro* (1786) und *Don Giovanni* (1787) wurden und blieben trotz der ursprünglich italienischen Fassung doch Eigentum der deutschen Bühne, die erst im letzten Lebensjahre des Komponisten mit der *Zauberflöte* (1791) wieder eine deutsche Oper von seinem Genius empfangen sollte. Und so kann der Verfasser seine Betrachtung über Mozart mit den Worten schliessen: 'Kein Geringerer als der Begründer des klassischen deutschen Dramas, Schiller, hat bei Mozart's frühem Tode beklagt, welche Hoffnungen für die deutsche Bühne mit dem Schöpfer des 'Don Juan' und der 'Zauberflöte' ins Grab gesunken seien. Zunächst schien die Arbeit Glucks und Mozarts für die Ausgestaltung eines wirklich musikalischen Dramas verloren. Joseph Haydn lehnte in weiser Erkenntnis seiner Begabung es ab, neben die unnachahmlichen Arbeiten des grossen Mozart eine eigene Oper zu stellen. Aber in seinen Oratorienstoffen, von denen die

Schöpfung aus Milton's *Verlorenem Paradiese*, die *Jahreszeiten* (1799) aus Thomson's ehemals so allbeliebten *Vier Jahreszeiten* gebildet sind, bringt Haydn in seinen anmutsvollen Tönen uns noch heute Dichtungen nahe, die in den Jahren, in denen der Grund für die neuere deutsche Litteratur gelegt worden war, entscheidende Wirkungen ausgeübt hatten.

Mit der zuletzt angeführten Jahreszahl sind wir nahe an die Schwelle des 19. Jahrhunderts herangetreten. Wenn auf den c. 200 vorangehenden Seiten des zweiten Teils unsres Buches etwa dritthalb Seiten der Musik, insbesondere der Entwicklung der Oper, gewidmet sind, so wäre das doch kein Grund, ein solches Geschrei über die musikalischen Velleitäten des Verfassers zu erheben. Der Rezensentenkoller scheint also doch vorzugsweise dem 'Wagnerianer' zu gelten, der dem Schöpfer des Musikdramas 'vier volle Seiten' zuwenden konnte—einer der modernen Beckmesser fügt naiv hinzu: 'nach einer halben Seite, die er Ernst v. Wildenbruch gewidmet hat.'—Am liebsten würden wir diese vier Seiten unverkürzt aus dem Buche herausschreiben. Statt dessen begnügen wir uns mit der Wiedergabe der herrlichen Worte, in denen der Verfasser das letzte Vermächtnis des Meisters von Bayreuth in seiner Bedeutung zusammenfasst. Sie heissen (mit Auslassung zweier Hinweise auf frühere Stellen des Buches) S. 747: 'Der zusammenbrechenden Welt heidnischer Selbstsucht verkündete das durch "trauernder Liebe tiefstes Leiden" helllichtig gewordene Wotanskind Brünnhilde sterbend das neue Heil der in Lust und Leid seligen Liebe. Und diese christliche Liebe, das Miterleiden fremder Schmerzensnot, das Gebot thätiger Hilfe und des ritterlichen Kampfes gegen das Böse lernt und lehrt Parsifal. Schon im Tannhäuserdrama liegen in Venus und der gottgeweihten Jungfrau Elisabeth Sinnliches und Geistiges miteinander im Kampfe. Im *Parsifal* stehen die Gralsburg und Klingsor's Zaubergarten mit den holden Blumenmädchen sich entgegen wie in Immermann's *Mysterium* der weltentrückte Gral und der minnefrohe Artushof, die Merlin vergeblich zu verbinden strebt. An dem "reinen Thoren" Parsifal dagegen erfüllt sich die Mahnung des Goetheschen Humanus:

Von der Gewalt, die alle Wesen bindet,
befreit der Mensch sich, der sich überwindet.

Mitleidlos hatte er am Friedensort den Schwan erlegt, Amfortas' Klage thöricht staunend nicht verstanden. Aber im Augenblick von Kundry's Kuss leuchtet ihm das Bewusstsein auf von der unlösbaren Verflechtung von Begehren und Leiden, Lust und Busse, Schuld und Erlösung. Und der "durch Mitleid wissend" Gewordene kehrt zurück zur Gralsritterschaft, ihr Retter und ihr König.'—Seit 15 Jahren sind viele Tausende, nicht zum geringsten Teil über das weite Meer her, nach Bayreuth gekommen, um den *Parsifal* zu sehen und zu hören. Möge in weiteren 15 Jahren die Zahl derer nicht minder gross sein, die dem Verfasser unsers Buches Dank dafür wissen, dass er dem Bühnenweihfestspiel die ihm gebührende Stellung in der Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur angewiesen hat.

Zum Schluss noch wenige Worte über den Bilderschmuck des Buches. Der bereits erwähnte Rezensent in den *Grenzboten* hat in Übereinstimmung mit der weit überwiegenden Mehrheit der Beurteiler den Illustrationen seine volle Anerkennung ausgesprochen. Ihn aber haben nur zwei derselben unangenehm berührt: 'das Bild des Bühnenfestspielhauses in Bayreuth und die bunte Schlusszene aus Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*.' Deutlicher freilich hätte er seinen Standpunkt in der Beurteilung des zweiten Teils des Buches nicht bezeichnen können. Wer die Stellung Wagners in der Geschichte der Kunst und Litteratur und damit auch den *Parsifal* nicht versteht, der möge immerhin des 'reinen Thoren' spotten und sich dabei sehr weise dünken. Aber deshalb ein Buch zu verdammen, das man mindestens zu einem erheblichen Teil sehr gut befunden hat, das ist nicht gerade das Zeichen des Weisen.

KARL LANDMANN.

DARMSTADT.

Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. With Introduction and Notes, by W. H. Carruth, Ph.D., Professor of the German Language and Literature in the University of Kansas. The Macmillan Co.: New York.

IF any one will take the trouble to look through the catalogues of our colleges and high schools, he will assent to Professor Carruth's claim that *Wilhelm Tell* has been widely

accepted as the best classic play for young students.' There is hardly any catalogue to be met with, in which *Wilhelm Tell* does not figure as one of the text-books for intermediate classes. The reasons are very plain: its language offers no special difficulties and its sentiments commend themselves to the English and American students as strongly as to the enthusiastic youth of the Fatherland.

It is to be expected, therefore, that a text of such value would be made accessible to the English-speaking reader through various editions, and it must be acknowledged that we count among those already in existence several of real merit. When it was announced some months ago that a new edition of *Wilhelm Tell* was in preparation, the first thought was: will this one be a mere duplicate of those already in existence or will it present some new features? While it cannot be denied that the desire of publishers to have complete lists of texts has not infrequently led to a mere duplication of other editions, yet, the beneficial influence of competition has become very apparent in this field, too.

On the other hand, the name of the editor—already favorably known to his colleagues through his *Wallenstein* and *Ekkehard*—seemed to offer a guarantee for the superior character of the forthcoming edition, and it was a matter of great pleasure when we found this expectation verified while examining Professor Carruth's edition of *Wilhelm Tell* after its final appearance. We may note first—to speak first of that which strikes the eye first—its prepossessing garb, it is most becomingly illustrated with photographic views of Swiss scenes connected with the locality of the drama, with a portrait of Schiller as frontispiece and a map of the forest-cantons. The mechanical work, too, is very well done in general; it was noticed, however, that there seems to be in places a lack of evenness in the German type used in the notes and that in the stage-directions.

Turning, then, to the most interesting part of the book, the accompanying commentaries, we cannot fail to admire their completeness and thoroughness. The editor proposes not only to render the play more easily comprehensible to the less advanced student, but also to furnish material and encouragement for a more detailed study of the various points in the

play on the part of advanced students. We are especially interested in the second part of the scheme. We find these principles carried out in the introduction which, after a concise sketch of Schiller's life and works, treats the composition of *Wilhelm Tell*, states some of the principal criticisms and comments, discusses style and meter, and then adds valuable material concerning history and legend of the Tell-story, together with portions of Tschudi's chronicle used by Schiller and a brief exposition of the political situation at the supposed time of Tell's action. There follows a chronology giving the authentic dates of Swiss history up to the official recognition of Switzerland as an independent State in the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, and—to be contrasted with them—the dates according to legendary history as relating to the Tell-episode and to the play. A list of persons and their appearances in the play precedes the drama as in the edition of *Wallenstein*.

The notes are mainly intended for the less advanced students and, for that reason, do not only give explanations bearing on the general subject-matter, but also interpretations and translations of difficult idioms, and grammatical references some of which strike us as rather elementary and, hence, superfluous; yet, the number of these unnecessary notes is very considerable, as is, likewise, the occasional repetition of the same note when a reference to the earlier one might have been sufficient.

The general value of the annotations is not impaired by such oversights, nor do I mean to depreciate the scholarliness of those commentaries if I mention a few that seem to require some correction. One thing especially did not appear quite clear from the explanations given by Professor Carruth, viz: Albrecht's position in the German empire. While the relation between the house of Hapsburg and the Swiss cantons is stated correctly in the introduction p. 54, the reader will probably not fully understand why Albrecht was not entitled to be called 'emperor.' The note to l. 77 says 'Albrecht was not in fact emperor. But the titles are used indifferently in *Tell*;' note to l. 130 'Königs, here often instead of Kaiser'; note to l. 184 . . . 'the imperial office was elective, but (!) was held at this time by the Duke of Austria'; again note to l. 193 'the imperial office was elective,' and l. 703 'Kaiser, rather König see note to l. 77.' The simple facts are that the

head of the old German empire was elected by the prince-electors and then he was legally called *deutscher König*, that, in the time preceding the Reformation, the title of *römischer Kaiser* was obtained through coronation by the Pope; still, as indicated by Professor Carruth, the Germans do not distinguish that point very carefully—it is not only the case in *Tell*—and call the German kings *Kaiser* whether they were anointed by the Pope or not. There have been, at times, splits in the electoral college, and this was the case with Albrecht who was elected as *Gegenkönig* by those electors who were dissatisfied with King Adolphus of Nassau (June 23, 1298), but the victory of Göllheim in the same year, and the end of his rival in that battle procured Albrecht universal recognition as *deutscher König*, and he is commonly called *Kaiser Albrecht*.

Note to l. 294 *Herrenleute*; I do not know what warrants the translation with 'leaders.' Funke (*Wilhelm Tell*) says *Herrenleute* signifies rich land-owners, but not of the aristocracy.

Note to l. 754 *Frühtrunk*, 'morning-drink, perhaps a light breakfast of which beer was the chief element.' The common drink in Switzerland was and is wine, besides the passing of one beaker would rather suggest wine than beer.

Note to l. 1208 *der Sassen* (from *sitzen*) 'serfs.' It might have been more to the point to state *Sassen, die fremde Pflichten tragen* = serfs—because *Sassen* alone could not mean that.

Note to l. 1249. I always understood *der Abt herfürzog* as in correct dependent order because depending on *als* in l. 1246; the principal sentence not beginning until l. 1252 with *da sprachen wir*; thus 'for when the monastery-people claimed our Alps, (and when) the abbot drew forth an old document which . . . , then we spake' . . .

Note to l. 1363 *der grossen Frau zu Zürich*; the usual explanation of that phrase is: 'the sublime Lady of Zurich' = Our Lady the Virgin Mary, representing the abbey of which she is the patron-saint; similar expressions are met frequently.

Note to l. 2651. The rendering of *Klostermeier* as 'rent-collector,' may not be the only feasible one, could it not also mean a 'convent-retainer, a tenant of a farm belonging to a monastery?' Its original meaning is, of course, 'head-servant, steward,' but as *Meierhof* acquires the meaning of 'tenant-farm,' thus Meier is used for 'tenant,' or 'administrator, superintendent of some body else's farm or estates.'

In an appendix following the notes, Professor Carruth adds valuable biographical notes and an index of references to the notes and the introduction. The biographical notes will be found of great assistance in a more detailed study of questions concerning the Tell-legend as well as the language and grammar of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* and the life and works of the great master. In a special paragraph the editor suggests a number of 'Subjects for Themes and Investigation.'

Of misprints which have been overlooked a few were noticed. In the introduction p. xii *Die Rhenische Thalia* should be *Rheinische*; p. xv *self-restraint* = self-restraint; on p. xxviii, the *a* is omitted in *great*; on same page the *Götting'sche Gelehrte Anzeigen* should be *Göttingische . . .*; on p. xxxv *e* instead of *c* in *Melchthal*. In the note to l. 125 *sich* should be *ich*; note to l. 130 in *König's* omit the apostrophe; in the text l. 345 *wohlgeflegt* = *wohlgepflegt*; on p. 24 in S. D. *uach* = *nach*; in note to l. 998 *adjoining* = *adjoining*.

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Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Dr. Max Koch, O. Oe. Professor an der Universität Breslau. Neue Folge. Zehnter Band. Weimar, 1896. (Verlag von Emil Felber.)

J. O. E. DONNER, the author of *Der Einfluss Wilhelm Meisters auf den Roman der Romantiker*, contributes to our knowledge of English influence upon the German Romantic School in an essay entitled *Richardson in der deutschen Romantik*. Richardson, who so largely determined the fate of the German novel in the 18th century (cf. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*), has left his traces on only two works of the romantic school: on Tieck's *William Lovell* and Arnim's *Gräfin Dolores*. Haym (*Romantische Schule*, p. 41 and seq.) had already shown the influence of the Frenchman Rétif de la Bretonne on the *Lovell*, but the exact nature of the English influences which Tieck himself hints at (*works*, vol. VI, Berlin, 1828, pp. xvii, xviii) was not known. As a matter of fact, the great English novelist suggested to Tieck only a few situations and the fundamental idea

of the *Lovell*, i. e. that interference on the part of parents with the love affairs of their children is apt to be the cause of trouble. (The wording of the paragraph on page 8 in which D. sums up the elements which Richardson's *Clarissa* and the *Lovell* have in common is very unclear, 'Die Verführte' referring to different persons in different places.) The points Donner mentions are, however, to my mind not the only nor even the most important ones; there is another more subtle, but not less clear. In the preface to the second edition of the *Lovell* (*works*, vol. VI, p. 3 and seq.) Tieck speaks with bitterness of the 'Aufklärungstendenz' current during his youth, precisely when he wrote the *Lovell*. 'Eine seichte Aufklärungssucht hatte sich der Herrschaft bemächtigt und das Heilige als einen leeren Traum darzustellen versucht,' and he recurs to the same subject on page 15 and seq. of the 'Vorbericht zur zweiten Lieferung.' In other words, he yearns for 'Gefühlsleben' over against pure 'Verstandesleben' such as Nicolai and others stood for. Similarly Richardson's novels were inspired by a powerful feeling of protest against the absence of 'Gefühlsleben' in his day. Hence it seems more than probable that Richardson had much to do with encouraging and determining the love for sentimentality which Tieck so strongly exhibits in his *Lovell*.

It was not Richardson's sentimentality, but his moral seriousness which attracted Arnim, when in a period of deep national degradation he wished in his *Gräfin Dolores* to hold up before his people a man of high moral ideas and a woman who had deeply to suffer for frivolity and sin. Donner shows that Arnim got his inspiration from *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*.

In an article entitled *Zu den Quellen der Hans Sachs'schen Schwänke* A. Ludwig Stiefel, on the basis of new material which only recently came to his notice, corrects and completes his essay in the *Hans Sachs Forschungen* (p. 33-192).

In vols. 8 and 9 of this periodical appeared a series of contributions on Dante in Germany by Emil Sulzer-Gehring, which in this present volume he concludes with an essay on *Dante in der deutschen Litteratur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Erscheinen der ersten vollständigen Uebersetzung der Divina Commedia* (1767-69). In the preceding articles he spoke of Dante

in the German Literature of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, and of occasional mention of him in the 18th century before 1767. S. G.'s facts complete Scartazzini's well-known work (*Dante in Germania*) and other less important contributions on the subject. In the essay before us he discusses in detail all translations into German of Dante which appeared up to 1767.

Joseph Wharton's famous essay on Pope (1756) contained an almost literal prose translation of the Ugolino-episode (*Inf.* 33. 43-75). Soon after its appearance, Moses Mendelssohn published in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste* for 1758-59 a translation of Wharton's translation of that passage from Dante, but did not dare to praise the great Italian as warmly as Wharton has done. A few years later, in 1763, J. N. Meinhard, stimulated by Bodmer, who had expressed a desire for a translation of Dante in the 29th of his *Neue Kritische Briefe* (1749, second edition 1763), published a partial prose translation of the Divina Commedia, a stanza of the Canzone *Gli occhi dolenti* and the sonnet *Deh pellegrini che pensosi andate* from the *Vita nuova*. His whole translation is the work of an 'Aufklärer,' and his opinion of Dante does not essentially differ from Voltaire's. The translation is careful, the most successful part being the rendering of the Ugolino-episode. Almost immediately after appeared the same famous scene, done into rhymeless iambic pentameters by J. G. Jacobi. The translation was not satisfactory, and Jacobi's view of Dante is hostile (cf. his *De lectione Poetarum Recentiorum Pictoribus commendanda*, Halle, 1766). Again, not long after Jacobi's petty effort, Bachenschwanz published in 1767, 68, 69, the first complete German translation of the Divina Commedia. It was in prose, and found great favor. It was, however, inferior to Meinhard's work in point of accuracy and care, as S. G. shows in a detailed investigation. In 1780, 81, 82, appeared Jagemann's iambic translation of the *Inferno*. S. G. points out that in the course of the 18th century, the old 'Aufklärungs'-view of Dante, represented particularly by Voltaire's estimate of him, yielded to a profounder interpretation and more sympathetic appreciation. Hence, the great Dante translators and interpreters of the Romantic school, such as A. W. Schlegel, and others, found the way prepared.

Such studies as S. G.'s are valuable for a history of criticism. But not only for that. Leading critics still differ as to whether there be laws of taste rooted in the very make-up of human nature and as rigid as mathematical laws, or whether all artistic preferences or dislikes be purely subjective and in every case determined by individual temperament, training, etc. A careful study of the views taken at different times and in different countries of literary artists who to us now generally appear the greatest, like Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, etc., could throw valuable light on the subject and help to silence some of the immature opinions uttered even by really superior men.

We regard it as most significant that, as S. G. mentions, Lessing, Herder, and Goethe seem to have taken but little interest in Dante. All three, especially Herder and Goethe, were very much more in sympathy with the Renaissance than with the Middle Ages. Exuberance, totality and a certain moral generosity were for a long time their guiding principles. The very severity and sternness which many years later made Dante a favorite with exponents of refined Puritanism like Longfellow, Lowell, and Norton, could not forcibly appeal to the Storm-and-Stress men. Hence the great Renaissance poet, Shakespeare, became their guide and teacher. As time went on, Goethe and Herder largely modified their views, and we might expect greater interest in Dante on the part of Herder during his Bückeburg period, and on Goethe's during the last twenty years of his life.

In an essay entitled *Lenz' Uebersetzungen aus dem Englischen*, Karl H. Clarke analyzes Lenz' translations from Shakespeare, Pope, Ossian, and of the ballad from Percy *The braes of Yarrow* (cf. Erich Schmidt's article on Lenz in the *Allg. Deut. Biogr.*). After a short review of English influence upon German letters in the 18th century (in which, mirabile dictu, one looks in vain for the name of Milton), C. shows that Lenz must have studied English at an early date and even must have been regarded as a fairly good English scholar. For he tried in 1770 on his way to Strasburg to find a publisher for his translation of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, and he taught English in different places. Yet his knowledge of the language must have been faulty, as one of his letters written in English to Frau von Stein shows.

Lenz translated *Love's Labour's Lost* under the title 'Amor vincit omnia' (printed as an appendix to *Anmerkungen übers Theater*, 1774), made not so much a translation as an abstract in German of *Coriolanus* (which was never printed and the MS. of which is in the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in Weimar), and furthermore did into German a scene from *Pericles* (in the essay *Das Hœchburger Schloss*), and one from the pseudo-Shakespearean play *Sir John Oldcastle*. His choice of the first two pieces was determined largely by certain Storm-and-Stress tendencies in both. *Love's Labour's Lost* contains a protest against learning, and the character of *Coriolanus* had much that appealed to a Stürmer und Dränger like Lenz. Besides, *Love's Labour's Lost* corresponded to Lenz' idea of a comedy, as laid down in the *Anmerkungen übers Theater*. Lastly the two pieces had never before appeared in a German translation. Clarke places the investigation on a more scientific basis than had done Genée and Rauch in their treatment of the subject by proving that Lenz used Pope's edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Clarke agrees with Weinhold (*Lenz' Gedichte*) in claiming that the *Anmerkungen* must have been written after 1773: they are characterized by the Storm-and-Stress style started by Götz. Lenz is happy in the rendition of lyrical pieces (like the sonnet 'So sweet a kiss the golden sun gives not'), and of jokes. In his translation, Eschenburg found himself forced to omit jokes which Lenz rendered successfully. Lenz even adds some of his own invention,—characteristically enough for the 'whimsical Lenz.' As a real 'Stürmer und Dränger' Lenz likes to insert strong expressions in his translation. Sometimes he shortens and more frequently makes mistakes on account of his insufficient knowledge of English. So we find 'Büchermade' for 'bookmate,' etc. *Coriolanus* was translated in the Summer of 1775. What edition of this play Lenz used it is impossible to determine. The play was immensely shortened by Lenz and contains many mistakes due to ignorance of English. Words are inserted for which there are no equivalents in the original, e. g. 'Strauchdiebe.' On page 395, Clarke says 'An einer anderen Stelle verwechselt L. die beiden Wörter "single" und "singular" = "einzeln" und "merkwürdig, komisch." Then follows the passage in which L. has, according to C., made that mistake: 'or else your

actions would grow wondrous single,' 'sonst würden eure Handlungen *possierlich* genug herauskommen.' This passage is found in Act 2, Scene 1, of *Coriolanus*, and is preceded by the following words: 'Your helps are many.' There is a quibble here, and the word means not only 'einzeln,' but also 'unbedeutend, dumm.' So, too, in Henry IV, Part 2, Act 1, Scene 2 (cf. Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon* 2, 1064).

The translations of parts of *Pericles* and of Act 5, Scene 9, of *Sir John Oldcastle* are smooth and skilful.

Lenz furthermore rendered into German the *Fingal* from Ossian. This translation appeared in volumes 3 to 8 of Jacobi's *Iris* 1775-6. It was inspired by Goethe's Ossian translation in *Werther*. Lenz hurts the tone of his work by introducing Storm-and-Stress words like 'Schurken,' 'Elende,' and is careless throughout.

His translation of Pope's first dialogue from the Epilogue to the *Satires* is on the whole least successful. It was read in manuscript before the literary society in Strasburg, but never appeared in print.

Besides these works, Lenz tried also to interpret a piece from what was then the most significant literary novelty, Percy's *Reliques*. He chose *The Braes of Yarrow*, but rendered them with indifferent skill. It is interesting to note that Lenz thus joined the Percy-translators, among whom were men like Eschenburg, Herder, and hence that he played a part, however small, in that important chapter in the history of English influence upon German letters, the introduction of Percy's *Reliques* into Germany (confer Wagener: *Das Eindringen von Percy's Reliques in Deutschland*. Heidelberg. Dissertation, 1897).

In Volume 9 of this periodical, Ernst Sieper dealt with the treatment of the story of Soliman and Perseda in French and German literature, and in this volume he publishes the third chapter, entitled *Die Englischen Bearbeitungen der Geschichte von Soliman und Perseda in der neueren Litteratur*. English authors did not directly go back to Yver, but used a very free and bombastic translation by Wotton, which appeared in 1578 under the title *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels Contain- ing fine tragicall Historyes by 3 gentlemen and 2 gentlewomen*. Besides, the story was used in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (printed

not later than 1594) and in the drama *Soliman and Perseda* (which received the publishing license in 1592). Both are directly derived from the novel, and in both probably Wotton was used and not the French original. S. makes it probable that Kyd was also the author of the anonymous *Soliman and Perseda*, and furthermore that the *Spanish Tragedy* is older than *Soliman and Perseda*.

Walter Bormann compares Lindner's *Brutus and Collatinus* and Nissel's *Agnes von Meran* with François Ponsard's *Lucrèce* and *Agnes de Méranie* in a discussion entitled *Zwei Schillerpreise und François Ponsard*. Both dramas received the 'Schillerpreis' instituted by William I, and both were attacked as unworthy of such distinction because of their supposed dependence on Ponsard. Lindner especially (whose drama appeared in 1867) was exposed to fierce criticism. The principles of 'Jung Deutschland' were still in vogue at the time of the appearance of L's drama and Gutzkow still largely determined literary opinion. B. shows conclusively though perhaps with too much detail and with slightly exaggerated enthusiasm for Lindner how independent the latter is of Ponsard, and how superior to him. Nissel's drama on the other hand, though original, is hardly to be ranked above Ponsard's *Agnes*. As Lindner and Nissel are almost entirely unknown in America, B's essay will, let us hope, awaken interest, at least in the readers of the Journal, in these two not insignificant figures in German dramatic literature.

Aug. Wünsche and Marcus Landau, in a few notes entitled *Zu Hans Sachs' Quellen* correct Stiefel's essay *Hans Sachs Forschungen* in this volume. W. makes it seem likely that a poem by Simonides of Amorgos was the source of Sachs' farce *Die neun Hüute eines bösen Weibes* rather than one of Agricola's proverbs. Landau mentions an older source than S. had done for Sachs' poem *Ein Rath zwischen einem alten Mann und jungen Gesellen dreyer Heyrat halben*. It is *Die beste Wahl* in Herder's *Hyle, Kleiner griechischen (sic) Gedichte erste Sammlung*. (*Zuz schönen Litteratur und Kunst*, 10 Teil, p. 212, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1828.)

W. von Biedermann devotes a few pages to *Das Entstehen der Elpenordichtung*. It will be remembered that we already owe von Biedermann important light on that interesting fragment

(cf. e. g. his *Die Quellen und Anlässe einiger dramatischen Dichtungen Goethe's*). In the essay before us, he rejects Aug. 11, 1781, as the date on which Goethe started work on the *Elpenor*. He interprets the words 'Gestern ging ich so zeitig weg, weil ich ein neu Drama im Kopf hatte davon ich den Plan zusammen trieb,' as referring to the work in question. They are found in a note to Frau von Stein, bearing no date, but in the first edition of the letters printed immediately after a letter to the same written Aug. 4, 1780. He regards the expression 'zusammengetrieben' as significant, as Goethe tried in *Elpenor* to adapt a Chinese story to the German stage by casting it in a Greek mould, and for this remarkable process used Euripides, Maffei, Voltaire, and Gotter. v.B.'s reasoning is clever and careful, yet the material at hand from which to derive our conclusions is so scanty that one hardly feels justified in unhesitatingly agreeing with the distinguished Goethe scholar.

In a discussion which he entitles *Das Uzische Frühlingsmetrum*, Erich Petzet traces the importance of the meter invented by Uz for his poem *Lobgesang des Frühlings* (1742) (in later editions called *An den Frühling*), in the history of German verse in the last century. Uz himself, in a letter to Gleim dated Feb. 17th, 1744, designated his meter, which he regarded as an innovation on antique principles, as 'Zwei Jamben, einem Anapaesten (wenn man genau reden will), abermals zwei Jamben und einem Anapästen und einer überbleibenden kurzen Sylbe,' 'Der zweite Vers ist zusammengesetzt aus zwei Jamben und zwei Anapästen.' But Haller in a letter to Bodmer, dated May 24th, 1752, and Wackernagel in his *Geschichte des Deutschen Hexameters und Pentameters* call the odd lines simply hexameters. A glance at a few lines convinces one of the incorrectness of this interpretation: 'Ich will, vom Weine berauscht, die Lust der Erde besingen, Ihr schönen, eure gefährliche Lust.' The first line is not a hexameter, but the meter in which it is written led up to the hexameter, as is proved by the imitations of that meter by Bodmer, Gisecke, J. A. Schlegel, Gellert, Ramler, Zachariae, and Kleist. Especially Kleist shows the influence of it in his *Frühling*. This fact is particularly important as in Kleist's *Frühling* we have the nearest approach to a true hexameter found in German

literature up to 1749. It is to be noted, however, that Uz soon again abandoned rimeless meters, and that even Kleist, originally their enthusiastic supporter, returned to rime in later years and in February 1765 wrote to Gleim (cf. Sauer's edition of Kleist, vol. 2, p. 281): 'Ich ärgere mich, dass ich auf die Hexameters gefallen bin.'

It may not be out of place to point out in connection with this discussion, how fortunate it is for German literature that the appreciation of rimeless meters did not die out in spite of the revulsion against them, first on the part of the Gottshed school, and later of Uz and Kleist. A literature which totally neglects rimeless meters deprives itself of a valuable mode of expression. Goethe's *Prometheus, Gesang der Geister über den Wassern*, and similar poems would assume a different character if cast in riming verses, and dramas in rime seem to us now tiresome. English, and especially German literature are richer in this respect than French literature. It is interesting to note that both in England and in France, men of great literary influence, determined in their views by the ancients, strongly attacked rime. Milton, in the prefatory note to the *Paradise Lost*, calls it the invention of a barbarous age, 'which acts as a vexation, hindrance and constraint,' and Fénélon says in his famous *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie française* (1714): 'Notre versification perd plus, si je ne me trompe, qu'elle ne gagne par les rimes: elle perd beaucoup de variété, de facilité et d'harmonie.' But he adds 'Je n'ai grade néanmoins de vouloir abolir les rimes; sans elles notre versification tomberait.' As every one knows, rimeless meters are virtually non-existent in French literature, and as late as 1827, the most revolutionary of modern French poets, Victor Hugo, said in the preface to his *Cromwell*: 'Si nous avions le droit de dire quel pourrait être, à notre gré, le style du drame, nous voudrions un vers libre, franc, loyal, osant tout dire sans pruderie . . . fidèle à la rime, cette esclave reine, cette suprême grâce de notre poésie, ce générateur de notre mètre.'

It is an additional proof of the saneness of literary spirit in Germany in the last century that after much discussion German poetry broke through the narrowing French tradition and, like English literature, admitted rimeless meter.

In conclusion we may be permitted to protest against such

German as 'Das Uzische Frühlingsmetrum.' We have heard of 'Frühlingswetter,' 'Frühlingsblüten' but never of 'Frühlingsmetrum.'

In a short treatise entitled *Die Sigurdar Þögla und die Bevis saga* Eugen Kölbing calls attention to the identity of a scene in both sagas. As the Bevis saga is a free translation of a Chanson de geste by Beuve de Hanstone in which the scene in question has all important elements in common with the corresponding scene in the Bevis saga, and as the Sigurdar saga Þögla is the invention of an Icelander and younger than the Bevis saga, the scene in the Bevis saga is the original and was borrowed by the Icelandic author.

In a rather long-winded essay entitled *Wieland als Dramatiker* in three chapters ('Die Dramen,' 'Der Dichter des Singspiels,' 'Wieland's Einfluss auf Goethe und Schiller') Edward Stilgebauer discusses the position of Wieland's dramatic works in the history of German literature. He first gives a short synopsis of Wieland's dramas, 'So weit er dieselben in die Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke aufzunehmen für würdig hielt.' Next he shows especially by an analysis of W's *Versuch ueber das teutsche Singspiel und einige dahin einschlagende Gegenstände* in the *Merkur* for 1775, that 'Lyrische Veranlagung, Empfindung und nicht Handlung' and 'Sinn für das Mystische, Wunderbare, Romantische' are the chief elements of his dramatic work. 'Sie sind die Quellen aus denen das Wielandsche Drama hervorgegangen ist.' Lastly he proves more in detail than Seuffert and Scherer have done, the undeniable influence of Wieland's dramas on Goethe and Schiller. *Iphigenie* contains in several passages reminiscences of *Alceste*, the very play which Goethe had so bitterly attacked, and *Faust* of the *Wahl des Herkules*, furthermore Schiller's *Maria Stuart* of W's *Johanna Gray*. The influence of W's *Johanna Gray* 2. 2 upon *Fiesco* 4. 14, which S. tries to prove on p. 427, and the similarity between the figure of Mercury in Wieland's *Pandora* and Goethe's *Mephisto*, seem to me faint. There is more in common between the idea underlying W's *Pandora* (i. e. the gods send the Muses to console mankind) and Schiller's *Huldigung der Künste*, his *Das Eleusische Fest* and the fifth stanza of *Die Künstler*. S. discusses W's *Versuch ueber das Singspiel* but does not mention with a word several important writings by

W. on subjects connected with the drama. Anybody attempting to define W's position in the drama of Germany in the last century cannot afford to pass them by unnoticed. Let us glance at them: In 1782 and 1784, W. published in his *Merkur* 'Briefe an einen Jungen Dichter,' in which he expresses many characteristic views proving his vacillating and undecided position. So in one passage he claims that 'eine vollkommen ausgearbeitete numerose das Ohr immer vergnügende nie beleidigende Versifikation' is important, 'denn ein Tragödiendichter in Prose ist wie ein Heldengedicht in Prose. Verse sind der Poesie wesentlich; so dachten die Alten, so haben die grössten Dichter der Neuren gedacht, und schwerlich wird jemals einer, der eine Tragödie oder Komödie in schönen Versen machen *könnte*, so gleichgültig gegen seinen Ruhm sein lieber in Prose schreiben zu wollen. Ich dinge sogar den Reim ein; weil wir nicht eher ein Recht haben uns mit den grossen Meistern der Ausländer zu messen, bis wir, bei gleichen Schwierigkeiten, ebensoviel geleistet haben als sie.' In another place, he adds that he does not mean to say the French manner of writing tragedy is the only one or even the best or Shakespeare is inferior to the French. In other words, he is a man of compromises who does not understand the spirit of his time. In his heart of hearts he vastly prefers the French drama. For when he discusses Ayrenhoff's *Cleopatra und Antonius* (which was modeled on the French tragedy) he speaks of Racine, Crébillon, and Voltaire as 'Athleten,' expresses profound admiration for Corneille and claims that A's play again called attention to 'die wahre Kunst des Trauerspiels und die grossen Menschen der Griechen und Franzosen,' (note the combination!) Nevertheless he defends Shakespeare against A's attacks. Similarly, many years before, in an essay entitled *Der Geist Shakespeare's* which appeared in the *Merkur* for 1773, he lauded the English dramatist to the skies, but felt called upon to explain his 'Maengel,' and added that he translated him with all his 'Fehler,' especially as 'Oft seine Fehler selbst eine Art von Schönheit sind.' In the *Versuch über das Teutsche Singspiel* W. furthermore hopes that the introduction of really good Singspiele might tend to crowd out the 'noch im Schwange gehenden bürgerlichen oder andere noch abgeschmacktere Schauspiele.' Lessing's sovereign power

becomes quite evident only when we compare his utterances on dramatic matters with W's muddled twaddle. It seems hardly credible that Wieland, the author of a 'bürgerliches Trauerspiel' in prose and the translator of Shakespeare should prefer the rime in tragedy, should reject the 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel' and should speak of the Greeks and the French in the same breath. Lessing's *Dramaturgie* might never have been written as far as W. was concerned. He represents a large class in the 18th century, whose very existence is almost unknown to us, who had no idea how tremendous a literary revolution was going on under their very eyes.

But W. is nevertheless important in the history of the German drama for reasons which S. does not touch upon. W.'s *Alceste*, however tiresome it may have seemed to certain literary circles in the 18th century, like Goethe's circle, and however inferior it may seem to us, was yet one of the characteristic and important literary deeds of its time. It was the first attempt on a larger scale at a really dignified and serious German 'Singspiel'-text. Before W., Michaelis had attempted something of the same kind in his *Herkules auf dem Oeta* (1772) (cf. about it Erich Schmidt's article on Michaelis in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*) and Wieland himself had written in 1771 a Singspiel called *Aurora* (cf. the Hempel edition of Wieland, vol. 40, p. 803) which may be called a serious Singspiel-text on a minute scale. Both are greatly distanced by the *Alceste*. Considering the immense growth of the German musical drama in our century and the prominent part it now plays on the stage of the world, W's Singspiel becomes important, and a comparison between some of W's views in the *Versuch über das Singspiel* and Richard Wagner's *Oper und Drama* extremely interesting. It should furthermore be noted that shortly before the *Alceste* appeared, Gluck and his librettist Calzabigi reformed the Italian Opera. In 1762, *Orfeo ed Euridice* was played for the first time, in which realism and naturalness were the guiding principles both for the composer and the librettist. In 1767 followed Gluck's *Alceste*. Gluck published in 1769 a preface to the work in which he defined his principles. Like W. in the *Versuch über das Deutsche Singspiel*, he attacks the old Italian opera. He claims that in composing the work, he aimed at naturalness and noble simplicity,

and that no rule was too sacred to prevent him from sacrificing everything to effect (cf. *Musiker-Biographien*, Neunter Band. *Gluck*; von Heinrich Welti. Leipzig Reclam. p. 27 and seq., and especially p. 35 and seq.). Wieland, of course, would never have subscribed to this last named principle. In another essay entitled *Ueber einige ältere teutsche Singspiele welche den Namen Alceste führen* (*Merkur*, 1773) W. curiously enough does not mention Gluck's *Alceste* with a word.¹

Thus W., the dramatist, is interesting not only as a link in the great development of the German drama in the last century, as S. thinks, (and as that his importance is, after all, mediocre), but especially in the history of German Opera texts. Furthermore his opinion on dramatic subjects are a valuable record of the vacillating attitude towards the great dramatic reforms of the last century on the part of one of the most talented exponents of a large and important literary set of those days.

Under *Neue Mitteilungen*, von Wislocki prints a number of *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Anatolien*, Steintal continues his translations entitled *Aus den Geschichten früherer Existenzen Buddhas* (cf. vols. 6 and 8), Bayer publishes a part of Rückert's translation of Sadis' *Gulistan*. This is only a continuation of Bayer's essay in vol. 7, where may be found some facts concerning the MS. of this translation. Ludw. Geiger publishes 14 letters (written between January 28, 1772 and Feby. 5, 1788) of C. E. Weisse to J. F. Bertuch, some of which are interesting and valuable for our knowledge of the period. Otto Loebeck edits for the first time 8 letters of Flavius Blondus with notes and a few lines of introduction. Otto Günther publishes an unprinted letter of Lessing (begun March 17 continued March 25, 1775), one of Schiller (written about the middle of June 1802), one of Ramler (dated April 30, 1781), one of Wieland (dated Aug. 5, 1761), one of Kaestner (dated Aug. 14, 1755). Gottlieb Krause publishes letters exchanged between Scheffner, Gottsched and Schönauich, the notorious author of *Hermann oder Das befreyte Deutschland*. Scheffner (concerning him cf. *Zeitschr. für vergl. Littgsch.* 7, p. 217) was an East-Prussian, served for a while as an officer under Frederick the Great.

¹ Nor is he aware, of course, that the story of *Alceste* had been treated by Hans Sachs in a tragedy entitled *Die getreu fürstin Alcestis* (1555).

He took E. von Kleist for his model in many respects and had little sympathy with his relative Gottsched. Yet he and Schönaich seem to have taken a liking to one another. The letters give us an insight into Schönaich's character and lead us to modify our judgment of a man whom Lessing's witty attack (especially in the *Sinngedichte*) have made immortally ridiculous. Though purblind in matters of literature, he was less narrow-minded than his teacher Gottsched.

Under *Vermischtes* Franz Skutsch points out that Heibel was in no way justified in letting Herod twice give the order to murder Mariamne (in *Herodes und Mariamne*). This dramatic mistake has been excused on the plea that H. found it in his source, in Josephus. As a matter of fact, however, recent investigation has shown that Josephus made a mistake and that Herod gave the order only once. Rudolph Schlösser in *Eine Dichtung in Jamben aus dem Jahre 1778* discusses a little work entitled *Lykon und Agle*, which he discovered by chance. It appeared in 1778 (hence before Lessing's *Nathan*) and is in large part written in blank verse. S. does not claim any aesthetic value for this work, but calls attention to the fact that so insignificant a poet's using blank verse in 1778 shows 'In wie weit zur Zeit des Nathan der Vers schon Gemeingut war.' A glance at Sauer's excellent essay *Über den fünf-füssigen Jambus vor Lessing's Nathan* in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad.* p. 671 and seq. (Wien, 1878) convinces one more forcibly of the wide views of what purported to be blank verse before the appearance of Lessing's *Nathan*. Eugen G. Braun proves that Marcus Landau wrongly accused Tolstoi of plagiarism in an essay printed in vol. 9 of this periodical and calls attention to the similarity between Ebner-Eschenbach's *Schattenleben* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, 1896, Heft 6) and an episode in Tolstoi's *Boyhood*. Valentin attempts a new solution of a French 'Rätsel' discussed by Wünsche in vol. 9 of the *Zeitsch. für vergl. Littgesch.* Fr. Kluge proves that Faust's magic horse was called 'Pfeiffering.' Ludwig Geiger mentions an attempt made in France in 1805 to found a journal which should interpret German literature there. The attempt soon proved abortive. I may be pardoned for mentioning that more attempts of that sort, evidently with greater success, have since been made in France. In 1857 appeared in Paris the *Revue*

germanique edited by C. Dollfus and A. Nefftzer and devoted to German life and literature. This periodical was later continued until 1865 by C. Dollfus alone as *Revue Germanique, Française et Étrangère*, as *Revue Germanique et Française*, and from 65 to 69 as *Revue Moderne*. The following are the titles of a few essays from a volume for 1860¹: 'Lettres sur l'émigration allemande dans ses rapports avec la civilisation générale'—traduit de l'Allemand par Jules Froebel.—'Le Mythe de Polyphème' traduit de l'Allemand de Guillaume Grimm—'Études sur Goethe' par Charles Dollfus.—'Historiens allemands et contemporains—Henri de Sybel.' Premier article par Philippe Roget.—'Iphigénie à Delphes,' drame en 5 actes, traduit de l'Allemand de Frédéric Halm.—'J. G. Hamann, sa vie et ses oeuvres' par F. Faber.—'Poètes allemands contemporains. MM. Hebbel et Pfau' par E. de Villers, etc., etc.

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Englische Studien, herausgegeben von Eugen Kölbing. Vol. XXIII, 1897.

I. K. D. Bülbring, *A Contribution towards a Study of the Manuscript of Richard Rolle's 'Pricke of Conscience.'* The paper carries forward the classification of the MSS. which was begun by Andreae, and continued by Furnivall and by Bülbring. To the twenty-six MSS. thus handled the present paper adds six.

Br. Schnabel, *Ossian in English Literature up to 1832, exclusive of the so-called 'Romanticists.'* The writer's aim is to show, more precisely than has hitherto been done, the exact extent of Ossian's influence on literary England. The evidence adduced is mainly of three kinds: (1) the metrical versions and dramatizations of Macpherson's prose; (2) the letters of Gray, of Walpole and Mason, and others, as illustrative of contemporary opinion; (3) such minor poetry as shows traces of the Ossianic influence. The testimony is arranged chronologically, and forms an interesting chronicle of the rise and fall of the Ossian *furor*.

¹ I owe these titles to the kindness of Prof. Corson at Cornell Univ. who has the volume in his library.

E. L. Fischer, *Verba Nominalia*.

In the Book Notices, Glöde reviews J. Douglas Bruce's *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms, commonly known as the Paris Psalter*. Under the title '*Recent Literature on the Elizabethan Drama*' Fränkel contributes a rather voluminous review of eight treatises in this field of research. Two of these, M. Basse's *Stylaffectatie bij Shakespeare*, and L. Wurth's *Das Wortspiel bei Shakspeare*, are closely allied in subject-matter. They both discuss Lyly at length and sympathetically, and both regard him as Shakespeare's model in style, though the pupil far outstripped his master, and came to employ only as a means what had been to the other an end.

R. Fischer's *Zur Kunstentwicklung der Englischen Tragödie* receives from Fränkel the appreciation it deserves. The book deals with the sixteenth century drama, with special reference to its structure. Rejecting the notion of a steady development along a single line, Fischer shows that there were two main tendencies at work, the 'old-national' and the classical, producing two types of plays, as well as plays of mixed type. *Appius and Virginia*, for instance, handles classical material in the national manner, while *Gorboduc* casts national legend into classic form. The Senecan tradition was, it is true, modified by the national love of action and of a more complex or massive grouping of figures, but the two tendencies were not really fused. With Marlowe this period of uncertainty ended, and English drama took its characteristic set. The last half of the book is devoted to a treatment, from this standpoint, of Marlowe's services to the drama. H. Hoffschulte's *Ueber Ben Jonson's Aeltere Lustspiele* seems, if the review does it justice, to contain nothing new. L. Bahlsen's *Eine Comödie Fletcher's* assigns the play studied—*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*—to Fletcher alone. He finds its source in Cervantes' novel, *El Casamiento Engañoso*, and follows out the after-history of this Cervantes-Fletcher theme in England and on the continent.

G. P. Baker's *Endymion, The Man in the Moon*, is held up by its reviewer, Landmann, as a beautiful example of careful editing. The second volume of Kölbing's edition of Byron has all the excellence of the first. In the judgment of the reviewer, Hoops, the treatment is, however, somewhat too elaborate. He says: 'However much I have just praised the

“German thoroughness” of the editor, I must equally deplore that he has not wholly escaped the “German heaviness” too often coupled therewith.’ Of the volume’s 450 pages, 45 are text, the rest are introductions and notes,—proportions which speak for themselves. J. W. Bright’s *An Outline of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, issued as an appendix to his *Reader*, is useful as a concise and well-ordered summary. Schröer, reviewing the latest sections (parts VII and VIII) of the *New English Dictionary*, expresses his regret at the decision of its editors to reduce its plan in order to issue the remaining parts in quicker succession. If this is done, the work will remain, like its predecessors, provisional only, and the great English dictionary will be still to seek.

The Miscellanea contains notes by Kölbing on the text of Byron’s *Childe Harold*.

II. G. Sarrazin, *New Beowulf-Studies*. The first of these studies, ‘King Hrothgeirr and his Family,’ brings forward in a somewhat fragmentary and ineffective manner further evidence in support of the writer’s theory of the Danish origin of the epic. In the second study, ‘The Skjöldung Epic,’ he presents evidence pointing to the existence of an Old Danish epic, now lost, which served as the foundation alike for *Beowulf* and for the other northern sagas. The author of this hypothetical ‘Ur-epos’ he believes to have been the Skald Stärkadhr. In the third study, ‘The Dragon-Song,’ he begins by accepting ten Brink’s distinction between the two parts of the poem with regard to their poetic quality, but the conclusions he draws are different. The gentler temper of the first part, and the traces of Christian feeling in it, he regards as due to the intrusion of the English adapter’s own personality. As the adapter worked through the poem, he entered more completely into its spirit, so that in the latter part his English rendering transmitted perfectly the rugged fierceness of the northern original. By similar reasoning, Sarrazin accounts for the purer style of the first part, and the increase of northern forms towards the end of the poem. The last study, ‘Beowulf and Cynewulf’s Andreas,’ offers proofs for the writer’s theory that the English translator of *Beowulf* was Cynewulf.

E. Kölbing, *Contributions to the Textual Criticism and Elucidation of Sixteenth Century Poetry*. Kölbing calls attention to the need for careful textual work on sixteenth century poetry. In the present paper he deals with the lyrics and ballads edited by Bøddeker, and carries forward the work of emendation and elucidation begun by Holthausen (*Englische Studien*, XXII).

E. Nader, *Private Reading in English in Austrian Realschulen*.

In the Book Notices, Nader reviews the second edition of Storm's *Englische Philologie*. In method of arrangement it differs little from the first edition, but much new matter has been added. Schipper's *Grundriss der Englischen Metrik* presents a comprehensive treatment of English metrics in about one-fourth the bulk of the larger work. While it does not take the place of the *Englische Metrik*, it is in some respects to be preferred. The complete reworking of the material has naturally meant gain in the manner of presentation, and has enabled the author to incorporate the results of the last ten years of work in this field. L. Kellner's revision of Morris' *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* has been exceedingly well done. The chapter on 'General Phonetics' has been, as was to be expected, entirely recast, and chapter VII, a masterly sketch of the development of English sounds, is entirely new, displacing the old chapter on 'Phonology.'

R. Wülker's *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* is greeted by Kölbing as 'the first complete history of English literature which, with a scientific method, meets the needs of a wide circle of general readers.' G. Saintsbury's *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature* is rated by the reviewer, Schnabel, as inferior to Gosse's work on the eighteenth century, of which it is the continuation. One of the most serious drawbacks to the book is its consistent omission of living authors, Ruskin alone excepted, which makes some of the sections—notably that on the Pre-Raphaelites—deplorably inadequate. Nevertheless the book is interesting and suggestive. Part VII of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* consists of the Crawford collection of early charters and documents. The editing is careful and conservative, and the publication is of great importance both to historians and to linguists.

The Miscellanea contains a note by Bellezza, *Did Chaucer Meet Petrarch?* called forth by Jusserand's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1896, in which the meeting was spoken of as probable. Bellezza considers Jusserand's discussion as of little value except as an expression of personal opinion.¹ Kaluza offers an answer to Luick's assertion that the occurrence of the northern rime, *love: behove*, in *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 1091, is sufficient to disprove the Chaucerian authorship of Fragment A. Kaluza thinks that the exigencies of a rimed translation may have forced Chaucer into the use of a northern form, and that this single instance no more disproves his authorship than do similar ones in *Troilus* or *The Canterbury Tales*.

III. H. Lessmann, *Studies in the Middle English Life of St. Cuthbert*. I. *Contributions to Its Elucidation and Textual Criticism*. Since Fowler's edition of the *Life* in 1891, no work has been done on it except by Kölbing, who (*Englische Studien*, XIX) offered some emendations for the first three thousand lines. Lessman now takes up the entire text in detail, and also discusses briefly the general character of the work, and its probable sources.

B. Schnabel, *Ossian in English Literature up to 1832*. The article concludes the study of Ossian begun in Part I. of this volume. It considers 'Ossian in the Writings of the so-called English Romanticists,' and take up Bowles, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Scott, Byron, Moore, Shelley, Keats, Lamb, Montgomery, Campbell, and Rogers. Schnabel thinks that the influence of Ossian has been underestimated, and he claims for the poems a place among 'the chief factors in that mighty reaction which English poetry experienced in the second half of the eighteenth century, and which has been called "the return to nature."' Macpherson's Ossian had an important share in the emancipating of English literature from the oppressive yoke of the school of Pope, and this is its greatest service.' Schnabel sums up a part of his results in convenient chronological tables.

Ph. Aronstein, *Elementary Education in England*. The writer traces the development of English elementary education from

¹ Cf. F. J. Mather's *On the Asserted Meeting of Chaucer and Petrarch*. *Modern Language Notes*, January, 1897.

its virtual beginnings at the end of the last century, under the Quaker, Lancaster, and the Churchman, Bell, up to the present time. He appends a table of dates.

In the *Miscellanea* M. Förster offers corrections and emendations of the *Adrian and Ritheus*, as printed by Kemble in 1848, and collates this dialogue with that of *Salomon and Saturnus*. He thinks the two stand in close relationship, and are probably translations from the same Latin original. H. Bradley sends an interesting note on *Thomas Usk and the Testament of Love*, in which he points out that this poem, 'as printed in Thynne's Chaucer of 1532 and in all subsequent editions, has been reduced to nonsense by outrageous dislocations of the text, which must have been produced by the accidental disarrangement of the leaves of the MS. The third book has been split up into eight sections of unequal length, which were shuffled like a pack of cards, and have been printed by Thynne in the order 1, 7, 5, 3, 6, 2, 4, 8.' On adopting the right arrangement, the acrostic formed from the initial letters of the sections is at last solved, and reads: 'Margaret of virtw, have merci on thin Usk.' This fixes the authorship of the poem, so long attributed to Chaucer. F. J. Furnivall prints three Middle English poems: I. An early fifteenth century poem on the State of Flanders, II. The Wise Man's Proverbs, III. Inter Diabolus et Virgo. Schnabel contributes an appreciative review of William Morris, devoted, as was to be expected, to Morris the poet, rather than to Morris the socialist or Morris the artist-artisan.

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THE BIRDS OF OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE.

THE scientific remains of the Old English period are not extensive, consisting chiefly of King Alfred's geographical insertions in the *Orosius*, lists of plant-names, and treatises on medicine and astronomy.

Natural History at that time had hardly attained the dignity of a science, but there was some attempt, at least, to explain natural phenomena, as in the following extract from Ælfric's Hexameron :

'The birds, indeed, that dwell in the waters, are web-footed by the providence of God, so that they may swim and seek food for themselves. Some are long-necked, as are swans and ylfets, in order that they may reach their food from the ground. And those (birds) which live on flesh are claw-footed and sharp-billed, so that they may bite with short necks, and (they are) swifter in flight, so that they may be adapted for obtaining their livelihood.'

The entire body of Old English literature abounds in references to birds, but the most fruitful source of material is the lists of bird-names in the glosses, in some of which there seems to be a rude attempt at classification. Moreover, the art of falconry (cf. sect. XXXVII), which was introduced into England not later than the middle of the 8th century, and was very popular among the Anglo-Saxons, presupposes a considerable knowledge of the haunts and habits of birds.

My examination of Old English literature has brought to light over 140 bird-names. Although several names often refer to the same bird, it has been possible to identify some 67 species, which, there is reason to believe, were then residents of Great Britain.

This article falls into three main divisions :

- I. Indigenous wild species.
- II. Domestic fowl.
- III. General terms, foreign species, etc.

In classification and nomenclature I have followed R. Bowdler Sharpe's *Hand-Book of the Birds of Great Britain*.

More exhaustive works on the subject are those of Macgillivray, Yarrell, and Seebohm. I have attempted to make use of all accessible material, though no doubt some references have escaped notice, especially under the general term *fugol*.

For the poetry the references are to the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*. The prose references are generally to page and line, sometimes to section and line.

Most of the abbreviations require no explanation. The following key will cover all cases which are likely to cause difficulty.

Æ. Gl. } Ælfric's *Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Zupitza.
 Æ. Gr. }

Cp. Corpus Glossary, ed. Hessels.

Ep. Epinal } Glossary—Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*.
 Er. Erfurt }

Exod. Poem of Exodus.

Exod. Prose version of Exodus in Grein's *Bibliothek der Ags. Prosa*.

Gen. Poem of Genesis.

Gen. Prose version of Genesis in Grein's *Bibliothek der Ags. Prosa*.

Gu. Poem of Guthlac.

Hpt. Gl. Glosses in Haupt's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. 9 (1853).

Ld. Leiden Glossary, in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*.

St. Guth. Life of St. Guthlac, ed. Goodwin.

WW. Wright-Wülker's *Old English Vocabularies*. Second Edition.

ZdA. Glosses in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. 33.

The sign ~ is used to avoid repetition of the preceding word.

Ð is used for both þ and ð.

I. *Indigenous Wild Species.*

Ord. Passeriformes. Perching Birds.

F. Corvidæ. Crows.

Sub. F. Corvinæ. True Crows.

Gen. Trypanocorax. Rooks.

I. hrōc. Rook (*trypanocorax frugilegus*); of imitative origin, meaning a croaker.

ME. *rook, roc, rok*; OHG. *hruoh* (cf. G. *ruchert*, a jack-daw); Icel. *hrōkr*; cf. Goth. *hrūkjan*, to crow.

WW. 132. 15: *graculus uel garrulus*, hroc; 260. 10, 413. 33: *grallus* ~; 286. 6: *gralus* ~; 518. 12. *Æ. Gl.* 307. 12; *graculus* ~; *WW.* 412. 40: *graculus* ~; *Cp. G.* 154, *Ep.* 469: *grallus*, hrooc; *Er.* 469: *graculus* ~; *Ld.* 201: *garallus (graculus)* hroc; *Shrn.* 29. 1: *garula* ~; *ZdA.* 240. 34: *grallus*, roc; *Spl. Ps.* 146 10: se selð nytenum mete and briddum hroca cigendum hine; *Æ. St.* 1. 492. 14: and ðær flugon sona to hrocas and hremmas.

Hrōc also appears in names of places: *Cod. Dip.* 6. 303.

Gen. Corvus. Ravens.

II. 1. *hrefn.* Raven (*corvus corvus*); perhaps named from its cry, from root seen in *L. crepare*.

ME. *raven, reven*; *D.* *raven*; *OHG.* *hraban, hram, rabo*; *G.* *rabe*; *Icel.* *hráfn*.

Æ. Gl. 307. 2, *Æ. Gr.* 28. 19: *coruus*, hremn; *WW.* 260. 8: ~ *hrefn*; 365. 20: *corax* ~; *Cp. C.* 735: ~ *hraefn*; *Er.* 285: (*nycti*)*corax*, hraebn; *Æ. Gr.* 12. 14: *niger coruus*, hrem; 19. 12: *hic coruus*, ðes hremn; *ZdA.* 240. 32: *coruus*, hræm; *Æ. St.* 1. 492. 14: and ðær flugon sona to hrocas and hremmas and feala cynna fugelas; *Th. Ps.* 146. 10: hrefnes briddum; *Vesp. Ps.* 146. 9: briddum hrefna; *Beo.* 1801: hrefn blaca; 2448: hrefne to hroðre; 3024: ac se wonna hrefn [sceall] fus ofer fægum fela reordian, earne secgan hu him æt æte speow, ðenden he wið wulfe wæl reafode; *Gen.* 1442: sweartne . . . hrefn; 1449: sweartum hrefne; *Gen.* 8. 7: and asende ut ænne hremn; se hremn fleah ða ut and nolde eft ongean cirran; *Jud.* 206: se wanna hrefn, wælgifre fugel; *El.* 52: hrefen uppe gol, wan and wælfel; 110: hrefen weorces gefeah; *Finn.*: 36: hræfen wandrode, sweart and sealobrun; *Fates of Men* 36: ðær him hrefn nimeð heafodsyne, sliteð salwiggad sawelleasne; *Soul's Address, Ex.* 54: se swearta hrefn; *ib., Ver.*: se swearta hrefen; *Brun.* 61: salowiggadan, ðone sweartan hræfn, hyrnednebban; *By.* 106: hremmas wundon; *Chron.* 878: and ðær wæs se gudfana genumen ðe hie Hræfn heton; *Lk.* 12. 24: besceawiað ða hrefnas; *Lind. Lk.* 12. 24: behaldað ða ræfnas; *Beo.* 2925: hrefna wudu; 2935: hrefnes holt; *Inst. Pol.* 19: hi læceað eallswa gyfre hremnas of holde doð; *Æ. Past. Ep.* 49: swa swa grædige ræmmas; *Lchdm.* 3. 333: hræfnes fot; hræfnes leac; *Æ. H.* 2. 46. 15: næfð he na culfran ðeawas, ac hæfð ðæs blacan hremmes; 140. 1: seðe giu ær Elian afedde ðurh ðone sweartan hremm; 144. 13: ða woldon hremmas hine bereafian æt his gedeorfum, gif hi dorston; 144. 19: hwæt ða hremmas ða ricene flugon, ealle tosomne, ofer ðone sealtan brym; 144. 21: eft ða siððan oðre twegen swearte hremmas siðlice comon; 162. 21: ða wæs sum wilde hrem gewunod ðæt he dæghwomlice fleah fram wuda to mynstre; 162. 23: he ða wearp ðam hremme ðone geættrodan hlaf; *St. Guth.* 48. 4: and hræfena cræcetunge; 50. 1: ða com ðær sum hrefen in; 50. 5: ða geseah he ðone hrefen ða cartan beran; 50. 9: ac swa se hrefen ðurh ða fennas upp afligeð, swa ðu him æfter row; 50. 22: wæron on ðam ylcan yglande twegen hrefnas gewunode; 54. 1: ymb ða glöfan ðe ða hrefnas bæron; 54. 17: ða geseгон hi ðone hræfn mid ðan sweartan

nebbe ða glofe teran uppe on anes huses ðæce; 54. 19: he ða sona se halga wer Guthlac ðone hrefn mid his worde ðreade; 56. 5: sædon ðæt heo of anes hrefnes muðe feolle; *Ad. and R.* 202. 21: saga me for hwam si se hrefen swa sweart, ðe ær wæs hwit; 202. 22: saga me for hwam se hrefen ðurh gehyrsumnisse geðingode ðæt he ær ðurh modignisse agilte; 202. 24: *corvus* se fugel, ðæt is se hrefen; *Shrn.* 50. 12: fedde hine an hræfn; 88. 16: and him ðær bæc hræfn mete.

For instances of *hrefn* in names of places, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 302.

2. hrefncynn. Raven-kind.

Lev. 11. 17: Ne [ete] nan [ðing] hrefncynnes.

3. wælcēasega. Lit. 'chooser of the slain'; < *wæl*, the slain + *cēosan*, to choose; used of the raven.

Exod. 164: wonn wælceasega.

4. lyftsceaða. Lit. 'robber of air'; < *lyft*, air + *sceaða*, robber; applied to the raven.

Crafts of Men 39: laðum lyftsceaðan.

Gen. Corone. Crows.

III. crāwe. Crow; probably the carrion crow (*corone corone*); < *crāwan*, to crow. The name is at present commonly applied to the carrion crow in England; in Scotland, Ireland and north of England to the rook.

ME. *crawe*, *crow*; Icel. *krākr*, *krāka*; OHG. *chrāwa*; G. *krähe*.

WW. 131. 37, 260. 9, 286. 4, *Cp.* C. 653, *ZdA.* 240. 33: *cornix*, *crawe*; *WW.* 363. 6: *carula* ~; 365. 12: *cornua* ~; 412. 39: *garula* ~; *Cp.* G. 14: ~ *crauwe*; C. 178: *carula* ~; C. 652: *cornacula* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. note: *cornelia*, *crawa*; *Cant. Ps.* 146. 9: se selð nytenum mete heora and briddum crawan cigendum hine.

For *crāwe* in local names, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 275.

Gen. Pica. Magpies.

IV. agu. Magpie (*pica pica*).

WW. 132. 11: *pica*, *agu*.

Sub. F. Fregilinæ. Choughs.

Gen. Graculus. True Choughs.

V. **cēo.** Chough (*graculus graculus*). ME. *choughe*, *cheo*. The chough was formerly very abundant in Great Britain, but of late years its numbers have become greatly reduced. Cf. Hudson's *British Birds*.

WW. 260. 11, 367. 32: *cornicula*, *cio*; 286. 5; ~ *cyo*; *ZdA.* 240. 67: ~ *tiøpe*; *Ep.* 240: ~ *cyae*; *Er.* 240: ~ *ciae*; *Æ. Gl.* 307. *note*: ~ *cheo*; *WW.* 132. 4: *gracculus uel monedula*, *ceo*; *Æ. Gr.* 70. 16: *hæc cornix*, *ðes ceo*.

F. Sturnidæ. Starlings.

Gen. Sturnus. Typical Starlings.

VI. 1. **stær.** The word generally used in OE. for starling (*sturnus vulgaris*).

ME. *stare*, *ster*; OHG. *starra*; G. *staar*; D. *stær*; Icel. *stari*; L. *sturnus*.

Cp. S. 526, *Ep.* 908: *sturnus*, *staer*; *Er.* 908: ~ *sterm*; *Ld.* 203: ~ *stær*; *WW.* 132. 8: *stronus*; *stær*; 286. 29: *stirnus* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 7: *turdus* ~; *Lehdm.* 2. 320. 4: *gebrædne stær*; *Lind. Mt.* 10. 29, *Lk.* 12. 6: *staras*; *WW.* 132. 9: *turdella*, *se mare stær*; in commenting upon this Wright says, 'One would suppose that *mare* is an error for *lessa*.'

2. **stærn.** Starling; sometimes confounded with *stearn*, a sea-bird.

WW. 132. 27: *stronus*, *stærn*.

3. **stærling.** Starling; < *stær*, starling + *ling*. ME. *sterlynge*, *starling*. This form is not recognized by the *Cent. Dict.* or Skeat as an OE. word, yet it appears in an 11th cent. gloss. Cf. Herrig's *Archiv* 76. 215.

ZdA. 241. 54: *sturnus*, *stærline*.

F. Fringillidæ. Finches.

VII. 1. **finc.** Finch. ME. *finch*, *fynch*; OHG. *fincho*; G. *fink*, *finke*; W. *pinc*, a chaffinch. The word *finc* is probably in imitation of the call note of the male chaffinch, which is thought to sound like 'fink' or 'pink.'

WW. 286. 12, 404. 14, *Cp. F.* 331, *Ep.-Er.* 423: *fringella*, *finc*; *ZdA.* 241. 49: *fringilla* ~; *WW.* 380. 17: *cinctus* ~; *Ld.* 219: *fringella*, *umc*.

Finc appears in the local name *Fincesstapel*: *Cod. Dip.* 6. 287.

2. **ragufinc.** A kind of finch; < *ragu*, lichen + *finc*, finch. In two instances this word has the same gloss as *ceaffinc*.

WW. 357. 38: *barrulus*, ragufinc; *Cp.* B. 58: *bariulus* ~; *WW.* 260. 24: *scutacus*, ragufinc; 289. 19: *scutatis* ~.

Sub. F. Fringillinae. True Finches.

Gen. Fringilla. Chaffinches.

VIII. **ceaffinc.** Chaffinch (*fringilla caelebs*); < *ceaf*, chaff + *finc*, finch; so called from its delighting in chaff, or rather in grain. Cf. late L. name *furfurio*, from *furfur*, bran. ME. *chaffynche*. *Ceaffinc* is not recognized as an OE. word by the *N. E. Dict.*, the *Cent. Dict.* or Skeat, but it appears once in an 11th cent. gloss. It is noted by Zupitza in Herrig's *Archiv* 76. 206.

ZdA. 241. 50: *scutacis*, ceaffinc.

Gen. Carduelis. Goldfinches.

IX. **goldfinc.** Goldfinch (*carduelis carduelis*); < *gold*, gold + *finc*, finch. ME. *goldfynch*.

WW. 132. 27, 356. 29: *auricinctus*, goldfinc; 132. 22: *florentius* ~; 132. 27: *cintus uel frugellus* ~; 260. 35, 405. 19: *florulus* ~.

Gen. Cannabina. Linnets.

X. 1. **linete.** Linnet (*cannabina cannabina*); < L. *linum*, flax; so called from its feeding on flaxseed. (Cf. F. *linotte*); Cf. G. *hänfling*, linnet < *hanf*, hemp; ME. *linet*, *lynet*.

WW. 286. 21: *cardella*, linece.

2. **linetwige.** Linnet; < *lin*, flax + *twige*, of uncertain origin. In prov. English and Scotch, *lintwhite*, *laintywhite*; ME. *lyntquhite*.

WW. 132. 29, 363. 2: *carduelis*, linetwige; *WW.* 404. 7: *fronulus* ~; *Cp.* F. 314: ~ linetuigle; C. 147: *carduelis*, linetuige; *Er.* 309: ~ linaethuigae.

3. **ðisteltwige.** Linnet; < *thistel*, thistle + *twige*, of unknown origin. Cf. G. *distelfink*.

WW. 260. 28: *cardella*, ðisteltwige; *Cp.* C. 122: ~ ðisteltuige; *Ld.* 220: ~ distyltjige; *ZdA.* 241. 51: ~ ðisæltunga.

Gen. Passer. Sparrow.

XI. 1. **spearwa.** Sparrow. ME. *sparwe, sparuwe*; OHG. *sparwe*; Icel. *spörr*; Goth. *sparwa*.

WW. 260. 36, 318. 16, *Æ. Gr.* 43. 14: *passer*, spearwa; *WW.* 402. 28: *fenu* ~; *Cp.* F. 128, *Er.* 435: ~ spearua; *Ep.* 435: ~ spearuua; *WW.* 286. 30: *passer*, spearewa; *ZdA.* 241. 57: ~ spearwe; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 7: ~ spearewa oððe lytel fugel; *Spl. Ps.* 83. 3, *Cant. Ps.* 83. 4: spearwa; *Vesp. Ps.* 83. 4: speara; *Th. Ps.* 83. 4: spearuwa; *Vesp. Ps.* 101. 7, *Spl. Ps.* 101. 7: spearwa; *Cant. Ps.* 101. 7: speræ; *Th. Ps.* 101. 5: spearuwan; *Vesp. Ps.* 103. 17, *Th. Ps.* 103. 16: spearwan; *Cant. Ps.* 103. 17: speræn; *Spl. Ps.* 103. 17: sperwan; *Vesp. Ps.*, *Spl. Ps.*, *Th. Ps.* 10. 1: spearwa; *Cant. Ps.* 10. 1: spearwe; *Vesp. Ps.* 123. 7, *Spl. Ps.* 123. 6: spearwa; *Cant. Ps.* 123. 7: speræwæ; *Mt.* 10. 29, 31: spearwan; *Lk.* 12. 6: spearwan; *Lk.* 12. 7: spearwum; *Chron.* 1067: an spearwa on gryn ne mæg befeallan forutan his foresceawunge; *Bede. E.* H. 2. 13: cume an spearwa ond hrædlice ðæt hus ðurhflæo.

2. **nēodspearwa.** Sparrow.

Th. Ps. 123. 6: swa swa neodspearuwa of grames huntan grine losige, *sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium.*

3. **hrondsparwa.** Sparrow.

Lind. Mt. 10. 29: staras and hrondsparuas.

Sub. F. *Emberizinae.* Buntings.

Gen. Emberiza. True Buntings.

XII. 1. **sæltna.** Bunting.

Cp. R. 256: *rubisca*, sæltna.

2. **seltra.** Bunting.

WW. 260. 17: *rubesca*, seltra.

3. **amore.** Yellowhammer (*emberiza citrinella*); not found in ME. and Mod.E. except in compound. MHG. *amere*; OHG. *amero*; G. *ammer*; probably connected with G. *amsel* and OE. *ōsle*.

WW. 260. 27: *scorellus*, amore; *Cp.* S. 166: *scorellus*, omer; *Ep.-Er.* 909: ~ emer; *Ld.* 208: ~ emaer.

F. Alaudidæ. Larks.

Gen. Alauda. Sky-larks.

XIII. *lāwerce.* Sky-lark or laverock (*alauda arvensis*).
ME. *larke*; Icel. *lævirki*; G. *lerche*.

WW. 286. 17: *tilaris*, lawerce; 356. 28: *alauda* ~; 431. 38: *laude* ~; 260. 22, *ZdA.* 241. 47: *tilaris*, lauwerce; *WW.* 363. 3: *caradrion*, læwerce; *Cp. A.* 497: *allauda*, lauricae; *Cp. T.* 179: *tilares* ~; L. 31: *laudae*, laurice; C. 148: *caradrion*, laurici; *Ep.* 1012: *tilaris*, lauercae; *Er.* 1012: *italaris*, lauercae; *Ld.* 211: *tilaris*, laurice; *WW.* 131. 28, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 12: *alauda*, lauerce.

Lafercan beorh occurs several times in charters; see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 307.

F. Paridæ. Tits.

Gen. Parus. True Tits.

XIV. I. *māse.* Titmouse. ME. *mose*; G. *meise*.

WW. 468. 16, *Cp. P.* 128: *parula*, mase; *Ep.-Er.* 806, *Ld.* 202: *parrula*, masae.

2. *spicmāse.* Titmouse. Cf. Icel. *spiki*.

WW. 286. 15. *parrula*, spicmase; *ZdA.* 241. 45: *parta* ~.

3. *fræcmāse.* Titmouse; < *fræc*, greedy + *māse*, titmouse.

WW. 432. 14, *Cp. L.* 91: *laudariulus*, frecmase; 286. 13: *sigatula* ~.

4. *hicemāse.* Blue Titmouse (*parus cæruleus*); called in the Cornish dialect *hickmal* or *hekkymal*.

WW. 132. 24: *parrax*, wrenna uel hicemase; *ZdA.* 241. 44: *sigittula* ~.

5. *colmāse.* Coal-titmouse (*parus ater*); also called coalmouse or coaltit; < *col*, coal + *māse*, titmouse; so called from its glossy black head and throat.

ME. *colmose*, *collemose*; MHG. *kolemeise*; G. *kohlmeise*.

WW. 131. 1, 361. 15: *bardioriolus*, colmase; 260. 20, *ZdA.* 244. 46: *parula* ~; 286. 14: *parra* ~.

6. *cummāse.* Coal-titmouse; evidently for *colmāse*.

WW. 260. 19: *parra*, cummase.

F. Sylviidæ. Warblers.

Gen. *Sylvia*. True Warblers.

XV. 1. **sugga**. Warbler; < *sūgan*, to suck, though the analogy is not clear. This word is variously interpreted as titlark, wagtail, garden warbler, etc., but it was apparently a name for the members of the genus *Sylvia*. It is glossed *ficedula*, which is the Ital. *becafico*, lit. fig-pecker, sometimes identified with the pettychaps and blackcaps of England. The *Stand. Dict.* says that *sugga* is an old name for the garden warbler; the *Dict. of Birds* says 'An old name apparently for any small bird, that seems still to survive in places for the hedge-sparrow.'

WW. 403. 18, *Er*. 422 : *ficetula*, *sucga*; *WW*. 286. 18, *Cp*. F. 176, *Ep*. 422 : ~ *sugga*; *Ld*. 218 : ~ *suca*; *Cod. Dip*. 3. 437. 27 : to *sucgan graf*.

2. **swertling**. Warbler. In the single instance in which it occurs *swertling* is glossed the same as *sugga*, a warbler. Sweet and Hall suggest titlark as a possible interpretation.

WW. 131. 15 : *ficedula*, *swertling*.

F. Turdidæ. Thrushes.

XVI. 1. **ðrysce**. Thrush. ME. *thrushe*, *thrusche*; OHG. *drosca*.

WW. 260. 30 : *trutius*, *ðrisce*; *ZdA*. 241. 53 : *sturtius*, *ðrysce*; *Cp*. F. 314 : *truitius*, *ðraesce*.

2. **ðryssce**. Thrush. This form is defined as ostrich by Bosworth-Toller, but it is undoubtedly a variation of *ðrysce*; in the gloss it follows *ðrostle* and *scrīc*, both meaning thrush.

WW. 286. 23 : *strutio*, *ðryssce*.

Gen. *Turdus*. True Thrushes.

XVII. 1. **ðrostle**. Thrustle or Song Thrush (*turdus musicus*). ME. *thristill*, *throstel*. Cognate with the form *ðrosle* are OS. *throssela*; G. *drossel*.

WW. 260. 25, *ZdA*. 241. 52 : *turdella*, *ðrostle*; *Cp*. T. 313 : *trita* ~; *Æ*. Gl. 307. 4 : *merula* ~; *WW*. 132. 25 : *merula uel plara*, *ðrosle*; *Ep*.-*Er*. 1011 : *turdella*, *throstlae*; *Ld*. 205 : *drostlae*; *Æ*. H. 2. 156. 22 : *witodlice an blac ðrostle flicorode ymbe his neb*; *Cod. Dip*. 5. 345. 3 : of *ðam lea on ðrostlan wyl*.

2. *scrīc*. Missel-thrush or mistletoe-thrush (*turdus viscivorus*); also called screech or screech-bird. This word is given by Sweet as a shrike, but in OE. it is usually glossed by the L. *turdus*, a thrush, and probably referred to the missel-thrush. In support of this supposition I quote the following from the *Dict. of Birds*: 'There can be little doubt that the name *scrīc*, signifying a bird that screeches or shrieks, applied originally to the mistletoe-thrush, known to Carleton in 1688 as *screitch*, and to Willughby as *shrite*, a name it still bears in some parts of England, to say nothing of cognate forms such as *screech-bird* and *shirl*.'

WW. 131. 36, 260. 29, 286. 22, *Cp*. T. 324, *Ep*. 1013: *turdus*, *scrīc*; *Er*. 1013, *Æ. Gl*. 307. *note*: ~ *screc*; *Ld*. 213: ~ *scruc*; *ZdA*. 241. 65: *structio*, *scrīc*.

3. *stint*. Thrush. Zupitza says this form is for *scrīc*.

ZdA. 241. 55: *turdus*, *stint*.

4. *feldefare*. Fieldfare (*turdus pilaris*); < *feld*, field + *faran*, to go. ME. *feldfare*, *feldefare*. Not the same word or bird, as often alleged, as the OE. *felofof*, a kind of waterfowl, the derivation of which is uncertain (cf. *Cent. Dict.*).

WW. 287. 17: *scorellus uel bugium*, clodhamer and feldeware.

5. *clodhamer*. Fieldfare.

WW. 287. 17: *scorellus uel bugium*, clodhamer and feldeware.

Gen. Merula. Blackbirds.

XVIII. *ōsle*. Blackbird (*merula merula*); also called ouzel, oussel, and amzel. The long *ō* stands for *an* or *am*. ME. *osel*; OHG. *amsala*, *amisala*; G. *amsel*.

WW. 260. 26: *merula*, *osle*; *Cp*. M. 165: ~ *osle*; *Ep.-Er*. 665: ~ *oslae*.

Gen. Daulias. Nightingales.

XIX. 1. *nihtegale*. Nightingale (*daulias luscinia*); lit. 'singer of the night'; < *niht*, night + **gale*, < *galan*, to sing. Also very rarely night-raven.

ME. *nyghtgale*, *nightingale*; OHG. *nahtigala*, *nahtagala*; G. *nachtigall*; cf. Icel. *nætrgali*.

WW. 344. 27: *achalantis uel luscinia uel roscinia*, nihtegale; *Cp.* A. 121: ~ nehtegale; *Ep.* 26: ~ nctigalae; *Er.* 26: ~ nectegela; *WW.* 433. 24: *luscinia*, nihtegale; *Cp.* L. 330: ~ naectegale; *WW.* 247. 11: *fungalis*, *luscinia*, nihtegale; *ZdA.* 240. 39: *ruscinia* ~; *WW.* 260. 5: *rusunia* ~; 287. 11: *philomella* ~; *Ep.* 857: *roscinia (luscinia)* nectaegalae; *Er.* 857: ~ necegle; *Ld.* 212: *ruscinia*, nectigalae; *Ep.* 673: *noctua*, naecht(h)raebn, *ali dicunt* nectigalae; *Er.* 673: ~ necthraebn, nachtegelae.

2. heapene. Nightingale.

WW. 355. 32: *ardoneæ*, hearpen. 'The L. word is here probably a corruption of the Greek, ἀηδόνας, nightingales' (Wright).

3. geolewearte. Nightingale.

WW. 132. 23: *luscinius*, geolewearte.

4. frocx. Nightingale.

WW. 433. 25: *luscinius*, frocx.

Riddle 9 is interpreted as the nightingale; sometimes also as the pipe.

Ic ðurh muð sprece mongum reordum,
wrencum singe, wrixle geneahhe
heafodwoðe, hlude cirme,
healde mine wisan, hleoðre ne miðe,
eald æfensceop, eorlum bringe
blisse in burgum, ðonne ic bugendre
stefne styrme: stille on wicum
sittað nigende. Saga, hwæt ic hatte,
ðe swa scirenige sceawendwisan
hlude onhyrge, hæleðum bodige
wilcumena fela woðe minre!

Gen. *Erithacus*. Redbreasts.

XX. 1. **rudduc**. Redbreast (*erithacus rubecula*); < *rudu*, redness, with diminutive suffix *-uc*, E *-ock*. ME. *ruddocke*, *ruddok*; cf. W. *rhuddog*. 'Ruddock continued long to be the regular English word for the redbreast or robin; and I am not sure that it has entirely disappeared from our local dialects' (Wülker).

Æ. *Gl.* 307. note: *rubusca*, ruduc; *WW.* 131. 26: *rubisca*, rudduc; 286. 11: ~ *salthaga uel* rudduc.

2. *salthaga*. Redbreast.

WW. 286. 11: *rubisca*, *salthaga uel rudduc*; *ZdA*. 241. 43: ~ *salthaga*.

3. *rædda*. Redbreast; < *rēad*, red.

Cp. R. 258: *rubisca*, *rædda*, *rabisca*.

F. *Accentoridæ*. Accentors.

Gen. Tharrhaleus. Hedge-Accentors.

XXI. *hegesugge*. Hedge-sparrow (*tharrhaleus modularis*); < *hege*, hedge + *sugge*, a warbler, < *sūgan*, to suck. The bird is still called *haysuck* in Gloucestershire. E. Dial. *hazock*, *hazeck*, *hayjack*; ME. *haisugge*, *heisugge*, *heysoge*.

WW. 131. 34: *cicada*, *uicetula*, *hegesugge*; *ZdA*. 241. 48: *ficitula*, *hæg-sugga*.

F. *Troglodytidæ*. Wrens.

Gen. Anorthura. True Wrens.

XXII. 1. *wrænna*. Wren (*anorthura troglodytes*); also dial. *wran*. ME. *wrenne*, *wranne*. The literal meaning is the 'lascivious bird.' 'The wren figures largely in English folk lore, and has a host of local, provisional, or familiar names, with wren expressed or implied' (*Cent. Dict.*).

WW. 286. 16, *ZdA*. 241. 59: *bitorius*, *wrænna*; *WW*. 543. 6: *parrax* ~; 132. 24: ~ *wrenna*, *hicemase*; 131. 33: *bitorius uel pintorus*, *wrenna*; 195. 2: *bitorius*, *bitriscus* ~; 358. 12: *bitorius*, *wærna*; *Cp*. B. 136: *birbicaliolus*, *werna*; *WW*. 361. 16: *biturius*, *wrænna*.

2. *yrðling*. Wren. This word is interpreted as cuckoo by some lexicographers, because in two instances it is glossed *cucusata*. It is true that the verb *cucusare* is given by Du Cange as the word properly belonging to the note of the cuckoo, but in the OE. glosses it is also used to gloss lapwing. Moreover *yrðling* is usually glossed the same as *wrænna*, wren.

WW. 260. 23, 367. 33: *cucusata*, *irðling*; 260. 31: *birbicaliolus* ~; 358. 11: ~ *yrðling*; 361. 14: *berbigarulus uel tanticus* ~; 286. 26: *birbicaliolus uel tanticus*, *eorðling*; 132. 31: *tanticus*, *ærðling*; *Cp*. B. 137: *bitorious*, *erding*; *ZdA*. 241. 56: *birbicaliolus*, *eorðlinc*.

F. Hirundinidæ. Swallows.

Gen. *Clivicola*. Bank-Martins.

XXIII. stæðswealwe. Sand-martin (*clivicola riparia*);
 < stæð, bank + swealwe, swallow.

Cp. R. 195: *ripariolus*, stæðsuualwe. *Lchdm.* 2. 154. 5: gif mon fundige wið his feond to gefeohtanne, stæðswealwan briddas geseoðe on wine, ete ðonne ær.

Gen. *Hirundo*. Chimney-Swallows.

XXIV. swealwe. Swallow (*hirundo rustica*); also called chimney-swallow.

ME. *swealwe*; Icel. *svala*; OHG. *swalarwa*; G. *schwalbe*.

WW. 260. 39: *hirunda*, swealwe; 417. 14: *hirundo* ~; 470. 9: *progna* ~; *Cp.* P. 710: ~ suualuue; *Æ. Gr.* 37. 7: *irundo*, swalowe; *ZdA.* 241. 58: ~ swealewe; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 7: *hirundo*, swalewe; *Cp.* H. 106: ~ sualuue; *Ep.* 498: ~ sualuuae; *Er.* 498: ~ sualuæ; *Ep.* 828: *progna*, sualuuae; *Er.* 828: *progina*, sualuuae; *Vesp. Hy.* 3. 10: swe swe swalwan; *Lchdm.* 2. 100. 18: swealwan nest; 3. 44. 13: swolwan nest; 2. 306. 7: sec lytele stanas on swealwan bridda magan; 2. 156. 8: gif hær to ðicce sie genim swealwan gebærn under tigelan to ahsan and læt sceadan ða ahsan on; *St. Guth.* 52. 7: hu ða swalawan on him sæton and sungon. Twa swalewan . . . heora sang upahofan . . . and hi setton on ða sculdra ðæs halgan weres Guðlaces.

For instances of *swealwe* in local names, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 338. *Riddle* 58 is interpreted as the swallow, although Bohn calls it the starling:

Ðeos lyft byreð lytle wihte
 ofer beorghleoða, ða sind blace swiðe,
 swearte salopade. Sanges rofe
 heapum ferað, hlude cirmað,
 tredað bearonæssas, hwilum burgsalo
 niðða bearna. Nemnað hy sylfe.

Ord. Piciformes. Picine Birds.

Sub. Ord. Pici. Woodpeckers.

F. Picidæ. True Woodpeckers.

Sub. F. Picinæ. True Woodpeckers.

XXV. 1. higeria. Woodpecker. Cf. G. *häher*. The Eng. forms *hickway*, *hickway*, *heigh-hawe*, and *highawe* can hardly have come from anything but the Anglo-Saxon *higeria*, meaning a laughter, doubtless referring to the cry of the green woodpecker (*gecinus viridis*) cf. *Dict. of Birds*.

WW. 260. 14, *ZdA.* 241. 41: *picus*, higere; *WW.* 132. 5: *gaia uel catamus* ~; 364. 10: *cicuanus* ~; 286. 9: *picus uel gagia*, higerā; *Cp.* P. 424: *picus*, higre, fina; *Ep.* 156, *Cp.* B. 77: *berna*, higræ; *Er.* 156: ~ higrę; *Cp.* C. 438: *cicuanus*, higræ; *Cp.* T. 315: *traigis* ~; *Ep.-Er.* 808: *picus*, fina uel higræ; *Æ. Gl.* 307. note: ~higera.

Riddle 25 is sometimes interpreted as the jay, but as the name of the bird is formed by the runes G. A. R. O. H. I. it must be *higora*, the woodpecker, although this bird is not generally considered a mimic. The riddle follows:

Ic eom wunderlicu wiht, wræsne mine stefne:
 hwilum beorce swa hund, hwilum blæte swa gat,
 hwilum græde swa gos, hwilum gielle swa hafoc,
 hwilum ic onhyrge ðone, haswan earn,
 guðfugles hleoðor, hwilum glidan reorde
 muðe gemæne, hwilum mæwes song,
 ðær ic glado sitte. . G. mec nemnað
 swylce .A. and .R., . O. fullesteð,
 .H. and .I. . Nu ic haten eom,
 swa ða siex stafas sweotule becnað.

2. fina. Woodpecker.

WW. 286. 8, 444. 32, *ZdA.* 240. 41, *Cp.* M. 35, *Ep.* 648: *marsopicus*, fina; *WW.* 132. 14: *picus* ~; 260. 13, 444. 22: *mursopicus* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 8: *ficus* ~; *Cp.* S. 577: *sturfus* ~; P. 424: *picus*, higrere, fina; *Er.* 648: *marsopticus*, pina; *Ep.-Er.* 808: *picus*, fina uel higræ.

3. rindeclifer. Woodpecker; < *rind*, bark + *clifrian*, to scratch; i. e. a 'barkscratcher.'

WW. 427. 29: *ibin*, rindeclifre.

Ord. Coccoyges. Cuculine Birds.

Sub. Ord. Cuculi. Cuckoos.

Sub. F. Cuculinæ. True Cuckoos.

Gen. Cuculus. True Cuckoos.

XXVI. gēac. Cuckoo or gawk (*cuculus canorus*); perhaps like cuckoo ultimately of imitative origin. ME. *gowke*; Icel. *gaukr*; G. *gauch*. Gawk is the common name of the cuckoo in Scotland and north of England.

WW. 132. 6, 261. 1, 286. 25, 367. 35, *ZdA.* 240. 38: *cuculus*, geac; *Cp.* C. 948: ~ gæc; *Er.* 265: ~ gęc; *WW.* 413. 17: *geumatrex*, geac; *Cp.* G. 87: *geumatrix* ~; *Seaf.* 53: swylce geac monað geomran reorde, singeð sumeres

weard; *Husb. Mes.* 22: siððan ðu gehyrde on hliðes oran galan geomorne geac on bearwe; *Gu.* 716: geacas gear budon.

The following *Riddle* (10) has been interpreted as the cuckoo:

Mec on ðissum dagum deadne ofgeafun
 fæder and modor: ne wæs me feorh ða gen,
 ealdor in innan. Ða mec [an] ongon
 wel hold me gewedum ðeccan,
 heold and freoðode, hleosceorpe wrah
 swa arlice swa hire agen bearn,
 oððæt ic under sceate, swa min gesceapu wæron,
 ungesibbum wearð eacen gæste.
 Mec seo friðemæg fedde siððan,
 oððæt ic aweox, widor meahte
 siððas asettan: heo hæfde swæsra ðy læs
 suna and dohtra, ðy heo swa dyde.

Ord. Coraciiformes. Picarian Birds.

Sub. Ord. Halcyones. Kingfishers.

F. Alcedinidæ. True Kingfishers.

Sub. F. Alcedininæ. Fish-Eating Kingfishers.

Gen. Alcedo. Blue Kingfishers.

XXVII. 1. *fiscere*. Common kingfisher (*alcedo ispida*).

WW. 132. 30: *rapariolus, fiscere*.

2. *isern*. Kingfisher; < *is*, ice + *ern*, eagle; cf. *G. eisvogel*. This word is not recognized by the OE. dictionaries as a name of the kingfisher, but it is noted by Dr. Schlutter in *Anglia* 19. 462. Newton, in the *Dict. of Birds*, says that in German the common term for kingfisher is *Eisvogel*, 'which finds its counterpart in the Anglo-Saxon *Isern* or *Isen*.'

WW. 348. 5: *alcion, isen*; 350. 7: *alchior* ~; *Ep.* 25: ~ *isern*; *Er.* 25: ~ *isaern*; *Cp. A.* 422: *alcion, isern*.

Ord. Striges. Owls.

XXVIII. 1. *ûle*. Owl. ME. *owlc, oule*; OHG. *ûla*; G. *eule*; Icel. *ugla*; L. *ulula*: 'All probably based on an imitation of the bird's cry, and thus remotely related to howl' (*Cent. Dict.*).

WW. 260. 15, 453. 11, *ZdA.* 241. 60: *noctua*, ule; *WW.* 260. 16: *ululu* ~; *Cp.* N. 138: *noctua*, *ulula* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 11: *noctua uel strix* ~; *WW.* 543. 4: (*noctua*) *uel strix*, *uel bubo* ~; 286. 10: *noctua uel strix*, *uel cauanna* ~; 131. 17: *strix uel cauanna*, *uel noctua*, *uel ulula* ~; *Cp.* C. 119: *cauanni*, *ulae*; *U.* 238: *ulula* ~; *Lev.* 11. 16: *ne ete ne ulan*; *WW.* 373. 23, 514. 13, *Hpt. Gl.* 526. 62: *cauannarum*, *ulena*; *WW.* 287. 9: *bubo*, ule.

2. *hūf*, *uuf*. Owl. The word occurs both in OE. and OHG. with and without the initial *h*, as OE. *hūf*, *ūf*; OHG. *hūwo*, *ūwo*.

WW. 157. 28: *sublinguium*, *huf*; 358. 36, *Cp.* B. 206: *bubo*, *uuf*; *Ep.-Er.* 142, *Er.* 161: *bubu* ~; *Ep.* 161: *bufa* ~; *Æ. Gr.* 48. 17. *note*: *hic vultur*, *des uf*.

Ord. Accipitres. Birds of Prey.

Sub. Ord. Pandiones. Ospreys.

Gen. Pandion. Ospreys.

XXIX. *herefong*. Osprey (*pandion haliaëtus*); < *here*, army + *fong*, booty.

The osprey formerly bred in England, but its numbers have diminished so rapidly that it is now threatened with extinction.

WW. 258. 8, 460. 18: *ossifragus*, *herefong*; *ZdA.* 241. 66: *osigragus*, *herhfong*.

Sub. Ord. Falcones. True Raptorial Birds.

F. Vulturidæ. Vultures.

XXX. 1. *earngēat*. Vulture; < *earn*, eagle + *gēat*, goat. It is glossed *arpa* (*harpe*) = Gr. *ἄρπη*, vulture. Only two species of vulture have been known to occur in England, the griffon vulture and the egyptian vulture.

WW. 284. 4. *Ep.* 40: *arpa*, *earngeat*; *WW.* 258. 4, 351. 14: ~ *eargeat*; *Cp.* A. 759: ~ *eargeot*; *ZdA.* 239. 8: ~ *arngat*; *WW.* 117. 24: ~ *ærengeat*; *Er.* 40: ~ *aerngeup*; *Ld.* 207: ~ *arngaus*; *Cp.* A. 862: *asapa*, *earngeat*; *WW.* 132. 19: *uultur*, *earngeap*.

2. *gīw*. Vulture. Notwithstanding the fact that *gīw* is given in OE. dictionaries as a variation of *ēow*, griffin, the two words seem to have different significations in the OE. glosses. *Ēow* is undoubtedly the griffin; it appears under the head of animals (*WW.* 118. 37, 320. 4) with the

gloss *griffus*, *fiðerfote fugel*. On the other hand *gīw* with its variations *gīu* and *gīow*, is found in the lists of birds, in company with such words as *earn*, *earnġeat*, *herefong*, etc. *Gīw* is glossed *griphus*, which is properly the L. for griffin; that it was also used as the name of a bird the following extract from Cockayne's *Shrine* is proof positive. *Griphugiis aletum similem aquilæ, maior avis, minor tamen quam ultor [vultur]*. Only two species of vulture are known to have existed in England, and they are rare visitants. It is possible, however, that in OE. times vultures were more common. The griffon vulture, whose total length is 40 inches, answers well to the description of *vultur* in the *Shrine*: *vultur [vultur] modico maior quam aqua [aquila?]*. Just what bird is meant by *griphus* is not clear. The only member of the order *accipitres* which answers the description in respect to size is the female or young of the griffon vulture.

WW. 413. 22: *griphus*, *giu*; 413. 21: *griþem*, ~; 258. 7: *griphus*, *giw*; 284. 5: ~ *giow*; *ZdA.* 239. 6: *iow*, . . *ipus (griþus)*.

3. **vultor.** Vulture; < L. *vultur*; ME. *vultur*.

Bt. 25. 6: ond se vultor sceolde forlætan ðæt he ne slat ða lifre Tyties ðæs cyninges.

F. Falconidæ. True Raptorial Birds.

Sub. F. Accipitrinæ. Long-legged Hawks.

Gen. *Astur*. Gos-hawks.

XXXI. **gōshafoc.** Goshawk (*astur palumbarius*); < *gōs*, goose + *hafoc*, hawk; the largest of the short-winged hawks used in falconry. ME. *goshawk*, *goshawk*; OHG. *gānshapich*; G. *gansehabicht*; Icel. *gashaukr*. The goshawk, although now very rare in England, is believed to have been formerly a common species. Its disappearance may perhaps be due largely to the cutting down of the ancient forests, in which it made its home. The derivation of the word would seem to imply that the bird was flown at geese, and this theory is supported by statements in the older works on Ornithology, such as the following from Pennant's *Brit. Zool.* 'The Goshawk was in high

esteem among falconers, and flown at cranes, geese, pheasants, and partridges.' Some think it doubtful, however, that the bird is powerful enough to attack birds of the size of the goose and crane. On this point Newton says in his *Dict. of Birds*: 'Its Eng. name has possibly been transferred to this species from one of the long-winged hawks, or true falcons, since there is no tradition of the goshawk, now so called, having been used in Europe to take geese or other large and powerful birds.'

WW. 285. 2: *accipiter*, goshafoc; *ZdA.* 240. 14: *ancipiter* ~.

Genus Accipiter. Sparrow-hawks.

XXXII. **spearhafoc.** Sparrow-hawk (*accipiter nisus*); one of the smaller hawks used in fowling; < *spearwa*, sparrow + *hafoc*, hawk. ME. *sparhawk*, *sperhawk*; Icel. *sparrhaukr*; Sw. *sparflök*.

WW. 132. 26: *accipiter uel raptor*, spearhafoc; 285. 5: *hetum* ~; 287. 15: *ismarus alietum* ~; *ZdA.* 240. 16: *alietum* ~; *WW.* 259. 9: ~ spearhafuc; *Æ. Gl.* 307. note: ~ sperhauac; *WW.* 351. 21: *accipiter*, spearhafuc; *Cp. A.* 432: *alietum*, spearhabuc.

XXXIII. 1. **hafoc.** General term for hawk. Probably from the root **haf* of *hebban*, E. heave, in its early sense of 'take,' 'seize' (cf. *Cent. Dict.*). ME. *havek*, *havec*, *havoc*; OHG. *habuch*, *habich*; G. *habicht*; Icel. *haukr*.

Æ. Gr. 43. 15: *accipitres*, hafuc; *Ld.* 51: ~ haefuc; *WW.* 95. 12: mid hafoce; 95. 14: hæfst ðu hafoc; 95. 18: syle me ænne hafoc; 95. 20: hwylcne hafac; 95. 22: hu afeost ðu hafocas ðine; *Beo.* 2263: ne god hafoc geond sæl swingeð; *Rid.* 25. 3: hwilum gielle swa hafoc; 41. 67: ic mæg fromlicor fleogan ðonne pernex oððe earn, oððe hafoc æfre meahste; *Crafts of Men* 81: sum bið fugelbona, hafeces cræftig; *Vesp. Ps.* 103. 17: heafuces; *Fates of Men* 86. sum sceal wildne fugel wloncne atemian heafoc on honda; *Cod. Dip.* 2. 380. 26: twegen hafoces; *By.* 7: he let him ða of handon leofre fleogan hafoc; *Rid.* 7. 8: hafoc; *Gn. Ver. Cot.* 17: hafuc sceal on glöfe wilde gewunian; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 2: *accipiter*, hafoc.

Hafoc is often found in names of places; see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 295.

2. **hafocynn.** Hawk-kind.

Lev. 11. 13: ne ete ge nan ðing hafocynnnes ne earcynnnes.

3. **hafocfugel.** Hawk.

Ecg. C. 38: ðeah hafocfugel abite, *etiamse accipiter ea momorderit.*

4. **heoroswealwe.** Used as an epithet of *hafoc*.

Fates of Men 86: sum sceal wildne fugel wloncne atemian heafoc on honda, oððæt seo heoroswealwe wynsum weorðeð.

5. **mūshafoc.** Lit. 'mouse-hawk'; < *mūs*, mouse + *hafoc*, hawk; probably so called because of its feeding on mice. It seems impossible to determine what species of hawk bore this name in OE. The name now belongs to the rough-legged buzzard (*archibuteo lagopus*), an irregular winter visitant to England.

WW. 285. 6: *saricaricis*, mushafoc; *ZdA. 240. 17*: *siracaricis*, ~; *WW. 259. 10*: *suricaricis*, mushafuc; *Cp. S. 438*: *scoricarius*, mushabuc; *Æ. Gl. 307. note*: *scuricarius*, mushauac.

6. **bleripittel.** Mouse-hawk; glossed the same as *mūs-hafoc*.

WW. 132. 38: *scoricarius*, bleripittel; *287. 8*: *soricarius*, bleria pyttel.

7. **hæswalwe.** Hawk. Although Sweet defines this word as sea swallow, i. e. the tern, the L. gloss *astur* (It. *astore*), properly goshawk, proves that it is a species of hawk. For an instance of *swealwe* in a compound word, meaning hawk, see *heoroswealwe*, used synonymously with *hafoc*.

Cp. A. 864: *astur*, hæswalwe.

Sub. F. **Buteoninæ.** Buzzards.

Gen. Buteo. True Buzzards.

XXXIV. **tysca.** Buzzard; probably common buzzard (*buteo buteo*).

WW. 195. 4, 259. 12: *bizus*, tysca.

Sub. F. **Aquilinæ.** Eagles.

XXXV. 1. **earn.** The original name of the eagle, now chiefly poetical or dialectal. ME. *ern*, *erne*; OHG. *arn*; Icel. *örn*; also, without the formative *-n*: OHG. *aro*; G.

aar; Icel. *ari*; Goth. *ara*; related to Gr. *ὄρνις*. At present, two species of eagle are natives of Britain, the golden eagle (*aquila chrysaëtus*) and the white-tailed eagle (*haliaëtus albicilla*), both of which were probably known to the Anglo-Saxons. In the *Battle of Brunanburh*, the eagle, described as white behind (*æftan whit*), is undoubtedly the white-tailed eagle, but the war-eagle, usually called dark-feathered (*salowigpāda*), is probably the golden eagle, known in Scotland as the black eagle.

WW. 131. 10, 258. 3, 284. 3, 351. 12, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 2, *ZdA.* 239. 7: *aquila*, earn; *Æ. Gr.* 19. 14, 243. 15: *hæc aquila*, ðes earn; *Beo.* 3026: se wonna hrefn fus ofer fægum fela reordian, earne secgan; 3031: earnanæs; *Jud.* 210; ac him fleah on last earn ætes georn, urigfeðera, salowigpada, sang hildeleoð, hyrnednþba; *El.* 29: urigfeðera earn sang ahof laðum on laste; 111: urigfeðera earn sið beheold wælhreowra wig; *An.* 863: ða comon earnas ofer yða wylm on flyhte feðerum hremige; *Sal.* 471: blodige earnas; *Ph.* 235: he ærest bið swylce earne brid, fæger fugeltimber; *Ph.* 238: he bið wæstmum gælic ealdum earne; *Rtd.* 25. 4: hwilum ic onhyrge ðone haswan earn, guðfugles hleoðor; 41. 67: ic mæg fromlicor fleogan, ðonne pernex oððe earn oððe hafoc æfre mehte; *Brun.* 63: ðone hasopadan earn, æftan hwit æses brucan, grædigne guðhafoc; *By.* 107: earn æses georn; *Seaf.* 24: ful oft ðæt earn bigeal urigfeðera; *Lchdm.* 1. 128. 10: se earn; 3. 14. 24: earne mearh; 3. 168. 20: ðonne him ðynce ðæt his earn ehte, ðæt bið deað; 3. 214. 11: gif ðu gesihst earn fleon wif ðin gegripan deað getacnað; *Vesp. Hy.* 7. 20: swe swe earn ðeceð nest his and ofer briddas his geset; *Vesp. Ps.*, *Sp. Ps.* 102. 5: earn; *Cant. Ps.* 102. 5: eærn; *Th. Ps.* 102. 5: earne; *Mt.* 24. 28, *Lk.* 13. 17: beoð earnas gegaderode; *Bt.* 7. 3: swa se earn ðonne he up gewit bufan ða wolcnu; *Deut.* 32. 11: swa earn his briddas spænð to flihte and ofer hig flicerað, swa he tobrædde his feðeru; *Sal. (Pr.)* 146. 10: bið se *Pater Noster* on seolfrenes earne onlicnisse; 146. 16: on gyldenes earne onlicnisse; *Gosp. Nic. Bright's Reader* 133. 4: he wæs hyne asceacende eal swa earn ðonne he myd hrædum flyhte wyle forð afleon; *Æ. H.* 2. 138. 30: ða fleah sum earn ætforan him on siðe; 138. 35: la hwæt se Ælmihtiga God mæg foreaðe unc ðurh ðisne earn æt foresceawian; 140. 3: and efne se earn on ðam ofre gesæt; 140. 5: yrn to ðam earne; 140. 8: syle swa-ðeah sumne dæl ðam earne to edleane his geswince; 430. 24: feorðe on earne; 434. 8: and his næglas swa swa earne clawa.

For instances of *earn* in names of places, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 282.

2. earcynn. Eagle-kind.

Lev. 11, 13: ne ete ge nanðing hafocynnnes ne earcynnnes.

3. *gūðfugel*. Lit. 'bird of war'; < *gūð*, war + *fugel*, bird; used as an epithet of the eagle.

Rid. 25. 5: ðone haswan earn, guðfugles hleoðor.

4. *gūðhafoc*. An epithet of the eagle; < *gūð*, war + *hafoc*, hawk.

Brun. 64: earn æftan hwit, æses brucan, grædigne guðhafoc.

Gen. Milvus. Kites.

XXXVI. 1. *cȳta*. Kite (*milvus milvus*). ME. *kite* or *kete*. Once perhaps the most familiar bird of prey in Great Britain, but now extinct in most of its former haunts. In the Middle Ages it was very abundant in the streets of London, where it fed upon offal and garbage.

WW. 131. 38: *buteo*, *cyta*; 196. 3: *butium*, *cyta*, *frisca*; 287. 7, 358. 35, *Cp. B.* 199: *butio* ~. 'The L. *butio* is properly a bittern, but doubtless *buteo* is meant signifying a kind of falcon or hawk' (Skeat).

2. *glida*. Kite, glede; also written glead or glead. ME. *glede*; Icel. *glēða*. < *glīdan*, to glide, referring to its gliding motion. Glede continued to be the usual Eng. name for the kite until a comparatively late period, and is not wholly obsolete. The term is sometimes applied to related hawks, such as the common buzzard and the marsh-hawk.

WW. 132. 16, 259. 11, 285. 7, 443. 17. *Æ. Gl.* 307. 2: *miluus*, *glida*; *Shrn.* 29: *miluus* ~; *Æ. Gr.* 243. 14: *hic miluus*, ðes *glida*; *Cp. M.* 201: ~ *glioda*; *ZdA.* 240. 31: ~ *glide*; *Rid.* 25. 5: hwilum *glidan* reorde muðe gemæne; *Æ. H.* i. 586. 6: se ðe ðurh reafac gewilnað ða ðing ðe he mid his eagum wiðutan sceawað. se is *glida*, na culfre æt his ehðyrlum; *Æ. H.* i. 46. 16: se ðe reafac lufað, he bið *glida*, and na culfre; *Æ. Gr.* 19. 13: *hic miluus* ðes *glida*; 28. 19: *miluus*, *glida*.

3. *frysca*. Kite. This word is called a bittern by Bosworth-Toller, probably because its gloss *butio* is properly the L. word for bittern. *Butio* occurs several times in OE. glosses, but always, with this single exception, in connection with *cyta*, kite. It may possibly be intended for *buteo*, a kind of hawk. The following gloss seems to identify *frysca* with *cyta*.

WW. 196. 3: *butium*, *cyta*, *frisca*; *Cp. B.* 227: *butio*, *frysca*.

Sub. F. Falconinæ. True Falcons.

Gen. *Falco*. *Fálcons*.

XXXVII. **wealhhafoç**. Peregrine falcon (*falco peregrinus*; < *wealh*, foreigner + *hafoç*, hawk, i. e. the foreign or Welsh hawk; cf. OHG. *waluchapuh*. 'In the A.S. period the favorite hawk for falconry was obtained from Wales' (*WW*. 417). The falcon, on account of its bold spirit and great strength, has always been considered the best bird for falconry, a sport that was very popular among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The exact date of the introduction of falconry into England is not known, but about the year 750 Winifred or Boniface, then archbishop of Mons, sent Æthelbald, king of Kent, a hawk and two falcons; and Hedilbert, king of the Mercians, requested the same Winifred to send him two falcons, which had been trained to kill cranes (cf. Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poet.* 2. 40. note).

