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UNPUBLISHED SONNETS OF WILHELM MÜLLER.

AT twenty years of age Eichendorff and Müller were each occupied with the writing of sonnets, the former in Heidelberg, where he was living in happy communion with Görres and Arnim and Brentano, the latter in Brussels, whither he had gone with the Prussian army early in the year 1814, to occupy a minor post in the commandant's office. Eichendorff's sonnets out of this time (1807-8) breathe the Spring-odors of a contented romanticism, Müller's are fairly steeped in a pessimism, discoverable to any like degree nowhere else in his writing.

The only sonnets of Müller that have hitherto come into print are *Die Monate*, 13 in number, written during the Italian sojourn, dated from Florence, Sept. 15th, 1818, and dedicated to Ludwig Sigismund Ruhl.¹ They were first published in *Der Gesellschafter oder Blätter für Geist und Herz*, 1819.² Clothed in a graceful iambic pentameter, each month of the year speaks in its own person, and the matter and the manner of them is as trivial and light-hearted as may be. Their conceits are commonplace, thus: January's hands are cold to freezing, March is laden with snow-covered blossoms, April is fickle and wanton, June slumbers on a couch of rose-fragrance, August's scythes are mowing the ripened wheat, October's forehead is crowned with grape-clusters, December enters to the accompaniment of jingling sleigh-bells, etc.

¹ Ruhl, son of the well-known Cassel sculptor; a painter of much earnestness and high ideals, active in all the branches of his art—historical, landscape and animal depiction. Born 1794, two months younger than Müller. In Italy 1814-17. A friend of the Grimms, Fouqué, Platen, Rauch, Radowitz; later Director of the Cassel Academy. Wrote several unimportant novels and stories under the pseudonym *Cardenio*—died 1887. Like Müller in his verses so did Ruhl choose the cyclic form, in which to incorporate his ideas—in one notable series of pictures he strove to depict human life in all its relationships. Cf. *Allg. deut. Biogr. s. v. Ruhl*.

² Goedeke, *Grundriss*¹ iii (1881), § 321, 11.

A strange contrast to the nine sonnets herewith printed. These would seem to betoken a period of storm and stress in the sensitive poet, for in three of them (Nos. 1, 2, 7) Müller depicts a religious struggle, which gave small promise of the clarity and peace that came later.¹ And in three of them again (Nos. 3, 4, 8) he is prone to despair of a successful issue in his war with the senses and the world, an unintelligible antithesis to the prevailing mood of content which found expression afterwards.² No. 6 urges against cowardice, No. 9 is a satire on inherited nobility of birth.³

These nine sonnets do not, however, contrast with his published sonnets as regards content alone. Their crudity of cadence and end-rime would stamp them sufficiently as children of Müller's earlier muse, as surely as like defects in his *Bundesblüthen* songs (1815) do, were such evidence necessary. They are all written on straw-paper of the cheapest quality, cut into small strips, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in., which thus leave but bare room for the fourteen closely-written lines of each sonnet—where erasures have been made, as noted below, the substituted verses have of compulsion been written on the reverse side of the leaf. At the lower edge of one of the sheets are the figures 8 / 8 '14, which doubtless give the approximate date of their composition, August 8th, 1814. These figures are certainly in Müller's handwriting, as are the sonnets and the corrected lines.

Now, while the verses are perhaps of small individual merit (they were never referred to later by Müller, or chosen for his collected poems), and while their printing would doubtless ordinarily possess but a philological interest, yet the date of their composition is, in the light of new discoveries, significant, in that it lends them a distinct biographical importance.

Müller's experiences in Brussels were unsatisfactory, to judge

¹ Cf. e. g. *Johannes und Esther* (*Ged. v. W. M.* 1868, i, 23 ff.). *Weihnachten, Heimkehr, Selbstbeschauung* (*ibid.* 122 ff.).

² Cf. e. g. *Ländliche Lieder* (*Ged.*, i, 65 ff.) and *Tafellieder für Liedertafeln* (*ibid.* ii, 32 ff.).

³ A theme of which Müller never tired; *Epigramme, 1es Hundert*, Nos. 76-77 *2es Hundert*, Nos. 53-62, 64-66. *3es Hundert*, Nos. 53, 56-58.

by the two passages in his diary¹ where he refers to them. . . .
“Vor einem Jahr” (he writes Oct. 7th, 1815) “habe ich meinen Geburtstag in Brüssel verlebt, ich weiss selbst nicht recht, wie. Aber einen Brief schrieb ich an diesem Tage, der hat mir und meinem Vater manche Thräne gekostet. Gottlob, dass Alles überstanden ist! Das vergangene Jahr liegt so weit hinter mir, als wär ich seitdem von einem Kinde zum Greise geworden.”
And again, on the evening of Oct. 15th: “Nachdem ich mit dieser Arbeit fertig war, gieng ich nach meinem Bureau und besah die Andenken, die mir von meiner Liebe in Brüssel und von einer noch früheren übrig geblieben sind. Ich wurde wunderbar ergriffen. Die alte Liebe schien wieder wach zu werden, besonders als aus Theresens Harlocke mir ihr Athem anzuhauen schien. Ich konnte mich nicht enthalten, die Locke zu küssen und nun war es mir recht eigen, als hätte ich Theresen selbst geküsst.” Read in conjunction, these passages clearly hint at a love experience that had brought to Müller and his family little but sorrow and perhaps shame: especially as these are to my knowledge the only places where Müller ever refers to his life in Brussels.

What more natural than that a youthful unrest and pessimism should color the songs written at this time?

1.

ORESTES.

Mein Glaube todt! Verstossen und verlassen,
Muss ich mein Leben durch die Erde tragen,
Kann meine Schmerzen keinem Ohre klagen,
Im Tode selbst muss stumm ich einst verblassen.

Ich habe keine Missethat begangen,
Mit Überzeugung nur hab ich gehandelt,

¹ Diary of W. M. (Oct. 7th, 1815–Dec. 27th, 1816) and letters of W. M. to his wife, hitherto unpublished, are to appear shortly edited by Mr. Hatfield and myself, owing to the extreme kindness of Mrs. Georgina Max Müller.

Und zum Verbrechen hat man 's umgewandelt
Und hat mit ew'gem Fluche mich behangen.

Ich habe eine Mutter hingemordet,
O fragt mich nicht nach ihrem süßen Namen,
Lasst mich nur einsam weiter, weiter ziehen !

Wie einst die Furien sich wild gefordet,
Und dem Orestes seinen Frieden nahmen,
So muss auch ich vor meinen Zweifeln fliehen.

2.

Den alten Gott, den Ihr mit weissem Barte
Mir abgemalt in meiner Kinderfibel,
Den alten Gott, der sich nach Eurer Bibel
Ein einzig Volk zu seiner Huld versparte,

Den Gott, dem Ihr mit heiligem Geberde
In Euren Kirchen fromme Lieder singet,
Dem Ihr im Himmel Eure Opfer bringet
Und Ihr verbannt aus seiner eignen Erde,

Ich leugne ihn—der Würfel ist gefallen,
Streicht mich nur immerhin aus Euren Listen,
Als Antichristen und als Atheisten !

Als frommer Heuchler könnt ich Euch gefallen,
Doch wo Ihr betet, kann mein Mund nur fluchen,
Und wo Ihr flucht, muss meinen Gott ich suchen.

3.

Die Nacht durchglänzt ein goldner Sternenregen,
Die Erlenbäume rauschen in den Zweigen,
Und schwergedrückte Trauerweiden neigen
Ihr müdes Haupt zum dunklen See hernieder.

Und träumend zieht in mitternächt'ger Stunde
 Ein müder Schwan hin durch die stillen Fluthen,
 Des heil'gen Mondes sanfte Silbergluthen
 Umschlingen ihn mit zauberischem Runde.

Auf meiner Seele dunklem Wasserspiegel
 Umschlingen mich mit ihrem Zauberkreise
 Die Bilder ferner, himmlischschöner Zeiten,

Ich zieh vorbei an manchem Trauerhügel,
 Und weiter führt mich meines Lebens Reise
 Als Fremdling fort in ferne, ferne Weiten.

The original ending of the sonnet, erased by Müller's pen,
 but still legible, is :

So malen sich mit mildem Zauberscheine
 In meiner Seele tiefem, dunklem Spiegel
 Die Bilder schöner, ach vergang'ner Zeiten—

Ich schau sie an, mir ist, als ob ich weine,
 An mancher Hoffnung düstrem Trauerhügel
 Zieh ich vorbei in ferne, ferne Weiten.

4.

Dem Tiger gleich mit seinen wilden Krallen,
 Hält mich die Welt mit ihren Riesenarmen,
 Sieg oder Tod ! hier giebt es kein Erbarmen,
 Du oder ich musst siegen oder fallen.

Gleich Dejanira warf sie ihre Hüllen
 Von Gift getränkt um meine starken Glieder,
 Kein Arm befreit aus dieser Qual mich wieder,
 Es gilt das letzte Opfer zu vollbringen.

Auf ! lasst des Geistes Flammen mächtig lodern,
 Der Erde Lust, der Erde eitle Sorgen
 Lass ich zurück in diesem Jammerthale !

Mein ist der Sieg! jetzt kann ich wieder fodern,
 Schon naht mir Hebe bei dem schönsten Morgen
 Und reicht mir der Begeistrung volle Schale!

5.

Zum Kampf, zum Kampf, mit frischem Lebensmüthe,
 Nur eine, eine That lasst mich vollbringen
 Und sterbend dann die Siegesfahne schwingen,
 Die sich gelechzt in meinem heissen Blute.

Die Brust bedeckt mit sieben offenen Wunden,
 So möchte ich auf dem Siegesfelde liegen,
 Und freudig sollt die Seele aufwärts fliegen
 Bis sie ein neues Leben dort gefunden.

Doch ach! vergebens all diess kühne Schmachten,
 Vergebens dieses todesfreud'ge Streben
 In diesem ach¹ lebendigtodten Leben!

Mit der Verzweiflung schlag ich meine Schlachten,
 Statt Todeswunden, die das Haupt zerspalten,
 Furcht sie die Stirn mir mit des Lebens Falten.

6.

Im frohen Kreis, wo muntre Brüder zechen,
 Hab ich gar oft mein volles Glas geleert,
 Hab nichts des Herzens müssigem Schlag gewehrt,
 So oft es galt, ein freies Wort zu sprechen.

Im jungen Most weltstürmender Ideen
 Hab ich gar oft den jungen Sinn berauscht,
 Dem Sang der Freiheit hab ich froh gelauscht,
 Und sich zum Kampfe schon die Fahne wehen.

¹ Schon erased.

Was wir gewollt, das lasst uns treu vollenden,
 Wenn manche eitlen Träume auch zerrannen,
 Jetzt gilt es Tod den mächtigsten Tyrannen.

Zum heil'gen Streite gürtet Eure Lenden!
 Im eignen Herzen stürzt die Despoten,
 Sonst bleibt Ihr ewig Eures Wahns Zeloten.¹

The original ending of the sonnet, erased by Müller's pen, but still legible, is:

Was wir gewollt, das lasst uns treu vollenden,
 Wenn manche eitlen Träume auch zerrannen,
 Lasst jetzt² das Schwert zum ersten Kampf uns tragen!

Zum heil'gen Streite gürtet Eure Lenden,
 Auf, stürzt im Herzen selbst nun die Tyrannen,
 Die Euren Geist in ew'ge Fesseln schlagen!

7.

Wenn Sonntags früh die Glocken *laut* erschallen,
 Dann schmückt Ihr Euch mit Eurem Festornate,
 Denn nur in diesem sonntaglichen Staate
 Könnt Ihr der Welt und könnt Ihr Gott gefallen.

So höret Ihr die Messe und die Predigt,
 Bis nach der langen, oft verschlafnen Stunde
 Das 'Amen' tönet aus des Priesters Munde,
 Dann ist Eu'r ganzer Gottesdienst erledigt.

Ich hör bei jeder Stunde *leisem* Schlage
 Die heil'ge Stimme meines Gottes rufen,
 Und denke sein in meiner stillen Klause.

¹ *Soll ich das Herz für Euren doch Euch zeigen?*

Greift in Eu'r eignes Herz und lasst mich schweigen! erased.

² *Auf, lasst* erased.

Ihr hört sein Rufen nur an einem Tage,
 Dann eilt Ihr hin zu Eures Tempels Stufen
 Und denkt an *nichts* in Eurem Gotteshause!

8.

Was sollten meine Lippen zu dir sprechen,
 Wenn wir noch einmal hier uns wiederfänden?
 Sollt ich mit stillem Wort dir Tröstung spenden?
 Sollt ich noch einmal dir das Herz zerbrechen?

Sollt ich mit kalter Rede dich begrüßen,
 Kein Wort dir sagen von den schönen Stunden,
 Wo unsre Herzen liebend sich gefunden
 Und wo ich selig lag zu deinen Füßen?

Nein, bleibe stets mir, was du mir gewesen,
 Diess holde, zarte, traumbildgleiche Wesen,
 Das meiner Seele¹ Tröstung zugesprochen,

Und wenn ich scheid einst aus diesem Leben,
 Dann mög diess Bild noch einmal mich umschweben,
 Bis dass mein Aug, bis dass mein Herz gebrochen.

The original ending of the sonnet, erased by Müller's pen,
 but still legible, is :

Nein, bleibe mir, was du mir stets gewesen,
 Die holde, zarte, traumbildgleiche Wesen,
 Das ich gesucht und das ich mir gefunden.

Doch wenn ich scheid einst aus diesem Leben,
 Dann mög dein Bild noch einmal mich umschweben,
 Bis dass mein letzter Athemzug entschwunden.

¹ *lachend stets mir* erased.

9.

Ihr spottet oft auf jene eitlen Thoren,
 Die stolz sich blähen mit ihrem alten Adel,
 Die schon zu Rittern ohne Furcht und Tadel
 In ihren nassen ¹ Windeln auserkoren.

Nur wer den Adel selber sich errungen
 Durch ernstes Streiten und durch muthiges Wagen,
 Er soll der Väter edlen Namen tragen,
 Den er mit neuem Lorbeer frisch umschlungen.

Doch seid Ihr nicht dieselben eitlen Thoren,
 Stolz auf den alten Glauben Eurer Väter,
 Meint Ihr, Ihr hattet selber ihn errungen!

Euch ward er in der Wiege angeboren,
 Eu'r ganzes Leben bleibt Ihr müssge Beter,
 Die nie des Geistes scharfes Schwert geschwungen.

The original ending of the sonnet, erased by Müller's pen,
 but still legible, is :

Doch seid Ihr nicht dieselben eitlen Thoren,
 Stolz auf den alten Glauben Eurer Väter,
 Die in des Geistes Kampf ihn selbst errungen—

Euch ward er in der Wiege angeboren,
 Stolz auf den Namen, seid Ihr müssge Beter,
 Die nie des Geistes scharfes Schwert geschwungen.

PHILIP S. ALLEN.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

¹ *ersten* erased.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME ENGLISH
DIALECT WORDS.

THE following words occurring chiefly in the dialects of Cumberland and Westmoreland are distinctively Scandinavian in form and meaning. They are not included in Wall's list (Scandinavian Loan-words in English Dialects, *Anglia*, xx, pp. 88-135), which is very full for the dialects of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, but seems based on inadequate sources for those of Northwestern England. In the notes that follow the usual abbreviations for languages are employed. Where possible Old Norse is given as the direct source of the loan-word,¹ other Scandinavian parallels being given by way of illustration.

Blake, yellow, pale. Cumberland. OE. *ā*, which in the South became *o*, *o^u*, *u*, developed in the northern dialects to an *ē*-vowel, thus coinciding with *ē* from ON. *æi*, O. Ic. *ei*. These sounds are in northern texts variously represented by *a*, *ai*, *ay*, and sometimes by *ey* and *ei*, there being apparently little effort to differentiate the two orthographically. That the two sounds did not coincide everywhere throughout the North, however, is proved by the phonology of the modern dialects. Where the two did unite the test of form is of course lost in words of this class. ON. *æi* has remained an *ē*-vowel in all the northern dialects. In Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northern Lancashire and Northwestern Yorkshire, which forms dialect 31 in Ellis's classification of English dialects (*On Early English Pronunciation*, vol. v, E. E. T. S. ext. ser. 56), OE. *ā*, however, developed further to an

¹ Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northern Lancashire and Western Yorkshire were settled almost exclusively by Norsemen. The center of Danish settlements was Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and East Riding, Yorkshire.

i-fracture. Thus, while ON. *bæin* and *kvæina* become *bēn* and *quēn* (written *bain*, *quain*), OE. *stān*, *hām*, and *hāl* have become *stian*, *hiam* and *hial*. This *i*-fracture is, in the various dialect poems, dialogues and glossaries written *eea* (*ea*). Where such writing is systematically carried out, a test of form is furnished by which it becomes possible to determine the Norse or English origin of words of this class. The word *blake* otherwise written *blaik*, *blayk* has an *ē*-vowel which argues Norse origin. The form *bleeak* does not appear, the word does not seem to have the *i*-fracture anywhere in North-western England.

Bole, the trunk of a tree. Occurs in Westmoreland. Middle Scotch *bol*, *bole* from ON. *bolr*, Norse *bōl*, *bul*, Swedish *bål*, the trunk of a tree. On this word in Norse see also *Etymologisk Ordbog over det Norske og det Danske Sprog* by Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp, Kristiania, 1901.

Bras, to burn, scorch. Cumberland. ON. *brasa*, to harden in the fire, to scorch, Norse *brasa*, to flame, burn, roast, Swed. *brasa*, Dan. *brase*, roast, O. Dan. *brase*, scorch slowly, roast. It is the same as ME. *brase*, a burning coal, Eng. *braze*, which seems to have come from Old Norse through Old French *braser* (see Skeat, *Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1897). The word *bras* occurs also in Westmoreland. The Cumberland form *brassle*, to scorch, may be a frequentative of *bras* though native origin is also possible, cp. OE. *brastlian*, to crackle.

Boogth, bigness, size. The word occurs in Yorkshire. Wall gives the variant *bookth* as occurring in Lancashire and considers the first element of the word the same as Eng. *bulk* (ON. *búlki*). The shortness of the vowel is against this derivation and the meaning does not quite agree (cp. Yorkshire *abart the boogth o' my hand*, about the size of my hand). The word is rather to be compared with Norse dial. *bugga*, big, great, from a stem **büg* and is undoubtedly the same as the early northern English dial. *bug*, *byg*, great, prominent, proud, in which case it

is probably the same as Eng. *big* (see Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English*, Upsala, 1900, p. 157, note 1, and *Modern Language Notes*, Jan., 1902).

- Brangle**, to wrangle. Cumberland. The same as Scotch *brangle*, to throw into disorder. The origin of this word seems to be ON. *brenгла* to distort, cp. Norse *brenǵja* to twist, put out of shape.
- Burler**, an attendant who carries around ale at festivities. Cumberland. ON. *byrlari*, a cup-bearer, one who pours ale. The same as ME. *birler*. This is the northern word. The southern *byrle* is from OE. *byrle*.
- Cranky**, infirm, ailing. Cumberland. ON. *krankr* weakly, infirm, Norse *krank*, *krankall*, id. *kranke*, condition of not thriving, O. Swedish *kranker*, in ill health. A secondary meaning of the Cumberland word is 'fretful, peevish,' cp. American dial. *cranky*. Westmoreland *cranky*, 'checkered,' is another word (related to ME. *cranke*, Eng. *crank*, *cramp*?).
- Dovven**, in a dozing condition, drowsy. Yorkshire. From ON. *dofinn*, dead, dull, drowsy, Norse *doven*, Dan. *doven*, idle, slothful, O. Dan. *doven*, sluggish, drowsy. There is a Friesian *dōfen*, which may be a loan-word from O. Danish. Wall cites the verb *doven* to dose.
- Droop**, to fall, bend over. Westmoreland. ON. *driupa*, to drip. The same word as English *droop*, on which see Skeat, *Conc. Et. Dict.*
- Dust**, uproar, disturbance. Cumberland. Probably ON. *dust*, a tilt, a fight, *dustera*, to fight. Norse *dust*, strife, battle, noise, noisy merriment (last meanings given by Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, Christiania, 1895). O. Dan. *dyst*, Swed. *dust*, strife, a tilt. Compare also Norse *dusta*, *dysta* (Sogn, Western Norway), a giddy woman, *dusting* (Telemarken, Norway), a wrecklessly noisy person, *dusta* to cause disturbance. The Scandinavian word is a loan-word from O. Fr. *jouster* (see *Tidskrift for Filologi*, v) to joust, cp. Swed. *dust*, a tournament, but the form of the Cumberland word as well as its secondary meanings seem to be due to Norse influence, is probably a late loan-word.

- Dump**, to butt with the horns. Cumberland. Sco. *dump*, to beat, to strike with the feet. ON. *dumpa*, Norse *dumpa*, push, thump, walk heavily and by striking with the feet, Dan. *dumpe*, to thrust, strike. Swed. dial. *dumpa*, id. Skeat incorrectly takes the Scotch word to be the same as Eng. *dump*, an ill-shapen piece, Prov. Eng. *dump*, a lump, the origin of which is uncertain.
- Fest**, to send out cattle to be grazed, to engage pasture for one's cattle at other farms. Cumberland, Westmoreland. The corresponding OE. word was *faestan*, to make firm, to entrust. The ON. word *fasta* meant to make firm, to stipulate, bind by agreement, enter into compact with. The meaning of dialectal *fest* seems to have been influenced by the Norse word, although it may have developed out of the secondary meanings of the native word.
- Fire-house**, the inhabited part of a farm-stead. Cumberland. This word seems to be a translation of ON. *eld-hús*, the parlor or chief room of the homestead where the fire was kept up. The stead was composed of three houses, the *stofa*, the ladies room, the *eld-hus*, the chief room, rarely kitchen, the *búr*, the larder. In Modern Norse *eld-hus* means the kitchen or cooking-house. Such translation-words are not infrequent in Old English, cp. the material given by Steenstrup, *Danelag*, Kjöbenhavn, 1882.
- Flocker**, to flutter. Cumberland and Westmoreland. From ON. **flakra*, to flap, flutter, frequentative of *flaka*, id. O. Ic. *flökra*, Norse *flakra*.
- Gaum**, heed, attention, derivative, *gaumless*, heedless, senseless. Yorkshire. From ON. *gaumr*, heed, attention, Norse *gaum*, id., *gauma* to pay attention. OE. *gyrne*, *gieme*. The diphthong *au* in *gaum* is a test of Scandinavian origin.
- Gillery**, deceit, cunning. Yorkshire. ON. *gildra*, a snare, a trap, *gildri*, the laying of a trap, *gildra*, to ensnare. Swed. *giller*, snare, Norse, Dan. *gilder*, id. Norse *gildra*, to catch in a snare, ME. *gilder*, all have the *i*-vowel, cp. ON. *galdr*, sorcery, OE. *gealdor*, cantus, sonitus. The

vowel *i* in the ME. and the Yorkshire word indicates Scandinavian origin.

Gloar, to stare. Westmoreland, Yorkshire, *glowre* Cumberland. ME. (Yorkshire) *glören*, Sco. *glower*. From ON. *glóra*, to gleam, glare like a cat's eye (Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*), Norse *glora*, Swed. dial. *glora*.

Gowze, to gush. Cumberland. From ON. *gusa*, to gush, spurt. The preterite *gaus* of *gjósa* may have had some influence on the form of the Cumberland word. Skeat derives *gush* from ON. *gusa*. While this is possible the form of the English word agrees more nearly with that of ON. *gussa*, to make a loud noise. The diphthong in Cumberland *gowze* suggests an original diphthong *au* or a long *u* (or *o*). The Norse dialect forms in *uu*, *guusa*, make it probable that there was a form *gúsa* in Old Norse, which is probably the source of the Cumberland word unless we accept influence of the preterite of *gjósa*. Compare also Norse dial. *gausa*.

Haggle, to cut unevenly. Cumberland, *aggle*, Leeds, Yorkshire. ON. *hoggva*, Norse *hogga*, to cut + frequentative *l*. In the Leeds dialect cloth is said to be *aggled* when the knives of the cutting machine jump and cut the cloth at short distances (*Dialect of Leeds and its Neighborhood*, John Russell Smith, London, 1862, p. 234). The number of verbs with the *l*-suffix in the dialects of northern England and Scotland is very large. I have collected about 250 from sources accessible to me. Their number in recent speech is also quite considerable, about 100 being given in Skeat's *Conc. Et. Dict.* Björkman has noted their frequency in Middle and Modern English and, in so far as they are very characteristic of all the Scandinavian languages, suggests possible Scandinavian influence. Their exceeding frequency in the dialects where Norse and Danish influence is most prominent—about 200 in the dialects of Cumberland and Yorkshire—would indicate Scandinavian influence at least in part. The question cannot be settled however

before the whole body of *l*-suffix verbs have been etymologically treated of. Possible French influence also is not to be disregarded at least in Middle English.

Heckle, fault-finding, cavilling, displeasure, indignation, Yorkshire. Probably from ON. *ekla*, lack, fault, cp. ON. *ekli*, disgust, Norse *ekla*, *eikla*, refl. verb, to pick a quarrel with, *egla*, *ekla*, stir to anger, incite, *eglen*, quarrelsome.

Helse, a rope put around the horse's neck in place of a halter. Cumberland. ON. *helsi*, a collar, Norse *helse*, a rope-collar for dogs.

Heck, a rack, a crib for hay, a *stand-heck* is a rack standing out in the field or in the fold-yard out of which cattle feed. Westmoreland, Yorkshire. Cp. Norse *hekk*, a rack or crib for hay out of which horses and cattle feed. Swed. *häck*, id. Related to *hedge*, OE. *hecg*, Ic. *hegg*, Norse *hegg*. The Scandinavian origin of the word seems probable because of the form and the closely related meaning. It is not recorded in Old Norse, but may have been one of a number of words that did not attain to the dignity of literary words.

How, a sepulchral mound or barrow. Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire. ON. *haugr*, a mound, a cairn over one dead. In the Cleveland dialect of Yorkshire the word usually denotes the grave-hills on the moors. The Northumberland form of the word is *haugh*. Lincolnshire *hoe*, 'hill,' points to an original form with a simple vowel—O. Dan. *högh*. So also Cheshire *hog* and ME. *hogh*, while ME. *houz* is probably from the Old Norse word. On the dialectal provenience of Scandinavian loan-words in English having a diphthong see the short but scholarly article of Dr. Björkman, 'Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen,' Upsala, 1901, printed in *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapetets i Upsala Förhandlingar*. (Transactions of the Philological Society of Upsala). I may also perhaps in this connection refer to a paper on the 'Dialectal Provenience of Scandinavian Loan-words in English

Dialects' read by myself before the Central Division of the Modern Language Association at its meeting in Vanderbilt University, December, 1899, part of which paper was printed in *Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch*, MacMillan, 1900, pp. 72-76.

Kemps, pl., coarse fibres or hairs in wool. Yorkshire, Westmoreland. Cp. ON. *kampr*, beard, moustache, *kamphöfði*, a whiskerhead. Related to ON. *kambr*, OE. *camb*, comb.

Kep, to catch. Cumberland, Yorkshire. ON. *kippa*, snatch, Norse *kippa*, snatch, catch, *kipp*, a jerk, Dan. *kippe*, to jerk, fling, Swed. *kippa*, id., ME. *kippen*.

Knurr't, stunted in growth (verb *knurr*? to stunt). Cumberland. Norse *knuvra*, *knarva*, to gnaw, chew, cut off, lop off, *knurv*, an ill-thriven being, *knurt*, a little lump, a knot, a stunted figure, *knarl*, a knot, Swed. dial. *knoort*, a little child, Dan. *knort*, a knot. In the Lonsdale dialect *knorr*, sb. means a stunted or ill-thriven being. Cp. Dutch *knorre*, a knot, German *knorz*, a knot, a little stumpy fellow. The word is a little doubtful.

Laïke, to play, to play cards. Cumberland. ON. *laïke*, to play, Norse *laika*, *laika*, id., O. Dan. *leghe*, *lege*, O. Swed. *leka*. The word with derivatives are common throughout northern English dialects.

Lig on, to be of importance. A thing is said to *lig on* when it is important that it should be done. Cumberland. While the word *lig* may perfectly well be native English in northern England as far as form is concerned, this particular expression is undoubtedly Scandinavian. Its source is ON. *liggja á*, to be important or urgent, *þat ligr ekki á*, it is not urgent, *mér ligr á*, it is pressing for me, *mun þar stórt á liggja*, 'tis an urgent or serious matter (Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*). The expression seems peculiar to Cumberland in English dialects.

Rash, active, spry, well. Cumberland. From ON. *raskr*, vigorous, sound, well, quick, O. Ic. *rōskr* with *v*-umlaut, Norse *rask*, quick, well, Swed. *rask*, id. Same as

English 'rash,' but does not ever seem to have the meaning 'headstrong' in Cumberland. The unpalatalized form *rask* I have not found. As there can be little doubt of the Scandinavian origin of this word we have here a case of a palatalized Scandinavian *sk*. The process of palatalization of *sc* in Old English took place before the introduction of the great body of Scandinavian loan-words, hence the absence of palatalization in words of this class introduced from Norse or Danish. In a few words of undoubted Scandinavian origin *sh* appears however for *sk* (see Wall's list of words, *Anglia*, xx, also discussion, pp. 70-72; Skeat's *Conc. Et. Dict.*; and the list of words in *Scand. Infl. on South. Lowl. Sco.*, and Björkman's discussion of the subject in *Scand. Loan-words in Middle English*, pp. 119-120). Such words may have been introduced into O. English during the period of palatalization and so become subject to the law of palatal change. Björkman's ingenious explanation of the difficulty is that bilingual individuals, of whom there must have been a considerable number where there was such intimate blending between two nationalities, recognized without difficulty the etymological identity of Eng. *š* and Scand. *sk*, especially as there existed in both languages a considerable number of words which, but for the difference of *š* and *sk*, were absolutely identical as to form and meaning. Such individuals would then have to pronounce *š* in the same words which they pronounced with *sk* when speaking Scandinavian. This may have led to confusion of several kinds. *Sk* may have been introduced into words which did not exist in Scandinavian and, on the other hand, words containing *sk* introduced from Scandinavian may have been anglicized and pronounced with *š*. There is also the possibility that English words in *š*, when introduced into Scandinavian, were Scandinavianized and pronounced with *sk*, and afterwards reintroduced into English with this pronunciation. For words which may be explained in this way, and further on Björkman's

discussion of this point, see Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words in Middle English*, pp. 9-10. How extensive palatalization was in the North is as yet an unsettled question, and to what extent non-palatalization or recurrence to guttural forms may be due to Scandinavian influence is a problem that probably never will be settled.

Reed, to strip. Cumberland. Probably ON. *hrjóða*, to strip, clear, Norse *rjóða*.

Rowt, to bellow, make a loud noise. ON. *rauta*, to roar, Norse *rauta*, roar, bellow, Swed. *ryta*. Cp. OE. *hrūtan*, O. Frisian *hrūta*, ON. *hrjóta*, to snore.

Sank, to gather, collect. Cumberland and Westmoreland. ON. *sanka*, *samka*, to gather, Norse, Dan. *sanke*. Derivative *sank*, a quantity of anything.

Scar, shy, wild, frightened. Cumberland. ON. *skjarr*, timid, shy, Norse *skjerr*, *skjærr*, easily frightened, *skjerra*, to frighten, Swed. dial. *skjarra*, id., ME. *sker*, *skerre*. See Wall, *scarry*, a Northumberland word probably *scar* + *y*.

Shorpen, to shrivel by heat. Cumberland. ON. *skorpna*, become shrivelled, Norse, Swed. *skorpna*, id., may be from the adjective *skorpinn*, shrivelled. On the *sh* see *rash* above.

Sile, a strainer for milk. Yorkshire. The word occurs in lines 35 and 78 in A Yorkshire Dialogue given in Skeat's *Nine Specimens of English Dialects*, English Dialect Society, No. 76. Cp. Norse *sil*, a strainer for milk, Dan. *sil*, *si*, id., Swed. *sil*, id., verb *sila* in Norse, Swed.; OE. *sgan*, ON. *sía*, Dan. *si*, to filter.

Sleek, to extinguish, put out (a light). Yorkshire. ON. *slökkva*, put out a light, Norse *slökka*. A *sleeking-out-supper* among the weavers of Leeds is 'a supper to celebrate the event of the first putting out of the lights, generally at the latter end of February, a prevailing and old custom' (*Dialect of Leeds*, p. 411). Cp. OE. *slācan*.

Slett, slat, to throw, dash. (*She slat water in her feace, Cumberland and Westmoreland Dialect*, John Russell

Smith, London, 1839, p. 29.) ON. *sletta*, to dash, dab, Norse *sletta*, throw, dash, hang down loose, ME. *slatten*, hang down.

Snell, bitter, biting, sharp (of the air). Cumberland, and similarly used in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. Cp. ON. *snell*, harsh, bitter, Norse *snjell*, sharp, bitter. OE. *snell* meant quick, prompt, active, bold, with which compare OHG. *snell*, alacer, agilis, robustus, German *schnell*, ME. *snell*, quick, active, ON. *snjallr*, swift, valiant, *snilli*, prowess, Norse *snjell*, quick, capable, Dan. *snild*, clever, shrewd, *snilde*, skill, ingenuity, Swed. *snille*, id. The Cumberland meaning may possibly have developed out of the Old English word.

Trailly, slovenly. Cumberland. ON. *treglegr*, draggingly, slovenly, unwilling, Norse *tregaleg*, slowly, *tregeleg*, with difficulty, heavily. A little doubtful, it may be from the verb *trail*.

Wandly, waanly, carefully, gently, also thoroughly. Cumberland. ON. *vandligr*, adv. carefully, thoroughly, completely. Norse *vanligr*, adj. difficult.

Wap, to wrap around. Westmoreland. Norse *vappa*, to wrap, also with frequentative *l*, *vapla*, Swed. *vapla*, Northern ME. *wappen*, Sco. *wap*, Cumberland *waps*, a bundle of straw, a wisp.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

THE SOURCE OF DAVENANT'S ALBOVINE.

THE sources of Davenant's plays have not as yet been made the subject of any serious investigation. Certain similarities in incident between some of his plays and other works have indeed been noted, and a source for the sub-plot of *The Siege of Rhodes* has been proposed;¹ but for no one of his plays, nor for any single incident in any one of them, has a definite source been pointed out. Yet his *Albovine*,² at least, would seem to present little difficulty as regards discovery of source. For it is evident that the ultimate source of the play is the well-known skull-feast story from the life of the Lombard king, Alboinus—a story which is related at length by Paulus Diaconus,³ who goes out of his way to vouch for its authenticity, and which has been very generally accepted as authentic by later historians.

¹ See *Modern Language Notes*, XIII, 353-363.

² See the folio edition of Davenant's works, London, 1673, pp. 414-440; and *The Dramatists of the Restoration*, ed. Maidment and Logan, Edinburgh, 1872, I, pp. 19-107.

³ See his *De Gestis Longobardorum*, Bk. I, chap. 27; Bk. II, chaps. 28-30.

Briefly the story runs as follows:—Albovine, king of the Lombards, having slain in battle Cunimond, king of the Gepids, takes to wife his daughter, Rosamund. At a great feast in celebration of his victories, Albovine calls for the skull of Cunimond, which has been fashioned into a drinking-cup, and asks Rosamund to drink from it. She complies, but inwardly swears vengeance on the king. Soon afterwards she contrives to have Peredeus, the king's minion, lie with her, leading him to believe that she is one of the royal maid-servants of whom he is enamored. Then making herself known to Peredeus, she incites him to kill the king. This he does, being aided by an assassin. Rosamund then marries Helmechildis, one of her father's counsellors. Later, having tired of Helmechildis, she attempts to poison him, but she also is made to drink of the cup she has offered him, and both die.

Among the variations made by Davenant, are the following:—The maid-servant is not Paradine's mistress, but his wife; Rosamund and Hermegild do not die from the effects of poison, but are slain by Paradine; Paradine does not kill the king by the queen's instigation, but at the king's command. The most important variations for our purpose, however, are to be found in Davenant's change of names and the introduction of characters not in the original story.

But there are certain literary versions of the story which have served to complicate the problem of Davenant's immediate source. Of these literary versions no less than seven appeared before 1629, the date of registry of Davenant's play. These are to be found in Lydgate's *Bochas* (Bk. IX, ch. 12), Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1493 edition, fol. 398 f.), Bandello's *Novelle* (III, 19 f.; Payne's translation, v, 238 f.), Turberville's *Tragical Tales* (Edinburg, 1837, No. v, 142 f.⁴), Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (Rouen, 1604, IV, 635), Rucellai's *Rosmunda*⁵ (Florence, 1516), and Middleton's *Witch*⁶ (Bullen, v, 353 f.; Dyce, III, 290 f.). And to these should be added the semi-historical version of Machiavelli (*History of Florence*, London, 1680, I, 5 f.).⁷

As between the historical version according to Paulus Diaconus and these literary versions, early authorities⁸ were inclined to favor a source in the former; but in more recent times the tendency has been toward the latter. Steevens was the first to propose one of the literary versions; in a note to Reed's *Shakspeare* (II, 344 f.) he suggested Middleton's *Witch* as a possible source. Mr. Ward, on the other hand, leans towards Bandello or Belleforest, asserting in the first edition of his *History of English Dramatic Literature*⁹ that the plot was "probably taken by D'Avenant from Bandello;"¹⁰ in the recent edition,¹¹ that

⁴ This edition is a reprint of the 1587 edition, published in London.

⁵ This and the next are dramatic versions of the story. At least two other dramatic versions have appeared since Davenant's play: *The Revengeful Queen*, by William Philips, London, 1698; and *Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards*, by Swinburne, London, 1899. Both of these were based on the Machiavellian account, Philips's confessedly so.

⁶ The *Witch* did not appear in print until 1778 (Reed), but it was written in the early 17th century, and it is certain that Davenant knew it, since he made use of parts of it in his adaptation of *Macbeth* (see Furness, *Macbeth*, 401).

⁷ An English translation of *The History of Florence* appeared in 1595.

⁸ See, for instance, Langbain, *Lives of the English Dramatic Poets*, London (1699), p. 33.

⁹ *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, London, 1875, II, 361.

¹⁰ Adams, *Dictionary of English Literature*, 3d edition, London, no date, p. 696, seems also to make Bandello Davenant's source. Under the head of Middleton's *Witch*, he says: 'The plot of the Duke and Duchess of Ravenna . . . is adapted from a novel by Biondello, upon which Sir William Davenant founded a tragedy.' Under *Albovine* (p. 12), however, no mention is made of Bandello.

¹¹ *Hist. Eng. Dramat. Lit.*, London, 1899, III, 169 f.

the translation of Bandello by Belleforest was probably used. And Mr. Meyer¹² has proposed Machiavelli as a source.

We are not told on what these suggestions were based. But they were, I am sure, meant as little more than conjectures. For two of the versions proposed—those of Machiavelli and Middleton—must be rejected at the outset. And I believe it can also be satisfactorily demonstrated that neither Bandello nor Belleforest, nor, in short, any one of the literary versions was used.

Machiavelli and Middleton preserve a tradition at variance with the account of Paulus Diaconus, who is generally considered the most faithful historian of early Lombardy.¹³ According to the Machiavellian tradition it is Helmechildis rather than Peredeus (with Davenant, Paradine) who lies with the queen and subsequently brings about the destruction of the king. The character Peredeus is thus eliminated entirely, Helmechildis playing a double rôle. Of these two traditions Davenant adheres to that of Paulus Diaconus, and hence found his source neither in Machiavelli nor in Middleton. Nor did he make use of Caxton's version, since it, too, preserves the Machiavellian version of the story.¹⁴

Of the remaining versions—those of Bandello, Belleforest, Lydgate, Rucellai, and Turberville—all, with the possible exception of Rucellai, follow the tradition of Paulus Diaconus. The Rucellai version I have been unable to examine with care, but I find sufficient evidence that it was not used by Davenant in its *dramatis personae*. Albuino, Rosmunda, Almachilde, and Comundo are the only names from the original story which appear in this version.

Lydgate adheres to the tradition of Paulus Diaconus only in general outline. He retains Peredeus and all other characters of importance, but at the same time he makes an arbitrary abridgment in the omission of the maid-assignation motive.

¹² See 'Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama,' in *Lit. Hist. Forschungen*, Weimar, 1897, I, 140.

¹³ The *Witch* was undoubtedly based on Machiavelli; see Meyer, as above, p. 140.

¹⁴ See Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, p. cc.

He also makes two significant changes in names, Hermegild appearing with him as Melchis, and Cunimond as Trasmounde. In both of these features Davenant is in accord with Paulus, hence Lydgate, also, must be cancelled as a possible source.

Bandello, Belleforest, and Turberville follow Paulus Diaconus with greater fidelity. Bandello's version is confessedly based on him, while Belleforest is but a free translation of Bandello. Turberville does not differ materially from these. All three are faithful to the Lombard historian, not only as regards incident but also as regards form of names. Accordingly each of these would seem to be as probable a source of the story as Paulus Diaconus.

But there is one circumstance which renders it tolerably certain that Davenant made use of no one of the literary versions which have been cited. Reference to the *dramatis personae* of *Albovine* will show that Davenant has preserved without change of name only four of the original characters—Albovine, Hermegild, Paradine, and Cunimond. To the maid-servant of Paulus Diaconus he gives the name Valdaura; while to the queen—Rosamund of history and literature—he gives the name Rhodalinda, a change made perhaps with a view to rendering his source less evident. But be that as it may, it is just this change that gives a clue to the solution of our problem. For, on examining the pages of Paulus Diaconus just preceding those devoted to the skull-feast episode, we find that the name Rhodalinda was borne by Albovine's mother.¹⁵ It accordingly appears that, for the name of the queen, a constant element in the literary versions of the story, Davenant has deliberately substituted that of her mother-in-law, a name that appears in no other literary version, but in the historical version alone. The historical version must therefore have served as his source.

Further evidence corroborative of this view is to be found in Davenant's employment in *Albovine* of two other names from Lombard history—Gondibert and Grimoald—which, likewise, appear in no other literary version. Both of these names may be found in Paulus Diaconus a few chapters beyond those devoted to the account of Albovine's life.¹⁶

¹⁵ *De Gestis Longobardorum*, Bk. I, chap. 18.

¹⁶ *De Gestis Longobardorum*, Bk. IV, *passim*.

It is hardly credible that these coincidences are accidental. They seem, on the contrary, to show that Davenant found his immediate source in some version of the Albovine-story as it appeared in its historical setting—with great probability, in the *De Gestis Longobardorum* of Paulus Diaconus. That he made use of any of the literary versions that have been pointed out there is no satisfactory evidence.

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ZU DEN LANGEN FLEXIONS- UND ABLEITUNGS-
SILBEN IM ALTHOCHDEUTSCHEN.

I. DIE BENEDIKTINERREGEL.

KAUFFMANN hat, *PBB.* 13, 476 den satz ausgesprochen, dass sich bereits in ahd. zeit doppelformen im satzzusammenhang entwickelt haben, sodass, wie z. b. in Notkers *machota* und *machóta*, bald kurzer bald langer vokal erscheint, von denen der kurze schliesslich den sieg davontrug, so jedoch, dass noch in mhd. zeit dann und wann dieses auf die frühere lange form zurückgehende *o* bestehen blieb. Ich habe in dem folgenden versucht, eine möglichst vollständige darstellung der langen vokale zu geben, wie sie historisch in den ahd. endsilben vorkommen, um dadurch nähere aufschlüsse zu gewinnen über die oben berührte abschwächung und womöglich über das relative alter der abgeschwächten endungen in den verschiedenen dialekten, wodurch die arbeit natürlich mehr oder weniger zu einer ansammlung statistischen materials wird. Braune hat in seinem artikel Über die quantität der althochdeutschen endsilben, *PBB.* 2, 125 ff. die hier berührte frage untersucht; seine ausführungen beziehen sich aber meistens auf die Benediktinerregel und hauptsächlich auf Notker, seine ergebnisse finden deshalb anwendung eigentlich nur auf das alemannische. Es mag daher nicht verfehlt sein, das erforderliche material, übersichtlich geordnet, vorzuführen, da dies für einzelne der denkmäler noch so gut wie garnicht geschehen ist.

Grimms vorgange, die quantität der althochdeutschen endsilben nach dem gotischen festzusetzen, so *blintéro* nach *blindaižós*, *blintē* nach *blindai*, folgte man wegen der offenbaren fehlerhaftigkeit des systems nicht lange, stützt sich jetzt vielmehr auf direktes zeugnis, d. h. doppelschreibung wie in der Benediktinerregel und circumflex wie bei Notker, oder auf indirektes

zeugnis wie metrik und reim bei Otfrid; daneben können auch andere germ. dialekte und nhd. mundarten zum vergleich herangezogen werden.

Das bedürfnis lange vokale von den gleichartigen kürzen zu unterscheiden, rief schon bei den Griechen und Römern verschiedene versuche hervor, bei den letzteren vokalgemination¹ und den gebrauch der I longa und des apex, von denen sich jedoch keiner auf die dauer hat erhalten können. Obgleich nun das ganze deutsche schriftwesen² eigentlich nur eine geschichte von entlehnungen ist und in enger verbindung mit dem lateinischen steht, so lässt sich doch mit bezug auf die vokalgemination eine derartige anlehnung nicht konstatieren. Seit der Ciceronischen zeit schon war die gemination veraltet, da sie nur in mehr oder weniger zopfigen inschriften erscheint und am ende der republik verkehrterweise auch zur bezeichnung kurzer silben benutzt wird. Es ist schon aus diesem grunde ganz unwahrscheinlich, dass lat. schriftwerke, die sich zur althochd. zeit in den klöstern mögen befunden haben, den äussern anstoss zum gebrauch dieser schreibweise gegeben haben; die lat. vorlagen zu den althochd. übersetzungen liefern ganz und gar negative resultate mit bezug auf diese frage; desgleichen die dem mittelalter angehörigen, in lat. sprache abgefassten litterarischen erzeugnisse. Wohl tritt diese schreibweise in ags.³ denkmälern auf, sie scheint aber keine allgemeine ausbildung genossen zu haben, da sie nirgends konsequent angewendet, auch fast nur in einsilbigen wörtern gebraucht wird; in dem ersten teil des Orosius kommen z. b. nur zwei verdoppelungen vor. Das altsächsische⁴ weist noch weniger

¹ Die vokalgemination im lat. ist erst kürzlich behandelt worden von Ph. Bersu, *BB.* 23, 252 ff. Nach einer nochmaligen genauen prüfung des materials und der verschiedenen theorien über die entstehung dieser schreibweise kommt er zu der annahme, dass die lat. vokalverdoppelung nichts weiter sei als die in den italischen dialekten häufige svarabhakti-erscheinung, mit dem unterschiede jedoch, dass die svarabhakti nicht hinter sondern vor den konsonanten eingetreten, dass die gemination zuerst nicht zur bezeichnung der vokallänge verwendet worden, dass erst am ende des 6. jahrh. d. st. die doppelt gesprochenen vokale zur länge zusammengelaufen seien.

² Vgl. *Grd.* 1, 238.

³ Vgl. Sievers, *Ags. Gramm.* § 8 und Cook, *Am. Journ. of Phil.* 5, 318.

⁴ Vgl. Gallée, *Alts. Gramm.* § 5.

beispiele auf und an eine direkte beeinflussung von daher ist nicht gut zu denken. Wir haben es wohl mit einer spontanen entwicklung dieser orthographischen eigentümlichkeit zu thun und können auf diese erscheinung im ahd. das anwenden, was man seit Aufrecht-Kirchhoff und Mommsen für das lat. annimmt, nämlich dass die vokalverdoppelung zur bezeichnung der vokal-länge erfunden wurde; und dies hatte darin seinen grund, dass die länge des mit geschliffenem akzent gesprochenen vokals dem sprechenden so deutlich zum bewusstsein kam, dass sie im bilde fixiert wurde. Der beweis dafür, dass der lange vokal im althochd. zweigipfelige betonung hatte, lässt sich wenigstens direkt für das *a* in der haupttonsilbe erbringen, da dasselbe, wo es in geschlossener silbe steht, mehrfach zerlegt wird, indem es entweder auf zwei zeilen verteilt vorkommt oder in der form der doppelschreibung so abgewechselt wird, dass das erste *a* ein geschlossenes, das zweite ein offenes ist oder umgekehrt, und dass beide etwas getrennt geschrieben werden: *ja/ar* Isid. 26, 15/16; *chida/an* ibid. 35, 3/4; *sa ar* ibid. 17, 2; 18, 9; 23, 18; 35, 3; *sca ap* ibid. 41, 9; *vva ar* 34, 18.⁵ In BR. kommt diese art der silbentrennung nicht vor, der durch verdoppelung als lang bezeichnete vokal wird nie auf zwei zeilen verteilt, wohl aber finden sich die andern schreibweisen, so *anaka ant* 4, 4; *keta an* 27, 12; *sla affazan* 31, 8; *saar* 34, 15; *farlaazzeen* 47, 2; *missitaat* 47, 15.

Diejenigen ahd. denkmäler, die vor allen andern doppelschreibung aufweisen, sind der rheinfränkische Isidor, die bairischen Monseer Fragmente und die alemannische Benediktinerregel; sonst findet sich diese schreibweise nur sporadisch, auch in BR. nur in einzelnen partien. Sievers hat, *ZfdPh.* 15, 247 für den Isidor die regel aufgestellt, dass doppelvokal nur gesetzt wird, um langen vokal in geschlossener silbe zu bezeichnen und Hench hat diese regel in seiner ausgabe des *Isidor*, p. 63, dahin näher bestimmt, dass sie nur für die betonte silbe gilt und dass langer vokal (*e* eingeschlossen, welches auch sonst durch die ligatur *æ* bezeichnet wird) in einsilbigen wörtern auch in offener silbe verdoppelt wird. Dieses gesetz, welches so genau befolgt ist (die wenigen ausnahmen sind durch analogie verursacht),

⁵ Hench, *Isidor*, p. 60.

findet keine anwendung auf die Monseer Fragmente noch auf die Benediktinerregel, da z. b. in der letzteren doppelter vokal in geschlossener wie in offener silbe vorkommt, in der stamm-silbe sowohl wie in der flexions- und ableitungssilbe.

Die noch jetzt in den althochd. grammatiken und in vielen ausgaben althochd. denkmäler als lang bezeichneten endsilben sind die folgenden, die ich nun der reihe nach vornehme.

I. Nominalendungen.

- 1) Nom. acc. pl. masc. (*a*) -*ā* ;
- 2) Nom. acc. pl. fem. (*ō*) -*ō* ;
- 3) Nom. sg. masc. st. adj. -*ēr* ;
- 4) Dat. pl. m. f. n. st. adj. -*ēm* ;
- 5) Fem. abstr. auf -*ī*, -*īn* ;
- 6) Gen. pl. fem. (*ō*) und m. f. n. (*n*) -*ōno* ;
- 7) Dat. pl. fem. (*ō*) und m. f. n. (*n*) -*ōm* ;
- 8) Gen. dat. acc. sg. und nom. acc. pl. fem. (*n*) -*ān*.

Hierzu könnte man noch hinzurechnen die selten vorkommende längenbezeichnung des masc. nom. pl. st. adj. -*ē*, auch den gen. sg. der *u*-stämme auf -*ō*.

II. Verbalendungen.

- a) Die flexionsendungen im allgemeinen :
 - 1) 1. pl. ind. und conj. praes. und praet. -*mēs*, -*ēm* ;
 - 2) *ē* im conj. praes. ;
 - 3) *ī* im conj. praet. ;
 - 4) *ō* im ind. praet. der schwachen verben.
- b) Der wurzelerweiterungsvokal der schwachen verben II.
- c) Der wurzelerweiterungsvokal der schwachen verben III.

III. Ableitungssuffixe.

- 1) -*ān* ; 2) -*āri* ; 3) -*īg* ; 4) -*īn* ; 5) -*līh* ; 6) -*ōr* ; 7) *ōst* ;
- 8) -*ōd* ; 9) *ōnt*.

Ich wende mich nun zu der Benediktinerregel, die wohl das beste denkmal der früh althochd. zeit ist, welches ein direktes

zeugnis für die vokallänge enthält.⁶ Die gültigkeit der doppel-schreibung für die länge des vokals in der flexions- oder ableitungssilbe wird dadurch bewiesen, dass diese schreibweise die länge des stammsilbenvokals stets richtig bezeichnet. Hier aber findet sich die verdoppelung in nur ungefähr hundert fällen; am häufigsten erscheint *oo*, 36 mal, wovon aber 20 fälle auf *hoorren* fallen. Der vollständigkeit wegen führe ich alle fälle auf:

saar 24, 11; 32, 2; 34, 15; 35, 4. 6; 51, 7; 98, 17; 99, 9; *inkaat* 14, 18; *anakaant* 84, 4; *zaala* 24, 14; *ketaan* 27, 12. 17; 36, 14; *kitaat* 31, 17; *vnduruhtaan* 35, 7; *missitaat* 47, 15; *aabulki* 30, 13; *aachtunga* 31, 5; *slaaffagan* 31, 8; *aatum-lihhvn* 31, 15; *farlaazzante* 35, 6. 8; *farlaazzeen* 47, 2; *aano* 40, 4.

eerhaftin 10, 16; *eervirdigoron* 24, 15; *eeren* 30, 3; *seer* 13, 11; 15, 2; 30, 14; *see* 14, 1; *kileerte* 17, 8 (2); *leera* 33, 14; *leerran* 35, 7; *meer* 21, 14; 22, 13; 25, 10. 11; 26, 6; 29, 8; 31, 4; 37, 6; 38, 10.

sin (ipsius) 9, 13; 42, 13; *diin* 21, 7; *ciit* 12, 7; 30, 14;

⁶ Meine citate sind nach der seitenzahl der hs. gegeben, die man am leichtesten bei Piper, *Nachträge zur älteren deutschen litteratur, Kürschners Deutsche nat.-lit. 102*, nachsehen kann, auch natürlich in der ausgabe von Hattemer, *Denkmahle des mittelalters*, I, 15–130. Die hs. soll nach Steinmeyer, *ZfdA.* 16, 151 ff. und 17, 431 ff. und nach Seiler, *PBB.* 2, 402 ff. eine von verschiedenen abschreibern hergestellte kopie eines nach dem ersteren auf einzelnen blättern, nach dem letzteren in einzelnen lagen geschriebenen originalkonzeptes sein, das ebenfalls von mehreren verfassern herrührt. Einzelne schreiber sollen mehrere partien geschrieben haben und zwar verteilt sich die arbeit nach Steinmeyer folgendermassen unter die schreiber, die ich mit A, B u. s. w. bezeichne: A schrieb 8–47 (*Hatt.* 23–54), 80–91 (*Hatt.* 79–87), 96–103 (*Hatt.* 90–95), 127 bis zu ende (*Hatt.* 111–125); B 55–57 (*Hatt.* 48–51); C 52–60 (*Hatt.* 58–65), 92–95 (*Hatt.* 87–90); D 61–75 (*Hatt.* 65–73); E 76–79 (*Hatt.* 76–79); F 104–110 (*Hatt.* 96–100); G 111–126 (*Hatt.* 100–111). Auf die frage nach der entstehung der ahd. übersetzung und auf das verhältnis der einzelnen schreiber oder abschreiber zu einander gedenke ich an anderer stelle zurückzukommen.

Der text der Piperschen ausgabe giebt an einigen stellen veranlassung zu bemerkungen und ausstellungen; ich stütze mich dabei auf eine genaue vergleichung der hs., die mein verstorbener freund und lehrer, professor Hench, während seines aufenthalts in St. Gallen im sommer 1896 freundlichst für mich vorgenommen hat und die ich als grundlage einer ausgabe der Benediktinerregel benutzen wollte.

liib 13, 9; 38, 5; *liibleita* 83, 1; 88, 2; *sii* (sit) 20, 5. 10; 23, 10; *siin* (conj.) 35, 14; 80, 15; *fliiz* 33, 7; *kecriiffant* 35, 16; *iille* 41, 10; *pii* (secus) 43, 11; *drii* (ter) 63, 9; *riiffer* 81, 2; *riiffri* 148, 18.

loon 10, 11; 86, 17; 89, 16; *iloon* 39, 11; *iloones* 46, 5; *oor* 10, 15; 34, 2; 35, 2; *oorun* 12, 15; *oorom* 12, 10; *ooron* 13, 14; *oorin* 35, 1; *hoorret* 12, 13; *hoorre* 12, 15; *hoorrat* 12, 17; *hoorres* 13, 7; *hoorremees* 14, 15; *hoorta* 34, 2; *hoorit* 16, 4; 36, 14. 15. 18; *hoorrenti* 27, 17; *hoorreen* 28, 10; *erloosis* 25, 7; *loot* 33, 17; *hoorsamii* 34, 10; 35, 8; 36, 8. 12; 45, 5. 9; *hoorsamonte* 36, 2; *kipoot* 41, 1; *kenoottanteru* 47, 2; *oostrun* 97, 2.

luustrentem 12, 9; *farsuummando*, 82, 7; *piswuffit* 43, 2.

I. Nominalendungen.

1. Der nom. acc. pl. der masc. *a*- und *ja*-stämme erscheint nie mit doppeltem vokal; 26 mal einfaches *-a*, welches in zwei fällen zu *-e* geschwächt ist: *atume spiritus* 125, 12; *fatare patres* 68, 17; das letztere mag unter dem einflusse der nebenstehenden wörter *uuuhe fatare unsare* verschrieben oder einfache unwillkürliche umstellung sein. In *vvehharre ebdomadarii* 88, 8, *vvehharre septimanarii* 87, 18 ist das *-e* ursprünglich.⁷ Im acc. begegnet 2 mal *-o*: *dorno spinas* 60, 2; *zehaningarro decanos* 146, 16; 1 mal *-u*: *muatu animos* 24, 18, hier nach Seiler verschreibung statt *muata*. Wenn also Kögel mit bezug auf den Isidor, *AfdA.* 19, 228 sagt, dass der nom. acc. pl. auf *-o* nur auf sächsischem boden seinesgleichen habe, so wird das hierdurch bestritten, wie ja auch durch die form *angilo*, Sievers, *Murb. hymn.*, p. 22.

2. Der nom. acc. pl. der fem. *o*- und *jo*-stämme weist immer einfaches *-a* auf, 14 mal; *-o* findet sich 2 mal im nom.: *secho inuidie* 146, 2; *pisprahho detractiones* 146, 3; 3 mal im acc.: *cello cellas* 19, 5; *selo animas* 26, 9. 17.

Nun sagt Braune, *PBB.* 2, 151: 'Dieses *a* ist nach allem, was wir über Notkers accente bemerkt haben, als ein unwidersprech-

⁷ Vgl. *PBB.* 4, 345 und Braune, *Gramm.* 198, a. 4. Nach Seiler, p. 437 hat das ableitungssuffix *j* sich hier dem vorhergehenden konsonanten assimiliert.

liches zeugnis dafür anzuerkennen, dass es noch zu jener zeit eine länge war; wir werden es also um so weniger in der früheren zeit für kurz halten können. Es kommen allerdings bei K. keine doppelschreibungen dafür vor. . . . Lässt man daher das *a* des nom. pl. der fem. als länge gelten, so wird man sich dem für die älteste periode auch nicht für das masc. entziehen können, zumal sich bei Notker noch spuren der länge finden.' Das ergebnis war jedoch für das masc. 26 *a*: 2 *o*: 1 *u*: 4 *e*, was wenigstens anzeigt, dass das *a* der masc. schon um diese zeit nicht mehr lang war. In den fem. erscheint es konstanter, da hier nur *a* (14 mal) und *o* (5 mal) vorkommen.⁸

3. Für den nom. sg. des st. adj. masc. stellt sich das verhältnis für das ganze denkmal auf 139 *-er*: 19 *-eer*. Die doppelschreibung findet sich nur in den nach Steinmeyer von der ersten hand geschriebenen partien, und auch hier bemerken wir einen merklichen unterschied. Seite 8–47 haben wir 24 *-er*: 12 *-eer*; 80–91 giebt es 10 *-er*: 7 *-eer*; 96–103 nur *-er* (6 mal); 127–172 ebenfalls nur *-er* (34 mal). Miteingerechnet habe ich *unseer* 40, 8, das handschriftlich ist und von Braune, *PBB.* 2, 141 f. gegen Seiler, *PBB.* I, 444 verteidigt wird; hier ist *-er* wahrscheinlich identisch mit der endung des adj. im nom. sg. masc., dass nämlich das possessivum nach analogie desselben behandelt wurde, welcher vorgang sich auch im fränkischen zeigt.

4. Auch für das *-em* im dat. pl. der st. adj. findet sich doppelschreibung, aber wieder nur in *A*₁ und *A*₂. *A*₁ hat 13 *-em*: 66 *-eem*; *A*₂ 4 *-em*: 6 *-eem*; *A*₃ 16 *-em*; *A*₄ 13 *-em*. Im ganzen denkmal stellt sich das verhältnis auf 72 *-eem*: 112 *-em*; 3 mal findet sich *-en*: *vnhorsamen scaffum inoboedientibus ovibus* 21, 9; *rumen lantscaffim de longinquis provinciis* 133, 15; *unmaktiken infirmis* 112, 1. Das *-en* ist hier hervorgerufen durch das verlangen nach dissimilation, da alle drei wörter ein *m* enthalten.

5. Die st. fem. auf *-i* finden wir vorwiegend mit *-ii* geschrieben und zwar ist dies der einzige fall, in dem die doppelschreibung durch das ganze denkmal hindurchgeht. Bei

⁸ Ich verweise hier auch auf Burchardi, *Der nom. pl. der a-dekl. im ahd.*, *Philologische studien, festgabe für Eduard Sievers*, p. 112.

allen schreibern ausser D (11 mal *-i*) und F (6 mal *-i*) begegnen einfacher und doppelter vokal; im ganzen 104 *-ii*: 78 *-i*. Es hält schwer, einen in jeder hinsicht genügenden grund für die überwiegende häufigkeit der verdoppelung des *i* bei diesen substantiven zu finden. Man könnte kaum sagen, dass der vokal verdoppelt wurde, um dem worte mehr gehalt zu geben, wie dies z. b. von dem Isid. *sii*, *dhrii* und anderen einsilbigen wörtern behauptet ist;⁹ macht sich hier vielleicht der einfluss des lat. bemerkbar, welches eigentlich nur diese vokalverdoppelung aufweist und zwar am ende des wortes? vgl. z. b. *mendii* desiderii 113, 12, während es gerade vorher *mendi* voluntate 113, 8 heisst. In geschlossener silbe kommt die doppel-schreibung nicht vor, also *ano marmulodin* absque marmorationibus 96, 17; *fona fimfchustim* a pentecosten 97, 4; *fora turim* anté foris 104, 6; *vvealhnissim* qualitibus 120, 12; *antreitim* ordines 138, 10. *Folnissi* completurii 61, 18 scheint zu dieser klasse zu gehören; auch vielleicht *folnissi* completurii 64, 2, wo es jedoch neutr. *ja*-stamm sein könnte, während es in *after folnissu* post expletionem 63, 2 als fem. *jó*-stamm erscheint und in *za folnisse* Ad completurium 67, 12 gewiss neutr. *ja*-stamm ist. Euvin kommt 8, 14 und 10, 12 vor.

6. Für den gen. pl. der st. fem. auf *-o* und der schwachen deklination erscheint *-ono*, stets mit einfachem vokal in der paenultima, 29 mal; 1 mal *-o unsamftido* difficultatum 125. 14, wo es vielleicht gen. sg. ist. Durch direktes zeugnis ist die länge des ersten *o* in BR. also keineswegs gesichert, wie Braune, *Gramm.* 221, a. 6 behauptet.

7. Die endung des dat. pl. *-om* erscheint mit doppeltem vokal, freilich nur in A₁ und A₂, 28 *-oom*: 11 *-om*; im ganzen denkmal 28 *-oom*: 53 *-om*. Zu diesen *-om* muss man noch hinzurechnen zehn formen auf *-on* (Seiler hat 12, eine form *selbon* 125. 3 2 mal gerechnet, als schw. masc. und neutr.): *diemselbon* 32, 13; *demselbon* 84, 3; 125, 3; 143, 15; *demselbon aband ipsa vespera* 98, 5; *leczeon* 55, 7; *salmon* 61, 5; *uuahton* 68, 11; *sprahchon* 111, 4; *gesuuason* 116, 4. *Sunton* 50, 15 ist unten auf der seite von jüngerer hand nachgetragen. *-um* und *-un* finden sich in *manungū* 16, 11, welches von einem

⁹ *ZfdPh.* 15, 247.

nom. *manune* kommen mag; *after wahtun post uigilias* 52, 7. *minnirom* *minorem* 118, 9 fasse ich als acc. sg., da das -m des lat. wortes den schreiber wahrscheinlich verleitete, -om statt -on zu setzen.

8. Die endung -un der schw. fem. kommt nur 4 mal als -*un* vor und zwar nur im sg., 2 mal je in A₁ und A₂ gegen resp. 40 und 9 -*un*: *chelum* 19, 7; *sunnum* 33, 11; *ubar keba pezzistun* 82, 15; *dera chotcundvvn sprahha* 83, 3. Im ganzen begegnet -*un* 133 mal im sg. und 20 mal im pl. Als schreibfehler findet sich zweimal -*um*: *lecsum* *lectioni* 111, 13; *leccium* *lectioni* 112, 18; im letzteren mag das *m* hervorgerufen sein durch die endung des vorhergehenden wortes *uuafum*. In *atumlīchun* 113, 12 ist das *n* aus *m* radiert. Bemerkenswert ist auch das durch unwillkürliche metathese entstandene -*um* (Seiler, p. 472) in *kameinsanum* 49, 4.

9. Die länge des aus -*au* (got. -*aus*) entstandenen -*o* im gen. sg. der masc. *u*-stämme wird als bezeugt angenommen durch die alleinstehende form *fridoo* 14, 6. Mit bezug darauf sagt Braune, *PBB.* 2, 139, dass wir berechtigt sind das einfache zeugnis als ein vollwichtiges anzunehmen, da diese endung zu Notkers zeit verschwunden ist, und p. 153 wird diese länge als beweismaterial gebraucht für einen andern punkt. In der fussnote heisst es aber: 'Es scheint danach, dass sich auslautende länge noch am besten hielt, wenn sie ursprünglich noch ein *s* nach sich hatte, wie auch im nom. pl. auf *ā* der fall war. In andern fällen ist aber auch da kürzung eingetreten.' Ist es absolut unmöglich, dieses *oo* als schreibfehler aufzufassen, wie die verdoppelung in *trahtohee* und *andree*? Ich verweise auch auf *anoo* 51, 11,¹⁰ wo die zweite silbe gewiss nicht langen vokal enthält, sodass also dieses auslautende *o* in *fridoo* sich nicht von den andern im auslaut stehenden und früher lang gewesenem unterscheiden würde.

10. Bemerkenswert sind *andree* *reliqui* 54, 11, *andree* *alii* 56, 10, die Braune, *PBB.* 2, 139. 154 als sporadisch und als fehlerhafte schreibweise bezeichnet, da nom. acc. pl. masc. des st. adj. seiner meinung nach schon in den ältesten quellen

¹⁰ Seilers annahme, dass der schreiber einen mischvokal ausdrücken wollte durch *ao*, ist schon durch Steinmeyers korrektur von *anao* zu *anoo* gefallen.

kurzes *e* haben. Seiler nimmt die beiden formen als vollgültige zeugnisse für langes *e*,¹¹ obgleich sonst immer *andre* und zwar häufig, 3 mal nahe bei einander 56, 16; 58, 6; 59, 1. Auch kommen drei formen auf *-a* vor: *lefsa dina labia tua* 13, 10; *duruh einluzza per singulos* 120, 18; *desa* 138, 18.

II. Verbalendungen.

a) Die flexionsendungen im allgemeinen.

Die 1. pl. kommt 66 mal vor, 42 *-mes*, 1 *-mez*, 20 *-mees*, 3 *-em*; die formen mit doppeltem vokal wieder nur in A_1 . Sie verteilen sich folgendermassen:

1) ind. praes.: 25 *-mes*, 1 *-mez* (*kesezamez* disposuimus 56, 1): 13 *-mees*. Miteingerechnet habe ich *lesames* legamus 68, 16; 96, 3; *ibu erfullemees*, *pirumes* si compleamus, erimus 17, 5; so *erfullit*, so *anpintames* implebitur, si persolvamus 62, 2; ausserdem drei sätze, in denen *pirumes* erscheint und den lat. conj. vertritt 23, 10; 34, 6; 112, 17.

2) ind. praet.: 8 *-mes* (incl. *denne infrahetomes* cum interrogassemus 17, 2): 1 *-mees*, *kehortomees* 17, 3.

3) conj. praes.: *teilnemem* 9, 16; *kearneem* 9, 17; 14, 17, wo das lat. stets ut fin. c. conj. hat.

4) 1. pl. imp.: *pittames* rogemus 8, 6; *erstantames* exurgamus 12, 5; *horrames* audiamus 12, 10; *kangames* pergamus 14, 6; *hoorremees* audiamus 14, 15; *frahemees* interrogemus 14, 11; *kesezamees* *ghuememees* ad coenobitarum genus disponendum veniamus 19, 13. 14; *tuamees* faciamus 37, 9; *kelaubpamees* credamus 43, 7; *rahhomes* referamus 62, 8; *kasehames* videamus 62, 15; *inpintames* persolvamus 69, 1; *kehenkames* consentiamus 96, 7; *arhchomes* augeamus 113, 2; 9 *-mes*: 6 *-mees*. Das denkmal zeigt also keinen verstoss gegen die regel, dass *-mes* (*-mees*) im conj. praes. nicht vorkommen sollte, da die form *ghuememees* 19, 13 gewiss unter diese rubrik gehört, obwohl Seiler sie, p. 452 als einziges beispiel der 1. pl. conj. praes. mit langer endung aufführt.

Die 2. sing. conj. praes. kommt 8 mal vor, alle fälle in A_1 :

¹¹ So auch Jellinek, *Zur lehre von den langen endsilben*, *ZfdA.* 39, 148.

7 -es: 1 -ees, also direkter beweis für die länge, die Seiler, p. 452 nach analogie des vokals im pl. bestimmt, da er sich hier der von ihm p. 433 citierten form *nikangees non eas* 43, 14 nicht mehr zu erinnern scheint. Die anderen formen sind: *nemes* 10, 2; *huuarabes* 10, 18–11, 1; *pikinnes inchoas* 11, 8; *pittes deposcas* 11, 11; *hoorres* 13, 7; *hrivoes* 29, 13; *keroes* 30, 2.

Für die 2. pl. finden sich drei belege: *hoorreet ir si audieritis* 12, 13; *tuet ir cum feceritis* 13, 14; *er denne mih kenemmeet antequam me invocetis* 13, 16. Der vokal ist also sicher lang.

Die 3. pl. weist die folgenden formen auf, unter denen sechs auf -een sind: *framkangeen* 24, 7;¹² *pikirneen* 24, 11;¹³ *kebeen* 28, 4; 47, 1; *forlaazzeen* 47, 2; *hoorreen* 28, 10. Ich nehme hier auch *skirmeen* 28, 7 und *hoorreen* 28, 11 mit auf. Seiler versucht, p. 435 sie als falsche lesung des schreibers der handsch. oder der neueren herausgeber für *skirman*, *hoorran* zu erklären. Den letzteren kann man ein solches versehen aber nicht zur last legen, denn es lässt sich ebensowenig zu diesen beiden formen wie zu *unseer* 40, 8 berichtigung machen. Mir scheint Seilers erklärungs unhaltbar; das einfachste ist, die formen als conj. aufzufassen, als ob der übersetzer die angefangene konstruktion auf die eigentlich von dem ersten conj. abhängigen infinitive ausgedehnt hätte; ausserdem haben wir in dem falle von *hoorreen* nur die wiederholung der soeben gebrauchten form: *dent fratres consilium cum omni humilitatis subjectione ut non praesumant procaciter defendere quod eis visum fuerit = kebeen . . . kerati mit eocowuelihera deoheit untaruuorfanii daz nalles erpaldeen vvelihho skirmeen daz im keduht ist* 28, 4–7; *ut quod salubrius esse iudicaverit ei cuncti oboediant; sed sicut discipulis conuenit oboedire magistro = so daz heillihoor vvesan suanit imu alle hoorreen uzzan so discoom kerisit hoorreen demu meistre* 28, 8–11. Die fälle auf -em sind offenbare schreibfehler: *erstantem surgant* 56, 8; *piuuerigem prohibeant* 142, 1; *kehabeem absteneant* 90, 10 (nach Piper). 3 mal findet sich

¹² *Framkangeen* ist teilweise ausradiert, doch sind charakteristische züge jedes buchstabens erkennbar; die radiierung ist von derselben hand, die auch sc in *proficiscant*, z. 11 radierte.

¹³ Der schreiber hatte zuerst nur -nen gesetzt, fügte dann aber ein zweites e hinzu.

-an: *furichueman* preveniant 91, 6; *arbeiten* laborent 109, 18; *lesan* legant 110, 15, alles formen des hort. conj., obgleich derselbe nicht weit davon auch in gewöhnlicher form erscheint; vgl. dazu *setzan*, *Isid.* 25, 4.

Die 2. pl. conj. praet. hat 1 -it: 2 -iit, alle in A₁: *nichvriit* 12, 13; *eigiit* 13, 1; *nichurit* 33, 2.

Von der 3. pl. kommen 4 fälle vor, alle in A und alle mit einfachem vokal: *eigin* 23, 3; 97, 11; 140, 17; *niuuizzin* 34, 18; der letzte beleg ist nicht verzeichnet bei Seiler.

Die 2. sg. ind. praet. der schw. verba findet sich 7 mal, 5 -tos: 2 -toos in A₁: *fietos* 22, 8; *kesuahtos* 46, 9; *ersuahtos* 46, 10; *analeittos* 46, 11; *saztos* 46, 12; *anasaztos* 46, 15; *kedeonotos* 48, 18.

-tomes kommt 5 mal vor, nie mit doppelvokal: *intfrahetomes* 17, 2; *kehortomees* 17, 3; *lirnetomes* 131, 13; *kisaztomes* 62, 14; 146, 17.

Von der 3. pl. begegnen 6 fälle, 5 -ton: 1 -toon in A₁: *uuolton* 12, 4; *platoon* 16, 7; *lirneton* 17, 16; *farhocton* 21, 8; *fardoleton* 125, 1 (Hatt. 110, nicht 100 wie bei Seiler); *suanton* 138, 17.

Somit ergibt sich als resultat, dass alle unter diesem abschnitt aufgeführten endungen mit doppelvokal vorkommen ausser der 1. pl. ind. praet., wo das o in offener silbe steht; der 1. pl. conj. praet., die sich überhaupt nicht belegen lässt; der 1. pl. conj. praes. und der 3. pl. conj. praet., und dass wir in den letzten beiden keine doppelschreibung finden, ist angesichts der wenigen hierhergehörigen formen wohl nur zufall.

b) Der wurzelerweiterungsvokal der schwachen verben II.

Die 1. sg. ind. praes. ist 1 mal belegt: *kelihhison* 16, 5.

Als belege für die 2. sg. finden sich *keros* 10, 1 und *errahhos* 22, 6.

Die 3. sg. hat in A₁ 8 -oot: 1 -ot, in A₂ 1 -oot: 2 -ot, im ganzen 9 -oot: 14 -ot; *manoot* 12, 12; *keroot* 13, 6; *ladoot* 14, 7; *peitoot* 16, 10; 44, 8; *minnoot* 36, 17; 44, 13; *murmoloot* 37, 1; *anakimahhoot* 82, 16; *muazzot* 8, 10; *trahtot* 84, 7; *duruftigot* 85, 18; *kestatot* 102, 1; *caugrot* 102, 2; *vuidarot*

103, 15; *kerot* 103, 15; 134, 4; 143, 2; *pismerot* 128, 6; *anakimahhot* 143, 18; *chlocchot* 149, 5; *clohhot* 110, 3; *gaugrot* 111, 4. Einmal ist das *t* ausgelassen *muazzo vacat* 8, 12.

Die 1. pl. ind. kommt nur 1 mal vor: *zuamanomees* 24, 9; die 2. pl. lässt sich nicht belegen.

Für die 3. pl. hat *A*₁ 3 *-ont*: 2 *-oont*, das ganze denkmal 6 *-ont*: 2 *-oont*: *minnoont* 34, 4; *keroont* 36, 3; *mihhilont* 15, 14; *kenuhtsamont* 18, 6; *scauuont* 43, 15; *keront* 144, 8; *duruftigont* 52, 9; *gaugront* 118, 14.

Die 2. sg. conj. praes. begegnet 2 mal: *ni hrivoes non peniteberis* 29, 13; *ni keroes non concupiscere* 30, 2.

Die 3. sg. kommt 15 mal vor und zwar sind der stamm- und endungsvokal in drei fällen durch eingeschobenes *h* geschieden, nach Seiler, p. 459, um die scharfe trennung beider vokale zu bezeichnen:¹⁴ *duruftigohe* 92, 10 (*duruftigoe* 149, 10); *piscuuuwohe* 123, 11 (Hait. 108, nicht 120 wie bei Seiler); *trahtohee* 134, 7; einmal findet sich vielleicht metathese *ubarmuateo superbiat* 147, 2. In *trahtohee* ist auch das *ee* bemerkenswert, welches Braune¹⁵ und Jellinek¹⁶ in dieselbe kategorie mit *andree* setzen, indem der erstere es für fehlerhaft hält und der letztere, dem auch Seiler beistimmt (pp. 444, 452), es für richtig erklären möchte. Kögel sagt, *PBB.* 9, 508, dass er für die langen conjunctivformen nur die von ihm angeführten belege kenne; zur vervollständigung seines belegmaterials führe ich alle in BR. vorkommenden formen auf. Ausser den schon oben genannten finden sich: *altinoe* 24, 10; *kemahhoe* 25, 18; *chlagoe* 26, 11; *trahtoe* 27, 18; *redinoe* 74, 10; *ketemproe* 97, 15; *zimbroe* 99, 3; *hrivuoe* 101, 13; *kamahchoe* 107, 12; *duruftigoe* 149, 10; *intrahhoe* 150, 4.

Die 1. und 2. pl. fehlen; die 3. zeigt nur die lange form.

¹⁴ Vgl. auch Bremer, *PBB.* 11, 62.

Mit bezug auf das eingeschobene *h* heisst es Braune, *Gramm.* 152, a. 3: "Zweifelhaft ist die lautliche geltung des *h* in den längeren conjunctivformen einiger alem. quellen; *piscuuuwohe*, *duruftigohe* u. s. w., da sie sich in quellen finden, die auch im anlaut fälschlich *h* setzen." In wahrheit jedoch finden sich die obengenannten drei formen gerade in solchen partien, wo das *h* im anlaut stets fehlt, obwohl man es erwarten sollte; im in- und auslaut jedoch wird es regelmässig gebraucht.

¹⁵ l. c. 139, 154.

¹⁶ *ZfdA.* 39, 148.

Zur ergänzung von Kögel, *l. c.* folgen alle fälle: *anadeonoen* 52, 10; *kescauoen* 89, 10; *kenuhtsamoen* 93, 16; *caumoen* 97, 10; *duruftigoen* 98, 7; 118, 6; *uuerchoen* 108, 13; 110, 10; *muaz(z)oen* 108, 15; 109, 15; 110, 7; 111, 1. 13; *inmahchoen* 110, 1; *horsamoen* 118, 15.

Für den imp. sind die folgenden formen zu verzeichnen:

Die 2. sg., worüber Braune sagt: 'Der imp. auf *o* ist zwar bei K. nicht belegt, hier lehrt aber der gebrauch bei N., dass das *o* kurz war;' ich möchte einen beleg für BR. anführen: *ni huario non adulterare* 30, 1.

Die 1. pl. haben wir in *rahhomes referamus* 62, 8; *auhchomes augeamus* 113, 2. Von der 2. pl. giebt es nur ein beispiel: *chorot probate* 125, 12.

Dass das *o* des inf. lang war, beweist die schreibweise in A_1 : *deonoon* 25, 14; *minnoon* 30, 8; 31, 3; 32, 6. 8; 33, 6 (vom übersetzer nachgetragen); 33, 7. 10; *keroon* 31, 16; *petoon* 33, 11; *uuison* 30, 9; *kamachon* 134, 16; *entrahon* 127, 17; *kimachon* 133, 8; *festinon* 134, 10; *auchon* 94, 9; *kamahchon* 76, 1; *offanon* 107, 7; *keummuazon* 108, 6; *kemahhon* 102, 11. Das ganze denkmal bietet 10 -on: 10 -oon.

Der gerundiale inf. findet sich 9 mal und während der einfache vokal konstant bleibt, erscheint das nachfolgende *n* bald einfach bald verdoppelt: 5 -onne: 4 -one: *ze redinone* 54, 14; 63, 16; *zi piscouuonne* 112, 6; *ze kemahone* 134, 4; *ze minnonne* 29, 15; *zi emizzigonne* 97, 13; *zi ubarmuatonne* 145, 16; *za untarmahonne* 53, 5; *za samanonne* 109, 7.

Doppelvokal erscheint nur 1 mal im part. praes., sonst 34 -ont; A_1 hat 19 -ont: 1 -oont: *horsamoonti* *obediens* 45, 7; *keuerdonter* 11, 12; *verchontan* 15, 13; *deononte* 18, 11; 19, 8; *suuihonte* 19, 6; *vnhorsamonti* 20, 18; *suntontemv* 22, 5; *dictontemv* 22, 18; *altinonti* 26, 4; *fluahhonte* 31, 3 (aber *fluahhan* 31, 4); *murmulontan* 31, 9; *hoorsamonte* 36, 2; *stozzonto* 36, 10; *murmolontaz* 37, 4; *murmolonteru* 37, 6; *scauonti* 41, 18; *ruahhalosontem* 43, 3; *leisanonti* 45, 5; *deononte* 89, 13; *zuamanonte* 96, 17; *ruahhalosontem* 101, 9; *zvaauhchonte* 129, 2; *augustonter* 143, 12; *scauonter* 143, 16; *theononte* 48, 14; *keuerdonter* 51, 7; *rehtculichontem* 54, 8; *abandmuasontem* 94, 6; *manonte* 68, 3; *kauerdonti* 78, 2; *mittilodontera* 109, 2;

ruachalosonti 111, 15; *duruftigontero* 123, 12; *chlochonti* 125, 13. Ausserdem ist zu merken *dictetemu*¹⁷ dictante 9, 3 (vgl. *dictontemu* 22, 18). Die form *keladantes* inuitantis 13, 18, die Hatt. zeigt, Steinm. nicht verbessert und auch Piper beibehalten hat, ist in *keladontes* zu korrigieren. Das *o* ist sicher, wenn auch die form ein wenig ungewöhnlich aussieht, als ob zuerst der haken eines *d* gemacht und die beiden enden dann durch einen geraden strich verbunden wären. Dasselbe *o* erscheint auch in *eocouuelih* 21, 1 und an anderen stellen; *a* ist gewöhnlich das geschlossene, nicht das offene *a*.

Die von diesen verben vorkommenden praeteritalformen mit bindevokal sind die folgenden drei: *kezimbrotā* edificavit 16, 6; *keminnota* dilexit 46, 8; *vidarota* recusavit 103, 16.

Vom part. praet. findet sich die unflektierte form 42 mal, darunter 6 auf *-oot*, alle in A₁ und A₂. Das verhältnis stellt sich in A₁ auf *1-ot*: *3-oot*; in A₂ auf *3-ot*: *3-oot*: *keauhhot* 26, 14; *keminnot* 22, 13; *kedeonoot* 39, 1; *kilustidoot* 44, 14; *kilustidot* 85, 9; *kitheonot* 86, 3; *entrachot* 86, 14; *kechoroot* 80, 2; *entrakhoot* 87, 4; *keruahhalosoot* 90, 13; *kientot* 54, 16; *keentot* 98, 8; *ka(ke-, ki-)temprot* 52, 12; 98, 10; 112, 17; *kichorot* 127, 2; *intvatot* 129, 14; *kistatot* 133, 10; *kevidarot* 134, 10; *kiscavuuot* 141, 3; *kescavuuot* 123, 8; *keminnot* 143, 11; *kifreisot* 146, 4; *anakimahhot* 147, 10; *anakimahchot* 48, 5; *anakimachot* 110, 12; *ki(ka-)mahchot* 67, 7; 109, 18; 111, 11. 17; 112, 3; *kemanot* 148, 1; *caugrot* uacare 149, 1; *kecaugrot* vvesan uacandi 149, 17; *vntardeonot* 137, 16; *kimarchot* 63, 15; *kisuntrot* 66, 16; *kispentot* 75, 1; *kiduruftigot* 120, 14; *kichlagot* 121, 5. Eine unflektierte form auf *-ont* kommt vor: *sint armeinsamont* excommunicantur 104, 4, wo das *-nt-* in ligatur entstanden ist unter dem einfluss des ligierten *-nt-* in dem lat. wort (vgl. *armeinsamoter* excommunicatus 78, 8). Bemerkenswert ist die form *keachusteot* 135, 1, wo ursprüngliches *j* erhalten ist. Wenn flektiert, so weist das part. nie doppelvokal auf, 19 mal *-ot*: *kechorote* 18, 9; *kechoroter* 148, 1; *keauhhoti* 27, 5; *keentoteem* 88, 9; *kepezzirote* 90, 9; *intuuatotan* 145, 17; *keuuatoter* 129, 13; *intvatoter* 129, 16; *entvatoter* 130, 3; *kiuuatote* 72, 6; *kedeonoter* 48, 17; 51, 5; *katheonoter* 105, 18;

¹⁷ Zu *dictetemu* bemerkt Piper: "Das erste *e* korr., aus *o*??."

untardeonotan 132, 18; 136, 14; *zvakimanoter* 137, 10; *keprauhoter* 48, 8; *kispentotemv* 65, 17; *armeinsamoter* 78, 8.

e) Der wurzelerweiterungsvokal der schwachen verben III.

Die 1. sg. ist nur einmal belegt: *lirnem discam* 49, 1; die 2. sg. fehlt.

In der 3. sg. haben wir in A_1 5 -*eet*: 2 -*et*: *cuatliheet* 16, 2; *hangeet* 28, 8; *erpaldeet* 29, 2; *anahlineet* 35, 15; *hareet* 38, 17; *uuonet* 10, 11; *haret clamet* 13, 4; *erpaldet* 137, 9; *pilihchet* 68, 5; *meldet* 106, 18; im ganzen 5 -*eet*: 6 -*et*. Von *haben* 4 mal -*it*: *hebit* 8, 4; 45, 1; 95, 6; 129, 7; einmal *habet* 118, 17.

Die 1. und 3. pl. erscheinen je 3 mal, die 2. fehlt: *haremees* 20, 4; *piporakemes* 42, 16; *piporakemees* 43, 2; *fardoleent* 47, 5 (2); *kiuuonent* 60, 2.

Die 3. sg. conj. praes. begegnet 21 mal, jedesmal auf -*ee*. Zur ergänzung von Kögel, *PBB.* 9, 518 gebe ich auch hier ein vollständiges verzeichnis: *cuatlihhee* 16, 2; *lebee* 17, 1; *porakee* 27, 9; *erpaldee* 28, 18; 82, 18; *paldee* 105, 2; *erbaldee* 132, 17; *zilee* 33, 5; 143, 10; *muadee* 45, 13; *habee* 82, 16; *kastillee* 105, 7; *sakee* 113, 15; *lirnee* 126, 3; *anauuartee* 126, 7; *zavvartee* 133, 4; 137, 1; *piporgee* 135, 16; *piporkee* 136, 10; *kemezlihhee* 143, 18; 144, 7. Über *inthabee* 45, 17 siehe unten. Die 2. sg. kommt nicht vor.

Die 1. pl. ist belegt durch *kearneem* 9, 17; 14, 7; die 2. fehlt und die 3. findet sich nur 3 mal: *erpaldeen* praesumant 28, 6; *inthabeen* sustineant 88, 7; *kehabeen* absteneant 90, 10.

Von der 2. sg. imp. kommen 3 fälle auf -*e* vor: *hlose* 10, 14; *kifolge* 13, 13; *kinade* 54, 15. Doppelvokal findet sich in *inthabee* sustine 45, 17, was ein zeugnis für die länge des auslautenden vokals wäre, wenn nicht dies *inthabee* conj. sein soll, sodass der schreiber die mit dem vorhergehenden verbum angefangene konstruktion einfach fortgesetzt hat: *si kestarachit herza dinaz . . . inthabee . . .*, also *herza* auch als subjekt zu dem letzten verbum fasst.

Die 1. pl. erscheint in *frahemees* interrogemus 14, 11; die 2. kommt nicht vor.

Die länge des inf. ist wieder bezeugt durch doppelschreibung, 14 mal in A₁, 1 mal in A₂, 1 mal in C; in ganzen 14 -een: 11 -en: *suuigeen* 19, 11; 37, 15; 38, 7; *haben* 27, 2; 30, 15; 31, 17; 33, 7; 80, 9; *doleen* 31, 6; 93, 3; *anahlineen* 32, 10; *ereen* 33, 9; *fardoleen* 46, 1; *piporageen* 39, 4; *skirmeen* 28, 7 und *hoorreen* 28, 11 habe ich schon oben besprochen. Die anderen fälle sind *folgen* 12, 4; *haben* 13, 8; 112, 10; 132, 15; *eeren* 30, 3; *fien* 32, 15; 33, 6; *cilen* 98, 14; *erpalden* 103, 13; *lirnen* 111, 17; *hangen* 146, 12.

Das gerundium weist folgende formen auf: *ze piporgenne* 43, 9; *ze porgeenne* 44, 3; *ze lirnene* 52, 9; *za habenne* 131, 5.

Im part. praes. erscheint nie doppelvokal, obgleich 11 fälle in A₁ zu finden sind, 19 mal -ent: *lirnente* 9, 13; *duruuwoonente* 9, 15; *anahlinenti* 20, 15; *farmanenti* 21, 7; *farmanente* 36, 3; 41, 2; *farmanento* 81, 11; *forasagenti* 22, 3; *lebente* 36, 1. 3 (hier ergänzung vom übersetzer am untern rande); *suuigentun* 45, 11; *fardolenti* 45, 13; *vntarfolkenti* 88, 17; *folgentem* 62, 15; *kehabenter* 48, 3; *habenti* 95, 15; *ebandolenti* 78, 1; *anauuartenter* 111, 4; *kenentemv* 130, 1.

Die praeteritalformen, die von diesen verben vorkommen, sind *ertumbeta* 37, 12; *suuiketa* 37, 13; *suuigeta* 44, 11; *kihebita* 15, 9; *fietos* 22, 8; *intfrahetomes* 17, 2; *lirnetomes* 131, 16; *lirneton* 17, 16; *fardoleton* 125, 1.

Wie bei den o-verbren so zeigt das part. praet. auch hier doppelvokal in geschlossener silbe, und zwar überwiegt die doppelschreibung bei A₁ und A₂ bedeutend, A₁ hat 7 -eet: 2 -et, A₂ nur 2 -eet; im ganzen finden sich 18 -et: 9 -eet: *kedoleet* 26, 2; 34, 17; *kefolgeet* 28, 14. 17; 30, 6; 37, 5; 46, 14; *kearneet* 83, 4; *kidoleet* 89, 18; *kiarnet* 135, 2; *ke(ka-, ki-)folget* 35, 9; 46, 5; 52, 16; 59, 11; 53, 10; 54, 11. 13; 56, 9; *ki(ke-)habet* 55, 3. 18; 57, 11 (nicht *kihabet* wie bei Piper; vgl. facsim. bei demselben); 60, 16; *si untarfolget* subsequatur 55, 9; 57, 6; *kiporket* 57, 15; *kiuuartet* 68, 7; *kedolet* 125, 3. Flektiert kommt es nur vor in *keveihhete molliti* 18, 11; auch ist hier anzuführen *pihafter occupatus* 86, 16.

III. Ableitungssuffixe.

Der vollständigkeit wegen habe ich diese mit in die untersuchung aufgenommen, die belege jedoch mit bezug auf direktes zeugnis für die länge, die in diesen quellen immer als feststehend angenommen wird, sind nicht sehr zahlreich.

1. *-an*. Es kommt vor in a) *danan*, welches eigentlich nie in rein lokalem sinn gebraucht wird; = *deinde* (dann, 2tens, usw.) 17, 12; 29, 17. 18; 59, 11; = *unde* (folgernd) 35, 16; 39, 12; 43, 12; = *inde* (darauf) 53, 10; 57, 16; 58, 6; 63, 17; 64, 13; = *hinc* (ursprung) 146, 2; 3 mal schreibt A₁ es mit doppelvokal: 17, 12; 35, 16; 39, 12. b) *uzaan* foras 29, 1; die länge ist also hier, wo es im gegensatz zu *innana* gebraucht wird und stark betont ist, bewahrt. Sonst erscheint nur einfacher vokal: *uzzan* excepto 55, 4, exceptis 55, 13; *uzan* excepto 60, 13; *uzan*, *uzan* = *sed* 21 mal; = *nisi* 5 mal. c) *huuanan* unde 27, 17.

2. *-ari*. In keinem fall ist das *a* zu *e* geworden, aber auch zeigt sich nie doppelvokal, obwohl wörter dieser klasse 8 mal in A₁ und A₂ vorkommen, wo man angesichts des *-rr-* verdoppelung erwarten könnte. Zur ergänzung der obliquen casus, die sich bei Seiler, p. 437 verzeichnet finden, gebe ich die nominativ-formen, wie sie im texte erscheinen: *firinari* 50, 18; *sangari* 54, 2; *uuehchari* 92, 18; *spentari* 142, 3 (dies acc. sg.); im ganzen finden sich 4 *-ari*, 8 *-ar-*, 9 *-arr-*.

3. *-in* begegnet nur in *truhtin*, vokalverdoppelung zeigt sich nie.

4. *-ig*. Die länge scheint noch zu bestehen, wenn wir das einzige beispiel, das doppelschreibung in geschlossener silbe bietet, als beweis annehmen: *eniic* quisquam 28, 18; sonst hat A₁ *euuic* 12, 3; *kehuctic* 20, 10; 40, 18 und A₂ *einic* 85, 8. Das ganze denkmal hat 9 *-ic*, 2 *-ic-*, 52 *-ig-*, 14 *-ik-*.

5. *-lih*. In ganzen denkmal begegnet es ungefähr 250 mal, nie mit doppelvokal, obgleich häufige gelegenheit dazu wäre, denn A₁ und A₂ weisen ungefähr 100 fälle auf. Mit bezug auf die sonstige schreibweise unterliegt es manchen veränderungen: 21 *-lih*, 29 *-lih-*, 118 *-lihh-*, 49 *-lich-*, 32 *-lihch-*. Besonders zu

erwähnen sind die beiden wörter, in denen das *-lih* später unzweifelhaft kurzen vokal hat, der zuletzt ganz und gar verloren geht: *solih* und *welih*. Wenn auch nirgends verdoppelung eintritt, so ist doch auch in keinem fall der vokal synkopiert oder zu e geschwächt, weder in unflektierter noch in flektierter form; nur an drei stellen erscheint einfaches *-h-*. Ich führe einige formen an: *solih* 126, 4; 134, 10; *solihcher* 111, 6; 124, 9; *solihheru* 37, 5; 38, 14; *solihhera* 140, 5; *solichan* 135, 8; *solicha* (taliter) 111, 10; *solihhe* 35, 4; 36, 4; *solihhem* 101, 9; *selihcha* 106, 6; einmal *suslichan* 75, 8; *wuelih* 86, 16; 105, 15; *huuelih* 30, 4; 44, 13; 45, 4; 81, 9; *huueliher* 102, 17; so *huuelihes* 139, 8¹⁸; so *wuelihhes* 23, 1; *wuelichemv* so 86, 9; so *huuelihemv* so 83, 15; so *wuelihcheru* so 106, 9; *wuelichemv* 68, 4; so *huuelihhan* 147, 6; so *wuelichu* 76, 1; 131, 3; *huuelihhiv* 29, 8; 38, 9; *vvelichiv* 134, 5; so *wuelicha* so 78, 7; 86, 8; 119, 14; *vvelicho* 129, 7; *wuelihhe* 87, 5; so *wuelihhem* so 110, 5.

6. Die komparativendung *-or* kommt 2 mal vor mit doppelvokal (Seiler hat, p. 434 nur einen fall): *heillichhoor* salubrius 28, 9; *tragoor* tardius 90, 6, sonst findet es sich wie folgt: 18 *-or* (5 in A₁, 1 in A₂), 12 *-or-* (3 in A₁).

7. *-ost* erscheint in dieser form 33 mal, A₁ hat einmal *-oost*: *deonoostman* seruator 90, 2, sonst heisst es *deonost* 34, 13; *d(th)eonostes* 23, 5; 62, 1; 68, 12; 113, 3; *deonosti* 8, 17; 22, 16; *deonostun* 90, 13; *deonostmannum* 93, 15. Auf *-ost* gebildete ordinalia finden sich 16 mal; die übrigen fälle sind reine superlative.

8. Das suffix *-od*, von dem 11 fälle vorkommen, zeigt nie doppelvokal weder in offener noch in geschlossener silbe, vgl. z. b. *richisod* 145, 5; *ellinodes* 146, 3.

9. *obonoontiki* culmen (acc.) 39, 13 steht ganz allein. Nach Seiler, p. 429 ist diese form aus *obanantiki* entstanden durch progressive, sich auf zwei silben erstreckende assimilation. Auch verweist er auf Graff I, 80, wo alle vorkommenden fälle aufgezählt seien, die seine ansicht aber nicht unterstützen. Es scheint seltsam, dass das kurze o der ersten silbe einen so starken einfluss auf das a der dritten ausüben sollte, dass dieses dadurch in o verwandelt wird; vielmehr ist o als

¹⁸ Hatt. hat hier *sohuueliher*, wozu Steinmeyer keine korrektur macht.

ursprünglich zu betrachten, wie es aus den älteren belegen erhellt: *obanontigi* Rd., Rb.; *opanontigi* Ja.; *opanontigem* Pa.; *obanontikem* Rb.; *obonontigi* Od.; vgl. auch das adj. *opanontic* R., Ra., Pa., Jc.; *opanondic* gl. K.; *opanontigemu* Ja. Ist diese form nicht zu *ennónt*, *hinnónt* zu ziehen? Die letzteren haben unter starkem nebeton die länge des *o* bewahrt, während in *obonoontikii* bei der grösseren ausdehnung des sprechtaktes das *o* allmählig kürzer und dann zu *a*, *e* wurde, sodass die jüngeren quellen nur *a* oder *e* zeigen. Für assimilation rückwärts in der zweiten silbe spricht ausser *uzorosti* 48, 3 auch *uzssonondem* Is. 35, 12; *offonor* M. Fr. 33, 3.

Aus dem vorhergehenden erhellt

1. dass die doppelschreibung in den endsilben mit nur wenigen ausnahmen auf A_1 und A_2 beschränkt ist. Diese ausnahmen sind:

- a) die starken fem. auf *-i*. Das verhältnis stellt sich so: A (1, 2, 3, 4) 83 *-ii*: 29 *-i*; die anderen schreiber 21 *-ii*: 47 *-i*;
- b) *anoo* 51, 11;
- c) *andree* 54, 11; 56, 10;
- d) ein inf. der *e*-verben: *doleen* 93, 3;
- e) *trahtohee* 134, 7.

Demnach würde man sich in einer untersuchung der schreibweise der langen vokale eigentlich nur mit den ersten beiden der vier teile, die A geschrieben haben soll, zu befassen brauchen. Aber auch zwischen A_1 und A_2 ist ein grosser unterschied, indem die doppelschreibungen viel häufiger im ersten als im zweiten abschnitt vorkommen; hauptsächlich fällt dies auf mit bezug auf die verbalformen.

2. Obgleich sich auf grund des erhaltenen materials kein gesetz für die doppelschreibung aufstellen lässt, das so allgemeine anwendung findet, wie das für den Isidor gültige, so scheint doch die befolgung eines solchen gesetzes angestrebt zu sein, das sich jedoch mehr auf die geschlossenen flexionssilben als auf die wurzel- und ableitungssilben bezieht. Das verhältnis stellt sich auf etwa 100+9 für die letzteren: ca. 325 für die ersteren. Die bezeichnung der länge bei den fem. auf *-i* fällt unter ein

spezialgesetz. Ob der ursprüngliche verfasser der die doppel-schreibung enthaltenen partien konsequenter verfahren ist, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; es scheint mir aber annehmbar, dass der abschreiber teilweise verantwortlich ist für die abnahme der doppelschreibung; je mehr er schreibt, desto geringer wird seine aufmerksamkeit mit bezug auf die quantitätsbezeichnung der endsilben; die bezeichneten und unbezeichneten längen halten sich zuerst ungefähr das gleichgewicht (bei dem nomen überwiegt sogar die doppelschreibung), später verändert sich das verhältnis zu gunsten der unbezeichneten längen. Die ausnahmen von der regel bilden die st. fem. auf *-ii*, *fridoo*, *andree*, *anoo* und *trahtohee*, die ich alle ausser den fem. auf *-ii* für schreibfehler halte. Braune nimmt dasselbe von *andree* und *trahtohee* an; könnte das lat. *alii* einen einfluss auf die schreibweise von *andree* ausgeübt haben? Der abschnitt 52 bis 60 zeigt sonst nur doppelschreibung einmal in der endung: *wiihhii* 58, 6 und einmal in *drii*; das letztere ist wahrscheinlich zweisilbig oder hat wenigstens geschliffenen ton und in *wiihhii* mag das *i* wiederholt sein, weil das erste *i* in den langen strich von *d* in dem darunter stehenden worte die verläuft. Auch p. 127 ff. steht ausser in *trahtohee* 144, 7 und den st. fem. auf *-ii*, sowie in *riiffii* 148, 18, nie doppelvokal, weder in der wurzel noch in der endung, sodass man *trahtohee* sehr richtig als "sporadisch und fehlerhaft" bezeichnen kann.

3. Der umstand, dass die verdoppelung bei weitem nicht in allen formen vorkommt, die eine und dieselbe endung enthalten, stellt uns vor die frage, ob der vokal in der flexions- und ableitungssilbe, wenn er einfach erscheint, andere quantität hat als wenn er verdoppelt ist. Zu einer solchen annahme ist jedoch kein grund vorhanden, denn 1. erscheint dieselbe form unter ganz gleichen umständen bald mit bald ohne doppelvokal; 2. ist die ganze übersetzung so wie so eine so wort für wort hergestellte, dass der einfluss benachbarter wörter oder des satzakzentes überhaupt kaum in betracht gezogen werden kann; 3. weisen auch die stammsilben, bei denen keine quantitätsveränderung eingetreten ist, dieselbe ungenauigkeit in der anwendung dieses längezeichens auf.

Wenn demnach eine endsilbe überhaupt verdoppelung auf-

weist, so kann man mit gutem rechte schliessen, dass der vokal zur zeit der Benediktinerregel noch lang war, umsomehr, wenn auch die folgezeit demselben noch die gleiche quantität zuspricht.

Es ergiebt sich

4. als resultat für BR., dass von den in frage stehenden flexionssilben zu der zeit, in der unsere abschrift angefertigt wurde, diejenigen lang waren, die in geschlossener silbe standen; direkte beweis für die länge fehlen jedoch, was die in offenen silben stehenden vokale anbetrifft (mit ausnahme der fem. auf *-ii*). Diese lassen sich nur im lichte späterer zeit betrachten, deren ergebnisse auch zur bestimmung der quantität der ableitungssilben herangezogen werden müssen.

ERNST H. MENSEL.

OLD ENGLISH HÆRFEST.

OE. *hærfest*, which, like German *herbst*, meant 'autumn' not 'harvest,' forms a well-known exception to the rule (Sievers, § 79) that *æ* (< WGc. *a*) breaks to *ea* before *r* + consonant. Of course, it forms an exception also in the lack of *i*-mutation; for it is **hierfest*, not **hearfest*, that we should expect in West Saxon, compare German *herbst* < MHG. *herbest* < OHG. *herbist*.

It has been suggested, and accepted as possible by Sievers (§ 79 A. 2, 50 A. 2), that OE. *hærfest* is for **haruβist*.¹ This explanation is, however, unsatisfactory, particularly in that it in no way helps us to account for the Middle-English form *hervest*. If we accepted it and regarded the *æ* as short, we should be under the necessity of supposing that the *i*-mutation through *u* (cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gr.*, p. 131) was later than the Old-English period, or that it took place to some extent in Old English, but that no record of it has come down to us, though all the Middle-English forms are descended from it!

There is, however, an explanation which, on the one hand, does not require us to presuppose any other form for Old English than for the other Germanic dialects, and, on the other hand, accounts perfectly for both the Old-English and the Middle-English forms. We have but to heed the principle that a vowel that behaves like a long vowel and not like a short vowel is *long* (cf. *JGP.*, I, p. 475), that is, the Old-English word was *hǣrfest* not *hærfest*. How such a vowel became long is another question, which we may or may not be able to answer, according to the circumstances. In this case we do not have far to look.

¹I print *β* for the voiced bilabial fricative, often printed with a crossed *b*.

Germanic **harβist* is a derivative of a stem *harβ*, IE. *karp* (καρπός, Latin *carpere*) 'fruit,' 'gather fruit,' cf. Kluge. But this stem was early lost in Germanic, and persisted only in the derivative **harβist* 'the time when fruits and grains are ripe,' 'autumn.' As the original meaning of the stem was long forgotten, and the word had passed from the meaning 'harvest' to that of 'autumn,'² it was the most natural thing in the world that it should be associated with the similar-sounding word *hār*. Old-English *hār*, our *hoar* or *hoary*, meant 'gray' both as applied to things in general and as applied to the hair in age. Autumn has from time immemorial been associated with old age. It is the season when 'the pale descending year' begins to show signs of age and its foliage, like the hair on the head, loses its youthful color. First the fields of grain turn white. ἰδοὺ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας, ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσὶν πρὸς θερισμόν. 'Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest,' *John* IV, 35; which we find echoed in Milton's 'We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks; had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already,' *Areopagitica*, Arber, p. 69, Hale, p. 46. So too Carlyle, writing to his mother early in September, 1843, says, 'But they prophesy fair weather now, which I shall be glad of, and the whole country will be glad, for all is white here, in sheaves and stocks, and little got into ricks,' *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1898, p. 674. Later, seed-down takes the place of the blossoms of the summer. Hoarfrost covers the ground in the morning, and then the green of the leaves flashes for a time into variegated tints, only to fade into pale yellow or dun. In England autumn is preëminently the gray season. There is not the glory of the American autumn, either in the color of the foliage or in the clearness of the atmosphere. Duller shades prevail and the air is saturated with moisture. As the season advances, fogs dim the view—

² In Middle-English times the word acquired the meaning 'harvest' as we know it.

till at laſt
 Wreathed dun around, in deeper circles ſtill
 Succeſſive closing, ſits the general fog
 Unbounded o'er the world; and, mingling thick,
 A formleſs grey confuſion covers all.

Thomſon, *Autumn*, 727-731.

Thus, under the influence of *hār*, primitive OE. **harβiſt* became **hārβiſt*, whence by *i*-mutation the uſual Old-Engliſh form *hārfeſt*. This regularly became ME. *hərveſt*, juſt as OE. *clāne* became ME. *clēne* 'clean.' But before the two conſonants -*rv*- the *ē* ſhortened to *e*, whereby we got *hərveſt*, Orm's *herrfeſt*; exactly as *clēnſen* and *clēnliche* became *clēnſen*, *clēnliche*, Orm's *clennſenn*, *clennlike*, 'cleanſe,' 'cleanly,' cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gr.*, § 96 A 1. The change of ME. *herveſt* to MnE. *harveſt* is alſo normal, compare ME. *ſterven* > MnE. *ſtarve*, ME. *ferthing* > MnE. *farthing*, Sweet, *HES.*, § 789.

GEORGE HEMPL.

THE ARMING OF THE COMBATANTS IN THE
KNIGHT'S TALE.

THE *Teseide* of Boccaccio furnishes no better model for Chaucer's vivid account of the preparations for the tournament (*K. T.* 1625-1664) than that contained in the following passages from the Seventh and Eighth Books (7. 97-99; 8. 5):

Quivi destrier grandissimi vediensi
Con selle ricche di argento e di oro,
E gli spumanti lor freni rodiensi,
Tenuti da chi guardia avien di loro;
Ringhiar ed anitrir tutti sentiensi,
Qual amor, per odio qual tra loro;
E l'uno in qua e l'altro in là n'andava,
Di tali a piè, ed alcuno cavalcava.

Vedevansi venire i gran baroni
Di robe strane e di varie adornati;
Ed in tra tutti varie eran quistioni
Tra gli quatttro e gli sei quivi adunati;
Tra lor mostrando diverse ragioni
Di qual credevan degl' innamorati,
Che rimanesse il dì vittorioso,
Faceano un mormorar tumultuoso.

La grande aula degli alti cavalieri
Tutta era piena, e di diversa gente.
Quivi aveva giullari e ministrieri
Di diversi atti, e copiosamente
Girifalchi, falconi, ed isparvieri,
Brachi, levrieri, mastin veramente,
Su per le stanghe, ed in terra a giacere,
Assai a cuor gentil belli a vedere.

.
D'armi, di corni, nacchere, e trombette,
Di boci mosse da popoli strani,
Gli strepiti Corinto si ha che udette,
Tanto nel ciel si dilâtar sovrani.

Here is lacking much that Chaucer presents, while some things are presented which Chaucer rejects. No doubt a search through the romances, English and French, would bring to light descriptions which Chaucer might have utilized; but such descriptions would always be questionable by critical minds, as being the product of imagination. So verisimilar an account as that of Chaucer demands to be compared with the reality; and fortunately we are not wholly destitute as respects the knowledge of reality. A somewhat detailed account of a tournament, from a document accepted by scholars as abounding in historical evidence, is what we should seek; and this we fortunately have in the poetic life of William Marshal.

L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, is an Old French poem of 19,214 lines, published in two volumes, with a vocabulary, by Paul Meyer, for the Société de l'Histoire de France (1891, 1894). Its subject is that William Marshal, first Earl of Pembroke of his line, who was regent of England for Henry III from 1216 to 1219, and whose recumbent effigy may still be seen in the Temple Church at London. Born in 1146 or earlier, he passed his life between England and France, with the exception of two years spent in Syria, and died in 1219. He was successively attached to Henry, the 'Young King,' his father Henry II, Richard Cœur de Lion, King John, and Henry III, and was faithful to each in turn. From a landless knight he came by his marriage (1189) with the daughter of Richard de Clare (Strongbow) into possession of almost the whole of Leinster, great estates in South Wales and in the Welsh marches, and the lands of Orbec and Longueville in Normandy. He was one of the counselors of Magna Carta, and one of those who swore to observe its provisions. In his youth and to his contemporaries he was the most perfect type of chivalry; in his old age and in history he appears as one of the noblest of mediæval soldier-statesmen. From the time that he acquired his earldom he filled the foremost place in England and Ireland (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

The poem was written for his family about 1225, and is based on excellent information. The chronology of the earlier

part is faulty, but the facts throughout are in full harmony with what we know from other sources (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

According to Miss Marian P. Whitney, whose unpublished Yale doctoral thesis, entitled *The Young King and Largesse*, has directed my attention to the *Histoire*: 'For the tournaments . . . he is a most excellent authority, what he tells us about them being drawn not only from his own recollection, but also from some written document which he constantly consults, from information given him by others who were there, and from lists or accounts which are kept by "the clerks of the court who had charge of it," as "Wigainz, the clerk of the kitchen, and others."' "

The author describes something like a dozen tournaments in all, but only one of these illustrates somewhat fully the elaborate preparations for the mimic warfare. This tournament, which must have taken place about 1180, or perhaps a few years earlier, was that held between Saint James and Vallines (tournaments were often held in the space between two towns, no doubt in order that entertainment might more certainly be secured, for the members engaged might be as high as three thousand men; cf. 4782).

The passage descriptive of the preparations is as follows (lines 1231-1252):

Tote nuit funt cil chivalier Haubers roller, chaucés freier & atorer lor armeüres & colier[e]s & couvertures, Seles & freins, peitrals & cengles, & fors estriés & contrecengles.	1235
Li autre lur hieaumes assai[e]nt, Qu'al bosoign aesiez les aient. Cil redit: 'Mun escu me porte; Ge voil que la guige seit forte	1240
E si vo[i]l ke l'enarmeüre Seit aesie[é]e a ma mesure, Tot isi comme ele d[e]it estre.' Lors veisiez destre & senestre Enarmer coiphes & ventailles, & meitre las parmi les mailles. Molt se peinent de l'ace[s]mer Al meuz ke il sevent araiier.	1245

Tote la nuit se travail[i]érent,
 Poi dormirent & molt veilli[é]rent; 1250
 L'en demain par matin s'esmurent;
 Tant firent k'a la place furent.

The word *guige*, 1240, 'strap for hanging the shield from the neck,' recalls Chaucer's (*K. T.* 1646)

Gigginge of sheeldes, with layneres lacinge,

as lines 3522-3,

Tantost *lacièrent* lor ventailles
 E lor *heames* e si montérent,

suggest the latter half of Chaucer's line, and the preceding

Nailinge the speres, and *helmes bokelinge*.

He who cares to study the tournament of the twelfth century in this virtually contemporaneous document will find rich material in the lines (sometimes numerous) following 1210, 1381, 2471, 2577, 2719, 2773, 2875, 3181, 3425, 3681, 3881, 4285, 4457, 5491, 5974. He will learn, among other things, that the presence of women was a rarity, and that when they did attend it was not for the purpose of crowning the victors. The one occasion when they are mentioned as in attendance was at the tournament of Joigny, in the modern department of the Yonne, about midway between Sens and Auxerre. The whole passage (3458-3520) relating to them is well worth reading. After arming, the knights leave the castle, and go down to a beautiful spot outside the town, where they take up a position before the lists, and there wait. To them issues forth (*eissi fors*) the beautiful countess, with her train of dames and damsels. The knights advance to meet them, feeling that their courage is doubled by the arrival of the ladies. Then some one proposes a dance. All join hands, and a request is made for a song, to which Marshal accedes 'with simple words and sweet air.' Then a herald-minstrel improvises a song with a very practical refrain, whereupon the Marshal, by way of answer to the refrain, performs an exploit of so striking a character that the minstrel changes his refrain to

'Vez quel cheval!
Cest me dona le Mareschal,'

and

Li chivalier e les puceles
Les dames e les damiseles
Distrent qu'il n'i aveit mès fait
El tornei[e]ment si beal fait.

Chaucer's picture of the tournament in the *Knight's Tale* deserves to be more carefully studied in the light of contemporary and preceding literature, and perhaps the comparison here made may incite some lover of the poet to an agreeable task.

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May 17, 1901.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE DUTCH WORD
KABELJAUW.

THE etymology of the word *kabeljauw* has been the cause of much trouble to Dutch scholars. It is a commerce-word meaning 'cod-fish,' and is of wide distribution in more or less modified forms among European nations. The Old Dutch is *kabelaw* and *kaplawe*, and the word is found as early as 1350.¹ The Middle Dutch is *kabelow*, *kabelow*, *kaplawe* and *kabelaw*. In German we find *kabeljau* and *kabliaw*; in Swedish *kabeljo*, *kabbiijo* and *cabiijo*, and in Danish and Norwegian, *kabeljau* or *kabliaw*. The East Frisian is *kabbeljouw*. English *cabilliau* and *kabbelow* (sailor's slang for salted fish) are other forms of the word occurring in the Teutonic languages.²

As the word stands in the present form, it is impossible to give any satisfactory etymology for it. It has been suggested that it is derived from the French *chabliaw*, Old Fr. *chable*, Low Breton *cabl*, Mid. Latin *capulum*, *caplum*, and that it is thus connected with Latin *capere* (that which is taken?). But this derivation is, at best, very unsatisfactory. Various other explanations have been offered; but they are all open to more or less serious objection.

In the Romance languages the word meaning 'cod-fish,' is in French *cabillaud* (Old Fr. *cabillau*, *cabellau*, *cabeliaw*, *kabeliaw*, *kableaw*), but in Portuguese *bacalháo* and *bacalhau*, in Spanish *bacalao*, in Italian *bacalao*, and in Catalan *bacallá* or *bacallar*, and Provençal *baçaiau*.³ Now all these forms except the French

¹ At this time arose the celebrated war of the 'Hoeks' and the 'Kabelaws,' or the nobles and the burghers.

² Low Latin (beginning of the 12th century) is *cabellawus*. We need pay no attention here to the occurrence of the word in the Slavonic dialects. It appears, however, evidently as a loan-word in Polish as *kablou* and *kablion*.

³ The form *cabeliaw* found in Roumanian is probably borrowed directly from the French.

are given by lexicographers of the Romance languages as derived from the Basque language in which the word *bacalaiba* means a cod-fish. The Basques are known to have been the first Europeans to engage in the cod-fishery at the Banks of Newfoundland and on the coasts of America, and it is most probable that they introduced the word directly to their immediate neighbors. This derivation of the Romance form of the word from the Basque is not original here for it has been suggested as a possibility before.

The form which the word assumes in all the Teutonic languages, shows the frequent linguistic change of metathesis of *k(c)* and *b*. Now my theory is, that in the Romance languages, as we have seen, the word has been borrowed directly from the Basque, but that all the forms in the Teutonic dialects are disseminated from the Middle Dutch. This would explain the fact that the Germanic forms are uniformly those in *kab*, while the Romance forms are as uniformly *bac(k)*. That this is the true explanation of the origin of the Teutonic forms is proven by the fact that we find, side by side, in Middle Dutch (Old Low German), both *bakeljauw* and *kabbeljauw*, thus giving the transitional stage between the Romance and Germanic forms.

Under this hypothesis the French *cabillaud* is irregular. This I explain by assuming that the French did not take the word directly from the Basques, but that they got it from the Dutch merchants with whom for centuries their business relations were much closer and more varied than they were with any of the nations to the south of them. If it was in this way that the word entered the French language, the apparent irregularity of its form, according to my theory, would disappear. Darmesteter in his *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* s. v. *cabillaud* says, 'mot emprunté du hollandais,' which seems to confirm my idea. The *d* on the end of *cabillaud* which appears nowhere else in any other form of the word has been added by the old French purists on the supposition that the *au* of *cabillaud* was connected with the French suffix *-aud*, Germanic *-wald*. This is, of course, not so; for the analogy is false.

Whether the Basque word is the original derivation of the

Dutch *kabeljauw* or whether that is in itself a borrowed word is a question which has never been raised. My own belief which I cannot at present substantiate is that it is a loan-word even in Basque. It is certainly possible that as the Basque fishermen brought back a new fish from the coasts of North America, they brought back also the name which was current among the aborigines of Newfoundland, Labrador, New England, or wherever they may have landed during their adventurous voyages. If this is so the word has taken a long journey and returned to its native shores, for the early Portuguese voyagers gave the name of *Isla de Bacalhãos* to a small island off the coast of Newfoundland on account of the number of cod found there. Such an idea is, naturally, mere conjecture. We can prove nothing, but we can, at least, in the words of the ancient Dutch proverb:

‘Een spiering uitgooien om een kabeljauw te vangen.’

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A PARALLELISM BETWEEN LUCAN AND LINES
IN *TINTERN ABBEY*.

THERE is a striking resemblance between Lucan, *De Bello Civili* 9. 578-580 :

Estque dei sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer et caelum et virtus?
Iuppiter est, quodcumque vides, quodcumque moveris.

and Wordsworth's famous lines in *Tintern Abbey* :

I have felt
A presence
. a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

The first portion of the Wordsworth passage is so like 578-579, even in the ordering of the details, and the latter portion so readily derivable from 580, that it looks as if the English poet had, when he wrote these lines, been lately reading Lucan. In this connection it is interesting to note that Wordsworth's library, at the time of his death, contained an old copy of Lucan.

C. C. BUSHNELL.

THE RELATION OF "AS YOU LIKE IT" TO
ROBIN HOOD PLAYS.

THE life of the duke and his merry men in *As You Like It*, as has often been observed, is similar to that of Robin Hood and his men in the ballads. Its connection with the representation of Robin Hood on the London stage has not, however, been more than casually noticed.¹ It seems worth while, therefore, to consider the relation of *As You Like It*, produced in 1599, to two Robin Hood plays, the *Downfall* and the *Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*,² acted in the preceding year.

The story of Robin Hood and his life in Sherwood had long been celebrated in popular poetry and was familiar to the Elizabethan public. The story was early given theatrical representation; three remnants of old Robin Hood plays have survived,³ one of which probably antedates 1475; and there are many references to such plays, which were frequently performed in connection with the May celebrations. It seems probable that Robin Hood plays were also common on the public stage 1580-1600, but we know of only the following seven which were acted at the London theatres as early as *As You Like It*.

- George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield.* Quarto, 1599. S. R., 1595. Greene (?). Acted 1588-9.⁴
Edward I. Quarto, 1593. Peele. Acted 1591.⁴
A Pleasant Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John. S. R., 1594. Non-extant and anonymous.

¹ Mr. Fleay in his *Life of Shakspeare* (p. 208) says: "This play [*As You Like It*] is a rival to the Robin Hood plays acted at the Rose in 1598."

² Hazlitt's *Dodsley*. Vol. VIII.

³ *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*. Manly, 1897. Vol. I.

⁴ See Fleay, *Chronicle of the Drama*, under the head of each play for these dates, all conjectural.

*The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington.*¹ Quarto, 1601. Licensed 1598.² Munday and Chettle.³ Acted 1598.² Altered for court, Nov. 18, 1598.²

*The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington.*¹ Quarto, 1601. Licensed 1598.² Munday and Chettle. Acted 1598.²

Look About You. Quarto, 1600. Anon. Acted 1599 (?)⁴

Robin Hood's Pen'orths. Non-extant. Haughton. Acted 1600-1.²

One passage in the *Downfall* of Robert, Earl of Huntington, may be quoted as evidence of the existence and of the nature of other Robin Hood plays.

"*Lit. John.* Skelton, a word or two beside the play.
Friar. Now, Sir John Eltham, what is't you would say?
Lit. John. Methinks, I see no jests of Robin Hood,
 No merry morrices of Friar Tuck,
 No pleasant skipplings up and down the wood,
 No hunting songs, no coursing of the buck.
 Pray God this play of ours may have good luck,
 And the king's majesty mislike it not.
Friar. And if he do, what can we do to that?
 I promis'd him a play of Robin Hood,
 His honourable life in merry Sherwood.
 His majesty himself survey'd the plot,
 And bad me boldly write it: it was good.
 For merry jests they have been shown before
 As how the friar fell into the well
 For love of Jenny, that fair bonny belle;
 How Greenleaf robb'd the Shrieve of Nottingham,
 And other mirthful matter full of game.
 Our play expresses noble Robert's wrong;" etc. [act IV].

¹There is no reference to Robin Hood as the Earl of Huntington, noted by Professor Child, which antedates these plays. How much of Munday's plot was based on an earlier tradition or narrative and how much is of his invention are uncertain. Cf. Child's *Ballads*, III, 46, 519 n. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 506 f. A. Ruckdeschel, *A Dissertation on the sources of these plays*. Erlangen, 1897. It should be noted that in *Look About You*, printed in the year before these two plays, Robert is the Earl of Huntington, "son of Gilbert;" but that play may have been acted later than the Huntington plays.

²See Henslow's *Diary*.

³Chettle revised this play for the court and collaborated on the second part.

⁴See Fleay, *Chronicle of the Drama*, under the head of each play for these dates, all conjectural.

This passage seems to refer to an earlier play¹ or, more probably, plays, which treated more of the merry jests and the merry forest life and less of the tragical story than the Earl of Huntington plays.

"The pleasant pastoral comedy of *Robin Hood and Little John*" may have contained "pleasant skippings up and down the wood," "hunting songs," and "coursing of the deer;" at least the title "pastoral" suggests an Arcadian forest life. Of *Robin Hood's Pennyworths* nothing can be even surmised. In three of the extant plays, the portions dealing with Robin Hood are slight. In *Look About You Robin Hood*, the Earl of Huntington, is a page and not an outlaw. *George a Greene* deals with stories belonging to the cycle but has nothing to do with the forest life in Sherwood. In *Edward I. Llewellyn* and his followers, when hard pressed by the king, retire to the forest and play at Robin Hood. They wear green; the Friar is wanton and also a singer; there is some pleasant talk between the pseudo Maid Marian and Robin; there are hostile visitors in the forest, Mortimer who comes to woo Marian and King Edward who seeks the rebel; and there are several fights; but the whole account is slight. Our knowledge of the presentation of the Sherwood life on the London stage rests, therefore, almost entirely on the two Huntington plays.

These cannot be classed under any distinct dramatic genre. They are a sort of hybrid of chronicle histories and tragedies of blood, with a mixture of such incongruous matter as the Skeltonic parts. A considerable portion of the two plays, however, is given up to a representation of the life of Robin Hood and his outlaws in the forest; and it is with this element that we have to deal.

This portion of the plot may be briefly summarized. Earl Robert is outlawed and succeeds by means of a disguise in carrying Matilda, his betrothed, with him to Sherwood forest. Little John joins them and he and Robert free Scarlet and Scathlock from the sheriff Warman, Earl Robert's traitorous steward. Together with Friar Tuck and Much, they resolve

¹ Cf. conjectures by Fleay, *Chr.* II, 115, and H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 506.

to live a merry life, hunting the deer, befriending the poor, and harassing only the rich churchmen and usurers. No titles are permitted, the earl becomes Robin Hood, and Matilda, Maid Marian, under which name she resolves to live a virgin until Robin Hood is restored to his rights. While living merrily in the forest, they are visited by all of Robin Hood's old enemies; by Doncaster and the Prior, who come to capture Robin Hood; and by Warman, Ely, and Prince John, who come in turn fleeing as outlaws. All these are forgiven and received with great kindness. Finally, King Richard himself comes to the forest; but at the festivities in his welcome, Robin Hood is poisoned by the villain Doncaster.

So far as this part of the play has any distinct motive, it is that of forgiveness. Robin Hood is the embodiment of charity and forgives his worst enemies. Even when this forgiving spirit results in his being poisoned, he still maintains it to the very end and dies saying,

“Let sweet forgiveness be my passing bell.”¹

This forgiveness is, moreover, brought into strong dramatic contrast with the utter knavery and blood-thirstiness of Doncaster, Prince John and other of his enemies. The sentimental love of Maid Marian gives a certain prettiness to the story, and there are traces, too, of the virginity motive which is found in the Arcadian pastorals; but the element which gives the story its chief charm is the depiction of the out-of-door life.

An open-air atmosphere is often undeniably present, although the authors profess to deal mainly with the tragical story. Without the aid of scenery, they certainly attempted in many scenes to represent on the stage the merry forest life endeared to the English people and they contrived to give their poetry not a little of the woodland flavor.

A couple of quotations, despite their somewhat crude poetry, will serve, I think, to indicate this.

¹ *The Death of R. H.* Act I, p. 244, Hazlitt's Dodsley, Vol. VIII. All page references will be to this edition.

"Wind once more, jolly huntsmen, all your horns;
Whose shrill sound, with the echoing wood's assist,
Shall ring a sad knell for the fearful deer,
Before our feather'd shafts, death's winged darts,
Bring sudden summons for their fatal ends."¹

"Marian, thou seest, though courtly pleasures want,
Yet country sport in Sherwood is not scant;
For the soul-ravishing delicious sound
Of instrumental music, we have found
The winged quiristers with divers notes
Sent from their quaint recording pretty throats,
On every branch that compasseth our bow'r,
Without command contenting us each hour.
For arras hangings and rich tapestry
We have sweet nature's best embroidery.
For thy steel glass, wherein thou woultst to look,
Thy crystal eyes gaze in a crystal brook.
At court a flower or two did deck thy head,
Now with whole garlands is it circled.
For what in wealth we want, we have in flowers,
And what we lose in halls, we find in bowers."²

In spite of the apology for the lack of hunting songs, several songs help to produce the idea of out-of-door freedom. They are the pedlers' song³ which reminds one a little of Autolycus, Jenny's song,⁴ not given in the text, a verse from a ballad by Prince John,⁵ and the woodmen's dirge⁶ over Robin Hood.

Some of the scenes and some bits of stage business may be noted by themselves in order to indicate the way in which the woodland life is made presentable. We find several lively fighting scenes such as are characteristic of the ballads: e. g., the rescue of Scarlet and Scathlock⁷ and the capture of the prior⁸ and Doncaster. Scathlock, too, describes a wrestling match.⁹ Maid Marian and Queen Elinor exchange clothes,¹⁰ and there are frequent disguises, but the maid disguised as a boy does not appear. Friar Tuck and Much supply the comic element; Much serves as the clown of the piece, and his eagerness to woo Jenny adds to the fun.

¹ *The Downfall*, III, 2, p. 151.

² III, 2, p. 161.

³ V, p. 195. All in *Downfall*.

⁴ *The Downfall*, II, 2.

⁵ *The Downfall*, III, 2.

⁶ *The Downfall*, III, 2, p. 154.

⁷ III, 2, p. 162.

⁸ *Death of R., E. of H.*, I, p. 249.

⁹ *The Downfall*, III, 2.

¹⁰ *The Downfall*, I, 3, p. 120.

In contrast with his childish fun, we have the really beautiful and pathetic scene at Robin Hood's death.¹ He dies in Marian's arms, forgiving all, begging all to be equally forgiving; and for himself, begging that there may be no mourning at his funeral—but

“ For holy dirges sing me woodmen's songs,
As ye to Wakefield walk, with voices shrill.”²

And so they carry him to his grave singing—

“ Here lie his primer and his beads,
His bent bow and his arrows keen,
His good sword and his holy cross :
Now cast on flowers fresh and green ;

And as they fall, shed tears and say,
Wella, wella-day ! wella, wella-day :
Thus cast ye flowers and sing,
And on to Wakefield take your way.”³

Flowers are, indeed, strewed about the stage on several occasions. Thus, when Marian and Jenny are busy preparing the feast for the king,⁴ Marian calls for Jenny to bring the flowers and Jenny reports that she has “straw'd the dining bowers ;” and later, according to the stage directions, Marian appears strewing flowers. So again, when old Fitzwater wanders in distress to the forest, he finds Robin Hood sleeping on a green bank, and Marian strewing flowers on him.⁵ This use of flowers on the stage is rather significant because it is one of the few devices open to Elizabethan play-wrights by which the forest life could be visually presented to the spectators.

The pedlers (the Friar and Jenny disguised), with their wares and songs, help on the out-of-door effect. So, too, does the account of the hunt and death of the stag of a hundred years. At the feast, the horns wind and all, enter, “Friar Tuck carrying a stag's head, dancing,” and a copper ring about the stag's

¹ *The Death*, etc., I, 2, p. 243, seq.

² *The Death*, I, 2, p. 247.

³ *The Death*, I, 2, p. 249. For another Robin Hood song by Munday, see the pageant, *Metropolis Coronation and the Triumph of Ancient Drapery*, 1615. This song is also printed in *Lyrics from the Dramatists of the Elizabethan Age*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 1889.

⁴ *The Death*, I, 2, p. 236.

⁵ *The Downfall*, III, 2, p. 159.

neck is found to have been placed there by Harold Harefoot. Throughout the play there is a continual winding of horns and there are many bits of hunting scenes. Robin, the outlaws, and even King Richard appear in green as is shown by frequent allusions¹ and by Henslow's inventory of properties.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that the two plays represent a definite effort to present the out-of-door atmosphere of Sherwood.² If the phrasing in the main lacks the power to suggest the freshness of the woodland to us who are accustomed to the "native wood-notes wild" of the great master, yet we can hardly doubt that to an audience, familiar with the ballads and quick to catch suggestions from the song, description or the simplest stage device, the Sherwood scenes were by no means the least attractive portions of the plays.

An attempt to determine the relation between *As You Like It* and contemporary plays is slightly complicated by the fact that it closely follows Lodge's novel *Rosalynde*.³ The questions before us are: did contemporary plays influence Shakspeare in his choice of a nine years' old novel for dramatization, and did they influence him in his treatment of the material supplied by the novel?

Now the possibility of some connection between *As You Like It* and the two Huntington plays is unquestionable. They were certainly acted in 1598 by Henslow's company, the Lord Admiral's men; and *As You Like It* was certainly acted by the Chamberlain's men, not before 1598, nor after 1600.⁴ In the close relations which existed between theatres and dramatists in the small city of that time, there is every reason to suppose that Shakspeare had some knowledge of these two plays by the rival company. They were successful enough to be given at court in the Christmas season of 1598; there is nothing im-

¹ *Downfall*, I, 1, p. 106. V, 1, p. 195, p. 202.

² I can not assent to Professor Schelling's dictum in regard to "their total failure to reproduce the fresh atmosphere of Sherwood forest which breathes through the ballads." *The English Chronicle Play*. New York, 1902, p. 160.

³ Dr. Furness has cautiously advanced the hypothesis that Shakspeare revised an old play. There is little internal and no external evidence to support this.

⁴ It is not on Meres' list, 1598, and was entered S. R., 1600. There is almost universal agreement that it was first acted in 1599.

probable *per se* in the suggestion that they called forth a rival play in the following year from Burbadge's company. We may examine *As You Like It*, then, to discover if it was in any respect their rival.

In this connection it may not be irrelevant to note that Shakspeare's choice of a pastoral novel seems to find an explanation in the stage history of the time. Between 1597 and 1600, the Chapel children revived Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* and probably other of his plays with pastoral elements. In 1599, Henslow made payments for two non-extant plays: the *Pastoral Tragedy* by Chapman, and the *Arcadian Virgin* by Chettle and Haughton. In or before 1600, the *Maid's Metamorphosis* was produced. Earlier than this there had been many entertainments and plays of a pastoral character, and many of the devices and situations, familiar in eclogues and pastoral novels, had already been represented on the stage. In the years 1597-1600, pastoral plays were especially popular on the London stage.¹ In 1599, Shakspeare dramatized an old novel and apparently did his work somewhat hastily² though with complete mastery. He chose a novel that supplied dramatic material of a sort then popular, and receiving the attention of at least two rival companies and a number of his fellow dramatists.

To the material derived from *Rosalynde*, we have some evidence that he was consciously adding a Robin Hood element. In the first scene of the play, Charles, the wrestler, thus describes the life of the old duke.³

"They say he is already in the forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England. They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world."

This reference to Robin Hood is a distinct addition to the novel—where we are merely told that Gerismond "lived as an outlaw

¹ For a further consideration of the pastoral plays mentioned in this paragraph, I may refer to my paper, the *Pastoral Element in the English Drama before 1605*, Mod. Lang. Notes, xiv, 4.

² Cf. Clarendon Press Ed. *As You Like It*: Introduction.

³ I, 1, 120, seq.

in the forest of Arden"—and may fairly be said to give indication of the treatment of the outlaws' merry life that follows.

How far this treatment differs from that of the novel can be seen by the fact that there are four scenes (II, 1; II, 5; II, 7; and IV, 2) which deal entirely with the life of the banished duke and his foresters and which, except for the entrance of Orlando and Adam in the third, have no counterparts in the novel. The open-air atmosphere, then, that pervades these scenes, and to a degree, of course, other scenes as well, is not only a delightful element in the poetry; it is a result of a distinct addition. Theatrically, it comes from a definitely developed attempt to picture the life of the outlaws in the forest where song and merriment and hunting filled up the idle hours. That such a picture was not new on the stage, seems certain from our examination of the Earl of Huntington plays, and Shakspeare's own reference to Robin Hood gives us some ground for surmising that it was directly suggested by the similar picture in those plays.

How similar are the means taken to secure the woodland atmosphere can at once be seen by a comparison of the Duke Senior's opening speech¹ with the speech of Robin Hood, already quoted.

"Marian, thou seest though courtly pleasures want,
Yet country sport in Sherwood is not scant"—etc.²

Thus the duke compares the forest and the court with finer moralizing, but with less manifest joy in the woodland pleasures.

"Now, my co-mates and brothers in exile
Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp?" etc.³

In the scenic presentation, we have, moreover, the same main situation as in the Robin Hood plays. The duke like Robin Hood is outlawed and is joined by a band of friends who occupy their time largely with merry making and hunting. To their forest home, as to Robin Hood's, come other wanderers from the court, the Duke Ferdinand with hostile intent, and Oliver, Orlando and Adam seeking refuge.

¹ II, 1, 1-seq.

² *Downfall*, III, 2, p. 154.

³ II, 1, 1.

The same spirit of charity reigns there as in Sherwood. Orlando, in spite of his violence, is hospitably received, the wicked Oliver is freely forgiven, and the usurping duke falls under the spell of the forest and repents. In the receptions of Oliver and Orlando, Shakspeare followed the novel: but in the final conversion of the usurper, he departed from Lodge who sends the banished king and his outlaws to fight it out with the usurping king. In this instance, at least, we have evidence that Shakspeare felt the spirit of repentance and forgiveness and peace to be an essential of the forest life. If not so prominently presented as in the *Earl of Huntington* plays, this spirit is certainly manifest in the Arden of *As You Like It*.

Here, too, as in Sherwood, a merry fool supplies much of the sport, and, as in the Robin Hood plays, the outlaws enter and find "a table set out" and proceed to feast on venison.¹ Again, there is the celebration over the death of the deer, as in the *Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*.² In Arden, too, as in Sherwood, there are songs and much talk of hunting among the foresters. Still further, the lords of the duke's company, who according to the stage directions, appear once "like foresters"³ and again "like outlaws,"⁴ doubtless wore green and appeared on the stage very much like Robin Hood's men.

There is, to be sure, little of the boisterous side of life in *As You Like It*. There are no fights like those of Robin Hood, no rude pranks like those of Much and the Friar, and far less hearty delight in hunting. Even the duke laments a little over the deer,⁵ and the fantastic nature of the novel's Arcadian conventions pervades even the outlaw scenes. And, of course, the woodland atmosphere is made far more daintily beautiful than in the Robin Hood plays by means of the finer phrasing and the lovely lyrics.

Yet the Robin Hood element is there and is not in the novel. In the picturing of a free and easy life where the free air of the woods makes idleness seem worthy, and adversity and

¹*Death of R., E. of H.*, I, 3, p. 236, seq. *A. Y. L. I.*, II, 7.

²*Death of R., E. of H.*, I, 2, p. 231. *A. Y. L. I.*, IV, 2.

³*A. Y. L. I.*, II, 1.

⁴*A. Y. L. I.*, II, 7.

⁵*A. Y. L. I.*, II, 1, 21.

melancholy, things to be merry over, Shakspeare had a predecessor not in Lodge but in one of his fellow-dramatists, Chettle or Munday. Moreover, the mixture of songs and hunting, the lords clothed as foresters, the feasting, the rejoicing over the deer—in fact all the means used by Shakspeare to represent this life on the stage are decidedly like the means used much more crudely by Munday and Chettle and probably by other authors of Robin Hood plays. If the delicate beauty of Shakspeare's picture prevents us from tracing any more direct indebtedness, we are at least safe in saying that in adding this Robin Hood element, Shakspeare was not unmindful of what others had tried to do. In dramatizing a popular novel, he introduced scenes presenting a picture of a life already familiar on the stage—or, to put the case boldly, he added a Robin Hood element to his *As You Like It* in rivalry of Robin Hood plays then being acted at an opposition theatre.

Possibly the significance of this conclusion lies principally in the suggestion that inferences in regard to Shakspeare's subjective moods and personal experiences may be less likely to furnish clues for the reasons of his choice and treatment of subjects than a study of contemporary plays and dramatic fashions.

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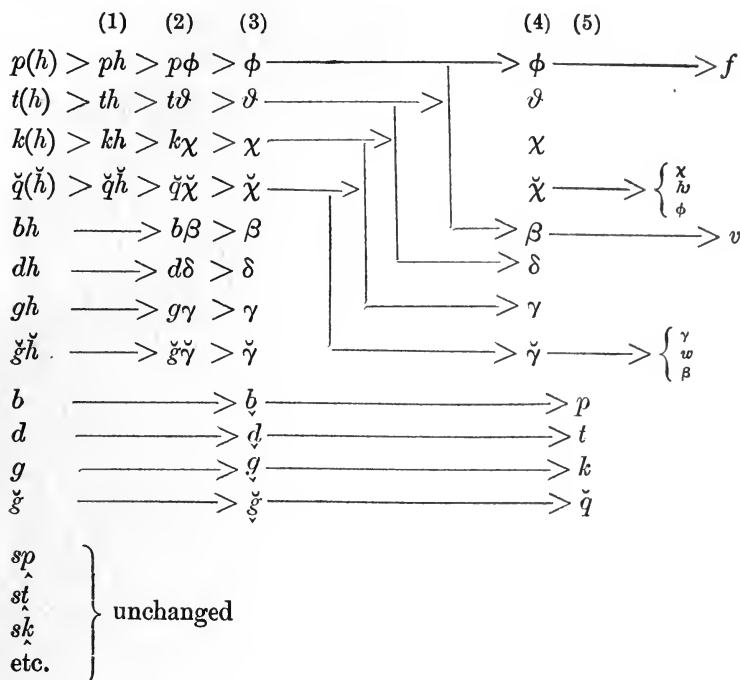
THE RUNES AND THE GERMANIC SHIFT.

IN an article published in this journal (II., pp. 370 etc.) some three years ago, I proved by the order of the runes that the futhark was derived from a Western Greek alphabet. In an article about to appear in another journal, I have reported the finding of a primitive Germanic numerical notation, which fully clears up the only unexplained point in the disarrangement of the Greek letters and clinches the previous proof in a manner that makes it impossible to entertain doubt as to the correctness of my position. I have carefully reweighed the arguments that I brought forward (II., p. 373) in favor of 600 B. C. as the approximate date of the adoption of the Greek alphabet, and, while I should to-day present them in not exactly the same way, I can find no reason for modifying my conclusion.

We know that, prominent among the changes that gradually distinguished Germanic speech from its sister languages, was a series of consonant transformations that we group under the term the Germanic Shift. It is my present purpose to determine what stage had been attained by this shift at the time of the adoption of the Greek letters. This I shall do by a consideration of the use made of some of these letters in representing Germanic sounds. But it is not my intention now to present the whole subject of the use thus made of the Greek letters; this I shall do at another time. At present I shall go no further than is necessary for my immediate purpose.

It will be well at the outset to present in tabular form the various stages of the Germanic shift as it is now generally believed to have taken place. I employ *h*, *φ*, *f*, *θ*, *χ*, *ǣ* for the voiceless fricatives, and *w*, *β*, *v*, *δ*, *γ*, *ǣ̃* for the corresponding voiced fricatives. *φ* and *β* represent the bilabial fricatives as distinguished from the dentilabials *f* and *v*. The characters *ǣ*, *ǣ̃*, *ǣ̃* represent the labio-velars, spelled by Brugmann *q*^h etc.

With $\underset{\wedge}{b}$, $\underset{\wedge}{d}$, etc. I spell the unvoiced mediae, and with $\underset{\wedge}{p}$, $\underset{\wedge}{t}$, etc. the practically identical weakened tenues.



The key to the situation is given us by the use made of F and Θ . These letters we find representing Germanic fricatives that arose out of stops, thus—

$$p > \underset{\wedge}{p}h > p\phi > \phi (> f);$$

$$k > \underset{\wedge}{k}h > k\chi > \chi.$$

But the only kind of consonants that F and Θ represented in Greek were fricatives: Θh , F w^1 and h (Brugmann, Griechische Grammatik³, § 18, etc., § 21, (11) second paragraph). It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the Germanic sounds had

¹ F was doubtless at first used to represent Germanic w as well as Germanic ϕ , but was displaced by φ , later $\underset{\wedge}{p}$, when the spelling φ for $\underset{\check}{q}$ changed to $\langle \varphi \rangle$ (as the Latin spelling φ changed to φV) and φ thus got the value w .

reached the stage of fricatives. It is not even possible that they were still at the affricate stage; for in that case there can be no question that the Greek aspirates would have been employed. We find, however, that no phonological use whatever was made of the Greek aspirates Θ and Ψ (the Western *chi*), while Φ was put to a peculiar use.

We have thus determined that the first three steps in the Germanic shift had been taken, that is, the voiceless stops had become pure fricatives. The use made of Greek Φ or ϕ enables us to determine another point in the chronology of the Germanic shift. It is clear that this bilabial aspirate, which had no exact correspondent in Germanic, was employed to represent the peculiar labio-velar fricative $\check{\chi}$, which later became *hv*.¹ The square Φ suffered in Germanic exactly the same kind of simplification that other box letters suffered, that is, it lost two superfluous sides and become Ψ , just as Θ became H or H in Greek, Latin, Runic, etc., and Ξ became X in East Italic, Gallic, Runic, etc. In the Gothic runes this simplification was not yet completed. Thus we find Ξ on the Frøihov image ($|\Xi\text{r}^{\circ}$, that is, retrograde *wadi* 'pfand,' as I shall make clear in a forthcoming article) and \square on the Kowel spearhead. And runic Φ is still clearly reflected in Ulfilas' uncialized Θ *hv*, as runic Φ is in his X .² Now, Germanic *hv* had the following development:

$$\check{q} > \check{q}h > \check{q}\check{\chi} > \check{\chi} > hv.$$

Had $\check{\chi}$ already become *hv* when the Greek letters came into use, it is clear that F , which in Greek was used for *w* and *hv*, would have been employed to represent Germanic *w* and *hv* too,—and not *w* and ϕ , which we find it was. Hence, at the time of the adoption of the Greek letters, the Germanic consonant shift had reached stage (3) but had not yet passed stage (5).

In attempting to narrow down these limits, we are not aided

¹ In the table of runes given in his article in Paul's Grundriss I., Sievers suggested that Ψ had the value *hv*; on another occasion I shall give overwhelming evidence of the correctness of this position and explain the later occasional value χ .

² At another time I shall show that the doctrine that the Gothic alphabet is derived from the Gothic futhark, is the correct one.

by the use made of the Greek stops. The velars (κ K X) are ruled out because of their confusion and their subsequent differentiation as κ c and X γ, see page 74 below. The use of Τ, runic ᚏ, and Π, runic ᚒ (inverted) and Ϛ (tilted), is not very significant. I formerly (*J.G.P.*, II., p. 374) thought that it indicated that the Indo-European weak voiced stops had become the usual Germanic strong voiceless stops, and that thus the Germanic shift was complete. It is, however, clear that Germanic speech retained unshifted a large number of Indo-European voiceless stops. These were those that stood after a fricative (for example, in *st*, *sp*, etc.), where they were weakened by the preceding fricative (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 773, Hempl, *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 131, N.). These would naturally be represented by the Greek tenues. As for the Indo-European weak voiced stops, it is evident that, on the way to becoming Germanic strong voiceless stops, they must have passed through the stage of weak voiceless stops. Moreover, it is more than probable that this intermediate stage had been reached by the time that the Indo-European voiceless stops had become pure fricatives. They thus must have been practically identical with the old weak voiceless stops preserved after fricatives, and, like them, would naturally be represented by Greek tenues. It is thus clear that the use made of the Greek tenues harmonizes with what we have already determined as to the state of the Germanic shift; but it does not enable us to be more definite.

There is, however, something in the representation of the fricatives that gives us the desired information. We know that in some of the Western alphabets the Semitic fricative which appears in Greek alphabets as Ϝ Ϟ and Ϟ, still represented a dental fricative and not the *ks* of the Eastern alphabets. Had this Ϟ been used to represent the Germanic dental fricative θ, the use of the letter would have accorded exactly with the use made of F and Ϟ. Moreover, as we find β representing the Germanic voiced fricative β, we should expect that Greek Ϟ would have been employed to represent the voiced dental fricative δ. But we find Ϟ for δ, and Ϟ for θ: exactly the reverse of what we should expect. This has been a thorn in the side

of every scholar who has tried to explain the runic use of the letters. We shall see directly that it, like most "exceptions," is a welcome source of light.

For the present, let us consider the history of X. Its employment for γ suggests, at first sight, the Ionic X *ch*, rather than the Western X *ks*. But I have proved, in the two papers referred to at the beginning of this article, that the runes were derived from a Western alphabet. Furthermore, we must not forget that the Greek aspirated stops had not yet become fricatives, while the Germanic aspirated stops had and were represented by Greek letters for fricatives; hence, the use of a Greek letter for *ch* to represent Germanic γ would not have been apt at all. On the other hand, Western X was used to spell the group *ks*. Now, the corresponding Germanic group was χs , and X was doubtless used to represent it, just as at a later period Latin X was. We find, however, that the *s* in such a group is likely to assert itself in the spelling; thus we often find in Latin, Old English, etc., XS for X. Such a use of XS for X χs in Runic resulted in a new letter for the sound χ . That is, we should have both H and X as spellings for the voiceless velar fricative χ . But we actually find X more often as the spelling for the *voiced* velar fricative, just as we find 𐌵 for the voiced dental fricative and 𐌶 for the voiceless.

Such inversion in the use of these letters points to some decided phonological disturbance involving the voiced and voiceless fricatives. Now, we know that Germanic speech suffered just such a disturbance in that the unstressed voiceless fricatives gradually became voiced, according to what we call Verner's law. In this way a large number of fricatives that had been voiceless and had been spelled 𐌵 and X, gradually became voiced. It was but natural that they should, however, retain for a time their original spelling, especially in the case of such verbs as OE. *snīpan snāp snidon sniden*. That is, δ and γ were, to some extent at least, spelled 𐌵 and X. That, out of the consequent confusion, a differentiation was effected whereby 𐌵 and X became the regular representatives of δ and γ , and 𐌶 and 𐌷¹

¹ In the variant runes on the Franks casket (Hempl, *Trans. A. P. A.*, 32, p. 195) a somewhat different differentiation is betrayed. Here X spells both

the consistent spellings for ϑ and χ , is what was to be expected. So far as γ was concerned, the new sign χ was very welcome, for κ had, as we know, become confused with κ and was gradually taking its place. That, after a period of confusion, a new differentiation may result in the exact exchange of values, is familiar to us in other languages, for example, in Oscan, whereby \mathfrak{R} in this way got the value d and \mathfrak{Q} got the value r (*Trans. A. P. A.*, 30, p. 34). It would be pertinent to ask why F did not in the same way intrude upon the ground of \mathfrak{B} and become confused with it. The answer is not far to seek. While the cases of $\vartheta > \delta$ and $\chi > \gamma$ were numerous, particularly in the strong verbs, the change $\phi > \beta$ was rare and practically absent from strong verbs. The temptation, then, to associate the voiced fricative of the preterit and participle with the voiceless fricative found in the present and in the monosyllabic forms of the preterit was very great in the case of $\vartheta > \delta$ and $\chi > \gamma$ and practically non-existent in the case of $\phi > \beta$.

But all this implies that the runes were involved in the disturbance wrought by Verner's law; that is, they came into use before the time of Verner's law. In other words, when the Greek letters were adopted, the voiceless fricatives had come into existence but unstressed voiceless fricatives had not yet become voiced, that is, the Germanic shift was at the stage marked (3) in the table on page 71. The chronology thus arrived at is singularly in harmony with the conclusions of Bethge as expressed in Dieter's *Laut- und Formenlehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte*, I., p. 177.

GEORGE HEMPL.

ANN ARBOR.

χ and γ , while \mathfrak{N} is used only as a sign for that χ that became the breathing h . Whether this adjustment came down parallel with the usual one or is a later modification of it, I do not now venture to say. Of course, the limitation of \mathfrak{N} to h must have been late.

REVIEWS.

1. John Ries, *Was ist Syntax?* Ein kritischer Versuch. Marburg 1894. 163 pp.
2. Otto Behaghel, *Die Syntax des Heliand*. Prag, Wien, Leipzig, 1897. 382 pp.
3. Ferdinand Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (Sammlung von Elementarbüchern der altgermanischen Dialekte, herausgegeben von Dr. W. Streitberg, Band v). Heidelberg 1899. 283 pp.

THE systematic study of syntax, especially in Germanics, seems to be in a period of hopeful ascendancy. Not as though the *Jahresbericht der germanischen Philologie* contained an appreciably increasing number of syntactical monographs. The above observation is based, rather, on a marked endeavor, in the most notable syntactical investigations of late years, to define more sharply the nature and scope of this part of grammar, and on a more critical attitude toward the whole method of syntactical research.

I.

A review of Dr. Ries's excellent treatise may here seem rather too long *post festum*; yet I do not deem it out of place. For the book, which within a few years after its appearance was reviewed extensively, and generally in a very appreciative manner, in philological journals abroad, classical as well as modern, is not so well known in our own country as it should be, and consequently does not exert the influence that it is destined, and deserves, to have. The reasons for this are difficult to locate; they certainly cannot lie in the presentation, which is clear and distinct, nor in the demands of the book, which are just.

A brief sketch of the contents, which of course cannot do justice to the book, may follow here. The introduction inquires into the causes why as yet no generally accepted definition of syntax has

been given and the question of what syntax really is may still aptly be asked. This is explained from deficiencies in the grammatical system as a whole, and these again find their explanation in the history of syntactical research which is given in bold outlines. Among the ancient Greeks syntax, as far as it was not the hand-maid of philosophy and rhetoric to which it owed its origin, was used only for textual criticism and the interpretation of authors; the middle ages naturally could not be expected to show any progress in the right direction; and when in the period of Humanism Latin awoke to a new and artificial life syntax came to be a collection of rules for writing Latin, prescriptions for the avoidance of barbarisms; and the more in subsequent times a writer or speaker fell short of a complete mastery of Latin the more would comparison with his own mother-tongue intrude; conceptions thus gained were then transferred also to the study of other languages, which therefore were all thrown upon the Procrustean bed of Latin grammar. The scientific study of language which is not subservient to any practical purposes and "the sole aim of which is to comprehend its object" (Steinthal) dates back only a few generations. Thus to this very day a considerable number of obstacles obtain, preventing an agreement in the conception of syntax, and an exposition of what syntax really is seems more than ever urgently called for. The demand for such a definition is not a mere war about words, apart from the misconceptions that a wrongly worded definition is liable to engender.

The first part of the treatise proper is a critical review of the existing syntactical systems, none of which entirely satisfies the demands of science. Ries distinguishes three large groups: the mixed system, the Miklosich system, and the system regarding syntax as the doctrine of the sentence.¹ The mixed syntax is a motley congregation of the most heterogeneous elements, both as regards subjects treated (the individual elements of speech as well as sentences, or parts of a rhematology, with frequent encroachments on rhetoric and stylistics) and mode of treatment (starting in the case of the individual words from form, in sentences from content, *i. e.*, from logical points of view). In the rhematology of the mixed system indeed the old "logical" method of linguistic research employed by Becker is still enjoying a safe refuge. If it is not the categories of logic or what is commonly so called it is the

¹The last named will in the following for brevity be referred to by *rhematology*, a word which I take the liberty to coin.

categories of Latin grammar that do violence to the subject-matter.² Under this system—called a system by courtesy only, since an eclectic system is no system at all—syntax becomes a receptacle for everything else that finds no appropriate place in grammar (so much so that with due apology to the unknown author of a rule in Latin grammar it might be said :

“ Was sonst nicht unterkommen kann,
Das bringt man in der Syntax an.”

Practically it has the largest following among investigators on syntax, but as a scientific system it has the least claim to recognition because it makes a unified, organic, and natural arrangement of the matter treated virtually impossible.

To avoid the inconsistencies of the mixed system it is necessary to cut out part of the subject-matter. Miklosich,³ in a rather high-handed fashion, threw out the entire rhematology and simply defined syntax as “that part of grammar which treats the meaning (function) of word-classes and word-forms.” It is easy to see that this definition is much too narrow. Unfortunately Miklosich had despite this mistake a host of followers, Scherer and Erdmann⁴ among the German scholars being the most noteworthy; and his system seems to be still growing in popularity. Its excellencies lie in its remarkable clearness and consistency, but the extent of the subject-matter is made to suffer seriously. Miklosich created his system in conscious opposition to Herling and Becker’s logical method (which opposition he shared with others so that it is not a distinguishing mark of his system); and seeing that it was rhematology which was most liable to admit the antiquated method of consideration he became distrustful of rhematology itself and excluded it from his system entirely. In doing so he confused the method of investigation (starting from the meaning the linguistic expression of which is looked for) with the manner and arrangement of presentation (which may, but need not, follow the course of investigation), and moreover confused the method of investigation with its subject (which in the old school was more

² While this objection raised against the mixed system may be practically well founded it would seem as though theoretically it had no more to do with the mixed system than with any other, since these could commit the same mistakes.

³ In his *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, iv². Wien, 1883, p. 1.

⁴ Cf. the preface to his *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I. Stuttgart, 1886.

extensive and correct than in Miklosich's system). Rigid consistency in carrying out the Miklosich system makes impossible some of the most important chapters in syntax, such as the musical means of sentence-structure, word-order, etc. Therefore Miklosich himself, as well as Erdmann and others of his successors, transgressed the limits of the system in appendices, thereby falling back into the mixed system.

With the conception of syntax as *Satzlehre* or rhematology Ries is more in sympathy. But rhematology is only a part of syntax. The concept 'sentence' itself is open to discussion and should be developed in the syntactical system; and the series of concepts 'sound—word—sentence' is faulty; instead of 'sentence' it should be 'word-group,' since a sentence is only one kind of word-group. A mere sentence-syntax offers no place for word-groups that do not form sentences or cannot be regarded as parts of such. This is shown by the example of Schmalz's *Lateinische Syntax*. The definition of syntax = rhematology is only to be approved of if it is intended as a designation of part for the whole.

This first destructive part of Dr. Ries's book is followed by an even more interesting constructive one which closely examines the relation of syntax to the other parts of grammar and aims at positive results. The deficiencies of all the above systems of syntax are in a large measure to be charged to a wrong division of grammar, particularly to the faulty antithesis of syntax and morphology. The usual tripartition of grammar into phonology, morphology and syntax is to be rejected, for it is without a consistent principle of division. Likewise syntax and semasiology are not the same thing; syntax contains only a part of semasiology, *viz.* the semasiology of word-groups. Since, as Ries shows convincingly, there are many word-forms with absolutely non-syntactical meaning, the semasiology of word-classes and word-forms belongs largely to a part of grammar which as onomatology⁵ (*Wortlehre*)

⁵ I am well aware that this word leaves much to be desired for euphony and has also, even though rarely, been used to designate 'Namenkunde' or the science of names. Yet it seemed by far the most fitting; for Greek *ὄνομα* means *the individual word* (without reference to syntactical relations). Of the other Greek words that might come into consideration (and a Greek word would be desirable because of the parallelism with *phonology* and *syntax*) *μῦθος* could not, on account of *mythology*, be used for manifest reasons; *ἔπος* designates *the word of the poet*, and *βήμα* *the word in connection or sentence* (cf. n. 1, above). A compound like 'verbology' is distasteful to me. I should be thankful for suggestions on this point.

occupies a position between phonology and syntax. The division of the whole grammar would then be this:

- I. Phonology (*subject of investigation: sound*).
- II. Onomatology (*subject of investigation: the word so far as it is not a member of a syntactical group*).
 1. Morphology (*word with reference to form*).
 - a. Inflection.
 - b. Formation (derivation, composition).
 2. Semasiology (*word with reference to meaning*).⁶
- III. Syntax (*subject of investigation: word-groups; aim: finding the laws and principles of word-grouping*).
 1. Form of word-groups.
 2. Meaning or function of word-groups.

Under ordinary conditions the meaning of word-groups will best be treated alongside with their form. It should be the aim of writers on syntax to present tabulated complete pictures of syntactical groups analogous to the tables of inflectional forms in onomatology.

Syntax then is that part of grammar which shows according to what principles individual words join to form higher organic units. For the scholar, who investigates language from within, the word must be of medio-passive meaning = *συντάττεσθαι*; for the pupil, who approaches a language from without, it may be active, a collection of rules by which he has to join the words of that language, *συντάττειν*.

After briefly touching upon the few points of contact between syntax and phonology Ries discusses the relation between syntax

⁶ Under the head of semasiology Ries would treat synonymics, change in meaning, and whatever may be taken out of the purely lexicographical treatment and subjected to systematized consideration. This, no doubt, would be desirable in the complete grammar, but the complete grammar of a language is an ideal that can hardly be realized except in languages of which but few monuments are extant, and the scarcity of these in turn would enhance the difficulties of a systematic treatment of synonymics and change in meaning. Besides a strict adherence to this demand would be likely to overburden the onomatological part of grammar.—Synonymics generally should be treated, not in grammar, but in stylistics (objective or subjective stylistics as the case may be), for in it logical considerations will have to outnumber those of form. With the same, and even more right we might demand in syntax a synonymic treatment of word-groups and sentences.

and stylistics. It is impossible to draw a boundary line between the two in so far as stylistics is by no means a part of grammar. The question, "Does this belong to syntax or to stylistics?" arose from the practical purposes of language-study under which stylistics had to teach the finesses of usage, further from the incorrect definition of syntax, and from the lack of a word-semasiology. The question had better be put, "Does this belong to grammar or to stylistics?"⁷ The matter to be treated is in a large measure shared by the two sciences, and the results gained by grammar stylistics presupposes as known.⁸

Ries does not claim that he is the first and only scholar to give the correct answer to the question at issue, nor that his is the definitive solution of such complex problems. He merely wishes to contribute toward a better understanding, to suggest a renewed discussion, and to warn against the inconsiderate imitation of popular syntactical models. In all of these statements he is entirely too modest; and he should also insist more rigorously on his system being taken up not only in scientific investigations, but in books for practical use as well. What has been theoretically recognized as correct and been confirmed practically⁹ should also find its way

⁷ Cf. "*C'est une question de style et non de grammaire.*" Georges Leygues, *Simplification de la syntaxe française* (Arrêté du 26 février 1901).

⁸ So far as it deals purely with the form the material that stylistics works with is not completely contained in grammar as Dr. Ries would seem to imply. Thus a single writer, a group of such, even a whole speech-community may for their imagery and metaphors draw prevalingly on hunting or fishing, on the sea, the forest, the mountains, agriculture, or war; with such peculiarities, however, grammar has nothing to do.—Stylistics is not separable from the contents, while grammar is to a large extent (just how far has never been clearly set down and would be exceedingly difficult to determine); the greatest nonsense uttered by an insane person may be of strict grammatical purity, and the question whether the means of linguistic expression stands in due proportion to the idea to be expressed it is not for grammar to answer.—Further—another fundamental difference—stylistics, at least objective stylistics, must start from meaning. Like the study of motives, of form, of metrics, stylistics belongs to the domain of æsthetics.

⁹ E. g., F. Holthausen, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* (Weimar, 1895); O. Weise, *Syntax der Altenburger Mundart* (Leipzig, 1900); Th. Matthias, *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden*² (Leipzig, 1897); L. Sütterlin, *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1900) of which I expect to write a review shortly. How the system may be applied to stylistics will be shown by Dr. E. A. Boucke, *Wort und Bedeutung in Goethes Sprache* (Schick u. Waldbergs *Literarhist. Forschungen*, vol. XX). My own investigation on *the Adjective in Old Saxon*, the

into books for school use, else the struggle against the old routine will have to be continued for an unduly longer period.

To sum up, Dr. Ries's treatise is a highly significant book which means a new period of syntactical activity and cannot fail to arouse the conscience and stimulate the thought of investigators on grammar in general most thoroughly. Its chief excellencies are independent judgment, clear presentation, critical acumen free from any personal attacks, and full appreciation of what is correct and good no matter where it be found; witness the unstinted praise bestowed upon Miklosich's work and the treatment of what Miklosich, though by mistake, defined as syntax. Paradoxical as it may seem it may be that the dignified tone of the whole book, borne of a strong cause, is the greatest obstacle to its more general recognition, and that a good critical thunderstorm might more quickly have purified the atmosphere and prepared the dry ground for a change in cultivation. We particularly may feel a sincere satisfaction that this most thorough treatise on the true nature of syntax was written by a Germanic philologist. Though it may not, and probably will not, be the last word, yet whoever would keep abreast of the progress in scientific syntax will have to define clearly his standing with reference to Ries's system.¹⁰

II.

The announcement of a Heliand-syntax by Prof. Behaghel had, apart from the subject-matter, aroused an additional interest by the fact that the author had formerly based his lectures on German syntax upon the Miklosich system but was not satisfied by it,¹¹ and in his review of Ries's book¹² took the ground that syntax as

first part of which has just appeared as Bulletin of the Univ. of Wis., Language and Literature Series, vol. I, No. 4, is likewise based on the principles of Dr. Ries's system.

¹⁰ It is safe to assume that after reading Ries's book Prof. C. Alphonso Smith would not have written his paper on *Interpretative Syntax* (Publications of the Modern Language Association, vol. xv, pp. 97-113). What he means by interpretative syntax is in the main nothing else than stylistics, and partly also, e. g. the replacing of lost words for necessary concepts by new ones, falls under the head of onomatology.

¹¹ Cf. remarks to this effect in the introductions to G. Binz, *Zur Syntax der baselstädtischen Mundart* (Stuttgart, 1888), and H. Reis, *Syntax der Mainzer Mundart* (Mainz, 1891).

¹² *Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philologie*, 1894, col. 353-355.

usually defined not only was not too wide, but not nearly wide enough. What Behaghel offers is as regards contents and arrangement as different from Miklosich's as it well could be. For novelty of plan, extent and fullness of material, intensity and care of observation, and painstaking industry in structure, Behaghel's book is the most important syntactical publication issued for a long time, and would deserve the attention of philologists also outside of Germanics.¹³

The very instructive preface (11 pages) expounds the author's ideas concerning the object, scope, and method of syntactical research. Behaghel proposes to draw a complete picture of the syntactical phenomena in the Heliand. For this he had no model after which to shape his investigation, in classical no more than in Germanic languages.¹⁴ Naturally enough, he thinks, no other linguistic monument, with the possible exception of the Beowulf, offering itself to such presentation as the Heliand, isolated in time, place and kind, a unit in itself, uninfluenced by models in other languages, and apparently little hampered by its metrical form.¹⁵ The task is not completed by combining the results already gained by numerous monographs in the field of Heliand-syntax (of which he gives a list on pp. xii, xiii); even the syntax ordinarily so called ('*landläufig*') having disregarded a great many phenomena, and the boundaries of syntax usually being drawn too narrow. This leads him to a definition of his views concerning Ries's system,

¹³ It may be remarked by the way that Behaghel originally had planned to treat the word-formation and syntax of Old Saxon as the second part of Gallée's *Altsächsische Grammatik* (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken der germanischen Dialekte, herausgegeben von W. Braune, vi. Band, Halle, 1891), and that consequently his name appeared on the title-page conjointly with Gallée's. The syntactical material, however, evidently grew under his hands to such an extent as to render its appearance within the frame-work of Braune's collection impossible, and we now have two entirely separate works different in plan, appearance, and price. It is to be regretted that in this way Old Saxon word-formation (which in the second part of Wilmanns' *Deutsche Grammatik* could not receive much attention) has not yet been treated connectedly. Behaghel's work differs further from the original plan also in treating the syntax of the Heliand only, not considering that of the minor monuments.

¹⁴ Erdmann and Wülfing treating only selected facts in the syntax of Otfrid and Alfred; Nygaard's *Eddasprogets Syntax* being entirely defective. Outside of Germanics he quotes Mutzbauer, *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre und der homerische Tempusgebrauch* (Strassburg, 1893). He does not mention G. Vogrinz, *Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes* (Paderborn, 1889).

¹⁵ It might not be amiss to put a question-mark after parts of this statement.

whose opinion on the boundary-line between syntax and stylistics he readily accepts. He then discusses the division of material between syntax and onomatology, starting from the points of contact between syntax and dictionary. The reproach that Ries makes rigid demands that shall be absolutely normative in all kinds of syntactical investigation seems unjustified considering the modest tone of Ries's book; and so far as descriptive syntax (which Behaghel has chiefly in mind) is concerned it is here that Ries's system works best. Behaghel believes that much (not specified more distinctly) that Ries would exclude from syntax stands in too intimate a relation with syntax, and wishing to write a syntax of the *Heliand* feels under no obligation to write also an onomatology of the same monument.¹⁶ In several important points the author was prevented by external causes from fully completing his treatise: nothing is said about stress-groups (on which he gives his views in Paul's *Grundriss*, vol. 1², p. 680 ff.); the accent receives very little consideration, since Behaghel does not believe in inferences drawn from researches on the alliterative verse (p. 107); and the word-order is not treated at all, which means a serious gap. Ries's "*Die Stellung von Subject und Prädicatsverbum im Heliand*" (*Quellen und Forschungen*, xli) is therefore not antiquated by Behaghel's work.

The picture that Behaghel intends to draw of *Heliand*-syntax is to be not only complete but above all objective, unbiased. He thinks that the whole way of looking at syntactical phenomena must radically change. Gottfried Hermann's (and Becker's) logical mode of consideration and transferring of Kantian categories to language having long since been abandoned, the usual method now starts from form instead of from contents, and as a model of this kind Behaghel cites Miklosich's *Slavische Syntax*.¹⁷ But, he believes, investigators have not yet sufficiently rid themselves of transferring upon other languages the categories of Latin grammar or their modern conceptions of linguistic expression. Comparison is therefore consistently excluded. Theoretically this is one of the advantages of the book; for it alone makes possible the completeness after which he strives. It is also justifiable in so far as it is sometimes dangerous to throw light upon a syntactical phenomenon

¹⁶ This objection will hardly hold good; all that Behaghel needed to do was to take over a few chapters from word-semasiology, and to sift and shift the material accordingly.

¹⁷ A last tribute paid to his old love, with a side-glance at Ries's vigorous opposition to the Miklosich system.

in one language by citing a seemingly like phenomenon in another language that may possibly owe its existence to a widely diverging process of linguistic development. But it is also possible to go too far in the opposite direction. Why should comparison which is allowed to the philologist in all fields be denied to him in syntax?¹⁸ There can be no doubt about the intrinsic value of comparison for the sake of elucidation, and in the *Heliand* especially there are numerous obscurities that might easily be cleared up with the aid of other Germanic dialects. Indeed, Behaghel himself adduces comparison in a few isolated instances, as in § 99, p. 56, l. 3 ff.; §§ 111, 113; § 332, p. 209, ll. 12-13; § 488, p. 323, l. 8. In this connection it sounds also rather strange that (p. iv) on occasions it seemed desirable to him to state expressly the absence of a phenomenon. Absence—from what point of view? from that of our modern *Sprachgefühl*? But is not such a procedure “measuring the facts of one speech-unit by the standards of another?”

One consequence arising logically from the author's disregard for comparison and one that doubtless will meet with the disapproval of many is his consistent abstention from explaining the nature of the syntactical phenomena recorded. Such explanations he thinks should be given only on a Germanic basis which can be gained solely by comparison; and he promises a work of this sort for the near future (cf. n. 18).