WW. 132. 36: *falco uel capus*, wealhhafoç; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 11: *falco uel capun* ~; *WW*. 406. 20, 514. 12: *falconum*, wealhhafoça; 259. 8, 417. 10: *herodius*, wealhhafoç; *ZdA.* 240. 15: ~ wealhhafoç; *Cp.* H. 83: ~ walchhabuc; F. 10: *falc*, walchhabuc; *Ep.* 497: *herodius*, uualh[h]ebuc; *Er.* 497: ~ uualhhaebuc; *Ld.* 50: *horodion*, ualchhafuc; *Shrn.* 29: *erodionem* [ἐροδιόν] waluchæbuc; *Spl. Ps.* 103. 19: wealhhafoçes hus lateow is heora, *herodii domus dux est eorum*; *Nar.* 16. 13: ða fugelas *nocticornaces* hatton wæron in wealhhafoçes gielicnisse (*vulturibus similes*).

The falcon forms the theme of one of Cynewulf's *Riddles* (78), which appears in Grein's *Bibliothek* as the 80th:

Ic eom æðelinges eaxlgestealla,
 fyrdrinces gefara, frean minum leof,
 cyninges geselda. Cwen mec hwilum
 hwitloccedu hond on legeð,
 eorles dohter, ðeah hio æðelu sy.
 Hæbbe me on bosme, ðæt on bearwe geweox.
 Hwilum ic on wloncum wicge ride
 herges on ende; heard is min tunge.
 Oft ic woðboran wordleana sum
 agyfe æfter giedde. Good is min wise
 and ic sylfa salo. Saga, hwæt ic hatte!

Ord. Pelecaniformes. Pelican-like Birds.

Sub. Ord. Pelecani. Pelicans.

XXXVIII. 1. **pellican**. Pelican; < L. *pellicanus*, < Gr. *πελεκανος*; ME. *pelican*, *pelycan*; F. *pelican*; It. *pellicano*; D. *pelikaan*. The pelican does not now exist in England. The following is taken from the *Dict. of Birds*: 'Two specimens of the humerus of as many Pelicans have been found in the English fens (*Ibis*. 1868), thus proving the former existence of the bird in England at no very distant period, and one of them being that of a young example points to its having been bred in this country. It is possible from their large size that they belonged to *Pelecanus Crispus*.'

Th. *Ps.* 101. 5: ic geworden eom pellicane gelic se on westene wunað.

2. **stāngella**. Pelican; < *stān*, stone + *gellan*, to yell; lit. a 'stone-yeller.' In *Rid.* 25, *gellan* is used of the cry of a hawk.

WW. 287. 10: *pellicanus*, *stangella* and *wanfota*; Spl. *Ps.* 101. 7: gelic geworden ic eom ðam stangillan westene, *similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis*.

3. **wanfōta**. Pelican; < *wan*, lacking + *fōt*, foot. Bosworth-Toller suggests it is derived from *wann*, dark + *fōt*, i. e. dark-footed.

WW. 287. 10: *pellicanus*, *stangella* and *wanfota*.

4. **dūfedoppa**. Probably a pelican, because it is glossed by the L. *pellicanus*, pelican, although it is given in the *Cent. Dict.* as a general term for diving bird. < *dūfan*, to dive + *dopettan*, to dip. It is preserved in Mod.E. *dīdapper*, *divedappa*, *divedopper*; the *dūfe* appears in Mod.E. *dove*, and *doppa* in Mod.E. *doppe*, a dabchick. ME. *dydoppar*.

Lamb. Ps. 101. 7: gelic geworden ic eom nihthraefne oððe dufedoppā westennes, *similis factus sum pellicano solitudinis*.

5. **dumle**. Pelican. Given in Lye's *Dict.* with the gloss *onocratallus*. It appears in the compound *raradumlc*, bittern.

Sub. Ord. Phalacrocoraces. Cormorants.

Gen. Phalacrocorax. Cormorants and Shags.

XXXIX. **scræb.** Cormorant. Cf. Icel. *skarfr*, properly the green cormorant; Shet. *scarf*; Scot. *scart*; G. *sharbe*.

Cp. M. 199: *merga*, *scræb*; *Shrn.* 29. 19: *ibinem* [ʼIβw], i. e. *screb*.

Sub. Ord. Sulæ. Gannets.

Gen. Dysporus. True Gannets.

XL. **ganot.** Gannet (*dysporus bassanus*); also used as a general term for sea-fowl, as *ganotes bæð*, the sea-fowl's bath (sea). In ME. the word is found only in the contracted form, *gant*, *gante*. OHG. *ganazza*. < *gan*, seen in gander and goose (G. *gans*) + suffix, *-ot*, *-et*.

WW. 259. 1, 284. 9, 404. 24, *ZdA.* 240. 24: *fulix*, *ganot*; *Bl. Gl.* *fulice*, *ganotes*; *Cp. F.* 382: *funix*, *gonot* uel *doppaenid*; *Ep.-Er.* 419: *fulix*, *ganot* uel *dopaenid*; *Prud. Gl.* 398: *cygnus*, *ganet*; *Beo.* 1861, *Run.* 75: *ganotes bæð*; *Chron.* 975: and ða wearð eac adræfed deormod hæleð Oslac of earde ofer yða gewealc ofer *ganotes bæð*; *Seaf.* 20: dyde ic me to gomene *ganetes hleoðor*; *Th. Ps.* 104. 35: *fuglas comon of garsege, ganetes fleogan*.

Ord. Anseriformes. Geese, Swans, Ducks.

F. Anatidæ. Sub. F. Anserinæ. Geese.

XLI. 1. **gōs.** Goose. ME. *goos*, *gos*; OHG. *gans*; G. *gans*; Icel. *gās*; L. *anser*; Gr. *χῆν*.

WW. 131. 21, *ZdA.* 240. 11, *Æ. Gr.* 25. 6, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 8: *auca*, *gos*; Ine's *Laws* 70: *gees*; *Cod. Dip.* 1. 297. 2, 1. 299. 21: x *gæs*; *WW.* 284. 6: *ossigra* ~; 349. 30: *anser* ~; *Cp. A.* 627, *Ep.-Er.* 117: ~ *goos*; *Er.* 1103: *anser*, *auca*, *gos*; *Lchdm.* 3. 176. 6: *gyf man mete ðæt he fela gosa hæbbe, god ðæt bið*; 2. 196. 22: *gose fiðru*; *Rid.* 25. 3: *hwilum græde swa gos*.

For *gōs* in local names, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 291.

2. **gōsfugol.** Goose.

Cod. Dip. 1. 312. 9: *sex gوسفugas*.

3. **gandra, ganra.** Gander. ME. *gandre*; the same word, but with different suffix, as MHG. *ganzer*; G. *ganser*.

Æ. Gr. 43. 14, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 8: *anser*, *gandra*; *WW.* 131. 23: ~ *ganra*; 284. 12: ~ uel *ganra*, *hwitgos*; *Cod. Dip.* 5. 166. 6: on *gandra dune*; *Lchdm.* 3. 145. 24: *ganran*.

4. hwitgōs. White goose.

WW. 259. 2: *canta*, hwitegos; 351. 16; *anser* ~; *ZdA.* 240. 14: ~ hwit-gos; *WW.* 284. 12: ~ uel ganra, hwit gos. 'The words *uel ganra* are added in another hand.'

5. græggōs. Gray goose, wild goose.

Er. 1104: *anser silvatica*, gregos; *WW.* 259. 3: *canta*, græggos; 284. 13: *ganta uel auca* ~; *ZdA.* 240. 13: *ganta* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. *note*: *canta*, grei gos; *WW.* 415. 31: *gans*, gregegos.

6. wildegōs. Wild goose.

WW. 413. 6: *gente*, wildegos; *Cp. G.* 53, 68: ~ wildegoos; *C.* 341: *cente* ~; *WW.* 364. 1: ~ wildegos.

Riddle 11 is usually interpreted as the sea-furrow, but Brooke believes that it describes the barnacle goose (*branta leucopsis*):

Neb wæs min on nearwe and ic neoðan wætre
 flode underflowen, firgenstreamum
 swiðe besuncen, and on sunde awox
 ufan yðum ðeaht, anum getenge
 liðendum wuda lice mine,
 hæfde feorh cwico, ða ic of fæðmum cwom
 brimes and beames on blacum hrægle:
 sume wæron hwite hyrste mine,
 ða mec lifgende lyft upp ahof
 wind of wæge, siððan wide bær
 ofer seolhbaðo. Saga, hwæt ic hatte!

Sub. F. Cygninæ. Swans.

Gen. Cygnus. True Swans.

XLII. 1. swan. Swan; doubtfully derived from the root of *L. sonare*, to sound. *ME.* *swan*, *swon*; *OHG.* *swan*, *swana*; *G.* *schwan*; *Icel.* *swanr*, used only in a poetical sense. At present three species of swans are found in England. The most common species, the whistling or wild swan (*cygnus musicus*), was known to the Anglo-Saxons, as its peculiar song is described in *Riddle* 8. The mute swan (*cygnus olor*) is said to have been introduced into England by Richard I. towards the end of the 12th cent. It now exists as a semi-domesticated species.

WW. 131. 13, 459. 22, *ZdA.* 239. 9: *olor*, swan; 131. 12: *herodius* ~; 417. 16: *holor* ~; 287. 4: *diomedia uel herodiæ* ~; *Lchdm.* 2. 196. 20: swan; *Cp.* H. 134: *holor*, swan; *Ep.-Er.* 700: *olor*, swan; *WW.* 294. 4, 459. 22: ~ swon; 349. 16: *aluor*, swon oððe ilfatu; *Shrn.* 29: *cicnum*, suon; *Beo.* 200: swan-rade; *Ph.* 137: swanes feðre; *WW.* 284. 14: *olor*, swann; *Æ. Hex.* 8. 13: sume beoð langswereðe, swa-swa swanas and ielfetan, ðæt hie aræcean him mægen mæte be ðæm grunde.

For instances of *swan* in local names, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 339.

2. ilfetu. Swan. Cf. Icel. *álft*, swan.

WW. 349. 16: *aluor*, swon, oððe ilfatu; 459. 22: *olor*, swan, ilfetu, swon; 131. 8, *cignus*, ylfete; 318. 12: *olor uel cignus*, ylfete; *Ep.* 718: *olor*, *cignus*, ælbitu; *ZdA.* 240. 10: *cicnum*, æluetu; *Seaf.* 19: hwilum ylfete song; *Æ. Hex.* 8. 12: sume beoð langswereðe, swa-swa swanas and ielfetan; *Ep.* 718: *olor* gr(a)ece, latine *cignus*, fbitu.

Riddle 8 describes the whistling swan (*cygnus musicus*):

Hrægl min swigað, ðonne ic hrusan trede
oððe ða wic buge oððe wado drefe.
Hwilum mec ahebbað ofer hæleða byht
hyrste mine and ðeos hea lyft
and mec ðonne wide wolcna strengu
ofer folc byreð: frætwe mine
swogað hlude and swinsiað
torhte singað, ðonne ic getenge ne beom
flode and foldan ferende gæst.

Sub. F. *Anatinæ*. True Ducks.

XLIII. 1. *ened*. Duck and drake. ME. *ened*, *ende*; OHG. *anut*, *anit*; G. *ente*; L. *anas*. *Ened* was the common name for duck in OE., *dūce* being found only once. Bones of the common wild duck (*anas boschas*) have been found in Eng. peat bogs.

WW. 131. 24: *anas*, *ened*; 258. 9: *anatis* ~; 258. 10, 318. 9, 349. 24, *Æ. Gr.* 25. 6: *aneta* ~; 258. 11, 434. 22: *larax* ~; *Cp.* A. 569: *aneta*, *enid*; *Ep.* 17: ~ *aenid*; *Er.* 17: ~ *aenit*; *ZdA.* 240. 21, *WW.* 284. 10: ~ *æned*; *ZdA.* 240. 22, *WW.* 284. 11: *uel anax*, *æned*; *Lchdm.* 2. 196. 20: *æned*; *Cod. Dip.* 1. 258. 5: oð *enede* mere; 5. 216. 35: to *enedforda*.

2. *dūce*. Duck; found only in genitive; lit. 'a ducker,' < **ducan*, to duck. In ME. there are three types: *dukke*, *duk*, corresponding to Mod.E. duck; *dōke*, *dooke*; *douke*, *dowke*.

Cod. Dip. 3. 18, 16, 17: andlang Osrices pulle ðæt hit cymð on ducan seaðe; of ducan seaðe ðæt hit cymð on Rischale; 3. 399. 18: ondlang Osrices pulle, and swa ðæt hit cymð on ducan seaðe; of ducan seaðe ðæt hit cymð on Rischale.

Ord. Ardeiformes. Herons, Storks and Ibises.

Sub. Ord. Ardeæ. Herons.

F. Arderidæ. True Herons.

Gen. Ardea. Grey Herons.

XLIV. *hrāgra*. Common heron (*ardea cinerea*); probably of imitative origin. MHG. *reiger*; G. *reiher*; Icel. *hegri*. Bones of the common heron are frequently found in East Anglian bogs. This bird is a favorite quarry of the falcon, and when falconry was at its height, heronries were protected by law in England and other European countries.

WW. 131. 14, 287. 3, 351. 25, 356. 30: *ardea*, *hragra*; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 3: ~ *hrahra*; *ZdA.* 240. 30: ~ *rahgre*; *Cp. A.* 729: *ardia et die perdulum*, *hragra*; *Ep.-Er.* 42. *ardea et dieperdulum* ~; *Ld.* 214: *die perdulum* ~; *Shrn.* 29. 18: *larum* ~.

Gen. Nycticorax. Night-Herons.

XLV. 1. *nihthræfn*. Lit. 'night-raven'; the common night-heron (*nycticorax nycticorax*). ME. *nyghteraven*; OHG. *nahthraban*; G. *nachtrabe*; Icel. *nätthrafn*.

This word has been variously interpreted as owl, night-jar and night-heron, but the weight of evidence seems to favor the last theory. *Nihthræfn* is usually glossed *nycticorax*, a word which presents some difficulties. In the 15th cent. glossaries it glosses *nyghtcrow* (night-crow) which is identical with the night-raven, according to the *Cent. Dict.* Glanvil in his *De Propriet. Rerum* p. 430, says: 'The nighte crowe hyghte *Nycticorax* and hath that name for he louith the nyghte and fleeth and seeketh hys meete by nyghte.' The *Cent. Dict.* identifies both the night-raven and night-crow with the night-heron, and adds: 'The common European bird to which the name night-heron (and also night-raven) was originally applied is *ardea nycticorax* of the older writers' [identical with *nycticorax nycticorax* above].

WW. 287. 2: *nocticorax*, hræfn; 261. 12: ~ nihtrefn; 453. 12: ~ niht-hremn; *ZdA.* 240. 35: ~ nihtræm; *WW.* 132. 3: *nocticorax*, nihtremn; *Er.* 674: ~ necthraebn; *Ep.* 674: *nycticorax*, naechthraebn; *Cp.* N. 145: *noctua*, naechthraefn; *Ld.* 204: ~ necthtrefn; *Ep.* 673: ~ naechthraebn, *ali dicunt* nectigalae; *Er.* 673: ~ necthraebn, nacthegelae; *Cant. Ps.* 101. 7: *nocticorax*, nihthrefn; *Vesp. Ps.* 101. 7: næththrefn; *Th. Ps.* 101. 5: nihthrefne; *Spl. Ps.* 101. 7: nihtrefen; *Shrn.* 29: *noctuam*, necstrepin, standing for necctrefin = nihthrefn, on the authority of Dr. Schlutter.

2. *nihthrōc*. Lit. 'night-rook'; < *niht* + *hrōc*; used in the same connection as *nihthræfn*.

Lamb Ps. 101. 7: *nycticorax*, nihtroc.

Gen. Botarus. Bitterns.

XLVI. 1. *rāredumle*. Bittern (*botarus stellaris*); < *rār-ian*, roar + *dumle*, pelican. *G. rohrdonmel*. Long ago the bittern ceased to breed in England, but before the reclamation of the bogs and fens, it was a very common bird, and was regarded as a great delicacy for the table. It makes a bellowing or booming sound that was once commonly believed to be produced by the bird thrusting its beak and head beneath the water. This is described in Thomson's *Seasons*.

'The bittern knows his time, with bill submerged,
To shake the sounding marsh.'

This peculiar booming sound of the bittern offers a possible explanation of the following reference: *Shrn.* 29. 6: *raredumlæ*, *onocratalum*, *avis quæ sonitum facit in aqua*. In 1544 Turner gave the name of *miredromble* to the bittern, the first part *mire* meaning a bog.

WW. 195. 27: *buban*, *raredumble*; 260. 1, 460. 19: *onocratarum* ~; 285. 10: *onagratalus*, *raredumbla*; *ZdA.* 241. 20: *origratalus*, *radumbel*.

2. *felofof*. Bittern. This word, variously glossed by *onocratalus*, *porphyrio*, and *torax* (for *thorax*, breast) is evidently a water-fowl. I have called it a bittern on the strength of a reference in Cockayne's *Shrine*, which places it in the same gloss with *raredumlae*, bittern. There also appears in the *Shrine* the following reference to *porphyrio*, properly the sultana-hen: *Porphirionem non fit in Britannia*.

Felofor is wrongly called fieldfare by Sweet, Hall and Newton in the *Dict. of Birds*. *Feldefare*, appearing as *feldeware*, is the OE. word for fieldfare. The derivation of *felofor* is uncertain, although Newton says it = fallow-farer, < *fealo*, fallow + *faran*, to fare.

Shrn. 29: *onocratalum*, *raredumlae vel felofor*; *WW.* 287. 2: *torax*, *feolufor*; 469. 22: *porfyrio*, *fealfor*; *Ep.* 807: ~ *feolofor*; *Er.* 807: *porfirio*, *felusor*; *WW.* 259. 5: *porphyrio*, *fealuor*; *Cp.* O. 175; *onocratallus*, *felufer*; *Cp.* P. 517: *porfyrio* ~; T. 215: *torax*, *felofearð*; *Ep.* 1027: ~ *felofearth*; *Er.* 1027: ~ *felufrech*.

Sub. Ord. Ciconii. Storks.

Gen. *Ciconia*. True Storks.

XLVII. *storc*. Stork; no doubt the common white stork of Europe (*ciconia ciconia*), which is a frequent visitor to England. Only about thirteen records exist of the presence of the black stork on the island. Giraldus Cambrensis, who visited Ireland in 1185, says, in his *Topographia Hibernica*, that 'Storks (*ciconiæ*) are very rare throughout the whole island, and they are black (*illæ nigrae*).' From this one might infer that the black stork was not unknown in England at that time. ME. *stork*; Icel. *storki*; OHG. *stork*; G. *storck*.

WW. 131. 25, 259. 13, 285. 3, 364. 13, *Cp.* C. 405, *Er.* 259, *ZdA.* 240. 19, *Æ.* *Gr.* 25. 6, *Æ.* *Gl.* 307. 4: *ciconia*, *storc*; *Ld.* 206: ~ *storhc*; *Æ.* *H.* I. 404. 25, *Jer.* 8. 7: *storc* and *swalewe heoldon ðone timan heora tocyms*.

Ord. Gruiformes. Crane-like Birds.

Sub. Ord. Grues. True Cranes.

XLVIII. 1. *cran*. Crane. The name belonged originally to the common crane (*grus grus*), which, until the seventeenth century, bred abundantly in the fen countries of Great Britain, and was greatly prized as food. Now it is an accidental visitor.

WW. 132. 21, 259. 14, 285. 9, 413. 32, *Æ.* *Gl.* 307. 3, *Æ.* *Gr.* 14. 3: *grus*, *cran*; *ZdA.* 240. 18: *crus*, *cran*.

For instances of *cran* in local names, see *Cod. Dip.* 6. 274.

2. **cranoc.** Crane. Gr. γέρανος; OHG. *cranuh*; G. *kranich*; Icel. *trani* (for *krani*).

Cp. G. 164: *grauis*, cornuc; G. 162: *grus*, *gruis*, cornoch.

Ord. Charadriiformes. Bustards and Plovers.

Sub. Ord. Charadrii. Waders.

F. Charadriidæ. Plovers and Snipes.

Sub. F. Charadriinæ. True Plovers.

XLIX. hulfestre. Plover.

WW. 132. 12: *pluvialis*, hulfestre; 287. 14: *cuiþella*, hulfestran.

Gen. Vanellus. Lapwings.

L. læpewince. Lapwing (*vanellus vanellus*); < *hlēapan*, to run + *wince*: the second part of the word is literally a winker, but we must assign to the verb wink its original sense which is preserved in G. *wanken*, to totter (cf. Skeat's *Dict.*). Hence the word really means 'one who turns about in running,' apparently referring to the bird's irregular, twitching mode of flight. ME. *lapwing*; Gower, *lappewinke*.

WW. 260. 2, 367. 29: *cucu*, hleapewince; 285. 11, *ZdA.* 240. 26: *cucurata* ~; *Cp.* C. 951: *cucuzata*, lepuuince; *Er.* 264: ~ læpæuincæ; *Ld.* 210. ~ læpiumcę: Æ. *Gl. note*: *cucu*, lapawinca.

Sub. F. Scolopacinae. Snipes.

Gen. Scolopax. Woodcocks.

LI. 1. wuducocc. Woodcock (*scolopax rusticula*); < *wudu*, wood + *cocc*, cock. ME. *wodekoc*.

WW. 258. 5: *acega*, wuducocc; *ZdA.* 240. 28: ~ wudecocc; *WW.* 132. 20: *acegia*, snite *uel* wudecocc.

2. **wuduhona.** Woodcock; < *wudu*, wood + *hana*, cock.

Cp. P. 183: *þantigatum*, uuduhona.

3. **holthana.** Woodcock; < *holt*, wood + *hana*, cock.

WW. 344. 30, *Ep.* 41: *acega*, holthana; *Cp.* A. 125: ~ holthona; *Er.* 41: *acega*, holtana.

4. **wudusnīte**. Woodcock; < *wudu*, wood + *snīte*, snipe. Sweet calls this bird the woodcock, and the derivation seems to bear it out. The woodcock is a bird of the woodland, while the snipe frequents the marshes and fens.

WW. 363. 27: *cardiolus*, wudusnite; *Cp. C.* 258: ~ uudusnite.

Gen. Gallinago. True Snipes.

LII. 1. **snīte**. Snipe. ME. *snite*, *snyte*; perhaps allied to snort, probably having reference to the bird's long bill.

WW. 285. 12, 344. 38, *Cp. C.* 138: *acegia*, snite; *WW*. 132. 20; *aceta*, snite *uel* wudecocc.

2. **hæferblæte**. Snipe. This word does not appear in ME. but is preserved in Mod.E. as hammer-bleat and heather-bleat, a snipe. In the dictionaries it is variously termed sea-gull, bittern, and hawk. Once it appears as *hæfenblæte* ('haven-screamer,' gull) but this is probably for *hæferblæte*, the usual form; < *hæfer*, a he-goat (L. *capra*) + *blætan*, to bleat, lit. a 'goat-bleater.' This seems to describe accurately the male snipe, whose love song resembles the bleating of a goat. Hence in many languages the snipe is known by names signifying 'flying goat,' 'heaven's ram,' as in Scotland the 'heather-bleater.' Cf. *Dict. of Birds*.

WW. 260. 3, 358. 7: *bicoca*, hæferblæte; 116. 41: ~ hæferblæte *uel* pur; 361. 17: *bugium*, hæferblæte; 131. 29: ~ hæfenblæte; 194. 17: *bicoca*, hæferblæta; *Cp. B.* 96: ~ hæbreblete; *Ep.* 124: ~ hraebrebletae; *Er.* 124: ~ hebrebletae; *Æ. Gl.* 307. note: *bicoca*, hæuerbleta.

Gen. Pelidna. Dunlins.

LIII. **pūr**. Dunlin (*pelidna alpina*); also called purr or purre. The dunlin like the snipe and most of his allies, exercises himself in peculiar flights and makes a peculiar whistling sound. The resemblance of the dunlin to the snipe, both in appearance and habits, would seem to explain the following reference.

WW. 116. 41: *bicoca*, hæferblæte *uel* pur; 285. 10: *onagratulus*, raradumla ðæt is pur.

Ord. Lariformes. Gulls.
 F. Laridæ. Gulls and Terns.
 Sub. F. Sterninæ. Terns.

LIV. *stearn*. This word has often been confounded with the OE. *stær* and *stærn*, starling, but its occurrence in the *Seafarer* and the gloss *gavia*, gull (Er. 1116), prove that it is a water bird. Grein interprets it as sea-swallow, another name of the tern, and Sweet in his *A. S. Reader* also calls it a tern. It seems very probable that the Mod. E. *starn* and *stern*, used in England for the tern, are from the OE. *stearn*. The following quotation from the *Dict. of Birds* is suggestive: 'Starn was used in Norfolk in the middle of this century for the bird known by the book name of black tern, thus confirming Turner, who, in 1544, described that species as '*nostrati lingua sterna appellata*.' In at least one instance the word has been confounded with one of the old forms of the modern starling. To Turner's name we owe the introduction by Linnæus of *Sterna* into scientific nomenclature. '*Ikstern*' is another Dutch form of the word.' Dr. Schlutter (*Anglia* 19. 461.) identifies *stearn* with *isern*, but the words are in no case glossed the same. The meaning of the L. *beacita* is uncertain.

WW. 358. 1, 260. 12, *Cp.* B. 61: *beacita*, *stearn*; *WW.* 131. 11: *beacita uel sturnus* ~; *Cp.* F. 163: *fida* ~; *ZdA.* 240. 29; *beatita* ~; *WW.* 286. 7: *beatita*, *tearn*; *Ep.* 125: *beacita*, *stearno*; *Er.* 125: *biacita*, *stærn*; *Er.* 1116: *gavia*, *avis qui dicitur*, *sterna sax*; *Seaf.* 23: *ðær him stearn oncwæð isigfeðera*.

Sub. F. Larinæ. Gulls.

LV. *mæw*. Mew or sea-gull. The word *mæw* was perhaps originally imitative of the mew or cry of the bird. In the 15th cent. glosses the word *semewe* appears for the first time. ME. *mewe*; OHG. *mēh*; G. *mörwe*; Icel. *mār*.

WW. 131. 30: *alcedo uel alcion*, *mæw*; 356. 27: *alcido* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 5, *ZdA.* 240. 25, *Æ. Gr.* 37. 7: *alcedo* ~; *Cp.* A. 478: *alcido*, *meau*; G. 29: *gabea* ~; L. 50: *larus* ~; *Ep.* 610: *laris*, *men*; *Er.* 610: ~ *meu*; *Shrn* 29. 2: *larum*, *meu uel meg*; *An.* 371: *se græga mæw*; *Seaf.* 22: *mæw* *singende fore medodrince*; *Rid.* 25. 6: *hwilum mæwes song*; *Husb. Mes.* 25: *ongin mere secan, mæwes eðel*.

Ord. Ralliformes. Rails.

F. Rallidæ. Rails and Water-Hens.

Sub. F. Rallinæ. Rails.

Gen. *Crex*. Land-Rails.

LVI. *secgscara*. Corn-crake or land-rail (*crex crex*).
Cf. Icel. *skāri*, sea-mew.

WW. 287. 11 : *ortigometra*, *secgscara*.

Hall calls *secgscara* a quail, but wrongly I believe. *Coturnix* is the usual L. word for quail, while *ortygometra* (ὄρτυξ + μητήρ) is properly 'quail mother,' a bird that leads the quails in their migrations across the sea, i. e. the land-rail or corn-crake. Moreover the first part of the OE. word, *secg* (sedge), would seem to suggest the fondness of the land-rail for the reeds of the fens and marshes.

Sub. F. Fulicinæ. Coots.

LVII. 1. *dopenid*. Common coot (*fulica atra*); < stem of *dopettan*, to dip + *enid*, duck: lit. 'dipping duck.'

WW. 132. 18 : *fulica*, *dopenid*; Cp. F. 382 : *funix*, gonot uel doppa enid; Ep.-Er. 419 : *fulix*, ganot uel dopaenid; Cp. F. 397 : *fulice gen(us) avis marinae*.

2. *ūphēbbe*. Coot; < *ūpāhebban*, to lift up, 'tail-lifter.'
Found only in genitive.

Th. Ps. 103. 17 : *fulicæ domus*, *uphebbean hus*.

LVIII. 1. *dopfugel*. Lit. 'dipping fowl'; < *dopettan*, to dip + *fugel*, fowl. Wülker says, 'the moorhen—still called in Dutch *doopvogel*,' but it seems to have been used as a general term for diving fowl. It is glossed *mergulus*, which is the didapper or little grebe in the 15th cent. glosses.

Shrn. 29 : *mergulum*, *niger avis*, *mergit sub aquam pisces quætere*, i. e. *dopfugel*. The moorhen would hardly be described as a black bird (*niger avis*).
WW. 258. 14, Zda. 240. 23 : *mergus*, *dopfugel*; WW. 284. 8 : *mergulus* ~.

2. *fugeldoppe*. Diving fowl.

WW. 131. 20 : *mergulus*, *fugeldoppe*.

3. scealfor. Diving fowl.

WW. 258. 13: *mergulus*, scealfor; 287. 5: *turdella* ~; 287. 6, 518. 10: *mergula* ~; 444. 21: *mergulis* ~; 131. 19: *mergus*, scealfr: *Æ. Gl.* 307. 6: *mergus uel mergulus*, scealfra; *Cp. M.* 160: *mergulus*, scalfur; *Ep.-Er.* 647: ~ scalfur; *Hpt. Gl.* 418. 70: ða geseah he swimman scealfran on flode, and gelome doppelan adune to grunde, ehtende ðearle ðære ea fixa. Ða het Martinus ða wædleasan fugelas ðæs fixnoðes geswican, and to westene siðian; and ða scealfran gewiton aweg to holte hom; *Æ. H.* 2. 516. 6-12: ða geseah he symman scealfran on flode, and gelome doppelan adune to grunde, ehtende ðearle ðære ea fixa. Ða cwæð se halga wer to his geferan. 'Ðas fugelas habbað feonda gelicnysse, ðe gehwilce menn unwære beswicað, and grædelice gripað to grimre helle.' Ða het Martinus ða mæðleasan fugelas ðæs fixnoðes geswican, and to westene siðian; and ða scealfran gewiton aweg to holte.

Ord. Columbiformes. Pigeons.

LIX. *culfre*. The general term for dove; preserved in Mod.E. *culver*, the name of the wood-pigeon in the south and east of England. ME. *culver*, *colfre*, *culfre*.

WW. 260. 6, 286. 1, 367. 30, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 4, *ZdA.* 240. 36, *Æ. Gr.* 25. 6: *columba*, *culfre*; *WW.* 131. 30: ~ *culfer*; 360. 6: *bariona*, *culfran* sunu; *Lchdm.* 1. 170. 12: *culfron*; 2. 196. 21, 246. 1: *culfrena* briddas; 2. 209. 13: *culfran* scearne; 3. 200. 18: *culfran* gesið sume unrotnysse getacnað; *Past. Care* 237. 21: beo ge . . . sua bilwite sua *culfran*; 237. 22, 23: ðære *culfran* biliwitnesse; *Æ. St.* 1. 54. 73: and an scinende *culfre* scæt of ðam fyre; 1. 58. 127: anre *culfran* anlicnysse; 1. 58. 130: *culfran*; *Bl. H.* 135. 1: se Drihtnes Gast ofer hiene astige on *culfran* onlicnesse; 157. 10: aris ðu . . . min *culfre*; 23. 27: ah twegen *culfran* briddas him geniht-sumedan; *Gen.* 1451: haswe *culfran*; 1464: ða wæs *culfre* eft of cofan sende ymb wucan; 1477: ða gyt se eadega wer ymb wucan ðridan wilde *culfran* ane sende; *Gen.* 8. 8, 10, 12: *culfran*; *Th. Ps.* 67. 13, *Vesp. Ps.*, *Cant. Ps.*, *Spl. Ps.* 67. 14: *culfran*; *Th. Ps.*, *Spl. Ps.* 54. 6, *Vesp. Ps.* 54. 7: *culfran*; *Cant. Ps.* 54. 7: *culfre*; *Mt.* 3. 16: *culfran*; *Lind. Mt.* 3. 16: *culfre*; *Mt.* 10. 16: *culfran*; *Lind. Mt.* 10. 16: *culfre*; *Mt.* 16. 17: *culfran* bearn; *Mk.* 1. 10: *culfran*; *Lind. Mk.* 1. 10: *culfre*; *Lk.* 2. 24: twa turtlan, oððe twegen *culfran*-briddas; *Lind. Lk.* 2. 24: *culfras* birdas; *Jn.* 1. 32: *culfran*; *Lind. Jn.* 1. 32: *culfrę*; *Lev.* 1. 14: *culfran* briddas; *culfran*mere occurs in *Cod. Dip.* 3. 570; *Vesp. Hy.* 3. 11: ic smegu swe swe *culfre*; *Lev.* 5. 7: twegen *culfran* briddas; 5. 11: *culfran*; *Gen.* 15. 9: geoffra me to lace . . . sume turtlan and sume *culfran*; *Æ. H.* 1. 104. 21: ða ða se Halga Gast, on *culfran* hiwe, uppon him gereste; 140. 2: ane *culfran*; 140. 4, 15: twegen *culfran*-briddas; 142. 7: *culfran* sind swiðe unscæððige fugelas; 320. 1: on anre *culfran* anlicnysse; 320. 2: on *culfran* hiwe; 320. 12, 31: on *culfran* anlicnysse; 322. 6: on *culfran*; 368. 3: eadig eart ðu, *culfran* sunu; 368. 4: on *culfran* anlicnysse; 368. 5: nu gecigde se Hælend Petrum *culfran* bearn; 406. 18, 20: *culfran*; 412. 10: se

lareow bið culfran cypa; 444. 10: ic geseah ða witegan swilce culfran astigende ofer streamlicum riðum, and unascegendlic bræð stemde of hire gyrllum; 584. 28: hwæt sind ðas ðe her fleogað swa swa wolcnu, and swa swa culfran to heora ehðyrllum; 584. 32: se witega . . . gecigde hi culfran, and fleogende wolcnu; 584. 34: culfre is bilewite nyten; 586. 1: soðlice ða halgan apostolas wæron swilce culfran æt heora eh-ðyrllum; 586. 6: se is glida, na culfre æt his eh-ðyrllum; *Æ. H.* 2. 40. 3: and Godes Gast com on anre culfran hiwe; 42. 34: ðaða he wæs gesewen on anre culfran anlicnysse; 44. 16: on culfran gelicnysse; 44. 19: ac he com ofer Criste on culfran hiwe; 44. 24: we rædað on bocum be ðære culfran gecynde; 44. 34: on culfran; 46. 1: ðæt he hæbbe bilewitnysse ðære culfran; 46. 3, 4: swa swa seo culfre is buton geallan, and ne begange nan reafac, ne nanes mannes ne ehte, ðe ma ðe seo culfre deð; 46. 14: næfð he na culfran ðeawas, ac hæfð ðæs blacan hremmes; 46. 16: se ðe reafac lufað, he bið glida, and na culfre; 46. 18: ne deð seo culfre na swa, ne leofað heo be nanum deaðe; 46. 19: be ðære culfran gecynde; 46. 20: uton habban . . . ðære culfran unscæððignysse; 184. 17: sawle bædan to heofenan, on anre culfran hiwe; 210. 32: culfran we offriað; Grein's *Bibl. A.S. Prosa* 3. 130. 472: ðonne sceolde culfre fleogan of ðære gyrde foreweardre up oð ðone heofon; 3. 131. 506: ðær of sona fleah culfre; *Sal. (Pr)*. 186. 29: ic ðe secge, culfre is selust, heo getacnað ðone Haligan Gast; *Shrn.* 54. 14: on culfran hiwe.

F. Columbidae. True Pigeons.

Gen. Columba. Wood-pigeons. *

LX. 1. *cūscote*. Wood-pigeon, ring-dove (*columba palumbus*); still called cushat or cowshot in the northern dialects and in Scotland. The word has no cognates in the other Teutonic languages, and its etymology is obscure. The element *scote*, *scute*, is apparently a derivative of *sceotan*, to shoot, and may mean a shooter, or darter. (Cf. *N. E. Dict.*) ME. *cowscot*, *couscot*.

WW. 286. 2: *palumba*, *cuscote uel wuduculfre*; *ZdA.* 240. 40: ~ *cuscote*; *Cp. P.* 136: *palumbes* ~; *WW.* 260. 7: *pudumbra*, *cusceote*; *Ep.* 829: *palumpes*, *cuscutan*; *Er.* 829: *palumpes*, *cuscotae*.

2. *wuduculfre*. Wood-pigeon.

WW. 286. 2: *palumba*, *cuscote uel wuduculfre*; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 4: ~ *wudeculfre*; *WW.* 131. 32: *palumbus*, *wudeculfre*.

3. *dūfe*. Dove; a hypothetical form found only in the compound *dufedoppa*, pelican.

F. Peristeridæ. Ground-pigeons.

Sub. F. Turturina. Turtle-doves.

Gen. Turtur. Turtle-doves.

LXI. 1. turtle. Turtle-dove (*turtur turtur*); a reduplicated form, prob. imitative of the cooing of a dove. ME. *turtle*, also *tortor*; G. *turtel* (*taube*); OF. *turtre*; F. *tourtre*; It. *tortora*; L. *turtur*.

WW. 132. 1, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 11, *Æ. Gr.* 14. 2: *turtur*, turtle; *Æ. Gr.* 48. 16: *hic turtur*, ðeos turtle; *ZdA.* 240. 37: *turtura*, turtle; *Æ. H.* 2. 210. 34: *turtlan* we offriað; *Cant. Ps.* 83. 4: *turlæ*; *Th. Ps.* 83. 3: turtle; *Spl. Ps.* 83. 3: *turtlah*; *Lk.* 2, 24: *twa turtlan*; *Lev.* 1. 14: *turtlan*; *Æ. H.* 1. 140. 2: *ane turtlan*; 140. 5: *twa turtlan*; 140. 15: ðonne sceole we him bringan *twa turtlan*; 140. 22: *lytel wæs an lamb, oððe twa turtlan*, Gode to bringenne; 142. 12: ða *turtlan* getacniað clænnysse; 142. 16: ðonne geoffrað he ða *turtlan*; *Gen.* 15. 9: *geoffra me to lace . . . sume turtlan and sume culfran*; *Lev.* 5. 7: *bringe [he] twa turtlan*; 5. 11: *turtlan*.

2. *turtur*. Turtle-dove; < L. *turtur*.

Lind. Lk. 2. 24: *tuoe tuturas*; *Surt. Ps.* 83. 4, *Vesp. Ps.* 83. 3: *speara gemoeted him hus and tutur nest*; *Bl. H.* 23. 27: *twegen culfran briddas and iwegen turturan gemæccan*.

Ord. Galliformes. Game-Birds.

F. Phasianidæ. Partridges.

Sub. F. Perdiciæ.

Gen. Coturnix. Quails.

LXII. 1. *erschen*. Quail (*coturnix coturnix*); < *ersc*, stubble-field + *hen*.

WW. 132. 10: *coturnix*, ærschen; 287. 12: ~ erschæn; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 9: ~ erschen; *WW.* 460. 2: *ortigomera* ~; *Spl. Ps.* 104. 38. *Marg. Ref.*: *hi bædon and com erschen (coturnix)*; *Exod.* 16. 13: *Drihten gesende swa micel fugolcyn on hira wicstowe swilce erschenna*, ðæt is on Lyden *coturnix*.

2. *nihtlecan*. Quail.

Cant. Ps. 104. 40: *biddæð flesces and kymð ðæ nihtlecæn hlaef hefonæs gefyllcð hie*.

3. *edischen*. Quail; < *edisc*, pasture + *hen*.

WW. 367. 34: *ciaus*, edischen; 260. 32: ~ edischenn; 380. 18: *coturnix*, edischen; *Vesp. Ps.* 104. 40: ~ edeschen; *Cp.* O. 236; *ortigometra*, edischen; *Ep.* 714: *ortigomera*, edischæn; *Er.* 714: ~ edischenim; *Æ. Gl.* 307. *note: gaus*, hedeshen; *Spl. Ps.* 104. 38: *hi bædon and com edischæn (coturnix)*.

4. **wuduhenn.** Quail; < *wudu*, wood + *henn*, hen.

Cp. C. 840: *coturno*, *wodhæ*.

5. **wihitel.** Quail; a hypothetical form given by Sweet and Hall. *G.* *wachtel*.

Sub. F. Phasianinæ. Pheasants.

Gen. *Phasianus*. True Pheasants.

LXIII. 1. **wōrhana.** Pheasant (*phasianus colchicus*). At present the pheasant exists, in England, in a semi-domesticated state. In regard to its introduction Hudson says in his *British Birds*, 'When and by whom it was introduced into England is not known. There is evidence that the bird existed and was held in great esteem in this country before the Norman Conquest; and the belief is that it was brought hither by the Romans, who were accustomed to introduce strange animals into the countries they conquered.'

WW. 260. 4: *fusianus*, *worhana*; 285. 13: *fursianus* ~; 402. 3: *fasianus* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. *note*: *fusionus* ~; *Cp.* F. 22: *fasianus*, *worhona*; *ZdA.* 240. 27: *fursianus*, *morhana*; *Ep.* 424: *fasianus*, *uorhana*; *Er.* 424: *fassianus*, *uorhana*.

2. **wōrhenn.** Probably a pheasant. The gloss *cracinus* is of uncertain meaning.

WW. 215. 1, 380. 18: *cracinus*, *worhenn*.

II. Domestic Fowl.

LXIV. 1. **capun.** Capon; < L. *capo*; Gr. *κάπων*; ME. *capon*, *capun*; F. *chapon*.

WW. 132. 34, 286. 32: *gallinaceus*, *capun*; 132. 32: *capo* ~.

2. **cīcen.** Chicken. 'Cicen is a diminutive, from A.S. *cocc*, formed by adding *en* and modifying vowel' (Skeat). ME. *chiken*, *chekin*; G. *küchlein*.

WW. 132. 35, 260. 33: *pullus*, cicen; 184. 11; *coquina uel culina* ~; *Æ. Gl.* 307. 9: *pullus*, cicen oððe brid oððe fola; *ZdA.* 241. 64: ~ ciacen; 241. 63: *coquina*, ciacene; *Hpt. Gl.* 494. 17: *culinæ*, cycene, *coquinæ*; *Æ. Gr.* 273. 18: *gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas*, henn gegaderað hire cicenu under fiðerum; *Mt.* 23. 37: cicenu; *ib.*, *Lind.*: cicceno; *Lchdm.* 3. 204. 31: henne mid cicenum; 2. 312. 16: cicine mete.

3. **coc, kok.** Cock; male of the common domestic fowl (*gallus domesticus*); ultimately imitative of the crowing or clucking of the cock. *ME.* *cock, cok, cocc*; *Icel.* *kokkr*; *Dan.* *kok*; *L.* *coco*.

Æ. Gr. 28. 19: *gallus*, cocc; *WW.* 132. 33, 286. 31, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 8: ~ coc; 283. 11: *culina* ~; 329. 27: *cocus* ~; *Hpt. Gl.* 518. 13: *pullorum*, cocca; *Lchdm.* 3. 6. 5: ðonne coccas crawan; *Mt.* 26. 34: ðæt on ðyssere nihte, æðam ðe cocc crawe, ðriwa ðu wiðsæcst min; 26. 74: and hrædllice creow se cocc; 26. 75: se cocc crawe; *Jn.* 13. 38: cræwð se cocc; *Cp. C.* 954: *culinia*, cocas; *Past. Care* 461. 1: ðæs cocces ðeaw is ðæt he micle hludor singð on uhtan ðonne on dægred; 459. 29: hwa sealde kokke wisdom; 459. 31: æghwelc ðæra halgena lareowa . . . habbað onlicnysse ðæm kokkum, ðe on ðistrum niehtum crawað; 459. 32: swa swa kok on niht; 461. 12: se kok . . . ærðæmðe he crawan wille, hefð up his fiðru, and wecð hine selfne.

4. **dūce.** Duck; see XLIII. 2.

5. **dūceling.** Duckling; not recognized by the *Cent. Dict.* or *N. E. Dict.* as an OE. word, but it occurs once in an OE. charter; < *dūce*, duck + dim., *ling*.

Cod. Dip. 4. 92. 31: into duceling mere.

6. **ened.** Duck; see XLIII. 1.

7. **fola.** Young of domestic fowl.

Æ. Gl. 307. 9: *pullus*, cicen oððe brid oððe fola; *Æ. Gr.* 28. 16: ~ fola oððe brid.

8. **gandra.** Gander; see XLI. 3.

9. **gōs.** Goose; see XLI. 1.

10. **gōsfugol.** Goose; see XLI. 2.

11. **hāmhen.** Hen; < *hām*, home + *henn*, hen.

Lchmd. 2. 244. 25: ham and wilda hæнна.

12. **hana.** Cock; older Teut. name of the cock, which appears in Goth. *hana*; OHG. *hano*; G. *hahn*; Icel. *hani*; lit. 'a singer,' < root of L. *canere*, to sing.

WW. 260. 37, 413. 34: *gallus*, *hana*; *Lchdm.* 3. 145. 24: *hanan*; *Æ. H.* 2. 246. 4: se *hana*; *Jn.* 13. 38: se *hona*; *Lind. Ml.* 26. 34, 74, 75: *hona*; *Mk.* 14. 68: se *hana creow*.

Riddle 43 is interpreted as the cock and the hen:

Ic seah wyhte wrætlice, twa
undearnunga ute plegan
hæmedlases: hwitloc anfeng
wlanc under wædum, gif ðæs weorces speow,
fæmne fyllo. Ic on flette mæg
ðurh runstafas rincum secgan,
ðam ðe bec witan, bega ætsomne
naman ðara wihta. Ðær sceal Nyd wesan
twega oðer and se torhta Æsc
an an linan, Acas twegen,
Hægelas swa some, hwylc ðæs hordgates
cægan cræfte ða clamme onleac,
ðe ða rædellan wið rymemenn
hygefæste heold heortan bewrigene
orðoncbendum. Nu is undyrne
werum æt wine, hu ða wihte mid us
heanmode twa hatne sindon.

13. **henn.** Hen; fem. of mas. OE. *hana*. Early Mod. E. *henne*; ME. *hen*; D. *hen*; OHG. *henna*; G. *henne*; equiv. to D. *hoen*; OHG. *hün*; G. *huhn*; Icel. *hæna*.

Æ. Gr. 25. 5, 273. 17, *Æ. Gl.* 307. 9: *gallina*, *henn*; *WW.* 286. 33: ~ *hæn*; 286. 34: *ornitha*, *hænn*; Ine's *Laws* 70: *henna*; *Ecg. P.* 57: gif swyn oððe *henna* ete of mannes lichaman, slea man ðæt yrfe; *Lchdm.* 2. 38. 6: *hænne* æges geolocan; 2. 40. 10: genim *hænne* rysele; 2. 196. 21: *hænne* flæsc; 3. 174. 33: gif him ðince ðæt he feala *henna* geseo oððe hæbbe; ðæt bið god; 3. 176. 1: gyf man mæte ðæt he *henne* ægeru hæbbe, oððe ðicge ne deah hym ðæt; 3. 204. 30: *henne* ægru lecgan gestreon mid carfulnysse ge [tacnað]; 3. 204. 31: *henne* mid cicenum gesið ceapas eacan ge [tacnað]; *Mt.* 23. 37: swa seo *henn* hyre cycenu under hyre fyðeru gegaderað; *ib.*, *Lind.*: *henne*.

Riddle 43 describes the cock and hen.

14. **henfugol.** Hen; lit. 'hen-fowl.'

Chron. 1131: ðær after swulten ða *henne* fugeles; *Lchdm.* 1. 92. 16: sumum *henfugule*; *Cod. Dip.* 1. 297. 2: xx *henfugla*; 1. 299. 21: xx *henfugas*; 1. 312. 9: x *hennfugas*; 2. 355. 8: iiiii *hænfugulas*; 2. 356. 15: iiiii *henfugeles*.

15. **wilda henn.** Lit. 'wild hen'; used to distinguish wild fowl from domestic fowl.

Lchdm. 2. 244. 25: ham and wilda hæenna.

Gen. Pavo. Peacocks.

16. **pāwa.** Common peacock (*pavo cristatus*); a native of India, said to have been introduced into Europe by Alexander the Great. L. *pavo*; G. *pfau*.

Æ. *Gl.* 307. 5: *pauo*, pawa; *ZdA.* 241. 68: ~ pawa; *WW.* 131. 9: *pauo*, *pauus*, pawe; *Cp.* P. 131: *pauo*, pauua; *Ep.-Er.* 826: *pavo* ~; Æ. *Gr.* 9. 3: ~ pawe; *Ph.* 312: onlicost pean; *Lchdm.* 2. 196. 19: fuglas ðaðe heard flæsc habbað, pawa, swan, æned.

III. General Terms.

The scheme of arrangement is as follows:

1. *brid*; *flēogend*, and compounds; *fugol*, and compounds.
2. Foreign birds.
3. Fabulous birds.
4. Words wrongly interpreted as bird names.
5. Unsolved problems.

LXV. **brid**; **bird**, in Northumbrian. In OE. used only as a general name for the young of any of the feathered tribe. Now used generically in place of the older term fowl. 'Found in literature down to 1600; still retained in north. dial. as a 'hen and her birds.' ME. *bryd*, *byrd*. There is no corresponding form in any other Teutonic language, and the etymology is uncertain' (cf. *N. E. Dict.*).

Cp. P. 886: *pullus*, *brid*; Æ. *Gl.* 307. 9: ~ cicen oððe *brid* oððe *fola*; Æ. *Gr.* 28. 16: ~ *fola* oððe *brid*; *WW.* 96. 2, *Vesp. Hy.* 7. 21: *briddas*; *Ph.* 235: *swylce* earnes *brid* fægen *fugel* timber; 372: ðurh *briddes* had; *Vesp. Hy.* 3. 10: swe swe *brid* *swalwan*; *Lchdm.* 2. 306. 7: *sec* lytle *stanas* on *swealwan* *bridda* *magan*; 2. 306. 14: hit *sculon* beon *micle* *briddas*; *Lk.* 2. 24: *twa* *turtlan* oððe *twegen* *culfran* *briddas*; *ib.*, *birdas*; Æ. *H.* 1. 250. 24: *seo* *modor* *siððan* *mid* *hihte* *bret* ðæt æig *to* *bridde*; 2. 144. 23: *heora*

briddum to hleowðe; *Spl. Ps.* 83. 3, *Vesp. Ps.* 83. 4: briddas; *Cant. Ps.* 83. 4: bryddas; *Th. Ps.* 146. 10: hrefnes briddum; *Vesp. Ps.* 146. 9: briddum hrefna; *Cant. Ps.* 146. 9: briddas crawan; *Lev.* 1. 14: ðonne bringe he turtlan and culfran briddas, *Past. Care* 383. 29: fugla briddas.

LXVI. 1. *fleo*gend. General term for bird; used in one instance in place of *fugules*; < *fleo*gan, to fly.

Vesp. Ps. 49. 11: ða flegendan heofones; *Cant. Ps.* 49. 11: ða flegende and fugulæs hefonæs; *Lind. Mt.* 13. 32: heofnes flegende cymes; *Lind. Lk.* 9. 58: heofnes flegando; 4. 4: flegando cwomon; *Lind. Mt.* 8. 20: heofnes flegende; 13. 4: ða flegando cuomon.

2. *lyftfleo*gend. Lit. 'flier in the air,' a bird; < *lyft*, air + *fleo*gend, bird.

Sal. 289: *lyftfleo*endra.

LXVII. 1. *fugol*. General term for bird in OE., which has now become specialized for certain kinds of poultry, and by sportsmen for wild ducks and wild geese.

Early Mod.E. *foul*, *foule*; ME. *foul*, *fowl*, etc.; D. *vogel*; OHG. *fogal*: G. *vogel*; Icel. *fugl*; Goth. *fugls*, a fowl, bird.

Æ. Gl. 307. 1: *auis uel uolatilis*, *fugel*; *WW.* 61. 35: *fugel*; 95. 10, 11: *fugelas*; 88. 6: *uolatilis*, *fugeles*; 481. 23: *altilia*, *fuglas*; *Æ. Gr.* 48. 17: *aues cynnes fugel*; 56. 8: *haec auis*, ðes *fugel*; 77. 13: *ales*, *fugel*; *Sal.* 218, 420: *fugol*; *Rid.* 37. 9: na wæs ðæt na *fugul ana*; *Gen.* 1983: sang se *wanna fugel*; *Jud.* 207: wælgifre *fugel*; 297: wælgifrum *fuglum* to *frofre*; *Cri.* 636, 645: *fugel*; *Soul's Address* 79: ðu wurde æt *frumsceafte* ~; *Crafts of Men* 85: sum *seal wildne* ~ *wloncne atemian*; *Gen.* 1460: se *wilda* ~; *Ph.* 86: ~ *feðrum strong*; 100: ~ *feðrum wlonc*; 104: se *æðela* ~; 121: se *haswa* ~; *Wand.* 81: *sumne* ~ *oðbær ofer heanne holm*; *Sal.* 254: an ~ *siteð* on *Filistina middelgemærum*; 279: se ~ *hafað* 4 *heafdu*; *Cri.* 639: wæs ðæs *fugles flyht feondum* on *eorðan dyrne* and *degol*; 654: ða ðæs ~ *flyht*; *Ph.* 125: ~ *gebæru*; *Sal.* 226: ne ~ *flyht*; *Rid.* 27. 7: ~ *wyn*; 37. 11: *anna gelicness* ~; *An.* 497: *fugole gelicost*; *Met. Ps.* 101. 5: ~; *Rid.* 32. 7: ~ *gelice*; *Beo.* 218: *fugle gelicost*; *Dan.* 5. 13: *fugolas*; *Ph.* 352: *fugelas cyrrað*; *Finn.* 5: ~ *singað*; *Met. Ps.* 77. 27, *Met.* 13. 95: ~; *Gen.* 1299, 2088, *Dan.* 507, *Az.* 140, *Ph.* 163, *Met. Ps.* 104. 35: *fuglas*; *Cri.* 983, *Ph.* 155, 159, 330, 335, *Gu.* 715, 889: *fugla*; *Met. Ps.* 78. 2, *Met.* 27. 21, *Rid.* 52. 4, 74. 3: *fuglum*; *Sal.* 298: *wildne fugel*; *Orosius* 15. 10: ðæt *gafol bið* . . on *fugela feðerum*; *Bt.* 25. 27: hi *gehiran oðerra fugela stemne*; 39. 8: he *spyrað ælce dæg æfter fuglum*; *Partridge* 1: *hyrde ic secgan gen bi sumum fugle wundorlicne*; *Æ. St.* 1. 376. 25: se *lytla fugel*; 2. 124. 20: *noldon ænne fugel acwellan*; *Hpt. Gl.* 418. 70: ða *mæð leasan fugelas*; *Ecg. C.* 38: *fugelas*;

Sal. (Pr): on ætrenes fugeles onlicnysse; 178. 25: he gesceop fixas and fugelas; *Ad. and R.* 204. 5: saga me hu fela si fleogendra fugela cynna; *Past. Care* 331. 17: fleogende fugel; 349. 21: ða fuglas; 383. 29: fugla briddas; *Æ. St.* I. 348. 7: swilce heaflice fugelas; 370. 11: be fugelum; 386. 31; *god* ninne afedde ðurh fugela ðenunga; 492. 14: feala cynna fugelas; *GEN.* 2. 19: God . . . gelædde . . . ðære lyfte fugolas; *Deut.* 4. 17: ne nanes nytenes ne fugeles; *GEN.* 40. 17, 19: fugelas; *Vesp. Hy.* 8. 14: fuglas; 7. 48: fugla; *GEN.* 7. 21: fugela; *Lev.* I. 14: fugelum; *Deut.* 28. 26: eallum fugelum; *GEN.* 15. 10: buton ða fugelas he ne todælde; *Lk.* 13. 34: swa se fugel deð his nest under his fyðeru; *ib., Lind.:* fugul; *Æ. H.* I. 14. 28: fugelas; 140. 6: ðas læssan lac, ðæt sind ða fugelas; 142. 5: God het gelomlice ðas fugelas offrian on his lace; 142. 8: culfran sind swiðe unscæððige fugelas; 142. 16: ðas twa fugel-cyn ne singað na, swa swa oðre fugelas; 160. 34: fugelas habbað nest; 250. 22: fugelas ne tymað swa swa oðre nytenu; 276. 3: fugelas he gesceop; 464. 24: far to westene, ðær nan fugel ne flyhð; 470. 23: an lytel fugel ne befylð on deað butan Godes dihte; 522. 7: mine gemæstan fugelas; 546. 6: sumum ðenodon englas, sumum fugelas; *Æ. H.* 2. 44. 25: heo is swiðe gesibsum fugel; 44. 28: on ðæs fugeles hiwe; 46. 16: oðre lytle fugelas sind læssan ðonne heo sy; 90. 15: and fugelas tobæron; 90. 20: deoflu sind fugelas gecigede; 90. 21: swa swa fugelas doð gesewenlice; 140. 7: sy lof ðam Ælmihtigan, ðe unc ðurh ðisne fugel fedan wolde; 144. 18: gewitað aweg, wælhreowe fugelas; 144. 24: ac an ðæra fugela . . . fleah to his foton; 162. 26: se fugol wearð gehyrsum his hæsum; 206. 28: fugelas; 318. 28: ma ðe ænig fugol his flyhtes gewylt; 462. 24: behealdað ðas fleogendan fugelas; 462. 25: wacan fugelas; 576. 35; gemæstra fugela; 578. 6: fugelum he smeade; 516. 11: mæðleasan fugelas; *Mt.* 6. 26: behealdað heofonan fuglas; *ib., Lind.:* fuglasheofnes; *Mt.* 13. 32: heofn-fuglas cumað; *Lk.* 9. 58: heofenes fuglas; *Mk.* 4. 4: fugelas comon; *Mk.* 4. 32: heofnes fugelas; *ib., Lind.:* heofnæs fuglas; *Mt.* 8. 20: heofenes fuglas; *Mt.* 13. 4: fuglas comon and æton; *Lchdm.* 2. 244. 25: fugelas; *St. Guth.* 48. 5: mislice fugela hwistlunge; 48. 12: fugela; 50. 27: him ða fugelas underðeodde wæron; 52. 13: ða fugelas; 52. 14: ða wildan fugelas; 52. 19: wilden fugelas; 54. 21: swa fleah se fugel west ofer ðæt westen; *Æ. H.* I. 14. 28, 250. 22: fugelas; 250. 26: he bið fugel; *Th. Ps.* 83. 4: fugelas; *Spl. Ps.* 101. 7: fugele; *Th. Ps.* 103. 11: heofon-fugelas; *Vesp. Ps.* 103. 12: fuglas; *Spl. Ps.* 103. 13: fugelas; *Cant. Ps.* 103. 12: fuglæs; *Vesp. Ps., Cant. Ps.* 148. 10: fuglas; *Spl. Ps.* 148. 10: fugelas; *Th. Ps.* 8. 9: fleogende fuglas; *Vesp. Ps.* 8. 9: fuglas heofenes; *Spl. Ps.* 8. 8: fugelas; *Vesp. Ps.* 8. 9: fuglæs; *Cant. Ps.* 78. 2: fuglas heuonas; *Spl. Ps.* 78. 2: fugulum heofonas; *Th. Ps.* 78. 2: fuglum; *Vesp. Ps.* 78. 2: fuglum heofenes; *Th. Ps.* 101. 5: fugele; *Chron.* 671: her wæs ðæt mycele fugla well; *Met.* 24. 2: ic hæbbe feðru fugle swiftran; *Æ. Hex.* 8. 8, 10: fuglas; 8. 5: fuglum; *Æ. Gr.* 70. 12: swa hatte an fugel on arabiscra ðeode; 70. 14: se fugel; *Æ. Hex.* 11. 25: fleogendum fugelum; *Met.* 27. 48: swa swa fugl oððe ðior; *Epis. Alex. (Anglia)* 4. 372: ða cwoman ða fugelas; 374: wæron hie ða fugelas brunes hiowes and him wæron ða nebb and ða clea ealle blace; 375: ða fuglas ymbsæton eallne ðone ofer ðæs meres; 376: ða fuglas; 652: ne cwome ne fugel; 737: heo ligeð unbe-

byrged in wege fuglum to mete and wildeorum; *Shrn.* 57. 1, 3: fuglas; 57. 2: blæcfugel; 65. 31: fleogendra fugla; 65. 34: fugla cynna; 65. 34: fugal; 148. 3: fugelas.

2. fugolcynn. Bird-kind.

Exod. 16. 13: micel fugolcynn, fugolcynne; *Æ. Hex.* 8. 4, 18, 19: eall fugolcynn; *Æ. de. V. Test.* 4. 42: fiscinn and fugelcynn; *Th. Ps.* 146. 10: fuglacynn; *Æ. H.* 1. 14. 14: fugelcynn; 1. 20. 25: and of fugelcynne symble gemacan; *Ad. and R.* 204. 33: saga me hu fela si fleodendra fugela cynna; *Æ. Hex.* 11. 9: fugolcynn; *Met.* 27. 38: fugla cyn; *Shrn.* 65. 34: fugla cynna.

3. **fugoltimber.** A young bird; < *fugol*, bird + *timber*, material.

Ph. 236: swylce earnes brid, fæger fugeltimber.

4. **brimfugol.** Sea-fowl; < *brim*, sea + *fugol*, bird.

Wand. 47: he gesihð baðian brimfuglas brædan feðra.

5. **heofonfugol.** 'Fowl of the air.'

Gen. 201: heofonfugla; 1515: heofonfugas.

See also *fugol* for allied forms.

6. **herefugol.** A bird that follows an army; raven, vulture, eagle; < *here*, army + *fugol*, bird.

Exod. 161: on hwæl hreopon herefugolas hildegrædige.

7. **nēfugol.** A bird that feeds on carrion. The following description of birds sitting under the cliffs gorged with their prey, seems to be that of vultures.

Gen. 2158: ac nefugas under beorhhleoðum blodig sittað ðeodherga wæl ðicce gefylled.

8. **sæfugol.** Sea-fowl. *Sæfugol*, as a proper name, occurs in the genealogy of Ælle of Northumbria; see *Chron.* 560.

9. **trēowfugol.** Forest-bird; < *trēow*, tree + *fugol*, bird.

Gu. 707: treofugla tuddor.

10. wigole fugules. Birds that forbode by singing, etc.

WW. 133. 2: *oscines aues*, wigole fugules.

11. wudufugol. Wood-fowl; < *wudu*, wood + *fugol*, bird.

Bt. 25. 20: wudufuglas, ðeah hi beon wel atemedede, gif hi on ðam wudu weorðað, hi forseoð heora lareowas and wuniað on heora gecynde; *Met.* 13. 69: wudufuglas.

LXVIII. geolna. On record only in *WW.* 132. 17: *ibis*, geolna. It is probable that the Egyptian ibis is meant, if we take into consideration the definition of ibis in Cockayne's *Shrine* 29: *ibin, avis in affrica habens longum rostrum*.

LXIX. strýta. Ostrich; < *L. struthio*, as also OHG. *struz* and G. *strausz*. *Þryssce* is also given as ostrich in Bosworth-Toller, but it is obviously a variation of *Þryssce*, thrush.

WW. 258. 6. *strutio*, struta; *Cp.* S. 571: ~ stryta.

LXX. ēow. Griffin, half lion, half eagle.

WW. 118. 37: *griffes*, eow, fīðerfote fugel.

LXXI. fēnix. The fabulous bird phœnix.

Æ. Gr. 70. 12: hic Fenix; 70. 15: hujus Fenicis; *Ph.* 86: fæger fugel feðrum strong, se is Fenix haten; 218: Fenix byrneð; 340: Fenix bið on middum ðreatum biðrunge.

LXXII. beardlēas. Wrongly given by Bosworth-Toller as a hawk or buzzard, on the strength of the reference *WW.* 171. 3: *ephebus uel buteo*, beardleas. *Buteo* is the usual *L.* word for hawk, but that it was sometimes used in OE. for young man the following reference from the glossary in *ZdA.* 33 is proof positive: *probum buteonem*, godne geongan. Du Cange, in his *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, also defines *buteo* as *juvenis*. *Beardlēas*, then, in the above connection is used in its literal sense of 'beardless,' i. e. youth.

LXXIII. **cranohawc.** Given by Bosworth-Toller and Lye as crane-hawk, on the strength of a reference in Spelmann's *Glossary*, 7. 18: *Cranohari alias Commorsus gruar-ius, i. Accipiter qui gruem mordet.* There seems to be no authority for changing *cranohari* into *cranohawc*, thus making it an OE. word. Du Cange says it appears in the MS. as *cranihari*, and adds '*sed legendum censet Lindenbrogius Cranichapich.*' This, if accepted, would make it a Germanic word, but certainly not OE.

LXXIV. **pernex.** A supposed bird; probably a misunderstanding of L. *pernix*, quick.

Rid. 41. 66: ic mæg fromlicor fleogan ðonne pernex earn oððe hafec æfre meahte.

LXXV. **huilpa.** The name of a sea-bird, appearing only in *Seaf.* 21:

dyde ic me to gomene ganetes hleoðor and huilpan sweg fore hleator wera.

LXXVI. **rēodmūða.** The name of a bird which cannot be determined with any certainty; < *rēod*, red + *mūða*, mouth.

On record in *WW.* 234. 24: *faseacus, reodmuða, nomen avis.*

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A FRAGMENT OF THE ANCREN RIWLE.

SOME few weeks ago Mr. W. H. Allnutt kindly drew my attention to a number of manuscript fragments taken out of old bindings which he was engaged in arranging. I at once recognized in one of them a 14th century MS. of the Middle English *Ancren Riwle*, and with the kind permission of Lord Robartes, the owner of the collection, I reproduce it here. It consists of a single leaf, and the handwriting is that of about 1330-40. The dialect, like that of MS. Nero A. XIV, points to the South-Western part of England.

The leaf has been cut down one side so that, on the first page, the endings, on the second page, the beginnings of the lines, are wanting. Moreover, about half way down, a piece has crumbled away. The writing of the first page is clear and easy to read; that of the second is much rubbed so that many letters are entirely gone, whilst others are so faint and indistinct as only to be decipherable with difficulty. The letters cut off at the edges as well as the undecipherable letters on page 2 I have supplied with the help of Morton's edition, enclosing them in square brackets. In printing, the line arrangement of the original has been adhered to, and the contractions, all of which have been expanded, are denoted by italics.

*and*¹ þorou² þat ilke lymynge louie³ it so swiþe⁴
 [þat heo] forte queme it in is foule kund⁵ : geþ out of hi
 [re] hye⁶ hefneli⁷ cunde . *and* forte payen þis fleisch .
 [wre]þþeþ hire schuppere þat schuptte hire after him sult
 [þat is] kyng *and* keyser of erþe *and* of hefne . wonder ouer

¹ *Ancren Riwle*, ed. Morton, p. 138, l. 25. ² After þorou an *i* erased.

³ After *louie* a letter erased (*n*?). ⁴ On margin is written: Indecens copulacio. ⁵ After *kund* a letter erased (*e*?). ⁶ Only part of the *h* is left. ⁷ After *hefneli* about three letters erased (*che*?).

[alle won]der¹ *and* hokerli² wonder : þat so vnymete lou
þing
[fere ni]hil . wel ni nouzt seiþ seint Austyn schal dra-
[wen] in to sunne so vnymete hei þing as soule is . þat
[seint] austin clepeþ . fere summum . þat is wel ni hext
þing³;
[wiþout]e god one . Ac god nolde not þat a⁴ lupe⁵ in to
prou-
[de ne] ne wilned⁶ to clymbe ‘ *and* fulle as dude lucifer
[for h]e was wiþoute charg⁷ . *and* teyede for þi a
clot of
[heui] erþe to hire . as me deþ þe cubbel to þe cou
[oþer to] oþer best : þat is to rechind⁸ *and* rengyng⁹ aboute.⁹
[And þat is] þat Iob seiþ. *Qui fecisti ventis .i. spiritibus .*
[pondus.] louerd he seiþ þou hast imaked foþer to feþre¹⁰.
[wiþ þe soule . þat is þat] heuie fleisch þat draweþ þe soule
donward
[ac þorou þe heihschip]e of hire : it worþ ful lizt¹¹.
[þe, liztore þon þe win]d is *and* briztore þon þe sonne
[is, zif hit foluweþ] hire ne ne draweþ hire to swiþe
[into hire lowe] cund¹². leoue sustren for his loue þat a¹³
[is il]ich to : bereþ hire menske . lete ze not þat lowe
[fleis]ch maystre hire to swiþe . a¹⁴ is in vncuþþe¹⁴
[her] . iput in a prison . bitund in a qualmhous . *and* nis
[nout] eþsene of wch dignite¹⁵ a¹⁶ is . hou hei is
[hire] cund¹⁷. ne wuch a schal þunche zut in hir oune
[rich]e . þat fleisch is her at home . as erþe þat is
[at] erþe . *and* is for þi quynte *and* quyuer . as me

¹ Only part of the *d* is left. ² After *hokerli* about two letters erased (*ch*?).
³ On right margin is written: *De dignitate anime*. ⁴ Before *a* a letter erased (*h*?). ⁵ The *u* of *lupe* written on erasure. ⁶ After *wilned* a letter erased (*e*?).
⁷ After *charg* a letter erased (*e*?). ⁸ After both *rechind* and *rengyng* a letter erased (*e*?). ⁹ *aboutē* was written and the contraction sign over the *e* erased.
¹⁰ *feþre* is ‘to load, make heavy,’ not ‘to give wings to,’ as Morton translates. ¹¹ On margin is written: *Felix esse potest qui felici copulat* [.].
¹² Only the lower part of *c* is left; after *d* is a trace of a letter (*e*?). ¹³ Before *a* a letter erased (*h*?). ¹⁴ On margin is written: *Qualiter anima est hic quasi aduena*. ¹⁵ *dignite*. Between *t* and *e* a *t* has been erased. ¹⁶ Before *a* a letter erased (*h*?). ¹⁷ After *cund* a letter erased (*e*?).

[seiþ] þat cure¹ is kene on is oune mixne² .
 [þat] haueþ³ to muche maistrie weilaweī o monie .
 [ac] ancre as ichabbe er iseid : auȝt⁴ to ben al gost⁵
 [lich] ȝif a wole wel flen as brid þat haueþ lutel fleisch
 [and moni]e seþeren. Nout one ȝut þis : ac schewe⁶ þat a te-
 [meþ] wel hire foule vntowe fleisch . and strengþeþ and deþ
 menske⁷ to þe wor[þfule] soule . schewe ȝut
 a mot is⁸ þorou hire forbisne . and þorou h[ire]
 beodes ȝiue strengþe to oþre . and ophold⁹ hem [þat]
 a ne [fallen iþe] dung¹⁰ of sunne Ant for þi [Dauid]
 a[non after þat he haued] y[eu]ened ancre t[o pel]
 lican [. h]e euen[ede] hire¹¹ [to] niȝtful þat is [vnder]
 euesyng¹² . Similis fact[us] sum pellicano solitudinis .

Fac[tus sum]

sicut nicticorax in domici[li]o .

þe¹³ niȝtful iþe euesyng bitockneþ rec[lus-]

[es] þat wonieþ for þi vnder chirche euesy[nge]

þat a vnderstond[e] þat a auȝte to be of so h[oli]

lif þ[a]t al holi churchē . þat is cristene folk

[lo]uye and wreoþ[e] vpon ham and heo hold[e]

[hire up] wiþ here lif holynesse [and] hore god[e bonen.]

[and]¹⁴ for þi is ancre ancre icleped . and [vnder]

chirche iancred as ancre vnder schi[pes borde]

forte hold[e] þat schip þat [uþen ne stormes]¹⁵

* * * * *

¹ MS. Nero A. XIV has *coc*, which is, no doubt, the original reading, while MS. Cleopatra C. VI (which is the opinion of Mr. Warner of the British Museum, who kindly examined the MS. for me, dates from about 1240) agrees with this fragment in having *curre* 'cur.' The earliest quotation for the simple *cur* in the New Engl Dict. is from Chaucer, though the compound *curdog* is cited from the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 290. ² *i. dūchul* = 'dunghill' is added over the line, ³ Of the *h* of *haueþ* but little remains. ⁴ After *auȝt* a letter erased (*e*?). ⁵ On right margin is written: *Descendit ad materiam suam*. ⁶ After *schewe* a letter erased. ⁷ With *menske* the second page begins. ⁸ Before *is* I think I can make out a very faint *ȝ*. ⁹ After *ophold* a letter erased (*e*?). ¹⁰ After *dung* a letter erased (*e*?). ¹¹ Only faint traces of *hire* can be made out. ¹² After *euesyng* a letter erased (*e*?). ¹³ On margin is written: *Quare reclusa comparatur nicticoraci*. ¹⁴ On the margin is written: *Quare sub domicilio*. ¹⁵ The next four lines are almost entirely gone. Only faint traces of single letters are here and there visible. I here give the missing part from Morton, p. 142, l. II: *hit ne ouerworpen. Al so al holi chirche, þet is schip icleped, schal ancren oðer ancre þet hit so holde, þet tes deofles puffes, þet beoð temptaciuns, hit ne ouerworpe. Euerich haueð þis auoreward etc.*

þis aforward boþe þorou nome of ancre [and]
 þorou þat a [w]oneþ vnder þe chirche . as[e forte]
 vnderstip[en hire ʒif] a wold[e] falle . [ʒ]if a b[rekeþ]
 forward loke wam a lie *and* hou [con]tynue[lement]
 for a' ne stunteþ neure [ancre] wonung[e and]
 hire nome crieþ eure þis forw[ard ʒu]t wan [a]
 slepeþ². [An] oþer half . þe n[iʒt]foul fleþ [bi]
 niʒte *and* biʒit iþe sterre liʒte [his] fode . als[o³ schal]
 ancre fle[n] wiþ *contemplacion* . [pa]t is wiþ⁴ he[i] þouʒt
and wiþ [holi] bonen : bi niʒt toward hefne [and bi-]
 ʒite bi niʒt hire soule fode . [b]i niʒt [ouh]
 a[ncre forte ben] waker *and* bisili⁵ aboute g[ostliche]
 biʒe[te] for þi comeþ anon þerafter . Vigi[lau]

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¹ Before *a* a letter erased (*h*?). ² On the margin is written: *Alia proprietas nicticoracis*. ³ Only part of the *s* still left. ⁴ *is* *wiþ* very faint. ⁵ After *bisili* about 3 letters erased (*che*?).

HUON OF BURDEUX AND THE FAIRIE QUEENE.

He was an Elfin borne, of noble state
 And mickle worship in his native land ;
 Well could he tourney, and in lists debate,
 And knighthood tooke of good Sir Huon's hand,
 When with King Oberon he came to Fary land.

(*Fairie Queene*, 2. 1. st. 6.)

SINCE Warton, the commentators of Spenser have contented themselves with copying, substantially, his remark that this passage proves Spenser's acquaintance with the French romance, translated about 1525 by Lord Berners under the title of *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, and first printed in the English form by Wynkyn de Worde about 1534. Keightley in his *Fairy Mythology* (ed. Bohn) cites the book as one of the books which Spenser must have read, but goes no further. Dr. W. Mushacke, in his brief but comprehensive study: *Beitraege zur Geschichte des Elfenreiches in Saga und Dichtung*,¹ although he notes 'die grosse Beleibtheit des durch die Bernesche Uebersetzung nach England verpflanzten *Huon de Bordeaux*,' and discusses the probable influence of the romance in question upon Shakespeare's *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, does not even mention Spenser's *Fairie Queene*. The omission is the more remarkable since he does deal with another *Fairy Queen*, the well-known ballad in Percy's *Reliques*: one would have thought that title must recall its so much more famous duplicate, especially since if Shakespeare has once for all handed down the *Fairy* of Folk-belief, Spenser no less finally has perpetuated the *Fay* of Court-romance. The *Midsummer's Night's*

¹ *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Crefeld*. 1891. Progr. Nro. 430.

Dream and the *Fairie Queene* together complementarily complete the *Fairy* concept.

I do not in this paper purpose to discuss Spenser's relation to the *Fairy* concept as it came to be developed in such Court-romances as the *Huon*, or exhaustively to trace Spenser's whole and particular indebtedness to the *Huon* itself. The former question is obviously important, and has been strangely passed by; the latter question, as I shall hope to show, is vital for the understanding of Spenser's literary provenance. For the moment, however, I mean to consider only certain parallels between the *Huon* and the *Fairie Queene*, which seems to disclose a decidedly more intimate bond between the two works than has been (apparently) supposed. For clearness, I shall compare only the first book of the *Fairie Queene* with the first eighty-five chapters of the *Huon*, constituting as those do the original *Chanson de geste* of *Huon de Bordeaux*. Parallels do not end here, but I am trying to prove indebtedness, not exhaust it. Still further to clarify the argument, I consider only the main line of action of the real protagonists in both stories. So eliminating, I daresay I weaken somewhat the cumulative evidence of detail which is to many more cogent than arguments *prima facie* more basic, but perhaps for their very roundness suspect. But enough of apology and explanation.

The main plot of the original *Huon* turns upon the way Sir Huon accomplishes the seemingly impossible task of fetching for Charlemagne, among other things, a handful of hair from the beard of the Admiral of Babylon and four of his back teeth, besides killing his chief lord and thrice kissing his daughter before his face. This favorite romantic motive always necessitates a supernatural helper, for no mortal hero could possibly perform the task unaided. In this case the opportune *deus ex machina* is Oberon, the Fairy King, who meeting Huon as the latter sets out on his grotesque quest, falls in love with him. Asked why he has so condescended, he replies:

‘Huon, . . . know well / I loue thee well by cause of the trouthe that is in the / and therefore naturally I loue the.’¹ Oberon then gives Huon the magic cup, which fills with life-giving wine whenever held by a man ‘out of deedly synne,’—and the horn which, sounded, shall call Oberon and his Fairy knights instantly to the succor. The danger-signal, however, must be kept for dire need, on pain of Oberon’s wrath and punishment.

Proved by the cup without mortal sin, Huon is still human. He mistrusts Oberon’s truth, and blows the horn to try him. Penitent before his enraged ally, who has been summoned frivolously, Huon pleads the enchantment of the cup, of which, he says, he must have drunk too freely. Oberon forgives, but forewarns his protégé that he will suffer greatly, ‘and all,’ he says, ‘by thyne owne folly.’²

After various misadventures brought upon him by his own folly, Huon crosses the sea to Babylon upon the back of the obliging Fairy, Malabron, who, for a former disobedience had been temporarily changed by Oberon to a sea monster. Before departing, Malabron urgently advised Huon: ‘alwayes be trew & say y^e trouthe, for as sone as thou makest any ly thou shalt lese the loue of kinge Oberon.’³ This injunction Huon promptly disobeys. Arriving at the first gate of Babylon, forgetting the magic ring which the Giant Galafre (by Oberon’s connivance) had given him for the express purpose of entering Babylon, Huon lies to the Porter, calling himself a Saracen. In consequence of this disobedient deceit, he later blows the horn in vain: Oberon hears but will not come. The magic ring and the invulnerable armor (also by Oberon’s connivance got from Galafre) permit him without bodily harm to accomplish his first two tasks, the slaying of the Admiral’s chief lord and the kissing of his daughter, Esclaramonde, before his face.

¹Ed. *Early Eng. Text Soc.*, 1882-1887. Extra Series, Nos. XL, XLI, XLIII, L. Chap. 25, p. 72.

²*Ib.* Chap. 27, p. 82.

³Chap. 36, p. 113.

At that stage, however, overwhelmed by numbers, Huon is disarmed, cast into a dungeon, and condemned to death. Oberon remains obdurate, but Esclaramonde, who loved Huon when 'she saw hym so fayre, & felte his mouth so swete,'¹ saves him from death by spreading the report of his being dead, and comforts him. Later, however, when Galafre's brother, Agrapart, harries the Admiral's Court in revenge for the murder of his brother, Huon is released and given back his armor, and finally defeats Agrapart. Then when Huon demands that the Admiral shall turn Christian, and blows his horn to enforce his threat, Oberon this time comes; and by his aid Huon kills the obstinate Pagan, and carries off his daughter. Before leaving, Oberon lays a new command upon Huon that he shall not violate Esclaramonde until the Pope shall have married them at Rome. Again Oberon forewarns Huon of the misery that must come upon him because of his own self-will. True enough, Huon cannot long resist his passion for Esclaramonde. No sooner have they taken their pleasure together, than a terrific storm wrecks their ship and casts them naked upon a desert island. Soon afterward pirates land, and carry off Esclaramonde, leaving Huon bound to his fate.

At this crisis, when human force or love can avail Huon nothing, Oberon at last yields to the mediation of the merciful Fairies, Gloriant and Malabron, and permits Malabron to go to Huon's aid, provided Malabron will himself expiate for Huon's sin by remaining a sea-monster twenty-eight years longer. Deposited by Malabron on the mainland, Huon falls in with the minstrel, Moufflet, whom in desperation he serves as 'varlett.' The minstrel appeals to him through a fellow-feeling. 'Syr', quod the mynstrell, 'I pray the come & ete with me, & kepe me company for thou shalt not fynde a more sorrowfull than I am.'² Rescued from this sorrowful condition by Gerames and his company, and restored to Esclaramonde, he and she and all their company journey to Rome.

¹ Chap. 38, p. 120.

² Chap. 51, p. 170.

There, after confessing and absolving Huon, and baptising Esclaramonde, the Pope marries them and they set out for France. Here his brother's treachery brings Huon again into sore peril from the deceived Emperor. Oberon, however, now fully reconciled with the absolved hero, comes to his aid with his Fairies, first daunts and then placates Charlemagne. Before taking his final departure, Oberon obtains a promise from his at last triumphant protégé that in four years time the latter will come to Oberon's Court in Fairyland, there to receive Oberon's kingship: Oberon himself is to withdraw into Paradise.

Such in outline is the story of Huon in the original *chanson de geste*, the rest of the 194 chapters in the final version being much later accretion. From this outline it is not difficult to extract the main motive: a knight starts out upon a difficult quest, fortified by his own purity of purpose, sustained from above, and clad in more than iron invulnerability. Left alone with himself, he doubts his invisible ally; and when his doubt leads him into faithlessness to his promise, avoids the responsibility, laying it to mystery or enchantment. Again and again he asserts his own self-judgment, his own self-will, against the judgment, the will of the all-wise one. Each time he falls into deeper misery in consequence; each time he is saved from the consequences of his own folly by the diligence of a faithful human love, or by the intercession and atonement of a more than human pity; until at last he is forced to see that the final victory is to be won through his own effort indeed, but not by his own strength alone. At the last, when the Emperor had sworn not to go to bed without hanging and quartering Huon, Huon humbly prays to Christ for aid: 'A very god & man, as I beleue veryly that thou dydst dye on the holy crosse to redeeme us all, & that on the thyrd day thou dyddyst ryse fro deth to lyfe, I requyre the humbly in this grete nede to socoure me.'¹ In short, courageous deeds are the principal agency of Huon's final triumph,

¹ Chap. 82, p. 255.

but the intervention of Oberon is none the less essential,—indeed not only his all-powerful intervention, but also in default of that refused, of the lesser mediation of Esclaramonde's love, of Gloriant's and Malabron's pity, and of Malabron's atonement. In Christian terms the gist of all is: Salvation is not won, but given; but it is given to the most worthy.

I hope I am not called upon to prove this maxim to be the gist of Spenser's moral allegory. He who skims the *Fairie Queene* must read it so.¹ Nor do I conceive it needful to outline the plot of the first book of the *Fairie Queene*: To show how closely in Indian file Spenser's 'fine footing' follows the *Huon*, I may, however, exhibit a 'bordereau' of parallels between the essential steps of the main plot of the first part of the *Huon* and of the first book of the *Fairie Queene*. I may repeat that the following parallel column is in no wise exhaustive: it intends simply to equate the main, the dramatically significant, steps of the two arguments.

Fairie Queene, Bk. I.

1. By the magic of the Cup, Huon is made to doubt the *truth* of Oberon. (Chap. 26.)

Huon of Burdeux.

1. By the magic of Archimago George is made to doubt the truth of Una, committed to his care by Gloriana. (It must be remembered that Una is Truth personified, and that Spenser in Bk. 2. 10. st. 76. makes Gloriana the daughter and successor of Oberon, King of Fairyland.) (C. 2)

¹ One statement of the maxim is in the following stanza:

What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might
And vaine assurance of mortality,
Which, all so soone as it doth come to fight
Against spirituall foes, yields by and by,
Or from the field most cowardly doth fly!
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,
That thorough grace hath gained victory:
If any strength we have it is to ill;
But all the good is God's, both power and eke will.

(1. 10. 1) Cf. also 1. 8. 1; 2. 11. 30.

Fairie Queene, Bk. 1.*Huon of Burdeux*.

2. Huon warned against deceit by Malabron. (Chap. 36.)

3. By lying to the Porter, i. e. by deceit, Huon enters Babylon, the stronghold of unbelieving pride (the Admiral and most of his people die rather than believe in the Christ. 46.) (36 seq.)

4. Huon defeats, but does not slay, the giant Agrapart, who comes to avenge his brother, Galafre, previously slain by Huon. (42.)

5. Huon, aided by Oberon the Dwarf, overcomes the Admiral and leaves his Palace with Esclaramonde, his daughter. (46.)

6. Recreant to his knightly oath to Oberon, and shaming Esclaramonde by deflowering her before marriage, Huon in consequence is left naked and starving upon the Pirates' Island. (46-48.)

7. Oberon, entreated by Gloriant and Malabron, sends Malabron to rescue Huon, Malabron atoning in his own person for Huon's sin. (1.)

8. Moufflet, the 'man of sorrow,' persuades the now miserable Huon to become his 'varlett.' (58.)

9. Rescued by Esclaramonde and her companions, Huon goes to Rome, where he is confessed and absolved by the Pope. (52.)

10. So reconciled with Oberon, and aided by him, Huon finally achieves his initial task,—he overcomes the unjust Emperor. (83.)

2. George warned against Duessa, i. e. Deceit, by Fradubio. (C. 2)

3. By the help of Duessa, i. e. Deceit, George enters the Sinful House of Pride. (3)

4. George defeats, but does not slay, Sansjoy, who comes to avenge his brother, Sansfoy, previously slain by George. (4-5)

5. George, advised by Una's Dwarf, overcomes the seductions of Lucifera, and leaving her House is soon re-joined by her disguised votary Duessa.

6. Recreant to his knightly oath to Gloriana, and shaming Una by his lust for Duessa, George in consequence is left naked and starving in Orgoglio's dungeon. (7)

7. Arthur, Gloriana's representative, entreated by Una, goes to rescue George, atoning by his own great risk and miraculous escape from defeat for George's sin. (8)

8. 'Despair' persuades the now miserable George to do his bidding. (9)

9. Rescued by Una, George goes to the House of Holiness, where he is confessed and absolved by Dame Coelia. (10)

10. So reconciled with God, and aided by Him (Spenser now breaks away from allegorical machinery), George finally achieves his initial task,—he slays 'the old Dragon.' (11)

Fairie Queene, Bk. I.*Huon of Burdeux*.

II. Huon and Esclaramonde so come into their own, but Huon promises to come to Fairyland in four years. (84.)

II George and Una are happily married, but soon George remembers that he had promised Gloriana to return to her Court in Fairyland after killing the Dragon. (12)

In the sequel, Huon and Esclaramonde both go to Oberon's Court at the appointed time, and are given Oberon's throne, Arthur, the rightful heir,¹ being, after some demur, put off with the kingdom of Boulquant and dominion over the Fairies of Tartary. Apparently,² this means that while Huon rules in the Earthly Paradise of Momur, poor Arthur is relegated to the regency of Hell. Thus the author of the *Huon*, having blackened one great central hero of the Middle Ages, Charlemagne, as a gullible and unjust tyrant, so balancing—in Parallel No. 10 above—Spenser's Dragon, the arch-fiend himself,—now blackens the doom of the other central hero of the Middle Ages, King Arthur.

Now Spenser had no concern for Charlemagne; but Briton's Arthur is another matter. George, Huon's counterpart, may be summoned to return to Gloriana's Court after he has achieved his earthly quest, but it is Prince Arthur who is finally to return and share her throne. In the sequel to the *Fairie Queene* which Spenser promised in his letter to Raleigh, Arthur was to be King of Fairie Land, and to show framed in his person the 'Polliticke Vertues.' Thus is Arthur reinstated in his birthright.

¹ In the *Huon*, Oberon says he is the son of Julius Caesar and Morgan le Fay. Since Morgan is Arthur's sister, Arthur must be Oberon's uncle, and, Oberon being to all appearances a bachelor, therefore his heir. Oberon had in fact promised Arthur his throne, and excuses his altered will by saying Arthur had not arrived in time. (Chapter 156, a.)

² Boulquant, Bolgara or Bolghar—northernmost limit of the habitable world. (*Huon*. ed. cit. p. 812.) This was commonly accepted as site of Hades. (Cf. J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*. Oxford, 1891, p. 240.) I cannot say if 'Fairies of Tartary' are directly of 'Tartarus,' i. e. Hell. But so *F. Q.* 2. 7.44.

Instead, however, of following the genealogy of the *Huon*, and simply making Arthur, as he was in that, Oberon's direct heir and successor, Spenser indirectly reinstates him by means of Gloriana, Oberon's daughter and Arthur's betrothed. The reasons for this change are of course obvious: it placed a central love romance as the pivot of the whole action, and gave an opportunity to compliment Queen Elizabeth and her suitor, his patron—Leicester.¹ The only difference between the functions of Oberon and Gloriana is that Oberon, as becomes a knightly king, generally intervenes in behalf of the distressed knight himself: whereas the Queen of Fairyland sends her deputy Arthur. Indeed Oberon himself deposes Malabron in several instances to act for him.

As to the name Gloriana, Spenser tells us in the Letter to Raleigh that he means by it Glory. Perhaps we should not try to go behind his word: but it is at least striking that the Fairy in the *Huon*, who from the very beginning (Chap. 24) tempers Oberon's severe justice with his own gentle spirit of mercy, bears the name Gloriant. If there is any difference marked between Oberon and Gloriana, it is in the womanly quality of mercy attributed to the latter.² Spenser could not very well explain this significance of the name Gloriana without going into the whole question of his indebtedness to the *Huon*, which he may have preferred not to do, or which to a generation brought up on the *Huon* might have been a work of supererogation.

¹ One wonders how Spenser, had he lived to write his sequel, in which Arthur was to have married Gloriana, would have got over the embarrassing fact that Elizabeth did not marry Leicester after all.

² E. g. *Huon* speaks of the Fairie Queene as

. . . . My Sovereine,
Whose glory is in gracious deeds, and ioyes
Throughout the world her mercy to maintain.

(*FQ.* 2.2.43.)

Her annual feast of 12 days is a feast of mercy for all comers.

Unless I am mistaken, then, Spenser drew from the *Huon of Burdeux* the chief outlines and characters of his romantic fairy world, so opposed to the general folk-concept of fairies and fairyland; and in the first book of his poem follows step by step the dramatic presentation of the same motive as developed in the original *chanson de geste* of Sir Huon. If this radical indebtedness has been proved, no one will cavil at the numerous parallels of detail that offer in the portions of the two works compared, nor be surprised at further borrowings both of character and incident from the subsequent chapters of the voluminous romance. At the same time, not to encumber my main argument with side issues, I prefer to reserve other parallels to another occasion.

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ETYMOLOGIES.¹

1. Goth. **ans*, dat. *anza*, 'beam,' ON. *áss*: Lat. *ēnsis*, Skt. *astis*, 'sword.' The Germ. word is nearer the primary meaning. This was probably 'shaft, stick,' and from this could easily develop 'spear, brand, sword,' which signification was certainly not original. In formation the words are not just the same, and here too the Lat. and Skt. are secondary, the stem being **ḡst-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 407. The ON. *áss*, dat. *āse*, and the Finn. loanword *ansas* point to a stem **ónso-*, while Goth. *anza* speaks for **onsó-*.

2. MHG. *īchen* 'measure off, gauge,' *īche*, *īch* 'measure,' LG. *īke* 'instrument for stamping, any sharp tool, lance' probably belong to the same root as in OHG. *eih*, OE. *āc*, ON. *eik* 'oak.' If this connection is correct, Germ. **ikō-* was primarily 'shaft, lance' from the oak, and secondarily 'shaft, measuringstick,' and then 'measure' of any kind; or else we have the development 'shaft, lance, sharp instrument.' Compare the similar change in OHG. *gerta* 'staff, stick,' OE. *gyrd* 'stick, rod': and then 'measure, yard'; also in such words as Eng. *rod*, *pole*, etc. Again 'shaft, lance' are connected with various words for 'tree,' as: Gk. *δρῦς* 'oak, tree': *δόρυ* 'beam, spear'; MHG. *asch* 'ash': 'spear'; OHG. *eih* 'oak': Gk. *ἀργαμένη* 'lance.' In view of such comparisons, and especially of the last one, for which cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb*³ s. v. *Eiche*, and to which we may add LG. *īke* 'lance,' we may safely make the connection given above.

¹ The etymologies here given are not arranged in order except as they are grouped to illustrate some phonetic law or similar semasiological development. As I have not had access to any large library while preparing this paper, it is quite possible that, in one or two cases, I may have given as my own discovery what should have been credited to another. If so, let the credit go to whom it belongs.

3. Goth. *ufta*, OHG. *ofto*, OS. *ofto*, *oft*, OE. *oft*, ON. *opt* 'oft, often' presuppose a pre-Germ. stem **upto-*, **upto-n-*. This is an adj. stem **up-to-*, the base of which is Goth. *uf*, Gk. *ὑπό*, Skt. *úpa*, etc. Notice especially the Skt. *úpa* 'unto, toward, near.' For the stem **upto-* we may assume the meaning 'near, close.' From this easily develops 'often.' For a similar development compare Lith. *tánkus* 'close': *tánkei* 'often'; MHG. *dīhte* 'close, thick': *ge-dīhte* 'frequently'; MHG. *dicke* 'thick': 'often'; Lat. *densus* 'dense': 'frequent,' etc. The meaning 'often' could therefore attach itself very easily to the stem *upto-* provided it had originally the signification I have assumed, and this assumption is certainly justifiable.

4. A root *uē-*, *uō-* occurs in Gk. *ἄωπος* 'weariness, sleep,' OHG. *wuorag* 'intoxicated,' OS. *wōrag*, OE. *wērig* 'weary,' Gk. *ἀωτέω* 'sleep,' Skt. *abhi-vātas* 'tired,' *vāyati* 'get tired,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ἄωπος*. This root is the same as *uē-*, *uē-* 'blow,' which, as I have elsewhere stated, (cf. Jour. Germ. Ph. I, 302) 'expressed the waving motion caused by the wind.' That is, when the proethnic man said *uēti*, he was describing the effect of the wind—'it waves.' So this root *uē-* to be weary, sleepy, intoxicated' meant simply 'to nod, waver, be unsteady.' For a similar development in meaning compare Lat. *labō* 'totter': Goth. *slēpan* 'sleep'; OE. *drēosan* 'fall, sink': *drūsian* 'drowse.'

5. OHG. *wisa* 'meadow,' ON. *veisa* 'pool,' OE. *wās* 'moisture,' Eng. *woosy* 'wet' (obs.) are not traced by Kluge to any IE. root. They belong, in all probability, to the root *uis-* in Lat. *vīrus* 'slimy liquid, slime, poison,' Gk. *ἰός* 'poison,' properly 'a thick fluid' as is evident from Pindar O. 6, 79, who calls honey *ἰὸς ἀμεμφής*, Skt. *viśá-* 'poison, water.' It is plain to be seen that 'poison' was not the original signification of this root, but rather 'moisture, slime,' since this is the common meaning from which the entire group may come. To the same root have been referred ON. *visna*, OHG. *wesanēn* 'wilt.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ἰός*, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *verwesen*. Perhaps the common meaning from which these various significations come is 'sink, be soft.'

6. For Goth. *hōlōn* 'deceive,' OHG. *huolian* 'cheat' connection has been assumed with Gk. *κηλέω* 'charm, beguile,' and with Lat. *calumniā*, cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *hōlōn*. No fault can be found with this derivation, and yet it is not certain, since another connection may be made which is equally probable, viz., with the root *kel-* 'conceal.' This root is widely represented in Germ., and for that reason there is the greater probability for the connection of *hōlōn* therewith. The development in meaning is certainly natural, and quite like that of Goth. *liugan* 'deceive,' from the root *leugh-* 'hide.' The pre-Germ. stem **kōlā-* may be directly compared with **kēlā-* in Lat. *cēlā-re*.

7. For Goth. *and-hruskan* 'to inquire' ON. *horskr* 'wise,' OE., OHG, *horsc* 'wise, quick' several etymologies have been proposed. For some of these compare Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 240, 1037; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *and-hruskan*; Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.* 98.

Another possibility, and one too that gives no phonetic difficulty, is to connect these words with Lat. *currō*. OE. *horsc* 'quick' preserves the primary meaning of the word. The stem was **kṛsko-* from the root *kṛs. kers-*. The same root, according to Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.*, is in MHG. *hurren* 'to hurry.'

8. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *Kraft*, gives the following words: OHG. *kraft* 'power, force, fulness,' OS. *craft*, OE. *cræft* 'power, craft,' ON. *kraptr* 'power,' Icel. *kræfr* 'strong.' To these are added ON. *krefja*, OE. *crāfian* 'crave, beg,' with a doubt expressed as to their connection with the foregoing.

I think I can make it probable not only that *crave* and *craft* are related, but that both are cognate with Gk. *βρέφος* 'fetus,' OHG. *kropf* 'crop.' The base upon which these several words are built is *g^{*}er-bho-*, from the root *g^{*}er-* 'swell, fill.' Cf. author, *AJP.* 19, 47. The root-meaning swell readily gives all the significations of this group. Compare the similar development of the root *keu-* 'swell': Skt. *ḥvayati* 'swells,' Gk. *κέω* 'am pregnant,' *κύμα* 'wave, fetus' ('swelling'), Skt. *śāvas* 'strength,' Lat. *queō* 'am

able,' Gk. *κῦρος* 'power.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *κνέω*. Compare further Gk. *σπαργάω* 'swell, be full, ripe; be pregnant; swell with desire.' Such examples show how easily *crave*, *craft*, *crop* and their cognates may come from the root-meaning 'swell.' To 'crave' is to 'have a swelling desire'; 'craft' has developed through 'swelling,' 'bigness,' 'power,' etc.; and 'crop' is a 'swelling' in its literal sense. For connection of OHG. *kropf*, Gk. *βρέφος*, compare Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 590.

Exactly the same development in meaning is seen in Goth. *magan* 'can, be able,' *mahts* 'power': OHG. *mago*, OE. *maga* 'maw, stomach.' This connection is suggested by Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*³ s. v. *Magen*, but with disapproval. With Goth. *magan* Uhlenbeck and Prellwitz, in their *Et. Wtb.*, compare Gk. *μῆχος* 'means,' *μηχανή* 'tool, artifice,' Goth. *magus* 'boy,' *mēgs* 'son-in-law.' The root-meaning of this group was 'to be big,' and hence denoted power, ability or size, growth. The coincidences in the development of this root and of the one above are quite striking. Notice these parallels: OHG. *kropf*: *mago*; Gk. *βρέφος*: Goth. *magus*; OE. *craft*, MnE. *craft*: Gk. *μηχανή*; OHG. *kraft*: Goth. *mahts*.

The development in meaning in the two sets of words is so easily explained from the assumed primary meaning of their roots that the connection in each group can hardly be doubted.

9. Goth. *mammō* 'flesh' is, according to Uhlenbeck, 'unerklärt.' In the same line he adds: 'Vgl. *mimz*.' We will therefore compare *mammō* and *mimz* and show that they contain the same root. Goth. *mimz*, Skt. *māśá*, IE. **mē-msó*- I had explained as a reduplicated stem, *Jour. Germ. Ph.* I, 299, and discovered later that the same explanation is given by Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 347, who starts from IE. **més-*, Skt. *mās*, Lith. *mėsà* 'flesh.' This stem *mēs-*, with the ablaut **mōs-*, is contained in Goth. *mammō* < **maz-mō* < **mos-mō-n*.¹ These words may further be referred to the root *mē-* 'cut,' so that **mē-msó-* and

¹ For *mm* < *zm-* < *sm-*, cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 779.

**mos mō-* may be regarded as the repetition of this root *mē-, mō-* with its outgrowth *mēs-, mōs-*. The same root is also in Gk. μέσ-κος 'hide,' ἀσκός < **ἡσκος* 'hide,' Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. ἀσκός.

10. OHG., OS. *meldōn*, OE. *meldian* 'announce, betray' come from the Germ. root *melp-*, which Kluge refers to an unfound IE. root *melt-, mel-* 'betray.' It will not be difficult to find a root *mēl-* if we do not insist upon giving it the meaning 'betray.' The meaning 'betray, announce' may well come from an original 'mark,' 'point out,' 'indicate.' In fact, if we find this root *mēl-* in any signification that could give OHG. *meldōn*, we may safely regard it as the root sought. This root *mēl-* occurs in Goth. *mēljan* 'write,' OHG. *mālōn, mālēn* 'paint, draw,' primarily 'to mark.' The development in meaning is similar to that in Ger. *zeichnen: bezeichnen*, in which the literal force of the latter word is lost sight of.

11. Germ. **panhōn-* 'clay,' Goth. *þāhō*, etc. is a good example of how little importance should be attached to the present meaning of a word in looking for its origin. For the pre-Germ. form of this word we may assume **tónqā-n-*. This we may suppose was a substantivized adjective (hence an *n*-stem) descriptive of the particular kind of soil. Clay when wet is an uncommonly sticky soil. A natural term for it was therefore a word denoting stickiness, as in OE. *clæg, clām* 'clay' from the IE. root *glei-* in OChSl. *glina* 'clay,' *glěnu* 'slime,' Gk. γλία 'glue,' γλοιός 'any sticky substance,' etc. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*° s. v. *Klei*.

But clay may be designated from another quality—that of hardness, stiffness, compactness. Our adj. **tónqo-, -ā-*, as will be seen, had this very meaning. Nearest related are Lith. *tánkus* 'compact, close,' Av. *taxma-* 'strong,' superl. *tančišta-*, Arm. *ťanjr* 'close, compact.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 479. These belong to the root *tenq-, tonq-* of Lith. *tenkù* 'suffice,' Goth. *þeihan* 'thrive,' OHG. *dihan*, etc., MHG. *dihite*, NHG. *dicht*, Eng. *tight*.

Probably the reason why this connection has not been made before—for it seems to me a most obvious and

natural one—is because Goth. *peihan* had already been referred to the root *tenq-*, and it seemed impossible to connect a word for ‘clay’ with one for ‘thrive.’ Etymologists seem to forget that the significations *b, c, d* may be entirely distinct from each other and yet easily derivable from a common meaning *a*. Cf. also Fick, *VWb.*⁴, I, 442.

12. Goth. *saupa* ‘reason, λόγος’ is nothing more nor less than the fem. to the same stem as in *saups* ‘sacrifice.’ These words come from a root *syet-, seyt-* ‘boil, bubble up,’ contained in OHG. *swedan, siodan*, etc. The primary signification was not ‘heat,’ but ‘bubbling, springing up.’ Hence from this root could come a word for ‘spring, fountain,’ or ‘a seething, boiling.’ The latter meaning gives Goth. *saups* ‘sacrifice,’ the former OGotn. *saupr* ‘fountain.’ The fem. to this is Goth. *saupa*, primarily ‘fountain, spring, source,’ and then, like all words for ‘spring, source,’ meaning secondarily ‘cause, reason, origin.’

The root *syet-, seyt-* is probably an extension of *seuo-, sā-* ‘flow’: OHG. *sou*, Lith. *syvas* ‘sap,’ Skt. *sava-m* ‘sap or honey from flowers,’ *sōma-s* ‘Soma,’ etc. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ὑερός*.

13. The unexplained Goth. *sifan* ‘exult, rejoice’ is perhaps connected with OE. *sefa* ‘mind, mood, spirit.’ The common meaning from which these could come would be ‘to be active, to leap up.’ The IE. root *sep-* with this force is found in Skt. *sápati* ‘to be busied about, care for,’ Gk. *ἔπω* ‘care for, prepare,’ *ἔψω* ‘boil,’ Arm. *epem* ‘boil.’ Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1021. ‘To boil’ and ‘to exult’ are both connected with the idea of motion, activity, and a word for ‘mind’ readily comes from this also. Compare Gk. *θῦμός* ‘mind’: Skt. *dhññōti* ‘shake, move’; Goth. *saiwala* ‘soul’: OPrus. *seilin* ‘exertion, zeal.’

14. Goth., OE., OS. *ūt*, OHG. *ūz* ‘out’ are compared with Skt. *ud-* ‘up from, out,’ OIr. *ud-*, etc. This prefix is simply the ‘schwundstufe’ of the root *yed-*, in Skt. *unātti* ‘spring up, bubble up, flow,’ and secondarily ‘wet,’ *udán-* ‘water,’ Lat. *unda*, Goth. *wato*, etc. This development is

so natural that it requires no other proof than to call attention to this relation. The root *ued-* occurs also in Skt. *vddati* 'speak,' i. e., 'utter.' I see no reason for separating this *ued-* from the other. The meaning in each comes readily from the force of the particle *ud-*.

15a. As Goth. *ūt* is connected with the root *ues-* 'spring up,' so Goth. *us* 'out' may be from a root *ues-* 'spring forth, rise.' This I take to be the original meaning of *ues-* in Skt. *vas-* 'to dawn,' *vasar-han* 'striking at dawn,' *vasantās* 'spring,' Gk. *ēap* 'spring,' Lith. *vasarà* 'summer,' OChSl. *vesna* 'spring.' Certainly the meaning 'spring forth, rise' best explains the various significations of this group of words. It is an easy development from 'rise' to 'dawn,' and then to 'grow bright, shine.' And naturally the place of rising is the 'orient, east.' The word for 'spring' may be explained like Eng. *spring* as 'the season when vegetation springs up.'

b. With *ues-* 'to rise, dawn, shine' we may connect *ues-* 'to be.' In Skt. *vāsati* the meaning 'dwell, abide' prevails, and this meaning is also in Goth. *wisan*, and is implied in Skt. *vāstu-* 'dwelling,' Gk. *ἄστυ* 'town,' and others. It is probable, therefore, that 'dwell' did not develop through 'rise, become, be'; but that continuance in time arose from continuance in space. Thus if we say: 'He went on thus for a long time'; we mean continuance in time. Similarly from the root *q^uel-* 'move,' Skt. *car-* is used in the sense 'continue' (doing a thing), and Gk. *πέλομαι*, primarily 'move, go,' with the force 'continue to be,' and finally simply 'to be.' Compare also Lat. *vivō* 'live'; 'last, endure'; 'dwell, be'; and *versor* 'move about, dwell, remain, be.'

c. As the same root as the above I regard *ues-* 'to clothe.' This develops through the intermediate step 'throw, throw about.' Words were originally neutral in tint, and might be used to express a certain idea from any point of view. Thus we may say: 'He shot the arrow toward the mark'; 'The arrow was shot toward the mark'; 'The arrow shot toward the mark.' In like man-

ner we may suppose that most IE. roots vaguely expressed a given idea, and were made to render a specialized meaning according to need. So Gk. βάλλω 'throw' is frequently used meaning 'to put on' clothes or armor, though the root *g^sel-*, from which it came, means also 'spring forth, swell, flow.'

d. To the root *ues-* 'spring forth' probably belongs also Skt. *vāsáyati* 'cut,' i. e. 'cause to spring forth or off.' All these roots may be written *u-es-* and referred to the root *eu-*, *u-*, as Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 877, does in the case of *u-es-* 'to clothe.' For a further discussion of the root *eu-*, cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Ph.* I, 302 ff.

e. OHG. *wisunt*, OE. *weosuud* 'bison' represent, I believe, an IE. **uésnt-*. The Gk. βίσων, Lat. *bison* would seem to indicate Germ. **wisund* rather than **wesund*, but this is probably due to a Gothic source. The stem **ues-nt-* is to be referred to the root *ues-* in its secondary sense 'bright, reddish.' The same root gave Skt. *us-rá* 'steer,' from *us-rá* 'reddish.' With Skt. *usrá* are connected, according to Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Auer*, OHG. *ūr*, OE. *ūr*, ON. *ūrr*, from pre-Germ. **us-ró-*. This explanation of Kluge's is made more certain by the plain connection of pre-Germ. **ues-nt-*, OHG. *wisund* with Skt. *us-rá*.

16. Goth. *waldan*, OE. *wealdan*, etc., 'wield, rule, guide' come from IE. **u_l-tō* (—*to* rather than *-dhō* on account of ON. pret. *olla*, with *ll* < *lp*) and with these have been compared Lith. *valdýti* 'wield, guide, rule,' OChSl. *vlada* 'govern,' and OIr. *fla^th* 'dominion.' The simpler form of the root from which these have sprung would naturally be *u_l-* or *u_{l̄}-*. The root *u_{l̄}-u_{l̄}ō-* occurs in Gk. εὔλη-ρα, αὔλη-ρον, ἄβλη-ρα 'reins, bridle,' Lat. *lō-rum*. (See Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 317.) The same root is also in Gk. πέλλυ-τρον 'foot-thong' from **πεδ-λυτρον* (**f_{l̄}u-τρον*). *Id. ib.* I², 529. This **f_{l̄}u-τρον* may be explained as coming from **u_{l̄}-tro-m*, *id. ib.* I², 260.

17. Eng. *weld*, *wold* 'reseda luteola,' Mid. Eng. *welde*, OE. **weald*, Du. *wouuw*, from the Germ. stem **waldā-* may represent the IE. stem **u_{l̄}tō-*. The very same stem may

be in Lat. *lütum* 'weld,' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 260.) With this exact agreement in meaning and phonetics there can be no doubt about the connection of *weld* and *lütum*. Here perhaps belongs also Gk. ἀλώνη, an unknown plant, from **u̯lt-inā*-.

18. A similar correspondence between Lat. and Germ. is seen in Lat. *lustrum* 'forest, marsh,' from **u̯lts-tro-*, and OHG., OS. *wald*, OE. *weald*, ON. *vollr* 'forest,' from **u̯ól-tu-* or **u̯l̄-tu-*. Gk. ἄλλος 'grove,' which Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁹, s. v. *Wald*, connects with the Germ. word, may be explained as **φαλτσος* < **u̯l̄tsos*. Compare also ἄλις 'the sacred grove of Zeus at Olympia.' These words may be reduced to the root *uel-* 'spring up, grow,' and therefore meant primarily 'an overgrown place.' To the same root belongs Gk. λάσιος 'shaggy, bushy,' from **φλατιος*, which is compared by Lidén, PBB. 15, 521 f., with ON. *lundr* 'grove' < **lundī-* < IE. **u̯l̄-ntī-*. This stem is a derivative of the pres. part. of *uel-*, while OHG. *wald* is from the *to*-part. of the same root. Gk. ἄλλος, if it belongs here rather than to OChSl. *lēsü* 'forest' (Pedersen, IF. 5, 56), presupposes a stem **φαλτ(ε)σ-*, which corresponds to the stem from which Lat. *lus-trum* is formed.

The roots *u̯el-*, *u̯l̄-* in nos. 16, 17, and 18 are probably one and the same. The development was perhaps 'wave,' 'turn,' 'spring up,' 'grow.'

19. Goth. *luftus*, OHG., OS. *luft*, OE. *lyft*, ON. *lopt* 'air' have been compared with ON. *lopt* 'loft,' and there the etymologists stop, and yet, in their discussions, they quote the very words which suggest the origin of this Germ. word for 'air.' That 'air' was not the primary signification is evident from ON. *lopt* 'loft,' from which *lypta* 'lift,' Sw. *lyfta*, Eng. *lift*, Ger. *lüften*. Germ. **luftu-* denoted, therefore, that which is above, aloft, raised up, hence 'sky, heaven, air, loft.'

This Germ. root *luft-* is an extension of the IE. root *lup-*, in MHG. *lupfen* from **luppjan*, **lupn-*. This word Kluge defines 'los machen und dann in die Höhe heben,' and suspects for it connection with *Läufel*, *Lauft* 'shell,'

OHG. *louft* 'shell, bark'; Lith. *lupinat* 'fruit peelings,' *lūpti* 'to peel, pare,' Pol. *lupina* 'hull.' We may further refer to the same root *lup-*, Goth. *laufs*, OHG. *loub*, etc., 'leaf.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *laufs*.

A derivative of the same root is probably ON. *lyf* 'medicinal plant,' OE. *lyf*, OHG. *luppi* 'poison, sorcery,' Goth. *lubja-leis* 'skilled in witchcraft.' This Germ. stem **lubja-* < **lupjō-* is in formation a *jo*-adj. to **laubā-* < **loufō-* 'leaf, plant,' and hence meant 'made, prepared from leaves,' and so 'infusion, decoction' for medicine, poison or sorcery.

With Lith. *lūpti* Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 454, compares Gk. λέπω 'peel,' under the assumption that *lup-* came from *lp-*. If this is admitted, we must suppose that Germ. *laub-* has a secondary ablaut. This is quite possible. Germ. *laubā-* 'leaf' must be connected with a Germ. verb corresponding to Lith. *lūpti*. The present of this verb, on the supposition that it is related to Gk. λέπω, would be **lubō*. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 470 f. This verb would naturally fall into the second ablaut-series, and derivatives therefrom might, of course, have any of the vowel-grades of this series.

The root in the form *lep-*, *lop-* occurs also in Gk. λέπος, λοπός 'bark, shell, husk,' Lith. *lāpas* 'leaf,' and perhaps also *lepūs* 'delicate' (primarily 'stripped'?). Here possibly belong also MHG. *lap* 'sour fluid,' OHG. *lab* 'broth,' which Kluge connects with ON. *lyf*, etc. OHG. *lab*, in that case, went through the same development of meaning as ON. *lyf*, etc. To OHG. *lab* in the secondary signification 'fluid' may belong *labōn* 'wash, refresh,' OE. *gela-fian*. Or they may have meant primarily 'rub,' and be more directly related to the root *lep-*. Compare also Lith. *lempū* 'to be dainty, effeminate,' *lepūs* 'delicate.'

20. Another example of a similarly developed secondary ablaut occurs in OHG. (*h*)*riot*, OS. *hriod*, OE. *hrēod* 'reed.' These I connect with Goth. *haurds* 'door,' ON. *hurð*, OHG. *hurt* 'hurdle, wicker,' Lat. *crātēs*, Gk. κυρτία 'wicker-work,' κάρταλος 'basket,' etc. These have been

referred to Skt. *kṛṇātti* 'spin, turn,' *ḥṛtāti* 'bind, fasten.' We may suppose that this root *qrt-* occurred in Germ. as **hurā-* and **hruā-*. For such double forms cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 470 f, and for the secondary ablaut **hreuā-* cf. the root *leuq-*, Gk. *λευκός*. etc., id. ib. 260.

21. In OHG. *tiuri*, OS. *diuri*, OE. *dēore*, *dyre*, ON. *dyrr* 'dear, costly, beloved' and OHG. *trūt* 'dear, beloved,' from Germ. **drūda-*, we perhaps have a double development of an IE. root *dh̥er-dhe̥r-*. That is, OHG. *tiuri* is from IE. **dhe̥r-jo-*, while *trūt* is from **dh̥er-tó-*. This is exactly parallel with ON. *prūdr*, OE. *ḍryd̄* 'strength,' Lith. *tvirtas* 'firm' < **ty̥rtos*, from the root *tyer-* in Lith. *tveriu* 'hold,' Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 260. From OHG. *trūt* Kluge surmises that MHG. *trūte* 'demon, nightmare' may be derived, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Drude*, supposing that the name was given on the same principle as in Gk. Eumenides. It is more probable, I think, that the primary meaning of the root was 'heavy,' from which developed the various significations 'costly, dear'; 'nightmare,' i. e. an oppressive spirit.

22. No one, so far as I know, has ever attempted to connect Goth. *liugan* 'lie' and *liugan* 'marry.' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v. *Lug*, says: 'Zu dieser gemeingerm. Wz. *lug* (idg. *lugh*) "lügen" hat got. *liugan* (Prät. *liugaida*) "heiraten" keine Beziehung; dieses gehört mit afries. *logia* "heiraten" vielmehr zu altir. *luige* "Eid" (Grdf. *lughio*). Mit unserem *lügen* gehören vielmehr aslov. *lūža* (*lūgati*) "lügen," *lūža* "Lüge" als urverwandt zusammen.' Outside of Germ. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *liugan* 'lie,' compares also OIr. *logaissi* gen. 'mendacii,' *follugaim* 'conceal' (**vo-lugō*). With *liugan* 'marry' he doubtfully connects OHG. *urluigi* 'war.'

Now all these words may be referred to a root *leugh-*; and it seems more probable to me that a single root may have developed in meaning along diverging lines than that two phonetically identical roots should be entirely unrelated. If then we can find a common meaning from which the various significations could spring, we may

feel reasonably certain that Goth. *liugan* 'lie' and *liugan* 'marry' are related. Such a meaning is 'bend.' This readily gives words for 'wrong,' 'deceive' and the like. Thus: Lith. *lankóju* 'bend back and forth': OChSl. *lákajq* 'cheat, deceive'; OChSl. *luditi* 'cheat,' Goth. *liuts* 'hypocritical,' *lutōn* 'deceive': OE. *lūtan* 'bow, sink down.' The 'wrong' is regarded as that which deviates from the 'right' or 'direct.' Goth. *liugan* 'lie' is therefore easily derivable from a root *leugh-* 'bend.'

Again to 'bend' or 'twist' anything comes to mean to 'tie' or 'bind' it. How closely these two ideas are related is seen from Eng. *bend*: *bind*. From 'bind,' then, develops 'marry.' Compare also Gk. *λυγίζω* 'bend': Goth. *ga-lūkan* 'shut,' primarily 'fasten.' (V. infra.)

Goth. *liugan* 'marry' meant primarily 'bind'; OIr. *luige* 'oath' was a 'bond'; and OHG. *urlingi* 'war' denoted a condition 'outside of the league or treaty.' Notice also that Lat. *foedus* 'league' is used of the marriage contract.

With the root *leugh-* 'bend' I should connect the synonymous root *leug-*. This connection may be explained according to Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 633 f., or the two roots may be regarded as extensions of a basal root *leu-*. To *leug-* belong Gk. *λύγος* 'a pliant twig,' *λυγίζω* 'bend, twist, wrestle,' *λυγῶω* 'bend, fasten,' OHG. *loc*, OE. *loc* 'lock, curl,' Lith. *lūgnas* 'pliant' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 384, Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *λυγίζω*), ON. *lykna* 'bend the knee,' OE. *lūcan*, OHG. *liohhan* 'pull, scuffle' (cf. Gk. *λυγίζω* and Lat. *luc-tor*), Goth. *ga-lūkan* 'shut, enclose,' *us-lūkan* 'unlock, draw' (sword), ON. *lūka*, OE. *lūcan*, OHG. *-lūhhan*, etc. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ga-lūkan*.

From the above it is plain that this Germ. word for 'lock' meant primarily 'bend, twist,' and hence 'fasten,' and was used originally of wicker doors, or at least of doors or gates fastened with withes. It was the word that would naturally be used with Germ. **hurđi-* 'hurdle, door.' On the other hand, OHG. *sliozan* 'close,' Lat. *claudō* was primarily 'fasten with a bolt,' Lat. *clāvus*, OHG. *sloz* 'bolt.'

It is quite possible that the roots *leugh-* and *leug-* are from a simpler root *leu-*, which may be the same as that of Skt. *lu-nāti* 'cut off,' Gk. *λύω* 'loose, separate,' Goth. *lun* 'ransom,' etc. The primary meaning of this root we may assume was 'separate from'; for from this we may derive the significations of most words containing a root *leu+*. Some of the possibilities of this root are the following :

Gk. *ἐλεύθω* 'bring,' *ἐλεύσομαι* 'I shall come, go,' *ἐλεύθερος* 'free' (i. e. 'separated'), Skt. *rōdhati* 'grows,' Goth. *liudan* 'grow.' The root *leudh-* expresses intransitively the idea of separation or departure from any point, whether outward or upward.—Lith. *liudėti* 'mourn,' OChSl. *luditi* 'cheat,' OE. *lūtan* 'bow, sink down,' Goth. *lutōn* 'deceive,' from the root *leud-* 'bend, bow.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *liuts*. The meaning 'bend,' from which we start in this group and in the root *leugh-* above, may have developed as follows: 'separate'; 'deviate'; 'bend'; 'bow'; or: 'separate'; 'cause to move'; 'bend'; 'bow.'—Skt. *lūbhyati* 'go astray, be lustful,' Goth. *lufs* 'dear,' Lat. *lubīdō*, etc. The idea of desire arises from that of motion as in Skt. *lōla* 'moving hither and thither,' and hence: 'desirous of, greedy.'—Lith. *lūpti* 'peel off' (i. e. 'separate the outer covering'), Goth. *laufs* 'leaf,' from the root *lup-*, may, as far as its meaning is concerned, easily come from the root *leu-* 'separate, cut off.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *λύπη*. But on account of Gk. *λέπω* 'peel' it is perhaps better to explain the root *lup-* as coming from *lp-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 454.—In like manner the root *leug-* 'shine,' if not connected with Skt. *vārcas-* 'splendor,' may be from the root *leu-*. In that case the primary meaning of *leug-* would be 'peeled, stripped, bare,' and hence 'clear, bright.' To such a primary meaning point Lith. *laūkās* 'field, open space,' Skt. *lōkās* 'open space, world,' OHG. *lōh* 'grown over clearing,' Lat. *lūcus*; OChSl. *lysŭ* 'bald.'

23. Goth. *stubjus*, OHG. *stuppi*, *stoup* 'dust,' *stioban*, LG. *stuiven* 'stieben,' Mod. Ger. *stöbern*, MHG. *stöuben* 'beat up, chase' probably come from a root *stēu-p-*, which

belongs to the same family as *steub-*, *steud-*, *steug-* discussed by Ehrismann, PBB., 18, 215 ff. The meanings required for the words connected with Goth. *stubjus*, etc. are 'beat, thrust, drive.' These are still implied in Mod. Ger. *stieben*, *stöbern*. Now the same root *stēy-p-* 'beat, strike' occurs in Lat. *stupeō*, *stupor*, Gk. *τύπτω* 'strike,' and these we may compare with Goth. *stubjus*.

The meanings appearing in this group are such as are found in connection with other roots from which have developed words for 'dust, smoke,' etc. Compare Goth. *dauns* 'vapor, odor,' OHG. *toum* 'steam, odor,' Skt. *dhūmá-* 'smoke,' Lat. *fūmus*, from the root *dhū-*: ON. *dyja* 'shake,' Skt. *dhūnōti* 'shakes, moves,' Gk. *θύω* 'storm, rage.' OE., OHG. *stincan* 'give out an odor, stink': OE. *stincan* 'whirl up,' ON. *stökkva* 'to spring, rush,' Goth. *stiggan* 'thrust, strike,' Lat. *stinguō*, etc. The above examples are given in the *Et. Wtb.* of Uhlenbeck, who, though finding no difficulty in connecting Goth. *dauns* with Skt. *dhūnōti*, is doubtful about comparing OE. *stincan* 'exhale' and Goth. *stiggan* 'strike,' where the development is almost identical. Kluge also is in doubt here, though having before him OHG. *stouþ* 'dust' and MHG. *stöuben* 'to chase.' In fact, these are the very meanings that one should expect to find connected with words for 'smell,' 'smoke,' etc. The trouble is that most etymologists look at words from the modern standpoint, and not from the historical. Connections that may not seem natural to our view were entirely so to our IE. ancestors. Inward emotions and perceptions were expressed in terms of outward appearances. The pro-ethnic man said 'it exhales, it smells' before he said 'I smell.' Hence any word meaning 'rise, burst forth, break out' or 'whirl, eddy,' etc. might give a word for 'steam, vapor, smoke' and then 'to exhale, to smell.'

To the same root *stey-p-* may belong the Germ. stem **stubō-* 'heated room,' OHG. *stuba*, OE. *stofa*, etc. From the simpler root *stey-* compare also OE. *stēam* 'steam.'

24. In the same line of development belong OE. *rēocan* 'smoke, reek,' ON. *rjúka* 'smoke, exhale,' OHG. *riohhan*

'smoke, exhale, smell,' *rouh* 'smoke, steam,' OS. *rōk*, etc. I find only one comparison made with this group outside of Germ. and that is Alb. *rē* 'cloud' from **rougi*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 197. Bugge compares OE. *sweccan* and *rēocan*, but these can be left out of consideration, and we may regard the IE. root as *reug-*. This root should mean 'exhale' or something from which 'exhale' could come. This root and this signification we find in Lat. *ruc-tō* 'to belch up' and 'to emit,' e. g. smoke, *ē-rūgō* 'belch forth,' *ē-ructō* 'belch forth, emit, exhale,' (e. g. '*flammas, vaporem, funum*,' Just. 4, 1, 4) *ē-ructātiō* 'exhalation'; Gk. *ἐρεύρωμαι* 'belch, emit,' used of the splashing and foaming of the ocean against the land, of the emptying of rivers, of Aetna, in Pindar 1, 40: *ἐρεύρονται παραὶ πυρός*; Lith. *rūgiu*, OChSl. *rygaja se* 'vomit'; OHG. *it-ruchen* 'to ruminate.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 202, 433, 581. This entire group may be referred to the root *rey-* 'to break,' for the further discussion of which compare Jour. of Germ. Phil. 1, no. 4.

Of the connection between the Germ. root *reuk-* 'smoke, exhale, smell' and the IE. root *reug-* 'belch forth, emit,' I think there can be no doubt. Notice especially Lat. *ē-ructātiō* 'exhalation,' in which the meaning is the same as in Germ. The common meaning is 'break forth, emit.' In Germ. this gave 'emit, exhale, smoke, smell'; in Lat. and Gk. 'emit, exhale; belch, vomit.'

25. For Goth. *þwahan*, OS. *thwahan*, OHG. *dwahan*, OE. *þwēan*, ON. *þvā* 'wash' no connection has been found outside of Germ. except OPrus. *twaxtan* 'bath-brush.' For derivatives of the same root in Germ. see Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *Zwehle*. If cognates are to be found in other IE. languages we must look for the root *tyek-, teyk-*. This need not in another language mean 'wash.' It may mean 'rub, scrub' or something similar. Thus *rub* and *scrub* may mean 'wash.' So Lat. *tergō* 'rub off': 'cleanse'; *terō* 'rub': 'cleanse'; OIr. *faiscim* 'press': OHG. *wascan* 'wash,' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵

A root *tyek-*, for which the meaning 'rub, strip off' may be assumed, occurs in Skt. *tvāc-*, *-tvacas-* 'skin, hide,' Gk.

σάκος 'shield.' For a similar development compare OS. *wri-tan* 'cut, wound, write,' Gk. ῥι-νη 'file, rasp': ῥι-νός 'skin,' Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1052; Gk. δέρω 'tear off, skin': δέρμα 'skin, hide'; Gk. κατα-σκένη 'kills,' OHG. *scintan* 'flay': ON. *skinn* 'skin,' Persson, *Wz.*, 76, 134; OE. *sceran* 'shear': Lat. *scor-tum* 'hide,' Noreen, *UL.* 205.

Now the meanings 'rub' and 'strike' are so near, as may be seen from Eng. *strike*: Ger. *bestreichen*; OE. *smītan* 'smite': Goth. *bismitan* 'besmear,' and many others; that we may further connect OChSl. *is-tukati* 'sculpere,' Gk. τύκος 'chisel.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 687. Possibly here also belongs the nasalized root *tuenq-* in OHG. *dwingau*, ON. *þuinga* 'to press,' with which Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 311, compares Gk. σάπτω 'to pack, press down,' σηκός 'pen, stall.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. σάπτω.

This root *tue-q-* I regard as an outgrowth of the root *tñ-*, *teyo-* 'swell.' The interchange 'swell': 'strike' is a common one. Cf. OHG. *quellan* 'swell': Gk. βάλλω 'throw, strike,' and others.

The root *teyo-* occurs in Goth. *þwastīpa* 'firmness, safety,' which, according to Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.*, is 'unexplained.' And yet a satisfactory explanation is at least indicated by Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.*, s. v. σάος and σόος 'safe.' Goth. *þwastīpa* 'firmness, safety' and *ga-þwastjan* 'strengthen, confirm' presuppose an adjective **þwasts* 'strong, firm, secure,' whose stem, written in IE. form, would be **tynos-to-*. This is a *to-*derivative from an *es-*, *os-* stem, like Lat. *hones-tu-s*, *angus-tu-s*. This noun-stem **tynos-* 'strength, firmness' is identical with Skt. *tavás-* 'strength,' which, in the weak grade *tās-*, appears in 'thousand,' Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 506.

The various meanings of this group are closely connected. Compare, from the same root *tñ-*, Lat. *tumēō* 'swell': Av. *tūma* 'strong.' The development is: 'swell,' 'be big,' 'strong,' 'firm,' 'brave,' etc. Similarly, Gk. βρύω 'swell': βαρύς 'heavy, weighty, strong, firm, immovable, honest.'

The simple root *teyo-* occurs also in Goth. *þiup* 'good,' from **téu-to-m*, with which Johansson, PBB., 15, 238, compares Lat. *tūtus* 'safe.' This, it will be seen, has developed the same meaning as Goth. **þwasts*. Further also in Goth. *þiuda* 'people,' from **teñ-tá*, cf. Hirt, PBB., 21, 133. Goth. *þiuda* 'people' has developed from *teyo-* 'swell, grow' just as MHG. *liute* 'people' from *ludh-* 'grow,' in Goth. *liudan*, etc.

To the root *tyo-s-* probably belongs also OHG. *thwesben* 'to extinguish, destroy,' perhaps primarily 'overpower,' from the stem **tyos-bho-*.

26. Goth. *rōhsus* 'hall,' which translates the Gk. *αῦλη*, probably meant primarily 'an enclosure.' The stem may be divided *rōh-sni-*, and the root connected with Lith. *rakinti* 'to close,' *rāktas* 'key,' Gk. *ἀρκέω* 'ward off,' Lat. *arceō*, *arx*, *arca*. The root-variation here is *xy: yx*. For many more examples of the kind, compare Noreen, *Urg. Lautl.* 88 ff and Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 492 f.

For meaning compare Goth, *alhs*, OS. *alah*, OE. *ealh* 'temple,' similarly connected with OE. *ealgian* 'to protect,' Gk. *ἀλαλκεῖν* 'ward off.' Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *alhs*.

Ablauting with Goth. *rōhsus* and reducible to the same root is *ga-rēhsus* 'counsel, design,' with which have been connected *ragin* 'opinion, judgment, decree, advice,' *raginōn* 'to govern,' *rahnjan* 'to compute,' OChSl. *reka* 'say,' *rokū* 'term,' Skt. *racáyati* 'arrange, set up, prepare, effect.' To the same root may belong Goth. *bi-rēks* 'endangered,' perhaps from **rēqnó-*, meaning primarily 'enclosed, beset.'

The root of this group of words may be set down as *erēq-* with the ablauts *arq-*, *rēq-*, *rōq-*. The synonymous root *elēq-* appears similarly in Lith. *elkas* 'grove,' Goth. *alhs* 'temple,' Gk. *ἀλέξω* 'ward off, help,' Skt. *rákṣati* 'defend, govern, save.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *alhs*, and Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 1021. The ablaut *lōq-* is possibly in OHG. *luogēn*, OE. *lōcian* 'to look,' from *lōq-*, *lōqn-*, Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 384. The meaning 'look' comes from 'guard, watch,' a natural and not uncommon development. Compare Goth. *warjan* 'forbid,' OE. *werian* 'pro-

tect, defend,' Goth. *war* 'wary': Gk. ὀράω 'see'; Eng. *watch* 'to guard': 'to look at'; Lat. *observō* 'guard': 'view'; and so many others. Phonetically and in meaning it is therefore safe to add OE. *ealġian*, 'protect,' Gk. ἀλ-αλκεῖν 'to ward off' ἀλέξω 'ward off, defend,' Skt. *rākṣati* 'defend, keep, guard': OHG. *luogēn*, OE. *lōcian* 'to look.'

The primary meaning from which this group of words developed was probably 'set limits, stake off.' From this come 'enclose, guard, protect' or 'enclose, restrain, prevent' or 'mark off, arrange, set in order, compute, plan,' etc. In each language the development was slightly different, but there are several interesting overlappings of these different significations. For example, Goth. *raginōn* 'to govern' is more directly connected in meaning with Skt. *racāyati* 'arrange' or with Lat. *arceō* 'restrain' than with *ragin* 'advice.' Lat. *arceō* is also used in the sense 'set in order, govern,' in the expression '*arcendae familiae gratia.*' And Gk. ἀρκέω might be translated by Skt. *racāyati* in the expression ἔργα ἀρκέσας 'having accomplished deeds,' Soph. *Aj.* 439. Moreover, Skt. *racāyati*, Gk. ἀρκέω, and Lat. *arceō* are formally similar.

27. A similar root-variation occurs in Goth. *ga-wargjan* 'condemn,' OS. *waragean* 'to torment,' OHG. *wergan* 'condemn, curse,' Goth. *wargipa* 'condemnation,' *-wargs*, OHG. *warg*, OE. *wearg*, OS. *warag*, ON. *vargr* 'criminal': and Goth. *wrōhjan* 'accuse,' OS. *wrōġian*, OE. *wrēgan*, etc. In signification these two sets of words may certainly be compared, and there is no phonetic difficulty. The pre-Germ. root was, therefore, *ur̥-k-*, *ur̥-k-*.

The meaning 'accuse, condemn' probably came from 'drive, press upon,' and we may further compare the root *ur̥-g-* in Goth. *wrikan* 'persecute,' ON. *reca*, OE. *wrecan*, OFrs. *wreka* 'drive, wreak,' OS. *wrecan*, OHG. *rahhān* 'to punish, wreak.' Here also belong ON. *rākia* 'drive away,' pret. OSw. *vrōk*, with which Brugmann, *Grd.* I³, 148, compares Gk. ῥήγ-νῦμι, ἔρρωγα 'break, broke.'

Goth. *ga-wargjan* may, of course, contain the root *ur̥gh-*, and be connected with Lith. *vārgas* 'need, trouble,' OPrus.

wargs 'bad,' etc. Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *wargiba*. So too Goth. *wrikan* may be connected with Gk. εἶργω 'shut in, ward off,' Skt. *várjati* 'turn, turn aside, twist off.' This connection, however, does not exclude the one given above, nor connection with OE. *wringan* 'wring,' Goth. *wruggō*, etc.

The meanings of all the words in this group are from 'turn, twist,' and the basal root is *ṷēr-* 'turn.' Hence the development: 'turn in or out,' therefore 'enclose' or 'exclude'; 'turn aside, drive away'; 'twist off, break'; and the various secondary meanings therefrom.

Goth. *ga-wrisqan* 'to bear fruit,' ON. *roskenn* 'grown,' *roskna* 'to grow' is from a verbal stem **ṷrēksq*o-*, which appears in Skt. *vṛççāti* 'hew off,' *vṛaççanam* 'a hewing off,' OChSl. *vraska* 'a rent, wrinkle.' Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 293 f. The difference in meaning—'grow': 'hew off'—has doubtless deterred any one from making this connection before. But this difference is very easily explained. The stem **ṷrēksq*o-* or **ṷrōksq*o-* meant 'a hewing off' in Skt. *vṛaççanam*. It could mean equally as well 'that which is hewn or plucked off'; 'fruit.' For this development compare Lith. *kerpù* 'I shear,' Skt. *kr̥pāna-s* 'sword,' Lat. *carpō* 'pluck,' OHG. *herbist* 'harvest,' Gk. καρπός 'fruit,' καρπῶν 'bear fruit.' (Id. ib. 570.)

In like manner Goth. *ga-wrisqan* 'to bear fruit' has the meaning of the noun stem, is in fact properly a denominative verb. In ON. *roskenn* 'grown' the meaning is generalized. For the disappearance of the palatal, compare OHG. *forskōn*.

The root upon which this verb and noun stem is built is in Gk. ῥάκος 'rag.' (Id. ib. 294.) This *ṷrēk-*, *ṷrēk-* is probably the root assumed above for Goth. *wrōhjan*. Compare especially the verb ῥάσσω < φρακίω 'strike, smite, push,' which gives the meaning from which 'accuse, condemn' could come.

Others have compared Goth. *ga-wrisqan* with Welsh *gwrysg* 'branch,' Skt. *vṛkṣá-* 'tree.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *gawrisqan*.) As these words may be referred

to the root in Skt. *वृष्वाति*, the etymology is substantially the same as the one I give above. But the Goth. verb is undoubtedly connected directly with the Skt. verb, with the development in meaning indicated above.

28. MHG. *schelme* 'pest, sickness; those fallen in battle,' and also 'knave, rascal,' OHG. *scalmo*, *scelmo* 'plague,' from the stem **skalmjan-*, in all probability come from the root *sqel-* 'cut, cleave.' From this develops 'pestilence' as in Gk. *πληγή*, Lat. *plaga* 'blow, wound, plague.' This is the secondary meaning, while in 'those fallen in battle, the slain' the primary meaning appears.

29. As far as the form is concerned, to the same root might belong Goth. *skalks*, ON. *skálkr*, OHG. *scalc*, OE. *scealc* 'servant,' MHG. *schalc* 'servant; a servile or deceitful fellow.' These words belong rather to the same root as in Eng. *skulk* 'sneak'; 'a number of foxes,' Icel. *skollr* 'fox,' Dan. *skulke*, Sw. *skolka* 'to shirk'; and also OHG. *scelah* (gen. *scelhes*, *scelawes*), OE. *sceolh*, ON. *skjalgr* 'oblique, awry.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *scheel*, where Gk. *σκολιός* 'crooked, bent' is also given. These I am inclined to refer to the root *s-kel-* 'to lean, bend.' Goth. *skalks* < **skol-go-s* would then primarily be 'a cringing fellow,' a meaning which fits very well in the further development of the word. Or the word may have been applied to a servant as 'one who bends over his work.' For other possible connections with Goth. *skalks*, cf. Hempl, *Jour. Germ. Ph.* I, 342 ff.

30. Another Germ. word for servant is OHG. *enke*, stem **ankjan-*, Wilmanns, *DGr.* § 186, 3. This is probably connected with Lith. *ėngiu* 'ich thue etwas mühsam und schwerfällig,' *nu-ėnkti* 'abquälen, abtreiben,' *ingis* 'Faulenzer,' Brugmann, *Grd.* I, 584. These belong perhaps to a root *eng-* 'to bend,' from which probably come OHG. *ancha* 'neck,' MHG. *anke* 'ankle; neck,' NHG. *anke*, OHG. *anchal*, ON. *qkka*, OE. *qncleow*, OHG. *anchlāo* 'ankle,' Skt. *anga* 'limb,' *angūri-ṣ* 'finger,' *angusṭha-*, Av. *angusta-* 'toe.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. Enkel, and Brugmann, *Grd.* II, 274.

The root *ang-* may be regarded as a by-form of *ang-*. For this interchange see Brugmann, *Grd.* I², 630, and for words belonging to this root, Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *halsagga*, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*³ s. v. *Angel*.

Strange to say, neither Kluge nor Uhlenbeck refers to this root OHG. *angar* 'grass land, meadow,' NHG. *anger*, ON. *eng*, *enge* 'meadow,' though this connection is found in Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ἀγκών*. Compare especially Gk. *ἄγκος* 'valley,' which was probably the meaning of the Germ. word. This is the same as Skt. *ánkas* 'bending, curve.' Compare also Gk. *ἀγκών* 'bend' of any kind, as 'a bent arm,' 'elbow,' 'jutting angle' of a wall, 'promontory,' 'bend' of a river. In phonetics and sense the connection of OHG. *angar*, ON. *eng* with Gk. *ἄγκος*, *ἀγκών*, Skt. *áñcati*, etc., is entirely unimpeachable. For a similar interchange of meaning, compare Gk. *θόλος* 'vault,' OChSl. *dolŭ* 'hole, ditch': Goth. *dal* 'valley'; Skt. *váñcati* 'go crooked': Goth. *waggs* 'meadow, paradise'; Gk. *κάμπτω* 'bend': Lat. *campus*; Lith. *lėnkti* 'bend': *lanakà* 'valley.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *waggs*.

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

SKÆKJA, KARL, KERL, KEGEL, ETC.

IN my article on *skalks, Karl, Kegel*, etc., p. 347, of the first volume of this Journal, I said: 'A *kekel* was an illegitimate child, not a whoreson, and was cared for by his father, cf. *mit Kind und Kegel* 'with the whole family,' though, to be sure, the original meaning of *Kegel* is now no longer generally known.' This statement was based upon the fact that I had never found anyone who knew the meaning of *Kegel* in this phrase (except as he had learned it out of etymological dictionaries) and upon the statements of the dictionaries themselves:

Weigand: 'Spät-mhd. der Kegel=uneheliches Kind.'

Grimm (Hildebrand): 'Die eigentliche bed. des wortes war schon im 17. 18. jh. verloren; wer die formel genau ansah, konnte nur an den spielkegel denken. . . Das 16. jh. jedoch wird die genaue bed. von *kegel* noch gekannt haben.'

Kluge: 'erhalten im Nhd. nur noch in der Verbindung 'Kind und Kegel.'

Heyne: 'geblieben in der allitterierenden, im eigentl. Sinne nicht mehr verstandenen Redensart 'mit Kind und Kegel', mit der ganzen Familie.'

Paul: 'in der Formel 'Kind und Kegel' bedeutet Kegel ursprünglich 'uneheliches Kind'.'

After my article appeared, my colleague Prof. Alexander Ziwet informed me that the word is still used in the sense of 'illegitimate child' in Baden. On inquiring of natives of South Germany and Switzerland, I find that *Kegel* means (1) 'illegitimate child', (2) (a) 'little fellow', (b) 'rude fellow', in Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden,¹

¹ Of course Hildebrand was wrong in saying that *Kegel* 'erscheint nirgends ausser der formel; doch Goethe hat es einmal aus ihr herausgenommen in einem halb scherzenden gedicht, das mehrere wortkünste enthält, in der "rechenschaft" vom jahre 1810 unter den "geselligen liedern":—*einem armen kleinen kegel*.' Goethe evidently used the word as a South German or Rhinelander might to-day. Hildebrand himself, at the end of his article,

and that it has the two last meanings in Switzerland. The word is, thus, still alive with its original meaning in its native High-German territory; but it has in some places become a vulgar and objectionable word, which fact accounts for its being unknown to many persons and for its escaping the modern lexicographer. Read, therefore, on page 343

NHG. (dialect) <i>Kegel</i>	for	NHG. (Goethe) <i>Kegel</i>
‘bastard,’ ‘(little) fellow’		‘little fellow’

These facts accord perfectly with my explanation of the origin of the word and with the fact that (as I pointed out, p. 346) LG. *Ker(e)l* is the geographical counterpart of HG. *Kegel*. The northern *Kerl* (‘man of low birth’, ‘(rude) fellow’, ‘little chap’) went south in the 16th century, probably, as Hildebrand suggests, largely through the movement of troops; on the other hand, the southern *Kegel* (‘illegitimate child’, ‘(rude) fellow’, ‘little chap’) went north only in ‘mit Kind und Kegel’, a catching phrase because of its alliteration, but one in which the word *Kegel* was not understood or was misunderstood by those who learned the phrase from Southerners. North Germans generally try to associate the word with *Kegel* ‘nine pin’. Thus Sanders defines it as ‘eine kurze, kleine (in sich gedrungene) Person, nach der ähnlichkeit mit 1 [that is, *Kegel*=‘nine pin’]’; and, on finding *Kegel* defined in voc. th. 1482 as ‘uneheliches Kind’, he naively charges the writer with practicing popular etymology. So Langbein speaks of ‘ein kurzer dicker Kegel’ and Gödeke of ‘Der groszen Knollen, der wüsten Kegel’, where it is evident that they are thinking of the purse, nine-pin figure of a man of large appetite. I find that many persons understand that in the phrase ‘mit Kind und Kegel’ the word *Kind* stands for the family and *Kegel* for the furniture!

quotes from Kehrein 219 the ‘rhein. ausdrück’ *Kehkel* ‘verwöhntes, empfindliches Kind.’ Cf. also ‘ob das [Kind] nicht ein allerliebster Kegel sei’ and ‘Den Kegel im blossen Hemdchen,’ Meyer Merian 42, as quoted by Sanders, Erg. Wb. For *Kegel* ‘low fellow’ cf. also ‘die wüsten Kegel’ Keisersberg Post 141. 22 b. s. Frisch, ‘fauler Kegel’ Keisersberg Am., 8 b., and ‘den vollen [besoffnen] Keglen’ Brös., also quoted by Sanders.

My colleague Mr. Brandon of the Romance department has called my attention to

Latin *lusciniolus*
early Italian *lusignuolo*

dialectic *usignuolo* usual *rosignuolo*

and so Old Spanish *roseñol*, Port. *rouxin(h)ol*, French *rossignol*. A case remarkably like the *k-l k-l* cases above is the *k-r k-r* case furnished by Armenian

korkor 'throat'

orkor *kokor(d)*

See Brugmann¹ I. § 980. The word is evidently the same root as Latin *collum* and German *Hals*, and is of similar formation and meaning to **g^herg^her*, Latin *gurgulio*, Brugmann¹ I. § 464, 1.

When I wrote the article on *Skalks*, etc., I had not received the new edition of Brugmann's *Grundriss*. For other cases of *l-l* > *-l*, see now I. § 978, and for *l-l* > *r-l*, § 974a. Through Dr. B. W. Green of Richmond I learn that in Virginia dialect 'to *flail*' has become 'to *frail*' and 'a good *flailing*' is 'a good *frailing*.'

I have just observed that Bethge gives the following notice of my paper in the *Jahresbericht der Germ. Phil.*, p. 20 :—

'G. Hempl: got. *kalkjo*, an. *skækja* (es heisst vielmehr *skǫkja*),¹ ahd. *char(a)l*, nhd. *kerl*, mhd. *kekel*, *kegel*, etc. gehen zurück auf *skalks*, neben dem als eine art satzdoulette **kalk*-stand. [? *karl*, *kerl* ist auf jeden fall wegen der nicht erwähnten urnord. form **karilar* (finn. *karilas*, runenschw. *karilr*) auszuschneiden, die selbst für diese art von etymologischer methode aus *(*s*)*kalkilas* kaum herleitbar sein dürfte.]'

In other words, Bethge doubts the connection I have sought to establish, especially as concerns *karl*, *kerl*, and he views with disfavor the method employed. I anticipated objection on the latter score. Dissimilation is a

¹ I wrote *æ* because that is the form actually found; of course this *æ* stands for older *φ*, just as OE. *e* stands for older *æ*, the *i*-mutation of *o*. *Kalkjo* is related to *skækja* by *o/ō* gradation. My friend Dr. Felix Pabst, of Bremen, reminds me that the *g* of Danish *skøge* for ON. *skækja* is regular.

foster child of philology, and has long been relegated to the corner, with little sign of regard. Of late she has, however, begun to receive more consideration, and this recognition is made even in the better general treatises, witness the liberal space bestowed upon this and kindred phenomena by Brugmann in the new edition of his *Grundriss*. But corresponding sections are still wanting in most elementary grammars, and to some scholars it does not yet seem quite orthodox to appeal to such principles. A few years will, however, familiarize us all with these neglected phases of linguistic life. Why the change of **kalkilas* to *karilas* should present to Bethge more difficulty than that of **karkil* to *ker(e)l*, I cannot perceive; unless it be that while he is willing to grant a reluctant recognition to dissimilation, provided it is comparatively near modern times, he cannot recognize that more primitive human minds were subject to such phenomena. If so, it reminds one of the old hesitation to recognize analogy as having taken place in primitive times.

I am very grateful to Bethge for calling my attention to the early Germanic forms *karilas* and *karilr*; I could not have asked for more positive substantiation of my explanation of *kerl* as a diminutive and of the *e* as being due to *i*-mutation of *a*. These forms make my supposition a certainty, and substantiate my explanation of OE. *ceorl* as coming from the rare *cearl* by analogy to *eorl* and not from a form with original *e*, cf. JGPh. I. bot. p. 345.

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I may be permitted to correct here a slip that I allowed to stand on page 475 of the first volume of this Journal. For 'Other illustrations of the second principle are WS. *en(d)lufon* and *brem(b)las* with $\xi < a$ ' in place of $\bar{a} < \bar{a}$); and the excrescence of a stop as shown in the same words,' read 'An other' illustration of the second principle is WS. *en(d)lufon* with $\xi < a$ ' in place of $\bar{a} < \bar{a}$); and the excrescence of a stop as shown in the same word.'

G. H.

REVIEWS.

LITERATURE ON THE NATURE-SENSE. I.

Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson. With Many Illustrative Examples. By Francis T. Palgrave. Late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. MacMillan and Co., New York, 1897. VII-302 pp. 12mo—\$2.00.

WHEN a scholar of Mr. Palgrave's reputation undertakes to write a book, one is justified in looking forward to a contribution of considerable importance. One's disappointment is therefore keen upon discovering that this last work from his pen is characterized, in the conception of it as a whole and in the treatment of many details, by surprising diletantism and remarkable ignorance of nearly the whole literature on the subject. In the first place, a treatise on the evolution of the nature-sense from antiquity to modern times should be a contribution to comparative literature on a large scale, and an entirely erroneous idea must be conveyed by a book which dismisses with a few words men of such importance in the development of the nature-sense as Sannazzaro, whose *Arcadia* for a time was greatly in vogue, and who on account of his idyllic interpretation of nature is so significant for his age,—which says hardly anything of Tasso, whose famous *Aminta* also betrays that peculiar idyllic note,—which fails to mention Rousseau, the most important factor in bringing about a general re-awakening to the charms of nature, and the discoverer of the beauties of mountain scenery,—and which does not treat Goethe, the first man to combine the scientific and the artistic view of nature.¹

A few words of excuse (page 3) do not raise the value of the book. The fact that Palgrave wholly fails adequately to

¹ The artistic interpretation is exhibited for instance in 'Willkomm und Abschied,' 'Das Blümlein Wunderschön,' certain passages in *Faust*,—the scientific interpretation of nature is shown in his scientific works. His letters from Switzerland, and poems like 'Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen' show the blending of the two most strikingly.

sketch the 'kulturgeschichtliche' background, without which the various stages in the interpretation of nature as recorded in literature remain in a sense unintelligible, because they seem fortuitous (the author does not explain the upheaval of the nature-sense during the Renaissance as a part of the change of *Weltanschauung*, nor does he discuss the forces which brought about a return to nature in the eighteenth century), makes the whole presentation of the subject unsatisfactory in the extreme.¹

The truth of the matter is, that a satisfactory statement can simply not be expected in a work which discusses the nature-sense only as reflected in poetry; for some of the most important interpretations of nature are found in prose: so, e. g., in the letters of the younger Pliny, and in the novels and letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, like the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the *Confessions* of Rousseau, or Goethe's or Lenau's letters. Nowhere is an author's attitude towards nature so open, and nowhere is it so free from the conventionality of literary tradition as in his letters. One may even presume farther and say, that sometimes the letters of an age reveal undercurrents of feeling which find almost no expression in its poetry. So in Madame de Sévigné's letters genuine enjoyment of nature is recorded in a fashion most surprising in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Palgrave is virtually unacquainted with the literature of the nature-sense. The following amusing statement (p. 4) bears witness to that fact: 'The subject, even when limited, has thus far, I believe, been but briefly handled; I might almost repeat with that deep-souled and prophetic bard who did most for Roman nature scenes, "The pathless places of poetry are our wandering ground."' He does not seem to look beyond England for much help, for he says a little further on: 'Although landscape in poetry has not hitherto, so far as my

¹ This lack of appreciation of the nature-sense in any poet or period as the organic expression of the temperament of that period is best shown by what Palgrave says (p. 27) in connection with a passage from Theocritus: 'As, however, has been observed, the lingering sentiment of this beautiful picture is rather Latin than Greek: and so, perhaps, the old Sicilian blood allied to the Italian may have made itself felt in certain earlier poems which Theocritus possibly had before him. But I offer such racial hints with diffidence and doubt.' This last remark is most opportune, for race had nothing to do with such interpretation of nature.

knowledge goes, at least in our language, been so much as mapped out systematically, yet I have been greatly aided by certain previous essays.' In his list of English treatises, he omits several which should find a place there, so notably J. A. Symond's Essay 'Landscape.'

We regret that Mr. Palgrave altogether omits speaking of the nature-sense among the Church Fathers. We are aware that he discusses poetry only, but at least a foot-note in reference to this important matter would have been very welcome. Humboldt in his *Kosmos* (2, 17) pointed the way there, and Mr. Palgrave happens to know Humboldt. A study of the nature-sense among the Church Fathers reveals the surprising phenomenon that a keen appreciation of nature is found in the works of the oldest theologians as long as classical traditions lingered, whereas it weakened when an ascetic Weltanschauung gained ground (cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, 37 ff.).

We cannot call the book much more than a collection of passages referring to the nature-sense, selected from the classical literatures, from the Bible, from some Italian poets, and from English literature. Mr. P. undertook to give the world a new work, when he would have done much better to translate or to adapt the excellent treatises of Biese (*Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen*, Kiel, 1882, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Römern*, Kiel, 1884, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1892).

It would be very unfair, however, to leave the impression that the book is worthless. Mr. P. is characterized by keen literary sense, and everywhere shows great enthusiasm for his subject. The chapters on landscape in Celtic and Gaelic poetry (p. 94 ff.), and on landscape poetry under the Stuart kings (pp. 145 ff.), are valuable as containing material not easily found elsewhere. One cannot always agree with the author, as when he claims (p. 75) that the treatment of Nature in Solomon's Song is 'more modern, more "intime," than in Theocritus and Vergil,'—but one cannot deny that he appreciates nature and appreciates poetry. Only he does not know how to take out the really salient points in each author's treatment, and thus to establish the evolution of nature interpretation.

As the study of the nature-sense in literature and art begins to excite considerable interest, I call attention to two very helpful little bibliographies by Biese, printed in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, 7. 311 ff., and 11. 211 ff. (about thirty titles), and I subjoin a discussion of a few additional books and essays which I have come across in my reading. The list can lay no claim to completeness, and I hope in another issue of this Journal to speak of perhaps ten more treatises with which I became acquainted as these lines went to press.

On Poetic Interpretation of Nature, by J. C. Shairp (Edinburgh, 1877). This book is mentioned by Biese in his second bibliography, and I speak of it merely because Biese knew it only through a review of it by Austin. Biese's admiration for the book is slightly surprising; unwittingly he admires Austin's essay on the work more than he does the work itself. Sh's book contains some very good remarks (e. g., in Chapter III. Poetry and Scientific Wonder, in which he speaks of the debt we owe to science; furthermore in Chapter V.), but the treatment as a whole is unsatisfactory, because it is vague, indefinite, and subjective. The unsatisfactory character of it seems to me to gleam even through Biese's discussion of it. Biese does not mention that from Chapters IX. to XIV. Shairp gives something like a history of the nature-sense. Chapter IX. is entitled 'Nature in Hebrew Poetry.' It is rather general and incomplete. Chapter X. Nature in Lucretius and Vergil: here Lucretius is spoken of as the first Roman in whose works occur pictures of Nature, and hence Ennius is overlooked. Shairp, however, appreciates that the nature-sense was highly developed among the ancients. Chapter XI. Nature in Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton. The treatment of Chaucer's nature-sense is insufficient, that of Shakespeare's much better, and that of Milton's quite suggestive. He points out that Milton lacked first-hand observation of nature. Chapter XII. Return to nature begun by Allan Ramsay and Thompson. Shairp thinks that Ramsay was the first in whose poetry the sense of nature reappeared, but Miss Reynolds has shown in a dissertation (pp. 52 ff.) that this view is incorrect. But more of this anon. Sh's discussion of Thompson's nature-sense has since been greatly distanced by

Morel, as we shall see later. Chapter XIII. Nature in Collins, Gray, Goldsmith and Burns contains good remarks on all, and is worth reading. Chapter XIV. Wordsworth as an Interpreter of Nature. Here again we find some thoroughly suggestive remarks. Sh. points out that Wordsworth is not only optimistic in his poetry, but that he appreciated the hostile forces of nature more than seems to be generally believed. His enthusiasm for the great poet is sound. It may be mentioned in parenthesis that Sh. noticed the remarkable combination in Goethe of the scientific and the poetic view of nature. But we are sorry to see that he, too, gives utterance to that silly belief so often expressed in English books that 'the moral side of things, duty and self-surrender, hardly entered into his thought.'

Essays, Speculative and Suggestive, by John Addison Symonds, London, 1893. Landscape, pp. 289 ff. The essay is very general and never goes deeper than the surface, but it is the work of one whose acquaintance with European literature was vast, and whose literary sense was keen. S. appreciates the evolution of the nature-sense and here and there adds remarks of considerable value. Hence, though not at all exhaustive, the essay may be recommended as stimulating and as correct in its general conception. We cannot agree with Symonds in saying that during the revival of learning, landscape disappeared, for Petrarch is one of the most important of poets in the history of the nature-sense. The remarks on Wordsworth and on Shelley are more detailed and very suggestive.

In the same volume (pp. 368 ff.) we find an essay entitled *The Pathos of the Rose in Literature*, in which S. traces with that grace and delicacy characteristic of him the influence of a passage in Catullus and one in Ausonius referring to roses upon many later poets from their day to modern times.

Landscape, by P. G. Hamerton, London, 1885, is essentially a book for artists, but has a few chapters dealing with the history of the nature-sense. Chapter VIII. is entitled *Land and Sea in the Odyssey*. It contains not much more than a series of quotations. It is insufficient but sympathetic. Chapter IX. the *Virgilian landscapes*. Sympathetic; neither profound nor exhaustive. Chapter X. *The landscapes of*

Ariosto; pleasant but in no sense profound or exhaustive. Chapter XI. Wordsworth. H. points out that W. was the contemporary of some of the greatest landscape painters, and that he shared their way of looking at nature. He notes the intensity of description, and observes that not even small things escaped Wordsworth, but that nevertheless he did not lose himself in insignificant details. W. is decidedly a student of landscape, so much so as to be sometimes a defective artist. 'The experience of painters throws valuable sidelights on the poetical production of Wordsworth'; the habit of making careful studies may be carried too far by an artist and may interfere with production if carried into works of a higher inspiration. Wordsworth sometimes inserts studies in his poems,—a practice always wisely avoided by Tennyson.' Perhaps not every one will agree with Hamerton, but it is interesting to hear an artist's view on so great a landscape poet as Wordsworth. Chapter XII. Lamartine. Lamartine is not so close an observer as Wordsworth, but he excels him in fusing landscape with human elements, for instance in 'Jocelyn.' Unfortunately Hamerton discusses nothing but the Jocelyn. One is strongly tempted to doubt the correctness of the statement that Lamartine is superior to Wordsworth in blending nature with human interests.¹

Modern Painters. Of Many Things, pt. iv., by John Ruskin (I used the first American edition, N. Y., 1857). Chapter XI. 'On the Novelty of the Landscape;' mentions the fact that man originally took interest in the gods, in his ancestors, but in nothing of the outside world except in a utilitarian way. Chapter XII. The Pathetic Fallacy. The views in this chapter have proved so stimulating and have been so often quoted and modified that a few words of comment would not suffice here. I hope sometime to devote a more detailed study to this important subject. Chapter XIII. On Classical Landscape. Ruskin here discusses the Homeric landscape only, and his reason for so doing will be found in the following remark (§ 27): 'it may indeed be thought that I am assuming too hastily that this was the general view of the Greeks respect-

¹ Both Shairp and Hamerton are mentioned by Palgrave in his list of books, and I discuss them here because he goes no farther than mentioning the titles and his obligation to them.

ing landscape because it was Homer's. But I believe the true mind of a nation, at any period, is always best ascertainable by examining that of its greatest men; and that simpler and truer results will be attainable for us by simply comparing Homer, Dante, and Walter Scott (!), than by attempting (what my limits must have rendered absurdly inadequate and in which, also, both my time and knowledge must have failed me) an analysis of the landscape in the range of contemporary literature Now it is quite true that in others of the Greeks, especially in Aeschylus, and Aristophanes, there is infinitely more of modern feeling, of pathetic fallacy, love of picturesque or beautiful forms, than there is in Homer; but then these appear to me just the parts of them which were not Greek, the elements of their minds, by which (as one division of the human race always must be with subsequent ones) they are connected with the mediævals and moderns. And without doubt, in his influence over future mankind, Homer is eminently the Greek of Greeks. If I were to associate anyone with him, it would be Herodotus, and I believe all I have said of the Homeric landscape will be equally true of the Herodotean, as assuredly it will be of the Platonic, etc.' Anyone at all acquainted with the nature-sense among the Greeks will feel compelled to say that these statements are based on vast ignorance, and almost enviable *naïveté*. First of all, of the tragedy writers, Sophocles and especially Euripides, are more modern than Aeschylus, and Homer's view of nature is no more essentially Greek than is that of Sophocles. Should we regard Sophocles as non-representative of the Greek genius merely because he is more sensitive to color and has a more intimate knowledge of nature and detail than Homer? Furthermore, the lyrical poets, as for instance Sappho and Pindar, betray a view of nature more intimate than Homer's and yet must be regarded as fine exponents of the Greek temperament. Had Mr. Ruskin spoken of Euripides as not essentially Greek, in the sense in which Homer or Aeschylus are, we should agree with him, for in his works begins to be recorded that element of self-criticism and there is found in them what Mr. Ruskin calls the pathetic fallacy in such a way as to compel us to call him the exponent of a period which was developing a new and less healthy and direct attitude

towards life than the one reflected in Greek literature from Homer to Sophocles. Now, in the lyrical poets, and in Aeschylus and Sophocles, we find elements of interpretation of nature which betray so much more keen a feeling of oneness and intimacy with her, that they are most useful as showing us how far the Greek mind could go in interpreting nature while not abandoning what we must regard as essentially Greek principles of life. Appeals to nature (as in the Prometheus of Aeschylus, or the Ajax of Sophocles, etc.) are unknown to Homer; metaphors, in which processes of inner life are compared with phenomena of nature are extremely rare, virtually non-existent in Homer, and more frequent in the tragedy writers and lyrical poets. So that Homer, as he does in Greek literature as a whole, so also in the interpretation of nature, stands on the threshold of a great movement, and to regard him as the adequate exponent of the centuries to follow down to Euripides is an absurdity. I may add in parenthesis that Plato's nature-sense is essentially different from Homer's, for we find in his works the first germs of that idyllic view of nature which so charmingly flowered in Theocritus, and characterizes a large part of the work of the Alexandrian school. (For details on this subject, see the excellent book mentioned above by Biese on the nature-sense of the Greeks.) In Chapter XIV. and in Chapter XV. Mr. Ruskin discusses the mediæval landscape, and once more betrays on the one hand his great delicacy of feeling and on the other his tendency to ridiculously one-sided and incorrect statements. As he regarded Homer as the true exponent of the Greek nature-sense, so he regards Dante as the true exponent of the mediæval nature-sense. The assumption that Dante's attitude towards landscape is typical of that which characterized the poets of many centuries before him, is totally wrong. In Dante, we find distinct proofs of new forces at work,—those forces which almost in his own day were to find a refined and powerful spokesman in Petrarch. Hence, Dante's nature-sense is one of the most interesting symptoms of the great change which the mediæval mind was undergoing before it burst the sacerdotal trammels of a theological Weltanschauung and gave birth to a new order of things. Those interested in this subject should study the chapters bearing on the

nature-sense in the middle ages in Biese's 'Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit,' and especially the book by Lüning entitled 'Die Natur, ihre Auffassung und poetische Verwendung in der altgermanischen und mittelhochdeutschen Epik bis zum Abschluss der Blütezeit.' Zürich, 1889. They will find how enormous the difference is between Dante's interpretation of nature and that of the characteristically mediæval mind. Chapter XVI. deals with the Modern Landscape. This chapter again contains exaggerated and suggestive remarks. Here, of all people, Scott is made the great representative of modern times, and his nature-sense the most truly representative and adequate. Chapter XVII. deals with the Morals of Landscape. Evidently Mr. Ruskin had, as was natural for the time when the book was written, no idea of evolution in the appreciation of nature. It seems strange (§ 22) that so intense a lover of nature as Mr. Ruskin should claim 'I find that by keeping long away from hills, I can in great part still restore the old childish feeling about them; and the more I live and work among them, the more it vanishes.'

I am keenly aware, of course, that Mr. Ruskin is himself one of the great landscapists in words in English literature, but it becomes necessary to hold up to criticism his absurd statements about prominent poets, for they still influence the opinions of many, and are quoted and requoted by his faithful admirers.

Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung, Leipzig, 1887, by L. von Schroeder. Although this work does not deal essentially with the nature-sense in Hindoo literature, I mention it as containing valuable remarks on the subject, and many translations which will prove helpful in making one acquainted with the Hindoo attitude towards nature. I may emphasize one fact which seems of peculiar interest, that the Hindoo drama differs from the drama of western nations in that nature plays a very great and very charming part in it.

Ueber den Geist der Indischen Lyrik. Ein Essay von Dr. H. Brummhofer. Leipzig, 1882. This little book, the scientific value of which I am in no wise able to characterize, contains many translations, which are useful in giving an insight into the nature-sense of the Hindoos.

Fragments zu einer 'Archäologie des Morgenlandes' (1769) by J. G. Herder. (Suphan's Edition, vol. 6.) Herder here interprets the beginning of Genesis in his dithyrambic and poetic fashion. The grandeur of the conception of nature in Genesis is brought out with striking power.

Dante's treatment of nature in the Divina Commedia, by L. Oscar Kuhns. Modern Language Notes, 1896, pp. 1 ff. K. shows that many references to nature in Dante are taken from the Bible, from Vergil, Horace, Ovid, from Brunetto Latini, and other sources. The author does not, however, deny Dante's keen sense of observation.

The Treatment of Nature in Dante's 'Divina Commedia' by L. O. Kuhns, London and New York, 1897. Chapter I. describes in detail Dante's attitude towards nature. K. uses as a basis of investigation not only the Divine Comedy, but the Vita Nuova and other works as well. He shows that Dante's main sources are the Bible and the Classics, and discusses in detail the epithets which Dante borrowed from these sources. The influence of Vergil, of Ovid, furthermore of the troubadours, and of the Trésor of his master Brunetto Latini, was strong; he may also owe something to the French Bestiaries, and the Beast Epic. The landscape in the Inferno is different from the landscape in the Purgatorio. In the Purgatorio we find mountains and rocks as we do in the Inferno, but beautiful scenes are here and there introduced,—the whole work conveys an air of openness and the descriptions as a whole leave an impression of loveliness, though there is much that is forbidding. The most beautiful passage is of course the description of the Earthly Paradise. The Paradiso contains hardly any references to landscape. There are few descriptions of Italy in the Divine Comedy, but many passages define the characteristic features of different places. Dante evidently did not love mountains any more than his contemporaries, but all references to them show great accuracy. Attempts at characterization of the ocean are rather conventional, but water in all forms is referred to (springs, waterfalls, etc.). In the Inferno, the air is heavy, thick, and dark, in the Purgatorio, bright, sweet. Clouds are referred to in all forms and under different conditions. A storm is described with great minuteness and poetic skill. Dante dislikes

winter, but appreciates snow. Different aspects of the wind are described. Dante loves Spring. Dante greatly loves flowers. He mentions few of them specifically, however, except the rose and the lily. There is no trace of love for simple, uncultivated flowers. He is fond of grass and leaves, and is not as averse to forests as Ruskin would have us believe. He is very fond of birds, and mentions many varieties, especially the falcon and the hawk,—also the eagle and the stork. The nightingale is referred to rarely. Horses are mentioned rarely, dogs more often but in a hostile spirit; other domestic animals also are mentioned. Insects like gnats, etc., are referred to. Dante is fond of the stars. The sun is often used symbolically, but also treated scientifically and philosophically; we see it in all its phases. The nights in the Purgatorio are beautiful and sweet. Dante loves the light. In some places he shows fine discrimination in shades of color. There are no romantic effects of mountains in Dante. He shows minuteness of observation, and great skill in characterizing with a word.—This book is thorough and makes the impression of being complete. It is a welcome contribution. In his last chapter, K. is much too hard on the ancient landscape painters.

L'ascensione del Petrarca sul Ventoux, by Zumbini. Nuova Antologia anno 30, terza Serie, vol. 57, fascicolo 10, p. 209, describes in detail this famous ascent and polemises against those who believe that Petrarch ceased to love nature because he was so deeply impressed by the words of St. Augustine which he happened to read while enjoying the view from the mountain.

English Pastorals, selected and with an Introduction, by Edmund K. Chambers, London and New York, 1895. By way of introduction, we find a few remarks on the treatment of nature in the English pastorals: 'It is nature indeed as it presented itself to the Elizabethan, somewhat vaguely and generally conceived; there is none of that accurate observation which Darwin has taught our modern poets, any more than there is that haunting sense of imminent deity which they have inherited from Wordsworth.'

William Browne, His Britannias Pastorals and the Pastoral Poetry of the Elizabethan Age, by Frederic W. Moorman,

Strassburg, 1897 (*Quellen und Forschungen*, 81. Heft). Part II, The Interpretation of Nature from Chaucer to Bacon. Chaucer is the first in English literature whose nature-sense is important. He is influenced by the Troubadours. He enjoys a May morning, the songs of birds, the shades of trees, the daisy and other May flowers, and the growth of fresh green grass with the dew drops shining upon it. This is his background. He takes hardly any interest in the other seasons. He also loves order in nature, and has no appreciation of her waywardness. He catalogues rather than describes (we find tree lists, flower lists, etc.). He has a practical view of nature, the farmer's and agriculturist's. Trees are mentioned for their usefulness. He is fond of hunting scenes, shadows of forests, but has no appreciation of the sea. Chaucer has keen colour sense. There is nothing fantastic in his nature descriptions; his scenery is almost always English. Though he knew Dante and Petrarch, their interpretation of nature left hardly any impress upon him. It was most influenced by Boccaccio, who does not rise above the troubadours. In the works of some of Chaucer's contemporaries, like the author of *Sir Gawayne and The Green Knight*, in the *Bruce*, in the *Pearl*, a nature-sense superior to Chaucer's is found. Chaucer's disciples follow him slavishly down to Surrey and Wyatt. The realism in Chaucer and Boccaccio is a reaction against the mysticism of the Middle Ages. In literature, this realism produced in Italy the *Novella*. At the same time there arose a reaction against the latter, and that produced the pastoral. The first writer of pastorals is Sannazzaro, whose *Arcadia* appeared in 1504. As a reaction against false realism, the pastoral is intensely ideal, hence it also introduces a new interpretation of nature. In Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* the waywardness of nature is described more in detail, though the author tells of nothing beyond plains and groves. Inanimate nature now becomes more important. The landscape of the earlier literature was the garden; now we go a little farther and advance into the plain, the wooded valley, hill and grove with the crystal stream. Being ideal, this landscape becomes stilted: *Arcadia* is supposed to combine Greek culture with the simplicity of the Bible story. In England, Sidney's *Arcadia* (1580) was the first pastoral of importance. The French pas-

toral unfortunately too often was a veil for political treatment. Rémy Belleau did more than any one else at this time to deepen the appreciation of nature. After Belleau, the artificial interpretation of the *Pléiade* was introduced. Mythology takes the place of description, but Vauquelin de la Fresnaye (1535 to 1607) shows considerable insight into the value of landscape. The Romantic interpretation of nature in the *Orlando*, the *Gerusalemme*, and the *Faerie Queene* are related to and in a way dependent on the interpretation of the pastoralists. Probably Ariosto had no profound idea of outside nature except through books. Tasso used mythology a great deal, the pastoral influence makes itself felt in the seventh book of the *Gerusalemme*. Similarly Spencer introduces the story of a shepherdess, and Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, in part at least, follows the inspiration of the pastoralists in depicting the life of Adam and Eve. In Spencer's interpretation of nature, we see the tradition of Chaucer mingled with that of Ariosto and Tasso, but the fantastic element is also strong. Spencer does not appreciate the sublimity of nature. Occasionally he gives us pictures of English scenery and country life based upon personal observation. Shakespeare is aware of the sublimity and the beauty of nature and appreciates nature as a whole. It should be remembered that the interpretation of nature in the English ballads (simple, narrow, but genuine) is found in Shakespeare raised to a higher and more poetic level (for instance in the songs in *As You Like It*). John Fletcher's pastoral, entitled the *Faithful Shepherdess*, marks a step in the direction of simplicity. It is important to note that probably in 1621 Bacon published an essay on Gardens, in which he entertains views altogether different from the French gardeners.

Browne's treatment of nature shows the master's hand; he carefully notes the details of the landscape, and describes all seasons, even Winter. He appreciates the beauty of the sea. Yet Browne does not go much beyond the pastoralists' landscape. His landscape lacks sublime elements. He describes especially groves and has nothing to say about mountains, but he widens the range of poetic appreciation of animal life.

This treatise is extremely lucid and thorough. I have given a rather detailed abstract of it, as it deals with the interpretation of literary forces more than Biese or Palgrave do.

Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama, by F. I. Carpenter. Chicago Dissertation. Chicago, 1895. Lyly's Metaphors and Similes are largely taken from nature but are almost entirely conventional and courtly. Animal life is mostly borrowed from fabulous natural history. George Peele draws a very large number of images from nature, especially from flowers, stars, sunshine, etc. Marlowe derives many similes and metaphors from nature, but evidently in a traditional way. In Greene's plays nature is but slightly represented. Tourneur borrows little from nature. Webster transcribes less from animate than from inanimate nature. Chapman exhibits metaphors and similes from nature in considerable number. Ben Johnson often refers to nature, sometimes with much delicacy. In the tabulated index, it appears that Chapman and Ben Johnson refer oftenest to nature, Greene least often. In a resumé, Carpenter states that in the treatment of nature, all these poets mentioned are generally conventional. It is the remote, or the curious, or the novel, which these poets prefer. Eupheistic natural history attracted them, but their range is not wide and there is no subtlety of observation. Nature is important only as linked with man. The thoroughness which characterizes this dissertation throughout makes the remarks on the nature-sense valuable.

Milton's Treatment of Nature, by Vernon P. Squires. Modern Language Notes 9, 454. Milton betrays no intimacy with nature, his knowledge of birds and animals is slight. Most animals mentioned are foreign and not known to him from direct observation. In most cases, he mentions flowers rather than roses, violets, etc. . . . S. does not seem to have noticed Milton's exquisite gift of indicating a mood in nature with a few words.

The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth, by Myra Reynolds. Chicago Dissertation. Chicago, 1896. During the classical period (from about 1620 to about 1790) city life was preferred. The grand and the mysterious in nature were neglected. The gentle was admired. Man is, generally speaking, regarded as supreme. In the poets between 1706-26 is exhibited a growing sense of beauty and charm in nature, and greater correctness of

observation. There is a nascent appreciation of the beauty of night and of winter. Pope and Addison are themselves tinged with the new ideas. The most noteworthy writers are Phillips, Lady Winchelsea, William Pattison, Allan Ramsay.—In James Thomson, we find a mixture of faults and advantages, but he really knew nature, he knew farm life, loved animals and knew their habits, and had something of a Wordsworthian appreciation of the unity of man and nature. Still he retains the classical feeling towards ocean and mountain. But his was the first powerful voice to take men from the city to the country. In the poets from 1730 to 1756, genuine interest in nature continues and deepens. Young adds little, but he prefers darkness, and this is a contribution. Collins shows some unusual originality and imaginative power. Akenside is cold but he sees in nature the great inspirer. Gray has some fine touches. Joseph Warton loves and yearns for solitude and hates the city. Langhorne deeply feels the power of nature over man. Smart exhibits almost barbaric splendor of images from nature. Mickle has romantic love for moonlight and stars. Goldsmith loves nature but is not a revealer. Beattie feels nature as a great culture force and inspirer, as deepening and as soothing. Blake appreciates the spiritual force of nature; has an excellent eye and excellent ear. Cowper exhibits narrow but accurate knowledge of nature. The ministry of nature to human needs is a cardinal principle in Cowper's poetry: 'God made the country, man made the town.' Burns has narrow but intense love of nature. Bowles hints at the union between the spirit of man and the spirit of nature. . . . Miss Reynolds goes on to speak of the change which took place during the century in gardening. . . . In the records of travel written during this period, the transfer of emphasis from man to nature is strongly marked, though the nature-sense here develops later than in poetry. . . . Fiction did virtually nothing to bring about a new attitude towards nature. . . . In painting, man first was the centre of interest, but landscape painting was slow in emancipating itself from tradition. (All important facts on this subject may be found in VanDyke's *History of Art*.) . . . It is worthy of note that most of the poets of the 18th century who deal with nature,

deal with her in the writings of their youth and turn away from her in later years. During the 18th century odors are rarely described in detail, whereas sounds are noted with much greater distinctness. The color sense is immensely developed in 18th century poetry. Mountains were first neglected, then immensely admired. The ocean was not appreciated even during the transition period except in a few cases. The sky was not carefully studied, but the moon and stars are often and sympathetically referred to, as are also sunset and sunrise. Storms are rarely treated. Flowers were at first treated in a general way and then more and more specifically. Trees are first mentioned en masse, then characterized in detail. Among birds the cuckoo is the favorite. In general it may be said that love for animal life grows, (confer on that subject Alois Brandl, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. English translation. London, 1887, p. 97 ff.). There is a growing feeling that God manifests himself in nature. The belief often finds expression that nature gives peace, gives joy, is inspiring, grants wisdom, and virtue. The facts of nature become more and more an allegory of human experience. . . . It may be fairly said that this dissertation is one of the most valuable contributions to the nature-sense. We only regret that the letters of the 18th century were not more extensively used by the author.

The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America, by Mary E. Woolley. The American Historical Review, Oct. 1897 (vol. 3, No. 1, p. 56 ff.). Travelers to the colonies during the 17th and 18th centuries were interested only in natural conditions and thought little of scenery. For instance John Josselyn climbed the White Mountains between 1663-71, but in his works says nothing of the beauties of the mountains. Robert Beverly wrote a history of Virginia in 1705, and saw the mountains only from a utilitarian point of view. Others, like Neal in his *History of New England*, London, 1719, or Burton in his *English Empire in America*, 1729, betray as little appreciation for the beauties of the American mountains. Only the Rev. Andrew Burnaby seems to make an exception. Meanwhile in sporadic instances, we find expressions of appreciation of wild scenes. In Col. William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line run in the year 1728* a modern view of

nature occurs and mountains are spoken of as pleasing (curiously enough, the author was a friend of Pope). Between 1780-85, the new Romantic movement becomes established. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, 1781-4, calls the Natural Bridge 'the most sublime of nature's works' and speaks of the indescribable rapture it creates; and the Rev. Archibald Alexander, who visited it in 1789, says it excited in him 'an emotion entirely new,' a 'genuine emotion of the sublime.' One James Elliot has left sketches of the Whisky Insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794, in which he finds time to speak with great admiration for the mountains arrayed in all the majesty of nature and destitute of a single sign of art and cultivation. The *Travels of President Dwight* (1797, 1803) are brimful of notes on the beauty of the White Mountains, of 'wild and solemn appearance.' In poetry, too, a change is recorded about the same time. So in a poem entitled *Prospect of America* (1786). In an essay on poetry published in 1795, love for the picturesque in nature is regarded as universal.

James Thomson: Sa vie et ses oeuvres, by Léon Morel. Paris, 1895. 2d part, Ch. I. Le sentiment de la nature dans la poésie anglaise avant 'les saisons.' The author sketches Chaucer's nature-sense, of which he says it is characterized by the same thrilling sympathy and precision of observation which characterizes his descriptions of men. (We doubt whether this statement can be substantiated.) Of Shakespeare, Morel says he is one of the greatest descriptive poets. His descriptions are not found so much in his dramatic work, as in *Venus and Adonis*. Morel further mentions that nature is everywhere introduced either as a harmonious accompaniment or to intensify the emotional effect. Then follow remarks on Spenser's nature-sense. He speaks of the glorious light which pervades Spenser's poetry. Spenser is a great painter of flowers. In his remarks on Milton's nature-sense, Morel seems to me to go too far. He claims that Milton's power of observation is exact, in spite of the statements to the contrary on the part of many critics. In *Lycidas*, great knowledge of nature is shown according to Morel. In *Paradise Lost* there are not many records of real nature, except in some metaphors. Milton has a wonderfully fine ear for all

sounds in nature. Milton blends outer nature with human emotions. She is not only a fine panorama, she is a good influence, and in that, he claims, Milton is greater than modern poets. This last statement seems to me distinctly exaggerated. In Dryden, we find pretty glimpses of nature, but they are only reminiscences. Herrick sees only a small part of nature, and is characterized by certain 'preoccupation pour l'effet litteraire.' Pope in his early works describes nature, but only as a reminiscence of his reading. In Chapter III, Morel speaks at great length of Thomson's nature-sense. Thomson deals with the whole universe. He treats the sky in all its aspects and must be regarded as greater than any poet (?) in describing the dawn. He neglects the ocean. Mountains are very rarely mentioned. Thomson appreciates the simple phenomena of nature, he shows great interest in brooks and loves forests, often mentions animals, even humble and repulsive ones, and describes animals of all zones. He always blends man with his landscape. He has a keen ear. He does not neglect to notice imposing and terrible aspects of nature. He loves the shade, and feels its delight and its melancholy. He sees forests and not often trees. This is quite characteristic of his whole nature-sense, for he prefers large effects to detail. Flowers often are referred to. In Chapter IV. M. speaks of 'Le poète descriptif. Sa technique.' It should be noted that Thomson tried to describe the whole world, grand, and simple, ugly and beautiful, yet not like a photograph, but throbbing with life. In contrast with Cowper, he does not describe a forest, but the forest. In other words, he records only general impressions. This tendency to generalize shows the influence of classical ideals. (M. doubts, to my sense with injustice, whether the greater exactness found in modern descriptions of nature in literature have added anything artistically important.) Thomson sees color but not form. He notes degrees of light, not only contrasts between light and shade, and recalls all this with very few adjectives. His ear is remarkably sensitive. Odors are often mentioned, sometimes by way of suggestion. With all his tendency to generalize, he is capable of exactness of detail. These chapters are extremely interesting, done by one who evidently himself deeply loves nature. It is no fault of a biographer slightly to overrate his hero.

Color-Chords in Thomson's Seasons, by William Hand Browne. *Modern Language Notes* 12, 281. Contains a few remarks on Thomson's color-sense and fine observation.

F. L. Stolberg's Jugendpoesie, by W. Kneiper. Berlin, 1893. Nature plays a great part in his early verses. He interprets nature, like Rousseau, as an element of freedom and liberation. Devotion is the cardinal principle of his nature lyrics. The great and powerful in nature attract him. He is the first in German literature to describe the ocean; (this last remark should not be overlooked, as one is too apt to believe Strodman's statement that the ocean had never found an interpreter in German literature before Heine.) (For a short history of the ocean in German literature before Heine, cf. Walzel, *Euphorion* 5, 15 f.)

Keats' Jugend und Jugendgedichte, by J. Hoops. *Englische Studien* 21, 209 ff. The author calls attention to the fact that Keats spent several years of his formative period in the country. At the age of fifteen, he was sent to Edmonton, which is now a suburb of London, but to this day has kept its rural character. From 1817-20 he lived in Hampstead, where he was charmingly located in a lovely country. He never saw a great mountain, hence the grandeur of mountains plays a small part in his verse. He saw the sea in 1816, and was deeply impressed by it.

Studies in Interpretation, by W. H. Hudson; pp. 34 ff. deal with Keats. He loved nature, but she was to him a beautiful soulless mistress, not the solemn veiled prophetess she was to Wordsworth, nor the mysterious mother of Shelley's visions. He merely describes her sensuous beauty. Keats is singularly free from the pathetic fallacy; confer his Ode to Autumn. (Whether this absence of the pathetic fallacy in Keats is altogether so great an advantage as H. appears to think seems to me doubtful.)

On Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes, by Stopford Brooke. 'Wordsworthiana,' ed. Knight. London, 1889, pp. 130 ff. The author shows how the guide is full of the same thoughts and views as the poems.

The Poetic Interpretation of Nature, by Roden Noel. *Wordsworthiana*, pp. 181 ff. contains some very suggestive ideas on the pathetic fallacy. The author differs on some points with Ruskin.

Wordsworth and Turner, by Harry Goodwin. *Wordsworthiana*, pp. 267 ff. States that Wordsworth and Turner were specially devoted to nature. Both cast the veil of poetry over simple things. The essay contains very little of value.

Wordsworth's Treatment of Sound, by W. D. Heard. *Wordsworthiana*, pp. 219 ff. H. shows by many quotations how remarkably fine Wordsworth's ear was, and how much the sounds of nature meant to him even spiritually speaking.

Aspects of Tennyson, V. Tennyson as a Nature Poet, by Theodore Watts. *The Nineteenth Century* 30 (1893), 836 ff. Tennyson is so great an artist that he never allows a landscape to arrest the movement of the reader's imagination. He does not, like Shelley, write extatic hymns to nature. He allows himself much freedom in delineating the contour of the land, his desire being to seize upon the characteristic features of the land's outline. In the power of calling up imaginary landscape, he has no equal save Coleridge. He is at the head of English poets as a painter of the vegetable world of England. He is a great lover of streams and brooks. He sees the heroic side of the lower animals, and betrays great exactness in his descriptions of animal life;—in fact his exactness is unfailing and extraordinary. He is inferior to other 19th century poets as a painter of clouds and other aerial effects. Tennyson is most happy in describing the sea, especially from the shore.

Tennyson, by Charles Kingsley. *Fraser's Magazine*, Sept., 1850 (vol. 42), 245 ff. Reprinted in *Literary and General Lectures*, 1880, pp. 103 ff. Kingsley speaks of Tennyson's treatment of nature in his earlier poems as combined with religious reverence. Because of a lack of that religious element, he slurs Keats' interpretation of nature. The essay has very little value.

Eichendorff's Jugenddichtungen, by E. Höber, Berlin, 1894. On pp. 13 ff. E.'s nature-sense is discussed. In his early verse religious sentiment is everywhere intertwined with tender and graceful images from nature. Everywhere he exhibits close observation and proves that he notices all sorts of phenomena in nature. This is natural in a poet who lived so much in the country. In the poems of his first period the forest is constantly introduced and spring generally described. He is

particularly fond of the nightingale and the lark. Among all colours, blue is his favorite. In his poems, written between 1808-11, a certain mystic atmosphere prevails in his descriptions of nature which robs them of their clearness. H. points out that E. describes spring almost exclusively in all his poetry and especially spring in the woods. His color-sense is keen.

Lamartine, by Emile Deschanel, Paris, 1893. In vol. 1, 71 ff. we find some important hints on the condition of poetry before Lamartine, the vague longings and hopes, the melancholy and mysticism which characterize poetry at the beginning of our century in France. However impassive nature may seem on account of her laws, men like Lamartine cannot believe that either man or his planet are isolated in the universe, but that there is a mystic bond between man and the primal cause (p. 190). This apparent impassibility of nature consequently is not discouraging to such men. Nature consoles them.

The Poetic Feeling for External Nature, by Edward Dowden. *Contemporary Review* 2 (1866), 535 ff. A remarkable essay for the time when it was written. Dowden appreciates that there is a distinct evolution in the nature-sense, and that the modern nature-sense is richer than the nature-sense of former generations. Yet there is margin for improvement. The nature-sense in us is 'tremulous to almost every influence that in any way physically or mentally affects us.' The hostile, ascetic view of life, the Puritanic view, is decidedly unfavorable to the poetic feeling for external nature. He distinguishes between the 'epicurean nature-sense' (which merely enjoys the beauties of nature) and the spiritual. André Cheniér is a most perfect example of the Epicurean view of nature. Goethe and Wordsworth eminently have the spiritual sense of nature.

Alexander Smith and Alexander Pope, by Charles Kingsley. *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 48 (Oct. 1853), 453 ff. Reprinted in *Literary and General Lectures and Essays*, pp. 82 ff. This essay contains some striking views. K. attacks purely descriptive poetry, claims that nature is interesting only in so far as she becomes either a person herself or the dwelling and organ of a person. With Spencer and Ariosto, even with

Pope, nymphs, etc. are regarded only in their connection with man, among the moderns in their connection with nature. The poet must color nature with the records of his own mind, and bestow upon her a factitious life, and make her reflect his own joy and sorrows. But all these things are well enough only in their place, hence they should not become intense to exhaustion, and should not be used where they are not intended to express passion at all, but merely the quiet and normal state of the poet's mind with regard to external nature. Therefore 'the passion-panting sea' is objectionable, as the sea does not pant with passion. (But would it be wrong then to speak of the angry sea, for surely the sea is never angry?) Since Bacon has spoken (that is since scientific insight into nature began) only severely scientific imagery drawn from the inner life of nature should be necessary to touch the hearts of men. . . . Much of this is correct and much is stimulating, but I doubt whether a very large part of it is tenable. Space, however, unfortunately does not permit me here to discuss these points in detail.

De la Démocratie en Amérique, by A. de Tocqueville, 4me edition, vol. 3, Paris, 1868. On page 118 ff. are expressed some ideas concerning the nature-sense in democratic countries. Democratic principles have a tendency to turn men's attention away from old creeds and to establish doubt; furthermore they destroy the halo about privileged persons, and thus turn men's attention to inanimate nature. This gave birth to descriptive poetry in the last century (?) But this is only a passing phase. Democracy tends ultimately to fix men's attention on man.—Glittering as this logic is, a study of the nature-sense in different ages and in different countries proves it to be untrue. For democratic principles seem in one form or another to increase their hold on men, and yet the nature-sense is constantly deepening.

Landscape in Art before Claude and Salvator, by Josiah Gilbert. London, 1885. By way of introduction, we find a pleasing though very incomplete sketch of landscape in literature before the 17th century. The Italian Renaissance men, especially Petrarch, are very much underrated. The kulturgeschichtliche element is altogether wanting. G. mentions the fact that the Romantic movement in the nature-sense is recent

in literature but is recorded on the canvas as early as the 17th century. From page 86 on there is a short history of the nature-sense in oriental (Chinese and Japanese) and Greek and Roman art. (These statements are based on Woermann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker*.) What is said of the Pompeian landscape is especially interesting. Early Christian art displays landscape features. In all mosaics, the sacred legend is always the chief point of the interest, hence landscape cannot become important. Landscape gave decided promise in this form of art, but soon wilted. In the miniatures of manuscripts as preserved both in Italy and in purely Byzantine art a certain sense for nature is recorded which dies out in course of time. Real landscapes do not appear until about the end of the 14th century. Now it is that gold and diaper yield to a sky background. On p. 135 ff. follows a description of many manuscripts containing pictures in which landscape plays a part. Landscape as an art showed itself first in the North and there sooner acquired perfection. The landscape art of the VanEycks is altogether remarkable. Contemporary Italian art is extremely puerile in this respect, compared with the art of the Van Eycks. Van der Weyden paints landscape, but curiously enough always conceives it as luminous and beautiful. H. Memlinc also has a fine touch in his interpretation of nature. Matsys cares more for figure than for landscape. Giotto does not make very much of landscape, but evidently has a good eye for it. (I may add from my own observation that his advance over the landscape in the mosaics seems to me, together, of course, with the change in background, largely to consist in distributing his trees with less mathematical regularity, and thus to introduce a certain waywardness, which points to ultimate realism in his successors.) Fra Angelico's landscape contains more objects than Giotto's, but is not in sympathy with the subjects, for it is always gleaming and bright. The great Masaccio introduces a real landscape, real and not fantastic hills, no porcelain blue, but the hues of nature. . . . I will select only what seems to me essentially important in Gilbert's book for an appreciation of the nature-sense in the Italian painters after Angelico. Ghirlandaio has beautiful colors but is not very poetic in his nature interpretations; Botticelli has a decided

feeling for the picturesque and the cosy in nature, yet does not seem to be far ahead of his age. Da Vinci's landscape is very remarkable for its weirdness. So in the *Mona Lisa* the background consists of rocks and gives to the whole picture a curious air of solitude. In the *Last Supper*, however, nature corresponds to the calmness of the Saviour, behind whom it gleams through a window. (The love which Da Vinci evinces for rocks should be particularly noted, as there is very little corresponding to it in literature until much later.) Perugino is very important. His landscape is sweet and serene and conveys a great sense of peace. The background corresponds to the subject. Francia's landscapes are more varied than Perugino's, often more picturesque, but he rarely has Perugino's deep tones. Fra Bartolomeo introduces nothing archaic, no impossible objects: everything pertaining to his landscape is true and harmonious. Andrea del Sarto is less important, and Michael Angelo seems to pay but little attention to landscape. There is a decided evolution in Raphael's treatment of landscape. Generally speaking it is characterized by great sweetness, but in his *Vision of Ezekiel* there is a step in advance: there we find realistic seriousness, variety and observation. Corregio is, strangely enough, fond of sober, delicate and simple landscapes. Albrecht Dürer is one of the most original masters in the history of landscape painting. His landscapes are severe, often sad. He enjoys mountains and rocks, and on that account should be associated with da Vinci. Altdorfer added scenic effect to landscape. In his *Battle of Arbela* (Munich) we find a certain romantic grandeur in the sky; similarly in other paintings. Yet he is capable also of sweetness and grace, as in his *Flight into Egypt*. Hans Holbein, the Younger, has several times painted scenes from the Alps. (Note that the Alps do not find a powerful interpreter in literature before Rousseau.) Giovanni Bellini has in some of his late pictures sought landscape effects. In Giorgione's works landscape continually asserts itself as an element of importance equal to that of the figures. He is fond sometimes of even exaggerated effects. Palma Vecchio is large, vigorous, but lacks delicate observation and depth of feeling. Titian goes beyond his predecessors in dealing largely and suggestively with land-

scape detail, and in entering more than did the others into the thoughts and moods of nature, as expressed in her noblest scenes and objects. His range is large; he is fond of mountains. He paints sunny calm shores, and again often rich level plains; he knows how to characterize trees; the background agrees with the subject. In his treatment of hills he leads the way to the mountain treatment of Salvator Rosa. In Paolo Veronese we find little landscape, but it is dealt with gracefully. Tintoretto is perhaps even more poetical than Titian, but he is less controlled. He sees something of the awful side of nature, her unrestful, changeful, stormy moods. Landscape now for some time remained inferior. Annibale Caracci's landscapes lack the nobler, severer qualities, but there is a gain in freedom of touch and suggestiveness. . . . Lucas van Leyden has a sense for landscape but is inferior to Dürer. Paul Bril is attracted by light and shade, not so much by color. (Gilbert's treatment of Bril seems to me insufficient, for is he not one of the very first, if not THE first, who raised landscape painting into an independent art?) Jan Brueghel's landscape is apt to be too wild and unreal, yet he is capable of charming effects. In Adam Elsheimer the descriptions of the romantic side of nature are very remarkable. Rubens is ready for anything in landscape, especially movement and the play of light and dark, and the interlock of trees. He generally neglects details, but has more sense for the poetry of nature than is generally believed. We have paintings by him which deal with landscape exclusively, as for instance his *View of the Escorial*. Claude Lorrain is the first really great landscape painter. He interpreted the indescribable and indefinable loveliness of Italy. (It will forever be, in our opinion at least, a blot on Mr. Ruskin's name as an art critic that he was incapable of understanding the charm of this remarkable artist.) In Salvator Rosa nature is burdened with a sense of fate and unrest. He was the first to discover in the romance of landscape a special field for art. (Attention should be given to this element in Salvator's work, as we have nothing to correspond with it in literature for nearly a century later.) It would have been valuable to hear something of Spanish landscape, at least of Velasquez. As far as I am able to

judge (and I express myself with great diffidence, as I can speak only from an acquaintance with photographs), he is fond of rocks and large trees, but seems also to have had a certain amount of love for the idyllic in nature. So in two scenes from the Villa Medici in Rome, one of which represents a view through an arch upon houses nestling among cypress trees. . . . This book is a most useful supplement to any history of the nature-sense in literature. Biese hints at the development of landscape painting in his book, but of course cannot go into detail. The illustrations in the work add greatly to make the text more intelligible.

L'oeuvre de Corot et le paysage moderne, by André Michel. *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15 Février, 1896, p. 913 ff. In France, painting was slow in taking hold of nature, as poetry had done. As late as 1796 a writer on aesthetics speaks with contempt of landscape. Yet in the salons, at the end of the 18th century, landscapes were exhibited which betray a sensitive eye. Lantara, who died in 1778 (a few weeks after Rousseau), painted sunsets with much talent and finesse. (In 1826 Boutard said in his *Dictionnaire* that landscape has for its object the imitation of light effects in the air, on the earth, and on the water, and he thus innocently gave the formula of the modern plein air school.) Winckelmann, Mengs, and David, checked the growth of realistic and landscape painting;—Ruysdael and others were regarded as utterly lacking in ideality. Valenciennes labored to introduce this element of ideality into landscape painting, and urged upon painters to steep themselves in poets inspired by nature like Sappho, Theocritus, etc. Corot became the pupil of this school. Corot's second teacher was Victor Bertin, who continued the ideas of Valenciennes. During his early career, Corot's pictures destined for exhibition are stiff, whereas his studies, meant for himself, are exquisite. He did not become free until about his fiftieth year. In course of time, he turned more and more to Claude Lorrain for inspiration. Students of German literature will be interested to know that Corot was a great admirer and reader of Gessner. . . . Few things could be more satisfactory than a history of landscape painting from the earliest time to our own which should trace with scholarly exactness and artistic sensitiveness the ideal of land-

scape through the centuries. Will not somebody arise who can deal with his task in something like the same spirit in which Mr. Berenson has treated the development of Florentine Art?

In *French Art, Classic and Contemporary Painting and Sculpture*, by W. C. Brownell, N. Y., 1892, and in *Modern Painting*, by George Moore, London, 1893, will be found refined and suggestive observations on the great masters of landscape painting like Claude, Corot, Diaz, Manet, Monet, and others. . . . I will state in conclusion that in *Out of the East*, by Lafcadio Hearn, pp. 116 ff., the author shows how far superior Japanese art is to western art in observing the facts of nature.

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Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte. Zum Gebrauch für Studierende dargestellt von R. Bethge, O. Bremer, F. Dieter, F. Hartmann und W. Schlüter, herausgegeben von Ferdinand Dieter. Erster Halbband: Lautlehre des Urgermanischen, Gotischen, Altnordischen, Altenglischen, Altsächsischen und Althochdeutschen. xxxv und 343 SS. 8°. Leipzig, O. R. Reisland 1898.

Es ist eine bekannte und immer wiederkehrende Thatsache, dass auf eine Periode wissenschaftlicher Forschung eine Zeit der Kodifizierung des neu errungenen folgt. Dann erscheinen Lehrbücher aller Art, gute und schlechte. In der neuen Periode der Sprachwissenschaft und der Germanistik, die mit der Entdeckung des Vernerschen Gesetzes anhebt, begann den Reigen die Braunesche Sammlung kurzgefasster Grammatiken, es folgt die Periode der Grundrisse von Brugmann und Paul, in denen Kluge die Vorgeschichte der germanischen Dialekte, andere die historische Entwicklung behandeln. Denen schloss sich ganz überraschend Wilmanns deutsche Grammatik an, in denen das ganze Gebiet des deutschen in vortrefflicher Weise behandelt wird. Streitbergs Elementarbücher nebst seiner urgermanischen Grammatik füllten weiter manche Lücke aus, und nun erhalten wir eine Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte von verschiedenen

Gelehrten, die zwar allgemein bekannt, aber doch weniger als die bisher genannten hervorgetreten sind. An und für sich ist schon der Plan dieses Werkes erfreulich, alle altgermanischen Dialekte neben einander zu behandeln. Es wäre ja sehr traurig, wenn der Student sich auf die Kenntniss einiger weniger germanischen Dialekte beschränken wollte. Ein wirkliches Verständnis auch des Deutschen oder des Englischen ist doch nur möglich, wenn man alle Dialekte kennt, die zurückführen auf die urgermanische Sprache. Von dem Urgermanischen gehen die Verfasser aus, es wird zuerst dargestellt, und daran reihen sich dann die Einzelgrammatiken, aber so dass Vokalismus und Konsonantismus getrennt sind. Die Verfasser sind also dem Beispiel von Grimm und Holtzmann, auch dem von Schleicher gefolgt, im Gegensatz zu dem Brugmanns. Ich halte diese Art für pädagogisch richtiger. — Das Urgermanische, Gotische und Nordische hat *Bethge*, das Altenglische *Dieter*, das Altsächsische *Schlüter*, das Althochdeutsche *Hartmann* behandelt. Das Friesische, das *Bremer* zugefallen ist, fehlt leider noch. Hoffentlich erscheint der zweite Halbband, der es bringen soll, bald. —

Da wir es mit den Arbeiten verschiedener Autoren auf verschiedenen Gebieten zu thun haben, so muss die Kritik bei der einzelnen Arbeit einsetzen, um aus der Betrachtung aller schliesslich das Facit zu ziehen. Leider macht sich ein Umstand recht unangenehm fühlbar. Nach Angabe der Vorrede hat sich der Druck über mehr als anderthalb Jahre hingezogen, und da die Verfasser ausserdem so gut wie gar nicht zitieren, so weiss man nicht, ob manche Fehler und die Nichtberücksichtigung neuerer Forschungen auf einem Versehen beruhen. Jedenfalls sind mehr als anderthalb Jahre eine Zeit, in denen manches veralten kann. Ich werde mich bemühen, im folgenden für die Benutzer des Buches nachzutragen, was notwendig eingefügt werden muss, und werde mir erlauben, zu einzelnen Problemen meine Ansicht oder neue Argumente auszusprechen.

Der urgermanische Teil darf im allgemeinen als recht gelungen bezeichnet werden. Allerdings lag *Bethge* Streitberg's Urgermanische Grammatik vor, deren Einfluss auch hier zu spüren ist. *Bethge* zeigt überall ein gesundes, wohl abwägendes Urteil, wobei es gar nicht darauf ankommt, dass

man über einzelne Punkte streiten kann. Bekanntlich ist die letzte Zeit in der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft nicht arm an fruchtbaren Entdeckungen gewesen. Aber diese Entdeckungen haben, wie es oft zu gehen pflegt, vielfach vollständige Ablehnung erfahren. Ich freue mich demgegenüber folgende Worte Brugmanns anführen zu können:

‘Die neueren Akzentarbeiten haben neben manchem allerdings recht Zweifelhaftem eine Reihe von wichtigen Ergebnissen geliefert, die so sicher sind wie nur irgend eine auf Sprachgleichung beruhende lautgeschichtliche Annahme, und Konfusion kann nur in dem Kopf von dem bestehen, der entweder diese Arbeiten nur sehr oberflächlich gelesen hat oder überhaupt nicht befähigt ist, Wahrscheinliches von Unwahrscheinlichem, Begründetes von Unbegründetem zu scheiden.’ (*Herr Mahlow, die Sonantentheorie und die idg. Sprachwissenschaft*. Beil. zu *IF.* ix Heft. i/2 S. 4 f.) Die Arbeit Bethges hat überall das Sichere herauszugreifen verstanden. Die germanischen Auslautgesetze werden auf Grund meiner Arbeiten (*IF.* i. 195 ff. vi. 47 ff) angesetzt. Die Dehnstufe und ihre Entstehung (Streitberg *IF.* iii, 305) ist ohne weitere Bemerkung angenommen, und manches andere von dem man nach dem Urteil verschiedener Gelehrten die jungen Leute sorgfältig hüten muss. Auch Joh. Schmidts *Kritik der Sonantentheorie* ist im wesentlichen gebilligt. Ich bin der letzte, der deshalb mit dem Verfasser rechten wird, aber darauf möchte ich doch hinweisen, dass das Bild, das Bethge gezeichnet hat, sich dadurch nur ganz unwesentlich von dem Noreens und Streitbergs unterscheidet. Man kann hier so recht deutlich sehen, auf welchem Grunde Mahlows Bemerkungen *AfdA.* 24, S. 10 f. beruhen. Schade ist es, dass die zweisilbigen Wurzeln gar nicht erwähnt werden. Bei einer neuen Auflage werden sie gewiss nicht fehlen. — Ich wende mich nunmehr zu Einzelheiten. S. 1 vermisste ich den indogermanischen Vokal *ā* nebst seiner Länge. Es ist doch vollständig gesichert, und schliesslich auch für das germanische wichtig, da er nicht mit *e* ablautet. — S. 2. Den indogermanischen Akzent halte ich jetzt gerade wegen der Ablauterscheinungen für durchaus musikalischer Natur. Ich verweise auf Passy *Étude sur les changements phonétiques et leurs caractères généraux*, Paris, 1890, S. 256 f., N. Finck, *Über das Verhältnis des baltisch-slavischen*

Nominalakzentes zum urigd. S. 38, Ref. *IF.* vii. 139 f. — S. 6. Was den Unterschied von \bar{e}^1 und \bar{e}^2 betrifft, so kann ich der Ansicht des Verfs. nicht beistimmen. Allerdings war \bar{e}^2 wahrscheinlich zweigipflig, es ist aber in allen germanischen Dialekten mit Ausnahme des Gotischen geschlossener gewesen als \bar{e}^1 , und für das gotische beweist der mangelnde Wechsel mit \bar{i} nichts, da die Fälle nicht unter die von mir *Btr.* 20. 159 gefundene Regel fallen. *hwē, þē. swē, untē* enthalten jedenfalls nicht sicher \bar{e}^2 , da *swē* dem ahd. *swā*, *untē* dem ahd. *unza* entsprechen kann. Sollten sie wirklich \bar{e}^2 enthalten, so würde die zweigipflige Betonung wohl genügt haben, um den Übergang von \bar{e} in \bar{i} zu verhindern. Ahd. \bar{o} und *uo* setzt zwar zweigipflige Betonung voraus, die aber nichts mit dem idg. Zircumflex zu thun haben kann. — S. 8. Der Wechsel von germ *ur* und *ru* beruht auf anderen Gründen, als der Verfasser annimmt, vgl. vorläufig Ref. *IF.* vii. 156 f. — Wir wären dem Verf. recht dankbar, wenn er uns Genetive wie ai. *açvās* 'der Stute' nachwiese. Zu fordern sind sie ja, aber leider nicht mehr vorhanden. Vgl. Brugmann *Grd.* ii. 570. — Ich wundere mich etwas, dass der Verf., dem die Mangelhaftigkeit der Beweise für die zeitliche Festlegung der germanischen Lautverschiebung S. 176 ff. wohl aufgegangen ist, die keltischen Lehnworte im Germanischen für die Festlegung der vokalischen Veränderungen verwendet. Vgl. darüber Ref. *Sievers Btr.* 23, 2tes Heft. — § 6 Anm. 2 ist zu streichen. — S. 10. Sind die finnischen Lehnworte wie *karilas* für die Bestimmung des Übergangs von *o* zu *a* ganz sicher? Kann nicht auch hier Lautsubstitution vorliegen? — Ich glaube auch nicht, dass idg. *a* erst allgemein zu *o*, und \bar{o} erst zu \bar{a} geworden ist. Es spricht nichts dafür, diesen Umweg anzunehmen. — S. 12. Wenn *e* im Partizipium der *i*-Verba so selten auftritt, so ist doch auch die Existenz einer Endung *-en* neben *-an* neben dem System zwang dafür verantwortlich zu machen. — S. 13. got. *kintus* wird doch wohl irgendwie mit lat. *centum* zusammenhängen. — § 11 a halte ich für sehr unsicher. — S. 18, 2) ist nicht richtig. Die Vokalschwächung trat überall nach dem Hauptton ein, vgl. Ref. *IF.* vii. 147 ff. und die dort citierte Litteratur. — S. 166 ist eine Lauttabelle des Urgermanischen gegeben, und in dieser werden den dentalen Verschlusslauten *t, d* die Spiranten *s, z* gegenübergestellt, während *þ* und \bar{d} in einer beson-

deren Gruppe als interdental bezeichnet werden. Leider zieht sich diese Auffassung durch das ganze Buch und führt zu unliebsamen Konsequenzen. Die Verf. scheinen demnach die schönen Ausführungen Braunes *IF.* iv. 341 ff. nicht zu kennen. — In der Übersichtstabelle sind ferner urgerm. *b* und *d* mit Fragezeichen versehen, während sie doch in der Gemination, wie Verf. selbst angibt, vorhanden waren. — S. 167. Dass dem *h* ein stimmhafter Spirant entsprochen habe, ist unmöglich, wenn wir *hw* mit Sievers = tonlosem *w* setzen. — Ebenso wenig kann ich es mir aneignen, was S. 170 geäußert wird, dass *p*, *t*, *k* nach *s*, *f*, *h* zunächst zu Spiranten geworden seien. Weshalb soll man einen solchen Umweg annehmen? Über den Schwund des labialen Nachklangs der Labiovelare vor Konsonant äussert sich der Verf. S. 179 mit Recht sehr vorsichtig, da auch Zupitzas Arbeit, die der Verf. noch benutzen konnte, keine völlige Klarheit in dieser Frage gebracht hat. — S. 188 got. *aürtja* 'Gärtner,' *aürtigards* ist Entlehnung aus dem Lateinischen, vgl. Kluge, Freiburger Festgruss an Osthoff.

Der gotische Teil gibt den Umfang unserer Kenntnis im ganzen richtig wieder. Auch hier standen dem Verfasser ausgezeichnete Vorarbeiten zu Gebote. Doch sieht man hier gleichfalls selbständige Arbeit und selbständiges Urteil. — Die Umschreibung der fremden Eigennamen im Gotischen hat jetzt auch *Luft* behandelt *KZ.* 35, 296 ff. Recht glücklich ist es, dass der Verf. kurz und lang *at* und *au* ansetzt und unterscheidet. S. 25 meint er, dass sich in *-uh* das *u* aus der Labialisierung des *w* entwickelt habe. Das glaube, wer es kann. Ebenso skeptisch bin ich gegenüber der Betonung *untē*, *hirī*, *hirjāts*, *hirjīp*. — S. 30. Zum Abfall des *u* im got. vgl. jetzt Ref. *Sievers Btr.* 22, 293. — In der Fassung der Auslautsgesetze S. 32 weicht der Verf. zwar nicht im Prinzip, wohl aber in Einzelheiten von meiner Auffassung ab und kommt dadurch in Schwierigkeiten. Die übereinstimmende Kürzung aller Langdiphthone hat er nicht angenommen. Ich zweifle nicht, dass got. *fadar* gegenüber ahd. *fater*, anord. *faðir*, *anstai* gegenüber ahd. *ensti*, *sunau* gegenüber ahd. *suniu*, *hana* gegenüber aisl. *hani* auf idg. *patēr*, *anstēi*, *sunēu*, *kanēn* zurückgehen. Die Parallelität aller dieser Formen ist zu schlagend, als dass sie auf Zufälligkeiten beruhen könnte. Der Verf. verhält sich leider dem Gesetz der Verkürzung der Langdiphthonge gegenüber skeptisch, sehr zum Nachteil

seiner Sache. — Zu S. 193 f., wo der Lautwert der gotischen Konsonanten behandelt wird, ist jetzt Hench *Journal of Germ. Phil.* I 45 heranzuziehen, der für *b* nach *r* und *l* spirantische Geltung wahrscheinlich macht. Dass *g* im Anlaut Verschlusslaut war, lässt sich m. E. nicht beweisen und ist auf jeden Fall sehr unwahrscheinlich. — S. 205. Über das Fehlen des Nominativ-*s* nach *r* vgl. meine Ausführungen *Sievers Btr.* 23 Heft 2.

Man wird nicht erwarten, dass der *nordische* Teil gerade viel selbständiges bietet. Aber immerhin ist auch er recht gelungen, und namentlich die ganze Anordnung recht übersichtlich. Er enthält mehr als den Abriss von Noreen und Kahles Elementarbuch, reicht aber natürlich nicht an die Fülle von Noreens Grammatik heran. Das wesentliche ist mit Geschick hervorgehoben. — An Einzelheiten bemerke ich folgendes: S. 55. Die Dative der *u*-Deklination auf *-i* mit *i*-Umlaut der Wurzelsilbe führe ich anstandslos auf *ēu* zurück. Der Zweifel des Verfassers hat seinen Grund darin, dass er nicht an das Verkürzungsgesetz der Langdiphthonge glaubt. Die Erklärung ist um so sicherer, als eine andere kaum möglich ist. — S. 58. Das *a* in *sterna* (Akk. Plur.) ist schwerlich erhalten, weil es einen Nebenton trug, sondern weil *n* und *s* darauf folgten. Eine genauere Besprechung des Altnordischen muss ich mir versagen, da mir die Zeit mangelt, auf die oft complizierten Fragen einzugehen.