The chief function of syntax, according to the preface, and as Behaghel has since repeated it in “*Der Gebrauch der Zeitformen in den conjunctivischen Nebensätzen im Deutschen*” (Paderborn, 1899), consists in describing the group-formations in language, in finding out that the homogeneous words *a, b, c, d, e* join in groups with the homogeneous words *r, s, t, u, v*, and that, further, such groups join with certain other groups to form higher units. The first question then would be, “How are these groups formed?” and thus the first two parts (the work is divided into three ‘*Bücher*’) deal with the elements of syntactical formations, and with the means of group-structure (Behaghel, p. ix, l. 15, speaks incorrectly of ‘sentence-structure’). The third part is devoted to the syntactical formations

¹⁸ Would not a strict adherence to this principle virtually preclude the comparative syntax of Germanic dialects which Behaghel says he has in preparation?—Unless I am under a grave misapprehension Behaghel must have changed his views in this respect; cf. his article “*Ich habe geschlafen*,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. xxxii, especially p. 69, l. 6 ff.

themselves. In Ries's system the first part would belong to morphology, the second largely to semasiology, only the fourth and fifth chapters of the second book being purely syntactical.

The elements of syntactical groups naturally subdivide into word-classes¹⁹ and word-forms. The means for the formation of syntactical groups may be internal: the meaning of word-classes (showing, *e. g.*, what kinds of combinations the different classes of words may enter), the meaning of word-forms, and the individual (better: *material*, or *lexical*) meaning of single words; or external: congruence, difference in time given to utterance, shades in accent, arrangement of parts of speech. The chapter on word-forms contains everything on nouns lacking either singular or plural, or certain case-forms, adjectives appearing only in certain degrees of comparison, verbs used only in the third person, etc. We catch the first glimpse of the author's working method in the first chapter of this second book, §§ 35-55, in the minutely detailed treatment of the combination, or absence of combination, of substantives with the definite or indefinite article, groups which strictly speaking should be discussed in the third book, § 211 ff.

The concept-words are divided into absolute and relative, Behaghel's further subdivision being into anaphoric or vicarious (without material content, *e. g.*, *the same*); anæmic²⁰ (so general that they afford only a form of conception, *e. g.*, numerals, expressions of quantity); partitive (*e. g.*, *end*, *half*, *ground*); relative proper or connecting (*e. g.*, *father*, *friend*, *servant*). All the relative nouns of the Heliand are classified under these categories,—and with so much logical reflection indeed that the times of Gottfried Hermann and Becker seem to have returned, Behaghel here committing the very mistake which he is so anxiously trying to avoid. The adjectives are likewise divided into absolute and relative; the prepositions are treated under the head of relative adverbs. Another chapter under the general head of syntactical function of individual word-meaning deals with 'introlocal' and 'translocal' verbs (Behaghel's terms for Sievers's *verbs of rest and of motion*, cf. PBrB, vol. XII, p. 188 ff.), still another with verb-modality (perfect-

¹⁹ Why among these the verbs should be left out of consideration entirely (but for their bare mention in § 2), eleven paragraphs being devoted to the other classes of concept-words, is not quite plain.

²⁰ I take this expression, which seems a good translation for Behaghel's 'leer,' from Prof. Hempfl's *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 271.

tive and imperfective verbs, cf. Streitberg, PBrB, vol. xv, p. 70 ff.²¹). The treatment of the external means of syntactical grouping occupies only seven pages (over against 87 devoted to the internal means), five of which are apportioned to congruence, and about a page and a half to general discussions on the accent. The word-order, as mentioned above, is not treated at all.

The third book, the description proper of syntactical formations, comprises the bulk (about three-fourths) of the work as it should. Behaghel treats, first, word-groups; secondly, sentences; thirdly, sentence-groups. The word-groups he divides into defining groups (hypotactical groups, in which one member is defined more nearly by another, or several others, the latter then depending on the one defined) and expanding groups (paratactical groups, in which one member is increased, or varied, by another, or several others; these include numerous cases of variation). The defining groups are arranged according to the classes of words defined, *i. e.*, the words forming the center of the groups; and within this arrangement subdivided according to the number of members joined in a group; a group like *huilic helag man* being regarded as one of three members centering around the substantive, *flesk is unc antfallan* as one of two members centering around the verb. With the numerical system adopted by Behaghel, groups really forming an organic unit ought to have been sharply distinguished from such as, while being a unit in themselves, contain also irrelevant members; this could, however, not have been thoroughly effected without careful regard to accentual conditions.

In this chapter we find all that syntax 'ordinarily so called' treats under the general head of cases. The cases are not represented each as having different meanings: if we do feel a difference in the function of the genitive in *folc engilo* and *sunu godes* the intrinsic difference lies not in the case itself, but in the elements forming each group, *folc* being an anæmic and *sunu* a connective concept.²² Similarly the meaning of the preposition is the same in

²¹ My own review of Streitberg, Recha, Wustmann, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. x, pp. 59-62, I should now considerably modify since it does not sufficiently distinguish between verb-perfectivity and sentence-perfectivity.

²² While this point is in itself well taken Behaghel fails to draw from it the necessary historical inferences; and his whole presentation of what syntax 'ordinarily so called' treats under the head of cases rests on no very solid foundation. Examples like the ones just quoted are indeed quite clear and would prove Behaghel's proposition, all the more so since the inherent mean-

an hellea faran and *beran an enaru baru*; the difference lies in the verbal concepts which the prepositional group defines. The chapter on prepositions (p. 131 ff.) seems to me to be one of the best in the entire work.—The expanding groups are treated in a manner analogous to the presentation of the defining groups.

Then follows the chapter on sentences, simple and complex.

ing of the case-suffix (which Behaghel nowhere states) was effaced long before Germanic times. But how about *folc engilo* and *folc godes*? Does the difference of these two groups lie in the different meaning of the word *folc* (which according to Behaghel may be both absolute and anæmic) or in the possibility of a two-fold function of the case? Which of these differences did the Old Saxon feel? for he certainly felt the difference of the two groups. Do we feel two different meanings of *Soldat* or a difference in case-function in *die Soldaten dieses Regiments* and *die Soldaten des Kaisers*? do we analyze *Soldaten* in the former case as = *the armed members of this regiment*, and in the latter as = *the armed servants of the emperor*? Turning—with Behaghel's permission—to Latin and Greek, how about *amor Dei* which may mean either 'God's love for man' or 'man's love for God,' and $\delta \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ = 1) *the enemies' fear of us*, 2) *our fear of the enemies*? In both of these cases, so far as these groups are taken out of their connection, a two-fold function of the case is manifest; it is of course correct that the purport of the expression would be evident from the other elements in the sentence. There must from the beginning have been something in the case-suffix that made possible its entering into groups of such manifold relations; something that contained in it the germs of different usages or functions, and these usages and functions must have developed in a manner analogous to the development of different meanings of one and the same word, *i. e.*, resulted from the nature of the various groups entered into. The same process is traceable, *e. g.*, in the history of prepositions; and what holds good for these probably also holds good for the more primitive means of expressing the relations of group-elements to each other, *i. e.*, case-endings, and thus a feeling for the possibility of different functions may have been established.—Even whole sentences may have different functions; cf. German "*Wie lange studieren Sie Deutsch?*" = 1) *How long have you been studying German?* 2) *How long are you going to study German?* 3) *How long do you study German as a rule?* As in the case of the above groups *amor Dei* and $\delta \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ the meaning of the groups will become clear from the sentences in which they are contained, so does in this case the meaning of the sentence become evident from the sentence-group. Should we, therefore, entirely abolish syntax and rhematology and have a *Redelehre* (rhetoric) only? Nobody would be willing to go to such an extreme, which can easily be obviated by treating the different functions of word-groups and sentences in appropriate places in syntax. All this raises a very complicated question which to my knowledge has never been touched upon in any theoretical discussion on syntax, and which here could not be treated with the necessary fullness.

Special attention is paid to the manifold ways of sentence-connection (several of which are psychological rather than formal!): insertion; asyndesis; conjunctions in the widest sense of the term, including nouns, ordinals, the pronoun *sulik*, adverbs, conjunctions properly so called, verbs; sentence economy²³ (*Ersparung*), arrangement of sentences, parallelism and chiasm, etc.

The closing chapters, which are especially good, deal with mixed constructions, containing many valuable additions to a Heliand commentary, and disturbances (anacolutha), from which the language of the Heliand is remarkably free.

And the value of Behaghel's book?

That the work, in extent, arrangement, and point of view, differs radically from its predecessors, if such there be, will be clear from the preceding. It certainly is not a 'syntax ordinarily so called' or a slavish imitation of particular models; uninfluenced by any others Behaghel proceeds on his own road. But will this lead us to the ideal syntax? Will it be the only, or, if there be several, the shortest and safest route? It would be hazardous to risk a definitive judgment at present; but there are several important things working against a decided influence of Behaghel's system.

The striking advantages of independence and suggestiveness, the reasonable completeness of the material, the scrutinizing observation, the persevering energy not daunted by the most bewildering mass of details, the untired search after formal principles of division have been mentioned above. They are accompanied by disadvantages scarcely less weighty. The most conspicuous of these is the lack of perspicuity, in which the book seems to stand unrivalled. The number of divisions and subdivisions under each heading is something appalling: cf., e. g., § 267, § 332 on p. 210, and especially § 272, p. 172: ΑΙ α 1 α α α α α; then two subdivisions characterized, without literal notation, by carrying further to the right, and under the second one of these two further subdivisions introduced by *erstens* and *zweitens* written in full.²⁴ The preface justly condemns divisions that are not organic to the subject-matter, but the treatise itself is by no means devoid of them. Many of these minute subdivisions are, briefly speaking, entirely useless and go back only to an inexplicable fancy for classification reminding one involuntarily of those

²³ Various examples quoted under this heading had better be considered as constructions ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (§ 460).

²⁴ Why, by the way, does not Behaghel use instead αα, ααα, ααα, etc.?

well-known Japanese toy-eggs. That, with all this, the book should be issued without an index falls little short of criminal carelessness. I freely confess that notwithstanding a frequent use of the book for four years I still at times do not know where to look for a given syntactical phenomenon. In vain do we look for the Ariadne thread to take us out of this labyrinth; even the detailed table of contents, which is worked out very well, offers comparatively little help. Other deficiencies growing out of Behaghel's overfondness for classification are the disparity of sections (cf. §§ 257-304) and an occasional vagueness of expression which but imperfectly keeps pace with the zeal for the minutiae of tabulation. The lack of perspicuity here deprecated is all the more regrettable since it will tend to militate against the system as such, which is in no wise responsible for it, even though the descriptive process necessitates more attention to details.

Another disturbing factor is the use of new terms for syntactical phenomena. So far as the old terms are distinctly faulty and insufficient this is natural; nor would I take exception to the employment of German words as grammatical designations.²⁵ But it is less gratifying that Behaghel should replace such plain terms as Sievers's '*verbs of rest and of motion*' by '*intra-local and trans-local verbs*,' and avoid traditional terms of the syntax 'ordinarily so called,' which are after all not so very bad, by means of lengthy paraphrases.²⁶ On the other hand Behaghel fails to define such terms as perfective and imperfective verbs, simply referring to Mourek's review of Wustmann's dissertation. The book is accordingly not meant for beginners; but that a preposition is a relative adverb, etc., everyone who specializes in linguistics presumably knows.

Finally the book is entirely descriptive, excluding comparison and any attempts at explanation. From this point of view, then, the syntax of the Heliand is not yet complete.—The high price—18 marks—explicable by its fine appearance, tends to be an obstacle to the book's reaching wider circles.

²⁵ How much injury has been done to the extent of observation and to the true appreciation of the facts of German grammar by not fully supplementing the nomenclature of Latin grammar is well shown by Sütterlin, *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*; cf. the preface, p. x.

²⁶ Thus the doleful concession contained in his adding, in parenthesis, the word 'preposition' to the long definition of this term as 'relative adverb' (§ 161, p. 85) reminds one of the parenthetical addition of *ὀνκ* after its transcription *oyk* for the benefit of those who can read Greek.

In spite of these deficiencies, for which as stated above the system itself is at most but partly to blame, Behaghel's work remains a great achievement and a decided advance over both the old mixed system and Miklosich-Erdmann; it surely means a decided stride nearer the final answer to the question; it is a really syntactical piece of work. I should not indeed myself recommend its application in the entire grammar of a language; here Ries's system strictly carried out would doubtless deserve the preference, a fact which to my mind Sütterlin has proven. But Behaghel's book seems to me to be worthy of imitation for briefer syntactical monographs that for some reason or other cannot, or are not meant to, consider onomatology. Such a piece of work, which would recognize or show Behaghel's influence, has so far not yet come to my notice. This is regrettable; for with due avoidance of its defects as outlined above the system is well worth a thorough trial.²⁷

²⁷ A few minor points, most of which have occurred to me in connection with my own work in Old Saxon, may be briefly commented upon here:

§ 24 (p. 10) contains the statement that *the* lacks the instr. mas. But it occurs with *brahtmu* (2176, 4189, 4809) which Behaghel quotes as a mas. in his glossary.

The reasons why certain adjectives lack the higher degrees of comparison I have tried to explain in my *Wortlehre des Adjectivs im Altsächsischen* (cf. n. 9), § 74. Cf. also the same, § 76 (comparison of relative adjectives) on Behaghel, § 26 C; likewise § 75 (absolute and relative adjectives) on Behaghel, §§ 119, 120; § 58 c (substantival use of superlative in the gen. and dat.) on Behaghel, § 58 A III, b 2; § 67 (absolute superlatives) on Behaghel, § 92.

The exceptional use of the article in *them salte*, § 39, p. 21, may be easily explained with reference to l. 1363 and the accompanying restrictive relative clause; its use with *doſ*, § 41, p. 22, on the ground of its special usage in 4757, 5613, 5641, 5778, where in each case it means the death of Jesus Christ.

§ 42, p. 22. The statement that the weak superlative when used substantively always has the article with it is incorrect; cf. as further exceptions 760, 972, 991, C 4256.

§ 56, B IV read *Dativ und Adverb* (making it, however, identical with II).

§ 57, A I c add *bittar, kald, scarp*; III b, p. 32, *armscapan* never occurs predicatively; it is attributive in 2186, 3765, 5742, 5748; *gifrodod* is attributive in 208, *gigamalod* in 72. In C II supply after *prädicativ: und substantivisch*.

§ 82 B I in all the words quoted—neuters with long stem-syllables—the use of the uninflected form of the adjective would not make it clear whether the noun was singular or plural; a plain case of language-economy.

In § 105 A II add among the exceptions where the pronoun of the second person singular is inserted, 262-3, 320, 1555, 1561, C 2716, 3269, 3271 (it seems that the insertion of the pronoun is the rule in negative sentences), 3376; where the pronoun of the second person plural is omitted, 881, 1637.

III.

An independent further development of Ries's system of grammar as a whole is presented by the *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* of Holt-hausen, who in his *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* (cf. n. 9) had been the first to carry out strictly Ries's suggestions.²⁸ The innovation is, outwardly considered, a step backward, inasmuch as it shows again the old tripartition of grammar into phonology, morphology, and syntax, that Ries combats so strongly. But yet it shows a distinct advance over this older division: discussions, under the title of 'general remarks,' on the extent and function of word-classes and word-forms are taken out of what used to be indiscriminately burdened upon syntax and are made to precede the inflectional forms.²⁹ The word-formation is not treated. As to the third part it is to be observed that Holthausen does not pretend to furnish a complete syntax, however brief, of Old Saxon, but entitles this part 'Remarks on Syntax.' The examples cited here are largely taken from Behaghel's Heliand-syntax (unfortunately without the exact references to the lines of the poem, and occasionally incomplete). It is not the least merit of Holthausen's book to have made the most important results of Behaghel's work more accessible. Considering the pedagogical purpose of the book it is also gratifying that the time-hallowed terms of syntax 'ordinarily so called' have

An explanation as to why in the imperative no personal pronoun is put in the singular but regularly in the plural is desirable: the 2nd plural does not differ in form from the first and third.

§ 197, p. 105, l. 3 from below, add 3161.

§ 214, beginning, useless repetition of § 160 A, p. 85, bottom.

The book is remarkably free from misprints. The following need correction: p. 7, l. 5, from below, *hanðmahal*, r. *handmahal*.—p. 12, l. 3, *enig*, r. *enag*.—p. 20, l. 5, § 8, r. § 38.—p. 32, l. 2, *gifrodod*, r. *gifrodod*; § 57 C1, l. 3, *thea uuarun inu*, r. *inu*.—p. 82, § 157 A, l. 4, *enuwalden*, r. *enuwalden*.—p. 94, l. 4 from below, *S. XII 188*, r. *XII S. 188*.—p. 96, under B, *belðian*, r. *beldian*; *gelðan*, r. *geldan*.—p. 153, l. 6, *arabeðie*, r. *arabedie*.—p. 175, § 280, l. 2, *uns*, r. *unc*. (The form *uns*, which of course would be impossible in Old Saxon was strangely enough taken over uncorrected from Behaghel's Heliand edition.)—p. 196, III b 1 a, *hobða*, r. *hoðda*.—p. 198, § 313 A, *hobðu*, r. *hoðdu*.—p. 265, § 420, *gimarlicara*, r. *gimarlicara*.

²⁸ Excepting that under the head of onomatology, by an oversight, he made three parallel divisions, viz. morphology, formation, and semasiology (instead of I morphology: 1) inflection, 2) formation, II semasiology).

²⁹ §§ 258–261; 328; 330; 334; 337; 340; 343; 345; 346–8; 349–52; 392–397.

not been discarded; thus, *e. g.*, the cases reappear with different functions. One regrettable feature of the syntactical portion is the fact that so few examples are quoted from the Old Saxon Genesis and the Minor Monuments; I have counted only about half a dozen.—The remarks on syntax are subdivided according to word-groups and sentence-groups. The problematical questions raised by the accent are naturally enough disregarded. The word-order likewise receives no attention.

Syntactically Holthausen's book marks also a considerable improvement on the mixed system and Miklosich. But the misleading title of the second part should be corrected into onomatology.³⁰

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September, 1901.

³⁰ While we are concerned here chiefly about the syntactical system represented by Holthausen's book the inconsistency in examining the rest of the contents will be pardonable. The introduction contains a long list of references to the literature on Old Saxon; the additional literature on the Heliand may readily be looked up in Piper's edition. Behaghel's *Syntax des Heliand*, probably by an oversight, is not given with the place and date of publication. Chapter II describes the place and divisions of Old Saxon, III the sources, among which strangely enough are wanting the Baptismal Vow, the Indiculus Superstitionum, the Abecedarium Nordmannicum, the Parisian Prudentius Glosses, the Gandersheim and Merseburg Glosses. In § 13 we may now add what is said on the home of the Heliand and its poet by Wrede (*ZfdA* 43, pp. 333-360), Roethe (*Anzeiger* of the same volume, pp. 387-390), Kaufmann (*ZfdPh* 32, pp. 511-520), Collitz (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of Am.*, 16, pp. 123-140). Holthausen himself takes a negative view. Chapter IV deals with the writing.

The first part of the grammatical treatise contains the excellent phonology, the more or less problematical character of which Holthausen emphasizes in the preface. On § 81 it might be remarked that the wording of Braune's *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, § 27, n. 4, deserves preference over Holthausen's.—§§ 196 and 201 should contain a statement that *ft* > *ht*, *bl* > *fl* are not sound-changes but sound-substitutions.—§ 205: only the initial *th* of unstressed words is assimilated to a preceding *t*.—In § 216 *h* is designated as the voiceless glottal fricative also initially before consonants, while according to § 54 it would indicate only the unvoicing of these consonants (as in British English); the latter would also be suggested by § 217. The weakness of initial *h* is also proved by *hi* alliterating with *j*, *gi*, *ge*. (That *h* + consonant alliterates also with *h* + vowel is no proof against its weakness; we may here have to do with a phenomenon nearly parallel to Old Norse '*Reiþr vas þá Vingþórr*' where the *r* of *reiþr* < **vreiþr* alliterates with *v*).—§§ 204 and 233: Would not the development of *ʒs* > *ds* > *ts* and *ʒs* > *gs* > *ks* (by dissimilation) be more

The English Chronicle Play: A Study in the Popular Historical Literature Environing Shakespeare. By Felix E. Schelling, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. ix, 310.

OUR histories of English dramatic literature have hitherto been annals of the stage, biographies of the playwrights, with inadequate disquisitions on the development of the particular *genres* that make up the great mass of the English drama. Plays have been considered in relation to their authors rather than to the special class of dramatic literature to which they belong. This treatment, while necessary in our histories of literature, is too general to convey any accurate conception of the extent to which the several dramatic forms flourished. It is Prof. Schelling's aim in his work on the English Chronicle Play to consider this particular species in its rise, its triumph, and its decay, and thereby to bring into clearer light its significance in our estimate of Elizabethan literature and life.

Between 1562, when *Gorboduc* was performed, and 1642, when the theatres were closed, there is record of more than one hundred and fifty plays dealing with subjects drawn from English history or legend (p. 51), and of these nearly eighty fall between 1590 and 1600 (p. 53). Only about half of these plays are extant, yet even

probable than $\text{ʒs} > \text{ʒs} > \text{ts}$ and $\text{ʒs} > \text{ʒs} > \text{ks}$?—In § 253 there may possibly be no real shortening of double consonants but one long consonant, like Alemanian *in Hof* < *in den Hof*.

The second and third parts reviewed above are followed by selections for reading. For the prose selections (four pages) Holthausen was fortunate enough to be able to use the proofs of Wadstein's edition of the *Minor Monuments* (Norden und Leipzig, 1899). The poetic selections, preceded by a succinct exposition of the laws of alliterative poetry, contain three of the most beautiful portions of the *Heliand*, taken alternately from M and C, and three from the *Genesis*. The complete vocabulary with its regular references to the paragraphs of the grammar after every word serves at the same time for a review of the grammar.

The material of the book is reliable, the treatment careful, thorough, and independent, the presentation concise and clear. The numerous details of lesser importance are not overcrowding, being carefully distinguished in print. The book possesses high pedagogical value and in this as well as in all other points is an excellent addition to the whole series. It is to be hoped that it will exert a quickening influence on the study of Old Saxon at home and abroad, and that it may entirely supersede the unreliable grammar written by Gallée.

that number must strike one as surprisingly great. The facts, however, that the Chronicle Play bulks less largely than either the tragedy or comedy proper and that its subject-matter marks it off at once from all other dramas, have happily induced Prof. Schelling to make this treatise the first of what is, we trust, a series of works dealing with our dramatic literature in the days of its brilliancy. And here I should like to say that not one of the least of the things for which we should be grateful to our author is his list of the plays with the dates of their probable production and earliest publication and, if extant, the editions in which they are available.

Prof. Schelling departs from the usual interpretation of the term in his treatment of his subject, since he includes not only the typical Chronicle Play, as seen in *Henry IV*, and the biographical chronicle, such as *Sir Thomas More*, but also the legendary chronicle, of which the greatest example is *King Lear*. It is easy to see how the Chronicle Play proper and the biographical chronicle might be merged so that it is difficult to say when we have history and when biography. This general distinction will, however, hold for the most part, that in the Chronicle Play proper our interest is centred in the period and in the biographical chronicle it is with an individual. Thus, while in *Henry IV* our interest in the serious business of the play to a certain extent rests with the king, there can be no doubt that the primary importance of this drama is in the history of the reign. In such a play as *Sir Thomas More*, on the other hand, the "story is told primarily for the hero's sake and neither for the historical events in which he may chance to have figured nor for the artistic possibilities of the theme" (p. 210). The step from the Chronicle Play proper to tragical history, as exemplified in Marlowe's *Edward II*, is also easily made; and at the same time the fundamental relationship in development of these species is by no means obscured.

When, however, Prof. Schelling classes *Gorboduc*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, and *Richardus Tertius* among the forerunners of the Chronicle Play and *Lear* and *Macbeth* as its "glorification above its species" (p. 208), he is surely giving a scope to this species to which it is not entitled. For it implies that *Gorboduc* and the rest contributed to the development of the Chronicle Play, and that *Lear* and *Macbeth* were legitimate outgrowths of this species. The fact that all these plays go to the same sources for their subject matter is not enough to group them under the general heading of the Chronicle Play. *Gorboduc* and the "forerunners" mentioned above are Senecan plays with English historical or legendary themes. They indicate the interest

which literature manifested in topics taken from the past of England, and show that the classical drama, like the other literary forms, saw there admirable matter for artistic treatment. What is significant is that, as Prof. Schelling says, "neither the Latin nor the English imitators of the Roman dramatist produced the earliest Chronicle Play" (p. 29). They are not forerunners in development in the sense in which are even the *Hock Tuesday Play* or the Early Robin Hood and St. George plays. The interest of these Senecan imitations is not at all that of the Chronicle Play: so far as that is concerned, the theme might as well be Roman as English. The relation of these plays to the Chronicle Play is merely that of the other poetic forms which chose English in preference to foreign themes. Indeed as Prof. Schelling points out, the suggestion of these Senecan plays was not developed in a Chronicle Drama founded on British myth, to correspond to Roman tragedy founded on Greek myth: they were forced to give way to the Chronicle Play as presented before the popular audiences of the Bankside (p. 173). It does not therefore appear that we have in these "forerunners" an influence on the development of the Chronicle Play as great as our author believes it to be.

The Senecan plays were, however, the precursors of English tragedy, which found its culmination in Shakspeare. On this account there must be shown some distinct influence from the Chronicle Play on tragedy before we can admit *Macbeth* and *Lear* into this category. That the Chronicle Play sent Shakspeare to Holinshed for his plots may be admitted, but that is hardly an influence of sufficient import to bring these tragedies within the bounds of this *genre*. Further, even though Shakspeare based his *Lear* on the old Chronicle Play *Leir*, he has so transformed the play that the Chronicle element has disappeared as effectually as the comedy element of his source. Likewise *Cymbeline* should be excluded and only those dramas admitted, like *The Valiant Welshman*, are at base of the genus of the Chronicle Play, which show a development, however indistinct, through the Chronicle Play. These works call for passing mention as illustrating the universal interest in themes taken from British legends, but hardly merit in a work on this subject the somewhat detailed treatment given them by our author.

The essential inevitableness of the Chronicle Play is admirably shown by Prof. Schelling in his chapter on its growth and distribution. He is content to restrict himself to the period of the sixteenth

century as producing abundant materials from the legendary historical past of England for the use of literature, and only hints at the interest which English writers took in this subject from the very dawn of the national consciousness. The drama, which was rapidly becoming the most popular literary form, could hardly avoid making use of the rich matter offered by the chroniclers at the time when all England was aglow on her rise in greatness. And the discussion of the earliest plays of this type is conducted with the single end to show that the "aim of the English Chronicle Drama from the first was 'the scenic representation of history'" (p. 49).

The limitations of this aim were, however, such that their perpetuation meant the decay of this species of drama. Accordingly, as Prof. Schelling indicates, new elements entered into the Chronicle Play, one furnished by Marlowe, the other by Shakspeare. With the former "the unifying artistic motive that crystallised this amorphous mass into a form of beauty . . . took a concentrated and tragic form;" with the latter it attained a "comprehensiveness in which comedy and tragedy become reconciled and the whole range of human life is represented in its political and social relations" (p. 63). Marlowe's contribution is contained in *Edward II*, Shakspeare's in *Henry IV*. A detailed analysis of the former play follows and is justified not merely by virtue of the excellence of this historical tragedy but because of its influence on Shakspeare's earlier work in this field, especially his *Richard III*. The unmodified epic type, with Shakspeare's authorship in collaboration, exists in the *Henry VI* trilogy, and necessarily calls for treatment as preliminary to his historical tragedy. The whole question of the interrelation of these plays with the two *Contentions*, *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, and Shakspeare's *Richard III*, is discussed with such brevity and succinctness as this somewhat complicated subject will allow.

The greatest development of the Chronicle Play was, of course, in the *Henry IV* and *V* trilogy, through *Richard II* and *John*. It is rather odd that Prof. Schelling should have omitted *John* in this connection in order that by discussing it in his chapter on "Later Historical Dramas" he might show to what extent another play on the same subject had degenerated from the supreme epic type. The epic type triumphed by virtue of its admirable characterization, its mingling of serious and comic, its historical and psychological unity. If in the delineation of this perfection of the type our author has not given us anything particularly new, he has presented

familiar facts in an interesting light as constituting the highest development of the Chronicle Play.

Henceforth we have degeneration ; yet the elements of decay had appeared before the type was perfected. While some of the earlier plays showed this degeneration, it was, however, natural enough that the "later chronicle plays were more exposed to the intrusion of extraneous influences than the earlier ones" (p. 152). These influences Prof. Schelling finds to be the "emphasis of the element of comedy and the centralization of the whole play in biographical particulars which concerned a single individual" (p. 152). These were, of course, elements proper to the type and naturally permitted development independent of the historical basis. But the historical basis is never wanting in these modifications of the typical play, even though in Greene's *James IV* it is reduced to what is not actual history at all, and this pseudo-history is of least consequence in the play. *George a Greene* by the same author is based on the quasi-history of popular balladry and emphasises both the comic and the biographical elements. Other plays, such as Munday's *John a Kent* and Day and Chettle's *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green*, add the device of disguise, a straight borrowing from comedy proper. Others give special prominence to the elements of pathos and the picturing of contemporary London life (p. 143). Some writers attribute to English characters events belonging to foreigners, and Greene in his *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* has English personages who are so only in name.

The remaining chapters of this work treat of the legendary Chronicle Play, the biographical Chronicle Play, and the later historical dramas. Something has already been said of the classification which includes such dramas as *Lear* in the legendary Chronicle Play. This whole subdivision seems unfortunate. It interferes with the otherwise excellent scheme of the book. The scheme is to show the drama in its development and decay, and this is broken in upon by the chapter dealing with plays of legendary subject matter. The dramas of this group are practically lifted out of their order in development, simply because they are based on legend rather than on history. It is true that Prof. Schelling states that the remoteness of subject led the playwrights to seek to compensate for "an appreciable loss of historic interest" by a "heightened and inflated style, by the interpolation of scenes of humor and buffoonery, or by an emphasis of the elements of the strange or the supernatural" (p. 172). But these elements are not radical nor are

they so very different from what we find in the type. Moreover, they are not developed by our author in his treatment of the separate plays to indicate the modification of the type. What we would know is where each Chronicle play in this group belongs in the development of the species. The fact that the subject was taken from the legends and not from history did not make any very great difference to Elizabethan audiences; their historic sense was not keen (p. 172). They accepted the history of *The Valiant Welshman* with much the same faith that they received *Henry IV*. This we should infer from the fact that this drama itself has the usual construction of the Chronicle Play and the predominant interest in the glorification of Britain (p. 178). We should expect to find the same historical or biographical interest appealed to in these plays as in those treating of actual history, with such slight modifications as are due to the remoteness of subject mentioned above or to any other cause. The establishment of this relation we do not get from the grouping of these plays under the heading of their legendary subject matter.

The biographical play can be followed in easy stages from the typical Chronicle Drama to the play in which the "theme is travel and adventure" (p. 208). The course of this development is traced in *Sir Thomas More*, *The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, and *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley*, all in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Most of the plays of this class are, however, later, and were called out by contemporary events of more than usual significance; those dealing with comparatively recent history by the death of Elizabeth, and the treating of travel and adventure by the robberies on the high seas in the early years of the seventeenth century. This chapter fittingly closes with a short treatment of Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, in which history, satire, and allegory are mixed in a "very crude dramatic expression of English Protestant sentiment."¹ It is not always clear from what Prof. Schelling says in his comments on these plays, why they should be grouped here. There is really nothing to indicate that Dekker's play mentioned above is a biographical chronicle, and Vennar's unfortunate *England's Joy*, seems to have been more a record of Elizabeth's reign than her biography. However, hard and fast lines of demarcation are not always possible and sometimes not advisable.

¹ Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, II, 463.

The final chapter is of special interest because of its discussion of the plays on Henry VIII. Prof. Schelling agrees with most modern critics in regarding the greatest play on this subject as the joint production of Shakspeare and Fletcher, with perhaps the aid of Massinger (p. 252), and holds that "Fletcher dusted with dross [*sic*] the gold of Shakespeare," (p. 253). In attributing the famous passage, "Farewell! A long farewell, etc.," to Fletcher, our author, follows the usual critical opinion in opposition to Mr. Lee,¹ and is surely justified in so doing.

One can hardly speak too highly of the sound scholarship which marks this first adequate treatment of the English Chronicle Play. How easy it is to surmise and dogmatize, and draw all kinds of unjustifiable inferences is manifest from our earlier treatises on the drama. Prof. Schelling arrived at his facts with most painstaking industry, and where only conjecture was possible, he has not given it the unqualified standing of fact. From what is said above as to the development of this *genre*, it will be manifest that the only logical method of studying the drama is that which has regard to its growth and decay with the influences operating thereto.

Of actual errors very few worth mentioning have been noted. On p. 15, the massacre of St. Brice, is by a printer's slip put at 1102 instead of 1002; the note to p. 106 should have in its first reference "p. 108," the type for the first two figures having fallen out; on p. 188 there is evidently confusion between the dates of the translation and the publication of Higden's *Polychronicon*, the former being 1387, the latter 1482.

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¹ *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 262.

The Christ of Cynewulf, A Poem in three Parts—The Advent, The Ascension, and The Last Judgment. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Albert S. Cook, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. Ginn & Company : Boston, U. S. A., 1900. Pp. ciii, 294.

A representative Old English poem of unquestioned merit and many-sided interest presented with full critical and exegetical apparatus, rich introduction, and complete glossary, moreover rendered attractive to the eye by its admirable, tasteful make-up,—thus this inaugural number of *'The Albion Series of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry'* invites the critical examination of the philologist. And it is not saying too much at the outset that the right poem has found the right editor. By his previous, long continued studies in Old English biblical literature—we mention here specially his edition of the *Judith*—and his fruitful researches into the sources and the text of the '*Crīst*,' Professor Cook was indeed preëminently prepared for undertaking the new edition of this great poem. To edit a Cynewulfian text well, it is not enough to be a 'Cynewulf scholar,' nor even to be a good Old English scholar. To a thorough knowledge of the requisite linguistic and metrical details should be added keen literary insight, refinement of taste, and maturity of judgment. The editor should not allow himself to be run away with by one-sided considerations, whether metrical, aesthetic, or otherwise. He should not merely count, and measure, and analyze, but as well weigh, compare, and construct. He should make himself acquainted with all the great and (oftener) small contributions to our knowledge of this particular field, lay before his readers the net results of that confusing mass of contradictory treatises, and set forth his own views in a clear and convincing manner. Last, but not least, his heart should be in the work no less than his head. In none of these expectations are the students of this volume disappointed. Indeed, we are deeply impressed with the harmonious character of the whole work. It is at once apparent that here we have before us the ripe fruit of many years of loving labor. The editor is filled with the spirit of the poem, and whilst not disdain- ing to inquire into the minutest details, is alive to the task of creating an atmosphere in keeping with his subject. And be it acknowledged right here with gratitude that there is noticeable no desire to shine by an abundance of ingenious guesses where the

truth cannot be known. Of hypotheses and conjectures we have had enough and to spare. Who would have thanked the editor, say, for propounding new theories concerning the interpretation of the Cynewulf runes?

Apart from the edition proper, Professor Cook has given us, in the Introduction, 1, what may be called a 'Cynewulf compend,' and 2, an elaborate essay on the *Crist*. The former (pp. lii-xcvii) is a lucid summary of what other scholars have found out and conjectured about the poet, together with an exposition of his own standpoint.¹ Happily, we seem to arrive gradually at a consensus of opinion on several important questions, though mainly in negative direction. Thus, regarding the canon of Cynewulf's works, Cook's views—setting aside the question of the *Crist*—do not greatly differ from those advanced by Trautmann in his monograph (*Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter*, Bonn 1898). In addition to the poems signed by runes, the *Andreas* and the *Phoenix* are held to offer the strongest presumptive evidence in favor of Cynewulfian authorship, whereas the remarks on the *Guthlac* are rather non-committal. And the great unknown author himself? After rejecting the hypotheses of Kemble, and of Dietrich-Trautmann,² Professor Cook calls attention to 'a certain Cynulf,' in all likelihood a priest of the diocese of Dunwich, who attended the synod of Clovesho in 803, and he suggests, without aggressive confidence, that this otherwise obscure person may be identical with the famous poet. In making him thus a resident of East Anglia, he does not deny, however, the possibility of his having been born or bred on Northumbrian soil; in fact, the renowned school of York, he thinks, may as likely have been his *alma mater* as the humbler one at Dunwich. Professor Trautmann, in his interesting review of this edition (*Beiblatt zur Anglia*, Vol. XI, Nos. 11. 12, pp. 321 ff.) has entered a vigorous protest against this theory of the Mercian home, insisting explicitly on a refutation of the Northumbrian character of Cynewulf's language. Now it would certainly be difficult to prove that Cynewulf was not a Northumbrian; but that the linguistic evidence is conclusive as to the contrary, appears by no means certain. We have been looking

¹ We are loath to miss Sarrazin's name. Whether his views be endorsed or not, his publications along this line are too important and altogether too stimulating to be neglected.

² For a recent argument against the identification of the poet with the bishop of Lindisfarne see Liebermann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen u. Litt.*, cv. (1900), 367.

carefully through Trautmann's list of the Cynewulfian dialectal peculiarities (*Kynewulf*, p. 72), but have failed to detect any unmistakable signs of non-Mercian locality. Practically all of the ten characteristics mentioned are to be met with even in the Old English *Bede*. (The use of \bar{e} as i-umlaut of \bar{a} (Goth. *ai*)—No. 7—is considered Kentish; as to the loss of inflectional *n*, Sweet's remark in his Introduction to the *Cura Pastoralis*, pp. xxxii f. is well worth heeding.) Nor do the rimes found in the *Elene* and the *Crīst* necessarily point to the Northumbrian portion of the Anglian territory. Even the isolated *bifēn*, *Crīst*, 1157 (*Beitr.* x, 484; Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*³ § 378, n. 2)—occurring, indeed, in the third part of the poem, and therefore disregarded by Trautmann—could not, in our estimation, be accorded sufficient weight. Finally the curious *ewu* in the runic passage of *Juliana*, which Trautmann in a highly ingenious manner explains as 'sheep' (i. e., plural form) has been brought forward as an indisputable and of itself authoritative testimony,¹ and the natural objection, that, at any rate, the ending *-u* for *-an* in this declension is quite well known in the Rushworth Gloss to Matthew, has been met by the claim that the latter monument far from being one of our chief Mercian texts, is really nothing but Northumbrian.² But to accept as decisive an argument based on two assumptions—however interesting in themselves—requires more faith than can be mustered by impartial observers of the situation. It should be understood, by the way, that it is actually Wülker's position that Trautmann opposes rather than the cautious, diplomatically guarded attitude of Cook; for granting the 'Dunwich theory' as stated above, we should conclude that the dialect used by the poet was presumably either Mercian (East Anglian) or Northumbrian colored by Mercian elements. The outcome of the whole matter seems to us to be the admission that all we can regard as certain is the Anglian character of the language and the Anglian residence of the author.

We are on somewhat safer ground, when we turn to the autobiographical account in the Epilogue to *Elene*. Cook's interpretation of that famous passage is very clear and in the main acceptable,

¹ Close attention is invited to the forms *ewo*, Ine's Laws 55 (MS. E); *ewes* (gen.) S. MS. Duplicate in the rubric, ib.; *ewa* (acc. plur.), OE. Martyrol. (ed. Herzfeld) 36.17; *ewede*, ib. 170.26; and to Sievers, *Ags. Gram.* §§ 73, n. 1; 156, n. 5; 258, n. 2.

² We are reminded of Möller's sweeping statement in *Engl. Stud.* XIII, 261.

though in some places we are bound to disagree from his renderings. Thus we cannot bring ourselves to believe that in the lines :

ær mē lāre onlāg þurh lēohtne hād
gamehum to gēoce, gife unscynde
mægencyning āmæt ⁊ on gemynd begēat,
torht onlȳnde, tīdum gerȳmde (ll. 1245 ff.).

þurh lēohtne hād has the (very generally accepted) meaning of 'through the bright order (*i. e.* the clerical office, *or*, those in holy orders).' The collective sense of 'clerici' seems to us, in fact, out of the question, though *hād* is often enough used for 'persona.' Less objectionable would be the translation 'through the clerical office' (*i. e.*, through my taking orders), but it does not exactly appeal to our sense of Old English style. We admit that no absolute decision is possible; but we still believe in Zupitza's rendering 'in herrlicher Weise' (or, perhaps, 'in a clear manner'), which we had occasion to plead for in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. xv, col. 493, with reference to *þurh hāestne hād*, *Bēow.* 1335 (= *þurh hēst*, Riddle 16. 28); *þurh horsene hād*, *Crīst* 49; *þurh clēenne hād*, *Crīst* 444(?). That *þurh* — *hād* belongs in the rather large class of quasi-adverbial modes of expression, and that *þurh* denotes manner, state, and the like in many more cases than is commonly recognized by lexicographers and editors, we feel fully satisfied.¹ Hence, *þurh*

¹A few representative examples. *Ongan 8ā gyddigan þurh gylp micel*, *Dan.* 599; cf. *endi hoscuuordun sprak, | the gramo thurh gelp mikil*, *Héliand* 1083 [*on gylp*, *Bēow.* 1749].—*Elene maðelode þurh eorne hyge*, *El.* 685 [*on yrre*, *Bēow.* 2092]; cf. *Lat. per iram*; similarly, *thurh ferhtan hugi*, *Hēl.* 93; *thurh treuua*, *Hēl.* 131 (see Reimann, *Die altniederdeutschen Präpositionen* (1891), p. 21).—*þurh lust*, *Dan.* 249 [*on lust*, *Bēow.* 618].—*þuruh nēod* (*Paris*) *Ps.* 139. 13 [*on nēod*, *ib.* 137. 2].—*þurh hēst*, Riddle 16. 28 [cf. *hāeste*, *Gen.* 1396; *Dutch met haast*].—*ðurh edwīscype*, *Waldere*, I, 14 ('ignominiously' Sweet).—*þurh swefn*, *Bede* (ed. Miller) 342. 28 (= *per somnium*).—*ðurh wīte*, *Ælfric, Cath. Hom.*, II, 556. 19 (cf. *par un malheur*, Molière).—*þurh cnihtes hād*, *Andr.* 912 [*in cildes hād*, *El.* 775].—*eall þæt ure ālȳsend dyde þurh his menniscam lichaman*, *Dial. Greg.* 60. 20.—*þurh eal*, *Bede* 102. 26 (= *per omnia*).

The strongest argument we know of against the advocated explanation of *þurh lēohtne hād* is the use of *þurh hāligne hād* (*gecȳped*), *Gūðl.* 65, which seems to be universally understood as 'a clericis.' Still, even this expression may without violence be interpreted as 'in a holy (or, edifying) manner,' provided we translate *gecȳped* by 'manifested, shown, revealed' (not 'announced'),—a meaning very well attested.

In deciding the question, the numerous OHG. (OS., OFr.) compounds with *-heit* (*-hād*), with abstract signification, should be allowed some weight.

lēohtne hād should be considered closely akin in general meaning to *torht*, in *torht ontýnde*, l. 1248. (Against Trautmann's emendation *tyht ontýnde* it is pertinent to cite Andr. 1611 f.: *ēow is wuldres lēoht | torht ontýned*; Andr. 105.)

Nothing, we trust, except in approbation and praise is to be said about the closing sections of this part of the Introduction, dealing with 'The Theology of Cynewulf' and 'Cynewulf as man and as poet.' In some respects they don't make quite so interesting reading as the 'Cynewulf romance' of former days; but if we care to know what sort of a man he really was, and how he wielded the craft of poetry, if we are interested in the resources of his art, the range of his experience, the leanings of his taste, his merits and faults as an author, we shall value the evidence skilfully gathered from his genuine works as exceedingly instructive. His place in Old English literature is aptly described as follows: 'That he, like Alfred, loved the poetry of his native tongue, is beyond question. Cædmon, who knew no Latin, could only sing in English, if at all; Aldhelm, who knew Latin, wrote only in that language; Bede has left us but one brief English poem, though the vigor which that displays is evidence that he was under no necessity of writing in Latin; so that Cynewulf is the first Christian poet who, being thoroughly conversant with Latin, deliberately adopted the vernacular as the vehicle for a considerable body of poetry, and in this showed himself at once a good scholar, a good Christian, and a good patriot.'

Considerable interest centres naturally around the extended treatise on the *Crīst* itself (Introduction, pp. xiii-li). Since the belief in the unity of the poem as first propounded by Dietrich had been decidedly shaken in recent years, notably by Trautmann's and Bläckburn's articles (*Anglia*, Vols. xviii and xix), many of us had no doubt looked forward with curiosity to the way in which Cook would justify the title of his edition. It is to be conceded that he has not been able to remove all the difficulties raised against Dietrich's theory, chief of which are, in our judgment, the position of the runes and certain linguistic and metrical peculiarities, most of them, it should be noted, however, found in Part III. On the other hand—a curious observation—even Trautmann has been com-

[When mentioning in *Mod. Lang. Notes* the above quoted instances of *burh* — *hād*, we were not aware of Rieger's statement in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, I, 319.]

pelled to admit that in unquestionably genuine poems of Cynewulf there occur a few 'exceptional' forms employed 'contrary to his ordinary usage,' and in order to fit the *Andreas* into the uniform of Cynewulfian metrics, he has found it necessary to subject a large number of its lines to a process of emendation. It appears then that certain deductions cannot be avoided, at any rate. It is further to be borne in mind that, as the editor puts it, 'on the whole it is easier . . . to make out a plausible argument for diversity of authorship than for identity, especially in a literature in which transitions between one member of a poem and another were not, in general, very definitely marked.' At all events, Cook's able defence of his course (mainly along the literary line) is worthy of very careful consideration. Maybe some of those who had been disposed to give up the unity of the *Crist* as a 'conquered standpoint' will be led to think the matter over again. The final summing up of the case may be stated in the editor's own words. 'I conclude, therefore, that there is a strong presumption, amounting in my judgment to certainty, that the three divisions are by the same author, Cynewulf; that they stand in an organic relation to one another; and that they may thus be fairly regarded as forming, in combination, a single poem. This of course does not exclude the possibility that the three Parts may have been written at different times.'

What Cook has done for the investigation of the sources, is so well known by this time that we need not dwell at length upon this point. It is only fair to state that now for the first time we are in a position to understand with real clearness the first Part of the poem in the light of the Antiphons which have been shown to be the Latin basis of it. The excursus on the Advent season and the use of the Antiphons (pp. xxv-xlii) may seem a little too detailed, perhaps. But no one would deny that only with some definite knowledge of those ecclesiastical rites—to which most modern students of the poem are strangers—can we fully appreciate that spirit out of which the poetic version of 'The Advent' was born.

A brief outline of the principal grammatical features closes this part of the Introduction.

Turning now to the Edition proper, we find it, as was to be expected, scholarly and up-to-date. The vexed problem of adjusting the text to the modern metrical views has been treated in a spirit of well-considered conservatism. 'A number of changes required,

according to Sievers, on metrical grounds, have been recorded in the Variants, but I have not been courageous enough, in most cases, to embody them in the text' (Preface, p. viii). It is a matter of course that a failure to take note of the great discoveries of Sievers means to be hopelessly behind the times. But just how far one should go in *putting* the forms postulated by modern investigations *in the text*, is a question on which difference of opinion is possible, a question, in fact, of policy, if not of taste. Are we as yet sufficiently informed about all metrical details? And is there any proof that in the oldest and most authentic MSS. of the various Old English poems the spelling was ever phonetic, and metrically adequate, i. e., indicated precisely the manner in which the text should be read? If we print *dōan*, e. g., instead of *dōn*, or *flēoan* (*flēohan*) for *flēon*, or *hālge* (for *hālige*), we provide, indeed, a welcome help for the young student; but it is commonly assumed that the experienced scholar is able to get along without it. As to restoring the original Anglian forms, it would moreover be extremely difficult to decide which of the Anglian dialects, or sub-dialects should be taken as the standard. Such a reconstructed text would be very largely tentative, anyhow. A safer method is that adopted by Cook in the second issue of his edition of *Judith* (1889), in which he prints an additional version in the Northumbrian dialect, relegating it, however, to the Appendix.

The Notes occupy comparatively by far the largest space of the entire book (pp. 67–225) and together with the full Glossary furnish every possible aid for the comprehension of the poem. Here it is, indeed, that the twofold object of this new series 'to meet the wants of both the scholar and the student' becomes most apparent. Now it is hard in any case to serve two masters, and it would be strange if this commentary should be found to satisfy the wishes of everybody. In a few places an authoritative explanation may seem to be lacking, e. g., concerning the use of the participle in *cwiþende cearo*, l. 1285, *wēþende sār*, l. 1289. In many more the editor may seem to have annotated too much and to have gone too far into details. It was, perhaps, not necessary to quote so often the renderings of former editors and translators—frequently erroneous or questionable ones—, though the student will no doubt be greatly relieved to see that he is no longer obliged to wade through the text with half a dozen other books constantly at his elbow. At any rate, it would be utterly unfair and ungrateful to complain of the copiousness of the notes, which are yet unexcelled in the editorial annals of Old Eng-

lish literature. Cook never practices the well-known trick of editors to be silent about passages which they do not understand. He explains, or suggests possible explanations of, difficult places, and generously illumines such as are not ordinarily considered obscure, but receive their full light only through comparative treatment. Profuse quotations from ecclesiastical writings, ancient 'classic' and Teutonic, but especially English, literature open up larger views of the thought and the manner of the poem. Parallels from Old English poetical and prose works are so abundantly and carefully brought together as to make this volume of the utmost value for the study of Old English literature in general. It is hardly to be expected that this fulness of illustration will be kept up in the following numbers of the 'Albion Series.'

We beg to subjoin some remarks, chiefly interpretational, on the text, and a few notes on the glossary. (Items touched by Holt-hausen in his instructive review (*Literaturblatt*, Vol. XXI, No. 11, coll. 369 ff.) will not be taken up again.)

l. 57. The adverbial meaning of *tō wuldre* ('gloriously') is not to be questioned. Cf. *tō gylpe syllan* ('ostentatiously'), Blickl. Hom. 53.17 (on *gylp seleð*, Bëow. 1749); and the common *tō sōðe* (*sōðum*) (*te wārun*, *te sōðon*, Hēliand); *te wundron* (= *wundron*), Hēliand; perhaps, *tō wuhte*, Gen. (B) 839.

l. 59. The note on *sylda*, fem., may be considered in connection with that on *lēofra*, neut., l. 842. In confirmation of Cosijn's remark we add a couple of examples gleaned from the *Bede*. (fem.): *seolfa* 284.7; *māra* 284.16; *hāligra* 120.23; *twelfta* 124.7. (neut.): *māra* 236.3; *þridda* 262.18; *grēnra* ƿ *fægera* 180.15; 56.3.

l. 67. (*Nū is þæt Bearn cymen*,) *āwæned tō wyrpe weorcum Ebrēa*. The use of the noun is elucidated by that of the verb (*ge*-)wyrpan; see Cosijn, *Beitr.* VIII, 573. Should *weorcum* be erroneous for *weorodum*? Cf. ll. 119 f.

ll. 68 f. *benda onlȳseð | nȳpum genēðde*. That *nȳpum* ('by hostility') should be read, and that *genēðde* is, in normal spelling, = *genēdde* ('forced'), we regard as certain. The use of ð for *d* is noticed in other places in the MS.: *heafoð* 4, *sceaðu* (corrected to *sceadu*) 118, *blæð* 710, *lædað* 795, *gesargað* 961, *gesargað* (corrected to *gesargad*) 970, *bið fæstne* 1597 (on *Dauipes* see *Introd.*, p. xlix, and note on l. 712). In the *Bede* there occurs *genēðedlic* (= *coacticius*) 62.23.—The combination *nīðe genȳded* is known from Bëow. 2680 (*nōdi: nīthes* are found alliterating, Hēl. 5569). On

the other hand, *bend* and *nēd* are very closely associated; e. g., *sippan hine Nīðhād on nēde legde*, | *swoncre seonobende*, *Dēor* 5; *an herubendion* | *narauo ginōdid*, *Hēl.* 5488; cf. ON. *nauðir* = 'fetters,' *Völundarkv.* 11, *Sigrdr.* 1; Goth. *naudi-bandi*; also OE. *hæftnēd*, *nēadelam*; *Andr.* 1373, 1377 f. Bright's 'imposed by sin' is by all means the best of the renderings quoted in the note.

l. 109. *Swā þū, God of Gode gearo ācenned.* The editor's remark that 'the context seems rather to require *gēara*' should be followed out by printing *geāro*. (As to the final -o, cf. *āwo* 479, 1270, 1663.) The two stems have been confused more than once.

ll. 127 f. *Wē þæs þonc magon* | *secgan Sigedryhtne symle bi gewyrhtum.* In what sense Cook takes *bi gewyrhtum*, is not quite clear from the notes or glossary. Charles H. Whitman's 'Wherefore it is right that we should ever give thanks by our deeds unto the Lord of victory' surely misses the mark. *bi gewyrhtum* is = 'merito,' and we may translate 'as we ought' or (with Gollancz) 'as it is meet.'

l. 153. Sievers-Cosijn's reading *for oferþearfum* seems to us practically certain. The glossarial item *oferðearfa*, m., 'one in dire need, one in extreme distress' should be changed, we think, to *oferðearf*, f., 'extreme distress.'

l. 254. We should remove the comma after *gesēce*.

l. 460. *Sōna wāron gearwe . . . tō.* Cf. *gefýsed . . . tō*, 475.

l. 537. *þær wæs wōpes hring.* We are not ready to endorse the comment on this difficult expression. Cook understands *hring* as 'circle' and at the close of an elaborate discussion suggests the modern translation 'circling fountain of tears.' Yet *wōp* certainly signifies 'lamentation' (e. g., *hlūd wōp*, *Crist* 998), and in none of the four places in which *wōpes hring* occurs, is it necessarily synonymous with 'tears;' the *Andreas* passage (ll. 1278 ff.): *þā cwōm wōpes hring* | *þurh þæs beornes brēost blāt üt faran*, | *wēoll waðuman strēam* rather puts us in mind of *Bēow.* 2791 f.: *oð þæt wordes ord* | *brēosthord þurhbræc.* Most plausible *a priori* and most satisfactory, so far as the meaning is concerned, is Grein-Zupitza's rendering 'sonas' for *hring*; *wōpes hring* = 'sound of lamentation,' i. e. 'loud lamentation.' It is true, the noun *hring* = sonus does not seem to be recorded in Old English, but the compound *belhring* occurs in *Ben. R.* (ed. Schröer) 67.20: *sōna swā þæt bæacn þæs belhrin(e)ges gehýred bið.*

l. 593. *þýstra wræce.* If the MS. reading is *þrystra*, this intrusion of the *r* would be parallel to that in *ðriostre*, *Kent. Hymn* 28;

ðrīostrie (*weogas*), Kent. Glosses 21 (ed. Zupitza, *Z. f. d. Alt.* XXI, 1ff.); see also Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s. v. *þreostru*, but especially Zupitza, *l. c.*, note.

l. 594. *mid dēoþlum hrēam*. We are tempted to think of Chaucer's: *They yelleden as feendes doon in helle*, Cant. T., B 4579. *hrēam* denotes 'clamor, uproar' (see Glossary), not 'wailing,' as Whitman has it ('wailing with demons'). Cf. Gūðl. 866 ff.?

l. 625. *wyrmum āweallen*. A further instance in the Old English Martyrology (ed. Herzfeld) 134.15.

l. 974. *fylleð on foldwong fýres egsan*. Why not read *fylleð* (= 'fills') *ðon* (= *ðonne*) *foldwong fýres egsan*, making *foldwong* (acc.) parallel with *woruld* of the following line?

l. 1055. The comma after *geþohtas* is superfluous.

l. 1182. *eall fore þām ānum unrōt gewearð*. We have no doubt that *ānum* is dat. sing.; *fore þām ānum* 'for him alone' (i. e. Christ).

l. 1243. *þæt hī him in wuldre witon Wāldendes giefe*. We cannot see any difficulty, if we assign to *in wuldre* the legitimate meaning of 'in heaven': 'they know [that] the grace of the Lord [is in store] for them in heaven.' Cf. ll. 1247 ff., and note the parallel syntactical function and position in the sentence, of *on þýstra bealo*.

l. 1300. A semicolon would be preferable to a comma before *on þæt þā fole sēoð*.

l. 1357. (*ond þā þe on säre sēoce lāgun . . .*) *tō þām gē holdlice hyge stapeladon (mid mōdes myne)*. The force of (*tō þām*) has been entirely ignored by Thorpe, Gollancz, Whitman. Only Grein's 'zu denen . . . habt ihr holden Sinnes euer Herz gewendet' does justice to the construction. See Gūðlāc, 37.

l. 1390. The note on this line is at present the most convenient place of reference for the etymology of *neorxnawang*. Of historical interest in Jacob Grimm's notion, in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, I 268; II 267, n. 2.

l. 1537. *synne ne āspringað*. Hardly = 'they shall not escape from sin;' *synne* is not dat. sing., but nom. plur.

l. 1644. *Dryhtne getýfde*, 'endeared to the Lord'? We see no reason why *getýfed* should not be, as usual, 'believing.' Though we know of no other example in which it is followed by the dative, it is found with *on* in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, II, 302 f: *þæt hī wāran | on crīste getýfede*; ib. xxvi, 2 f.: *wæs sum æðele cyning Ōswold gehāten | on norðhymbra lande getýfed swýþe on god*. Some-

times at least, the difference between the two constructions cannot have been felt as very great; see Old English Martyrology 64,17: *ac hēo gelyfde gode* (MS. B); *gelyfde on god* (MS. C). Accordingly *Dryhtne gelyfde* would seem to mean about the same as *Meotude getrywe*, Crīst 876.

Glossary.

æfest. On the etymology of this word and of *ofost* (Glossary: *ofostlice*) see the *third* edition of Sievers' *Ags. Gram.* § 43, n. 4.

After *cwelman* read: *W1*.

cyle Add: *m*.

losian can hardly be called the direct, or sole, ancestor of MnE. *lose*.

The first vowel of *mægwlite* is long.

milde in l. 1210 is *a. s. n.*

molde is *f*.

Can *sēoðan* mean 'flame, blaze?'

After *stirgan* read: *W1*.

ðrēat is *m*.

untwēo should be made a noun.

In several instances we should like to see the ordinary meaning given beside the one which fits the particular place or places in which the word occurs. Directly misleading is the explanation of *rēcan* as 'be averse to, shrink from' (l. 1440 *fēhpe ne rōhtun*).

Those words which are found in no other poetical text are marked as such; not a few of them are, by the way, common in prose. *frēonoma* has been overlooked.

A systematically arranged Bibliography, in addition to the full Table of Abbreviations (pp. ci-ciii), would be helpful. Only very few titles—apart from Sarrazin's writings—have been noticed which may be added to the list, provided it is intended to be quite complete. R. Rössger, *Über den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Genitivs in Cynewulfs Crist, Elene und Juliana*, 1885.—H. Leiding, *Die Sprache der Cynewulfschen Dichtungen Crist, Juliana und Elene*, 1887.—M. Prollius, *Über den syntactischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in den Cynewulfschen Dichtungen Elene, Juliana und Crist*, 1888.—Ed. Sokoll, *Zum angelsächsischen Physiologus*, 1897. (A plea for Cynewulfian authorship.)—Aug. Madert, *Die Sprache der altenglischen Rätsel des Exeterbuches und die Cynewulffrage*, 1900. (Published after the completion of Cook's edition.)

In conclusion we wish to mention a little companion volume (incidentally alluded to above), which is based on Cook's text and

commentary, namely, *The Christ of Cynewulf, etc., translated into English prose* by Charles Huntington Whitman (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1900). One of the main reasons given why, contrary to the rule, prose has been chosen by the translator is that 'in at least one important respect it is superior to verse, since its flexibility offers a more facile medium for reproducing that metrical variety which is one of the principal charms of Old English poetry.' The experiment is interesting, and we do not hesitate to pronounce it entirely successful. So far as we have compared the translation with the Old English text, it is reliable, and at the same time admits of being enjoyed without effort by the general reader. The diction is dignified and strong after the manner of the Bible. A pleasing kind of rhythm in many places ennobles the prose. The beauty of the original shines through this modern version.

There are still many well meaning and well educated people, including college students and professors, in whose minds the English literature takes its rise with Chaucer, if not Shakspeare, and who are fain to leave the study of the rude 'Anglo-Saxon' beginnings to the small band of professional pedants. Let us hope that this new and novel edition of 'an ancient English classic' will open the eyes of some philistines to the treasures of the earliest poetry.

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ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

- Billings, Anna Hunt. *A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances Dealing with English and Germanic Legends, and with the Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur.* *Yale Studies in English*, ix. New York. Holt. 1901. 8° pp. [iv] + xxiv + 232.
- Körting, Gustav. *Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur.* Dritte vermehrte u. verbesserte Aufl. *Sammlung von Kompendien für das Studium u. die Praxis* i. Serie 1. Münster i. W. Schönningh. 1899. 8° pp. xv + 409.
- Petri, Albert. *Übersicht über die im Jahre 1895 auf dem Gebiete der englischen Philologie erschienenen Bücher, Schriften und*

Aufsätze. Supplementheft zur *Anglia* Jahrg. 1897-98. Bd. xx. Halle. Niemeyer. 1900. 8° pp. [iv] + 151.

Spies, Heinrich. *Bisherige Ergebnisse und weitere Aufgaben der Gower-Forschung.* (In *Engl. Stud.* xxviii. 161-208.) Leipzig. Reisland. 1900.

It is a hopeful sign that students of English literature are beginning to realize the importance of taking an account of stock, of finding out all that has been written on a given subject—in a word, of making bibliographies. To be sure, we have scattered bibliographies all along the line, many of them of great value. The works of Lowndes, Collier, Michel, Corser, Hardy, and others are still valuable and will long remain so. But in the main scholars have seemed content to grope along blindly, trusting to luck that work would not be duplicated; and this course has cost more than one humiliating experience. It is really surprising, for example, that we have had to wait until the twentieth century for a guide through the mazes of the English Arthurian romances. And many important fields of our literature the bibliographer has left almost untouched.

Of the four works mentioned above Miss Billings's (see also *Athen.* 1901 ii. 380) is, we believe, by far the best. It is a clear and orderly statement of the leading facts concerning the contents and criticism of three groups of Middle English romances and poems, thirty-nine in all. Miss Billings has been too modest in not attacking all the romances in the same fashion. It is to be hoped that she may treat the remaining romances, especially those of the Alexander and Troy cycles, in a future number of the *Yale Studies*. Of those untouched, according to her list, there are thirty-nine, and a guide to these is needed quite as much as to those she has included. But what she has tried to do Miss Billings has done well. Some minor corrections to be noted are: (p. vi.) only one volume of TenBrink was translated by Kennedy; (pp. v., vi.) the titles might well have been given somewhat more fully; (p. 14 note 1) the reference to Körting³ should be § 110; (p. 47) add S. Lee's introduction to the English Charlemagne romances in his *Huon of Burdeux*; (p. 94 l. 14 f. b.) read O. Behag(h)el, rev. in *Litbl.* 1880 col. 97; (p. 166 l. 8 f. b.) read show; (p. 205 n. 5) on Avalon add Warren, "The Island of Avalon" (in *M. L. N.* xiv. cols. 93-5); (p. 220 n. 2) the reference is insufficient, two vols. appearing each year; read *Acad.* Apr. 23, 1892, xli. 399. The book would have

been easier to use, moreover, if many of the notes had been inserted parenthetically in the text; too many foot-notes are distracting, and too much "*op. cit.*" is hard on one's temper. But such minor faults do not greatly detract from the real value of the book, which will be found a most serviceable manual.

Körting's *Grundriss* has now been before the public fourteen years, the first edition having appeared in 1887 and the second in 1893. The printing of the present edition was finished in September, 1897, but "aus geschäftlichen Gründen" the book was not published until the spring of 1899, the preface being dated March 1. This delay necessitated the insertion of thirteen pages of "Zusätze und Berichtigungen," references to which the thorough student must add in the margin of the text before he can safely use the book. Even with this long list of additions and corrections, however, the book is, at many points, still far from satisfactory. Some defects have already been pointed out by Wülker (*Anglia Bei.* xi. 135-40), and some further notes may be added here: (p. 4) of Morley's *English Writers* vol. xi. appeared in 1895; (p. 5) vol. ii. of Courthope's *History of English Poetry* appeared in 1897; see revs. in *Athen.* 1895 ii. 119-20, 1897 ii. 218-9, *Nation* lxi. 152-4, lxxv. 226-7, *J. Ger. Phil.* i. 361-8, *M. L. N.* xi. cols. 311-5, *Am. Jour. Phil.* xviii. 464-80; (p. 17) on Sweet's *Student's Dictionary of A.-S.* cp. *E.St.* xxiv. 266-70; *J. Ger. Phil.* ii. 277-81; *Athen.* 1897 i. 610-1; *Nation* lxxv. 115; Sweet's *A.-S. Reader* reached its 7th ed. in 1894; (p. 69 l. 9) the date should be added to the reference to Schmid, *Hermes*, since there have been two publications of that name; (pp. 108 and 371 bot.) Gurteen has been condemned as worthless in *Nation* lx. 407-8 and *Acad.* xlvi. 47; (p. 111) Miss Brown's trans. of *The Pearl* includes only ll. 157-223; (p. 114 l. 2) read Schofield; (p. 118) Heeger's *Über die Troja-Sage der Britten* appeared in 1885; his second work in 1890; (p. 92 § 85, 2) read *Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1849; (p. 145) the 2d ed. of Ward appeared in 1899, rev. in *Athen.* 1899 ii. 266; here belongs also F. H. Stoddard's *References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries* (Univ. of California, *Library Bulletin* no. 8, 1887 (rev. in *Anglia* xi. 325-6); A. H. Tolman, *Select Bibliography of the English Drama before Elizabeth*, Chicago, 1896; Katharine Lee Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, N. Y., 1893; (p. 152 l. 10) read *Hs. Ll.* 1. 8, Körting here having copied only a part of Ullmann's ref. in *E.St.* vii. 415;

(p. 169) add Skeat, "The True Source of Chaucer's 'Boethius'" (*Athen.* 1891 ii. 549-50), giving the results of an examination of Ms. Camb. Univ. II. 3. 21; (p. 175) here belongs also Rumbaur, noted on p. 178; (p. 176 l. 2 f. b.) read *Isle*; (p. 178) Easton is unfavorably reviewed in *Anglia Bei.* vi. 324, *Acad.* xlviii. 160; (p. 193, note 1) add Katharine L. Bates and Lydia B. Godfrey, *English Drama: a Working Basis*, Wellesley, Mass., 1896; (p. 216) to Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime* add rev. in *Athen.* 1899 i. 154-156; (p. 226) add Proescholdt, *On the Sources of Shakespeare's Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Halle, 1878; (pp. 243 f.) the treatment of Spenser is very inadequate; add eds. of Child, Boston, 1842, 5 vols. (vol. i. including an essay on Spenser's life and writings); Morris, Globe ed., new ed., 1886; K. M. Warren, *Faerie Queene, from the Original Eds. of 1590 and 1596*, Westminster, 1897-1900; M. E. Litchfield, *Britomart, from Books iii., iv., v. of the Faerie Queene*, Boston, 1896, Sommer, *Shepherd's Calendar*, London, 1890 (rev. by E. Kölbing in *E.St.* xx. 128-33; Carpenter, *An Outline Guide to the Study of Spenser*, Chicago, 1894 (24 pp.); Sawtelle, *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*, N. Y., 1896 (rev. in *J. Ger. Phil.* i. 395-7); Bauermeister, *Zur Sprache Spensers auf Grund der Reime in der Faerie Queene*, diss. Freiburg 1896; Fletcher, "Huon of Burdeux and the Fairie Queene" (*J. Ger. Phil.* ii. 203-12, 1898); John S. Hart, *Spenser and the Fairy Queen*, Phila., 1854; (p. 255) add W. M. Rossetti's ed. of Milton's *Poetical Works*, London, 1871, reprinted 1880, 1881; Coleridge, *Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton*, London, 1856; Masson, *The Three Devils*, London, 1874; Arnold's two essays on M. (in *Mixed Essays*, London, 1879, and *Essays in Criticism, 2d Ser.*, 1888); Acton, *Religious Opinions and Examples of Milton, Locke, and Newton*, London, 1833; (p. 311) add W. F. Rae, "Theories about Junius" (*Athen.* 1890 i. 831-2); "The Franciscan Myth" (*Athen.* 1897 ii. 885-6, 1898 i. 51-3, 87-8, 150-1, 183-4, 248-9; G. H. R. Francis, *Junius Revealed by his Surviving Grandson*, London, 1894 (rev. in *Athen.* 1894 i. 337-8, 371-2, in which the Franciscan claim is shown to be "not proven"); see also L. Stephen, s. v. Francis, *D. N. B.* xx. 169-80; "Chatham, Francis, and Junius," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr. 1888, iii. 233-49; (p. 339 l. 6 f. b. of text) Knight's *Life* is in 2 vols.; add also *Wordsworthiana*, ed. Knight, London, 1889; Wordsworth Society, *Transactions*, Edinburgh, 1882-87, 8 numbers; *Poems*, ed. M. Arnold, London, 1879, since reprinted twelve times, in *The Golden Treasury Series*; Wordsworth's *Prose Works*, ed.

Grosart, London, 1876, 3 vols. ; (p. 361) new ed. of Dowden's Shelley, 1896 ; (p. 366) add Hales, "Victorian Literature" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Apr. and May, 1888, repr. in *Folia litt.*, pp. 317-58) ; (p. 367) add A. H. Miles, *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*, London, [1892] ; Harrison, *Studies in Early Victorian Literature*, London, 1895.

But, after all, the most useful improvement that can be suggested for the book is a full index of authors, editors, and subjects under one alphabet. From this one could determine what the book really contains ; at present, one is never certain. A fourth edition, to incorporate a thorough overhauling of the book, is needed as badly as was the third.

A mere glance at Petri's 1895 *Übersicht* (on the vol. for 1894 cp. *M. L. N.* xiii. cols. 454-5) would arouse a suspicion that it is not all a bibliography should be ; and a little use of the volume shows it to be faulty not merely in its host of inexcusable misprints but in more important respects. One looks in vain, for example, on pp. 41, 44, for W. P. Coyne's "Chaucer and Langland" (*New Ireland Review* iii. 238 ff., 313 ff.) ; on pp. 84, 148 for "Thackeray's London" (*Temple Bar* cv. 422 ff.) ; on p. 55 for Michels and Ziegler's ed. of *Utopia* ; on p. 37 for M. C. Tyler's *Three Men of Letters* [Bp. Berkeley, President Dwight the elder, Joel Barlow] (rev. in *Nation* lx. 285-6) ; on p. 139 for Leslie Stephen's *Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen* (rev. in *Nation* lxi. 259-61) ; on pp. 79, 119 for Pater's *Greek Studies* (rev. in *Nation* lx. 464-5) ; for any reviews from *The Nation*, many of which no one can afford to overlook. Other points which have been noted in a slight use of the book are : (p. 1) the *Crawford Charters* should have been entered s. v. Charters, p. 41 ; (p. 10) Kluge's rev. of Hirt is apparently an error ; the *Lit. Cbl.* rev. of Holthausen includes pt. ii. ; (p. 17) C. P. G. Scott's "Eng. Words," etc., appeared in vol. xxv. of the *Trans.* ; both articles appeared in 1894 ; (p. 19) was the rev. of Henry in vol. 39 or no. 39 (either is possible) ? (p. 23) enter Bierbaum also p. 4 ; (p. 26) the *Acad.* rev. (no. 1319) of Courthope is of vol. ii. ; *Crawford's Lyrical Verse* appeared in 1896 ; enter Curtis also p. 118 ; enter *D. N. B.* also p. 134 ; (p. 30)—and this is the sort of information one desires from such a bibliography—Kiesow's diss. with additions appeared also in *Anglia* xvii. 199-258 ; why not enter Kohler also p. 44 ? (p. 39) Holthausen (l. 6) should have been entered on p. 29 ; Kluge's *E.St.* rev. of Gallée does not in-

clude the *Facsimile-Sammlung*; (p. 40) the *N. & Q.* ref. on Cædmon, and all other references to that weekly (pp. 48, 62, etc.) should include "8th ser."; Holthausen's and Brandl's revs. of Holder's *Beowulf* are only of II b; (p. 42) there should be a cross-ref. to Cynewulf p. 45 s. v. Phoenix; enter Mrs. Winslow's *Readings* p. 34; (p. 43) "Tyler's" Gower art. includes no mention of a Tyler; why is Hall's art. put under *Handschriften*? enter p. 28 s. v. Hall, since it is really miscellany; (p. 44) enter Napier's *Legend* p. 42 s. v. Cross; the *Lit. Cbl.* rev. of Liebermann is of his *Gesetze der Ags. 1. Bd. 1. Lief.*, a different book; Heinrich appeared in 1896; (p. 45) *Ritter Horn* should be entered s. v. Horn, p. 43; *Rolle* was rev. in *N. & Q.* 8th ser. viii.; (p. 46) enter Kölbing (*vor-Shakesp. Dramen*) also p. 30; (p. 46) the last four entries have nothing to do with the *York Plays*; (p. 52) Köppel's rev. of Emerson's *Rasselas* was in *Archiv* xcvi.; enter here also Bradford's ed. of Macaulay's *Life*; (p. 54) enter here also Crosswell's ed. of Macaulay's *Essay on Milton*; (p. 55) enter Beljame's *Pope* also p. 23; (p. 56) Herford's *Shepherd's Calendar* belongs s. v. Spenser (!); (p. 58) why not give the title of Mrs. Moore's prize essay here as well as on p. 60? (p. 62) enter Furness's *Variorum M. N. D.* rather on p. 66; add rev. *Nation* lxi. 84-5; (p. 73) enter s. v. Collins a ref. to p. 74 l. 3 f. b.; (p. 104) enter s. v. Rice a ref. to p. 89 s. v. Besant; (p. 112) read R. H. Davis; (p. 115) enter s. v. Phillpotts a ref. to p. 113 s. v. Jerome; (p. 118) enter Birrell also p. 24; (p. 123) enter Steele also p. 43; (p. 128) enter Mitchell also p. 32; (p. 131) enter *Social England* also p. 37; under Wilser a cross-ref. to p. 38; (p. 132) enter *The Brownies* p. 92 s. v. Cox; (p. 135) enter Walpole's *Memoirs of Geo. III* also p. 57; why is Grandison here? (p. 137) enter *Lives of Twelve Bad Men* under the ed., Thomas Seccombe; enter "Milton's Daughters" p. 137; (p. 140) enter White also p. 57; (p. 142) enter *Lincoln's Speeches* also p. 85; (p. 143) enter Celia Thaxter also p. 87; (p. 146) enter Tupper also p. 19; (p. 147) enter Trevelyan's *Land of Arthur* also p. 40 top; (p. 150) enter Hill's *Harvard College* (!) p. 147 s. v. Cambridge, Mass. Several more pages of similar suggestions could doubtless be added by others; but these will show how far from satisfactory the book is. Petri seems not always to have used the bibliographical aids nearest to hand. For example, had he consulted the Berlin *Jahresbericht* (which, though selective and somewhat meagre, is in many respects far superior to the *Übersicht*, and of which part ii. for 1895 appeared in Oct., 1896) he might have added some refer-

ences, such as (p. 36) Zupitza's rev. of Simonds (*Archiv* xciv. 324-6). Of such works as the *Index to the Periodicals of 1895* (pub. by the *Eng. Review of Reviews* in September, 1896) and *The Annual Literary Index 1895* (New York, March, 1896) he seems to know nothing at all. And why must we wait so long for the book, which is after all the most comprehensive collection in its field? The copy belonging to the Cornell Univ. Library was received Sept. 28, 1900. Surely less time than five years is sufficient for the task of compiling and publishing such a work. We hope that future issues of the *Übersicht* will exhibit marked improvement in the work of both printer and editor.

Spies's article is a revision of his paper entitled "Gegenwärtiger Stand der Gower-Forschung und eine kritische Neuausgabe der *Confessio Amantis*," read before the modern language section of the Bremer Philologentag, September, 1899; an abstract of this appears in *E.St.* xxvii. 466-8. Spies has gathered a long list of allusions to and criticisms of Gower and refers to nearly all the editions and discussions of Gower's poetry. Some omissions noted are: Selections from the *Conf. Amantis* ed. by H. Corson in his *Handbook of A.-S. and Early English*, pp. 316-27, 1871; "John Gower and his Works" (in *Brit. Quart. Rev.* xxvii. 1-36, same in *Littell's Liv. Age* lvii. 163 ff., a rev. of Pauli, Coxe's *Vox Clamantis*, 1850, and Lord Gower's *Cinkante Balades*, 1818); Pauli rev. in *Fraser's Mag.* lix. 571-86; Morley rev. in *Spectator*, lxiii. 929-30; T. Arnold's art. on Gower in Ward's *English Poets*, i. 102-13, with *Balade* 30 and three selections from the *Conf. Amantis*, 1880; W. F. Collier, in his *History of English Literature*, London, 1865; the art. in the Warner *Library of the World's Best Literature* xi. 6579-92, including the story of Petronella, 1897; Sarah W. Brooks in "Some Predecessors of Spenser" (in *Poet-lore*, i. 214-23, 1889); some notes in *Gentleman's Mag.* xxi. 363, xlvi. 225, lxxxv. 1. 109-10, of no great value, however; W. Thompson and others, "Gower the Poet" (in *N. & Q.* 8th ser. viii. 87, 130, 317); Singer, in his *Apollonius von Tyrus*, pp. 177-89, on the story of Apollinus, 1895; Chalmers's *Life*, in his *Works of the Eng. Poets*, ii. pp. iii.-xii, 1810. The second part of Lücke's *Anglia* art. (p. 185) appeared also as a Halle diss., 1891; and Hales's *Athen.* art. (p. 174) also in his *Folia litteraria*, pp. 114-27, 1893. Spies's article, moreover, would have been much more valuable bibliographically if he had adopted either an alphabetical or a chronological arrangement. One or two correc-

tions may be added: (p. 174 note) read *Litbl.* vol. xi. no. xii.; (p. 179) read *Ausgg. u. Abh.* lxiv. (there are 72 *balades*).

I hope the above notes, however brief and scanty, will help in demonstrating that we should no longer look to the Germans for the bibliography of our own language and literature. We already have a few admirable bibliographies (*e. g.* Stoddard's *References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries*), and we are sadly in need of more. When the Bibliographical Society of America is formed (see *Library Journal*, July 1901, xxvi. 405-6) its first undertaking might very properly be a co-operative bibliography of the English language and literature. Meanwhile individual bibliographers should co-operate as far as possible. At Cornell Professor Hart is preparing an exhaustive bibliography of the Old and Middle English language and literature (cp. *M. L. N.* xiii. col. 454); Dante in English literature has been handled by Mr. Koch; and bibliographies of Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton are in preparation. The importance of similar undertakings with reference to other writers and periods should commend itself to those scholars whose facilities would enable them to do this sort of work.

CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y.,
October 10, 1901.

S. Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrus*. Untersuchungen über das Fortleben des antiken romans in späteren Zeiten. Halle a. S. Max Niemeyer, 1895. VI, 228 s., 8°.

Wenige Erzeugnisse der antiken Literatur dürfen sich rühmen, eine gleich tiefe und nachhaltige Wirkung auf die späteren Jahrhunderte geübt, die Phantasie der nachfolgenden Geschlechter durch ein Jahrtausend in solchem Masse beschäftigt zu haben wie die Geschichte des Apollonius von Tyrus.

Dass dem nur in lateinischer Sprache auf uns gekommenen Romane ein griechisches Original zu Grunde liegen müsse, ist schon im 16. Jh. von M. Welser erkannt, von Rohde ausführlich und überzeugend dargelegt worden. Die lateinische Übersetzung muss

spätestens im 6. jh. entstanden sein und fand überaus rasch eine fast beispiellose verbreitung. Schon in der zweiten hälfte des 6. jh. konnte Venantius fortunatus auf die erzählung als etwas allgemein bekanntes anspielen, im 12. jh. wird uns durch Wilhelm von Tyrus ausdrücklich versichert, dass die schicksale des Apollonius *celebrem et late vulgatam habent historiam*. Der roman muss in zahllosen handschriften, von denen uns heute noch über hundert erhalten sind, überall verbreitet gewesen sein und früher oder später fand er bei allen kulturvölkern des abendlandes eine meist mehr als einmalige bearbeitung in den vulgärsprachen, die ihn den weitesten kreisen zugänglich machten. Die geschichte dieser merkwürdigen dichtung im einzelnen zu verfolgen, musste demnach für die vergleichende literaturgeschichte eine lockende aufgabe vorstellen und sie ist in der tat mehrfach in angriff genommen. So hat, von den gelegentlichen zusammenstellungen anderer zu geschweigen, M. Haupt ihr seine bemühungen zugewandt (Opuscula 3. 4 ff. nach akademie vorträgen von 1856), später H. Hagen ihr eine eigene schrift gewidmet (Der roman von könig A. v. T. in seinen versch. bearbeitungen, Berlin, 1878), nun ist sie von Singer in dem vorliegenden buche umfassender und gründlicher wieder aufgenommen.

S. s bestreben geht in erster linie dahin, überall die spezielle rezension festzustellen, die der betreffende bearbeiter zu grunde gelegt hat und seine mit ebenso viel fleisz als scharfsinn geführten untersuchungen fördern unsere einsicht an vielen punkten in dankenswertester weise. Dass hier die forschung freilich bei der endgiltigen lösung aller fragen angelangt sei, lässt sich keineswegs behaupten. Die erschlossenen stammbäume sind vielfach äusserst kompliziert, öfter konnte überhaupt keine sicherheit der entscheidung erreicht werden und mehrere möglichkeiten bleiben zur auswahl, so dass man meist ein etwas unbehagliches gefühl nicht los wird. Es liegt das augenscheinlich mit daran, dass S. sich hier teilweise ein ziel gesteckt hat, das mit den mitteln, die ihm zu gebote standen, sich unmöglich erreichen lässt. Bekanntlich entbehren wir noch durchaus einer kritischen ausgabe der Historia Apollonii. Riese hatte sich die aufgabe gestellt, die ursprüngliche form der erzählung herzustellen, seine ausgabe gibt also nur den ältesten erreichbaren text nach dem cod. Laur. plutei XLVI nr. 40 des 9./10. jh., dessen lücken eine Pariser hs. des 14. jh. büssen hilft, und daneben den in allem wesentlichen mit ihr zusammenstimmenden, im ausdruck vielfach abweichenden text der zweiten handschriftenklasse. Die dritte

klasse aber, die wir als die eigentliche Apolloniusvulgata bezeichnen dürfen, da ihr die weit überwiegende zahl aller hss. angehört, hat er als für seinen zweck bedeutungslos bei seite gelassen, da er eben lediglich die fundamente liefern wollte für einen nachfolger, 'qui perfectum absolutamque Apollonii editionem aliquando parabit.' Es springt nun in die augen, dass für denjenigen, der die mittelalterlichen bearbeitungen des romans auf die ihnen zu grunde liegenden rezenionen des lateinischen textes untersucht, umgekehrt gerade diese hss. von besonderer wichtigkeit sein müssen. Das hat natürlich auch S. erkannt und sich in diesem sinne redlich mühe gegeben. Er zählt uns s. 215 zehn handschriften auf, die er zu diesem zwecke verglichen hat; aber diese auswahl will der groszen masse des erhaltenen gegenüber doch recht wenig bedeuten und sie ist eine rein zufällige, indem S. sich naturgemäsz auf das ihm zunächst erreichbare einschränkte. Man darf, wie wir denken, überzeugt sein, dass für denjenigen, dem das gesammte material zu gebote stände, die ergebnisse sich vielfach bedeutend vereinfacht und zugleich gesichert hätten; es ist wohl möglich, dass so öfter diese oder jene handschrift geradezu als die quelle der in frage stehenden bearbeitung hätte bezeichnet werden können, wo man jetzt mit der sehr komplizierten und dementsprechend unwahrscheinlichen annahme der gleichzeitigen benutzung mehrerer quellen operieren muss.

Nach der jeweiligen näheren zusammengehörigkeit der einzelnen versionen gliedert S. sein buch in vier abschnitte. Der erste behandelt Orendel, Jourdain und die dänische ballade, der zweite Shakespeares drama und Wilkins novelle, der dritte und vierte die gruppe der Gesta Romanorum und des Gottfried von Viterbo. Ein fünfter abschnitt, 'zusammenfassung und ergänzung' betitelt, macht den beschluss. Wir wandern so an der hand des verfassers einen weiten weg durch germanisches, romanisches, griechisches, slavisches und ungarisches gebiet; überall finden wir sorgfältige kritik und manche gute bemerkung. Auch unsere kenntnis des materials wird gefördert: wir erhalten (s. 71 ff.) eine neue ausgabe des einschlägigen abschnittes der Gesta Romanorum unter zugrundelegung der Colmarer hs., s. 153 ff. den besonders erwünschten abdruck der umdichtung im Pantheon Gottfrieds von Viterbo, S. 190 ff. für Steinhöwels bearbeitung eine collation des druckes von 1471, der fast durchweg bessere lesarten bietet als die von Schröder abgedruckte Donaueschinger hs., s. 210 ff. auch proben aus einer nd. bearbeitung Steinhöwels.