Der altenglische Teil ist recht gut geraten, doch bietet auch er nichts wesentlich Neues. Sehr dankbar ist es, dass S. 91 ff. der Vokalismus des Englischen und Kentischen übersichtlich behandelt ist. — Nach § 51 ist *a* zu *æ* nur in geschlossener Silbe geworden und unter einigen anderen Bedingungen. In einem Teil des Dialektgebietes scheint mir *a* zu *æ* auch vor *e* der folgenden Silbe geworden zu sein. Doch lässt sich diese Frage nicht ohne eingehende Statistik erledigen, — S. 78. An den sogenannten Palatalumlaut glaube ich, durch Sievers belehrt, nicht mehr. Hier wird die neue Auflage von Sievers *Grammatik* das nötige bringen. — § 59. Bei den Kontraktionsregeln hätte genauer auf die der Kontraktion vorausliegende Lautstufe geachtet werden müssen. Ae. *ēa* ist natürlich aus *ahu* entstanden. Der Hinweis auf as. ahd. *aha*, got. *aha* muss den Leser verwirren. Ebenso setzt *slēan* ein *slahon* voraus, *gefēon* ein *-fehōn* voraus. Während

Bethge annimmt, dass idg. *o* in unbetonter Stellung im germ. als *o* auftritt, ist dieser Grundsatz hier zum Schaden der Sache verlassen.—S. 80 Die Thatsachen der Veränderung der Vokalquantität lassen sich zum Teil unter allgemeinere Gesetze bringen. Es ist doch auffallend, dass der Wegfall eines postconsonantischen *h* den vorausgehenden Vokal dehnt. Das erklärt sich wohl aus der Verschiebung der Silbengrenze. *Seol-hes* wird zunächst zu *seo-les*, und da so die Silbe offen geworden ist, wird sie, um ihr altes Zeitmass wieder zu erhalten, gedehnt, vgl. im übrigen Luick *Anglia* N. F. viii 335 ff. Im Konsonantismus ist besonders S. 251 das Capitel über die Gutturale und Palatale zu beachten, in dem diese beiden Laute streng geschieden sind, natürlich wesentlich auf Grund der späteren Entwicklung. Und überhaupt ist die zwar nicht sehr weitgehende, aber geschickte Heranziehung des Mittelenglischen sehr zu loben.

Die Darstellung des *Altsächsischen* weicht in mancher Hinsicht von der der übrigen Dialekte ab. Da der Heliand die Hauptquelle bildet, ist der Verf. hier auch auf Einzelheiten eingegangen. Schlüter beherrscht zweifellos das Material ganz ausgezeichnet, vielleicht hat er aber über die Zwecke der ganzen Sammlung hinaus manchmal etwas zu viel gegeben. Die sprachliche Auffassung leidet an einigen Mängeln, indem auf die Rechnung des Dialektes gesetzt wird, was dem Schreiber zur Last fällt oder als Entlehnung betrachtet werden muss. Der dem ae. fries. entsprechende Übergang von *a* zu *ae* in *gles* Str. *deg*, *thet*, Mers. *scel* kann doch nicht altsächsisch gewesen sein, und hätte nur in einer Anmerkung Erwähnung finden dürfen.—S. 101, Anm. 3. Ein *i* der dritten Silbe hat die Wurzelsilbe primär wohl nie umgelautet. Oft beschränkt sich der Verf. auf eine Feststellung des Thatsächlichen, während in den übrigen Teilen des Buches vielfach Erklärungen versucht werden. So weicht also dieser Teil einigermaßen von den übrigen ab.

Die Darstellung des *Althochdeutschen* war pädagogisch vielleicht die schwierigste Aufgabe des ganzen Buches, da ja die verschiedenen Dialekte nebeneinander stehen. Hartmann geht von einem fingirten Gemeinalthochdeutsch aus und führt die wesentlichen, mundartlichen oder zeitlichen Abweichungen daneben an. So bekommen wir denn glücklich das Bild einer Sprache, die nie existiert hat, und der Anfänger muss

sich, um das Bild irgend eines Dialektes zu gewinnen, die einzelnen Thatsachen aus den Anmerkungen zusammensuchen. Das ist gewiss nicht erfreulich. Ich hätte es für besser gehalten, wenn der Verf. einen Dialekt zu Grunde gelegt, welcher das sein muss, kann ja kaum zweifelhaft sein, — und die Abweichungen der übrigen besonders angeführt hätte. In manchen Punkten zeigt auch dieser Teil wieder Abweichungen, von dem, was die anderen Verf. bieten. So sind z. B. die Vokale der Endsilben so gut wie gar nicht behandelt. Der Verf. begnügt sich mit allgemeinen Bemerkungen. Auf Einzelheiten will ich nun nicht weiter eingehen. Nur eins sei gesagt, ahd. *lēbara* führt Verf. S. 306 auf *ljebara* zurück, was nicht nötig ist. Es kann auch aus *libara* entstanden sein.

Das ganze Werk ist, nach dem, was wir bisher gesehen haben, entschieden brauchbar, wenngleich sich einige Incongruenzen finden, die sich bei verschiedenen Bearbeitern wohl nie werden vermeiden lassen. Ich füge noch hinzu, dass auch die Einleitung das nötige bietet. Sehr vermisst habe ich Angaben über die germanische Runenschrift, die doch ebenso wichtig ist wie das gotische Alphabet. In den Angaben über die Gliederung der germanischen Sprache kann man Bethge durchaus folgen. Er spricht sich für eine ostgermanische Gruppe aus, die nordgermanisch und wandilisch umfasst, führt aber in Wirklichkeit drei Dialektgruppen an. Ich glaube jetzt wieder, dass die Wandilier zu den Nordgermanen gehören. Freilich sind von den Momenten, die Bethge anführt, mehrere zu streichen. Die 1 sg. Opt. auf got. *-au* an *-a* liegt auch im wgerm. vor, die 2 Ps. Sg. Ind. im starken Perf. auf *t* war gemeingermanisch u. s. w. Wohl aber halte ich es für belangreich, das im got. wie im nord. der Akk. Sg. der fem. *-ā*-Stämme durch den nominativ ersetzt ist, got. *giba-giba*, an. *gjǫf-gjǫf*. Ferner die Existenz des nom. der mask. *n*-Stämme auf *-ēn* gegenüber wgerm. *-ō* der vielleicht auch eine Neubildung ist. Auffallend ist ferner der Übergang von *i* und *u* zu *e* und *o* im nord. vor *h*, analog dem Gotischen, und dass *h* zum reinen Hauchlaut geworden ist, selbst in der Verbindung *ht*. Auch für das gotische müssen wir ja *h* durchweg den Lautwert *h* geben.

H. HIRT.

Axel Kock, *Om Språkets Förändring*. (*Populärt vetenskapliga föreläsningar vid Göteborgs Högskola* 3.) Wettergren & Kerber : Göteborg.

A POPULAR book should be the maturest fruit of sound scholarship. Errors that may occur in technical publications can be more easily counteracted by watchful criticism: in books which are to be read by the people at large, they are likely to work mischief for generations. Nobody should, therefore, be encouraged to write for the general public who is not guided by a perfect mastery of his subject, by healthy and trained pedagogical instincts and by a due reverence for the seriousness of his task. This truth is as yet far from being generally recognized; but a change for the better is manifesting itself abroad as well as in our country, a fact as promising for the future of our own discipline as it is beneficial to the public.—The present book forms the third volume of the *Populärt vetenskapliga föreläsningar vid Göteborgs Högskola*, a serial publication intended to present in popular form the latest and safest results of scientific research especially in the field of the humanities. Of the other volumes belonging to the series we mention *Om svenskan som skriftspråk* by Gustaf Cederschiöld, *Dante* by Johan Vising, *Den stora engelska revolutionen i det sjuttonde århundradets midt* by Ludvig Stavenow.

How far the author has succeeded in adapting his treatment to the needs of his Swedish public, is not for us to say. He presupposes a good deal of intelligent interest in matters of historical philology; remote linguistic facts and minutiae of phonology are quoted by way of illustration; at times even an etymological or ethnological controversy is indulged in. Questions of psychology, on the other hand, are dealt with in a very elementary fashion, largely in that indirect, figurative form which is generally considered as popular. To me it seems that a plain, direct statement of facts would have thrown more light on the fundamental phenomena of speech; an immoderate use of comparisons and the author's inclination to work out his pictures in detail and to apply them tenaciously in their various aspects tend to cover up the real process instead of illumining it.

But the book is of interest to us mainly as the record of Professor Kock's own views on the subject; as such it has its

scientific and its historical value: scientific, because even where the good is not new, a wide sphere of vision is constantly kept open about us, and the conscientious presentation of the manifold factors that modify human speech will form a good antidote against one-sided theorizing, and historical, because even in so far as the new is not good, this confession of faith of the eminent scholar, University teacher, and editor is likely to exercise a strong influence upon linguistic studies, at least in the North. We regret all the more, therefore, that in regard to a number of important points we cannot agree with the author. His chapters on Language and Dialect, on Speech mixture and Loanwords, on Composition, Derivation, and some of his remarks on Analogy and Phonetic Change are clarifying and suggestive; but, after all, the whole phenomenon of change in language is only an incidental, though unavoidable result of the very life of language; to attempt to account for it without first explaining the development and normal nature of speech itself is like expounding the character of an eclipse of the sun without considering the normal working of the solar system. The book opens with a discussion of the task of the linguist, the student of language, as compared with that of the philologist, the latter term being interpreted as the student mainly of the masterpieces of a nation's literature, an interpretation strangely at variance with the scope of the *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* of which the author himself is the editor-in-chief! We should have preferred to find a prefatory chapter on the fundamental questions of language life; the absence of the same makes itself painfully felt in the treatment of analogy and phonetic changes. The sole function of analogy, according to the author, would be to bring about *deviations* from the traditional status or from the normal phonetic development, in order to facilitate the learning of the language; and three reasons are quoted as able to lead to analogical interference: similarity of meaning, similarity of form and—juxtaposition in the sentence. Few of us will accept this last point; the example quoted for its validity, *egli-no amano*, is due to similarity of meaning (function) emphasized by juxtaposition. The treatment of phonetic changes is equally unsatisfactory; they are all described as 'förändringar, framkallade genom uttalslätnad (vanligen

mindre lämpligt kallade 'ljudlagsenliga förändringar).' The acoustic element is quite neglected; 'spontaneous sound-change,' the old phantom, makes its appearance again (cp. *Mod. Lang. Notes* 2, p. 226); the 'Kombinatoriska uttalslättnaderna' are said to be due to psychical as well as to physical reasons and to resemble the analogical changes inasmuch as e. g. both in the assimilation of *ts* : *ss*, *nätsla* : *nässla*, and in the *v* of *voss* from *vi* 'spela andra språkelement (ljud) en roll' ! The 'spontaneous' sound-change then, is altogether due to physical agencies? It would seem so; for the author says, 'De spontana uttalslättnaderna åter hafva förorsakats ensamt af en fysisk faktor.' On the other hand, we hear of psychical motives influencing all sound-changes; the latter are said to be determined not only by phonetic conditions and by stress, but also, the author insists, by such psychical factors as the meaning of words and the state of mind of the speaker. Professor Kock does not realize, that these are the very elements which help to determine the totality of phonetic conditions and the nature of the accent; to speak of them as of separate causes is as much as to say, that a performance on the piano is not determined by the tempo and energy used in touching the various keys, but also by the character of the piece and the emotions of the player. The author rejects the theory of phonetic law. Now, so far as the language of whole speech communities is concerned, we would go even farther and say, the question of phonetic law can only be a purely practical one; it cannot be answered once for all with scientific precision. It all depends upon the relative force of a number of changeable factors all of which are recognized by everyone as potent agencies in the development of speech, and a different valuation of these various factors naturally leads to a difference of opinion on the whole point: the believers in the law 'theory' say, that close speech intercourse practically eliminates all deviations from the norm within a given community, and they insist that every inconsistency must be due to some special reason such as speech mixture, analogical influence, or the like; the opponents, on the other hand, prefer to lay the greater stress on these differentiating influences, and they show that the unifying power of speech intercourse is not always as strong as to preclude deviations; at the same

time they, too, recognize this unifying power so far as to agree, that, in practice, special reasons for individual deviations must indeed be asked for in every case. This is the basis of the whole dispute with regard to the language of speech communities. The question is quite different when the individual speaker is concerned. Here we have to deal with a genuine psychological problem. Our author's objection, that no two words or sounds are ever pronounced under precisely equal conditions and that therefore a perfect equality of development cannot be expected, is entirely futile. I have dealt with the subject repeatedly in publications¹ which are readily accessible to our readers; I will, therefore, not reiterate my arguments here. The whole problem of law or not law hinges mainly upon the question, how are we to imagine the word-pictures in our mind, and the sensations of motion which our nerve-brain apparatus develops for the production of whole words? Are they units of their own, merely *connected*, more or less closely, *with* the sound-pictures and the sensations of motion for individual sounds? or are they composite units, *consisting of* the pictures and sensations of the individual sounds which make up the respective word? In the latter case we would have to deal with *law*; in the former we could only speak of more or less strong phonetic *tendencies*; yet, much would then depend upon the nature of the connection. It seems to me, that the law theory is unavoidably suggested by ideological psychology, and while experimental psychology has not yet confirmed it beyond a question, nothing, so far as I can see, has as yet been discovered that would disprove it.

We are glad to observe, that Professor Kock freely adduces illustrative material from the language of children; with him we expect much further light from the nursery, but especially also, we would add, from the experiment in hospital and laboratory, conducted by psychologists with linguistic training.

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¹ *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America* 3. 186 ff., 1887; reprinted, in a slightly modified form, in *Phonetische Studien* 3. 1 ff.; *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America* 9. 312 ff., 1894.

The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. By Henry Sweet, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D. Macmillan: New York, 1897. Pp. xvi, 217.

THE student who entered the border-lands of Old English by the way of an early edition of *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader* learned through a painful experience that the path was not smooth or easy. To the inevitable difficulties of what then seemed to him arbitrary variations of vowels and consonants, there was added the inconvenience of a partially non-alphabetic arrangement of vocabulary. He was not yet able to refer words to normal types, and he had sometimes much difficulty in knowing where even a normal type was to be found. Consulting the vocabulary seemed almost like playing a game of chance, where success might depend upon scanning the whole list of words beginning with one initial letter, with even then a chance of failure through some unaccountable inadvertence.

Later editions of Sweet's *Reader* have recognized some of the defects of former ones, and have made the student's task easier, by arranging the words for the most part alphabetically, so that now, when Dr. Sweet has issued *The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*, we are prepared not only to find the book critical and scholarly, but also to hope that it is simple in its plan, and helpful even to the beginner.

The need of an Old English dictionary to replace the inadequate Bosworth, had previously been supplied by the Bosworth-Toller *Dictionary* (completed since Sweet's), and by that of Dr. Hall, published in 1894, under the title *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary for the Use of Students*.

Dr. Sweet states in his preface that he undertook this work at the request of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who felt 'the want of an abridgement of the large Anglo-Saxon dictionary still in progress.'

What place does this latest dictionary fill? Confessedly it does not undertake to replace the Bosworth-Toller, of which it is an abridgment, though with such modifications and emendations of matter as Dr. Sweet's investigations enable him to make. Whose needs is it meant to supply? The title would seem to indicate that it is to be used by the college student, and by the reader who does not require the fuller

information, the references and examples, which a large dictionary gives; that it is especially designed for him who asks help for the ordinary reading of Old English, where the object sought is the immediate understanding of a text. At the same time, we are led to believe that the purpose was to give it such critical exactness, and such carefully-chosen content, as to make it a necessity to all Old English scholars.

Dr. Sweet praises Hall's dictionary, which, he says, 'is a work of great industry, and contains a good deal of new and valuable matter, but,' he adds, 'it is terribly uncritical, and embodies an enormous number of spurious words and meanings.'

As we take up this new dictionary, we find that the book is pleasant to hold, and attractive in binding and type. The pages have good margins, and are printed with three columns of words defined. Above each column stands in full capitals the first word of the column. Brevity and conciseness, the merits which Dr. Sweet claims for the book, are evident as soon as we glance down the page. It is a matter of practical interest for us to know whether the manifestly desirable economy of space is purchased by any serious loss to the student. Let us see in what ways brevity is obtained. 'The order is alphabetic, but *ge-* is disregarded (*gebed* under *b*), and is generally omitted before verbs, except where accompanied by distinctions of meaning, as in *gegān*.' That this reduces the verbs by a considerable number is shown by the fact that, of the 167 verbs beginning with *s* compounded with *ge* which are found in Hall's dictionary, Sweet's contains only 18, of which 9 have a different meaning from the simple verb, and to the other 9 there is no simple verb corresponding. Here, then, there are 149 verbs fewer in Sweet than in Hall. This deviation from the strictly alphabetic order is perhaps the least offensive of the non-alphabetic arrangements which have been employed in the construction of Old English vocabularies. As the *ge-* is printed in smaller type than the rest of the word in the text, it does not seriously affect the appearance of alphabetic order. In the margins, however, at the top of the columns of words, the *ge-* is printed whenever it occurs, in the same large type as the rest of the word (e. g. *gescýgean*), and is found something of a hindrance in the use of the book. There is one variation from alphabetic order which Dr. Sweet does not mention in

his Preface. It is an inconvenience for which no reason or compensation is to be seen. Verbs are placed in the text with no reference to the final *-n*, *-an* or *-ian*, of the infinitive. Thus there is an especial awkwardness in finding contract verbs and some weak verbs, but the irregularity is not limited to these. For examples, *sēon* follows *sēo* and is followed by *sēoc*; and *byrian* is followed by *byrd*. A student who looks for *lēan*, the verb, will find it between *lēa* and *lēac*, and will look for it in vain above or below the noun *lēan*, which is placed in its proper order, but at a column's distance beyond the verb. *Sacan* precedes *sacian*, and *sacian* is followed by *gesaca*.

In noting the few departures from alphabetic order, it should not be forgotten that the placing of *æ* after *ad*, and of *ð* after *t*, greatly facilitates the use of this dictionary.

It is by the avoidance of cross-references that economy of space has been chiefly gained. I quote from the Preface: 'Cross references are given sparingly, and only when really useful to those for whom the dictionary is intended. The reader who wants a cross-reference from *bundon* to *bindan*—and perhaps expects to have it repeated with *forbindan* and all the other derivatives—had better devote a few hours to my *Anglo-Saxon Primer*.' This last recommendation is not unreasonable, for *bundon* is a regular form with normal spelling; but the elementary student of such texts as are found, for example, in Sweet's *Reader*, may reasonably ask for more cross-references to unusual and abnormal forms than this dictionary supplies. Or is it intended only or chiefly for those who have already a good foundation in phonology? We are left in some doubt here as to what is meant by 'those for whom the dictionary is intended.' In two hundred lines of *The Phoenix*, as printed in Bright's *Reader*, there are sixty words whose spelling is different from the type given in *Sweet's Dictionary*. For fourteen of these words there are cross-references. The sixty words can be classed under twenty different heads, most of them based on the vowel of the stressed syllable. For example:

THE PHOENIX.	SWEET'S DICT.
ēa	ie
y	ie
i	e
eo	e

The dictionary is rendered helpful in cases such as these by a table of variations of spelling, beginning

a = æ, ea
æ = a, æg, e, ea ;

but, even with this help, it will cost the student who has little familiarity with the language much trouble to find all of the words in a poem no longer than *The Phoenix*. In the three thousand words or so beginning with *s*, which are defined by Sweet, he has given two hundred and eighteen cross-references, while Hall gives twelve hundred and ten for his words in *s*. More fulness in this regard than we find in Sweet, and less than we find in Hall, would meet the needs of most students of Old English.

The standard of spelling is Early West Saxon. The normal form is given, even if not found in any text. In defense, the author says: 'As the reader can not possibly know beforehand whether the spelling he believes or knows to be the normal one actually occurs or not, it is surely better to put the word in the place where he expects to find it than to give way to a too great distrust of hypothetical forms.' An asterisk is placed by each hypothetical form, so that the reader may not be led to think that it is known to exist in any Old English text.

In placing words in the columns, Sweet arranges compounds and derivatives under the simple word, and the head-word is not repeated in print in the compound or derivative words; for example:

hrēod *n.* reed.
-bēdd *n.* reed-bed.
-brōc *m.* reedy brook.
-ig, -iht reedy.
-pōl *m.* reedy pond.

This saves some print, but it would assist in the rapid use of the dictionary if the head-word were removed by a wider space than it is to the left of the derivative endings; for example:

hrēod *n.* reed.
-bēdd *n.* reed-bed.

But such a plan would have made the dictionary a few pages longer.

Except in the case of borrowed words, derivations are not given, and few quotations are used in illustration. In the skill with which abbreviations are employed, in the omission of unnecessary ones, in the indication of stressed syllables, in the use of etymological diacritics, in the avoidance of repetition, this book is a model of careful, wise economy. A study of its preface and explanatory remarks is necessary, in order to take advantage of all the means of information which are arranged for the reader's use.

When we consult a dictionary, we wish to find first the word in question, and, secondly, an intelligible and well-ascertained meaning. The elementary student will have occasional difficulty in finding words in this dictionary, but when once a word is found, he may be sure of finding the meanings expressed with clearness and good judgment in standard modern English, each with its degree of trustworthiness as carefully indicated as is consistent with the compass of this book. It is true, words are not seldom omitted, and the meanings here given will by no means always suit a particular context. But perhaps it is too much to expect that Dr. Sweet should in all cases frame his definitions from a critical examination of the texts. It is upon his treatment of doubtful matter, either by excluding it altogether, or by putting the reader on his guard, that Dr. Sweet bases his belief that this is 'the most trustworthy Anglo-Saxon dictionary that has yet appeared'; and no one, I think, will dispute its justice.

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The War of the Theatres. By Josiah H. Penniman. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Ginn & Co.: Boston, 1897.

AFTER the succession of reckless speculations and indiscriminating assertions in which critics have for a century been indulging, it is gratifying to find this subject at last treated with 'more light and less heat.' Professor Penniman has here brought together, and without prejudice weighed, all the

evidence bearing upon this much-discussed quarrel between Jonson, Marston, Dekker, and Shakespeare. The task involved the consideration of fifteen plays: Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor*, *The Case is Altered*, *Every Man out of His Humor*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *The Poetaster*; Marston's *Histriomastix*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *Jack Drum*, *Antonio's Revenge*, and *What you Will*; Dekker's *Satiromastix*, and (in collaboration) *Patient Grissil*; Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*; and *The Return from Parnassus*.

All of these plays have suffered much 'interpretation' at the hands of critics, but this is the first ordered attempt to consider them as an interrelated group. The treatise is especially valuable because of its careful discrimination between fact and theory, between evidence and personal opinion—a distinction that critics have not always observed. The book is favorably distinguished from some of the previous publications in the series by being furnished with an index and with convenient tables summing up the results obtained.

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WILHELM MÜLLER AND THE GERMAN VOLKSLIED. I.

The edition of Müller's poems used is: *Gedichte von Wilhelm Müller*, hrsg. v. Max Müller. 2 Thle. Leipzig (Brockhaus) 1868. (In *Bibliothek der deutschen National-literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.*) This includes:

Die schöne Müllerin (25 poems).

Johannes und Esther (10) including 1 published in *Debora. Reiselieder* :

I. *Grosse Wanderschaft* (16).

II. *Die Winterreise* (24).

III. *Wanderlieder* (6).

Ländliche Lieder (19), including *Abschiedslied (Urania, 1823)*, reduced from 10 to 7 stanzas and called *Erlösung*; but omitting *Rückkehr (U. 1823, p. 389)*.

Frühlingskranz aus dem Plauenschen Grunde bei Dresden (14).

Muscheln von der Insel Rügen (15).

Lieder aus Franzensbad bei Eger (13).

Vaterländisches (10).

Vermischtes (31), changing title of *Der Fiedler vom Rhein* (Fouqué's *Frauentaschenbuch für 1818*. Nürnberg, p. 374) to *Hier und dort*, and omitting *Sonntag (idem. 1819, p. 50 ff.)*. Omitting also *Malers Abendlied* and *Waldlied (Ascania, Dessau, 1820, signed Sigismund)*, *Der Liebe Jahreszeit, Der Liebe Zeit, Nachwandlerin Liebe (Urania, 1822, p. 389 ff.)*, *Der blaue Mondschein, Der Ausflug eines jungen Elfen, Kein Liedchen mehr! Mein erstes Sonett, Die Enklave* (Arthur Müller: *Moderne Reliquien*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 44-60).

Erotische Tändeleien (11).

Berenice: ein erotischer Spaziergang (22).

Devisen zu Bonbons (16).

Zweiter Theil:

Die Monate (13).

Epigramme aus Rom (9).

Lieder aus dem Meerbusen von Salerno (11).

Ständchen in Ritornellen aus Albano (25).

Tafellieder für Liedertafeln (45), omitting the drinking song (without title), published in *Rom, Römer u. Römerinnen*, Berlin, 1820, II, 188-192).

Die schöne Kellnerin von Bacharach und ihre Gäste (10).

Reime aus den Inseln des Archipelagus (28).

Griechenlieder (53).

Epigramme (300).

Deutsche Reimsprüche (9).

The above list completes the known poems of Müller, with the exception of his contributions to the *Bundesblüthen* (von Georg Grafen von Blankensee, Wilh. Hensel, Friedrich Grafen von Kalckreuth, Wilh. Müller und Wilh. von Studnitz. Berlin, 1816), which are following:

An die Leser.

Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht.

Erinnerung und Hoffnung.

Leichenstein meines Freundes Ludwig Bornemann.

Dithyramb. Geschrieben in der Neujahrsnacht 1813.

Die zerbrochene Zither. Romanze.

Der Verbannte. Romanze.

Der Ritter und die Dirne. Romanze.

Die Blutbecher. Romanze.

Das Band. Romanze.

Ständchen.

Die erste Rose.

Die letzte Rose.

Mailiedchen.

Amors Triumph.

Weckt sie nicht!

Epigramme (18).

And the poem which appeared in the *Gedichte aus den hinterlassenen Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten* (Dessau, 1821), but not in the collected works (1830):

*Die Blutorange. Epistel aus Sorrent.*¹

¹ For part of above information I am indebted to Prof. J. T. Hatfield of Northwestern University, to whom I owe many another helpful suggestion. I desire to make here public acknowledgment of my obligation to him as well as to Prof. C. von Klenze of the University of Chicago.

INTRODUCTION.

IT was a ballad of Müller's that caused Longfellow's midnight pilgrimage to the tomb of Bishop John De-foucris in the cathedral at Montefiascone,¹ and the second book of *Hyperion* contains enthusiastic words on the *Songs of a Wandering Hornplayer*, as well as translations of two of them. Alfred Baskerville² translated three songs and Chas. T. Brooks (1813-1883) still others. In two pamphlets of recent date³ Prof. Hatfield has given American readers an appreciative estimate of Müller's verse, a service already rendered the poet in England by Dr. Buchheim⁴ and C. M. Aikman.⁵ Prof. Hatfield has caught the spirit of Müller's songs in his published English renderings of six of them, besides a half-score of the *Epigramme*, chosen at random. Last but not least among Müller-translators are Mr. Thomas H. Moore⁶ and Prof. Froude.⁷ Nothing else worthy of mention has been done for Müller in America.⁸

The list of permanent reference to Müller in Germany is short. Two biographies of him exist; one written the year of his death (1827) by his friend Gustav Schwab,⁹ the

¹ Cf. *Outre-Mer; Italy*, and Sprenger: *Zu W. M.'s Romanze 'Est, est!'* *ZfdPh.* XXV, p. 142.

² *The Poetry of Germany*. Philadelphia (Jno. Weik), 1856.²

³ *The Poetry of W. M.* (Repr. f. *Methodist Review*), 1895. *The Earliest Poems of W. M.* (Repr. f. *Publ. of MLA.*, vol. XIII, no. 2). Baltimore, 1898; cf. also his *W. M.'s Dichtungen* in 'Der Westen' (Chicago, Feb. 6, 1898), vol. XLIV, no. 6.

⁴ Cf. *Introd.* to his *Deutsche Lyrik*. London, 1883, and elsewhere.

⁵ *Poems from the German*. London, 1892.

⁶ *The Maiden and the Brook*: a romance of the wander-year, being a cycle of 20 songs known as *Die schöne Müllerin*, written by W. M. and set to music by Fr. Schubert: op. 25. Done into English in the original rhythms by T. H. Moore. Sung by Mr. David Bispham.

⁷ Cf. his translation of *Vineta*, published in *Literary Recollections* of Max Müller: *Cosmopolis*, IV, 630 ff., and repr. in *Auld Lang Syne* (N. Y., 1898), p. 50.

⁸ Guido Stempel's: *Wilh. Müller. A sketch of his life and works*. *Germania* (Boston, May, 1894), VI, 14 ff. is an adaptation of Schwab's biography of W. M.

⁹ Prefixed to *Gedichte von W. M.* (Leipzig, 1868).

other by his son, Prof. Max Müller of Oxford.¹ A magazine article,² a study of the Greek songs,³ a chronicle of the festivities attendant on the unveiling of the poet's bust in Dessau (1891),⁴ a preface to the last authoritative edition of his poems (1868),⁵ make up the sum total.⁶ Müller comes to casual mention in the histories of German literature,⁷ where he is classed with the Romantic School, in popular anthologies of German poetry, which rarely omit to print a handful of his songs, and in special instances because of his philhellenism, or his influence upon Heine.⁸ Newspaper articles of the year which marked the 100th anniversary of his birth (1894)⁹ offer no new material. New

¹ ADBiogr., XXII, 683 ff.

² Max Friedlaender: *Die Entstehung der Müllerlieder*. Deut. Rundschau, LXXIII, 301 ff., though the story of the composition and the authorship of the *Müllerlieder* is told in L. Rellstab's *Biographie Ludwig Bergers* (Berlin, 1846, p. 110 ff.), as nowhere else; also Supplement z. *Schubert Album*, Leipzig (nd) Peters, and *Das Urbild der schönen Müllerin in Hamb. Corr.*, Nr. 901. *Frankfurter Ztg.*, Nr. 356.

³ R. Arnold, *Euphorion* (2tes Ergänzungsheft, 1896), p. 117 ff. Repr. as *Der deutsche Philhellenismus*. Bayreuth, 1896.

⁴ Hosäus: *Das W. M. Denkmal*. Dessau, 1891. Cf. also A. Rümelin, *W. M. Rede, Magdeburger Ztg.*, Nr. 498, and *Aus anhaltischem Golde* von W. Arminius. Dessau, 1893, p. 65.

⁵ English translation in *Chips from a German Workshop*.

⁶ Unless we include the group of 4 memorial poems publ. by Wilh. Kilzer in Dörings *Frauentaschenbuch*, 1829, pp. 169 ff.

⁷ Koberstein (5te Aufl., 1873) devotes 28 lines to him; Gervinus (5te Aufl., 1874) 5 words; Hillebrand (3te Aufl., 1875) 20 lines; Scherr (7te Aufl., 1887) 5 lines; Vilmar (23te Aufl., 1890) 5 lines; Scherer (6te Aufl., 1891) 1 page; Kurz (8te Aufl., 1891) 4½ pages; König (23te Aufl., 1893) 4½ pages; Wackernagel (1894) 25 lines; Voigt und Koch (1897) 9 lines.

⁸ Goetze's promised *Abhandlung über den Einfluss W. M.'s auf Heine* has not yet (Dec. 1898) appeared.

⁹ E. g.—L. Geiger, *Wilh. Müller, Frankfurter Ztg.*, Nr. 278. Anon. *Zur Erinnerung an W. M., Weser Ztg.* (Bremen), Nr. 17225/6. L. Fränkel, *Wissensch. Beil. d. Leipziger Ztg.*, Nr. 120. A. Kohut, *Nord u. Süd*, LXXVI, p. 235 ff. R. Opitz, *Blätter f. litt. Unterhaltung*, p. 625 ff. *Über Land u. Meer*, LXXII, p. 1054/5. *Nordd. Allgem. Ztg.*, Nr. 470. *Schwäbische Kronik* (Beil. zur *Schwäb. Merkur*), Nr. 234. *Schlesische Ztg.*, Nr. 702. *Berliner Börs. Cour.*, Nr. 470. R. Plöhn, *Deut. Dichterheim*, XIV, p. 499 ff. F. Wernicke, *Didaskalia* (Beibl. z. *Frankfurter Journal*), Nr. 235. H. Welti, *Wilh. Müller, Beilage z. Voss. Ztg.*, Nr. 40. E. Heilborn, *Magazin für Litt. des In- und Auslandes*, LXIII, p. 1249 ff.—quoted from *Jahresberichte f. n. d. Litteraturgesch.*, vol. 5 (1894), sec. IV, 2b. 13.

sources for biography and criticism are practically closed by the burning of the Basedow house in Dessau, when the personal papers of the poet were destroyed.¹

Few poets as little read as Müller have been so widely sung;² his songs, like those of Heine and Eichendorff, have seemed to call for composition, while the lyrics of Tieck, Arnim, Brentano and Schwab have remained for the most part unsung.³ The settings of Franz Schubert and minor composers have given Müller's songs publicity. It is hard to tell in such a case how much librettist owes composer, how much composer owes librettist—a problem made doubly difficult by admitting that third factor in all song, viz., the power and personality of its interpreter.⁴ The totally inadequate translations into English of Müller's and Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Die Winterreise* serve to teach how a poor text may be saved by a clinging melody or a pleasing voice. Yet it was certainly the popular tone (*Volksmässigkeit*) of Müller's lyrics as well as the simplicity of their construction,⁵ which made them the subjects for unusual musical composition; which caused Schubert and Berger, Methfessel and Tomaschek, Fr. Schneider and Bernhard Klein to set them to unaffected melodies; which gained for their author the friendship of von Weber. Other composers of Müller's songs are Friedr. Fesca, Karl Reissiger, C. Schulz, A. Neithardt, Louis Spohr, Carl Zöllner, Franz Abt, Conradin Kreutzer, Andreas Kretzschmer, Aug. Mühlhing, Carl Curschmann,

¹ Except (perhaps) letters of W. M. in the possession of his publishers, Brockhaus, to which access is denied.

² Dr. Arnold (*l. c.* 139) asserts: 'Our generation knows Müller almost solely as the poet of Schubert.' Cf. for a like statement Ernst von Wildenbruch's introduction to *Hedwig v. Olfers' Gedichte* (Berlin, 1892), p. xxiv.

³ Cf. Minor, *Zum Jubiläum Eichendorffs*, *ZfdPh.*, XXI, 226.

⁴ Cf. Holtei (*Briefe an Tieck*, Breslau, 1864, III, 45) for a discussion of Schubert's and Stockhausen's part in the popularity of the miller songs, and Hosäus (*l. c.* 23) for a description of their rendition by Jenny Lind Goldschmidt.

⁵ M.'s songs, aside from those imitated after foreign models, are written chiefly in the simplest metre of the *Volkslied*, making frequent use of the doggerel stanza or quatrain.

A. Wendt and Fanny Mendelssohn—a formidable list! What Liszt said of Heine can be applied with equal truth to Müller: ‘As a poet he was a musician.’

Many of Müller’s songs are like Volkslieder in structure and spirit, some few of them would seem to have become popular in as true a sense as any 16th century Volkslied; for they have gone wherever the German language is spoken, and a recent tribute shows that they have penetrated to every corner of America.²

It may be possible, by considering the meaning of this written tribute, to hit upon the keynote of Müller’s popularity and the reason for it. Criticism has assigned Müller a modest niche near to Byron among the poets of freedom, and called him *Griechenmüller*; it has known him too as a poet of German wine, whose songs have been sung at many a convivial table³—but to an equal degree he is also, if judged by his most popular lyrics, the poet of wandering, *vagorum archipoeta*.

From the times of the tribal migrations, down through the middle age, when Europe attempted to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the unbelievers, when ‘scholars were wont to roam around the world till much learning made them mad,’⁴ when knight and strolling player, soldier and monk wandered on every bypath and through every forest, down to that near present when journeyman prentice, art-student and tourist make wayside inns a possibility in defiance of railroad and main-traveled causeway—all these years the German has been a wanderer upon the face of the earth.

Germans have wandered from their native land to colo-

¹ Hatfield (*Poetry of W. M.*) compares Müller with Sidney Lanier, and quotes M.’s own words regarding his musical gift.

² Prof. Max Müller was invited to be present at the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the 1st German colony on American soil in the following words:

‘We think we can count upon your presence with us at least in spirit, for your immortal father, as he lives in his songs, has been companion to us Germans everywhere in America, and will add his sanction to our festival.’ Hosäus (*l. c.* 17).

³ Cf. Heine’s *Harzreise*. SW (Elster), III, 62. Hatfield, *l. c.* 9.

⁴ Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*. London, 1884. 17.

nise new lands across the sea, till Philadelphia and Baltimore' turn up in Hessian Volkslieder, sung 'to a beautiful and lively melody,' till Chicago, five thousand miles from Berlin, is the third German city in the world: many have remained behind to dwell within narrower confines, but well-worn knapsack and staff in the hallway of these stay-at-homes tell of untiring *Abstecher* and *Ausflüge*. The artisan upon completion of prescribed apprenticeship seeks a new horizon with each sun, the student changes his university with the changing seasons.

Are *Wanderlieder* hailed as a suitable art expression of this migratory habit, that has become wellnigh an instinct in Germany, that dominates artisan and student alike? When Müller sings his songs of the Rhenish apprentice, of the wandering hornplayer, of the postillion at the mountain tavern, of the peripatetic philosopher, of the green-clad hunter, of the miller and attendant brook, of the Prague musician who owns allegiance to a two-fold Bohemia, does he appeal to one single sect or confession, one party or class in Germany? Or, making use of the freemasonry of travel, like the poet of the Canterbury pilgrimage, does he touch all hearts, high and low?

Are these songs of Müller's for piano accompaniment alone, for students returning from *Kneipe*, for choral interpretation by singing societies? Or have they 'accompanied the Germans in America everywhere,' sung there, and perhaps in other lands, by the emigrant who carries home in the bundle on his back and its songs freighted with memories on his lips? And has, for the sake of example, Müller's *Wohin* ('*Ich hört' ein Büchlein rauschen*') like Uhland's *Der gute Kamerad*,² or Eichendorff's *Zerbrochenes Ringlein*,³ become a Volkslied?

¹ O. Böckel, *Deutsche Volkslieder aus Oberhessen*. Marburg, 1885. Nos. 45 and 59.

Und als wir kamen nach *Baltimore*,
Da reckten wir die Hand empor.

Uns're Schwestern sind schon drüben
In *Philadelphia*.

² Cf. Wackernell, *Das deutsche Volkslied*. Hamburg, 1890, p. 4 (quoting Steinthal, *Zs. f. Völkerpsychologie*, XI, 1 ff.).

³ Cf. Vilmar, *Handbüchlein* (1867), 194.

Is the popularity which has fallen to Müller due to his choice of a subject which interests his whole people (i. e. wandering) or is the *Wanderlust* which permeates his lyrics merely his heritage as a Romanticist; is his restlessness real, or is it the literary, not to say sentimental, restlessness which tinged his views on Greek independence?¹ Finally, are the figures in his *Wanderlieder* real, or are they traditional puppets handed down to him by Uhland and Eichendorff?²

Some of these sentences must remain questions, for they can not all be determined with the slight material at hand. No one has as yet written the chapter on Wilhelm Müller's songs in America, although material for such a title surely exists; and yet this must be dealt with and weighed by any one who would compass the influence exerted by Müller today, who would decide in how far he was an original artist, in how far he trod in the steps of his predecessors. The investigator who finds himself about to agree with Arnold's statement, 'Our generation knows M. almost solely as the poet of Schubert,' must remember that if Müller has left Germany as a well-known lyricist, it may have been to live in his songs, as his son has done in his studies, in a foreign country. It is not enough to draw conclusions with regard to Müller from the status of his popularity in the German Empire political: one must stretch the horizon to include that larger Germany which exists in America today. The fact must not be lost sight of that if Müller's name is being forgotten, while his songs continue to live, he is beginning to fulfill the conditions until recently imposed upon all folk-poets,

¹ Cf. Proelsz, *Das junge Deutschland*. Stuttgart, 1892. 45: Dass die Auffassung der Griechen . . . als Freiheitskämpfer zumeist eine romantische war, entsprach ebenso der Bildung der Zeit, wie das romantische Hinauspilgern deutscher Freiheitsschwärmer zur Theilnahme an den Kämpfen fremder Nationen für deren politische Freiheit, zu welchem Byron ein so glänzendes Beispiel gegeben. . . . Also Baker, *Americana Germanica*, I, 2, 62.

² Suggested by Biese. *Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, 2e Ausg., Leipzig, 1892, p. 453, note 1; and Wackernagel, *Gedächtnisrede auf Ludw. Uhland* (in Gelzer's *Protestant. Monatsblätter*, 1863, p. 117). Minor, *l. c.* 226.

viz., that their very names must not exist, unless their productions cared to be known as 'art-poems.'¹

Aside from the question of wandering, Müller's lyrics were popular for three distinct reasons at least: for the kinship which many of them have with the older Volkslieder, a fact too evident for denial: for the development by Müller of poetical form as a vehicle of dramatic expression along lines already laid down by Goethe and Uhland² (what Prof. Koch designated as Müller's conspicuous lyrical gift³): lastly, to the simple individuality of the poet himself—sentimental, bold and humorous by turns.

The present writing is concerned primarily with the first of these theses: that an evident kinship exists between the older Volkslieder and the lyrics of Müller, and it is intended to measure the extent of that influence. In most instances the *Wunderhorn* is the collection which has been used as a convenient standard by which to determine the kinship referred to, for, although other well-known collections of Volkslieder⁴ had been published in Germany before the appearance of Müller's *77 Lieder aus den hinter-*

¹ In this connection Rümelin says (Hosäus, *l. c.* 12): 'The person who does not read his (Müller's) songs, often sings them as he does the old Volkslied, without knowing the poet's name.' For an identical statement cf. Buchheim, *l. c.* p. xiii.

² Cf. especially the *Frühlingslieder* and *Wanderlieder* of Uhland, although these lack the intensity and personality of Müller's songs. Heine's comparison of the two poets (*Die romantische Schule*, III) is interesting. 'In the imitation of the German Volkslied, Müller accords perfectly with Herr Uhland; it seems to me even that on such ground he is often happier than Uhland and surpasses him in naturalness. He understood better the spirit of the old song forms and therefore did not need to imitate their external structure; consequently we discover in Müller a freer treatment of the transitions, and a consistent avoidance of all time-honored turns and forms of expression.' Quoted from the preface to Curt Müller's *Gedichte von Wilh. Müller. Gesamt-Ausgabe. Mit einer biographischen Einleitung u. einem Vorwort*. Leipzig (Reclam) 1894.

Cf. also the correspondence between Schiller and Goethe during the latter's Swiss sojourn in 1797 (*Briefwechsel*, 1828-1829), III, 239, 240, 248, 249, 250, 266, 267, 307, 308, 309, 317, 321, 322. Also R. M. Meyer, *Goethe* (Berlin 1895), p. 493. Hatfield (*l. c.*), 2, 3. Schwab (*l. c.*) XXIII.

³ In the 1st edition of his *Geschichte d. d. Litteratur* (Sammlung Göschen). The statement is omitted in the second edition (Stuttgart, 1895).

⁴ Enumerated in Kertbeny: *Volksliederquellen in d. d. Litt.*, Halle 1851. Paul's *Grundriss* II, 762 *et seq.* Erk-Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Leip-

lassenen Papieren eines reisenden Waldhornisten (1821)¹ and reminiscences from one or more of these dwell in hidden corners of his songs, yet the *Wunderhorn* has answered every purpose, containing as it does the best songs from many of the older collections.²

A few of Müller's songs are Volkslieder.³ The smell of the soil in them is less than it was in their prototypes, the characters in them have been softened and idealized, the roughness of their metre has been polished, and yet they exercise upon a living generation a similar influence to that which certain *Wunderhorn* songs did upon a past generation. Is the similarity one of the eye or the ear only? Is there a certain technique, a conscious trick of imitation, by applying which the modern poet may achieve vogue?

Conscious imitation must concern itself almost exclusively with the outward form of a Volkslied.⁴ Now and

zig, 1893, I, xliii-xlix. Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 799-803, *et al.* Of these Herder's *Volkslieder* (1777-1778), Nicolai's *Almanach* (1777-1778), Elwert's *Ungedruckte (sic!) Reste alten Gesangs* (1784) Ziska and Schottky's *Oesterreichische Volkslieder* (1819), and Görres *Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder* (1817) have been examined. Büsching and von der Hagen's *Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder* (1807) and Meinert's *Alle teutsche Volkslieder* (1817) could not be secured.

¹ The very title *Waldhornistenlieder* is an intentional borrowing from the Volkslied. Cf. e. g. *Bragur*, vol. 3, p. 268: 'Die Waldhornstücke scheinen unter dem Volke so allgemein zu gefallen, dass viele andere Volkslieder und besonders die Balladen nach Jäger-Melodien gedichtet und gesungen werden.'

² The only collections mentioned by Müller are Herder's and the *Wunderhorn*. Cf. M.'s *Vermischte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1830) IV, 103, though Büsching and von der Hagen's book was doubtless known to him. Cf. *Schr.* IV, 212, where he speaks of 'der um das vaterländische Alterthum vielverdiente Prof. Büsching.'

³ Accepting Scherer's term: 'There is no other distinguishing mark by which the Volkslied may be known but wide dissemination and general favour.' *Hist. of Germ. Lit.*, Amer. edit., New York, 1886, I, 248. The German word is retained because no English word adequately translates it. Folk-song, popular song, people's song, ballad, communal song (suggested by Prof. Gummere), are all unsatisfactory.

⁴ In his early youth Heine conceived a poem to be popular if its outward form gave that expression, and he thought he had discovered a salient characteristic of the Volkslied in a grammatical incorrectitude and an inartistic gawkiness (Cf. e. g. *Traumbilder*, 2, 7, 8. addressed to Josefa

then a theme or a motive may lend a popular cast to a song, irrespective of the form in which it is clothed, but the poem containing it would not be a Volkslied. The real essence of a Volkslied, the spirit of it, the simplicity and directness and depth of it can not be fashioned after a set of prescribed rules.

If Wilhelm Müller is a conscious imitator of the Volkslied then, and sets down in a lyric of his own the archaising diction, the obsolete orthography, the quaint syntax or the clumsy rhetorical structure¹ of a song in the *Wunderhorn*, the resultant is not a Volkslied. He may thereby attain an apparent artlessness, a naïveté, a sort of child-like awkwardness which appeals to the reader's eye, but little more than this.² And he is in danger of reaping by such imitation a sore monotony and an irritating lameness, and of descending into mere mannerism, as Victor Hehn has (unjustly) suggested was the case with Bürger in his treatment of *Lenore*.³

On the other hand, let it be assumed that, irrespective of external form, Müller's lyric be instinct with the spirit of the Volkslied, that Müller has mastered the art teaching

the executioner's daughter). Later on by the perusal of M.'s poems Heine saw how out of inherited Volkslied-forms new ones just as popular may be built up, but without the old clumsy and gauche constructions. Cf. letter from H. to M. printed in *H. H.'s Autobiographie*, ed. Karpeles, Berlin, 1888, pp. 149, 150; in Prof. Max Müller's *Auld Lang Syne* (N. Y. 1898) pp. 58-59, and *Cosmopolis* IV, 630-636. For H.'s attitude towards the Volkslied cf. Huffer *Aus dem Leben H. H.'s*, Berlin, 1878. Karpeles *H. u. seine Zeitgenossen* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 67-75. Hessel, *H. H. u. d. d. Volkslied*, Köln. *Ztg.* (22 Feb.) 1887. Seelig, *Die dichterische Sprache in Heines 'Buch der Lieder.'* Halle (dissert.) 1891. Greinz, *H. H. u. d. d. Volkslied*, Neuwied. 1894. Goetze, *H. H.'s Buch der Lieder u. sein Verhältnis z. d. Volkslied*, Halle (Dissert.) 1895—a suggestive study.

¹As Kerner, for example, certainly did. 'One would think his muse a child (says Müller) who had learned this quaint speech from wise old men and women that had related to him wonderful tales, which the muse could repeat in no other language . . . but none the less does this repetition of a dead and gone tongue remain a forced thing, excluding, as it does, more or less, the appearance of nature and life.'

²This question is discussed in Hassenstein, *Ludwig Uhland*, Leipzig 1887, pp. 126-130.

³*Gedanken über Goethe*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 68-72.

of the Volkslied and applied it.¹ The result will be a popular song indeed, for it will appeal to the human nature underlying any veneer.²

It is *the* Volkslied then, and not *a* Volkslied which the modern poet must make live again. Similarity in outward form between Volkslied and lyric of Müller may exist without conscious imitation on the part of the latter, for the same ideas within certain human limits are expressed in much the same terminology, and this is truest just in lyric poetry, where the emotions of the heart find readiest and most natural expression. Certain simple figures of syntax, therefore, will prevail in the popular poetry of all times and nations, because they mirror forth so ingenuously the moment under description, and as surely will stilted and

¹ Cf. Waldberg. *Goethe und das Volkslied*, Berlin 1889, p. 21. Also Hauffen, *Leben u. Fühlen im d. Volkslied*, Prag. pp. 5, 6, who says: 'The boundary (between Volkslied and Kunstlied) is not a sharply defined one. From the most objective Volkslieder to the most subjective song of a modern poet, there are a hundred transition stages. Because the Volkslied is a real order of poetry, it must accord exactly with the most perfect growths of our artistic lyric verse, and so we realize indeed that there exists a mysterious association between genius and the taste of the people.'

² Müller's own words (*Schr.* IV, 105) are: 'It is an incurable error on the part of certain fashionable poets of very recent date (1825) that they imagine they are singing Volkslieder when they patch together obsolete phrases, awkward periods and indecencies from their old predecessors into new combinations. No poetic genre needs to be so much in harmony with the spirit of the age as the lyric does: for its enjoyment and its influence, far removed from study of every kind, pass living from lip to lip, and have small time for explanations. The common people are by no means attracted by such patriarchal adornment—no matter how common the person is, he still considers himself too knowing and refined for such, and takes it amiss that he is not credited with a more modern taste. The so-called old-German school of poetry has done its level best in this perversity—a little more, and new Volkslieder in the dialect of the *Ludwigslied* would have been current. And why not, pray? For that dialect has at least lived, but the language of the new-fangled Volkslieder has never lived. What man can breathe the breath of life into the still-born? Bürger and Goethe, separate as they are in spirit, stand as the sole model. In both, it is true, can be traced the influence of the old Volkslied, but this influence repeats itself in their songs no more noticeably than, let us say, do the features of a forefather repeat themselves in the face of a descendant. The other archaizing lyric poets, however, offer us nothing better than a manufactured death-mask. The peculiar nature of the Volkslied is the immediateness of its influence upon life, and life can be laid hold on only by life itself.'

conscious figures be absent. These figures are useful for study, however, only as a means towards a clearly recognizable end, and not in or of themselves, for they are the result and not the cause.

Thus far it has been tacitly assumed that Volkslied was a word easily understood and fitly defined¹—a consummation devoutly to be wished, but one as yet unrealized—for, if this were true, collectors would not include in their editions a mass of songs not Volkslieder, and investigators (otherwise above reproach) would not insist upon distinctions impossible to carry out in practice.

Though an enumeration of the attempts to define Volkslied² would of itself fill a volume, and include the names of many scholars well-known in the history of literature, still Goethe's complaint that nobody seems to understand the much-cited term holds good today. The difficulty in finding a proper definition has been many-sided. Some have attached too much importance to the part which melody plays in the matter, some too little. Some would

¹ How difficult it is to avoid hair-splitting distinction may be seen by consulting Böckel (*l. c.*) of which this paragraph is a virtual translation. He contends (LIX) that the line between Volkslied and not-Volkslied can nowhere be sharply drawn (because the concept Volkslied can never be exhaustively defined), yet he proceeds (CXXVIII) to set up three classes.

a. *Volkstümliche Kunstgedichte*. Includes songs from the *Banise*, Miller's *Sigwart*, Kotzebue and Heine, likewise Goethe, Schiller, Uhland and Eichendorff, besides countless half- or wholly-forgotten poets.

b. *Volksmässige Lieder* (an intermediate species). Includes many soldier songs, songs of guilds and handicrafts, many historical songs and occasional poems. A mixture of imitated learned verse with popular modes of speech and presentation.

c. *Volkslieder*.

² The curious may consult: Böhme *Ad. Liederb.*, XXI, *Volkst. L. d. Deutschen, Vorwort. Deut. L. im Volkslied*, DNL. XIII, p. IX. Uhland, *Schriften* (1866) II *Einltg.* Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen, Lieder*, XXX. Leimbach, *Einf. i. d. d. Volkslied*, p. 7. G. Scherer, *Jungbrunnen, Vorwort*. Gummere, *O. Engl. Ballads*, XXVI. White, *Deutsche Volkslieder*. N. Y. 1892, p. 275, or the prefaces to other collections, such as Erks *Liederhort*, Liliencron's *Hist. Lieder d. Deutschen*, etc., etc.

Also Schlegel, *Gesch. d. rom. Lit.* (1884), p. 160. Schuré, *Gesch. d. d. L.* (1884), 64. Weckerlin, *La chanson pop.* (1886), p. V. Heinr. Meyer, DNL. LXXIV. I. 2, p. LV.

use the term *Volkslied* in a narrow sense, to designate a single historical species of song carefully walled-in, instead of a dozen differing species. Others have grown vague and mysterious over the word *Volk-*, the van led by Wilh. Schlegel and the Grimms, so much so, that it has become necessary for prefaces to discuss the word *Volk-*, which used to mean the people in its entirety, but which now means the lower classes: the result often approaching a mere juggling with names. Others again, like Longfellow, Th. Storm, Symonds or Andrew Lang,¹ mistake poetic fancy for definition, and thus become unsafe guides for the unwary.

Thus much is sure. A *Volkslied* is a song from whatever source, of whatever form, sung for a long time by all kinds and conditions of people.

Besides this or beyond this no defining is possible. The *Song of Master Hildebrand* and Eichendorff's *In einem kühlen Grunde* are alike *Volkslieder*, Luther's *A mighty fortress*,² Müller's *Im Krug zum grünen Kranze* and the *Muscadel Song* are *Volkslieder*, Tauler's *Christmas Carol* from the 14th century and Holtei's *Schier dreissig Jahre* from the 19th.

Whether author is known or forgotten does not, can not

¹ Cf. *Hyperion*, Book II. *Immensee. Wine, Women and Song*, p. 25. White, *D Volksl.*, p. 277.

² Although the most recent and scholarly of all essays on the nature of the *Volkslied* (John Meier, *Volkslied und Kunstlied in Deutschland, Beil. z. Allgem. Ztg.* München, März, 1898. Nos. 53-54) would in most cases exclude the church-hymn (*Kirchenlied*) from the *Volkslieder*. The author contends (No. 54, p. 2): 'The church hymn can hardly be regarded as a *Volkslied*, because the people recognise its right to a separate individuality; they know, for instance, that such a song was composed by Luther, such a song by Paul Gerhard, and above all the Text and, in a less degree, the Melody of the church songs exert a certain authority. It will be the endeavor of the singer to reproduce each of these, just as it has been handed down to him. Such songs have something awe-inspiring and venerable about them: the song itself is the authority and not the singer.' And yet, in the opinion of the present writer, such argument is not final. The reason why one begins to sing *A mighty fortress* is that one was taught it textually in church—but the reason why one *continues* to sing it, and never tires of it, is that it has become part of one and one's neighbor: in short, it has become a *Volkslied*.

alter the song¹—whether author is plough-boy, churchman, or king does not alter it—whether text is epic, lyric or dramatic in cast is immaterial; so long as the song fits the throat of the people. For purposes of classification all these things are important, but while scholars are classifying songs, the people are singing them, and the real arbiter after all is said and done is *vox populi*.²

¹ With all deference to Prof. White, who excludes from his collection (*Deut. Volkslieder*) all lyrics by known authors, following in this the example of his colleague, Prof. T. F. Crane (*Chansons populaires de la France*, N.Y. 1891), because these lyrics 'nicht aus dem Volksbewusstsein herausgesungen wurden sondern demselben eingesungen werden sollten.' This quoted phrase (of Goedeke's) is specious, but not necessarily logical: for in order to be *herausgesungen*, something must first be *eingesungen*, and no song can exist without a personality (once known, if later forgotten) as author—unless one accept as scientific Rückert's description of the origin of a Volkslied:

*Das schönste ward gedichtet
Von keines Dichters Mund.*

*Es hat sich selbst geboren,
Wie eine Blume spriesst,
Und wie aus Felsenthoren
Ein Brunnquell sich ergießt.*

Cf. also A. Jeitteles: *Beiträge zur Charakteristik d. d. Volksliedes* (ZföVh. III, 257 ff.): 'It is not an essential in the definition of the Volkslied that the author should be unknown, but rather that word and melody be in unison and that the text betray a naïve attitude towards nature and life.' Cf. also Herm. Fischer (Introduction to 3d edit. of *Uhlands Volkslieder*, p. 4). Stuttgart (nd) 1893.

² Carl Köhler and J. Meier (*Volkslieder v. d. Mosel u. Saar*, Halle, 1896) adopted the principle that 'everything which the people sing or recite, and look upon as a Volkslied be noted, no matter if investigation prove it to be also an art-song.' Becker's *Rheinischer Volksliederborn* (Neuwied 1892) and Wolfram's *Nassauische Volkslieder* (Berlin, 1894) include many so-called volkstümliche Lieder. Cf. also J. Meier's *Volkstümliche u. kunstmässige Elemente in der Schnaderhüpfelpoesie* (Beil. z. *Allg. Ztg.*, München, Oct. 6, 1898, no. 226).

W. Müller himself divided Volkslied into no sub-heads (cf. his critique of Rückert's *Östliche Rosen*, 1822): 'The larger part of Rückert's songs would have become Volkslieder, and deserved to have done so, side by side with Körner's, Schenkendorf's and certain of Arndt's, if the period which they celebrated had not been all too soon obliterated from the enraptured memory of the people.' Elsewhere he speaks of the patriotic Volkslieder of Uhland.

Brevity is a necessity in Volkslieder today, far more so than formerly. The time when any but professional singers memorize long scores of weary ballads is past: a few short stanzas satisfy the needs of the people, and what is not readily remembered is either confused beyond point of recognition, or, more often perhaps, simply omitted. Yet Vilmar¹ tells of ballads 30 and 40 stanzas long, which were not only declaimed to past generations, not only sung to them by peripatetic minstrels (*Marktsänger, Bänkelsänger*), but sung by them as well: he considers that in certain parts of Germany the custom of singing ballads of such length endures to the present day, though certainly as the exception, not as the rule.

For good reason, too. The development of individualism in Germany did much toward substituting the lyric song for the epic ballad as a form of poetic expression, but a still greater factor in the change was the increasing importance of the time consideration in modern civilization. The shortened song, no less than railroad, telegraph, telephone, electric propulsion for tramway, motor-carriage and bicycle, is an indication of the hurry in recent German life.

Volkslieder must be sung for a considerable season.² A generation or two ago, when travel was hardship, it took

¹ *Handbüchlein*, p. 10. In dealing with songs of exceptional length, however, one must be careful not to assume for them a wide popularity. Cf. e. g. J. Meier (*Beil. z. Allg. Zeitg.*, 1898, no. 54, p. 24): 'Most of the historical songs do not belong among the Volkslieder, for they did not become part of the popular speech and were never disseminated among the people.' How many of the countless historical songs and political songs in Ditfurth's and Liliencron's encyclopaedic collections were ever in wide sense Volkslieder?

² Cf. Böckel, *l. c.* CXXX. 'A proof of the authenticity of a Volkslied is in its power of resistance. Merely popular songs sing themselves out and disappear quickly; not so Volkslieder.' Not so clear is the following statement: 'The Volkslied can only be driven out by the breaking in of culture, which destroys its roots; national custom and tradition.' The particular Volkslied in question may be driven out by the rude entrance of culture, but not the Volkslied in general—for the Volkslied does not die—it changes. If a naïve Volkslied is driven out, it yields to the song of culture: after a season of favor, the latter becomes a Volkslied.

many years for a Volkslied to get into all parts of Germany, or even into every nook and cranny of a single county: today, when the reverse is true, it takes quite as many years to sift out the real Volkslied from the thousand-and-one aspirants to popular favor, which steam-presses and the feuilleton of the daily newspaper would foist upon a trusting public.

The only difference between the *volkstümliche Lied* and the Volkslied is one of time.¹ Müller's *Im Krug zum grünen Kranze* was *volksmässig* when first composed, for it was written in the popular tone, *volkstümlich* when first taken up and sung by the people, and a Volkslied when it outlasted the generation that produced it with no diminution in popular favor. The taste of each new generation is different from (often diametrically opposed to) that of its predecessor—if they both sing widely the same song, it is a Volkslied. The only difference between an ephemeral street-ballad (*Gassenhauer*),² or a popular snatch from a reigning opera, and a Volkslied is in the time they last. It is often contended that the former are silly and mawkish, while the latter is not, but who is to decide as to silliness or mawkishness, if not the people?³ And if the people sing a silly song long enough, it is a Volkslied.⁴

¹ Not, as is frequently asserted, a difference in terms. Cf. e. g. Tiesmeyer, *Das deut. Volkslied*, Osnabrück, 1881, pp. 3, 4: 'The Volkslied belongs to the realm of folk-poetry, but the *volkstümliche Lied* to that of art-poetry. The former deals with subjective experiences and emotions, and yet, also, with those universal among men, often in child-like, naïve manner. The *volkstümliche Lied* is the product of a mind which creates with well-calculated effort, borrows its material frequently from historical fact and moulds it according to the canons of art.' How prone the investigator to insist that the author of the Volkslied be an utterly naïve child of nature; while the author of the *volkstümliche Lied* is perforce a stiffly-starched, extremely conscious person.

² But cf. O. B. *Volkslied und Strassenlied*, Die Gegenwart, 1887, p. 203 et seq.

³ Cf. *Handbüchlein*, p. 8. Vilmar here finds that the songs from the *Banise*, *Sigwart*, Weise's operettas, etc., are not Volkslieder, because of their 'sickly sentimentality,' although they were sung for a long time by many people.

⁴ Yet such statements as the following, met with at every turn, are curious examples of the dominance of tradition: 'We certainly have a long list of

Another fallacious doctrine is that the time for the making of new Volkslieder is irrevocably past. This idea rests upon the notion that Volkslieder of the future must be like those of the past, an impossibility, of course, viewed in the light of the complexity and the changed conditions of present civilization in Germany. Böhme says: 'In our time no more Volkslieder can arise,' and quotes from Vischer (*Aesthetik* III. 1357) as support. Reissmann says: 'The people made up and sang its songs as long as the art-song remained a stranger to it. But when the art-song, under direction of the Volkslied, rejuvenated itself and found in its new guise an active sympathy and interest among the people, then the Volkslied of sheer necessity died out.'

In 1840 Talvj³ printed the statement that the old songs live in the different parts of Germany only in so far as the population is a singing people, that they die out wherever the population is a reading people. Gustav Meyer⁴

so-called Volkslieder of recent date, i. e., songs which have made their way from modern society to the people. Examined with care and impartiality, however, and measured by the real and the true Volkslied, they are found to compare to it, only as a dead image does to the living nature.' That is to say, the old Volkslieder are *echt*, because they are old. The new Volkslieder (so-called) are *unecht*, because they are new. *Quod erat demonstrandum*.

Knortz, *Die deut. Volkslieder u. Märchen*, Zürich, 1889, p. 14, ridicules such a distinction, and Jos. Jacobs (*Folk-Lore*, June 1893, IV. 2, 233 ff.) would break down all barriers between folk-lore and literature, and declares that in the music hall will be found the Volkslieder of to-day. Cf. Gummere, 'The Ballad and Communal Poetry' in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, V. (1896) 41-56. Also H. Boll. *Die Texte unsrer Volkslieder*. *ZfdU*. XII, 446. Th. Hampe, *Ein Nürnberger Volksdichter des 16n Jhdts*. *Beil. z. Allg. Ztg.* 1898, no. 210. Frz. Bachmann, *Volkslied u. Volksgesang*, *ibid.* no. 267.

¹ *Altdeut. Liederb.* (1877), p. XXIV. It is a change of attitude when he says (*Volkstümliche Lieder d. Deutschen*, 1895, p. XVI): 'In the present state of our civilization he alone can be a poet for his people who adapts himself to the conditions of today, who is at once artist and folk-poet.'

² *Das deutsche Lied*. Cassel, 1861, p. 89.

³ *Versuch einer geschichtlichen Charakteristik d. Volkslieder germanischer Nationen*. Leipzig, p. 387.

⁴ *Essays und Studien zur Sprachgeschichte und Volkskunde*. I (1885), p. 309.

asserts that the natal hour of a literature is likewise the dying hour of a Volkslied; Krejčí¹ adds that where culture has penetrated to the lowest strata of the people, as it has to-day, Volkspoesie disappears entirely. Odell² agrees that the day of popular song is past—the printing press sounding its death-knell; Scheffler³ echoes the thought again when he remarks that the French provinces yield folk-songs in inverse ratio to the diffusion of knowledge to read and write, and Böckel fills out the sentence to meet the existent conditions in Germany. ‘Everywhere,’ he writes, ‘where railroads pass, where factories spring up, where the peasant neglects the cultivation of his land and, for the sake of an added stipend, descends to the work of a factory employee in all these places do national customs and Volkslied die out irrecoverably.’

And this despite the fact that his own collection contains a Volkslied sung to him in Gleiberg, February 9, 1880, where the hero travels by train :

*Auf der Eisenbahn bin ich gefahren
Den sechzehnten Mai,
Ein treues Mädchen hab' ich geliebet
Zu der Ehr' und zu der Treu.⁴*

And, as if to prove that the mention of the modern contrivance⁵ was not a mere slip, the sixth stanza continues :

*Denn so fahren wir auf der Eisenbahn
Immer lustig drauf los.*

¹ *Zs. f. Völkerpsychologie*, XIX (1889), p. 118, s. v. *Das charakteristische Merkmal der Volkspoesie.*

² *Simile and Metaphor in the English and Scottish Ballads*. N. Y. (dissertation), 1893. It is interesting to know that Wilh. Müller held a like belief in 1820 (cf. *Rom, Römer, etc.*, I. 247), but soon changed his mind, as has been shown above.

³ *Französ. Volksdichtung u. Sage*. Leipzig, 1884 (I. 40).

⁴ *l. c.*, no. 58.

⁵ For other mention of modern contrivances, cf. the *Schnaderhüpfel*, which is (in the opinion of many, cf. E. H. Meyer, *Deut. Volkskunde*, p. 316) the most genuine kind of Volkslied. It reaches back to antiquity, being tabooed by the early Christian church, along with the other *psalmi plebei* and the *cantica rustica et inepta* of pagan times (cf. Grasberger, *Die Naturgeschichte des Schnaderhüpfels*, Leipzig, 1896, 18, and G. Meyer, *Essays*, II

Böckel also adds that the Volkslied dies out irrevocably where a ready market for cheap and trashy articles of luxury brings the modest and contented rustic into touch with hitherto unknown enjoyments, and implants in his soul discontent for his lot. Whether the modest and contented rustic ever existed elsewhere than as a figment in the minds of social reformers may be questioned; and yet that will not change the following fact. In the past, when society was divided into two classes, peasant and master, the peasant was the bearer and preserver of the Volkslied—but that does not argue that Volkslieder must die out the moment agricultural implements are improved, the moment new luxuries do away with the assumed old-world simplicity of the unquestioning peasant. On the contrary, a factory, a sweat-shop or a prison can start as true a Volkslied as ever a green field did, because these furnish a background for experiences which are common to all humanity and which touch it. We have seen that a Volkslied can travel by train, as easily as it used to in diligence, or bare-foot over a dusty road—why were it unsafe to prophesy that the Volkslied of the future may telegraph or telephone without overstepping the proprieties?¹

(1893), p. 149), and that it exists in the present is proved by the occurrence of such quatrains as the following:

*Eisenbahn, Eisenbahn,
Locomotiv:
Fert'n a Seidl Wein,
Hoier an Pffiff!*

Das Schnaderhüpfel (says Grasberger) ist gelehrig, nimmt Neues auf und modernisirt Altes. Es rechnet noch mit dem Carlin, dem Bancozettel, dem bayerischen Groschen, mit Zwanzigern und Thalern, kennt aber auch den papiernen Fünfer und Fünzfziger; es fährt noch aufs Roboten und hat mit dem gestrengen Pfleger zu thun, reibt sich aber schon an der Neuschule; dem romantischen Einsiedler im Wald substituirt es allgemach einen gewöhnlichen Geistlichen: es hat noch das blaue Röckl des Jägers in der Barockzeit, den Reifkittel, das Kettenmieder und die Schnallenschuhe im Gedächtniss, nennt aber neben der 'irchenen' Hose auch den 'zwag'-spitzl'n' Frack, etc.

¹ Böckel is answered by Theod. Ebner (*Das deut. Volkslied in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Barmen, 1889) as follows: 'It is not the railroads which

It is as evident an anachronism for a modern Volkslied to go back to 16th century modes of speech, as for a 16th century song to mention things undiscovered until the present generation. The Volkslied lies in the future as well as in the past, and conscious imitation of antiquated Volkslied forms makes the production of a modern poet as affected as a Ronsard pastoral is, when compared with a true Anacreon.

If the similarity between the verses of Müller and the songs of the *Wunderhorn* be chiefly one of the spirit then, investigation must turn to the life of the poet himself, if it wishes to discover how fully his popularity was that of the true folk-poet. First, however, a historical background may be briefly outlined, to ascertain what bearing Müller's attitude had in relation to contemporary events and currents, and to measure the debt which later poets owe him: for Mörike, Geibel and Baumbach have inherited partially from Müller, what he in turn received from Uhland, i. e. a heightened development of musical form, and the introduction of the dramatic element into the elastic medium of lyric poetry.

A sturdy soil, untilled for centuries by other than unskilled hands, had put forth in Germany a crop of vigorous field-flowers, called by many different names, from the *winnleodos*¹ of the 8th century to the *Bawrengesang* of the 15th and 16th centuries, known since Herder as Volkslied. It joins one country with another, and it is not the telegraph wires which carry thought with lightning swiftness from one place to another, that have put an end to the golden poetry of free and careless wandering, and to its songs full of the forest odors. It is not the constraint of external forms, and of the social position of the individual, so different from former days, which makes life seem to us a sadly mechanical one. It is we ourselves, who have laid on our own spirit this constraint, who have kept our eyes tight-shut to the beauty and charm of that which God has implanted with such spendthrift bounty in our hearts and in his nature—so that we have merely to stretch out our hands, to find that which we bemoan and bewep as a thing long lost. The world is the same as it used to be; the sun shines just as clearly into the heart, and moon and stars glisten still in the canopy of heaven, with the same golden radiance. The human heart still exults in its moments of joy and is fearful in its moments of prescient mournfulness.'

¹ Cf. the capitulars of Charles the Great (789). Uhland, *Volkslieder*³ IV, 164.

der.¹ From time to time cultured men came and regarded these flowers which outlasted stress of wind and weather, only to find them unfragrant and homely. Yet, for want of better, they bore them off, to furnish them out anew, making of them other flowers not so sweet, though bathed in fine perfumes, nor so good to look upon, though painted in bright new colors. Disliking the simplicity of the field-flowers, they refashioned them, giving them fastastic forms. These flowers of culture, gathered from the fields at various times, to be forced in separate hot-houses, are known in literature by different names. Some are called minnesongs and pastorals, others, master-songs, anacreontics and gallant lyrics.² These have lasted out their season and passed away, but the Volklieder have endured.³

Up till the middle of the 18th century then, men of the people had sung Volklieder, and men possessed of a certain culture had manufactured them, but without permanent success. Then arose Rousseau to call men back to nature,⁴ Macpherson with the plausible shade of Ossian,⁵ and the English churchman Percy,⁶ all preaching the same evangel in different forms, commending a return to the manners of a past when 'men were as free as the eagles of heaven, and as innocent as the doves.' One symbol of such primeval innocence was the Volklied, and Rosseau describes the singing of these in the long holiday even-

¹ Cf. E. Schmidt, *Charakteristiken*. Berlin, 1886, p. 202.

² Cf. Burdach, *ZfdA*, XXVII, 343, Rich. M. Meyer, *ZfdA*. XXIX, 121 et seq. Waldberg, *Die deut. Renaissance-Lyrik*, Berlin 1888. Cap. II, Volksdichtung u. Kunstlyrik; also *Die galante Lyrik* (QF. LVI), 27-48.

³ The only class which succeeded in turning the Volklied into new channels was the clergy with their contrafacta hymns which left the profane song as they found it, with minor substitutions and omissions. So Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her* is the well-known Volklied *Von fernen Landen komm ich her*, etc. Cf. Budde, *Preuss. Jahrb.* LXXIII, 482, also *The New World* (Boston), March 1893.

⁴ Notably in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760) and *Emile* (1764).

⁵ *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760).

⁶ *Reliques of Ancient Engl. Poetry* (1765). German translations (besides Herder's) in Ursinus, *Balladen u. Lieder*. Bothe, *Volklieder*, Berlin 1795. Bodmer, *Altengl. (u. Altschwed) Balladen*, Zürich 1781. Cf. also Wagener, *Das Eindringen von Percys Reliques in Deutschland*. Heidelberg (Diss.) 1897.

ings—'ces vieilles romances, dont les avis ne sont pas piquants; mais ils ont je ne sais quoi d'antique et de doux.'¹

While France and England were beginning to break with tradition, a new nature-sense was astir in Germany. Scholars turned curious glances upon the folk-song of foreign peoples, which had hitherto been deemed uninteresting, because barbaric. Hoffmannswaldau and Hagedorn were heralds of this vague but growing interest, Kleist wrote the *Song of a Laplander*, and Lessing published Lithuanian *dainos*. Klopstock wrote his war song in the English ballad metre (1749) and other poets followed, until from Schleswig Holstein to Switzerland swinging military songs, composed in a professedly popular tone, gained a momentary hearing, and Gleim (1758), Weisse (1760), Gerstenberg (1762) and Lavater (1767) achieved thereby a short success.² All efforts were tentative, however, for poets were groping after dimly sensed facts in the dark: not having direction, enthusiasm ran on into absurdity, and an earnest striving after popularity bade fair to yield to parody and caricature. It is typical of the period that Gleim knew no better how to attain popularity than to ape the travesties of Gongora and Moncrif, and that Bürger, five years after Rudolf Raspe had introduced the *Reliques* to Germany, knew no better than to follow him.³

In his *Aesthetica in Nuce* (1762) Hamann had said that poetry, far from being man's most finished product, was man's mother tongue. Then, like a younger Elisha to carry out his master's teachings, came Herder, preaching that men were brothers and poetry their common heritage, the bond between nations: that true song dwelt in the homes of the lowly, to be found there by the seeker. So wrote the young theologian of whom it was truly said that Volkslieder from the fish-market interested him more than dogma,—who swept into a single draught of his

¹ Cf. E. Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau u. Goethe*, p. 198, note.

² Cf. Scherer, *GddLit.*, p. 445.

³ Cf. von Klenze, *Die komischen Romanzen der Deutschen im 18. Jhd.* Marburg (Dis.) 1891. Also Grisebach, *Das Goethesche Zeitalter*. Leip. 1891, p. 68, note. Pröhle, *Bürger*. Leip. 1856, p. 11.

drag-net of people's songs the utterances of Moses, Homer and Shakspeare, prose from the arctic zone and monastic pieces from the middle ages.

Bürger abandoned Gleim and placed himself entirely on the side of Herder and his teachings in the *Heart-gushings over Poetry*. Footing on a ballad metre which the preceding century had developed as a model for narrative poetry, Bürger gave Germany its first real ballad, *Lenore* (1774). The other luminaries of the Göttingen constellation succeeded less well, for instead of the native emotional intensity of Bürger, they were forced to make shift with that of the Klopstockian manner, and for Bürger's lively patriotism they had only Germanomania.¹ Hölty, Miller and Claudius² wrote of the cheerful and touching sides of modest domestic happiness and of rustic activity, Voss, himself a peasant's son, wrote his peasant verses, and the cup of affliction of Gottsched's followers was full.

Wisecracs, foremost among them Fr. Nicolai, that centurion in the army of the Philistines (the same who found *Hermann und Dorothea* a poor imitation of Voss' *Luise*) protested vigorously against this canonizing of the *Volkslied*,³ but only added fuel to the fire already brightly burning. Songs from that 'plateful of slime,' the *Almanach*, though burdened almost to unintelligibility by the freakish spelling of their editor, are alive at the present day. The young Goethe learned of Herder in Strassburg and ended by acquiring a better practical insight into the possibilities of moulding the *Volkslied* to his uses, than his schoolmaster ever did, or ever could have done. Where Herder ended, Goethe began.⁴

Herder's work with the *Volkslied*, though he had col-

¹ Prutz, *Göttlinger Dichterbund*. Leip. 1841, p. 253.

² Cf. J. Bolte, *Der Bauer im deut. Liede*. Berlin 1890, Vorwort.

³ Although his is the merit to have published the first collection of old and modern *Volkslieder*, cf. Docens *Misc. zur Gesch. der teut. Lit.*, I (1807), p. 260, s. v. *Altteutsche Lieder aus dem 16n Jhd.*, and Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Unsere volkstüml. Lieder*. Leip. 1869,³ p. XVII.

⁴ Cf. Zurbonsen, *Herder und die Volkspoesie*. Arnsberger Programm, 1888, p. XV.

lected from the whole world massive stones for his building, remained a splendid fragment :¹ Goethe, on the contrary, by his collection of the Alsatian ballads² and his writing of new lyrics after the manner of the old, gave reality to Herder's theorizing and showed masterfully in his most beautiful songs how the ghost of the old Volkslied could be made the moving spirit of the new one. He demonstrated how the modern lyric can be made to approach its prototype, winning for itself thereby a simple structure and a musicality far removed from the elegance and the rigid stiffness of the songs of a previous generation.³ He never lost his interest in the Volkslied through life, and more than once in the course of their correspondence Schiller caught the contagion of it.⁴

¹ Cf. Eichendorff's estimate of Lessing, Hamann and Herder in *Erlebtes*, II. Halle u. Heidelberg, quoted from Dietze, *Eichendorff's Ansicht über romantische Poesie*. Leip. (Disser) 1883.

² Cf. *Ephemerides und Volkslieder* (Neudruck, Seuffert). Heilbronn, 1883, pp. 29-47.

³ Cf. Waldberg, *Goethe u. das Volkslied*. Berlin 1889. Biedermann, *Goethe u. das Volkslied* (G. Forschungen, N. F.). Leip. 1886. Suter, *Das Volkslied u. sein Einfluss auf G.'s Epik*. 1896. Schuré, *GddLiedes*. Minden 1884,³ 283-324, etc., and Wilh. Müller's own testimony (*Vermischte Schr.*, IV, 103): 'The German Volkslied found in Goethe its highest and clearest refinement. It is well known that many of his most beautiful songs and especially those in the ballad-manner, are echoes and reminiscences of German and foreign folk-poetry; he having even taken up in his 'Variationen' whole verses and stanzas from such themes. Thus did the old Volkslied, clarified and refined by his art, enter into a new life, and as the poet drew from the rich, deep well of folk-poetry chords and harmonies, so also did his composer, Reichardt.' The case of Goethe and the Volkslied is also admirably put in Uhland's letter to Karl Mayer (Jan. 29. 1809) in K. Mayer: *L. Uhland, seine Freunde und Zeitgenossen*. Stuttgart 1867. I, 109.

⁴ Though this was the exception and not the rule with Schiller, as is luminously shown by the following excerpt from a letter to W. von Humboldt. Weimar, Aug. 18th, 1803 (cf. Jonas, *Schillers Briefe*, VII, 66): 'I enclose you a song that had its origin in the desire to furnish more worthy words for social singing. The songs of the Germans which one hears rendered in jovial company fall for the most part into the dull and prosaic tone of the masonic songs, because life itself offers no material for poetry; I have chosen, therefore, for this song the poetic ground of the Homeric times, and have had the old heroic figures from the Iliad appear in it. Thus can one get away from the prose of daily life, and wander about in better company.' Surely this is out-heroding even Herder.

And not Goethe alone turned to the Volkslied as his model from the Strassburg period on, but music composers as well, and the settings of songs, which had hitherto been of such difficulty that only trained singers could do them justice, became simple enough for the slightest talent in musical accompaniment.¹ Weisse composed operettas dealing with the delights of rustic life, and arias from them, set to Hiller's graceful melodies, attained a hitherto undreamed-of popularity.² Volkslied became a watchword with the storm and stress poets, but more as a theory, because it was couched in the language and thoughts of the common people, than as a fact to be imitated or studied. It was likewise outwardly prized by the early romantics, although direct traces of it may be hunted for in vain among the fancies of Novalis; and Tieck, great as were his services in calling attention to the older German poetry, will be remembered for his *Volksbücher*, and not for his isolated imitations of the Volkslied.³ The brothers Schlegel, too, who were more theorists than poets, could only, as Minor has suggested, define popularity—they could not attain it.

Traces of the Volkslied from this time would doubtless have been more tangible, if a collection worthy of the name had existed. If the song books of the 16th and 17th centuries are excepted, and these were in the hands of none but the antiquary, or lay forgotten in libraries, no such collection had been published.⁴ Herder's *Volkslieder* contained about two score German songs, most of them

¹ This fact is rarely given its real historical importance. 'Without melody, the Volkslied is what a picture is without color,' says Zimmer. Cf. his *Zur Charakteristik d. d. Volksliedes der Gegenwart*, Heidelberg, 1882, p. 4 ff. Also his *Studien über d. d. Volkslied*, Quedlinburg, 1881, and Widmann's *Geschichtsbild d. d. Volksliedes*. Leip., 1885, p. 21 ff. Cf. especially Lindner, *Gesch. d. d. Liedes im 18. Jhdt.* hrsg. L. Erk, cited from Wackernagel, *GddL.* II, 331, 332. Basel, 1894.

² Cf. Bolte, *l. c.* p. 9.

³ Cf. Klee, *Zu L. Tiecks germanistischen Studien*. Bautzen (Programm). 1895, p. 6.

⁴ Enumerated by Böhme. *Ad. Liederbuch*, 790-799. Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 759-762. Erk-Böhme, *Liederhort*, et al.

anything but *Volkslieder*, Elwert's *Ungedruckte Reste* (1784) perhaps a dozen, there were few in the *Almanach* (and for the best of reasons), and Ursinus' (1777) and Bothe's (1795) editions were largely a mere translation of Percy.

This lack *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* supplied.¹ In it for the first time there was placed within reach of all a mass of *Volkslieder*, carelessly heaped together and interspersed with counterfeit ballads by the editors and others,² but of great value to the modern lyric in Germany and necessary to any near appreciation of it. Arnim and Brentano had gathered from out-of-the-way places the despised folk-books and *Volkslieder*, the first of which furnished Görres with the lion's share of his *Volksbücher*, the second being the starting point of the *Wunderhorn*.³ Both these poets imitated in their own songs the *Volkslieder* in their collection, but correct as was their technique, they lacked that sympathy which might have brought them a wider circle of admiration and influence.

Classicism now met with organized opposition of the most determined kind. The Schlegels, Tieck and Novalis, Fouqué and Zach. Werner, Arnim and Brentano, Hoffmann and Kleist introduced the new *lingua Romana*, no longer popular Latin, but become popular German. Poets began to find their most natural expression in simple metre and naïve terminology. The *Volksprache*

¹ Published 1806—(Sept. 1805)—1808, in Heidelberg.

² It may be reminded in this connection that Büsching and v. d. Hagen's collection of *Volkslieder* (Berlin, 1807), in which the authenticity of the songs was especially emphasized, left almost no trace. Cf. Birlinger and Crecelius, *D. K. Wunderhorn*. Wiesbaden and Leipzig, 1874—1876. Introd. to 1st vol. That Müller was cognizant of the occasional dishonesty of the *Wunderhorn's* editors is clearly shown by the following passage from his essay, 'Bürger's Lenore und ein neugriechisches Volkslied' (A. Müller: *Moderne Reliquien*, Berlin, 1845, I, 120 ff.)—'Das *Wunderhorn* theilt uns ein längeres Lied mit, angeblich dasselbe, welches Bürger in jener Mondnacht singen gehört habe; indessen ist den Angaben des *Wunderhorns*, wie allen *Wundern* der neuern Zeit, nicht zu trauen . . . u. s. w.'

³ For the circumstances attendant upon the publication of the *Wunderhorn*, cf. Bartsch, *Romantiker und germanistische Studien in Heidelberg 1804—1808*. Heidelberg, 1881, p. 9, et seq. Also Steig, *A. v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*. Stuttgart 1894, p. 130 et seq.

which Luther had installed as the soul of prose was made by these new reformers the kernel of epic and lyric song. A group of hardy spirits, among them the Grimms, Uhland and Kerner, undismayed by Nicolai's successor, Voss,¹ and his brandished *Morgenblatt*, gathered around Arnim in the publication of the *Einsiedler*, to make folklore, preëminently the Volkslied, the propaganda of late Romanticism.²

The appearance of the *Wunderhorn* and of Goethe's favorable review of it³ seemed to awake young poets everywhere to imitation of the strains of the Volkslied. Scores of songs written 'in a tone compounded of Goetheism and a naïve striving for popularity' now sprang into being. Eichendorff's toast

*Auf das Wohlsein der Poeten,
Die nicht schillern und nicht goethen,*

could apply to very few, certainly not to himself. Already influenced by the poems of Claudius,⁴ he went to Heidelberg, then the Mecca of romanticism, and wrote the *Zerbrochenes Ringlein*: Chamisso, returned from his tour of the world, renewed in his lyrics at least a few of the *Wunderhorn* songs: Uhland, Kerner, Schwab and Heine began to write songs which were to grow as popular as any Volkslied. The singers of freedom, Körner, Arndt and Schenkendorf, owed their popularity to no chance preservation, but directly to the rejuvenated Volkslied, purged of its dross by their fiery patriotism.

In the opening decades of the present century, then, a great store of Volkslieder was the stock in trade of the average German lyricist. This mass of song from previous centuries was clay in the hands of the potter. Gleim trifled with it, as might have been expected, Bürger peopled it with the terrors of Scotch balladry, Goethe

¹ The same Voss who in 1773 had been mad after street-ballads.

² Cf. Pfaff. *Tröst Einsamkeit*. Freiburg, i/B. 1883.

³ Cf. *Jenaische Allg. Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1806, Nos. 18, 19; also *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, I, 231.

⁴ *ADBiographie*, vol. V, p. 723.

first gave it the breath of a new life,¹ Chamisso studied its psychology,² Uhland purified it of its brutality,³ Kerner wove it into the meshes of his wild fancy, Heine made it sensuous and aped its awkwardness,⁴ Eichendorff infused it with the spirit of the middle ages. Wilhelm Müller never departed from the *Volkslied* in one shape or another in his songs, and its influence may be clearly seen not only in the mill-cycle, nor alone in his songs of the road, his hunting and drinking lays, or his lyric ballads, but—where one would scarce expect it—in his religious verses, his occasional pieces, and even in his verses on foreign models⁵ and his Greek songs.

Müller was born in Dessau in the year 1794. His childhood was peculiarly untrammelled, owing to the fears which his parents entertained for his health, as he was the sole survivor of six children. He grew up free from sickness, with a single exception, and his healthy youth spent in the woodlands and by the streams of his birth-

¹ Though, in this connection, it would seem unfair not to mention the claim of Günther, despite the statement of Fulda (in the introduction to his edition of Günther's poems. DNL. 38, I, p. XXVII) that G. never abandoned the style of learned-poetry, and intentionally avoided popular treatment. For in his own edition Fulda (note to pp. 41, 42) shows that Günther's *Abschied von seiner ungetreuen Liebsten* became a Swabian *Volkslied*, and later through Hauff's unconscious plagiarism a German one. And Biese, *l. c.* 278, 279, shows conclusively *Volkslied* usages in Günther, which might be easily multiplied. Cf. also Waldberg (*Ren. Lyrik*), p. 55, and Hofmann: *Zur Geschichte eines Volksliedes*. Pforzheim (Progr.), 1897, etc.

² Cf. Tardel. *Quellen zu Chamissos Gedichten*. Graudenzer Programm, 1896.

³ Cf. Eichholtz. *Quellenstudien zu Uhlands Balladen*. Berlin, 1879, pp. 101 ff.

⁴ A comparison of Uhland's attitude towards the *Volkslied* with that of Heine's shows the clearer insight of the former. 'The songs of the troopers and the clerks, for example (says Müllenhoff, *Sagen Märchen Lieder*, XXIX), are not always the most decent, and there exist rimes for the rabble, too, written in the manner of the *Volkslied*—often to parody it. It would be nonsense, however, to judge the latter's worth from a depraved example. The true *Volkslied* is chaste, unaffected, and never common or low. No sadder misconception is possible than to assign to it all the prosaic songs which are written in the language of the people.'

⁵ Least clearly of all perhaps in his sonnets (*Die Monate*) and his epigrams.

place may account for the simple spontaneity of his *Waldhornistenlieder*. Schwab thought it might have been the journeys to Frankfort, Dresden and Weimar which Müller made in his boyhood, that served to awaken in him that *cura vagandi* which is the theme of so many of his songs; but it may have been with greater likelihood the time of unrest in which he lived, and the result of his year of service in the army.

That Müller was in close sympathy with the dreams of the Germany of his day was shown by the readiness with which he entered upon the war of liberation.¹ In this he served as a private soldier and as a poet, and songs from this time of his life are born of the same war-muse which animated the lyrics of Körner and Arndt.²

The year of military service wrought a change in Müller, for in 1814, on his return from Berlin, he devoted himself to the study of the older German Literature, which was a far cry from the classic studies which began his university life. In 1816 his *Garland from the Minnesingers* appeared, and shortly afterwards his first song-cycle, the result of his membership in a poetical circle with the painter Wilh. Hensel, Fouqué and others who met at the house of Stägemann.³ In 1816 Arnim wrote the preface

¹ 'Today Boeckh stops lecturing,' stands written in one of Müller's notebooks, 'to-morrow we march on Paris.'

² The complaint often made that M.'s songs of freedom were only for a foreign (the Greek) cause arose from the ignorance of the *Bundesblüthen* songs which prevailed until Prof. Hatfield recently published them. For surely Körner, or Arndt, or Schenkendorf, were never more fiercely patriotic (or bombastic) than was Müller in the *Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht*:

*Aus Franzenschädeln trinken wir
Dort unsern deutschen Trank,*

a transcript of Gleim's verse in *Schlachtgesang bei Eröffnung des Feldzuges 1757*:

Aus deinen Schädel trinken wir
Bald deinen süssen Wein.

Cf. *The Earliest Poems of W. M.*, pp. 4, 34.

³ Schwab's enthusiastic description of Müller's personal appearance at this time (*l. c.* XVIII) is no more trustworthy than Goethe's laconic: 'An uncomfortable personage, very well content with himself and—worst of all—wearing spectacles.' Cf. *Gespräche*, ed. Biedermann, vol. V, p. 141.

to Müller's translation of Marlowe's *Faustus*, the visible token of a friendship not without influence upon Müller's lyrics and his knowledge of the *Wunderhorn*. His love for folk-songs is further shown by the studies he made of the people and their lyrics during his sojourn in Italy, evidenced especially in the *Lieder aus dem Meerbusen von Salerno*, the ritornelles from Albano, and the *Ländliche Lieder*.¹ Goethe had brought back from Italy a love for classic form, Müller, these verses as inelegant and as natural as a Dutch scene by Teniers or Wouvermann, instinct with the atmosphere of their surroundings.

After his return from Rome his life went quietly on to the end in Dessau, where he was teacher and librarian. Müller made his popular metres the expression of all he felt and thought to a degree seldom equalled, and he never outgrew them. Uhland and Eichendorff and Heine, greatly as they were influenced by popular song, went outside of and beyond this for many of their models, but Müller wrote scarcely a line from first to last which did not betray the influence of the Volkslied. He believed with Arnim that the commonness of the Volkslied detracted from it as little as it did from the value of forest trees, that they were all green. Even the *Griechenlieder* are content to be as simply lyric and dramatic as the miller-cycle itself, though they are rendered unnatural to modern

¹ Müller learned from Rückert the possibilities of the ritornelle. Cf. his discussions of Rückert's work in *Urania*, 1822, *Verm. Schr.*, V, p. 368 ff: also *Rom, Römer und Römerinnen* (1820). Th. I, p. 52 ff. 'The whole folk-poetry of this region,' said Müller, 'compresses itself almost altogether into the little three verses of the ritornelle.' A part of one of M.'s ritornelles, however, was not learned in Italy, for Prof. Hatfield has shown it to be a paraphrasing of Henry Carey's *Sally in Our Alley*. Cf. *Ged.* II, p. 28, ll. 23-25.

*Von allen Tagen in der ganzen Woche
Ist keiner, der mich halb so glücklich mache
Als der, so zwischen Samstag fällt und Montag.*

And Carey's ballad:

*Of all the days that's in the week
I dearly love but one day,
And that's the day that comes between
A Saturday and Monday.*

taste by the evident straining after the pathetic which obscures their real worth.

Comparison of Müller with his better known contemporaries is necessary, for it is in their company that he belongs,¹ although it may be objected that much of his song is not destined to live as long as theirs. Uhland lived beyond the allotted three score years and ten, Eichendorff died in his seventieth year, Heine died at 57—Müller died at 33, perhaps before he had more than barely indicated the powers with which he was gifted. A halo of pity surrounds his life therefore, as it does the lives of Novalis, Heinrich v. Kleist and Theodor Körner, and has caused certain critics to indulge in some hyperbole with regard to his merits. Yet, impossible as it is to measure what Müller might have accomplished, if he had lived longer, his youth must be kept in mind in any final judgment of his lyrics, if a true perspective is desired.

It was by very reason of his short life, however, that Müller's work remained such a unit. The rose-hued effulgence which lies upon natural objects in youth had not deepened to a darker shade before his death. Reminiscent sadness, therefore, the pessimism of experience, the caution of maturity—these are absent from his verses, and in their place is the imaginative gaiety and reckless humour of young manhood. Like Heine he gathered much honey from the Volkslied, but unlike Heine, he lacked the sting with which to turn the honey to gall.

It is customary, because convenient, for criticism to put Müller into the same paragraph with Eichendorff. It may be disputed whether either gain by such association, though for purposes of contrast it may be permitted. But when, by reason of such close companionship Eichendorff is made the master lyricist and Müller at best but the chief apprentice: when the statement is rife and is taken for granted that Eichendorff discovered the romantic possibilities of the mill, while Müller transgressed a copyright

¹ Cf. *Eichendorffs Einfluss auf Heines Lyrik* (1), von S. Heller. Lemberg (Progr.) 1897, pp. 5, 22, etc.

(as it were) to enlarge upon the theme,¹ when one is almost asked to believe that the fresh air which meets the nostrils in Müller's tramping songs, full of an ideal vagrancy, is drawn from vials prepared and sealed by Eichendorff, then it would seem time the two were dissociated. Long enough at least to work over Müller's poetry in detail, to determine how directly the Volkslied has acted upon him, how directly the influence of Goethe, Uhland or Eichendorff may be measured.

The debt which *die schöne Müllerin*² owed Goethe has already been stated, but it was not as deep as the sea. Dialogues in verse between a youth or a maiden and some object in nature, such as tree or brook, were common in Volkslieder and well-known after the publication of the *Wunderhorn*. The debt of Müller's Songs of the Road to Uhland has also been recognized,³ and yet it is fair to assume they would have been written, if Uhland had never lived, for they seem the outbreaking of Müller's spirit, not of Müller's bookishness. Criticism which would refer all things to a clearly recognizable source,⁴ which

¹ E. g. Minor (*ZfdPh.* XXI, 226): 'Nach einer anderen Richtung aber ist Wilhelm Müller der Nachfolger Eichendorffs: in der Vorliebe für die wandernden Stände (vgl. die Rubrik "Wanderlieder" in den Gedichten) in welcher sich recht die fahrigte Natur der älteren und jüngeren Romantiker ausdrückt. Die Romantik der Mühle, auf welcher die berühmten "Müllerlieder" seines Nachfolgers beruhen, hat Eichendorff in die deutsche Lyrik gebracht (*In einem kühlen Grunde*). Auch die Müller gehören ja zu den fahrenden Ständen: "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust."'

² Which Rich. M. Meyer (*Goethe*, 453) classes with Arnim's *Kronenwächter*, Uhland's *Ernst v. Schwaben*, Arndt's *Gedichte*, Grillparzer's *Sappho*, Hoffmann's *Kater Murr*, etc., as 'so much that was gratifying and significant' of this period.

³ By none more openly than Müller himself, who says *Schr.* 4, 118, 119 (*Über die neueste lyrische Poesie der Deutschen*), 'Billig gedenken wir hier zuerst der vortrefflichen *Wanderlieder* [Uhland's], die einen langen Zug von Nachahmungen hinter sich herziehen. Denn es erscheint jetzt kaum ein Almanach, worin nicht ein Paar solcher Wanderlieder zum besten gegeben werden.'

⁴ These *coraces* are well characterized in Karpeles (*H. u. s. Zeitgenossen*) 69. How unsafe such a method of proceeding might prove in the present writing may be instanced by a recent occurrence. The theme and treatment

regards lyric poetry as the effect of a given cause, governed by rules like mathematics, would make Müller the creature of Goethe, Uhland, or Eichendorff. Yet, though Müller was as free from the oddity and mysticism of the romantic school as Eichendorff, though he exchanged its irony and satire for a pervasive cheerfulness as did Eichendorff, he believed in untrammelled individuality as earnestly as any romanticist. He was not bounded by the Volkslied, but made the Volkslied as wide as his own horizon, and got out of it a new cycle of song which he made the expression of his every want and need.

In referring to the miller-cycle, Prof. Max Müller says: 'The tone of the miller-songs remind one, it may be, overmuch of the tone of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, but this is unavoidable. Theocritus could not write his idylls in splendid Attic Greek; he needed the congeniality of the Bœotian dialect. So too Wilhelm Müller, whom one must not blame too severely for an occasional *thät* or *Wasen* or *schleuss zu*,¹ which offend today perhaps more than they used to.' That is to say, the subjects with which the poet dealt demanded unpolished and colloquial speech, if the treatment be harmonious.

The comparison with Theocritus would not seem in all ways a happy one, for Müller's characters are more idealized than those of the Syracusan. Theocritus was dealing in a dramatic way for the first time with the shepherds about him, with the comedy and pathos of their lives: while Müller was dealing with no real miller's prentice, but with a prentice as literary traditions made him exist. Müller assumed a miller lad, as he did a pos-

of C. B. Fernald's sailor's chantey (publ. in the *Century Mag.*, Jan. 1897) is wonderfully like Müller's *Liebchen Überall*. The only court of appeal was Mr. Fernald himself. A note from him (June 8th, 1897) made clear that the resemblance was merely a coincidence, though one of a remarkable sort.

¹ The examples cited (and others of their kind which occur in Müller) are of the warp and woof of the *Wunderhorn*. It is odd that their usage must be thus warmly defended in an age which reveres Geibel, Mörike and Baumbach. Yet the preface which contains this apology is thirty years old.

tillion, a huntsman, or a musician,¹ invented situations, and then set himself to depict not real emotions, as he had experienced them among these classes of people, but the emotions he presupposed them to have.² The miller prentice no more represents the real Müller, than does the untiring toper, which is a favorite character of his.

The emotions of the miller cycle are then *à priori* unreal. Though we are told that Müller's heart was full of a first love when he wrote these songs,³ though they are unstudied in appearance, though there is a touching earnestness in them which rarely fails of effect, though there is a coherency to them usually beyond the power of lyric songs to express, yet the emotions depicted are unreal. The poet himself will have it so. The cycle is headed by the stage direction: 'To be read in winter,' and the twenty-three songs which compose it are bounded by prologue and epilogue. That none may suspect miller's lad and poet to be the same, he prefaces the songs with words which make short work of the languishing lover.

'I invite you, fair ladies and wise gentlemen,' he says, 'to witness a brand-new play furbished out in very latest style: dressed unpretendingly, simply adorned, brushed up with a bit of noble German rudeness, bold as any prentice in street brawl, with just a touch of piety, for home use . . . ' so runs the prologue. And the epilogue, no less rudely, crowds upon the cradle song of the brook which is lulling the miller to an eternal sleep with the

¹ Müller (*Verm. Schr.* IV. p. 117) discusses these *Kostümlieder*: 'Now he (Umland) laments as a wandering prentice, now he traverses the forest as a huntsman, now skipping about in shepherd's clothes on the green meadows, now playing for us the cavalryman or the grenadier. Everywhere we recognize the determination to avoid the phraseology of aristocratic sentiment, which had been sung to death, and to oppose to it the strong, clear note of popular ingenuousness. Here too has Goethe been the preceptor, stirred to it by the older Volkslied; and the necessity for such a popular costume must have its foundation in the contemporary condition of our lyric poetry.'

² Cf. Goedeke, *Elf Bücher deutscher Dichtung*, vol. II. p. 463.

³ For Luise Hensel, who refused Clemens Brentano. Cf. Friedländer, *l. c.* 303. Max Müller, *ADBiogr.* s. v. *Wilh. Müller*.

words: 'Each point his moral, as best he may. For my part I give it up and content myself with wishing you pleasant dreams. Out with the sun and the little stars,' and may you find your way safe home in the darkness.'

There is no sincerity here. Even if we did not know that the miller cycle was in its inception a series of dramatic poems with a considerable *dramatis personæ*, to be composed and acted out by a poetizing club in Berlin, and that it was suggested by *la bella molinaria*, there could be no mistaking the intention of Müller. Prof. White,² in contrasting the Volkslied with the songs of (other poets and) Müller says: 'A difference, indeed, exists. It is the contrast between the luxuriant disorder of nature intentionally and joyously careless, and the studied elegance of a cultivated landscape.' The mill is no nearer rusticity than was the *petit Trianon* of Marie Antoinette, the miller's lad is a gentleman in disguise, as in the older *Schäferlyrik*. The moving spirit of the poems is *simplesse*, not simplicity.

Need a modern Volkslied be sincere? Need it be the immediate expression of the feeling of the people who sing it: need it deal with experiences common to every heart? Need it be incorrect and faulty in diction, sketchy or vague in style: need it be simple, or rough, or inartistic, or unpremeditated?³

Hardly.

For, following the definition above given, Eichendorff's *In einem kühlen Grunde* is a Volkslied.⁴ Vilmar says with

¹ Cf. Eichendorff's *Zur Hochzeit*, 'Und löschen die Sterne aus.'

² *Deut. Volkslieder*, preface, p. VII.

³ An anonymous contributor to the *Schlesische Ztg.* (mk., *vom schlesischen Volkslied*, Nr. 157, 158) speaks rationally of the modern Volkslied. 'It is changing in form and content, becoming more regular in structure and in metrics, throwing off the archaic adjectives, and with them the time-honored motives; as culture advances, ideas once used by the Volkslied are destroyed and new fuel is gotten from sensational news. The Volkslied begins to be sentimental.' *Jahresber. f. n. d. Littgesch.* I (1890) 2, 73. Cf. for a like statement E. H. Meyer, *Deut. Volkskunde*, Strassburg, 1898. Cap. vi (*Die Volksdichtung*), p. 326.

⁴ Though J. Meier (*Allg. Ztg.*, 1898, *Beil.* Nr. 54, p. 2) would qualify this statement as follows: *In einem kühlen Grunde* is an art-song, when sung in

truth: 'As a lyric, singable production it is superior to Mörike's poem (*Das verlassene Mädchen*), and yet it lacks the transparency of the genuine, old Volkslied and the compelling necessity of the train of thought, or rather of the train of events. The traveling as a minstrel and the flight into battle do not seem to be sufficiently motivated, and the ending is—no matter what be said of it—too strongly drawn, reminding somewhat of Miller's song of Sigwart, of the gardener who sang a sad song. On the lips of a maiden—anyone not spoiled or made effeminate by the strong seasoning of our modern poetry will acknowledge it—Eichendorff's ending will appear to the best advantage. And yet, if we compare the '*fahr hin, fahr hin mein Apfel rot, du musst mir aus dem Sinn,*' with '*ich möcht am liebsten sterben, da wärs auf einmal still,*' it is a question to which turn—on the lips of a maiden—we would give the preference. In the contrasts with which we deal here is apparent the healthiness of the old time, as contrasted with the sickliness (or morbidity) of the school, or in choral society. If it is sung by a village girl on her way to woodland meadow, it is an art-song, if she attempts to repeat the Eichendorff song, even though she be guilty of occasional slips of memory: otherwise (i. e. if she has no thought of the Eichendorff text) it is a Volkslied. That such minute analysis of a song, such hair-splitting distinction of terms, although useful for purpose of detailed classification, breaks down in fact as often as it succeeds in fact, may be luminously shown in the case of Schiller's *Mädchen aus der Fremde*, taken up as a Volkslied in C. Köhler and J. Meier's *Volkslieder von d. Mosel u. Saar*, p. 231, which is printed (although 'sung a great deal by the people') exactly as it occurs in Schiller's published poems—with the substitution of 'und bald ging' for 'doch schnell war' in the third verse of the second stanza. Here we have then, not 'the development, the recasting, in short the evolution, which (in the words of J. Meier, *l. c.*) takes place involuntarily and without previous reflection, with each new singing of an art-song which is passing into popular favor,'—we have, on the contrary, an exact reprint (with the single, unimportant exception above noted) of the art-song, just as it occurs on the printed page, just as it has been learned in school or in choral society, just as it has been sung by the village girl on her way to woodland meadow, just as Schiller himself, after due correction and filing, sent it off to the printer. Certain art-songs undergo undoubtedly complete transformation and even mutilation, before they become Volkslieder: certain songs, as shown above, do not: why then try to establish here a criterion?

¹ *Handbüchlein*, p. 194, 195.

modern world.¹ How little such analysis, true and sympathetic as it may be, affects the popularity of Eichendorff's lyric may be gathered by recalling that it is sung everywhere, being often mistaken for an old Volkslied from past centuries.

It is, too, scarcely necessary to quote a stanza of Schiller's *Mädchen aus der Fremde*:²

*Beseligend war ihre Nähe,
Und alle Herzen wurden weit :
Doch eine Würde, eine Höhe
Entfernte die Vertraulichkeit,*

to remind the hearer how little the song partakes of the qualities or the diction which one is taught to associate with the older Volkslieder. And yet, despite the unyielding fact, of which Eichendorff's and Schiller's songs attest, that the only definition of a Volkslied is a song sung by the people for a considerable time, and that absolutely no other criterion exists, Gräter, writing in 1794,³ maintains that the real Volkslieder are never so correct and ornate, so grammatical and methodical, as those intended from their inception for a critical audience, or at least a judicial one—and for more than a century since Gräter, others have been saying the same thing in different form.

Judged by every criterion which criticism has been wont to apply, *Der untreue Knabe* of Goethe's is far nearer its model than Bürger's *Lenore*.⁴ Yet, in the face of cri-

¹ A. Thimme (*Lied u. Märe*, Gütersloh, 1896, p. 16) evidently considers modern songs morbid and sentimental, likewise. 'Tell me,' he says, 'where have you learned these songs?' 'We have learned them in school,' answer the maidens, whom he is asking to sing to him. 'Such songs I do not want,' he replies, but only such as you have *not* learned in school, such as you sing in the spinning-room, or at Easter and Whitsuntide, when you are off to the woods.' Songs learned in school : art-songs. Songs learned in the spinning room : Volkslieder. Why?

² *Volkslieder v. d. Mosel u. Saar*, p. 231.

³ Cf. *Bragur*, Leipzig, 1794, III, 208 ff. *Über die Teutschen Volkslieder und ihre Musik*.

⁴ Cf. Victor Hehn. *Gedanken über Goethe*.

teria, one is known to all Germany, the other only to the few.

*Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten
Dass ich so traurig bin
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten
Dass kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn*

does not sound like any Volkslied written before the 18th century, yet Heine has made it one in the 19th.

The phrases 'ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten,' 'mir ist als ob,' 'weiss nicht wie mirs geschah,' 'ich wollt als Reiter fliegen,' 'ich möcht,' are the dreamy and visionary phrases of romanticism, but they occur in songs of Eichendorff and Müller and Heine again and again, and these songs are Volkslieder.

Therefore, to return to Müller, it need not be surprising to hear song after song of his widely and generally sung, when a close study of these reveals the fact that they are as widely different from the ancient Volkslied form as democracy is from the feudal system. Other times, other customs, must be extended to mean other times, other songs. *Volkssprache* changes with the changing generations, and so do *Volkssitte*, *Volksglauben* and *Volkssagen*—why not frankly add *Volkslied* to the list and have done?

*'Andere Zeiten, andere Vögel,
Andere Vögel, andere Lieder.'*

Once a Volkslied, not always a Volkslied. Old songs are passing, new ones coming into vogue. There are the old historical Volkslieder preserved in MSS. and collections, which go glimmering back to the earliest traditions and origins of the German race: there are new songs which were written only yesterday and which occupy the mind of modern Germany. They commingle oddly everywhere. Song collections written down from the mouths of the people in the provinces show this. A Volkslied of the 16th century stands beside one from the 19th: not far from either is one whose life is lapsing—'nur Leuten dic etwa in den vierziger Jahren standen noch bekannt,' 'Nur

noch den Erwachsenen bekannt,' etc. These collections are like forests which contain oaks hundreds of years old, oaks which are decaying, and young saplings bending before every breeze.

That Müller's songs bear resemblance in the themes of which they treat, in the turns of speech in which they are clothed, and in many of their simple metres, to the older Volkslieder in the *Wunderhorn* is then an interesting fact, but not a vital one in their development. If the *Wunderhorn* had not been printed, Müller would have been a poet, and his songs would have been widely sung. If he had relied less upon the style of the older Volkslieder, it is possible he would have been more independently popular, more sung to-day. This is a matter which can be determined in negative or affirmative, only after the facts of his obligation to the Volkslied have been discussed in detail.

PHILIP S. ALLEN.

THOMAS WATSON'S 'ITALIAN MADRIGALS
ENGLISHED,' 1590.¹

THE high contemporary reputation of Thomas Watson as a poet has considerably abated in modern times. Nevertheless, historically considered, his position is still an important one, and it is not difficult to understand the feeling of those of his time for him. Dates in his case must be regarded more than ever. His *Hecatompattia, or Passionate Centurie of Love*, appeared in 1582, and with the exception of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, was the first important step in advance since Surrey in the externals of lyrical style. Watson was one of the several 'English Petrarchs' of the sixteenth century, and was with Spenser a leader in the naturalization of Italian influences in England. His literary and personal affiliations were with Spenser, Sidney, Lyly, Peele, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Essex, and the Countess of Pembroke; and those who felt themselves in sympathy with this group would doubtless appreciate him none the less for his exclusive devotion to form and style, for his highly generalized manner, for the discouraging lack of reality or of personal accent in his verse, and for the pedantry of his method of Italianate imitation. So far as matter and manner can be dissevered, Watson must be regarded as a minor master of metrical form in his day. He was one of the reformers of our versifying, although in the Italianate and Petrarchan direction, rather than in the classical with others of the academic group of poets. He took up where Wyatt and Surrey left off the attempt to establish the Petrarchan tradition in English poetry.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. W. B. Squire of the British Museum for assistance in my search for the Italian texts printed with Watson's madrigals, to the authorities of the K. B. Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek, Munich, for transcripts kindly furnished as indicated, and to Dr. Lisi Cipriani of the University of Chicago for suggestions in relation to the Italian text.

His first effort in this direction was the *Hecatompattia* in 1582. Eight years later he made his second attempt at imitation of the Italian manner in his *First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*. With the exception of some eight or ten scattered numbers, these have never been reprinted. The *Hecatompattia* was reprinted by the Spenser Society in 1869, and Mr. Arber in 1870 included all of Watson's English works except the *Italian Madrigals* in a volume of his English Reprints. Very little can be said for the intrinsic poetical value of the *Italian Madrigals*, but their historical interest is not inconsiderable. Accordingly, and in order to complete the reprinting of Watson's poetry, they are herewith presented from a transcript of the copy (shelf-mark C. 130) now in the British Museum.

In *Lyrical Poems, selected from Musical Publications between the years 1589 and 1600* (in vol. XIII of the Percy Society Publications, London, 1844), Mr. J. P. Collier reprints nos. I, VIII and XIX of Watson's *Italian Madrigals*. In his Introduction Mr. Collier interprets the somewhat puzzling phrase on Watson's title-page, 'Englished, not to the sense of the original ditty, but after the affection of the note,' in these words: 'The meaning seems to be, that Watson made use of certain Italian madrigals, and wrote original English words to them: it is evident that he did not translate the Italian words, and we almost wish that he had done so, considering that those he has substituted, for the sake of greater novelty, are not at all equal to the character as a poet which Watson had acquired in 1590.' With this statement of the matter students of Elizabethan poetry have generally rested content, although in the absence of direct and easily accessible evidence some have doubtless felt misgivings as to the strict accuracy of Mr. Collier's conclusion. To settle all doubts in the matter, and at the same time, to provide materials for an interesting study in the transmission of Italian influences in the Elizabethan period, the text of the Italian original indicated before each number of

Watson's collection is also herewith presented. It is evident that Mr. Collier's statement, so far as it goes, is vaguely correct, but that it needs further definition. Watson's phrase, I take it, means 'not following closely the sense of the original, but adapted to the musical setting.' About half of Watson's madrigals obviously have no further connection with their Italian analogues than is supplied by the musical setting in common, unless in some cases the mood or motif in the English was suggested from the Italian. Some eight or ten others (perhaps nos. VI, VII, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXV and XXVI) were apparently suggested in whole or in part from the words of the Italian. Some three or four others (notably nos. II, IV and XVII) may fairly be termed free translations from the Italian words which appear with the original music. The impression resulting from a comparison of the Italian and English texts in most of these cases is that the English was written by one who had the Italian text before him and who, having an imperfect knowledge of Italian, permitted words and phrases in it to suggest to him either turns of phrase or entire madrigals in the English. Watson's debt to the Italian in this way seems hardly disputable, but one would never infer from the cases in evidence that he had a competent knowledge of the language.

A chance statement in regard to Watson which lacks verification is made by Richard Clark in his *First Volume of Poetry* (a collection of old glees, madrigals, etc.), London, 1824. In mentioning Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, 1588, it is there asserted that that work 'was translated from the Italian by a gentleman of the name of Thomas Watson . . . except two of them translated from Ariosto by Wm. Byrde and set to music by him.' I can find no evidence for this assertion. The full title of Yonge's publication² is: '*Musica Transalpina. Madrigales trans-*

¹ Compare the words of Watson's Latin dedication to the Earl of Essex: *Accipe juncta Italis Anglica verba notis.*

² B. M. copy, press-mark D. 123.

lated of foure, five and sixe parts, chosen out of divers excellent Authors, with the first and second part of *La Verginella*, made by Maister *Byrd* upon two Stanz's of *Ariosto*, and brought to speake English with the rest. Published by N. Yonge, in favour of such as take pleasure in Musick of voices . . . London, . . . 1588 . . .' The Epistle Dedicatory¹ to Lord Talbot, signed by Yonge, speaks of the contents as 'certaine Italian Madrigales translated most of them five yeeres agoe by a Gentleman for his private delight, (as not long before certaine Napolitans² had been englished by a verie honorable personage, and now a Councillour of estate, whereof I have seene some, but never possessed any.)' There is nothing here or in what follows to connect Watson with this publication; and it is worthy of remark that the translation from Petrarch's sonnet (*Zefiro torna*) in Watson's volume of 1590 (no. IV) is apparently entirely independent of the translation of the same original in the *Musica Transalpina*, beginning

Zepirus brings the time that sweet scenteth.

Similarly of the *Musica Transalpina* of 1597, which is dedicated to Sir Henry Lennard.

In regard to the 'two excellent Madrigalls of Master William Byrds, composed after the Italian vaine' (nos. VIII and XXVIII), the natural interpretation of this phrase from the title page, the fact that no Italian composer is named for these numbers in the table of contents, and the further fact that the words of both are precisely the same, would seem to indicate that Byrd was the composer of the music only, while that Watson himself probably wrote the words. Byrd may however have written both, as he probably did now and then in other cases. The fact that they reappear in his *Psalms*, etc. of 1611 is not conclusive either way, inasmuch as the practice of frequent borrowing in the early song-books proves that

¹ See the Epistle in full, reprinted in Arber's English Garner III, 32.

² A species of Madrigal.

the music was regarded as the principal thing, carrying with it in any case the right to whatever words would fit.

The choice of so many madrigals in this collection from Marenzio, the best of the Italian madrigalists, whose art moreover receives abundant appreciation in Watson's preliminary Latin verses, would indicate either that Watson himself possessed a highly cultivated musical taste or that he was assisted in making his selections by some professional musician. Both suppositions are probable enough, and if he received such assistance at all, it is altogether probable that it came from the William Byrd whose contributions are found here associated with those of the Italian composers, and whose assignee was the printer of the volume. Is it possible that Watson was a contributor to other volumes with which the name of Byrd is more prominently identified, as for example the *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs* of 1588, or the *Songs of Sundrie Natures* of 1589?

Most of the books of Italian madrigals from which the music and the Italian words indicated in this collection were drawn existed in numerous editions before 1590. From four editions, however, everything herein contained might have been drawn, and it may plausibly be conjectured that these were the ones used by Watson, as otherwise he would have had to consult a much greater number of volumes in order to make up his set. The madrigals from Converso, Nanino and Striggio, as indicated, are all found in the *Musica Divina di XIX Autori Illustri . . . nuovamente Raccolta da Pietro Phalesio . . . Anversa, 1583*. From Marenzio,¹ those herein numbered I-VII are contained in *Madrigali a Quatro Voci di Luca Marenzio*, Venice 1587; those numbered IX-X, XII-XIX in *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali . . . di L. M.*, Venice 1580; and those numbered XXI-XXV and XXVII in *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a sei Voce*, Venice 1587.

¹ Cf. Eitner and others, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI und XVI Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1877.

Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten Weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, 1500-1700*, Berlin 1892, 2 v.

The contents of Watson's versions are slight enough, but nevertheless present a few points of interest. The references to Sidney in nos. I, XXIII, and XXVII are perhaps valuable as throwing light upon Watson's relations with Sidney and his circle. The Amarillises and Phillises who figure so often in these madrigals appear in so many others likewise, that perhaps they can hardly be regarded as forming any peculiar part of Watson's poetical stock in trade like the name of Rosalind in Spenser or of Stella in Sidney.¹ The Meliboeus of nos. XXIII, XXIV and XXVII is, however, plainly Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney's father-in-law, whose death Watson in the same year more elaborately celebrated in his Latin and English poems of *Meliboeus*. For the Tityrus of no. XXIV see the dedicatory Latin verses to the poem just mentioned, as well as the Address to the Reader, where we are told that Tityrus is Master Thomas Walsingham.

In justice to Watson we should bear in mind that these slight verses were written for music and were never intended to stand alone. In accordance with this their origin, and partly too in consequence of the influence of the versification of their Italian analogues, many of them seem to be written rather after the strict syllabic system

¹ But see the allusion in Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (l. 436) to Amyntas and his Amaryllis. Amyntas is probably Watson, and Mr. Palgrave's objection (in Grosart's Spenser, vol. IV, p. lxxxii) to this identification that Amaryllis is not Watson's heroine, would be partly met by the recurrence of the name in these passages. We are told however in no. V that all the shepherds praise Amaryllis.

'All but Amintas, whose onely ioy is Phillis.'

Is this Amyntas' fickleness or is he only trying to pique the jealousy of Amaryllis? This little love-drama in madrigals reaches its first climax of complication in no. XVII, where Amyntas' fickleness is patent; in no. XVIII farewell is said to Amaryllis; and in no. XXI Phillis is left regnant as mistress of the poet's fancy. In XXII (and XXVI), however, Amaryllis is again enthroned and we hear no more of Phillis. From all this it is evident that Spenser's reference is fairly definite. For more of the episode of Amyntas and Phillis, see Watson's verses, 'Amyntas for his Phillis,' in *England's Helicon* (Bullen's reprint, p. 156).

of versification than the rhythmical or accentual. The attempt was not uncommon in the Elizabethan days. See, for example, the play of *Gismond of Salern*, recently reprinted by Professor Brandl, with its peculiar marks of metrical scansion. Or observe the versification of Ben Jonson generally when writing in his classical manner.

The authors of the Italian originals I have not attempted to identify except in the case of the extract from Petrarch's Sonnet in no. IV. The opinion of Thomas Oliphant¹ 'that the majority of English madrigals are translations from the Italian sonnetteers,' is probably correct if other lyric forms as well as sonnets be regarded; and a valuable contribution to scholarship remains yet to be made in the identification of as many as possible of the Italian originals of the Elizabethan madrigals and song-lyrics. In the case of Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, 1588, this would not be difficult; but in all the others it would be well worth the doing. Indeed an edition of the seventeen or eighteen hundred Elizabethan madrigals listed in Rimbault's index,² together with the accompanying Italian text in all cases where it might be discovered, would not be beyond the limits of a single large volume.³

Of the Italian composers, who in some cases may have supplied the words also, as we know sometimes happened in the case of original English compositions, and whom Watson lays under contribution for his musical settings, little is known. Giovanni Maria Nanino was chapel-master of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome about the seventh decade of the XVIth century, and was a friend of Palestrina, in connection with whom he opened a School of Music in Rome.⁴ Alessandro Striggio was a Mantuan in

¹ *A Short Account of Madrigals*, London 1836.

² *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, pp. 56-88.

³ In Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca* (London 1837) are reprinted some four hundred Elizabethan Madrigals, accompanied in some twenty-five cases with the Italian originals.

⁴ Schelle, *Die Päpstliche Sängerschule in Rom genannt DIE SIXTINISCHE CAPELLE* (Wien, 1872), p. 263.

the service of Cosimo de Medice, c. 1565.¹ Girolamo Converso is described in the titles of his publications as 'da Correggio,' and apparently flourished c. 1570. Luca Marenzio 'di Coccalia diocesi di Brescia,' who was the most famous of all, was a musician in Rome, c. 1582, and died 1599.² His compositions were very numerous and enjoyed a European reputation. Of Marenzio, writes Thomas Oliphant,³ 'it is impossible to speak but in terms of perfect astonishment: let any one imagine the difficulty of writing five or six hundred pieces of music in one style, and almost upon one subject (the words being taken from Italian sonnets from the time of Petrarch downwards), and he may then form an idea of what Luca Marenzio has executed; yet I will almost go so far as to say that in this vast number, although of course all cannot be equally good, there is scarcely one which does not contain many striking passages.'

¹ Cf. *Ambros, Gesch. der Musik* III, 552.

² Schelle, *op. cit.*, p. 264.


³ *Short Account of Madrigals* (London 1836, 27 pp.).

SVPERIVS.

¶ The first fett,
OF ITALIAN MADRIGALLS ENGLISHED,

not to the sence of the originall dittie,
but after the affection of the
Noate.
By Thomas Watfon Gentleman.

There are also heere inferted two excellent
Madrigalls of Master William
Byrds, composed after the
Italian vaine, at the request
of the sayd Thomas
Watfon.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON, BY THO-
mas Este, the assigné of William Byrd,
& are to be sold at the house of the sayd T. Este,
being in Aldersgate street, at the signe
of the black Horfe. 1590. 

Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

Lucae Marenzio Musicæ artis
peritissimo Tho. Watfonus.

H EI, quotiès morimur nimia dulcedine rapti,
Pulfat Apollineam dùm tua Musa chelyn;
O, igitur dulcis plectrum depone Marenzi,
Nè fit læsa tuis plurima vita fonis.
Attamèn ô dulcis plectro modularè Marenzi:
Si morimur, vitam dant tua plectra nouam.
O liceat nobis, vitâ sub morte repertâ,
Sæpè tuo cantu viuere, sæpè mori.
Mille neces patior, vitas totidemque refumo,
Dùm tua multiplici gutture musa placet:
Somnio septeno gyrantes murmure sphæras:
Somnio cantantis Numina blanda fali:
Somnio Thrëiceum Cytharædam faxa mouentem:
Somnio mulcentem carmine monstra Deum:
Somnio Musarum concentus protinùs omnes:
Omnia Marenzi, dùm canis, unus habes.

CLARÍSSIMO, & HONORATÍSSIMO HEROI,
Domino Roberto Deurox, Comiti Effexiæ, Georgiani Ordinis Equiti aurato, multifque alijs
 nominibus illustrissimo

S. P.

*I*nclite Mauortis Musarum dulcis alumne,
 Accipe iuncta Italis Anglica verba notis :
 Atque Marenzæos cantus, quos approbet auris
 Attica, quos Charites, quosque DJANA velit.
 Si rudiùs quid inest, id nostri culpa laboris :
 Et melior primo fortè secundus erit.
 Attamen Hesperia Philomelæ subduere voces
 Non est exigui debile Martis opus.
 Tu dignare, precor, sinceræ munera mentis,
 Siuè sonent placido murmure, siuè graui.
 Candida & atra suo percurrit lumine Phæbus :
 Candida & atra volens accipe, Phæbus eris.
 Phæbus eris, nisi te sacro culmine Mauors
 Auferat, armipotens vt fera bella geras.
 Ecquis enim vestræ nescit conamina Musæ,
 Metraque ad Aoniam sæpè canenda lyram ?
 Sed mitto quoscunque tuæ virtutis honores :
 Maior es eulogijs, carminibusque meis,
 Aurea concedat fælicis tempora vitæ
 Jupiter, & cæptis nolit abesse tuis.

Honoris tui studiosissimus
 Thomas Watsonus.

A Table containing the beginning of euery song, and of the originall Italian ditty, with the name of the Author annexed.

Of 4.

When first my heed- leffe eyes.	I	<i>Non vidi mai.</i>	}	Luca Marenzio.
O merry world.	II	<i>I lieti amanti.</i>		
Farewell cruel & vnkind.	III	<i>Veggio dolce mio bene.</i>		
Zephirus breathing.	IIII	<i>Zefiro torna.</i>		
Faire shepherds queene.	V	<i>Madonna sua merce.</i>		
Eu'ry finging Byrd.	VI	<i>Vezzo fi augelli.</i>		
Alas, what a wretched life is this?	VII	<i>Ahi di spietata.</i>	}	William Byrd.
This sweet & merry month of May.	VIII			

Of 5.

Though faint and wafed.	IX	<i>Lasso ch'io ardo.</i>	}	Luca Marenzio.
Since my heedleffe eyes.	X	<i>Quando j vostri.</i>		
Whē al alone my bony loue.	XI	<i>Sola soletta.</i>	}	Giro. Conuerfo.
When I beheld the faire face of Phillis sleeping.	XII	<i>Venuta era madonna.</i>		
Alas where is my Loue.	XIII	<i>Ohime dou' el mio ben.</i>	}	Luca Marenzio.
Sweet hart arise.	XIIII	<i>Sputauan gia.</i>		
But if the country gods.	XV	<i>Quando 'l mio viuo.</i>		
When from my selfe sweet Cupid first bereft me.	XVI	<i>Madonna mia gentil.</i>		
Sweet singtg Amarillis	XVII	<i>Cantaua.</i>		
Fancy retyre thee.	XVIII	<i>Partiro dunque.</i>		
How long with vaine com- plaining.	XIX	<i>Questa di verde.</i>	}	Giou. Maria Nahino.
All ye that ioy in wailing.	XX	<i>Morir non puo 'l mio core.</i>		

Of 6.

O heare me heauenly powrs.	XXI	<i>Talche dunque.</i>	}	Luca Marenzio.
In chains of hope & fear.	XXII	<i>Ne fero sdegno.</i>		
When Melibœus soull.	XXIII	<i>Di nettare.</i>	}	Aleffandro Striggio.
Now twinkling starrs.	XXIIII	<i>Sonar le labra.</i>		
Vnkind, ô stai thi flying.	XXV	<i>Crudel perche.</i>	}	Luca Marenzio.
Loue hath proclaimed war by trūpet souided.	XXVI	<i>Non rumor di tamburi.</i>		
The Fates alas.	XXVII	<i>Questa ordi.</i>	}	William Byrd.
This sweet & merry month of May.	XXVIII			

I.¹

Non vidi mai.

When first my heedles eyes beheld *wit*h pleasure,
 In Aftrophill both of nature & beauty al *the* treasure,
 In Aftrophill, whose worth exceeds al measure,
 my fawning hart *wit*h hot desier furprized,
 wyld me intreat, I might not be dispyzed :
 But gentle Aftrophil *wit*h looks unfained,
 Before I fpake, my praier intertained,
 And smiling said, unles Stella disseembleth,
 her looke so pafsionat, my loue resembleth.²

- I. *From* MADRIGALI A QUATTRO VOCI DI LVCA MARENZIO.
Nouamente con ogni diligenza ristampati. Libro Primo. Venice
 1592. B. M.—*Dedication dated Rome, 1585.*

P. 1 : Non vidi mai dopò notturna pioggia
 Gir per l'aere fereno stelle erranti
 E fiammeggiar fra la ruggiad' e 'l gielo
 Chi non hauefs'i begl'occhi dauanti
 Que la stanca mia vita s' appoggia
 Qual io gli vidi à l'ombra d'un bel velo
 E si come di lor bellezze il cielo
 Splendea quel di cofi bagnati ancora
 Li veggio sfauillar ond'io semp' ardo.

II.³

I lieti amanti.

O merry world when euery louer with his mate,
 might walk from mead to mead & cheerfully relate,
 fowr pleasures & sweet griefs following a wanton state :
 Those dais knew no suspect, each one might freely prate,
 And dance, or sing, or play with his confociate.

¹ The text of the "Superius" part has been followed, collated with all the others.

² Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* series had not yet been published (in 1590).

³ Reprinted in Vautor's *Ayres, etc.*, 1619 (Rimbault. *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, Lond. 1847): and in Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca*, London 1837, p. 59.

Then louers ufd like turtles to kiffe full louingly,
 O hunny dais, & cuftomes of antiquitie :
 But the world now is full of fo fond iealofie,
 That we term charity wanton iniquitie.

II. *From the same, p. 19.*

I Lieti amanti e le fanciulle tenere
 Giuan di prat' in prato ramentandosi
 Il foco & l'arco del figliol di Venere
 Non era gelofia ma follazzandosi
 Mouean' i dolci balli a fuon di cetera
 E'n guifa di colombi ogn' hor baciandosi
 O pura fede o dolce vfanza vetera
 Hor conosco ben io che'l mond' instabile
 Tanto peggiore piu quanto piu inuetera.

III.

Veggio dolce mio bene.

Farewell cruell & vnkind,
 Alone will I waile me,
 Till breath faile me,¹
 And till my lifethred be vntwinde :
 Then my poore ghoft ftill weeping,
 Shall thus difturb thee fleeping :
 O Amarillis, ô Amarillis;
 why art thou powder then fweet Phillis,
 In whose faire face are placed
 two louely ftarres, wher-with heauen is difgraced.

III. *From the same, p. 3.*

Veggio dolce mio bene
 Nel volger de vostr' occhi vn viuo lume
 Che par che mi confume
 Di fouerchia dolcezza e chieggio aita
 Quasi al fin di mia vita
 Che non mi fia 'l morire
 Si tosto fin [fin ?] del mio dolce languire.

¹ Line 3 is inserted from the Tenor.

III.¹

Zefiro torna.

Zephyrus breathing, now calls nymfs *from* out their bowres,
 To play & wanton, in roobes of fundry flow'rs :
 Progne chirpeth, & sweet Philomele recordeth :
 And Flora seeing what the spring affordeth
 Smyleth so sweetly, that heauen itself inflamed,
 Greatly reioyceth, to but heare her named :
 The welkin, water, and earth, all are full of pleafure,
 All creaturs ioy in loue, as Natures treasure.

IV. *From the same, p. 22. It is the octave of Petrarch's sonnet,*
 XLII In Morte di Madonna Laura.

Zefiro torna e'l bel tempo rimena
 E i fior' e l'herbe fua dolce famiglia
 E garir Progn'e pianger Filomena
 E Primauera candida e vermiglia
 Ridon i prati e'l ciel fi rasserena
 Gioue s'allegra di mirar fua figlia
 L'aria l'acqua e la terra è d'Amor piena
 Ogn' animal d'amar fi riconfiglia.

V.²

Madonna fua merce.

Faire shepherds Queene, let vs hand in hand inchained,
 dance vp and down *the* greene, like frends unfained,
 And merily recount our happie daies,
 While my tender flock clymes vp the mount, & ther staies :
 And shepherds all, come & follow me,
 praising Amarillis,
 All but Amintas, whose onely ioy is Phillis.

¹ Cf. the rival translation from Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, 1588 (in Arber's *Eng. Garner*, III 49).

² Reprinted, with considerable alterations, in Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca*, p. 60.

V. *From the same, p. 13.*

Madonna sua mercè pur vna fera
 Gioiofa & bell' affai m'apparu' in fonno
 Et rallegrò 'l mio cor fi com' il fole
 Suol dopo pioggia difgombrar la terra
 Dicendo a me vien cogli a le mie piagge
 Qualche fioretto
 Qualche fioretto & lascia gl'antri foschi

VI.¹

Vezzo fi augelli.

Evry finging bird, *that in the wood reioyces,*
 come & affilt me, with your charming voices:
 Zephirus, come too, & make *the leaues & the fountaines*
 Gently to fend a whifpring found vnto *the mountains:*
 And from thence pleafant Echo, sweetly replying,
 ftay here playing, where my Phillis now is lying,
 And louely Graces with wanton Satyres come & play,
 dancing & finging a hornpype or a rundelay.

VI. *From the same, p. 14:*

Vezzofi augelli in frà le verdi fronde
 Temprano a proua lafciette note
 Mormora l'aura e fa le foglie e l'onde
 Garir che variamente ella percote
 Quando taccion gl'augelli alto rifponde
 Quando cantan gl'augei piu lieue fcote
 Sia cafo od arte hor accompagn' ed hora
 Alterna i verfi lor la Mufica ora.

¹ Reprinted in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, 1809, vol. IX.

VII.¹

Ahi difpietata.

Alas, what a wretched life is this?
 nay, what a death where the tyrant loue commaundeth,
 My flowring days are in their pryme declyning:
 All my prowde hope quight faln, & life vntwyning:
 My ioyes each after other, in haft are flying,
 And leaue my hart dying, for her that fkornes my crying:
 O she from hence departs, my loue refrayning,
 for whom all hartleffe alas, I dye complying.

VII. *From the same, p. 15:*

Ahi difpietata morte ahi crudel vita
 L'uno m'ha post' in doglia
 Et mie speranz' acerbament' ha fpente
 L'altera mi tien quà giù contra mia voglia
 Et lei che fe n'è gita
 Seguir non posso ch'ella no'l consente
 Ma pur ogn' hor presente
 Nel mezzo del mio cor madonna fiede
 Et qual è la mia vita ella fe'l vede.

VIII.²

William Byrd.

This sweet & merry month of May,
 While nature wantons in her Pryme,
 & Byrds do sing, & Beasts do play,
 for pleasure of the ioyfull time,
 I choose the first for holly daie,
 & greet Elyza with a Ryme.
 O Beauteous Queene of second Troy,
 Take well in worth a simple toy.

¹ Reprinted in Wilbye's *Madrigals* 1598 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*) See reprint of this work by the Musical Antiquarian Society, London [1841] p. 67.

² Appears again in Byrd's *Psalms*, etc. 1611 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*). Reprinted also in Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca*, p. 32. Oliphant cites as indic-

IX.

Laffo ch'io ardo.

Though faint & wafted, with ouerlong defiring,
 of my belou'd but cruell foe,
 whose delights are in my woe,
 yet fancie frameth no retyring
 but dyes admyring ;
 O Loue, ô help at last, let her feele thy dart,
 That fo vnkyndly kills my hart.

IX. *From IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI . . . DI L. MARENZIO*
 . . . Venice, 1580.

I am indebted to the courtesy of the librarian of the K. B. Hof- und
 Staats-Bibliothek, Munich, for the copy herewith presented.

Lasso ch' io ardo e'l mio bel sole ardente
 I suoi bei raggi d'oro
 Volge in altr' oriente
 Iui imperla iui indora et io mi moro
 Amor deh torn' a me torna la chiara
 Bella mia luce e cara.

X.

Quando j vostrj.

Since my heedleffe eies began to be ranging,
 I thrife accurfed alwais haue bin changing :
 firft was I made a Hart, and deadly wounded
 by Phillis, in whom yet all my hope was grounded,
 Then to a dying Swan, my altring ftate was turned,
 for though I fung, yet my fainting hart ftill moorned,
 And now to a Salamander changed, with flames furrounded,
 O what a life is this, to liue ftill wounded.

ative of Watson's authorship of the text the following two lines from *Eng-
 land's Helicon*, 1600 (occurring in a poem there ascribed to Watson):

"O beauteous queen of second Troy,
 Accept of our unfeigned joy."

(See *England's Helicon*, ed. A. H. Bullen, London, 1887, p. 63.)

Reprinted also in *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Asso. of America*, XI, 403 (1896); and
 in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, IX.

X. *From the same, no. 5.*

Quando i uostri begl' occhi un caro uelo
 Ombrando copre semplicetto e bianco
 D'una gelata fiamma il cor s'alluma
 Madonna, e le medolle un caldo gelo
 Trascorre si ch' a poco a poco io manco
 E l'alma per diletto si consuma
 Così morendo uiuo e con quell' arme
 Onde uccidete uoi potete aitarne.

XI.¹

Sola foletta.

WHEN all alone my bony loue was playing,
 And I saw Phœbus stand at a gaze staying,
 Alas I feard ther wold be some betraying.

XI. *From MUSICA DIVINA DI XIX AUTORI ILLUSTRATI . . . NUOVAMENTE RACCOLTA DA PIETRO PHALESIO . . . ANVERSA . . . 1583. fol. 20a : Giro. Conuerfo.*

Sola foletta i me ne vo cantando,
 & ho via il core, piu freddo che g[h]iaccio
 e vo d'amor spregiand' ogni fuo laccio.

XII.²

Venuta era madonna.

WHEN I beheld the face³ of Phyllis sleeping,
 I shewd my ioy by weeping :
 And kissing oft her cheeks with roses stained,
 To my self I thus complained,

¹ Reprinted, with alterations, in Rich. Clark's *The First Volume of Poetry*, Lond. 1824; in Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca*, p. 61 (with the Italian counterpart); and in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, IX.

² Reprinted in Greave's *Songs*, etc. 1604 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*).

³ *In all but the 'Medius' part, the faire face.*

now feed your felues my feeble eies with gazing,
 while her eies with a clowd of fleepe are kept from
 blazing,
 And thou my hart, whom she hath fired,
 difpaire not of thy desired,¹
 As now mine eies are pleafed
 So haply when she wakes, thou fhalt be eafed.

XII. From Marenzio's *Madrigals*, 1580 (Munich copy, as above), No 12.

Venuta era Madonna al mio languire
 Con dolce aspett' humano
 Allegra e bella in sonno a consolarme
 Et io prendendo ardire
 Di dirle quanti affanni ho speso in uano
 Vidila con pietade a se chiamarme
 Dicendo a che sospire
 A che ti struggi et ardi di lontano
 Non sai tu che quell' arme
 Che fer la piaga ponno il duol finire.

XIII.²

Ohime dou' el mio ben.

Alas, where is my loue, wher is my fwetting,
 That hath stolne awaie my hart, God fend vs meeting,
 That rewing my lament with friendly greeting,
 She may releafe my smart, and all my weeping,
 But if my fight she fly, Till hartlesse I die,
 my greiued ghoft, with shryks & dreadfull crying,
 Alwaies about her flying, shall murmur out *complayning*,
 To be reuengd of all her deep difdayning.

¹ *Tenor*, of thy beloved.

² Reprinted in Bateson's *Madrigals* 1604 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*)—See reprint of Bateson by Musical Antiquarian Society, London 1846, p. 68.

XIII. *From the same, no. 2 :*

Ohime dou' e'l mio ben dou' e'l mio core
 Chi m'accende' il mio core e chi me toglie
 Dunque ha potuto sol desio d'honore
 Darmi fera cagion di tante doglie
 Dunque ha potuto in me piu che'l mio amore
 Ambitiose e troppo lieui voglie
 Ahi sciocco mondo e cieco Ahi cruda sorte
 Che ministro mi fai della mia morte.

XIII.²

Spuntavan gia.

Sweet hart arise, that we may take our pleasure,
 With prety pafimes, louers onely treasure,
 dancing amongst faire Nymphs & louely Graces,
 wher a chafft kilfe is mixt *with* fweet imbraces,
 O to the woods wend we without delaying,
 wher sweetly finging Byrds on bowes are playing,
 & beafts in wanton order, *from* euery mountaine,
 each after other come to wait on Floraes traine.

XIV. *From the same, no. 3 :*

Spuntavan gia per far il mondo adorno.
 Vaghi fiorett' e herbe uerdi e belle
 Di color mill 'e'n queste parti e'n quelle
 Rallegrauan la terra e i colli intorno
 Gian l'augelletti all' apparir del giorno
 D'amor cantando sin soura le stelle
 E correuan le fiere ardite e snelle
 Tra lor scherzando a le campagne intorno.

¹ *In Alto, Tenor, and Quinto*, asconde.² Reprinted in Weelkes' *Ballets* 1598 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*).

XV.

Quando 'l mio viuo.

Bvt if the countrie Gods seeke to furround thee,
fly then my fweet Phillis, trust not their fmiling,
falle wanton Satirs do vse much beguyling,
Alas if they but ketch thee, the fight will wound thee,¹
And my poore hart, though now it liue in pleafure,
will die with onely feare to leefe his treafure.

XV. *From the same, no. 4:*

Quando 'l mio uiuo sol perch' io non pera
Godi hor mi disse con un dolce riso
Amante fido il premio del tuo ardore
Indi con molti bacci sparse fuore
Quante gratie e dolcezze ha'l paradiso
E quant ha odor nei fior la Primavera.

XVI.

Madonna mia gentil.

WHen from my felfe fweet Cupid firft bereft me,
In Phillis hands he left me,
Wher in a Sunne of gladnes,
That fees no clouds of fadnesse,
Myne eye beholds the beames of Beauties treafure,
Adoring Loue, for god of pleafure.

XVI. *From the same, no. 14:*

Madonna mia gentil ringratio Amore
Che tolto m'habbia il core
Dandolo a voi ch'auete
Non sol belta ma sete
Ornata di uirtu tal che m'auuiso
Stando in terra godere il paradiso.

¹ *Tenor, etc., me.*

XVII.

Cantaua.

Sweet finging Amarillis
 my liftning eare incharmed,
 And my heedlesse eie was deadly harmed
 when I there beheld the wanton looks of Phillis,
 Alas, wherfore haue not heauenly fates prouided,
 By whom all things are guyled,
 That either Phyllis face were not so brightfom,
 Or Amarillis finging were lesse delightfom.

XVII. *From the same, no. 15 :*

Cantaua la piu uaga pastorella
 Che mai premesse fiori
 Et scopriua nel uiso almi colori
 Una Ninfa di lei molto piu bella
 Deh perche l'alma fatta ad ambe ancella
 Non hebbe alhor duo cori
 Ment'era a' l'un e al'altra intento e fiso
 Per lassarne una al canto e l'altra al viso.

XVIII.

Partiro dunque.

Fancy retyre thee
 Alas my hart will fire thee,
 And bony loue now frendles,
 depart awaie that lyfe may remaine,
 Releafed of paine,
 Alas, thy hoopes are endlesse,
 yeelding much grief, but no gaine,
 And thou that wert my Iewell,
 But alwaies cruell,
 yet because I lou'd thee
 when loue and fancy mou'd mee,
 O Amaryllis farewell, O farewell.

XVIII. *From the same, no. 17 :*

Partiro dunque ohime mi manca il core
 Porgimi aita Amore
 Com' esser puo ch'io uiua
 Lontan da quel bel sguardo
 Per cui si com' hor ardo
 Con estremo dolore
 All' hor via piu sentiua
 Maggior dolcezza quanto piu maggiore
 Era quel uiuo ardore
 Prestami aiuto Amore.

XIX.¹

Questo di verde

How long with vaine complayning,
 how long with dryry teares, & ioyes refrayning,
 Shall we renewe his dying,
 whose happy foull is flying,
 Not in a place of fadnes,
 But of eternall gladnes,
 Sweet Sydney liues in heau'n, ô therefore let our weeping,
 be turnd to hymns & fongs of plesant greeting.

Form the same, no. 16 :

Questa di uerde herbette
 E di nouelli fior tessuta hor hora
 Vaga e gentil ghirlanda
 Giovin pastor ti manda
 L'amata e bella flora
 Che con le sue caprette
 Sta in riva al Tebro soggiornando disse
 Ch' iui hor t'aspetta e ti vo far felice.

¹ Reprinted by Mary A. Scott in *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Asso. of America*, XI 403 (1896); also in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, IX.

XX.¹

Morir non puo'l mio core.

AlI yee that ioy in wayling,
 Come feat your felues a rowe, and weepe beside me,
 That while my life is fayling,
 The world may fee, in loue what ill betyd me :
 And after death doe this in my behoue,
 Tell Crefsed Troyilus is dead for loue.

XX. *From MUSICA DIVINA DI XIX AVTORI ILLUSTRATI . . .*
ANVERSA 1583, fol. 11a (by Gio. Maria Nanino):

Morir non puo'l mio core
 e' ucciderlo vorrei poi che vi piace
 ma trar non fi puo fuori
 del petto vostr' oue gran tempo giace
 & vccidendol' io come defio,
 fo che morefte voi morend' anch'io.

XXI.

Talche dunque.

O Heare me heauenly powrs all at one calling,
 while you see my cheefest pleasure down falling,
 ftay Phillis now departing, & inspyre her,
 That onely my defert & loue may fyre her :
 And thou for whom (alas) I feele fo deep smart,
 Vnlesse thou wish my death, come again sweet hart.

XXI. *From MADRIGALI A SEI VOCI . . . DI LUCA MARENZIO*
. . . ANVERSA 1594. This madrigal appears also in IL
QUARTO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI A SEI VOCE . . . DI L.
MARENZIO, Venice 1587, and 1593. It is headed Seconda
parte and immediately follows no. XXII (Ne fero fdegno)
which is headed Prima parte.

¹ Reprinted in Este's *Madrigals* 1604 (Rimbault, *Bib. Mad.*). In Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca* p. 62; and in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, IX.

Talche douunque vò
 Tutte repente Partorissero
 Amor l'onde de ch'io frango
 E fosser le lor cune i pensier miei
 Non arderia piu ch'arde questa mente,
 Con tutto ciò tal' hor mi doglio e piango
 Che no[*n*] vi posso amar quanto vorrei.

XXII.

Ne fero sdegno.

IN chaynes of hope & feare, finging & crying,
 I clyme & fall: I liue, but euer dying:
 O tyrant Loue, ô come at once & flay me,
 That flying hence down, wher Charons boat doth stay me,
 From cruell Amaryllis to conuay me,
 Whose proud aspiring hart doth but delaie me,
 I may dance in Elysium, there resounding
 with ioy, the paynes of Loue, & the deep wounding.

XXII. *From the same:*

Ne fero sdegno mai Donna mi mosse
 Ancor da voi nè lontananza alcuna
 Nè mourà mai mandami pur fortuna
 Per l'onde azzurre errando e pur le rosse
 Se quante spume fan l'acque percosse
 Dai remi nostri al sol & a la luna
 Tante nascesser veneri e ciascuna
 di lor d'un novo Amor gruida fosse.

XXIII.

Di Nettare.

When Melibœus foul flying hence departed
 Aftrophill, whom not long before' death darted,

¹ Sidney died Oct. 17, 1586; Walsingham Apr. 6, 1590.

Ryfyng vp from the ftarre with him late graced,
 Down along the heauens he swiftly traced,
 Where meeting with his fweet frend, they both imbraced,
 And both together ioyfully were placed :
 O thrife happy payre of frends, O Arcadies treafure,
 Whose vertues drew them vp to heauenly pleafure.

XXIII. *From the same :*

Di nettare amoroso ebro la mente
 Ratto fui ne sò com' in chiusa chiostra
 Vidi con l'arme ond'egli è si possente
 Vidi ch'in dolc' arringo alteramente
 Fer pria di lor beltà leggiadria mostra
 Poi oue s'nostra
 La bocca si ferir di baccio ardente.

XXIIII.

Sonar le labra. The fecond part.

Now twinkling ftarres do fmile, & dance, & play them,
 Their lights increafed & heauens all new array them,
 To honor Melibœus, that did obay them.
 Tityrus leaue lamenting, & to bewayle him,
 That is plac't in heauen, wher ioy fhall neuer faile him :
 And death go pack thee, for nothing now can quaile him.

XXIV. *From the same*

Sonar le labra e vi restaro i segni
 di colpi impresi amor deh perche a voto
 Tant' arme e tai percosse vsar da scherzo
 Prouinsi in vera pugna e non si sdegni
 Scontro d'amante amor me tuo deuoto
 Opponi all' una o fra le due fa terzo.

or Scontro d'amante o fra le due fa terzo
 Opponi all' una amor me tuo deuoto

XXV.¹

Crudel perche.

Vnkind ô ftay thy flying,
 And if I needs muft die, pittty me dying :
 But in thee, but in thee my hart is lying,
 And no death can affaill mee,
 Alas, alas, till life do fayl thee.
 O therfore if the fates bid thee be fleting,
 ftay for me, whose poore hart thou haft in keeping.

XXV. *From the same :*

Crudel perche mi fuggi
 S'hai de la morte mia tanto desio
 Tu sai pur il cor mio
 Crudel farmi morire
 Ah' non si può morir senza dolore
 E doler non si può chi non ha core

XXVI.

Non rumor di tamburi.

Loue hath proclamed warre by Trumpet founded,
 And made a vow *that* beauty fhallbe wounded,
 Diana, fee thy Nymfs be ftongly garded,
 for his ftroke will amaze them, if not well warded,
 And Amarillis hyde thy beauties treafure,
 Left in thy looke loue take too great a pleafure :
 if he affalt thee, being thus enraged,
 his wrath in thee alas muft be affuaged.

¹ An English adaptation of this madrigal, together with the music, 'altered from Watson's "*First Sett of Italian Madrigals Englished*"' by W. Barclay Squire, has been published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., London n. d. (1889). Reprinted in Wilbye's *Madrigals*, 1598. See reprint by Musical Antiquarian Society, London [1841] p. 71.

XXVI. *From MUSICA DIVINA DI XIX AVTORI ILLUSTRATI . . .*
ANVERSA 1583, *fol. 33b* (Alessandro Striggio) :

Non rumor di tamburi o fon di trombe
Furon principio a l'amorofo affalto
Ma baci ch' imitauan le colombe
Dauan fegn' hor di gire hor di far alto
Vfam' altr' arme che faett' o frombe
Io senza scala in fù la rocca falto
E lo stendardo piantoui di botto
E la nemica mia mi caccio sotto.

XXVII.¹

Questa ordj.

The fates alas, too cruell,
The fates haue flaine before his day Dianaes cheefest iewell,
but worthie Melibœus euen in a moment,
with Astrophill was² plac't aboue the firmament,
ô they liue both in pleasure,
where ioyes exced all measure.

XXVII. *From Marenzio's MADRIGALI A SEI VOCI . . . ANVERSA*
1594 :

Questa ordi il laccio
Questa si bella man fra fiori e l'herb' il tese
E questa il cor mi prese e fu si presta
A trarlo in mezzo a mille fiamme accese
Hor che l'ho qui ristretta
Vendetta Amor vendetta.

No. XXVIII (by William Byrd) presents the same words as no. VIII, although set to a different air.

¹ Reprinted in Oliphant's *Musa Madrigalesca* p. 62.

² *Tenor*, is.

In tracing the influence of Italian madrigals on Elizabethan a special interest attaches to a copy of Marenzio's Madrigals, 1594,¹ now in the British Museum, in which a contemporary hand has interlined between the Italian words and the music English translations or originals for several of the songs. One or two from Watson's Madrigals are thus interlined. As a sort of appendix to this reprint of Watson's *Italian Madrigals*, the others are given below. I am not aware that any have yet been printed, except those which are listed in Rimbault's index of original editions of Elizabethan madrigals, as noted below. Several of the numbers offer very interesting examples of interlinear translation. The very process is here exposed.

i. [fol. 8b.]

Shall I live so farre distant
 Viurò dunque lontano
 from the[e], my deare, my only good and sweetest pleasure,
 Da te mio charo sol mio dolce bene
 to feele payns without measure
 Viuendo sempr' in pene
 Ah suffer not ech houre t'increase my sighinge
 Ah non fia fer ch'ogn'hor m'andica il duolo
 See now my soule is flyinge
 Ecco ti l'alma à volo
 And yf throu greife of force it must consume
 Acciò se per dolor dee venir meno
 Yet let it pining dye within thy milkwhite bosome.
 Languisca e mora almen nel tuo bel seno
 —This is no. 20 in the *Musica Transalpina* of 1597.

¹ Di LVCA MARENZIO, *musico eccellentissimo, Madrigali a sei Voci . . .* In Anversa . . . 1594. B. M. copy, press-mark B. 270. a.

2. As lives *the* Salamander in flames consuminge,
 Qual vive Salamandra in fiamm' ardente
 and is therewith refreshed
 E ne gioifce poi
 By you my heart distressed
 Cose il mio core in voi
 from bright sonne you all chearfull light refuminge,
 Che la sua fiamma fete affai lucente
 so burninge liueth so, so liues no kind of greife enduringe
 Ardendo ha vita e duol' alcun non fente.
 O my thrice happy fortune
 O che felice forte
 With fire encompast whom death doth not importune
 Viuer in fiamma, e non hauer la morte.
 —Not in Rimbault's index.

3. [fol. 16b.]

O ye Muses of musick sweet godeffes
 Già le Muse è le gratie in bella schiera
 [rep.]
 Cantand'al fuon de liquidì cristalli
 O Saters skipping meryly merely affecting
 Fan dolcemente rifonar le valli
 O yee nymphs of Hymen sports *the* furtherers
 E garregiaud' i pargoletti Amori
 Come ye to celebrate this festivall
 Chiaman Ninfe e Pastori
 [rep.]
 A nouelle dolcezze a nuoui balli
 our marriage day with well tuned notes & paces equall
 Fiammeggia 'l ciel di piu pregiati ardori
 Che 'l tutt' adorna il tutt' in form'e accende
 and other sports such festivalls attending duly
 L'honor ch'in Flauia e ch'in Virgineo splènde.
 —Not in Rimbault's index. Obviously suggested, rather
 than a translation.

4. [fol. 22a.]

So saith my faire & beutifull Lycoris
 Dice la mia beliffima Licori
 When now & then she talketh
 Quando tal hor fauello
 with me of love, Love is a spirite that walketh
 Seco d'Amor ch' Amor è vn fpiritello
 that fores and flyeth and none alive can hould him
 Che vaga e vola e non fi può tenere
 nor touch him nor behould him.
 Nè toccar nè vedere
 Yet when her eyes she turneth
 E pur fe gl'occhi giro
 I fpie wher he foiurneth
 Ne i fuoi begl' occhi il miro
 in her eyes ther he flyes
 Ma no'l posso toccar
 But none can touch¹ him
 Ma no'l posso toccar
 till on her lipps he couch him
 che fol fi tocca In quella bella bocca
 —In *Musica Transalpina*, 1597.

At folio 23b begins Watson's

In chayns of hope & feare
 Ne fero sdegno mai

i. e. no. XXII, as above; and at folio 24a, Watson's

O heare me heavenly powres
 Talche douunque vo'

i. e. no. XXI, as above.

¹ *Aliter, in repetends, catch, and fetch.*

5. [fol. 29a]

I will go dye for pure love
 Io morirò d'Amore
 except rage and difdayne come to recure love
 S' al mio fcampo non vien fdegno e furore
 fince in reward of all my faithfull ferving
 Poi che Madonn' alla mia vera fede
 my ladye gives difgrace for well deferving,
 Solo de finito Amor vuol dar mercede
 and in my flames sans measure
 E per che del mio foco
 takes her difport & pleafure
 Prende folazzo e gioco
 Vnleffe fome frost affwage this heat & cure love
 Se qualche gel non temprata tant ardore
 I will goe dye for pure love.
 Io morirò d'Amore
 —In *Musica Transalpina*, 1588.

At folio 33b begins Watson's
 When Melibeus soule flying hence
 Di nettare amoroso

i. e. no. XXIII, as above ; at folio 34a begins Watson's
 now twinkling starrs do smile
 Sonar le labra e vi restaro

i. e. no. XXIV, as above ; and at folio 36a begins Watson's
 Unkinde O stay
 Crudel perche

i. e. no. XXV, as above.

6 [fol. 37b]

Ah ah in forrow drounde I waft my wearie dayes
 Deh rinforzate il vostro largo pianto
 I found myself bewrapt with clog of heavie cares,
 Occhi non occhi gia ma doi torrenti
 my fickle state doth decay
 s'ella gioisce tanto
 I lead a life that feems to me most rare,

Del vostro lagrimar del mio dolore
 my joys are all now past
 E tu infiammato core
 and pastims all' are gone
 Ch'el foco d'amor fenti
 I feele my strength fal to decay
 Scopri l'ardente fiamma
 and I myselfe to be forlorne. Careful life adew.
 Che ti confum & arde a dramma a dramma.
 —Not in Rimbault's index. Apparently merely suggested
 by the Italian text.

7. [fol. 38b]

Now must I part my darlinge
 Parto da voi mio sole
 of life & foule diseafed
 Senz' alma & senza core
 and love therwith is pleased
 E ciò consent' Amore
 Oh what a death is parting
 Ahi che partend' io moro
 but yf the fates ordayne it,
 Ma fe'l ciel cofi vuole
 who can refrayne [it]
 Che pofs' io far
 Oh what greife is now lackinge
 oh che graue martire
 yet muft I needs be packing
 Pur mi conuien partire
 farewell sweet hart vnfayned
 A dio mio bel teforo
 I dye to part constrayned.
 Ahime ch'io parto e moro.
 —In *Musica Transalpina*, 1588.

¹ *Alto*, my pastimes eke.

8 [fol. 44a]

Lo here the state of humane life
 Ecco che'l ciel à noi chiari & fereno
 & *the* change of worldly things
 Torn' à mostrarfi
 Ecco la bella Clori
 Ch' orna la terra de piu vaghi fiori
 A l'amato Fauonio apreud' il fole [sono: *Alto*]
 they do deserue ere they desire.
 Ecco le liete piaggie e'l prato ameno
 Che Mirra e Croco e i pargoletti Amori
 Spiran' intorno scherzando van
 and yet do want when they require
 per questo bel terreno

SECONDA PARTE.

Ecco che mill' augei con dolci accenti
 Cantando à proua in cima à queste riue
 they do deserue ere they desire
 Rifentir fan le valli i fiumi e i fonti
 Poi che co' raggi piu che mai lucenti
 Febo Ciprigna & altre vaghi diue
 And yet they gaine while others starve, more is *the* pittie.
 Tornano à far foggiorno in questi monti.
 —Not in Rimbault's index. Apparently the English text
 is incomplete and has little if any relation to the
 Italian.

At folio 51a begins Watson's
 The fates alas too cruell
 Questa ordi il laccio

i. e. no. XXVII, as above.

9 [fol. 51b]

Leggiadre Ninfe e Pastorelli amanti
 Che con lieti fembianti
 In queste ombrofa valle all' onde chiare
 Di viuo font' hoggi vi traffe Amore
 Per tesser ghirlandette & coronare
 La mia Ninfa gentile
 Come along all ye gentle Nymphs & Sylvans
 Mentre vezzofi Satiri e Siluani
 eke fo nymbly fkiping
 Ne i lor' habiti ftrani
 Daunce over *the* lawne
 Danzan con mod' humile
 O come ye and sing ye emong *the* rofes sweetly
 Voi cantate fpargend' e rofe e fiori
 may you liue long faire Oriana.
 Vuia viua viua viua la bella Dori.
 —Not in Rimbault's index.

10. [fol. 52]

Dainty white pearle and you fresh smiling rofes
 Candide perle e voi labbra ridenti
 The nectar sweete diftillinge
 Che Nettare fpargete
 Oh why are you unwilling
 Deh perche non volete
 of my fighs inly fyinge
 Quefti fofpiri ardenti
 Oh yet my foule her felfe in them difcloses
 Ahi che tra' loro è pur l'anima mia
 Some releife thence defiringe
 Che baciar vi defia

—In *Musica Transalpina*, 1597; repeated in Este's *Third Book*, etc. 1610.

FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER.

ON SOME OLD ENGLISH GHOST-WORDS.

IN a paper which I read before the Philological Society in London on May 4th, 1894, I pointed out that the O.E. forms *toste* 'frog, toad' (Grein, Hall) and *taxe* 'toad' (Leo, Hall, Sweet, Bosworth-Toller) were incorrect, that there really is only one word, not two, and that the correct form is *tosca*, *toxa*¹ (or possibly fem. *-sce*). Grein cites two instances *tostan* (acc. sg.) Psalm 77⁴⁵, and *toscean* (acc. pl.) Ps. 104²⁶, and decides for *st*, being apparently led thereto by its supposed relationship to Danish *tudse*. Apart from the fact that the *e* in *toscean*, regular after *sc*, would be inexplicable after *st*, we have independent evidence that *sc* is right. In the Durham Ritual, p. 125, *rana* is rendered by *tosca*, but still stronger evidence is afforded by a gloss in my forthcoming volume of O.E. glosses, I, 1855 *rubete-toxan*, where the *x* can stand by metathesis for *sc*, but not for *st*. This gl. is taken from an Oxford Aldhelm MS. and the same gl. was printed from a Brussels MS. by Bouterwek in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* IX, 450,² where it appears as *rubetæ-taxan*. This is the source of the *taxe* of the dictionaries. As a matter of fact the Brussels MS. reads *tāxan*,³ i. e. another scribe has added *o* over the line, thus altering *taxan* to *toxan*, and this, together with the reading of the Oxford MS., shows that the word here meant is *toxan*.

In most of the O.E. dictionaries from Somner and Lye down to Sweet we find a word *fornefa*, which the most recent lexicographers render by 'great-grandson.' From Lye and Hall we learn its source, it is a gloss in the Cot-

¹ Meanwhile both Sweet, in his *O.E. Dict.*, and Bosworth-Toller have given the correct *tosca*, but they both retain the incorrect *taxe*.

² In the following notes the glosses printed by Bouterwek are referred to as *Hpt.*

³ Cp. Hausknecht's collation, *Anglia* VI, 100.

tonian MS. Cleopatra A. 3 and may be found printed in Wright-Wülker 465⁴ *Pronepotum-fornefena*. This Cleopatra glossary is to a very great extent derived from Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginittatis*, and if we refer to the passage from which this particular gloss is taken¹ (ed. Giles, p. 23¹⁰), we find it reads, *Sed quid in veteribus viris, quibus priscae legis licentia nuptiales thalamorum copulas pro nepotum prosapia et posterorum progenie propaganda clementer indulisit*, etc. Thus it becomes evident that Wülker ought to have printed *pro nepotum*=*for nefena*, the *for*, like the *pro*, being a preposition, not a prefix. Hence *fornefa* must be struck out of the dictionaries. Just as little justification is there for the supposed feminine *fornefe* 'a nephew's daughter, proneptis,' which figures in Bosworth-Toller with the references, 'Som., Ben., Lye.' The editors of B.T. have however incorrectly reproduced their authorities: Som., Ben., Lye all have '*fornefa, -nefe* "Pronepos,"' and Lye, in addition, gives his source, viz. *Cott. 150*,² so that there is no MS. authority whatever for the supposed fem. *fornefe*.

Indeed one of the most fruitful sources of ghost-words is to be found in the O.E. glosses, and one point that has especially led lexicographers astray is the habit of O.E. glossators of only writing out a portion of the gloss, sometimes the first few letters, sometimes the last, just sufficient to indicate to their O.E. reader what they meant. This is very common in the *Hpt. gll.*³ An instance of error

¹ That the gl. is really taken from this very passage in Aldhelm (p. 23¹⁰) and not from p. 72¹, where the compound *pronepotum* is actually found, is fully proved by the neighbouring glosses, which occur in the text of Aldhelm in the very same order as in the Cleopatra Glossary. To make this clear I give the Latin lemmata from Wright-Wülker 465¹ to 465¹¹, adding in each case the reference to the passage in Aldhelm (ed. Giles) from which it is taken. W. W. 465¹ *portendentes* occurs Giles 22¹⁶; *puberes* G. 22²⁶; *pulmentum* G. 22³⁴; *pro nepotum* G. 23¹¹; *penitudinis* G. 24¹⁶; *paranymphus* G. 24¹⁸; *propalat* G. 27¹⁰; *pastinantem* G. 27¹⁸; *precipuum* G. 28⁴; *pubescens* G. 28³⁰; *pausantis* G. 29³⁷.

² Lye's *Cott. 150* means the same gl. as that printed in W. W. 465⁴.

³ It is common too in the Kentish Gll. edited by Zupitza, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum* XXI, 18 (and by Wright-Wülker, 55) and in the *Rule of St. Benet*, ed. H. Logeman (cp. p. xl), etc.

arising in this way I pointed out in the *Academy* May 12, 1894, p. 399, viz. *lāc* 'medicine,' which is given by Leo, Bosworth-Toller, Hall, and Sweet. The source of this is to be found in the following gl. : Hpt. 415 *lac*=*medicinæ* ; 507 *lac*=*medicamine* ; 527 *lac*=*medicamenti*. If however we compare with these Hpt. 478 *cataplasma*=*lacnunge*, it becomes clear that in all the other cases the glossator meant *lacnunge*, but only thought it necessary to write the first three letters. Another instance is *reð* 'ferocitas' Hpt. 476, which Leo, p. 407²⁷, registers as an independent word, We must of course read *reðnys*, which occurs, fully written out, Hpt. 448 and 450. The dictionaries (Hall, Sweet) give a *gedof* n. 'fury, madness,' based presumably on Hpt. 416 *deliramenta*=*gedofu*, but if we compare Hpt. 444 *deliramenta*=*dofunga*, which same gl. is repeated Hpt. 504 and also occurs W.W. 390³¹, also Hpt. 471 *machinamenta*=*dofunga*, it is obvious that Hpt. 416 must also be read *gedofunga*, as indeed Bouterwek read it, and that a neuter *gedof* is non-existent. Hpt. 513 there occurs the gl. *lautomiæ*=*tenys*, which Bouterwek not understanding makes into [*s*]tenys[*se*] and which, in its turn, is the authority for Hall's curious *steness* 'a prison.' And yet the matter is quite simple : *tenys* (= *tenes*) is the end of the gloss and the scribe meant *cweartenes* (= *-ernes*), as is clear from a gloss which occurs on the very same page, Hpt. 513, *lautomiæ*=*cweartenes*.

In the following instances the ghost-word is the result of a mere misreading of the MS. Thus in Leo 428¹³ we find a *welic* 'wellenschlagend,' etc., with a reference to Hpt. 452, and Hall, p. 344, has the same word and reference, and translates 'surging.' On looking at Hpt. 452 we find *in fundo maris*=*on deopum oððe in welicum grande sæwe*, for the *in welicum* of which the Oxford MS.¹ has the undoubtedly correct reading *nīwelicum* (from *nīwel*, *neowol*). Hall, p. 241, has *orwelig* 'pure, chaste' taken from Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien*, p. 134⁶⁰³ *heo wære orwelges mægðhades*, but this is an obvious misreading for

¹ Cp. my O.E. Glosses I, 1942.

onwelges (from *onwealg*). The supposed *ced* 'a boat,' which Sweet rightly rejects, but which is to be found in Ettmüller, Leo, Bosworth-Toller, Hall, and, as *cæd*, even in the new edition of Paul's *Grundriss* I, 335, is a misreading for *ceol* presumably due to the *o* and *l* having been written too close together.¹

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¹ The Oxford MS. (cp. my O.E. Gl. I, 28) certainly has *ceol*, though at first sight it might be taken for *ced* (with upright Latin *d*), the *o* and *l* being very close together, but on looking carefully one sees that *ceol* is undoubtedly meant. Moreover, if the scribe had intended to write *ced*, he would have used the sloping English *o*.

THE LETTERS OF EDWARD GIBBON.

WHEN a new edition of Gibbon's *Letters* was printed in 1896 it was heralded as a great advance upon the edition of Lord Sheffield, the first editor of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*. The Introduction by the present Earl of Sheffield and the preface by the editor, R. E. Prothero, seem to carry the idea that all letters available, especially all in the possession of the Sheffield family, have been given to the world. The former says,

'The Letters of the historian, the bulk of which were addressed to Lord Sheffield and his family, were published in part by my grandfather in one or other of the editions of *The Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*. But in this collection many letters were omitted, and most of them were printed with some omissions and variations. These omissions have now been restored; and the Letters, like the other papers of our author, are now for the first time given to the world in the form in which they were composed.'

In addition to this Mr. Prothero says,

'By far the greater number of the letters now appear for the first time; but portions of the correspondence, marked in this edition with asterisks, were printed by Lord Sheffield shortly after Gibbon's death. These published portions were treated by the editor with great tact and more freedom. . . . In this edition the letters are printed as they were written.'

Most reviews that I have seen also give credit to the new publication, not only for the large number of new letters, but also by implication for the only complete edition of the correspondence. It was a great surprise therefore to find, on making a careful examination of the work, that our debt to the new editor is by no means so great as we

wish it were. A comparison of the letters in the first and second editions of the *Miscellaneous Works* (1796, 1814)¹ with the new *Letters* shows the omission of a considerable number by no means lacking in value. Besides, there has evidently been no attempt to gather the Gibbon letters from various scattered, but easily accessible, sources. The importance of these is such that I propose to give lists of those found (1) in the *Miscellaneous Works*, and (2) in other places, so far as they have come to my notice in a study of Gibbon. The numbers at the beginning of the first list are those in *Miscellaneous Works*, second edition 1814; those at the end of each reference, the volume and page of the same edition. The description of the letters is also that of the first editor, but some remarks are added in parentheses. The first list, containing thirty-six letters written by Gibbon, is as follows:

6. To M. Gesner, on Horace and Catullus (no date, but no doubt 1757); I, 502.
8. To M. Gesner, same subject continued (no date); I, 515.
9. To . . . on the government of Berne. (Really a treatise on the subject, written as if by a traveler in Switzerland; no date but probably about the time of Gibbon's first leaving Lausanne, 1758); II, 1-32.
10. To Mrs. Porten (dated Lausanne, 1756); II, 33.
16. To his father, on his Paris visit, dated Paris, Feb. 24, 1763; II, 54.
20. To G. L. Scott, Esq., proposing the establishment of a Journal of English Literature by Scott, Deyverdun and himself. Dated Buriton, Oct. 19, 1767; II, 68.
34. To Mr. Holroyd, on Junius's letters. Dated Boodle's, Dec. 1772; II, 97.
42. To the same, mainly on personal affairs. Dated 1774; II, 116.
92. To Dr. Watson, thanking him for his Remarks on Mr. Gibbon's History, and desiring his acquaintance. Dated Bentinck St., Nov. 2, 1776; II, 180.
97. To Madame Necker, thanking her for her invitation to Paris and recommending M. de Texier to M. Necker. Dated London, Nov. 26, 1776; II, 186.
110. To Mr. Holroyd, on his History. Dated Paris, July 14, 1777; II, 201.

¹ Curiously enough, the dates of these editions are wrongly given the only time they are referred to in the Introductions of both the *Letters* and the *Autobiographies*. The mistake is perhaps due to copying one of the usually accurate Lowndes.

111. To Dr. Robertson, on the latter's History of America. Dated Paris, 1777 (about June or July); II, 201.

122. To Dr. Chelsum, on returning the latter's attack on the Decline and Fall. Dated Bentinck St., Feb. 20, 1778; II, 217.

134. To Mr. Holroyd, on political affairs. Dated May 7, 1779; II, 230.

161. To Dr. Priestley, on receiving the History of the Corruptions of Christianity. Dated Jan. 23, 1783; II, 265. (This and the two following letters were printed by Priestley in a volume of sermons, published soon after Gibbon's death.)

163. To the same, declining further correspondence with him. Dated Bentinck St., Feb. 6, 1783; II, 269.

165. To the same, forbidding the publication of his letters. Dated Feb. 23, 1783; II, 271.

167. To Lord Thurlow, offering himself for the diplomatic service; II, 272. (No date, but clearly relating to the negotiations for peace with America in 1783.)

176. To Deyverdun, on the projected retirement to Lausanne. Dated Sheffield Place, July 31, 1783; II, 307.

181. To Lord [Loughborough?], offering to accept employment at the court of France. (No date, but probably about August, 1783); II, 317.

184. To Deyverdun, postponing his journey to Lausanne until he shall hear again from the latter. Dated London, Sept. 9, 1783; II, 320.

195. To Mrs. Porten, on his life at Lausanne. Dated Dec. 27, 1783; II, 340. (In a note to a letter from Gibbon to his step-mother, bearing the same date, Prothero mentions the above as being similar in expressions, and implies that perhaps Lord Sheffield had altered the names and sentences; see Letters II, 87.)

202. To Madame de Severy. Dated Lausanne, Oct. 19, 1784; II, 364.

208. To Sir Stanier Porten, on his aunt Catherine Porten's death. Dated Lausanne, May 12, 1786; II, 392.

214. To Madame de Severy, inviting her son to accompany him to England. Dated Lausanne, Sept. 1, 1787; II, 404.

215. To M. de Severy, announcing arrival of M. Wilhelm de Severy in England. Dated Sheffield Place, Nov. 4, 1787; II, 409.

218. To Madame de Severy. Dated Sheffield Place, Jan. 17, 1788; II, 413.

224. To M. de Severy, on his departure for Lausanne. Dated Sheffield Place, June 30, 1788; II, 422.

227. To S. E. M. L'Avoyer de Sinner, with thanks for the restoration of some wine which had been seized. (No date, but answered by Sinner, Sept. 28, 1788); II, 427.

230. To Lady Porten, on Sir Stanier's death. Dated Lausanne, June 27, 1789; II, 429.

[Unnumbered.] To the Honorable Miss Holroyd, on affairs in Switzerland. Dated Lausanne, Nov. 9, 1791; I, 333.

253. To Lady Elizabeth Foster, on his intended visit to England and various other affairs. Dated Lausanne, Nov. 8, 1792; II, 471.

[Unnumbered.] To the Honorable Miss Holroyd, requesting an account of the death of the Archbishop of Arles. Dated Lausanne, Nov. 10, 1792; I, 369.

256. To Lady Elizabeth Foster, on French affairs, etc. Dated Lausanne, April 4, 1793; II, 486.

261. To Mr. John Pinkerton, on publishing the ancient English Historians. Dated Sheffield Place, July 25, 1793; II, 492.

262. To Lord Auckland. Dated St. James St., Nov. 26, 1793; II, 495.

The second list contains letters by Gibbon published in *Le Salon de Madame Necker*¹ by M. d'Haussonville, and a few from *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, from *Notes and Queries*, and from Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*. Seven letters to Lord Eliot, Gibbon's kinsman, which relate to his parliamentary life, are said to exist at Port Eliot, Cornwall; see report of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission* I, 41.

From *Le Salon de Madame Necker*:

To Mdlle. Curchod; fall of 1757. I, 37.

To Mdlle. Curchod; two letters, Nov. 1757. I, 37, 41.

To Mdlle. Curchod; Feb. 9, 1758. I, 47.

To Mdlle. Curchod; Aug. 24, 1762. I, 52.

To Mdlle. Curchod; June 23, 1763. I, 61.

To Mme. Necker; about March, 1781. I, 71.

To Mme. Necker; extract only, June 1781. II, 144.

Not only are some of these incomplete, but others are mentioned as existing in the Neckers' baronial mansion at Coppet, of which copies could no doubt be obtained.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

To Cave, printer of the Gentleman's Magazine, about Gibbon's family; Feb. 24, 1792. G. M. LXIV, 5.

To J. Nichols about family; Jan. 16, 1793. G. M. LXVI, 459.

To John Pinkerton about historical series; July 25, 1793. G. M. LXVIII, 914.

To Samuel Egerton Brydges about family; Aug. 7, 1793. G. M. LXVII, 916; also in *Autobiography of Sir Egerton Brydges* I, 225.

¹ This is a republication of essays which appeared first in *Revue de Deux Mondes* during 1880 and 1881. An English translation was made by H. M. Trollope in 1882, and the references are to volume and page of his edition.

From *Notes and Queries* :

To neighbor at Buriton, apologizing for unwittingly trespassing on his property ; Nov. 16, 1758. First Series IX, 511.

To Francis Hugonin, on affairs of the estate, except for a reference or two to politics ; June 6, 1782. Second Series III, 145 ; also in Hampshire Repository.

To Becket, bookseller, about books and the *Mémoires Littéraires*. Second Series III, 365.

From Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* :

To Lord Loughborough, congratulating him on being made Chancellor ; Feb. 23, 1793. Permission to print this letter in *Miscellaneous Works* was refused Lord Sheffield by Loughborough.

In referring to these omitted letters I can not refrain from mentioning that Gibbon seems to have been a frequent correspondent of Horace Walpole. Whether it is possible to recover any such letters I do not know, but they would probably be of special value as giving, to a greater extent than any others, Gibbon's estimates of books and literary men.

In a collection of letters the main interest is naturally in those written by the man himself, rather than in those addressed to him. Yet sometimes the latter are important, as either supplying connecting links or giving estimates of the man and his work by those whose opinions are of special value. For the latter reason, no doubt, Lord Sheffield printed in the *Miscellaneous Works* many letters written to Gibbon by eminent men. The new editor of the *Letters* has omitted almost all of these, but has added in their place some from Lord Sheffield, all of which had been omitted by the latter with becoming modesty. As most of Lord Sheffield's letters relate mainly to business affairs, it is little to say that they are but slight compensation for those from such men as Crevier, Gesner, Dr. Hurd, Garrick, Walpole, Hume, Robertson, and others. So important are many of these that a list of those accessible are here given. The numbers at the beginning, or in parentheses, are those of Lord Sheffield's second edition (1814). Letters 1 to 7 are in vol. I, all others in vol. II.

From *The Miscellaneous Works* :

1. From M. Crevier ; Paris, Aug. 7, 1756.
- 2, 3. From M. Allemand ; Bex, Sept. 14, Oct. 12, 1756.
- 4, 5. From Professor Breitinger ; Zurich, Oct. 22, 1756, Mar. 1, 1757.
7. From M. Gesner ; Göttingen, Feb. 12, 1758.
11. From Dr. Waldegrave ; Washington near Storrington, Dec. 7, 1758.
13. From Mr. Mallet ; 1761.
14. From Mr. George L. Scott ; London, May 7, 1762. (65) Dec. 29, 1776.
31. From Dr. Hurd, in answer to Gibbon's on the book of Daniel ; Thurstaston, Aug. 29, 1772.
37. From Mr. Whitaker ; Manchester, July 20, 1773. (68) Feb. 24, (69) Mar. 26, (70) Apr. 21, (71) May 11, 1776.
63. From W. Strahan, the publisher, regarding the History ; London, Oct. 8, 1775.
72. From Joseph Warton ; Winchester, Mar. 11, 1776.
73. From David Garrick ; London, Mar. 9, 1776.
- 74-77. From Horace Walpole ; no dates.
79. From Adam Ferguson ; Edinburgh, Mar. 19, (81) Apr. 18, 1776.
86. From Mme. Necker ; Paris, July 29, (91) Jan. 23, 1776. (100) Jan. 23, 1777. (148) Apr. 21, 1781. (236-251) Coppet and Geneva, 1791-1793.
1777. (148) Apr. 21, 1781. (236-251) Coppet and Geneva, 1791-1793.
93. From Dr. Watson ; Cambridge, Nov. 4, 1776. (131) Jan. 14, 1779.
96. From M. Suard ; Paris, Sept. 25, 1776.
98. From M. de Septchenes ; Paris, Dec. 28, 1776.
109. From Dr. Robertson ; Edinburgh, June 5, 1777. (112) no date. (133) Mar. 10, 1779. (149) May 11, (153) Nov. 6, 1781. (219) Feb. 27, (225) July 30, 1788. (232) Aug. 25, 1791.
115. From M. de Buffon ; Paris, Oct. 25, 1777.
117. From Mme. du Deffand ; Paris, Nov. 12, 1777.
123. From Dr. Chelsum ; Oxford, Mar. 6, 1778.
139. From Mme. de Genlis ; Paris, Oct. 15, 1779. (174) St. Leu, July 3, 1783.
151. From Sir William Jones ; London, June 30, 1781.
152. From Lord Hardwicke ; Wimple, Sept. 20, 1881.
162. From Dr. Priestley ; Birmingham, Feb. 3, 1782. (164) Feb. 10, (166) Feb. 25, 1783.
168. From Lord Thurlow ; no date.
186. From Lord Loughborough ; London, Sept. 11, 1783.
220. From Lord North ; May 1, 1788.
226. From Major Russell ; London, Aug. 21, 1788.
228. From S. E. M. L'Avoyer de Sinner ; Berne, Sept. 28, 1788.
229. From Adam Smith ; Edinburgh, Dec. 10, 1788.
233. From M. de Saussure ; Geneva, Mar. 21, 1792.
234. From Professor Heyne ; Göttingen, Aug. 4, 1792.
235. From M. Necker ; no date. (255) Rolle, Mar. 19, (263) Lausanne, Nov., 1793.
254. From Sir John Macpherson ; Munich, Dec. 4, 1792.
258. From Dr. Vincent ; London, July 20, (259) July 22, 1793.
261. From Mr. John Pinkerton ; London, July 23, 1793.

From *Le Salon de Madame Necker* :

From Susanne Curchod ; Lausanne, about February 1758.

From Susanne Curchod ; three letters ; Geneva, May 30, June 17, Sept. 21, 1763.

Besides these last, relating to Gibbon's early engagement to Mdlle. Curchod, one of the latter's letters, dated Nov. 5, 1758, is quoted in part in *Proceedings of the Gibbon Commemoration*, p. 40, and from a hint in *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*,¹ it may be inferred that there are some others from that lady among the unpublished Gibbon papers.

All students of Gibbon will be grateful to the recent editor of the letters for many new ones and for restoring omitted passages in others. The admirable notes and the exhaustive index are no inconsiderable favors. Yet it is in the highest degree unfortunate that some sixty letters which have been printed before or were easily accessible should have been omitted entirely, to say nothing of more than eighty letters from prominent people which add something to the historian's life.

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¹ 'The other papers [from Lausanne] were mostly letters from different people, and it astonished me to find what sort of letters he kept. There are several love letters of Madame Necker's among them. If the papers had fallen into the hands of a Boswell what fun the world would have had.'—*Maria Josepha to Miss Ann Firth*, p. 293.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RUNES.

THIS paper¹ is intended to give a very brief account of the discovery of the key to the question of the origin of the Runic alphabet. The complete treatment of the subject will appear as one of the chapters in a volume of Runic Studies that I expect to put out in the course of the year.

The theory of the Latin parentage of the Runic alphabet was most thoroughly presented by Wimmer in 1874 and 1887, and was almost universally accepted by the philological world (cf. Sievers in Paul's *Grundriss* I, p. 246; new ed., p. 257). Early in 1895 I wrote a paper (that appeared in the volume of *Philologische Studien*, published October, 1896, as a 'Festgabe für Eduard Sievers') in which I attacked certain of Wimmer's arguments and methods of dealing with his material and showed that he had not proved his case (cf. Streitberg in *Lit. Centralblatt*, Oct. 1, 1898, col. 1587). Since that time various scholars have, with more or less hesitation and deference, criticized certain points in Wimmer's position. Still, the theory that the runes are derived from the Latin alphabet continues to hold the ground—for the simple reason that no other has been so well presented or in any way established. In saying this, I do not forget that Isaac Taylor, in his *Greeks and Goths* and later in his *The Alphabet*, attempted to prove that the runes were derived from a Thracian alphabet of the sixth century B. C. We shall see that Taylor came much nearer the truth than Wimmer did; but his disregard of established facts of Germanic philology and his reckless combinations have brought it about that his theory has been ignored by Runic scholars, and those of his arguments that were

¹ Read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association at Charlottesville, Virginia, Dec. 1898.

really sound have not been given due credit. Some years ago, Professor Gundermann of Giessen promised (*Litteraturblatt*, 1897, No. 12) soon to publish the proofs of his theory, which, like Taylor's, assumed the adoption of the alphabet before the Germanic shift had taken place; but I have heard nothing since as to his theory.

It has generally been supposed (except by Taylor) that the order of the runes stood in no relation to that of the letters of other alphabets. There is one group of letters, however, that has long interested me, namely *p s t*, in which we find *p—s t* in the order of other alphabets. This led me to suspect that in spite of Taylor's failure to prove it, the order of the runes might really be based on the usual order, but became disarranged through confusion or grouping of letters of similar form or sound. I remembered that Germanic *z* became an *r*, usually printed *R* to distinguish it from original *r*. I knew also that the two were not infrequently confused in early Old Norse and I suspected that this might have happened in the alphabet, too. I therefore put the new *R* (or *z*) where we find the old *r*, and put the latter where we find the new *R*, that is, before *s*.—We know that *F* and *E* were confused in ancient alphabets though they resemble one another in form only; it occurred to me that *ƿ* (earlier *F*) and *ƒ*, both consisting of a shaft with two arms projecting to the right, might have been similarly confused, and so I tentatively made them exchange places. This made *a* the first letter of the alphabet and put *f* about where it belongs.—After *a* we expect *b*, and after *t* we expect *u*; we find, however, that in the Runic alphabet these two letters have exchanged places, and so I restored each to its original position. The confusion was doubtless due to the fact that the Germanic *b* was not a stop consonant like our *b*, but the bilabial fricative heard in Middle and South Germany for the letter *w*, the resemblance between this and the vowel *u* being obvious.—The rune for *n* (*†*) differs from *h* in having but one crossed shaft while *H* has two, and from *i* in having a crossed

shaft while | has an uncrossed shaft. I noticed that *n* stands just between these two similar letters and I suspected that it had been placed there because of this similarity of form, and so I put it back where it belonged and where it had left its trace in the ligature $\langle \rangle ng$.—Taylor has shown that $\mathfrak{M}e$ was placed next to $\mathfrak{M}m$ because of the similarity of the two runes; and it is obvious that \mathfrak{N} was placed next to $\mathfrak{N}n$ (while that letter still stood after *m*) for the same reason.

The correction of these six natural and very simple displacements presents the runes to us in the following order. (For *p* I give its universally accepted prototype *d*.)

a b d e f z *kgw* h i j l v p r s t u l m n ð o¹.

That is, the great majority of the runes are in the order in which we should expect them. It is easy to show that the other changes are all due to just such associations of sounds or letters as we have observed above; but this involves extended explanations of change of form and sound and requires types not now at my disposal. (There is as yet no font of Runic type in this country, and all the types that I use I have to cut myself.) The evidence presented by the half dozen changes explained above is sufficient to compel our assent to the following theses:—

I. The order of the runes is a modified form of the order of the letters in other alphabets.

II. The Runic alphabet is based on an alphabet in which *z* had its original place and value, and in which a dental fricative stood between *n* and *o*,—as found in the Semitic and in the Greek alphabets; in other words, it is now simply impossible to look to the Latin alphabet as the source of the runes.

III. As the forms of the runes $\mathfrak{B} b$, $\mathfrak{R} r$, $\mathfrak{W} p$, not to

¹ Wimmer is quite wrong in giving *ng o ð* as the order of the last three runes; this order is found in the Old-English *Runesong* only (and is there due to the association of the two similar runes \mathfrak{X} and \mathfrak{X}), and all other evidence is in favor of the order *ng ð o*. The Vadstena bracteate omits ð because there was barely room for a thin \mathfrak{X} and by no means enough for so broad a letter as \mathfrak{X} . See Wimmer's facsimile.

mention anything else, exclude the idea that the runes were derived directly from a Semitic alphabet, we are warranted in looking to one of the Greek alphabets for the source of the Runic futhork.

In doing this we, like Taylor, must, as in dealing with any other Greek alphabet, allow the archaic features of the runes their due weight, instead of trying to explain them away as Wimmer's theory forced him to do. I refer to the retrograde and boustrophedon direction of the writing, to the ancient *i*-form \beth appearing in the *j*-rune \mathfrak{h} , to the doubly crossed \mathfrak{H} , to the use of both Σ and ς as runes for *s*, to the original *s*-rune \mathfrak{S} (from Greek Σ) and *p*-rune \mathfrak{W} (from Greek Π inverted, as in the case of Λ from Greek ∇) on the Charnay brooch, and to other archaisms that I need not mention here.

The boustrophedon order gradually encroached upon the retrograde (right to left) and was at its height about 600 B. C., though the present order had already begun to encroach upon it. The same date also best accounts for the *form* of the runes. Had the Greek alphabet come to the Germanic people fifty years earlier, we should probably have had only \mathfrak{E} for *h*; *s* would have had only the form ς ; and *r* would probably have been tailless. Had the adoption of the alphabet taken place fifty years later, we should not have the archaic *i*-form \mathfrak{h} for *j*; we should find Σ the more usual rather than the rarer form of *s*; and *e* would have been erect \mathfrak{E} , not \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{N} (from Greek Π). Indeed, the establishment of this early birth of the Runic alphabet has importance for the history of the Greek alphabet and for alphabets in general; for the Runic alphabet can now throw light on the development of its sister alphabets.

In seeking the Greek prototype of the Runic alphabet, we naturally turn first to the alphabets employed by the vast majority of the Greeks on the mainland as well as by their descendants and by neighboring races in Italy and the North-west,—namely, the Western alphabets. The evidence presented by the forms of the runes shows that

we are right in doing so. The use of < rather than Γ or Λ , of \mathfrak{R} rather than \mathfrak{P} or \mathfrak{D} , of \mathfrak{H} for *h* and not for *ē*, practically excludes the alphabets of Asia Minor and the Islands; while the forms of *b* and *e* in the same way make very unlikely the alphabets of the North-eastern Peloponnesus. The fact that \mathfrak{X} stands for omicron and not for omega (which is proved by the order $\mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{x} =$ East Italic N $\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{O} =$ Greek N $\mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{O}$ or N $\mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{O}$) also makes it likely that we have to do with a Western alphabet. The same conclusion is arrived at by the consideration of various matters that cannot be brought out on this occasion.

The date 600 B. C. has importance for Germanic philology when we consider that a study of the adaptation of the Greek letters to Germanic speech reveals the fact that the Germanic shift of consonants had already taken place. Hitherto the completion of the Germanic shift has been placed anywhere between 400 and 250 B. C., but this calculation was based on slight and very untrustworthy material, namely, the spelling of three or four adopted words, in which sound-substitution doubtless played a large part. The confusion of *r* and *z*, on the other hand, shows us that the usual 3x8 formulation of the Runic futhork was not completed until *z* had become *r* in the dialect in which this formulation took place.

To recapitulate: the runes are based on a Western Greek alphabet differing but little from the Formello alphabet and that in the direction of certain other Western alphabets, for example, the Venetic, the East Italic (or 'Sabellic'), and the Gallic; and the adoption of this alphabet by the Germanic people took place about 600 B. C., at which time the chief changes that differentiate Germanic speech from the remaining Indo-European languages had taken place. The determination of these facts throws light on many other questions of Germanic philology and raises new questions, some of which I shall consider in the volume of studies referred to above.

GEORGE HEMPL.

REVIEWS.

Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris. With Introduction and Notes, by Charles A. Eggert, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co.: New York, 1898. LXI, 180 p. 12mo.

THE *Iphigenia* is conspicuous among Goethe's works as one of the chief testimonies of the marvelous many-sidedness of the poet's genius. For, while it is more or less customary to regard this drama as the ripe fruit of Goethe's Italian sojourn, it was completed, as a matter of fact, only six years after the *Götz* had ushered in the period of storm and stress, four years before the poet, in *Ilmenau*, made his final reckoning with this period of his life, and almost eight years before he ever set foot on Italian soil. To be sure, judged by the standard of artistic perfection, there is a considerable difference between the version of March 1779 and that of December 1786. But it is very easy to exaggerate this difference; especially, since Goethe himself, in the diary and letters of September and October 1786 (quoted on p. L f. of Dr. Eggert's edition), repeatedly speaks of the amount of work he has to do on the *Iphigenia*. These statements, however, refer principally to the difficulty of making the necessary metrical changes. Undoubtedly it was the very excellency of the lost Karlsbad text of August 1786, which rendered adding and eliminating such an exceedingly difficult task. Cf. letter to Herder of October 14, quoted on p. LI. Of the fourth act Goethe wrote to Herder: 'Der vierte Akt wird fast ganz neu'; and in a measure this is true. And yet we find exactly the same scenes in exactly the same order, the same thoughts and motives as in the first version of 1779.¹ If we compare, however, the revised form of 1781, the changes appear even less; for in it a number

¹ A real change occurs only in ll. 1549-1560. To remind oneself, however, what the rewriting of an act occasionally meant with Goethe, one should compare, for example, the last act of *Gottfried* with the same act in *Götz*. Cf. also Goethe's letter to Kayser of February 6, 1787, not quoted by Dr. Eggert.

of passages, lacking in the earlier manuscripts, occur in almost the identical form in which they were finally published in 1786. Cf. ll. 1446-56, 1598-1601, 1658-59, etc. And with all this, we must remember that the Karlsbad version, which immediately preceded the final form and undoubtedly resembled it much more closely, is not known to us. In short, there can hardly be any doubt that Italy contributed but little to Goethe's *Iphigenia*, and assuredly next to nothing that was not already within the poet's grasp when he left Karlsbad. For I fully agree with Dr. Eggert in his estimate of the real influence of Moritz' metrical theories on the verse of *Iphigenia*. Cf. also the significant statement in the letter to the duke of September 18, quoted on p. L.

For these reasons, I believe that there was no need for Dr. Eggert to devote a special chapter of his introduction to 'the work on *Iphigenia* in Italy'; and I sincerely regret that he has not attempted a general comparison, however brief, of the final version with the first prose of 1779. The necessarily disconnected remarks in the notes cannot take the place of it.

In other respects, however, the nine chapters of Dr. Eggert's thoughtful and comprehensive introduction contain everything at all necessary to the student of the drama. In the second chapter (Forerunners of Goethe's Drama), and in the fifth (The Genesis of the Drama) some unimportant details might even have been omitted, in the interest of the clearness and prominence of the principal features involved. As a whole, however, the introduction is well written, suggestive, and refreshing in its expressions of independent opinion, even though we may not always be able to share the editor's views. This is especially true of the fourth chapter on 'the healing of Orestes, and the "curse" in Goethe's treatment.' I am convinced that, through his desire of disproving Kuno Fischer's theory of expiation through vicarious suffering—with regard to which I agree with Dr. Eggert—he has been induced to make too light of the curse on the house of Tantalus as a reality in Goethe's drama. Wherever, as in *Faust* or *Iphigenia*, old legendary matter has been made the channel for the expression of modern ideas, it is hardly advisable to try to draw a close line of demarcation between the old and the new. Now, the two may appear inextricably interwoven, now again

distinctly incompatible with one another. This applies to Goethe's treatment of the Furies (Compare e. g. ll. 728 and 1539 with Orestes' frenzy in act III, scene 1). It especially applies to the curse. Purely mythological and distinctly modern elements are closely united; for the idea of a 'curse' resting on a succession of generations is not impervious to modern interpretation. In fact, in ll. 333-36 and 355-59 Goethe himself suggests a key to it, and Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Zola's Rougon-Macquart series are, in a certain sense, illustrations to the point. So much is sure, Schiller's 'Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen That, dass sie fortzeugend Böses muss gebären' is more consistently modern thinking than Pylades' unsuccessful attempt to quiet Orestes. Cf. p. XXXIII and note on ll. 713-14.

I add the following considerations bearing on the question, since they permit of being stated briefly. (1) Not only Orestes in his frenzy and Iphigenia in her despair believe in the curse; but so does Pylades (cf. ll. 1616 ff.); so do Orestes and Iphigenia after being freed from frenzy and despair (cf. ll. 1968-69 and 2136-37). (2) The passages just quoted, as well as others, prove that the healing of Orestes is not identical with the expiation of the curse (see p. XXXIV). The third act, however, deserves none the less to be called 'die Achse des Stückes,' for here Iphigenia's 'reine Menschlichkeit' achieves its greatest triumph. The remainder of the plot follows of necessity. Iphigenia must act as she does—her very nature requires it—and Thoas must act as he does—his nature has been so ennobled through Iphigenia as to demand it. (3) Neither Agamemnon nor Orestes are so blameless or so completely different from their ancestral race as the editor represents them in his note on l. 398. As to Agamemnon, we should not only compare l. 403, but also ll. 906-7 and Iphigenia's significant words in ll. 523-25. As to Orestes' deed, we must remember that (4) the traditional law of revenge might demand of him the murder of Aegisthus, without sanctioning the slaying of his mother. Iphigenia, certainly, never even suspects the latter. Cf. p. XXXII and ll. 994 ff., 1048-50, 1164-65. At any rate, no 'recent writer,' certainly none in *ZfdU.*, XI or XII, 'denies that the Greeks believed in *Blutrache*.' On the contrary, *Blutrache* is there recognized

as a binding obligation; it is only questioned, whether it included matricide.

The plot of Goethe's *Iphigenia* deals with the healing of Orestes, the return of Iphigenia, and the expiation of the curse resting on their family. Since, without the first two, the third cannot be achieved, it is this, the expiation of the curse, which lends unity of action to the drama. Orestes' frenzy, Iphigenia's captivity, and the curse, in their last analysis, are all the result of 'menschliche Gebrechen'; their removal, on the other hand, is due to the heroine's 'reine Menschlichkeit.' Cf. the dedicatory lines quoted on p. XXXV. The healing of Orestes and the release of Iphigenia are represented in the play itself. That Pylades' and Orestes' visions of a new life in the house of Atreus (ll. 1610-19 and 2136-40) will likewise become a reality, who, in a poetic sense, can doubt it at the close of the drama?

In the fifth chapter on 'the genesis of the drama' it would have been preferable, on pp. XLIV-XLVI, to observe a more chronological order, clearly distinguishing the different phases of the development from each other. Also the double reference to the influence of the *Alcestis* (pp. XLIV and XLV) is not conducive to greater clearness, while, as a matter of fact, the irregular meter of the Lavater ms. resembles much more the *Prometheus* than the *Alcestis*. Open to serious criticism, however, is the fact that in chapter V the editor follows Düntzer, Strehlke, a. o., in considering the Lavater ms. as the second phase and the revised prose versions of 1780 and 1781 as the third, while later, in the ninth chapter on 'the manuscripts,' he adopts the method of von Loeper and Michels, who group the Lavater ms. with the original prose version, but *distinguish between the revised prose version of 1780 in the Strassburg ms. (second phase) and the revision of 1781 (third phase)*.

In the eighth chapter on 'the meter,' the editor successfully tries to do justice to some of the subtler aspects of blank verse, too often disposed of summarily as iambic pentameter. The statement on p. LVI, however, about 'a caesura after the fourth (syllable),' is not applicable to German or English blank verse. Cf. Minor, *Nhd. Metrik*, p. 229 ff.

The *text* of the edition is excellently printed and almost entirely free from errors or blemishes of any kind.

The notes, necessarily the most important part of most college editions, call for high praise. They never introduce extraneous matter, but supply liberally everything desirable for a full understanding of the form and meaning of the drama. In addition to what has incidentally been said above, I desire to call attention to the following points.—l. 16. The personification of abstracts is not chiefly, if at all, dependent on the mere use of the article. Cf. notes on ll. 457–58, 1638, 1785–86, and see Blatz, *Nhd. Gram.*, II, p. 168, Anm. 1.—l. 84. The readings of the earlier versions point to a different interpretation of 'fremder Fluch.'—l. 574. 'Atreus' Enkel' is used for 'Tantalus' Geschlecht'; cf. note on l. 326. The quotation from the *Electra* in no wise refers to the crime of Atreus.—l. 576. According to Hyginus, Atreus also was murdered. Cf. Düntzer's *Erläuterungen*,⁶ p. 70.—ll. 709 and 710. There should be a reference to the widely different interpretations of this passage. Cf. *ZfdU.*, XI, 600 and XII, 210 and 212.—l. 942, 'Herd der Vatergötter' remains unexplained. Cf. note on l. 1612 and Düntzer's *Erläut.*, p. 96.—l. 1022. The note has been given under l. 49.—l. 1168. Despite what the editor says in support of his interpretation of 'Es ruft,' the older explanation, referring it to 'Mutterblutes,' seems more natural. Syntactically there can be no serious objection, and the half-frenzied Orestes, after hearing the terrible lines 1164–65, can well be imagined as unable to grasp any subsequent idea.—l. 1549–60. There should be a reference to the important change in the contents of Pylades' account, as compared with the earlier versions.

The notes are followed by a *bibliography* which is by far the weakest, fortunately also the least important, part of the edition. On its six pages, a not over-careful examination revealed upwards of fifty errors, many trivial, but many rather serious. They are not included in the following list of the most disturbing typographical errors and some other minor details.—p. V, l. 13, sense not clear; p. XII, l. 27, read *Dianae*; p. XIII, l. 28, read *machina*; p. XIV, l. 17, read *Nibelungenlied*; p. XVIII, l. 5, read *Iphigenia*, or *auf*; p. XXXI, l. 31, the reference is confused: Fraedrich's article is in vol. XI, 598–601, while the replies by Althaus and Rachel are in vol. XII, 209–214; p. XXXII, l. 28, this edition is not mentioned in the

bibliography; p. XXXV, ll. 12-13, cf. Strehlke in the Hempel ed., vol. III, p. 355; p. XXXV, l. 26, comma lacking after *anvertraut*; p. XXXV, l. 30, read *weit*; p. XXXVII, l. 26, read *poetam aemulatus*; p. XXXIX, l. 6, read *Gotter*; p. XLV, l. 1, not Seidel, but Vogel made the copy; cf. Weimar ed., *Werke*, vol. 10, p. 389; p. XLVIII, l. 25, read *Strassburg*; p. L, l. 6, read *Abthl. III, Bd. I*; p. LI, l. 14, read III, 1, 289; in still other instances the references to the Weimar ed. of the diary and correspondence are inaccurate; p. LVII, l. 27, read *nationality*; p. LX, l. 19, read *Bd. 39, Jugendschriften*; p. LX, l. 27, read *Schröder*. This statement is not on the wrapper of the ms., but on its title-page; cf. Weimar ed., vol. 39, p. 449; p. 39, l. 899, read *Agisth*; p. 44, l. 1008, read *Schmerzlichs*; p. 70, l. 1635, read *vor*; p. 71, l. 1646, read *entschuldigt.*; p. 109, l. 15, read *1696*; p. 111, l. 37, read *He*; p. 114, l. 32, read *sons*; p. 127, l. 13, read *416* for *24*; p. 141, l. 8, omit quotation marks; p. 142, l. 30, read *trochees*; p. 144, l. 19, read *1506-10*; p. 144, l. 26, read *1510*; p. 157, l. 33, read *Diomede*. Besides, in numerous instances, names like Baechthold, Götz, Müller, etc., are inconsistently spelled, and the names of various magazines incorrectly quoted.

It is natural that in a critical review of a scholarly piece of work the reviewer chiefly dwells on evident shortcomings, as well as on those points on which his opinion differs from that of the author. I am, therefore, glad to state, in conclusion, that, in its entirety, I consider Dr. Eggert's edition as an excellent one, worthy of the reputation he has already achieved as the successful editor of several French texts. If freed, in a second edition, from the blemishes now attaching to it, it will indeed realize the editor's hope of being an advance on previous editions and a work of permanent value.

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English Etymology. A select glossary serving as an introduction to the history of the English language, by Friedrich Kluge, Professor of the German Language and Literature at the University of Freiburg in Baden, Germany, and Frederick Lutz, Professor of Modern Languages at Albion College, Michigan. D. C. Heath & Co.: Boston, 1898, Pp. VIII, 234, 12°.

For several years teachers and students of English have been awaiting with some impatience the appearance of Kluge's *English Etymology*. Notwithstanding the existence of several books that are excellent in their way, there has been nothing that in all respects meets the needs of the beginner who wishes to make his work thoroughly accurate and yet who requires assistance on elementary matters. As was to be expected from a philologist of the first rank, like Kluge, this book presents conclusions that have been carefully tested by a comparison of all accessible data, and may be taken as representing at practically every point the most advanced scholarship. The remarkably modest preface gives no indication of the vast amount of original work that has gone into this little book. Even the modern English dialects have been searched for illustrative material.

Instances of skillful treatment occur in the discussion of *gall, ghost, gift, glass, grass, hazel, heathen, heaven, hemp, man, milk, murder, nail, pilot* (of which the origin is confessed to be unknown), *orchard, poppy, strawberry, taper*, and scores of other words. With regard to *earl* the suggestion is made that it is 'perhaps identical with the Teutonic tribe-name *Heruli*.' *Earn* is 'perhaps traceable to the Aryan \sqrt{ar} in Gr. ἀρνυμαι.' *Ear*, to plough, represents, according to Kluge, 'Aryan \sqrt{ar} in Lat. *arvum* "field" and in *earth*.' Over against this we may place the remark in Murray's Oxford Dict. s.v. *earth*: 'No other non-Teutonic cognates are known to exist, the plausible connection with W. Aryan root *ar, to plough, being open to serious objection.' Numerous other instances of independent judgment may be discovered by any student who compares the book with the 'standard authorities.' As a permanent contribution to English etymology this little volume is, therefore, sure to be welcomed by critical students.

Yet we may at least question whether the book in its present

form is likely to prove as widely useful as Professor Kluge and Professor Lutz expect. It contains a 'select glossary' of about five thousand words, the greater number of which are incidentally discussed in Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. This select list is of course good as far as it goes, but the young student never knows whether to expect to find any given word in such a glossary, and after repeated disappointments he is likely to turn to less critical and accurate books—such, for example, as Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary*. He is the more in danger of being disappointed since the words seem to be chosen rather arbitrarily. Why, for instance, is the word *eanling*, lamb, introduced here? Even in the great Oxford Dictionary it is barely mentioned. Skeat in his *Concise Dictionary* gives only *yeanling*. We find such words as *chich* and *ted* and *thrave*, but we feel that we hardly have a right to insist that they should be included.

There is doubtless no general agreement as to what a book on English Etymology should contain. Kluge's own views, as expressed in a review of Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, are not in exact accord with those of most English and American teachers. On this side of the Atlantic there is, I think, a general feeling that in addition to a list of words there should be given an exposition of principles. A great variety of linguistic laws are in this book taken for granted. Take, for example, the word *dye*. We are told that it comes from O.E. *dægian*; derived from O.E. *dēah(g)*. Very true, but what are the steps of the process? In the Preface we read: 'Our primer of English Etymology is meant to serve as an introduction to the study of the historical grammar of English.' In the hands of a skillful teacher the book might doubtless be made to yield excellent results. But most teachers will be likely to feel that a great deal of work is thrown upon them which they might have been spared. A compact introduction of forty or fifty pages outlining in numbered paragraphs the principal linguistic phenomena would afford opportunity for the student to follow out each step for himself by consulting references placed under each word in the glossary. The full discussion of the linguistic processes involved would of course belong to treatises on phonetics and historical grammar, but the initial hint would be given just at the point where it would prove most useful. A young student

left entirely to himself will usually accomplish very little. The objection may be made that matter of the sort suggested is easily accessible elsewhere. To some extent this may be true, but a large proportion of those who would like to use this book have no opportunity to take a course of instruction in historical grammar and are compelled to work out each word for themselves. Students of this sort would gain tenfold if they could have something more than a bald list of words with accompanying etymologies, however unimpeachable, for in the study of etymology correct methods of investigation are of infinitely more value than any number of results that are blindly accepted without knowing why and wherefore. It is unnecessary to add that no one is more admirably equipped than Kluge to supply this much needed help. His book is already so good that we must class it among the few works that we wish to have longer.

Among things that might not unreasonably be desired in a second edition is a full, instead of a partial, list of the symbols in Teutonic words. The phonetic value of the Gothic vowels, for example, is left entirely unexplained. For convenience, a table of vowel equivalents in the different Germanic languages would be of service to most students. So too would vowel tables showing the development of sounds from the Old English period to the present. There is some reason to regret that we find in this representative book the same inconsistency of accentuation that characterizes most other works on Germanic philology. Why cannot we have long vowels marked in the same way, so as not to present such a variety as appears throughout these pages? Under the word *meet* we find O.E. *mētan*, M.E. *mēte*, O.Sax. *mōtiau*, DU. *moeten*, O.N. *mōta*, Goth. *gamōtjan*; Teut. $\sqrt{mōt}$. If the vowel is long in each case why not indicate it by a consistent symbol instead of mystifying the student by shifting from one symbol to another? Such other diacritical marks as an editor chose to add would, of course, be as admissible then as now.

Misprints and other slips are few. 'Γυφτός aus Αἴγυπτος' (p. 95) betrays the German original. Typographical errors occur under the words *lime* and *voyage*.

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD.

Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, begründet von Christian W. M. Grein, fortgesetzt unter Mitwirkung mehrerer Fachgenossen von Richard Paul Wülker. Vierter Band, Erste Hälfte. *König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte*. Herausgegeben von Jacob Schipper. Georg H. Wigand's Verlag : Leipzig, 1897.

PROFESSOR WÜLKER and his staff of editors are to be congratulated on the selection of this text for the fourth volume of the *Library of Anglo-Saxon Prose*. For, unlike the miscellany of homilies grouped together in the third volume, the translation of 'Bede' is unquestionably, in many ways, one of the most interesting monuments of Old English prose and one that has not yet received that careful and universal attention it so amply deserves. Still, we cannot greet Schipper's work with unmixed delight. After the appearance of Miller's painstaking edition (E E T S. Nos. 95, 96, 110, 111), with its unusually complete apparatus of various readings, a strictly critical text was of course to be expected. Miller has shown the right way in giving the preference to MS. T. (so far as it is extant); and though he may have been too conservative in introducing emendations, his text certainly comes nearest the archetype. Under these circumstances a full print of such MSS. as O. and B. is rather an unseasonable luxury. It may be found convenient, indeed, for the sake of comparison, to have these representatives of the two MS. groups made readily accessible in parallel columns; but, then, the reproduction of B. (instead of T.) is an obvious anomaly caused merely by Miller's anticipating the long delayed publication of the German scholar.

The plan of Schipper's edition is briefly this. In the left hand column MS. O. is given (the missing portions being supplemented by Ca.), with the various readings from C. and Ca. in foot notes; in the right hand column we find B., together with the variants from T. Preferable readings of other MSS. have been given a place in the text O., the editor tells us, to make it agree as closely as possible with the Latin original. The text B. has been left untouched, wherever '[derselbe] in der vorliegenden Gestalt überhaupt noch einen Sinn gab, der Schreiber desselben ihn also mit Bewusstsein so hingeschrieben haben konnte.' Absolute completeness in recording

minor graphic variations has not been aimed at. The editor vouches for the registering of MS. accents only in the parallel texts themselves, and for the exact distinction of *ð* and *þ* only in the texts and the various readings of T. In fact, we find that a more complete picture of the MSS. is, apparently, presented in Miller's edition.

Let us compare a short passage—the first chapter of the third book—in Miller's and in Schipper's edition (Miller pp. 152.5–154.18; Schipper pp. 190–193).

Leaving out of account the numerous cases of scribal abbreviations, erasures, interlineations, etc.—which Schipper evidently did not intend to jot down with scrupulous accuracy, though some of them are decidedly instructive—we find the editors at variance, (1) eleven times, in the matter of accents (Miller 152.7 O.: *Osríc*; 152.9 O.: *tó*; 152.11 B.: *geára*; 152.15 O.: *ófslegen*; 152.16 B.: *wés*; 152.17 O.: *Óno*; 152.23 O.: *ón*; 154.5 O.: *tó*; 154.12 O.: *ís*; 154.13 O.: *óswaldes*; 154.15 O.: *manfullan*; Schipper: *Osríc, to, 3eara, ofslegen, wes, Ono, on, to, is, Oswaldes, mânfullan*); (2) nine times, in the use of *ð* and *þ* (Miller 152.9 B.: *þo, ⁿne*; 154.1 T.: *Norþanhymbra*; 154.10 T.: *þa*; 154.11 T.: *þa*; 154.12 T.: *þæs*; 154.13 O.: *ðæs, T.: þæs*; 154.14 T.: *broðor*; 154.17 T.: *þære*; Schipper, it must be understood, in most of these cases merely fails to note the deviation of T. from B.); (3) fifteen times, in spelling: Miller 152.9 Ca.: *ðonne*; 152.17 Ca.: *hwæt þe*; 152.20 B.: *deofolgylda*; 152.21 B.: *Hghwæþer, ⁿe*; 152.22 Ca.: *hand*; 152.22 B.: *rihtre*; 154.1 Ca.: *adylgode*; 154.6 T.: *geniðrade*; 154.6 O.: *ófslogh*; 154.8 Ca.: *cyrdon*; 154.12 Ca.: *tyledon*; 154.15 Ca.: *getrymmed, B.: getrymede (i. e., getrymmede)*; 154.16 C.: *ðæm*; 154.17 T.: *ofslog*; Schipper: *ðanne, hwæt ða, deofulþylda, æþweþerne, handa, rihte, adyleþade, 3enyðrade, ôfsloh, cerdon, tiledon, 3etrymmede, 3etrymede, ðam, ofsloþh*; (4) in Schipper's omitting a variant of C. 154.1 (Miller: *gear*); (5) in Miller's reading 154.3 T.: *ond heo on gelicnesse . . .*, as over against Schipper's (192.51 f.): **7** *on 3elicnesse . . .*

All these discrepancies occur in the space of thirty-eight lines; and under (1) and (2) we have considered differences only within the limits expressly drawn by Schipper.

A number of other passages have been carefully collated, with similar, discouraging results. Only an examination of

the MSS. would enable us to pass a positive judgment on the relative trustworthiness of the two editions; certain cases of disagreement, however, seem to point to misprints in Schipper.

That Schipper's principles of emendation are not always carried through consistently, will be seen from the following examples, which could easily be multiplied.