Die germanische philologie, deren interessen wir hier allein im auge haben dürfen, nimmt an diesen untersuchungen hervorragenden anteil, da gerade bei den völkern germanischer zunge die geschichte des Tyriers weiteste verbreitung und vielfache bearbeitung gefunden hat. Sehr früh war sie in Deutschland bekannt. Wir wissen aus alten bibliothekskatalogen (vgl. Manitius im Rhein. Mus. 1892, Ergzgsbd., s. 140), dass Reichenau bereits 821, Weiheustephan im 11. jh., Stablo und Wessobrunn im 12. Apollonius handschriften besaßen. Im 12. jh. finden wir eine anspielung auf die erzählung bereits in einem deutschen gedichte (Lamprechts Alexander v. 1010 ff.) und in einer Stuttgarter (urspr. Zwiefaltener) hs. bruchstücke einer metrischen übersetzung der rätsel. Eine vollständige übersetzung brachte allerdings erst um 1300 Heinrich von Neustadt, während aus England schon eine ags. übersetzung des 11. jh. erhalten ist; hier entstand auch die einzige dramatische bearbeitung des stoffes, mit der ja der glänzendste name der englischen literatur, Shakespeare, verknüpft wird. Der germanische nord hat sich die erzählung später in der gestalt der ballade und des volksbuches zu eigen gemacht; die älteste skandinavische fassung, der bericht der Þiðrekssaga von Apollonius iarl af Tyra, ist nur bedingt hierher zu rechnen.

Alle diese versionen werden von S. eingehend und nirgends ohne nutzen für die forschung erörtert. Nur ein paar einzelbemerkungen möchten wir uns hier erlauben.

S. macht den anfang mit einer besprechung des Orendel, in dem, wie zuerst Grundtvig, dann nochmals Berger entdeckt, E. H. Meyer durchgeführt hat, der Apolloniusroman sicher benutzt ist. S. sucht im einzelnen den anschluss des gedichtes an diese oder jene rezension des lateinischen textes oder aber in manchen von ihm abweichenden punkten zusammengehen mit anderen vulgärrezensionen zu erweisen. Seine zusammenstellungen halten wir nicht überall für richtig und überzeugend, ohne dass sich das hier im einzelnen ausführen liesze. Wichtiger scheint uns, seiner darstellung gegenüber principiell zu betonen, dass der Orendel überhaupt nicht mit den einfachen übersetzungen oder bearbeitungen des romans auf eine stufe gestellt werden sollte. S. steht mit seiner auffassung freilich nicht allein, aber es ist gewiss ein fehler, dass man, ohne einen beweis auch nur für nötig zu halten, stets von der anschauung als einer feststehenden tatsache ausgeht, dass der Apolloniusroman für alle diese dichtungen die grundlage abgegeben habe, die, nur

nach den bedürfnissen von ort und zeit umgestaltet und allenfalls aus anderen sagen interpoliert, so diese im einzelnen so stark abweichenden fassungen ergeben habe. Dabei scheint man sich sehr wenig um die frage zu kümmern, woher denn der griechische dichter des romans seinen stoff genommen habe, obwohl doch, wenn nicht früher, so seit den nachweisungen Laistners ZfdA. 38. 113 ff. klar sein musste, dass er keineswegs aus den fingern gezogen, vielmehr auf einem der verbreitetsten märchentypen aufgebaut ist. Diese tatsache war lange bevor die forschung sie festgestellt hat, sehr ungelehrten leuten klar geworden; wir haben dafür in dem zuerst von Liebrecht herbeigezogenen griechischen märchen vom weiberscheuen prinzen (Hahn nr. 50) ein allgemein bekanntes und anerkanntes classisches beispiel. Ist hier der roman von einem, der seinen zusammenhang mit jener märchengruppe erkannte, aus ihr interpoliert worden, so musste genau so gut das umgekehrte möglich sein, ja ernsthaft betrachtet lag dies sehr viel näher: dass eine auf dem gleichen märchentypus wie der griechische roman aufgebaute autochthone erzählung aus diesem als seiner berühmtesten und wirkungsvollsten literarischen fassung einzelne züge entnahm. Zu dieser klasse aber gehört unseres erachtens auch der Orendel.¹ Wäre S. von ähnlichen anschauungen ausgegangen, so wäre uns wohl auch die erklärang des namens *Orendel* erspart geblieben, die wir jetzt hier finden und als probe dafür, was dem gläubigen leser bisweilen zugemutet wird, anführen wollen. S. geht von der tatsache aus, dass der eine freier in einigen rezenionen des lateinischen textes *Ardonius* heisst, im spanischen Libredo Apollorio aber *Aguylon*. 'Ich glaube nun, dass durch hereinnehmen einer randglosse beide formen neben einander in den text zu stehen kamen, also *Ardonius Agilon*, dass dann die französische vorlage, die ich mit Heinzel annehme, in anlehnung an einheimische namen und worte und die zweite form als genitiv missverstehend, daraus einen *Ardoneus fils Agilon*, das deutsche gedicht in ähnlicher weise daraus wieder einen *Orendel künec Eigels sun* gemacht hat.' So viel worte, so viel unabweisbare und wahrlich nichts weniger als wahrscheinliche hypothesen, die zudem alle methode in einer mehr als zulässigen weise

¹ Einen ähnlichen standpunkt vertritt für dies gedicht jetzt auch Benezé (Sagen- und litterarhist. Untersuchungen II, Halle, 1897), mit recht, wie uns scheint, so manches verkehrte bei seinen vergleichungen und deutungen auch im einzelnen unterläuft.

verleugnen.¹ Ausserdem ist diese deutung aber schon principiell verfehlt, weil sie den nordischen *Aurvandil* ganz ausser anschlag lässt. Unserem autor macht der freilich wenig schmerzen und er erklärt die übereinstimmung des namen 'jetzt, da ein unbefangener blick in dem, was von ihnen erzählt wird, gewiss keinerlei ähnlichkeit mit der Orendelfabel herausfinden wird, für rein zufällig.' Der zusammenhang zwischen den beiden erzählungen ist aber, denken wir, durch Laistner a. a. o. 120 ff. genügend klar gemacht und wir vermöchten die nachweisungen dieses gelehrten wohl noch beträchtlich zu stützen, wäre dazu nicht ein weiteres ausholen notwendig als uns hier verstattet ist. Jedenfalls kann eine einwendung gegen die zusammenstellung der namen allein von der sprachlichen seite kommen und es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass hier wirklich anstösze bestehen. Aber entscheidend ist das doch noch nicht, und analogien möchten klar machen, dass die schuld nur an unserer mangelhaften einsicht liegt. Wir dürfen uns begnügen, auf einen vollkommen analogen fall aus der Hildesage zu verweisen, wo auch niemand *Horant* den sänger des Hegelingenkönigs *Hetel* trotz aller lautlichen schwierigkeiten von dem *Heorrenda Heodeninga scop* wird trennen wollen.

Eine genauere erwägung der oben angedeuteten principiellen verhältnisse hätte auch der behandlung des hier einschlägigen abschnittes der *Þiðrekssaga* zum vorteil gereicht, der s. 220 allzu kurz und gewiss unrichtig mit der bemerkung abgetan wird, sein bericht habe mit den erzählungen von Apollonius nicht das geringste zu tun und nur der name des tyrischen fürsten sei vom sagaschreiber eben verwendet worden, wie er auch die namen der *Tristansage* verwendete. Die sache liegt aber auch hier vielmehr so, dass die erzählung der *Þiðrekssaga* auf dem gleichen märchengrunde sich aufbaut wie der roman und daher—ob vom sagaschreiber oder seiner quelle wäre erst noch zu untersuchen—namen und motive aus diesem übernahm. Wir werden demnächst bei anderer gelegenheit ausführlich über diese sage zu handeln haben; den weg zu ihrem verständnis hat wiederum Laistner gezeigt, nur dass auch bei ihm der alte sagengenasse zusammenhang zwischen den personen des

¹ Kaum minder abenteuerlich ist die erklärang des namens *Bride*, die s. 15 gegeben wird und auch sonst unterläuft manches allzu kühne (*Marques* im *Jourdain* aus falsch getrenntem *regem Orchistatem*, *Wolfhart* im *Orendel* missverständliche übersetzung eines *lupanarius* u. ä.). Solche spielereien des scharfsinns lesen sich ja ganz amüsant, der ernsthaften forschung aber werfen sie nur steine in den weg, die immer erst wieder wegzukehren unnütz aufhält.

Iron und Apollonius, die hier als brüder erscheinen, verkannt ist. Hier mögen wir uns begnügen zu constatieren, dass ausser dem namen des haupthelden noch der name des Antiochus aus dem romane entlehnt und c. 266 zur benennung des grossvaters der entführten verwandt ist (was übrigens längst auch Storm, Sagnkred-sene s. 127 vgl. Aarbøger 1877, s. 318 gesehen hat). Ebenso ist der zug, dass Herborg dem Apollonius ihre liebe in einem briefe zu erkennen gibt, aus der gleichen quelle geflossen und (aufs allerunglücklichste in c. 249 und nochmals, etwas geschickter, in c. 252) mit dem alten, fast allen märchen dieser gruppe gemeinsamen motive verquickt, wonach ein zugeworfener apfel als bekanntes liebes-symbol verwandt wird.

Als eine lücke in S. s buche müsste erscheinen, dass darin die interessanteste deutsche bearbeitung des romans, der Apollonius des Heinrich von Neustadt, nicht erörtert ist, erhielten wir dafür nicht von S. das versprechen einer neuausgabe des gedichtes, das bis jetzt bekanntlich nur in Strobls auszug zugänglich ist. Es verdient eine solche wirklich; denn mag man sich auch von der süsslich schlüpfri-gen art dieses mittelalterlichen Clauren und der wahrhaft rohen weise, in der Wolfram hier allenthalben verballhornt wird, abgestoszen fühlen, der dichter besass doch ein nicht unbedeutendes formales talent und der inhalt seines werkes erregt das manigfachste interesse. Bekanntlich nimmt in ihm die bearbeitung des romans nur einen verhältnismässig sehr kleinen raum ein; die weitaus grössere masse ist zutat Heinrichs, aus allen möglichen quellen geschöpft und in einander gearbeitet. Es bleibt dabei immer merkwürdig genug, wie vollkommen diese späten klänge in den grundakkord des hellenistischen romans—reiseabenteuer von spannenden liebesgeschichten durchzogen—einklingen. Von S. s umsicht und belesenheit darf man sich die sehr erwünschte aufdeckung all der verarbeiteten quellen, für die Strobl fast nichts getan hat, versprechen; seine gelegentliche bemerkung (s. 5), dass Heinrich zu seinen zusätzen da und dort noch andere redaktionen des romans als die lateinische fassung benutzt hat, findet hier schon bestätigung (vgl. s. 51); wir möchten nur hinzufügen, dass ausser solchen abweichenden rezenionen des romans auch andere versionen des allen, auch dem lateinischen roman, zu grunde liegenden märchentypus verwandt sind.

Ein wort des bedauerns bleibt uns zum schlusse nur darüber zu sagen, dass S. der äusseren form nicht mehr sorgfalt zugewandt hat.

Er hat zu wenig dafür getan, aus seinen untersuchungen ein lesbares buch zu machen und die rücksicht auf den benutzer vielfach in unerlaubter weise ausser acht gelassen. Überall wird sofort mit der einselekritik begonnen, ohne dass ein einleitendes wort über das vorliegende, oft recht entlegene material für nötig erachtet würde; in der verwendung von siglen und abkürzungen ist bis an die grenze des möglichen gegangen, so dass das lesen manchmal ein entziffern wird. Das buch musste naturgemäss eine folge von einzeluntersuchungen bringen, die unter sich wenig zusammenhang haben; umso notwendiger war es also, dem leser einen standpunkt herzurichten, von dem aus er den ganzen endlosen detailkram einigermassen rasch und gut überschauen könnte. Der fünfte abschnitt 'zusammenfassungen und ergänzungen' genügt diesem bedürfnis leider in keiner weise, denn er besteht zur einen hälfte aus gänzlich inhaltsleeren verweisungen auf die vorangehenden abschnitte,¹ zur anderen aber wieder aus langen detailuntersuchungen, von denen man nicht einsieht, warum sie nicht früher erledigt sind, statt dass sie hier die bezweckte übersicht unmöglich machen. Da die einzelnen fassungen vielfach an sehr verschiedenen stellen besprochen sind, auch wohl einmal frühere aufstellungen später modifiziert werden, hätte die beigabe eines registers die benutzung des dankenswerten buches wesentlich erleichtern können.

FRIEDRICH PANZER.

FREIBURG I. B.

¹ Damit unsere ausstellung nicht als leere nörgerei erscheine, setzen wir eine dieser 'zusammenfassungen' wörtlich hieher: s. 222 'h. Niederländische fassungen. S. o. ss. 109-115, 119-122. Spätere bearbeitungen s. bei Penon a. a. o. und in den nachträgen im 2. und 3. bande.' Sic! Also statt einer orientierung über material und ergebnis der kritik, verweisung auf so und so viel seiten detailuntersuchung u. ein buch, dessen identifizierung sich der leser suchen mag.—Sehr ungeschickt ist auch, dass die von anfang an in der untersuchung verwandten siglen der von S. benutzten hss. erst s. 215 erklärting finden, wo man sie von vornherein schwerlich suchen wird.

Finnur Jónsson: *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*. Vol. I-II, 1 and 2. Copenhagen, 1893-97.

THE importance of Finnur Jónsson's History of the Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic Literature, and the long time necessarily consumed in its completion justify its being reviewed in this Journal before the work is completed. Finnur Jónsson, professor of Icelandic at the University of Copenhagen, is, by his intimate knowledge and thorough comprehension of the subject matter, qualified as hardly any other living man to write the history of Icelandic literature. He is one of the hardest working and most productive of modern Scandinavian philologists, and Scandinavian philology is especially, among other things, indebted to him for a series of valuable editions of old Icelandic manuscripts. Among his chief exploits in this line must be counted the phototype and diplomatory edition of the so-called elder or Saemundar Edda, which he jointly with his colleague, Professor Wimmer, published a few years ago, furthermore, the Egils Saga, the Biskupa Sögur and the Heimskringla, now in the course of being published.

The history of the Old Norse and Icelandic literature has not of late, in its full extension, been a very much cultivated field. G. Vigfusson has in the Prolegomena to his Sturlunga Saga given a pretty complete, although short, synopsis of Icelandic literature, but the often peculiar and untenable ideas of that scholar detract something from the value of that otherwise useful work. The Scandinavian treatments of the subject prior to the work now in the course of publication are at the present time, all of them, rather antiquated, and Finnur Jónsson's history is, therefore, exceedingly welcome.

The work will, when finished, consist of three volumes: the first volume treating of Old Norwegian and Icelandic poetry up to the time of 1100 A. D.; the second volume dealing with poetry and prose of the second period (1100 to 1300 A. D.); and the third which is going to be devoted to the period extending from about 1300 to about 1450.

The author in the three parts of the first volume and in the first part of the second volume treats of the Old Norwegian-Icelandic poetry at considerable length; it is characteristic of the author as well as of the great majority of the present generation of Scandinavian scientists, in contradistinction from the former generations, that it seems as if he does not allow the national point of view

to influence his scientific results. Even in such places where the reviewer must disagree with the author, as it is sure to happen in a work like the present one, it cannot be said that this is due to the author's having been guided in his scientific reasoning by national sympathies or prejudices. The author discusses with considerable fullness the question of the nationality and the age of Eddic poetry. This poetry was a few decades ago a bone of contention between the Scandinavian scholars, the Norwegian authors, particularly *R. Keyser*, maintaining that these poems were produced in Norway, while the Danish school headed by *S. Grundtvig* just as stoutly maintained that they were either Icelandic or Common Norse, *i. e.* pre-Norwegian, Danish, thus eliminating Norway entirely. The author arrives at the result that the Eddic poems were produced during the period from about 850 to about 1050 A. D., mostly in Norway, a few in Iceland and some in Greenland. With reference to the age of the Eddic poems professor *Jónsson* is in accord with most modern philological authors in contradistinction from the earlier scientists who attributed a very much higher age to these poems. But as far as concerns the place of their production he assumes a position entirely his own, at variance with the one taken by *G. Vigfusson*, who thinks that several of these poems were produced in the Western Isles, a belief partly shared by Professor *Bugge* of Christiania. Our author maintains that the occurrence of words showing Celtic or Anglo-Saxon influence in the poems is not a sufficient basis upon which to rest the assertion that these poems are produced in the Western Islands, the less so, as these Islands otherwise play an anything but prominent part in the Old Norse-Icelandic literature. It seems as if the author's position here is a sound one.

In his treatment of the individual Eddic poems, particularly *Völuspá* and *Hávamál* the author seems to me to have allowed himself to be too much influenced by *Müllenhoff's* higher criticism contained in the fifth volume of his *Alterthumskunde*. Thus, for instance, he unhesitatingly accepts that author's rejection of verses 5 and 6 of *Völuspá* as interpolated. In the reviewer's opinion we have here to deal with one of the most unfortunate attempts at fitting poetry to the Procrustean bed of the philologist; it is really a pity that the learned interpreters of the great poets often have so little sense for poetry. In this present case I think it can be satisfactorily shown that *Müllenhoff* and all those who

after him have blindly assumed the mentioned strophes to be interpolated are in the wrong.

Völuspá, as is well known, is the Old Norse cosmogony and theogony. Whether it is influenced by Christian ideas and poetry, as Bugge and others maintain, or it is a genuine exponent of Heathen Norwegian thought and imagination, as Müllenhoff, Hoffory and Jónsson believe, is immaterial for the question here at issue.

Strophe 3 reads: 'In the beginning when Ymir built (*i. e.* lived), there was neither sand, nor sea, nor the cold waves; the earth was not to be seen nor heaven above; there was a yawning chasm, but grass nowhere.' Strophe 4 continues: 'ere the sons of Borr raised the earth, those who made the blessed modgard (earth). The sun shone from south on the dwelling-stones, then the fields were grown with green herbs.' Then comes strophe 5 which Müllenhoff wants to throw out: 'The sun past from south, the companion of the moon, his right hand over the edge of heaven; the sun knew not where he had his resting-places, the moon did not know what she had for power, the stars did not know where they had their places.' Strophe 6: 'Then all the powers, the most holy gods, assembled to the judgment seats and consulted about it; they gave names to night and new moon; they named morning and midday, afternoon and evening, for the counting of years.'

Müllenhoff's and his followers' objection to strophe 5 is that it makes the sun appear unruly and unsteady after it has in strophe 4 appeared in its regular function. But what is really the case? In strophe 4 the sun appears and of course, immediately exerts its beneficent influence on vegetation, but still that does not imply that the regular order of the world is yet firmly established. Therefore strophe 5 in a beautiful poetic figure, which nobody whose mind is not entirely dried up by philosophic dust can fail to understand, repeats the story of the arrival of the sun. The sun threw from the south his right hand over the edge of the heavens. The metaphor here is, of course, exactly as when Homer speaks about *ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἥώς*; and that the sun throws its hands does not mean that it clings to the edge of heaven (Hoffory) or fumbles it (Müllenhoff), but that it throws its rays over the horizon. But still the sun had no regular course prescribed to it, the stars had no fixed positions, and the moon did not know her power. Müllenhoff takes exception to the fact that while with the sun and the stars there is question of place, with the moon there is question of power. Nothing could more clearly show the groundlessness of his objections. Language

itself bears witness to the power which popular belief through the ages has ascribed to the moon. 'Then the powers, the high gods, went to their council seats and brought order into this chaos.' (They created morning and midday, etc.) And the sun is called 'the companion of the moon.' This does not necessarily imply that they appear together; it may merely mean that they hold a necessary relationship to each other in the regular order of the world. While Müllenhoff considers this expression to be the greatest nonsense and calls the whole strophe some miserable botch of an interpolator, Hoffory by a mere chance found out that this phrase presented a picture of the greatest strength and force, and therefore believed it to originally belong to another poem from which it had been interpolated into the *Völuspá*. Hoffory happened to read a little piece by Björnson entitled *A New Vacation Outing*, describing a summer trip to the North Cape, where the simultaneous appearance of the moon with the midnight sun is described in glowing colors, and Hoffory finds here the picture of nature that served as a background for the author of the cosmogonic poem from which he presumes this strophe to have been interpolated. This Hoffory's explanation of the *Völuspá* figure has come to be generally accepted, and it may, therefore, not be out of place to say a few words about it. In the first place, it would seem strange that two different authors should in two different poems independently use the rhyme words: *sol—sunnan*. While with the slight change the repetition comes splendidly as an epanalysis in strophe 5 from strophe 4. Besides it is not natural to suppose that an everyday occurrence like the appearance of the midnight sun would serve as the prototype for the description of a cosmogonic occurrence. And the reviewer who himself has seen the midnight sun time and again can state that this sight does not make any particularly strong impression on the inhabitants of Northern Norway. But another natural occurrence that makes a strong impression is when the sun appears again after the long absence during the winter. And that fits much better into the picture: the sun throwing his right hand over the edge of the heaven. So if we are to presume that a natural scenery has served the author as prototype, then it is much more reasonable to suppose the reappearance of the sun after the winter-night to have been the model than the midnight sun. But there is no necessity of believing in such a simultaneous appearance of sun and moon.

While Finnur Jónsson supposes the Eddic poems to be of comparatively recent origin, he believes in the genuineness of the Scaldic

poems ascribed to the oldest, almost mythical Norwegian scalds, like Brage the old, whose poems he attributes to the beginning of the 9th century. That our author is wrong here has been clearly shown by Professor Bugge in a book entitled *Bidrag til den Oldste Skaldedigtningens historie*, Christiania, 1894. But it would be too long here to enter upon that discussion.

Although we may say that our author to a certain extent is lacking in the poetic sense necessary in order to fully appreciate the Eddic poetry, it must be admitted that as an expert of Scaldic poetry he stands without equal and his treatment of this branch of chiefly Icelandic literature is, therefore, very satisfactory.

The treatment of the prose literature is as yet not so far advanced that a judgment can well be passed upon it. It is as yet limited to a general discussion of those conditions upon which that literature is based, and the reasons why it developed to such a classical perfection in Iceland, also of the extent to which the Icelandic sagas can be relied upon as historic documents, in which respect the author assigns to them a high value, higher probably than modern historic criticism is willing to grant them.

The historian Ari hinn fródi is the only prose author Jónsson has as yet reached to discuss, and he here gains the result that Ari wrote the two editions of the Icelanders' book, but that the Kings' lives that generally are ascribed to him as an independent work, probably must have been a part of the first (large) *Islandinga bók*.

The author's chief merits are his exhaustive knowledge of the subject-matter, his thorough comprehension of Icelandic, particularly Scaldic language and spirit, his sound and clear reasoning; his greatest shortcoming is a certain dryness and lack of poetic appreciation which makes the scientist in his case more prominent than the literateur.

P. GROTH.

NOTICE.

Financial and other difficulties have caused a regrettable delay in the publication of Vol. IV. In turning to our task again with new strength and under more hopeful conditions we expect to be able henceforth to issue the JOURNAL more regularly, and we would bespeak for it the continued active coöperation of those who think it worthy of their support.

In the future, somewhat more space may be devoted to the reviewing department and educational publications, especially American text-books, will receive more attention than they have hitherto been accorded.

G. E. K.

THE MIDDLE LOW GERMAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF MARY MAGDALEN.

PART I.

ONE of the most widespread Christian legends of the Middle Ages is that of Mary Magdalen and her fabulous apostolate in Provence of which she is the titular saint. Among the German versions or adaptations of the story is that found on folia 60^b to 73^a of Helmstedt Codex 894 bearing the date 1449 A. D., written in Middle Low German, and at present in the ducal library at Wolfenbuettel, Germany. For the material and literature upon this subject I am mainly indebted to the kindness of Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg in putting his copies of the manuscripts at my disposal, and to whom I hereby extend my sincere gratitude.

The following is the description of the only extant MS. of this version according to Heinemann, *Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Wolfenbuettel*, 1^{er} Abt. Bd. 2. p. 287:

894. Helmst. Pap. 21 x 14½ cm. 257 Bl. 15. Jahrh. (1449),
von zwei verschiedenen Händen. Zum Theil mit rothen
Überschriften und Anfangsbuchstaben.

Enthält:

- 1) f. 1-55'. Het leve Christi. *In plattdeutschen Versen.*
- 2) f. 56-60'. Van dem dische im Himmelrikz.
- *3) f. 60'-73. Van sunte Maria Magdalenen.*
- 4) f. 73-89. Vnser frowen claghe.
- 5) f. 89'-91. De dochtere der seven dotsuenden unde seven howetdoheden.
- 6) f. 91'-93'. De seven ghawe des hilgen geystes.
- 7) f. 95-209'. Bruder Philipps des Karthäusers Marienleben. *Plattdeutsch.* „Dit bok het sunte Marien levent.“ *Andere Handschriften 1039 und Aug. 18. 21. 1. (4) (die letztere oberdeutsch). Herausgegeben von Heinrich Rückert (Quedlinburg, 1853).*
- 8) f. 211-254. (von der zweiten Hand). Sunte Elizabeten passie.
- 9) f. 254-257. De seven dagetide.

Prov. u. Gesch.:

Ebd. Holzdeckel mit roth gefärbtem gepresstem Leder überzogen;

die Schleisser sind abgerissen. Auf dem Vorsatzblatte steht die kurze Inhaltsangabe: Van den dogheden vnde van der kynttheyt unses heren, vnde van sunten Ilseben leuen.

Our version recites in 800 lines, riming in pairs, that part of the life of M. M. dealing with her departure with Maximinus, Lazarus, Martha and others of the seventy two apostles from the Holy Land; their miraculous voyage to, and arrival at, Marseilles; the distress and want of the apostles relieved after the third nocturnal appearance of the disembodied Mary before the royal or princely couple of the country; the latter's resulting voyage to Palestine with the storm at sea causing the death of the mother in childbirth; the miraculous preservation of mother and son on the rocky isle; the prince's stay of two years with St. Peter in Palestine; his return and reunion with wife and child resulting in the conversion of his land and the appointment of the two bishops.

PART II.

With the mass of dogmatic literature discussing the identity of the adulterous Mary with her who anointed Christ's feet with the costly ointment and with the Mary present at the crucifixion; with the stoutly affirmed, and just so stoutly denied voyage of M. M. to Provence and her life of thirty years in the wilderness, this study has nothing to do. The prevalent Catholic view may be found in the *Acta Sanctorum (Bollandistorum)* of July 22, vol. V. 218 ff. A concise life of M. M. by *Ludwig Clarus*, Regensburg 1852, is based on the able and compendious work of the Abbé M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits sur l'apostolat de Ste. M. M. en Provence etc.* Paris 1847 and 1865.

On pages 155-6 of vol. 31 of the *Series Latina* of Migne's *Patrologia*, Paris 1867, occurs the following entry for the year 43 A. D. in the *Chronicon* of Flavius Lucius Dexter, a Spanish ecclesiastic, who was alive between 368 and 430: "Hierosolymitani Judaei vehementer infensi Beato Lazaro, Magdalenaë, Marthae, Marcellae, Maximino, Josepho ab Arimathia, nobili decurioni, et aliis plurimis; navi sine remigio velisque ac sine gubernatore eos imponunt et exulare mandant. Qui per varium mare divinitus delati ad Massiliensem portum incolumes appellunt."

Faillon, followed by Dr. Otto Knörk, cannot find any earlier reference than the life of M. M. set by him in the sixth, or possibly fifth, century, that is a hundred years later than the entry of Dex-

ter. The death of M. M. is also recorded by Dexter, to be found in the same volume of the *Patrologia* p. 255-6. The tradition would seem then to be established in the *fourth* century in Provence as well as in Spain.

The successor of the very brief "first life" cited by Faillon, is a longer anonymous one, printed on pages (columns) 437-446 of volume II of the *Monuments etc.* This would seem to be a source of the work by Rabanus Maurus (776-856) "*de vita beatae M. M. et sororis eius sanctae Marthae*" which may be found in vol. 112 *S. L.* of Migne's *Patrologia* and in Faillon II, col. 453 ff. As this author attempted to sift out the many interpolations which he regarded as spurious, it is the nearest approach to a plausible account, fortified by apparent erudition and criticism, to be found before the work of Launoy.

Next in point of time comes the life by Saint Odon, abbot of Cluny in the tenth century, followed by that of one Josbertus, an unknown author of the tenth century, who concludes his account with a "*stupendum miraculum*," the origin of our composition. See Faillon II. 575 ff. Unfortunately he does not print the story of the Prince of Marseilles. This is the oldest extant account of the conversion of the prince of Marseilles, who appears there merely as a rich private citizen. This story gained wide currency at the time of the Crusades and later and may be found in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais (1240-50), in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine (1260-76), in the *Speculum Sanctorale* of Bernardus Guidonis (13th cent.) and in a life of M. M. by Cardinal Cabassole (13th c.) as well as in countless poetical versions in the popular tongues. As the first of these authors claims in the 107th chapter of the *Sp. H.* to have derived his material from the *Gesta Marthae* and the *Gesta Mariae Magdalenaë*, these must be the titles of compilations of the various lives of these two sister saints, the one by a pretended Synthex, the latter by an unknown hand. This unknown "editor" is thought by Faillon, Clarus and Knörk to have lived during the early Crusades when the custom of wearing the cross as the emblem of those who fought for the Holy Sepulchre attained its chief significance. (See lines 438-9 and 590-2 of the text.) The *Gesta* as reported by Vincent and Jacob contain the final form of the medieval life of M. M., although they vary slightly in different copies of perhaps

the original MS. Though Dr. Pierce Butler in his dissertation *Legenda Aurea--Légende Dorée--Golden Legend*, Baltimore 1899, page 7, is undoubtedly right in saying that the *Legenda Aurea* is largely compiled from Vincent's older *Sp. H.*, it is just as certain that Jacob may have used copies of those same *Gesta* used by Vincent. From internal evidence, I think he did. And even though the thesis can be maintained that nearly all the extant "belletristic" versions of the life of M. M. are derivable from either the *Sp. H.* or the *L. A.*, it is not positive that these authors may not have used other versions of the same lost original. It is certain, that the poem of Guillaume le Clerc of Normandie antedates either of these sources. A similar idea is expressed by Dr. C. Horstmann on p. VIII of the Introduction to the *Early South English Legendary or Lives of Saints*.

Vincent does not mention Cedonius (John IX. 1, f); Jacob does. Neither is quoted in Migne's *Patrologia*, but in his commentary on Dexter's *Chronicon*, P. Franciscus Bevarius (17th century) cites Petrus de Natalibus (bishop of Equilio in the 14th century) in substantiation of Dexter's entries. Migne 31, p. 155. He also says: *His addit Celidonium, seu Cedonium*. P. de N. *Cat. Sanct.* cap. 102. This seems to indicate that Vincent and Jacobus are not regarded as ecclesiastical authorities while Petrus de N. is. Did he perhaps use better authorities than the former?

The final content of the story is to be found in both Vincent de Beauvais and Jacobus a Voragine. Later poets may expand a *praedicans* into a long winded sermon as does ours of Helm. Codex 894, or keep the *pelegrin* weeping and wailing *ad nauseam* as does he of Berliner Codex 245, nothing is added to increase or even vary the tradition. In the *Speculum Historiale* the essential part of the story is to be found in book X, chapter 94 the last sentence, continuing through to chapter 99, excepting a few lines at the end of chapter 98. In Graesse's Breslau edition of 1890 of the *Legenda Aurea* the corresponding story is on pages 409-413. While agreeing almost to identity of language the following discrepancies must be noted. The passages to be cited from the *Sp. H.* either do not occur in the *L. A.* or else are materially different from the corresponding.

1) On arriving at Massilia: *Et egredientes navim villam ingressi sunt* .

2) *terrae lapidibus accubantes, jejunes et orationibus insistentes pernoctaverunt.*

3) *erat enim non modico dolore afflictus, eo quod spe prolis diu desideratae frustaretur.*

4) *itaque Matrōna praepotens compati coepit sanctorum inopiae, ac per satellites fidos et familiares iussit eis victualia erogari occulte, timebat enim viri sui saevitiam et gentium vicinarum perfidiam.*

5) *de Christi pauperibus reficiendis et operiendis* (last apparition of M. M. before the princess).

6) *Itaque beneficiamus eis et rogemus M. M. Deum suum orare ut possim concipere* (advice of princess to husband).

7) *Acquievit ergo vir utili consilio mulieris.*

8) Note the different ideas in *Sp. H.*: *sanctos Dei praecipiens hospitari et in omnibus his necessaria erogari et sic factum est* and *L. A.*: *Quapropter ipsos hospitio receperunt* (i. e. the royal couple) *et iis necessaria ministraverunt.*

9) *(-concepisse) et gavisus sunt universi.*

10) *et femineo more nitens in vetitum; but L. A. nec mutans femina morem.*

11) *sufficienter illos edocens quod duce Petro Apostolorum principi omnia quae praedixerat eis de Domino Jesu in notitiam cederent.*

12) *Nautae carbasa ventis exponunt.*

13) *Inhumanum est enim corpus semivivum fluctibus injicere et absonum in tam tenero puerulo tam subitum homicidium perpetrare.*

14) *Tunc autem remis incumbunt et iter incognitum accipiunt et cum impellente vento gratiore navis optato portui applicuisset, dato nauulo peregrinus egressus est. Emensoque aliquot dierum itinere ---.*

15) *(Petrus-- signo viso crucis--) gavisus est.*

16) *Novit enim quod--- verbum Dei praedicatum est.*

17) *Ego sum Petrus eroque dux et comes tuus.*

18) *ille accepta B. Petri licentia (repatriare curavit).*

19) *et more catulino etc.*

20) *pannosque quos superposuerat corpori adeo recentes atque fragrantas ac si in pertica vel in arca ex die qua ibi fuerant positi diligenter fuissent collocati, consideravit etiam ita coloratum cor-*

pus matronae sicut fuerat cum vegetaretur spiraculo vitae: quo viso gavisus est et procidens in terram gratias egit Domino Jesu Christo et B. Mariae Mag. cuius meritis ac precibus talia sibi noverat contigisse.

21) *O beata M. M. magnus est ille quem in terris praedicas Deus tuus, credimus et confitemur quod praeter ipsum non est alius deus; ecce nos et omnia nostra in manu tua sumus, fiat de omnibus sicut vis et narrantes astantibus omnia quae sibi acciderant.*

Of these citations the Low German author has omitted or condensed numbers 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20. All the others are accounted for.

Of the *Legenda Aurea* the following passages do not occur in the *Speculum Historiale*:

1) The names Lazarus, Martilla and CEDONIUS.

2) *Nec mirum si os quod tam pia et tam pulchra pedibus salvatoris infixerat oscula cacteris amplius verbi Dei spiraret odorem.*" (G. 53-7.) (H. 229-32.)

3) *membrum patris tuae Satanae.*

4) *Cum autem quadam die M. M. praedicaret praedictus princeps dixit ei, putas posse defendere fidem quam praedicas? Cui illa equidem illam defendere praesto sum utpote quotidianis miraculis et praedicatione magistri mei Petri qui Romae praesidet roboratum. Cui princeps cum conjuge dixit, ecce dictis tuis per omnia obtemperare parati sumus si a Deo quem praedicas nobis filium impetrabis... Propter hoc inquit M. non remanebit... Tunc b. M. pro ipsis exoravit ut sibi filium concedere dignaretur... Cuius preces Dominus exaudivit et Matrona illa concepit.*

5) *jamque unius diei et noctis cursu consummato (coepit nimum mare intumescere).*

6) *Quid faciet peregrinus et cum uxorem mortuam videat et puerum vagientem querulis vocibus matris mammam appetentem? Lamentabatur plurimum et dicebat: Heu miser! quid facies? Filium habere desiderasti et matrem cum filio perdidisti.*

7) *utilius esse credidit corpus et puerulum illuc deferri quam marinis beluis ad devorandum dari.*

8) *si potens es memor sis animae matris et prece tua misereatur ne pereat natus.*

9) *et beatum Lazarum in eiusdem civitatis episcopum unani-*

miter elegerunt. Three lines further: *etiam beatus Maximinus in episcopum est ordinatus.*

3, 4 down to *Cui*, 7 and 9 are wanting in H. 894, as also the name "Cedonius." 2, 5, 6, and 8 occur substantially in Guillaume le Clerc's poem. 4 from *Cui* on is the same as the source of lines 381-6 in H. 894. Evidently the *Speculum H.* has more claims to be regarded as the source of H. 894 than has the *L. A.*

Considering the intimate relations between Germany and Italy even after the death of Frederick II and during the Interregnum it was but natural that there should be a lively interchange of ideas between the two countries in consequence of which the *Legenda Aurea* was early introduced into Germany and obtained a wide vogue. From it was derived *das altdeutsche Passional*, written about 1275. The story of the "*Vurste von Marsilien*" can be found there on pages 374-391 of the edition of K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt a. M. 1857. Its predecessor, perhaps by the same author as the *Passional*, *das Veterbuch*, is not printed, with the exception of a few parts and those unfortunately not containing the legend of Mary Magdalen. See *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* L.XIX, 69 and 71-146.

Nearly contemporaneous with these is a ponderous *Alemannic* poem, Vienna Codex 2841, containing upwards of 6000 lines, ending with the uncompleted story of the prince or "Künc" von Zicilie, written by a clergyman who wishes to banish the *Ritterpoesie* by the rivalry of such superior religious poetry as his own. It is an attempt to versify whatever of the entire Bible has a bearing on Christian faith and it is to this I would ascribe the occasionally rather free treatment of the probable source: the *Legenda Aurea*.

There is only one other German poem that has any possible connexion with H. 894, and that is the Berliner Codex 245, written in a Middle German dialect and based, if we may believe the author, on a Latin original according to line 74: "*Al ich sy in latin geschryben fant.*" This work is in my opinion derived from the *Sp. H.*

There remains one more possible source of H. 894. When we consider the immense debt of Germany to France whose literary treasures she so freely exploited to build up her epics and romances of the M. H. G. period, the conclusion is not unwarranted that Low Germany, whose only great work, *Reinke Vos*, came from

France by way of the Netherlands, should also look to the land of greater culture for her models. One of the earliest, if not the earliest extant poetical work treating our theme, is that of Guillaume, surnamed le Clerc de Normandie, a work treating only the story of the prince of Marseilles and composed before the completion, probably before the beginning, of the *Speculum Historiale*. As the only extant poem treating exactly the same subject matter as the H. 894 and *no more*, it demands special attention. It can be found in the fourth volume of *Romanische Studien* pages 493-539, accompanied by a historical study by Dr. Adolph Schmidt.

Provence, which claims to hold the relics of M. M. in the church of St. Maximinus at St. Maximin, the seat of her supposed labors, the witness of her miracles, has but little to show in a literary way. One small poem of a lyrical nature, for which the natives claim an absurd antiquity, and some fragmentary translations from the *Legenda Aurea* form the total. See C. Chabaneau, *Ste. M. Madeleine dans la lit. provençale*. *Revue des Langues Romanes* IX 105 f., X. 53 f., XI 105 f. and 157 f. XII 105 f.

The many mysteries and other poetical versions written in England had no influence beyond their island. At any rate I have failed to find any connexion between them and H. 894. I add their titles in the bibliography, as far as consulted by me.

It will never be known who invented the story of the prince of Marseilles, or whatever his title was in the various versions. The invasions of the Saracens in the 8th century destroyed temporarily everything Christian in Provence. The supposed relics of the saints, including those of Mary Magdalen, were hidden for a more propitious time. After the withdrawal of the enemy the tradition commenced to assert itself. Stories grew up of miraculous rescues, as was natural along the Rhone and the Mediterranean. Then with the approach of the year 1000 and the expected end of the world, came a tide of pilgrimage to the Holy Land by land and more especially by sea. Some noble or prince may have made a pilgrimage with his wife to the Holy Land and have lost her in childbirth at sea. He may have been forced to leave her on some rocky isle. This was basis enough for the story. Then an element was added: the child was saved and tended by some woman and restored to the father later. Next, the story of the raising of

Lazarus from the dead suggested the possibility of raising the wife of the prince. But Mary Magdalen was, according to Pope Gregory the Great, the sister of Lazarus and the patron Saint of Provence. She, then, is the one to save the mother and child. She it was who induced the prince to go on his pilgrimage. This much of the story may have been completed in the neighborhood of 1000, but the reference to the use of the cross as the emblem of faith is said by Faillon, Knörk and Clarus to indicate a composition at the time of or after the beginning of the first Crusade. Then another *motif* was added to explain why the prince went to the Holy Land at the instigation of M. M. It was to procure an heir as the price for his adoption of Christianity. Such a *motif* was common enough in early feudal times.

That the spirit of a mortal should leave the body and return to the earth as a *spirit* is, of course, of immeasurable antiquity, but that the soul should leave the body and then return to it, is, I think, connected only with the raising of Lazarus and the Ascension of Christ. So the passing of the spirit of the princess into Palestine along with her husband is due to a Christian source.

Faillon is probably right II, 97 ff. in ascribing the invention of this story to some troubadour of perhaps the eleventh century. Whether the story is more "*insensé*" than the "well attested" Catholic miracle he cites as a positive fact, isn't so certain. It is a fairy story and interesting as part of the Christian mythology of the middle ages. In fact, Dr. Adolph Schmidt in *Romanische Studien* IV, 540 sees a continuance of the old classical stories of Leucothea, a sea goddess, a belief in whom has persisted in Provence down to the time of the composition of our story. Compare L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, Berlin 1894, pp. 601-5. Ino-Leucothea, the nurse of the infant Bacchus, was the universal Mediterranean patron deity of sailors. Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 479 ff., identifies her with the Roman Mater Matuta, the same as the Greek Eileithyia, by the latter of which names she was also honored at Massalia. This would account for her care of the child and mother on the "rocky isle" if we are justified in admitting the transference of her attributes to the Christian Maria Magdalena. This explanation is ingenious if not convincing.

Our poet's ignorance of the name Cedonius, the impression he gives of the *voluntary* departure by sea of M. M. and her com-

panions, the failure to mention the stop at Rome are reasons sufficient to preclude the possibility of his having used *Legenda Aurea*, the *Passional* or the *Alemannic* version.

What was his debt, if any, to the French version, written in the vicinity of 1200-1220, by Guillaume? Either this work or a translation of it must have been known to the Low German author.

Was B. 245 written before or shortly after H. 894? If written before, there is very little evidence of borrowed lines or expressions in H. 894. Note the following:

H. 49. *Do se quemen an de have.*

B. 136. *Da sy quomen in dy habe.*

H. 66. *Ere kussen dat weren stein.*

B. 153. *Ir kossen woren steyne.*

H. 71. *Des morgens do de dach erschein.*

B. 160. *Des morgens da der dag uff brach.*

H. 249. *Dat de godes knechte dar ute legen.*

B. 437. *Daz nu das godes folg da liget.*

H. 271-2. *Er antlat bernde an der stunt Also al dat hus wer entczunt.*

B. 472-3. *Also dat hus da zu stunt Mit fuer wer gar enzunt.*

H. 273-4. *Unde reip vil luder stemme: Slepestu vil grimme?*

B. 478-9 *Mit ener luden stimme Sprach sie in zornes grimme.*

Of these the most important is H. 66: B. 153 not found in G. or L. A. but in Sp. H.

A further comparison of H. and B. reveals the following interesting results:

B. strangely inserts Marcus where H. has Lazarus.

B. has Marcillia, H. has Marcellina.

B. lets the company go outside of the city to sleep on the stones under the sky. H. says 57: *Ein dorp seg'n se do*, and 63-4 *Do segen se ein bedhus stan, Darinne bleven se de nacht.*

Sp. H. has *villam* for *dorp* while G. and L. A. do not mention their going without the city.

B. 156-9 and H. 68-9 agree with Sp. H. in having the exiles spend the night in prayer.

Sp. H. —*et orationibus insistentes pernoctaverunt.* (Not in L. A.)

H. *Vil wenic se slepen. Se bededen unde repen Got an bet an den lichten dach. Erer ninein nenes slapes plach.*

B. Alsus ir iechlicher det Gein hiemelrich sin gebet Vil fleiszlichen durch dy nacht Mit demut und myt andacht.

The sermon of M. M. in *H.* 131-216, to which the corresponding *B.* 323-78 seem to be a supplement, may be an attempt to surpass a predecessor.

B. 391-402 agree with *H.* 233-7 and *G.* 70-6 and *Sp.H.* in having the princess of Marseilles secretly send provisions to M. M. and her companions. This is not in *L. A.* or the *Passional*.

The motive in *B.*, *G.* and *Sp.H.* is pity, in *H.* the shrewd thought that a child may be the reward if M. M. really does preach the truth.

For *Sp. H.* see "4" on page 136. For *H.* 233-7, see the text.

G. Tant que la femme a cet riche home

La entendi mout doucement

E si li fist priveement Par serjanz ou mout si fiout

Enveier de ce que ele out A lui e a sa compaignie

Si que sis sires n'en sout mie.

B. Des herren frauwe da zu stunt Von rechter erberme wart enczunt.

So ir hercze jamer dut Durch Maria armut,

Daz sy und ir geselschaft Waren also kommerhafft,

Daz sy von manichem lyden not, Eym knechte sy gebot

Dem sy vor den ander [n] bas Getruweten daz er schuffe das

Daz er dy elendigen schar Bewart an der lip nar.

L. A. calls the princess "*membrum patris tui Satanae*," an expression foreign to *H.*, *B.* and *Sp. H.*

B. 564-7, *H.* 298-301 and *G.* 125-8 agree with *Sp. H.* (see 6 on p. 136) in having the princess on awakening suggest the possibility of M. M.'s interceding with Christ to procure them a child. This is not found in *L. A.*, the *Passional* or *W.* 2841.

B. Daz sy iren got da bede Daz er uns genode dede

Daz er von sinen crefften uns Beroden wolde eines sons.

G. Faines lor bien, se m'en creez E la dame requerez

Que ele prit a son seignor Que il nos doinst aucun enfant.

B., *H.*, *G.* and *Sp. H.* inform us that M. M. and her friends find lodging in the city at the command of the prince whereas the prince himself is their host according to *L. A.*, *W.* 2841 and *P.* See *H.* 303-6, *Sp. H.* 8 on p. 136.

G. 139. *Tote la vile assembler fist E si lor comanda e dist*

Qu'il receussent cele gent

Bon ostel lor a fait trover E si lor fist aministrer.

*W. 2841. Sie gabent an dem morgen [Die] den ellenden herberge
Unde dan an dem berge. Klaiden und spise.*

*P. p. 377 l. 74. do wart von sime gebote zu im die heilige rote
mit aller fruntschaft geladen Er besserte in gar iren schaden
swaz si vor ungemaches liden unde wolde si dar an bevriden
daz si alda mit im bliben.*

The visit of the royal couple to M. M. described in *H.* 309-82, in *G.* 147-8, *B.* and *L.A.* is wanting from the *Sp.H.* though the following words at the end of chapter 95 show that something has been omitted from the account. Perhaps *G.* contains here the original since both it and *H.* describe the prince as kneeling to M. M. of which no mention is made elsewhere.

G. 147-8. E la Magdaleine preierent E devant lui s'agenoillierent.

H. 312-3. Nicht lenger se do stunden; Se velen vor ere vote.

Strangely enough *B.* 645-9 corresponds with *G.* 152-3 in language not found in *H.*, *Sp. H.*, or *L. A.*

*G. E li prodhome qui la requis Jut od sa femme e la hanta
Si qu'en poi d'ore l'enceinte a.*

*B. Sy zworen des drostes geil, Des crsten nachtes er sin heil
Versuchte noch gewonheit.*

*Nyt lenger iz dar noch wart gespart Dy frauwe eines kindes
swanger wart.*

Though *B.* does not contain the thought of *H.* 386-94 and *G.* 158-161 yet *B.* 664-5 recall *H.* 397-8.

B. Und wil myt augen ansehen We dysz alles ist geschchen.

H. Ik wil dat wunder beschin Alse dat is geschchin.

The *femineo more nitens in vetitum* of *Sp.H.* seems to have been the original of *B.* 688-91, rather than *L. A.* (see 10 p. 136) *Sp. H.* *G.* and *H.* only, omit the idea.

H. makes no mention of the *callidus tentator* of *Sp. H.* as does *B.* while *G.* 206 uses *maufe* for the same; nor does *B.* mention these as the first crosses, conformably with *G.* and *H.*

*G. 200-2 E la corteise Magdaleine Li done la croiz premereine
Que onques portast pclerin.*

*H. Do hefte se en twe crutze up er weit' De ersten de gi worden
upgeneit.*

G. 218. Et firent les veiles drecier—H. 444—Sp.H. Nautae carbasa

ventis exponunt; not in *L. A.* and *P.*

B. 741-2 and *H.* 435-6 suggest *Sp.H.* (see II p.136). This is lacking, however, from *G.* Either *Sp. H.* or *B.* is the source, then, of the passage in *H.* It is lacking from *L. A.* and *P.*

B. *Ir findet ein man zu hant Der Symon Peter ist genant.
Er saget üch alle dy geschicht etc.*

H. *Dar wert dek Peter bekant. Deme segge ek sende dek dar.
De betekent dek al de wunder gar.*

G. B. and *H.* agree to some extent in the description of the start, though *G.* and *L.A.* agree upon their having proceeded one day and one night, while the time is not so limited in *B.* and *H.*

B. 767. *Sy furen harte unde swinde Mit gudem segelwinde
UNDER dag UNDER nacht.....*

In der kurczen wyle Machte lange Myle.

H. 445. *Ein WESTERwint quam do
De se snelle brachte BI dage unde BI nachte
Verne uf dat breide* mer.*

G. 216. *Quant deus lor dona vent del NORT
Esquiperent li marinier.*

223. *UN jour e UNE nuit siglerent Qu'onques nule ore ne finerent.
A mout grant joie s'en aloent E a pleine veüz sigloent.*

P. p. 379, l 19 f. *in quam von winde ein ebene bur
die in die segele da sluc unde daz schif so hin truc
vaste uf die GERUME* se.*

Enough has been shown to prove conclusively that *H.*, *B.*, *G.* and *Sp. H.* belong to one well defined group over against another to which belong *L. A.* and *P.*, perhaps also *W.* 2841. Probably *G.* was known to the author of *B.* also. A comparison of *B.* 772-4 with *G.* 247-8 reveals an idea foreign to *H.*, *P.* and *W.*, but an indication of *B.*'s possible indebtedness to *G.*:

B. *Nu enruchte ich wer DER were. .Der dysz selbe mere
Üch furbas MECHTE KUNT.*

G. *Reine de Misericorde! Qui est CIL qui cest pas RECORDE--?*

The first presumable indebtedness to *P.* or *L. A.* occurs in *H.* 461-6 with which *B.* 818-24 correspond.

B. *Er sprach: auwe dieser not
Und dieser jemerlichen fart Daz ich ye kindes vater wart!
Auwe herczelybes wyß, Wy han ich dynen cloren lyp
Sus jemerliche verkeret nu Und auch daz kind alzu fru!*

(Compare text for *H.* 461-6.)

G. has only l. 302: *Od lui estuet crier e braire*, while *L. A.* has 6 on p. 137. In *G.* l. 306 there is, perhaps, an indication of the disgust with life which is seen in the *Passional* p. 379 l. 47-50.

Owe ich arm man er rief,

*Was sal mir turbaz der lib wande ich verlorn habe das wib
Und darzu min liebes kint?*

Nevertheless the speeches in *B.* and *H.* are so natural, even necessary, in their place that they would not have strained the intellect of the two "poets" even if they had never seen a precedent.

Great freedom is shown by all the poets in the description of the father's entreaties to the mariners to save his child. *B.*, *P.* and *L. A.* agree in their equivalents for the *quam marinis beluis ad devorandum dari* of the last. This merely shows that *Sp. H.* was not the only source of *B.*

While *G.* 387-406 agree with *H.* 516-35 and both with *Sp. H.*, *B.* 930-54 agrees more with the version of *P.* p. 380 l. 40 f. Still *H.* 532-5 may have some connexion with *B.* 949-52, though the latter text is corrupt.

*B. Ob du syner gotlichen list So here und GEWELDIG bist,
Das sin gotliche crafft Weldet alle meisterschaftt, etc.*

H. BIDDE dinen heren Crist Icht he so WELDICH ist
Dat he dernere dat kindelin, etc.*

So *G.* 402-3. *E au vostre deu e a vos, Que tenez si a VERTUOS
Comant jeo le cors e l'enfant.*

L. A. — si POTENS es, memor sis animae matris et PRECE tua
misereatur ne pereat natus.*

The last citation is undoubtedly responsible for *H.* 532-5, whether it was taken from the *L. A.* or from some other source. It does not occur in *Sp. H.* The *P.* does not make it apparent that *M. M.* is to intercede with God by her prayers, so that is excluded.

L. A., *Sp. H.*, *P.* and *B.* have nothing to correspond with *H.* 544-73 for which there is a counterpart in

G. 413 f. *Ici endreit ne voil jeo mie Trespasser que jeo ne vos die
De la tres douce pecchieresse Que en terre ert preechieresse.*

E que el mout devint norrice E a l'enfant fist tel office

Le cors garda que ert au mont Qu'il ne secha ne ne porri

E si mieus l'enfant a norri

Que s'il eust plusors norrices.

*La dame ne fu adesse Ne de pluie ne de rosee
 Ne de chalor ne de freidure
 E sachiez que li espiriz, Des que il fu del cors partiz,
 Ala en son pelerinage Ou la dame aveit encorage,
 Pres de son seigneur se teneit Mais nus home veoir la poeit*

The description of the appearance of the princess, when found on the isle after the return of the prince from Palestine, is elaborate in *B.*, *G.*, *H.* and *Sp.H.*, but wanting from *L.* *A.* and *P.* See 20 on p. 136 for *Sp. H.*; the text for *H.* 693-9.

B. diverging somewhat, reads:

Da funden sy dy frauwen

*An lybe und an gewande (H. 696) Daz man keyner hande
 Ergerunge mochte spehen Daz man konde dar an gesehen,
 Alz diure alz umb ein hor, Sy was doch me wan czwey jar
 In regen und in winde Da gelegen mit irem kinde
 An allerslacht husgemach.*

G. 582.

Sa moillier qu'il out tant amee

*Trova li prodhom tote entiere, E FRESCHE e rovente la chiere
 E li cors autretel estout Com quant la vie i habitout
 E les dras erent bien olanz S'il eussent este pendanz
 A une perche* en bon essor, Si oleient il mieus encor.*

The coincidence of *FRESCHE* in *G.* 584 with *H.* 697 *VRISCH* may be more than accidental.

H. and *B.* look alike in these quotations:

H. 726-7. *Dar en twivele ek nicht an, Wultu it dot schut wol
 sunder wan.*

B. 1403-4 *Ich weisz wol und czweyffel nt, Waz ir gevit daz
 geschit.*

B., *G.* and *Sp.H.* do not mention the election of Lazarus as bishop of Marseilles, though this is found in *L.* *A.* and the *P.* *H.* 792 says *Tho bisschoppe over dat lant* where *tho* stands for *twe(ne)*, referring to the assignment of Lazarus to Marseilles and of Maximinus to Aix as we learn from the *L.* *A.*

It is clear from the preceding study that the *Legenda Aurea* does not account for all of *H.* 894. Neither does the *Passional* or *W.* 2841. All three agree in varying from *H.* 894 in important details already noted. Consequently they must all and individually be rejected as possible sources. In fact I would regard them

**Sp. H.* has *PERTICA*, *peg* in a closet or closet itself, where *G.* has *PERCHE*, *peach tree* from Latin *PERSICA*.

as versions of what may be called the "Southern tradition." Although I have cited sparingly from *W.* 2841, it is important to note again that there is a striking discrepancy in language and divergence of treatment, to an extent at times almost to veil its origin, either the *Legenda Aurea* or the older source of the same. The expulsion of the apostles without *Marner*, the sport of the waves until driven to Marseilles, the mention of *Cenobius* (*Cedonius*), the mentioning of the prince of Marseilles as *Künc von Zicilie*, the omission of the secret kindness of the princess to the apostles, show clearly that the Alemannic version was never seen by the author of *H.* 894. Compare *H.* 894 lines 245 to 256 with the corresponding speech of M. M. to the princess in *W.*

*Nu wach! frow wach! Wie listu so gemacht
 Uf warmen betten linden Und du der gottes kinden
 Gedenket also klain? Edlu frow ich maine
 Dü ellendiu bilgrin. Die la dir noch bevolhen sin
 Und laz sie verderben nüt. Den armen lüten rich hüt
 Underwilen dine hant! Wibes güti bis (wis?) ermant
 Und edler frowen miltekeit. Sit guter adel wirdikait.
 Raid dich und dinen man (Man sicht () ander lüt han,)
 Och dinen lieben heren bitten Nach tugenthafter frowen sitten,
 Daz er sich well erbarmen Uber die versmahten armen.
 Des soltu nit vergessen. Si willenlich gesessen
 Sin in die grösten armut....
 Ir muget in liht helfen Daz man git iuweren welfen
 Als ich es han befunden
 Die armen lüt (es) tröstet wol, etc.*

Especially to be noted is the contrast between the imperious demand of M. M. in *H.* 894 and the cringing, lickspittle tone of the same in the Alemannic version. The imperial power of Germany must have compelled the respect of the clergy at the time of the composition of *W.*, 2841. On p. 104b M. M. speaks of *Petrus ze ROM, ain bapst guot*; again fol. 108 we read: *Der her? kam ze ROM (al)sus. Im gieng engegen Petrus.* Fol. 122: *Ich wil gen ROM keren hin.* In *L. A.* we read: *Petri qui Romae praesidet.* There is no mention of *Rom* in *H.*, *G.*, *B.* and *Sp. H.*

The question of the prince in *L. A.*: *putas defendere fidem quam praedicas* reads in *W.*: *Machtu den gelouben din Uns mit beward machen schin?* but is wanting from *Sp. H.* and *H.* and

shows different sources.

There are many liberties giving play to the fancy (?) of the Alemannic poet, especially in the dialogues, but there is little else essentially differing from the traditional outline of the story. The fragment breaks off before the prince gets back to Marseilles.

Relation of *H.* 894 to G. LE CLERC'S poem.

These two poems agree absolutely in all essentials, though *H.* is anything but a translation of the French. In fact there are 352 lines in *H.* for which there is no approximate equivalent in *G.*, while there are 193 lines in *G.*, not found in *H.* Roughly speaking, 448 lines of *H.* correspond closely with 517 of *G.* Besides, these are the only poems treating the same subject independently of other episodes. Neither knows *Cedonius'* name; neither hints at an enforced voyage without helm or sails, in fact the reverse; both mention the secret sending by the princess of provisions to the apostles; both infer that the prince ordered his subjects to entertain the followers of M. M. and herself; both have M. M. send the prince to St. Peter in *Palestine*, not to *Rome*. In all these points they agree with Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*. As *G.* is older than *Sp. H.*, it is to be assumed that both are derived from a common Latin original.

Many of the divergencies of *H.* from *G.* can be accounted for, others must be noted.

G. does not mention the commendation of M. M. to Maximinus by Peter, thus differing from all the accounts.

H. 37-47, the description of the peaceful departure from the Holy Land, is a pure invention of the *L. G.* poet and in no wise at variance with *G.* The same is true of *H.* 49-56.

H. 57. *Ein dorp segen se do* could be explained only by the *villam ingressi sunt* of *Sp. H.*

G. has no equivalent for *H.* 65-70, a poetical paraphrase of *Sp. H.* agreeing also with *B.* 150-159.

H. 77-80 and 88-94 may be ascribed to the fancy of the *L. G.* poet.

H.'s sermon of M. M. in lines 111-232 is the poet's own invention. Here *G.* reads: 69. *E preecha, ceo est la some*, while *Sp. H.* says: *Christum praedicavit*. As mentioned before it would seem as if *H.* had tried to outdo *B.* 323-78.

H. 238-40 give an idea peculiar to their author but may have

been suggested by *G.*, *Sp. H.* and *B.* as an additional motive.

H. 314-72 have a slight counterpart in *B.* 629-43, but nowhere else..

G. has no equivalent for *H.* 430-7, *Sp. H.* and *B.* 740-7 (partly quoted on page 144.)

G. and *H.* agree in the following lines:

H. 443. *To schepe re sek bereiden.* *G.* 209. *Quant il furent*

APPARILLIE.

Ere segel wunden se ho. 214. *Lors sont en une nef entre*

*Ein WESTER*wint quam do.* 216. *Quant deus lor dona vent del*

NORT.*

218. *E firent les veiles drecier*

H. 453-79, the substance of the prince's plaint at the death of his wife, are entirely independent, the invention of the poet. In their place *G.* describes the actions of the child and the grief of the father driven almost to suicide, just as independently. Neither is inconsistent with *Sp. H.*

H. 487-8 are the utterance, in the first person, of the thought of *G.* 364-7.

The lines 508-11 are not in *G.* nor anywhere else. Line 510: *Dat wer ein grot affenspel*, is rather curious because of the *H. G.* word *affenspel*.

G. 348-50 are not in *H.* but correspond with a passage in *B.* and one in *Sp. H.*, indicating, however, the close connection of the three works which seem to have influenced *H.* For *Sp. H.* see 13 on p. 136

G. *Ceo sereit trop grant felonie*

E HOMICIDE en seriez Se en eve vif le getez.

(*homicidium* in *Sp. H.*)

B. *Wer sy worff über bort Der beget an ir eynen mort*

Daz wer nu UNMENSCHLICHEN. (*INHUMANUM* in *Sp. H.*)

The absence of equivalents for *H.* 536-9, 546-8, 554, 561 and 582-5 is unimportant as there is no question of a close adaptation.

In the meeting between Peter and the prince there is great difference of diction though the thought remains essentially the same.

Note the difference in the thought of *G.* and *H.*:

H. 653-4. *Enes dages sunte Peter sprach, Geselle, du schalt to lande varen.*

G. 526-7. *Tant que li a congie requis. E que Saint Pierre li otrEIC.*

Here *B.* and *G.* agree with *Sp. H.*

Then follows in *H.* a number of unimportant lines here and there, not affecting the general content and not requiring special consideration.

On the other hand the following lines in *G.* are more or less wanting from *H.*: *G.* 26. *La mer de Grece trespasserent.* In this connexion note also *G.* 219: *E quant il furent au PALACRE,* and 220: *Si s'en alerent dreit vers ACRE.* Guillaume evidently knew geography.

G. 41-8 are an original extension of a *praedicavit* in the Latin source.

G. 130-6 are due to the poet.

G. 152-3 are found only in *B.* as before noted.

G. 161, 183-6, 209-22 and 224-9 in part, are lines of little importance as bearing on the question of source.

The description of the storm from 236-321 is widely different from the corresponding part in *H.* and indicates that the Norman was familiar with the sea.

G. 360-6 differ only in form of expression from *H.* 483-8. So with *G.* 411-6.

G. 420-30 are the poet's own reflexions and have but a slight equivalent in *H.* 546-8. Of such a nature are *G.* 433-50, 455-8, 499-500, 505-14, 520, 532-7, 548-9, 560, 578-81, 593-5, 598-600, 605-6, 617-21, 629, 640, 663-71, 688-90.

St. Peter's joy at seeing the cross and his desire to comfort the pilgrim are not in *H.* See *G.* 477-82.

G. 642-60 are important enough to cause surprise that they have no equivalent in *H.*, the poet of which evidently did not read them. They are the natural outburst of the prince's gratitude to M. M. for saving his wife, and the expression of his faith.

G. 675-9 tell us that the prince must hunt up M. M., while in *H.* she is apparently at the landing-place with a *micel her.*

Like the *Speculum Historiale*, *G.* 693-710 mention the destruction of the heathen temple and the building of churches. The poem concludes with a religious formula.

If the poems are widely different in many parts, still there are passages in *H.* that could be rough translations of *G.* Several quotations illustrate this:

*H. 1. Nach unses heren himmel- G. 1. Apres ceo que nostre seig-
 wart nor
 Dat gesinde gar vorsendet wart, Jesus Christ le veir sauveor
 De sine jungern waren Fu relevez de mort a vie
 Wenten se musten openbaren. E si fu de la compagnie
 Den luden over alle de lant, etc. Parti e la desus monte

 Li apostre se departirent
 Qui plusors terres convertirent.*

*H. 26. Unde de gude Macellina G. 15. E la cortese Marcilla
 De vor alle deme volke sprach Qui la bele parole dist
 Do se unsen hern predigen sach: Quant el benei Jesus Crist,
 'De buk is salich mach men wol E la ventre qui la porta
 sagen E la mamele qu'il tetta.
 De dek to disser werlde heft
 gedragen,
 Darto de bruste gebenediet sint
 De du sogest du vil werde kint."*

The corresponding passage is wanting from *B.* and it is found in *L. A.* before the beginning of the story contained in our poem.

*H. 33. Noch was mit en dar ein man
 Des ek genomen nicht enkan
 De god, also ek lesen hore,
 Makede seinde hir bivore.*

*G. 13. E cil qu'aveugle out este ne
 Que deus aveit enlumine.
 This is the Cedonius of L. A.,
 P. and the Cenobius of W. 2841.*

*H. 229-32. Des ne wundert mek nicht ser
 Dat de munt hillich wer
 Redekraft unde sote
 De dar kuste unses heren vote.*

*G. 53. E ceo n'esteit mie merveille
 Se la bele boche vermeille,
 Qui les piez deu baisie aveit,
 Cortesement parler saveit.*

These passages would have corresponded in position but for the insertion in *H.* of an inordinately long sermon.

G. 70-6 has been quoted on page 142, as like *H. 233-7*.

G. 148 and *H. 313* have been already quoted p. 143. They have no parallel.

*H. 386. Se sprak: de dach mut inner
 salich sin.
 Dat Maria gi her quam.
 382. De god de uns dissegnade aut
 De is milde unde gut.*

*G. 158. "Moute est la Magdaleine sainte
 E li suens deus est glorios
 E sor toz autres vertuos."
 "Dame," fait il, "vos dites veir."*

G. 199-200 and *H. 438-9* have been previously cited. So also the coincidences in *G. 413-64* and *H. 544-73*.

Note H. 618-22 and G. 501-5.

*Icht din kint mit dinem wive
Ene wile rowet an dissen live
Gode is des nicht to vil,
He mach wol schicken wan he wil
Dat du se seist beide gesunt.*

H. 666-74

*Do sufte he vil ser
Und bat de schiplude an dem
mer*

*Dat se en vurden to hant
Mit ener barbzen an dat lant...
"Isset dat gi dit gerne dut
Iuwe lon dat schal werden gut."
Vil scher dat ward gedan,
Do velen se dat arbeit an
Und vorden ene an dat lant.*

*E se vostre moillier se dort
Jesus Crist qui por nos fu mort
Porra bien vostre grant tristece
Torne a joie e a lece
En poi d'ore quant li plaira.*

G. 553-9.

*Le maistre marinier apele
Le cuer li estreint e seile
Par grant don que il a promis,
Tant qu'il ont le batel hors mis.
Le sigle firent abaisser.
Des qu'au haut mont le fist
nagier
Si com cil preie li aveit.*

H. 693-9 and G. 582-7 have been cited.

From the preceding analysis, it is evident that the most probable ancestor of the Low German poem is the French poem of Guillaume le Clerc. The poems agree in treating the one story from the life of Mary Magdalen and treat it in the same way. They are both about the same length. *H.* is not a translation of *G.*, otherwise there would have been more than three fifths of each work agreeing in sense. If an adaptation, as it probably is, we can easily understand the divergence in treatment.

But there are many passages in *B.* strikingly similar to those in *H.* *H.* is not a translation of *B.*, the garrulous prolixity of which is in striking contrast with the almost laconic brevity of *H.*, a brevity from which the "sermons" form a natural departure. As the rise of M. L. G. literature meant merely the translation or adaptation of High German or Dutch originals it is exceedingly probable that the Low German author made a limited use of *B.* 245, at least of the first part up to the storm. But there is scarcely a trace of connection between *B.* and *H.* after the episode of the storm. But *B.* shows decided evidence of indebtedness to *G.*, though its most probable ancestor is the *Speculum Historiale*.

Again the close connection between *G.* and *Sp.H.* indicate that the same Latin MS. was the source of both. It is not impossible that a copy of that same original was also the origin of *B.*, especially since the latter agrees more with the *Legenda Aurea* in the latter

part and adds the story of M. M.'s thirty years in the wilderness.

Owing to the widespread popularity of Vincent de Beauvais' work, it undoubtedly has left its impress on *H.*, to what extent it is impossible to say. Whatever was evident has been previously noted.

The name of the Low German author will probably never be known. That he was a rimester by profession seems evident from his simple easy style as well as from his resourcefulness in riming since he uses High German rimes *ad libitum* when the Low German are not at hand or when he thinks it improves his verses. He had little of the divine *afflatus*, totally lacking in those graces of diction which were not denied to a Guillaume le Clerc. He was undoubtedly a monk and may have seen much of the world, if we are right in assuming that he knew French enough to adapt Guillaume's story. His language shows familiarity with High German to an extent rendering it difficult to prove our thesis that he was a Low German from some point on or near the line of Braunschweig through Halberstadt to Quedlinburg.

The date of the MS., 1449, gives at best a *terminus ad quem*, while we remain in the dark as to the *terminus a quo*. The MS. is probably not autographic, at least to judge from the extraordinary displacement of passages between lines 479 and 512. Only a scribe, and a very indifferent one, would have made such a botch.

PART III.

The most cursory glance at *H.* 894 is sufficient to decide its being written in the dialect of the so-called *mek-region*, but a further examination reveals a host of forms like *gât, stât, hât, gût*, bad rimes that would be good if High German, and many words that are H. G. rather than Low German property. If we were to consider the rimes alone, the only possible conclusion would be to assign the work a H. G. origin, more exactly, Middle German. Exclusive of the rimes the language is fairly pure M. L. G. with a slight intermixture of words such as *dic, dicke, kinder, dort*, etc., which though H. G. in origin had become common property and are to be found in nearly every L. G. work of any extended length.

The explanation for this phenomenon is authoritatively put by Behaghel in his *Rektoratsrede: Schriftsprache und Mundart*,

1896 pp. 7 and 8, as follows:

“Oder man hat die hd. Elemente durch die Annahme erklärt, dass das nd. Werk nach hd. Vorlage gedichtet sei. Nur sonderbar, dass trotz der Armuth der niederdeutschen und dem Reichthum der hd. Litteratur es in der Regel nicht gelingen will, die hd. Vorlage wirklich aufzufinden.—Es kann danach keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die nd. Dichtung in den meisten ihrer Glieder einen Einfluss der hd. Dichtersprache erfahren hat.”

While M. H. G. poets, even of the 14th and 15th centuries, are in the main consistent in their attempts to follow metrical rules, this is not the case with L. G. poets of the same period. In our legend are to be found all sorts of verses in the greatest confusion, one of the strongest evidences of L. G. authorship. As Karl Schröder says in his introduction to Reinke de Vos. Leip. 1872, p. XIII: “Schon von je hatte sich das Niederdeutsche grosse Reimfreiheiten erlaubt; die Schwankungen in den Sprachformen, überhaupt das Fehlen fester Regeln für die dichterische Sprache haben das Niederdeutsche nie zu der metrischen Vollendung gelangen lassen, die wir an den oberdeutschen Dichtungen der klassischen Periode bewundern.”

Low German was from the time of the Heliand only a dialect, seldom used by poets until the 14th century when efforts began to be made to rehabilitate this discredited tongue and naturally the first beginnings were translations from the aristocratic H. G. In his monograph *Die Reimvorreden des Sachsenspiegels*, Berlin 1899, p. 31, Gustav Roethe says: “Es ist gradezu die Frage, gab es im 13ten Jahrh. überhaupt eine mnd. poetische Litteratur? Dass die gesamte mnd. Dichtung bis tief in das Jahrh. der Reformation hinein eine nicht geringe Dosis hd. Reime mit sich schleppt, das hat über frühere Einzelbeobachtungen hinaus, kürzlich Behaghel in seinem klärenden, von woltuender Unbefangenheit getragenen Programm *Schriftsprache und Mundart* beinahe drastisch erwiesen.” Again p. 31 “(Gewisse stereotype hd. Reimverbindungen im 15ten Jahrh.)—sind der ererbte technisch versteinerte Rest aus einer Periode, wo man in Niederdeutschland nicht nur hd. reimte, sondern auch hd. schrieb, so gut es gehen wollte.”

Pages 34-5 he says: Die gesamte mnd. Dichtung des 13ten Jahrh. ist in hd. Sprache erhalten, oder mindestens in einer Sprache mit deutlichen hd. Spuren auch ausser dem Reim erhalten.

Es waren demnach im 12.-14. Jahrh. in Niederdeutschland beson-
 ders viele hd. Schreiber für Bücherschrift beschäftigt
 gewesen, oder aber man liess sich seine Hss. im hd. Süden an-
 fertigen; gleichviel, wie war ein solcher Zustand möglich, wenn
 das nd. Publikum nicht gerne und leicht hd. gelesen hätte?"—
 "da lag es nahe die heimischen hd. Dichtungen nd. umzuschrei-
 ben." See also Paul's Grundriss II. 1 p. 420 (1893), passim.
 Especially: "Das Hd., im besonderen das Fränkische, hat bis
 ins 14. Jahrh. eine gewisse vornehme Rolle in Niederdeutsch-
 land gespielt."

Consequently when we meet with rimes that are H. G., with
 H. G. riming with L. G. words even with different vowel quan-
 tities (common enough in H. G.) along with a vast preponder-
 ance of normal L. G. forms of the same words within the verse;
 we must regard these merely as belonging to the *technical vo-
 cabulary* of the *profession*. While the rimes of a M. H. G.
 poet give almost the sole reliable information as to his language,
 it seems to me, contrary to the usual view (illustrated on p.
 XXXVII of Leitzmann's *Die Fabeln Gerhard's von Minden*,
 1898) necessary, and if anything more convincing in the treatment
 of a M. L. G. work, to lay the greater stress on the language ex-
 clusive of the rime. The poet used his own dialect but employed
 H. G. rimes occasionally to give an impression of learning.
 There was no recognized literary Low German in the sense that
 there was a sort of literary High German, and while there were
 the great models of the thirteenth century from Upper Germany
 the low German had either none or must needs look to those same
 High German ones. It is then unnatural to suppose that a L. G.
 poet confined himself exclusively to his dialect; he could not but
 feel that it was inadequate; he read the H. G. classics, noted dif-
 ferent forms of the same word, found examples of the so-called
rückumlaut in H. G. where the L. G. formed the preterite and
 participle after the analogy of the infinitive and so with scores of
 other words. Hence he naturally concluded that the H. G. was
 more elegant than his vernacular, exactly as it is vulgar for an
 Anglo-Saxon to *sweat* in English, but refined to *perspire* in Latin.

If the preceding part of this Introduction proves anything, it
 shows our author's familiarity with Latin, French and Middle
 German as well as with his own vernacular. So much the more
 reason to find other forms than those of his own dialect. While

we most probably do not have the author's original draft, our copy is so clear and carefully made that it probably was written down very soon after the composition of the original though not revised by the author, who would not have left standing the displacements found between lines 479 and 512. Whether the scribe took liberties with the text or allowed his own dialect to appear (durchzuschimmern) would better be deferred until after the exposition of the phonology of the dialect. In no event is there reason to assume that we here have to deal with the translation of a lost H. G. original. We shall find the author to have been a Low German who intentionally, probably from patriotic motives, wished to increase the number of Low German compositions. He aimed at a standard of language which should rise above the limitations of his vernacular while assisting to raise the dialect of the *mek-region* to the leadership among the Low German dialects. He did not acknowledge the supremacy of the *mi* and *di* dialect.

THE VOWELS.

The basis of this study is Lübben's *Mnd. Grammatik*, 1882.

The old West Germanic quantities are largely destroyed in M. L. G. because of the operation of three laws:

1). Short vowels in open syllables become lengthened and fall together with long vowels. See Nerger's article in *Germania* XI, 452. (Nerger's Law.)

2). Long vowels before double consonants, except *r* combinations become short.

3). Vowels in closed syllables before *r* or *r* combinations become long. Grundriss I 692. (N. E.).

Short *a* is retained in a few monosyllables and before geminated and double consonants; in the preterit singular of most strong verbs. Examples: *al*, *dach*, *danne*, *began*, *nam*.

Forms like *bekant* 435, *gesant* 135, *genant* 606, *bewant* 613, *gewant* 728, *geant* 729 are importations from the H. G. and common in L. G. poetry, excepting *geant. erwendet* 9, and *vorsendet* 2, show the vernacular, *sande* 658 is L. G. from the Heliand down.

O. S. *sulik* < **swalik* occurs as *sulk* 715. a (+ 1 +) > o, only in *beholden* 482 and *entholdet* 491. *ungetalt*: *alt* 37-8 (rather than *ungetelt* and *olt*) and *mannichvalden* 641 preserve the H. G. vowel.

**bevalh* > *bevôl* by a false analogy with *môl* from *malen*

Grundriss I. 595 (1893).

Short *a* rimes with long *a* repeatedly: *man*: *hān* 265-6, 786-7, *underdān*: *man* 762-3, *dan*: *stān* 420-1, *an*: *wān* 724-5, *gedān*: *man* 762-3, *blat*: *utgāt* 799-800.

The word *lichenam* 502 rimes with *stem* 503.

Final *a* of *Maria* and *Magdalena* is lengthened. The rime does not indicate the quantity of *a* in this poem.

Umlaut. The umlaut of *a*, written *e*, occurs frequently as in *weldich* 239, *geweldigen* 226, *drecht* 423 and forms corresponding to the H. G. equivalents.

hebben, *heft*, *hest*, *hebbe*, *hedde*, *het* occur side-by-side with the H. G. forms in *a* and *ā*. So also *segge* 185 along with *sage* 96.

The umlaut of *a* to *e* has been reduced to *i* in *minsche* 160.

Short *e* is found frequently as in *helpe* 623, *stemme* 503, *wester* 445.

According to the two laws of lengthening it occurs long in *herte* 419, *werden* 139, *erde* 181.

Occasionally it rimes with *i*: *affenspel*: *vil* 494-5, *stemme*: *grimme* 273-4, *stellen* (< **staljan*): *willen* 333-4.

It interchanges with *i* in *vele* 485: *vil* 32; is broken to *i* in the second and third singular of strong verbs: *gif* 291, imperative.

e > *u* in *sulves* 199: *schut* 727 for **schit* < **scehidh*; compare *gescheit* 381; *geschichte* 412. Behaghel in Grundriss I 595 (1893) assigns umlaut: *schüt*.

e + *h* + *a* > *e* written *ei* in *sein* 282, *geschein* 84. *que* > *ko* in *komen* 94, (while *quam* 46 remains). *we* > *wo* in *wolde* 61, *wol* 29.

Short *i* remains generally, especially in the third *ablautsreihe*.

It is frequently broken to *e* as in *ek* (44 times), *mek* (24 times), *dek* (31 times), *sek* (17 times), *ed*=*et* once, *et* as enclitic three times. But *ik* also occurs 8 times, *ich* once 779, *mich* twice, *sik* once, and *sich* twice, *id* occurs 28 times, *mit* but *darmede*, *schip* 662: *schep* 42, *hen* 582, *nedder* 145, *wedder* 94, *sedder* 93.

H. G. *vrisch* 697, is written once instead of L. G. *versch*. Lübber p. 10, says of this breaking: "Der Grund der Brechung ist nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben; am wahrscheinlichsten liegt es in der wenig markierten Aussprache der Vokale, die eine Eigentümlichkeit des nd. Dialektes überhaupt ist." *i* is broken to *e* which is lengthened to *ē* in the preterit plural and past parti-

inciple of verbs of the first *ablautsreihe*. *i* > *e* in the pronouns *en*, *ene*, *eme*, also written in Braunschweig prevailingly *on*, *one*, *ome*, probably with umlaut. As there are four such cases in the text, it is a permissible hypothesis that the scribe found all originally so and changed all but the four which escaped his notice.

i (+ *m*) > *ī* in *vīf* 348.

dic 254, *dicke* 416, *ist* 124, etc. used only in rimes are H. G.

W. G. short *o* occurs in many words: *got* 238, *spot* 342, *hoit* 331. Is often lengthened according to laws given above: *över* 5 *gebören* 8. *o* > *ō* before *r* combinations: *mörgens* 71, *dörp* 57, *störn* 449. *o* > *u* in *vul* 281, contrary to rule. So also in A. S. *opper* 73 < H. G. < Latin.

W. G. short *u* occurs in many words: *up* 8, *umme* 489, *unde* 10. In the preterit plural of strong verbs of the third class: *hulpen* 103, *vunden* 42. In the preterit-presents: *schullen* 216, *kunnet* 280, *scholde* 211, *konden* 89. **sunus* > *son(e)* 7. The rime *dōn* 203: *son* 204, indicates a long *ō* in *son*.

o appears in *ordel* 277 for no assignable reason. The prefix **ur* > *er-* 180 and *der-* 10.

The spellings *huf* 12 and *erhuf* 142 are imitated from the H. G. They also indicate the dialect of Braunschweig.

It is impossible to decide positively the existence of an umlaut of *o* and *u* in M. L. G. There is none indicated. The sign " placed over *y*, *u*, *o* served merely to prevent confusion with a following or preceding *n* or *m*. According to Behaghel in Grundriss I. 563 (1893) M. G. *ū* represented two distinct sounds. *ū* as in *hūs-* G. *Haus* and *ü* as in *hüser* = G. *Häuser*. There is great probability that the same was true in L. G. If that be a true hypothesis for *ū*, then the analogous proposition might hold for *ō*. Since *o* and *u* were lengthened in open syllables and before *r*, then the umlaut would be extended to such words as *över* 5, *vögeln* 336, *gelöv(e)* 779. If applied to long vowels there is no apparent reason why it did not apply to short ones also. If the principal of umlaut is admitted and the analogy of later forms is taken into account, then we must write *ümme* 489, *süs* 118, *alsüs* 17, etc. But there are exceedingly few cases of poor rimes and *o*: *ö*, *u* and *ü*, whether long or short, are decidedly bad. Compare *alsus*: *Maximinus* 17-18, *sunde*: *stunde* 211-2, *sunde*: *wunde* 347-8, *stunt*: *vrunt* 383-4, *hore*: *bivore* 35-6, *afgoden*: *geboden* 73-4,

afgode: *bode* 119-20, 781-780, *goden*: *geboden* 73-4. It is improbable that both forms were umlauted contrary to all rule, no less so that the rimes were intentionally impure. It is more likely that the umlaut was a later development.

THE LONG VOWELS.

West Germanic long *a* is derived from two sources, the one from the loss of a nasal before a guttural, the other from **ae*. The former has been shortened and even interchanges with *o* as in *brochte* 589; *brachte* 176. The latter occurs frequently in *missedāt* 797, *gnāde* 102, *slāpen* 70, *iār* 208.

The umlaut, written *e*, occurs in the plural of the preterit of the fourth and fifth classes of strong verbs: *quēmen* 49, *nēmen* 50, *sēgen* 62, also in *dēden* 56, in the adj. *gnēdich* 535 and a few other words.

Another long *ā* occurs in the borrowed H. G. *entfān* 61, *stān* 62, *gān* 159, *gā* 576, *hān* 160, *hāst* 22, *hāt* 118, *lān* 328.

W. G. long *ē* > *ē*: *e* (*ia* in O. H. G.) occurs in *her* 133: *hir-* (*mede*) 287, in the preterit of reduplicating verbs: *leit* 207, *lēten* 776, *vorreit* 177, *rēpen* 68, *torēten* 452, *sleip* 263, *slēpen* 67, *vēlen* 313. It is probably short in *bevenk* 414, *henk* 415, *hengen* 44.

An *i*-glide occurs regularly with this *ê*, as well as with *ê* < *ae* and *ē* < *ai* in all closed final syllables, except before *j*, *ch*, *k*, *l* and *r*, but disappears in open syllables. See Lübben *Mnd. Gr.* 33 and Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.* § 103, 121 ff. It indicates the length of the vowel.

This *ē* has been replaced by *i* in *gink* 92, *gingen* 43. *vengen*: *gingen* 758-9 are common in L. G. rime.

W. G. long *ī* remains: *dīn* 475, *mīn* 159, *sīn* 61, *ertrike* 8, the infinitive and present tense of strong verbs of the first class.

The adverbial termination—*liken* 105, retains long *ī* but—*lich* 77:—*lik* 364, have shortened the vowel.

Latin loanwords are *phine* (*poena*) 282, and *wīn* (*vinum*) 237.

W. G. long *ō* remains as in *dō* 28, *dōn* 235, *sōken* 297, the preterits of strong verbs of the sixth class: *slōgen* 451, *hōven* 310.

It is probably umlauted to long *ö* as in H. G. but not indicated in *behōde* 441, *gerōken* 298, *genōmen* 34, *sōte* 85, (W. G. **swōti* > **sōti*) *fōte* n. pl. 86.

It has frequently become long *ū* as in *dūt* 286, *vūren* 15, *hūf* 12, *mūt* 424, *mūt* 386, *mūder* 345, *vorvluket* 181, *gūde* 19, *hūde* 20.

This phenomenon is characteristic of the dialect of Braunschweig and is due to H. G. influence. See Seelmann in Nd. Jb. 18, 141 ff.

The proper Low German *deit* does not occur. Even *mu:sten* 4 occurs along with *mostu* 406.

Long *ō*'s from whatever source rime together, *dōn*: *sōn* 203-4, 376-5, 715-4. The long *o* in *son* is from the analogy of the genitive case *sō-nes*. *dō*: *vrō* (**fraw-*) 389-90, *hō*: *dō* 444-5.

W. G. long *ū* occurs in *ūt* 15, *ūte* 249, *būk* 29, *lūd*(*er*) 273, *hūs* 61. It interchanges with *ō* as in *bōr* 146 for *būr*.