The scribes of B. can hardly be credited with having put (or left) any sense in passages like the following.

oððe mid *seaftum* awrat (Schipper p. 3, l. 51) (Ca.: stafum).—**7** opra *liczendra* swiðe zetrywra, 4.93 f. (Ca.: lifizendra).—**7** hi him hiran ne woldon, ne woldon rihte eastnan healdan on heora tid, *ne eac* maniz oðru þinz ðære ciricean ânesse'hi unzelice **7** wiðerword hæfdon, 113.171 ff. (for: ze eac).—he côm mid *miclum* werede, ac mid Cristes zeleafan zetrymede, 193.74 f. (for: medmiclum).

The text O. demanded a change on p. 55, ll. 1199 ff.: þa þinz þa þe ze *zeseoð* **7** betest zelyfdon (read: ze soð; Lat. text: ea, quae uos uera et optima credebatis).—p. 56, ll. 1240 ff.: þa onzunnan hi þ apostolice lif þære þrymlican cyricean onhyrizean (T.: frymðelecan; Lat.: primitiuae ecclesiae).—p. 145, l. 877: þa *wende* he swiðe (T.: wonn; Lat.: laborauit multum).—p. 179, ll. 1699 f.: þeah ðe an wif wolde mid hyre *nacedum* cilde . . . (T.: nicendum; Lat.: etiam si mulier una cum recens nato paruulo . . .) etc.

Wholly unnecessary is the addition of *he* in B., p. 190, l. 11: he Eadwine; cf. B. 21.350: se ealdorman (Ca.: he se ealdorman); B. 157.1164: Eadwine (the other MSS.: he E.); B. 22.360; 137.702; 148.940; likewise, the insertion of *hy* in B. 118.285.

Why has *caestre* in O. 60.1322 been altered into *ceastre*, whilst it has been allowed to stand 101.2296?

An unhappy emendation by means of contamination is offered in B. 114.188 ff.: Utan biddan ælmihtizne 3od, *se ðe eardað þa anmodan* in his fæder rice (B.: . . . se ðe eardað in his fæder rice; T.: . . . se ðe eardizan deð þa anmodan in his fæder huse; Lat.: . . . qui habitare facit unanimes in domo (Plummer: domu) patris sui).

We cannot help thinking that if the idea of a critical text was abandoned, a diplomatic print pure and simple without any emendations would have been more serviceable; especially

as the text of the Latin original appears at the foot of the pages. For the latter Schipper was fortunate in having at his service Plummer's recent edition,—a splendid, scholarly book which will no doubt give a new stimulus to the study of the original sources of Anglo-Saxon history.

A final critique of Schipper's work has to be deferred until the completion of the volume. Let us hope that the second part will be ready ere long, and that the Introduction and Notes will not be cut down too rigorously. We also look forward to a statement of the editor's opinion about the authorship of the text.¹ We further wish that it may be possible for the Early English Text Society to have Miller's Glossary to 'Bede' printed in the near future, and for the Oxford Clarendon Press to issue the promised new recension of Alfred's 'Boethius' before the close of this year. In spite of the flood of German dissertations, in spite of the labors of Sweet, Cosijn, Wülfing and others, the study of the Alfredian works cannot yet be said to rest on that broad and safe basis which is due them,—nearly one thousand years after the king's death.

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Beiträge zur deutschen Lautlehre von Dr. Wilhelm Horn. Leipzig, 1898. 37 ss. 8°.

Diese kleine Schrift behandelt in eingehender und gründlicher Weise eine Reihe von Fragen der deutschen Lautlehre, wobei der Löwenanteil auf die modernen Dialekte fällt. Der Verf. ist in der Dialektliteratur durchaus bewandert, wie man schon aus einem früheren Aufsätze *Sievers Beiträge* 22, 216 ersehen konnte. Das dort angefangene wird in diesen Bei-

¹ As we are reading the proof, Schipper's monograph *Die Geschichte und der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung über König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* reaches us (in 'Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe,' Band cxxxviii. Wien, 1898). Professor Schipper expresses himself in favor of Alfred's authorship; he assigns the 'Bede' the first place, in order of time, among the king's translations. In this paper we find a clear confirmation of what we had suspected before, viz., that Schipper has not yet seen the second volume of Miller's edition; it forms the Early English Text Society's issue for 1898, but has been out for more than two years.

trägen zum Teil weiter gesponnen. Wir finden zunächst einen Aufsatz 'Zur Geschichte der *e*-Laute,' in dem der sch-Umlaut des *a* behandelt wird. Der Verf. verfißt mit überzeugenden Gründen die Existenz dieses Umlauts. Zweitens wird der sekundäre Umlaut des *a* behandelt, der später als der primäre Umlaut ist. Interessant ist der dritte Punkt: *ä*, *e* für *a* in französischen Lehr- und Fremdwörtern im Deutschen. Nachdem die Fälle für diese Thatsache zusammengestellt sind, gibt der Verf. die richtige Erklärung, dass es sich hier um eine Art Lautsubstitution handle. Das betreffende *e* vertritt gedecktes *a*, und das ist im französischen heller als das oberdeutsche, besser noch gesagt, es hat einen höheren Eigenton. Auf die Eigentonhöhe der Vokale ist überhaupt viel mehr Gewicht zu legen, als man gemeinhin thut. Die Verschiedenheit der Vokale in dieser Beziehung macht die Lehnworte so ungeeignet zur chronologischen Fixierung der Lautgesetze. Franz. *bière* 'Bahre' führt Verf. schliesslich auf ein durch die heutigen Mundarten gefordertes *bëra* zurück.

Daran knüpft sich die Behandlung einiger Fälle von Konsonantenschwund, von denen namentlich der Schwund des anlautenden *j* eine grössere Bedeutung hat. Nach einer Zusammenstellung der Fälle folgt die Regel, dass *j* im Satzzusammenhang postkonsonantisch verloren gegangen sei, was mir sehr wahrscheinlich vorkommt, da es durch die Entwicklung der Komposita gestützt wird. Zum Schluss wird der Einfluss des unbestimmten Artikels auf die Lautform des folgenden Substantivs besprochen, und eine Reihe von Fällen werden sehr ansprechend erklärt.—

Abgesehen von den Einzelheiten dieser Beiträge, die durchaus wertvoll sind, hat das Ganze noch ein höheres, allgemeineres Interesse. Es lehrt uns die Gesetzmässigkeit isolierter Erscheinungen erkennen und bietet, indem es eine Reihe moderner Erscheinungen ansprechend erklärt, Material, um auch über ältere Sprachabschnitte Licht zu verbreiten. Das Studium der modernen Dialekte ist ja selbst für die Erkenntniss der Vorgänge in der indogermanischen Grundsprache so ausserordentlich wichtig, und gerade die zuletzt erörterten Vorgänge werfen Licht auf einige Rätsel der indogermanischen Grammatik. Im Idg. erscheinen nämlich eine Reihe offenbar verwandter Worte, die scheinbar in einigen Fällen

ein Präfix haben. So fasst Meringer SB. d. ph-h. Kl. d. Wiener Akad. cxxv, 2 S. 35 die Sache auf. Man vergleiche ai. *açrám* neben got. *tagr*; lit. *ilgas*: ai. *dirghás*; got. *arbaips* zu lit. *dárbas* 'Arbeit' (?).

Im wesentlichen haben wir es hier wahrscheinlich mit falschen Abstraktionen zu thun. Lehnte sich idg. *dȧkru* an ein Wort an, das mit *d* auslautete, so konnte *ȧkru* abstrahiert werden. Das ist schon früher geäußert, und ebenso hat man jetzt anerkannt, dass der Wechsel von *s* + Konsonant mit einfachem Konsonant durch Worte mit auslautendem *-s* hervorgerufen ist. Wenn man derartige Erscheinungen in den modernen Dialekten vor Augen sieht, so benutzt man diese Erklärung für die ältere Zeit mit grösserer Zuversicht. Auch nach dieser Richtung sind also diese Beiträge sehr anregend.

H. HIRT.

LEIPZIG-GOHLIS,
22. APRIL 1898.

Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare. Ein Ergänzungsband zu Dodsley's *Old English Plays*. Hrsg. von Alois Brandl. (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker.* 80 Heft.) cxxvi und 667 SS. 8°. Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1898. M. 20.

THIS is the most valuable collection of new materials for the study of the drama in England before Shakspeare that has been published since the appearance of Dodsley's *Old Plays*. It brings within the reach of every scholar twelve plays, all interesting and important, but hitherto, for the most part, accessible only to the favored few; and it presents them without excision or expurgation. The plays are:—Moralities: (1) *The Pride of Life*, (2) *Mankind*, (3) *Nature*; Interludes: (4) *Love*, (5) *Weather*, (6) *Johan Johan the Husband*, *Tyb his Wife*, and *Sir Johan the Priest*; Polemical Plays of the Reformation: (7) *Respublica*, (8) *King Darius*; School Plays: (9) *Misogonus*; Tragedies: (10) *Horestes*, (11) *Gismond of Salern*; Romantic Comedies: (12) *Common Conditions*. Such a collection is obviously of the highest value. Our primary need is the need of texts, and texts are here supplied in liberal measure. All

students of the English drama will feel grateful to Professor Brandl for this generous addition to their equipment.

The editing, unfortunately, cannot be spoken of with the same unreserved commendation. Even in the most satisfactory and helpful parts there are features which every scholar will wish to see modified, while in the least satisfactory parts the defects are so many and so remarkable that it is difficult to form a theory that will adequately account for them.

The least satisfactory portion of the work is the Notes. It is no doubt true that several of these texts contain in large numbers linguistic difficulties of the most puzzling character, and that there is probably no man living who has a perfect knowledge of fifteenth and sixteenth century English; but, with due allowance for these facts, the editorial work here cannot be commended. The editor has taken his task too easily and allowed the results to assume in too great a degree the appearance rather of casual jottings than of such systematic and scholarly annotations as we had a right to expect of him. In some instances he has passed over the most serious difficulties and most interesting expressions without comment: see p. 173, l. 395, *nobs for malous*; 174, 468, *As for her hele do holde in it*; 190, 984, *layd euyn a water*; 261, 24, *the deuyll spede whyt*; 347, 34, *by his precious popolorum*; 368, 207, *git his lyuyng by the ploughe*, etc. In some instances, notwithstanding the announcement that familiarity on the part of the student with the standard dictionaries is presupposed, information of the most elementary and obvious nature is supplied: see notes on *Nature*, I, 343, 841, 874, II, 234, 284; *Respublica*, I, iii, 122, II, i, 1, III, iii, 28, 30, 42, 66; *Misogonus*, I, i, 145, 204, 205, I, ii, 62, I, iii, 80, II, ii, 7, II, iii, 86, II, iv, 92, III, i, 45, 50, III, iii, 55, 67; etc.¹ And it must be added that occasionally modern scientific methods and principles seem to be abandoned and resort had to unregulated guess-work, like that of the golden days when in etymology consonants counted for little and vowels for nothing and the most marvelous feats of derivation were accomplished by the potent aid of the parenthesis: see notes on *Nature*, I, 882, II, 1025; *Respublica*, III, iii, 14; *Misogonus*, II, iv, 202, 207, III, iii, 72; and other passages in both Introduction and Notes.

¹ A striking example is '*she-beare*, Bärin,' the note on *Misogonus*, II, v, 65.

The Pride of Life and *Mankind* will be reserved for treatment later. Of the other plays, five are annotated very slightly, five with more fulness. Let us examine first the page and a quarter of notes devoted to *Nature*.

NATURE.

I, 495. *And let thy world be consyn to thy dede.* The footnote, 'Lies: *word* und *cousyn*,' is of course correct, but it is contradicted, as if upon maturer deliberation, in the note, '*be consyn*: vielleicht nicht = *be cousyn*, sondern = *consign*, "das Siegel aufdrücken, Bestätigung geben." . . . Es wäre dann für diesen übertragenen Gebrauch von *consign* das älteste Beispiel.' But surely this is an echo of Chaucer's declaration:

'Eek Plato seith, who-so that can him rede,
The wordes mote be cosin to the dede.' *Prologue*, 741 f.

The suggestion that in 631, 651, 669, 679, 684, *ye wor.* is an error for *Worldly Affection* is correct, but it does not entirely remove the difficulties of the passage. In 675 *ye wor.* is to be stricken out and [*Man.*] in 677; lines 672-78 belong to *Man-kind*, 672-74 being addressed to *The World* and 675-78 to *Worldly Affection*.

753. *Sythyche* is not = *swithlice*, but *so thee ich (theech)*; the remark on the southern adverbial ending is therefore not in point.

841. For the translation of *radix vitiorum* by *rote of all vertew* a reference to Chanticleer's similar performance in the *Nonne Prestes Tale* would have been a less obvious remark than the explanation that it is 'absichtliche Falschübersetzung.'

882, 885. *Opray* and *opry* are not 'von *opérer* abgeleitet,' but mere scribal errors for *opr(a)y* (= *othre*), as will be evident upon a careful inspection of the passages.

1078. *Men will say* does not at all imply that *rutter* was 'damals ein neues Lehnwort'; it merely indicates what will be the general opinion as to *Man's* appearance.

1087. *Whyster*, if it stands in the original, is not 'Druckfehler statt *whysper*'; cf. (besides the two examples given by Mätzner): 'Oft fine whistering noise shall bring sweete sleepe to thy senses,' Webbe, *Æglogue I*, p. 75, and 'Whiche done, the wren calth his brothers and sisters, And vnto them this lesson he whisters,' Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 97.

1286. In view of the traces of Chaucerian influence in this play, it is not a little surprising that *crank dort* should have suggested *dorty* (in Halliwell's *Dict.*) instead of recalling Chaucer's interesting *canke(r)dort*, of which it is clearly a modification.

II, 287. *K. q. title we haue the bry* is, assuredly, 'unklar,' but it is difficult to see how the suggested *King's and Queen's title* can help us in the first part of the line, or how the suggestion that *bry* may be 'deutsches Lehnwort (= Brühe)' throws light on the second. As to the latter, if *bry* (= Brühe) were of any assistance, it would not be necessary to pray in aid of the German language. *N. E. D. bree*, sb.² gives abundant examples of the word from times when borrowing from German was not common (even if it could be established for the date of this play); examples of another *bry*—equally unenlightening for this passage—may be found under *bree*, sb.¹

657. When the reference is, as here, to *Cotswold lions*, the significant fact is, not that Cotswold was famed for its 'Volks-spiele,' but that it was a great sheep-raising district and that *Cotswold lion* was a proverbial term for a sheep.

1025. '*Storn*, erklärt durch daneben stehendes *disdain*, ist vielleicht auch deutsches Lehnwort.' But *storn* is only a misprint for *scorn*, as the neighboring *disdain* clearly indicates.

Heywood's three interludes are comparatively simple. We may therefore pass over the few notes upon them, and consider

RESPUBLICA.

I, i, 1-6. The punctuation and notes indicate a failure to catch the exact shade of thought intended. Avaryce does not complete his greeting, *goddigod*, since (l. 3) he is uncertain whether to say *even* or *morrow* (cf. Brandl, p. lvii). Repunctuate 3, therefore, by a dash after *goddigod* and interrogation point after *morowe*. In 4 the dash is not needed. *God geve me sorowe* is not 'Gegensatz zu' *goddigod even* (or *morowe*), but is an oath. Avaryce merely says that he doesn't know how time goes. The colon at the end of l. 6 should be removed; *of that ye most long for* depends immediately on *twentie and twentie score* in l. 5.

The emendation in the next note but one (l. 62) of *I* to *If* it does not suit the context. Read, *I[t] is gone I have swette for all my lyve-daies*.

The next four notes can hardly be necessary for any one who will use this book, though the last requires some modification. The two which follow will awaken doubt. *I-polde* (III, iii, 14) is not = pulled, but is an entirely different word in origin, meaning and sound. It occurs very frequently in the phrase *poll and pill*; examples may be found in every sixteenth century display of abuses, e. g. Stubbes (N. S. Soc.), II, 30, 31, 32. The pronunciation may be inferred from H. Hutton's fifth epigram, *Satyr. Epigr.* (Percy Soc.), 34. The suggestion that *trounce* (16) is derived directly from *trunsioun* is not likely to displace the received etymology until the phonetic difficulties are removed.

The next five notes might have been omitted, the sixth is more important. The idiom *whare a be trowe* (III, iii, 77) does not mean 'Ob er wohl vertrauenswürdig ist?' but 'Is he, really?' For *trowe* (= do you think?) with absorbed *ye*, cf. 'What means the fool, trow?' *Much Ado*, III, iv, 59; 'What is the matter, trow?' *Cymb.* I, vi, 47; 'What do you call him, tro?' *Birth of Merlin*, II, i, 84; and Brandl, p. 322, ll. 9, 13, and p. 348, l. 5. From this, apparently, was developed *trowe we*, with the same meaning: 'Are y^e.g. planettes out of their waie, trowe wee?' *Birth of Hercules*, fo. 9 b, cf. fo. 24 a, fo. 30 b.

In the next note but one we are told that *Anngelots* is 'Koseform für *angels*.' But *angelots* were coined by Henry VI, and the expression *olde Anngelots and Edwardes* shows that *Avaryce* means this coin,—cf. *N. E. D.*, s. v. *angelot*.

Callis (III, v, 8) can hardly be properly called 'volkstümliche Aussprache,' as it was the pronunciation of even the upper classes down to very recent times and is still in perfectly good use.

The interpretation of *Prickingham* (III, vi, 58) is too elaborate to be convincing. An English audience would be slow to reflect that, since *prick* means 'to spur,' and nobles wear spurs (when riding), *Prickingham* must allude to the nobility.

IV, iii, 23. 'The steer, the heifer and the calf are all called neat,' says *Leontes*, but this can hardly justify us in regarding it as 'ein altertümliches Wort,'—besides, it is understood

by all English-speaking people of to-day and is not marked obsolete in the dictionaries. I do not, however, regard it as the right word here. Why emend *tenne* to *nete*, and then criticise the author for his poor rhyme (with *kepe*)? What is the objection to reading, *And that time chad a widge (= mare) and hir vole (= foal) and tenne shepe?* Ten sheep is not an excessive allowance for a man who had four cows to his pail (l. 21).

Saincte Tronnion (V, ix, 32) is probably not the Trinity. Examples occur elsewhere, *cf.* 'At Saynt Toncomber (= St. Uncumber, *cf. Camd Misc.*, IV, 13) and Saynt Tronion.' *Foure PP.*, 31. On this passage are quoted in Dodsley (ed. 1825): 'Their ydolatrous pilgrymage to the ydoll, Saynt Tronyon, upon the mount Avyon besides Roan.' Fenton, *Trag. Disc.*, 114 b,¹ and 'By saincte Thomas of Trunnions.' *Apius and Virg.* [Dodsley, XII, 375]. The connection of St. Thomas and Tronion is rendered interesting by the fact that in 1485 there was an altar to St. Tronyon in St. Andrew's church, Canterbury: see *Arch. Cantiana*, XVII, 149, note, 150-2. That St. Tronion is identical with St. Ronyon has long been held: *cf. Cant. Tales*, C, 310, 320, and Skeat's note, where other references are given. In regard to *Gods trunnion* (*Misogonus*, IV, ii, 17) various doubts may be entertained; that it means 'Trinity' is not at all certain, but there is too little evidence at hand to resolve the question.

By Goddes vast (V, ix, 116): 'dialektisch für *fast*, und dies wieder aus *face* verderbt.' But the latter statement needs support. According to Frewyll (*Hyclescorner*, 743) God's fast occurred at Salisbury the year that Easterday fell on Whitsunday; but it may be better to suppose this the one mentioned in *Matt.* iv, 2.

Passing over the few notes on *King Darius*, we reach *Misogonus*, in many respects the most interesting and by far the most fully annotated of all these plays.

¹ The passage stands thus in the reprint (*Tudor Transl.*), I, 232: 'Wyth no lesse devotion then the papistes in Fraunce performe their ydolatrous pilgrymage to theyre ydoll Sainct Tronyon, uppon the Mont Auyon besides Roan.'

MISOGONUS.

Condunge (I, i, 37) of course means 'condign,' but emendation seems hardly necessary. Besides, it is possible that, although *-ign* often rhymes with *-ine*, it still preserved a trace of the old pronunciation, *-ngn-*, testified to by such spellings as 'mangnyfycence,' *Shearmen and T. Pageant*, 692, 703, 'St. Mangnus,' Machyn's *Diary*, 279 (*cf. ib.* 106, 136, 176, 180, 209) and especially by Ingnoꝛance's 'putting together' of his name (the first syllable being the same as the first of 'England') in Redford's *Wyt and Sc.*, 456 ff.

It is unfortunate that the satisfactory emendation of I, i, 85, suggested in the footnote was withdrawn.

'*He will not* (I, i, 131) ist vorausgesetzte Rede des Sohns.' Rather, it resumes the words of Philogonus, *I feare me he will near be reclaimed.*

'*His none sonne* (I, ii, 24): sein nicht-Sohn; ähnlich *none mistress, none wife.* *None* is merely *own* with the transferred *n* of *mine, thine*. The Earl of Shrewsbury wrote: 'Farewell, my swete, true, none and faithefull wyfe.' Wright, *Eliz. and her Times*, II, 55.

Stroute (I, ii, 44) is not 'Ptzp. von me. *strūten* = geschwollen,' but inf. = strut. This remark, as well as the punctuation, implies a misunderstanding of *get* also. The line reads, *He can do nothinge but get* (= jet) *stroute and stare*, and needs a comma after *get*.

The note on I, ii, 53-57 would probably not have been written if the obscene allusion (which will become clear upon a comparison of *The Foure PP*, 243-252) had been perceived.

(*Godes denti* (I, iii, 9 and elsewhere) and *dinty* (III, i, 56) are probably not from *divinity* but from *dignity*; *cf.* 'By goddes dignitee,' *Cant. Tales*, C, 701, and the received etymology of *dainty*. *Deare* may be adj. instead of noun, notwithstanding that *breed* is sometimes spelled *breade* and that Robin Hood is mentioned by Misogonus.

I, iii, 12. 'A murrain on you!' is, though a common, a sufficiently unpleasant imprecation; but it is here displaced by one even more severe,—*A moringe light on(e) that foules face of thine* is explained thus, '*moringe* = mooring: ein Kettenanker (nicht bloss eine Klinge) soll dir in dein Narrengesicht

fahren!' Examples of *murrain* in oaths are given in sufficient number in Schmidt, *Shak. Lex.*

Surely in *furr* (I, iii, 18) we have to deal, not with a contraction of *further*, but with a descendant of O.E. *feorr* (fierr).

I, iii, 47. This, again, is obscene; the *impostin* in his *kodpesse* does not allude to his 'dicken Corpus,' nor is *kodpesse* (= codpiece) a distortion of *corpus* (cf. p. lxxxiii, 12), whether *impostin* be for *imposthume* or for *imposting* (cf. lxxxi, 45), whatever that may mean.

I, iii, 59. *Heil make yow a starke foollorne*. Even if Schmidt's explanation of *fool-borne* in Shakspeare as 'foolish from the birth' is correct, it is not clear that this is the same word. How could Misogonus make his father 'foolish from the birth'? Perdita's good fortune, we are told, made both the Clown and the Shepherd 'gentlemen born'; but is this an analogous case?

I, iii, 60. How can one *ride byard*, if *byard* is 'ein schwerer Brustriemen bei Lastpferden'?—to say nothing of the fact that this use of the word is apparently confined to mines. *Byard* is merely '(bay) horse,' and *to ride byard* is obviously 'to be horsed,' that is, to be taken up on some one's back for convenience in chastising ('breeching') as in the well-known picture of the young St. Augustine at school. The phrase *tast of the rodde* in the same verse is significant. Another jocosé phrase is *to ride bayard of ten toes* (i. e. 'to walk,' 'to ride shank's mare'), on which see *N. E. D.*, and Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*, s. v. *bayard*.

I, iii, 97. The desired explanation of *farewell*, *froste* is given *N. E. D.*, *frost* 1c. Add thereto Gascoigne (Roxb. Lib.), I, 405, and 'Then farewell, frost; farewell a wench that will,' *Faire Em*, V, i, 218.

I, iv, 12. Instead of changing *the* to *they*, which does not suit the context, it seems better to suppose that the scribe understood *ye* (which is right) as *the*.

I, iv, 17. There are serious objections to taking *grane* in the phrase *a knaue an grane* as 'Gabelzinke (ae. *granu* = *moustache*, deutsch *Granne*).' In the first place, the meaning does not suit the passage; in the second, the existence of the word in sixteenth century English has not been proved. But

the decisive objection is that *a knave in grain* is one of the commonest of phrases; examples interesting in themselves are:

Biondello? my old coapesonate (= copesmate)? of knaves the grand
captaine,

Not a knave of a baser size, but a knave died in graine.

The Bugbears, I, ii, 5-6.

and

Such malsters as ill measure sell for gaine

Are not mere knaves, but also knaves in grain.

H. Hutton, *Satyr. Epigr.* (Percy Soc.), p. 33.

II, i, 20. The regular phrase is *fall in a fume*, not *fall in a foam*. I therefore regard *fime* here as *fume*, not *foam*; the rhyme is not worse than *flixe: kyxe*, Brandl, 357, 93.

II, i, 32. It is difficult to see whence came the temptation to explain *cosiner* (and *cusner*, 39) as = customer (*cf.* lxxxiii, 41). The pickpurse certainly cosened Oenophilus.

II, i, 64. *Will you never hinn?* hardly admits of the conjecture that *hinn* is O.E. *hinan*, *heonan* (= hence). The word is an error for *linn* or *blinn*, of which one is about as probable as the other (*cf.* Brandl, 460, 72 and 486, 48).

II, ii, 1. Is it philologically sound to propose that *God's sokinges* is 'Verdrehung aus *god's sobbings*' without showing either that the latter was in use as an oath or that there is no other equally probable source?

II, ii, 17. The note on *feak* does *N. E. D.* an injustice. Murray's earliest example is not 'erst vom Jahre 1652'; it is from Heywood's *Proverbs*, 1562 (misprinted, 1652). If, however, it had fallen within the scope of the editor's purpose to supplement *N. E. D.*, these plays would have yielded at least a score of important entries,—they surely ought to be read for the letters not yet reached in *N. E. D.*

II, ii, 23. I should like to see another example of *eren then* (= O.E. *ǣr þāem*) in sixteenth century English. Until then, I shall regard *eren* as an error for *even*.

II, ii, 30. *Scinn* is *skin*, but *scemish* is *squeamish*, not 'schemisch'; *cf.* *skeymishe*, Brandl, 294, 124.

II, ii, 73. The examples in *N. E. D.* under *bisognio* lend no support to *sungir* in the line, *Let sungir lurke and druges worke*, and the word cannot be right. Two quotations in *Cent. Dict.*, s. v. *lungis*, might be cited to support Collier's emendation,

lungis (=loafers) ; *cf.* also the note on *Goodman Lungis*, Dods. (1825), IX, 45, where an example is quoted from Cotgrave. But *sungir* should of course be changed to *snugis* (= *snudges*, 'curmudgeons'), a common sixteenth century word. This very slight emendation restores the rhyme (*snugis* : *drugis*) needed to make this verse correspond to the first and third lines of the other stanzas in the song.

II, iii, 11. Why should *Peter poppum* appear to be 'von pope genommen'? The Pope does not seem to be in any way involved. Why not from *pop*?

II, iii, 55. As a 'Weidmannesausruf' (*w*)*hoo* is rarely used except in combination with some other call, *cf.* Twety, *passim*. As a call to horses and persons it has a meaning which satisfactorily explains the present passage and the many similar to it. *Cf.*

Thou art one of them, to whom god bad who,
God tooke the for a carte horse, when god bad so.

Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 152.

An interesting collection of calls to horses is given by Evans, *Leicest. Words*, 173.

II, iv, 106. *I come quater*. 'Sir John kommt vierfach, insofern er—statt des Gebetbuchs—drei Dinge mitbringt; Karten, Würfel und Brettspiel.' But Sir John was not metaphysical. A friend jestingly inquires: 'Why not, "Sir John kommt auf allen Vieren"?' Of course *quater* is a stage-direction, indicating that *I come* is to be spoken four times: *cf.* IV, i, 17, 20, IV, iii, 1 and 2.

II, iv, 119. *Vicar* is found two centuries before 1589; it is mere accident that *N. E. D.* has no earlier example of the spelling *ficker*.

II, iv, 133. Lines 125, 136, 266 would indicate that *weckly* means weekly, not weakly; there is no reason to assume a pun. M.E. *wicke*, 'bad,' has nothing to say here.

II, iv, 192. *Lubunn lawe*, whatever be its proper form and derivation, was probably an established term for some kind of bunco trick; *cf.* *high law*, *Barnard's law*, and the six other varieties mentioned by Robert Greene, X, 33, ff. 51, 67, 86.

II, iv, 202. Examples to prove that *gree groat*, in *worth a gree groat*, is for (*de*)*gree groat* and means 'Preisgroschen' would have been welcome. Does not *gree* refer to the color of the

metal? Cf. 'Not worth a grey grote,' Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 31, l. 19, and 'The faire white groates,' *Damon & P.*, Dodsley, I, 236.

II, iv, 207. In what respect is the derivation of *saunce bell* from *sacrament's bell* superior to that from *sanctus bell*? Cf. quotations in *Stanford Dict.* s. v. *sanctus*. What would be the implication of the 'doppelsinniger Gebrauch (*sauns=ohne*)'? That the ringing of the bell was a fiction? Or was the bell itself a sort of Mrs. Harris?

II, iv, 221-22. It is difficult to believe that Sir John makes such a wager as 'alle Christenseelen gegen einen Mann, oder eine Maus.' L. 221 seems to be purely exclamatory. *A man or a mouse* is a proverbial expression to express risk or encourage a person to daring. The idea is 'Be a man, or else don't pretend to be one but admit that you have what Chaucer's Pandarus calls "a mouse's heart."' See Schole-House of Women, 385 ff. (Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry*, IV, 119-20):

'Fear not, she saith vnto her spouse.
A man or a mouse whether be ye?'

Cf. 'It is but haphazard, a man or a mouse,' *Apus and V.*, Dodsley, XII, 356. In 222 the colon should be replaced by a comma, to display the proper construction.

II, iv, 249. Is it likely that *St. Mathaeus* would be thus decapitated to produce *St. Thais*? In view of the mention of the trulls, and the classical learning of the author, is it not likely that St. Thais is invoked for the nonce? Cf. Epigram 33, *De Thaide*, H. Hutton, *Satyr. Epig.* (Percy Soc.), p. 40; and *saynt cuccold*, Brandl, 446, 74.

II, iv, 256. Instead of regarding *sore* as *sure* (no other instance occurs in this play), I should take it as *fore*, through confusion of *f* and long *s*, and repunctuate: *Yf thou goest a foote fore, thy braynes I will spill.*

II, iv, 273. I can find no evidence in Halliwell, or elsewhere, that *sincopasse* is 'richtiger *cinque-o-pase*.' It is a trisyllable, with an obscure vowel in the middle syllable represented indifferently by *a*, *e* or *o*; *cinquepace* is common.

II, iv, 274. In a proverbial expression, like this, *curyer* is more likely to be *currier*, a dresser of hides, or a carrier of horses, than *currier*, a soldier,—especially in view of the late

introduction of the fire-arm from which the soldier took his designation.

II, iv, 276. Can it be shown that children originated, or have been greatly in the habit of using, such expressions as *chim-cham*, *w(h)im-w(h)am*, *flim-flam*, *jim-jam*?

II, iv, 289. *Houle* is not 'ho, we will,' but 'who'll.'

II, v, 32. *Pild* is not derived from *Pilate*, but from O.F. *pillier*; *i-pilate* (*Resp.* III, iii, 15) is a nonce-word, formed from *Pilate* because *pilled* already existed, *cf.* remarks (*loc. cit.*) on *i-polde*.

II, v, 60. Is it probable that a gentleman of the character of Philogonus would, under even the greatest excitement, employ such an oath as '*A couckstole* (=God's tools)'? But it is not an oath. The *cuck-stool* was in common use for the punishment of such women as Melissa, and Philogonus calls for one. *Cf.*

Ducke, Jelot, ducke ; ducke, pretye minion,
Beware the cokingstoole ;
Ducke, galant trickers, wyth shame ynoughe.
Your wanton corage to cole.

Pryde and Abuse of Women, 113-16, Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry*, IV, 239.

II, v, 82 (83). It is difficult to see how '*Zusammensetzung*' could be a factor of any moment in causing the dropping of silent *k* in *knave*.

II, v, 126. '*Salme* : man erwartet *balm*'; but at this date *balm* is usually spelled *baume*, *bawme*. This fact, and alliteration, would suggest rather *salve* (=salve). As to the proposed *firmament* for *element*, it is true that Touchstone objected to using *element*, because 'the word is overworn,' but that was several years later, and Philogonus would perhaps not have been so fastidious. Besides, Phaethon did not fall from the *firmament*, but only from the *element*: *cf.* Schmidt, *Shak. Lex.*, *element*, 3.

III, i, 9. *Cockalondlinge* is not 'verdreht aus *cackling*.' Read *cockaloudlinge* (=cockadoodling), and see *N. E. D.* s. v. *cock-a-doodle-doo*, where *cockaloodletoo* is quoted from Gabriel Harvey, 1573.

III, i, 19. One must surely be a great arithmetician to work out this problem of 'two to the tithe,' whether *once* be kept or be emended to *one*, as Carpenter proposes. The explanation here given seems impossible.

III, i, 29. *Its a good stumble near horst* is not 'Man stolpert nicht hart, wenn man nie zu Ross sitzt'; it is merely a comic distortion of the well-known proverb: 'It is a good horse that never stumbles,' cf. Bohn, p. 104; Heywood's *Prov.*, p. 143.

III, i, 33, 34. *Wont* should be *wout* not *won't*: cf. Hamlet's 'Woo't weep, woo't fight?' &c.

III, i, 51. The explanation of *who-chittals* as *ho* (=she) and 'chittals von *chit*=Junges, nach Analogie von *cattle*' is ingenious; but *ho* does not occur in this play for 'she' (see remark below on IV, i, 148) and *chittals* appears to be unexampled elsewhere. May not *whochittals* be 'what d'ye call's' (or 'whátchucallums,' as we say now-a-days)? Cf. 'Geue my Gammer again her washical thou stole away in thy lap.' *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, V, ii, 116. Codrus will not call the birds capons, for Cacurgus has challenged his use of the term (see ll. 25, 28-30, 54-55), nor does he wish to call them hens.

III, i, 63. *Cagin*, in *Youd be sorye in deede, if my cagin yow hadd*, can throw no light upon *cag* (=kränken); it is merely a vulgar form of *occasion*, cf. Edgar's 'Chill not let go, zir, without vurther 'casion (Oq. cagion),' *Lear* IV, vi, 240.

III, i, 68. *Showe the gouse* is not 'show the throat (goles).' 'Go shoe the goose' is a phrase of the widest currency; for a complete explanation of its significance, see the two examples quoted by Dyce in his note on *Colyn Cloute*, 198. I may add that *shoe* is sometimes written *sue*, see Stubbes, *Display* (N. S. Soc.), p. 31. The grief caused by seeing a goose go barefoot may be learned from Bale's *Kynge Johan*, 175, or *A. C. Mery Tales* (ed. Hazlitt), p. 22.

III, i, 195. *Kyrie* or *kyrie eleison* seems to have been used as slang for a scolding; cf. Dame Coy's threat to give her husband 'a kyrie ere he went to bed,' *Jack Jugler* (ed. Child), p. 31, and the quotation from John Taylor in *Stanford Dict.*, s. v. See also, 'He gave me a Kyrie eleyson' in Tyndale's curious list of slang phrases derived from church terms, *Obedience of a Christian Man, Works of Tyndale and Frith*, ed. Russell, I, 340.

III, i, 198. *Chaunch* (=chance) is apparently a verb and not '=vielleicht.'

III, i, 201. *Comination*, in *comination gome*, may be from *common*, but it may be from *comminate*; the Commination service

made the word familiar. *Commination*, as adj., occurs in one of the other early plays, but I cannot at this moment recall the passage.

III, i, 202. *Nantipack* is not ' = anabaptist,' but *nauti* (= naughty) *pack*, a common old term of abuse. See Nares, ed. Halliwell and Wright, *s. v.*, for five examples. An earlier instance than those cited occurs in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, n. d. but *ca.* 1550, Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry*, IV, 231.

III, i, 210. *Collupte*, in *I nether egde the nor collupte the*, is not for *corrupt*. The double meaning of *egg* (v. and n.) and the popularity of eggs and collops (there is a flower named in honor of the dish) gave the opportunity for a little jest.

III, i, 252. Why should *Jack a male* (rhyming with *tale*) be for *Jack-amend-all* rather than for *Jack-a-male* (= Jack o' the bag)? Cf. *Jack-a-Lent*, *Jack-a-pye*, etc.

III, i, 255. Considering the variety of objects sworn by in ancient times and the later horrible practices of the army 'in Flanders,' it is hasty to assume that *Bith mouse foote* is from *By God's mouth and foot*. Besides the two examples of the oath given by Swaen, *Engl. St.*, XXIV, 37, cf. *Apius & V.*, Dodsley, XII, 375, and 'By the gutes of a crablouse,' 'By the hodge hed,' *Witt and Wisdome*, 25.

III, iii, 51. Etymologizing on the basis of general probabilities is dangerous. *Hitchcock* is not 'offenbar eine entzündete, stechende Geschwulst,' but merely the hiccough: cf. *Cent. Dict.* *Hempl* has, I believe, recently discussed this word.

III, iii, 72. It is true that *Ladikin* gives *Lakin*, and *taken* gives *ta'en*, but the derivation of *Good lande* from *Good Ladikin* seems unnecessary. The etymology of oaths is an almost hopeless field; the history of the forms (which alone can save from luring *ignes fatui*) exists for only a few of the commoner oaths, and it is often impossible to distinguish the result of substitution from that of distortion or even of ordinary phonetic change.

III, iii, 85. *A taukes so, father millerlye, twode do the good* means 'He talks so familiarly that it would do thee good.' There is here no question of the Father of Our Lady.

III, iii, 87. The vowel quality of *bede woman* would perhaps prevent *bed woman* from being 'komisch nahe gelegt.'

III, iii, 115. It does not seem clear that '*saft* = safety, eine *Betheuerung*' makes sense here. As I understand it, *Cacur-*

gus is attempting to thrust his 'muck-fork' (cf. 124) into Madge's mouth and she tries to prevent him, stammering: *so-so-so-saft! saft!* (= soft!).

IV, i, 21. *Whale* is not 'statt hail,' but is a contracted form of *what 'll ye*; cf. Brandl's note on *whole, wholle*, III, iii, 145.

IV, i, 33. If *longe of* is to be expanded, *along of* is more common than *belong of*; but *long of* is good enough as it stands. The translation, 'wegen der Schweinchen' and the punctuation indicate a failure to catch the exact meaning of this passage. In 30 and 33 *the* is not def. art. but pronoun, and should be followed by a comma; *sadlebackt grombole* and *susukes* (read *fusukes*) are vocatives. *Fusukes*, ordinarily spelled *fussock(s)* means 'lazy fat woman,' 'a greasy sloven'; *fussock* is given in many dictionaries, the form with final *-s* may be found in *Cent. Dict.*

IV, i, 45. Perhaps a *boust stoul* is not a bolster-stool, but a box-stool; for *boust* = box, cf. *N. E. D.* or *Engl. Dial. Dict.*

IV, i, 46. *I could a chopt logetes wones* is *I could have chopped logic once*, not *I could have chopped logicians*. *Chop logic* is too common as a noun and *to chop logic* as a phrase, to need exemplification.

IV, i, 55. *Meke*, in *Bith meke*, may be only the adjective, the noun being omitted; somewhat similar phenomena are not uncommon in oaths, but see remarks in *Engl. St.*, XXIV, 206, on such forms as *meckins*.

IV, i, 63. *By gods nowne* the editor takes to be 'Bei Gottes Wort,' apparently agreeing with Dame Quickly who maintained that there are three classes of nouns: common nouns, proper nouns and God's nouns. This view is found elsewhere; cf. 'He began to chafe and to sweare and to rap out goggs Nownes and his pronouns, while (= until) at voluntarye he had sworne through the eight parts of speech in the Accidence,' R. Greene, *Works*, X, 99. But Swaen's examples (*passim*) seem to justify his conclusion, *Engl. St.* XXIV, 54, that *woun(d)s*, *waun(d)s*, *swowns*, *zoun(d)s*, *zoones*, *nowns*, *oones*, *ownes*, are mere variants of the same word.

IV, i, 98. The phrase *miss the cushion* has been variously explained. Skelton's expression seems to remove all doubt:

And whan he weneth to syt,
Yet may he mysse the quysshon. *Colyn Cloute*, 997-8.

IV, i, 99. *Towa* is not *toward*. *Towa, Alison! towa, houre!* is 'To her, Alison! to her, whore!'

IV, i, 100. The idea that Alison used her knuckles as a mnemonic device is astonishingly ingenious, but the passage does not require it. Alison says: 'First letter of your name's Eue, by the same token of my knuckle-fast eue (= ewe).' It is not her knuckles, but her old sheep, that aided her memory. The editor did not observe that *fasteen* does not rhyme with *trew*, whereas *eue* does.

IV, i, 115. Opinions in regard to *Goodes drabes* (100) may be divided; but *Gods blwehood* is nothing more or less than what it seems to be, and is not from *Gods boyhood* or *Gods bloody head*: cf. 'By gods blew hood,' quoted by Dyce from *Tom Tyler and his Wife* in illustration of 'For Goddes cope,' *Magnyfycence*, 1128. Of similar nature are *God's hat* and perhaps *God's ames* (= amice?), but cf. Brandl, p. 666.

IV, i, 121. Is not *baules bush* = Ball's Bush?

IV, i, 125. It is hardly more likely that *umbert then* is *unpired then* than *number it then* (= count it up); but it may be neither.

IV, i, 130. *Augrum* is not *algebram*, as may be learned from *N. E. D. algorism, augrim*.

IV, i, 133. Carpenter's emendation, [*t*]*we[re]*, disposes of the verb *clementid*.

IV, i, 144. May not *Gods ludd* be a modification of the common oath *God's lid*? Is *God's luddock* found?

IV, iii, 76. One who follows the recommendation to examine *N. E. D.* will (if he finds *cotton*, v.) doubtless prefer Murray's explanation of it to that given here, and (if he finds *cote*, v.) will learn that *cote* does not mean 'vorwärts gehen.' Would not the vowel of *cote* offer some difficulties to the proposed explanation of *cotton*?

The scanty notes to the three remaining plays must be left unexamined, though some of the remarks on *Horestes* 45 (an exceedingly difficult and probably corrupt line) are impossible. Moreover *Zaynt blyue* (*Horestes*, 111) is probably not *Saint b(e)li(e)f*. St. Blythe is not unknown; cf. Bale, *Thre Lawes*, 531.

The linguistic sections of the Introduction are to some extent supplementary to the notes, and to some extent entirely

independent. In general it may be said that the independent portions, the summaries of peculiarities, are, so far as they go (they neglect syntax almost entirely), laborious and accurate. In the sections supplementary to the notes are contained, however, some of the most surprising linguistic statements of the volume. I will pass hastily through the Introduction, noting linguistic matters only.

xxxiv, 15. It is probable that *ges* is not for *gyse*, as the footnote (*vid. loc.*) suggests, but for *yes* (=eyes), *cf. Jack Fugler*, pp. 28, 38.

xxxvi, 2. Whether *a* is ever for *thou* in *quod a* may be doubted.

xxxvi, 4. In *Ye hase, hase* does not come from *ealswā*. The expression means 'has he?' (*cf. 'Yea shall?'* Brandl 351, 73 and 'Yea doth?' *New Custom*, Dodsley, I, 272) and is parallel to 'No did?' 'No had?' 'No shall?' which are somewhat commoner.

xxxvi, 14. *Almes, almys* does not illustrate the loss of *t* after *s*; in the expression *it were (an) almes to (do so and so)* it is not a corrupt form of *almost*; examples are common,—the following will make the construction clear: 'It were an almes dyde to walke thy cote,' *Jack Fugler*, p. 30.

xxxvi, 36 ff. Several of the words listed as 'gelehrte Neubildungen' will excite surprise.

lxi, 46. Since *discurse* rhymes with *thus* and means *discuss*, it might be better to emend it to *discusse* than to count it as a bad rhyme.

lxii, 8. *Custodie: bodie* (V, x, 103-4) may be added to the list of rhymes on an unaccented final syllable.

lxii, 20. *Ichwin* does not belong here, for it does not mean 'each one' but 'I ween'; *vid. loc.* and *cf. 'I wine'*, *Jack Jugler*, p. 33, and 'Eke thei laugh and grin, whē by this sunne, I wyn, In the heart they wepe,' *Godly Q. Hester*, p. 19.

lxiii, 7. *Valse bezeivers of zembitee* is probably not 'False deceivers of dissimulation', but 'False deceivers apparently'; *cf. 'A sore man by zembletee'*, *Roister Doister*, I, iv, 75.

lxiii, 11. *Perzent* (= present) does not need the prefix, *re*.

lxiii, 13. *Commediens*, if not a misprint, is possibly a combination of *convenient* with *commodious*. In like manner, *promy-dence* may be a combination of *prominence* and *preëminence*—*prominence* is unknown to me.

lxiii, 14. The suggestion that *of chafor* is a distortion of *Oppressor* is not only violent but involves a misunderstanding of the passage. At present the reading is:—

Yet he and thother twaine weorke all after the vice.
Of chafor yet tone name, tother is Covetise.

Of course it should be :

Yet he and thother twaine weorke all after the vice (= advice)
Of — cha foryet (= I have forgotten) tone (= the one) name, tother is
Covetise.

Policate is probably not for *delicate*, but for *politic*, *vid. loc.*

lxiii, 15. I take *grownde* as *ground*, as it seems more likely that People would feel the evils mentioned in ground and purse than in crown and purse.

Comporte (not *composte*) is for *report* rather than *commend*, see the passage.

lxiii, 18. *Peake* need not be regarded as for *peep*. It is itself a good English word, still in current use. *Courtnalls* is not 'statt *courtiers*'; *courtnoll* is a well authenticated word and may be found in *N. E. D.*

lxiii, 18. Even if there were such an English word as *de-structers*, I should regard *strussioners* (352, 117) not as a twisting of it, but as coined from *construction* (in sense 9, *N. E. D.*).

lxiii, 20. *Alise dictis* (read *dicte*) suggests *alias* (rather than *aliter*) *dicta*.

lxiii, 21. The supposition that *divum este iustum weste* is for *divites estis, justi fuistis* suffers under the double disadvantage of paying too little attention to either the original form of the saying or the sense required by the context.

lxiii, 24. People does not 'mention' the elves; he applies the word to a certain class of human beings, but the use of it does not characterize him,—Avaryce also uses it, p. 293, l. 105.

lxxxii. In the first list on this page, it is difficult to see the grounds for treating differently the spellings *brandles*, *fralnes*, *reclamed*, *stanid*, *twane*, *bane*; they belong to the same class of phenomena.

lxxxii, 18. In what respect is *yf it were to doe* a 'laxe Fügung'?

lxxxii, 44. One of the main objections to admitting that in *Misogonus*, III, i, 149, *he* is the southern form of the femi-

nine pronoun of the third person is that such an assumption does not help the passage, whereas a simpler one does. At present the text stands :

' My swete mistrisse, now our swete Lady of Walsingham,
 he with hir swetly swete soule,
 I haue bid many a prayer for hir both early and late.'

Read :

' My swete mistrisse,—now our swete Lady of Walsingham
 be with hir swetly swete soule !—
 I haue bid,' etc.

lxxxiii. On *kodpesse* (l. 12) and *cosiner* (l. 42) I have already commented; four other words on this page need attention. *Nouns* (l. 2) can hardly stand for *announce* in the passage in question, which reads: *Come, let vs make the mach to novns, we five!* What *novns* means, I do not know; but it appears to be a game at dice: cf. l. 135, where Sir John expresses his willingness to play either mumchance or nounce. *Minsimust* (l. 15) bears some resemblance to *mumpsimus*, proposed as its original; but is *mumpsimus* ever applied to a person? *Sponsation* (l. 32) asserted to be the word aimed at in *sposation* is apparently not English, and, if it were, would mean 'vow' or 'promise' rather than *deposition* (which is the word intended). *Gallonde* (41) might easily represent *gallant*, but the context indicates that it is really for *gallon*: *Toth alhouse he went, And there calde in for a gallonde of drinke.*

lxxxiv. It is so astonishing that anyone, even Isbel, should distort *full* (3) to *fuls* that many readers will regard *fuls* as a scribal error. *Whestone with him* is for *question with him* rather than *question him*. *Wer* (7) and *year* (8) are probably dialectic.

Turning to the texts themselves, one must first inquire whether they are accurately printed. The reply will, I think, be not unfavorable to the editor. It is clear that they have been reproduced with a greater degree of fidelity than was observed by the various editors of Dodsley; and of the inaccuracies that exist many are, no doubt, chargeable, not to the account of the editor but to that of his copyists. To indicate the extent to which the texts may be trusted, as well as to make a slight contribution to the critical apparatus of the

volume, I will give a collation of Heywood's *Johan Johan*, indicating the variants between B(randl) and the original black-letter edition by R(astell). As the play was well printed originally, it offers few occasions for error. My transcript was made by a scholar familiar with both sixteenth century English and black-letter, who in almost all cases in which doubt might arise as to the accuracy of his copy foresaw the doubt and specially affirmed his reading to be that of the original. The variants follow:—

40 B. *Walke*, R. *Waske* (misprint). 78 B. *doth make me*, R. *doth me*. 99 B. *gossypry*, R. *gyssypry*. 111-4 In R. the names of the speakers are each one line too high; corrected in margin by connecting lines in faded ink. 121 Before this line R. has the speaker's name, *Ihān*.¹ 131 B. *What*, R. *what*; B. often fails to note a lower-case *w* at the beginning of a line,—so in 134, 135, 145, 208, 229, 396, 451, 454, 457, 463, 579, 619, 622, 628, 635, 636, 637 (these are all specially affirmed to be l. c. by my copyist). 153 B. *churche*, R. *churthe* (misprint). 163 B. *By hokkes sylly woundes*, R. *By kokkes lylly woundes*; B. often fails to distinguish *k* from *h*,—so in 187, 207, 625, 661, 663; in 650 B. has *by hokes sylly nayll*, R. *by kokes lylly nayll*. 231 B. *in suspect*, R. *insuspect*. 272 B. *p*, R. *y*; so elsewhere,—R. has no *p*. 299 B. *I wys*, R. *Iwys*. 309 B. *p*, R. *the* (not *y*). 332 B. *ony*, R. *any* (but *ony* in 333 and *any* in 335). 381 B. *Yet*, R. *yet*. 455 B. *Tusshe*, R. *Tusshr* (misprint). 470, 510 B. *brakkes*, R. *krakkes*, cf. above on l. 163. 472 B. *ywys*, R. *yzys*. 490 B. *Kokkes*, R. *kokkes*. 513 B. *nat*, R. *uat* (misprint). 523 In R. the second *t* of *clatter* is imperfect and has been touched up with a pen. 525 B. *chafe*, R. *thafe* (misprint). 526 B. *herwith*, R. *her with*. 558 B. *Peace*, R. *Place*. 622 B. *no*, R. *not*. 660 B. *lyest syr*, R. *lyest. syr*.² This error is slight in itself but important in its results. *Syr* is the prefix to the speech which follows. B. is therefore wrong in assigning the speech to Tyb,—the priest replies when she is attacked, as she did when he was.—Very few of these errors, it will be observed, are of any real significance for the text,—perhaps only 78, 121, 163 (and 650), 470 (and 510), 558, 622, and 660.

¹ R. makes no distinction between *I* and *J*, using *I* for both (*J* never occurs). B. follows modern usage, without remark.

² This is the sole instance in which I have thought it worth while to record variants in punctuation.

In some respects, however, the treatment of the texts is less satisfactory. This is due in part to the occasional adoption (apparently only in the last six plays, see p. lvii) of a principle which is wrong and which, no doubt, the editor will, upon reflection, admit to be wrong. Some of the plays are printed with the exact punctuation of the original, scant and faulty as it often is (so Heywood's plays); some¹ are repunctuated according to modern (German²) rules. Either of these procedures is proper, provided only that we are informed which is adopted. But there can be no justification for attempting a compromise between the two; for such an attempt neither informs the reader in regard to the original punctuation nor assures him as to the editor's interpretation of the text. The only excuse for retaining the old punctuation is taken away unless every deviation from it is clearly indicated; the only excuse for introducing a modern system is taken away unless the system is adhered to. For example, take the line, *If ye will have me, tell ytt, ye shall your tonges holde* (292, 80). Is this punctuation the old or the modern or a combination of the two? The comma after *me* is of course wrong. Take, *This is happie, hadde. ye come soo soone tigither?* (325, 9.) To my thinking, the line requires no point except a final period. Again, *Here, be eager, whelpes, loe: to yt boye / box him ball!* (295, 159). This should be *Here be eager whelpes, loe! To yt, Boye! Box him, Ball!* So, *Giue hir leaue to speake to Codrus* (479, 93) requires a comma after the second *to* (= too). The extent to which a doubt as to the sponsor of the punctuation may cause embarrassment may be learned from a consideration of the following passages (references by page and line):—293, 105; 294, 133; 301, 14; 310, 56-7; 318, 63; 349, 10; 351, 66; 353, 151; 356, 73; 426, 139, 161; 429, 24; 430, 4; 433, 4; 434, 17; 437, 4; 442, 49; 443, 91; 444, 25; 445, 49; 446, 70; 447, 107; 448, 138, 141, 152, 158; 449, 175, 186, 188; 450, 222, 236; 453, 18, 24, 29; 455, 101; 456,

¹ No one who ever attempted to print a large collection of texts will hesitate to admit fully Professor Brandl's plea for indulgence for lack of uniformity in the manner of editing the several plays. Texts differ in their requirements.

² I suppose it is hardly fair, even in a foot-note, to express regret that English should be punctuated as if it were German. Yet I suppose no English reader can avoid a feeling of discomfort at meeting with a comma before a restrictive relative.

135; 45⁸, 9, 15; 459, 44, 49; 461, 87, 107; 462, 137; 463, 149, 164; 464, 178, 192; 465, 214; 467, 251, 265, 271, 276; 470, 65; 473, 88; 477, 50; 479, 104; 482, 172; 483, 7, 11, 26; 484, 27, 48, 50; 485, 4, 8, 10; 487, 84; 488, 23; 498, 148, 149; 499, 170, 178, 179; 501, 224; 529, 957-8, 971, 979-80; 532, 1052; 535, 1156-7; 536, 1163; 602, 88; 603, 110; 611, 348, 363; 612, 397; 613, 426; 615, 487; 616, 497; 622, 683, 693; 625, 768-9; 626, 788; 632, 945, 948; 634, 1014; 637, 1091, 1101; 638, 1122, 1125; 639, 1137, 1149; 643, 1262; 648, 1397.

Another unsatisfactory feature of the treatment of the text is that the editor has not often enough made use of devices for assuring the reader that faults in the text are faults of the original¹, and has not always corrected in his notes errors that disguise or distort the sense, although he has sometimes corrected even the most insignificant. As a list of such passages will aid those who use the book, I give one, beginning with *Nature*. The practical advantage of having all such notes in a single list has induced me to forego any classification based either upon their nature or their relative importance. Where no reasons are given, a mere inspection of the passage will supply them.

NATURE.

I, 75, *thys*, l. *hys*; cf. I, 298 and *Genesis*, i, 26, 27.

221, *hys*, l. *thys*.

386, *Tryst*, l. *Cryst*.

391, l. *brough*[*t*].

574, *skyft*, l. *shyft*.

681, *I trew*, l. *I trow*.

747. The whole of this line is given by Dyce (in his note on Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, l. 859) as *Behold the bonet vppon my hed*, apparently from a more perfect copy of the book than that in the British Museum. Cf. Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, I, 455.

p. 99, note 2, *Garcion* can hardly be correct; read, '*Garcius* for *Garcio*.'

838, *herein*, l. *here in*. In only a few instances does it seem necessary to make such an alteration as this, but occasionally it does.

¹ It must also be said that the remarks in the notes about misprints do not always make it clear whether the misprint is that of the original or of this edition.

840, *saw*, l. *say*.

933, *my*, l. *me*.

980, *ye*, l. *the*; so II, 848.

1116, *fleyng*, l. *fleyryng*; cf. 'flatteryng knaues and fleyryng queanes,' Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 54, and 'Giglot, strumpet, a fliring wench,' R. Cawdrey, *Table Alph.*, ap. *N. E. D.*

1205, *serefull*, l. *ferefull*.

1333, *your*, l. *you*.

1378, *Almysdedes*, l. *Al mysdedes*; the context is, *Al mysdedes I [Shamfastnes] can attame and help for to repress*. In this passage *attame* means subdue, cf. *N. E. D.* *atame*.

p. 117. *Dele* note 2; *the assege* is good English.

II, 42, *theym*, l. (?) *hym*.

176, *passyng whyle*, l. *pyssyng whyle*; cf. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, IV, i, 3.

182, *ye mene*, l. *I mene*.

196, *margin*, *bobyly*, l. *bodyly*.

519, *hand ys*, l. *handys*.

526, l. (?) [*Such a knaue I betake to*] *the devyll*, cf. 795.

541, *begon*, l. *be gon*.

571-2 read as one line; so 574-5 and 768-9 (*dele* note 1, p. 139).

887, *by tyde*, l. *bytyde*.

944, *in the mare name*, l. *in the mares name*; this oath invokes, not the Virgin, but the Night-mare, cf. Skelton, *Magnyf.*, 1407,—whether *mare* in *Elynour Rummyng*, 110 (cf. Dyce's note) is the same may be doubted.

1128. *I*, l. *Is*.

1148, *Adew*, l. *A dew*.

1197, *falsly*, l. *fals ly*.

1229. I do not think that Pacyence calls Mankind a wretch; it seems possible to keep the original reading *wreth* (= wrath),—see *N. E. D.* for use of *dysdayn*.

1309, *trustyt*, l. *trust yt*.

LOVE.

37, *beutyfully*, l. *beuty fully*.

40, *loole*, l. *leele* (= leal) rather than *hole*.

266, *shorners*, l. *skorners*.

274, *loth*, l. *lot*.

334, *rehersted* is correct; *dele* the note.

349 (not 399), l. *smo*[*l*]test.

359, l. *than*[*k*]fullest.

515, *seemeth*, l. *seemed*.

548, *Drawe*, l. *Drave*.

624, *last*, l. *least*.

630, *mother brendryd*. What does *brendryd* mean? Doubtless we should read, *Mother B. rendryd*. *Mother B* was a cant term for a bawd, as may be seen from G. Fenton, *Tragicall Discourses*, 1567, viii, II, 81 (Tudor Translations), and in particular from Edward Hake, *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, 1579, ed. Edmonds, sig. F. iiij. ('olde mother B') and G. ij. ('wimpled B'); cf. 'Mother Bee,' *Gammer Gurton*, III, iii, 74.

643, *yet*, l. *iet* (= jet).

799, *I neuer in iustyce*, l. *I never syt in iustyce*.

828, l. *pyt*[*h*], cf. 1386; so 936.

890, *mannes*, l. *manner*; *serues* means 'service'; if punctuated, a colon (or comma and dash) after *this*.

936, *predendyth*, l. *pretendyth*.

998, *myshap*, l. *my shap*[*e*].

1015, *moste*, l. *moyste*.

1020 and 1024, *whet*, l. *whot* (= hot): cf. 1022.

1045, *a*, l. *as*.

1063, l. *es*[*c*]hew.

1076, *neyther*, l. *nether*.

1158, *receyued*, l. *receyueth*.

1328, *her*, l. *her* [*last*].

1330, *Go*, l. *So*.

1370, *well ye*, l. *well ye* [*wit*].

1488, l. *Louer not loued*.

WEATHER.

53, *haue tryed*, l. *haue be tryed*.

163, *Well*, l. *We*.

202. Insert *at*.

287. Note here and elsewhere Heywood's queer use of *whom* for *who*.

338 and 340, *Dele* [*Ma.*] and [*M. R.*]; cf. 343; M. R. speaks 336-42.

824, *syde me*, l. *syde* [*chyde*] *me*.

1004, *yon*, l. *you*.

1249. Strike out *moste*; it crept in from the next line.

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166. Assign second half to [*Tyb*].

297, *forget it*, l. *it forget*.

376, *stynk*, l. *stynt*.

RESPUBLICA.

p. 284, l. 49, *That be hath*, l. *That he hath*.

286, 39, *waies and straies*, l. *waifes and straies*.

287, 50, *shewete*, l. *swete*.

52, *whet*, l. *what*.

55, *coweth*, l. *cometh*.

56, *by drede*, l. *bedrid*.

299, 87, *whan yowe are your Robe*, l. *whan ye weare your Robe*, instead of supplying *in* after *yowe*.

301, 16, *chanunge*. l. *chaunge*.

302, 42, *and not*, l. *and all* : cf. 44.

307, 10, *pesse*, l. *passe*.

17, *plesse*, l. *blesse*.

314, 4, *lydinge*, l. *lyuinge*.

24, *graunce*, l. *graunge*.

317, 40, *had*, l. *haue*.

318, 70, *Thriste*, l. *Thrifte*.

319, note. *Beshrewe* cannot be the missing word. Oppression does not curse the Latin quotation; he wishes Avarice to expound it.

323, 16, *the ve[n]t*, l. *ye vet* (= ye fetched).

324. *Dele* note 1; the subject need not be expressed.

330, 20. Correct the spelling of *beginnige*.

332, 9, l. [*Wilt thou do*] *so*.

333, 57, *whan*, l. *whens* (= whence).

340, 15, *he*, l. *ye*.

341, 48, *ous*, l. *ons* (= once).

49, *he prest*, l. *be prest*.

Acus, l. *Actus*.

346, 28, *ous*, l. *ons* (= one's); it is not necessary to assume that *ous* is grammatical error for *our*.

10, *we*, l. *ye*, cf. 8 and 12.

347, 19, *where*, l. *there*; or is the sentence unfinished?

348, 4. Supply [*Adul.*]; cf. p. 348, ll. 45, 46.

7, [*Be*] *not so hardie*.

- 350, 37 (margin), l. *veritee*.
 352, 115, *fire*, l. *five*, or, more probably, *sixe*; cf. p. 345, l. 25.
 353, 132, *ey tendeth*, l. (?) *extendeth*.
 134, *directrie*, l. *directrice*.
 146, Instead of [*I*], supply [*Is*] (= I'll).
 354, 5, *aret*, l. *arte*.
 356, 75, *ous*, l. *ons* (= once).
 357, 97, *Connstable*, l. *Counstable*.

KING DARIUS.

- Title-page, *bot*, l. *both*.
 362, 52, Insert *an* (or *a*) before *auncyant*.
 400, 1061, *eare*, l. *heare*; cf. *Matt.*, v. 36.
 402, 1099, *nod*, l. *not*.
 405, 1200, *you*, l. *ye*.

MISOGONUS.

- Title-page, *fiilus*, l. *filius*.
 422, 36, *the ioy*, l. *they ioy*.
 423, 44, l. [*Suche*] *as*.
 45, l. [*The ioyes*] *man*.
 46, l. [*Exceptyng*] *e* or [*Outtakyn*] *e*.
 426, 125, l. [*But I*] *doubt*.
 127, l. [*That*] *seldome*.
 142, *disclayne*, l. *disdayne*.
 152. Insert *you* before *with*.
 427, 167, l. [*But one*] *thinge*.
 168. *make man[y lies]* seems more probable than *make man[y cries]*.
 178, l. *spare* [*for no cost*].
 180, l. *iell* [*what you have lost*].
 183, *que[enes grote]* would fill out the line as well as *que[rulos sot]*, and seems far more probable.
 189, The idiom of the time is, I think, *make good* (not *great*) *sport*.
 428, 205, *Aliquis intus* designates a speaker *within* ('behind the scenes'); it is not a part of the speech of Cacurgus. If the editor had observed this he would not have asked (p. 658): 'Hatte Philogonus zwei Diener bei sich?'
 430, 47, *parte*, l. *harte*.

2, *munke* = monkey.

431, 14, l. in [*fyght*].

433, 9, *doe no*, l. *doe it no*.

12, *the*, l. *ye*.

434, 48, l. [*Or els*] *your*.

437, 11, *past*, l. *passee*.

441, 31, *sowe*, l. *some*.

442, 49, *Jack sance*, l. *Jack sauce*.

52, *part*, l. *cart*.

444, 120, *zoule*, l. (?) *zouse* (= *souse*).

20, *while*, l. *will*.

445, 65, *sure*, l. *ure*.

446, 74, *yow*, l. *ye*.

448, 143, *the pristes sland*, l. *the pristes flaud* (= flawed = flayed, cf. *N. E. D.*); *Cacurgus* has just flayed the priest by stripping off his gown.

170, l. *leng[t]he*.

449, 209, *come out*, l. *come ont* (= of it).

452, 8, As in the original *not* is written above the line, I regard it as misplaced and as belonging before *spare*.

453, 18, l. *nor ho[res]*; in 20 l. *by gods bores* (cf. *Promos and Cassandra*, III, ii, and V, v).

46, in *manger your bearde*, l. *in mauger y. b.*

Note 2. The emendation is unlikely; the right word is *Fatherst* (cf. p. 483, l. 11); in l. 16 *Melissa* has 'fathered' him (l. 17), and that is the cause of his anger.

454, 48, *afrayde*, l. *afeard*.

78, *Philogonus*, l. *Misogonus*.

456, 145. Is *oul'* in original?

457. 2. Is there such a thing as a *soudid sowe*? Should we not read here, and in 459, 52, *soudid* (= sanded) *sowe*? cf. 'I'll give him the sanded sow,' *Revesby Sword Play*, 161, and 'Your sandy sow,' *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, IV, i, 22.

459, 31. Supply *What!* or *Thou*.

33, 34, *Wont*, l. *Wout*.

461, 107. Read *Yeaye, faith* (= *Yea, i-faith*), *he has benne far* (= further) *then ere [t]how haue,—on Taleon grounde he near trode*.

462, 115, *deuty*, l. *denty*.

119, Insert *not* after *youle*.

130, [*smock*] seems far more likely than [*old frock*].

138, *those* [*that be*] fills out the line as well as *those* [*in the (uni)versity*].

463, 162, *when*, l. *where*.

464, 180, l. *This* (= *This is*) a[s] *trwe*.

465, 209, *foull*e does not rhyme with *boulte*; *dolte* means about the same thing and rhymes.

467, 268. The suggested *at our fire* is perhaps less idiomatic sixteenth century English than *byth fire*.

269, l. *foure t[imes blest]*.

271, l. *some [rest]*.

469, 54, *oute*, l. *onte* (= of it).

Note 1. *Stuf* in this use is too modern.

472, 54, *faint*, l. *faine*.

Note 2. Instead of *By*, l. *And by*.

473, 105, l. *over[t]hwart*.

107, *make*, l. *make-bate* (for rhyme).

476, 37, l. *as [ye are]*.

478, 69, *how, ha ye dout*, l. *how ha ye done*.

478, 74, *yow*, l. *ye*.

83, l. [*Is not*] *be long. What, Alison!*

85, l. [*God and*] *Saint Swithin*.

87, *Am I* fills the gap as well as *I must be*.

88. [*Can you tell*] is perhaps as good as [*Do you know*].

481, 142. Insert *ye* (or *he*) before *wer*.

Note 4. There is no more justification for *Custer(d)* here than for *Dame Custard* as the name of Christian Custance (see p. liv, l. 29). *Custer*, or *Ceyster* (as it is spelled on the title-page) is the Christian name of Codrus. It is a shortened form of *Christopher*, cf. Nodal and Milner, *Gloss. of Dial. of Lancashire*, p. 173.

483, 6, l. *Stand out of my [way], wagghalter*, for *waghalter*, cf. Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 70.

15, l. *I care not, I; be a kard[er] and a dicer*.

21, *ile pardon this ones him*, l. *ile pardon him this ones*.

484, 30, l. *selfe [nyll]*.

32, l. *mas [if ye will]*.

38, l. [*If I*] *shall*.

485, 3, l. *tanquam castrator porcorum vociferare, et emunge nasum, et singultiens clama aliquando*.

- 487, 72, l. *or* [*Ile hence*].
 77, *ere*, l. *ene*.
 83, l. *sewing* [*school*].
 Note 1. The rhyme is good enough; *cf.* 249, 1029-30.
 489, 44, l. *stubber*[*n*]ly.

HORESTES.

- 495, 54, *It*, l. *Yet*.
 61, *no*, l. *now*.
 499, 175, *thad vltres*, l. *thadvltres* (= the adulterous).
 176, *spousaule* is more like than *sponsaule*.
 180, *thon*, l. *thou*.
 500, 209, *Marsis his leaue*, l. *Marsis leaue*.
 509, 435, *woulst*, l. *wouldst* (or *woudst*).
 512, 513, *fore*, l. *sore*.
 515, 598, *you*, l. *thou*; so 733.
 519, 690, l. *nough*[*t*].
 526, 860, *giues*, l. *gines* (= begins).
 861, *animo dati gloria*, l. *animo dat gloria*.
 865, *Is*, l. *His*.
 889, *Que semel amissa*, l. *Qua semel amissa*.
 527, 901, *wound*, l. *womb*.
 534, 1114, l. *happ*[*i*]est.
 1124, *wilds and minde*, l. *wills and mindes*.
 1127, *ye*, l. *the*.
 1129, *them*, l. (?) *vs.* *Or, let them defyne* (?).
 537, 1203, *cominualtie*, l. *cominnaltie*.

GISMOND OF SALERNE.

- 560, 32, *a strange*, l. *a* [*most*] *strange*.
 562, 21. Can *sharf* be right?
 567, 27, *no*, l. *ne*.
 575, first side-note, l. *depar*[*teth*].

COMMON CONDITIONS.

599, Notes 2, 4, 6. It is by no means clear that each stanza is to be assigned to a different singer.

Note 3. *Bin* is no improvement on *in*; read *lin* (or *biin*), and replace semicolon at end of 4 by comma.

Note 5. The gap may also be filled by *beare* [*his bagge on his backe*].

606, Note 4. The missing word is certainly *Halloweth*, cf. 212.

607, 232. Note *whom* for *who*, and cf. 1140.

608, 281. *For, why*, l. *For why* (= because); so also ll. 708,

1414.

613, 414, l. *hat*[*h*].

Note 1. The reading of the text need not be changed.

614, 431. Change *her* or *she* to *his* or *he*.

616, 491. *Sure name* = *sur-name*.

617, 541. *Sabia* does not intend to use black art to win *Nomides*; she appeals, therefore, not to the gods of *might*, but to those of *might*, cf. 876.

619, 602. *Otes* = *Æetes*?

620, 621, *witnesse*, l. *witlesse*.

621, 663, *aged*, l. *a god* (cf. 666).

622, 679. It is interesting to see how *coctes* may have arisen,—of course it is for *cottons*. The word was written *cottēs*; then the frequent confusion of *c* and *t* occurred and the stroke was omitted from *e*.

623, 717. Change *parentes* to *parente* or punctuate *A* as interjection.

628, 851, *Efata* = I' faith.

630, 908. Is *deride* error for *devide*?

635, 1030. *A plague of all such villains*. Professor Brandl changes *of* to *on*. Has he forgotten *Falstaff*?—not to mention a cloud of other witnesses.

637, 1088, *to thy*, l. *to try thy*; cf. 1067.

638, 1128, *who*, l. *oh*.

639, 1154, *For*, l. *Nor*.

642, 1215, *Who tho*, l. *What tho*.

1219, *prest*, l. *perst*.

645, 1308, *his*, l. (?) *this*.

648, 1386, *thy*, l. *the*.

1388, *deuise*, l. *deuised*.

1389, *ef*, l. *of*.

649, 1421, *No*, l. *Now*; *No* came from the next line, see the foot-note.

This paper is already so long that I shall not be able to fulfil my intention of treating fully *The Pride of Life* (text, translation and notes) and *Mankind* (text and notes). These are among the most interesting plays in the volume. That Professor Brandl has not succeeded perfectly with the former is not to be wondered at; the text is so broken and corrupt that no one could perform the task he undertook. I shall therefore confine the few remarks I shall make to those portions in which success is possible. His boldness in attempting to restore the text where only a few words or letters remain in a line will probably, with the common fate of such attempts, result only in stimulating the rest of us to prefer our own restitutions; for instance, in 19-20, which stands thus

. of¹ flessch & ffel
 bore.

Professor Brandl's 'Und ist doch auch von Fleisch und Haut und von einem Weibe geboren' does not please me nearly so well as my own

'ffayre he was of flessch and ffel
 And brim (or breme) as any bore.'

But this is sport and not science; we do not know, and never can know, unless another MS. is discovered, what is the correct form of some lines of this play.

As to *Mankind*, I had intended to discuss the differences between his edition and mine. In some instances he is clearly right, in others I think he is wrong. This, perhaps the most difficult play in the volume, is at the same time the best edited. If the others had been treated in the same way, this review would have been much shorter than it is. I shall have to reserve the fuller discussion for the notes to my edition. Here I will mention only a few of the most important instances in which the present edition seems to need correction.

THE PRIDE OF LIFE.

p. 4, l. 49. This is not *oratio recta*; *3e* is *he*, and *his* (50) means the King's, not Death's. With this misunderstanding is perhaps connected the misunderstanding of l. 79 shown in both

¹ Skeat: *was of*.

translation and notes. Ll. 451-68 show clearly that ll. 75-6 do not say that Death sent a messenger to the King of Life, but that the latter sent his messenger to bear a challenge to Death. This carries with it the confutation of the restoration and translation of 77-79. May it be said parenthetically that 'Testament machen' would under any circumstances be a remarkable translation of *del* in the phrase *del and dight*?

8, 116. *3u* can hardly be nom. in this piece.

10, 130. *I nil chonge for no newe* is so common as to be commonplace. *Chonge* is not from *congé* (see p. xi, l. 3), it is merely *change* and there is no occasion for the doubt expressed (p. 650). Cf. 'For alwey oon I wil be founde, His womman, and change for no newe,' Lydgate, *Min. Poems*, p. 221.

10, 134. *Behou* (= behoof) certainly cannot mean 'Gedanke'.

10, 136. *Dest rift in dede* is the well-known descriptive formula *derrest in dede*, and is by no means to be taken as 'zerreist den Tod, in Wirklichkeit': cf. the quotations in *N. E. D.*, *dear*, a¹ and *dear* a² (I think that this phrase should be assigned to the latter).

10, 137. *Lok y for ne* (Skeat reads *no*) *yng 3e let* should be *Lok y for no þing 3e let*; there is no instance of *y*=*I* in the play.

18, 259. *3e þes be kniȝtes of curteisye* is translated 'Ihr Diener (ae. *þeo*) seid Ritter von Höflichkeit.' It would be difficult to find another example of *þes* = *þeowas* at this date. The passage is simple enough: 'Yea, these be courteous knights.'

24, 333. Brandl has two interpretations of *gocil*; one (by Schmidt) in the notes, that it is derived from *gok* (= fool), but B. is inclined to reject this because *c* is not used for *k* before front vowels; the other (xiii, 14), that it is for *gentyl* (through *gētyl*). The latter is ingenious and is possible palæographically, but as the context seems to require both a parallel to *med* (331) and a continuation of the thought of 331-2, I should keep *gocyl* (= guzzle).

30, 421. *pou lisst, screu, bolhed* is, of course, not 'Du höre, Schraube, Bolzenspitze,' but 'Thou liest, shrew, bull-head!'

30, 425. If *wild cat* is to be rejected because scribe B. never writes *o* for *a*, it is hard to see how *wilgate* can be accepted. *Wild coot* is tempting, though it would require emendation of 423 to secure a good rhyme. The passage clearly means

'Church is not the kind of thing that runs (*or* flies) away ; it will be there when I need it.'

30, 428. *Pet ping* sounds decidedly modern for this poem.

32, 472. After 472 the semicolon should be changed to a comma, and 474 should be translated 'Möget ihr nimmer so keck sein' instead of 'So seid mir nimmer so keck.'

MANKIND.

p. xxii. The sections on the vowels would have gained by the recognition that some of the contradictory phenomena are due to the second scribe, who began with l. 806 and continued to the end of the play.

xxii, 40. *The howll flyght* (557) is, not *the (w)hole flight*, as the remark here seems to imply, but *owl flight*, cf. Skelton, *The Douty Duke of Albany*, 312, and see also *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, sc. xxi, ll. 1 ff.

xxiii, 11. '*Serge* (895) in Halliwell . . . vielleicht aus *sergeant* erschlossen.' But is *churg* (= church) due to the influence of *urge* (see, however, x, 45)? In both cases (and numerous others, cf. *scorge* = scorch, *M. W. of Windsor*, (Q¹) Sc. iii, l. 64) have we not merely instances of failure to stop the voiced breath of *r* in time to allow *ch* its unvoiced sound?

xxiv, 17. *Sen* (654) is certainly not Ind. mood.

xxxi, 20 ff. The remarks on the use of Latin derivatives by the 'Teufelsgesindel' are strange. To say nothing of the doubtful explanation of *trefett*, what business has *peson* (O.E. *pisan*, Mod. Eng. *pease*) in this list? And above all what is the meaning of 'eigentlich = Stange'? *Recumbentibus* does not mean 'recovery' either in 431 or 482. How is 431 to be interpreted with this meaning? A *recumbentibus* is originally a 'knock-down blow,' then a 'severe blow': cf. 'Had you some husband and snapt at him thus, Iwys he would geue you a recumbentibus,' Heywood, *Proverbs*, p. 70.

l. 80. Surely *goode Adam* need not be explained as *Goa* (*thee*) *damn*; '*homo* is a common name to all men.'

100. Here *iett* is not the verb (= den Körper aufwerfen) but the noun (= fashion).

133. After 133 should be inserted in the text the Latin line relegated to the notes but necessary to the stanza structure (cf. xxv, 17).

140. When Kittredge suggested *Goo we hens* for *Goo we haue*, he had in mind the fact that both *haue* and *of* are often written *a*, and would have made use of it, had he regarded it as pertinent. His reading was based on ll. 148-9, which seem to establish it.

241. Brandl has misunderstood Kittredge's conjecture; *a'* was meant for *of*, not *all*. Both Kittredge and I now prefer to read *A goode horse xulde be geson*, in closer conformity to the MS. *Gesom* (= O.E. *gesōm*) is hardly possible in either form or syntax.

253. Kittredge's *Me thynk a full goode sort* for *Mo the* (B. the[n]) *a goode sorte* has the advantage of making both metre and sense.

254. *ʒe haue leuer* is not English in this context, and the reference to Mätzner procures no support for the supposition that it is. It is much easier to believe that the scribe wrote the contraction for *er* instead of *e* than that any Englishman ever wrote such English as *ʒe haue leuer to hem* (or *hom*) *ʒe wyll go forth yowur wey*.

379. The conjecture *fisyke* for *fesyde* finds no support in the context. Kittredge's *spade* is in harmony with all the facts (see ll. 362, 381) and is certainly right. It at least deserved mention by Brandl.

444. *Gostly* need not be emended to *postly*; it is an irreverent jest: cf. Brandl, p. 291, 61, and 'Did it to a gostly ende To have a male readie to put in other folkes stuffe,' *Damon & P.* Dodsley, I, 233.

506. It is true that *neck-verse* alludes to the beginning of *Ps.* li; but the remark that it is a verse 'den Verurtheilte unter dem Galgen zu beten hatten' misses the point. The ability to read the neck-verse entitled the criminal to 'benefit of clergy.'

536. My emendation *deuer* for *eeuer* is supported not only by the similarity of *d* and *e* in this MS., but also by the examples of 'put . . . in dever' in *N. E. D.*, *devoir* 2. The suggestion that *eeuer* = Ger. *Eifer* (p. 654) struggles against the disadvantage that such a word is unknown in English.

544. The punctuation indicates a failure to understand the line. The remark to Mankind is: 'A short prayer thirleth heaven; cease thy prayer.' That this is correct may be learned from: *Brevis oratio penetrat celum*, *Piers Pl.* C, xii, 297 (the same quotation is the last line of the A text).

60, 583. It was surely worth while, in connection with this line, to mention that Collier, *H. E. D. P.*², 214, reads *ab Herode*, suggesting *à l'Herode* and devising an amusing theory of an otherwise unknown tradition as to the manner of Herod's death. In the face of this, Kittredge ingeniously and rightly emended *reke ab herode* (the reading we had) to *neke as he rode*. That MS. really has *herode* is indicated by the independent agreement of Collier and my copyist.

64, 680. What does *Tabell* mean? My copyist read *iakett*.

65, 717. This is not the earliest allusion to foot-ball; cf. *N. E. D.* camping sb.¹ and Lydgate, *Minor P.*, 160.

71, 878. *Sweche* means 'such', whether Brandl's punctuation or mine be adopted. There is no occasion for assuming it to be a word that does not appear elsewhere in fifteenth century English (p. 654).

72. Surely it is undesirable to omit without mention the Latin verses declarative of ownership (see my ed., p. 352, for the original and Kittredge's emendations). For the omission of a somewhat similar feature of *Misogonus*, see Carpenter's review of Brandl in *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

Certain features of the Introduction are so significant that they must be noted, even at the cost of extending this already long review. They are manifestations of a tendency very dangerous to scholarship, and it is important that scholars should reflect upon the logical and certain results of this tendency before it works serious injury.

Professor Brandl finds the source of *The Pride of Life* in the original version of the *Danse macabre*.¹ The parallels produced between *P. of L.* and the German and Spanish texts are of the most trivial and unconvincing character. The declaration of the presenter that the play would please (and profit), and his address to the spectators, not only 'stimmen zu den Worten des Predigers' of the German text, they agree in both context and form with such addresses to the audience in countless romances, ballads and similar compositions. The description of the King is of the same conventional character. The kings of the mediæval drama are all alike. The 'Trotz-

¹ *Macabré* is, of course, the proper form, as Gaston Paris long ago abundantly proved. That this was also the pronunciation in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can easily be shown.

rede', 113 ff., is inevitable, almost as much so as the possession of a lance by one of the knights of *P. of L.* as well as by one of the caballeros of the Spanish text. That the warnings given by the Queen should resemble those given by Pedricador and Sano Consejo can surely surprise no one who is at all acquainted with mediæval literature, even when we find in one:

'thinke, þou haddist beginninge,
 Qwhen þou were i bore ;
 & bot þou mak god endinge,
 þi sowle is fforlore,' 183-86

and in the other 'todo ome nascido gostara la muerte,'—though it is difficult to recognize this thought, as Professor Brandl does, in the statement that God is 'principe, fin e el medio.' Warnings to do good works, to worship God, to trust not in rank or power, are not impressive coincidences, even when supported by declarations that holy writ and prophecy authorize them. When we exhaust the list of features noted as common to *P. of L.* and either of the two versions of the *Dance of Death* by adding Death's statement that he is king and the indication that at the Judgment the good shall be saved and the bad damned, it becomes clear that the case for the origin of the play in the Dance is weak. The truth of the matter is that both deal with that striking commonplace of mediæval homilist, moralist and poet, that neither riches nor power can save man from death, that, as Langland says, Death pashes to dust 'kynges and knyghtes, kayseres and popes.' To prove relationship between two treatments of this theme, it must be shown that they possess in common features that are really characteristic; and this is precisely what Professor Brandl does not do. That *P. of L.* can be of any service either in establishing the main features of the original version of the *Dance of Death* or in proving it to have been dramatic, is a wholly unwarrantable assumption. To see in 'Det[h] dot[h] not spar[e] kyntis (= knights), cayser ne kyng' (55-6) any trace of the typical figures of the *Dance of Death* requires as entire a lack of critical method as to discover reductions of them in Queen, Knights, Messenger and Bishop. The remarks on the Dance of Death in England in-

dicates that the editor knows nothing of Lydgate's version. Other sources than Ticknor and Seelmann should have been consulted.

That the traditional figures of Herod and Pilate affected the conception and presentation of the King is beyond question; but that in *York Plays XXX* Pilate has a wife, two soldiers and a messenger has no significance, even if we add that it contains also, in Annas and Caiaphas, two bishops. What has become of *Filius Pilati* and *Ancilla*? If two groups of conventional figures are to be brought into relation with each other, more than the mere possession of a few figures in common is necessary. In lxy, 6 we are told that Hypocrisy, Avarice and Sensual Suggestion of the *Conflict of Conscience* are the same group that appears in Bale's *Thre Lawes*. The group in the latter includes besides these Infydelite, False Doctryne, Idolatrye and Ambycyon.

The attempt (p. xlv) to show an academic tendency, as distinguished from a moral, in *Nature*, and thereby to connect it with *The Four Elements*, is worthy of note: 'Diese neue, dem Jahrhundert der Renaissance entschieden genehme Richtung Medwalls, der auf alle Teufelei verzichtete, um dafür die Rundheit der Erde zu lehren (474) und die logische Regel vom Gegensatz zu explicieren (II, 1104-6), wurde dann fortgesetzt im "Interlude of the four Elements"', das in langen Vorlesungen schwelgt.' There is in *Nature* no attempt to teach the roundness of the earth or to expound the doctrine of contraries. It would be quite as proper to say that Chaucer devotes himself to the former. Both passages are incidental and have nothing to do with the aim of the play. But we are told (p. xli) that *The Four Elements* is 'eine direkte Nachahmung von Medwalls *Nature*.' It would be difficult to find two moral plays less like one another. *The Four Elements* is, indeed, the only representative of its class in England. It is not intended to teach any lesson of religion or morals or practical wisdom. Its primary object is to give the audience some cosmographical and geographical information. The author, John Rastell'—'magnus iste cosmographus,' as Bale

¹ It seems not to be generally known that Rastell was the author, but Bale (who, untrustworthy as he is in regard to all persons but his contemporaries, may be trusted in this) distinctly says that he was, and gives the

calls him,—would probably have accounted for his use of the dramatic form by his desire to hold his audience through the lecture. *Nature* and *The Four Elements* are alike in containing Nature (but in one, *Natura naturans*, in the other, *Natura naturata*), *Humanum genus* (Humanity), Sensuality, and references to a tavern scene. There the resemblances cease.

A fundamental defect of all discussions of Moralities is the failure to see how logically and inevitably (given mediæval conceptions and modes of thinking) characters and actions are developed from the fundamental thesis. Recognition of this would inspire grave hesitancy in any one about to undertake proof of relationship by the methods usually pursued.

Another fault of method, too commonly committed, is the practice of introducing into a discussion of literary derivation or relationship mention of productions containing slender parallels which have no possible bearing upon the question under discussion. Even when this is done with words which assert no more than that the writer happened to think (. . . erinnert an . . .) of the case produced, it is misleading and confusing. The reader either finds himself so bewildered by these vague resemblances that he is ready to accept anything or so repelled that he is willing to accept nothing. For example: 'Das böse Weib [Noahs] erinnert an die von Chaucer so behaglich ausgemalte Dame von Bath, der Schafdieb [Mak] ist mit der lateinischen Komödie *De clericis et rustico* verwandt.'¹ A touch of nature makes the whole world kin, but Mak of the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* is not otherwise related to the peasant of *De clericis et rustico*. The story of Mak is well-known. The other story tells how a peasant and two clerks (or two townsmen, in another version), travelling together and not having food enough for the three, agree that the one who has the most interesting dream shall possess all of it, and how, while the clerks, who thought to get the better of the peasant, sleep, he eats the food, and when, upon awaking, the clerks describe the marvels of heaven and hell, which they visited in their first line of the play: 'Magnus iste Cosmographus, de trium mundi partium, Asiæ, Africæ, & Europæ, descriptione, longissimam reliquit comœdiam, quam vocabat, *Naturam naturatam*, li. I. *Abundas* [l. *Abundans*] *gratia potentiæ diuinæ* [an exact rendering, it will be observed, of the first line of *The Four Elements*].' *Summarium*, fo. 222a.

¹ Einleitung, pp. xlvi, xlvi.

dreams, asserts that he dreamed they were not going to return to earth and consequently ate the food. Stealing from persons with whom one sleeps is the only common feature of the stories; in every characteristic detail they are different. Noah's Wife may call to mind the Wife of Bath,—though of course the former is the earlier creation,—but no more than does any wife who refuses to obey her husband and fights with him. In like manner it is said (xxxix, 41): 'Hiebei wird uns ein Curtisanenabenteuer erzählt [*Nature*, II, 258–303], das an Absalons Zuspätkommen in Chaucers Geschichte des Müllers erinnert.' But surely it bears less resemblance to that highly characteristic episode than to almost any other instance of 'Zuspätkommen' in literature or life. But perhaps the most astonishing feat of literary connection is that (li, 1) which brings together Heywood's *Weather* and Chaucer's *House of Fame* with the remark that Jupiter is concerned in each.

There is no space left for the examination of the sections on the mode of staging, and the examination of them is the less important because, though often wrong in details and though unsound in method, their defects are essentially of the same sort as those already considered. From a single paragraph containing several remarkable statements (p. xxxiii) may be chosen one which involves perhaps a greater variety of defects than any other: 'Unheil [trug] den Anzug eines Bauernknechts (54), einen Zaum . . . (295), und einen dicken Bauch voll Mord und Todtschlag (626).' It is possible, though not certain, that Mischief was dressed like a farm-hand and that he carried a bridle (though he does not attempt to use it); but that a part of his outfit was *ein dicker Bauch voll Mord und Todtschlag* is a surprising inference from his remark, after having killed his jailer: *Of murder and manslaughter I haue my belly fyll*. That he brought with him the stolen dish and dubble is not mentioned. As to the costume of Nought, one is forced to inquire whether in a play of this, or any other date, the fool's livery is to be assigned to every person to whom one of his fellows applies the epithet 'fool'.

The length of this review must find its justification, not in the correction of some of the errors contained in the book

reviewed, but in the fact that it is time for students of English to take account of the present status of their science and inquire whether it is satisfactory. This book seemed especially fitted to serve as a stimulus to such an inquiry by reason of the great value of the texts, the important and influential position occupied by the editor, and the striking manner in which defects found elsewhere singly are here combined. Is it not time that, for every student, linguistic training should include that wide reading which develops 'Sprachgefühl', as well as that minute study which provides knowledge of phonological law? And, above all, is it not time that the sound principles stated in treatises on method in literary history should be observed in practice by every writer who has enjoyed professional training? The study of comparative grammar was revolutionized a few decades ago by the recognition of a small number of principles which now seem self-evident. The study of literary history still awaits the application of similar principles; and the results of the reform will not be less valuable.

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AREOPAGUS AND PLEIADE.

THE purpose of this paper is to emphasize a certain parallelism of programme and performance between Ronsard's *Pleiade* and that literary club to which Spenser in his letter to Harvey of Oct. 5, 1579, gives the name of *Areopagus*. It will not be possible to produce the lines of this parallelism far enough to do it justice: my space forbids. I hope at least to show cause why the two dominant schools of literature of Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century should not be studied apart.

In 1549 the elder of these two schools gave out its pronouncement in Du Bellay's *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue francoise*. By 1579 the younger school had prepared its programme in Spenser's *The English Poet*. We can only infer, but we can readily enough infer, the main tenets of *The English Poet* from 'E. K.'s' references in the *Shepherds Calender*. These inferential doctrines of *The English Poet* exactly conform with the known doctrines of Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*. It has even been surmised, not without plausibility, that the former essay was actually digested into the latter.¹

Du Bellay's *Deffence* and the mass of literary performance built up on its theoretical bases by himself and his friends represent a concerted propagandist movement of literary reform. Endeavoring to trim between the two offensively partisan camps in French literature, between the humanist critics slavishly tied to the letter of the classics and the nationalist critics with their patriotic but crude medievalism, the *Pleiade* ostensibly basing itself upon a free reconstructive imitation of the classics, actually developed a third party, essentially eclectic in spirit and method.

¹ Grosart. *Spenser's Works*. Spenser Soc. 1882-4, Vol. I, pp. 453-4.

It will not be denied that in English literature there was at the end of the third quarter of the century a like tension; nor yet denied that individually and in a general way Sidney and Spenser attempted to harmonize medievalism and classicism. Their functional likeness to Du Bellay and Ronsard, indeed, has not passed unnoticed, could not pass unnoticed. Mr. Hannay, for instance, observes that Sidney's *Defense, or Apologie for Poetrie*, 'is to some extent our English equivalent for the *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Française* of Joachim du Bellay, the manifesto of a new school of poets'; and again that Ronsard 'did for France what Surrey and Wyatt began, and Spenser and Sidney completed for us, . . . set up a model of sweeter and statelier measures, and . . . brought the ancient classic inspiration out of pure scholarship into literature.'¹ This statement implies evidently no more than coincidence in the relationship whether between the French and the English poets or between the English poets themselves; and such I conceive to be the general opinion. There are, however, I think, reasons for inferring more, namely that there existed an English group of literary reformers, organized like the French group, and itself a conscious following of the French group.

What we know of the *Areopagus* is derived from references and allusions to it in the Spenser-Harvey letters of 1579-80. There we hear of Dyer and Fulke Greville as members besides Sidney and Spenser and the non-resident Harvey. The only business of the club directly dwelt on between Spenser and Harvey is the experimentation with classical metres. On this evidence, or absence of evidence, it has been generally assumed that the *Areopagus* could have had no other interest. Fox Bourne, indeed, justly complains that 'this part of the task taken upon itself by the *Areopagus* has been more ridiculed, and has been made to appear more important, than there is reason for.'² It is certainly hard to conceive the authors of the

¹ *The Later Renaissance*. New York, 1898, p. 200 and p. 298.

² H. R. Fox Bourne: *Sir Philip Sidney*. N. Y., 1891, p. 201.

Shepherds Calender and the *Fairie Queene*, of the *Defense of Poesie* and the *Arcadia*, in the very years in which those works were being planned and executed, finding no more fruitful basis for conversation and coöperation than the 'Dranting' of English verse.

If Spenser and Sidney in this time of mutual intercourse did not put their heads together for larger ends, it is a noteworthy coincidence that the *Defense of Poesie* should have followed so close upon the heels of *The English Poet*. Were the two treatises shown to have urged contrary views, they would still by the very presence of such an issue point to previous discussion between the two friends on matters broader than metrics. In point of fact, the two treatises present the same view. They both urge the inspirational idealism of Plato. Sidney's whole argument, both as a rebuttal of Gosson and as a critical construction, depends upon a *distinguo*. Gosson had declared with literal accuracy that Plato had banned poets. Sidney retorted with the well-known distinction in kinds of imitation,—the imitation which appeals to the senses merely and the imitation which appeals through the senses to the soul. The object of this higher imitation is not perceived, but apperceived; not learnt, but inspired. 'The ancient learned affirm it (poetry) was a divine gift, and no human skill, since all other knowledges lie ready for any that hath strength of wit, a poet no industry can make if his own genius be not carried into it.'¹

This bardic notion of the poet is Sidney's major premiss. It is similarly basic in Spenser's *The English Poet*. 'Poetry is . . . rather no arte, but a divine gift and heavenly instinct not to be gotten by laboure and learning, but adorned with both: and poured into the witte by a certain *Ἐνθουσιασμός* and celestiall inspiration, as the Author hereof els where at large discourseth in his booke called THE ENGLISH POETE . . .'²

The simultaneous enunciation of a root principle of their art not currently accepted in their time and place

¹ *Defense of Poesie*. Ed. A. S. Cook, p. 46.

² *Shep. Cal.* Ed. C. H. Herford. Ecl. 10, *Argument*.

by two friends known to be leaders of a literary reform-club can hardly be regarded as other than concerted action. What share the other members of the club may have taken in the propaganda I cannot at present say, but Harvey from one point of view seems to have advised and criticised much in the same way as the academic 'doyen' of the *Pleiade*, Daurat; from another point of view, he was urging the same metristic plank in the new platform as Baif in the French party.

If we may, at least provisionally, regard the *Arcopagus* as a club devoted to general literary reform, the question naturally arises whether it was an original departure or a following. Fox Bourne assumes the former, since 'we have no account of any literary club like the *Arcopagus*.'¹ Just over the channel a 'literary club like the *Arcopagus*' had dominated for a generation the dominant literature of the age!

There was every reason that the *Pleiade* should have a following in England. Ronsard was a favorite with Queen Elizabeth, and a personal friend not only of Sidney's uncle, the Earl of Leicester, whom Ronsard in a complimentary poem called '*l'ornement des Anglois*,' but also of Sidney himself, who in 1572 had visited at the Louvre at the very time that Ronsard himself was staying there.² Spenser, as is well known, began his literary career by translating for Vander Noodt's '*Theatre for Worldlings*' the *Songe* from Du Bellay's *Antiquitez du Rome*, and later published a translation of that entire poem together with his own *Ruines of Time and Visions of the Worlds Vanity* in obvious emulation. Furthermore, it could not fail to be brought in upon the notice of so intimate a courtier as Sidney that the Queen was envious of the lustre which Ronsard at Paris, and Tasso at Ferrara, were shedding upon their respective sovereigns. As late as 1584, the Ferrarese ambassador in London is informed '*che questa reina non stima meno avventuroso il Serenissimo nostro Duca per avere cotesto gran poeta cantate le sue loda, che*

¹ Op. cit., p. 201.

² See J.-J. Jusserand in *Nineteenth Century*. April, 1898.

si facesse Alessandro Achille, per averc egli avuto il grande Omero.'¹ Even in '84 the greatly vain Queen must have felt the contrast of her own Homer-less state. Indeed, Sidney himself *may* have been the '*illustre cavaliere*' who informed Castelvetro of the Queen's admiration of Tasso.

If Sidney and his friends did take the *Pleiade* as a model for their own incubator of poets, they certainly chose an appropriately analogous name, Greek in origin like *Pleiade*; and if an Alexandrian literary coterie stood sponsor to the *Pleiade*, an Athenian tribunal of morals and education did as much for the *Arcopagus*.

Behind and beneath these surface analogies, however, are the apparent identities of purpose and performance which the two coteries exhibit in their respective published works. Some of these identities it will be the intention of the rest of this paper to set forth, although hardly more than by suggestion.

First of all, it is clear that both Du Bellay's *Deffence* and Sidney's *Defense* mediate in like manner between the friends and the opponents of classical imitation by a similar distinction between literal and what they both indicate as *digestive* imitation. After flaying the bad literal imitation of the humanist poets, Du Bellay enjoins the free manner of the Romans imitating the Greeks, 'se transformant en eux, les deuorant, & apres les auoir bien digerez, les conuertissant en sang et nourriture: se proposant, chacun selon son Naturel, & l'Argument qu'il vouloit elire, le meilleur Aucteur . . .'² And Sidney, with evident echo: 'Truly I could wish . . . the diligent imitators of Tully and Demosthenes (most worthy to be imitated) did not so much keep Nizolian paper-books of their figures and phrases, as by attentive translation, as it were devour them whole, and make them wholly theirs.'³

¹ Cited in *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, by A. Solerti. 1885. Vol. II, Pe. II, Letter 179.

² *La Deffence, &c.*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux. Paris, 1866. T. I., p. 16 ff. (ch. vii).

³ *Defense of Poesy*, ed A. S. Cook. Ginn, Boston. 1890, p. 53. Prof. Cook in his Notes calls attention to the evident parallelism between these two passages of Du Bellay's and Sidney's.

The slavish imitation of the humanist, however, depended upon a more vital misconception than of mere literary methods. He forgot that before the poet can imitate or do anything else, the poet must be; and that no recipe save God's can make him. I have already illustrated the inspirational theory of the leading *Areopagites*¹; Ronsard for the *Pleiade* expresses the same view thus:

Le don de poésie est semblable à ce feu
 Lequel aux nuits d'hiver comme un présage est veu
 Ores dessus un fleuve, ores sur un pré,
 Ores dessus le chef d'une forest sacrée,
 Sautant et jaillissant, jetant de tous pars
 Par l'obscur de la nuit de grands rayons espars.²

While the poetic flame is thus likened to the *ignis fatuus* coming we know not whence, it must nevertheless be assiduously nursed. It is not, as Spenser says, 'gotten by labour and learning, but adorned with both.' Mere 'native wood-notes wild' will not do. So Du Bellay, when he censures those easy-going geniuses, '*poètes de cour*,' who are content to be led

Par le seul naturel, sans art et sans doctrine.³

And Spenser's *Polyhymnia* weeps

For the sweet numbers and melodious measures,
 With which I wont the winged words to tie,
 And make a tuneful Diapase of pleasures,
 Now being let to run at libertie
 By those which have no skill to rule them right,
 Have now quite lost their naturall delight.⁴

¹ Ante, p. 431.

² *Poèmes, Disc. à J. Grévin.*

³ Cited in Lanson: *Hist. Litt. Fr.*, p. 273.

⁴ *Tears of the Muses*, vv. 547-552. Sidney may seem to have defended *le seul naturel* when he exclaimed

Fool! said my Muse to me, look in thy heart, and write.

In point of fact he did look in his *Petrarchino*.

In fine, between the laborious humanist and the *insouciant* balladist or court poet, the dual reform mediated by eclectic combination. To put it Elizabethan-wise: it is true, *poeta nascitur non fit*; *ergo*, once *nascitur*, it devolves upon him to *fit* himself. Neither mere learning, nor mere inspiration,—both. But to what end is his fitting? The New School prepares no mere *gai saber*, no mere minstrel to share the perquisites and maybe the motley of the Court Fool. Its graduate is to be equally removed from the pedant and the jester. He is rather to be the priest, filled like Spenser's own Una with sad, sober cheer. Poetry is to be religion made vocal. Poets are to be the dispensers of immortality. Be of good cheer, cries Spenser to one that had lost her husband,

Thy Lord shall never die, the whiles this verse
Shall live, and surely it shall live for ever.¹

Kings recognize the priestly function of the New Poet: Charles IX writes to Ronsard,

Tous deux également nous portons des couronnes :
Mais, roi, je la reçus: poète, tu la donnes . . .²

Both Spenser and Ronsard recognize that their elevation of the poet is a rehabilitation; one of the Muses complains to Ronsard:

Au temps que les mortels craignaient les deitez,
Ils bastirent pour nous et temples et citez ;
Montaignes et rochers et fontaines et préés
Et grottes et forests nous furent consacrées.
Notre mestier estoit d'honorer les grands rois,
De rendre venerable et le peuple et les lois,
Faire que la vertu du monde fust aimée
Et forcer le trespas par longue renommée,
D'une flamme divine allumer les esprits,
Avoir d'un coeur hautain le vulgaire à mepris,
Ne priser que l'honneur et la gloire cherchée
Et tousjours dans le ciel avoir l'âme attachée.³

¹ *The Ruines of Time*, vv. 253-4.

² Cited in Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

³ *Bocage Royal. Dialogue entre les Muses deslogées et Ronsard.*

Just so Spenser's *Polyhymnia* complains to him of the evil days on which her art had fallen :

Whilom in ages past none might professe
But Princes and high Priests that secret skill ;
The sacred lawes therein they wont expresse,
And with deepe Oracles their verses fill :
Then was shee held in soveraigne dignitie,
And made the noursling of Nobilitie.

But now nor Prince nor Priest doth her maintayne,
But suffer her prophaned for to bee
Of the base vulgar, that with hands uncleane
Dares to pollute her hidden mysterie ;
And treadeth under foote hir holie things,
Which was the care of Kesars and of Kings.¹

This priestly or bardic function of the poet is to be revived. But *noblesse oblige*: the bard must speak as a bard and not as an ordinary man. Poetry must have a speech apart. It is Wordsworth's war-cry read backwards: let there be a 'poetic diction.' To defend and define such a new 'poetic diction' is the chief purpose of Du Bellay's *Deffence*, as it also is of 'E. K.'s' *Epistle-Dedicatory* to Harvey in the *Shepheards Calender*.

However divinely inspired its framers, a 'poetic diction' cannot be created *ex nihilo*; it cannot even be a wholly artificial construction *à la* Volapuk. It may soar above everyday speech; it must not outfly intelligent understanding. The eclectic reformers of *Pleiade* and *Areopagus* heard about them in poetry, vulgarity on the one hand, pedantry on the other. The right way was evidently between. Popular diction and humanist diction both were partly right; their common fault was one-sidedness. Poetic diction must not be either all home-bred, or all learned, but both in due proportion. The literary vocabulary was to be enriched (*illustré*) by an equitable addition from both classes of terms. *Home-spun* revivals were to include (1) archaisms, and (2) dialectical

¹ *Tears of the Muses*, vv. 559-570.

terms and phrases; *learned* accretions were to come from (1) naturalised importations from foreign tongues, ancient and modern, (2) technical terms from the arts and sciences, and (3) new coinages.¹

By the intersprinkling of such 'seld-seen costly words' the Trimmers hoped to elevate the common vocabulary without rendering it unintelligible to the intelligent,—and for the rest what mattered? 'Seulement veu-ie admonnester celuy qui aspire a une gloyre non vulgaire, s'eloingner de ces ineptes Admirateurs, fuyr ce peuple ignorant, peuple ennemy de tout rare & antique scauoir: se contenter de peu de Lecteurs a l'exemple de celuy qui pour tous Auditeurs ne demandoit que Platon . . .'² Spenser laments that Prince and Priest neglect Poetry,

. . . suffer her prophaned for to bee
Of the base vulgar, &c.³

Sidney exactly parallels this complaint of Spenser: 'How can I but exclaim,

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso?

Sweet poesy! that hath anciently had kings, emperors, senators, great captains, such as, besides a thousand others, David, Adrian, Sophocles, Germanicus, not only to favor poets, but to be poets . . . (Now) base men with servile wits undertake it, who think it enough if they can be rewarded of the printer . . . So these men, no more but setting their names to it, by their own disgracefulness disgrace the most graceful poesy.'⁴ It is clear from all

¹ It is obviously impossible to prove in detail this analysis of the new diction. It can at most illustrate it. For the *Pleiade*, see Pellissier in *Petit de Julleville. Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. Franç. T. III. ch. iv.*; also *La Pleiade Françoyse*. Ed. Marty-Laveaux: *Appendices*. For the *Arcop.*, C. H. Herford, ed. *Shep. Cal.* Introd. IV; A. S. Cook. Ed. *Defense of Poesy*: Introd., § 4. But a full study of Spenserian language and grammar is still a desideratum.

² *La Deffence*, ed. cit., p. 57. (Parte II, ch. 11.)

³ *Tears of the Muses*, vv. 565 ff.

⁴ *Def. of Poesy*, ed. cit., pp. 44-5. This must be added as a third parallel to the two passages from Ronsard and Spenser quoted ante, pp. 435-6.

this that the gospel of the New Poetry was limited to Gentlemen and Scholars.

Scholars and Gentlemen might especially be expected to savor the bouquet of an old word as rich and rare as an old wine. In regard to archaism, however, there were no doubt two opinions in both clubs. Du Bellay and Sidney deprecated immoderate or constant archaism, Sidney actually not daring to 'allow' 'that same framing of his style to an old rustic language' of the *Shepherds Calender*.¹ Whether indeed the rusticity or antiquity of the language it was that displeased Sidney may be a question. And certainly in both his and Du Bellay's works there is evident archaism.² Ronsard, on the other hand, and only Ronsard, can rival Spenser in his enthusiasm for antique words . . . 'Mes enfants deffendez vostre mere de ceux qui veulent faire servante une damoyselle de bonne maison. Il y a des vocables qui sont françois naturels, qui sentent le vieux, mais le libre françois . . . Je vous recommande par testament que vous ne laissiez point perdre ces vieux termes, que vous les employiez et deffendiez hardiment contre des maraux qui ne tiennent pas elegant ce qui nest point escorché du latin et de l'italien . . .'³ Lowell has noted⁴ the similarity of tone between Du Bellay's *Deffence* and the *Epistle* to the *Shepherds Calender*, but E. K.'s words are really much nearer those of Ronsard's. Defending Spenser's archaism, E. K. says: 'In my opinion it is one special prayse of many, whych are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore,

¹ *Defense of Poesie*, p. 47.

² 'His (Spenser's) theory, caught from Bellay, of rescuing good archaisms from unwarranted oblivion, was excellent; not so his practice of being archaic for the mere sake of escaping from the common and familiar.' Lowell, *Prose Wks.*, 'Riverside' ed., 1890, iv, 347. Lowell's distinction here between Du Bellay and Spenser is precisely that between Du Bellay (and Sidney) and Ronsard. But on the whole, both *Pleiade* and *Areopagus* did try to escape from the 'common and familiar' in language. As Pellissier puts it, *le but des novateurs est de donner à la poésie une langue distincte de la prose*. *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

³ *Avertissement des Tragiques*. (Quoted by Pellissier, *op. cit.*, p. 160.)

⁴ *Prose Wks.* 'Riverside' ed., 1890, iv, 346-7.

as to theyre rightfull heritage, such good and naturall English words, as have ben long time out of use, and almost cleane disherited. Which is the onely cause, that our Mother tongue, which truely of it self is both ful enough for prose, and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both. Which default whenas some endeoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with peces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latine . . .¹

If within *Pleiade* and *Areopagus* alike there was a corresponding difference of opinion as to the degree of archaism proper for the new poetic diction, on the second 'home-spun' enrichment of the vernacular there was apparent disagreement as to its use at all. I mean terms and phrases from provincial dialects. Du Bellay ignores it in the *Deffence*; Ronsard warmly recommends it,² but employs it very sparingly; Spenser conspicuously uses it in the *Calender* for 'Doric' rusticity;³ Sidney explicitly censures Spenser's use of it. On the whole, this particular innovation could hardly prosper in the hands of courtly poets in a courtly atmosphere. As an eclectic theorist, Ronsard might insist that '*chacun jardin a sa par-*

¹ Prof. Kittredge has called to my attention another member of the *Areopagus*, Harvey himself, who was given to archaising. T. Nash in *Strange Newes of the Intercepting Certain Letters*, Epist.-Ded. to Harvey, alludes to the latter's 'wonted Chaucerisme' (Wks. ed. Grosart, vol. II, p. 175), and again recommends to his butt,—'Let Chaucer bee new scourd against the day of battaile' (p. 180).

² For instance: 'Je te conseille d'user indifferemment de tous dialectes; entre lesquels le courtisan est tous jours le plus beau, a cause de la majesté du prince; mais il ne peut estre parfait sans l'aide des autres, car chacun jardin a sa particuliere fleur,' etc. (*Pref. to Franciade.*)

³ Dr. Grosart has given currency to the view that Spenser's diction is full of North Country dialect. He has not made out his case, however. Prof. Kittredge assures me that there is no dialect in Spenser outside the *Calender*. Even in pastoral, Spenser gradually works away from 'Doric' rusticity. In his second considerable effort in the form, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, there is hardly any trace of this affected naturalism; in his last pastoral strain in Bk. VI of the *Fairie Queene*, there is none whatever,—probably because of Sidney's *Arcadia*, which Spenser had evidently been reading.

ticuliere fleur'; in experience, however, courtly roses must find country wild flowers rank. It may be noted, however, that the attitude of *Pleiade* and *Areopagus* towards dialect was the same.

'Learned' accretions to the vocabulary consist of terms or phrases (1) naturalized, (2) technical, (3) newly coined. Such are the explicit prescriptions of Du Bellay and Ronsard¹; they may be shown to abound in the diction of the members of the *Areopagus*, even frequent upon the lips of Spenser's *soi-disant* rustics. These 'uncouthe, unkiste' gentry carry their coppers in *crumenalls* (Sh. Cal., ix, 119). True humanists, they reject the vulgarism *flower deluce*, noting that *Flos deliciarum* must give *flowre delice* (iv, 144). Italianate, they are not *tired*, but *stanck* (ix, 47). Frenchified,² their sun does not scorch the *open plain*, but the *playne overture* (vii, 28). Versed in lore architectural, these peasant foreheads are not *wrinkled*, but *chamfred, by time* (ii, 43).³ If Spenser can make 'shepherds' talk so, we need hardly doubt the 'learned' diction of his knights, and ladies. And in fact Spenser is one of the richest word-makers in English. Greek, Latin, Italian, French words find themselves transmogrified to fit their alien surroundings. Generally, the originals of these naturalized terms are recognizable; sometimes the disguise is impenetrable, or nearly.⁴ Of technical terms Spenser introduces most freely legal; but from commerce he draws *handsell*, from heraldry *diapred*, from music *minime, divide* (to execute floridly), from archery *the mounenance of a flight*, and so on. New-coinages are ticklish things to

¹ For proofs and examples, see Pellissier, loc. cit., pp. 158-163; Lanson, pp. 277-8.

² 'The word is borrowed from the French and used of good writers.'—E. K.

³ Cf. C. H. Herford. *Spenser's Shep. Cal.* Macmillan, 1898. Introd., sect. IV. Prof. Herford declares that 'Spenser was from first to last an innovator in poetic speech' (p. xlviii).

⁴ For instance, the curious *parts entire* (*Amor.* 6, 11) means *inward parts*. Murray explains *entire* as from *interior*; but it is at least noteworthy that Petrarch, whom the poet of the *Amoretti* had been reading, has *parti interne* (son. 58 *in vita di M. L.*).

pronounce on, but the 'hybrid *dreeriment* is credited to Spenser by Herford; *dismayd* (deformed) looks original, although it may be a vulgarism; *emperst* (pierced through) has been overlooked in the New Oxford Dictionary; *cuffling* (scuffling) is apparently unique; *easterland* (Dutch *oosterling*?) does not appear in N. O. D. In fine, while it is not here possible to go into satisfactory detail, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt of Spenser's having consciously embellished English in very much the same degree and kind as the *Pleiade* did French.

Diction so enriched, the next step towards a higher poetic style is to ennoble language in its relationships of words, in its syntax. Here elevation is next door to affectation. In an analytical language like French or English departures from the usual syntax must be confined within narrow limits or become unintelligible or absurd. In fact Sidney in the *Arcadia* has constructions that are very nearly both. For the most part, however, *Areopagus* and *Pleiade* held fairly aloof from a really 'precious' syntax, although their desire in common to be as unusual as possible led naturally towards the 'precious.' To be unusual in syntax means specifically to make one part of speech play the rôle of another, or to put one clause of the sentence where another naturally belongs. These two devices are exhaustive. Du Bellay specially recommends both in the *Deffence*.¹ We find both copiously employed by the members of the *Areopagus*,—with Sidney even in prose.²

Taking diction and syntax together, the *Areopagus* certainly outwent the *Pleiade* in the latter's own innovation. Spenser went farthest in archaic diction; Sidney was rivalled only by Du Bartas in the invention and use of compound terms. Ronsard is explicit in recommending

¹ See conveniently Pellissier, l. c., pp. 163-5.

² Herford's brief discussion of Spenser's syntax in ed. *Shep. Cal.*, *Introd.*, § 23, and H. M. Percival's in ed. *F. Q. I.* (London, 1894), pp. lxii-lxv, both, as far as they go, confirm my point. But for purposes of final comparison we need a full study such as given in the admirable linguistic Appendixes to Marty-Laveaux: ed. *Pleiade*.

such formations: ' *Tu composeras hardiment des mots à l'imitation des Grecs et des Latins, pourveu qu'ils soient gracieux et plaisants à l'oreille.*'¹ Pellissier indeed insists that the immediate *Pleiade* was relatively moderate in these formations. If so, much stress must be laid on the 'relatively.' Marty-Laveaux in *Appendice 2* gives a long list of such terms, from which I cull two or three: *la tempeste . . . sifloit* AIGU-TOURNOYANT (Ronsard), *Daimon* AIME-DANCE (Baïf), *tes lieures* AUX-PIÉS-VISTES (Ronsard), *Tu nourris un grand* CHASSE-MOUCHE (a beard!) (Ronsard), *porc* GASTERAISIN (Bellay), R'ENCONTRE-BALANCER (verb) (Ronsard), *vent* SOUFFLE-CHARBON (Ronsard). For the *Areopagus* Sidney is perhaps more daring than Spenser,² but Spenser has two or three such compounds on almost every page. Although perhaps excessive in number, his compounds are rarely extravagant and often very effective, as *to* THUNDER-DRIVE *to hell* (F. Q. 7, 6, 30), *DEAW-BURNING blade* (F. Q. 1, 11, 35), *FROTH-FOMY steed* (F. Q. 1, 11, 23); sometimes they are awkward as *GORE-BLOOD* (clotted? blood. F. Q. 2, 1, 39), *DEAD-DOING hand* (F. Q. 2, 3, 8); *GROUND-WORK*, *SNAKIE-PACED*, and *THUNDER-DARTES* occur in translation from Du Bellay; *LUKE-WARM* and *LIGHT-FOOT* correspond to Baïf's *TIEDE-CHAUD* and Jodelle's *PIÉ-LEGER*.³

This overlaying of the vernacular with costly word and rare phrase was still insufficient. The New Poetry was child-like in its craving for more and more magnificence. Bartholomew Aneau, presumptive author of the *Quintil Horatian*, takes the *Pleiade* particularly to task for this extravagance of taste. He compares the coterie to children 'qui estiment plus bel habillement un hocqueton orfaverizé d'archier de la garde qu'une saye de velours uniforme avec quelques riches boutons d'or clair semez.'⁴ Precisely so Lowell decides that Spenser 'was an epicure in language, . . . loved "seld-seen costly" words perhaps

¹ *Abrégé d'Art Poétique.*

² Cook, ed. *Defense of Poesie*, Introd., pp. xxiv-xxv.

³ It is possible that other compounds by Spenser or Sidney might turn out to be translations from the *Pleiade*. I have not found time to carry out the comparison.

⁴ Quoted in Petit de Julleville, III, 168.

too well.' Two other 'ennobling' devices then are to be added to those already noted,—both devices of expansion, adding, one might say, ampleness to opulence of style. These devices are (1) allusion, especially classical, and (2) paraphrase.

The innovation here—even more than in the case of syntax—is of course not of kind, but degree. The New Poetry, both French and English, simply bristled with classical allusion, grew fairly dropsical with circumlocution and paraphrase. Spenser's wealth of classical allusion so imposed upon his contemporaries that some of them accounted him more a classical scholar than a poet. Thomas Lodge, for instance, in a remarkably pregnant passage of his '*Wits Miserie*' (1596), writes: 'Divine wits, for many things as all antiquity (I speak it not on slight surmise, but considerate judgment) . . . Lilly, the famous for facility in discourse: *Spenser, best read in Ancient Poetry*: Daniel, choice in word, and invention: Draiton, diligent and formall: Th. Nash, true English Aretine.' So the 'virtue'—as Pater says—of Spenser was for Lodge neither wit nor wisdom, neither charm nor high seriousness, not any of the romantic graces for which he has been a power in literature since, but—*classical scholarship*. In effect, the Trimmer had been mistaken for one of the Philistines, the slavish humanists.

On the classical allusiveness of the *Pleiade*, besides its prescription in their programmes, the most amusing self-criticism of the abuse of the device is given by Ronsard himself at the close of his laboriously futile epic:

Les Francois qui mes vers liront,
S'ils ne sont et Grecs et Romains,
En lieu de ce livre ils n'auront
Qu'un pesant faix entre les mains.

On the second embellishment, paraphrase, Du Bellay is pleasantly naïve. 'Entre autres choses ie t'aduerty' vser souuent de la figure ANTONOMASIE, aussi frequente aux anciens Poëtes, comme peu vsitée, voire incongnue des Francoys. La grace d'elle est quand on designe le Nom

de quelque chose par ce qui luy est propre, comme le Pere foudroyant, pour Iupiter: le Dieu deux fois né, pour Bacchus; le vierge Chasseresse, pour Dyane. Cete figure a beaucoup d'autres especes, que tu trouuerras ches les Rhetoriciens, & a fort bonne grace principalement aux descriptions, comme: Depuis ceux qui voyent premiers rouer l'Aurore, iusques la ou Thetis recoit en ses Vndes le fils d'Hyperion; pour, depuis l'Orient iusques a l'Occident.'¹ The very fulness of Du Bellay's explanation proves how much the now outworn device was for his contemporaries an innovation.

I take it hardly necessary to prove paraphrase of the kind indicated by Du Bellay, a favorite mannerism of the author of the *Arcadia*. One of the most famous examples, however, may serve as a reminder. I mean that huntsmen in *Arcadia* do not come home 'in the evening,' but 'about the time that the candle begins to inherit the sun's office.' As for Spenser, Warton bears indirect testimony to the extreme use of paraphrase by Spenser by classifying it as the first of three 'most striking and obvious' of 'many absurdities' into which the length and complexity of the Spenserian stanza forced its inventor. Warton's statement is one of those monumental ineptitudes into which ignorance of fact will sometimes betray even great critics, but it sufficiently serves the present need. Spenser's stanza 'obliged (!) him to dilate the thing to be expressed, however unimportant, with trifling and tedious circumlocution, viz.

Now hath fair Phoebe, with her silver face,
Thrice seen the shadows of this nether world,
Sith last I left that honourable place,
In which her royal presence is enroll'd.' 2, 3, 44.

That is, 'it is three months since I left her palace.'²

¹ *La Deffence*, chap. ix, ed. cit., p. 51.

² *Observations on the Fairie Queene*, Vol. I, Sect. 10. Lowell (Essay on Spenser. Prose Wks., Riverside Ed., IV, 329), by a slip attributes this criticism to Joseph Warton. He justifies Spenser's device aesthetically, but fails to note any influence of the previous French revival of the device.

Enrichment of the language (*l'illustration de la langue*) is at length provided for. The New Poet has now at his pen's point a vocabulary at once refined and enlarged, a syntax choice almost to 'preciousness,' a rhetoric of stately swells and ingenious tropes and 'ancient instances.' There remains to set all this fury of fine sound to a music which shall at once fit and enhance its noble utterance.

In the New Versification we find *Pleiade* and *Areopagus* again prescribing and employing 'trimming' formulae. Against the slavish Humanists, apes of classical regularity, pitifully counting their just ten syllables, beating time to a rigid iambic monotone, pausing with insistence always after their second iamb, Spenser already in his first published work, the *Shepheards Calender*, asserts the sovereign right-of-ear against that slavish rule-of-thumb.¹ So the *Pleiade*,—which, says M. Pellissier, 'laisse au goût, au sens rythmique, au jugement de l'oreille, autant de latitude que peuvent le permettre les nécessités de la métrique.'²

Against the opposite extreme, on the other hand,—the popular rhymers timing their tune to the tinkle of a tambourine,—*Pleiade* and *Areopagus* are scornful enough. 'Ly donquies, & rely premierement, (ô Poëte futur), feuillet de Main nocturne & iournelle, les Exemplaires Grecz & Latins, puis me laisse toutes ces veilles Poësies Francoyses aux Ieuz Floraux de Toulouze, & au puy de Rouan: comme Rondeaux, Ballades, Vyrelaiz, Chantz Royaulx, Chansons, & autres telles episseries . . .'³ The opinion of the *Areopagus* is sufficiently indicated in that part of its purpose which Spenser communicated to Harvey: . . . 'they (Sidney and Dyer) have proclaimed in their ἀρειωπία a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, . . . and (have) drawn mee to their faction.'⁴

¹ For a full and highly interesting proof of this statement see É. Légouis. *Quomodo Edmundus Spenserus ad Chaucerum se fingens in eclogis 'The Shepheards Calender' versum heroicum renovavit ac refecerit.* Paris, 1896.

² Petit de Julleville, III, 169.

³ *La Deffence*, ed. cit., P. II, ch. iv, p. 38.

⁴ Du Bellay (*la Deffence*, P. II, ch. xi, ed. cit., p. 54) condemns those bad poets who have given 'le ridicule nom de RYMEURS à nostre Langue (comme les Latins appellent leurs mauuais poetes Versificateurs).'

Theoretically, the members of the *Areopagus* seem to have discussed seriously offsetting 'balde rymes' by so-called classical metres in English. Practically, they never published a verse of the 'reformed versification.' Spenser's one extant specimen occurs in a letter to Harvey published by the latter. The *Arcadia*, which contains Sidney's ventures in the kind, was published ostensibly after his death and against his will. The *Pleiade*, on the other hand, if its two chief members hardly attempt to *françiser* classical metres (Ronsard has two odes in sapphics), nevertheless has in Baif an innovator in this line who went much farther than any of the *Areopagus*. Baif not only advocated the adoption of classical metres for French poetry, but also made that advocacy one of the main tenets of his *Academy of Music and Poetry*, and published much in the peculiar eclectic compromise-verse which owes to him its name. Even, therefore, if we unintelligently limit the business of the *Areopagus* to its 'reformed versification,' we shall still find its immediate forerunner in the *Pleiade*.

The really significant 'reformed versification,' however, of *Areopagus* and *Pleiade* alike was one that substituted for 'balde rymes'—'fourteeners' or their French analogues—rich and varied stanzas, keeping to the national rhyme-principle but developing its monotonous sing-song into the rich harmonies of which its capabilities had had before been unsuspected, until the new rhymed stanza rivalled the classical strophe itself. Moreover, as Ronsard permanently established the Alexandrine, which he prophetically asserted to hold 'la place en notre langue, telle que les vers heroique entre les Grecs et les Latins,'¹ precisely so we find Légouis proving Spenser to have revived and improved English *versum heroicum*.²

¹ Lanson, op. cit., p. 276.

² Specific metrical imitations of the *Pleiade* by the *Areopagus* I neither affirm nor deny. I have not sufficiently compared. Interesting analogies indeed are not wanting. Compare, for instance, the April *Hymn to Eliza* in the *Shepherds Calender* with the *Chorus* to the Queen-Mother in Ronsard's first Eclogue, in which—apart from other resemblances,—the peculiar met-

All is ready now for the final labor of the New Poet, at last equipped with a voice and an instrument: having learned how to sing, there remains the question what to sing. I must necessarily be brief; to be exhaustive would require almost as many monographs as there are genres represented by the two coteries. Pellissier, summing up the answer of the *Pleiade* to this question What to sing? says: 'Ce sont les grands genres dont Ronsard et ses disciples veulent doter notre poésie, et, s'ils cultivent aussi les genres inférieurs, ils prétendent y porter une noblesse, une elevation, une dignité que leurs devanciers ne soupçonnaient même pas.'¹ Substitute here for 'Ronsard' 'Spenser,' and the proposition remains true.

The eclectic method of the *Pleiade* is nowhere more pronounced than in the *Deffence*, II, iv-v, in which Du Bellay discusses the choice of genres. Of the classical genres to be imitated, he enjoins 'Odes, incongues encor' de la Muse Francoyse, . . . Epistres, . . . Elegies, . . . Satyres, . . . Sonnets, . . . ces plaisantes Ecclogues Rustiques à l'exemple de Thëocrit & de Virgile: Marines,² à l'exemple de Sennazar Gentilhomme Neapolitain. Que pleust aux Muses, qu'en toutes les Espèces de Poesie que i'ay nommées nous eussions beaucoup de telles imitations, qu'est cete Ecclogue sur la naissance du filz de Monseigneur le Dauphin, à mon gré vn des meilleurs petiz Ouraiges que fist onques Marot.' Du Bellay completes his list of minor genres with short mention of classical Comedies and Tragedies.

rical effects are very like. Again, it is at least curious that the *Fairie Queene* stanza can be resolved into two 'interlinked' quatrains, Marot's favorite measure, plus an Alexandrine, Ronsard's favorite (ababbcbc+C). Doubtless, Spenser chose the longer concluding verse to avoid the smart emphasis of the heroic couplet. Still, the possible resolution is aptly symbolic of the new eclecticism.

¹ Petit de Julleville, III, 156.

² This recommendation was literally followed out by P. Fletcher, Spenser's immediate disciple, in the former's *Piscatorie Eclogues*, largely imitations of Sannazaro.

In accord with Du Bellay's meaning,¹ Spenser wrote 'Odes' before unknown to the English Muse. He did not indeed ape Pindar. That was reserved for Cowley. But in the revival of the Greek philosophical Hymn² and the formal *Epithalamion*, Spenser very closely follows Ronsard.

Of virtually all the other minor genres advised by Du Bellay the *Areopagus* has specimens, but with the exception of evident imitations from Du Bellay's *Olive* sonnet-sequence in the *Amoretti*³ and a point or two about the Eclogues, I have nothing presently in mind that seems to add to my argument. Du Bellay's very urgent recommendation of the eclectically imitated Eclogue, however, seems to me significant in view of the choice made by the young Spenser among his early productions for a first bow to the public. *The Shepherds Calender* is perhaps the most eclectically imitative poem, or set of poems, in the language. 'E. K.' cites in his *Epistle* the models suggested by Du Bellay, but outdoes him by three. 'So flew Theocritus, . . . Virgile, . . . Mantuane, . . . Petrarque, . . . Boccace, . . . Marot, Sanazarus, and also divers other excellent both Italian and French Poetes, whose foting this Author every where followeth; yet so as few, but they he wel sented, can trace him out.' It

¹ The *Quintil Horatian* justly, but irrelevantly, denied the literal priority of the *Pleiade's* 'Odes.' 'Vray est que le nom Ode a esté incogneu comme peregrin & Grec escorché . . . mais le nom de chant & chanson est bien cogneu & receu comme François.'

² Spenser's *Fowre Hymns* were written under different circumstances than most of Ronsard's. The *Fowre Hymns*, therefore, are free from the courtly sycophancy which mars too many of Ronsard's, but that mood is easily supplied elsewhere in Spenser. Both sets of *Hymns* are saturated with Neo-Platonic metaphysics. Ronsard follows more closely the scheme of Callimachus, but that Spenser also studied Callimachus is likely from the fact that he probably derived the name *Britomarte* from him. (He may have got it indeed from Lucan's '*True History*.')

³ The eclectic compromise in Spenser's sonnet-structure is to be noted, also that his form is based, like his *Fairie Queene* stanza, upon Marot's interlinked quatrains, which Spenser directly took from Marot in the 'November' Eclogue. Thus Spenser's ababbcbccdcdee mediates between the periodic Italian abbaabbacdecde and the loose Elizabethan ababcbcddefeggg.

may be over-finesse to note in passing the French form given to the names of Petrarch and Boccaccio; but it is not so, I think, to ask who 'E. K.' means by 'other excellent . . . French Poetes' in the Eclogue, if not the poets of the *Pleiade*. What others were there? Du Bellay's warm praise of the Eclogue of Marot is the more noteworthy since Marot was the leader of the professed foes of the New School. Assuming that Spenser was studying the *Deffence*, he must naturally have been struck by Du Bellay's generous praise of his arch rival, and would no less naturally turn to Marot's Eclogues for inspiration for his own experiments in kind. In point of fact, Spenser's two last Eclogues in the *Calender* are virtual paraphrases respectively of Marot's¹ Eclogue on the death of Madame Loyse and of his Eclogue entitled *Pan et Robin*.

With due sense of the solemnity of the matter Du Bellay opens his discussion of the major genre of poetry,—the heroic or epic,—with a glowing appeal to the not impossible New Poet.² 'Donques, ô toy qui doué d'une excellente felicité de Nature, instruct de tous bons Ars & Sciences, principalement Naturelles & Mathematiques, versé en tous genres de bons Auteurs Grecz & Latins, non ignorant des parties & offices de la vie humaine, non de trop haulte condition, ou appellé au regime public', non aussi abiect & pauvre, non troublé d'affaires domestiques: mais en repoz & tranquillité d'esprit, acquise premierement par la magnanimité de ton couraige, puis entretenue par ta prudence & saige gouuernement: ô toy (dy-ie) orné de tant de graces & perfections, si tu as quelquefois pitie de ton pauvre Langaige, si tu daignes l'enrichir de tes Thesors, ce sera toy veritablement qui luy feras hausser la Teste, & d'un braue Sourcil s'egaler aux superbes Langues Greque & Latine, comme a fait de nostre Tens en son vulgaire vn Arioste Italien. . . .'

This summons must have touched the young Spenser

¹ 'E. K.' acknowledges the indebtedness to Marot of the 'Nov.' Ecl., but not of the 'Dec.'

² *Deffence*, II, ch. v, ed. cit., p. 41.

very nearly. His situation curiously accorded with Du Bellay's requirements; he had ample confidence that he was poet-born. E. K.'s *Epistle*, as we have seen, proves with what self-conscious ardor Spenser set about to restore and exalt his '*pauvre Langaige*.' And to Harvey: 'Why a God's name, may not we, as else the Greeks, have the kingdom of our own language?' As for emulating Ariosto, hear Harvey: 'I am voyde of al iudgement if your Nine Comedies . . . come not nearer Ariostoes Comoedies, . . . that that Elvish Queene doth to his Orlando Furioso, which notwithstanding, you will needes seeme to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last Letters.'

Du Bellay continues: 'Comme luy (Ariosto) donq', qui a bien voulu emprunter de notre Langue les Noms & l'Hystoire de son Poëme, choysi moi quelqu'un de ces beaux vieulx Romans Francoys, comme vn Lancelot, vn Tristan, ou autres: & en fay renaître au monde vn admirable Iliade, & laborieuse Eneide . . .'

'I chose,' writes Spenser to Raleigh, 'the historie of King Arthure . . . in which (principle of selection) I have followed all the antique Poets historicall; first Homere, . . . then Virgil, . . . after him Ariosto . . .'

Du Bellay continues: 'Je veux bien en passant dire un mot a ceulx qui ne s'employent qu'a orner & amplifier notz Romans, & en font des Liures certainement en beau & fluide Langaige, mais beaucoup plus propre a bien entretenir Damoizelles, qu'a doctement ecrire: ie voudroy' bien (dy-ie) les avertir d'employer cete grande Eloquence a recueillir ces fragmentz de vieilles Chroniques Francoyses . . .'

Spenser's treatment of his Romance-material is præmi-

¹ Harvey Wks., ed. Grosart, I. p. 95.

² Ronsard in an analogous passage of his Preface to the *Franciade* mentions the Romance of Arthur by name. (See Wks., ed. Paris, 1858, T. III, p. 23.) Spenser seems also to have borrowed very considerably from the *Huon de Bordeaux*, '*un de ces beaux vieulx Romans Francoys*.' (See J. L. OF GERMANIC PHIL., Vol. II, 1888, No. 2.)

nently moralistic and learned' ('*doctement ecrire*'). And in FQ. 2, 10, and 3, 3, he summarises the old English Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Ronsard's explanation of his epic methods in the *Preface* to the *Franciade* is half echo, half expansion of Du Bellay's in the *Deffence. A priori*, therefore, we might expect some degree of similarity between the *Franciade* and the *Fairie Queene*. The expectation is illogical. A new factor enters into the personal, not to say national, equation. The elements in common, however, are easily distinguishable. Ronsard and Spenser both avowedly set out to overgo Ariosto, whom they both mistake for an epic-maker in direct descent from Homer and Virgil; both imitators derive from the *Orlando Furioso* their common motif of recounting the exploits and progeny of certain mythical Trojan-descended ancestors of the ruling House—Ronsard in *Francion*, Spenser in *Artegall* and *Britomart*; to this end Ronsard uses the national chronicle of Jean le Maire, *Illustrations des Gaules et Antiquités de Troie*,—Spenser uses his *Briton Moniments*, i. e. the Chronicle of Geoffrey, and the mythical *Antiquitee of Faery Lond*. Both poets use the romantic material of single combat with invulnerable giants, Ronsard once,² Spenser many times; both are fond of personified abstractions and virtues and vices³; both introduce the allegorical pageant, or *Trionfo*.⁴ In method, both retard the narrative by interminable descriptions.

¹ Professor Dowden notices another important relation between Sidney and Spenser, the two leading *Areopagites*. 'In the spirit of Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie Spenser conceived and wrote the Faery Queen. It is an attempt to harmonize the three divisions of learning discussed by Sidney—history, moral philosophy, poetry; and to make the first and second of these subservie the greatest of the three.' (Spenser's Wks., ed. Grosart, I, 319) Note, by the way, the further proof of Spenser's 'harmonizing,' that is eclectic, tendency.

² *Francion* vs. *Oree*. *Liv.*, III.

³ E. g. Love and his companions on the Venus-girdle, *Franciade*, *Liv.* III (ed. cit., Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, T. III, p. 163). Ronsard's '*Jalousie*' (*Liv.* III, p. 184) is strikingly like Spenser's '*Ate*' (FQ. 4, 1) or '*Envy*' (5, 12).

⁴ Ronsard: Pageant of '*Victoire*,' *Liv.* III (p. 158 ff.). Spenser: e. g. *Masque of Cupid*. FQ. 3, 12.

At the apogee of the Renaissance in France and England stand two eclectic schools of literature, each with a quasi-propagandist organization and a distinct and innovating programme. Each organization is named after a Greek organization. The programme in each case starts from a rehabilitation of the true function of poetry, based upon Plato's *Poetics*. From this major premiss in common both programmes proceed to a 'poetic diction' built from a vocabulary expanded and ennobled by archaic, technical and imported terms and to a more or less 'cultist' syntax, opulently allusive and circumlocutory, all to be set to a new orchestration of rhyme in conformity with classical strophes and Italian stanzas. Both programmes then enjoin the same genres and the same, or nationally analogous, models. Finally, complementing parallelism of abstract programme follows a concrete poetical performance, different only in so far as may be explained by difference of national and individual temperament.

I doubt if these coincidences be fortuitous. Certainly I know of no third source for them. Ascham, indeed, recommended some things,—the literary use of the vernacular and the abandonment of rhyme,—which the *Areopagus* seems to follow. Ascham's precept was, however, 'to write as common people do'¹: certainly, however much the *Areopagus* may have aspired to think as wise people do, the very last thing in their intention was to write as common people do. As for Ascham's proscription of rhyme, the sufficient answer is that *Areopagus* in their works did not proscribe, but prescribe, rhyme. If it be objected that the *Pleiade* is not explicitly recognized by the *Areopagus* as its model, I can only answer that neither Spenser nor Sidney, nor Elizabethans in general, bothered much about such formal recognitions. The fact, they might have said, spoke for itself. Professor Herford has well said that it might almost seem as if 'Spenser borrowed from Chaucer nothing but his sly way of

¹ *Toxophilus*.

acknowledging indebtedness chiefly where it was not due.¹ In view, then, of Spenser's usual niggardliness of thanks, the following warm tribute to Du Bellay should count for more than merely perfunctory compliment :

Bellay, first garland of free Poesie
That France brought forth, though fruitfull of brave wits,
Well worthie thou of immortalitie,
That long hast traveld, by thy learned writs,
Olde Rome out of her ashes to revive,
And give a second life to dead decayes !
Needs must he all eternitie survive,
That can to other give eternall dayes :
Thy dayes therefore are endles, and thy prayse
Excelling all, that ever went before.

JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER.

¹ Ed. *Sh. Cal.* Introd., p. xxxvii.

A STUDY OF COWLEY'S DAVIDEIS.

THE literary reputation of Cowley has undergone many vicissitudes. In his own day accounted superior to Milton and to Tasso, he is now almost completely forgotten, and even of his most enthusiastic admirers very few can be found who have read through the *Davideis* , the subject of the following investigation. For this neglect the poet can blame no one but himself. He had a loftiness of purpose and a seriousness of thought far in advance of the other poets of his school; yet he had not the strength to resist the popular taste, nor the judgment to select only the enduring qualities of his age. (Compare Dryden's well-known simile of the drag-net.) Dr. Grosart has eloquently defended Cowley against the 'elaborate and weighty' criticism of Dr. Johnson, and against Mr. Gosse with his 'smoky or jaundice-yellow pair of spectacles,' and has catalogued in detail the *enduring* poems, passages, and lines of Cowley. It is not the purpose of the following study to enter into a criticism of the poet. Very few, however, will dissent from Dr. Grosart's thesis, that Cowley has been too much neglected in our day, and that both as a lyricist and a prose writer he has made some notable and lasting contributions to our literature. It was as an epic writer that his failure was most conspicuous, and his *Davideis* has justly sunk into oblivion, in spite of Rymer's judgment in pronouncing it superior to Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. The purpose, then, in resurrecting this almost forgotten epic of Cowley's is not to make it a basis for a criticism of the poet, but to show in some slight way the growth of the religious epic prior to Milton, and the part which Cowley took in its development.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH,

Abraham Cowley was the 'posthumous son of Thomas Cowley, citizen and stationer, and of the parish of St. Michael Le Querne.'¹

As his father's will was dated London, Parish of St. Michael le Querne, July 24, 1618, and as the poet died July 28, 1667, in his 49th year, Dr. Grosart places the approximate date of Abraham's birth between August and December 1618.

Cowley was entered at Westminster School as King's Scholar, the exact date of his admission not being known, and here at the age of ten years he wrote his first poem, an epical romance, entitled *The Tragicall Historie of Piramus and Thisbe*, and dedicated to Mr. Lambert Osbolton, Headmaster of Westminster. Two years later he wrote another little epic, *Constantia and Philetus*, and in 1633 his poems were collected into a volume and published with the title *Poetical Blossoms*, and with a dedication to the famous John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, at that time Dean of Westminster. These schoolboy efforts were well received and went through several editions, so that the young writer, being tempted to try with his muse a still more lofty flight, wrote, while still at Westminster, his first drama, a pastoral comedy in English, entitled *Love's Riddle*. This was published in 1638, with a dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby.

Leaving Westminster then, with a reputation as a rising man of letters, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the oath June 14, 1637, and was admitted as Westminster scholar (Lumby, *Prose Works*). In the same year Richard Crashaw was elected Fellow of Peterhouse from Pembroke Hall, and from this time dates the friendship between the two poets. It was at this period, too, that Cowley began his *Dauides*, and that Crashaw probably made his translation of the first book of Marini's *Strage degli Innocenti*.

¹ Peter Cunningham, *Johnson's Lives of the Poets*, 3 vols. 8vo. 1854 (Murray), I, 3, quoted by Dr. Grosart, I, x. See also J. L. Chester, *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, XI, 340.

In 1639 Cowley received his Bachelor's degree, and October 30, 1640, became Minor Fellow. According to Lumby he was not admitted as Major Fellow, and probably left Cambridge without proceeding to a full degree. Dr. Grosart, however, on the authority of the *Alumni Westmonasteriensis*, gives among the landmarks of Cowley's progress at Trinity:

Chosen a Major Fellow in 1642.

Proceeded M.A. of Cambridge in due course.

And Anthony à Wood (*Fasti Oxon.* II. col. 209, note) has the following entry: 'Abraham Cowley, admissus Socius Minor Collegii Trinitatis Oct. 30, 1640. Major (Socius) Mar. 16, 1642. Reg. Coll. Trin. Cant.' Still further proof of the fact that Cowley finally proceeded to his M.A. is seen in the following letter of Vice-Chancellor Ferne re-instating the poet in his fellowship (quoted in full by Lumby, p. XVII):

'Whereas we received a letter from his Ma'ty dated the last of January in behalf of Mr. Abraham Cowley, Fellow of Trinity College, for the continuance of his seven years before taking holy orders, in regard of his being eiected immediately after his taking degree of Master of Ars, etc.,

H. FERNE.'

Wood also states that Cowley was M.A. of Cambridge.

At Cambridge Cowley's literary activity continued. He contributed a Latin poem to the *Συμφῶδια sive Musarum Cantabrigesium Conventus*, a collection of verses upon the birth of Princess Anne (March 17, 1636/7), so that from the outset his sympathy with the royal party was strong. Among other distinguished contributors to this collection were Thomas Chambers, the Vice-Chancellor, Samuel Collins, the Provost of King's College, James Duport, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and Richard Crashaw. Cowley wrote various other Latin poems, and on the 2d of February, 1638, a Latin comedy of his, entitled *Naufragium Jocularis*, in the style of Plautus, was performed by the men of his college before the members of the University. It was printed the same year, with a dedication to Dr. Comber, Dean of Carlisle, and Master of Trinity.

When on the 12th of March, 1641, the King passed through Cambridge with his little son Charles (afterwards Charles II), an entertainment was hastily arranged for his benefit, and Cowley wrote for the occasion his comedy *The Guardian*. It was not printed till 1650, though meantime it had been acted privately 'during the troubles.'

In February 1643/4 came the commission of the Earl of Manchester 'to take special care that the solemn league and Covenant be tendered and taken in the University of Cambridge,' and as a consequence Cowley, in common with nearly all the Masters and Fellows, was forcibly ejected from the University. Together with Crashaw and many others, he took refuge in Oxford, then quite a Royalist stronghold, and entered St. John's College. Here he became intimate with Lord Falkland, to whom he afterwards addressed some lines. He attached himself to the Royal cause and secured an introduction to Baron Jermyn, afterwards Earl of St. Albans, one of the Queen's most trusted friends and admirers. Through him Cowley was brought into her service, and when in July 1644 the Queen escaped from England and took refuge in Paris, Cowley accompanied her as secretary to Lord Jermyn. His duties as secretary were arduous, and his life in Paris was distasteful to him; yet he managed to continue his literary work, and wrote while there his collection of love poems entitled *The Mistress*. In Paris he met his friend Crashaw again, then in actual need, and introduced him to the Queen. Through her, Crashaw was appointed secretary to Cardinal Palotta, and died in Italy a short time later, soon after he had been appointed one of the Canons of the church of Loretto.

In 1656 Lord Jermyn sent Cowley to England, in order that he might, says Sprat, 'under pretence of privacy and retirement, take occasion of giving notice of the posture of things in this nation.' Shortly after reaching his native land, he was seized by mistake for another, but as soon as his identity was discovered he was cast into prison.

While in prison, in 1656, he published the first collected edition of his poems in folio, containing *The Miscellanies*, *The Mistress*, *Pindarique Odes*, and *Davideis*.

Through the influence of his friends he secured his liberty this same year, and Sir Charles Scarborough went his bail for the sum of £1,000. In the following year, in September 1657, Cowley acted as groomsmen at the marriage of the Duke of Buckingham, and wrote a sonnet upon the occasion.

December 2d, 1657 (Wood, *F. O.* II, col. 209), he secured the degree of M.D. from the University of Oxford, and withdrew into Kent, where he devoted himself to the study of botany, in order, says Sprat, 'to dissemble the main intention of his coming over.' As a result of his study, he wrote his *Plantarum Libri*, published in 1662, and included in his *Poemata Latina* of 1668.

'Taking the opportunity of the confusion that followed upon Cromwell's death,' says Sprat, 'he ventured back into France, and there remained in the same station as before, till near the time of the King's return.' Of this, his second sojourn in France, we have no account.

In 1660 he returned to England and published his long and labored *Ode upon his Blessed Majesty's Restoration and Return*. On the 11th of February of this year he was restored to his Fellowship at Cambridge (Lumby).

The following year he wrote his famous *Discourse by way of a Vision concerning his late pretended Highness, Cromwell the Wicked*, and his *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*.

Cowley's efforts to obtain from the Government substantial aid in recognition of his long and arduous services, all ended in disappointment. An absurd charge of treason was brought against him, and Charles II had nothing to give him but posthumous praise. The Mastership of Savoy had been promised him by both Charles I and Charles II, but he never received the appointment. It was at this gloomy period of his life that he wrote his *Complaint*, styling himself the 'Melancholy Cowley,' for

which he was ridiculed in some verses beginning 'Savoy-missing Cowley has come into Court,' wrongly attributed by Mr. Leslie Stephen to Suckling (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 'Cowley').

He then retired from public life to Barn Elms, on the banks of the Thames, and through the influence of his friends, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St. Albans, secured a lease of the Queen's lands.

Thus relieved from want, he continued his literary work. In 1663 appeared his *Verses upon Several Occasions*. In this same year, the Royal Society was founded, and Cowley was one of the charter members. He took great interest in the science of the day and wrote, about this time, his *Ode to Mr. Hobbs*.

In April 1665, he removed to the Porch House in Chertsey. There, in spite of his troubles with his tenants and neighbors, he continued his literary work. During these last years of his life, he wrote his *Essays*, and only a few months before his death, he composed his *Ode to the Royal Society*.

He died July 18, 1667, in the 49th year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near Chaucer and Spenser.

THE FAMILIAR LETTERS OF COWLEY.

Bishop Sprat, Cowley's friend and biographer, to whom the poet bequeathed his private papers, refused to allow the familiar letters in his possession to be published, and set forth in his biography his old-fashioned views in regard to the matter. As a consequence he has drawn down upon his head maledictions of all sorts. 'What literary man,' says Coleridge, 'has not regretted the prudery of Sprat in refusing to let Cowley appear in his slippers and dressing-gown?' and this regret has since been voiced by every reader and every editor of Cowley. Mary Russell Mitford, in her *Recollections of a Literary Life*, I, 65, goes so far in her resentment as to call the innocently offending Dean a 'Goth and a Vandal.' It has

been assumed that all of Cowley's familiar letters were lost or destroyed. Dr. Grosart, in his Memorial Introduction, regrets that 'utterly disproportionate search and research have aided very slightly to the biographical data. Specifically I have been more than disappointed that none of the mass of his "familiar letters" which Sprat certainly possessed, has been traced. I cannot believe that he destroyed them.'

It seems almost incredible that such a careful and painstaking editor as Dr. Grosart should so completely have overlooked two articles in *Fraser's Magazine* (Vols. XIII, 395; XIV, 234) containing several apparently genuine copies of these much-sought-for familiar letters of Cowley. They are easily accessible to the general reader by reference to Poole's Index (1882) under the name 'Cowley';¹ yet it is remarkable that no editor or biographer of the poet has called attention to these letters.

The articles in *Fraser*, which are unsigned, are entitled 'The familiar Letters of Cowley, with notices of his Life and Sketches of some of his Friends and Contemporaries—Now first printed.' The writer of these articles thus explains how these letters came into his possession (*Fraser* XIII, 397): 'We are now by a most fortunate circumstance enabled to state that a large portion of these letters is preserved, and has been placed in our hands for arrangement and publication, by a descendant of Dr. Sprat. Of their authenticity proofs can be afforded which will satisfy even the incredulity of Mr. Disraeli, by whom we are certain the discovery will be hailed with delight in his forth-coming "History of Literature."'

The first article opens with a brief but admirable criticism of Cowley and of the metaphysical school, in which the editor proves himself a man of wide learning and

¹ In *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, VIII, 465, Mr. Roberts refers to this apparently forgotten article on Cowley in *Fraser* XIII, and regrets that such a 'vast area of valuable information in the better class of periodicals of the earlier part of this century, is practically a sealed book to literary inquirers.' In *N. and Q.*, 8th s., IX, 51, a reply was made to Mr. Roberts, in which it was suggested that *Poole's Index* is just such a general index as is required.

good judgment. Then follows the first letter, 'To his Mother, after her sickness, with Consolations for Mourners,' dated Trinity College, March 3 (year not given), and signed 'Your affectionate son, A. Cowley.'

The second letter is 'To Mr. William Hervey, with an account of a visit to Ben Jonson, a Sketch of Cartwright, and a Notice of the Sad Shepherd.' It is signed 'A. Cowley,' but has no date or place attached.

In vol. XIV of *Fraser* is printed one more letter, addressed to 'My beloved friend, C. E.', dated Trin. Coll., May 8, 1637, and signed 'A. C.'

The editor's heading is, 'Anacreon at Cambridge. Lyric Poetry. Pindar and Sappho. With a notice of the *Davideis*.'

Here, then, was apparently a noteworthy find,—no less than three of the 'familiar letters' of Cowley, so highly praised by Dean Sprat, and so eagerly sought for by recent students and editors of Cowley. If genuine, they would be of almost priceless value, worthy to be placed beside the famous Conversations of William Drummond of Hawthornden with Ben Jonson.

Several considerations, however, awaken the suspicion of the careful student. Towards the close of the first letter, 'To his Mother after her Sickness,' there is a reference to Herbert, 'Hear what holy Mr. George Herbert says,' and here follows the last verse of *The Flower*. Moreover, the editor himself refers to a letter written by George Herbert to his mother after her sickness, and dated Trinity College, May 29, 1622. A comparison of the two letters reveals a verbal correspondence too close to be accidental. In the so-called Cowley letter we read: 'For consider, dear Madam, that we never read in the Scriptures, "*blessed be the mighty, or blessed be the wealthy, but blessed be the poor, and blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted*"' (*Fraser*, XIII, 400). Herbert offers consolation to his mother with exactly the same words from Scripture: 'But, O God! how easily is that answered when we consider that the blessings in the Holy

Scripture are never given to the rich but the poor! I never find "Blessed be the rich," or "Blessed be the noble," but "Blessed be the meek," and "Blessed be the poor," and "Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted" (Given in Walton's *Life of George Herbert*—see also Grosart, *Herbert's Works, Fuller Worthies*, London, 1874, III, 491 ff.).

Again in *Fraser*, p. 400, a few lines further on, we read, 'and in another place, "Casting all your care upon Him, for He careth for you,"' with which compare Herbert's letter (Grosart, III, 493-494), 'And above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist, "Cast thy care on the Lord, and He shall nourish thee" (Psal. LV). To which joyn that of St. Peter, "Casting all your care upon the Lord, for He careth for you" (I Peter V, 7).'

This similarity is not mere coincidence, and yet how could young Cowley have had access to Herbert's private letters written fifteen years before, and not published by Walton till 1670?

The description of Ben Jonson given in the letter to Mr. William Hervey is clearly based upon Aubrey, to whom indeed the editor refers: 'Cowley's description of the poet accords with the few particulars we possess concerning him. The studying chair and the loose horseman's coat are mentioned by Aubrey, who derived his information from Lacy, a well-known comic actor of that day, and intimately acquainted with Jonson. The credulous antiquary adds that the chair was such as Aulus Gellius is drawn in' (*Fraser*, XIII, 403).

Cowley's description is as follows: 'He is now confined entirely to his apartments, rarely wandering further than from his bed to his studying chair, which is of straw, and covered with a cloth wrapper such as the old country wives use. We found him wrapped in a large and loose great coat, with slits under the arms, like those we have often seen at Newmarket. His face, once, as I have been told, very fair and beautiful, is now roughened, as it were;

by a scorbutic eruption, to which he has long been subject. His eyes are rather grave and thoughtful than bright, and one seemed to me somewhat bigger than the other.'

Compare Aubrey (Clarendon Press ed. 1898, II, 12 ff.) 'He was (or rather had been) of a clear and faire skin; his habit was very plaine. I have heard Mr. Lacy, the player, say that he was wont to wear a coate like a coachman's coate, with slitts under the arme-pitts. . . . I have seen his studyeing chaire, which was of strawe, such as old women used, and as Aulus Gellius is drawn in.' On p. 14 of Clark's *Aubrey* is to be found the note about Jonson's eyes, which, suggests the editor, 'may come from that "Chronicle of the stage," as reported to Aubrey by John Lacy.'

'B. Jonson; one eye lower than t'other and bigger.' 'Ben Jonson had one eie lower than t'other, and bigger, like Clun, the player.'

The conversation of Ben Jonson in this letter is obviously based upon Drummond of Hawthornden's conversation with Ben Jonson, as even the most casual reader would note at a glance.

'Our conversation turned upon the Muses,' the Cowley letter has it, 'and he spoke, as his custom is, with great admiration of Donne, repeating from the "Calm" two lines, which he said were admirably descriptive of unbroken stillness:

"In the same place lay
Feathers and dust—to-day and yesterday."

In a foot-note, the editor of the letters calls attention to the fact that Drummond of Hawthornden has printed these verses incorrectly; clearly a blind to mislead the unwary reader.

Compare *Conversations with William Drummond*, Shakespeare Society, London, 1842, p. 8.

'Cowley.' "My friend Donne," he said, "will perish through the ignorance of his readers; his oracles require an interpreter."

Conversations, p. 15. 'That Donne himself for not being understood, would perish.'

'Cowley.' 'after all, Daniel was nothing but a verser.'

Conversations, p. 2. 'Samuel Daniel was a good, honest man, but no poet.'

So much for the internal evidence. At the conclusion of the second article (*Fraser*, vol. XIV), the editor enters upon a criticism of the *Davideis*, and closes with a promise to produce more letters containing 'Interesting notices of Cowley's reappearance in London.' But here all trace of the letters disappears. More remarkable still, in the contemporary literature of that period there is absolutely no reference to these letters, even though the editor boldly says that they would be hailed with delight by Mr. Disraeli in his forthcoming *History of Literature*. In the *Amenities*, however, published in 1840, no mention is made of this treasure trove.

Equally puzzling was the fact that not one of the recent editors and critics of Cowley had taken note of these so-called 'Familiar letters' in *Fraser*. To resolve my doubts I addressed a letter to Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Richard Garnett, of The British Museum, and Rev. A. B. Grosart, stating the facts of the case and requesting an expression of opinion. They were unanimous in agreeing with my first supposition that the letters were but clever forgeries.

The question then arose, what could have been the motive for foisting these supposititious letters upon the public? Dr. Garnett of the British Museum I have to thank, not only for his kind reply to my letter of inquiry, but also for the suggestion of the authorship of these 'Cowley Letters.' One has to take only a brief glance at the majority of articles in *Fraser* (vols. XIII and XIV) to discover their real character. In the January number for instance, the first sixty-two pages are devoted to a mock Parliament of the *Fraserians*, in which the principal speakers are Oliver Yorke, Mr. T. Moore, Mr. E. L. Bulwer, Mr. Alaric Attila Watts, The Ghost of Goethe, Dr.

Southey, Mr. T. Carlyle, Mr. Lockhart, The Ghost of Coleridge, Sir Edgerton Brydges, Mr. Wordsworth, Sir Walter Scott, etc., etc. In fact, from this wonderful Parliament Mr. Kendrick Bangs might have easily obtained many hints for his *Houseboat on the Styx*. In this article appears very prominently the name of *Father Prout*—F. S. Mahony—a name intimately associated with *Fraser's Magazine* between the years 1834 and 1836 inclusive.

Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804–1866), the Bohemian Scholar priest, was born at Cork in Ireland, in 1804. His life, full of pathos and romantic adventures, is sympathetically portrayed by Mr. Charles Kent, Barrister-at-law.¹ Having pursued his early education in the Jesuit College of St. Acheul, at Amiens, and in the Jesuit Parisian Seminary in the Rue de Sèvres, where he became marvelously skilled in the Latin and Greek languages, he removed to Rome in order to complete his studies in the Jesuit College there. Here his health gave way, and he was forced to return to his native land, before attaining the great desire of his life, ordination to the priesthood. His four-months' experience as Master of Rhetoric at Clongowes Wood College, with John Sheehan, the Irish Whiskey Drinker and others of that stamp, reads like a chapter from one of Samuel Lever's rollicking romances. He returned to the Continent after his unfortunate escapade with the convivial Irish youngsters, and in Rome, after long and persistent endeavors on his part, and resolute opposition on the part of the Jesuit Fathers, he was finally ordained priest. He never felt in full sympathy with his profession, however, and gradually drifted away from even the customary practices of religion. Literature was a more congenial occupation, and he became a contributor to various magazines and periodicals of the day. His connection with *Fraser's*, extending over a period of two years, began with the publication of *Father Prout's Apology for Lent*, in which he recorded his Death, Obsequies,

¹ See *The works of Father Prout*, ed. by Charles Kent, London, 1881, Biographical Introduction.

and an Elegy, April 1834. From this date appeared every month *Reliques of Father Prout*, published from his posthumous papers. The remainder of his life is the story of a Bohemian journalist, of his wanderings over the European Continent, settling for short periods at Rome, at Paris, and at London. It was in Paris that he spent the closing years of his life, and it was there, reconciled to the church, and comforted with the consolations of religion, that he breathed his last, May 18, 1866.

During the period 1834-1836, Francis Mahony was one of the most brilliant contributors to *Fraser's*, and his *Reliques*, we are told, formed, month by month, the chief attraction of the magazine. The versatility of his genius was astonishing, from the broadest kind of burlesques to the tenderest of lyrics. His favorite amusement, however, among all his surprising literary freaks, was to translate into Latin or French the poems of some well-known English writer, and then to accuse the original author of plagiarism,—see especially *The Rogueries of Tom. Moore*.

Now with such an able contributor, whose audacity knew no bounds, is it surprising to find in *Fraser's* for 1836 these precious 'familiar Letters of Cowley?' Compare the other articles in the January number, and see how few serious compositions are there. In addition to the Parliamentary Report covering sixty-two pages, mentioned above, there are the following: *Gallery of Literary Characters, No..LXVIII. Regina's Maids of Honor. The Greek Pastoral Poets—Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus* (in which may be clearly seen the pen of Father Prout), *Mr. Alaric Alexander Watts. The Speech of Mr. William Erle, Esqr., K. C., in the case of Watts v. Fraser and Moyes*. Compare also in the December number the letter of Sir Edger-ton Brydges to Oliver Yorke (p. 695).

Thus the *prima facie* evidence seems very strong that these Cowley letters were further contributions from the pen of Father Prout, or of one of his associates among that jovial band of *Fraserians*.

Dr. Grosart recognized the value of my material by publishing it in the *Athenacum* (July 17, 1897) without

previously consulting me, and with but scant acknowledgment.

THE DAVID THEME IN LITERATURE PRECEDING COWLEY.
LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS.

In addition to the multiplicity of incidents connected with David's life in the biblical story, there arose many legends and traditions concerning him.¹ Among these may be mentioned: The story of the three historical stones which cried unto him, as he was on his way to the camp of the Israelites, to take them with him. He granted their request, and it was with these three stones that he smote first Goliath, then the right wing of the Philistine army, and finally the left wing. How David invented chain armor, and by means of his coat of mail was saved from Saul, who attempted to stab him as he lay sleeping. Of David's wonderfully rapid growth, so that Saul's armor fitted him perfectly, though he was a mere stripling. How Satan in the form of a bird leads David to sin with Bathsheba. Of David and the rhinoceros. Of David and the stag, and how the giant laid a winepress upon David without injuring him. Of the reed and bell sent from God to enable David to give confident judgment in all cases pleaded before him. Finally the wonderful account of David's death,—how the angel of Death led the venerable king to climb a tree, and then meanly took advantage of him by removing the ladder, so that the good old king, then well stricken in years, attempting to descend, fell and broke his neck, and so he died.

With these legends, interesting as they are, the present investigation has no direct concern, save in so far as they serve to show the great popularity of the story of David. All the plays and poems to which I have had access are based almost exclusively upon the scriptural narrative.

The history of David as contained in the first and

¹ See Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, II, 191 ff.; Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Old Testament Characters*, London, 1871.

second books of Samuel has proved a never-failing source of inspiration for early morality plays and for later dramas and poems in the literature of Europe and of England. An enumeration and classification of these plays and poems, such as Alexander von Weilen has made for the Joseph theme,¹ would be a difficult task, beyond the scope of this investigation. What is here attempted, is an enumeration of some of the more important David themes in the poetry and drama of England and of Europe, and a brief review of such as may have directly or indirectly influenced Cowley. The attempt will also be made to show how in the *Davideis*, the David and the Joseph themes came into contact.

That the Biblical history of David was an abundant source of inspiration for later writers is shown in the fact that it branches out into no less than six distinct and important streams: David and Saul (David Persecuted), David and Goliath, David and Jonathan, David and Bathsheba, David and Absalom, and David and Nabal, besides such scenes as the crowning of David, and the marriage of David.

As to the relative popularity of these various episodes, it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion, on account of the limited material to which I have had access. Judged solely by the number of the plays, the persecution of David by Saul and the contest between David and Goliath seem to have been the most attractive themes. Next in importance comes David's adultery with Bathsheba. Alexander von Weilen, *Der ägyptische Joseph, vorwort*, points out the fact that three Biblical subjects held almost complete and undisputed possession of the stage during the sixteenth century: namely, The Prodigal Son, Susannah, and Joseph. In the first case, he goes on to show, the dramatic effect is greatest, for here we have real sin to be atoned for, while in the case of Susannah and Joseph we have innocence unjustly accused.

¹ See Alexander von Weilen, *Der ägyptische Joseph im Drama des XVIIten Jahrhunderts, ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Wien, 1887.

In close connection with the Prodigal Son among the courtesans and his subsequent repentance, appears David's sin with Bathsheba and his later hearty contrition; and Saul's cruel and unreasonable persecution of David arouses for the latter the same pity among the spectators that would be felt for Joseph and Susannah unjustly accused. Finally, David's victory over Goliath,—the triumph of skill over brute strength, of right over might,—would be of never-failing interest to all classes of people.

The following list, though it does not claim to be complete, is of value in showing the extent and popularity of the David theme in literature preceding Cowley.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY. The earliest extant drama concerning David appears in Rothschild's *Mistère du Viel Testament*, Paris, 1877 ff., IV, 76 ff. It belongs to the end of the 15th century.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1500 *La rapresentatione della distructione di Saul et del piato di Daut. Finita la rappresentatione della // battaglia de filistei et della distru // ctione di Saul.* s. l. n. d. [vers 1500]. In-4. Again in 1547, 1559, and ca. 1600.

1538 *God's Promises, A Tragedye or Enterlude, manyfesting the chefe promyses of God unto Man in all Ages of the olde lawe, from the fall of Adam to the Incarnacyon of the Lorde Jesus Christ.* Compyled by John Bale, Anno Domini 1538, 8vo. See Dodsley's *Old Eng. Plays*, London, 1825, I, 1 ff.

David and Absalom, a Tragedy in five acts. Attributed to Bale. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxii; Halliwell, *Dict. of Old Eng. Plays*, London, 1860, p. 70. (This play, however, is not mentioned among Bale's works.)

1545 *Ein schöne tröstliche Historia von dem Jüngling David unnd dem mutwilligen Goliath, gehalten zu wienn inn Osterreich durch wolffgang schmeltzel burger daselbst und Schülmaister zun Schotten, &c.* *Gedruckt zu Wien in Osterreich durch Hans Singriener.* See Rothschild, IV, lxxxiv.

1549 *Nabal.* Rod. Gualteri Tigurini Comoedia. *Absque nota* [Tiguri circa 1549]. In-8. See Rothschild, IV, lvii. Another edition, Mylium, 1562.

1550 *Nabal.* Ein schön Christenlich, lustig, vnn Kurtz-wylig Spil, erstlich durch den Eerwirdigen vnnd wollge-

leerten Herren Rudolffen Walthern, ausz dem ersten buch Samuelis, des 25 Cap. gezogen, in ein Latinische Comediam gestelt, nüwlich aber von einer Eerlichen loblichen Burger-schafft zu Schaffhusen, auff den 16. tag Höwmonats, des 1559 jars, Teütsch gespilt vnnnd gehalten. *Getruckt zu Mülhusen im oberen Elsass durch Peter Schmid. Anno M.D.LX. In-8. See Rothschild, IV, lviii.*

1551 Dasz alle hohe gewaltige Monarchien von Gott eingesetzt vnd geordnet, die grossen mechtigen Potentaten vnd Herrn zu struffen, recht wider gewalt auffzurichten, auch wid' dieselbigen sich niemand setzen, verachten noch emporen soll, wirdt durch das exempel des Königs Samuelis vnd Saulis klärlich angezeygt . . . durch Wolfgang Schmeltzel Burger zu Wienn. Im 1551 Jar. [at end:] *Gedruckt zu Wienn in Osterreich durch Egidium Adler, 1551. In-8. See Rothschild, IV, xlv.*

1551 Monomachia Daudis et Goliae. Tragico-comœdia noua simul et sacra. Authore Iacobo Schœppero Tremoniano. *Antuerpiæ Ioannes Latius, 1551.*

"*C'est probablement la pièce de Schœpperus qui fut représentée en 1577, par les élèves du gymnase de Copenhague.*" See Rothschild, IV, lix.

1551 Ein tragedi, mit vierzehen personen zu agieren, der auffrührische Absolom mit seinem vatter, König David; hat fünf actus. By Hans Sachs.

[at end:] *Anno Salutis 1551 jar, am 26 tag Octobris. See Bibl. des Litt. Vereins im Stuttgart, 110, 86-111.*

Comedia mit 10 personen, der David mit Batseba im ehbruch, unnd hat fünf actus. By Hans Sachs. *Ibid., 131, 319-341.*

1552 Tragedia mit 13 personen zu recidirn, wie König David sein mannschaft zelen liess, unnd hat drey actus.

By Hans Sachs. *Ibid., 13, 365-401.*

[at end:] *Anno Salutis 1551, am 12 tag Novemb.*

1551(?) Tragedie de la desconfiture du geant Goliath. *A Lausanne. s. d. [1551?]. In-8. 71 pp. By Joachim de Coignac. See Migne, Dict. des Apocr., II, 195, note; Rothschild, IV, lxiv.*

1553 Ein comedi, mit acht personen zu recidiren: Die Abigayl, und hat V actus. By Hans Sachs.

[at end:] *Anno Salutis MDLIII am 4 tag Januarii. See Bibl. des Litt. Vereins im Stuttgart, 173, 70-86.*

1554 Ölung Daudis desz Iünglings, vnnnd sein streit wider den Risen Goliath. Durch Valentinum Boltz von Ruffach. *Gedruckt zu Basel, by Bartholome Stähälin, 1554.* See Rothschild, IV, lxxxv.

1555 Goliath, Die Histori wie Daud der Iüngling den Risen Goliath umbbracht unnd erlegt hat. Ist zu Bern durch ein gemeyne Burgerschaft gespilt. *Gedruckt zu Bern by Samuel Apiario, 1555.* [at end:] Hans von Rüte. In-8. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxv.

1557 Tragedia Mit 14 Personen: die vervolung König Daud von dem König Saul. Hat 5 actus. By Hans Sachs. Nürnberg, 1561; dated, however, 6 September, 1557.

See Rothschild, IV, xlv; *Bibl. des Litt. Vereins im Stuttgart*, 131, 262-318.

1561 A new interlude of the ij synnes of Kynge Davyde, licensed by T. Hackett, 1561-62.

See Rothschild, IV, lxxxii; Warton-Hazlitt, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, II, 234; Hazlitt, *Handbook Early Eng. Lit.*, 1867, under *Plays*.

1562 Finis Saulis et Coronatio Davidis, tragi-comœdia.

"*Cette pièce fut représentée avec grand succès par les élèves du Clementinum de Prague le 19 septembre 1562.*" See Rothschild, IV, xxv.

1556 Tragedies saintes. Daud combattant. Daud triomphant. Daud fugitif. Par Loys des Masures Tournisien. *A Geneve, De l'imprimerie de François Perrin. 1566.* In-8. 272 pp. Other editions printed at Antwerp, Geneva, and Paris, in 1582, 1583, 1587, 1595. See Rothschild, IV, lxv.

1567 Tragico-comoedia. Von dem frommen Könige David vnd seinem auffrürischen Sohn Absolon . . . Agiret zu Schwerin auff dem Schlosz für den . . . Herrn Johan Albrecht, Hertzogen zu Meckelnburgk, etc., seiner F. G. Gemahl, lungen Herren, vnd Frawlin Vrsula, gebornes Frawlin zu Meckelnburg, Eptissin zu Ribnitz, etc. Anno 1567, 1. Sept. [at end:] *Gedruckt zu Lübeck, durch Asswerum Kröger. MDLXIX.* In-8 de 88 pp.

"*La dédicace datée de Schwerin, le dimanche de la Trinité 1569, est signée de Bernhard Hederich, prorecteur de l'école de cette ville.*" Rothschild, IV, lxxxvi.

1570 Spel van den Koninglyken profet David. Composed

by the painter Charles van Mander. Acted at Meulebeek (Belgium), ca. 1570. Rothschild, IV, lxxxii.

1571 Saul. Ein schön, new Spil, von König Saul, vnd dem Hirten Daid: Wie desz Sauls hochmut vnd stoltz gerochen, Davids Demütigkeit aber so hoch erhaben worden. Durch ein Eersamme Burgerschaft der loblichen Statt Basel gespilet auff den 5 tag Augustmonats, Anno 1571.

At the end of the dedication appears the name of the author, Mathias Holtzwardt de Ribeauvillé (Rappoltzweiler). See Rothschild, IV, xli.

1572 Saul le Furieux, // Tragedie prise de la // Bible, // Faicte selon l'art & à la mode des // vieux Autheurs Tragiques. // Plus une Remonstrâce faicte pour le Roy Charles IX, // à tous ses subiects, à fin de les encliner à la paix. // Avec // Hymnes, Cartels, Epitaphes, Anagrammatismes, // & autres œuvres d'un mesme Auteur. // A Paris // Par Frederic Morel Imprimeur du Roy. // M.D.Lxxii [1572]. Avec Privilege dudit Seigneur. Prefixed is a discourse *De l'art de la Tragedie* preceded by the name of the author, Jan de La Taille de Bondaroy. The play is written in verse, and is divided into five acts. Several editions appeared; 1601, 1610. See Rothschild, IV, xxx.

1572 Die schöne biblische historia von dem heil. Königl. Propheten Daid vnd seinem Sohne Salamo spielweise gestellet, durch Christian Berthold von Brandenburg Stadtschreiber zu Lübben. *Wittenberg*, 1572. In-8. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvi.

1572 König Davids vnd Michols Heurath und Hochzeit in ein Comediam gefast durch Johann Teckler. 1572. In-4. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvi.

1575 'Audict an 1575, les troys jours de la Penthecoste, fut jouée l'*Histoire de David et Golias, jeant, audevant l'eglise, Saint George, ou y eust grande compaignie de l'eglise, noblesse et habitans de la ville, en grand rejouissance.*'

Quoted from *Mémoires de Jean Burel, bourgeois du Puy, publiés par Augustin Chassaing*, Le Puy-en-Velay, Marchesson, 1875. In-4. Rothschild, IV, lxviii.

1578 Du Bartas. La Sepmaine, ou Creation du Monde. Paris, 1578. See *Seconde Semaine, Quatrième Jour*.

1579 The Holie Historie of King David; wherein is chiefly learned those godly and wholesome lessons, that is, to have

sure patience in persecution, due obedience to our Prince without Rebellion, and also the true and most faithful dealings of friends. Drawn into English Metre for the youth to reade by John Marbeck. London, 1579. 4to. See Watts, *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

1580 Among works printed by Henry Denham appears David's Sling against great Goliath; a Sword against the Feare of Death; a Battel between the Devill and the Conscience; the Dead Man's Schoole; a Lodge for Lazarus; a Retraite for Sin. London, 1580. 16mo. See Watts, *Bibl. Brit.*

1582 In *Historiam Monomachiae Davidis et Goliathi Inquisitio*. By David Hostius, *Ant.*, 1582. 8vo. See Watts, *Bibl. Brit.*

1583 *Saul*. Trauerspiel, acted in Annaberg, Germany, Feb. 17, 1583. See Rothschild, IV, xlvi.

1584 *Du Bartas, La Seconde Sepmaine*.

1586 *Dauid sconsolato*. Tragedia spirituale. Del R. Pier Giovanni Brunetto, frate di S. Francesco osseruante. *In Fiorenza, per Giorgio Marescotti*. 1586. Another edition, Venice, 1605. See Rothchild, IV, lxxii.

1597 *David, virtutis . . . probatum Deo spectaculum . . .* by Arias Montanus (*Benedictus*).

Aeneis laminis ornatum a I. T. & I. I. de Bry, etc., with a preface by C. Ritterhusius [Frankfort] 1597. See Cowley's reference to Arias Montanus, *Dauides*, Book II, note 47.

1599 *The Love of David and Fair Bethsabe*. By George Peele. London, 1599.

1600 *Monomachia Davidis cum Goliath, tragoedia sacra*.

Tragico-comœdiæ sacræ quinque, ac tres Fabellæ, cum aliquot Epigrammatibus. Authore Gabriele Iansenio, *Scholarcha Abstano*. Gandani, Ex officina Gualterij Manilij, Typogr. Iurati, ad signum albæ Columbæ. 1600. See Rothschild, IV, lix.

1600 *Kurzer Auszzug vnd Summarischer Inhalt, der Tragedi vom König Saul, Vnd Comedien vom König Dauid, ausz H. Schrifft gezogen. . . . Gehalten . . . Inn Dem Fürstlichen Collegio vnd Academia der Societet Iesu in der Steyrischen Haubstatt Grätz den [] tag Aprilis, Anno 1600. Gedruckt zu Grätz, bey Georg Widmanstetter*. S. d. [1600]. In-4to.

Represented on the occasion of the marriage of the Arch-

duke Frederick with the Princess Palatine Marie-Anne. See Rothschild, IV, xxvi.

1600 Tragédies et autres Œuvres. Par Antoine Montchrestien. Contains five tragedies, among which: *David ou l'Adultère*, Rouen, 1604, 1606.

1602 Daud victus et victor.

Adulterium: Zwo Christliche Spiele vom laster des Ehebruchs. Von Ambrosio Pape, Pfarrer zu Klein-Ammanleben im Magdeburgischen (Magdeburg, 1602). See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvi.

1604 Konungh Da // widhz Historia ifrån thet // han bleff smordh til Konungh j // Betlehem aff Propheten Samuel, // in til thes han Kom igen til Ierusalem, // sedhan Absalon dödher waar, Nyli- // ghen vthsatt på rijm. Lustigh // att lasa, etc.

Tryckt j Stockholm, aff Anund // Olufson, Anno 1604. Prose and verse, in three acts. Author, Thomas Gevaliensis. See Rothschild, IV, xci.

1606 Comoedia von Daud vnd Goliath. Gestellet durch M. Georgium Mauritium den Eltern. Von dem Autore mit Fleisz von newem durchsehen. Leipzig, 1606. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvii.

1609 Davide perseguitato. Tragedia di Felice Passero. *In Napole, per Gio: Domenico Roncagliolo*, 1609. See Rothschild, IV, lxxii.

1612 Three sermons wherein Queen Elizabeth is paralleled with David, Joshua, and Hezekia. London, 1612. 8vo. By Valentine Leigh. See Watts, *Bibl. Brit.*

1614 Davide, re adultero et micidiale, ma penitente. Rappresentazione di Fra Michiele Zanardo. *In Venezia, per Antonio Turrini*, 1614. See Rothschild, IV, lxxii.

1616 Ioseph Goetzii eyn geystliche Comedia vom Goliath. Magdeburg, 1616. See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvii.

1620 Daudis Ærumnosum Exilium et gloriosum Effugium. Die Beschwerliche Flucht vnd herliche Auszflucht, des vnschuldigen Königlichen Hoffdieners Dauds, wie er vom Könige Saul verfolgt, glücklichen entgangen, vnd an dessen stadt zum Königreich mit Ehren erhaben worden. In die Form einer Christlichen Comedien vnd Spiel verfast, Gott zu Ehren, zum erstenmal agiret zu Baldstedt, auff begehren etlicher ehrlicher Leute zum Drucke vbergeben. 1620. Von Tobia Kilio Baldstadensi, Pfarrer zu Eschenberga. *Gedruckt zu Erfurd, Bey Tobie Fritzschen.* See Rothschild, IV, lxxxvii.

1620 Francis Quarles. *Feast of Wormes, etc.* 1632 *Divine Fancies*, edited by A. B. Grosart, *Chertsey Worthies*, 1880-1881.

1628 *a* Dauide. *Tragedia dell' Accademico Nascosto* [cioè del F. Tancredi Cottone, Sanese, Compagnia di Gesù]. *In Roma, per Guglielmo Facciotti*, 1628. See Rothschild, IV, lxxiii.

b *David per Saulis persecutionem ad regnum Israelis erectus.* Ex Tancredo Cottono Soc. Jesu.

'*Tragédie en cinq actes qui offre un curieux mélange du sacré et du profane. Les personnages sont: Pluto, Sulphurimis, genius infernalis, Saul, Jonathas, Eliab, Abner, Joab, Mosue, miles, Capitaneus, Moab, Dochim, pastor, Charon, cum Cerbero, Nuncii, Chori.*' Published 1680. See Rothschild, IV, lxxiii.

1630 *The Muses Elizium: three Divine Poems on Noah's Flood, Moses' Birth and Miracles, and David and Goliath.* By Michael Drayton. London, 1630. 4to.

1631 *David's Heinous Sin, Repentances, and heavy Punishments.* By Thomas Fuller, D.D., London, 1631. 8vo. See Grosart's edition: *Poems and Translations in verse*, Liverpool, 1868. *Privately printed.*

1632 *a* *Il Gigante.* Rappresentazione fatta nel Seminario Romano. Poesia del P. Leone Santi, Sanese, della Compagnia di Gesù. *In Roma, per Francesco Corbelletti*, 1632. See Rothschild, IV, lxxiii.

b *Dauide, rappresentazione fatta nel Seminario Romano, e altre poesie del P. Leone Santi, Sanese, della Compagnia di Gesù.* *In Roma, per Francesco Corbelletti*, 1637. In-12. See Rothschild, IV, lxxiii.

1633 *True Happiness, or King David's Choice.* By Wm. Struther. London, 1633.

'*Begunne in Sermons, and now digested into a Treatise.*'

1634 *Dauid persequitato.* Venetia, 1634. By Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi.

1635 *The Story of David and Berseba* [a ballad]. 2 pts. Black Letter. London, [1635?]. See *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 88.

1635 *David's Diamond Sparkling in the Darke, or A Meditation on part of the ninth Verse of the 36 Psalme.* By P. H. London, 1635.

1637 *A Translation from Italian into English of Il Dauide Persequitato, i. e. David Persecuted.* London, 1637. See Watts, *Bibl. Brit.*

1637 Israel // affligé // ou // Tragedy // aduenue du temps // du Dauid, // etc. *A Geneve // Par Jacques Planchant*, 1637. With an epistle signed Jean Vallin, Genevois. See Rothschild, IV, lxviii.

Among the dramatis personæ appears *Alecton, furie*.

1637 David, hoc est virtutis exercitatissimæ probatum Deo Spectaculum ex Davidis pastoris, militis regis, exulis, ac prophetæ exemplis. *Consisting of 49 engravings*. Amstelodami, 1637.

1638 Davi[ds] troubl[es] remembered in 1 Absolons Sheep-shearing. 2 Joab projecting. 3 Bathsheba bathing. 4 Israel rebelling. 5 Ahitophel hanging. 6 David returning. [a poem]. London, 1638.

The earliest drama of David to which I had access, and possibly the earliest extant, is a French miracle play belonging to the end of the 15th century, and printed in Rothschild's *Le Mistère du Viel Testament*, IV, 76 ff. Over 4000 lines are devoted to the history of David.

The scene opens with a conversation between Jesse and his three sons, Helyas, Amadab, and David, in which he assigns to each his path in life. The two older are to follow the train of 'noblesse,' while the youngest is to become a shepherd. The varying fortunes of David are then set before us, following closely the Scriptural account. But the poet has wisely omitted many tiresome details, and has not hesitated to change the order of events. It is noticeable that the episode of David and Bathsheba is given the most prominence.

BISHOP BALE. *God's Promises*.

Rothschild, IV, lxxxii, includes in his list *David and Absolon*, a tragedy in five acts, by Bishop Bale, mentioned by Halliwell, *Dict. Old Eng. Plays*, London, 1860, p. 70. This was not accessible, but of the other works of Bale, Dodsley, *Old Eng. Plays*, London, 1825, I, ff., prints *God's Promises, A Tragedye or Enterlude, manifesting the cheefe promyses of God unto man in all ages of the olde lawe, from the fall of Adam to the Incarnacyon of the Lorde Jesus Christ*.

Compyled by Johan Bale, Anno Domini, 1538. 8vo. Doubtless published abroad at Geneva.

The drama is divided into seven acts, corresponding to seven ages or periods, the seven promises of God to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Esaias, and John the Baptist. At the end of each act is a kind of chorus, performed with voices and instruments, and subjoined are a prologue and epilogue, spoken by the author Baleus himself.

Each act is devoted to a dialogue between the Creator and one of the characters. In act 5 appear *Pater Coelestis* and *David, Rex Pius*. God complains to David of the idolatry of Israel and threatens to punish her. David begs him to stay his hand, and refers to all the good men of Israel and their good deeds. The Lord, however, becomes more personal in his accusation, and insists that David himself must be punished for his adultery with Bathsheba. David is then given his choice among three punishments: seven years' famine, three months' exile, or three days' pestilence. David, however, is unable to choose, and leaves all to the Lord, who determines to send a pestilence of three days' length, during which time three score thousand men are to die. David then begs that his innocent people may be spared, and that he, who alone is guilty, may be punished. This pleases the Lord, and he makes a promise to David that the kingdom shall descend to his son, and that this son shall build a temple to the Lord. David then sings a hymn of praise to the Lord, thanking Him for his victories over the bear, the lion, and Goliath.

This miracle play, though very simple in construction, is more ambitious in design than the French *mistère*, and is developed according to a strict logical plan. The object of the learned Bishop was not so much to amuse as to instruct:

No tryfling sporte

In fantasies fayned, nor soche like gaudysh gere.
 But the thyngs that shall your inward stomake cheare,
 To rejoyce in God for your justyfyacyon,
 And alone in Christ to hope for your salvacyon.

HANS SACHS'S PLAYS.

In Sachs's plays, Saul's Persecution of David, David and Absalom, David and Bathsheba, David and Abigayl, and David numbers his People, are largely paraphrases of the Scriptural text. The poet has added nothing of his own, either by way of material or manner of treatment. On the contrary, the Biblical narrative has suffered at his hands.

DU BARTAS'S WORKS.

Of no little importance in the history and development of the religious epic were the works of Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas, who flourished during the latter half of the XVIth century.¹ Du Bartas was a strong Protestant, and in the great Civil War in France in the time of Charles IX and Henry III, he warmly espoused the cause of the Huguenots. Attaching himself to Henry IV, he aided him on the field and in the council chamber, and was sent as ambassador to the court of Scotland, where King James VI took a great liking to him and wished to retain him in his service. James was an ardent admirer of his poems, and tried his hand at translating *L'Uranie* and *Les Furies*,² the third part of the first day; while Du Bartas translated into French a poem of the King's.³

Du Bartas, however, remained faithful to King Henry to the last, and at the great battle of Ivry, fought bravely for the royal cause, and received wounds from which he soon afterwards died (1590).

His principal work consists of an almost complete history of the Old Testament in verse. The first part is entitled *La Sepmaine, ou Creation du Monde*, published first at Paris, 1578, 4to. The privilege of the king is dated

¹ See Sainte Beuve, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1842, 4th series, vol. 29, pp. 549 ff.; *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. 26, 1842, pp. 312 ff.; vol. 58, 1858, pp. 480 ff.

² *The Exord, or preface of the second week of Du Bartas. The Furies. His Majesties Poeticall Exercises*, etc., 1591. 4to.

³ *La Lèpanthe de Jacques VI, faite Françoise par le Sieur du Bartas. His Majesties Poeticall Exercises*, etc., 1591.

Feb., 1578. The second part is entitled *Le Seconde Semaine*, and was first published in 1584.

The success of the first part was immediate and striking. It was translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and English, and went through thirty editions in less than six years, so that the fame and influence of Du Bartas spread abroad over England as well as over Europe. Even Milton was a reader and admirer of the *Divine Weeks*.

Joshua Sylvester, an English poet of some note, translated portions of Du Bartas's poem as early as 1591, only one year after the French poet's death.¹ It was not, however, till 1605 that the first edition of the complete translation appeared. Sylvester was peculiarly fitted for his task. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of French at school, and he had traveled in Holland, France, and Germany. He was a staunch Puritan and must have been in full sympathy with Du Bartas's religious views, so that his work of translation was doubtless a labor of love. At all events, his translation was successful. It won for him the praise of his contemporaries, and served to establish his reputation as a poet.

Sylvester follows the original closely, with an occasional change of name, so as to make the description more suitable to his own country. For instance, Du Bartas likens Eden to Paris, whereas Sylvester compares it to London, 'that it might be more familiar to his meere English and untravell'd Readers.' Moreover, Sylvester occasionally stops to apply the story to some recent political event. The expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, for instance, is applied to the expulsion of the Spaniards from Cadiz. On the whole, however, it is a faithful translation.

Sylvester was not the only English translator of Du Bartas. In 1596 there appeared at London a translation of part of the *Second Week* by the famous Anglo-Saxon

¹ See Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers' Register*; Grosart's Sylvester, *Chertsey Worthies*, Memorial-Intro., pp. XII-XIII.

Scholar William L'Isle, with the long and learned Commentary of Simon Goulart Senlisien. A more complete translation by the same scholar, including the end of the fourth book of *Adam* and all of the four books of *Noah*, was published at London in 1625. There were also other translations of portions of this monster poem by J. Winter, London, 1604; Thomas Lodge, 1621; and a Latin rendering at Edinburgh, 1600. Of Du Bartas's *Judith* the translation of T. Hudson appeared at Edinburgh in 1584; London, 1608 and 1611.

The first part of this poem, *La Sepmaine*, is divided into seven days, to represent the week of creation: (1) Chaos. (2) The Elements. (3) The Sea and Earth. (4) The Heavens; Sun, Moon, etc. (5) The Fishes and Fowls. (6) The Beasts and Man. (7) The Sabbath. To the edition of 1588 are prefixed the first two chapters of Genesis to serve as the argument of the poem.

This first part, containing more than six thousand lines, is almost encyclopaedic in content. Not satisfied with mentioning hail or snow or wind among the created elements, the poet must enter into a long and involved discussion as to the origin of each; likewise of birds and beasts and fishes; so that Du Bartas has given us a storehouse of mediaeval science and folk-lore. At every opportunity he has stopped to bring in elaborate theological discussions,—for example, as to the essence of God and the nature of the Trinity,—for the aim of the poet has been to instruct as well as to amuse. The poem has been made still more compendious by Simon Goulart de Senlis, who has added to each book a summary at the beginning, marginal notes, and at the end, full explanation of all difficulties.

The second part, *La Seconde Sepmaine*, was also divided into seven days, to form a second week. Here the poet's design was a vast one; he intended to treat the whole Biblical history as contained in the Old and New Testaments. He died, however, before he could carry out his

extensive scheme; so that he was enabled to complete only the first four parts, or days of the week.

Each day is devoted to the life of a prophet or of a holy man of Israel: (1) Adam. (2) Noah. (3) Abraham. (4) David. (5) Zedechiah. (6) Messias. (7) Th' Eternall Sabbath. 'But of the three last, Death (preventing Our Noble Poet) hath deprived us.'

The first day is divided into four parts: (1) Eden. (2) The Imposture. (3) The Furies. (4) The Handy-Crafts. Here we have an elaborate treatment of the fall of man. The poet begins with a long description of the Garden of Eden, containing some very pretty passages. Next is narrated how the devil plotteth man's destruction, and clothing himself in a 'Dragon skin, all bright bespeckt,' enters Eden and brings about the fall of man. We are told then of the discord brought about by man's sin, of famine and war and sickness summoned as a result of man's disobedience. Finally the poet relates the first manner of life of Adam and Eve after their fall, and tells of Cain and Abel and of the various useful inventions made by man. The whole occupies nearly three thousand lines in Sylvester's translation.

The second day, Noah, is divided into four parts: (1) The Ark. (2) Babylon. (3) The Colonies. (4) The Columnnes.

The third day, Abraham, is divided into four parts: (1) The Vocation. (2) The Fathers. (3) The Law. (4) The Captains.

The fourth day, David, is divided into four parts: (1) The Trophies. (2) The Magnificence. (3) The Schism. (4) Decay.

Du Bartas was a religious poet but not a mystic, and he contended for the use of Biblical themes as the only proper subjects for verse. His *Uranie* is an address to the Heavenly Muse, a powerful plea for the employment of sacred themes in poetry. As a consequence he was extolled as the one 'Qui Musas ereptas profanae lasciviae sacris montibus reddidit; sacris fontibus aspersit; sacris cantibus intonuit.'

In his own words :

Profanes ecrivans, vostre impudique rime
 Est cause que l'on met nos chantres mieux-disans
 Au rang des basteleurs, des bouffons, des plaisans ;
 Est qu'encore moins qu'eux le peuple les estime.

Que Christ, comme Homme-Dieu, soit la croupe jumelle
 Sur qui vous sommeillez. Que, pour cheval ailé
 L'Esprit du Trois fois.

Cowley felt the same inspiration of the Heavenly Muse, and declared that the Muse had been debased by poems upon profane and lascivious subjects. 'Amongst all the holy and consecrated things which the Devil ever stole and alienated from the service of the Deity,' are his impassioned words in his general preface to his work, 'there is none so long usurpt as poetry. . . . It is time to baptize it in Jordan, for it will never become clean by bathing it in the waters of Damascus.' His divine mission to purify poetry is also seen clearly in the *Dauides*, I, 37 ff.

Too long the Muses' land hath heathen been ;
 Their gods too long were devils, and virtues sin,
 But thou, Eternal Word, hath called forth me,
 Th' Apostle to convert that world to thee.

Cowley and Du Bartas had much in common. The French poet gave up his very life to the cause of Protestantism and of his royal master. Cowley was a staunch Royalist, even at the University, and in a few years, he too was to devote his time and his talents to the service of his king. Moreover, as shown above, both had the same conception of the moral purpose of poetry. There was thus much in the life of the French poet to arouse the sympathy of the young Cambridge student. On the whole, then, we should expect to find no slight influence of Du Bartas upon Cowley's religious epic, the *Dauides*.

Of especial interest in connection with the *Dauides* is Du Bartas's history of David as contained in the Fourth Day of the second week, part first, entitled *Les Trophees*. In the preceding part, *Les Capitaines*, the people had de-

manded a king, Saul had been chosen and anointed (ll. 879 to end). The poet makes much of this election of the King. It is debated in full assembly,—first, a Plebeian makes a declamation for a Democracy, or People-Sway; next, a Reverend Senator speaks for an Aristocracy, or a rule of a chosen synod of the best men; finally, a noble young prince pleads for a Monarchy, or the Sovereignty of a king. Cowley, Book IV, follows the Biblical account more closely. In *Les Trophées*, the history of Saul is continued: In the opening lines, the rejection of Saul is related and the election of David in his stead. The poet states these facts in a few lines, and then proceeds at once to David's visit to the camp of the Israelites and to his contest with Goliath. To this Du Bartas devotes over three hundred lines including many elaborate similes and comparisons. Next the poet recounts Saul's envy of David and Jonathan's love for him. Nothing, however, is said of David's marriage. Much is made of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, to which about a hundred lines are given, in addition to a disquisition upon the devil and upon evil spirits in general. The poet is careful to show that the shade summoned up by the witch could not have been Samuel, for devils have no power over saints; it must, therefore, have been the Prince of darkness himself that appeared and spoke to Saul. The relation of the death of Saul and of Jonathan occupies only a few lines, and then follows a long enumeration of David's virtues, together with a consideration of the excellence of his Psalms. The rest of the book treats of David's adultery with Bathsheba (ll. 887–1094). The poet, moreover, take occasion to compare to David King James VI of Scotland, to whose court Du Bartas had been sent by Henry IV of France (see above). The book closes with an account of the pestilence inflicted upon David, as a consequence of his sin, and with an application of this pestilence to France; in Sylvester's translation, to England.

The remarks of Simon Goulart de Senlis, the editor of Du Bartas, in his summary prefixed to this book, are of

- great importance in connection with the *Davideis*. 'En ces chapitres,' he writes, 'le S. Esprit nous fait voir les merveilles de Dieu en l'infirmité de son serviteur David. Le Poete represente les principaux poincts d'icelle histoire en onze cens vers ou environs, choisissant ce qui lui a semblé plus digne d'estre compris en l'oeuvre par lui entrepris. Car une Davideide vaudroit bien le cours d'une Eneide, ou le nombre des livres de l'Iliade et de l'Odysee ensemble si quelque Chrestien et docte poete François vouloit y employer le temps et l'estude, comme un si noble et fertile sujet le merite. Mais le Sieur du Bartas, qui ne vouloit ainsi s'estendre, ains visoit à se maintenir en sa bienséance accoustumee, s'est convenablement enclos en ce cercle d'un petit nombre de vers, qui comprennent une infinité de choses, sous le nom de *Trophees* ou marques des victoires de David; que nous rapportons à quatre principaux.'

Here we have a suggestion for just such a poem as Cowley undertook, and undertook on just such a scale as is here suggested. In fact, the whole design of Cowley's work, as given by him in his preface, seems very close to that of Du Bartas. 'I come now to the last part which is the *Davideis*, or an heroical poem of the troubles of David: which I designed into twelve books; not for the tribes' sake, but after the pattern of our master Virgil; and intended to close all with that most poetical and excellent elegy of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan, for I had no mind to carry him quite on to his anointing at Hebron, because it is the custom of heroic poets (as we see by the example of Homer and Virgil, whom we should do ill to forsake to imitate others) never to come to the full end of their story . . . This I say was the whole design, in which there are many noble and fertile arguments behind; as the barbarous cruelty of Saul to the priests at Nob, the several flights and escapes of David, with the manner of his living in the Wilderness, the funeral of Samuel, the love of Abigail, the sacking of Ziglaga, the loss and recovery of David's wives from the

Amalekites, the witch of Endor, the war with the Philistines, and the battle of Gilboa ; all which I meant to interweave, upon several occasions, with the most of the illustrious stories of the Old Testament, and to embellish with the most remarkable antiquities of the Jews, and of other nations before or at that age.'

Cowley's whole design was thus wonderfully like that of Du Bartas. Cowley's poem was to be, not simply a history of David, but a complete history of the Old Testament. At the same time it is to be noted that Cowley's plan is founded upon the *Aeneid* of Virgil, to whom the English poet refers in every matter of doubt. Even here, however, in casting a religious poem in classical, yet 'heathen,' mold, Cowley follows the precedent of Du Bartas, who had attempted exactly the same thing in his epic poem *Judith*, entitled by Sylvester, the English translator, *Bethulia's Rescue*. This poem, containing about fifteen hundred lines, was written before the *Divine Weeks*, possibly about 1565.¹ It was first translated into English by F. Hudson, in 1534, before the publication of the *Second Week*. The translation was dedicated to King James, by whom the work was probably suggested. It was issued in London in 1608, and again in 1611. Hudson's translation contains exactly the same number of verses as the original text. Sylvester's translation appeared in 1614, under the title *Bethulia's Rescue*.

For the design and execution of his poem, Du Bartas in his letter to the reader thus excuses himself: 'Ami lecteur, m'ayant esté commandé par feu tres-illustre & tres-vertueuse Princesse Ianne, Reine de Navarre, de rediger l'histoire de Iudith en forme d'un Poem Epique ; ie n'ai pas tout suivi l'ordre, ou la phrase du texte de la Bible, comé i'ai tasché (sous toutes fois m'eslonger de la verité de l'histoire) d'imiter Homere en son Iliade, Vergile en son Eneide, & autres qui nous ont laissé des ouvrages de sēblable estoffe, & ce pour rendre de tant

¹ See Sainte-Beuve, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1842, 4th series, vol. 49. pp. 551 ff.

plus mon oeuvre delectable. Si l'effect n'a respondu à mon desir, ie te supplie de reietter la coulpe sur celle qui m'a proposé un si sterile suiet: & non sur moy, qui ne lui pouvois honnestement desobeyer. Tant y a que comme estant le premier de la France, qui par un iuste Poeme ay traicté, en nostre langue, des choses sacrées, i'espere recevoir de ta grace quelque excuse.'

Compare above the quotation made from Cowley's preface: 'which I designed into twelve books; . . . after the pattern of our master Virgil.' But Cowley is much more modest than Du Bartas, and is willing to put the blame of a possible failure where it properly belongs—upon himself. 'I am farre from assuming to myself to have fulfilled the duty of this weighty undertaking,' he continues, 'but sure I am, that there is nothing yet in our Language (nor perhaps in *any*) that is in any degree answerable to the idea that I conceive of it.' Again he expresses himself to similar effect, in note 3 to the *Davideis*, 'for though some in other Languages have attempted the writing a Divine Poem; yet none, that I know of, has in English.' Thus he completely ignores Peele, Quarles, Drayton, and Fuller, not to speak of others.

Since Cowley and Du Bartas both imitate classical models, their poems have much in common. In both poems, the same devices were used for the relation of past events; sometimes by narration, as when, in the second book of *Judith*, the Prince of the Ammonites relates to Holofernes the history of Israel, to which more than half of the book is devoted. Similarly in the *Davideis*, the whole of the fourth book is occupied by David's account of the government of Israel. Again, whole histories are wrought in tapestry. In book II, Judith embroiders divine stories, and in book V she sees various histories woven in the arras of the tent. In the *Davideis* likewise this is a favorite device, as in books II and III. In addition to this, Cowley, by means of David's vision, relates a long history of the future. This general resem-

blance in the outline and in the use of such epic devices is a natural consequence of the employment of the same classical model. The following points, however, seem clearly established by the foregoing investigation: That Du Bartas set the example for Cowley in his treatment of a religious epic in strictly classical form, and that Cowley derived from Du Bartas not only the inspiration for the *Davideis*, but also many helpful suggestions as to style and treatment of the poem.

I have observed the following more specific correspondences between Cowley and Du Bartas:

And Saul himself, tho' in his troubled breast
The weight of empire lay, took gentle rest.

Davideis, I, 229-230.

Of Pharaoh:

Who slumbering then on his unquiet couch
With Israel's greatness was disturbed much.

Sylvester's Translation, Grosart, I, 185.

3d Part of 3d Day of I Week, ll. 92-93.

Swift Jordan started and straight backward fled,
Hiding among thick reeds his aged head.

Davideis, I, l. 237-238.

Clear Jordan's Selfe in his dry oazie Bed,
Blushing for shame, was faine to hide his head.

Sylvester's Translation,

Bethulia's Rescue, I, l. 51-52.

Compare also *Davideis*, I, 70 ff., description of Envy and episode of Envy arousing Saul, with Sylvester's Du Bartas, 2d Week, 3d Day, 3d Book, *The Law*, ll. 45 ff., description of Envy, and episode of Envy inciting Pharaoh to rage. Compare, too, with this same passage of Cowley, the pictures of the furies, 2d Week, 1st Day, 3d Book, ll. 234 ff., and the witch of Endor, 3d Week, 4th Day, 1st Book, ll. 624 ff. (see below, p. 502). Finally compare *Davideis*, I, 441 ff., and note on this passage, with Sylvester's Du Bartas, 2d week, 4th Day, 1st Book, *The Trophces*, ll. 417 ff., influence of music; *Davideis*, IV, 975 ff., Slaughter of Philistines, with *Bethulia's Rescue*, Grosart's Sylvester, VI, 284 ff.

GEORGE PEELE. *Love of David and Fair Bethsabe.* 1599.

In point of chronology, the next play concerning David to which I have had access, is George Peele's *Love of David and Fair Bethsabe, with the Tragedy of Absalom*, printed at London in 1599, by Adam Islip. 4to.¹

David and Bethsabe is considered Peele's masterpiece. It has much in common with the earlier miracle plays, but it makes a great advance as compared with them. The scene opens with Bethsabe bathing and David above admiring her charms. He sends Cusay to bring her before him, and tells her of his passion. He then commissions Cusay to fetch Uriah from the army. Joab and his hosts next appear, and Uriah returns to the king. Then follows the episode of Ammon and Thamar. Uriah comes before David, who makes him drunk, 'And David joys his too dear Bethsabe.' Bethsabe laments her folly. The next scene is between Nathan and David, wherein David repents of his sin. Absalom slays Ammon. David marches against Rabath and takes the town. He learns of Absalom's crime, but becomes reconciled to him. Absalom, however, rebels, aided by Achitophel. Achitophel's counsel is disregarded, and he slays himself. Joab slays Absalom, and the play closes with David's lament over his son.

Fleay thinks the situations in the play suggestive of Elizabeth and Leicester as David and Bathsheba, Uriah as Leicester's first wife, and Absalom as Mary Queen of Scots. It remained, however, for the masterly hand of Dryden to draw the wonderful parallel between Absalom and Achitophel and the political events of Charles II's reign.

Although Peele follows closely the main features of the Scriptural account, he has made more than a mere paraphrase, or chronicle history of the Bible. He shows considerable imagination, and he allows himself some little

¹ See Fleay, *Eng. Dram.*, II, 153-154; Warton-Hazlitt, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, II, 234; Hazlitt, *Handbook*, p. 451; Symond, *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 570; Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 211 ff.

freedom in the treatment of the dialogues. On the whole, he has handled the subject with dignity and propriety.

FRANCIS QUARLES (1592-1644).

Francis Quarles was a man of very different temperament from Peele. He was deeply religious like Du Bartas, and his mind 'was chiefly set upon devotion and study.' Like Du Bartas and Cowley, he too was a Protestant and a strong supporter of the royal cause; but he was altogether of a gloomy and puritanical cast of mind. He is said to have visited King Charles at Oxford in 1644, and doubtless met Cowley there. He died September 8, 1644.

It was chiefly through his *Emblems* that he secured his reputation; but his earliest poems were religious paraphrases of the Bible. His first poem, published in 1620, is entitled *A Feast of Wormes set forth in a Poeme of the History of Jonah*. It is written in heroic couplets, and contains 1784 lines, besides a Proposition of the Whole, an Introduction, and at the end, The General Use of this History. The story follows the Bible closely, chapter and verse being indicated in the margin. The poem is divided into thirteen sections, at the end of each of which appears a pious meditation, in the nature of a commentary or sermon upon the text. His material for these 'meditations' is drawn from the Bible, from the church Fathers, and often from the Latin and Greek poets.

His other religious poems are: *Hadessa, or the History of Queen Esther*, 1621; *Job Militant*, 1624; *The History of Sampson*, 1631; *Solomon's Recantation*, not published till 1645, but doubtless composed at about the same time that his other religious poems were written. In his *Divine Fancies*, 1633, he has several short poems on David: *Saul and David*, II, 9; *David and Goliath*, II, 10; *David's Epitaph on Jonathan*, II, 13; *David's Choice*, II, 27; *David*, II, 48; *Kain and David*, II, 71; *David*, IV, 39.

In his treatment of these different poems, Quarles shows little or no variation; all are equally dull and mono-

nous, all are written in heroic couplets, and all contain 'pious meditations' interspersed throughout the story.

For the insertion of the 'Meditations,' the poet, in his preface to *Hadessa*, thus justifies himself: 'As for the Manner of this History (consisting of the Periphrase, the adjournment of the Story, and interposition of Meditations) I hope I have not injured the Matter; For in this I was not the least carefull to use the light of the best Expositors *authoritatis quorum sum germanus*) not daring to go un-led for fear of stumbling. Some say, Divinity in verse is incongruous, and displeasing: such I referre to the Psalms of David, or the song of his sonne Solomon, to be corrected. But in these lewd times, the salt, and soule of a Verse, is obscene scurrility, without which it seems dull and lifeless. And though the sacred History needs not (as humane do) Poetry to perpetuate the remembrance (being by God's owne mouth blest with Eternity) yet Verse, working so neare upon the soule, and spirit) will oft times draw those to have a History in familiarity, who (perchance) before (scarce knew there was such a book).'

This recalls at once Cowley's eloquent plea for the employment of Scriptural scenes and incidents as proper subjects for poetry. Cowley wishes to 'recover poetry from the service of the devil,' 'to baptize it in Jordan,' and 'to restore it to the kingdom of God.' 'All the books of the Bible are either already most admirable and exalted pieces of poesy, or are the best materials in the world for it. Yet, though they be in themselves so proper to be made use of for this purpose, none but a good artist will know how to do it . . . for if any man design to compose a sacred poem, by only turning a story of the Scripture, like Mr. Quarles's, or some other goodly matter, like Mr. Heywood of Angels, into rhyme, he is so far from elevating of poesy, that he only abases divinity' (Preface of the author).

Very few will dissent from this opinion of Quarles.

¹ Complete works of Francis Quarles, 3 vols., Grosart, *Chertsey Worthies*, 1880, II. 42.

With such narrow views as he had, he could never have produced a work of art. Leaving aside, however, all question as to the merit of Quarles's poetry, it must be admitted that he gave a great impetus to the employment of Scriptural themes as subjects for poetry, and doubtless had no little influence on Cowley in the choice of a religious subject for his epic.

GEORGE SANDYS (1577-1643).

George Sandys wrote several religious paraphrases: *Upon Job*; *Upon the Song of Solomon*; *Upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah*. These were published in 1638. He is better known, however, by his *Translation of the Psalms*, published in 1636. Cowley, *Preface to Pindarique Odes*, thus refers to this translation: 'The Psalms of David . . . are a great example of what I have said: all the translators of which (even Mr. Sandys himself; for in spite of popular error, I will be bold not to except him) . . . are so far from doing Honor, or at least Justice to that Divine Poet, that methinks they revile him worse than Shimei.'

GEORGE WITHER (1593-1632) AND GEORGE HERBERT
(1588-1667).

In this connection, as doubtless of influence upon Cowley in his choice of a religious theme, mention must be made of George Wither's tremendous undertaking, his proposed *Exercises on the Psalms*; of his *Songs of the Old Testament, translated into English Measure*, and of his *Psalms of David*. We must also bear in mind the works of 'holy Mr. George Herbert,' for whom doubtless Cowley had a great respect and regard.

MICHAEL DRAYTON. *David and Goliath*.

The earliest work of Michael Drayton (1563-1631) was a metrical rendering of portions of the Scriptures, entitled *The Harmonie of the Church* (or *The Triumphes of the Church*), published in 1591. It was, for some unknown reason, destroyed, and only one copy, belonging to the

British Museum, is now known to exist. Then appeared his lyrical, pastoral, and historical poems, *Shepherds' Garland*, *The Barons' War*, *England's Heroical Epistles*, *The Owl*, *Polyolbion*, *The Battle of Agincourt*, *Nymphida*. His last poems, like his first, were religious. They were included under the title '*The Muses Elysium, Lately discovered, By a new way over Parnassus. The passages therein being the subject of Ten sundry Nymphals, Leading three Divine Poems. Noah's Flood, Moses, his Birth and Miracles, David and Goliath.*' 1630.

Although Drayton was a man of unquestioned virtue, he had not the sombre religious character of Quarles. He could look on the bright side of life and was not, like Quarles, continually reflecting upon the unworthiness of man. In fact there is nothing to show that he would turn naturally to Scriptural subjects. That the influence of Du Bartas led him to select such subjects, there can be no doubt. In his *Moses* he dedicates his work to Du Bartas and Sylvester :

And thou translator of that faithful Muse
 This all's creation that divinely song,
 From courtly French (no travel do'st refuse)
 To make him master of thy genuine tongue,
 Salust to thee and Sylvester thy friend,
 Comes my high poem peaceably and chaste.
 Your hallowed labours humbly to attend,
 That wreckful time shall not have power to waste.

Moreover, he strikes the same note that we heard from Du Bartas, Quarles, and Cowley,—namely, a regret at the debasement of poetry, and a determination to restore it to its proper sphere.

Muse, I invoke the utmost of thy might,
 That with an armed and auspicious wing,
 Thou be obsequious in his doubt less right
 'Gainst the vile atheist's vituperious sting.

 To shew how poesie (simply hath her praise)
 That from full Jove takes her celestial birth,
 And quick as fire, her glorious self can raise
 Above this base abominable earth.

The use of *Jove* here seems a clear indication of the artificiality of his religious feelings. He was writing of such subjects, not because he felt himself moved by the Holy Spirit to reform poetry, but because he thought it best to follow the fashion.

Drayton's *David and Goliath* is written in heroic couplets, and contains about 850 lines. The poem begins with an invocation to the Muse, and then takes up the story at the time when the Almighty, displeased with Saul for sparing King Agag, had resolved to choose a new ruler for Israel. Then follows a long description of David feeding his flock, and in this enumeration of David's personal charms, the poet gives free rein to his imagination.

No mention, however, is made of Saul's daughters, or of the promise Saul made to bestow his daughter's hand on the conqueror of Goliath. The poet has added no episodes, and he tells his story with directness. He has followed his own fancy throughout, and seems to have had no model before him, either classical or modern. Cowley owes nothing directly to Drayton.

THOMAS FULLER. *David's Hainous Sinne.*

The year following the publication of the *Muses Elysium*, appeared *David's Hainous Sinne*, by Thomas Fuller, D.D. The poem is written in stanzas riming a b a b ccc. It is divided into three parts: *David's Hainous Sinne*, 47 stanzas; *David's Heartie repentance*, 26 stanzas; *David's Heavie Punishment*, 71 stanzas.

In the first part, the story is frequently interrupted by moralizations of the poet. Into the second part is introduced a *Proces du Paradis*. The Lord resolves to punish David, and at once all the elements,—fire, air, water, earth,—offer to be the instruments of his vengeance. The Almighty appeases the strife of the elements, and opening the book of life, offers to blot out David's name, but is dissuaded by His Son, the Prince of Peace. At the decision of the Lord to pardon David, the fickle elements rejoice, and now offer to minister to David's pleasure. Nathan

is then sent to David and makes the King's 'marble minde to melt.'

This *Proces du Paradis* is clearly a remain of the earlier Miracle Plays.

The third part treats of the episode of Ammon and Tamar, of Absalom's vengeance upon Ammon, of Absalom's revolt and death. 'At the close of this performance,' writes Oldys (Grosart's edition of Fuller, 1868), 'our author, having subsided into the characters of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I, and lamented the loss of the Duke of Brunswick, with the discords then in Europe through the wars in the Netherlands, Denmark, etc., he very properly and piously concludes that those grievances may be bewailed by mankind, but till they are reversed by Providence, they are more befitting his *prayers* than his *pen*.'

Although this poem abounds in the quaint and characteristic conceits of Fuller, it is not altogether without merit, and there is no doubt that Cowley read it with appreciation and genuine admiration.

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

That curious work by Thomas Heywood, *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels,—Their Names, Orders, and Offices,—The Fall of Lucifer with his Angells*, London, printed by Adam Islip, 1635, is of some interest in connection with the *Daiveis*. That Cowley was familiar with this work is shown by a humorous reference to Heywood (General Preface of the Author), as 'Mr. Heywood of Angels, whose poem serves only to abase divinity' (see above, p. 34).