The umlaut should be placed on *tūze* 353, according to analogy. W. G. long *ū* from Primitive Germanic short *u* occurs in *duchte* 366.

DIPHTHONGS.

W. G. *ai* regularly becomes long *ē* in open syllables, and is mostly followed by an *i*-glide in closed ones, *ein* 33, *ēnem* 17, *blēf* 457, *bleif* 651, *begreif* 628, *leit* 497, *erschem* 71. This *i* has even crept into open syllables, especially when followed by *-d*: *breide* 448, *beiden* 301, *geleiden* 39, *leider* 59, *vorleidet* 118.

So before *t* in *heite* 568.

So before *m* in *heim* 659: *heime* 403.

So before *n* in *steine* 331 (?)

It may be remarked that M. L. G. *ē* has a threefold source:

W. G. <i>ae</i> > O. H. G. <i>â</i>	}	= M. L. G. <i>ē</i> .
W. G. <i>ê</i> > O. H. G. <i>ia</i>		
W. G. <i>ai</i> > O. H. G. <i>ei</i>		

O. S. *hēlag* > *hillich* 230.

W. G. *au* has become long *o*: *ōgen* 539, *ōren* 89, *kōs* 791, etc. *au* > *ō* > *o* in *vorstot* 144, for *vorstōtet* for **vorstōten*.

Long *ō*'s from whatever sources rime together: *gōt*: *nōt* 299, 300. (The genitive *godes* is long, hence nom. by analogy), *brōt*: *gōt* 237-8.

W. G. *aw* (*j*) > *ow*: *vrowe* 23, *gevrowet* 475, *vrowdenrich* 222, *rowet* 619. The sound was that of long *ō* with a *u*-glide.

W. G. *aww* > *ow* in *beschowede* 695, *bedoweden* 567.

W. G. *eu* > *ē* in *lēve* 740, *lēf* 481, *dēnst* 109, *gēte* 161 (second class of st. verbs), *vorlēsen* 493.

eu > *ū* (probably *ü*) in *lūden*, 5. See Grundriss I. p. 563, § 32. (1893).

W. G. *aiw* > *eo* > (*j*) *ī* in *ī* 157, *nī* 82.

W. G. *airw* > *iu* in *jummer* 138.

W. G. *airw* > *u* in *nummer* 340 and *wu*

W. G. *airw* > *ō* in *worumme* 495.

--*ijo-* > *iu* > *u* in *vrunt*, cf. *stunt*: *vrunt* 383-4.

e + *w* > *ju* as in *juwe* 485, *juk* 497.

e + *w* (*j*) > *eww* > *ūw* as in *rūwe*. According to analogy this form may have had the umlaut: *rūwe* 797. The same development should have occurred in *nie* 458, a form which is inexplicable.

ORTHOGRAPHICAL.

In the Ms. there is nothing to show the distinction between long and short *a*. The two dots over *dak* 250 have evidently no significance.

The same is true of *o*, *u* and *y*. I have eliminated all *y*'s, replacing by *i* where necessary. These letters are often written with two dots above to prevent confusion with *n*, *m*, or *w*, and rarely when no confusion is possible. I have omitted them in the text.

Long *e* was indicated by the double *ee* of *veertich* 355; by *ei* or *ey* in closed syllables; initially by *Æ*, *Æi*, *Æy*; by *ei* before *d* in open syllables.

Although a vowel before a single consonant is long in an open syllable and short before two consonants, these rules are not consistently observed in H. 894. Thus a final double *ff* ought to indicate that the vowel is short in monosyllables. Of course it does not in *wiff* 14 etc, *liff* 152 etc, *viff* 348 etc, *bleff* 457 etc, *leff* 487. Nor does *ll* indicate a short *e* in *vellen* 313. In consequence of these irregularities the vowel quantities have to be determined by analogy.

Long *ī* is often indicated by following *j* as in *tijt* 404, *tijden* 11, *vortijgen* 633, etc. I have dropped it from the text.

VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES.

Vowels in unstressed and slightly stressed syllables have been leveled to *e* or *i*, or dropped. To *e* in declensional syllables:—*-es*, *-em*, *-en*, *-er*, *-e*; in comparison *-er*, *-est*. So in the verb.

Suffixes **-ac*, and **-īg* occur as *-ich*: *iges*.

Suffix *-līk* occurs as *-lik*: *lich*, or in adverbs *-līken*.

The diminutive *is-līn*, borrowed from the H. G. So *schepelin* 491, *kindelīn* 240.

Prefix **ga*: **gi* > *ge* in all cases.

Prefix **bi* > *be* in all but two cases.

Prefix **ant* > *ent* in all cases.

Prefix **uz* > **ur*: **or* > *er*: *or*, extended to *der*. cf. Weinhold. Mhd. Gr. § 82.

Prefix **far*: **fra* appear as *vor*, due to confusion with *vor* from **fora*, the adverb.

Semi-vowels do not exist.

THE CONSONANTS. LIQUIDS.

l. Gemination indicates derivation from an original *-lj-*; also that the preceding vowel is short. The preterit *vēlen* is written with double and single consonant. One is proper.

Aller- has become *alder-* in *aldermest* 554, a L. G. peculiarity; due to the soft sound of *d*.

m. Gemination indicates preceding vowel is short. Original gemination in *grimme* 274, and *himmel* 1.

**mb* > *mm* in *umme* 504, *kummer* 282.

m has disappeared before *f* in *vīf* 348, as in O. S.

-m is occasionally weakened to *-n* in dative declensional endings: *unsen* 575, *dinen* 265, *den* 95, 39.

n. Gemination indicates a short preceding vowel and development from *-nj-*.

Parasitic *n* occurs in *dorne gi* 284.

n disappears before the spirant in *unsachte* < **unsanfto* 293. It should have disappeared from *uns* and *unse*. Its presence indicates Frankish influence. The presence of *n* in *stunt* 76 indicates H. G. origin.

r. W. G. *r* differs in its L. G. development in no way from the same letter in M. H. G. Its tendency to lengthen a preceding vowel has been previously stated, p. 156. Metathesis occurs in *vrochte* 267, *vorste* 571, *bernde* 271.

LABIALS.

W. G. *b* occurs only initially.

W. G. *p* occurs initially only in *plege* 426, *plach* 70, and the loanwords *paradis* 150, *pelegrin* 458, *pine* 282, *predegen* 28, *propheten* 207, *provet* 554. Geminated in *uppe* 242. Doubled in *bischoppe* 792 and *sleppestu* 274, it indicates the short quantity

of the preceding vowel. It occurs regularly medially with the single exception of *affenspel* 494, borrowed from the H. G. It is always retained finally.

The W. G. labial vocalic consonant *w* has become the labiodental *w* of M. L. G. It occurs initially and after *s*, *t* and *r*. Initially before *r*, it is not lost in M. L. G., hence *rank* 540 for *wrank* (*wringen*) is due to H. G. influence. Occurring after *o* in the diphthong *ow*, its tendency is to become the spirant. It is written *w* or *uu*.

The W. G. voiceless spirant *f* and the voiced *bh* are written indiscriminately *f* and *v* or *u* even. The surd should occur initially, finally, before *t* and after *l* and *r*. *arbeit* 673 is therefore H. G. loan word.

The geminated sonant occurs as *-bb-* in *hebben* 525, *hebbe* 735.

In the text doubled *ff* is no index of quantity because of the bad habit of the scribes in doubling consonants, prevailing from the middle of the 15th century on. Hence we find in the text: *bleff* 651, *bleiff* 457, *dreiff* 47, *giff* 291, *gaff* 151, *huff* 12, *erhuff* 142, *leff* 481, *liff* 152, *starff* 349, *viff* 348, *wiff* 14. I have dropped the second *f*. The same thing occurs also in *doffte* 789, *hefft* 30, *heffte* 438, *krefftich* 324, *redehafft* 231, *suffte* 666, where the double *ff* is unnecessary since *-ft* alone shortens the preceding vowel.

The almost universal L. G. change of *-ft* to *-cht* occurs only in *luchte* 365 and *unsachte* 293.

GUTTURALS.

The W. G. voiced guttural *g* occurs initially, medially, in gemination and after *n*, when not final. The prefix *ge* occurs 75 times against *gh* 40 times; medially and initially in the root, *ge-* and *gi-* occur 49 times while *ghe-* and *ghi-* appear 53 times. *gho-* occurs even. Consequently the *h* can have no significance unless it be to indicate the spirant pronunciation of *g*. If so why wasn't the scribe consistent? See Lübben *Mhd. Gr.* p. 58. It may possibly indicate the sonant, before *a*, *o* and *u*, but the surd pronunciation before *e* and *i*. When consonant *i* appears before *i* as in *gi* (you), *gi* (ever); when it is an orthographic sign to separate two vowels as in *vortigen*, *nige*, *vligen*, *geneget*, the scribe uses *g* equivalent to the H. G. *j*. Probably, then, the insertion of *h* after *g* was an attempt to indicate the aspirate pro-

nunciation of *g* as found farther North and West, rather than the modern *j* sound heard in *jut* for *gut*.

Gemination occurs in *segge* 185: *sage* 96 and *liggen* 316. Syncopation occurs in *sedest* 520 for *segedest*, and in the H. G. loan word *vreislich* 408.

Final *g* is always *-ch*, spirant. Final *-ng* is written *nk*, *-gt* > *-cht*.

k, rarely written *c*, remains in all positions. Lübben says on page 60 of his grammar that the spelling *-ch* for final *k* is common even in districts where the influence of H. G. was the slightest, as in Lübeck; consequently final *-ch* may represent the stop. This peculiarity occurs particularly after the vowel *-i*. So *mich* occurs twice, *sich* twice, *sprak* 32 times but never in rime, *sprach* 12 times in rime, *gemach*: (*sach*) 305, 306, *tobrach*: (*sach*) 353-4, *brach*: (*gesach*) 704-5, *ungemach*: *sprach* 536-7, *wunniglich*: *sich* 77-8, *mich*: *sich* 177-8, *wunniglich*: *rich* 221-2, *croch*: *sloch* 684-5, *schrach*: (*lach*) 692-3, finally *gelov'ich* 779 occurs once. I think the author's purpose was to give rimes that should be correct to the eye, and knowing that his exceptions were correct in H. G., he used them to give his work a learned look. As for the termination *-lich*, it is falsely after the analogy of *-ich*. *Lichnam*, for L. G. *lichem* is H. G. In gemination *-ck* occurs consistently, *dicke* is from the H. G.

Original *-kt*, General Teutonic *-ht* occurs frequently. A non-existent L. G. *schrak* is supplied by the H. G. *schrach*: (*lach*) 692-3. *kroch*: (*sloch*) 684-5 is also H. G. So is *michel* 766.

qu occurs only in *quam* 46, *queme* 584, *quemem* 49, as in O. S. *h* occurs as in W. G.

Original Teutonic guttural + dental = *-ht* is written *-cht* and is frequent. *geschichte* (happens) 412 is borrowed from the H. G. along with *gescheit* 381 for L. G. *schüt* 727.

Grammatical change appears in *sach* 28: *segen* 57.

W. G. *sc* > *sch*, sometimes written *sc* as in *scolde* 211.

DENTALS.

W. G. *th* and *dh* > *d* and fall together with W. G. *d*. This *d* occurs in all positions though probably pronounced as a surd stop finally. Lübben p. 42-3. It is often written *t* finally and final *t* is likewise often falsely written *d*, *mut* (courage) 424, and *mat* (must) 386, being pronounced the same, illustrate the

reason for the confusion of the two sounds. I have normalized all final *d*'s to *t*.

Gemination occurs frequently as in *bedde* 65, *dridden* 269, *bidden* 238. In *nedder* 145, *wedder* 94, *sedder* 93, it indicates merely the short quantity or the vowel preceding.

**habhde* > *hadde* 678.

Contraction occurs in *dorste* 570 < *dorstede*, *sufte* 666 < *suftede*. A spirant or sord stop + *d* > *ft*, *cht*, *st*, *t*.

du becomes *tu* as enclitic.

hute 116, is apparently H. G. loanword, perhaps due to the scribe's being a High German. I correct to *hūde*.

In lines 438-9 we meet the strange rhyme *wat: geneget*.

As *wat* is accusative case, the rhyme cannot be H. G.

I suggest *wēd(e): geneid* as a possible solution, to be pronounced and written *weit: geneit*.

W. G. *t* remains in all positions except in the confusion noted under *d*. The only shifted *t* occurs in the H. G. loanword *entcsunt* 272.

Gemination occurs in *luttik* 64 and *satte* 150. But *vateden* 505, *water* 427, *beter* 524, *eten* 247, demonstrate their L. G. origin by the single *t*.

An *h* is found in the Ms. after the *t* in about one fourth of the cases. It has no significance, not even indicating quantity.

The following words should end in *t*: *ed* 262, once, *id* 28 times, (*et* four times as enclitic), *god* once 292, *ad* once 359, *vod* once 338, *stād* once 325, *gād* once 800, *antlad* twice 77, 221, (*antlat* once), *mud* six times, *ud* five times (*ut* once).

t occurs in *allet* 262 falsely after the analogy of *dat*, *dit* and *it*, due to M. G. influence. It occurs parasitically in *allent* 775, after the analogy of *allet*. So in *levent* 22, *nement* 59. Where *ist* occurs it is for the rime. Otherwise *is* is used.

In *crutze* 438: *crucze* 348, the H. G. spelling is retained.

W. G. *s* occurs as in the other dialects, especially as in O. S. It shows the old grammatical change in *kos* 791: *derkoren* 547, *vorlesen* 509: *vorloren* 196.

W. G. *z* has either become *r* or has disappeared exactly as in O. S. and O. H. G. The process has gone farther than in O. H. G. as, in *we* (*wir*), *gi* (*Ihr*), *we* (*wer*), *he* (*er*) *mi* (*mir*), *di* (*dir*), (*mi* and *di* do not belong to this dialect but are borrowed.)

to, as in *toreten* (zerrissen) 452, stands for an older *te* Gothic *tuz*, O. H. G. *zar*.

The general result of the above phonological analysis is that the dialect is unquestionably M. L. G. with a H. G. coloring which, I trust, has been satisfactorily accounted for.

PART IV. MORPHOLOGY.

Masculine *a*-stems are declined Nom. —, Gen. *-es*, Dat. *-e* Acc.—, Plural Nom., Gen. and Acc. *-e*, Dat. *-en*. *jammer* 186, 452 occurs twice in dative sing. and *regen* 250 once, without ending. The plural of *afgot* is *afgode* 782. The plural nom. of *junger* occurs once as *jungern* 3. No other exceptions.

Words found are: *bor* 146, *bort* 451, *denst* 109, *dot* 478, *buk* 29, *dank* 541, *duvel* 117, *geist* 555, *got* 35, *heilant* 6, *himmel* 113, *kummer* 282, *lif* 152, (life and body), *gemak* 285, *mantel* 514, *mut* 424, *munt* 91, *rat* 466, *pelegrim* (*n*) 458, *-schin* 568, *segeel* 44, *spot* 342, *storm* 449, *torn* 261, *val* 192, *wijn* 237, *wint* 449, all nom. or acc. sg. *dages* 653, *hungers* 252, *morgens* 71, *slapes* 70, *goddes* 7, all gen. sg. *berge* 361, *bome* 156, *denste* 382, *Criste* 520, *dage* 95, *gode* 393, *godde* 110, *himmele* 144, *hove* 74, *JAMER* 186, 454, *jungere* 17, *gemake* 278, *mude*, *munde* 170, *REGEN* 250, *troste* 134, *valle* 142, *worste* 571, *wroste* 251, *wine* 281, all dative singular. *bisschop*(*p*)*e* 792, *afgode* 782, *knechte* 249, *sinne* 60, *wegge* 408, nom. or acc. pl. *engele* 142, and *steine* 677, are genitive plural. *armen* 106, *godden* 171: *goden* 99, *afgoden* 73, are dat pl.

se 47 and *sne* 566 old *-wa*-stems occur in acc. sg. and nom. sg. respectively.

Neuter *-a*-stems have exactly the same endings. Where the nom. and acc. plural show no ending, the H. G. form has been used, as in *jar* 651, *kint* 187, 193, *lant* 5, *wort* 90.

Add the *-ja*-stem *gewant* 696 to this list.

Words used are: *antlat* 77, *affenspel* 494, *hus* 61, *blat* 79), *bok* 800, *deil* (m. 798 and n. 547), *dorp* 57, *brot* 180, *dak* 250, *dal* 191, *clende* 326, *graft* (M. G.) 513, *gut* 504, *holt* 331, *jar* 208, *kint* 32, *lant* 51, *herteleit* 625, *opper* 73, *ordel* 277, *Paradis* 150, *schep* 42: *schip* 662, *spor* 688, *ungemach* 537, *vat* 161, *volk* 72, *water* 427, *stormweder* 449, *wif* 14, *wort* 90, *klagen* 485, *wenen* 485, *leven* 441: *levent* 22, nom. or acc. sg.

gudes 500, gen. sg.

arbeide 182, *bode* 325, *Paradise* 190, *schepe* 51, *tekene* 591, *volke* 27, *wive* 82, but without ending: *wunder* 79, *schepelin* 491, *drinken*, *eten* 247, all dat. sg.

Nom. and acc. plural as given. No forms occur with *-e*. This is the strongest argument for a H. G. origin, as far as it goes. Gen. pl. does not occur. *jaren* 709 is only dat. pl.

-ja stems.

her 766, *mer* 136, *gesinde* 2, *geslechte* 597, are nom. and acc. sg. *bedde* 242, *bilde* 206, *ende* 627, *ertrike* 8, *himmelrike* 7, *stade* 553, *ungelucke* 518, without ending: *himmelrik* 115, *mer* 39, all dat. sg. N. and acc. pl. *gewant* 696. Gen. pl. *bedde* 65.

The only *-wa* stem is the dat. pl. *knien* 681.

The *-i* masculines are but sparingly represented. Nom. and acc. pl. *lude* 78, *slege* 261, *tuge* 350; gen. pl. *lude* 376; dat. pl. *luden* 5. Of these *slege* is certainly umlauted while it is doubtful in the others. Otherwise this class resembles *-a* stems.

In addition are a few words from the old *-u* declension: *son* 714: *sone* 7. 124 nom. sg. and *son* 204 acc. sg., *vot* 338 acc. sg., *vote* nom. and acc. pl. *vrede* 610, n. sg. As *vote* rhymes with *sote*, 86, 232, 313, it is impossible to assign the umlaut positively. I agree with Leitzmann's argument in the main, and would assign it. See Leitzmann, G. v. Minden, *Fabeln*, p. liii, especially p. lvi.

STRONG FEMININES.

-ō-, *-jō* and *-wō-* stems have fallen together. They end in *-e* for all cases except dat. pl. ends in *-en*.

-i- stems differ from these only in the singular, which has lost the final vowel, and in umlauting *-a-* to *-e-*.

The words used are: *bruste* 417, *ere* 794, *erde* (generally weak) 181, *gnade* 102, *have* 49, *herberge* 306, *helle* 145, *leve* 234, *strate* 580, *pine* 282, *rede* 85, *ruwe* 797, *spise* 64, *stede* 645, *varwe* 569, *wile* 22, *sunde* 211, *vrundinne* 716, *vorstinne* 233, *angest* 292, *hovert* 143, *jemmercheit* 624, *maget* 345, *meinheit* 496, *mildcheit* 544, *sunderin* 126, *tit* 404, *vart* 310, *not* 251, *schult* 519, *vrucht* 167, *werdcheit* 545, *stat* 48, *hant* 350, *hantgedat* 117, *missedat* 797. all in nom. or acc. cases. *stunde* 212, is apparently a neuter, a scribal error. *bede* 523, *hude* 20, *leve* 786, *plege* 426, *schare* 108, (*stemme* 273): *stem* 487, *swere*

186, *werlde* 30, *hant* 52, *not* 179, *macht* 731, *stunt* 212, *marter* 10, *vart* 24, *himmelvart* 1, *vrisc* 796, *vrucht* 154, all dat. sg.

bruste 31, *wunde* 348, *stede* 643, nom. or acc. pl.

brusten 511, *eren* 319, *stunden* 169, *sunden* 795, *tiden* 642, are dat pl.

-i-stem showing umlaut is *henden* 681.

One original *m.-u-stem* has become *f.* namely *luchte* 365 acc. pl.

MINOR DECLENSIONS.

man occurs only in the complete singular as an *-a-stem*.

vot, if we admit the umlaut, is an *-i-stem*. See *-i-stems*.

vader 115, occurs only in the nom. sg. Likewise *muder* 345.

vrunt occurs as the acc. sg. 384 and nom. pl. 657.

nacht is declined like *dach*, masculine, though *dc(n) nacht* 63 may be the result of "anticipation" like *der rede* 730 for *de rede* acc. sg.

WEAK DECLENSIONS.

Nom. sg. masc. *-e*, (—), all others *-en*. Neuters and feminines the same.

Words used are: *erve* 159, *here*: *her* 120-2, *rive* 566, *geselle* 630, *slange* 177, *minsche* 160, *weise* 489 (H. G.), *wille* 381, all nom. sg.

erven 103, *heren* 1, *slangen* 164, gen. sg.

lichnamen 563, *schaden* 462, *vromen* 134, dat. sg.

erven 377, *hern* 28, *namen* 56, *willen* 394, acc. sg.

gesellen nom. pl. 41. *propheten* acc. pl. 207.

apostelen, *minschen* 206, gen. pl.

gesellen dat. pl. 13.

Lichnam 502, and *lichnam* 557, are strong, while *lichnamen* 563 is weak. They are M. G. forms.

The neuters are *herte* 419, n. sg., *herten* 114, d. sg. *ogen* 539, and *oren* d. pl. 89.

The feminines are *erde* 181, *vrouwe* 23, n. sg.; *barbsen* 669, *erden* 140, *naddern* 275, dat. sg.; *ammen* 467, *barbsen* 542, *vrouwen* 717, acc. sg. *bulgen* 451, nom. pl. *vrundinnen* 716, is an anomalous weak acc. sg. of a strong noun.

The *Passional* p. 382, l. 25, has *barke* for *barbsen*. *bardese* *bardse* and *barse* are L. G. forms of this probably misspelled word.

Adjectives are declined either strong or weak. There is no distinction of stem. The strong declension is as follows:

	m.	f.	n.	
Nom. sg.	{ —	—	—	|| pl. -e
	{ -er	-e	—	
Gen.	-es	-er	-es	-e
Dat.	-em(e),	-er,	-em(e),	-en
Acc.	-en	-e	—	-e

The uninflected forms occur as predicate or postpositive adjectives: *al* 72, *aldermest* 554, *alt*, *junk* 38, *arm* 106, *dot* 457, *gut* 671, *her* 324, *hillich* 230, *grot* 494, *kreftich* 324, *leit* 497, *lef* 497, *levendich* 725, *gesund* 725, *gelik* 171, *gut* 392, *missevar* 453, *redchaft* 231, *rik* 222, *salich* 29, *stark*, *wis* 149, *ungetalt* 37, *wolgetan* 223, (H. G.), *ungeboren* 524, *vreislich* 408 (H. G.); *crisch* (H. G.) 697, *vro* 389, *vul* 281, *warm* 470, *weldich* 239, *werdich* 611, *willekomen* 611.

The inflected nom. m. sg. and f. sg. do not occur.

The possessive adjectives and *ein* occur uninflected; also the single expression *war got* 138. Examples of the neuter acc. are: *ein dot wif* 509, *ein michel her* 766.

The uninflected form *al* should appear before other adjectives rather than *alle demc volke* 27, *alle erme live* 81. This is not unusual in L. G.. The false neuters *allet* and *allent* are used: *et allet* 262, *dat allet* 268, *allet* 648, *allent* 775, all accusative sg. A genitive *alles* 246 is also found.

The following forms are found: *unses heren* 1, *luder stemme* 273 in the genitive sg.; *erme live* 81, *dinen man* 265, *sin hus* 61, *unsen fcegrim* 575, (These last three are common L. G. contractions for *dincme*, *sineme*, *unseme*.), *vuller macht* 731, *rechter groter not* 464, *siner marter* 10, all dat. sg.; *sinen namen* 56, *unsen heren* 28, *dine hantgedat* 117, all acc. sg.; *sine jungern* 3, *rike* 88, nom. pl.; *ander=andrerer lude* 37, gen. pl.; *korten tiden* 11, dat. pl.; *beide* 317, *levende tuge* 350, acc. pl.

siner wunderliken 367 is probably genitive after *began*. Compare Holthausen *Alts. Elementarbuch*, 1899, § 486, An. 1. for the rule in Old Saxon.

The weak declension ends in *-e* in the nom. sg., otherwise in *-n*. It is used after other adjectives and the articles (except as already noted); also in the case of direct address. Examples:

din bose rat 529, *er sote munt* 91, and *min leve vrowe* 465, all nom. sg.; *ein klene schepelin* 491, acc. sg.; *dat breide mer* 448, acc. sg.; *de gude Ma(r)cellina* 19, *de nige pelegrin* 458, *de rene unde sote* M. M. 314, *de heite sunnenschin* 568, *de ware heilant* 6, *got de wise* 189, all nom. sg.; *disses klenen kindelin(s)* 504, *der levcn vrowen* 631, gen. sg.; *dem anderen dage* 95, *enem seligen ende* 627, *deme geweldigen gode* 226, dat. sg.; *den lichten dach* 69, *de levcn vrowen* 631, *de vil seligen Maricn* 632, acc. sg.; *de armen* 88, nom. pl.; *dissen elenden* 238, dat. pl.

In direct address occur: *ek arme man* 461, *leve kindelin* 474 and the acc. *mek armen sunderin* 126.

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES.

These are declined as strong adjectives with flexionless nominative singular. Note the syncopation of *-e-* in *erme* 81 and *unsen* 575, *dincn* 265 and *sin* 61 for *unseme*, *dineme* and *sineme*. The latter are specifically L. G.

NUMERALS.

Ein; *enes*, *ener*, *enes*, etc. is declined as a strong adjective. *twe* . . . acc. 438, 651, *tho* 792 is a mistake for *twe* for *twene*, a more probable error than the suppression of two full lines, the only other explanation.

vif 348, and *vértich* 355, also occur.

Of ordinals: *de ersten* 439, *des andern nachtes* 263, *des dridden nachtes* 269, *an dem vertigesten dage* 358.

beide acc. 317, *beider* gen. 441.

dridde(n) is not given by Lübben. It seems H. G. from the vowel.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Nom. *ek* 44 times, *ik* 8 times, *gelov'ich* 779; not in rime.

Gen. *mins (sulves)* 741.

Dat. { *mek* } 24 times, MIR: *er* 635-6, *gi*: MI 157-8, MI-di 401-2
 { } *gi*: MI 500-1,
 Acc. { *mek* } MI: *di* 432-3, MICH: *sich* 177-8 (why?)

Reflexive.

Plu. Nom. *we* 215
 Gen. *unser* 364
 Dat. *uns* 796
 Acc. *uns*

—
 | *sines (sulves)* 601

| *sek* } 17 times.

| *sek* } *gelik*: *sik* 177-2, *mich*:

SICH 177-8, *wunnichlich*: SICH 77-8.

Why *mich*: SICH?

Nom. *du, -tu* as enclitic 476, 274 and 517.

Gen. *din* 475.

Dat. *dek* } 31 times. *mi*: DI 401-2, *dek*: *mek* 610-1, 430-1.

Acc. *dek* } *mi*: DI 432-3, *dek*: *mek* 121-2, *himmelrik*: DIK 115-6.

Note that *mi*: DI 432-3, follow *dek*: *mek* 430-1 and are used to vary the rime. Why are MI: DI 401-2 used?

Plu. Nom. *gi* 157

Gen. *juwer* 441.

Dat. *juk* 134.

Acc. *juk* 153

Nom. *he* 10

Gen. (Not found.)

Dat. *em* 648 *eme* 162, 266, 686, *om* 640, *em* or *om* 643, *ein* 650

Acc. *en* 150, *ene* 658, *on* 602, 607.

eme, om, on, ene, ein, are distinctively L. G. Forms in *o* are peculiar to the *mek*-region.

Nom. *se* N. & A. *id* for *it* 28 times,

et 262.

Gen. *er* G. not found

Dat. *er* D. not found

Acc. *se*

Plural Nom. *se*

Gen. *erer, er* 50. *ere* 444.

Dat. *en, ene, on*: *en* 255,

Acc. *se*

dorstes 260 is not for *dorste es*, but for *dorste des*, *des* being either nom. or acc.

As an enclitic *it* is written *-et* in *isset* 670, *gētet* 161, *woldet* 203.

Nom. *Got sulves* 199, *de sulve* m. 347, *he sulven* 200, 203,

du sulves 478, *ek sulven* 308, *se sulven* 457, *dit sulve* 799.

Gen. *mins sulves* 741, *sines sulves* 601.

Dat. *sek sulven*, m. 147, *der sulven*, f. 24, III.

Acc. *den sulven*, m. 327, *de sulven*, f. 197.

Plu. Nom. —

Gen. —

Dat. *den sulven* 169, 327.

Acc. *uns sulven* 531

DEMONSTRATIVES.

Nom.	<i>de</i> (18).	<i>de</i> (27).	<i>dat</i> (307)	<i>des</i> 620	|||	Plu. Nom.	<i>de</i> (3)
Gen.	<i>des</i> (34).	<i>der</i> (221)	<i>des</i> (246), (320).			Gen.	<i>der</i>
Dat.	{ <i>deme</i> (97)	<i>der</i> ,	<i>deme</i> , <i>dem</i> 51,	<i>den</i> 39		Dat.	<i>den</i> (56)
	{ <i>dem</i> 156					Acc.	<i>de</i> (32)
	{ <i>den</i> 95						
Acc.	{ <i>den</i> (215)	<i>de</i> 353,	<i>dat</i> (42)	<i>des</i> 431			
	{ <i>de</i> (35)						

As the article is identical with the relative pronoun, I have added citations of the latter in parenthesis.

deme predominates over the shorter form, but the peculiar L. G. *den* for the dative sg. also occurs. Acc. *de* 35 is a mistake of the scribe. *dede* 606 nom. m. sg. = he who. *dar--ave* 521 = of whom, a rare construction.

dat, without significance, is inserted 692 and 759; see Grimm's Gr. IV 444. Seelmann, *Valentin und Namelos* p. 123, says if such a *dat* occurs in a writer of the *mek*-region it is due to Dutch or Lower Rhenish models.

Nom.	<i>disse</i> 160 —, <i>dit</i> 166,	Plu. Nom.	—
Gen.	— —, <i>disses</i> 488,	Gen.	—
Dat.	<i>dissem</i> 462, <i>disser</i> 30, <i>disseme</i> 718,	Dat.	<i>dissen</i> 235
Acc.	<i>dissen</i> 192, <i>disse</i> 167, <i>dit</i> 104,	Acc.	—

Other forms not found in the poem.

INTERROGATIVE.

Nom.	<i>We</i> 227,	<i>wat</i> 153, 639.
Gen.	—	<i>wes</i> 255.
Dat.	—	—
Acc.	—	{ <i>wat</i> 133, 259, 332.
		{ <i>wes</i> 280.

Indefinite pronouns are *men* 29, 337, *wede* 341, *icht* 319, *nichtesnicht* 698, *nicht* 661, *anders nicht* 777. The negation is *en—nicht*, but *nicht* is used alone in 21, 40, 168, etc.; *wde* nom. and acc. pl. 37, 485, 678; *neman* 560, *nemant* 59; *nikein* 65, *nincin* 70, as adj. *nein* 777, *nenes* 70, *nene* 467; *mennich* occurs only as adj.: *mennich* 98, 652, *mengen* m. acc. sg. 790, *menger* f. dat. sg. 649, unumlauted forms in *mangerhande* 179, *mannigerhande* 335, *mannigvalden* 641; *sulk* 715, as adj.; *itlik* for *iegelik* 364.

STRONG VERBS.

In general they conform to the L. G. usage. Present endings are *-e, -est, -(e)t, pl.en, et, en*. But before a following *we* or *gi*: *drive we* 495, *sterve gi* 157, *werde gi* 171, *bevele we* 426, *cte gi* 157, *dor[n]e gi* 284, *schulle we* 322, 482, 492, *schulle gi* 278, 327. Lübben *Mnd. Gr.* p. 88.

In the second and third persons singular, the preceding long vowel is apparently shortened in *blift* 345, *sleppestu* 274.

Umlaut and breaking occur in the second and third singular. in *sleppestu* 274, *dregest* 407, *drecht* 423, *steit* 337, *geit* 338, *blift* 345.

Komen has 1st p. *kome* 743, but 3rd p. *kummet* 616.

The present imperative shows the root in the singular and adds *-et* in the plural. Due to the influence of the weak conjugation are *getwoide* 122, *schaffe* 304, *vare* 432; *bidde* 375 is regular.

The endings of the present subj.: *-e, -est, -e pl. -en* occur in *beden* 2 pl. 319, *tobrecke* 3 sg. 338, *spreke* id. 340, *wert* for *werde* id. 162, *worde* id. 240, *werpe* 483, *erwerpe* 796, *Ete gi* 157, *geve* 377, 724, *schaffe* 255, *bevalle* 153.

The endings of the preterit are —, *st*, —, *-en, -ct, -cn*. The second pl. does not occur in the legend. The old 2. sg. in-*t* occurs in *schalt* nine times and in the anomalous *wult* 727.

Grammatical change. *s: r, kos*: p. p. *derkorn, vorlesen: vorloren, was: weren* along with H. G. forms in the rimes; *ch: g, sach* 28: *segen* 57.

The verb *beginnen* has the weak forms *begunde* three times, *begonde* twice, *begunden* once, *begunt* once, along with *began* four times.

The plural of the preterit of the fourth and fifth classes is regularly *-ē* instead of *-ā*.

A few forms of the preterit subjunctive are found. They have the vowel of the plural pret. ind. Endings like the present, *vor-neme* 3. sg. 585, *queme* id. 584 *were* 737, 220, *weren* 152, *beden* 101, *vunde* 605, *hulpen* 103, *stunde* 243. The latter three probably were umlauted as they are undoubtedly imitated from H. G. written style though the spelling does not indicate it. *vunde: kunde* 605-4 rime either way.

The past participle in L. G. is usually formed without *ge-*. Lübben *Mnd. Gr.* 91. *Grundriss* 21 713. Leitzmann. *G. von M.* LXXIV. Our poem has *gedreven* 429, *gesendet* 53, *geboden* 74,

100, *vorgekropen* 689, *upgetogen* 45, *gevlogen* 46, *genomen* 599, 477, *gesproken* 546, *geworden* 439, *gekomen* four times; *komen* twice, *gegeven* three times, *geschein* H. G., *gescin* 83 etc, *gedragcn* 30. This is unquestionably due to H. G. literary influence. This *ge-* could often be expunged to the advantage of the meter, where it is not otherwise hopelessly bad.

In the preterit-presents the vowel *-u-* predominates over *-o-* in *molen*, *mut* four times, *must* once, *musten* twice, but *most* once, *moten* once, subj: *mote* 539: *mute* 655. This argues for the dialect of Brunswick. Seelmann. *Nd. Jb.* XVIII p. 141 ff.

schullen and *schulle* along with *scolde*.

mochte, *mochten*, but subj: *muchte*.

konden ind. but *kunde* subj.

Among the irregular verbs *bracht* 64 occurs as past participle just as in H. G.

dōn shows H. G. forms. *deist* and *deit* do not occur. *wol was* *sc* *GETAN*, 80, and *wolgetan* 706, 223 are H. G.

hebben. *hefft* occurs seven times; *het* 329, 719, *had* or *hat* in the rime six times. *heft* is dialectic, *hat* H. G. for the rime and *het* probably a scribal error though Tümpel asserts its correct use in his *Nd. Studien*, 1898.

The plural of the preterit is *hedden* 82, 710.

is never occurs in rime, *ist* never occurs out of it.

geit 338 and *steit* 337 occur once each. *gat* and *stat*, the H. G. forms prevail.

REGULAR VERBS.

* One class with a tendency toward H. G. endings. For the present tense *-c*, *-cst*, *-ct*, *-cn*, *-ct*, *-cn*. The older *-et* for first and third plural does not occur.

Present imperative ends in *-c*, singular and *-ct* plural.

The few subj. presents are *dage* 253, *behage* 128, *behode* 241, *leve* 490, *vrome* 128, *dernere* 534, all 3. sg.; *bereiden* 513, 3. pl.

Preterit endings are *-cde*, *-cdest*, *-ede*, pl. *-eden*.

negede 592, *predigede* 549, *sogede* 564, *bctastede* 469, *togede* 582 for *tōch*, *tornede* 178, *trostede* 550, *vateden* 505, *wenede* 786, *wowede* 480, *druckede* 417, *erwede* 193, *wiscde* 574, *wogede* 553, *wrohtede* 261, *bernde* 271.

Syncope of the *-e-* occurs after liquids and in polysyllables in *worwilde* 205, *gewerde* 418, *bewarde* 572, *vorden* 674, *meinde*

475, *kerden* 58, *horde* 748, *gerde* 419, *hungerde* 570, *vorwandelde* 571., *wunderde* 219.

Verbs with roots ending in *-t-* or *-s-* change *-tede* or *-sede* to *-te* and *-ste*: *vrochte* 267: *vrochtede* 261, *sufte* 666, *hefte* 438, *dorste* 570, *kuste* 233, *derloste* 10.

legede > *lede* 494, 699, 514 and *segede* > *sede* 640, *segedest* > *sedest* 520. Lübben *Mnd. Gr.* 57.

wisede 3. sg. 304 is the only pret. subj.

The pres. part. adds *-ende* to the root: *spelende* 676, *wenende* 473, 536, *levende* 350.

The infinitive ends in *en*, once in *-ende*: *to kundigende* 137.

The past part. occurs regularly with *ge-* and ending *-et* or *-t*: [*ge*]*benedi*[*g*]*et* 31, 713, *gemartert* 644, *up-geneget* 439, *gesenket* 145, *gevrovet* 475, *ge-* dropped after prefixes in *entzunt* (H. G.) 272, *bedecket* 226, *derloset* 795, *derwecket* 293, *vorschreckt* 294, *vorleidet* 118, *vorvluket* 181, *erwendet* 300.

For all verbs the future is formed with *schullen*.

komende sint 188 and *ek wil sein* 308 are future in sense.

One conditional *ek wolde—sin* 475, occurs.

The compound of the present and preterit occur mostly with *hebben*, rarely with *sin*. Examples of the latter occur in 133, 293 and 476.

The passive is formed with *werden* and past part.

dragen wart 523, is a circumlocution for *droch* perhaps in the sense: *had to bear*. Here the M. H. G. uses the infinitive but the L. G. would use the present participle. See Erdmann *Syntax* § 145. Lübben *Mnd. Gr.* p. 92.

The few "rückumlauting" verbs *genant*, *gesant*, *geant*, *bekant*, *bevant*, *gewant*, due to H. G. influence, were mentioned before, p 156. *sande* 658 is the only legitimate L. G. example in the poem.

STRONG VERBS.

P. G. *ī*; *ai*, *i*; *i*.

Class I. *ī*, *ē*, *ē*, *ē*.

The *ē* of the pret. pl. and part. is lengthened according to Nерger's rule (p. 156) from *e* weakened from *i*. O. H. G. *ī*, *ai*, *i*, *i*,
1. *entbitct* 170, 2. pl. pres. ind.

2. *blīven* 403, infn.; *ek blīve* 413, pres. ind. *blift* 345, 3. sg. pres.; *blef* 457; *bleif* 651, 3. pret. sg.; *blēven* 63, 3. pret. pl.

3. *drīve* we 495, 1. pl. pres., *dreif* 47, 3. pret. sg., *gedrēven* 429. p. p. *ek vordrīve* 782.
4. *we grīpen* 574, pl. pres.; *begreip* 628, 3. pret. sg.
5. *vormīden* 284, inf.
6. *līden* 251, 283, 3. pl. pres.; *leit* 347, 3. sg. pret.
7. *erschein* 71, 3. sg. pret.
8. *schrei* 515, 3. sg. pret.
9. *sliken* 163, inf.
10. *swēgen* 141, 3. pl. pret.
11. *vorti[g]en* 633, inf.
12. *getwide* 122 2. sg. imp'v.
13. *sek vli[g]en* 680. Derived from **fliuhan* of Class II.

Class II. ē (ū), ō ō, ō < *eu; *au, *u; *u.

Nerger's law has influenced plural of preterit and past part.

1. *bōt* 16, 3rd sg. pret. *gebōden* p. p. 74, 100. *entbōt* 256, 3rd sg. pret. *entbōden* p. p. 266. *vorbōt* 167, 3rd sg. pret. *gi bēden* 319, 2. pl. subj. pres.
2. *gētet* 161, = *gēte it*, 1. sg. pres.
3. *kōs* 791, 3. sg. pret. *derkorn* 547, p. p.
4. *) *vorgekrōpen* 689, p. p.
- 4^b) *krōch* 684, 3. pret. s., borrowed from H. G. to rime with *slōch*.
5. *vorlōren* 196, 525, p. p. *vorlesen* 509, inf.
6. *slōch* 685 (*slūken*), 3. s. pret.
7. *sōgest* 32, 2. s. pret.
8. *tōgen* 3. pl. pret. 541, *tōgede*, weak pret. and intransitive 582, *upgetōgen* 45, p. p.
9. *gevlōgen* 46, p. p.

Class III. i, a, u, u:ō. P. G. e; a, u; u.

1. *drank* 59, 3. s. pret.
2. *began* 147, 367. 460, 587. *begunt* 3. s. pret. 112. *begunde* 163, 198, 703. *begonde* 410, 680. *begunden* 104.
3. *vorsan* 258, 3. s. pret.
4. *vant* 200, 584, 3. s. pret. *vunden* 42, 311, pl. pret. (subj. ?). *vunde* 605, 3. sg. pret. subj.
5. *wunden* 444, 3. pl. pret.
6. *gewinnen* 187, inf.

7. *rank* (for *wrank*) 540, 3. s. pret.
8. *vorderven* 526, inf.
9. *helpe* 623, 3. s. pres. subj. *hulpen* 103, 3. pl. pret. subj.
10. *sterven* 168, 466, 527, inf. 168, 1. pl. pres. subj.
sterve gi 157. *starf* 349, 3. sg. pret.
11. *bevölen* 399, inf. *bevöle we* 426. *bevöl* 93, 3. s. pret. (EITHER from the analogy of *malen*, *möl*, hence usual L. G. *bevalen*, *bevöl.*, or else due to the past part. *bevölen*. *Behaghel* in *Grundriss* I. 595, § 118 (1893).
bevölen 531, 3. pl. pret. *bevölen* 23, past part.
12. *werden* 139, 210, 671, inf. *wert* 435, 3. s. pres. *werde gi* 171.
wert (for *werde*) 162, 3. s. pres. subj. *worde* 240, 3. sg. subj. pres. for *werde*, not for *wurde*. *wart* 523, 3. s. pret.
geworden p. p. 439, p. p. is usually L. G. *worden*.
13. *werpen* 190, inf. *werpe* 483, 3. s. pret. subj.
14. *werven* 104, 378, inf. *erwerven* 180, inf.
erwerwe 796, 3. pres. subj. *vorwerven* 528, p. p.

Class IV. ē (ō), a, ē, ō, < *e, *a, *ē, *o.

1. *gebar* 345, 3. s. pret. *geboren* 8, 139, 194, p. p.
2. *brach*, for *brak*, 704. *tobrach*, for *tobrak*, 353, in both cases a forced rime with *sach* or *angesach*.
tobrēke 339, 3. s. pres. subj., or just as well pret. subj.
3. *vorhōlen* 236, past part.
4. *nemen* 700, inf. *nemet* 500, 2. pl. imp'v.
nam 471, 663, 691. *nēmen* 50, 3. pl. pret. *genōmen* 477,
599, p. p.
benōmen 529, p. p.
vor-nēmet 95, 131, 2. pl. imp'v. *vor-nam* 227, 388, 682.
vor-nēme 585, 3. s. pret. subj. *vor-nomen* 289, p. p.
5. *quam*, ten times, 46 etc. *quēmen* 49, 765, 3. pl. pret.
queme 584 3. s. pret. subj.
komen < **queman* or from analogy of p. p. **quoman*
94, 211, inf.
kome 743, 1. s. pres. *kummet* 616, 3. s. pres. *kōmende sint*
88, = future tense. *gekōmen* 133, 212, 598, p. p. *kōmen*
462, 476, p. p.
vorgekōmen 290, p. p. *willekomen* p. p. 611.
6. *sprēke* 340, either 3. s. pres. or pret. subj.
sprak 32 times, but not in rime. *sprach* 12 times in rime.

sprāken 224, 487, 492, 3. pl. pret. *gesprāken* 546, p. p.

7. *plach* 70, 242, originally belonging to class V. Class IV in Old Saxon.
8. *schrach* 692, for *schrak* to rime with *lach*, 3. sg. pret. Derived from the older weak verb. Perhaps H. G. See § 341, A. 2. of Braune's *Ahd. Gr.*

Class V. ē (i), a, ē, ē < *e, *a, *ē, *e.

1. *etet* 55, 2. pl. imp'v. *Ete gi* 157, 2. pl. subj. pres. *at* 173, 359, 3. s. pret.
2. *vorgat* 172, 3. s. pret.
3. *geve* 377, 724, 3. sg. pres. subj. *gif* 291, imp'v. *gegēven* 440, 719, 734, p. p. *gaf* 151, 173.
4. *schut* 727, for **schit* < **scchit*, 3. s. pres. *gescheit: seit* 381-2, 3. s. pres. borrowed from H. G. for the rime.
geschichte: nicht, 412, 615, 3. s. pres. borrowed from H. G. for the rime.
geschein: gesein 83-4, 371-2: *sein* 307-8: *besein* 398-7.
5. *sein* 282, 308, 638, inf. *seist* 622, *seit* 382. *sach* 28 etc. 10 times.
sēgen 57, 62, 351, 363, 79, 707, 3. pl. pret. *gesein* 83, 215, 372, p. p.
ansach 472. *angesach* (H. G.) 705, 218. *gesach* (H. G.) 738. *besein* 397, inf.
6. *wesen* 184, 630. *wes* 611, 617, 2. s. imp'v. *was* 8, etc. *wēren* 45, etc. not in rime.
war 698: *dar* 699; *waren* 3: *op[p]enbaren* 4, on account of rime.
wēre 737, 1. s. pret. subj.; 220 3. s. id. *wēren* 152, 3. pl. pret. subj.
gewēsen 645, p. p.
7. *bidde* 116, 121, 1. s. pres., 238, 375, 2. s. impv. *bat* 16, 602, 667, 3. s. pret. *bēden* 110, 3. pl. pret., 101, 3. pl. pret. subj.
8. *liggen* 249, inf. *lach* 241, 665, 3. s. pret. *lēgen* 249, 3. pl. pret. *lit* 465 H. G. and not in rime.

Class VI. ā, ō, ō, ā < *a, *ō, *ō, *a.

1. *drāgen* 484, inf. *drēgest* 407, *dreht* 423.

- gedragen* 30, pp.. *dragen wart* 523, M. G. for L. G. *droch*. Erdmann, *Syntax* § 145.
- gedröch* 246. This *ge-* is suspiciously II. G.
2. *begräven* 349, 644, p. p.
 3. *hūf* 12, 317, 365, *erhūf* 142. Braunschweig forms of *hōf* and *erhōf*.
hōven 310, 3. pl. pret.
 4. *vorlāden* 463, p. p.
 5. *schaffe* 255, 3. s. pres. subj. 304, 2. s. impv. Borrowed from the H. G., this word was universally in use on L. G. ground.
 6. *slōgen* 451, 3. pl. pret.
 7. *stunt* 76, 731, 3. sg. pret. *stundest* 736. *stunden* 312, 3. p. pret.
stunde 243, 3. s. pret. subj. Evidently H. G. though borrowed very early. See Holthausen *As. El'buch*. § 445.
 8. *vāren* 395, inf. *vāre* 432, 2. s. weak impv. *vāret* 440, impv. *vor* 353, : *vur* 257, 287, 369, 558, 754, Braunschweig dialect. *vurt* 664, illustrates the common L. G. tendency to manufacture weak forms, especially of the preterits, of strong verbs. The scribe may have been thinking of the correct trans. verb *urden* 668.

vūren 15, 3. pl. pret. *gewāren* 175, p. p.

Note that *vur* was used twice before the single *vor* occurred.

Class VII. A. a, ē ě, ē ě, a < *a, *ē, *ē, *a.

1. *gink* 92, 361. *gingen* 43, 51, 420, 759. With M. G. vowel in preterit.
2. *beholden* < **bechaldan*, inf. 482.
entholdet 491, 2. p. impv.
3. *henk* 415. *hengen*: *gingen* 44-3
4. *vēlen* 312, 673, 773, 3. pl. pret.
bevalle 153, 3. s. pres. subj.
5. *entvān* 61, inf.
bevenk 414. *vengen* 758.

Class VII. B. ā, ē, ē, ā < *ā, *ē, *ē, *ā.

1. *lāten* 260 inf.: *lān* 328 borrowed from the H. G. for rime.
hān: *lān* 327-8. *lātet* 2. p. imp'v. 485.
leit 207, 262, 303, 316. *lēten* 776, *vorlēten* 78.
2. *rāde* 295, 1. s. pres.
rēdest 522, 2. s. pret. *vorreit* 177, 3. s. pret.

3. *sleppest* 274, 2. s. pres.
sleip 263, *slēpen* 67, 3. pl. pret. *entsläpen* 694, p. p.
 Class VII. C. ē, ē, ē, ē, < *ai, *ai, *ai, *ai.
- I *heit* 18, 94, 152, 189, 3. s. pret
 Class VII. D. ō, ē, ē, ō. < *au, *ō, *ō, *au.
1. *reip* 174, 264, 273, 3. s. pret. *rēpen* 68. 3. pl. pret.
 2. *vorstöt* 144, for *vorstötet* for *vorstōten*, has become weak.

PRETERIT-PRESENTS.

Class I. *wiste* 521, 1. s. pret.

Class II. *dochte* 201, 3. s. pret.

Class III. a). *kan* 34, *kunnet* 280, 2. p. pres.

konden 89, 3. pret. ind. *kunde*: *vunde* 604-5, 3. s. pret. subj.

b). *dor(n)e gi* with parasitic *n* 284. Specifically L. G. *dorste* 276, 3. s. pret. *dorstes* 260 for *dorste des*.

Class IV. *schal* 158, etc. *schalt* 2. s. pres. 180 etc. *schullen* 216, 343, 3. p. pres.

schulle we 322, 482, 492, *schulle gi* 278, 327. Seventeen forms with *sch-* to six with *sc-*. The pret. is written once *scolde* 211.

Class V (?). *mach* 29, 350, 621.

mochte 202, : *muchte* 638, but subj. *mochten* 512.

Class VI. *mut* 386, 466, 498, 489. Points to Braunschweig.

must 405, *most* 406, *mōten* 3. p. pres. ind. 785.

mūte pres. subj. 655: *mote* 539.

musten 4, 196, pret.

MI-VERBS.

1. *sīn* 181, 196, 239, 276, inf. *bin* 120, 293, *bist* 476, is always within line, but *ist* in rime. *ist* 124, 138, 214, 344, 380, 533, 795.

sint 31, 133. *sī* pres. subj. 20, 255. *sīn* 783, subj.

2. *gān* 21, 159, 160, inf. *geit*: *steit* 338-7, 3. s. pres. The H. G. *gāt* occurs in rime: 292, 800. *gā* 576 3. pr. subj. H. G. *gāst*: *hāst* 21-2 would have rimed as well in L. G. *gest*: *hest*

3. *stān* 62, inf. *vorstein* 260, id. *vorsten* 476, id.

steit: *geit* 337-7, 3. s. pres. ind. *stāt*: *hāt* (H. G.) 325-6.

4. *dōn* 235, inf. Only H. G. forms, *dut* 391, 3. s. pres. and

19, 2. pl. pres., occur in the present tense. *dat: gut* 391-2, 386-5.

ade 458, 3. s. pret. *dēden* 109, 3. pl. pret.; 56 and 102, 3. pl. pret. subj.

gedān 166, 310, 478, p. p. *underdān* 97, adj.

wolgetan 223, 706, and *wol* — — *getan* 80, show a shifted *d*.

THE ANOMALOUS WILLEN.

wil 19, 308 pres. ind. *wultu* 727, 2. s. pres. ind. *willen* 501, 2. pl.

wille 376, 3. s. pres. subj. *willen* 334, subj.

wolde 61, 146, 298, 475, 1. and 3. s. pret. *woldest* 517, *wolden* 40.

IRREGULAR VERBS.

1. *bringen* 627, inf. *bringe* 1. pres. 634.

brachte 176, 446: *brochte* 584. *brachten* 99: *brochten* 73.

bracht 64, p. p. *vullenbracht* 730, p. p. *vorebrachte* 91, 3. s. pret.

2. *bedenken* 248, inf. *derdenken* 280, inf. *dachte* 158, 204, pret.

3. *duchte* 366, from *dunken*.

4. *dofte* 789, from *dōpen*.

5. *hebben* 525, inf. *hebbe* 735, 1st pres. ind. *hest* 175 etc., seven times.

heft 30, etc., seven times. *het* for *heft* 329, 719. *hebbe we* 215, 372.

hadde 678, 730, 762, pret. *hedde* 259, id. *hedden* 82, 710, pret. pl.

hedde 341, 590, pret. subj.

There occur also the following H. G. forms in the rimes:

hāven, after the false analogy of *begraven* 349-350.

hān: *gān* 160-159, : *lān* 327-8, : *man* 785-6. All inf.

hān: *man* 266-5, 1. s. pres. ind. *hāst* 22: *gāst* 21.

hantgedāt: *hāt* 117-8, *stāt*: *hāt* 325-6, *stat*: *hāt* 428-9.

rāt: *hāt* 466-7, 529-8, *missedāt*: *hāt* 797-8.

gedān: *hān* 478-9, 1. pl. pres.

ADVERBS.

TIME. *balde* 684, *bivore* 36, *bivorn* 268, 546, *do* 28, *gi* 246, etc., *ni* 82 etc., *hermede* 287, 440, *hute* (H. G.) 116, *itto* 743, *jummer* 138, 281, *nummer* 340, 643, *eins* 649, *dat* (expletive) 692,

759, *lank* 360, *lange* 316, *lenger* 40, 301, *nu* 95 etc., *morgen* 296, *sedder* 93, *seit do* 172, *vro* 296, *vuste* 685, *wan* 307. Expressions: *des morgens* 71, 94, *to nachte* 92, 305, *enes nachtes* 241, *des anderen nachtes* 263, *des dridden nachtes* 269, *de[n] nacht* 63, *underwilen* 409, *so schēre* 253.

Compounds of *like*: *liken*: *innichliken* 113, *jcmmmerlike*: *-liken* 191, 472. *lefliken* 218,, *gelike* 131, *vltliken* 105, *vroliken* 404, 712, *sakerliken* 432, *sichtichliken* 370, *witliken* 776.

Negations are *Nein* 169, *neua* 499, 486, *en—nicht* 34 etc., rarely *ne—nicht* 89, and three other cases; so *nicht* alone 21, *nichtes—nicht—en* 698. The affirmation is *ja*.

Prepositional adverbs. *ancin* 72, *āve-* (*gāst*) 21, *dar-āve* 521, *darmēde* 141, *darna* 11, *darto* 31, *darūte* 249, *dohen* 582, *her—* 133, *wurumme* 265, *worumme* 495, *nedder* 145, 542, *up* 592, 439, *hinder* 413 (H. G.), *in samen* (H.G. ?) 562, *in sament* 43, *darinne* 63, *dar-inne* 59, *bisunder* 640, *underwēgen* 262, *vilna* 252, *vorwar* 346, 519, *vore—* 27 etc., *vullen(-horen)* 90, *vullen(-bracht)* 730, *wedder(-kommen)* 94, 196, *van wenne* 220, 588, *hirmēde* 287, 440, *over bort* 451, 498.

Adverbs of place in addition to above: *ver* 647 (H.G.), *verne* 135, *dort* (H.G.) 655, *heim* 659, *hēme* 403, *wur* 646, *war* 54, *dar* 644,

Manner. *alse* 35 etc., *also* 85, *so* 80 etc., *alsus* 17, 23, 159, (H. G.), *sus* 118, 278, (H.G.), *doch* 499, 282, *denne noch* 697, *ergen* 470, *ok* 24 etc. Derived from nouns: *manger—, menniger-hande* 335, *to hant* 399 etc.

Comparison *alse* 84, *wanne* 778, *danne* 741, *edder* 427
wedder—noch 285.

Interrogative: *van wenne* 220, 588, *wurumme* 265, 495, *wur* 646.

Genitival: *so schōnes* 83.

Derived from adjectives: *ho* 444, *bekant* 56, *kunt* 648, *lank* 360, *lichte* 238, 490, *vil* 32 etc., *wu vele* 501, *mēr* 185, *algemēne* 155, 322, *vaste* 415, *vulkōmen* 651, *wēnich* 67, *genōch* 245, *rechte* 80, 223, *unsachte* 293, *sēr* 219, *snelle* 446, *wol* 29, 80, *allēne* 156, 321, *bēter* 524, *dic*: *dicke* H. G. 254, 416, *gar* 2, 437, *gerne* 378, *hārde*: *hērde* 415, 408: 105, 739.

CONJUNCTIONS.

unde 10 etc., *edder* 427, *beide-unde* 14, *wedder-noch* 285, *āver* 264 etc., *wente* 4, 292, : *wen* 798: *wanne* 778, *sunder* 156, 649,

alse 35, *dat* 6 etc., *dō* 28, *wū* 10, *dār* 644, *de wīle* 22, *sint dat* 407, *sint* 467, *icht* 239, 337; *wurnā* 334.

INTERJECTIONS.

Leider! 59. *Owē!* 576.

PREPOSITIONS.

With dative: *mit* 10 etc., *nā* 147, 188, *nach* 1, *tō* 30 etc., *tōgen*—*tō* 581, *ūt* 15, etc., *under* 154, *up* 8, *uppe* 242, *van* 7, etc., *vōr* 27. With accusative: *āne* 250, 541, *bēt an* 69, *dorch* 60, 133, *in* 542, *ōver* 5, 47 etc., *sunder* 727, *umme* 504, *up* 193, 432, *vōr* 121, 86.

PART V.

VERSIFICATION.

As Low German poetry is the product of conscious imitation of High German models, what might be dignified with the term *epic verse* contains, therefore, four accented syllables or *hebungen*. (I shall term them *arses*.) These accented syllables mostly alternate with unaccented ones, *senkungen* (theses), while a bare majority of verses end with an accented syllable. Compare Seelmann in *Valentin und Namelos*, 1884.

A normal verse is the following:

Nach ùnses hēren hīmmelvärt. Type C. in *Grundriss* II. 1. p. 912, (1893). Although the majority of verses of our poem can be scanned according to the principles laid down by Paul for the dipodic epic verse of the M.H.G. period in *Grundriss* II. I. 898 ff; although Kauffmann, *Deutsche Metrik*, Marburg 1897, § 145 requires the same treatment for the period 1300-1600; and although Litzmann has elaborately applied the same method to the *Fabeln Gerhards von Minden*, Halle 1898, it would be the height of absurdity to make such an attempt with the poem before us. It is to be hoped that the treatment of the late M. H. G. metres will undergo a radical revolution in favor of sense and simplicity. Of the 800 verses of our poem 561 have four distinct *arses*, 7 five, and 231 have only three. Verse 9 has two.

Paul says on p. 945 of the article cited: *In den nicht zum Gesang bestimmten Dichtungen herrscht während des 14. Jahrh. und zum Teil noch in das 15. hinein eine grosse Unsicherheit,*

wie sie schon im 13. begonnen hatte. Man kann zwei Hauptrichtungen unterscheiden. Einerseits gestattet man sich lange Verse mit überladenen Füßen in der Regel ohne jede Synkope der Senkung. Dies ist besonders in den niederdeutschen Dichtungen der Fall, die auch im 13. in Bezug auf Regelmässigkeit hinter den ober- und mitteldeutschen zurückgeblieben waren,— Eine andre besonders in Oberdeutschland herrschende Richtung setzt die Tendenz zu regelmässiger Abwechslung zwischen gehobenen und gesenkten Silben fort.

In proof of the former statement compare the long verses 10, 20, 30, 31, 37, 51, 54, 94, 95, 113, 128, 142, 146, 179, 208, 228, 264, etc., averaging twelve syllables to the line.

Lines 243, 374, 10, 20, 386, 592 and 798 must be read with five accents:

374. *Vrówe erbárme dék over mínschenlif.*

592. *He sprák: Dit crútze négede mek úp to hánt.*

10. *Unde wú he sé mit siner mártter derlóste.* (Possibly normal).

20. *Maria Magdaléna si an díner híde.* (Possibly normal).

243. *Dó dachte sé wu vór er stúnde aldá.*

386. *Se sprák: de dách mut júmmer sàlich sin*

798. *Wen sé den bésten déil derkóren hát.*

As a preliminary study I carefully counted all the cases of lines of four accents without, with monosyllabic, with dissyllabic and with trisyllabic anacrusis (*Auftakt*); without thesis (*Senkung*), with monosyllabic, dissyllabic and trisyllabic thesis after the first, second and third accents; with final unaccented syllable (*überschlagende Silbe*). The results are as follows:

1). The anacrusis may even reach three syllables as in l. 228, or be lacking altogether, l. 7. No principle for its use can be deduced.

2). A thesis may be wanting altogether as in line 651:

Vúlkómen twé jár.

Any thesis may be lacking. Compare ll. 155, 182, 6.

3). Final *-e*, *-el*, *-en*, *-er* are to be treated as *überschlagend* at the end of a verse. The preceding syllable bears the fourth or third accent, as the case may be. Compare l. 30.

De dék to dísser wérldé heft gedrágén.

Because of the universal lengthening of open syllables in L. G. according to Nерger's Law (see p. 156) there is no case of *stumpfer*

Reim resulting from the treatment of two short syllables, as in M. H. G. *trägen*, as equivalent to a single accented long syllable. Slightly less than one half of all lines that must be read with four accents have such a final unaccented syllable in our poem.

4). The lack of evident metrical principles displayed in the poem, especially the frequent occurrence of theses with two or three syllables, make it extremely hazardous to ascribe extra syllables to the pen of a scribe as a basis for metrical criticism.

For example, l. 31 could be improved by the omission of the syllable *ge*:

Dartó die brúste [ge]benediet sint.

Besides the use of *ge* here is probably not L. G. Nevertheless the elimination of the few possibly spurious *ge* prefixes would leave the verses practically as bad as they were before and we should still not be positive that the author did not write them originally.

5). A most striking feature of the poem is the presence of 231 verses with only three accents. According to Kauffmann, *Deutsche Metrik*, p. 128, such verses had become more and more common from the 13th century on among H. G. poets. They occur in the L. G. fables of *Gerhardt von Minden* as can be seen in Leitzmann's edition. They occur in *Valentin und Namelos*, in the *Redentiner Osterspiel*, consequently are not unknown to L. G. poets. In the above poem they occur often in pairs as was noticed in *Gerhardt von Minden* by Leitzmann, pages CXI and CXII. Compare ll. 13-14, 17-18, 57-58, 65-66, 67-68, 81-82, 87-88, 99-100, 101-102, 105-106, 107-108, 109-110, 129-130, 139-140, 153-154, 185-186, 197-198, 201-202, 205-206, 209-210, 219-220, 225-226, 247-248, 253-254, 257-258, 269-270, 273-274, 279-280, 283-284, 287-288, 289-290, 293-294, 297-298, 301-302, 311-312, 313-314, 317-318, 323-324, 330-331, 333-334, 335-336, 339-340, 357-358, 362-363, 365-366, 369-370, 397-398, 410-411, 412-413, 416-417, 418-419, 420-421, 442-443, 444-445, 446-447, 452-453, 454-455, 470-471, 480-481, 496-497, 518-519, 526-527, 532-533, 582-583, 590-591, 596-597, 598-599, 600-601, 602-603, 604-605, 610-611, 640-641, 650-651, 656-657, 676-677, 680-681, 682-683, 694-695, 758-759, 760-761.

The following lines of three accents are coupled with lines of four accents: 3, (6), (11), (38), 50, (60), 72, (83), 90, 92, 103,

111, 114, (132), (141), 164, (178), 180, 189, 244, (261), 277, 307, 315, 330, (377), 388, (392), (431), (456), 504, 508, 512, 521, 542, 555, 567, (577), 584, 587, 593, 594, 614, 617, 626, 632, 638, 659, 664, 666, 668, 679, 687, 689, 702, 704, 708, 712, 720, 732, 752, 764, 766, 791. Certain of these could be classed among those with four accents as well as some of the long lines could be read with four rather than five accents. They are enclosed in parentheses. Lines riming with the lines, of which the numbers are in italics, may perhaps by straining be read with three accents. In spite of this there remain many single lines which have indubitably only three accents. These short lines unquestionably vary the monotony of the meter and are often so pat that they indicate considerable feeling for harmony on the part of the poet.

An examination of the rimes yields the following results:

- 1). \bar{a} and a rime as .n M. H. G. ll. 22-23, 265-266, 420-421, 799-800.
- 2). \bar{o} and o rime, 237-238, 299-300. The o in *son(e)* had become long through Nerger's Law and rimes with \bar{o} : ϵ 3-4, 375-6, 714-5.
- 3). \bar{i} and i rime: 115-6, 171-2, 205-6, 221-2.
- 4). *Marsilie* 48 ends with an accented long vowel to rime with *sne* 47.
 \bar{e} and \bar{i} rime: 566-7.
 i and e rime: 42-3, 247-8, 279-280, 273-4, 333-4, 510-1, 758-9, 582-3, 634-5.
 e and \bar{i} rime: 752-3.
 e and a rime: 486-7.
- 5). Final \bar{a} rimes with final \bar{a} : 11-12, 732-3, 269-270, 25-6, 516-7, 243-4, 768-769-770.
 \bar{a} rimes with $\bar{a}r$: 41-2, 315-6.
- 6). $-e$ and $-en$ rime: 105-6, 712-3, 261-2. The preceding syllable in each case rimes and bears the accent.
- 7). $ch < *hw$ rimes with $ch < k$: *sach*: *sprach* twelve times, *brach*: *gcsach* 704-5, *tobrach*: *sach* 353-4, *sach*: *gemach* 305-6. These are borrowed from the H. G. "riming dictionary." (See p. 164). *schrach* and *lach* 692-3 are H. G. $ch < *h$ rimes with $ch < g$ in *genoch*: *gedroch* 245-6.
- 8). For *weit*: *gencit* 438-9 see p. 165.
- 9). The following words have been borrowed from the High

German for the sake of rime: *hantgedāt*: *hāt* 117-8, *gesant*: (*lant*) 135-6 *gān*: *hān* 159-160, *lant* (in the plural): (*Heilant*) 5-6, *gāst*: *hāst* 22-3, *ungetalt*: *alt* 37-8, *entvān* (?): *stān* 61-2, (*man*): *hān* 265-6, 786-5, (*rāt*): *gāt* 291-2, *stāt*: *hat* 325-6, *hān*: *lān* 327-8, (*begraven*): *haven* 349-350, (*dan*): *stān* 420-1, (*rāt*): *hāt* 466-7, 529-8, (*gedān*): *hān* 478-9, *sande* (?): (*lande*) 658-9, *schrach*: (*lach*) 692-3, *bewant*: *geant* 728-9, (*missedāt*): *hāt* 797-8, (*blat*): *utgāt* 799-800, *gā*: (*nā*) 576-7, (*lant*): *gesant* 578-9, (*hant*): *gesant* 592-3, 608-9, (*lant*): *genant* 594-5, *genant*: *gesant* 606-7, *gesant*: *bewant* 612-3, (*hant*): *genant* 628-9.

(*er*): *mir* 634-5, *gescheit*: (*seit*) 381-2,

(*Crist*): *ist* 123-4, 137-8, 213-4, 532-3, 343-4, 379-380, *ist*: (*rist*) 795-6.

(*sīn*): *kindelin* 239-240 etc., (*himmelrike*): *sichtichlike* 369-370, *geschicht*: (*nicht*) 412-3, *kindelin*: *schepelin* 490-1.

(*gut*): *dāt* 285-6, 392-1, 671-670. *stunt*: *entczunt* 271-2. *waren*: (*op*[*p*]baren) 3-4, *sprach*: *ungemach* 536-7, (*varen*): *waren* 556-7, (*sach*): *sprach* 364-363, etc., *waren*: (*jaren*) 708-9. *nich*: *sich* 177-8 betray a H. G. copyist.

10). Examples of *Rührender Reim* are: *mildcheit*: *werdicheit* 544-5, *lant*: *Heilant* 5-6, *himmelrike*: *ertrike* 7-8, *stunt*: *upstunt* 351-2, *kindelin*: *schepelin* 506-7. *darna*: *Magdalena* 11-12, 269-270, 732-3.

11). The triple rime *mere*: *sere*: *here* 409-10-11 may indicate the loss of one or many lines as was noted on the copy of the Ms. which was collated by Dr. Gustav Milchsack, librarian at Wolfenbuettel. Notwithstanding, there is no apparent break in sense. Another occurs in *alda*: *Magdalena*: *apostola* 768-9-770 without apparent break. See Koberstein I, 120 11-16.

PART VI. RESULTS.

1). The poem is written in Middle Low German as the analysis of the phonology abundantly indicates.

2). The Low German is that of the *mek* region of which the centres are Brunswick, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, Hildesheim, Wolfenbüttel, Magdeburg, Göttingen, Hannover, arranged in the order of greatest claim to being the home of the Low German poet.

3). Helmstedt Codex 894 does not seem to contain the or-

iginal Ms. if much weight is to be placed upon the evident displacements between lines 479 and 512. Also the presence of *om* for *eme* and *on* for *en[e]* 640, 643, 602, 607, indicate that the forms with *o* were original and that the forms with *e* are an attempt at normalization and revision.

4). Then the questions arise: Was the copyist a High German? Was the poet a Low German and if so from what region? My answers are: the scribe was High German; the poet a Brunswickian.

Reasons. The evidence that the scribe was more acquainted with H. G. is not convincing, it must be admitted. The strongest reason for this view is his writing of *d* for final L. G. *d*: *t* = H. G. *d*: *t* as well as for L. G. *t* = H. G. *s* or *sz*. See page 165.

The enigmatic *barbzen* 542, 669, = L. G. *barse*, *bardse*, *bar-dese* indicates his unfamiliarity with that word. *hute* for *hude* 116, *gelov'ich* for *gelov'ik* 779, the false double *pp* of *op[p]en-baren* 4, *graft* for *graf* 513, *wunnichlich*: *sich* 77-8, *mich*: *sich* 177-8 seem to be oversights chargeable to the scribe.

As for the language employed by the poet, it shows a large admixture of H. G. forms, most of which have been cited on p. 187 and are due to the influence of the H. G. poetic rimes. Add to these: *alsus* 17, *arbeit* 673, *affenspel* 494, *dic* 254, *dicke* 416, *dofte* 789, *dort* 665, *dridden* 269, *hinder* 413, *kroch* 684, *lichenam* 486, *michel* 766, *nikein* 65, *redehaft* 231, *sagen* for *seggen* 29 etc., *wolgetan* 706, *bevelen* 399, *ver* 647, *vreislich* 408, *vrisch* 697, *gewant* 696, *geweldig* 226, *bewiset* 393, *schaffe* 304.

There is not one word in the above list which does not occur in the language of one or more L. G. writers.

The phonology is in the main consistently Low German. The main stumbling block is final *ch* for *k* which has been discussed on p. 164. It is a phenomenon noted in the rimes of most L. G. poets and shows the influence of the literary H. G.

The morphology is nearly consistently L. G. The only striking deviation is in the formation of neuter plurals without ending as noted on p. 166. As these cases occur in the rimes, they may be explained on that ground. Against this phenomenon put the frequent use of forms of the adjective in-*n* in place of the regular dative *-me*: 575, 265, 95, 39.

All these irregularities point to a dialect on the border be-

tween High and Low German or to a large city largely under High German influence. This would account for the almost universal use of the prefix *ge-* conformably to H. G. use and to a much freer extent than usual in L. G. speech. It would explain the use of *alle* for L. G. *al*; of the false forms *aillet* and *allent* assigned by Damköhler, *Germania* XXXV. 130, to the South of Low German territory. It would account for the H. G. *uns*, *unser* in lieu of L. G. (Low Saxon) *us*, *user*. It would account for the use of the prefix *der-* in *derne* 534 *derwecket* 293, *derloste* 10, *derloset* 795, *derloven* 401, *derdenken* 280 *derkorn* 547. Originally Bavarian (see Weinhold Mhd. Gram. §§ 83 and 302). this prefix spread over Middle Germany into Brandenburg and even into Brunswick and Quedlinburg according to Tümpel, *Niederdeutsche Studien*, 1898, page 67.

The poem is from West of the Elbe and from the Southeast of the *mek* region. Now from all the data furnished by Tümpel it would seem that Brunswick, Halberstadt and Quedlinburg used mainly *ek*, *mek*, *dek* and *sek* about the first half of the 15th century. See *Nd. St.* passim. The other cities show too great a tendency to the forms with *i*. The same three cities use *we* (*wir*) prevailingly where *wy* is used in the rest of the *mek* region. Brunswick and Quedlinburg use *uns* in the fifteenth century. According to Tümpel's data the pronouns occurring in our poem as *eme*, *ene*, *em*, *en*, are regularly written with *o* in the *mek* region. The scribe normalized all but four as before mentioned p. 188.

It must be admitted that the data from Tümpel are neither satisfactory nor convincing. The author could have come from any city of the region. The most promising argument is from the use of *ū* for *ō*. Seelmann has shown in the *Jahrbuch für nd. Sprachforschung* XVIII p. 141 ff. that W. G. *ō* > *ū* in the Brunswick dialect of the 15th century. This is fortified by Wrede, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* XXII, 112 ff. The *ū* is probably due to H. G. influence. Compare *gute* 19, *dut* 286, *muder* 345, *mut* 424, *mut* 386: *mote* 539, *musten* 4: *mostu* 406, *vorvluket* 181, *hude* 20, 572, *vuren* 15; *vur* 257 etc., *huf* 12, 317, 365, *erhuf* 142.

The preterits of the fourth and fifth *ablautsreihen* have *ē* in the plural in Brunswick and Quedlinburg in the fifteenth century according to Tümpel.

In the absence of other data I would assign the authorship of the poem either to a native of Brunswick or to a North Bavarian or other Middle German who had become thoroughly master of the Brunswick dialect through long use. He tried to avoid peculiar native words and phrases in order to give his work a more literary flavor.

His name will probably remain a mystery. His occupation was probably that of a monk. His education was evidently more than ordinary if I have succeeded in showing his knowledge of French, Latin and High German. I judge from the 799th line that the poem must have been a task which he was glad to get off his hands.

The time of composition may have been between 1400 and 1449, there is absolutely no evidence.

VAN SUNTE MARIA MAGDALENEN.

- Fol. 60b.
- Nach unses heren himmelvart
 Dat gesinde gar vorsendet wart
 De sine jungern waren,
 Wente se musten openbaren
 5 Den luden over alle de lant,
 Dat de ware Heilant
 Goddes sone van himmelrike
 Was geboren up ertrike,
 Den luden to troste,
 10 Unde wu he se mit siner marter derlost.
 An korten tiden darna
 Huf sek Maria Magdalena
 Mit eren gesellen van dan,
 Beide wif unde man
 15 Vuren mit er ut der stat.
 Sunte Peter de bot unde bat
 Enem jungere alsus:
 (De heit Maximinus)
- Fol. 61a.
- He sprak: "Ek wil dat de gude
 20 Maria Magdalena si an diner hude,
 Dat du er nicht ave gast
 De wile du dat levent hast."
 De vrowe em alsus bevolen wart.
 Ok was mit er an der sulven vart
 25 Lazarus unde Martha
 Unde de gude Ma(r)cellina,
 De vor alle deme volke sprach
 Do se unsen hern predigen sach:
 "De buk is salich mach men wol sagen
 30 De dek to disser werlde heft gedragen".
 Darto de bruste [ge]benediet sint
 De du sogest du vil werde kint."
 Noch was mit en dar ein man
 Des ek genomen nicht en kan,
 35 De got, also ek lesen hore,
 Makede seinde hir bivore,

- Und ander lude vele ungetalt
 Beide junk unde alt
 De se to den mere geleiden.
 40 Do wolden nicht lenger beiden
 De gesellen unde Maria,
 Ein schep, dat se vunden dar,
 Alle in sament se do gingen,
 Eren segel se do ane hengen.
 45 Do de weren upgetogen
 De wint quam dar an geflogen
 Unde dreif se balde over se
 An de stat to Marsilie.
 Do se quemen an de have,
 Fol. 61b. 50 Er segel nemen se ave
 Und gingen ut dem schepe an dat lant
 Und loveden got al tohant,
 Dat he se gesendet hadde aldar
 Und beden dat he se wisede war
 55 Se to den luden quemen an dat lant
 Den se sinen namen deden bekant.
 Ein dorp se segen do
 Aldar kerden se to,
 Dar ne was leider nemant inne
 60 De se dorch goddes sinne
 Wolde an sin hus entvan,
 Do segen se ein bedehus stan,
 Dar inne bleven se de[n] nacht,
 Ene wart dar luttik spise bracht
 65 Noch der bedde nikein,
 Ere kussen dat weren stein.
 Vil wenich se slepen
 Se bededen unde repen
 Got an bet an den lichten dach,
 70 Erer ninein nenes slapes plach.
 Des morgens do der dach erschein
 Dat volk quam al anein
 Unde brochten opper den afgoden
 A lse en van hove was geboden.
 75 Do dat Maria Magdalena sach

- Se stunt up unde sprach.
 Er antlat was so wunnichlich
 Dat de lude alle vorleten sich
 Unde segen se to wunder an
 80 So rechte wol was se getan
 Fol. 62a. An alle erme live,
 Se en hedden ni van wive
 So schones nicht gesein
 Also an er was geschein.
 85 Ok was er rede also sote
 Dat se sek vor er vote
 Satten alle gelike
 Beide de armen unde rike
 Unde ne konden mit eren oren
 90 De wort nicht vullenhoren
 De er sote munt vorebrachte
 Bet dat it gink to nachte.
 Do bevol se se godde sedder
 Unde heit se komen des morgens wedder.
 95 Nu vornemet van dem anderen dage:
 Do quam de here, hort ek sage(n),
 Deme dat lant was underdan
 Unde mennich wif unde man
 Unde brachten opper den goden
 100 Also en was geboden
 Dat se de gode beden
 Dat se em gnade deden
 Unde hulpen em enes erven.
 Dit begunden se alle to werven
 105 Herde vlitliken
 Beide arm unde rike.
 Sin wif quam ok aldare
 Mit ener vrowenschare
 De groten denst deden
 110 Unde ok de godde beden,
 An der sulven stunt
 Maria Magdalena ok begunt
 Fol. 62b Und innichlichen an den himmel sach
 An erem herten se sprach:

- 115 "Here vader van himmelrik
Ik bidde hude [hute] erbarme dik
Over dine hantgedat
De de duvel sus vorleidet hat
Dat se anbeden de afgode.
- 120 Her ek bin to dek ein bode
Nu bidde ek ok vor se dek
Her vader [ge]twide mek
Dorch unsen heren Jhesum Crist,
De din eingeborn sone ist,
- 125 Nu gedenk an de gnade din,
Sende mek armen sunderin
Dat ek ene din wort so sage
Dat it ene vrome und dek behage."
To godde se do sach
- 130 Unde to dem volke se sprach:
"Nu vornemet alle gelike
Beide arm unde rike
Dorch wat we sint her gekomen
Juk to troste und ok to vromen.
- 135 We sint verne her gesant
Van over mer in dit lant
Juk to kundigen[de] dat Crist
War got was unde jummer ist
Und wolde geboren werden
- 140 Van ener maget up erden."
Dar mede swegen se alle,
Do erhuf se van der engele valle,
Wu Lucifer dorch sine hovart
Ut deme himmele vorstot wart
- 145 Und in de helle gesenket nedder.
Do wolde he sinen bor ervullen wedder
Na sek sulven he do began
Van der erden to maken enen man
Stark schone unde wis
- 150 Unde satte en in dat paradis.
Deme gaf he ok ein wif
Und heit dat se weren ein lif.
He sprak: "Wat juk bevalle,

- Under disser vrucht alle
 155 De etet al gemene,
 Sunder van dem bome allene
 Ete gi des so sterve gi".
 Do dachte de duvel: "Scal nu mi
 Min erve alsus avegan
 160 Unde schal it disse minsche han?
 Ik getet noch in dat vat
 Dat he eme ok wert hat".
 Tohant begunde he to sliken
 In enes slangen geliken.
 165 To dem wive sprak he an:
 "Dorch wat is dit an juk gedan
 Dat juk got disse vrucht vorbot?"
 Se sprak: "Dat we nicht sterven dot".
 "Nein", sprak he, "to den sulven stunden
 170 So gi er entbitet mit dem munde
 So werde gi den godden gelik".
 Seit do vorgat de arme sik
 Und at unde gaf it deme man.
 Do reip unse here van stunt an:
 175 "Adam, wu hestu gevaren so?"
 He sprak: "Dat wif brachte mek darto".
 Se sprak: "De slange vorreit *mek*" [mich].
 Do tornede god *sek* [sich]
 Und sprach: "Mit swete und mangerhande not
 180 Schaltu erwerven din brot
 Ok schal de erde vorvluket sin
 An dem arbeide din."
 To dem wive sprak he dan:
 "Du schalt wesen under dinem man,
 185 Noch segge ek dek mere
 Mit jammer unde mit swere
 Schaltu gewinnen dine kint
 Und alle de na dek komende sint."
 Do heit got de wise
 190 Se werpen ut dem paradise
 In dit jemmaerlike dal.
 Disen ewichliken val

- Ervede Adam up sine kint
 De na em geboren sint.
- 195 Wat minschen wart na em geborn
 De musten alle sin vorlorn
 Bet an de sulven stunde
 Dat sek erbarmen begunde
 Got sulves over sin hantgedat.
- 200 Do vant he sulven den rat
 Dar nemant darto dochte
 De en erlosen mochte.
 (He ne woldet sulven don),
 Do dachte he, he wolde sinen son
- 205 Senden dat he sek vorwilde
 Under minschen bilde.
 Dat leit he de propheten wissagen
 Over mennich jar und vor mengen dagen
 Dat got up der erden
- Fol. 64a. 210 Wolde geboren werden,
 Wu he komen schoide dorch unse sunde.
 Nu is gekomen dat salige stunde
 Dat unse here Jhesus Crist
 De ware goddes son geborn ist.
- 215 Den hebbe we gesein und gehort
 Und schullen juk kundigen sin wort."
 Do dit Maria Magdalena sprach
 Dat volk se lefliken angesach
 Und wonderde sek sere
- 220 Van wenne dat wif were
 Der antlat so wunnichlich
 So schone was so vrowdenrich
 Und so rechte wol getan.
 Se spreken: "Se were sunder wan
- 225 Van deme himmele ein bode
 Van deme geweldigen gode.
 We vornam gi so schone wort
 Also van erem munde sint gehort?"
 Des ne wundert mek nicht sere
- 230 Dat de munt hillich were
 Redehaft unde sote

- De dar kuste unses hern vote.
 Do dachte de vorstinne:
 "Du schalt de leve diner sinne
 235 Don dissen elenden.
 Ek wil ene vorholen senden
 Spise win unde brot,
 Se bidden lichte eren got
 Icht he so weldich mochte sin
 240 Dat uns worde ein kindelin."
 Enes nachtes do de vrowe lach
 Fol. 64b. Uppe dem bedde also se plach
 Do dachte se wu vor er stunde alda
 Maria Magdalena
 245 Und sprach: "Nu hestu genoch
 Alles des de erde gi gedroch
 Van eten und van drinken
 Und ne wult nicht bedenken
 Dat de god(d)es knechte dar ute legen
 250 Ane ~~hak~~ in dem regen.
 Van vrosteliden se grote not
 Und sint vilna hungers dot.
 So schere also it dage
 Schaltu dic dinem manne sagen
 255 Dat he *en* [on] schaffe wes en si not
 Unde dat ek em dat entbot".
 Maria vur alsus van dan,
 Do de vrowe sek vorsan
 Wat se hedde gehort und gesein
 260 Se dorstes dem manne nicht laten vorstein,
 Se vrochtede torn unde slege
 Und leit et allet underwegen.
 Des andern nachtes do se sleip
 Maria Magdalena er aver reip
 265 "Wurumme sechstu nicht dinen man
 Dat ek eme entboden han?"
 Se vrochte aver eres mannes torn
 Un leit dat allet also bivorn.
 Des dridden nachtes darna
 270 Quam aver Maria Magdalena.

- Er antlat bernde an der stunt
 Also al dat hus wer entczunt
 Unde reip vil luder stemme:
 Fol. 65a. "Slepestu vil grimme
 275 Mit der *naddern* [vaddern] deme wive din
 De ne dorste nicht min bode sin?
 Dat ordel is uneven
 Schulle gi sus mit gemake leven
 Van eten unde van drinken
 280 Wes gi kunnet derdenken
 Und jummer sin vul van wine
 Unde nicht en sein kummer und pine
 De god(d)es knechte liden?
 Wu dor[n]e gi vormiden
 285 Dat gi wedder gemak noch gut
 En up disser werlde dut?"
 Hirmede vur se van danne.
 Dat wif sprak to dem manne:
 "Here, hestu vornomen
 290 Wat uns nu is vorgekomen?"
 "Ja," sprak he, "nu gif mek rat
 Wente mek grot angest anegat.
 Ik bin unsachte derwecket
 Se heft mek sere vorschrecket."
 295 Se sprak: "Ek rade wol darto
 Dat we morgen vil vro
 Ere gnade soken.
 Wolde se des geroken
 Dat se vor uns bede got
 300 So were erwendet unse not".
 Nicht lenger dat se beiden,
 Vil schere se sek bereiden,
 Sinen voget leit he besenden.
 He sprak: "Schaffe den elenden
 Fol. 65b. 305 Luden de ek to nacht sach
 Herberge und gut gemach
 Unde wan dat is geschein
 So segge ek wil se sulven sein".
 So schere dat gedan wart

- 310 Hoven se sek an de vart
 Do se de guden vunden.
 Nicht lenger se do stunden
 Se vel[I]en vor ere vote,
 De rene und de vil sote
- 315 Maria Magdalena
 Leit se nicht lange liggen dar,
 Up huf se se beide.
 Se sprak: "Mek is vil leide
 Dat gi mek beden van eren icht
- 320 Wente ek bin des werdich nicht
 Sunder got den heren allene
 Schulle we loven algemene
 Und eren jummer mer,
 De is so kreftich und so her
- 325 Dat it alle to sinem bode stat
 Dat de himmel bedecket hat.
 Den sulven schulle gi lef han
 Und de afgode lan.
 We het juk der sinne so berovet
- 330 Dat gi des gelovet
 Dat holt unde stene
 Grot unde klene
 Und wat de lude stellen
 Wurna dat se willen
- 335 An mannigerhande bilde
 Beide na vogeln unde wilde
 Icht men it lecht dat it nicht up steit
 Noch enen vot nicht en geit
 Icht men it ok tobreke
- 340 Dat id nummer wort spreke.
 We den hedde vor enen got
 De were wol der lude spot.
 Gi schullen geloven an Jhesum Crist
 De war got unde war minsche ist,
- 345 Den sin muder maget gebar
 Und jummer blift maget vorwar.
 De sulve leit dorch unse sunde
 An dem crucze vif wunde

Fol. 66a.

- Dat he daran starf und wart begraven.
 350 Des mach men levende tuge haven
 De dit segen to der sulven stunt
 Dat he des dridden dages up stunt
 To der helle vor und de tobrach
 Und dat men en sedder mit uns sach
 355 Vertich dage up dem ertrike
 Enes minschen levende gelike.
 Nu merket wat ek juk sage:
 An dem vertigestem dage
 Do he mit uns at und drank
 360 In der stat darna nicht lank
 Gink he to enem berge van dan.
 Beide wif unde man
 De segen dat he mit uns sprach
 Dat unser itlik vil wol sach
 365 Dat he sek huf an de luchte
 Dat uns allen duchte
 Wu he siner wunderliken began.
 To der sulven stunde an
 Vur he to himmelrike
 Fol. 66b. 370 Uns allen sichtichlike,
 Dat wunder is an em geschein
 Dit hebbe we gehort und gesein."
 Do sprak de here und dat wif:
 "Vrowe erbarme dek over minschen lif
 375 Bidde den sulven god(d)es son
 Dat he uns gnade wille don
 Unde geve uns enen erven."
 Se sprak: "Ek wil dat gerne werven
 Wultu geloven dat Jhesus Crist
 380 War got unde war minsche ist."
 He sprak: "Is dat min wille gescheit
 An sinem denste men mek seit."
 Dar na nicht over lange stunt
 De vrowe vant enen leven vrunt
 385 In erem live ein kindelin.
 Se sprak: "De dach mut jummer salich sin
 Dat Maria gi her quam."

- Do dat er here vornam
 Do wart he innichliken vro,
 390 To der vrowen sprak he do:
 "De got de uns disse gnade dut
 De is milde unde gut
 Und bewiset uns de gode sin.
 Ik wil dek seggen den willen min
 395 Ik wil to Jherusalem varen.
 Dar en wil ek nicht vorsparen
 Ik wil dat wonder besein
 Also dat is geschein.
 So wil ek eme bevelen tohant
 400 Min lif lude gut und lant
 Vrowe des sc(h)altu derloven mi."
 Fol. 67a. "Ja", sprak se, "here ek wil aver mit di."
 "Nein, du schalt hir heme bliven
 Und de tit vroliken vordriven.
 405 Du must ok unse lant bewaren
 Ok so mostu nicht varen
 Sint dat du dregest ein kint.
 De wege harde vreislich sint
 Underwilen up deme mere."
 410 Se begonde wenen sere
 Unde sprak: "Ek segge dek, here,
 Wat mek also geschicht
 Ek en blive hinder nicht."
 Mit beiden armen se ene bevenk
 415 Unde vaste harde an eme henk
 Vil dicke se ene kuste
 Unde druckede en an er bruste
 Bet dat he er gewerde
 Des er herte gerde.
 420 Do gingen se beide dan
 Vor de gude Marien stan.
 He sprak: "Ek danke der gnade din
 Min vrowe drecht ein kindelin.
 Ok here, vrowe, unsen mut:
 425 Unse lif lant unde gut
 Dat bevele we to diner plege,

- We varen water edder wege
 Bet to Jherusalem in de stat
 Dar got sin wonder gedreven hat."
- 430 Se sprak: "Du schalt geloven mek
 Alle des ek segge dek.
 Vare sakerliken uppe mi,
 Cristus schal geleiden di
- Fol 67b.
- To Jherusalem in dat lant,
 435 Dar wert dek Peter bekant.
 Deme segge ek sende dek dar,
 De betekent dek al de wonder gar.
 Do hefte se en twe crutze up er *weit* [wat],
 De ersten de gi worden up *geneit* [geneget].
- 440 Se sprak: "Hirmede varet god(d)e gegeven,
 De behode juwer beider leven."
 Nicht lenger se do beiden,
 To schepe se sek bereiden,
 Ère segel wunden se ho,
- 445 Èin westerwint quam do
 De se snelle brachte
 Bi dage unde bi nachte
 Verne up dat breide mer.
 Do quam ein stormweder her,
- 450 De dreif se wedder unde vort,
 De bulgen sloegen over bort,
 De segel toreten gar,
 De vrowe wart missevar.
 Van jammer unde van leide
- 455 Gink se in arbeide
 Unde gebar an der groten not
 Ein kint des blef se sulven dot.
 Wat dede do de nie pelegin
 Do he sach de vrowen sin
- 460 Unde dat kint wenen began?
 "Owe!" sprak he "ek arme man!
 Wu bin ek komen to dissem schaden?
 Min herte is so sere vorladen
 Mit so rechter groter not.
- 465 Nu lit min leve vrowe leider dot,

Fol. 68a.

Dat kind mut sterven, des is nicht rat
Sint it nene ammen hat."

He knide vor dat dode wif
Unde betastede alle eren lif

470 Icht it ergen were warm.

Dat kint nam he an den arm

Jemmerliken he it ansach,

Sere wenende he do sprach :

"Owe, leve kindelin

475 Ek meinde ek wolde din gevrowet sin,

Nu bistu mek to schaden komen,

Du hest diner muder dat lif genomen

Und hest dek sulven den dot gedan

Sint we dek leider nicht ammen han."

[496] 480 Dat mer dat dovede sere

[497] Do sprak de schiphere :

[498] "Schulle we bcholden unsen lif

Fol. 68b. [499] So werpe men ut dat dode wif

[500] Dat mer wil nicht dodes dragen

[501] 485 Latet juwe wenen unde juwe klagen."

[502] "Nena gi heren so were ek dot,

[503] Latet juk derbarmen miner not

[504] Unde disses klenen kindelin

[505] Dat nu leider ein wise mut sin.

[506] 490 Icht se lichte leve noch

[507] Entkoldet juk ein wenich doch."

[508] Se spreken: "Schulle we unsen lif

[509] Vorlesen dorch ein dot wif

[510] Dat were ein grot affenspel.

[511] 495 Worumme drive we wonders so vil?"

[480] Do sprak de meinheit :

[481] "It si juk lef edder leit

[482] Se mut varen over bort".

[483] "Nena horet doch ein wort :

[484] 500 Mires gudes nemet gi

[485] Wu vele gi willen unde voret mi

[486] To dem lande dissen lichenam."

[487] Do spreken se alle ut ener stem :

[488] "We wagen umme gut den lif."

- [489] 505 Do vateden se dat dode wif
 [490] Unde eren man unde dat kindelin
 [491] In ein klene schepelin
 [492] Unde vurden se an dat lant.
 [493] Under enem berch den he dar vant
 [494] 510 Dar lede he dat wif sin
 [495] Unde to eren brusten dat kindelin
 Doch se nicht mochten beiden
 Dat se er ein graft bereiden.
 Eren mantel lede se over se.
- 515 Lude wenende dat he schre:
 "Owe, Maria Magdalena!
 Wat woldestu to Marsilia
 To dem ungelucke min?
 Vorwar de schult de is din.
- 520 Du sedest mek van deme Criste
 Dar ek nicht ave ne wiste.
 Du redest mek to disser vart,
 Van diner bede min wif dragen wart,
 Dat were nu beter ungeboren,
- 525 It mut dat lif hebben verloren
 Unde mut gar vorderven
 Unde na der muder sterven.
 Dat mek din bede vorworven hat
 Dat heft mek benomen din bose rat.
- 530 Gedenke dat we an dine hant
 Fol. 69a. Uns sulven bevolen unde unse lant.
 Bidde dinen heren Crist
 Icht he so weldich ist
 Dat he dernere dat kindelin
- 535 Unde der muder wolde gnedich sin".
 Sere wenende *he* er sprach:
 "Maria Magdalena dat ungemach
 Dat ek drage an dem herten min
 Dat mote vor dinen ogen sin".
- 540 Nach jammer sus sin herte rank,
 De lude togen ane sinen dank
 En in de barbzen nedder
 Unde vurden ene to schepe wedder.

- Nu merket goddes mildicheit
 545 Unde Maria Magdalenen werdicheit.
 Got hadde gesproken dar bivorn
 Se hedde dat beste deil derkorn.
 Dat oewisede se wol an disser stunt,
 Up deme lande predegede er munt,
 550 Up dem mere trostede se den pelegryn
 Unde heit en vro unde secker sin,
 Se lede den stormwint,
 Bi dem stade wogede se dat kint.
 Noch provet ein wonder aldermeist:
 555 Des doden wives geist
 Heit se mit eren manne varen
 Unde se wil den lichnam bewaren.
 Sus vur mit dissem pelegryn
 Alle wege dat wif sin
 560 Also dat se neman sach,
 Se sach unde horde wat men sprach.
 Fol 69b. Unde horet wonder alle insamen
 Van deme doden lichnamen,
 De sogede dot dat levende kint
 565 Dat noch regen noch de wint
 Noch de rife edder de sne
 Dat kint bedoweden ni,
 Noch de hete sunnenschin
 Besalwede nicht de varwe sin.
 570 It ne hungerde noch ne dorste
 Noch vorwandelde sek van vcrste.
 It bewarede in erer hude
 Maria Magdalena de vil gude.
 We gripen an dat mer wedder
 575 Wu it unsen pelegryn sedder
 Up siner vart to handen ga.
 In kaiten dagen darna
 Quam he gevaren an dat lant
 Dar en Maria hadde gesant.
 580 Ene strate gink he do
 De togen Jherusalem to.
 Dar togede he dohen,

- Dat was al sin sin
 Wu he dar queme
 585 Dar he Sunte Peter vorneme.
 Do weddergink eme ein man
 De en viagen began
 Van wenne he were
 Unde wat he brochte to mere,
 590 We ene hedde in dat lant
 Mit deme tekene gesant.
 Fol. 70a. He sprak: "Dit crutze negede mek up tohant
 Ein vrowe de mek heft gesant
 Verne over se in dit lant,
 595 Maria Magdalena is se genant."
 Do sede he eme rechte
 Sin lant unde sin gesle(c)hte
 Unde van wanne he was gekomen
 Unde wat schaden he hadde genomen
 600 An sinem leven wive
 Unde an sines sulves live.
 Do bat he *en* [on] ener bede
 Dat he dorch got dede
 Unde wisede en icht he kunde
 605 Dar he enen man vunde
 Dede were Peter genant,
 To deme hedde se *en* [on] gesant.
 Do sprak Sunte Peter tohant:
 "Unse her got heft dek hergesant,
 610 Sin vrede si mit dek,
 Wes rechte willekomen mek.
 Du hest wol dine vart bewant,
 Se heft dek to rechte gesant,
 Nu ne twivele du nicht
 615 Wat dek si geschein edder noch geschicht,
 Dat kummet dek alle to gude.
 Wes vro an dinem mude,
 Icht din kint mit dinem wive
 Ene wile rowet an dissem live,
 620 God(d)e is des nicht to vil,
 He mach wol schicken wan he wil

- Fol. 70b.
- Dat du se seist beide gesunt,
 Des helpe he dek in korter stunt.
 He mach dine jemmerheit
- 625 Unde din grote herteleit
 Dar to din elende
 Bringen to enem saligen ende".
 He begreip en bi der hant.
 He sprach: "Ek bin Peter genant
- 630 Ik wil wesen de geselle din
 Dorch de[r]leven vrowen min
 De vil seligen Marien.
 Ne wil ek din nummer vortien
 Ek ne bringe dek wedder to er
- 635 Des schaltu geloven mir."
 He brachte en mit sek an de stat,
 Sunte Peter he do bat
 Dat he muchte sein
 Wat dar wunders wer geschein.
- 640 Do sede he *eme* [om] besunder
 De mannichvalden wonder
 De got bi sinen tiden dede.
 He wisede em alle de stede
 Dar he gemartert unde begraven wart
- 645 Unde de stede siner himmelvart
 Unde wur gewesen were unse her,
 It wer na edder ver.
 Dar dede he em allet kunt,
 Nicht eins sunder to menger stunt.
- 650 Sus bleif he mit *eme* [ein] dar
 Vulkomen twe jar
 Dat he mennich wonder sach.
 Enes dages Sunte Peter sprach:
 "Geselle du schalt to lande varen
- Fol. 71a. 655 Cristus sulven mute dek bewaren,
 De schal dek wol geleiden.
 Dine vrunt to lande beiden".
 Vroliken he ene sande
 Wedder heim to lande.
- 660 He sprach: "Ek blive bi dek nacht unde dach

- Dat dek nicht geschaden mach.”
 Do he an dat schip quam
 De wint den segel vor sek nam,
 Sus vur[t] he nacht unde dach
 665 Bet dort da sin wif lach.
 Do sufte he vil sere
 Unde bat de schiplude an dem mere
 Dat se en vurden tohant
 Mit ener barbzen an dat lant.
 670 “Isset dat gi dit gerne dut
 Juwe lon dat schal werden gut.”
 Vil schere dat wart gedan,
 Do vel[l]en se dat arbeit an
 Unde vorden ene an dat lant
 675 Dar he ein kindelin vant
 Spelende allene
 Mit musschelen, unde stene
 Hadde it vele vor sek genomen.
 Do it de lude sach komen
 680 Do begonde it sek to vlien
 Uppe henden unde knien
 Do it de lude vornam
 Bet it to der muder quam.
 Vil balde it under den mantel kroch
 685 Unde vuste an de bruste sloch.
 Do vorwunderde eme vil sere
 Wat dat vor ein kint were
 Unde he gink em na up dat spor
 Dar it gekropen was vor
 690 Bet dat he to der muder quam.
 Do he den mantel avenam
 Van groter leve dat he schrach
 Went se so wunnichliken lach
 Icht se entslapen were.
 695 Do beschowede he noch mere
 Al er lif unde ere gewant
 Dat he so vrisch denne noch vant
 Dat eme nitches nicht en war
 Wan also he it lede dar.

- 700 Do wolde he nemen dat kindelin,
 Dat henk sek an de muder sin
 Mit sinen kleinen armen,
 Des begunde en ser to erbarmen,
 Doch he it van er brach.
- 705 Lefliken he it angesach
 Do was it also wol getan
 Dat se it dorch wunder segen an
 De dar bi eme waren,
 Wente se bi so korten jaren
- 710 Ni hedden so schone kint gesein
 Also an dem kinde was geschein.
 Do sprak he vroliken:
 "[Ge]benediet si in himmelrike
 Jhesus Cristus goddes son
- 715 De sulk wunder wil don
 Dorch de vrundinnen sin
 Marien Magdalenen de vrowen min
 Dat he disseme kinde sin leven
 Bi der doden muder hat gegeven.
- 720 Maria vrowe min
 Erbarme dek over dinen pelegrin
 Unde bidde Crist dinen heren
 Dat he dek darmede wille eren
 Unde geve mek wedder an disser stunt
- 725 Min wif levendich unde gesunt.
 Dar en twivele ek nicht an
 Wultu it, dat schut wol sunder wæn,
 So were min vart wol bewant
 Unde vroliken al min leit geant".
- 730 He en hadde de[r] rede ni vullenbracht
 Up stunt se mit vuller macht,
 De vrowe unde sprak darna:
 "Vrowe Maria Magdalena
 Dek heft got grote gnade gegeven,
- 735 Van diner gode hebbe ek min leven,
 Du stundest mek bi an miner not,
 Werestu nicht so were ek dot".
 Do de man dat gesach

Fol. 72a.

Herde vroliken dat he sprach :

- 740 "Levestu vil leve wif
 Noch lever denne mins sulves lif?"
 "Ja ek, here", sprak se do,
 "Ek kome van der vart itto,
 Ik was bi dek alle wege
 745 An Sunte Maria Magdalenen plege.
 Alse Sunte Peter was mit dek
 Also was ok de gude bi mek
 Dat ek wol hcrde unde sach
 Wat men dede edder sprach.
 Fol. 72b. 750 In de stat to Jherusalem,
 To Nazareth, to Bethlehem
 Unde wur du werest hen
 Dar was ek de geselle din,
 Wat mek weddervur an dissen dage
 755 Dat kan ek dek alle wol sagen."
 Gar lefliken he se kuste
 Unde druckede se an de bruste.
 Bi henden se sek vengen,
 To dem schepe dat se gingen,
 760 Vroliken voren se do,
 Dat volk was gelike vro,
 Dat got dat wunder hadde getan
 Mit der vrowen unde dem man.
 Darna an korten stunden
 765 Quemen se to lande unde vunden
 Volkes ein michel her
 Up deme stade bi dem mer,
 Den predigede god(d)es wort al da
 Maria Magdalena
 770 Der appostelen appostola.
 Do quam unse pelegrin
 Unde mit em dat wif sin
 Unde velen vor er to vote nedder
 Unde stunden up unde seden er wedder
 775 Allent dat en was geschein
 Leten se er witliken vorstein
 Dat anders nicht nein got were

Wanne Jhesus Cristus, unse here.
 "An den gelov'ich unde min wif,
 780 Beide lude lant unde unse lif
 Schal jummer stan to sinem bode
 Fol. 73a. Unde ek vordrive de afgode
 Wur de in minem lande sin.
 Ek unde alle dat volk min
 785 Moten ein Cristenlevent han."
 Dar wenede van leve mennich man
 Unde loveden got der wunder sin.
 Unde de gude Maximin
 Dofte den heren unde sin wif
 790 Unde darto vil mengen lif.
 Do kos de here to hant
Twe [to] bischope over dat lant.
 Dit dede got unse here
 Dorch Sunte Maria Magdalenen ere
 795 Went se van sunden derloset ist.
 So erwerve se uns in korter vrist
 Ruwe umme unse missedat
 Wen se den besten deil derkoren hat.
 Dit sulve is dat beste blat
 800 Unde dit bok ok al hir utgat.

Amen.

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THE INFLUENCE OF HUON OF BURDEUX UPON THE
FAIRIE QUEENE.

The only attempt to deal with this question, as far as I am aware, has been that of Mr. J. B. Fletcher of Harvard in his article entitled *Huon of Burdeux and The Fairie Queene*.¹ In this article Mr. Fletcher has tried to show that "Spenser drew from Huon of Burdeux the main outlines and characters of his fairy world", and that in the first book of his poem he has followed step by step the same motive as developed in the original *Chanson de Geste* of Sir Huon.

Mr. Fletcher considers "only certain parallels between Huon and the Fairie Queene which seem to disclose a decidedly more intimate bond between the two works than has (apparently) been supposed", and for the purpose of clarifying the argument, he considers "only the main line of action of the real protagonists in both stories."

A synopsis of the main story of Huon as found in Lord Berners' translation is given.² From this story Mr. Fletcher extracts what he terms the main motive, which he gives as follows:

"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 quar-

1. *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 203-212.

2. To call this the story of Huon in the original *Chanson de Geste*, as Mr. Fletcher does, is hardly accurate. The original *Chanson* probably contained nothing concerning Huon's eastern adventures.

tering Huon, Huon humbly prays to Christ for aid. In short, courageous deeds are the principal agency of Huon's final triumph, 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 Esclarmonde'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 skins the Fairie Queene must read it so."

After presenting eleven parallels (which we shall consider presently) between the essential steps of the main plot of the first part of the Huon and of the First book of the Fairie Queene, he comes to this conclusion, indicated in part at the beginning of the paper.

"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 fairy land; 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."

In reply to Mr. Fletcher it may be said that the main motive which he has extracted will be found upon examination not to be confined by any means to the Huon of Burdeux and the Fairie Queene. The figure of a noble knight, endowed with marvellous fighting abilities, setting out upon a difficult quest, and meeting with various troubles from which he is rescued ultimately when at the last extremity by calling upon Christ, the Virgin, or some patron saint, is far from uncommon in the literature of the Middle Ages. The motive thus deduced seems rather too general to justify any very definite conclusion being founded on it.

Again, it will be noticed that even in this general similarity of motive there is a radical difference. In the case of Huon, all his troubles are brought upon him by his own wilfulness and perversity. He is straitly charged, time and again, not to do certain things, which he promptly does as soon as the first opportunity offers. There is a vast difference between his situation and that

of the Red Cross Knight who is plotted against by magic from first to last, and who is seduced from the paths of virtue by temptations for which he cannot be said to be directly responsible.

There is no ground for supposing that the writer of *Huon of Burdeux* intended any allegory in his romance, but if he had meant to convey a moral lesson through the story, it would have been simply to show the evil fruits of disobedience; while that intended by the *Fairie Queene* is of a more complicated and elaborate nature, and rather shows how much on his guard the Christian must be against the various temptations which appear in so many deceptive guises. Hence the number of times the deceivers are unmasked in order to show their real characters.

It may be argued that the fairy element common to *Huon* and the *Fairie Queene* is something not easily gotten over, indeed Mr. Fletcher, while not saying so exactly, seems to imply as much. Now if it could be shown that this fairy idea was confined to *Huon of Burdeux*, the argument would be more forcible, although not necessarily conclusive.

Miss Jessie L. Weston, in her study of the legend of Sir Gawain,¹ shows quite clearly by quotations from Sir F. Madden's introduction to *Sir Gawayne* that there were traditions to the effect that Gawain was still living, but in Fairyland, and one of these represents King Arthur as receiving Renouart in Fairyland, and pointing out to him the heroes who are his companions, among them Roland, Iwain, and Gawain.

The story of Ogier le Danois also contains the fairy element, and in some respects markedly resembles the *Huon*. Oberon figures in the story, but the place corresponding to his in the *Huon* is held in Ogier by Morgana, the Fairy Queen.

And, furthermore, if we bear in mind the wealth of magic and fairy legend which gathered around the persons of Arthur and his sister Morgana le Fay, we shall find it difficult to agree with Mr. Fletcher in his conclusion that "Spenser drew from the *Huon*

1. *The Legend of Sir Gawain, Studies upon the Original Scope and Significance*, by Jessie L. Weston, Grimm Library, No. 7, London, David Nutt, 1897, p. 39.

of Burdeux the chief outlines and characters of his romantic fairy world so opposed to the general folk-concept of fairies and fairy land." ¹

Again, in his introduction to the *Fairie Queene*, after stating that the general end of the book is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline, Spenser writes the following words: "Whiche for that I conceived shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being colored with an historical fiction, the whiche the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, than for the profite of the ensample, I chose the history of King Arthure as most fitte for the excellency of his person, being made famous by many mens former workes, and also furthest from the danger of envy and suspition of present time."

This would merely indicate that Spenser undoubtedly drew upon the various stories concerning Arthur, and that he makes a frank confession of the fact. ² This, of course, would not necessarily exclude an influence of *Huon of Burdeux* upon the poem.

Towards the end of the same introduction the poet summarizes the story and plot of the first book in a very succinct and clear manner, in view of which it seems hard to agree with Mr. Fletcher's conclusion, and see in this book the dramatic presentation of the same motive as that found in *Huon of Burdeux*. This summary of the first Book of the *Fairie Queene* when set beside that of *Huon of Burdeux* made by Mr. Fletcher does not exhibit striking similarity.

1. As a matter of fact it seems that the Oberon legend embodied in *Huon of Burdeux* is much closer akin to "the general folk-concept of fairies and fairy land" than anything to be found in the *Fairie Queene*. We imagine that the character of Elizabeth, slightly veiled as the Fairy Queen, would never exactly have appealed to believers in fairy lore as the embodiment of the ideal sovereign of the elfin realm. While there is undoubted witchery about the atmosphere of Spenser's poem, it is rather due to the glamour of the Renaissance culture so profusely shed abroad in it, than to any magic charm exercised by the fairies of such a world as that ruled over by Shakespeare's Oberon and Titania.

2. Hence it seems quite unjust to the poet to insinuate, as Mr. Fletcher does (p. 211) that Spenser perhaps did not care to raise the question of his indebtedness to the *Huon*; and on the other hand, if a frank acknowledgment of the history of Arthur did not appear "a work of supererogation" to the poet's generation, surely that of the *Huon* would have seemed less so.

Let us now consider the parallels offered by Mr. Fletcher as showing how closely the dramatically significant steps of the two arguments follow one another.

In the first place, however, let us be on our guard against what appears a dangerous method employed by Mr. Fletcher of reducing situations which may have one or more, but not all elements common, to a statement couched, as far as possible, in identical terms. It is misleading to the eye and tends to attract the attention and direct it solely to the points of resemblance, to the neglect of elements which in many cases may be quite different.

HUON OF BURDEUX.

1. By the magic of the Cup, Huon is made to doubt the truth of Oberon. (Chap. 26.)

FAIRIE QUEENE, BK. I.

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. 70. makes Gloriana the daughter and successor of Oberon, King of Fairyland.) (C. 2.)

Mr. Fletcher's presentation of the parallel is misleading. In Huon the hero wilfully disobeys Oberon's injunction and brings his troubles upon himself, while in the Fairie Queene, the Red Cross Knight is plotted against by Archimago. Moreover in Mr. Fletcher's statement there seems to be somewhat of a play upon the word *truth*.

2. Huon warned against deceit by Malabron. (Chap. 36.)

2. George warned against Duessa. i. e. Deceit, by Fradubio. (C. 2.)

The same may be said of this parallel. In Huon of Burdeux, Huon is warned not to tell a lie, while in the Fairie Queene, George is warned against those who will deceive him.

3. By lying to 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 Christ. 46.) (36 seq.)

3. By the help of Duessa, i. e. Deceit, George enters the sinful House of Pride. (3.)

The interpretation set upon Babylon seems uncalled for. It was a conventional thing to represent the Saracens as dying rather than consenting to profess belief in Christ. Further there

is no statement in the Huon to the effect that most of them refuse.

4. Huon defeats, but does not slay, the giant Agrapart, who comes to avenge his brother, Galafre, previously slain by Huon. (42.)

4. George defeats, but does not slay, Sansjoy, who comes to avenge his brother, Sansfoy, previously slain by George. (4-5.)

The presentation again seems unfair. In Huon of Burdeux, Huon voluntarily spares the life of the giant Agrapart whom he has overcome: in the Fairie Queene, Sansjoy is spirited away by the powers of darkness just as the Red Cross Knight is about to slay him. The situations seem entirely different. The circumstance of one brother coming to avenge another is conventional.

5. Huon aided by Oberon, the Dwarf, overcomes the Admiral and leaves his palace with Esclarmonde, his daughter. (46.)

5. George, advised by Una's dwarf, overcomes the seductions of Lucifera, and leaving her House is soon rejoined by her disguised votary Duessa. (5, 7)

This cannot be considered a true parallel. Oberon and Una's dwarf cannot be considered as similar characters nor as fulfilling similar functions. The only point of similarity is their both being dwarfs, but it will be remembered that Oberon is described as being of supernatural beauty. The leaving of a palace or house is a trivial circumstance; and the noble character of Esclarmonde cannot be held as a parallel to that of the false Duessa.

6. Recreant to his knightly oath to Oberon, and shaming Esclarmonde by deflowering her before marriage, Huon in consequence is left naked and starving upon the Pirate's Island. (46-48.)

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.)

Another seeming, but only seeming parallel. In Huon of Burdeux we have disobedience on the part of Huon to a particular injunction of Oberon, due entirely to the hero's wilfulness; while the Red Cross Knight is seduced by the potent charms of Duessa. The words 'naked and starving' in connection with the Red Cross Knight are Mr. Fletcher's own addition.

7. Oberon, entreated by Gloriant and Malabron, sends Malabron to rescue Huon, Malabron atoning in his own person for Huon's sin. (51)

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.)

The interpretation set upon Arthur's rescue of George, that is, that by his risk and miraculous escape from death and defeat he atones for the Red Cross Knight's sin, seems to be Mr. Fletcher's own, and can hardly be offered as a parallel to Malabron's action.

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| 8. Mouffett, the 'man of sorrow, persuades the now miserable Huon to become his 'varlett.' (58) | 8. 'Despair' persuades the now miserable George to do his bidding. (9) |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|

It seems difficult to be convinced of the parallelism here. Mouffett persuades Huon to join him—a device found elsewhere in the romances—but he thereby indirectly furnishes him with the means which bring him into more prosperous circumstances. 'Despeyre', on the other hand, reveals to the Red Cross Knight the evil life he has been leading, and so works upon him that he is brought to the point of committing suicide, when the dagger is snatched from his hand by Una.

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9. Rescued by Esclarmonde and her companions. Huon goes to Rome, where he is confessed and absolved by the Pope. (52) | 9. Rescued by Una, George goes to the House of Holiness, where he is confessed and absolved by Dame Coelia. (10) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The figure of confession and absolution is not carried out in the Fairie Queene; there is rather that of a sick man being cured of his affliction.

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| 10. So reconciled with Oberon and aided by him, Huon finally achieves his initial task—he overcomes the unjust Emperor. (83) | 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) |
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The parallel does not seem very convincing. Every quest in romance has a difficulty to overcome; this done, the quest is ended.

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| 11. Huon and Esclarmonde so come into their own, but Huon promises to come to Fairyland in four years. (48) | 11. 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) |
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In Huon of Burdeux, Huon and Esclarmonde are not separated, while in the Fairie Queene George leaves Una behind to mourn. Huon does not make a promise to return after the accomplishment of a quest, as in the case of the Red Cross Knight, but merely

after a given time has elapsed, and in the *Fairie Queene* George and Una are not "married" but only betrothed.

At the close of these parallels, Mr. Fletcher remarks upon the ill-treatment received by Arthur at the hands of the author of *Huon of Burdeux*. He very properly suggests in a foot-note, however, that perhaps it was not over hell that the Briton monarch was set. The terms in which the kingdom of Tartary is bestowed upon Arthur do not seem indicative of any particular slur or reflection upon him. Oberon's words are as follows:-

"I geue you all my realme of Boulquant and all the realme that Syble holdeth of me, to do therwith at your pleasure, and of all the fayryes that be in the playne of Tartare and I wyll ye haue as moche pusaunce there as Huon here"—not a bad prospect, truly!

It will be remembered that this Arthur episode has practically no connection with the main story of the *Huon*.

The resemblance which Mr. Fletcher attempts to show between the *Gloriana* of the *Fairie Queene* and the unimportant fairy knight *Gloriant* cannot be considered seriously.

One word more concerning the general treatment of the two works.

Huon of Burdeux, originally a *Chanson de Geste* directly connected with the Charlemagne cycle, was rejuvenated at the time of the decadence of this genre of composition by the addition of the long episode relating the adventures of *Huon* in the East. This oriental element of the marvellous was the direct cause of its popularity, but the piece remained throughout typically medieval in character. The *Fairie Queene*, on the other hand, is a product of the Renaissance.

Let us take a couple of examples to illustrate our meaning.

In the *Fairie Queene* all the fights are carried on by means of single combat. The knights are accompanied by their ladies and everything is performed in accordance with the elaborate system of chivalry. In the *Huon* a single warrior hews his way through the multitude like the hero of the *Chanson de Roland*. The ladies are absent, or, at best, are watching from some distant tower or city wall. Moreover, the general treatment of the theme of love is distinctly less idealistic than in the *Fairie Queene*.

Again the descriptions in the *Fairie Queene* are typically Renais-

sance. We have only to think of such as those of the Gardens of Adonis, of the Bower of Bliss, or of the Cave of Mammon, to remember the wealth of detail, the lavish and sensuous profusion with which these abound. The influence of Tasso and Ariosto, the Italian Renaissance poets, is nowhere more marked than here.¹ The descriptions in the Huon,—and these occur practically only in those portions of the story which are later additions to the original *Chanson de Geste*,—are of the character of those met with in the Arabian Nights. The ideas of the writer seem limited to such features as gold, burnished and shining, precious stones in rich abundance, crystal shining clear as the sun,—and this is all. There is an essential difference from the Italianate and Renaissance features of the Fairie Queene.

Hence we may say, that we are unable to see in the Fairie Queene any such influence of Huon of Burdeux upon general plan or chief characters as Mr. Fletcher seems to think he has discovered; nor have we been able to find in the first book of the Fairie Queene that following of a similar motive which he has indicated.

Our paper has been so far destructive. The remainder of it will be concerned with an attempt to show that there was an undoubted influence, though limited, of Huon of Burdeux upon the Fairie Queene, but not of the nature supposed by Mr. Fletcher. Parallels will be presented which point significantly to this, but which indicate the influence to have been one showing itself rather in some of the details of the Fairie Queene than in the main plot of the story, and to have been derived from details in the Huon.

The portions of the Fairie Queene which seem to show the most convincing evidence of influence from Huon of Burdeux are first, the account of the Red Cross Knight's fight with the Dragon, and secondly, a part of the account of Guyon's voyage before he comes to the Bower of Bliss. (F. Q. I, xi., and F. Q. II. xii, st. 2-9.)

Before presenting these it may be well, perhaps, to indicate Spenser's method. The portion of the Huon which seems to have exerted influence upon the first of these selections is found in the

1. Cf. R. E. Neil Dodge, *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*. Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc., New Series, V. p. 195 ff.

episode dealing with the adventures of Huon upon the Rock of Adamant, and with his escape from it. It will be remembered that the castle on the Rock of Adamant was guarded by an invulnerable dragon whom Huon fought and killed. After this, in order to escape from the enchanted rock, Huon devises a plan whereby he is carried through the air by a Griffin who thinks him dead and is about to feed him to her young upon the Crystal Rock. The hero thereupon resists and another fight ensues. In the *Huon of Burdeux* these two fights are not far removed in time from one another, and Spenser in giving his account of the fight with the dragon would seem to have combined the details of the two, as will appear from the following:¹

1. The description of such a fight with a dragon is common enough in the romances and many of the details are conventional, but there appears to be such an accumulation of details common to the two as to make the influence of *Huon* appear most probable.

In *Bevis of Hampton* there is an account of a fight with a dragon which shows general similarity with this in the *Fairie Queene*. (Cf. *Bevis of Hampton*, ed. Koelbing, E. E. T. Soc. II. 2597-2802.) *Bevis*, however, wounds the dragon under the wing as he is flying and so kills him, and while the magical healing well is mentioned, the tree is not. The size and appearance of the beast is accurately given but does not correspond to that given by Spenser to his monster.

Another fight occurs in *Guy of Warwick*. (Cf. *Guy of Warwick*, 2nd or 15th c. Version, ed. Zupitza, E. E. T. Soc. II. 6868-6964.) The details here show less similarity than those found in *Bevis of Hampton*, and the well does not appear.

G. W. Kitchin in his note upon this passage (F. Q. p. 212, C. P. S. Oxford, 1897.) considers that it is taken from the romance of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*. So also Percival. (H. M. Percival, F. Q. Book I, Macmillan & Co., 1897.) We do not agree with them for the reasons given above.

FAIRY QUEEN, BOOK I. CANTO XI.

XIV.

His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shields,
 Did burne with wrath, and sparkled living fyre:
 As two broad Beacons, sett in open fieldes,
 Send forth their flames far off to every shyre,
 And warning give that enimies conspyre
 With fire and sword the region to invade:
 So flamed his eye with rage and rancorous yre;
 But far within, as in a hollow glade,
 Those glaring lampes were sett that made a dreadful shade.

XXIV.

And fiercely tooke his trenchand blade in hand,
 With which he stroke so furious and so fell,
 That nothing seemed the puissaunce could withstaund;
 Upon his crest the hardened yron fell,
 But his more hardned crest was armed so well,
 That deeper dint therein it could not make;
 Yet so extremely did the buffe him quell,
 That from thenceforth he shund the like to take,
 But when he saw them come he did them still forsake.

XXIX.

It fortun'd, (as fayr: it then befell)
 Behynd his back, unweeting, where he stood,
 Of auncient time there was a springing well,
 From which fast trickled forth a silver flood,
 Full of great virtues, and for med'cine good:
 Whylome, before that cursed Dragon got
 That happy land and all with innocent blood
 Defyld those sacred waves, it rightly hot
 The well of life, ne yet his virtues had forgot:

HUON OF BURDEUX, PP. 374-435.

There he saw an oryble serpent/ the whiche kept the castell
and palys/ it was a marueylous great serpent/ heyer then any hors,
his eyen lyke .ii. torches brynnyng. (p. 374.)

His body was marueylous great, with an vgelye hede with .iii.
eyen bygger then .ii. basyns ful of brynnyng fyre/

Huon who was lyger and light, lept by the syde of the serpent
and gaue hym a great stroke with hys sworde on the ere, that he
thought to haue clouen asonder his hede. But he coude do it no
more hurte then yf he had streken on a stethy/ so that his sword
reboundyd agayne/. (H. of B., p. 382.)

He dyde of his helme and dranke of the water his fyll, and he
had no soner dronke therof but incontynent he was hole of all
his woundys, and as fresshe and lusty as he was when he came fro
the Castell of the Adamant.... This fountayne was callyd the
fountayne of youth, the whiche was of suche vertue that whatsoever
sykenes a man or woman had yf they bayned them in the streme
of that fountayne they shulde be hole of all infyrmytes.

XXX.

For unto life the dead it could restore,
 And guilt of sinful crimes cleane wash away;
 Those that with sicknesse were infected sore
 It could recure; and aged long decay
 Renew as one were borne that very day.

XXXVIII.

The same advauncing high above his head,
 With sharp intended sting so rude him smott,
 That to the earth him drove as stricken dead;
 Ne living wight would have him life behott;
 The mortal sting his angry needle shott
 Quite through his shield, and in his shoulder seasd,
 Where fast it stucke, ne would thereout be gott:
 The grieffe thereof him wondrous sore diseasd,
 Ne might his rancling paine with patience be appeas'd.

XLVI.

There grew a goodly tree him faire beside,
 Loaden with fruit and apples rosy redd,
 As they in pure vermilion had been dide,
 Whereof great virtues over-all were redd;
 For happy life to all which thereon fedd,
 And life eke everlasting did befall:
 Great God it planted in that blessed stedd
 With his Almighty hand, and did it call
 The tree of life, the crime of our first fathers fall.

XLVII.

In all the world like was not to be found,
 Save in that soile, where all good things did grow,
 And freely sprong out of the fruitfull grownd,
 As incorrupted Nature did them sow,
 Till that dredd Dragon all did overthrow.

When he came nere to Huon he lyfte vp one of his pawes thinkynge to haue drawen downe Huon to the erthe/ he strake on Huons shyld by such force that he pullyd it fro his sholder/ lether nor buckyll coude not resyst it/ & then with his teth and nayles he tare the shyld all to peses/ (H. of B., pp. 381-2.)

By this fountayne there grewe an appell tree chargyd with leuys and frute/ the fayreste that might be founde/ when Huon sawe the tree chargyd with so fayre frute he rose on his fete and aprochyd to the tree, and toke therof a fayre apple and a great & dyd ete therof his fyll.
This gardayne was so fayre that it semyd rather a paradise then a thyng terrestriall.

XLVIII.

From that first tree forth flowd, as from a well,
A trickling streame of Balme, most souveraine
And dainty deare, which on the ground still fell,
And overflowed all the fertile plaine,
As it had deawed bene with timely raine :

LIII.

And in his first encounter, gaping wyde,
He thought attonce him to have swallowd quight,
And rusht upon him with outrageous pryde ;
Who him rencountring fierce, as hauk in fight,
Perforce rebutted backe. The weapon bright,
Taking advantage of his open jaw,
Ran through his mouth with so importune might,
That deep emperst his darksom hollow maw,
And, back retyrd, his life blood forth with all did draw.

For out of this gardayne there issuyd such a smell and odoure that Huon thought that all the bawlme and spycery of the worlde coude not cast out so swete a smell.....the frute of the tree is callyd the frute of youthe/ it hath suche vertue that yf a man of .iiii. score or of a .c. yerys of age do ete therof, he shall become agayne as yonge as he was at the age of .xxx. yeres. (H. of B., pp. 434-6)

Then he put vp his sworde and toke the speré in bothe his handys, and came agaynste ye serpent, who came and encounteryd hym withe open mouthe to haue swallowed Huon/ but Huon who was stronge and lyght, toke the spere and layde it on his arme, & saw the serpent with his mouth open/ he strake the spere into the mouth of the serpent so depe that with the hede of ye spere he cut his hart a sonder/

FAIRY QUEEN. BOOK II., CAN'TO XII.

II.

Two dayes now in that sea he sayled has,
 Ne ever land beheld, ne living wight,
 Ne ought save perill still as he did pas :
 Tho, when appeared the third Morrow bright
 Upon the waves to spread her trembling light,
 An hideous roring far away they heard,
 That all their sences filled with affright ;
 And streight they saw the raging surges reard
 Up to the skyes, that them of drowning made affeard.

III.

Said then the Boteman, 'Palmer, stere aright,
 And keep an even course ; for yonder way
 We needes must pas (God doe us well acquight!)
 That is the Gulfe of Greediness, they say,
 That deepe engorgeth all this worldes pray ;
 Which having swallowd up excessively,
 He soone againe in vomit up doth lay,
 And belcheth forth his superfluity,
 That all the seas for feare doe seeme away to fly.

IV.

'On thother syde an hideous rock is pight
 Of mighty Magnes stone, whose craggy clift
 Depending from on high, dreadful to sight,
 Over the waves his rugged arms doth lift,
 And threateneth downe to throw his ragged rift
 On whoso cometh nigh ; yet nigh it drawes
 All passengers, that none from it can shift :
 For whiles they fly that Gulfes devouring jaws,
 They on this rock are rent, and sunck in helpes wawes.

HUON OF BURDEUX, CHAPS., CVIII, CIX. P. 360 FF.

They were in this tourmente the space of .x. dayes, In the whiche tyme they neuer saw the clerenes of the sonne: for the darkenesse that was there as then/ the which greatly anoyed them. And when it came to the xi day, and that the tourment and wynd began to abate and the see peasable and styll/ where with Huon and his companye were well comforted: the heuen clered vp and the sonne cast out his rayes alonge upon the see/ and therby he harde as great a noyse as though there had ben a thowsande smethes and a thowsande carpenters and a thowsande great rynnynge riuers to gether, betynge and labourynge. Huon who harde this great noyse: hadde great fere therof, so that he wyste not what to do, and so were al tho that were in his companye/ the patron commaunded a maryner to mounte vp into the toppe to se what thyng it was that made all that noyse/ and so he did, and behelde that waye/ and at laste he parseyued the daungerous Goulfe, wherof he had had often tymes spoken of wherof he had suche fere that nere hand he had fallen downe into the see/ he came downe and sayd to the patron, 'Syr, we be al in the way to be lost, for we be nere one of the Goulfes of hel'/ whereof Huon and the patron and al other had such fere that they trymbelyd. 'Syr,' quod the patron, 'knowe for trougthe it is inpossyble to scape out of this perelous Gulfe/ for all ye sees and waters and ryuers there assemblethe to gether/ and perforce we must passe that waye'/

.the Goulfe, the whiche is nowe full and playne, it wyll not reste long but that ye see wyll issue out, & all the ryuers with in it/ ye were happy that ye came at the owre that ye dyd. For anone the waters wyll Issue out with suche a bowndaunce/ that the waues that wyll ryse shall seme lyke hie mountaynes:

.Then they drewe vp theyr sayles, and so departyd/ they had not sayled a leege but that they sawe a farre of great brondis of fyre brynnynge Issuyng out of ye Goulfe so longe and so hie

V.

Forward they passe, and strongly he them rowes,
Untill they nigh unto that Gulfe arryve,
Where streame more violent and greedy growes:
Then he with all his puisaunce doth stryve
To strike his oares, and mightily doth drive
The hollow vessel through the threatful wave;
Which, gaping wide to swallow them alyve
In th' huge abyse of his engulfing grave,
Doth rore at them in vaine, and with great terrour rave.

VI.

They, passing by, that grisely mouth did see
Sucking the seas into his entralles deepe,
That seemed more horrible than hell to bee,
Or that darke dreadful hole of Tartare steepe—

VII.

On thother side they saw that perilous Rocke,
Threatning it selfe on them to ruinate
On whose sharp cliftes the ribs of vessels broke;
And shivered ships, which had beene wrecked late,
Yet stuck with carkases exanimate
Of such as having all their substance spent
In wanton joyes and lustes intemperate,
Did afterwards make shipwrack violent
Both of their life and fame, for ever fowly blent.

that they had nere hande come to theyr shyppes.
.....then they coud not tell whether they went/ yf they had
knowen they wold not haue gone thether for all the gold of the
worlde/ for yf god had not had petye of them they were all lykely
to haue ben lost/ for the plase that they sawe a farre of was a
castell, and therin closyd the rock of the Adamant: the which
castell was daungerous to aproche/ for yf enye shyppes come nere
it and haue any Iron nayles within it, and a shyppes come within
the syght therof, the Adamant wyll drawe the shyppes to hym.
... For the propertye of the Adamant is to drawe Iron to hym/
thus Huon and his company were there the space of .vi. dayes,
.....
the forest that semyd to them afar of were ye mastes of the
shyppes that had bene there aryued by constrayn of the Adamant/
but for all ye shyppes that were ther/ there was no leuyng man/
but there lay the bones of them that had dyed by famyne & rage/

The examination of these parallels should be accompanied by a reading of the whole passage from which each is taken. Owing to their length these cannot be given here, but they seem to furnish a good example of what we might call Spenser's assimilative method.

The second parallel which we present covers a much smaller portion of the *Fairie Queene*, and is drawn again from that part of the *Huon* which deals with Huon's voyage previous to his arrival at the dangerous Rock of Adamant.¹

1. This legend of the Rock of Adamant appears to have been widespread in the European literature of this and of earlier times. The passage given below from Browne attests its popularity.

Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Book II, Chaps. 2 and 3—Concerning the Loadstone.—“The other relation, of loadstone mines and rocks in the shore of India is delivered of old by Pliny: wherein, saith he, they are so placed both in abundance and vigour, that it proves an adventure of hazard to pass those coasts in a ship with iron nails. Serapion, the Moor, an author of good esteem and reasonable antiquity, confirmeth the same, whose expression in the word *magnes* is this: ‘The mine of this stone is in the sea-coast of India, whereto when ships approach, there is no iron in them which flies not like a bird unto those mountains; and therefore their ships are fastened not with iron but wood, for otherwise they would be torn to pieces.’”

An account of the rock of Adamant is given in the *Voyages and Travels of Sir John Maundeville*. (Cf. *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville*, Kt., ed. J. O. Halliwell, London, 1883, p. 163; also *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knight*, ed. John Ashton, London, 1887, p. 188.) The account given of the rock is identical with that found in *Huon of Burdeux*, but it occurs merely as one item of an enumeration of wonderful things. There is no reason for supposing that Spenser drew upon this source, which was of course accessible, rather than upon *Huon of Burdeux*, particularly in view of the account of the storm at sea, and of the passing by the mouth of Hell which accompanies it.

The Adamant Rock is moreover found in the romance of *Ogier le Danois*. The account here shows remarkable similarity to that found in *Huon*. The account of passing by the mouth of hell is lacking. Cf. Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, Vol. I, p. 334.

In the Middle High German poem of *Kudrun*, Hilda's vassals make an expedition against the Normans and are drawn by loadstones to the Mount of Givers, and are kept there four days, but by means of prayer to God they are delivered. Cf. *Gudrun*, Tale XXIII, 1125-1135, trans. Mary Pickering Nichols, Riverside press, 1889.

The same legend occurs also in the following places:—In the Bavarian story of Herzog Ernst von Baiern, extant in a 15th Century Ms. ed. Bartsch, Vienna, 1869;—in the Arabian Nights in the story of Sinbad the Sailor;—in the old French romance of the Chevalier Berinus;—in the Legend of St. Brandanus;—cf. also *Felicis Fabri Evagatorium*, (c. 1483), ii. 469, published by Stuttgart Literarischer Verein;—cf. Konrad von Wuerzburg's *Goldene Schmiede*, verse 139;—cf. verse 1727 of Got Amur (*der Werden Minne lere*, published by the Stuttgart Literarischer Verein, v. 263.

cf. Von Hagen and Buesching, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. i., note 49 to Herzog Ernst, p. xii., also the *Alldeutsches Museum*, i. p. 298.

Cf. Graesse, p. 339.

Cf. *Revue des traditions populaires*, Vol. IX, pp. 377-380. Rene Basset, *Notes sur les mille et une nuits—La Montagne d'Aimant*. In this article an extensive bibliography is indicated and the certain oriental origin of the story is proved.

The foregoing passages seem to illustrate well one phase of Spenser's method. He appears to have borne in mind the details of some episode in a romance to which he was able to attach an allegorical meaning, but he made use of those details in an absolutely independent manner, re-arranging, omitting, and adding to suit his purpose¹.

What may be a third parallel is found in the Sixth Book of the *Fairie Queene*, Canto xi. The motive is found elsewhere,² but the parallel would gain force only from the two already given.

We may present here certain smaller details which seem reminiscent of *Huon of Burdeux*. In themselves they would be of little or no value, but in connection with more important evidence they are perhaps worth mentioning.

F. Q. I., Canto x, st. 55 and 58.

From thence, far off he unto him did shew
A little path that was both steepe and long,
Which to a goodly citty led his vew,
Whose wals and towres were builded high and strong
Of perle and precious stone, that erthly tong
Cannot describe, nor wit of man can tell;

'Till now,' said then the knight, 'I weened well,
That great Cleopolis, where I have beene,
In which that fairest Faery Queene doth dwell,
The fairest citty was that might be seene;
And that bright towre, all built of christall clene,,

Cf. *Huon of Burdeux* p. 596 ff. where Huon and Esclarmonde approach the castle of Momur, the seat of Oberon in Fairyland:—

"They went so longe that they came to the fote of a mountayne, wheron they mounted with great payne and trauayle; when they were on the heyglit of the hyll they rested them/ and then within a lytell season Huon sawe apere before hym a great citye, and on the one syde therof a fayre and a ryche palleys/ the walles and towers of the city and palleys were of whyghte marble polysshed, the whiche shone so bryght agaynst the sonne as though it had

1. Kitchin, (*F. Q.* Book II, C. P. S. Oxford, 1899.) considers that this account is derived from the classical story of Scylla and Charybdis. We think this a mistake in view of the mention of the Magnetic Rock.

2. Cf. *Huon of Burdeux*, pp. 159-164.

bene al of christall/ then Huon sayde to his wyfe, 'dame, yonder before us, we may se the citey of Momure, wheras kynge Oberon is'/¹

The fight of Arthur with the Giant, (F. Q. Bk. I, Canto VIII, St. 5-25) shows slight similarity to the fight of Huon with the Giant Galafre. (*H. of B.* pp. 107-9.) The most striking resemblance is found in the fact that in each account the giant hurls his weapon with such force that it sticks in the object it meets so that it cannot be withdrawn. This feature is found elsewhere in the Romances in similar connections.

It seems most probable that the idea of the iron man Talus with his flail was suggested by the account of the two men of brass who kept the entrance to the tower of Dunother and who were always brandishing iron flails. Cf. F. Q. Bk. V. and *Huon of Burdeux*, p. 96.²

It will be seen then that the influence of *Huon of Burdeux* upon the *Fairie Queene* is very limited. If we bear in mind what has been said above concerning the difference of type exhibited by the two compositions, and how representative the *Fairie Queene* is of the Renaissance, it will at once become evident that a large portion of Spenser's poem is thereby excluded from the possibility of influence by *Huon of Burdeux*.

The influence which does exist is confined to details and does not affect the main story or general plan of any book of the *Fairie Queene*, or of the *Fairie Queene* as a whole.

The most convincing evidences of influence are furnished by the incidents in the *Fairie Queene* of the voyage past the perilous rock, and in the conception of the iron man Talus with his flail of brass. The account of the fight with the dragon, presenting as it does so many conventional features, depends for support largely upon its close proximity in the *Huon* to the account of the Rock of Adamant. One can hardly imagine that Spenser could have read the one without reading the other, and this fact gives this

1. Cf. also the description of the Magical Castle in *Huon of Burdeux*, p. 587.

2. Cf. Rene Basset in *Revue des traditions populaires*, Vol. XVII, Jan., 1902. *Contes et Legendes Arabes*—DLXXXIX—p. 37, foot note. Here he finds resemblance in the account of two swords waving, and so arranged as to protect a treasure which they guarded, with the brass men guarding the entrance to the Castle of Dunostre.

account precedence as a probable source over similar accounts such as those found in *Bevis of Hampton* or *Guy of Warwick*.

The value of this study to the student of Spenser lies in its furnishing one more proof in support of the fact that the poet was a man of the widest range of reading. It is probable that other romances will furnish sources for further details in the *Fairie Queene*. Mr. Dodge has treated exhaustively the influence of Ariosto, but there is much left to do in other directions.

One of Spenser's methods plainly appears in his treatment of the material derived from *Huon of Burdeux*. Those details of the romance which lent themselves to his purpose were taken hold of, modified, added to, and sent forth in such form that it is sometimes very difficult to put one's finger upon what may be called an absolutely convincing example of influence.

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REVIEWS.

The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare. Ashley H. Thorndike, Ph. D., Associate Professor of English, Western Reserve University. Worcester, Mass. Press of Oliver B. Wood. 1901.

Shakespeare's indebtedness to his contemporaries is a subject that especially needs careful research: of guess-work, more or less frankly avowed as such, we have already had a riotous abundance. Prof. Thorndike's monograph is a scholarly piece of original investigation, whose conclusions must be accorded serious consideration. The author's task is to show that Shakespeare, towards the end of his career, was definitely influenced by the two younger playwrights. Stated more specifically, Dr. Thorndike's thesis is that *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Tempest* follow, in part at least, a successful fashion set by a group of Beaumont-Fletcher plays, of which *Philaster* may serve as representative. To establish this proposition, or even to show an antecedent probability in its favor, requires, to begin with, no little clearing of the ground.

It is obvious enough that in the first decade of the seventeenth century Beaumont and Fletcher (not to raise the question of the respective shares they had in the plays that pass under their joined names) produced several plays of a practically new type, that was neither comedy nor tragedy, but a fluent mixture of the two, deserving because of the general tone and the happy endings, the name (for lack of a better) of heroic romance. Whether the species originated with Beaumont and Fletcher, and if so, whether it had an appreciable influence on Shakespeare, is a question involving a minute consideration of the chronology of all the plays concerned, and a careful comparison of their essential qualities. Dr. Thorndike has mapped out his work in a thoroughly logical way, and does himself scant justice by speaking of the "somewhat arbitrary order" in which his investigation is presented. There is, to be sure, a very full discussion of certain minor points (minor, so far as this thesis is concerned), such as Shakespeare's

probable share in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and Fletcher's hand in *Henry VIII*; but these things have a bearing upon any question of relationship between Beaumont and Fletcher and Shakespeare, and if they are worth speaking of at all, they are worth speaking of at length. And likewise, before discussing the chronology of the plays of the three dramatists, it is necessary not merely to touch upon, but to explain fully, certain facts and hypotheses in the general stage history of the time, that have much to do with determining the precise date of any play within the period. And in any event, the orderly division of the treatise into chapters prevents confusion. The method is exhaustive, but not cumbersome.

The scheme of the first part of the work, then, involves a preliminary discussion of Beaumont and Fletcher's relation to the theatrical companies, and of such points in stage history as have to do with the plays of the two collaborators; the chronology of Shakespeare's three plays, above mentioned; dates and authorship of *Henry VIII* and *Two Noble Kinsmen*; and the chronology of the Beaumont-Fletcher plays,—especially, of course, of those before 1612. So much may be termed the negative part of the investigation. It may be said immediately that the reasoning is careful, and that so far as the very difficult data permit, the author has succeeded in making very plausible the first part of his case, namely: the chronological possibility of such an influence as he urges.

Regarding Beaumont and Fletcher's connection with theatrical companies, Dr. Thorndike rejects Mr. Fleay's arrangement of the plays into groups dependent upon the companies for which they were written, and assumes, rightly enough, that "before 1616 there is no evidence connecting either Beaumont or Fletcher for fixed periods with any company." Mr. Fleay's contention that the theatres were closed for sixteen months in 1608-9 on account of the plague, is set aside as conflicting with such facts as (*e. g.*) the production of *Epicoene* in 1609. The occupancy of Blackfriars by the King's men in 1608, and Beaumont and Fletcher's writing for the King's men before Shakespeare stopped writing for them, are also insisted upon, in opposition to Mr. Fleay, as facts bearing upon the question in hand. The possibility of settling dates indirectly, through determining authorship, is also discussed: Dr. Thorndike notes, of course, that but little that is

authoritative on the question of authorship may be gained from the evidence of the early quartos and folios, although the 1679 folio's list of actors is obviously an important aid. And as a further step in the matter of authorship leading to an establishment of dates (in general, the author does not go into authorship questions except where a date is concerned), Dr. Thorndike proposes a new and simple verse-test: the use of 'them' and 'em' in such expressions, for example, as 'let them' and 'let em'. A counting of such usage shows in some unquestioned plays of Fletcher the immense preponderance of 'em'; in Beaumont, an indiscriminate use of both forms; in *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Tempest*, five them's to one 'em. This test is suggested only as a supplementary one; and rightly so, for no verse-test can be regarded as absolutely satisfying, unless the mannerism it exhibits be unique.¹ As a final point in this part of the treatise, the influence of the court mask upon public drama is touched upon: specifically in the use, after 1608, of professional actors in the anti-masks, a custom which undoubtedly led to the introduction of anti-mask elements into plays (*e. g.* in *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Winter's Tale*). With these several considerations fairly set forth, Dr. Thorndike proceeds to the dating of the plays involved in his investigation.

Here the important thing is to show that the Beaumont-Fletcher antedates the Shakespeare series. Owing to a lack of certainty regarding many of the dates, it is not possible to do more than to indicate a strong probability. For instance, in the case of the most significant dates, those of *Cymbeline* and *Philaster*, it is not possible to demonstrate which play preceded the other, although it seems rather more likely that *Philaster* antedates *Cymbeline* than that *Cymbeline* antedates *Philaster*; for *Philaster* is probably the earliest of a group which by 1611 was well established and it is hardly within the range of probability that all of the plays of the group could have been produced in less than two or three years. In any event, the chronological question

1. As a general remark, not bearing on Dr. Thorndike's work, I should like to add that in dealing with cases of collaboration, altogether too much importance is attached by literary students to the evidence of style. It is rarely likely that respective shares in a play can be determined by finding out what the men wrote. Collaboration implies planning as well as writing, and a play might be half Beaumont's, although Beaumont might not have written a single word of it. This is a point too often neglected in dramatic criticism.

reduces itself to this: by 1611 Beaumont and Fletcher had written six "romances" and Shakespeare three; the type of these nine being an innovation in dramatic formula, one group must have pretty directly influenced the other; and while the chances are that Beaumont and Fletcher set the fashion, it is not certain that they did. Dr. Thorndike having thus, in point of chronology, shown only a probability that Shakespeare was the imitator, not the originator, goes on to examine the plays themselves. The strength of the position thus far, although the point is not greatly emphasized by the author, is that an influence seems certain, and the alternative thesis,—that the fashion was set by Shakespeare,—would be much harder to defend.

The second, or positive, part of the thesis is the examination of the plays, with the purpose of showing their relationship. This examination involves first a sketch of the drama of the first ten years of the seventeenth century, and seeks to show from internal evidence, that the "romance" is really an innovation and must be credited either to Beaumont and Fletcher or to Shakespeare. Brief as the sketch is, it takes into consideration all the extant plays, with two exceptions, that were produced between 1601 and 1611, and may be regarded as making almost certain the point it seeks to establish. A general discussion of the qualities or elements of the "romance" as found in Beaumont-Fletcher now follows. Dr. Thorndike's analysis is thorough and embraces the essential things,—the plot of sentimental love and devotion contrasted with sensuality and intrigue, the variety of interest, the rapidity of movement, the theatricality (if one may so call it) of situation and of character, the happy endings, the spectacular opportunities, the lack of genuinely psychological character-drawing, the more or less conventionalized types of maiden, hero, coward, and shameless woman,—and yet nowhere are the qualities of the romance effectively summarized, nor are entirely cogent reasons offered for rejecting this or that play from the ranks of the romance,—a term which the reader must feel to be used without a satisfactory and serviceable definition.

This is a point that becomes the more apparent when one is called upon to consider the general characteristics of the Shakespearean romance. No one can cavil at grouping under one head, with or without definition, *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*,

A King and No King, *Cupid's Revenge*, and *Thierry and Theodoret*, but one demands an exhaustive, or at least a clear, definition, if *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Tempest* are to be grouped together as resembling one another in general form of plot and of characterization. That they have some general points of resemblance is plain enough, but not many students, one fancies, will be willing to proceed with full approval to the next step, the examination, namely, of the resemblances between the Beaumont-Fletcher romances and the Shakespearean romances, as exemplified in "typical representatives of either class—*Cymbeline* and *Philaster*." (p. 151).

Here, indeed, lies the weakness of Dr. Thorndike's case—so far as it is weak. *Philaster* is a typical Beaumont-Fletcher romance; *Cymbeline* is not in anything like the same sense typical of the Shakespearean romance (to use the term without further question). This objection, to be sure, does not affect the striking resemblance, and probable indebtedness, of *Cymbeline* to *Philaster*, but it does help to invalidate the claim of a similar Beaumont-Fletcher influence continuing through *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*. The objection, too, is the more marked because Dr. Thorndike in stating the characteristics of the Shakespearean romance, draws them mainly from *Cymbeline* and then says later that "all that has been said of the romances of Shakespeare applies with especial force to *Cymbeline*." (p. 152). This seems perilously near to begging the question. In accounting for the difference, which the writer recognizes, between *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale* and the Beaumont-Fletcher romances, Dr. Thorndike ascribes it to Shakespeare's own developing of the adopted type. This is reasonable, but in pointing out the resemblances, Dr. Thorndike is not quite as fair. In speaking of *Tempest* he says (p. 164), "For the plot there is, as usual, a story of sentimental love, and a correlated plot of intrigue and murder." So there is, but is not this a resemblance to the Beaumont-Fletcher romance in story and not in plot? In dramatic study the distinction is crucial.

But if the author has not succeeded in establishing beyond question the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare, he has, as I have already suggested, made it extremely hard for any one to argue that in the romantic innovation Shakespeare's work affected the Beaumont-Fletcher group of plays; and that

this is the alternative, Dr. Thorndike's monograph makes practically certain. It is perhaps the chief merit of the treatise that its writer has, in a sober and careful way, advanced a new theory so effectively that students of Shakespeare's relations to his contemporaries must take it into account. Extant data do not permit the exact proving (or disproving) of the author's contention: where, then, the conclusions must remain more or less tentative, it is no small achievement to present an hypothesis that so reasonably explains a definite part of Shakespeare's career.

A few comments may be added on points of detail.

P. 22. The 1647 Beaumont-Fletcher folio is said to contain thirty-six plays. It contains thirty-four plays and one mask, that of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn by Beaumont. Mr. Fleay's remark (*Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, 167) that it contains "all the Fletcher plays (save one) not yet printed in Quarto, thirty-six in all," is ambiguous if not wrong.

P. 61, footnote. Mr. Fleay is quoted as saying that the acting of Heywood's *Lucrece* at the Red Bull is mentioned for the first time in "the 1635 quarto." Mr. Fleay says 1638 (*Hist. of Stage*, 201); but as a matter of fact the Red Bull is also mentioned on the title page of the fourth edition of *Lucrece*, printed in 1630. I have not seen an earlier edition.

P. 85, footnote. Regarding *The Four Plays in One*, Mr. Fleay is quoted to the effect that *The Yorkshire Tragedy* was published in 1608 as one of the Four Plays, "as if to delude the unwary purchaser into the belief that he was buying one of the plays then being performed." Dr. Thorndike adds that he has not been able to examine the 1608 quarto, but that all the other authorities consulted "agree in stating that the reference to the *Four Plays in One* is not in the 1608 quarto of the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, but only in the 1619 quarto." The facts are these: the reference appears in the 1608 quarto as Mr. Fleay says (the other authorities are wrong); but Mr. Fleay's comment is not warranted. The reference does not appear on the title page, but only at the heading of the play, where it is certainly much too inconspicuous to serve as a bait for an "unwary purchaser." The heading reads: All's One, Or, One of the foure Plaies in one, called a Yorkshire Tragedy.

P. 89. Dr. Thorndike says of *The Captain*, that in the folio of

1679 the scenes are marked. This statement is doubtless based on Mr. Fleay's remark (*Chron. Eng. Drama*, I, 195) that in this edition the scenes are marked for the first time. But they are also marked in the 1647 folio.

P. 173. The comment that *Pericles* is "astonishingly undramatic," makes it worth while to note that *Pericles*, as presented in Munich under Herr Possart, with comparatively few alterations of consequence, is a pretty good acting play.

A few typographical errors may be noted. Some of the quotations contain mistakes (doubtless through following inaccurate reprints), as for instance p. 45, footnote 3: "an anti-masque all of spirits or divine" (add "Natures").—p. 68, line 20: "who because they saw it acted and knew whereof they spoke are the better to be believed,—and for my part, I censure thus—that I have never read a better." This should read: . . . "knew what they spake, are the better to be believed: and for my part, I censure it thus, that I never read a better." Other little slips are:—p. 12, footnote 4,—for 370 read 170; p. 17, footnote 2,—for 374 read 375; p. 21, footnote 3,—for II read I; p. 30,—the reference under footnote 2 applies to 3, and *vice versa*; p. 61, footnote 3,—for 189 read 205; p. 73, line 10,—for June 1661 read June 1601; p. 85, footnote 4,—for May 21 read May 2; p. 91, line 5,—for 1643 read 1647; p. 107, footnote,—for Mortclake read Mortlake, or More-clacke.

A few words should be added concerning the two little-known plays which Dr. Thorndike was not able to include (see p. 107, footnote, and errata) in his review of 1601-1611 drama,—*The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke*, and *The Wit of a Woman*. These two plays do not affect the thesis, as neither of them can be counted a "romantic" play, and the former is not a history at all. *The Two Maids of More-clacke* [Mortlake], *with the Life and Simple Manner of John in the Hospital*, by Robert Armin, is noted both by Collier (*Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, iii, 418) and by Mr. Fleay (*Chr. Eng. Drama*, I, 26), a fact which renders its omission from Ward's *Eng. Dram. Lit.* all the more surprising. (Dr. Ward, indeed, says that *The Valiant Welshman* is Armin's only extant play. *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, i, 435.) It has apparently not been reprinted since its first publication in 1609, save by Dr. Grosart in vol. xiv of *Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books*,

1880. The play itself is not divided into acts or scenes and contains no list of dramatis personae. As a drama it is not very interesting, although there is no lack of movement. The plot is involved: a widower with two daughters (the two maids) has just married a widow with one son. The bride wishes to arrange a match between her son and one of her step-daughters; the girls themselves have arranged matches with two young gentlemen; but in opposition to them all, the father seeks far higher marriages for his daughters. The situation has hardly been stated, when the complication is immensely increased by the arrival, Enoch-Arden-like, of the supposedly dead lawful husband of the bride. Unlike Tennyson's hero, he makes known his identity to his wife alone, who receives him secretly, while her second husband makes the first husband master of ceremonies at the wedding festivities. Absurd conditions, placed upon the young gentlemen in love with the two maids, come to be fulfilled, the bride returns to her lawful spouse, the disappointed bridegroom and father takes matters very coolly, and across the stage from time to time drifts John-in-the-Hospital (Christ's), an amiable lunatic who supplies the otherwise missing fun. This John-in-the-Hospital is a real personage, whose unconsciously funny doings had been described by Armin himself in his *Foole upon Foole*, 1605. Several of the stock anecdotes in that treatise are presented dramatically in the play, and the character, although having nothing to do with the plot, must have presented a congenial part to Armin, who, as actor, was practically the successor of the famous clown Richard Tarlton (died 1588).

The Wit of a Woman is mentioned neither by Collier nor by Dr. Ward, and even Mr. Fleay says that he has not seen it (*Chron. Eng. Drama*, ii, 320). A copy, bearing date 1604, is in the British Museum, however. The play is drawn up on simple lines, which provide complications in abundance. Four old widowers have each one son and one daughter, and the fathers and the sons, as rivals, woo the unrelated daughters. The girls' school-mistress, a rude gallant and his man, and several patients, fill in the dramatis personae. Acts and scenes are not indicated. The possibilities of the story are not fully exploited in the plot, but several of the obvious situations are briskly presented. The promise of the title and the prologue is not exactly carried out: 'age was cosened' and 'youth was pleas'd,' but hardly through "a woman's

247 Sampson: *Thorndike, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shakespeare*, [Vol. IV wit" does it all happen, although a woman's cleverness brings about the denouement. The play is inextricably mixed up, so far as names and relationships are concerned, and the table of dramatis personae (called "The Interlocutors") contains misprints, and does not square with the names in the text. An attempt to draw up a correct list of characters fails on account of recurring contradictions. One is not sure at any time whose daughter any girl is, which girl any old man is in love with, or which any young man is going to marry. There is no differentiation in character and a name fits anywhere: indeed the recklessness of the printer (whose fault it seems largely to be) in bestowing names on the speakers nearly marries a brother and sister. But in spite of this elementary tangle the plot is perfectly clear in general contour: four old men love four young girls, and four young men love the same girls; secretly the youths declare their passion, and the elders formally tender their hands; the girls accept the old men, and marry the youths, and the four wise old men, being the fathers of the eight happy young people, give them their blessing. The curtain falls on a dozen well-pleased persons. The dialogue has a strong flavor of Euphuism, in so far as Euphuism implies balanced antithesis: there is, however, no transverse alliteration (at least not to a noticeable degree), and no pseudo-natural history. There is nothing very witty or epigrammatic and the fun (of a rough kind) does not grow out of the action.

The play has not, I think, been reprinted. The only other play under the same title in the British Museum catalogue is by T. Walker, 1705. This play bears no resemblance whatever to the play of a century before. It is a smart, quick-moving little farce of six characters, and its movement depends entirely upon a woman's daring and clever schemes. It was presented at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 24 June, 1704 (*English Stage 1660-1830*, vol. ii, p. 310).

MARTIN W. SAMPSON.

British Museum,
October, 1901.

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Freytag, Soll und Haben, adapted and annotated for school use by Hanby Crump.

(New York, Macmillan & Co. 1893).

Freytag, Soll und Haben, condensed from the original and edited with English notes for the use of American schools and colleges by Ida W. Bultmann.

(Boston, Ginn & Co., 1898).

Freytag, Soll und Haben, abridged and edited with introduction and notes by George T. Files.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1901).

Freytag, Die verlorene Handschrift, edited with introduction and notes by Katherine M. Hewett.

(New York, The Macmillan Company, 1898).

Scheffel, Der Trompeter von Säckingen, abridged and edited with introduction and notes by Carla Wenckebach.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1895).

Scheffel, Ekkehard, abbreviated and edited with English notes by Carla Wenckebach.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1894).

Rosegger, Die Schriften des Waldschulmeisters, abridged, with introduction and notes, by Lawrence Fossler.

(New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1899).

Hauff, Lichtenstein, abridged and edited with introduction and notes by Frank Vogel.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1901).

Dahn, Ein Kampf um Rom, episodes arranged to form a continuous narrative and edited with notes by Carla Wenckebach.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1900).

Sudermann, Der Katzensteg, abridged and edited by Benjamin W. Wells.

(Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1899).

Sudermann, Frau Sorge, with introduction and notes by Gustav Gruener.

(New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1900).

The desire of rendering some of the masterworks of modern German literature better adapted in size to the requirements of reading-texts in college and high school classes has been the

cause, that a number of such works have been published within the last few years in more or less abridged form. The opportunity of making use of these texts certainly is a most welcome one among instructors of German who have felt the need of them in past years.

It is true there have been voices raised now and then against such abridged texts—but without entering upon this question now,—we are placed before the alternative: is it better for our students to know nothing whatever of those authors, or to be made acquainted with a fair portion of these standard works, which may be the guide to a more intimate acquaintance with them? And how about the publisher? Would he be likely to issue a complete edition, e. g., of *Soll und Haben* or *Lichtenstein* with notes, whereby he would probably lose money? Or would even a small percentage of our students purchase the expensive German editions of these authors?

The writer had occasion to use some of these texts in his classes and in this way was led to investigate the various editors' methods of abridging more closely and critically.

There are two distinct methods of procedure, one, the cutting out of passages throughout the text, according to the pleasure of the editor, the other, the omission of entire episodes without touching the remainder of the narrative to any perceptible extent. Of these two methods, the latter seems to be more rational and, perhaps, the easier one, too, while the former involves far greater difficulties and pitfalls and thus leads more frequently to injustice to the author and his original plan.

We do not mean to include in our present observations the occasional expurgation of reading-texts intended for class use, because no one will question the necessity of that.

But there are novels—and dramas—of recent date, in which the over-emotional and sensual is not a mere technical means, but the leading agent to bring about complications and catastrophes. This, as it appears, almost inevitable feature of the *fin de siècle* realistic or naturalistic novels renders their use as text-books extremely difficult even where there are no mixed classes. Omitting these objectionable features may then rightly be considered no longer a mere expurgation, but turn out to be an interference with the author's original plan, as we shall try to point out later.

Considering Freytag first we must acknowledge that the two

above mentioned novels are rather voluminous and that only a radical shortening could render them convenient for class use. In judging the abridged edition of *Die verlorene Handschrift* we are especially willing to make all due allowances in view of the extreme difficulties of the task. In the abridged edition we find all that part of the novel which relates to the hostile neighbors and their families cut out. Indeed, the principal thread of the story remains intact, we are enabled to accompany the professor on his vain search, in the course of which he finds not the manuscript, but a more precious treasure, his future wife. We see further, how only affairs of a most threatening turn gradually teach him that the living treasure obtained there in the flesh and blood is far greater and far more worthy of his devotion than the imaginary manuscript which finally becomes such a welcome weapon in the hands of his adversary and nearly the ruin of her and himself. Nevertheless, many may regret that the delightfully humorous chapters and the incidents relating to *Hummel* and *Hahn*, to *Fritz* and *Laura* are withheld from the reader. The editor says in the introduction in reference to *Hummel* and *Hahn* that *their adventures are only remotely connected with the principal narrative*, yet, in chap. 18, *Herr Hummel* appears at a most critical juncture in the principal story as does another, so far unknown person, the *Herr Oberamtmann*—who, by the way, is not necessarily, as the note says, the administrator or superintendent of a royal domain, but more often the lease-holder of a country estate or “domain” owned by the state or a province or the sovereign. Thus the serious difficulty of abridging becomes evident when, as here, persons appear not only in what is largely episodic in character, but take a hand also in the development of the principal story.

Of Freytag's *Soll und Haben* we have several abridged editions, the oldest dating from 1893. For the sake of contrast, it may be not without interest to take this older edition into consideration, too. In *Soll und Haben*, as in *Die verlorene Handschrift* we find two distinct groups of acting persons, the aristocratic and the *Bourgeois*, the latter again subdivided into the old-fashioned, stately and rigidly honest class of merchants, on the one hand, and the unscrupulous, mostly Jewish gang of speculators and money lenders, on the other. These groups and cliques with all their outward differences and inward abhorrence of each other are by

chance or force of circumstances brought into contact with each other; the author's plot is made to rest entirely upon these contrasts and contacts, so that the elimination of any of these groups would do violence to Freytag's real designs and, besides, rob the story of much that is significant as well as attractive. In the older edition, however, the reduction in size is consummated by dropping that group of Jewish sharpers and a great deal of minor detail without bestowing always sufficient care upon establishing at least some sort of connection in place of the omissions. The results, apart from the loss of essential portions of the original novel, are occasional obscurities and crowding together of events which should, at least, be pointed out as farther apart from each other, while a few persons are also made to appear like meteors to disappear as swiftly.

To what absurdities such careless abridging may lead, is well illustrated by this edition of *Soll und Haben* by Hanby Crump; a few instances will show.

On p. 54 at the close of Chap. 16 the last five lines are made to run as follows:

Anton arbeitete den Tag über wie Einer, der sich betäuben will, sprach nur das Nötige und ging am Abend trotzig die drei Treppen hinauf, sich anzukleiden, als ein Mann, der seinen Entschluss gefasst hat. Vertraue mir, sagte Anton, ich werde ruhig sein.

The reader is expected to guess whom Anton is addressing with these remarks. The meeting with his friend and the intervening part of the conversation are dropped without ceremony.

On p. 61. l. 36 we read:

Das Billet hatte keine Unterschrift, es war von Rosalie. Sabine wusste, wer die Schreiberin war.

But the reader would like to share her knowledge as Rosalie appears here for the first time and will not appear again. The note and its contents are thus without any meaning whatever.

The edition of *Soll und Haben* by Ida W. Bultmann is far superior to the one just spoken of. The editor accomplishes the abridgement in a rational and sympathetic way, not by eliminating entire groups of acting persons, but by judicious epitomizing of certain portions, and of just those which come nearest to permitting their treatment as episodes, thus e. g. Anton's expedition into

rebellious Poland, or the account of Anton's laborious and perilous activity as the baron's general agent and overseer, of which a considerable portion has been dropped.

One might wish, however, that the epitomized passages were in some way noticeable to the eye, by being printed in italics or enclosed in brackets or the like.

The edition of *Soll und Haben* by George T. Files though proceeding differently in detail, accomplishes its purpose likewise in a commendable way. As the editor says in the preface, he "has pursued the plan of following out the incidents connected with the life of the hero, Anton, and those most intimately associated with him. Some characters and incidents have been entirely omitted. . . . A brief summary of these events is given in the notes; otherwise they have been carefully avoided."

Still, the critical reader may find occasion to note some slight inaccuracies.

The relations between Anton and Lenore previous to his stay at the Polish estate as far as they are discernible from the abridged edition hardly justify the statement on p. 75 l. 15 f:

Mit Entzücken hörte Anton den Namen, an welchen sich für ihn so holde Erinnerungen knüpften.

or Lenore's action as told on p. 116, l. 28-30.

It seems to me also as if the account of the final settlement of the love-affair between Lenore and Fink would call out some inquiry concerning the meaning of p. 219, l. 23-25 and p. 220, l. 30-33.

But we must not be too severe; every abridged edition will show such deficiencies and, above all, unevenly balanced portions of the original.

Of Scheffel's *Trompeter von Säckingen* as well as of the same author's *Ekkehard* we find both kinds of editions, abridged and unabridged. Why the former, the *Trompeter*, should be at all reduced in size, seems incomprehensible even though the chapter relating to the *Erdmännleins Höhle* must seem rather obscure to the average foreign reader and would not be missed if left out. There is no apparent justification for any more abridging, such as has been done in the edition by Carla Wenckebach. The unabridged edition by Ida Frost—though very defective as regards correctness of print and notes—has been found

well adapted for class use as regards size.

With reference to *Ekkehard* the question appears well worth debating. In this novel there is much that is of interest merely as historical or antiquarian subject-matter and without influence upon the actual story, though the chief characters may have some loose connection with it. For these reasons, the very commendable abridged edition by Carla Wenckebach may be preferred by some instructors, while others will assert that the excellent unabridged edition by William Herbert Carruth is not too formidable in size and, with judicious management, can be gone over within a single term.

A far easier task, apparently, has been the editing of Rosegger's *Die Schriften des Waldschulmeisters* in a shape better suited for reading in class. Since the entire work—as far as the *Waldschulmeister* is speaking himself—consists of loosely connected sketches in the form of a diary, it seems a perfectly legitimate proceeding to omit some or portions of some. The editor's course in preparing this abridged edition is deserving due appreciation.

During the past year two more romantic novels of high standing have been edited in abridged editions: Dahn's *Ein Kampf um Rom* and Hauff's *Lichtenstein*. A novel of the formidable size of *Ein Kampf um Rom* is of course unfit for class use as it is. It is like a series of semi-historical sketches showing first the Ostrogoths at the height of power and then depicting their swift decline and final annihilation. The abbreviated edition which gives only about one-third of the entire work, claims under the title of *Ein Kampf um Rom* to be "Episodes arranged to form a continuous narrative." This title though corresponding with the facts, might mislead people to the belief that they are possessing in the abridged edition the entire novel from start to finish, outside of certain omitted portions. As a matter of fact, however, but little of the actual struggle for the possession of Rome is contained in the selections given unless one considers the secret plotting of the fictitious Cethegus as a long drawn-out *Kampf um Rom*. Thus not only the outcome of this grand struggle, the fate of Cethegus and other chief characters remain a mystery, but even all those fine chapters describing the heroic resistance of the Goths against the combined onslaughts

from Byzantium and Rome, so well suited to our own new conceptions of a strenuous life, are withheld. It is surely a mistake to give only the inception of a grand struggle and not its progress and final outcome. It seems to me that the only legitimate way of abridging in this case would have been a collection of the various passages describing the actual fighting crowned with the dramatic, almost operatic departure of the surviving remnant of an once powerful tribe.

As we now approach the abridged edition of *Lichtenstein* by Frank Vogel, it cannot be said that we do this with great satisfaction. It seems a pity that this romantic gem, a poem in prose, should be subjected to such a treatment. However, since it has been considered desirable, as the editor states in his preface, to render this novel available for class-use by abridging it, we will accept his apology and examine what has become of this beloved novel of our boyhood.

Finding no episodes of considerable length the editor had to accomplish his task by the eliminating of single passages throughout the work; but even if that is done with the greatest caution, it seems almost impossible to give the reader a correct idea of the author's full worth. Still, if we place ourselves in the attitude of one unfamiliar with the original *Lichtenstein*, we are ready to acknowledge that the abridged story, on the whole, runs along smoothly enough. Nevertheless, it seems to have undergone, now and then, too radical a cutting, thus in the first chapter p. 3 and 4, compare e. g. the passage 1 17-20 on p. 4 in the abridged edition:

Hinter den beiden Mädchen stand ein grosser bejahrter Mann, dessen ganz schwarzer Anzug wunderbarlich gegen die reichen bunten Farben um ihn her abstach.

with the original:

Hinter... Mann; seine tiefen strengen Züge, seine buschigen Augenbrauen, sein langer dünner, schon ins Graue spielender Bart, selbst sein ganz schwarzer Anzug, der..... abstach, gaben ihm ein ernstes beinahe trauriges Aussehen, das kaum ein wenig milder wurde.....

The description of the two young girls and of Frondsberg seems likewise too brief and incomplete as compared with the original. Sometimes, the omission of a few lines perverts the

author's original meaning. To prove this, one may compare on p. 13, l. 12 and 13:

Ist der Vater auf feindlicher Seite, kann Marie möglicherweise noch in jenen Mauern sein?

which reads like two separate questions while in the original the former is a conditional clause:

.....*Und ist der Vater*.....

The passage on p. 25, l. 23:

Er zog die Gardinen vor und liess die Bilder des vergangenen Tages an seiner Seele vorüberziehen.

will be understood as relating to the window-curtains and sound very commonplace, while the comparison with the original will show their real significance; that Georg went to bed and drew the bed-curtains and gave himself over to dreams, cannot be guessed from the fragments given.

On p. 45 l. 20-25....*die Lücken der Laube*; this arbor has never been mentioned before.

On p. 55, l.7, the omission of *den Grenzmauern von Württemberg* after *nach den fernen blauen Bergen* seems unfortunate, because only these appositional words explain....*Sehnsucht oder stillem Gram*.

On p. 58 we are lead to infer that the conversation between Marie and the peasant took place in the church which would be unbecoming.

Why is the clause *als man sie noch*....*gehen lehrte* omitted after...*habe das Fräulein noch gekannt*?

It seems also regrettable that the historical and descriptive passages have been reduced to such an extent as to lose almost all value; thus e. g. on p. 12 the enumeration of the conditions tending to war, on p. 13 omission of passage describing the position of the enemies of the Duke; on p. 12 the mention of the *14000 Schweizer* should not have been eliminated. The description of some parts of the city of Ulm on p. 13, of the beautiful view from the summit on p. 82, after l. 8, of the castle of Lichtenstein on p. 131, toward the end of the chapter might have been retained.