The *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* is a poem in nine books, entitled respectively: *The Seraphim, The Cherubim, The Thrones, The Dominations, The Vertues, The Powers, The Principats, The Arch-Angel, The Angel*. To each book is prefixed the argument in verse, and to each of these arguments is added the name of an angel, as follows:

Uriel, Jophiel, Zaphiel, Zadchiel, Haniel, Raphael, Carmael, Michael and Gabriel. In addition to this, there are long and elaborate notes, 'Theological, Philosophical, Moral, Poetical, Historical, and Emblematical Observations.' This work, containing over six hundred pages in folio, is a mass of learned references and childish superstitions. In the sixth book, *The Powers*, the poet after describing the revolt and fall of the angels, gives descriptions of hell drawn from the Bible, from the church fathers, and from the Latin and Greek poets. In his notes to this book he enters into a long discussion as to the nature of hell-fire and as to the torments of the damned, interspersing throughout marvelous ghost tales of Incubi and Succubi.

Although the literary value of Heywood's poem is very slight, and although every one will agree in Cowley's opinion that he serves only to 'abase divinity,' he has nevertheless collected much curious information of no slight value to the writer of a religious epic such as Cowley undertook.

ROBERT ASHLEY'S TRANSLATION OF V. MALVEZZI'S
Il Davide Perseguitato.

In the year 1637 (doubtless the very year in which Cowley was writing his epic), appeared at London Robert Ashley's translation of V. Malvezzi's *Il Davide Perseguitato*. Ashley was a school-fellow of Joshua Sylvester's at Saravia's school in Southampton, and may have been inspired to translate Malvezzi through Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas*.

Malvezzi was for a time in the service of Philip IV of Spain, who sent him to England as his Ambassador. On account of ill-health, however, he was forced to return to his native land, Italy, where he died at Bologna, Aug. 11, 1654. His *Davide* was first published at Bologna in 1634, and again at Venice, 1636. It was translated into French by Louys de Benoist, Avignon, 1646, and into Latin in

1660. Of Robert Ashley's English translation, subsequent editions appeared in 1647 and in 1650.

In spite of this array of editions and translations, Malvezzi's work was only a running commentary, or set of homilies, on the various incidents of David's life. The author holds up the disobedience of Saul as a warning to princes, and contrasts it with the humility of David.

FELICE PASSERO.

Il David Perseguitato, Tragedia, published at Naples in 1609. Inaccessible. Not in British Museum.

Mention must be made here of the curious set of engravings illustrating David's life, entitled: *David, Hoc est Virtutis exercitatissimae Probatum Deo Spectaculum, ex Davidis Pastoris, Militis, Regis, Exulis, ac Prophetae, Exemplis*, Amsterdam, 1637. Each plate is accompanied by a short Latin verse of four lines, similar to the English *Emblems*. This is based upon the more elaborate work of Arias Montanus with the same title, dated 1597. In Montanus, the verses are the same, but the plates are different, and in addition there is with each engraving a *Paraphrasis*, or *Explicatio*. In note 47, Book II of the *Davidis*, Cowley has a reference to Arias Montanus, quoting his opinion in regard to the heathen god Moloch.

DAVID'S TROUBLES, ETC. 1638.

Rather a poor series of poems on David was published in 1638 at London, entitled: *David's Troubles Remembered in*: (1) *Absolon's Sheepshearing*; (2) *Joab projecting*; (3) *Bathsheba bathing*; (4) *Israel rebelling*; (5) *Ahithophel hanging*; (6) *David returning*.

The first book begins:

I tell the divers tryalls of the King
Who hevenly hymns did to his Maker sing:
Blest spirit that infus'd on him such skill,
Dispose aright thine humble servant's quill.

REMARKS ON THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH RELIGIOUS EPIC PRIOR TO MILTON AND THE PART PLAYED BY COWLEY IN THIS DEVELOPMENT.

The English religious narrative poem growing out of the lives and legends of the saints, later developing into the English religious epic and reaching its most perfect form in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, must have influenced the miracle plays and been in turn influenced by them. It has been seen how the influence of the miracle plays persisted even through the first quarter of the seventeenth century (see Fuller, *David's Hainous Sinne*, above). In the miracle plays there appear early two different lines of treatment, popular and didactic. Treated in a popular way, these plays were intended solely to amuse; treated in a didactic way, they came into contact with the homily and the long religious poem like the *Cursor Mundi*, itself a precursor of Du Bartas's *Divine Weeks*. The Old French *Mistère* (above, p. 476) is largely didactic. The poet endeavors all through to make clear the connection between the Old and the New Testament. In the Chester Plays, an Expositor appears between acts and explains the allegorical meaning of the action. This, in fact, was the primary object of the early religious drama, to instruct; to bring certain facts and dogmas of the Bible within reach of the common mind.

In addition to this, the *Moralities* often became bitterly controversial, as for example in N. Wood's *Conflict of Conscience*, 1581, in which the hero, Philologus, becomes ensnared in the foils of Rome (Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, I, 47). Bale's play *God's Promises* is learned and didactic, written for the sole purpose of developing a theological argument.

Du Bartas's poems likewise are both didactic and controversial. In the opening lines of the *First Week*, 1st Day, 1st Part, the poet 'refute par diverses raisons la curieuse et profane objection des atheistes, qui demandent que Dieu faisoit avant qu'il creast le monde.' In the first part of the second day of the second week, he enumerates

twelve answers of Noah to the blasphemies of Cham and of his fellow atheists. In that same book he replies at length to the objections of the atheists who contended that the capacity of the ark was insufficient for Noah, his family, and all brute creation.

This introduction of theological argument into a professedly narrative poem is a serious hindrance to the highest artistic development, a blot from which even Milton's epic is not free.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the protest against the growing immorality of the stage was extended to poetry, and Du Bartas (as seen above) makes a powerful plea for the rescue of poetry from profane hands, and for the employment of scriptural themes alone as proper subjects for verse. Thus at the opening of the 17th century, the use of Biblical stories and episodes as proper subjects of verse was a live question in all countries. In France there was the great struggle between the Catholics and Huguenots. Italy was under the tyranny of the popes and of Philip the Second of Spain, and had to furnish Philip with money and men to aid him in his career of bigotry and persecution. The whole of Europe was soon engaged in a great religious struggle, the Thirty Years' War, and England in the time of Cowley and Milton was to be torn asunder by civil strife for political and religious freedom. Men's minds were, therefore, prepared for religious poems, and the appropriateness of such themes as Saul's Persecution of David must have been felt. Malvezzi's *Il Davide Perseguitato*, with its warning to Princes, went through several editions in his country, 1634, 1636, ff., and was translated into Latin and English.

In England during the early part of the 17th century, the soil proved fruitful for religious poems. A year after Du Bartas's death, Sylvester began his translation, and collective editions of it appeared in 1605, 1608, 1611, 1613, 1614, 1621, 1633, and 1641. William L'Isle, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, thought it worth while to translate Du Bartas, and his rendering appeared in 1596, to be followed

by a more complete one in 1625. Other translations were made by Winter, and several translations of *Judith* were published by Hudson, all before 1612. Robert Ashley's translation of Malvezzi appeared in 1637.

Among all these religious poems, however, the David theme was not the least popular in England. There were poems of David by George Peele, 1599; Francis Quarles, 1620 ff., *Divine Fancies*, (1633); Michael Drayton, 1630; Thomas Fuller, 1631; yet from Bale to Heywood, no attempt had been made at the true epic form. The aim of the poet was either to make a mere paraphrase of the scriptures, hoping thus to popularize the Sacred Word; or to expound the Holy Writ, using the words of the Bible as his text, like Quarles, 'not daring to go unled.' Peele, Drayton, and Fuller, though far in advance of Quarles, and though showing originality of treatment, made no attempt to produce a finished epic. To Cowley, then, inspired by the example of Du Bartas, must be given the credit of having first attempted the true epic form. His conception was a noble one, but his powers were not equal to the task.

COWLEY AND MILTON.

As an outcome of this great interest in religious themes was written the most perfect religious epic of modern times, the *Paradise Lost*. Milton was undoubtedly familiar with Cowley's epic, and Cowley's modest words at the conclusion of his preface seem almost prophetic of that great poem which was so completely to overshadow his. 'I shall be ambitious of no other fruit from this weak and imperfect attempt of mine, but the opening of a way to the courage and industry of some other persons who may be better able to perform it thoroughly and successfully.' In 1658, two years after the publication of these words, Milton settled down to the composition of the *Paradise Lost*, although, it is true, he had already sketched out a plan nearly twenty years before.

Masson (*Life of Milton*, London, 1880, VI, 557), in discussing Milton's relation to his predecessors, remarks:

'Had it been worth while, it could have been proved from *Paradise Lost* that Milton was no stranger to the writings of Cowley and Davenant.'

I have noted the following correspondences between the *Davideis* and the *Paradise Lost* :

Cowley's description of Goliath's spear, *Davideis*, III, 393; and Milton's description of Satan's spear, *Paradise Lost*, I, 292. Both poets, however, borrowed from Homer's description of Polyphemus, *Odyssey*, IX, 367 ff., and Virgil's *Aeneid*, III, 659.

Compare also Cowley's list of false gods, Moloch, Osiris, Dagon, etc., *Davideis*, II, 501 ff., with *Paradise Lost*, I, 393, though it is to be noted that Milton had already used this same catalogue of heathen deities in his *Nativity Ode* (1629), Stanzas XXII-XXIV.

Finally compare Cowley's description of hell, *Davideis*, I, 71 ff., with *Paradise Lost*, I, 56-69. The weakness of Cowley's labored effort, full of his characteristic conceits, is only too evident beside Milton's picture of the vastness and horror of the gloomy abyss.

Though the *Paradise Lost* thus owes directly little or nothing to the *Davideis*, nevertheless Cowley's ideals were lofty, and his very failures may have proved instructive to Milton.

The next section is devoted to a consideration of certain poems concerning David subsequent to Cowley's.

POEMS CONCERNING DAVID SUBSEQUENT TO COWLEY'S.

The *Davideis*, though begun in 1637, was not published till 1656, when it appeared in the first collective edition of his works. The great interest taken in religious poems at this period is still further shown by the fact that another epic poem of the troubles of David, called also the *Davideis*, was begun and written a few years after Cowley's. The author was the well known Thomas Ellwood (1639-1713), the Quaker and the friend of Milton. He entered into numerous religious controversies and published several volumes. Among them were *Sacred His-*

tory, or the *Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament*, published in 1705; *Sacred History, or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament*, published in 1709. His *Davideis* was first published in 1712. In his Epistle to the Reader, he refers to Cowley's poem: 'Till I had wholly finished and transcribed also this poem, I had not had the opportunity of perusing the learned Cowley's *Davideis*, though I had heard of it and I think had once a transient sight of it, before I began this. Since, I have read it through with my best attention, and am very well pleased that I had not read it before; lest his great name, high style, and lofty fancy should have led me, unawares, into an apish imitation of them; which doubtless would have looked very oddly and ill in me, how admirable soever in him.

'His aim and mine differ widely: The method of each no less. He wrote for the learned; and those of the Upper Form: and his flights are answerable. I write for Common Readers, in a style familiar, and easy to be understood by such. His would have needed (if he had not added it) a large Paraphrase upon it; to explain the many difficult passages in it. Mine, as it has none, will not, I hope, need any.' And then, in a tone of self-depreciation, he adds what might be construed into a humorous criticism of Cowley and his school: 'I am not so wholly a stranger to the writings of the most celebrated poets, as well ancient as modern, as not to know, that their great embellishments of their poems consist mostly in their extravagant and almost boundless fancies; amazing and even dazzling flights; luxurious inventions; wild hyperboles; lofty language; with an introduction of angels, spirits, demons, and their respective deities, etc., which, as not suitable to my purpose, I industriously abstain from.'

Nevertheless the first book begins in proper classic style, with the proposition and invocation:

I sing the Life of David, Israel's King,
Assist, thou Sacred Power, who didst him bring
From the sheepfold and set him on the throne.

It contains five books, and is written in heroic couplets. More than twenty years the author had the work on hand, having been interrupted by various disturbances in the kingdom; but so attractive did he find his subject, that he was led on to finish it, and weave into his poem the complete history of David. In spite, however, of this long process of incubation, the poem possesses very little merit.

Although I have made no effort to trace David poems in the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it may be of interest to call attention to a David epic published in London in 1817. It is entitled: *The Royal Minstrel, or The Witcheries of Endor, an Epic Poem in eleven books, by J. F. Pennie, Dorchester, Printed and sold by G. Clark, 1817.* One of the author's mottoes on the title page is a quotation from Cowley's Preface: 'All the books of the Bible are either most admirable and exalted pieces of Poetry, or are the best materials in the world for it.' The opening scene in the first book seems clearly modelled upon Cowley. The Witch of Endor in a general assembly of Demons and Weird Sisters holds a consultation on the best means of overthrowing Saul. Satan rehearses what he has done against the seed of Israel since he heard in heaven that Christ was to spring from the seed of Abraham. Adramelec informs the infernal assembly that Saul is for his obstinacy rejected by his God, and that another is already chosen to succeed him on his throne; that this new favorite is David, from whom the Messiah is to spring. They with united power, therefore, resolve to destroy David. Adramelec enters into Saul and incites his rage against David, but David is protected by his guardian angel, Abdiel. The poem ends with the death of Saul and coronation of David. The poem is written in blank verse, and extends through eleven books. It is far superior to Ellwood's labored effort, and contains many fine passages.

In other countries, too, the interest in religious poems continued. At Paris in 1660 was published *David, poeme*

heroique, in eight books by le Sieur Lesfargues. It begins in proper classic style :

Je chante dans l'ardeur du beau feu qui m'anime
 Le Berger Couronné, le vainqueur magnanime
 Du Géant Philistin avec honte abatu :
 Je chante ce David qui seul a combattu.

Five years later, 1665, there appeared at Paris another similar poem ; *David ou la Vertu Couronnée*, par Jacques de Coras, in seven books. It opens similarly :

Je chante le Berger, le Prince, et le Prophète
 Dont la voix, dont le zèle, et le forte houlète
 Des climats Palestins, par cents climats divers,
 Portèrent la louange au bout de l'Univers.

In the third book there is a picture of the Almighty seated in the Heavens. The Devil appears before him, and begs for permission to enter into Saul's mind. The figures of God and of His Son are extremely puerile.

Finally, in 1691, at Brescia in Italy was published a poem entitled *Davide Ré, poema eroico*, etc., by Count Giovanni Albano.

THE DAIVEIS IN ITS RELATION TO CRASHAW'S *SOSPETTO* D'HERODE.

Although critics,¹ in discussing possible sources for the *Paradise Lost*, have brought in many parallels from other poems,—among them from Cowley's *Daiveis*, and from Crashaw's *Sospetto D'Herode*,—no one seems to have noted that Cowley and Crashaw, in their descriptions of hell, have both treated the same episode from Virgil, and that their manner of treatment is wonderfully similar. The episode in question is Virgil's account, in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*, of Juno's descent into hell, and of how Alecto, at the command of the goddess, taking her

¹ Voltaire, Lauder, Dunster, Hayley, and Masson ; George Edmondson, *Milton and Vondel ; a Curiosity of Literature*, London, 1885 ; August Müller, *Über Milton's Abhängigkeit von Vondel*, dissertation, Berlin, 1891.

snakes incites to rage and madness first Queen Amata and then Turnus.

I purpose, then, in the following pages, to make a detailed comparison of Cowley and Crashaw.

Cowley begins his long epic with the proposition of the whole and the invocation, in proper classic style. The poet then tells of the new agreement that had been entered into between David and Saul. Here, beginning with the seventieth line of the *Dauides* and extending to the three hundred and forty-second, is the passage to be compared with the *Sospetto D'Herode*.

First is shown a picture of hell, which the poet describes at some length. Satan himself is then represented, furious over the friendship which has just been declared between Saul and David. He sees the beauties of young David, and knowing that from him is to spring the Eternal Shiloh, his rage is increased ten-fold. He knocks his iron teeth, he howls, he lashes his breast with his long tail, and he makes hell too hot even for the fiends themselves. He calls upon his hosts for aid to bring to utter ruin 'this bold young shepherd boy.' All the powers of hell at first stand amazed and terrified; the snakes cease to hiss and the tortured souls fear to groan. At last Envy crawls forth from the dire throng, her locks attired with curling serpents, vipers preying upon her breasts, her garments stained with gore, and lashing herself with her knotted whip. Addressing the Arch-fiend at some length, she urges him not to despair, and offers him her aid. Beelzebub, descending from his burning throne, embraces her. She, bowing thrice, sets out at dead of night, and comes to the palace where Saul lies sleeping. All nature shudders at sight of her. Taking upon her the shape of Father Benjamin, she enters the chamber of Saul, and standing by his bedside, urges him to bestir himself and take vengeance upon 'this upstart youth, this beardless shepherd boy.' Then drawing forth one of her worst, her best beloved snakes, she thrusts it into Saul's bosom, and unseen takes her flight into the darkness. Saul awakes in

terror, the sweat bedewing his bed. His anger against David is increased ten-fold, and he swears eternal vengeance against him.

Now in Crashaw's *Sospetto D'Herode*, we have exactly the same situation. After invoking the Muse, the poet gives a short description of hell. Next Satan is described. He has heard of God's plan to redeem mankind by sending His Blessed Son to earth. His rage exceeds even that of Cowley's devil. He gnashes his teeth, and lashes his sides with his tail; he claws his furrowed brow, and finally chews his twisted tail for spite. He summons his hosts to help him. Cruelty appears and offers her services. Her fearful palace is described. Hardly could the Arch-fiend tell her all his intentions, so eager is she for wicked deeds. Rising through the air, she sets out for Bethlehem. Laying aside her own shape, she personates a mortal part, and assumes the shape of Joseph, King Herod's dead brother. Entering the palace, where Herod lies sleeping, she approaches his bed-side. Addressing him in a feigned voice, she urges him to be a man, and to guard himself against the dangers that threaten his kingdom. This said, she takes her richest snake, and, applying it to the king's breast, hastens away. Herod awakes in terror. His bed is bedewed with sweat. In rage he calls for arms and defies his own fancy-framed foes.

Since both accounts are based upon Virgil, the general outline is, of course, the same in each. When, however, we come to compare the details of treatment, we find a striking similarity.

In his description of hell, Crashaw has :

Below the bottom of the great abyss,
 There where one center reconciles all things,
 The world's profound heart pants; there placed is
 Mischief's old master; close about him clings
 A curl'd knot of embracing snakes that kiss
 His correspondent cheekes; these loathsome strings
 Hold the perverse prince in eternal ties
 Fast bound since first he forfeited the skies.

Cowley has similarly :

Beneath the silent chambers of the earth,
Where the sun's fruitful beams give metals birth,
There is a place, deep, wondrous deep below,
Which genuine night and horror does o'erflow.

Here Lucifer the mighty captive reigns,
Proud midst his woes, and tyrant in his chains.

Continuing, Crashaw describes the Devil's rage :

his teeth for torment gnash,
While his steel sides sound with his tail's strong lash.

Cowley has :

Thrice did he knock his iron teeth, thrice howl,
And into frowns his wrathful forehead roll :

With that, with his long tail he lashed his breast.

In each poem the Devil has a vision of fate hostile to him. He sees the promised Shiloh that is to save mankind.

In Crashaw it is expressed thus :

He calls to mind the old quarrel . . .

Heaven's golden winged herald late *he saw*
To a poor Galilean virgin sent.

He saw the old Hebrew's womb neglect the law
Of age and barrenness.

He saw rich nectar-thaws release the rigour
Of th' icy North . . .

He saw a vernal smile sweetly disfigure
Winter's sad face.

He saw how in that blest day-bearing night
The Heaven-rebuked shades made haste away.

He marked how the poor shepherds ran to pay
Their simple tribute to the babe.

He saw a three-fold sun, with rich increase,
 Make proud the ruby portals of the East ;
He saw the temple sacred to sweet peace
 Adore her Prince's birth . . .
He saw the falling idols all confess
 A coming deity ; *he saw* the nest
 Of pois'nous and unnatural loves, earth-nurst,
 Touch'd with the world's true antidote, to burst.
 . . .
 He saw heaven blossom with a new-born light, etc., etc.
 Struck with these great concurrences of things,
 Symptoms so deadly unto death and him,
 Fain would he have forgot what fatal strings
 Eternally bind each rebellious limb.
 He shook himself and spread his spacious wings,
 Which, like two bosomed sails, embrace the dim
 Air with a dismal shade ; but all in vain,
 Of sturdy adamant is his chain.

Now in Cowley, the Devil sees in the same way young David and the promised Messiah to spring from his stock. The form of the description and the repetition of the phrase *he saw*, ll. 109 ff. are noteworthy :

He saw the beauties of his shape and face,
 . . .
He saw the nobler wonders of his mind,
 . . .
He saw . . .
 How by his young hand their Gathite champion fell.
He saw the reverend prophet boldly shed
 The royal drops round his enlarged head.
 And well he knew what legacy did place
 The sacred sceptre in bless'd Judah's race,
 From which th' Eternal Shiloh was to spring,
 A knowledge which new hells to Hell did bring ;
 And though no less he knew himself too weak
 The smallest link of strong wrought fate to break,
 Yet would he rage and struggle with the chain.

In the *Sospetto*, Satan addresses his hosts in these words :

And yet, whose force fear I? Have I so lost
 Myself? my strength too, with my innocence?
 Come, try who dares, Heav'n, earth, what'er dost boast
 A borrowed being, make thy bold defence.
 Come, thy Creator, too ; what though it cost
 Me yet a second fall, we'd try our strengths.
 Heaven saw us struggle once, as brave a fight
 Earth now shall see and tremble at the sight.

Cowley's Satan exclaims :

Are we such nothings then, said he, our will
 Cross'd by a shepherd's boy? And you yet still
 Play with your idle serpents here? Dares none
 Attempt what becomes furies? Are ye grown
 Benum'd with fear or virtue's sprightless cold,
 Ye who were once (I'm 'sure) so brave and bold?

At the sight of the fury passing through the air, Nature herself is terrified, and Crashaw thus describes it :

Heaven saw her rise and saw hell in the sight,
 The fields' fair eyes saw her and saw no more,
 But shut their flow'ry lids ; forever night
 And winter strow her way : yea such a sore
 Is she to Nature, that a general fright,
 An universal palsy spreading o'er
 The face of things, from her dire eyes had run
 Had not her thick snakes hid them from the sun.

Cowley's description is close to this :

The silver moon with terror paler grew
 And neighb'ring Hermon sweated flow'r'y dew.
 Swift Jordan started and straight backward fled,
 Hiding among thick reeds his aged head.

Also see above under Du Bartas. Compare *Aeneid*, VII, 514 ff., referred to by Cowley in note ; *Thebaid*, I, 197 ff. (see below).

In the *Sospetto*, Cruelty, personating Joseph, urges Herod to action and exclaims :

Why did I spend my life and spill my blood,
 That thy firm hand forever might sustain
 A well-pois'd sceptre? Does it now seem good
 Thy brother's blood be spilt, life spent in vain?

In the *Davidis*, Envy, personating Benjamin, thus incites Saul :

Why was I else from Canaan's famine led?
 Happy, thrice happy, had I there been dead,
 Ere my full loins discharged this numerous race.

Crashaw continues :

So said, her richest snake, which to her wrist
 For a beseeming bracelet she had tied,
 A special worm it was, as ever kiss'd
 The foamy lips of Cerberus, she applied
 To the King's breast—
 This done, home to her hell she hied amain.

Compare Ovid, *Meta*, VII, 402 ff. ; Cowley, *Book of Plants*, III, 195-196.

While Cowley has :

with that she takes

One of her worst, her best beloved snakes :
 'Softly, dear worm, soft and unseen,' said she,
 'Into his bosom steal and in it be
 'My viceroy.' At that word she took her flight,
 And her loose shape dissolved into the night.

The effect of this fearful apparition is in each case the same.

In Crashaw :

He wakes, and with him ne'er to sleep, new fears ;
 His sweat-bedewed bed had now betray'd him
 To a vast field of thorns ; ten thousand spears
 All pointed at his heart seem'd to invade him ;
 So mighty were th' amazing characters
 With which his feeling dream had thus dismay'd him.
 He his own fancy-framed foes defies ;
 In rage, My arms ! Give me my arms ! he cries.

In Cowley :

Th' infested King leaped from his bed amaz'd,
 Scarce knew himself at first, but round him gaz'd.
 And started back at pieced-up shapes which fear
 And his distorted fancy painted there.
 Terror froze up his hair and on his face
 Showers of cold sweat roll'd trembling down apace ;
 Then knocking with his angry hands his breast,
 Earth with his feet, he cries : ' Oh ! 'tis confess'd,
 ' I've been a pious fool, a woman-King !'

As Crashaw's *Sospetto* is a translation of the first book of Marini's *Strage degli Innocenti*, the first question that

arises is, did Cowley borrow from Marini? This can easily be settled by comparing a few passages.

Crashaw describes Satan thus :

His eyes, the sullen dens of death and night
Startle the dull air with a dismal red.

Cowley's description is :

His eyes dart forth red flames which *scare* the night.

In both poets, we see the idea of terror inspired by Satan's eyes. But Marini has :

Negli occhi, ove mestizia alberga e morte
 Luce fiammeggia torbida e vermiglia. St. 7.

Again, in describing the effect of the Fury's appearance, Crashaw has :

Such to the *frighted* palace now she comes.

In Cowley we read :

Lo ! at her entrance Saul's strong palace *shook*.

Marini, on the other hand, says merely :

Ricerca e spia della magion reale.

Nothing whatever is said of the effect of her appearance upon the palace.

To take another example, Cruelty, in Crashaw, addresses Herod :

Why dost thou let thy brave soul lie suppressed
 In *death-like* slumbers, while thy dangers crave
 A waking eye and hand ?

Cowley similarly :

Arise, lost King of Israel ; canst thou lie
Dead in this sleep, and yet thy last so nigh ?

Marini, however, differs from both :

Te ne stai neghittoso, e'l cor guerriero
 Nell' ozio immergi e nel riposo i sensi.

The expression 'death-like' belongs only to the English translation.

Finally, in Crashaw, Cruelty says to Herod :

O, call thyself home to thyself . . .
 rouse thee and shake
 Thyself into a shape that may become thee :
Be Herod.

In Cowley, Envy exclaims to Saul :

Betray not, too, thyself ; take courage, call
 Thy enchanted virtues forth and *be whole Saul.*

In Marini simply :

Sveglia il tuo spirito addormentato, ond'arda
 Di regio sdegno e l'ire e l'armi appresta.

Clearly, then, Cowley did not refer to Marini. That both Marini and Cowley drew from Virgil in the first instance there is not the least doubt, but a common origin does not account for such verbal correspondences as have been shown between Cowley and Crashaw. The question now remains, did Cowley imitate Crashaw? or was Crashaw indebted to Cowley? The difficulty in deciding this question lies in the fact that it is impossible to fix an exact date for Crashaw's translation. The first book, at least, of the *Davidéis* was written while Cowley was at Cambridge, 1637-1643. Now Crashaw's *Steps to the Temple*, in which the *Sospetto* appeared, was not published till 1646, just before he left England; yet there is no doubt that he wrote the great body of his poems while he was still at Cambridge. His first publication consisted of some Latin verses on the King's recovery from small-pox (1632), on the King's return from Scotland (1633), and on the birth of James, Duke of York (1633). In 1634 appeared anonymously *Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber*.

In 1636 Crashaw removed from Pembroke Hall to Peterhouse and was elected a fellow there in 1637, the very year that Cowley entered the University (see above, p. 455).

The first dated editions of Marini's work, *Strage degli Innocenti*, appeared at Rome and at Venice in 1633, although other undated editions had been published before. There was thus ample time for Marini to become known in England, and for Crashaw to make his translation before leaving Cambridge.

As Cowley wrote most of the *Davidis* at Cambridge between 1637-1643 and did not publish it till 1656, so I would assume that Crashaw made his translation at Cambridge just before Cowley's admission to the University, or even while Cowley was a student there, and that it remained in manuscript till 1646, when it was published in the *Steps to the Temple*.

The proofs are not conclusive, it must be confessed, but it seems more probable that Cowley, the younger poet just entering the University, should have borrowed from a translation of the popular Marini (provided it was then in MS.) rather than that Crashaw with his original before him should have borrowed from Cowley's poem.

This episode in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*, in which Alecto, sent by Juno, goes in disguise and arouses the fury of Queen Amata and of Turnus against Aeneas and the Trojans, and upon which Cowley and Marini based their accounts, has been exceedingly popular, and has been imitated again and again both by the Latin and English poets.

COWLEY AND VIRGIL.

Virgil's account, upon which all the episodes to be considered are based, must first be examined in detail. It appears in the *Aeneid*, Book VII, ll. 286 ff. Compared with Crashaw and Cowley, Virgil's description offers a parallel complete in every detail.¹

Juno sees the success of Aeneas and the Trojans settled in the country of Latium, and knows that the descendants of Aeneas are to possess the land, just as the Devil, in

¹ The following paraphrase is based upon *Works of Virgil in Prose* translated by James Davidson. Third American edition, New York, 1823.

Cowley has a vision of a descendant of David who shall rule over the kingdom of Israel. Juno then, plunging to earth, calls up baleful Alecto from the mansions of the dire sisters, and begs her aid. Alecto, infected with Gorgonian poisons, repairs to Latium and, entering the palace, takes possession of Queen Amata's gate. At her the Fury flings from her serpentine locks one of her snakes, and plunges it deep into the bosom of the Queen, so that it may incite her anger against the whole household. The poison of the serpent drives the Queen to rage and madness. After having endeavored in vain to persuade King Latinus to break off the match between Lavinia and Aeneas, the Queen, driven by the poison of the Fury, wanders madly through the town.

This is but the beginning of the Fury's work.

Now begins the episode which furnished the ultimate source for Marini and Cowley.

The baleful goddess is borne on dusky wings to the walls of the bold Rutulian, and at the dead hour of midnight enters the palace where Turnus is enjoying repose. Here Alecto, laying aside her hideous aspect and Fury's limbs, transforms herself into a hag, plows with wrinkles her obscene loathed front, assumes gray hairs, and with a fillet binds on them an olive branch. She becomes Calybe, the aged priestess of Juno's temple, and presents herself to the youth. She addresses Turnus and urges him to overthrow the Tuscan armies and to protect the Latins. But he refuses to believe her, and derides her as 'an old woman oppressed with dotage and void of truth.' Alecto kindles with rage, and as for the youth, while yet the words were in his mouth, a sudden trembling seized upon his limbs; his eyes grew fixed at sight of the hissing snakes and the horrid shape of the Fury; as he hesitates and purposes more to say, she, rolling her fiery eye-balls, repels his words, rears the double snakes in her hair, clanks her whip and tells him who she is, whence she comes. Then she flings a fire-brand at the youth, and deep in his breast fixes the torch smoking with horrid

light. Excessive terror disturbs his rest, and sweat, bursting from every pore, completely drenches his bones and his limbs. He raves, and frantic calls for arms. Alecto then wings her flight to where Iulus is pursuing beasts of prey. Mounted upon the high roof of the stall, she sounds the shepherd's signal, and stirs up the forces of Tyrrhus and of Ascanius against each other, so that they join in battle and the earth is covered with the blood of the slain. This done, she reports to Juno the success of her hellish designs, and leaving the high places in this upper world, hastens to the mansion's below, disburdening thus both heaven and earth.

To this episode, Cowley refers in his note, and criticises Virgil's method: 'Neither do I more approve in this point of Virgil's method, who in the seventh Aeneid brings Alecto to Turnus at first in the shape of a priestess, but at her leaving of him, makes her take upon her the shape of her own figure of a Fury; and so speak to him, which might have been done, methinks, as well at first, or indeed better not done at all; for no person is so improper to persuade man to any undertaking as the Devil without a disguise; which is why I make him here both come in and go out too in the likeness of Benjamin, who as the first of Saul's progenitors might the most probably seem concerned for his welfare, and the easiliest be believ'd and obey'd.'

It is noticeable that, in the case of Crashaw, the Devil assumes the shape of Joseph, the King's dead brother.

It is a remarkable fact, that though Cowley is always ready to quote from the classic poets, though he never hesitates to give the source of a simile or of a metaphor, if taken from Latin or Greek, he never refers to contemporaries or to preceding English poets. In the first instance, he is doubtless led by a scholarly spirit to give his classic authorities; in the other case, he may have thought the likeness or source would be obvious.

Among all the ancient poets to whom Cowley refers, Virgil is given the precedence. Everywhere Cowley

speaks of him in terms of the highest respect and admiration, as 'My Master,' and 'That Prince of Poets.' One needs only a casual glance at the *Davideis* to see how much Cowley, in his epic, was indebted to Virgil, so that one critic¹ says: 'It is crowded with unblushing plagiarisms.' And the opening line of the *Davideis*, 'I sing the man who Judah's sceptre bore,' leads another critic to remark²: 'Even the opening of Virgil's *Aeneid* has proved irresistible to Cowley, who has miserably paraphrased it in the first line of the *Davideis*. Embarking with such a determined lack of originality, Cowley was still the school-boy copying closely from his models.'

Cowley, in his note, thus justifies himself: 'The custom of beginning all poems with a proposition of the whole work and an invocation of some God for his assistance to go through with it, is so solemnly and religiously observed by all the ancient poets, that though I could have found out a better way, I should not (I think) have ventured upon it. But there can be, I believe, none better; and that part of the Invocation, if it became a Heathen, is no less necessary for a Christian poet. *A Jove principium, Musae*; and it follows then very naturally, *Jovis omnia plena*. The whole work may reasonably hope to be filled with a Divine Spirit, when it begins with a prayer to be so.' Cowley thus felt the tradition too strong to break away from, as did also Milton later, who began his epic with a proposition and an invocation to the Hebrew Muse.

On the whole, however, it must be confessed that the critic of the North British Review is right when he says that Cowley is 'still the school-boy copying closely from his models.' This may be seen by comparing the opening passage of the *Davideis*:

I sing the man who Judah's sceptre bore

 Much danger first, much toil did he sustain,
 Whilst Saul and Hell cross'd his strong fate in vain ;

¹ Wm. Stebbing. *Some Verdicts of History reviewed*. London, 1887.

² *North Brit. Review*, Vol. 6 (1846-1847), p. 398.

So long her conqu'ror Fortune's flight pursued,
Till with unwearied virtue he subdu'd
All home-bred malice and all foreign boasts.

With the familiar :

Arma virumque cano, Trojae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
Litora : multum ille et terris jactatus et alto
Vi superum, saevae memorem Junonis ob iram,
Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem.

Compare also the opening lines of Tasso's *Jerusalem* and of Voltaire's *Henriade*.

And so, all through the poem, passage after passage might be cited showing the closest following of Virgil. Wherever there is the least exaggeration or a seeming departure from truth, Cowley hastens to strengthen his statement by reference to Virgil. Even in the matter of verse as seen below, Virgil is his authority. On a question of style, too, Cowley has recourse to the Latin poet. At the introduction of the ode, *Davideis*, I, 482, the note in the line explains that there is a seeming want of connection between the ode and the preceding line. For this, reference is had to *Aeneid*, III, 84 ff.; IV, 869 ff., in which appears the common construction of the omission of *inquit* before direct discourse. In the description of the Prophet's College, based on English colleges of his own day,¹ Cowley tells of early books, 'Some drawn on fair

¹ Compare the academy in the first scene of *Love's Labor's Lost*, and see Gregor Sarrazin, *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre, Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft V, 1897, p. 205. Sarrazin cites as a parallel and possible hint for Shakespeare, the academy founded in 1592 by Sir Walter Raleigh. It included in its membership Marlowe, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Harriott, Royden, and Warner. The club, however, developed atheistic tendencies, and the assassination of Marlowe was considered the just judgment of God upon him for his impiety.

Compare also the academy of Charlemagne, in which the Emperor and Court assumed names taken partly from the Bible and partly from the Greek and Roman classics. Alcuin was known as Horace, Eginbart as Calliopius, and the Emperor himself as King David.

From such well-known societies and academies as these, Cowley may have derived some hints for his Prophet's College at Rama.

palm-leaves, with short-liv'd toil' and here the note refers to the Sibyl, *Aeneid*, VI, 74, 'Foliis tantum ne carmina manda.'

The feast of Saul, *Davideis*, II, 358 ff., is celebrated in true Roman style, as also the feast of Moab, *Davideis*, III, 271 ff. 'An hereditary bowl with which they made their libations to their gods and entertained strangers' (III, note 33) was crowned with flowers and passed from hand to hand. The room was hung with tapestry, and the guests at the feast reclined upon beds in Roman fashion (II, note 33). In his note to the second passage, Cowley refers to Virgil's description of the feast with which Queen Dido welcomes Aeneas, *Aeneid*, I, 728. Thus, feasts, battles, and even religious ceremonies are distinctly Roman, Virgilian. In nearly every case, Cowley has frankly pointed out his sources.

When, however, we come to compare Cowley with Virgil in the treatment of the episode discussed above, we find that Cowley does not, after all, take many details from Virgil's account. He owes more to Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, as will be shown below.

In his description of hell, one borrowing from Virgil is of interest, for it was later imitated by Dryden. To justify his epithet, 'unfletcht tempests,' I, 75, Cowley either quotes or refers to Aristotle, Hippocrates, Virgil, Juvenal, and the Bible. He quotes from Virgil the well-known passage concerning the cave of Aeolus, *Aeneid*, I, 52. Cowley's lines are :

'Beneath the dens where unfletcht tempests lie,
And infant winds their tender voices try.'

This is not based upon *Aeneid*, I, 52, but rather upon *Aeneid*, X, 97:

ceu flamina prima
Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et caeca volutant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.

Which Dryden translates in almost the exact words of Cowley:

So winds, when yet unfledg'd in woods they lie,
In whispers first their tender voices try.¹

Cowley, however, is still closer to Statius :

Illic exhausti posuere cubilia venti. *Thebaid*, I, 37.
Ventus uti primas struit inter nubila vires. *Theb.*, VII, 625.

Marini in his treatment of this episode, *Strage degli Innocenti*, stanza 61, has taken bodily the figure used to describe Herod's rage, from Virgil's *Aeneid*, VII, 462-466.

¹ Dryden afterwards parodied this couplet in *Mac Flecknoe*, ll. 76, ff.

Where unfledg'd actors learn to laugh and cry,
Where infant punks their tender voices try.

A writer in *Littell's Living Age*, 5th series, vol. 40 (Oct.-Dec. 1882), p. 753, has pointed out later imitations of these lines of Cowley :

Compare Young's *Night Thoughts*, Night IX (Anderson's *British Poets*, p. 125, col. b):

above the caves
Where infant tempests wait their growing wings,
And tune their tender voices to that roar.

Mrs. Barbauld, *The Invitation*, ll. 83-84 :

Here callow chiefs and embryo statesmen lie,
And unfledg'd poets short excursions try.

In still another passage of his translation Dryden has imitated Cowley. Compare the death of Goliath, *Davidis*, III, 589 :

Down, down, he falls ! and bites in vain the ground,
Blood, brain, and soul crowd mingled through the wound.

A passage based upon *Aeneid*, X, 349 :

Fronte ferit terrum, et crassum vomit ore cruorem.

which is translated by Dryden :

His forehead was the first that struck the ground,
Life-blood and life rush'd mingled through the wound.

Compare also *Aeneid*, IX, 752 :

ingenti concussa est pondere tellus :
Collapsos artus et arma cruenta cerebro.

which Dryden translates :

Down sinks the giant with a thund'ring sound,
His pond'rous limbs oppress the trembling ground,
Blood, brains, and foam, gush from the gaping wound.

IMITATIONS OF THE AENEID, VII, 286 FF. PRECEDING
COWLEY.

In many of the Joseph dramas described by Von Weilen, *Der Agyptische Joseph*, etc., this same episode has been imitated.

In the Spanish Tragedia, *llamada Josefina*, by Mical de Cravajal, Placencia, 1546 (von Weilen, p. 13), the poet introduces in the fourth act, *Invidia, furia infernal*, who complains that, though everything else lies at her feet, Jacob and his race resist her. She calls to her assistance the demons of hell and sends her four daughters, the Furies, to incite the brothers against Joseph. They successfully accomplish their mission, and Joseph is sold into captivity.

In Brunner's German drama, or *Biblische Historia*, published at Wittenberg, 1566 (von Weilen, p. 92), appear in the first scene two devils, Belial and Moloch, who incite the brothers against Joseph, and later instigate Potiphar's wife to tempt him (compare Fracastor's *Joseph* below).

Upon the subject of Herod and Mariamne appeared not long after 1544 a drama entitled *Mariamne* by Lodovico Dolce.¹ In the second prologue, Pluto, the Prince of Hell, who has heard of God's plan of salvation for mankind, resolves to get possession of Herod's soul. Envy (*Gelosia*) appears before Pluto and offers her services. Pluto praises her faithfulness, but resolves to undertake the mission himself. The devils do not appear again.

A far more complete and careful treatment of this episode, a close parallel to Cowley, is seen in Jerome Fracastor's *Joseph*, a Latin poem in two books, which appeared in his *Opera Omnia*, etc., Venise, 1555.

Jerome Fracastor was one of the most celebrated scholars of his time. Born at Verona in 1483, he became Professor of Logic at Padua, at the age of nineteen. He established his reputation as a poet by the publication of his *Syphilodis, sive morbi gallici, libri tres, Verone*, 1530, in

¹ See Marcus Landau. *Die Dramen von Herodes u. Mariamne*, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte, Neue Folge*, VIII, 183.

which he traces the origin of this loathsome disease syphilis to ancient times. His poem was very popular, and was translated into many languages.

Joseph was the last of his works, and was left unfinished at his death in 1553. It must have been known to Marini, and to Cowley it was made familiar by Joshua Sylvester's translation, entitled *The Maiden's Blush, or Joseph, Mirror of Modestie, Map of Pietie, Maze of Destinie, or rather of Divine Providence. From the Latin of Fracastorius, translated and dedicated to the High Hopefull Charles, Prince of Wales, by Joshua Sylvester*. It was entered upon the Stationers' Register Dec. 6th, 1619. See Grosart's edition of Sylvester, *Chertsey Worthies Library*, 1879, II, 103 ff. Sylvester's translation contains 1799 lines and is written in heroic couplets.

The poem begins with the usual invocation, but there is no picture of hell here as in Cowley and in Crashaw. Pluto, the poet relates, knowing that from Abraham's stock the Saviour of mankind is to spring, becomes perplexed and vexed sore, and therefore, 'he labors and he lays about, with all the engines of his hellish hate, that dear issue to exterminate.' He incites the anger of the brethren against Joseph, so that they cast him into the pit. But the Almighty takes pity upon Joseph and sends down an angel to comfort him.

When Joseph is finally sold, and brought before Potiphar, Iempsar, Potiphar's wife, conceives a guilty passion for the young Egyptian. Pluto, seeing his opportunity, calls forth a cruel Harpy full of wicked wile (the Latin has 'unum servorum'), and commissions him to inflame Iempsar's lust still more, and if possible to 'set Joseph, too, afire.'

He, glad and ready for the worst of ills,
 With Stygian puddle half a vial fills,
 Blending some bitter sharp-sweet wine withal.
 Then snatching quick one of the snakes that crawl
 About Alecto's grim and ghastly brows,
 Away he hies to Potiphar his hows,
 Within his bosom hiding what he had,
 And formerly just in the form him clad
 Of Iphicle, the lady Iempsar's nurse.

In this disguise he addresses her, encourages her in her desires, and gives her, as a love potion, 'the hellish philter' which excites her passions still further. Clothing himself then as a hag, he hastens to Joseph's chamber, but finds the young man praying and praising God, and is driven off by a heavenly warder with a shining sword. Whereupon, he assumes the form of an owl, and perches upon the roof. Here ends Book I in the Latin. Sylvester prints both books in one.

Iempsar, meanwhile, influenced by the poison, tempts Joseph, but he resists her advances and leaves her. At this the devil upon the roof 'puts off the fowl and re-puts on Nurse Iphicle a space,' enters to Iempsar and encourages her to make a second attempt. This she does, but is again repulsed by Joseph, who tells her the real character of the supposed Iphicle. Upon this the fury, who was hiding behind the door, rushes forth, and seizing one of her snakes, throws it at Joseph, but the heavenly warder again saves him. Unable to hurt him, the snake crawls to Iempsar, creeps into her skirts, gnaws into her very vitals, and infuses his poison into her soul. Furious, she seizes Joseph's cloak, so that he flees in terror. The fiend then incites Iempsar to accuse Joseph of having attempted her honor:—

All which and more false Iphicle avers
 And aggravates, adjudging him exempt
 From pity, fit to hang for such attempt
 So insolent, so impudent, and whets
 The hearer's hearts; then close away she gets,
 Unseen and owl-like in a cloud involv'd,
 Her borrowed body into air dissolv'd,
 Descending swift from whence she came, to tell
 Her good ill-service and success in Hell.

In the opening lines, the expression *erat suspectus Jacob* is to be compared with Marini's title *Sospetto d'Herode*.

Here we find a parallelism between Fracastor (or Sylvester) and Cowley, which does not appear in Crashaw. When Joseph is cast into the pit, the Lord looks down with tender compassion upon him, and calling one of his

winged messengers to him, sends him down to comfort Joseph. Similarly, we find in the *Davideis*, following immediately upon the Devil's successful attempt to incite Saul against David, a picture of God in Heaven looking down in pity upon David and sending a herald to comfort him. This episode is wanting in the *Sospetto*. Cowley has a long description of Heaven, with the Almighty surrounded by his angels, evidently based on Statius, *Theb.*, I, 211 ff. and on Virgil's *Aeneid*, X, 101 ff., to whom Cowley refers in a note. Otherwise the two passages in Cowley and Sylvester correspond closely.

In Sylvester, the angel's flight is thus described :

The hill-born nymphs with quav'ring warbles sing
His happy welcome : caves and rocks do ring
Redoubled echoes : woods and winds withal
Whisper about a joyful Madrigal.

While Cowley thus pictures it :

The jocund spheres began again to play,
Again each spirit sung Halleluia.

Of the swiftness of the angel's flight, we read in Sylvester :

And through the *woundless* welkin swifter glides
Than Zephyrus : or than (when mounted high
With many turns and tow'ring in the sky)
The stout Ger-faulcon stoopeth at the Herne
With sudden souse that many scarce discernes,
Such was the speed of the celestial bird.

In Cowley :

Even so
(But not so swift) the morning glories flow
At once from the bright sun, and strike the ground :
So winged lightning the soft air does *wound* :
Slow time admires and knows not what to call
The motion, having no account so small.

In Sylvester, the angel then appears to Joseph, comforts him, tells him God is his friend, and reveals to him the future, with a prophecy of the Saviour who is to spring from Joseph's stock.

In Cowley, the angel comes to David, comforts him, and prophesies to him the Saviour of mankind, who is to spring from David's stock.

It appears evident, then, that Cowley knew and read the *Maiden's Blush* among the works of Joshua Sylvester. It is not an improbable supposition that Cowley read the original Latin of Fracastorius.

In the *Divine Weeks* of Du Bartas appears still another handling of this same theme (see *The Law*, 3d Part, 3d Day, II Week, ll. 36-120), namely, where Envy incenses Pharaoh to oppress the Israelites. First is given a description of Envy's palace. To her, swift-flying Fame reports the prosperity of Israel. Envy—

Swoln like a toad, between her bleeding jaws
Her hissing serpents' wriggling tails she chawes,¹
And hasting hence in Isis form she jets.

Disguised thus in the form of the goddess, she appears to the sleeping Pharaoh and urges him to bestir himself, and take arms against the dangers that threaten him. With that she blows into his breast a baneful air, which flows through all his veins and 'makes reason stoop to sence in every part.'

Compare especially Sylvester, ll. 92-93, with the *Davideis*, I, 229-230. See above, p. 487.

In 1587 appeared at Cracow a Latin drama, *Castus Joseph*, by the Polish priest Simon Simonides (Szymonowicz).² This play opens with a long monologue by the Malus Dæmon, who is hostile to the Hebrew race because of the old prophecy, 'pedibus . . . saeviret super caput meum,' so he seeks to ruin Joseph by means of a woman, Potiphar's wife Iempsar. The devils appear, however, only in the opening scene.

¹ Compare the *Sospetto*, 'The while his twisted tail he gnaw'd for spite.'

² Cited by R. M. Werner in the review of Von Weilen *Der Ägyptische Joseph*, etc., *Zeitschr. für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. 33, pp. 47-48. Werner says the play shows no influence of the western versions. Potiphar's wife is here called Iempsar,—a name, thinks Werner, invented by the poet (foot note, p. 49). But this name at once connects the play with Fracastor's *Joseph*, by which it was doubtless influenced.

Tasso in his *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1575) has made use of this episode from the *Aeneid*. In 1594 Richard Carew published his translation of the first five books of Godfrey of Bulloigne. In 1600 appeared Edward Fairfax's translation, a work far superior in every respect to Carew's, and considered one of the glories of Elizabeth's reign. A second edition was published in 1624.

Book IV opens with a scene in hell. The devil assembles his fiends and sends them forth against the Christians. False Hydraort, the wizard, is employed by Satan to further his evil designs. Hydraort sends his niece Armida to ensnare the Christian knights. The picture of hell is drawn with power and great imagination, and there is no doubt that Cowley consulted this passage in Fairfax's translation. Compare especially the effect of Satan's rage, *Davideis*, I, 147 ff., with Fairfax, Book IV, stanza 8.

In Book VIII, stanza 72, Alecto 'strews wasteful fire' among the Italians, and incites them to revolt. Stanza 74 is borrowed directly from *Aeneid*, VII, 462-466, exactly the same passage which Marini appropriated to describe Herod's rage, *Strage degli Innocenti*, stanza 61 (see above, p. 510).

In Book IX we find the imitation of the episode from Virgil, an almost exact parallel to Cowley.

In the opening stanzas, Alecto disguises herself,

and semblant bore
Of one whose age was great, whose looks were grave,
Whose cheeks were bloodless, and whose locks were hoar.

She appears then at the bed-side of Soliman, and urges him to active efforts against the Christians :

This said, her poison in his breast she hides,
And then to *shapeless air* unseen she glides.

Compare p. 509 above, and also

Straight into *shapeless air* unseen she fell.

Davideis, II, 838.

There are also other passages in which Cowley's indebtedness to Tasso may be traced. Compare the *Invocation* in each, and the following: Description of Gabriel, *Davideis*, II, 793 ff.; Fairfax, Canto, I, stanzas 13 ff.; Canto IX, stanza 59; though here both Tasso and Cowley borrow from the classics, Homer, *Iliad*, XXIV, 339; *Odyssey*, V, 43; Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 238; Statius, *Thebaid*, I, 303. Compare also Milton, *Paradise Lost*, V, 246.

Mention must be made of Ben Jonson, *The Poetaster*, in the prologue to which Envy appears with her snakes. Gifford, in a note, compares with the *Davideis*.

When we examine, however, details of this episode in the *Davideis*, we find passages, metaphors and similes taken from almost all Latin and Greek poets.

In his description of heaven, and of the Lord sending an angel to comfort David, Cowley has followed Fracastor, but both Cowley and Fracastor are indebted to Statius, *Thebaid*, I, 192, ff., where Jupiter, in answer to Oedipus's prayer for vengeance, sends Mercury to summon Laius from hell. Compare also *Iliad*, 24; *Aeneid*, IV, 238; X, 101; Tasso, *Gierus. Lib.*, I, 13. The speech of Jehovah, *Davideis*, I, 389, ff., is modelled upon that of Jupiter, *Thebaid*, I, 211 ff. For the whole episode of Envy in disguise inciting Saul to vengeance, compare *Thebaid*, II, 1 ff., where Laius, disguised as Tiresias, appears to Eteocles and urges him to action, a passage referred to by Cowley in a note. From Statius, too, Cowley took not a few features of his description of hell. Compare *Thebaid*, II, 37 with *Davideis*, I, 75. Also the description of Pluto in the infernal regions, *Thebaid*, VIII, and the picture of the furies, Book XI, must have afforded Cowley many suggestions.

From Ovid, Cowley took several features of his description of hell. Compare *Davideis*, I, 71 ff. with *Metamorphoses*, I, 137 ff.; II, 760 ff. (see also Milton, *Paradise Lost*, I, 684). Cowley's description of Envy is largely made up from *Metamorphoses*, II, 760; IV, 431; VIII, 792.

The picture of Satan's rage, *Davideis*, I, 143 ff., is imi-

tated from Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, I, 83 ff. Compare also Tasso, *Gierus. Lib.*, IV, 8. The speech of Envy to Satan follows closely that of the fury Lachesis to Pluto, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, I, 55 ff., and the speech of Megaera, *In Rufinum*, I, 74 ff. The whole episode in Cowley is to be compared with *In Rufinum*, I, 123 ff.

For the description of hell in the *Dauides* compare also Hesiod's famous description, *Theogony*, ll. 713 ff., a passage to which Cowley refers.

Finally, Cowley's description of heaven is modelled upon his own description of hell; the phraseology corresponds closely.

Hell.

Beneath the silent chambers of the earth,
Where the sun's fruitful beams give metals birth,
Where he the growth of fatal gold doth see,

Beneath the dens where unflecht tempests lie,

Beneath the mighty ocean's wealthy caves,
Beneath the eternal fountain of all waves,
Where their vast court the mother waters keep,

There is a place deep, wondrous deep below,
 Which *genuine night and horror does o'erflow*.
No bound controls the unwearied space, but Hell
Endless as those dire pains which in it dwell.
Here no dear glimpse of the sun's lovely face
Strikes through the solid darkness of the place.
No dawning morn does her kind reds display;
One slight weak beam would here be thought the day.

Here Lucifer the mighty captive reigns,
 Proud midst his woes and tyrant in his chains.

Heaven.

Above the well-set orbs' soft harmony,
Above those petty lamps that gild the night,
There is a place o'erflown with hallowed light,
Where heaven as if it left itself behind,
Is stretch'd out far, nor its own bounds can find.
Here peaceful flames swell up the sacred place,
 Nor can the glory contain itself in th' endless space.

For there no twilight of the sun's dull ray
 Glimmers upon the pure and native day.
 No pale-faced moon does in stol'n beams appear,
 Or with dim taper scatter darkness there.

Nothing is there to come and nothing past.
 But an eternal now does always last;
 There sits the Almighty, First of all and End,
 Whom nothing but himself can comprehend.

Heaven is thus only the negative of hell, and both descriptions are but lifeless catalogues of details full of childish conceits.

SUMMARY.

After having examined in detail the poems of David preceding Cowley, the conclusion was reached that Cowley received from Du Bartas the suggestion and inspiration of the *Dauides*, and that, in basing his religious epic upon the *Aeneid*, he likewise followed the precedent of the French poet.

For general outline of the treatment, however, Cowley owes more perhaps to Virgil than to any other writer.

The striking verbal correspondence between the *Dauides*, I, 70 ff. and the *Sospetto D'Herode* was discussed at length, and, from the evidence attainable, it was concluded that Cowley in this episode imitated Crashaw, but did not use Marini, Crashaw's original. Further, both Marini and Cowley were indebted to Virgil's *Aeneid*, VII, 286 ff. Other imitations of this same episode from Virgil were examined, and it was concluded that Cowley made use of Sylvester's translation of Fracastor's *Joseph*, and also of Fairfax's *Tasso*. Finally a brief discussion was given of Cowley's indebtedness to the classic poets; namely, in addition to Virgil, Statius, *Thebaid*, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Claudian, *In Rufinum* and *De Raptu Proserpinae*, and Hesiod's *Theogony*.

JOHN McLAREN MCBRYDE, JR.

THE ORIGIN OF GRAMMATICAL GENDER.

IN his recent book on the *Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders*,¹ Professor Brugmann has succeeded in setting forth with extraordinary clearness the essential points of a discussion which concerns one of the most elusive problems of historical grammar. He is always clear, and his fondness for order and horror of anything like vagueness often carry him as near the verge of schematizing and devitalization as his equally pronounced conscientiousness will permit. He is dealing here with a subject in which the range is so great, and the data are so intangible, that, if anywhere, he might be tempted to lapse occasionally into a suggestive vagueness, but he never does. The simplicity and the particularizing definiteness of the solution he proposes have indeed seemed so far out of proportion to the range of the problem that the first inclination of the philological world has been to view it with the disdain accorded the shepherd boy with the sling and five smooth stones. Roethe, for instance, in his Introduction to the reprint (1890) of Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, referring to a previous publication of this same theory, calls it a 'flüchtigen Jagdhieb gegen eine ernst begründete wissenschaftliche Anschauung,' and reprobates the 'schnellfertigkeit' of its formulation and presentation. Though Brugmann in his rejoinder (Paul-Braune's *Beiträge* 15, p. 524, 1890) defends himself against the latter charge by asserting that his views took shape in the year 1875 or 1876, one still cannot deny a certain sympathy with Roethe's feeling that the problem is a profounder one than Brugmann's solution would seem to regard it.

¹ Brugmann, Karl. *The Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders in the Indo-European Languages*. A lecture delivered on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University. Translated by Edmund Y. Robbins. New York, Scribners, 1897.

Brugmann's first presentation of his theory, aside from a suggestion in a casual review-article, was made in an article entitled, *Das Nominalgeschlecht in den indogerm. Sprachen* in Techmer's *Internat. Zeitschrift* 4, pp. 100 ff. (1888). With certain minor modifications due to an article of Michel's, *Zur Beurtheilung von Jacob Grimm's Ansicht über das grammatische Geschlecht*. *Germania* 36 (= N. R. 24), pp. 121 ff., the Princeton address reproduces the argument of 1888, but the enhanced clearness of statement, the precision with which the essential factors of the problem are set forth, and the skill with which the argument is adapted to the understanding of a larger scientific public make the re-statement well worth while. The opportunity is furthermore utilized and most fittingly utilized to illustrate through the nature of the argument the difference between the methods of investigation characteristic of the older generation and those employed by the present. Grimm's subjective method of approaching the problem is contrasted with the modern method of starting with what is known in the experience of living languages, and applying this to restoring and interpreting the conditions of prehistoric times. Whatever we may think of the result, the lesson in method is of itself also well worth while.

The theory of Indo-Europ. noun-gender which before Brugmann had received general acceptance was that formulated by Adelung, Grimm, and Pott, and first suggested by Humboldt and Herder. It represented gender as due to the personifying instinct of primitive man. Natural objects were viewed as persons, and, as sex afforded the most prominent characterization and classification of persons, objects were not only personified, but also freely sexualized. Grammatical gender as a classification of word-forms is then a conventionalized, crystallized resultant of this primitive sexualization.

Brugmann's theory starts at the other end of the line. The form-groups of nouns which mark the classification by gender had originally nothing to do with distinctions

of sex. Their distinctive endings did not carry with them originally the suggestion of sex; thus the so-called 'feminine' suffixes, *-ā* and *-iē-* served rather, as is now established with reasonable certainty, to form collectives and abstracts. One or more words of one of these groups, coming now into concrete value by a change of signification parallel to that of the English word *youth*, might denote an object with natural sex. Thus in the class of *ā*-nouns, Indo-Europ. *gṛnā* (Gr. γυνή, Goth. *qinō*) might be thought of as originally an abstract (collective) denoting 'bearing,' 'parturition,' and, changed to the concrete, 'the animal that bears.' 'If the suffixes *-ā-* and *-iē-* implanted themselves in this manner in a number of words of feminine signification, the idea of feminine sex could attach itself to the suffixes, and they could acquire this additional shade of meaning. The final step was for the suffixes to become "productive" with this meaning inherent in them.'

This is in all simplicity the Brugmann-theory. According to the Grimm-theory, sex-gender is the prior, grammatical gender the posterior; according to the new theory, grammatical gender as a classification of nouns on the basis of suffixes not containing any allusion to sex is the prior, and sex-gender the posterior. The new theory does not necessitate the belief that at any time more than a portion of the words bearing the class-mark of any gender-group passed into the service of sex-gender, i. e. carried with them the suggestion of membership in a sex-group. While *filia*, *equa*, *lupa* suggested the feminine sex, *mensa*, *tegula*, *familia* did not by reason of the ending necessarily suggest it. They remained in the old status of grammatical suffix-classification.

Brugmann's objections to the older theory are summarized under three heads. *Firstly*. The usage of language within the historical period shows that grammatical gender does not carry with it necessarily a suggestion relative to sex. Thus the endings of *söhnlein* or *söhnchen* suggest to a German what *-let* in *brooklet* or *-kin* in *lambkin*

suggest to an Englishman, namely the idea of smallness. They serve to bring out a meaning bearing no relation to the idea of sex. The usage of the epicene nouns offers certain proof. For instance the German says *der Adler*, and *die Maus* for both male and female; in like manner the Greek, ὁ μῦς but ἡ ἀλώπηξ. Language indeed tolerates the expression, *der weibliche Hase*. *Secondly*. The known facts concerning the languages of uncultured peoples now existing do not show that a tendency to sexualize words necessarily accompanies their primitive habit of thought. *Thirdly*. Grimm's theory, which presupposes that with primitive men noun-concepts are always individualized and personified and sexualized, is *à priori* improbable. Here Brugmann repeats essentially the acute argument of Michel in the above-cited article.

Thus plainly is the battle set between the two diametrically opposite theories. The old view is evidently no longer tenable,—unless, at least, we postulate, for the sole purpose of creating the sexualized gender, a people of more aggressive personifying-sexualizing tendency than any known to us now or in history. Brugmann's contention on the other hand, while it has served the double purpose of exposing the weakness of the old view, and of quickening thought and observation for the discovery of a better, particularly in pointing out that the masculine and feminine endings had originally no connection with gender, has offered nothing that can be accepted outright in place of the old.

In his fundamental thesis that the gender distinctions are a relatively late and secondary development he is antedated among writers in the field of Indo-European philology at least by Schleicher (*Beiträge* III, p. 92; *Compendium*, p. 2517 ff. (1866) = p. 2501 ff.) and Friedr. Müller (*Grundr. der Sprachw.* III, 2 (1887), p. 526), both of whom show their belief that the distinction of gender was not originally used for the distinction of sex. This is plainly what Schleicher means when he says: 'Das Genus wird . . . durch Mittel bezeichnet, welche nicht ursprünglich

diesem Zweck dienen.' Schleicher, however, makes no attempt to show how the mechanism was diverted from the older to the newer use. Brugmann does. He believes that the piece of grammatical mechanism illustrated in the ending *-ā*, which originally identified a collective meaning, came to be used to denote femininity through the accident that one of the words, *gynā* denoted an object possessed of the characteristic female sex. He suggests the possibility of a second word in the 'lallwort' *manā*, but nothing further has been offered to strengthen the bridge, for *ekyā* in the light of Gr. *ὁ, ἡ ἴππος* cannot be reckoned with. The analogy of *frauenzimmer* whereby a collective designation was applied to the female, presents a possibility, but the concrete etymologies are lacking. So the bridge is left a narrow one, but not on that account merely would we call it an impassable one. No provision of any sort is made for explaining the adaptation to sex-denotation of any other classes of nouns than the *ā*-class and what our author calls the *-iē*-class (i. e. the *-iā*-class, as I think it should be called). Furthermore, no provision is made for the isolated words, not members of any well-defined suffix-class, like *pōds*, masc., *yōqs*, fem., *rēs*, fem., *nāus*, fem., *dijēs*, 'day,' masc., etc. There is altogether lacking too any account of the psychological motive through which words of different ending should have been grouped into a psychologically determined class involving denotation of sex; *gynā* might for instance refer to an object which is of the female sex, and still no consciousness arise that it contained an allusion to that particular characteristic of the object. As the *os*-termination confessedly involved at the time no suggestion of masculinity, there was in that nothing to point the distinction. There were in existence, to be sure, words exclusively applicable to women, like *svésōr* 'sister,' *snusōs*, 'daughter-in-law,' and *mātēr*, 'mother,' as well as words exclusively applicable to men; but, according at least to the theory we are discussing, there had been up to this time no grouping in the linguistic consciousness of femi-

nine names as vs. masculine names. The difficulty here involved is greatly increased when we seek for a process by which nouns of different stem, as in *-ā* and *-ī* (*-īā-*), should come to recognize each other, and unite in a group, e. g. *gṛnā́, ulqí, gṛntís*,—a group marked by no grammatical symbol or mechanism, and in no way recognized by the language. The cases of assimilation in gender which are noted in living Indo-Europ. languages are all under the guidance and leadership of an external symbol or sign of category, the article or the pronoun or the adjective; thus when Fr. **la sort* (Lat. *sortem*, fem.) becomes *le sort* under influence of *le bonheur, le malheur, le destin, le hasard*, etc., it is the acceptance of the article as outward symbol, that not only indicates, but makes possible, the new grouping.

The imperfect and, as we may call it, rudimentary grouping of diverse word-forms which carry a like idea or involve a hint of relationship, is created or maintained, so far as it exists at all, under the protection, and, as it were, the patronage of some compacted category of form; thus the diverse noun-plurals, e. g. Gr. *-oi, -ai, -es*, are held together by the verb-plural, aided by adjectives and pronouns; diverse datives like those in *-ois, -σι* by *τοῖς*, etc.; the class of nouns denoting a pair of objects is in Indo-European made into a class of duals under the leadership of the numerical *δύω(ν)* (cf. Indog. Forsch. VI, 136 f.); the 'defective' systems like *go-went-gone, good-better-best, am-is-was-been, ὁράω-ὄψομαι-εἶδον*, are held together, as apparent groupings on the basis of idea

¹ A fundamental principle of language-history, and one which has been, it seems to me, almost entirely overlooked in our *Principienlehre*, lies here at the root of the matter. *The psychological grouping from which the phenomena of analogy result is never a grouping on the basis solely of meaning, nor on the basis solely of form; both are involved in every case.* The latter aspect of the principle was clearly presented in *Analogy and the Scope of its Application* (1887), see p. 36; the former imperfectly and vaguely, because vaguely appreciated, on pp. 12 f., 9, and 3. Paul's well known distinction between the *stoffliche Gruppen* and the *formale Gruppen*, cf. *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* ³96, while offering a convenient *fundamentum divisionis* in the outward results of the action of analogy, has no real meaning for the

alone, through the form-systems *swear-swore-sworn*, *love-loved-loved*, *bright-brighter-brightest*, etc., into whose shells they have crept. The very genius of those languages, commonly called the 'inflexional,' which von der Gabelentz so aptly termed the 'defective languages,' is determined by their method of association.

inner processes involved. I can now see how it has been the source of much confusion and misapprehension through forcing a separation of things which do not differ, and particularly do I remark its baleful influence in my own attempted classifications (*ibidem*), in spite of the disavowal of faith with which the work was begun. In every case of analogy that which is essential is the adaptation of a form-group and an idea-group to each other. This adaptation has its ultimate warrant in the naïve folk-consciousness that names are naturally and indissolubly connected with the things they denote. Like name, therefore, leads to like idea, and like idea to like name, like element of name to like element of idea, and like element of idea to like element of name. Whether the suggestion comes from the idea-end or the form-end is consequently of secondary importance. The establishment of the "circuit" is the one supreme fact. Groups without form-mechanism to represent them are mere rudiments or ghosts. As thought needs language to develop it by the provision of speech-symbols to serve as tags, or labels, or 'counters' for concepts, so language-groups are unproductive,—are not indeed linguistic facts, until given a formal mould.

The phenomena of folk-etymology do not differ fundamentally from other forms of analogy. When *berfray* yields to *belfray* (*belfry*) under influence of *bell*, form and idea are brought into accord with each other, and it is of no essential significance that the idea is without historical support. Even when there is no change of external form, as when *cutler* (cf. O. Fr. *coutel* 'knife,' Lat. *cultellus*) becomes associated with *to cut*, there is no point in discussing the question from which side the suggestion came. It came from neither alone. The fact is that idea and form have met. When a change of signification has resulted, as when *parboil* comes to mean 'partly boil' instead of 'thoroughly boil,' by reason of association with *part*, there is still the same fundamental fact involved. It is, to be sure, the idea which has yielded, but the establishment of the accord, i. e. the 'circuit,' is the all-important fact. Between these so-called phenomena of folk-etymology and the ordinary ones of analogy no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn. When **femĕl* becomes *female* under influence of *male*, or *dexter* produces *senexter* out of *sinister*, or *οὐκέρτι* produces *μηκέτι* in place of **μη έτι*; or when *tribui*: *tribūtus* produces *volui*: *volūtus* (Ital. *voluto*, Fr. *voulu*), nothing different has happened from that which characterized the folk-etymology. Our attempt to discriminate between analogy and folk-etymology has been based upon a merely superficial consideration of what we have assumed to regard as relative correctness or appropriateness; 'red heater' for *radiator* and 'perish green' for *Paris Green* may be far-fetched, but they have been fetched, and the connection completed no more nor less than in *ille* for *olle*; cf. *iste*, *ipse*.

It is on general principles improbable that the categories of sex-gender originated from within the nouns themselves, which by their very nature directly indicate the objects for which they stand, after the manner of *uncle, aunt, father, mother, nephew, niece, man, woman, wizard, witch, bull, cow, buck, doe*, etc., and which may not be expected to require for the identification of the object such an indication of sex as is, for example, eminently convenient in words of shifting application like the personal pronouns *he-she-it*. This consideration led me in an article on *Grammatical Gender, Classical Review* 1889, pp. 390 ff., to suggest that the development of grammatical gender in the noun had been determined by the inflexions of the pronoun. This view, which has since been presented by Henning, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* XXXIII 402 ff. (1893) and with admirable insight by Jacobi, *Compositum und Nebensatz*, pp. 115 ff. (1897), clearly points the way to the solution of our problem. I shall in the following indicate in brief outline what I believe to be the chief stations on the route, which though at various points corresponding to Jacobi's route, is yet distinct from it.

It is in the pronoun that we find the opportunity for the emergence and development of the categories distinguishing sex-gender and in the gender-forms of the pronoun the $\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\hat{\omega}$ for forming groups of gender-words among the nouns. As gender was originally indicated in the Indo-Europ. languages neither by the verb nor the noun, we must indeed expect to find its origin in the pronoun or adjective. What has been seen now to be *à priori* likely receives support and confirmation from the existing facts in non-Indo-Europ. languages with imperfectly developed systems of grammatical gender. It is sufficient to refer for the material to the works of Winkler, Henning, and Jacobi cited below in the bibliography. Like material, though in less tangible form, was presented by Bleek and in dependance upon him by Sayce.

The English language, which has laid aside the pomp and finery of grammatical gender, presents an almost per-

fect illustration of dependance upon the pronouns for special mechanism in the indication of sex. The only exceptions are found in a few imported endings, as in *heroine, testatrix*, and *poetess, baroness*, of which the last-mentioned only is productive, and in occasional compounds like *man-servant, he-goat*. Names of objects palpably characterized by their sex as *father, man, niece, lady*, indicate the sex, but not by special grammatical mechanism. Epicene nouns like *person, sheep, fowl, horse, parent*, and epicene pronouns like *everybody, somebody, anybody, who*, are often forced to a betrayal of sex by the personal pronoun; thus in *Somebody left his [her] umbrella*. The inclination to evade the pressure is felt in the temptation to say, *Somebody left their umbrella*; cf. *Everybody must do exactly as they like*; *A person can't help their birth*, etc. See Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, p. 30 f. Epicene names of animals may be referred to by the pronoun *it*. A farmer and stock-raiser is likely to prefer a more precise designation of sex, *he* or *she*, e. g. in reference to a horse. The pronoun *he* is however commonly used of a horse, when no reference whatsoever to sex is intended, but simply, if I may trust my own linguistic consciousness, to express a slightly increased degree of sympathy with the animal as compared with what would be expressed by *it*. In speaking of a cat we should use *she* for the same purpose. The use of *he* would involve a somewhat offensive allusion to sex, not contained in the use of *she*. Precisely the same thing, but with the pronouns interchanged, applies to a dog. The expressions, *the dog, he—*, and *the cat she—*remind of Gr. ὁ μῦς vs. ἡ ἀλώπηξ; it would be too much, however, in the present state of our knowledge to say the two things are *precisely* one and the same. In both cases certainly the pronoun (article) has advanced somewhat beyond the denotation of mere natural sex as such. This the possibility of ἀλώπηξ ἡ ἄρρην 'male-fox' would seem to indicate for the Greek. On the other hand phenomena like ἡ ἄρκτος, ἡ ἔλαφος, when the class is referred to, show it is not a matter of mere grammatical

gender. Words in *-ηξ* furthermore are not commonly feminine. In English the usage alluded to is widely extended beyond the names of animals; thus ships, sail-boats, steam-yachts, are *shes*; so various mechanisms and self-moving bodies; thus I have noticed that the Mt. Desert islander always refers to a clock as *she*¹; cf. Dickens's 'She'll (the kettle) bile in a couple of minutes'; so an institution like a college or a State, when referred to in sentiment or respect. These last, like the personifications appearing in the literary language, particularly in poetry, such as *sun* (masc.), *moon* (fem.), *earth* (fem.), *winter* (masc.), *spring* (fem.), *death* (masc.), *charity* (fem.), *age* (masc.), *war* (masc.), *peace* (fem.), etc., may represent more or less remotely the influence of Latin or French gender, but they are still in point. The masculine, furthermore, is often used of objects animate and inanimate to express easy familiarity, as in Dickens's, 'Why, pudding, he was four,' etc., see *Storms Eng. Phil.* I, 776. None of these usages come under the head of grammatical gender, though they have too often been placed there. They all involve a more or less metaphorical application of the distinctions of natural sex. There is in English no grammatical gender of nouns. The distinctions of real and metaphorical sex belong to the objects, not the names. Thus in the cases cited from Mod. English usage, the he-ness and she-ness inhere in the objects, not the names. Names like *poetess*, *giantess*, *negress*,—or like *he-goat*, *she-wolf*, *bull-calf*, *buck-rabbit*, *cock-sparrow* constitute no exception to the statement that English has no grammatical gender. They are all more or less convenient makeshifts. They simply provide names for objects, as do *father*, *brother*, *mother*, *sister*, but *she-wolf* is more specific than *wolf*, just as *ἡ θεός* than *ὁ θεός* (plur. *οἱ θεοί* 'gods and goddesses'). *ἡ θεός* is not a matter of grammatical gender; neither is *ἡ ῥοδοδάκτυλος*, *ἡ ἄγρικός* (compounds of two endings). The mould in which was cast the type of *ἡ νῆσος*, *ἡ ὀδός*, *ἡ δρόσος*, and for that matter *ἡ χέρσος* and

¹ The same usage is also attributed to the Scottish dialects.

ἡ ἥσυχος κτλ. will prove, I believe, to be the same; cf. Sophocles's *στυφλὸς δὲ γῆ καὶ χέρσος* (Antig. 251). I mean to say that the attempt to explain these phenomena from the point of view of grammatical gender is likely to be, as it has thus far been (cf. the attempts of Lange and Delbrück), a failure. They must be treated as the fragmentary retention of an early type and status, existing before the sex-gender inherent in the pronoun had created a concord of the adjective and grafted itself upon those suffixal classifications of the noun which as a result of the engrafting have come to exhibit the phenomena of grammatical gender.

The compounds represent in their type survivals from a period in the history of the I. E. language before case-endings became definitely affixed to the noun-‘stems,’ and before grammatical gender was introduced; *ἀκρόπολις* (and not **ἀκράπολις*), *λογοποιός* (not **λογομποιός*), for instance, present on the one hand an adjective without concord, on the other a noun without case-ending (accus.). The noun-‘stem’ appears here, not as a grammatical abstraction, but as a petrified fact or, as the case may be, type. In recognition of this principle, Jacobi in his book *Compositum und Nebensatz* (1897) has developed his most instructive and important discussion of the compounds as petrified subordinate sentences. The case-endings were first added in order to particularize and definitely specify a relation which had heretofore been inferred from the context and situation. But why was the compound-type preserved after its successor appeared? I do not find that this question, fundamental as it is, has yet been asked. The primitive type of syntax represented by the compound survives in the later stages of languages by virtue of its ability to express a class of relations which need to be expressed,—a class of relations in which the particularizing definiteness of the case-endings is absent. *Herein lies the opportunity for an isolation by which the compound has resisted absorption into the new mechanism of the sentence and has preserved its identity as a type in the*

various I. E. languages. The compound as it exists in the I. E. languages bears in its most essential character the impress of its primitive use, and maintains one phase at least of the primitive syntax. That which constitutes a compound a compound consists, to use Paul's definition (Principien § 228), 'darin, dass die zu Grunde liegende syntaktische Verbindung als Ausdruck eines einheitlichen Begriffes gefasst werden kann, und dies ist nur möglich, wenn wenigstens das bestimmende Element in derselben in seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung zu nehmen ist und nicht in einer konkreten Individualisierung.' Thus *horse-tamer* (*ἵπποδάμος*) is a compound because *horse-* is free from the individualization present in the sentence type *he tames a horse*, and not definitely avoidable in *he tames horses*; cf. *book-keeper*, *hat-rack*, *river-pilot*, *cliff-dweller*, *ἄγρικός*. The I. E. sentence, as we know it, took its shape through the introduction especially of the individualizing or particularizing endings *-s* and *-m*. The most fundamental historical classification of I. E. nouns which can be made discovers, I venture to assert, two main groups. One consists of those which take *-m* in the accus. sing., the other of those which do not. The former group has grown and almost overwhelmed the latter. The one class comprises individualized nouns, capable of forming plurals as a sum of individualized units, the latter names of material, inert matter, mass, or substance of being or action, like *sāld* 'salt,' *ἰέqr(t)* 'liver,' *kéqr(t)* 'dung,' *υόdr* 'water,' *dhémv* 'fixture,' *péku* 'stock,' *médhu* 'mead,' *kērd* 'heart,' *mélit* 'honey,' *glak(t)* 'milk,' *qrévas* 'flesh,' *áios* 'metal,' *ópos* 'work,' etc., etc., which in general formed no plurals,—beyond certain collective designations, characterized in the *r-*, *l-*, *n-*, *i-*, *u-*, stems by heavy endings. These mass-words like *sāld*, etc., constitute the first stratum of 'neuters.' The second stratum, widely separated in form and content, consists of the 'neuters' in *-om*, which are secondarily developed out of the individualized *o*-nouns and form plurals in *ā:ə* by use of the collective formation in *-ā*, which was closely associated with many of these nouns;

cf. *-bhorós : bhorá*. These neuters in *-om* must have been originally forms of individualized *o*-nouns representing the passive recipient, the goal or complement of the action named in the verb, in distinction from the bearer and exponent of the action represented in the *s*-forms. In this character and with this value the two sets of forms (*-s* and *-m*) became crystallized in the paradigms of those nouns which through loss of the 'thematic vowel' (see Streitberg, *Ein Ablautproblem der Ursprache*, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXIV, 29 ff.), provided a great part of what are now the masculines and feminines of the 'third declension.' *After that had taken place*, and, with the development of the conventional economy of the sentence, after the feeling for a nominative as the grammatical subject, whatever the attitude (voice?) of the verb, had emerged (cf. Delbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, § 73), words which by virtue of their value as denoting things had been chiefly used in the *m*-form, so long as the verb was usually the name of an action set forth in an actor named with the *s*-form, now began to appear and be used as nominatives and in this *m*-form, which had meanwhile come to be identified with their substance. In this they were aided by the analogy of the neuters of the first stratum, which knew no difference between nomin. and accus. forms. Though starting with an assumption different from Delbrück's (loc. cit.), who recognizes no distinction between neuters of the *o*-decl. and of the 'third' declension, I have applied his method of explanation to the *om*-forms. The diametrically opposite theory of Brugmann is briefly stated, *Grundriss* II, § 186: 'Vermutlich war *-m* einst nur bei den *o*-Stämmen vorhanden, bekam nur bei solchen *o*-Stämmen, die der Bildung einer *s*-Form fähig waren (**ek₂o-s*), durch ein nicht näher zu bestimmendes gegensätzliches Verhalten zu dieser *s*-Form eine engere Casusfunction, die accusativische, und wurde dann als fertiges Accusativzeichen auf andere Stammclassen übertragen.' This is to me frankly unthinkable. Aside from the discouraging prospect in a 'nicht näher zu bestimmendes

gegensätzliches Verhalten,' and the unlikelihood of the transfer of a 'fertiges Accusativzeichen' to other classes of stems now so effectually isolated from the *o*-stems, it must be seen that the assumption that *-m* was originally only used with *o*-stems is not only entirely arbitrary, but involves also the entire rejection of Streitberg's views concerning the earlier extent of the *o*-stems (*διέυομ, νάυομ*, etc.).

The theory of the facts offered here provides explanation for three most striking characteristics of the I. E. noun inflexion, for which no explanation has yet been offered or attempted: (1) That a characteristic ending of neuters appears only in the *o*-declension. (2) That in all neuters nomin. and accus. agree. (3) That the likeness in ending of neut. nomin. and masc. accus. is limited to the *o*-declension.

If this view of the origin of the neuters in *-om* be accepted, there remains no stumbling-block in the way of recognizing what appears to be the most fundamental and oldest classification of I. E. nouns, that of the oldest neuters, represented historically by the third decl. neuters, a perishing body of relics, on the one hand, and the individualized *o*-, *i*-, *u*-stems on the other.¹ We have here a classification somewhat analogous to that in other languages between definite and indefinite,—or even between animate and inanimate, rational and irrational; cf. Winkler, *Weiteres zur Sprachgesch.*, pp. 4 ff., a classification recognized as representing a first crude impulse, which through the engrafting of the notion of sex-gender inherent in the pronoun is capable of yielding the phenomena of grammatical gender.

The connection between pronoun and noun was established by means of the adjective, and the 'concord' of the adjective (*-os, -ā, -om*) stands as witness to the fact. The

¹ In the collective-abstract *-ā*-, *-i*-stems the individualizing form asserted itself generally only in the accus. (but cf. the type Skr. *napīś, vrkīś* as yet unexplained, see author's suggestion *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, p. lii, 1893), a fact which Jacobi, p. 113, connects with their meaning. These nouns might indeed be regarded as constituting a third group by themselves.

adjective, if we speak in terms of origins, 'agrees with' the pronoun rather than the noun. Adjectives were names of shifting application like pronouns, and like them were aided in their denotation of objects by an indication of sex. The pronoun made use of she-forms, one of which, *sā*, appears in Skr. *sā*, Gr. *ἡ*, etc., and is vouched for as old by its almost complete isolation from a system. In this Jacobi, p. 121, has seen the source of fem. *ā*-ending. Another form I. E. *sī* (*syā*) surviving in Goth. *sī*, O. Ir. *sī* may also furnish the clue to the origin of the fem. *ī*- (*iā*) suffix.

The *s* of the nomin. surely had nothing to do originally with the denotation of gender; its retention in fem. nouns of the third declension, in epicene nouns in *-os*, in the fem. of adjec. of two terminations, and in nouns like *ἡ ὀδός* shows that clearly enough. The *ā*-form was introduced into the adjectives (verbal noun-adjectives) of the *os*-ending to aid the precision of denotation when an object of female sex was referred to by such noun-adjective, thus *sā leuqós* yielded to *sā leuqā* or *leuqā*. Names which bore in themselves the means of preciser denotation resisted more successfully the intrusion of the *ā*-sign, and the compound adjectives of two terminations (*ῥοδοδάκτυλος*), adjectives partly substantivized (*χέρσος*), and fem. nouns in *-os* still show the traces of the early struggle. Once the possibility of modifying the adjective in the forms *-os -ā -om*, *némos-némā-némom* (*novus, -ā, -om*) was established, the noun easily became infected. An adjective used as a noun, *néμā*, 'the new woman!' might bring the distemper aboard at any time. When a group of such words,—and *γυνή* of course would join the group, had fastened the notion that *-ā* referred to *sā* and femininity, other words in *-ā* by virtue of the folk-instinct for like notions in like forms would be constrained into yielding some vaguely-felt folk-etymological connection with the idea of femininity, after the same general manner that Eng. *fortress* in the common linguistic consciousness is vaguely felt to have some sort of feminine value,—such as e. g. is reflected in the naïve definition: 'A

fort is a place to keep men in, a fortress to keep women in.' This illustration however serves merely as a suggestion of the psychical principle involved,—and no principle is of more profound and far-reaching importance in the economy of speech. In many cases, doubtless, the personifying fancy found free opportunity, e. g. in a word for 'earth' (Gr. *γαῖα*), and aided in bringing form and idea into harmony; it acted however, not as Grimm would have it, at its own instance, but under the stimulus of form requiring satisfaction. The parallelism of the contrast between collective-abstracts in *-ā* and verbals in *-os*, *bhorā* (φωρά): *bhōros* (φόρος), *srouā*: *sroyos* and that between she-nouns in *-ā* and he-nouns in *-os*, *néuā*: *néyos* aided powerfully in establishing the feeling for the quasi-ness of the abstract-collectives. With the establishment of this connection, gender had ceased to be merely a property of objects, and, as furnishing a bond between forms, had become grammatical gender.

What it was in its beginnings Indo-European gender remained throughout its history, an imperfect blending of two systems of classification. At one extreme the classifications were based on meaning, at the other on form. The older form-classes predominated, some infused more, some less with the spirit of the other system: as a rule their coherence was technical and legal rather than spiritual. But through their coherence they acquired an organization, effected preëminently by means of the adjective concord, which, artificial as it was, gave to the mechanism of the sentence suppleness of use and precision of application. According to Brugmann's theory, with the discussion of which we started, the idea of sex-gender was spontaneously developed out of the old form-classes; according to that presented here, the old form-classes were called forth into a new life, partly a real life, partly a quasi-life, but called forth after the manner of the Shunammite's son, by another system of classes stretched and measured upon them.

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REVIEWS.

Die wörtlichen Wiederholungen im Bêowulf. Richard Kistenmacher. Greifswald, 1898. pp. 44. (Greifswald diss.)

A GLANCE at the lists of programmes and dissertations published year by year shows that the *Bêowulf*, with its group of unsolved problems, still remains the centre of interest. Since, moreover, the questions relating to the authorship and the composition of the poem are to be solved, if at all, by internal evidence, there will be opportunity in long years to come for students to apply tests of constantly increasing delicacy. Whether the minute examination of Old English poems has on the whole added to our certainty or uncertainty concerning the authorship of many of them, may for the moment be left an open question. At all events, the patient, statistical investigations of these poems have enabled us to get a deeper insight into the nature and structure of Old English poetry than we could from productions of a livelier sort.

The dissertation before us is an industrious study which endeavors to weigh the value of the literal repetitions in the *Bêowulf* as a test of interpolation and also as a characteristic of Old English poetic style. As the author admits, his two lines of investigation have been to some extent anticipated by others. His aim is to apply a more exact method, and to pay especial attention to the extent and character of the repetitions. The first, and larger, division of the paper (pp. 8-32) considers the repetition of single words or word-combinations; the second division discusses the repetition of half-verses. The lists of single words repeated in the *Bêowulf* is followed by similar lists from the older *Genesis*, the *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Elene*, *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Christ*, *Gåðlác*, *Phœnix*, the later *Genesis*, *Judith*, and the *Battle of Maldon*, and by a summary (p. 24), which shows that this feature of Old English poetic style cannot safely be used as a test of interpolation. Other details relating to the position and character of the words repeated fill the remaining pages of the first division. The

second division is mainly devoted to a comparison between the *Béowulf* and the *Elene* in the repetition of half-verses. The result we may state in the author's own words: "Demnach kommen im *Béowulf* unter 3183 Versen 541 und in der *Elene* unter 1321 Versen 218 wiederholte Halbzeilen vor. Das Verhältnis ist in beiden Dichtungen merkwürdigerweise fast dasselbe." Obviously, therefore, if a poem like the *Elene*, the authorship of which has never been questioned, shows substantially the same degree of repetition as the *Béowulf*, we should be exceedingly cautious in applying so ambiguous a test.

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Zwei Isländer-Geschichten, die Hónsnaþóres und die Bandamannasaga mit Einleitung und Glossar herausgeg. von Andreas Heusler. Berlin, Weidmann 1897. M. 4, 50.

Laxdæla saga herausgeg. von Kr. Kålund (Altnord. Saga-Bibliothek 4). Halle, Niemeyer 1896. M. 8.

Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr herausgeg. v. Eug. Kölbing, ebend. 1896.

Die erste der hier zu besprechenden sagaausgaben ist ganz besonderer Art. Schon das Umfungsverhältnis der Teile zeigt dies: 62 Seiten Einleitung, 59 Seiten Text, 100 Seiten Wörterbuch. Heusler will seine Leser in den Stand setzen, die *Islandinga Sögur*, die er gibt, nicht nur zu lesen, sondern in ihrem ganzen Inhalt und Wesen zu würdigen. Fast scheint in der anatomischen Zergliederung nach Heinzel's Vorbild des Guten zu viel gethan. Doch wird der Anfänger, durch die Schule von Heuslers' Buch gegangen, mit sicherem Urteil an die übrigen *Sögur* gehen. Anmerkungen unter dem Text verschmähte unser Herausgeber. Die Skaldenverse werden in einem kurzen Anhang erklärt. Das Wörterbuch genügt für sich allein vollständig für den Wortvorrat der beiden *Sögur*; er gibt auch erwünschte grammatische Fingerzeige. Die *Hónsnaþóris-* und die *Bandamanna-saga* werden durch Heusler's Ausgabe hoffentlich die verdiente Verbreitung finden.

Die *Laxdæla* von Kålund und die *Flóres saga* von Kölbing

zeigen die bekannte Einrichtung der Sagabibliothek : Einleitungen über die Überlieferung des betr. Denkmals, seine Quellen, Verfasser, sein Verhältnis zu den Werken ähnlichen Charakters. Bei Kålund ist auch über Komposition und Stil der *Laxdæla* gehandelt, bei Kölbing über den Sagenstoff und seine Verbreitung, über die norwegischen und isländischen Übersetzungen aus altfranzösischen Gedichten überhaupt. Unter dem Text sind Anmerkungen — bei Kölbing mehr als bei Kålund — welche die Übersetzung erleichtern, zumal lexikalischer Art, bei Kölbing zahlreiche Hinweise auf die französische Vorlage, bei Kålund historisch-geographische und Sacherklärungen, letztere übrigens auch bei Kölbing zu finden. Wörterbücher enthalten die Bändchen der Sagabibliothek nicht, sie setzen immer noch den Gebrauch von Möbius's Glossar voraus und geben, was in diesem fehlt, unter dem Text an. Man muss den Herausgebern der Bibliothek dankbar sein, dass sie die bedeutsame *Laxdæla* mit ihrem reichen Inhalt, sowie aus den romantischen Sogur die *Flóressaga*, die so enge Anknüpfung an die mhd. Epik bietet, ausgewählt haben.

O. BRENNER.

WÜRZBURG, MAI '98

A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels, Latin-West Saxon and West Saxon-Latin. By Mattie Anstice Harris, Ph.D. (*Yale Studies in English*, vi.) Boston, New York and London : Lamson, Wolfe and Co., 1899. Pp. 111.

Miss Harris' *Glossary* not only adds to the—still lamentably small—number of special glossaries of Old English prose texts (such as Cook's and Lindelöf's), but marks a new departure by its arrangement on a semasiological basis. That is to say, the West Saxon-Latin word list is subordinated, as an index, to the Latin-West Saxon glossary ; the latter occupies about two-thirds of the volume and is sufficiently full to show in detail the treatment of the entire Latin word material in the English version.

This is a most happy idea, and it has been carried out in a careful and intelligent manner. The rigid compression of the material is, on the whole, to be commended, though sometimes

the principle of economy seems to have been carried too far. A little less reserve on the part of the compiler would have obviated the necessity of consulting the Latin text in order to ascertain the use of certain words. E. g., quite unintelligible are such entries as: 'certus: geare, Lk. 20, 6'; 'nisi: gif, f. 9, 33' (i. e., nisi esset hic a Deo = gif hē nāere of gode); 'os: ecg, Lk. 21, 24.'—A number of familiar words, like *non, nonne, cum, autem, quia, enim, quidam, post, ubi* are altogether omitted.—Complete registration in the case of very common words may have appeared needless pedantry. Still, the failure to note, e. g., the places in which *hana* occurs, obscures the remarkable fact that *cocc* is found in Matthew and John only, whilst *hana* is restricted to Mark and Luke. Cf. *The Authorship of the West Saxon Gospels*, by Allison Drake, New York, 1894. It would have been interesting to learn Dr. Harris' opinion about the authorship of the Gospels.

Minor oversights, which are perhaps unavoidable in a collection of this kind, have been noticed in several places. But lack of space precludes discussion of such details. A list of *Corrigenda* and *Addenda* might increase the usefulness of this valuable publication.

Full credit is due to Professor Cook not only for suggesting this work and its particular plan, but for making such an enthusiastic and forcible plea in favor of Old English semasiology as is found in the Preface to his *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*. This is, indeed, a wide and all but unexplored field in which there is room and need for many workers.

Conscientious labor bestowed on the apparently humble task of compiling a glossary like the present one will never be lost.

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GEORGE ALLISON HENCH.

In Memoriam.

A cruel accident has struck down one of the associate editors of the *JOURNAL*, the gifted and lovable Professor Hench, of the University of Michigan. It is right that a fitting word be spoken here in his memory, but what can one say in presence of such a mad fatality that cuts down ere the noontide of life a scholar of such noble promise and a man so indispensable to his friends? What can one say who wishes to think that life is good and the world well ordered?

Trübe Frage,
Der das Schicksal sich verummumt.

All we can do is sadly to record the brief story of his life, recall in kindly candor (as he would have wished) what manner of soul he was, and then,—bid him farewell.

After an unusually laborious year at Ann Arbor, protracted into August by lectures in the summer school, Professor Hench went to the White Mountains to recuperate. He was not in good health. An illness contracted abroad in the summer of 1897 was followed by a lingering and intractable neuritis which partly paralyzed the muscles of his neck and right arm, reduced his strength and caused him much suffering. This sudden break-down of a robust physique gave great anxiety to his friends, though he himself persistently declined to be regarded as an invalid. At the close of the academic year he seemed to be improving in health, but prudence would certainly have counselled a complete cessation of work during the summer. It was not easy for him to be prudent, however, when his keen professional conscience suggested work to do. He had not learned to think of himself as seriously in danger, although he had been warned in divers ways, among others by occasional slight attacks of vertigo.

The fatal accident occurred on the 12th of August, as he was cycling with an Ann Arbor colleague on the road leading from the Profile House to Franconia, N. H. His friend, Dr. Dock, had ridden ahead down a long but not very steep incline, when he missed his companion whom he had last seen coming up the crest of the hill. Returning to investigate, he presently met Professor Hench walking beside his wheel and showing in his face the marks of a fall. In reply to inquiry he made light of his mishap, as wheelmen will, but was evidently half dazed; he could not tell what had happened, though he had walked

half a mile from the probable place of the accident. At the request of his companion who is a physician, he lay down to permit an examination of his injured forehead; during the examination he sank into a complete unconsciousness which lasted for several hours while he was being cared for at a neighboring hotel. After a while he seemed to rally and again talked a little, though with imperfect command of his faculties. When it became evident that there had been a serious injury of the brain, he was conveyed to a Boston hospital for the operation of trephining. But the operation brought no relief; it was followed by a coma which ended in death about noon on the 16th of August. He had fallen, so his companion thinks, in a sudden vertigo, and had been unable, through the weakness of his arm, to protect his head by the usual involuntary motion. The accident—an exceedingly comminuted fracture of the roof of the right orbit, with consequent slow effusion of blood into the brain,—was necessarily fatal. There was no hope in surgery from the first.

The deceased scholar was not quite thirty-three years old at the time of his death, having been born October 4, 1866. His birthplace was the village of Centre, Perry Co., Pa., where his father carried on a large tannery. He was a bookish child, who began going to the country school before he was five years old and at eight was equal to a rapt perusal of *Pilgrim's Progress*. In 1874 the family removed to Carlisle, where George was sent to the preparatory school of Dickinson College and later, for one year, to the College itself. In the autumn of 1882 he joined the sophomore class of Lafayette College, from which he received the degree of A.B. three years later. A vague plan of going to Alaska as a teacher was nipped in the bud by Professor March, who had interested him in Germanic studies. On the advice of March, of whom he was wont to speak with great affection, he entered the Johns Hopkins University, in 1885, as graduate student of German and English. In the summer of 1887 he attended courses at the University of Berlin, and the following summer he spent at Vienna, working on Old High German manuscripts in the Imperial Library. In June, 1888, he was awarded the Fellowship in German at the Johns Hopkins University, and in the following year received the degree of Ph.D. He had become interested in the Old High German Isidor and felt the need of a preliminary study of the Monsee Fragments. Having chosen this latter subject for his doctoral thesis, he made a new and careful collation of the manuscript and a thorough philological study of the text. His work was published by Trübner in 1890 as a Baltimore dissertation, under the title of *The Monsee Fragments. Newly collated text, with notes and a grammatical treatise*. In 1891 a second edition appeared, identical with this in the first 142 pages but augmented by 67 pages of glossary. The larger work upon Isidor was published in 1893 as Heft 72 of *Quellen und*

Forschungen. It bears the title: *Der althochdeutsche Isidor. Facsimile-Ausgabe des Pariser Codex nebst kritischem Texte der Pariser und Monseer Bruchstücke. Mit Einleitung, grammatischer Darstellung und einem ausführlichen Glossar.*

I am not an Old High German specialist and if I were, I should not have the heart to attempt here anything like a critical comment upon these two works with which Dr. Hench began a scholarly career that is now so sadly and prematurely ended. Being mainly concerned with minute questions of diplomatics, of phonology, morphology and textual criticism, they belong to a class of writings in which details are everything; and this is not the place for a consideration of details. In taking up these studies he entered a field which the scholars of this country (a land not rich in Old German manuscripts) have for the most part been content to leave to their colleagues across the sea. It is therefore sufficient praise to say that he was at once recognized by German specialists as a well-equipped Fachmann who had a perfect right to be working with them on the frontier. While this or that conclusion of his may be debatable (this is the fate of all scholarly work), it is difficult to see how his general spirit and method could have been better. It is fortunate for the reputation of American scholarship that our pioneer in the Old High German field showed such signal ability and set such a high standard of philological craftsmanship. Dr. Hench was an enthusiast in his specialty and he loved scholarship for its own sake. He had almost a passion for accuracy and no question that came fairly in his way was ever too minute to be investigated.

My own intercourse with him dates from the summer of 1890, when, in reply to a letter of mine, he cabled me from Vienna that he would accept an instructorship in German at the University of Michigan. Arrived in Ann Arbor, he soon won general regard by his scholarly enthusiasm, his earnestness as a teacher, and his genial, amiable personality. And yet he was not at first an ideal teacher of undergraduates. Like many a young specialist fresh from Germany, he did not easily judge aright the mental stature of his pupils and would often fire over their heads. Besides this he lacked the gift of lucidity and would sometimes tangle himself up hopelessly in the effort to explain something that he understood all too well. It was not the result of loose thinking in his case, but of a too eager attempt to carry along with him all the aspects, qualifications and corollaries of his thought at the same time. His discourse used to remind me now and then of those wonderful German periods with which we are all so familiar,—Gothic cathedrals of syntax, as a recent essayist proudly calls them. But he was a keen critic of himself; he had none of that deadly self-complacency with which heaven so often endows those whom it does not really intend for teachers. He wished very earnestly to become a

good teacher and he speedily became one. He manifested deep interest in general questions of educational policy, was always in favor of the highest possible standards, and soon became an efficient counselor not only with regard to the organization of work in his own department, but with regard to the manifold administrative questions that take so much of the time and energy of the American professor. After a year's service he was made Assistant Professor of German, and in 1896 Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures. During the past year, in addition to the duties of his own position, he had general charge of the department of Romance languages, pending the appointment of a successor to the lamented Walter.

Dr. Hench had a great capacity for friendship and was an eminently social nature, but he never married; when rallied upon that subject he would say, half dolefully, that he was wedded to his books. And in these indeed he existed. Not that he lacked interest in the general intellectual life of the time, or sympathy for other pursuits than his own. He had both these in generous measure, but he had found out what he himself could do—was ihm gemäss war, as Goethe puts it,—and he chose to cleave to this and content himself, as far as the general turmoil of opinion is concerned, with the role of a mildly cynical observer. His general temper inclined to pessimism, but bitterness of any kind was utterly foreign to his nature.

In his own field he was—I think I may say it and that his manes will not hear it with displeasure—abnormally conscientious. I have never known a man who took questions of scholarship, of teaching, of educational policy, more seriously; none who was more eagerly bent upon getting the best possible light and doing everything in the right way. He could be at times a little importunate in pressing his opinions, and was ever in his element when it was a question of showing how some seemingly unimportant matter was after all of far-reaching moment. His great love of precision and the strenuous methods that he brought to his own work made him very impatient of random firing and dubious generalization. While himself a linguistic philologist, he became more and more interested in the teaching of literature as such, and he used to dilate upon the importance of a broad conception of philology. He felt that if the letter killeth, it killeth only such as deserve to die, and that if the spirit giveth life, it giveth life only to such as have first trained their sense of language and form. That any one could think philology in any phase of it dull was to him the token of an ill-balanced mind. In his teaching he quietly assumed that what was a joy to him must be so for his advanced students. And they usually found it so, for enthusiasm begets enthusiasm. At the same time he refused to condescend to their frailty. My business, he would say, is to give the best thought and the latest results of my science; if my students do not fully understand me, very well. They will have

something to climb up to, and climbing is the very exercise they need. It was a favorite thesis of his, upon which I have more than once heard him expatiate with a sardonic gleam of the eye, that a University professor must not try too hard to be interesting.

After the publication of his *Isidor* he thought for some time of undertaking an *opus magnum* in the shape of an Old High German dictionary. When this plan was given up he used to talk of spending a year at Copenhagen, preparatory to some work in the Scandinavian field—perhaps a treatise on Germanic mythology. His mind teemed with projects for scientific work. With the enlargement of his professional responsibility, however, he had less time for his favorite pursuits of scholarship and took up with characteristic energy the study of pedagogical questions. The unfortunate trip to Germany, alluded to above, was undertaken for the purpose of looking into the teaching of modern languages on behalf of the Committee of Twelve, which was appointed three years ago on his motion by the Modern Language Association. The study was frustrated by his illness, and the impaired health of the past two years prevented him from doing what he was eager to do in this and in other directions. Nevertheless he bravely did what he could and his help was of great value to the Committee.

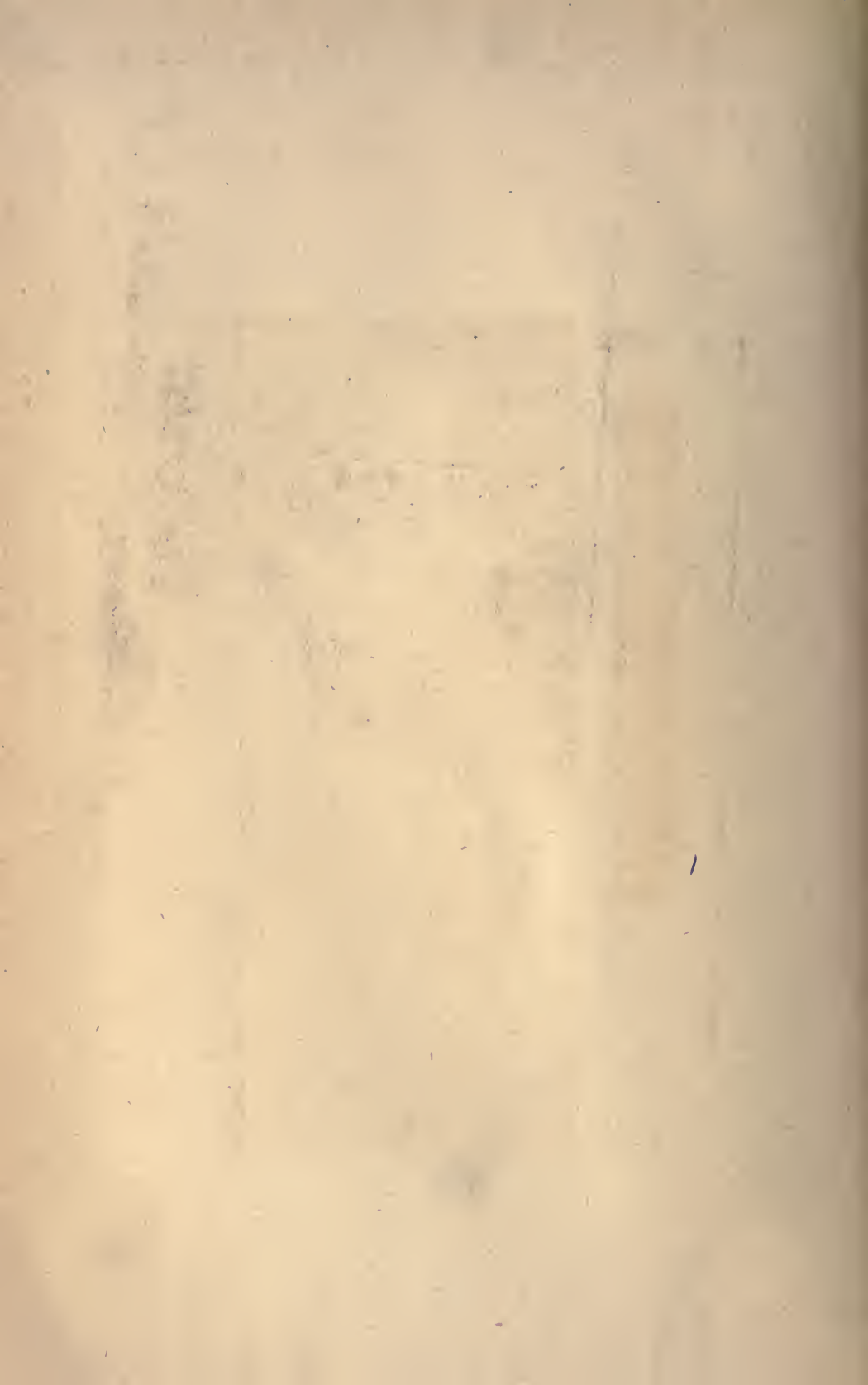
Dr. Hench was deeply interested in the prosperity of the JOURNAL OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, kept its interest ever at heart, and often expressed his regret at not being able to do for it all that he would have liked to do. He loved sound scholarship wherever it might be found, but most of all, of course, in the field to which he had devoted his life.

For reasons that are clear enough from what has been said above, his minor contributions to Germanic scholarship have not been very numerous in recent years, and I shall make no attempt to enumerate or characterize them. Notwithstanding his eager appetite for work and his restless energy of mind, fate willed that he should do but little of what it lay in him to do. His life-work is a fragment, a brilliant beginning followed by an untimely end. Had he lived, much might have been expected from him in the way of scholarly achievement and quickening influence. His death is a sad loss to scholarship. Scholarship, however, is only a cold abstraction. It goes on and on, with ever new hands and brains to do its work. It knows no sinking of the heart, no faltering for memory and for tears. Not so with us who have lost a friend and must henceforth think of a mere void where a little while ago there was a genial, earnest and high-minded fellow-pilgrim. We may surely be pardoned if, as we say farewell and pronounce once more our helpless *Über Gräber vorwärts*, we think less of the blighted career than of the broken bond of precious friendship.

CALVIN THOMAS.







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