We leave now, before closing, the field of romantic fiction and turn to the two remaining novels, Sudermann's *Katzensteg* and *Frau Sorge*. Sudermann is the most popular representative

of that group of young German poets whom we characterize as naturalists and who owe a great deal in the way of methods, mannerism and inspiration to Zola, Dostojewski, Tolstoi and Ibsen. We alluded to some of the qualities of this kind of literature in our introductory remarks, and it was pointed out how ill-suited those works must necessarily appear as reading-texts for class-use.

No exception in this respect can be made with reference to Sudermann. His works as they are, can hardly be commended to young people as fit reading-matter. Of the two, the *Katzensteg* abounds more with these objectionable features, and most of the abridging done also meant expurgating. It is necessary to review briefly the original work in order to obtain a correct judgment regarding the abridged edition. During the conquest of Prussia by Napoleon in the unfortunate years of 1806 and 1807 a nobleman of Polish descent has betrayed a body of Prussian troops to the enemy by guiding the latter over a secret path and bridge, the *Katzensteg*, thus causing the slaughter of nearly all the Prussians. Ever since this base deed he has had to shut himself up in his castle to escape the persecution of the villagers, protected himself by secret mines, traps, spring-guns and an entire arsenal of arms of every description, having as his sole companion a luckless peasant girl, a tenant's daughter, whom he has compelled to serve as the actual guide on that treacherous errand. His son who is the central figure in the novel, has been absent from home, during this time, attending school; on hearing, perchance, of his father's rascality, he continues to stay away from home and, a few years later, enters the Prussian army under an assumed name, takes part in the war of liberation with honor and at its close, returns to his native home only to learn of the terrible state of affairs prevailing there. He hastens on to his father's castle which he finds a half-burned ruin and in the park he meets the girl digging a grave for his father who has just died. Now begins his hopeless struggle against the villagers who are determined to treat him like his father and to prevent any one from working for him or having anything to do with him. He is firmly convinced that his past career in the war entitles him to honorable treatment and is resolved to force the villagers to grant it to him offering, at the same time, an atonement for his

father's crime through his own sufferings. The author succeeds in chaining the reader's attention throughout the various incidents of this struggle however exaggerated and even implausible the entire matter must appear. The single bright spot is the growing attachment of that same uncultured creature, the accomplice of the father, to her young master, but even that is tainted by the latter's final yielding to the baser impulses of the blood. The blame must rest wholly with him, since the half animal-like girl is a mere tool in his hands. With this downfall he seals his fate and hers; while, up to this, we have been looking upon them as martyrs—even if in a hopeless cause—we feel now that their destruction can only be a question of time and the only possible atonement.

If we now examine the abridged edition, we must admit that the object for which it is intended made not only the elimination of much of the detail necessary, but it also required the omission of what Sudermann himself must have considered the most consequential event in his hero's self-destructive course i. e. his illicit intimacy with the peasant-girl. In its abridged state, therefore, the story is thrown out of balance; the final annihilation of the two principal persons is a most unjust one: the young man does no wrong whatever, and even the girl we would fain exonerate from any blame for her participation in that infamous treachery, considering her untutored, half-savage nature and the compulsion under which she was acting. The attitude of the old parson becomes a farce: his dramatic charge of the young man with the responsibility for the girl's salvation and the final cursing of him become a blasphemy in the mouth of one whose mission is to be one of justice and mercy, for, as it appears in the abridged edition, the young man is the only one person who respects her; who shields her from the villainous assaults of the entire village and her own father; in whose home she finds her sole place of safety; and whom she worships with the blind loyalty born of awe and love. The murder of the girl, then, under most horrible circumstances, just when she seems to be raised to a loftier conception of herself and her destination, is turned into a revolting sneer upon justice and retribution. If this were to be accepted as a typical work of Sudermann, those who call him an ultra-pessimist, could not be contradicted. The assertion of

the editor in the preface:

The reduction has been made by abbreviating or omitting descriptions and episodes of minor consequence so that the story remains complete and continuous.

cannot be accepted as valid regarding all of his omissions though here, as in other cases, we are willing to make all due allowance in view of the difficulty of the problem. If this novel had to be edited for class-reading—we may repeat again—the omission of the one vital portion of which we have just spoken, could not be avoided.

Frau Sorge, the earliest novel of consequence that Sudermann wrote, is also now before us in a slightly shortened edition. Even the severest critics of the author admit the originality and power of *Frau Sorge* which, fortunately, is largely drawn from actual life and shows only occasional leanings toward the sensational, the mere theatrical and the sensual, all of which is so prevalent in Sudermann's later works.

The editor tells us in the preface:

To make the text available for general class-use it has been deemed best to cut out one rather long episode which seemed neither an essential or an artistic feature of the story as a whole.

The author's plan is to describe the trials which a young man has to undergo at whose cradle *Frau Sorge* has sat. These trials are indeed too many for a mortal creature to bear, and the American editor did wisely when he decided to lighten the poor young man's burden and to cut out the long drawn-out account of the hard labors and humiliations which fell to his share, when he appeared as the champion of his twin-sisters and finally forced their faithless lovers to make them their wives. With most readers, it seems to me, the judgment concerning the author would not be altered for the better if this passage were not omitted. Outside of this one lengthy episode of nearly 40 pages only a few lines have been omitted on p. 9, merely for aesthetic reasons.

From the fore-going remarks our own opinion regarding abridging will have become sufficiently clear; if a work contains numerous passages or portions of an episodic character, judicious elimination of some of them will not impair the actual value of

the work in question as a narrative; if, however, the abridging is accomplished by a mere haphazard sort of "boiling down," it is very difficult to avoid being unjust to the author's design and style. It has also become evident that some works ought never to be subjected to any such process.

Of all the modern German authors Ebers seems to me to be best adapted to be edited in abridged editions, and it is singular that none of his novels has as yet been prepared for class-use in that form.

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Goethe's Poems.—Selected and edited with introduction and notes by Julius Goebel, Professor of Germanic Philology and Literature in Stanford University. New York. Henry Holt and Company, 1901. pp. xix, 244.

By his contributions to the *Goethe Jahrbücher*, *Modern Language Notes*, *Festgaben*, etc., as well as by his public and university lectures, Dr. Goebel has established his reputation as a Goethe scholar. The appearance of a collection of Goethe's poems bearing his name as editor is calculated therefore to attract general attention and to arouse the special interest of all who may be engaged in the study and interpretation of the life and writings of the great poet. The book before us is a remarkable one both for what it omits and what it gives. One will look in vain for explanations of ethical datives and accusatives of extent of time, neither are the notes filled with smooth English translations of difficult passages in the text. In fact a very short perusal is sufficient to show that the book is not intended to serve as a stepping-stone toward the mastery of the German language, nor even as a *Blumenlese* of Goethe's shorter poems for the delight of the lover of poetry. It is rather designed as the editor himself declares at the outset "as an introduction to the study of Goethe by showing as far as possible the inner development of the poet and the man which are inseparable in this greatest lyric poet of modern times." This is the keynote of the whole book—Goethe the poet and Goethe the man; his inward growth, vicissitudes and development.

The task of a critic is twofold. An impartial and sympathetic presentation of the contents of the work under review, and secondly an estimate of its value.

Of these the former, being of universal interest, is by far the more important part. The latter, being conditioned by the personal tastes and needs of the critic, can scarcely hope to find general acceptance, nor is such a judgment needed by persons of independent thought. I propose therefore to confine myself almost entirely to a presentation of the contents of Dr. Goebel's work, leaving a critical estimate of its value to the individual reader.

The book is divided into seven sections, headed respectively: Leipzig, Sesenheim, Sturm und Drang, Rom, Lieder und Balladen, Westöstlicher Divan, Alter—altogether one hundred and four poems. To each division is prefixed a short introduction, giving in brief form a statement of Goethe's outward circumstances and inward condition, sufficient to an understanding of the group of poems which follows. In the notes, introductions to the different groups are again found. These give information in regard to the text of the poems and the time and place of their composition and publication, historical and critical bibliography, etc. Where such facts could not be given for a whole group, as for instance group v, each poem is treated by itself. The whole is preceded by a general introduction, devoted to a characterization of Goethe's mode of thought, his historical position in the development of modern culture, the liberating influence of his life and works—in short an answer to the question: what does Goethe mean for us today? As in the notes we find a knowledge of the language and its grammar presupposed on the part of those using the book, so in the introductions the editor "assumes throughout this book a knowledge of Goethe's biography as a prerequisite for the study of his poems." If Dr. Goebel's object is to show the inner development of the poet and the man, he is equally clear as to the proper method to be employed—"I have tried to follow one of the most fundamental principles of hermeneutics by interpreting the poet by the poet. For this reason I have cited freely from Goethe's works and letters and from writings of his contemporaries. . . . I hope that in this way I may induce the student to take up Goethe in the entirety of his life and work, and that he may learn that the understanding of even the smallest poem is dependent upon a

comprehensive knowledge of the author's language and world of thought." A glance at random in the notes will show how consistently and successfully this principle has been carried out: a single instance will suffice. In commenting on Prometheus 51, 52:

Hier sitz ich, forme Menschen
Nach meinem Bilde,

the editor remarks: "That Goethe claimed such creative ability for man may be seen from the following quotations: "Unser verdorbener Geschmack aber umnebelt dergestalt unsere Augen, dass wir fast eine neue Schöpfung nöthig haben, uns aus dieser Finsterniss zu entwickeln." *Der junge Goethe* II, 42. "Shakespeare wetteiferte mit dem Prometheus," etc. D. J. G. II 42. Compare also Faust I, 1607 f. f. (Geister-Chor):

Mächtiger
Der Erdensöhne,
Prächtiger
Baue sie wieder,
In deinem Busen baue sie auf.

and Westöstlicher Divan, Wiederfinden, 1. 39.

Allah braucht nicht mehr zu schaffen
Wir erschaffen seine Welt."

Similarly numerous quotations from and references to Goethe's contemporaries—Herder, Schiller, W. von Humboldt, Riemer, Eckermann, Fr. Schlegel, Rachel Levin, etc., are to be found scattered through the book. Everywhere we are conscious of the editor's effort to reach the poet as directly as possible, intermediate sources, as far as may be, are dispensed with. We are introduced directly to the poet and his immediate circle of friends and followers. References to modern commentators are given here and there, but we are not asked to look at the poet through their eyes or even through the editor's own eyes, but he is presented to us as reflected in his own letters, diaries, conversations, as well as in his more pretentious writings and as he appeared to those who knew him in the flesh. By reason of the editor's singleness of aim the book possesses a unity of plan and execution such as is rarely found in works of this kind.

The attention of the reader is not distracted by grammatical or metrical excursions, he is not asked to note the occurrence of similar thoughts in this or that ancient or modern poet, the critical

apparatus never becomes an end in itself. Everywhere the central figure remains supreme. One feels that the book was made for Goethe, not Goethe for this book. Since the selections with the accompanying comment present an outline of Goethe's entire life from his student days to his death, it scarcely needs to be remarked that its statements are frequently extremely condensed, serving often as guide-posts to point out the road which Goethe was following rather than as a detailed description of his journey. Thus in the introduction to the Sturm and Drang period, after speaking of the titanic heights to which the consciousness of his genius had carried him, and referring in a line to the wholesome and purifying influence of Frau von Stein, the editor remarks: "He who had felt himself more than human seeks now the return to the simplicity and the limitations of true humanity, as may be seen from the hymns *Grenzen der Menschheit* and the glorious *Das Göttliche*." In these brief words are implied the whole history of those first few wonderful years in Weimar; the transition from the spirit that had produced Werther and Schwager Kronos to the spirit that produced Ilmenau and the *Zueignung*—to my mind the most thrilling chapter in the inner life of an individual which the world has yet to show. It will be seen from this how significant each sentence of these brief introductions is. The editor has made no effort to supplant the instructor. The whole book serves at once as an epitome of Goethe's life for the initiated and for the uninitiated as a guide and an inspiration.

Lack of space forbids further presentation of the contents of this work. In the way of negative criticism I have the following to remark. In his treatment of the poems collected in the group headed Rom, the editor departs to a certain extent from the principle he has himself laid down—of interpreting the poet by the poet, and expresses his disapproval of the poet's life, moral and artistic, during this period in no uncertain tones.

Certainly Goethe is not at his best in the Römische Elegieen. We cannot but feel that he has gone astray in more ways than one. Nevertheless that he was sincere in this phase of his life as in all the others, can scarcely be questioned. I believe that a more sympathetic treatment of Goethe in Rom on the part of the editor would not be construed by anyone as an attempt to condone his shortcomings, and that if here as elsewhere the editor would

remain true to his principle of allowing the poet to interpret the poet, the view of Goethe's life which his book affords, would be even more complete than it now is. The typographical work is excellent. I have noted only the following slight errors:

Pg. 172, line 16 from bottom, read "gaben" for "geben."

Pg. 196, line 8, read "in" for "to."

Pg. 220, line 12 from bottom, arrange to correspond with the rest of the notes.

The value which students and teachers of German will attach to Dr. Goebel's work will necessarily vary widely according to the pedagogical tenets and literary tastes of each individual. In the opinion of the writer modern editors too often make the mistake of providing the student with just such information as he could easily obtain for himself and which he would value far more highly if he were required to collect it by his own efforts; and of making no attempt, on the other hand, to unveil the deeper meaning and beauty of the author's productions, of awakening in the student a feeling for literature—not merely an understanding of its form and outer history. By avoiding this error Dr. Goebel has produced a work whose worth cannot be questioned by those who accept the opinion which Goethe has himself expressed in the words:

"Ein Lehrer, der das Gefühl an einer einzigen guten That, an einem einzigen guten Gedicht erwecken kann, leistet mehr als einer, der uns ganze Reihen untergeordneter Naturbildungen der Gestalt und dem Namen nach überliefert." And if for "untergeordneter Naturbildungen" we substitute "historischer und grammatischer Thatsachen" we certainly shall remain well within the poet's thought.

Those who hold that poems should be self-explanatory, who care only for the content and the form, regardless of the personality behind them, will fail to appreciate the best that this book contains. Those who are seeking reading-matter which will serve as a basis for grammatical and linguistic study and will afford at the same time a sufficiently interesting narrative to entertain the reader without making too great demands upon his mind and heart, will find much in this book which to them will appear superfluous. Those who are convinced that the study of Goethe, when undertaken by students of some maturity, equipped with an adequate

knowledge of the language, almost invariably acts upon the spirit as an elevating and steadying force, who have felt the cultural value which is attached to a serious study of his life and works, who appreciate, to use Dr. Goebel's own words, "what freedom of spirit, what new life would flow in upon us from an acquaintance with Goethe's mode of thought," will unite with the writer in according to this book a hearty welcome.

H. Z. Kip.

Vanderbilt University

Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske haandskrifter i det store kongelige bibliotek og i universitetsbiblioteket, udgivet of kommissionen for det arnamagnaeanske legat. 8vo lxx+517 pp. Copenhagen, 1900.

The present catalogue, published by the Commissioners for the Arnamagnaen Fund, forms a valuable supplement to the catalogue of the Arnamagnaen collection of old Norse manuscripts in the Copenhagen University library, published in two volumes between the years 1889-94. The present work, like its predecessor, has been prepared by the librarian of the Arnamagnaen collection, Dr. Kr. Kaalund, and the learned author has added to its value by introducing it with a monograph dealing with the "gathering and preservation of the Old Norse Literature", in the same manner as the catalogue of the Arnamagnaen collection was accompanied by a history of that famous depository of Norse history and philology. In his introduction to the present volume Dr. Kaalund describes in detail the movement by which the old literary treasures of Iceland and Norway gradually disappeared from their native soil and were gathered and preserved—and in some cases destroyed, namely in the great fire of 1728—in Copenhagen chiefly in the two great libraries, the University library and the great Royal library, and to a smaller extent in Stockholm and Upsala. Some manuscripts, mostly fragments, are still extant in Norway, in the University library and the State Archive in Christiania, but on the whole it may be said that the two countries where the old literature was born and flourished, and where it almost exclusively was read and appreciated while yet a living literature, are now

depleted of their treasures, with scant, if any, prospect of anything of great value turning up there after this day. Up to the middle of the 17th century very few Old Norse manuscripts went beyond their original territory, Norway and Iceland, but as the interest for history awakened in the other Scandinavian countries and the eyes of the learned world were opened to an appreciation of the mass of valuable information to be found in these old volumes, these manuscripts were per fas et nefas—in fact quite as often per nefas—removed from their native homes in order to form the pride and mainstay of the Danish and Swedish libraries. And, however galling this fact may be to children of the nations that lost them, still there can probably be no doubt that it was the best that could happen under the circumstances, for it may be assumed with certainty that more of the literature has been preserved in this manner than would have come down to the present time, if these manuscripts should for centuries more have been left in Icelandic parsonages or farmhouses, or in the lumber rooms of Norwegian manors, and parsonages and the residences of local officials. In addition to the old Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts in the Scandinavian collections, there are also some extant in the British Museum, in the Bodleian library in Oxford and in the Advocates' library in Edinburgh, as well as isolated ones in Holland (Utrecht), Germany (Wolfenbüttel and Tübingen), Austria (Vienna) and France (Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris).

The present catalogue comprises not only all old Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts in the Great Royal Library and the Copenhagen University (with the exception of the Arnamagnæan collection, of course, whereof only the additions since 1894 are given) but also all manuscripts relating to Norway and its old dependencies (Iceland, Faroe Islands, Greenland, Orkneys, Hebrides etc.).

Among the most noted manuscripts with which the catalogue deals, we mention the *Codex Regius* of the *Elder Edda*, Gl. Kgl. Sml. 2365, 40, certainly one of the most valuable relics of medieval Germanic thought (a phototype reproduction of this manuscript was published by the "Samfund til Udgivelse of Gammel nordisk litteratur" in 1891); *Flatey jarbók* G. Kgl. Sml. 1005, I—II fol., one of the best preserved and most sumptuous old Icelandic manuscripts, containing a comprehensive, but uncritical collection of

the sagas of the Norwegian kings, with all possible additions and digressions. This is one of the few manuscripts where the writers' names and the date of its origin are known (a phototype reproduction of a part of this manuscript was prepared by the Danish General Staff for the Chicago Exhibition); furthermore the *Codex Regius* of *Snorra Edda*, the *Hrokkinskinna*, the *Morkinskinna*, *Codex Frisianus* and many others.

With the above mentioned catalogue of the Arnamagnæan collection, the present work forms an invaluable and to every scholar of Scandinavian antiquities indispensable key to the treasures contained in the named Copenhagen libraries.

Having completed these two catalogues the commissioners of the Arnamagnæan Fund are now preparing a publication that promises to be of extreme interest, a palæographic atlas which in two series—one Old Danish and one Old Norwegian-Icelandic—will contain phototype specimens of the most important manuscripts, as a rule one page of each, with transcription of the text opposite. The plates will be arranged chronologically, but otherwise on the whole patterned on the series published by the Palæographical Society of London. This publication will give the study of Scandinavian antiquities a broader basis than it has heretofore had, inasmuch as it will allow also those scholars who have not the opportunity of examining a great number of manuscripts in the Libraries to form an independent opinion about the relative age and value of the different manuscripts.

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STRENGTHENING MODIFIERS OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN.

PREFATORY.

IN the following pages a study of the use of strengthening modifiers of adjectives and adverbs during the classical Middle High German period, or from about 1150 to 1300, is attempted. Such devices being so largely unconscious, and at the same time so subject to fashion, we may expect to find a certain consistency in their use, and to see in them marks of style, sometimes of the individual, but more often of different schools and classes of literature. They seem therefore well worthy of special treatment.

Aside from the thesis of H. Z. Kip,¹ which is limited to the religious poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and which treats the subject more from the standpoint of the lexicographer, no such treatment has been given. What little has been done on the subject is to be found in the dictionaries, and scattered through the notes in the various editions of the works of this period. That the material there offered is inadequate, and the statement of facts often erroneous, is apparent to one who takes but a casual glance into the subject, or who will but compare the notes of the different editors.

During the investigation which has formed the basis of this study, such questions as the following have been kept in mind, in the case of each of the words which may be classed as strengthening particles, viz: 1. The origin and development of meaning of the word. 2. In what dialects and for what periods is it current? 3. In what classes of literature is it found, or in what classes is it the most frequent? 4. With what classes of adjectives and adverbs is it used? 5. Is it a part of the popular dialect, or is it confined to literary or poetical

¹Zur Geschichte der Steigerungsadverbien in der deutschen geistlichen Dichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, (Leipzig Dissertation) Journ. of Germ. Phil., vol. III, p. 143 ff.

diction? 6. Are there any signs of its becoming obsolete?
7. The peculiarities of individual writers, if any.

Not all of the literature of this period has been examined, as that seemed neither necessary nor feasible. The works which were selected for exhaustive treatment, however, are such as may be considered fairly representative of the different classes of literature during the period, and are numerous enough to warrant the drawing of general conclusions.

For the purpose of statistics, the different forms of the same word to which a strengthening particle is joined (as for instance, *nā, nāch, nāhe, nāhen*) are grouped together, and no distinction is made between the adjective and the adverbial use of the same word. This plan has been adopted on the assumption that the choice of a strengthening particle with any author is not dependent on the form or grammatical use of the word to be strengthened. In the examples which are given, the more usual form of the word, and in the case of adjectives, the uninflected form, appears. No attempt has been made to preserve the orthography of the different editions, except where direct citations are made.

SOURCES AND TEXTS.

The following works have served as sources. They are arranged under the different dialects, as far as may be determined, in chronological order, the classification and dating being that of the various editors, Paul's Grundriss, and Michels' *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*. The works have been examined exhaustively, except as may be indicated for some of the longer ones.¹

ALEMANNIC.

1. Poetical monuments.

a) Lower Alemannic.

Reinmar von Hagenau, *Des Minnesangsfrühling*, p. 150 ff.
Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. by Bechstein, Leipzig
1890.

¹The figures in parentheses after any title indicate the number of lines of that particular monument which have been considered.

Konrad Fleck, Flore und Blanscheflur, ed. by Emil Sommer, Quedlinburg 1846.

Die Gute Frau, ed. by the same, *ZfdA* 2, 385 ff.

Volmar, Das Steinbuch, ed. by Lambel, Heilbronn 1877.

Konrad von Würzburg,

Der Trojanische Krieg (10,000), ed. by A. von Keller, Stuttgart, 1858.

Keiser Otte mit dem Barte, ed. by K. A. Hahn, Quedlinb.-Leipzig 1838.

Alexius, ed. by Richard Henczynski, Berlin 1898.

Hugo von Langenstein, Martina (10,000), ed. by A. von Keller, Stuttgart 1856.

Reinfried von Braunschweig (10,000), ed. by Bartsch, Stuttgart 1871.

Peter von Stauffenberg, ed. by Edw. Schröder, Zwei Altdeutsche Rittermaeren, Berlin 1894.

b) Upper Alemannic.

Rudolf von Ems,

Der Gute Gerhard, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1840.

Barlaam und Josaphat (10,000), ed. by Pfeiffer, Leipzig 1843.

Johannes Hadlaub, ed. by Bartsch, *Biblioth. Aelterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz*, vol. VI, 283 ff.

2. Prose.

Altdeutsche Predigten, ed. by Wackernagel, (sermons 1-13, 18-20, 27-35, 42-52) Basel 1876.

Predigten des 13. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Grieshaber (100 pages), Stuttgart 1844-46.

Predigt auf Johannes den Täufer, *Germania*, 35.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

1. Poetical monuments.

a) Bavarian.

Albrecht von Johansdorf, MF XII.

Wolfdietrich B, bearbeitet von Oskar Jänicke, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, vol. III, Berlin 1871.

Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1891.

- Neidhart von Reuenthal, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1858.
 Wernher der Gartenaere, Helmbrecht, ed. by Keinz, Leipzig 1887.
 Die Warnung, ed. by Haupt, ZfdA 1, 438 ff.
 Lamprecht von Regensburg, S. Franciskan Leben, ed. by Weinhold, Paderborn 1880.
 Reinbot von Durne, Der Heilige Georg, ed. by F. Vetter, Halle 1896.
 Der Jüngere Titurel (2800), ed. by K. A. Hahn, Quedlinburg 1842.
 Lohengrin (5000), ed. by Rückert, Quedlinb.-Leipzig 1858.
- b) Austrian.
- Die Hochzeit, ed. by Waag, Kleinere deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts, Halle 1890.
 Genesis und Exodus, nach der Milstäter Handschrift, ed. by J. Diemer, Vienna 1862.
 Die Bücher Mosis, ed. by the same, Deutsche Gedichte des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts.
 Enticrist, ed. by Hoffmann, Fundgruben II, 102 ff.
 Konrad von Fussesbrunn, Kindheit Jesu, ed. by Kochendörffer, Quellen und Forschungen, 43.
 Der Nibelunge Nôt¹ (with reference to versions A, B, and C), ed. by Bartsch, Leipzig 1870-80.
 Biterolf und Dietleib, ed. by Jänicke, DHB vol. I.
 Ortnit, ed. by Amelung and Jänicke, DHB vol. III.
 Wolfdietrich A and C, by the same.
 Kudrun, ed. by B. Symons, Halle 1883.
 Walther von der Vogelweide,² ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1891.
 Der Stricker, Karl der Grosse (10,000), ed. by Bartsch, Quedlinburg 1857.
 Freidank, Bescheidenheit, ed. by Bezzenberger, Halle 1872.
 Heinrich von dem Türlin, Diu Krone (10,000), ed. by Scholl, Stuttgart 1852.
 Ulrich von Lichtenstein (7285), ed. by Lachmann, Berlin 1841.

¹The dictionary of this edition was used for statistics as to strengthening particles.

²Hornig's Glossar zu Walth. was used for data.

Der Pleier, Garel von dem blühenden Tal (10,000), ed. by Walz, Freiburg 1892.

Friedrich von Sonnenburg, ed. by Zingerle, Innsbruck 1878.

Ulrich von Eschenbach, Alexander (10,000), ed. by Wendelin Toischer, Tübingen 1888.

2. Prose.

Berthold von Regensburg (vol. 1, 155 pp., vol. 2, 53 pp.), ed. by Pfeiffer and Strobl, Vienna 1862-80.

Altdeutsche Predigten, Wackernagel, (sermons 21-26).

Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paulus, ed. by A. Jeitteles.

SWABIAN.

Wernhers Maria, Fundgruben II, 145 ff.

Meinloh von Söflingen, MF II.

Bernger von Horheim, MF XIV.

Heinrich von Rugge, MF XIII.

Hartmann von Aue,¹

Lyrics, MF XXI.

Erec, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1871.

Erstes Büchlein,² ed. by Bech, Leipzig 1871-3.

Gregorius, ed. by Paul, Halle 1882.

Der Arme Heinrich, ed. by the same.

Iwein,³ ed. by Henrici, Halle 1891.

Zweites Büchlein,⁴ ed. by Bech, as above.

Gottfried von Neifen, ed. by Haupt, Leipzig 1851.

Ulrich Schenk von Winterstetten, ed. by Minor, Vienna 1882.

Der Marner, ed. by Strauch, QuF 14.

Der Rosengarten A, ed. by Georg Holz, Halle 1893.

Wolfdietrich D, ed. by Amelung and Jänicke, DHB vol. 4.

Prose.

Bruder David von Augsburg, ed. by Pfeiffer *ZfdA* 9.

¹ Vos, *Diction and Rime-Technic of Hartmann von Aue*, was referred to for verification of data for Hartmann.

² For the Büchlein the edition of Haupt-Martin, Leipzig 1881 was compared.

³ The dictionary of Benecke-Wilken was used for data for Iwein.

⁴ The study of strengthening particles has brought to light no difference of diction which would warrant excluding the *Zw. Büchl.* from the works of Hartmann. For points of similarity see under *Starke*, p. 337; *Verre*, p. 341; and *Wol*, p. 324.

EAST FRANKISH.

- Konrad von Heimesfurt, Himmelfahrt Mariae, ed. by Pfeiffer, *ZfdA* 8, 156 ff.
 Wirnt von Gravenberg, Wigalois, der Ritter mit dem Rade (10,000), ed. by Benecke, Berlin 1819.
 Der Winsbeke and Die Winsbekin, ed. by Leitzmann, Halle 1888.
 Hugo von Trimberg, Der Renner (5000), herausgegeben vom historischen Verein in Bamberg, 1833.

SOUTH FRANKISH.

- Moriz von Craon, ed. by Schröder, Zwei altdeutsche Rittermaeren, Berlin 1894.
 Reinmar von Zweter, ed. by Gustav Roethe, Leipzig 1887.

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

- a) Moselfrankish.
 Voraü Alexander, ed. by Kinzel, Halle 1884.
 Das Rolandslied, ed. by Bartsch, Leipzig, 1874.
 König Rother, ed. by K. von Bahder, Halle, 1884.
 Orendel, ed. by Arnold E. Berger, Bonn 1888.
 Strassburg Alexander, ed. by Kinzel as above.
 Sanct Brandan, ed. by Carl Schröder, Erlangen 1871.
- b) Rhinefrankish.
 Friedrich von Hausen, ed. by Lachmann-Haupt, MF p. 42 ff.
- c) Hessian.
 Athis und Prophlias, ed. by W. Grimm, Kl. Schr. 3, 212 ff.
 Herbort von Fritslar, Liet von Troye, ed. by Frommann, Quedlinb.-Leip. 1837.
 Die Erlösung, ed. by Bartsch, Quedlinb.-Leip. 1858.
 Elisabeth, ed. by Rieger, Stuttgart.

THURINGIAN.

- a) Poetical monuments.
 Heinrich von Morungen, MF p. 122 ff.
 Eberhard von Erfurt, Heinrich und Kunigunde, ed. by Bechstein, Quedlinb.-Leip. 1860.

Heinrich von Kröllwitz, *Das Vater Unser*, ed. by Lisch, Quedlinb.-Leip. 1839.

Der Sünden Widerstreit, ed. by Zeidler, Graz 1892.

Heinrich von Meissen, ed. by Etmüller, Quedlinb.-Leip. 1843.

Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan Fortsetzung*, ed. by von der Hagen, Gottfrieds von Strassburg Werke, Breslau 1823.

b) Prose.

Sermons of Eckard, Wackernägel, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, 55, 56, 60, 61.

INTRODUCTION.

In the German language of all periods, there has been a class of words, usually the most common adverbs, which in addition to their usual office have assumed the special function of serving as strengtheners of adjectives and other adverbs. This special function may amount in some cases to an entirely new use of the word, from which the original meaning or color has been wholly obliterated. Compare for example Modern German *sehr*, or Middle High German *vil*. In others, some trace of the original force of the words may be retained, as in Mod. Germ. *gar* or *recht*, MHG *harte*. To this class of words in general the term strengthening modifier, or strengthening particle may be applied.

All such usage is in origin metaphorical. A word standing for a definite adverbial notion is applied to an adjective or an adverb for the purpose of emphasizing the quality which it expresses; in other words, the attribute of one class of ideas is asserted of another. If it is applied often enough, so that we forget that the strengthening word has any special significance of its own, the figure loses its force, or color, and the result is a faded metaphor. Strengthening particles then, as applied to the words they modify, are examples of faded metaphors.

With some of these strengthening adverbs in Mod. Germ., the metaphorical nature of the figure is more apparent than with others. This means simply that the original force of the word has been retained longer in some particles than in others. The

same is true for the MHG period, or indeed for any period of the language. The reason for this lies in the fact that the word survives in the language in some other usage, and this it is that measures the real strength of the particle. It is necessary that the original meaning of the word, as preserved in some other usage, be present to the mind, in order that the force of the implied comparison be felt. Mod. Germ. *gar* and *recht* are two words which have retained their freshness and force as strengthening particles for many centuries simply because they have continued current also as adjectives and adverbs of manner. Compare *gar* in *Das Brot ist nicht gar*, and in *gar schön, recht in recht froh*, and *recht* as a simple adjective. Such expressions as these are pleasing figures because the aptness of the comparison is at once felt.

An example of a particle with persistent individual force is to be found in MHG *sêre*, which retained for the most part during the whole period, as likewise in OHG, the notion which was associated with the noun *das sêr*. The same is true of English *sore*, which had a limited use as a strengthening particle.¹ *Harte* is a similar word. Its connection with *harte* the adverb of manner, and *hart* the adjective, colored its meaning, and made it a very emphatic particle whenever it was used as a strengthener.

In all such cases where a word performs a double function, and serves both as a general strengthening particle and as an adverb of manner, it is but natural that in the course of time it should become obsolete in one or the other of these uses. In the case of *sêre*, the original meaning has in Mod. Germ. completely disappeared, and the word survives only as an indefinite strengthening particle. *Harte*, on the other hand, has been lost as a strengthening particle, except in a few isolated expressions, as *hart an, hart hinter*, etc., and remains as an adverb of manner and as an adjective.

From their very nature, it is evident that all those words which should be classed as strengthening particles, must be capable of general application to adjectives and adverbs, and recognizedly so. Their use must extend over a larger field than that of particular instances. It is of little importance

¹And they were sore afraid. Luke 2: 9.

stylistically if a writer or speaker uses on a particular occasion a certain word to strengthen the meaning of an adverb, as for example, in the following: *wir sîn geschart só kreftec wol*, Lohengrin 4844. In such a case we assume that the author uses the expression intentionally, to produce a certain desired effect. If, however, he uses the word in this way so often that he begins to do it unconsciously, and if he applies it to a large number of adverbs whose meaning he wishes to emphasize, then we cease to take it at its face value, and the word is weakened to a mere indefinite strengthening particle.

Indefiniteness of meaning is then another mark of the strengthening particle. For the purpose of accurate classification, we shall have to exclude many words, and a few uses of some others, which are commonly considered as strengtheners of adjectives and adverbs. The strengthening of an adverbial or any other notion carries with it the assumption that the notion is capable of different degrees of intensity. The word to which a strengthening particle is joined must be one expressing an idea which is not absolute in its nature, or, expressing an absolute notion, it must be one used with weakened force. Such particles as *gar*, *ganz*, *al*, *dráto*, *alzoges*, etc., joined to adjectives or adverbs denoting an absolute quality do not come within our definition. Such expressions as *gar áne*, *al eine*, *al ze mál*, while in a certain loose sense they may be said to be stronger than the same adjectives would be without the modifiers, are not really strengthened by the particles. The qualities expressed by *áne*, *eine*, etc., mean no more than before, the limits within which they apply are only extended. If, however, we substitute for *eine* instead of the notion *loneness* the feeling of being alone, or *loneliness*, we have at once an idea capable of different degrees of intensity. *Vil eine*, or *gar eine*, then in this sense, are properly examples of strengthening particles. It is evident that all such adverbs as *gar*, *ganz*, *al*, having the idea of *completeness* rather than *to a high degree*, when applied to adjectives or adverbs expressing an absolute quality are used in their real not in their figurative sense.

There are a number of particles which have become so closely connected with the words they modify as to be considered

inseparable parts of the expression or compound word. They are usually then written together with the words they modify. Examples of these in Mod. Germ. are *allein, als, also, alsbald, vielleicht, wohlan, wohlauf, wohlfeil*. In MHG we may class under this head such words as *alterseine, borlanc, borgröz, märegröz, uralt, urmdre, ubarlüt*. Such categories as these are not included in the present discussion.

There are also a number of other adverbs which are occasionally found as modifiers of adjectives and adverbs, but the original meaning of the words is so evident that they are likewise not included in the list of strengthening particles. They are such as the following: *billiche wären sie gemeit*, Elis. 459; *gar wirdeclichen schöne*, Elis. 397; *zuhtlichen frö*, Erl. 813; *sö wunneclichen werde*, Sünd. Wid. 3106; *grözliche vil*, Karl der Gr. 3057; *alsö kreftecliche gröz*, Karl der Gr. 7992; *gar grimmeclichen kalt*, Krone 5440; *sö kreftec wol*, Loh. 4844; *innecliche leit*, Tristan 13,600; *wundern schöne*, Gen. 5-35; *tugentlichen frö*, Erl. 942; *sö vreislichen snel*, Wig. 164-10.

The words whose use in Middle High German as strengthening particles is considered in the following pages are: **vil, harte, gar, rehte, wol, genuoc, sere, michel, starke, al, and grimme.**

In the statistics under the different particles, and in the examples given, instances with the comparative are not included. These will be found discussed in a special chapter at the end.

VIL.

The commonest of all the strengthening particles during the MHG period, as likewise for OHG, is *vil*. The reason for this popularity lies doubtless in the fact that the word had lost its individual color very early, and was thus free to be joined with any and all classes of adjectives and adverbs. Etymologically *vil*, OHG *filu*, is connected with Latin *pollere, to be strong*, and the word may be considered as an undeclined neuter, either nominative or accusative as the case may be, of the adjective *filus*, which has been lost. As used adverbially, including the strengthening particle, *vil* appears as accusative of measure or degree.

Just what the original force of the Germanic root was, whether it had reference primarily to quantity or to number, is difficult to determine. Probably it was the former. During the early MHG period this particle was especially common with such words as *manec*, *selten*, *dicke*, *ofte*, etc., where the idea of number is involved. In Otfrid the preference of *filu* for the same class of words is just as marked. There is little doubt that in such expressions as *filu manag*, etc., as originally used, the figure was felt as a real metaphor. This would hardly be true if the idea at the basis of the particle were likewise that of number.

The tables which are given below, in connection with the detailed treatment of this particle by dialects, will show that *vil* maintained its supremacy over the greater part of the MHG field down to the close of the thirteenth century. The actual frequency of the word in the various monuments varies greatly. The extent to which strengthening particles in general are used is a matter largely of individual taste and habit. There are differences, however, which are due to the nature of the literary material and to the particular branch of literature in question. Epic poetry, for instance, seems to offer the greatest opportunity for their use, and this is true more particularly for the popular and decadent court epic than for the court epic proper. In the popular epic they are employed to enliven the action, already the most important feature, and to give zest to the description. Lyric poetry, on the other hand, especially the more elevated in tone, is not marked by the presence of such expressions to so great an extent. In the religious prose there are great differences of usage, and these are to be ascribed partly to individual taste, partly no doubt to the peculiar usage of the class of society and the locality for which the work is written.

The difference in the relative frequency of *vil* in the various monuments, as compared with other particles, is very great even before any general decline in the use of this particle is noticeable. This is of course due to the varying frequency with which other particles appear, and the conditions regarding these are very complex. As will appear further on, the declining use of *harte*, *wol*, and *genuoc*, the increasing popularity of *gar*, the varying use of *rehte*, and the sporadic and purely local appear-

ance of *sêre*, *starke* and *grimme*, all enter into consideration and modify the table of percentages for *vil*.

By the close of the thirteenth century, the decline in the use of *vil* is apparent over the whole territory. In certain parts of the field, as West Middle German, and in certain classes of literature, as lyric poetry and the prose monuments, the decline begins earlier and is more decided.

Statistics as to the frequency of *vil* in the various monuments of the period are given in the following tables, which show the total number of strengthening particles found, the number of examples of *vil*, the number per thousand lines, and the ratio of *vil* to the whole number of particles, expressed in per cent. In each of the tables the lyrical monuments are indented.

To show how the periods of popularity of the various strengthening particles overlap one another, the percentages for *harte* and *gar* are repeated in the tables for *vil*.

ALEMANNIC.

1. Poetical monuments.	Total.	<i>Vil</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil</i> .	Per cent. <i>harte</i> .	Per cent. <i>gar</i> .
a) Lower Alemannic.						
Reinmar von Hagenau....	88	69	33	78	2	2
Tristan.....	412	257	13	62	13	...
Flore und Blanscheflur.....	82	54	7	66	22	6
Die Gute Frau.....	86	51	16	59	28	6
Das Steinbuch.....	27	14	14	58	22	...
Der Trojanische Krieg.....	351	257	26	73	4	8
Keiser Otte mit dem Barte...	22	14	18	82	10	9
Alexius.....	110	95	67	86	6	6
Martina.....	268	217	22	81	6	7
Reinfried von Braunschweig,	97	70	7	71	...	21
Peter von Stauffenberg.....	46	34	30	74	4	15
b) Upper Alemannic.						
Der Gute Gerhard.....	218	197	28	92	1	3
Barlaam und Josaphat.....	304	287	28	91	1	3
Johannes Hadlaub.....	106	53	23	50	...	35
2. Prose.						
Altd. Pred. Wack. 1-13, 18-20,	25	25	...	100	...	...
“ “ “ 27-35,	26	24	...	93	...	...
“ “ “ 42-52,	26	16	...	58	15	15
Deut. Pred. d. 13.						
Jahr., Griesh.....	53	9	...	17	2	68
Pred. auf Joh. d.						
Täufer, Germ. 35...	3	1	...	33	...	66

From the above tables for Alemannic, it will be seen that *vil* continues as the most common strengthening particle throughout the whole period. In Lower Alemannic monuments, while the percentages are by no means regular, no signs of a general decline in the use of this particle are to be seen. The actual frequency varies from 7 to 67 examples per thousand lines. The work showing the lowest percentage is *Das Steinbuch*, which is popular in tone. Here the low percentage is caused by the frequency of *harte* and *rehte*.¹ The highest percentage for *vil*, as well as the greatest number of strengthening particles, is found in *Alexius*. This is largely due to the nature of the material. *Alexius*, like Hartmann's *Gregorius*, is a story with little description but full of strong situations and pathetic incidents, and therefore offers more scope for emphatic expressions.

The two Upper Alemannic monuments from the early part of the thirteenth century, the works of Rudolph von Ems, show few other strengthening particles, and consequently a high percentage for *vil*, 91 and 92. The lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub, from the end of the century, show a decided decline in the percentage of *vil*, which is here 50, and a corresponding increase in the use of *gar*, which shows a percentage of 35.

The first three groups of sermons from Wackernagel's edition, which are from the twelfth or the early thirteenth century, show high percentages for *vil*. Sermons 42-52 which Wackernagel is inclined to place about 1300 (p. 268), show a somewhat lower percentage for *vil*, or 58. The presence of *harte* and the low percentage for *gar*, 15, indicate that this group is probably to be placed much earlier than 1300, at least in the first half of the thirteenth century.

While the lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub show a low percentage for *vil*, there is no indication that even in Upper Alemannic *vil* is as yet becoming obsolete. Poetic diction would doubtless retain a word of this kind long after it had ceased to be current in the spoken language or in the prose literature. It would, however, remain longest in connection with the more

¹This is also largely a matter of editing. The manuscripts are all from the fifteenth century and show considerable variation as to strengthening particles. H. (Hamburger) occasionally substitutes *gar* for *vil* or *harte*. Dr. (Erfurter Druck) shows a higher per cent for *harte*.

common adjectives and adverbs and in formal expressions. Compare Mod. Germ. *vielleicht*, *Vielliebchen*. With such it would have the closest connection. If *vil* at the end of the thirteenth century were on the point of becoming obsolete, we should expect to find its use limited, even in poetic diction, to these more common connections. The examples from Peter von Stauffenberg (1310), and Johannes Hadlaub (1302), do not indicate that such is the case. *Vil* is found here not only in the more frequent associations, such as *vil balde*, *vil dicke*, *vil gerne*, *vil guot*, *vil liep*, *vil manec*, *vil schæne*, *vil wol*, etc., but also in those which are not so common: *vil ange*, *vil lôs*, *vil siech*, *vil tump*, *vil valsch*, *vil genôte*, *vil zuchteclîche*. This shows that *vil* is still felt as a living element in the language, capable of use in new surroundings and of general application as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs. The very frequent use of *vil* in the sermon literature (Wackernagel) for the thirteenth century shows also that it still remained current.

The low percentage for *vil* (17) in the volume of Grieshaber's *deutsche Predigten*, and the high percentage for *gar* (68) probably indicate that these are to be dated as late as the fourteenth century.¹ *Vil* here is limited to such common expressions as *vil lützel*, *vil manec*, *vil sêre*, *vil swære*, *vil übel*, *vil unreht*.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

Bavarian.	Total.	<i>Vil</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil</i> .	Per cent. <i>harte</i> .	Per cent. <i>gar</i> .
a) Poetical monuments.						
Albreht von Johansdorf,	13	12	...	92	...	8
Wolfdietrich B.....	235	228	62	98	...	3
Parzival.....	293	186	7	63	14	2
Neidhart von Reuenthal,	93	81	24	87	4	4
Helmbrecht.....	46	45	25	98	2	...
Die Warnung (?).....	83	78	21	94	4	2
S. Franciskan Leben.....	109	75	15	69	10	10
Der Heilige Georg (?).....	86	68	11	79	10	7
Der Jüngere Titurel (?).....	154	136	49	88	...	11
Lohengrin.....	90	44	9	49	2	39
b) Prose.						
Berthold von Regensburg....	366	91	33	24	...	73

¹ Compare Richard Sensche, "Ueber den Stil bei dem alemannischen anonymen Prediger aus dem XIII. Jahrhundert." Berlin 1897. "Grieshabers deutsche Predigten sind aus sprachlichen Gründen dem XIV. Jahrhundert zuzuweisen."

2. Austrian.	Total.	<i>vil.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil.</i>	Per cent. <i>harte.</i>	Per cent. <i>gar.</i>
a) Poetical monuments.						
Die Hochzeit.....	37	34	31	92	8	...
Genesis.....	159	148	...	93	1	...
Exodus.....	156	148	94	94	4	...
Die Bücher Mosis.....	177	168	31	94	4	...
Enticrist.....	53	49	40	93	2	4
Kindheit Jesu.....	83	62	21	75	13	1
Nibelungen A ¹	1250	1000	100	82	8	...
" B.....	1250	975	100	80	7	...
" C.....	1250	900	92	75	7	...
Biterolf und Dietleib.....	701	636	47	90	6	...
Ortnit.....	126	101	42	80	17	1
Wolfdietrich A.....	250	224	90	90	7	...
Ortnit and Wolfdietrich C...	46	40	...	87	6	2
Kudrun.....	552	444	65	80	11	...
Walther v. d. Vogelweide,	145	123	26	85	1	7
Karl der Grosse.....	344	302	30	90	8	1
Freidankes Bescheidenheit..	94	83	17	88	7	2
Die Krone.....	395	348	35	88	1	4
Ulrich von Lichtenstein..	389	340	48	87	3	3
Garel v. d. blühenden Tal(?),	338	277	28	82	7	2
Friedrich v. Sonnenburg..	26	18	21	69	...	24
Alexander.....	101	82	8	81	6	13
b) Prose.						
Aldt. Pred. aus S. Paul.....	181	177	43	98	1	...

In the Bavarian-Austrian dialect conditions as to the use of strengthening particles are very complicated, and this is as true of *vil* as it is of these modifiers in general. This confusion is due largely to the wide extent of territory which is included, for it is at once apparent that no general statement of fact may be expected to apply to the whole region. Every branch, too, of literature is here represented, and not only do we find every variety of poetic art, but within the same field every degree of poetic skill, from the *Parzival* to *Garel von dem blühenden Tal*, and to the senseless interpolations in the *Nibelungen* and *Kudrun*. Each of these classes of literature may be expected to have its own traditions as to diction and word usage. The wandering "*Spielmann*" was doubtless subject to quite another fashion than that to which the writer of the court epic responded.

In the Austrian monuments *vil* continues to be the most common strengthening particle throughout the whole period.

¹Approximately.

The percentages range from 69 for the lyric poems of Friedrich von Sonnenburg, to 94 for the rimed versions of Genesis and Exodus. The popular and religious epics of this dialect show a very great use of strengthening particles, greater than any class of literature in any other dialect. This may be partly due to the nature of the material. Such literature has more to do with action and incidents, less with analysis and characterization than the court epic or than lyric poetry. It is also a mark of the literary skill or lack of skill of the author. The excessive use of strengthening particles is the result of an effort on the part of the popular poet to be impressive. Not trusting to the simple narration of his story to arouse and maintain the interest of his hearers, he intersperses it with frequent emphatic expressions which indicate his own appreciation of what he relates. From this attitude of mind come also such subjective exclamations as *ah wie*, *hei wie*, *hei waz*, etc., calculated to call attention to the important parts of the story.

We may expect to find also in the frequent use of *vil* and other strengthening particles in this class of Austrian literature, a reflection of local popular usage. These words are there, especially in the older monuments, because they were current, and current in great numbers, in the spoken language. The sermon literature of this dialect shows also a greater frequency of these particles than the prose works of any other dialect. The *Altdeutsche Predigten aus S. Paul.* show 44 examples per thousand lines, Berthold von Regensburg, 47.

The actual frequency of *vil* in the poetical monuments, as shown by the above list, varies greatly. The *Nibelungenlied* shows about 100 examples per thousand lines, *Wolfdietrich A* 90, *Kudrun* 66, Ulrich von Eschenbach's *Alexander* 8. The lyrical works and the court epic show usually the lowest averages. Ulrich von Lichtenstein is exceptional in showing 48 per thousand lines. His use of strengthening particles is, however, quite in keeping with his literary style, which is always effusive.

Although the monuments from the end of the century show a considerable decline in the use of *vil*, there is no evidence that

this particle is as yet becoming obsolete. Its use in the prose literature, as well as the class of words to which it is joined in the poetical monuments, shows that it is still alive in the spoken language. Friedrich von Sonnenburg represents a locality, the Tyrol, where *gar* has already become quite popular. There is here, however, no tendency to limit *vil* to the more common phrases. Nor is there any such tendency to be seen in the Alexander.

The table for Bavarian monuments shows a decided decline in the use of *vil* by the end of the thirteenth century. *Gar* comes into prominence here earlier than in Austria, and already in the works of Berthold von Regensburg forms 73 per cent of all strengthening particles. In poetical diction *vil* retains its prominence much longer. In Lohengrin (1276-90) it shows a percentage of 49. Here, however, signs of its going out of fashion are present in the tendency to limit its use to the more common adjectives and adverbs. Nineteen of the 44 examples of *vil* are with *manec*.

SWABIAN.

	Total.	<i>vil</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil</i> .	Per cent. <i>harte</i> .	Per cent. <i>gar</i> .
a) Poetical monuments.						
Wernhers Maria.....	92	86	34	94	3	...
Bernger von Horheim....	9	9	60	100	...	...
Meinloh von Söfingen....	3	3	18	100	...	...
Heinrich von Rugge.....	25	22	44	88	...	...
Hartmann von Aue.....	17	17	32	100	...	...
Erec.....	373	350	34	93	1	2
Erstes Büchlein.....	59	51	26	85	8	...
Gregorius.....	150	102	25	67	27	1
Armer Heinrich.....	81	62	40	71	18	1
Iwein.....	249	189	23	76	16	...
Zweites Büchlein.....	15	9	12	60	20	...
Gottfried von Neifen.....	88	78	44	89	1	5
Ulrich v. Winterstetten....	138	117	50	85	4	5
Der Marner.....	54	48	...	89	...	10
Rosengarten (?).....	141	101	...	72	4	19
Wolfdietrich D.....	270	240	39	89	5	3
b) Prose.						
Bruder David von Augsburg,	15	4	...	30	...	70

In the Swabian dialect the decline in the use of *vil* toward the end of the century is only slightly noticeable, as far as any

direct evidence is at hand. The lowest percentage, as well as the lowest actual frequency, is shown by the *Zweites Büchlein* of Hartmann von Aue, where only 12 examples per thousand lines are found, these being 60 per cent of all strengthening particles. The next lowest is Gregorius, which shows a percentage of 68. This is due to the unusually high percentage of *harte*, which is here 27.

The lyrical monuments and Hartmann's earlier works probably represent the conditions in the current spoken language better than do his later works, where, as far as strengthening particles are concerned, he seems to be more under the influence of literary tradition.

Prose monuments for Swabia are rare during this period. The treatises of Bruder David von Augsburg (1230-1240) show for about 1750 long lines only 4 examples of *vil* (*wol, rîche, deste, liep*), 11 of *gar*, and one of *sêre* (*gar sêre mûelich* 12). The works of Bruder David and those of Berthold von Regensburg, with whom David was intimately associated, show a marked difference as to frequency of strengthening particles, 9 per thousand lines in the former, 47 in the latter. The proportion between *vil* and *gar* is in both practically the same. This difference of frequency of these particles may be considered largely a matter of individual style, but no doubt it is due also in part to local differences in usage.

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

	Total	<i>vil</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil</i> .	Per cent. <i>harte</i> .	Per cent. <i>gar</i> .
a) Moselfrankish.						
Vorau Alexander.....	54	43	30	80	11	...
Rolandslied.....	400	373	41	95	4	...
König Rother.....	144	101	20	67	26	...
Orendel.....	202	151	38	74	9	7
Strassburg Alexander....	268	237	32	89	9	...
Sanct Brandan.....	102	80	40	83	3	8
b) Rhinefrankish.						
Friedrich von Hausen,	17	11	22	65	6	12
c) Hessian.						
Athis und Prophlias....	36	25	19	69	20	...
Liet von Troye.....	119	46	9	38	53	3
Erlösung.....	124	29	4	23	8	64
Elisabeth.....	99	34	7	34	1	44

The table for Moselfrankish monuments, which happen to be all from the latter half of the twelfth century, shows a very frequent use of *vil* in this dialect, the number of examples ranging from 20 to 41 per thousand lines. The percentages are also high, König Rother, which is the most popular in tone, showing the lowest, 67; the others range from 74 to 95.

The lyrical poems of Friedrich von Hausen (Rhinefrankish) show comparatively few examples of *vil*, 22 instances per thousand lines, which are 65 per cent of all particles. *Gar* appears here with a percentage of 12.

The monuments of the thirteenth century, which are all Hessian in dialect, show a rapidly declining use of this particle. With the exception of the first on the list, Athis und Prophlias, with 19 examples per thousand lines, the instances are rare. The Liet von Troye (1215) shows an average of 9 per thousand lines and a percentage of 38. Die Erlösung (1295) shows a still further decline of *vil*, as only 4 examples per thousand lines are found and these only 23 per cent of the whole number of such particles.

Elisabeth, of about the same date, shows a larger number of strengthening particles, and, as may perhaps be expected, a somewhat higher percentage for *vil*, which is here 34. *Vil* at this time was no doubt the weakest of all the strengtheners, and the greater the habit of using such expressions, the greater the proportion of the more insipid ones which would be included. So, conversely, a writer who uses such devices only rarely, as Wolfram von Eschenbach, would be more careful in his choice and make a proportionally greater use of those which are stronger.

While the decline of *vil* in the literary language was earlier and more decided here than in any other dialect, there is no evidence to show that even by the end of the thirteenth century it had become obsolete. In neither Die Erlösung nor Elisabeth is *vil* limited to the common locutions, but it is joined to words with which it has been by no means frequently associated, *vil mehtic*, Erl. 2637, *vil gewar* Elis. 4765, *vil ungetriuwe* 1131, *vil getriuwe* 1722, *vil ebene* 4044. This shows that *vil* is not yet a fossil element in the language. That other particles were, however, more popular in the literary language throughout the whole

century, is shown by the tables for *harte* and *gar*. In the Liet von Troye (1215) it is *harte*, which forms 53 per cent of all particles used. In the Erlösung (1295) it is *gar*, which occurs 80 times and shows a percentage of 64. In Elisabeth, of about the same date, it is *gar* also, with a percentage of 44. The predominance of *gar* over *vil* was doubtless still greater in the spoken language.

THURINGIAN.

	Total.	<i>Vil.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil.</i>	Per cent. <i>harte.</i>	Per cent. <i>gar.</i>
a) Poetical monuments.						
Heinrich v. Morungen..	43	37	...	85	...	2
Heinrich und Kunigunde,	288	214	45	71	22	1
Vater Unser.....	122	90	18	73	21	2
Der Sünden Widerstreit...	188	125	34	66	18	7
Heinrich von Meissen...	88	63	13	72	...	24
Tristan.....	121	43	8	35	4	54
b) Prose.						
Sermons of Eckard,						
Wackern. 55, 56, 60, 61,	4	...	...	...	...	100

In the Thuringian monuments the decline of *vil* is not apparent so early as in Hessian, but makes itself unmistakably felt by the end of the thirteenth century. *Harte* is quite popular here in the early part of the century, *gar* takes the lead at the end. *Vil*, both as to actual frequency, and as to its ratio to the other particles, grows steadily less from Heinrich und Kunigunde (1216) to Heinrich von Freiberg's Tristan (1301-20), with but slight exceptions. The tendency to restrict *vil* to the more common locutions is perceptible in Heinrich von Meissen, evident in Tristan. In the latter monument 43 examples are found in 5000 lines, and of these, 8 are with *liep*, 6 with *lchte*, 5 with *schiere*, 3 each with *starke*, *schöne*, *wol*, 2 each with *manec* and *reine*, and the others with *getriuwe*, *gerne*, *klein*, *süeze*, *swinde*, *zorn*.

EAST FRANKISH.

	Total.	<i>Vil.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil.</i>	Per cent. <i>harte.</i>	Per cent. <i>gar.</i>
Himmelfahrt Mariae.....	34	27	...	80	17	...
Wigalois.....	377	309	31	82	14	...
Der Winsbeke und die Winsbekin,	17	15	12	88	...	12
Der Renner.....	137	96	19	70	3	25

SOUTH FRANKISH.

	Total.	<i>Via.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent. <i>vil.</i>	Per cent. <i>harte.</i>	Per cent. <i>gar.</i>
Moriz von Craon.....	56	35	14	62	34	...
Reinmar von Zweter.....	130	116	34	89	1	6

In East Frankish monuments no decided decline in the use of *vil* is seen until the works of Hugo von Trimberg, whose Renner shows *gar* with a percentage of 25.

In South Frankish the first monument on the list, Moriz von Craon, shows an unusually low percentage for *vil*, 62. Here *harte* furnishes 34 per cent of all particles. This monument comes from near the border line between South Frankish territory and Alemannic, and Alemannic influence has probably been at work. The percentage for *vil* is here about the same as for Lower Alemannic works of about the same date. Compare Tristan 62 per cent, Fl. und Bl. 66 per cent. In the lyric poems of Reinmar von Zweter *vil* is actually very frequent and the percentage is also high. Perhaps Reinmar represents Austrian usage as to strengthening particles rather than that of his native dialect.

Throughout the whole period of its popularity *vil* seems capable of modifying any adjective or adverb whatever. Such observations as may be made concerning the preference of one particle over another with certain classes of words, will be found under the discussion of the other particles. The following table is given to show the relative frequency of the different particles with a few of the most common adjectives and adverbs. The data given are for eight of the more important monuments of the early thirteenth century, well distributed as to dialect. Since the words chosen are the most common ones of their class, they are not those with which the newer strengthening particles are usually found, and the list therefore fails to show the true proportion between the various particles.

	Tristan.	Hartmann von Aue. ¹	Parzival.	Kudrun.	Wigalois.	Liet von Troye.	Heinrich und Kunigunde.	Rudolph von Ems. ²
vil balde.....	1	2	3	...	1	1	...	11
harte " .....	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	...
wol "	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
al " .....	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...
vil gerne.....	19	30	9	11	3	...	2	8
harte "	1	3	...	6	...	1	...	...
genuoc " .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil guot.....	2	20	5	17	4	1	10	16
harte "	1	3	2	...	2	7	3	1
rehte "	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
genuoc " .....	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	3
sêre "	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil grôz.....	3	15	5	7	26	1	3	25
harte "	1	2	1	...	4	5	6	...
vil kûme.....	6	10	4	3	7	1	...	7
harte " .....	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...
vil kleine.....	3	2	4	4	1	...	...	4
harte "	1	3	1	2	1	...	...	...
vil lieb.....	12	10	...	17	4	...	2	43
harte " .....	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
vil manec.....	19	36	3	46	40	2	6	21
harte "	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
genuoc " .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
wol " .....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
vil nâhe.....	15	22	14	10	6	...	1	11
harte " .....	...	2	...	2	...	...	1	...
sêre "	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil rîch.....	...	6	...	10	...	...	...	11
harte "	1	2	...	1	4	..	3	...
gar " .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil schiere.....	17	26	3	8	7	2	1	9
harte "	1	2	4	1	1	...	...	...
gar " .....	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...

¹The data are for all the works of Hartmann except the lyrics.

²Der Gute Gerhard and Barlaam und Josaphat.

	Tristan.	Hartmann von Aue.	Parzival.	Kudrun.	Wigalois.	Liet von Troye.	Heinrich und Kunigunde.	Rudolph von Ems.
vil sere.....	7	35	1	18	11	...	5	17
harte "	13	3	...	8	3	2	1	...
gar " .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil süeze.....	12	4	...	1	8	...	8	21
harte "	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
rehte "	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
vil wol.....	24	60	13	23	19	6	35	25
harte "	11	25	5	2	5	5	6	...
rehte "	5	2	...	...	2	...	...	1
genuoc " .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

HARTE.

Harte, as a strengthening particle, plays an important part during this period. It has been assumed that the development in meaning from *harte*, OHG *harto*, the modifier of verbs, and meaning *with force*, to *harto* the indefinite strengthening particle, was brought about by the use of the word with participles, that is, while originally only a modifier of verbs, the word came to be applied to participles used as adjectives, and then extended to other adjectives and adverbs.¹ As different stages pointing to such a development, Kip gives the following :

a) With participles used adjectively,

der harte stözende rdm, V.M. 61-14,

b) With adjectives and adverbs derived from verbs, or closely related to verbs in form,

vil harte erchomelicho, Ex. 544 (to *erkomen*),

c) In constructions where there is doubt as to whether it modifies a verb or a substantive idea, *wachet wan der tievel der dā ist harte iur widerwarte*, Phys. 83-12.

As a support to this theory we naturally look to see whether

¹ Kip, page 168.

harte is actually found frequently united with participial adjectives, and other adjectives derived from verbs, or similar to verbs in form. If such has been the development, we should expect to find, at least in the earlier monuments, *harte* in the greater number of instances joined to such words. That this is not the case can be readily seen from the list given by Kip of the examples from the religious poetry of the 11th and 12th centuries. Of the 72 instances cited only six: *harte erbar-meclîch*, *harte erchomenlîche*, *harte riuwec*, *harte sorclîch*, *harte unberihet*, *harte vorhtsam*, may be reasonably connected with any verbs, and even here the connection is often but slight. Turning to the list of examples of *harte* as a verb modifier, we are also surprised at the small number of instances where it is connected with a participial construction. Of the 216 examples, only 20, or less than 10 per cent, are found as modifiers of participles, either past or present.

Turning to an older period of the language, we find that Otfrid uses *harto* 84 times¹ as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs. Here also very little trace of a verbal idea is to be found in the words with which *harto* is connected. The list includes 25 instances with *filu*, 7 with *mîhil*, 4 with *manag*, 4 with *mêr* (compar.), 3 with *scîn*, 2 with *seltsaeni*, 2 with *ungimah*. With only three of the whole number, *btzenti*, *scîn*, and *firdan*, is there any verbal association, either direct or indirect. As a modifier of verbs, *harto* is found 124 times in Otfrid, and of this number only 10 are instances of *harto* with participles, or less than 9 per cent. Instead of being used preferably with participles and participial adjectives, *harto* seems to be avoided in such connection.

If we may judge from the actual facts as to OHG *harto*, it is very improbable that the word owes its function as a strengthening particle to its frequent use with participles, or that it passed from a modifier of verbs to a modifier of adjectives and adverbs by way of the participial adjective. If the latter usage is not as old as the former, it is at least as fundamental, and implies a certain degree of independence. Perhaps we may better look

¹See the dictionary of Piper, where however several instances are lacking.

for the origin of such a use in the law of association of ideas. The metaphorical nature of the use of strengthening particles has been previously referred to. In such expressions as *harto flû*, *harto manag*, the attribute of one class of objects or ideas is asserted of another, for the purpose of forming, that it may be longer retained, a more striking picture.

It is natural, for instance, to associate the idea of power or strength with the ideas of size, quantity, or extent. A host of common English and German expressions are evidence of this fact. Compare *a mighty lot*, *mighty large*, *powerful great*, *mächtig gross*, *ungeheuer viel*, and MHG *starke breit und gröz*, *starke lanc*, *starke tief*.

The fact that in Otfrid 50 per cent of the examples of *harto* are united with adjectives or adverbs expressing size, quantity, distance, etc., and that during the MHG period this particle is so frequently found with such words, seems to justify the conclusion that this was the original feeling when *harte* was used as a strengthening modifier. It is but a step from *harte vil* to *harte kleine*, *harte lützel*, or from *harte verre* to *harte unverre*. These expressions, which are very common in MHG, preserve the feeling that *harte* is appropriate for ideas of quantity, though the direction is reversed.

There is another class of ideas with which the notion of power or force (*harto*, *vehementer*) is easily and naturally associated. These are subjective, and have to do with the attitudes of the mind and especially the feelings. Sometimes they denote actions or judgments of the mind, and here the connection with the use of *harte* as a modifier of verbs is closer. Compare *harte* with such verbs as *betrüeben*, *erbarmen*, *ervurhten*, *jämern*, *klagen*, *minnen*, *müezen*, *niden*, *riuwen*, *schamen*, *senen*, *smerzen*, *sorgen*, *trären*, *trüwen*, *vriuwen*, *furhten*, *wundern*, *zöveln*. Such examples are frequent in both OHG and MHG, and form the largest class of verbs with which *harte* is united, as may be seen from Kip's list. Thus we may account for the frequency in MHG of such combinations as *harte wol*, *harte gerne*, *harte sere*, *harte frö*, *harte schoene*, *harte süeze*, *harte guot*, *starke frö*, *starke leit*, *starke holt*, etc. The same principle is at work in certain colloquial English expressions: *mighty glad*, *mighty fine*, *mighty bad* (East-

ern U. S.), *powerful nice, powerful handy, powerful sick*, even *powerful weak* (Southern).

Perhaps the tendency to associate *harte* with adjectives and adverbs in *-lich, -liche(n)*, which shows itself strongly in certain parts of the MHG field, is to be referred to this principle. The subjective element in the statement, for instance, that an action or a thing is *ritterlich, like a knight*, is large. English *a strong resemblance, strikingly similar*, may be compared.

As to the different classes of adjectives and adverbs with which *harte* is actually associated during the period in question, we may note :

a) Those expressing quantity, extent of time or space, etc., *breit, gröz, höhe, kleine, kälme, kurz, lanc, lützel, manec, michel, ndhen, ringe, verre, unverre, unhöch, unlanc, vol, wíte, wēnec*.

b) Those which express a good or desirable quality : *billlich, biderbe, érlíchen, friuntlíchen, gerne, guot, güetliche, hérlich, kluoc, kuneclíche, meisterlíche, lobelíche, milte, süeze, rehte, ritterlíche, rích, staete, fró, froelíche, wol, wunneclích, vrum, wís, zuhtclíchen, zierlich*, etc.

c) Those expressing an undesirable quality : *angestliche, bitterliche, egebar, grimmeclíchen, griuwelíche, jámerlíche, klagelíche, lasterlíchen, leit, misselích, ungerne, nóllích, rivic, sorelíche, schedelíche, sêre, swaere, unsuoze, ungezogenlíche, ungemach, unsenstclích, trúrec, vreislíchen, wê, wunt, zornec*.

d) Adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning : *krefteclíche, lúte, vaste, stark, wilde*.

e) Those of opposite meaning : *krank, líse, sanfte, swach, stille*.

f) Those of time, frequency, etc. : *vruo, spáte, dicke, selten* (not *ofte*), *gách, swinde, schiere*.

With certain words, *harte* has not been found : *arm, edel, ébene, gevuoge, genaedec, gehiure, hovelíche, heilec, inneclíche, müede, ofte, küene, rósevar, saelec, saeclíche, saeldenbaere, sende, stolz, schamelíche, schantlíche, tugentlíche, wíplichen, waerlíchen*. With others, *kiusche, liep, reine, tougen, werdeclíche*, only in Middle German and there only rarely.

Many of these are frequently recurring words in the court epic, and are essentially a part of the diction of this class of literature. The absence of *harte* with these words then, would

indicate either the popular origin of this particle, and the feeling that it is more properly a part of the common speech, or at least that it had ceased to be current in the more elevated style, or was confined to certain locutions, at the time when the court epic was developing.

ALEMANNIC.

1. Poetical Monuments.	Total.	<i>Harte.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
a) Lower Alemannic:				
Reinmar von Hagenau.....	88	3	...	2
Tristan.....	412	65	3	13
Flore und Blanscheflur.....	82	18	2	22
Die Gute Frau.....	86	24	8	28
Das Steinbuch.....	27	6	6	22
Der Trojanische Krieg.....	351	14	1	4
Keiser Otte.....	22	2	3	10
Alexius.....	110	6	4	6
Martina.....	268	17	2	6
Reinfried von Braunschweig.....	97	...	...	...
Peter von Stauffenberg.....	46	2	...	4
b) Upper Alemannic:				
Der Gute Gerhard.....	218	2	...	1
Barlaam und Josaphat.....	304	4	...	1
Johannes Hadlaub.....	106	0	...	...
2. Prose.				
Aldt. Predigt. Wack. 42-52.....	26	4	...	15
Pred. d. 13 Jahr. (Grieshaber).....	53	1	...	2

From the above table it will be seen that the lyric poems of Reinmar show few examples of *harte*, and a remarkably low percentage for their place on the list. The two monuments which show the greatest actual frequency, and at the same time the highest percentages for this particle, Die Gute Frau, and Das Steinbuch, are popular in tone. Aside from these, a gradual decline is shown in the use of *harte* throughout the thirteenth century. The percentage for Tristan is lower than that for the monument immediately following, although the actual examples are more frequent. Der Troj. Krieg shows a lower percentage than would be expected. The actual frequency of *harte* in Alexius¹ is greater than in Keiser Otte, though the

¹ Compare Hartmann's Gregorius, which is a similar story, and where *harte* is unusually frequent.

percentage is less. This is due to the great use of *vil* in this monument, which has been referred to under the discussion of that particle. Peter von Stauffenberg shows only two examples, both of which are *harte vró*, one of the most common of combinations with *harte*, which may be considered at this date is a mere formal expression.

By the end of the thirteenth century, *harte* in Lower Alemannic has practically disappeared from the literary language.

In Upper Alemannic, the examples from the works of Rudolf von Ems, which are from the early part of the century, are rare, constituting only about one per cent of all particles used. The lyric poems of Johannes Hadlaub, from the end of the century, show none.

An interesting question at this point is the relation between the use of this word in epic poetry and its use in the popular idiom or spoken language. The only examples of *harte* which have been found in the prose works of this period are from sermons 43, 45, and 46, in Wackernagel's collection, *harte widerzaeme* 43-83, *harte übel* 45-40, *harte unerberklich* 45-76, *harte sicherlichen* 46-134, and from the volume of Grieshaber, *harte übel*, page 97. The former collection seems to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, the latter from the beginning of the fourteenth. The very infrequent use of strengthening particles in the prose literature of this dialect furnishes but little data upon which to base any conclusion as to the status of *harte* in the spoken language. What direct evidence there is, points to an early disappearance of this particle, that is, if we may look upon the single example from the volume of Grieshaber as a mere historical remnant.

We may reach a conclusion, however, by considering the adjectives and adverbs with which *harte* is associated in the poetical monuments. A word of this kind, if it has once been popular, would live on in poetic diction long after it had ceased to be current in the popular speech. It would, however, endure only in connection with those adjectives and adverbs with which it had been the most frequently associated during the period of its popularity. The unit then to be considered in determining whether *harte* is becoming obsolete, is not the strengthening

particle by itself, but the strengthener together with the modified word. The question is not whether *harte* lived on in the popular or literary language, but in what expressions it survived the longest. It may be, and actually is true that *harte wol* continued current in epic poetry until the end of the thirteenth century, while other expressions, as *harte manec*, *harte káme*, disappeared very much earlier.

If *harte* is retained in the literary language, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, for example, only in those expressions which during the earlier period and for other dialects were the most common, we may look upon these examples as mere fossil remnants constituting a part of poetic diction, and conclude that the word has ceased to be a general strengthener of adjectives and adverbs.

In all the poetical monuments of Lower Alemannic examined, 157 examples of *harte* have been found, or outside of Tristan, which dates from the beginning of the century, and which shows not only the greatest number of examples but also the greatest freedom in the use of the particle, only 92. These 157 examples of *harte* were united with 70 different adjectives and adverbs, 33 of which are found in Tristan, 37 others in the rest of the material. The following are the more usual combinations, arranged in order of frequency: *harte wol* 22 times, *sêre* 19, *frô* 6, *kleine* 5, *unlanc* 5, *vil* 5, *grôz* 4, *schône* 4, *starke* 4, *fremde* 3, *guot* 3, *micel* 3, *suoze* 3, *wunderlichen* 3, *gerne* 3, *káme* 2, *kurz* 2, *lihte* 2, *nâhen* 2, *schiere* 2, *wert* 2, etc.

In the 19 examples from the last three monuments on the list, representing the end of the century, no new combinations with *harte* appear, but all are examples of frequently recurring and well known phrases: *harte balde*, *fremde*, *frô*, *lihte*, *micel*, *suoze*, *swaere*, *verre*, *wunderlichen*, *vil*, *zorn*. While *harte* with *balde*, *fremde*, *micel* and *swaere* are not actually found elsewhere in Alemannic, a comparison with Middle German and Bavarian usage shows that these are old and familiar expressions.¹ The others are frequent in Alemannic. From the three works of

¹ With Hugo von Langenstein, Bavarian-Austrian influence shows itself no doubt in the use of strengthening particles as well as in the form and incidents of his legend.

Konrad von Würzburg, from the middle of the century, 22 examples of *harte* are noted in the above list. Not one of these is a new combination, all of them appearing either in early Alemannic works or in early monuments from other dialects. This is in marked contrast to the state of affairs with regard to *vil*, *gar*, *rehte*, or any particle in good current usage. With these latter, each new monument brings a host of new words with which the particle is associated.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that *harte* became obsolete as a general strengthening particle in Alemannic during the first half of the thirteenth century. In epic poetry the word lived on in the more common locutions long after it had gone out of general use, and the examples from the latter part of the century are to be regarded as fossil remnants of an older and more general use. They here make up a part of traditional poetical diction, which is preserved longer in the court epic than in other forms of literature.

In Upper Alemannic, if we may judge from the works of Rudolf von Ems, *harte* was never so common, and here it disappeared earlier.

Another question which naturally arises in this connection is, do metrical considerations have anything to do with the choice of strengthening particles? It might be suspected that where there is room in a line for a two syllable word, *harte* or *rehte* would be selected, if however a single syllable were needed to fill out the line *vil* or *gar* would be chosen. It would seem for instance, in the following lines from Wigalois, that the author used a strengthening particle, according as he had room for one or not in the line, and that he chose *vil* or *harte* without discrimination except as regards the metrical length of the word.

si lachten unde wären fró, 105-23.

des was her Wigalois vil fró, 91-11.

des wart diu maget harte fró, 72-5.

Rudolf von Ems, however, while using *harte* with other adjectives, avoids it with *vró*, and uses other means of filling out his lines. Compare the following from Barlaam und Josaphat:

- Des maht dū iemer wesen vrō*, 13–29.
der herre was der rede vrō, 15–37.
des was ich herzelteche vrō, 17–32.
der vater was des kindes vrō, 20–29.
siner kunfte was er vrō, 108–28.
daz sie mit im wāren vrō, 109–38.

So in *Der Gute Gerhard* :

- von mir des bin ich immer vrō*,
des lieben trōstes was ich vrō, 6269,
des was mīn werdiu vrouwe vrō, 6311.
die ritterschaft begunde dō
in ritterschefte wesen vrō, 6397–8.

In these latter examples signs of mere line filling are so apparent, and *harte* suggests itself so naturally that its avoidance is striking. We may infer that this combination is unknown at this time to the poet's dialect.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

	Total.	<i>Harte</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
1. Bavarian.				
a) Poetical monuments.				
Wolfdietrich B ¹	235	1	...	...
Parzival.....	293	41	2	14
Neidhart von Reuenthal (?).....	93	4	1	4
Helmbrecht.....	46	1	...	2
Die Warnung (?).....	83	3	1	4
S. Franciskanleben.....	109	11	2	10
Der Jüngere Titurel (?).....	154	0	...	...
Lohengrin.....	90	2	...	2
b) Prose.				
Berthold von Regensburg.....	366	0	...	...
Altdeutsche Pred. Wack. 21–26.....	6	0	...	...
2. Austrian.				
a) Poetical monuments.				
Die Hochzeit.....	37	3	3	8
Genesis.....	159	2	...	1

¹ MSS. K and H read : *si schlügent auff gar balde jr reysches gezelt (gar schöne H)* 39–1. Jänicke reconstructs : *harte riltche sluoc man uf diu gezelt*. In view of the rare occurrence of *harte* in this monument it is probable that *gar* was the original particle used.

	Total.	<i>Harte</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
Exodus.....	156	6	...	4
Die Bücher Mosis.....	177	7	3	4
Entricrist.....	53	1	1	2
Kindheit Jesu.....	83	11	...	13
Nibelungenlied, Version A.....	1250	92	10	8
" " B.....	.....	82	9	7
" " C.....	.....	71	7	7
Biterolf und Dietleib.....	701	40	3	6
Ortnit.....	126	22	9	17
Wolfdietrich A.....	250	17	7	7
Ortnit and Wolfdietrich C.....	46	3	...	6
Kudrun.....	552	62	9	11
Walther von der Vogelweide.....	145	1	...	1
Karl der Grosse.....	344	27	3	8
Freidankes Bescheidenheit.....	94	7	1	7
Diu Krone.....	395	5	...	1
Ulrich von Lichtenstein.....	389	13	2	3
Garel (?).....	338	22	2	7
Friedrich von Sonnenburg.....	26	0	...	...
Alexander.....	101	6	...	6
b) Prose.				
Aldt. Pred. aus S. Paul.....	181	2	...	1

The tables for Bavarian-Austrian show a great confusion in the use of *harte* in this dialect. The most striking feature, however, is that those monuments which show the highest percentages belong for the most part to the popular or the religious epic. They are Ortnit, Kindheit Jesu, Kudrun, Nibelungen, Wolfdietrich A. Parzival shows also a very high percentage, though the actual frequency is not so great, 2 examples per thousand lines.

The lyrical works here also show few examples of *harte*: Albrecht von Johannsdorf and Friedrich von Sonnenburg none, Walther 1, Neidhart 4. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, whose works are partly lyrical, shows 13.

Next to the early popular epic and the prose monuments, lyric poetry may be expected to show the most accurately local usage as to strengthening particles. This will appear more plainly in the case of *gar*, perhaps less so with *harte*, which always seems to be more or less in disfavor with lyric writers. *Harte* appears to lack the elegance of such particles as *rehte* and

gar, and the latter are apparently preferred wherever they are current and when a stronger particle than *vil* is desired. The absence of *harte* from the works of Berthold von Regensburg, Bruder David von Augsburg, and Fr. v. Sonnenburg doubtless indicates that there was a wide stretch of territory through southern Bavaria, Swabia, and the Tyrol, where from the middle of the thirteenth century on, and probably much earlier, *harte* was unknown to the popular dialect. The statistics for Upper Alemannic indicate the same for the neighboring Swiss provinces. Throughout the whole territory *gar* was very popular at this time. Throughout the territory farther east, Carinthia, Styria, Austria proper, as shown by the works of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, the Predigten aus S. Paul., Neidhart, and the Austrian popular epics, *harte* remained current much longer. *Gar* here is scarcely known, even in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. In northern Bavaria and Bohemia, *harte* was also very popular, and continued current until late, as might be expected from the proximity to East Frankish, and Thuringia. Compare the statistics for Parzival, Wigalois, and Alexander.

In the epic poetry of the latter part of the thirteenth century, territorial distinctions as to the use of *harte*, and indeed as to diction in general, are no longer felt. Nor are the stylistic differences between the court and the popular epic so apparent. By this time the two classes of literature had approached so closely as to intermingle, and what of form and diction had originally belonged only to the one or the other, now became common property. Just as the different incidents and episodes from the works of the earlier court poets were freely made use of by the writers of the declining epic, so words, phrases, and whole periods, from one class of literature, were appropriated by the less talented writers of other classes.

This universal custom of borrowing applies no doubt to a less degree to strengthening particles, which are always more or less unconsciously used, but it still has to be taken into account even with these, especially in epic poetry. For this reason it is very difficult to locate geographically or chronologically such expressions. These borrowings are not nearly so general among lyric

writers, and in the early popular epic much less marked than in the later. These therefore offer a more reliable criterion for local usage than the later court epic.¹

The evidence for the gradual disappearance of *harte* as a strengthening particle from the spoken dialect is as strong here as in Alemannic. In Bavaria this takes place earlier than in the Austrian provinces. This is shown by the absence of the particle in the works of Berth. v. Regensburg, as compared with the examples from the *Predigten aus St. Paul*. The fact that in Bavaria *gar* appears so prominently in the popular speech, renders the disappearance of *harte* at an early stage the more probable. In the epic poetry the tendency to restrict *harte* to the commonest locutions is apparent from the middle of the century. Garel shows 22 examples which are found with *vrô*, *gâch*, *grôz*, *meisterlich*, *rîch*, *ringe*, *sêre*, *seltsaene*, *sorcsam*, *tîwer*, *unhôch*, *veste*, *vruo*. Ulrich von Lichtenstein shows *harte* with *vil*, *vruo*, *vrô*, *gerne*, *hóhe*, *kleine*, *kranc*, *swach*, *wênc*. In

¹The examples of *harte* in the Kudrun offer strong evidence of the presence of this particle in the popular dialect of Austria at the time the present version was produced, as contrasted with the dialect of the original. Various efforts have been made to separate the original elements of the poem from those parts which belong only to the Austrian redaction. (See Martin's introduction to his edition, and Wilmanns, *Die Entwicklung der Kudrundichtung*.) Those strophes which are generally considered as belonging to the original version or versions show examples of *harte* only rarely: *harte lîse* 668-4, *harte sêre* 995-3, *harte balde* 1361-3. On the other hand a very frequent use of this particle is found in those strophes which are looked upon as interpolations or contaminations of older material. 59 of the 62 examples of *harte* are found in such strophes. The author of the Austrian version evidently used those strengthening particles which were current in his own dialect.

In the Nibelungen no such difference is to be noticed between the so-called original stanzas of Lachmann and those of later origin. 63 per cent of the examples of *harte* are from the original strophes, 37 per cent from all others. A striking fact however concerning the use of *harte* here is that more than 50 per cent of all instances are from the last line of the stanza, generally the last half line, which has four accents. This might be the result of mere line filling on the part of the original author, or, perhaps in some instances, of an attempt of an interpolator to make a four accent line out of one which originally had only three (Compare Heusler, *Altdeutsche Verskunst*). Other monuments of a similar strophic form show different statistics in this regard. In Kudrun 40 per cent of all examples of *harte* are from the last line of the stanza, in Ortnit and Wolfdietrich A about 19, Wolfd. D about 20.

Bavarian, Lohengrin shows *harte wol* and *harte weidenlich*. This is evidence that this particle is not felt as a living element in the language.

The following list shows the more frequent combinations with *harte* in Bavarian-Austrian monuments, in order of frequency. The figures in parentheses show the number of occurrences noted outside of the three Nibelungen versions.

<i>harte sere,</i>	48 times, (30)	<i>harte lange,</i>	7 times, (7)
“ <i>wol,</i>	36 “ (27)	“ <i>swaere,</i>	6 “ (5)
“ <i>vil,</i>	25 “ (16)	“ <i>dicke,</i>	7 “ (0)
“ <i>vrô,</i>	22 “ (14)	“ <i>ndhen,</i>	6 “ (0)
“ <i>balde,</i>	21 “ (5)	“ <i>selten,</i>	6 “ (3)
“ <i>grôz,</i>	21 “ (10)	“ <i>unmaezlich,</i>	6 “ (6)
“ <i>leit,</i>	22 “ (2)	“ <i>breit,</i>	5 “ (0)
“ <i>kleine,</i>	16 “ (10)	“ <i>güetlich,</i>	6 “ (1)
“ <i>guot,</i>	15 “ (10)	“ <i>ritterlich,</i>	5 “ (0)
“ <i>schiere,</i>	14 “ (7)	“ <i>tiure,</i>	5 “ (4)
“ <i>gerne,</i>	14 “ (12)	“ <i>trârec,</i>	5 “ (1)
“ <i>vroelichen,</i>	13 “ (1)	“ <i>wé,</i>	5 “ (2)
“ <i>hêrlich,</i>	12 “ (1)	“ <i>jâmerlich,</i>	4 “ (1)
“ <i>wê nec,</i>	10 “ (6)	“ <i>kâme,</i>	4 “ (0)
“ <i>verre,</i>	10 “ (6)	“ <i>wite,</i>	4 “ (0)
“ <i>hóhe,</i>	10 “ (3)	“ <i>vlizeclichen,</i>	3 “ (0)
“ <i>groezlich,</i>	9 “ (4)	“ <i>lobelichen,</i>	3 “ (0)
“ <i>lûte,</i>	9 “ (4)	“ <i>lützel,</i>	3 “ (1)
“ <i>swinde,</i>	9 “ (5)	“ <i>minneclich,</i>	3 “ (1)
“ <i>gâch,</i>	7 “ (0)	“ <i>vruo,</i>	4 “ (3)

SWABIAN.

a) Poetical Monuments.	Total.	<i>Harte.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
Wernhers Maria.....	92	3	...	3
Erec.....	373	4	1	1
Erstes Bûchlein.....	59	5	3	8
Gregorius.....	150	40	10	27
Armer Heinrich.....	81	15	10	18
Iwein.....	249	41	5	16
Zweites Bûchlein.....	15	3	4	20
Gottfried von Neifen.....	88	1	...	1

	Total.	<i>Harte.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
Ulrich von Winterstetten.....	138	5	...	4
Rosengarten.....	141	6	...	4
Wolfdietrich D ¹	270	14	...	5

The above list for Swabian shows a very extended use of *harte* by Hartmann von Aue. The Gregorius and Armer Heinrich each show 10 examples per thousand lines, a degree of frequency only reached by the Nibelungen, Liet von Troye, Heinrich und Kunigunde, and Moriz von Craon. The percentages are also high, 27 and 20. Only Flore and Blanscheflur (28), Moriz von Craon (34), Liet von Troye (53) show a higher. Gottfried von Neifen has *harte minnelich* 37-21, Ulrich v. Wint. shows *harte* with *schedelich* 2-14, *wol* 5-7, *ringe* 14-14, *kleine* 24-15, 31-23. The Rosengarten shows *harte* with *wol*, *gröz*, *vrö*, *ritterlich*, and *sere*.

The nature of these examples from the lyrical works and Rosengarten is such that we may consider them, especially for the last half of the thirteenth century, merely as a part of the general traditional language. There is no evidence that *harte* was at this time a part of the Swabian popular speech. The treatises of Bruder David von Augsburg (ZfdA 9, 8-55.) show no traces of it. Berthold von Regensburg, who spent much of his time in traveling and preaching in Swabia, does not use it. Further prose monuments for this dialect and period are not at hand, but there is no reason to suppose that the conditions as to strengthening particles here differ in any marked degree from those in Bavaria. The absence of this particle from the sermons of Berthold is significant. Berthold's diction is very popular, and unlike Bruder David, he uses strengthening particles very freely. Frequently he has occasion to double them in order to give the desired degree of emphasis, as *vil unde vil baz* II 20-8, *gar unde gar schedelichen* I 120-8. If *harte* had been possible we should expect Berthold to have used it. In about 375 examples of such particles however, *harte* does not once appear.

¹ Wolfdietrich D, while a Swabian version, probably represents the traditional Austrian use of strengthening particles rather than Swabian, following in this regard the earlier versions of the same legend.

An interesting fact which appears from the above table is the great difference in the frequency of *harte* in Erec and the other works of Hartmann.¹ Only four examples of this particle are found in Erec: *harte sere* 484, *wol* 1009, *vil* 3455, *fró* 4861. Haupt, in his edition, assumes that the small number of examples of *harte* here are to be explained by the lateness of the manuscript (Ambraser 1504), or at least he makes an attempt at reconstruction by changing *gar* in a few instances to *harte*.² The frequency of *harte* however in other works preserved in the same manuscript, Moriz von Craon, Kudrun, Bit. und Diet., Kön. Rother, Helmbrecht, shows that there has been no general attempt to replace obsolete strengthening particles with those that were current.³

It is perhaps significant that the four words with which *harte* is joined in the Ambraser manuscript of Erec, *wol*, *sere*, *fró*, *vil*, are just the four which in Upper German were most commonly found with this particle.⁴ This restriction of *harte* to these old and well known locutions would ordinarily indicate that the word had ceased to be felt as a general strengthening particle. It is then all the more curious that in Hartmann's later works

¹ Compare Vos, *Diction and Rime-Technic of Hartman von Aue*, pp. 20, 69, where this difference of usage is first noticed.

² See Vos, note p. 20; Haupt, note to line 5500.

³ In the case of the Nibelungen and Iwein a conscious attempt seems to have been made to substitute another particle for *harte*, in both cases *vast*. Bartsch *Germ. X* 44, notices this for the Nibelungen. The passages are, 1526-4 *harte balde* — *vast balde d* (Ambraser MS.), 1479-2 *h. gróz* — *vast gróz d*, 85-3 *h. quot* — *vast quot d*, 1279-4 I *h. hêrlîchen* — *vast h. d*, 1183-1 I *h. lâte* — *vast l. d*, 643-2 *h. vil* — *vast v. d*, 1647-2 I *h. wol* — *vast w. d*.

In Iwein, according to Henrici's variant readings, the following differences are noted: 6833 *harte gar* — *iemer mêr d*, 7238 *harte lange* — *alsó lange d*, 3514 *harte rîchez* — *riterlîchez d*, 7916 *h. stæter* — *vast s. d*, 2299 *h. unwîplich* — *vast u. d*, 6050 *h. verre* — *vast v. d*, 8131 *h. verre* — *vil v. d*, 1029 *h. vil* — *vast v. d*, 1943 *h. wol* — *vast w. d*, 6271 *h. wol* — *genug wol d*.

In the case of Erec no attempt has been made certainly to substitute *vaste* for *harte*, since only one instance of it occurs, *vaste schône* 1536.

Vaste as a strengthening particle has been found elsewhere only in the Bav.-Aust. epic: Parzival *vaste fró* 395-16, Kudrun *vaste gerne* 410-1, 1456-3 *vast an*, Bit. und Diet. *vaste quot* 1060, Wolfd. A *vaste dicke* 252-2.

These changes then which the Ambraser manuscript shows in the case of the Nibelungen and Iwein cannot have been introduced by the scribe. They date no doubt from some earlier Austrian copyist.

⁴ Compare the lists on pages 295 and 301.

this particle is not only very frequent, but joined very freely to different classes of adjectives and adverbs.¹ The following are the examples of *harte* with parallel examples from other, mostly Upper German, monuments:

Harte balde Iw. 125,² Parz. 124–23.

- “ *drâte* Iw. 208, 247, Sünd. Wid. 1584.
- “ *gar* Iw. 250, Erlös. 4689.
- “ *gerne* Iw. 61, 246, 292, AH 213, Kud. 1173–4.
- “ *gröz* Gr. 2163, AH 213, Nib. 450–2.
- “ *guot* Iw. 37, Gr. 1549, AH 1218, Parz. 70–7.
- “ *kleine* Gr. 3124, 3660, AH 697, Parz. 529–14.
- “ *klagelîchen* Iw. 194, *h. klagebaere* Iw. 253, KdGr. 1237.
- “ *lützel* Iw. 139, Nib. 1489–4.
- “ *lange* Iw. 265, Nib. 848–2.
- “ *lîse* Gr. 358, Kud. 668–4.
- “ *lobebaere* Gr. 1818, *lobelîche* Kud. 1103–2.
- “ *manec* Erst. B. 697, Ex. 137–16.
- “ *nôt* Gr. 584, Wig. 114–11.
- “ *riuwevar* Iw. 182, Gr. 428, 2327, *riuwec* Gr. 2529, Gen. 27–5.
- “ *ringe* Iw. 145, Nib. 254–4.
- “ *rîch* Iw. 134, Gr. 2033, Kud. 1108–2.
- “ *schône* Iw. 88, *schoene* Iw. 169, Gr. 3281, 3379, AH 1375, Parz. 236–22.
- “ *staete* Iw. 288, Gr. 2184, Kud. 19–4.
- “ *sanfte* Iw. 132, Sünd. Wider. 2533.

¹ A comparison of the lines containing *harte* in Erec and Iwein with the corresponding passages in the works of Chrétien de Troyes shows that Hartmann in the use of this particle is not following anything in his original. Chrétien uses as strengthening particles: *forment*, equivalent to *harte*, *formant an fu joianz et lîez*, Erec 372; *mout*, equivalent to *vil*, *une mout bele conjointure*, Erec 14; *tres*, OHG *drato*, *ne vuel pas que vos anpreigniez bataille si tres felensese*, Iwein 3739; *par*, OHG *fram*, *qui tant par est bele a mervoille*, Erec 535; *assez* (*genuoc*), *assez plus que dit ne vos ai*, Iwein 6745.

Hartmann does not follow his original so closely as to render these particles directly into their German equivalents. Aside from his free treatment of the material, considerations of rime and metrics would make a literal translation well nigh impossible.

² For Iwein the figures refer to the divisions in Lachmann's edition.

Harte schiere Iw. 147, Gr. 2330, Parz. 35-6.

“ *sere* Iw. 211, Erst. B. 861, Gr. 236, Kud. 995-3.

“ *späte* Gr. 2812, Kud. 1274-1.

“ *stärliche* Gr. 3829, *starke* Gr. 1765, Bit. u. Diet. 9202.

“ *swäre* Erst. B. 1415, Nib. 1176-2.

“ *schädliche* Gr. 1278, Bit. u. Diet. 1425.

“ *unsanfte* Erst. B. 298, Kud. 489-4.

“ *unsuoze* Gr. 3452, Vom jüngst. Ger. Diemer 290-4.

“ *ungeliche* Zw. B. 172, Bücher Mosis 68-11.

“ *veste* Iw. 165, Garel 8510.

“ *vremde* Iw. 263, Ex. 120-9.

“ *verre* Iw. 46, 221, 223, AH 928, Kud. 702-4.

“ *vró* Iw. 210, Gr. 2532, 3075, 3326, Nib. 275-2.

“ *vil* Iw. 47, 111, 196, 230, Gr. 2321, 3778, Nib. 353-2.

“ *vrum* Gr. 1886, Kön. Roth. 4148.

“ *wol* Iw. 43 etc., Nib. 772-2.

“ *wis* Gr. 491, Hein. u. Kun. 313.

“ *wilde* Iw. 25, Tristan 15969.

“ *zierlich* Iw. 30, Nib. 733-4 II.

“ *zornliche* Iw. 172, Nib. 826-4 II.

Harte with the following words has been found only with Hartmann: *karchlichen* Gr. 2106, *müezeclichen* AH 1220 *mitte* Iw. 261, *strengre* Gr. 3020, *unwüpflich* Iw. 92, *unmügelich* AH 189.

From the above list it may be seen that nearly every instance of *harte* in Hartmann can be paralleled from the Austrian popular epic. Certain expressions at this time seem to belong exclusively to the popular diction, *harte lützel*, *lise*, *lobelichen*, *rich*. Many of the examples from the above list have not been paralleled from Alemannic writers, as *harte* with: *dräte*, *lise*, *lobebaere*, *rinwec*, *sanfte*, *staete*, *späte*, *starke*, *schadeliche*, *zierlich*.

These facts seem to indicate that Hartmann was influenced in his later works by the Bavarian-Austrian usage as shown in the popular epic and Parzival. It is not necessary to assume that this influence came directly from these popular works, some of them being perhaps later than Hartmann's. The same local usage however that made itself felt in the popular epic evidently had its influence on Hartmann. If this be true, it would be

natural to suppose that in his earliest work, *Erec*, written no doubt before his undertaking the crusade, and before he had come in contact to any great extent with the class of literature prevalent in Bavaria and Austria, this influence would be absent.¹ Hartmann's use of strengthening particles then in *Erec* would be, to a much greater extent, a reflection of the local usage in Swabia.²

Another sign of Austrian influence upon Hartmann in his later works is his use of the particle *starke*.³ This word as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs has been found only in the works of Hartmann and the Austrian popular or declining court epic.

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

	Total.	<i>Harte</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
1. Moselfrankish.				
Vorau Alexander ⁴	54	6	4	11
Rolandslied.....	400	17	2	4
König Rother.....	144	37	7	26
Orendel.....	202	18	5	9
Strassburg Alexander.....	268	25	3	9
Sanct Brandan.....	102	3	1	3
2. Rhinefrankish.				
Friedrich von Hausen.....	17	1	2	6
3. Hessian.				
Athis und Prophlias.....	36	7	5	20
Liet von Troye.....	119	63	13	53
Erlösung.....	124	9	1	8
Elisabeth.....	99	1	...	1

¹ In this connection compare the use of *harte* in the works of Konrad von Würzburg, who seems also to follow literary tradition as to this particle more and more in his later works. *Der Trojanische Krieg* shows 1.4 examples per thousand lines, *Keiser Otte 3*, *Alexius 5*, *Engelhard* more than 5.

Compare also *Rudolf von Ems*, who shows 2 examples in *Der Gute Gerhard*, 4 in *Barlaam und Josaphat*.

² For the supposed influence of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* upon Hartmann as shown in the *Erec*, see Gruhn, *ZfdA* 43, p. 265 ff.

³ Compare the data as to *starke* under a separate heading.

⁴ The Vorau version of the Alexander, besides having a slightly higher percentage for *harte*, shows other marks of popular influence, especially in the frequency of such expressions as *dwī wie*, *ōwi wie*, *ā wī*. These sometimes take the place of strengthening particles in the Strassburg version. Cf. Vor. 1071, Str. 1489; Vor. 1097, Str. 1515; Vor. 1290, Str. 1792.

Although the use of *harte* was by no means regular or uniform in WMG, the above table will show that it was considerably greater than for Upper German. The word seems to have come into popularity here earlier than in Upper Germany, and its use is more general. The first five monuments on the list for Moselfrankish, all from the latter half of the twelfth century, show a greater actual frequency, and a higher percentage than do the Bavarian-Austrian works of the same period. That the use of *harte* was more general, is shown by the freer way in which it is joined to adjectives and adverbs. Many combinations are found here which do not occur in Upper German, and a larger class of words to which it may be joined is included.¹

Harte with adjectives and adverbs in *-lich*, *-liche(n)* is especially frequent. Of the 37 examples in König Rother, 21 are with such words, and 10 of the 17 in the Rolandslied. The former is supposed by the editor to have been written in Bavaria by a Frankish "Spielmann." Although the examples of *harte* are here more frequent than in other Middle Frankish works, this tendency to associate the particle with words in *lich* indicates that its use here is distinctly Frankish, rather than due to Bavarian influence.

Orendel shows 18 examples of *harte*: *harte kleine* and *harte gröz* 17 times.² This condition of affairs, where *harte* is confined to such locutions as these, we should expect to find only in works of a much later date than 1160, which is given by Berger as the probable date of the original version. The frequency of *gar* in this monument indicates also a later date, as *gar* did not make its way into the literary language of this dialect to any great extent until well into the next century. The popular nature of the poem may have something to do with the matter, though in the case of *gar*, there is no evidence that it was current so early in the popular speech.

Sanct Brandan shows a smaller number of examples than

¹ *Harte* with *ellenthafft*, *garwe*, *genöte*, *gemeit*, *kunelichen*, *liep*, *lussam*, *nutze*, *reine*, *stolz*, *tougen*, *wiplichen*, etc.

² This poem, which bears evidence of contamination and interpolation, shows frequent repetitions of lines and passages. *Harte gröz* occurs only in the line *mit harte grözen éren*, which is found 17 times in the poem.

would be expected here at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The words with which *harte* is joined however, *wislích* 339, *güetlichen* 1637, *wildgevar* 1892, indicate that the particle was in active use and not limited to the more common locutions.

The highest percentage for *harte* for all dialects and all periods is reached in the *Liet von Troye* (1215). *Harte* here forms 53 per cent of all the particles used, and occurs nearly 13 times per thousand lines. One Thuringian monument, *Heinrich und Kunigunde*, shows about 14 instances of *harte* per thousand lines, but it constitutes there only 22 per cent of all particles.

There is probably a distinction to be made in the use of this particle between Hessian and other WMG dialects. In Hessian at least, *vil* had taken a very subordinate position early in the century. Its place during the first part of the century was taken, as may be seen from the *Liet von Troye*, by *harte*; for the latter part, as in the *Erlösung* and *Elisabeth*, by *gar*. The general popular use of *harte* here is the more probable because it was current also in the neighboring province of Thuringia.

The decline in the use of *harte* toward the end of the century is very marked in the Hessian dialect. The examples in the *Erlösung* (1295) *harte wol*, *vil*, *lange*, *wirdehchen*, *garwe*, do not indicate that its use was limited entirely to formal literary expressions, but they show a tendency in that direction. The *Elisabeth* shows a still lesser use of *harte*, *harte genuoch* being the only instance in 5000 lines.

The list of words with which *harte* is most frequently joined in WMG shows a slight difference between WMG and Upper German usage. They are: *gröz* 23 times, *wol* 17, *vil* 16, *schöne* and *lanc* 5, *vromiclíche*, *sére*, and *wislíche*, each 4, *liep* and *lussam* each 3.

THURINGIAN.

	Total.	<i>Harte</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
Heinrich und Kunigunde.....	288	62	14	22
Vater Unser.....	122	26	5	21
Der Sünden Widerstreit.....	188	33	9	18
Tristan.....	121	5	1	4

The table for Thuringian shows a free use of *harte* at the beginning of the thirteenth century which gradually decreases

until the end. The lyrical works show no examples at all. Heinrich und Kunigunde shows the highest actual frequency and the highest percentage for *harte*. In this monument the combinations are very free, and it is altogether probable that *harte* at this time was a part of the Thuringian popular speech. Besides the more common phrases we find: *harte böse, keiserlich, kiusch, reine, rôt, scharf, tiure, unsaelec, gewis, sicher, sagebaere*.

The Vater Unser, from the middle of the century, shows less than half as many examples, but the percentage is about the same. Here too the combinations are free, *harte wise, rehte, sleht, bröde, kluog*, being found besides the more common expressions.

In Der Sünden Widerstreit the 33 examples of *harte* are with 22 different words. Although these happen to be the words with which *harte* is quite commonly found, they are sufficient in number to show that this particle is still freely used.

In Tristan but 5 examples are found in 5000 lines, and these constitute but 4 per cent of all particles. These do not seem to be limited to the common locutions, *harte megellich, harte minneclîchen, harte stolzlîch, harte vil*. It would seem that here as in Hessian *harte* was felt until late in the century as a general strengthening particle.

The sermons of Eckard, Wackernagel 60-61, 65-66, show only 4 examples of strengthening particles, all of which are *gar*.

SOUTH AND EAST FRANKISH.

	Total.	<i>Harte.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
1. East Frankish.				
Mariae Himmelfahrt.....	34	6	...	17
Wigalois.....	377	55	6	14
Der Renner.....	137	4	4	3
2. South Frankish.				
Moriz von Craon.....	56	19	11	34
Reinmar von Zweter.....	130	1	...	1

South and East Frankish monuments show likewise a free use of *harte* early in the century. Moriz von Craon from near the Alemannic border, probably shows Alemannic influence. The lyric monument of this group shows only a single instance of

harte. The examples from the Renner are limited to the stereotyped expressions *harte wol* and *harte wunneclich*.

GAR.

Gar, as an indefinite strengthening particle, is found as early as the twelfth century in Upper German. The original meaning of OHG *garo*, used adjectively, was *prepared, complete*. As an adverb *garo, garawo*, meant *entirely, ganz und gar*. Both of these uses extend into the MHG period. König Rother 3411, *zwelif dūsent rītare wale gare*, (twelve thousand knights well prepared for war) is an instance of the first. *Gar* however is generally used in MHG adverbially, and is generally defined in the dictionaries as meaning *completely*.¹ While the examples from the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth centuries are meager, there is no doubt that, as applied to adjectives and adverbs, this word had become weakened in force to a mere indefinite strengthening particle. By the end of the century it had become well established in this use in the literary language of all dialects.

The process of weakening of *gar* is quite parallel to that through which modern German *ganz* has passed. *Gar* as applied to an adjective or an adverb originally signified the highest degree or completeness of the quality under consideration. *Gar quot*, and later *ganz gut*, were then equivalent to MHG *vollen quot*, and meant *perfect*. Then from the easy habit of exaggeration, always a characteristic of popular speech, the word came to be applied where the quality instead of being absolute was only relatively high, and the expression began to be taken with a grain of allowance. In the case of *gar* this discounting of the face value went on so far that its original meaning was lost sight of entirely. In the works of Berthold von Regensburg *gar* is no longer felt as having any of its old meaning of completeness. When the author wishes his readers to take the word literally, in its strongest sense, he finds it

¹ Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, I 480², 5-31. *Lexer* I 738, *gar, gänzlich, völlig, ganz und gar*. Haupt, Erec, note to line 5500.

necessary to repeat the particle: *gar unde gar wol*, I 44-7, *gar unde gar überguot* II 36-18. The author of the *Erlösung* (1295), uses a similar device, that of adding the word *ganz*, *der kinde zal hân ich gelesen ganz gar ungesundert*, 3645-6. In the case of modern German *ganz* the weakening has gone so far that *ganz gut*, *ganz selten*, mean rather less than *sehr gut*, *sehr selten*, and approach the meaning *passably good*, *not very often*. The phrase *ganz und gar* is thus merely an effort to retrieve the lost meaning of *ganz* and make a strong expression out of two weak ones.

In the earlier MHG works it is often difficult to determine whether *gar* is used in its original and more general sense, or whether it is weakened and takes the place of some other indefinite particle. With adjectives and adverbs representing an absolute quality, that is, one not capable of different degrees of intensity, it has necessarily the former meaning. If, however, the word denotes a quality only nominally absolute, and this can be determined only by the context, then the particle could have correspondingly weakened force. This is in fact a very frequent occurrence. *Gar lâter*, *gar durhliuhtec*, like *vil unschuldec*, *vil eine*, would often represent merely an indefinite degree of the quality under consideration.

When *gar* is joined to adjectives and adverbs with the prefix *un-*, the particle might seem to retain its original meaning of *entirely*, *completely*. The dictionary of Benecke-Müller-Zarncke quotes *gar ungerne*, Arm. Hein. 179, *gar unmaere*, Walth. 65-15, as instances of such a usage. If we remember however that these words with the prefix *un-* in MHG do not necessarily denote a negative notion, but usually one that is decidedly positive, we see at once that *gar* may here express merely high degree. Just as *vil lützel*, *vil kleine*, usually took on the derived meaning *not at all*, so *unhovelich* often expressed not a mere absence of the quality of *Höflichkeit*, but the presence of its direct opposite. *Gar unhovelich* could be rendered then *very impolite*, *very rude*. Likewise *gar unsanfte*, *very roughly*; *gar unverre*, *very near*.

The accent of the word would have something to do with the turn of its meaning. Strongly accented it would necessarily mean *ganz und gar*. In verse this might happen if it were

placed at the point of chief accent, the end of the line. Or the emphasis might be indicated by placing the word out of its usual position. For this reason *gar* in postposition, or before the indefinite article, or falling at the end of the line, would be more likely to have its stronger original meaning. Compare: *daz er ewelichen gar wil irliuhten ir schar*. Vat. Uns. 1983-4.

Throughout the earlier period, *gar* was doubtless felt as a much stronger particle than *vil*. In the literary language it had the element of freshness, and the implied comparison with the idea of completeness was no doubt felt. Though never, perhaps, so strong as *harte*, it came into vogue at a time when that particle was distinctly felt to be quaint and obsolescent.

The following lists will show that *gar* during this period is capable of being joined to any class of adjectives or adverbs whatever. In the earliest examples the more common of these words: *balde*, *dicke*, *gerne*, *manec*, *schiere*, *sêre*, *schône*, *vil*, *wol*, etc., are perhaps conspicuously lacking. It was with just such familiar words as these, however, that the older particles, *vil*, *wol*, *harte*, were retained the longest. *Gar* is just coming into prominence in the literary language during this period, and it naturally obtained a footing first with those words with which the older particles had not been so closely associated. With the more common adjectives and adverbs it displaced these older particles but slowly.

ALEMANNIC.

1. Poetical monuments.	Total.	<i>Gar</i> .	Per cent.
a) Lower Alemannic.			
Reinmar von Hagenau.....	88	2	2
Tristan	412	0	0
Flore und Blanscheflur.....	82	5	6
Die Gute Frau.....	86	5	6
Das Steinbuch.....	27	0	0
Der Trojanische Krieg.....	351	29	8
Keiser Otte mit dem Barte.....	22	2	9
Alexius.....	110	7	6
Martina.....	268	19	7
Reinfried von Braunschweig.....	97	21	21
Peter von Stauffenberg.....	46	7	15
b) Upper Alemannic.			
Der Gute Gerhard.....	218	7	3

	Total.	Gar.	Per cent.
Barlaam und Josaphat.....	304	9	3
Johannes Hadlaub.....	106	37	35
2. Prose.			
Altd. Predigt. Wack. 42-52.....	26	4	15
Pred. d. 13 Jahrh. Grieshaber.....	53	36	68
Pred. auf. Joh. d. Täufer.....	3	2	66

The Alemannic epics show more clearly perhaps than the monuments of any other dialect, the gradual coming into literary usage of this particle. The percentage for *gar*, as shown by the above table, gradually increases, with few exceptions, throughout the whole period. Tristan with no examples dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Rein. v. Braun. and Peter v. Stauf., which show the highest percentages for Lower Alemannic, are from the end. The two lyrical monuments, Reinmar and Joh. Hadlaub, show a higher percentage than their position in the table would warrant.

The Alemannic Predigten of Wackernagel (sermons 42-52) show very rare instances of *gar*, and for this reason are probably to be placed very early in the thirteenth century. Grieshabers Altd. Predigt. show a percentage of 68, which indicates, as mentioned under the discussion of *vil*, that they should be placed in the fourteenth century.

In Upper Alemannic *gar* probably came into popularity earlier than in Lower Alemannic. *Harte* disappeared here very early, as we have seen. The percentage of 35 for this particle in the works of Johannes Hadlaub (1302) shows that by this time it had become quite familiar.

The words with which *gar* is joined in the poetical monuments are numerous, as is to be expected in the case of a particle just coming into prominence. The contrast in this regard between *gar* and *harte* is very marked. The following are the most frequent combinations: *gar inneclîch, lâter*, 4 times each; *elent-riche, minneclîche, ritterlîche, vlîzeclîche*, 3 times each; *gehiure, hôch, gewaltec, liutsaelec, trûebe, senfte, unmaere, unmdzen, unsanfte, unlange, wunderlîch*, twice.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

	Total.	Gar.	Per cent.
1. Bavarian.			
a) Poetical monuments.			
Albrecht von Johannsdorf.....	13	1	8
Parzival.....	293	7	2
Wolfdietrich B.....	235	7	3
Neidhart von Reuenthal	93	4	4
Die Warnung.....	83	2	2
S. Franciskan Leben.....	109	11	10
Der Heilige Georg.....	86	6	7
Der Jüngere Tituel (?).....	154	17	11
Lohengrin.....	90	35	39
b) Prose.			
Berthold von Regensburg.....	366	266	73
2. Austrian.			
a) Poetical monuments.			
Genesis.....	159	1	...
Enticrist	53	2	4
Kindheit Jesu.....	83	1	1
Ortnit.....	126	1	1
Wolfdietrich A.....	250	1	...
Ortnit and Wolfdietrich C.....	46	1	2
Kudrun.....	552	2	...
Walther	145	11	7
Karl der Grosse.....	344	4	1
Freidankes Bescheidenheit.....	94	2	2
Diu Krone.....	395	15	4
Ulrich von Lichtenstein.....	389	12	3
Garel von dem blühenden Tal (?).....	338	8	2
Friedrich von Sonnenburg.....	26	6	24
Alexander.....	101	13	13
b) Prose.			
Altdeutsche Predigten aus S. Paul (1300).....	181	0	

From the above tables for Bavarian-Austrian, it will be seen that the lyrical monuments, Alb. v. Johannsdorf and Walther, show relatively high percentages. In the Austrian popular epic *gar* is remarkably rare. The Nibelungenlied offers one instance from the version C, Kudrun 2, Biterolf und Dietleib none, Ortnit and the different version of the Wolfdietrich very few. The Bavarian monuments show the greatest frequency of this particle and the highest percentages, S. Franciskan Leben 10 per cent, Lohengrin 39. Ulrich von Eschenbach who follows the traditions of the court epic more closely, and who perhaps

represents the local usage of Bohemia, uses this particle rather sparingly, though he writes from the end of the thirteenth century.

The absence of *gar* from the early Austrian popular epic indicates that this particle was not current in the popular dialect of that region at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Considering the great frequency of strengthening particles in the Nibelungen, and the great variety there offered, there is no way to account for the absence of *gar* except on the ground that it was unknown to the popular speech. Biterolf und Dietleib, from Styria, suggests the same state of affairs for that part of the territory. The examples of *gar* in the later popular epic, especially the later versions of *Wolfdietrich*, may be ascribed to local influence in the different dialects in which they were produced, or to the fact that by this time *gar* had become a rather common literary term. Further indications of the absence of *gar* from the popular speech in certain parts of the Austrian territory is offered by its absence from the *Predigten aus S. Paul*, from Carinthia.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein (Styria, 1255-57) shows a percentage of 3 for *gar*. His use of this particle is no doubt due to the influence of *gar* in the other literature of his time rather than from any natural tendency to use it. Had *gar* been current in his native dialect, considering his fondness for effusive and emphatic declaration, we should expect every page of his poetry to show numerous examples.

That *gar* was current however in Bavaria, is shown by its frequency in the Bavarian epics mentioned above, and by the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg. These show in 8000 long lines 266 examples, or 73 per cent of all particles.

In the poetical monuments of Bavarian-Austrian, the number of adjectives and adverbs with which *gar* is associated is very great; *gar vil* occurs 5 times, *gar schöne*, 4 times; *gar* with *gesund*, *unmaere*, 3 times; with *bereit*, *dicke*, *heimlichen*, *hère*, *müede*, *riche*, *unverzaget*, *unsinneclich*, *unsanfte*, *wunneclich*, *wol*, twice. Berthold von Regensburg, in the sermons examined, uses *gar wol* 37 times, *gar vil* 26, *gar grôz* 12, *gar guot* 11, *gar übel* 8, as compared with *vil wol* 17, *vil grôz* 1, *vil guot* 1, *vil übel* 1.

SWABIAN.

	Total.	Gar.	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
a) Poetical monuments.				
Erec.....	373	9	1	2.5
Gregorius.....	150	2	...	1
Der Arme Heinrich.....	81	1	...	1
Gottfried von Neifen.....	88	4	2	5
Ulrich von Winterstetten.....	138	7	3	5
Der Marnier.....	54	5	1	10
Rosengarten.....	141	26	...	19
Wolfdietrich D.....	270	9	...	3
b) Prose.				
Bruder David von Augsburg.....	15	11	...	70

The above table shows a gradually increasing use of *gar* in Swabian throughout the whole period. Hartmann makes a very sparing use of this particle except in Erec. The presence of *gar* in Erec to a greater extent than in his later works, where he is more in line with traditional usage, is to be taken as evidence that he took this particle from his native dialect. Its increasing frequency in the later lyrical monuments and in Rosengarten, indicates the growing popularity of *gar* in the popular speech. Wolfdietrich D follows doubtless the traditional word usage of the older versions, though the presence of *gar* is probably the result of local influence.

The popularity of *gar* during the latter half of the thirteenth century in Bavaria, doubtless extended also into Swabian territory, especially the southern part, and reached over into Upper Alemannic. Bruder David von Augsburg shows the same percentage for *gar* as Berthold von Regensburg, though he does not use strengthening particles so frequently.

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

	Total.	Gar.	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
a) Moselfrankish.				
Orendel.....	202	14	3	7
Sanct Brandan.....	102	8	4	8
b) Rhinefrankish.				
Friedrich von Hausen.....	17	2	4	12
c) Hessian.				
Athis und Prophlias.....	36	0	...	...
Liet von Troye.....	119	4	1	3
Erlösung.....	124	80	14	64
Elisabeth.....	99	44	9	44

In WMG *gar* is practically unknown as a strengthening particle before the thirteenth century. Orendel shows 14 examples, but in view of its absence in other important monuments, it is altogether likely that these belong to a later reworking of the poem, and not to the original version, which the editor dates about 1160. Sanct Brandan (1200) is the first monument to show reliable examples of this particle, which occurs here 8 times.

In the Hessian dialect, Herbort von Fritslar (1215) uses *gar* very rarely in the Liet v. Troye, 4 times in 5000 lines. Some of these instances may perhaps be questioned. In the Erlösung (1295) *gar* is the chief strengthener, 80 examples being found and these constituting 64 per cent of all particles used. In the Elisabeth *gar* is also the most frequent particle, though it shows here a percentage of only 44. The predominance of *gar* at this period in Hessian and Thuringian, as shown by its use in the poetical monuments, is more decided than anywhere else in the MHG field. This is the natural consequence of the early decline of *vil* in these dialects.

THURINGIAN.

	Total.	<i>Gar.</i>	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
a) Poetical monuments.				
Heinrich von Morungen.....	43	1	...	2
Heinrich und Kunigunde.....	288	2	...	1
Vater Unser.....	122	2	...	2
Der Sünden Widerstreit.....	188	13	4	7
Heinrich von Meissen.....	88	21	4	24
Tristan.....	121	65	13	54
b) Prose.				
Sermons of Eckard, Wack. 55, 56, 60, 61.....	4	4	...	100

In Thuringian *gar* is rare before the latter half of the thirteenth century. The lyrics of Heinrich von Morungen show *gar unho* 133-26; Heinrich und Kunigunde, *gar reht* 175, *gar lichte* 2604; Vater Unser *gar gebrüderliche* 175, *als gar gehörsam* 1878. In the lyrics of Heinrich von Meissen *gar* is much more popular, and in the Tristan Fortsetzung of Heinrich von Frieberg it constitutes 54 per cent of all strengthening particles.

That *gar* was current in the popular speech of this dialect by the end of the century at least, is to be assumed by its frequency

in the literary monuments. The same is indicated by its presence in the sermons of Eckard.¹

EAST FRANKISH.

	Total.	Gar.	Per cent.
Wigalois.....	377	2	...
Winsbeke und Winsbekin.....	17	2	12
Der Renner.....	137	34	25

SOUTH FRANKISH.

Reinmar von Zweter.....	130	8	6
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In the South and East Frankish monuments *gar* shows itself also but rarely before the second half of the thirteenth century. Two questionable examples are found in Wigalois, Winsbeke shows one unmistakable example, *gar alt* 60-5, Winsbekin *gar wisiu* 9-9. The lyrical poems of Reinmar von Zweter show 8 examples, or 6 per cent of all strengthening particles, which is a high percentage for his time (1227-60). Der Renner shows a percentage of 25 for *gar*, *vil* being the most common strengthener with a percentage of 70.

WOL.

Wol as an indefinite strengthener of adjectives and adverbs is somewhat frequent during this period, especially during the early part. This use of the word is so closely connected with *wol* the adverb of manner, and the strengthener of a whole assertion, that the two must be considered together. The word is derived from the root of *wollen*, and therefore meant, in the first place, *according to wish, in a desirable manner, then, thoroughly*. As a modifier of verbs, and denoting the manner in which the action is performed, *wol* is frequent with such

¹The statement of Paul in his dictionary under *gar*: "Volkstümlich ist dieser Gebrauch nur im Süden," if true, can apply only to modern times. Compare also Kip, p. 160, commenting on this statement of Paul: Diese dialektische Eigentümlichkeit scheint bis in alte Zeit zurückzureichen.

words as *bewarn*, *behagen*, *gezemen*, *phlegen*, *tuon*, etc. Here the original meaning of the word is the most clearly preserved.

More frequent however than with such verbs, and more important for the later development of the word, are the instances of *wol* with verbs of knowing, believing, perceiving through the senses, seeming, etc. This use of the word is so common and well understood that it is hardly necessary to cite examples. The following may however be given :

ich weiz wol daz er sich machet nâch uns zehant uf die slâ.
Krone 3239.

ich meine wol daz ir sit ein vil erklicher zage. Krone 3758.

als ich nû wol waene. Fl. u. Bl. 1447.

ich sihe wol daz der tût die liebe muoz verenden. Fl. u. Bl. 1456.

do verstuont sich wol diu reine daz ich gerne bi ir was.
Iwein 332.

dô ich im alsô nâhen quam daz er mîn wol war genam.
Iwein 471.

irn vastet niht, daz hoere ich wol. Iwein 817.

ez schînet wol . . . daz disiu rede nâch ezzen ist. Iwein 815.

In such examples as these, *wol* shows little of its original connection with the verb *wollen*, but has become merely a general strengthener of the verbal idea expressed by the word it modifies. In this use it is so firmly fixed, however, that no other strengthening adverb can take its place, even at the present time. If any other adverb is used, it adds another meaning entirely. Compare for instance: *diu minne weiz die liste gar*, Fl. u. Bl. 678, where *gar* logically does not modify the verb at all, but *die liste*.

From its long and intimate association with such verbs as *wizzen*, *denken*, *geloben*, *waenen*, *schînen*, etc., *wol* becomes largely subjective in its meaning. It represents more than any other adverb can do in MHG the personal opinion of the speaker. This appears very plainly in the next important function of the word, its use as a general strengthener of an assertion. The literature of the period is full of examples, a few of which will suffice :

*die wile der admirât lebt eine, sô muge wir wol vor im genesen.*¹
 Alex. 5234. *Wol* here is equivalent to *ich geloube wol, surely.*
hâten si noch grôzer kraft, got machet uns doch wol sigehaft.
 K. der Gr. 9054. (*Wol, I firmly believe.*)

*tuostû dan die widerkêre âne grôze dîn unêre, sô bistû wol ein
 vrum man.* Iw. 558. (*Wol, I will acknowledge.*)

*dô huop sich vil grôz weinen, und schré, owê mir armen, daz ez
 wol môhte erbarmen ein flinshertez herze.* Fl. u. Bl. 1484. (*Wol,
 I am quite ready to believe.*)

ichn habe iu selhes niht getân, ir môhtet mich wol lebn lân.
 Iwein 173. (*Wol, ich dæhte wol, I should think.*)

*er was einem Môre gelich, michel und als eislich daz ez nie-
 men wol geloubet.* Iwein 429. (That very likely no one will
 believe it.)²

In most of the instances where *wol* is thus used as a sentence
 modifier in MHG it serves to add strength to the assertion,
 the above examples, where it savors of Mod. Germ. *wohl*, being
 exceptional. From this use the Mod. Germ. indefinite sense

¹ *Wol* here has little or nothing to do with the verb *mûgen*. It modifies the
 whole statement not the auxiliary verb. This may perhaps be better seen
 from the following: *ein man slûege wol ein her ob ez âne wer waere.* Krone 830.
 The sense is that one man would no doubt succeed against a whole army, not
 that he could slay the army with little effort. Kip's classification of *wol* with
 the auxiliaries especially *mûgen* and *kunnen* is of no significance whatever
 (p. 221). It is the exception if *wol* modifies the auxiliary. Nor is his theory
 as to the weakening of *wol* logical. He says: "*Wole* steht in formelhafter
 Verbindung mit gewissen Verben, deren Bedeutung im Laufe der Zeit derartig
 verschoben wird, dass eine unbestimmte Möglichkeit an Stelle des älteren
 bestimmten Begriffes tritt. Diese Verben schleppten gewissermassen das
 Adverbium mit, so dass die Unbestimmtheit, die ursprünglich nur an das
 Verbum haftete, nach und nach auch auf das Adverbium übertragen wurde.
 Vor allem gehören hierher die beiden Verben *mûgen* und *kunnen*." In so far
 as these and other auxiliaries, in connection with their infinitives, frequently
 refer to a future action, some uncertainty may be present. But this is no
 more true of *mûgen* and *kunnen* than of *werden* and *sollen*, or the present tense
 of any verb used as a future. It is not necessary that *wol* should be carried
 along in its development toward the stage of indefiniteness, by any verb or
 class of verbs. With this particle, as well as with others which originally
 signified a state of completeness or definiteness, this weakening was rather the
 result of sheer wear, of too frequent use.

² See Bech, note to Iwein 1762, "*wol* = leicht, möglicherweise." 173 and
 429 are however unexplained.

of the word, as in "Sie sind wohl ein Franke?" is descended. That this process of development or weakening had already begun in MHG may be seen from the above examples.¹ Signs even of the use of *wol* in concessive clauses (Mod. Germ. *obwohl*) are at hand during this period. *Doch swaz ez dar umbe si, er mac uns wol gescheiden, doch mac er niht erleiden mir iuwer werden minne.* Fl. u. Bl. 1280-4. (*Wol*, to be sure, *zwar*.)

Being thus a general strengthener of an assertion, it is quite easy to localize the word and make it applicable to an adjective, an adverb, or even a numeral. It is then difficult, often, to determine whether the particle modifies the verb, the whole sentence, or the adjective or adverb. Compare the following: *daz was och wol gevüege daz man im niht zerlüege*, etc., Mart. 39-63. Where the adjective is in attributive position it is reasonably certain that *wol* is intended merely as a strengthener of the adjective, but with adjectives in the predicate, and with adverbs, the difficulty is nearly always present.

In *wol* as a modifier of a numeral the same development took place as in *wol* the sentence modifier. Originally it was felt as a real strengthener. *Kuster mich? Wol tûsentstunt*, Walth. 39-26, at least a thousand times. That the writer or speaker thought he was keeping well within the bounds of truth, is shown by the frequent addition of the words *oder mære, oder baz; wol vierzic tûsent oder dannoch baz*, Nib. 181-3. *Wol hundert oder mære*, 279-3.² Again it is shown by an effort to state the number exactly, instead of expressing it roundly: *wol vierdehalbe klasten lanc*, Bit. u. Diet. 7500.³ This force of the word was however soon lost, and most of the examples of *wol* with numerals during this period are to be taken as equivalent to "etwa," "ungefähr."

As a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs it is to be noticed that *wol* is often found with words expressing distance, motion,

¹This weakening in the force of *wol* is parallel to that which has taken place in *zewdre, ungevâr, vaste, gewis*. The excessive use of such asseverations, and the general experience that they are necessary only where room for reasonable doubt exists, has caused them one after another to be discounted.

²Compare Wieland, *Geron der Adelige*, I, line 295: *Wohl siebzig Jahre mögen's sein und mehr*.

³Compare *wel nyne and twenty in a companye*, Chaucer *Cant. Tales*, Pro. 24.

or some space relation, such as *verre, lanc, witen, nâch, âf, hin*, etc. The starting point seems to be the idea of motion from some place, and *wol* expresses the same turn of thought as English *well* in such expressions as *well away, well beyond, well along*. Comparison with *wol* the sentence strengthener may not be lacking in these examples, though the relation to *guot* is perhaps closer, *wol* being here equivalent to *a good distance*. Compare *einen guoten wec hin*, Iwein 5553. Quite of the same nature are such expressions as *ich wil beliben baz*, Walth. 88-34, *nâher baz*, Rol. 4274, and *vûrbaz*, English *better than a mile*. In all such figurative expressions the measuring standard of one class of ideas, with its different gradations, is applied to another class. *Wol nâch*, Eng. *well nigh*, represents the same turn of thought. Probably originally applied to space relations, *wol nâch* meant *well along towards*, afterwards *well nigh*. Compare *nâch* as a preposition. Wolfram uses *wol nâch*, Parz. 132-27, *wol nâch gein der mâle zil*.

Wol is more frequently found associated with adjectives formed from past participles, and retaining something of their verbal meaning, or with adjectives similar in form to participles, and easily associated with the corresponding verbs. Sometimes the particle is inseparable from the participle, and the two form a single compound expression. For example, *wol getân*, *wol geslaht* (old French *de bon aire*), *wol gestalt*. In such instances, *wol* retains its original force, either as meaning *in a desirable manner*, or *well, thoroughly*, as when modifying verbs of knowing or believing. In many cases no other strengthener may be used, which is evidence that *wol* is not here weakened to a general strengthening particle. Further examples of such are: *wol gesunt*, *wol kunt*, *wol bekant*, *wol genuot*, *wol bereit*, *wol wâr*.

Like *rehte*, *wol* is sometimes found with words of a kindred meaning. This may be compared to the Mod. Germ. colloquial heaping together of adjectives having a similar meaning, for the purpose of expressing a high degree of the quality. Compare for instance, *fein artig*, *fein ehrbar*, *hübsch schön*, etc., English *good and hot, nice and clean*. Examples of such a usage in MHG, in which the original meaning of *wol* is to

a greater or less degree felt, are: *wol billich, wol veile, wol wert, wol behagen*, etc.

Unlike *rehte*, *wol* is not found with words of an opposite meaning. This indicates that the association in meaning of the particle and the original adverb was always more or less present.

Finally *wol* is applied to other adjectives and adverbs and has the force of an indefinite strengthening particle. With these it can take the place of some other strengthener. That its field of usefulness should here be limited, is easy to understand when we consider that the process of weakening, by which this particle approached in meaning Mod. Germ. indefinite *wohl*, was well under way during the thirteenth century. Its career as a modifier of adjectives and adverbs was thus cut short.

Being so largely subjective in nature, and used so generally with gradually weakened force as a sentence strengthener, *wol* was never a strong or very emphatic particle.

To be compared with *wol* are such phrases as *ze wunsche, ze freude, ze prise*, all of which are comparatively frequent.

Following is a list of the words with which *wol* as a strengthening particle is associated in Upper German.¹ *Wol* with these

¹ Haupt, in his edition of the Erec, reconstructs *vol* in several instances where the manuscript reads *wol*. Thus, *vol karger man* 2381, *vol tugentliche* 9909, *mit vol blanker varwe* 7293, *vol alsd* 7244, *vol minneclichen* 6794. In this he follows Lachmann (See Haupt to 2381, L. to Iwein 3179). *Mit vol blanker varwe* is evidently from analogy to *vol liechter varwe* 7729 (note to 2381). *Vol* is however here not a modifier of *liechter*, but *liechter varwe* is a genitive depending on *vol*, and the line should be rendered. "full of brilliant color." So Henrici, following Lachmann, has *unz vol nâch mittem tage*, Iwein 7239; *DEJbejr wol*. All such reconstruction is unjustified. *Vol* seems never to have been weakened to a general strengthening particle. Certainly it is not so used by Hartmann. Compare Erec 4816-20: *ich bite iuch, tugenthafter man, sît ir mir sît gewesen guot, daz ir mir vol(le) wol tuot, daz ich iuch müeze erkennen: geruochet iuch mir nennen.* *Vol* in this passage is not a strengthener of *wol*, as English *full well*, but modifies the verb *wol tuon*, and has about the same force as *vol* in *vol sprechen*. Compare *und als er vol sich geneic*, Iwein 3944, *sult ir volwarn*, Iw. 6150. The passage means, "since you have already done me one favor (to return his horse as requested) I beg that you will go further and do me the highest, the complete honor of telling me your name." So line 7375, *Ein phärt schoene und volle guot.* *Volle guot* means *perfect in every respect*, not merely *very good*, as may be seen from the context: *weder ze nider noch ze hō*, 7341, and *alsd was ez volkomen daz er dar abe niht hete genomen else grōz als umbein hār*, 7386-8. So *vollen guot*,

is not always free from traces of its original meaning, though examples where this is manifestly retained are excluded. *Wol bereit, genuot, gewar, kunt*, are very frequent. *Wol balde* occurs 10 times, *geliche*, 9; *schîn, billich*, 3; *geuoge, gemeit, her, manec, uf, verre, veile, war, wert*, 2. With other words only a single instance each has been found.

The greater part of the examples of *wol* are from the beginning of the thirteenth century or earlier. In Alemannic, Gottfried's *Tristan* shows 28, or 70 per cent of the whole number for this dialect. In Swabian they are, with one or two exceptions, from *Erec* and *Iwein*.¹ In Bavarian-Austrian the three *Nibelungen* versions show 22 examples, *Diu Krone* 7, *Parzival* 3. Elsewhere are only scattering examples, many of which are doubtful. By the end of the century this particle had practically become obsolete, its use being confined to such expressions as *wol veile, wol uf*, and to those connections where its original force was largely retained, as *wol bereit, wol kunt*, etc. It is exceedingly rare in the prose monuments for the whole period. Berthold von *Regensberg* shows *wol billich, wol manie*.

In Middle German the examples of *wol*, where it may be considered as an indefinite strengthening particle, are rare and scattering before the latter part of the thirteenth century. *Die Erlösung* (1295) shows 7, *Elisabeth* 14. In the latter monument the examples are so numerous and so evidently genuine as to suggest the fact that *wol* was at this time current in the popular dialect.

REHTE.

Rehte, OHG *rehto*, as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs is found very early in the Germanic dialects: *rehto ubarlût, Ot*.

Arm. Hein. 1177, *uns kan daz niht gewerren iuwer maget ensi vollen guot*, which should be rendered, "that your maiden be not fully perfect," which was demanded to effect a cure. (See Bech's note to this passage).

Elsewhere examples of *vol* have been noticed: Hein. v. Meissen, *Leiche* 3-8, *vollen smachafi*; *Martina*, 38-55, *vol geswinde*; *St. Brandan* 1826, *vollen gerne*; *König Tirol*, 1-3, *volle lobesam*; Hein. v. Freiberg, *Tristan vollen wît und grôz*, 1158, *vollen hôch* 6044. Other examples have been noted where the original meaning of the word is manifestly retained.

¹ Zw. Büchl. *wol bescheiden* 69, *wol vrum* 479.

IV, 24–26 ; *rehto virinlîh*, Mus. 10, and *rehto palwic*, 26. The word is from the same root as Latin *regere*, to *guide or straighten*, Mod. Germ. *richten*, and is a participial formation. The original meaning was, *in a straight way*, then, *correctly, in a proper manner*; Ot. III, 23–39. *mir . . folge, ther rehto gangan wolle.*

The different stages in the development of the word as it came to be applied to adjectives and adverbs are not easy to follow. It is probable however that the process was quite different from that in the case of *wol*. There is no reason to believe that the idea of what is right or just, entered into the conception of the word, and that from this it passed to the idea of *generously, in a rich measure, to a high degree*. Had such been the development, we should expect to find it at first associated with words of a kindred meaning. This does not however seem to be the case. Its connection with *virinlîh*, terrible, and *palwic*, destructive, in the Muspilli, shows that no such idea is there present. It is more probable to assume that an early differentiation of meaning took place, and that there resulted on the one hand, Mod. Germ. *recht, gerecht*, on the other hand, the strengthening particle, which passed through some such stages as *exactly, fully, to a high degree*. Evidence of such a development is to be found in the use of the word with *als, alsô, alsam*. Compare *reht' also ich in ê seite*, Tr. 3468 ; and further, such phrases as, *rehte unz in diu tor*, Tr. 387 ; again, such examples as *was ir varwe wîz rôt var, noch rehte wîz, noch rehte rôt*, Liet v. Tr. 602. In each of these, *rehte* has the force of *exactly, gerade*, as English *right up to the gate*.

The same idea is expressed in the use of *rehte* with numerals, *rehte vierdehalp*, Vom Antichrist, 283–13 ; *rehte vier und zwanzic*, Str. Alex. 5095. Before numerals *rehte* does not appear to have been weakened to *ungefähr, about*, as in the case of *wol*. This function was assumed by the latter particle exclusively.

Rehte, then, joined to adjectives and adverbs, marked originally the completeness of the quality, and had little or no connection with the idea of what is right or proper. *Rehte quot* meant *good in the fullest sense of the word*. *Rehte leit* implied that the thing or condition of affairs to which this expression referred was such that it might correctly be described in these

terms. From this meaning *rehte* was easily weakened to a general strengthening particle.¹

As thus used it will readily be seen that *rehte* was very emphatic, approaching in force to *harte*. That it was a more polite and elegant word is indicated by the preference shown for it by the lyrical writers.

In the majority of instances, *rehte* as a strengthening particle is preceded by *also*, *só*, *wie*, *swie*, or some such adverb, as was the case with *gar* during the earlier part of the period. The use of such expressions in connection with *rehte*, or rather the use of *rehte* or *gar* in such instances where a striking comparison is to be made, or a clause of result introduced, indicates merely that these were felt as very strong particles.

ALEMANNIC.

	Total.	<i>Rehte</i> .	Per 1000 lines.	Per cent.
1. Poetical Monuments.				
a) Lower Alemannic.				
Reinmar von Hagenau.....	88	11	5	13
Tristan.....	412	34	2	8
Flore und Blanscheflur.....	82	17	2	21
Die Gute Frau.....	86	4	1	5
Das Steinbuch.....	27	4	4	14
Der Trojanische Krieg.....	351	41	4	12
Keiser Otte.....	22	1	1	5
Alexius.....	110	1	1	1
Martina.....	268	15	2	6
Reinfried von Braunschweig.....	97	4		4
Peter von Stauffenberg.....	46	3	3	6
b) Upper Alemannic.				
Der Gute Gerhard.....	218	6	1	3
Barlaam und Josaphat.....	304	4		1
Johannes Hadlaub.....	106	15	7	14
2. Prose.				
Ald. Predig. Wackernagel I-LII.....	91	4		4
Deut. Predig. d. 13 Jarhr. Gries.....	53	7		13

The tables for Alemannic show a very irregular use of *rehte* throughout the thirteenth century. Flore und Blanscheflur shows the highest percentage, next come the popular Steinbuch, and the two lyrical monuments. These latter, Reinmar von

¹ Compare in this regard English *right* and *downright*, the latter retaining to a greater extent its original force. *Downright nonsense*, *geradezu Unsinn*, but also *downright glad*, *downright sorry*.

Hagenau and Johannes Hadlaub, show the highest actual frequency, 5 and 7 per thousand lines respectively. There is a marked difference between the three works of Konrad von Würzburg, *Der Trojanische Krieg* showing 41 examples, or 12 per cent, *Keiser Otte* and *Alexius* a single instance each.

The number of words with which *rehte* is joined in Alemannic is very large. The following are the more frequent combinations: *rehte wol* 15, *schöne* 9, *suoze* 8, *minneclîch* 6, *wunneclîch* 6, *frô* 5, *guot* 5, *keiserlîch* 4, *vîn* 3, *wê* 3, *hôch* 3, *nâhen* 3, *ungerne* 3, *wert* 2, *bitterlîchen* 2, *dicke* 2, *leit* 2, *manec* 2, *swaere* 2, with about 60 other words a single instance each.

From this list it appears that whatever the process of development through which *rehte* has passed, the actual usage of the particle during this period has been influenced by the original color of the word as shown in the adverb of manner. In the majority of instances *rehte* is united with words expressing a good or desirable quality. Words of the opposite meaning are not lacking, though they are not so numerous.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

	Total.	<i>Rehte.</i>	Per.Ct.
1. Bavarian.			
a) Poetical Monuments.			
Parzival.....	293	9	3
Neidhart von Reuenthal.....	93	4	4
S. Franciskan Leben.....	109	4	4
Der Heilige Georg.....	86	2	2
Lohengrin.....	90	6	7
b) Prose.			
Berthold von Regensburg.....	366	2	..
2. Austrian.			
a) Poetical Monuments.			
Genesis.....	159	3	2
Die Bücher Mosis.....	177	1	
Kindheit Jesu.....	83	1	1
Nibelungen.....	1250	57	3
Biterolf und Dietleib.....	701	4	..
Wolfdietrich A.....	250	3	1
Kudrun.....	552	13	2
Walther.....	145	10	8
Karl der Grosse.....	344	7	2
Freidankes Bescheidenheit.....	94	1	1
Ulrich von Lichtenstein.....	339	21	5
Garel von dem blühenden Tal (?).....	338	9	3
Friedrich von Sonnenburg.....	26	2	8
b) Prose.			
Aldt. Predigten aus S. Paul.....	181	2	1

The frequency of *rehte* in Bavarian-Austrian monuments is also irregular. Here the lyrical works show the highest percentages: Walther and Fried. v. Sonn. show each 8 per cent, Ulrich v. Licht. 5, Neidhart 4. The epic monument showing the highest percentage is Lohengrin, which has many popular features of style. The Nibelungen come next with 5 per cent.

Rehte has been found in Bavarian-Austrian with about 170 different words. Of these the greater number express a good or desirable quality. The most frequent are: *rehte wol* 13, *minneclîch* 10, *hêrlîch* 7, *schône* 7, *guot* 6, *lieplîchen* 5, *manlîch* 5, *liep* 5, *vroelîche* 4, *vrô* 4, *süeze* 4, *reine* 3, *vriuntlîch* 2, *gemuote* 2, *wunneclîchen* 2.

Those of a more or less opposite meaning: *rehte leit* 9, *wê* 3, *grimmeclîchen* 3, *jaemerlîchen* 2, *swaere* 2, *vientlîchen* 2; further a single instance of each of the following: *boese*, *grimme*, *kumberlîchen*, *klagelîche*, *tobelîche*, *trûrec*, *ûbele*, *unsanfte*, *unfriuntlîchen*, *unvroelîchen*, *vreislîch*, *vientlîche*, *unreine*.

With words of an indifferent color: *rehte gar* 6, *kunt* 3, *kâme* 2, *nâhen* 2, *wâr* 2, *grôz* 2, etc.

SWABIAN.

	Total.	<i>Rehte.</i>	Per Ct.
Wernhers Maria.....	92	2	2
Heinrich von Rugge.....	25	3	12
Erec.....	373	4	1
Erstes Büchlein.....	59	1	2
Gregorius.....	150	3	2
Armer Heinrich.....	81	1	1
Iwein.....	249	5	2
Zweites Büchlein.....	15	1	7
Gottfried von Neifen.....	88	5	6
Ulrich von Winterstetten.....	138	9	6
Rosengarten.....	141	3	2

In Swabian *rehte* is more popular with writers of lyric than of epic poetry. Heinrich von Rugge shows the highest percentage, Hartmann's Zweites Büchlein, Gottfried von Neifen, and Ulrich von Winterstetten come next in order. Otherwise there seems to be nothing peculiar concerning the use of the word in this dialect. *Rehte minneclîchen* occurs 3 times, *rehte guot*, *rehte gûetlîchen*, *rehte wunneclîchen*, *rehte wol*, twice each.

MIDDLE WEST GERMAN.

	Total.	<i>Rehte.</i>	Per Ct.
a) Moselfrankish.			
Vorau Alexander.....	54	1	2
Orendel.....	202	13	6
Strassburg Alexander.....	268	4	2
Sanct Brandan.....	102	1	1
b) Rhinefrankish.			
Friedrich von Hausen.....	17	2	12
c) Hessian.			
Athis und Prophlias.....	36	1	3
Liet von Troye.....	119	2	2
Erlösung.....	124	5	4
Elisabeth.....	99	3	3

THURINGIAN.

Heinrich von Morungen.....	43	3	7
Heinrich und Kunigunde.....	288	2	1
Vater Unser.....	122	1	1
Der Sünden Widerstreit.....	188	13	7
Tristan.....	121	3	3

In WMG and Thuringian *rehte* is rare as a strengthening particle throughout the whole period. Only two monuments show more than 5 examples. Orendel offers 13. This monument is exceptional also in the use of *harte* and *gar*, as has been previously mentioned. Der Sünden Widerstreit, which is popular in tone, shows 13 examples, or 7 per cent. The lyrical monuments show the highest percentages: Friedrich von Hausen 12, Heinrich von Morungen 7.

Rehte wol is here the most frequent combination, occurring 8 times, *rehte gerne* is found 5 times, *rehte lieplichen* 4, *rehte schoene* 3.

EAST FRANKISH.

	Total.	<i>Rehte.</i>	Per Ct.
Himmelfahrt Mariae.....	34	1	3
Wigalois.....	377	8	2
Der Renner.....	137	3	2

SOUTH FRANKISH.

Moriz von Craon.. .. .	56	0	..
Reinmar von Zweter.....	130	5	4

The South and East Frankish monuments show also very few examples of *rehte*. The lyrics of Reinmar von Zweter show the highest percentage. With the exception of the latter monument the instances are less than one per thousand lines.

Rehte is thus seen to belong more particularly to Upper German, and to be most frequent in Alemannic and Bavarian-Austrian. There are no signs of its becoming entirely obsolete at any time, and it doubtless continued in use down to the present.

GENUOC.

Genuoc, OHG *ginuog*, Gothic *ganohs*, is connected with the Gothic preterit-present verb *ganaþ*, *it satisfies*. This word is used in MHG as a strengthener of adjectives and adverbs as well as verbs. No similar use of the word occurs in OHG or Gothic. What is perhaps the original meaning may be seen in Gothic *ganohs*, which signifies primarily *much*, then *sufficient*. Compare: *jah mid iddjedun inma siponjos is ganohai*, Luke 7-11, and many of his disciples went with him. And further, *Nauh ganoh skal qipan izwis*, John 16-12, I have much yet to say to you, *ganoh* here being a translation of the Greek *πολύ*.

Throughout the OHG period the two notions of *much* and *sufficient* are associated with the word, both as adjective and as adverb. Compare Merigarto 4, *Ûz der erda sprungan manigslahte prunnen, manig michil sê, in hêhe unt in ebene, uuazzer gnuogiu*, where *uuazzer gnuogiu* is to be rendered *much water*.

Otfrid uses the word *ginuag* in both senses: III, 25-38, *Fon thesses dages fristi sô was in thaz sîd festi in muate ginuagi, festi ginuagi* being rendered *sufficiently firm*. In the following, *ginuag* has the force of *richly, in full measure*: *Allez guat zi wâre sô flôz fon imo thâre allen liutin ioh ginuag*, III, 14-82.

This double meaning holds for the word during the MHG period. Compare: *Er hât wêne, und ich genuoc*, Parz. 7-6. As a modifier of a verb: *Ouch weiz ich's selbe genuoc*, Tristan 13963. It is hence very easy to join this adverb to an adjective or another adverb as a mere strengthening particle. It is not necessary to assume that the word was first used in this connection ironically, as the dictionary of Benecke-Müller-Zarnke states.¹

¹ See also Kip, p. 165.

The early history of the word is evidence to the contrary, as is also the fact, which will appear below, that *genuoc* is used much more frequently with words expressing a good or desirable quality than with those of opposite meaning. The earliest instances of this use of the word, *genuoc hère* Gen. 57-9, *genuoch redespæche* Gen. 130-2, *rethehaft genuoge* Rol. 1371, 8788, are with adjectives of such a nature. With these it is very unlikely that irony can be intended.

Genuoc as a strengthening particle is nearly always in postposition, and almost invariably in rime. Besides the examples mentioned above, the following have been noted where the particle stands before the word it modifies and outside of rime position. Wolfd. C. III, 45-4, *gnuoc lange*; Moriz von Craon 715, *genuoc rîche*; Gebet einer Frau, Diemer 381-19, *genuoch dikke*; Athis und Prophlias C*27 *so rîten sie gnuoc trîge*; Pred. aus S. Paul. 76-15, *di tîten sich úf und wurden gnuoch lebentîch*. Hartmann's Erec offers three instances out of eight, before the word modified:

von dem hâs gnuoc verre, 9870.

wan sî was genuoc fruo, 2442.

beidiu gnuoc kuntlich, 2340.

The first five thousand lines of Iwein offer five examples of *genuoc*, all of which are in postposition: 1789, 2033, 2711, 3462, 4868. Five instances are found in the remainder of the poem, and these all stand before the modified word:

er ist gnuoc tumpræze, 5242.

nû ist ez gnuoc billich, 5244.

daz lebn was gnuoc kumberlich, 5574.

begunden sî gâhen . . engegen im gnuoc verre, 6474.

ir herze ist ein gnuoc engez vaz, 7044.

Armer Heinrich shows: *nû ist genuoc unmûglich daz ir deheiniu . . lîde den tût*, 453; *nû vernam er daz sî waere genuoc unwandelbaere*, 1172. The Erstes Bûchlein has *gnuoc tîur* 390.

Genuoc rimes almost invariably with either *truoc* or *shuoc*. The two examples from the Rolandslied quoted above rime, or rather assonance, with *kuone*. Parzival 157-3, Guter Gerhard

5943, each rime with *kluoc*. Outside of rime but in postposition *genuoc* is found : Troj. Krieg 211, *wan mir ist sanfte genuoc dá mite* ; Ath. und Proph. E150, *al wër er sère genuoc virladin*.

The fact that this particle appears so rarely outside of rime position, and that the rime words in this ending are so few, suggests that it is preserved in the epic merely for the sake of rime. *Truoc* and *sluoc* form an important part of the word stock of epic poetry, and but for such a word as *genuoc*, which as a strengthening particle may be tacked on almost anywhere in a sentence, the monotony of constantly riming the two words together would be great. Hartmann's freer use of the word may indicate that it was current to a greater degree in Swabia than elsewhere.

Associated in meaning, as it is, with the idea of sufficiency, we should expect *genuoc* to be united preferably with words expressing a good or desirable quality. The lists which follow will show that such is the case. Of this nature are *bescheidenlich*, *billlich*, *biderbe*, *edel*, *gerne*, *guot*, *hère*, *hèrlích*, *holt*, *kostlich*, *küene*, *mitte*, *liep*, *riche*, *sanfte*, *schöne*, *sælec*, *snel*, *süberliche*, *unschuldec*, *unwandelbaere*, *friuntlich*, *vró*, *vroelích*, *vrum*, *vlizec*, *wise*, *wislích*, *wol*.

It is found also with words of the opposite meaning : *grimme*, *grimmeç*, *griuwelích*, *heinlich*, *leit*, *nót*, *swaere*, *trárec*, *übele*, *unsælec*, *vient*.

Aside from these, *genuoc* seems capable of modifying any class of adjectives or abverbs whatever, and to have no other special color.

The following lists show the occurrences of this particle which have been noted.

ALEMANNIC.

	Total.	<i>Genuoc</i> .	Per Cent.
a) Lower Alemannic.			
Flore und Blanschefur.....	82	3	4
Die Gute Frau.....	86	2	2
Der Trojanische Krieg.....	351	6	2
Keiser Otte.....	22	2	9
b) Upper Alemannic.			
Der Gute Gerhard.....	218	4	2

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

	Total.	<i>Genuoc.</i>	Per Cent.
1. Bavarian.			
a) Poetical monuments.			
Parzival.....	293	14	3
S. Franciskan Leben.....	109	2	2
Lohengrin.....	90	3	3
b) Prose.			
Berthold von Regensburg.....	366	0	
2. Austrian.			
a) Poetical monuments.			
Genesis.....	159	2	1
Kindheit Jesu.....	83	8	10
Nibelungen.....	1250	44	3
Biterolf und Dietleib.....	701	12	2
Wolfdietrich A.....	250	2	1
Ortnit and Wolf. C.....	46	1	...
Kudrun.....	552	17	3
Karl der Grosse.....	344	4	1
Freidanks Bescheidenheit.....	94	1	1
Diu Krone.....	395	2	
Garel von dem blühenden Tal.....	338	10	3
b) Prose			
Aldt. Predig. aus S. Paul.....	181	2	1

SWABIAN.

Erec.....	373	8	2
Erstes Büchlein.....	59	1	2
Gregorius.....	150	2	1
Armer Heinrich.....	81	2	2
Iwein.....	249	10	4
Der Marner.....	54	1	2

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

Rolandslied.....	400	2	...
Sanct Brandan.....	102	4	4
Athis und Prophlias.....	36	3	9
Elisabeth.....	99	1	1

THURINGIAN.

Heinrich und Kunigunde.....	288	5	2
Vater Unser.....	122	1	1
Tristan.....	121	4	3

SOUTH AND EAST FRANKISH.

	Total.	<i>Genuoc.</i>	Per Cent.
Wigalois.....	377	4	1
Moriz von Craon.....	56	2	4

The above lists indicate that *genuoc* as a strengthening particle is more particularly Upper German usage. The Bavarian-Austrian monuments show the greatest frequency. The highest percentage is found in the *Kindheit Jesu*, 10 per cent, *Kudrun* and *Parzival* show each 4, the *Nibelungen* and *Garel* 3, *Biterolf* and *Dietleib* 2. The other monuments show an inconsiderable number, one per cent or less.

The absence of *genuoc* in lyrical works is noteworthy. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the rime words for *genuoc*, *truoc* and *sluoc*, are either not a part of the word stock of lyrical poetry, or, as in the case perhaps of the latter, found only rarely. No doubt also *genuoc* was felt to be obsolescent as a strengthening particle, and such words, unless they happen to be a part of the traditional lyrical diction, are not apt to find a place in lyric poetry.

In the case of some of the examples quoted, particularly from the latter part of the thirteenth century, there may be doubt as to whether they are really intended as strengthening particles. Those from the *Predigten aus S. Paul* seem to indicate that the word was current in this portion of the field (Carinthia) at that late date. Even here, though, they may be merely remnants such as might be preserved in religious diction long after they had become obsolete elsewhere. *Berthold von Regensburg* shows no examples, nor have any been found in the sermon literature elsewhere.

The examples from the Alemannic monuments are rare. None are to be found in *Tristan*, and they are only scattering elsewhere. None are found in the works from the end of the century. Instances of *genuoc* with a word expressing an undesirable or evil quality are relatively few in Alemannic, or only 2 out of 18. This is in contrast to Austrian usage, particularly in the popular epic, where this particle with such words as *grimme*, *leit*, *trürec*, *zornec*, etc., is comparatively frequent.

In Swabian the examples of *genuoc* are all from the works of Hartmann with the exception of *wislîch genuoc*, Der Marner 15-16. This is the only example of *genuoc* with lyrical writers that has been noted. Iwein shows the highest percentage, though the word is actually nearly as frequent in Erec.

In South and East Frankish, only Wigalois and Moriz von Craon show examples of *genuoc*. In these it is found only with *guot*, *riche*, and *sûberliche*.

In Middle German the instances of *genuoc* are also few and scattering. None deserve special mention except perhaps those in Heinrich von Freiberg's *Tristan*, which are remarkable for their late date (1303-1320).¹ They occur here however in rime, which may account for their presence.

SERE.

Sère, OHG *sêro*, an adverbial form of the adjective *sêr*, is frequent during this period as a modifier of verbs. As such it meant originally, *sorely*, *with distress*. It was then generalized as a strengthener of a verbal idea and could be applied to any kind of a verb. As applied to adjectives and adverbs, and weakened to an indefinite strengthening particle, it is found in certain parts of the MHG field.

Before *sère* appears as a general strengthener of adjectives and adverbs, it is found with certain participles which have a meaning similar to that of the particle. *Sère wunt* is perhaps the most common of these; *sère erschraht* occurs in Kudrun 59-1, *sêr gesêret*, Diu Krone 6344. It is found then with adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning: *sère leit*, St. Fr. Leben 1950, Krone 16623; *sère ande*, Krone 4393; *sère kranc*, Krone 6698; *vil sère siech*, Rein. v. Zweter 140-1; *sère nôt*, Hein. u. Kunig.

¹Heinrich von Freiberg, although he endeavors to continue in the same spirit as the original *Tristan* and makes frequent use of epithets and phrases from Gottfried's version, shows no signs of influence from this source in the matter of strengthening particles. Gottfried's strengtheners are, in the order of their frequency: *vil*, *harte*, *wol*, *rehte*, *sère*; Heinrich's, *gar*, *vil*, *harte*, *genuoc*, *rehte*.

99; *sêre gehaz*, Garel 2648; *sêre lasterbaere*, Garel 976. In these examples, instances of the association of related ideas are offered, and *sêre* retains something of its original meaning. Its use however extends to other connections, where all trace of its original meaning seems to have disappeared. In Alemannic monuments the following have been noted:¹ *sêre ande*, Trist. 13543; *erbârmeclîch*, 1764; *fröudehaft*, Trist. 586, Troj. Krieg 6906; *fröudebaere*, Alex. 938; *frô*, Trist. 11385; *grôz*, Fl. u. Bl. 4342; *quot*, Trist. 172, Fl. u. Bl. 3765; *irresam*, Trist. 11830; *kriechaft*, Troj. Kr. 1562; *leit*, Trist. 6820, Troj. Kr. 7083; *missevar*, Trist. 12750; *nâhen*, Rein. v. Hag. 160–28, Trist. 7251; *rîch* 2747, 4583; *starke*, 5877; *scharph*, 9027; *trâric*, 2601; *schadehaft*, 6990; *unfrô*, 2337, 2552, 11531; *vür*, 6295; *wê*, 12257, 12752; *willec*, 5062.

This use of *sêre* is confined almost entirely to Lower Alemannic, and appears here only in the first half of the thirteenth century. Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* furnishes the greater part of the examples, 23 out of a total of 31.

In the other dialects the examples of *sêre* are scattered and are found chiefly with *wunt*, and adjectives and adverbs of a kindred meaning, as noted above. Aside from these the following may be cited: *Diu Krone*, *sêre lanc*, 8709; *Sünden Widerstreit*, *harte sêre unfrô*, 1683; *sêre unrehte*, 1826; *sêre vaste*,

¹ These examples from Alemannic writers, and the fact that this particle seems to disappear from the literary language during the thirteenth century, are interesting in view of the statement of Paul in his dictionary, that *sehr* is unknown to the popular speech in Upper German (dem Schwäb-Bair. fremd, dafür *arg*, *recht*, *fast*, *gar*. Kluge.).

This use of *sêre* is not noted in the MHG dictionaries. Benecke-Müller-Zarncke quotes *sêre wunt*, but states that "bei den attributiven Adjectiven findet sich *sêre* nicht." *Tristan* 583, 2552, 11531, 5877, are examples of *sêre* with attributive adjectives.

Bechstein makes no note of this use of the word in the vocabulary of his edition of the *Tristan*, and only a passing reference to it in a note to line 9027, the sixteenth time the word occurs: "die wâren *gesliffen sêre scharph unde wâhs*; *gesliffen* ist aufzufassen als adjectivisches Participium, nicht als reines Particip., das folgende *scharph* ist Adj. nicht Adv. zu *slîfen* und *sêre* ist Adv. zu *scharph*, nicht zu *gesliffen*."

Bechstein apparently takes *sêre* in this connection here as a matter of course.

1828 ; *sêre wunt*, 2444 ; Heinrichs Buch,¹ *gar sêre bitter*, 1166 ; *sêre snel*, 1466 ; *sêre wol*, 1514, 2188 ; *sêre freudenrîche*, 2380 ; Br. David, *gar sêre mûelîch*, p. 12.

STARKE.

Starke as a strengthening particle is to be compared with *harte*, Modern German *mâchtig*, English *mighty*. Like *harte*, it was probably first applied to adjectives and adverbs expressing quantity, distance, etc., and illustrates the tendency to associate the idea of strength with that of size. Besides adjectives and adverbs of quantity, it is united preferably with those which express an unpleasant or undesirable quality, although it is found not infrequently with those of opposite meaning.

Under the first category, may be noted : *starke grôz*, Nib. 2039-1 ; *starke breit und grôz*, Krone 1227 ; *starke lanc*, Krone 3114, *starke tief*, 3315.

Under the second : *starke leit*, Nib. 641-3, Iwein 3007, 3240, Krone 838, 9209 ; *starke bleich*, Krone 9920 ; *s. trûebe*, Nib. 843-4 ; *s. unvrô*, Iw. 1432 ; *s. vîent*, Nib. 1865-1 ; *s. wunt*, Iw. 5463, 5564 ; *s. wilde*, Krone 5522 ; *s. wê*, Nib. 1013-2, 1026-4, Zw. Büchl. 149.

Under the third : *starke frô*, Wern. Maria 205-32 ; *s. holt* Greg. 1652 ; *s. wol*, Krone 2841, 2906, 6259, 5154, 5656 ; *s. lîhte*, Krone 5948. Further examples are : *starke ungelîch*, Krone 981 ; *s. unmaere*, 3170 ; *s. ger*, 5623 ; *s. gezan*, Iw. 455.

It may be seen from the above lists that the use of *starke* as a strengthening particle is essentially Austrian, and that it is very limited. The examples are all from the early part of the thirteenth century. As to Hartmann's use of this particle,² mention has already been made under the discussion of *harte*.

¹ This monument shows a most varied and curious assortment of strengthening particles. The older ones are intermingled with those more modern in such a way as to suggest great contamination. For this reason the examples here found have not been included in the previous lists. They include : *vil* 36 times, *wol* 34, *harte* 22, *gar* 15, *sêre* 5, *vaste* 3, *rehte* 2, *billîch* 2, *michel* 1, *al* 1, *sunder* 1.

² This does not seem to be a mere question of editing. Henrici notes no variant readings for Iwein.

AL.

Throughout this period, *al* is generally used in its literal sense, and means *altogether, ganz und gar*. Occasionally it is found weakened in force to an indefinite strengthening particle. As such it is to be compared with *gar, rehte, vaste*, which originally indicated a state of completeness of the quality expressed by the word modified. Only occasionally is *al* found with adjectives or adverbs denoting any other than an absolute quality. Such combinations as *al begarwe, al besunder, al eine, al geltche, al gemeine, al zesamene, al ze mál*, etc., are the most frequent. That such were not generally understood as examples of indefinite strengthening particles is shown by the manuscript and text confusion as to *al*. Frequently it is inflected, *alle*, and made to agree with the subject of the proposition, as, *sie gingen alle gemeine*.

When this particle occurs with words not necessarily denoting an absolute quality, it is difficult to determine whether the writer means it as an indefinite strengthener, or intends that it should be taken in its literal sense. It depends then largely upon the individual peculiarity of the author, and whether he is given to harmless exaggeration in this way. The instances where this particle is plainly to be taken as an indefinite strengthener are rare. They are to be found in the Austrian popular epic and in *Parzival*. The latter monument offers the greatest number of genuine examples. Compare *al balde*, 127-18, 633-23; *al blöz*, 560-14; *al bláwecltche*, 633-28; *al breit*, 739-13; *al ehte*, 233-26; *al kurz*, 227-10; *al niuwe*, 396-24, 435-17, 530-14; *al sanfte*, 581-2; *al sár*, 514-19; *al stare*, 522-15; *al stille*, 358-21, 386-28; *al trátrec*, 822-11, 133-4; *al vaste*, 324-1, 368-1, 410-20, 553-30; *al vró*, 209-25, 286-16, 540-16; *al wár*, 210-18, 276-2; *al wís*, 301-8, 457-12.

MICHEL.

Aside from its more frequent use with comparatives, *micel* is found during this period in a few instances as a general strengthening particle. In original meaning *micel* is similar to *gróze* and *vil*, and like the latter, it is a comparatively colorless adverb. It is doubtless largely owing to this fact that it never came into more general use. Having nothing in the way of special significance to recommend it as an effective strengthener, and the field being already largely occupied by *vil*, there was no general demand for such a particle. In the transitional, or pre-classical MHG period, scattered instances of this particle are found, as well as in the monuments of the early part of the thirteenth century.¹ The following have been noted for the period under consideration :

Kudrun, *micel hōch unt starc* 65-2, *micel reht* 984-1 ; Sanct Brandan, *micel nōt*, 263 ; *micel grōz*, 1480 ; *vil micel grōz*, 1558 ; Heinrichs Buch, *micel grōz*, 2248 ; König Rother, *micel leith*, 3429, 2467 ; Wolfdiet. D, *micel swaere*, VI, 68-4 ; Altd. Predigt. Wack. *micel reht*, 27-4, 27-63.

GRIMME.

Two Austrian monuments show examples of *grimme* as a general strengthening particle, the Nibelungen, and Diu Krone of Heinrich von Türilin. In the former are found *grimme kēne*, 872-3 II, 2038-4 ; *grimme leit*, 50-3 II, 192-1, 620-2 II, 641-3 II, 1274-1, 1458-3, 1718-3 II, 1933-2, 2066-3 I, 2098-3 ; *grimme starc*, 185-4 I, 872-3 I ; *grimme vīent*, 1865-1.

Diu Krone, *grimme armstarc*, 1292.

¹ Compare the citations by Kip, p. 178, also the following : *micel vreissam*, Judith MSD 3-2 ; *vī micel lāt*, Lob Salomon, MSD xxxv, 3-4 ; *mihhūl gotlich*, Freis. Ansl. des Paternosters, MSD LV, 2 ; *mihhūl sēre*, Seq. de S. Maria, MSD xli, 28 ; *micel reht*, Geb. einer Fr. Diem. 376-11.

Kip's statement that *micel* during this period is found only with *reht* is therefore incorrect.

STRENGTHENING PARTICLES WITH COMPARATIVES.

With comparatives the list of strengthening adverbs is not so large as with the positive degree. *Vil, michel*, and *verre*, are the most frequent, instances of *gar, genuoc, witen, maneges*, are rare, and no others have been noted. The reason for this lies in the nature of the comparison. What is emphasized in a strengthened comparative is the degree or extent of difference of the quality under consideration, in the things compared, and there is less room for pleasing epithets or striking figures. What is sought for is a word which will express the degree of difference, and to this purpose the adverbs of quantity or extent are best suited. As thus used these adverbs are felt in their literal sense, as adverbs expressing quantity, rather than as general strengthening particles. *Vil baz, michel baz*, mean *better by much*, *verre baz*, or *witen baz*, *better by far*.

VIL.

The most frequent strengthener of comparatives during this period is *vil*, which undoubtedly continued in use down to modern times. Examples of this particle are so numerous in the literature of the period that none need here be cited.

MICHEL.

Next to *vil, michel* is the most frequent strengthener of comparatives. This particle appears both as an accusative, and as a genitive of measure. The two forms are about equally frequent, and there seems to be no rule as to which is preferable in any given connection. Both often appear in the same text. Sometimes this is merely a matter of editing, though manuscript confusion is also present.

Examples of *michel* with the following comparatives have been noticed: *mêr* 8 times, *baz* 3, *bezzere* 2, *harter*, Iwein, 2906; *lieber*, Pred. aus S. Paul 134-12; *grözzer*, Liet v. Troye 3711; *gerner*,

Nib. 2112-2; *heiliger*, Pred. aus St. Paul 132-26; *sanfter*, Nib. 1429-2 II; *vaster*, Str. Alex. 4553; *wunderlicher*, Pred. aus S. Paul 25-9.

Michels occurs with: *mêr*, 11 times, *baz* 3, *wirs*, Bert. v. Reg. I 117-35; Liet v. Troye 3529; *gerner*, Bar. u. Jos. 136-26; Freid. Bescheid. 59-11; *bezogzer*, Berth. v. Reg. I 152-23; *harter*, Iwein 4391; *elter*, Freid. Bescheid. 79-5; *lieber*, Freid. Bescheid. 56-2.

VERRE.

Verre with comparatives is nearly as frequent as *Michel*. The following examples have been noted: *verre baz*, 21 times, *bezogzer* 4, *lieber* 4, *höher* 2, *schoener* 2, *gerner*, Heil. Geo. 5353; *klarere*, Erlös. 1258; *linder*, Heil. Geo. 3068; *mêr*, Berth. v. Reg. 62-34; *nêher*, Renner 1761; *reicher*, Heil. Geo. 5320; *sanfter*, Garel 2476; *swarzir*, Ath. u. Pro. B85; *ungelticher*, Berth. v. Reg. I 103-37; *unschedelicher*, Berth. v. Reg. I 21-6.

MANEGES.

Maneges is found with comparatives in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, as follows: *maneges bezzer*, 1004; *maneges enger*, 1474; *maneges wirs*, 17844.

GAR.

Gar with comparatives occurs: *gar bezzer*, Parz. 19119; *gar schierer*, Rosengarten, 266-4.

GENUOC.

Genuoc baz occurs in *Parzival*, 486-16.

WITEN.

Witen mêre is found in *Jüngere Judith*, 156-27.

SUMMARY BY DIALECTS.

A brief review of the previous material, giving the conditions during this period by dialects, will now be in place.

ALEMANNIC.

Throughout the whole period, *vil* is the predominant strengthening particle. Signs of its decline are evident however toward the close of the thirteenth century, and these are more marked in Upper than in Lower Alemannic. *Harte* is frequent in Lower Alemannic monuments at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually goes out of use during the remainder of the period, first in prose and lyric poetry, then in the epic. In Upper Alemannic it disappears earlier than elsewhere. *Gar* is known by the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually increases in frequency throughout the period, becoming more popular in Upper than in Lower Alemannic. *Sere* is found in Gottfried's *Tristan* and other Lower Alemannic epics of the early thirteenth century, but disappears from the literature shortly after. *Genuoc* and *wol* are used infrequently during the first half of the century, and are practically unknown during the latter half. *Rehte* is rare throughout the whole period.

BAVARIAN-AUSTRIAN.

In the Bavarian-Austrian poetical monuments *vil* likewise remains the predominant strengthening particle throughout the period. In the spoken dialect of Bavaria, as indicated by the sermons of Berthold von Regensburg, it gives way to *gar* during the latter half of the thirteenth century. In Austria it doubtless maintained its supremacy even in the popular dialect until the end of the period. *Gar* is found very early in Bavarian, where it rapidly comes into prominence. It becomes also very popular in the Tyrol during the last quarter of the century. In Austria it is scarcely known to the popular dialect until the end of the period. *Harte* is popular in Austria at the beginning of

the thirteenth century and continues until late. It is less popular in Bavaria, except possibly in the north, and disappears from the prose literature very early. *Wol* and *rehte* are infrequently found, the former during the early part, the latter throughout the whole period. *Grimme* and *starke* are known to the popular literature of Austria at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but soon disappear. *Genuoc* is rare throughout the whole period, in prose as well as poetical monuments.

SWABIAN.

In the poetical monuments of Swabia, *vil* is the most common of all the particles, and shows no general decline before the end of the thirteenth century. In the spoken dialect, particularly of the southern part, as indicated by the works of David von Augsburg, it gives way to *gar* during the latter part of the century. *Harte* is common in the later works of Hartmann von Aue, occurring infrequently elsewhere. It was probably never popular in the spoken language and disappeared early. *Gar* is found in the works of Hartmann and increases in popularity throughout the period. *Rehte* and *wol* are infrequently found throughout the whole period. *Genuoc* is known to the literary language at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is more freely used by Hartmann, i. e., outside of rime position, than by any other Middle High German author.

SOUTH AND EAST FRANKISH.

In South and East Frankish the conditions are apparently not different from those of the neighboring dialects. The evidence all points to the late continuance of *vil* and *harte*, the former being predominant until the end of the period, and the late appearance of *gar*. *Rehte*, *wol*, and *genuoc* take an unimportant part, appearing in the poetical monuments only rarely.

WEST MIDDLE GERMAN.

In West Middle German *vil* is the predominant strengthening particle in the literature of the twelfth century but gives way,

at least in Hessian, to *harte* at the beginning of the thirteenth. *Harte* is quite freely used in the twelfth century, and becomes the predominant particle in one monument (Liet von Troye) early in the thirteenth. It then declines rapidly in the epic monuments and *gar* takes its place. No reliable traces of *gar* are found until the end of the twelfth century, from which time it gradually increases in frequency until it outnumbers all other particles at the end of the century. *Wol* here is rare until the latter part of the period, occurring most frequently in Elisabeth. *Rehte* and *genuoc* are rare throughout the whole period.

THURINGIAN.

In Thuringian the decline of *vil* is not so early as in Hessian. Before the end of the thirteenth century, however, it gives way to *gar*. *Harte* is here also quite freely used at the beginning of the thirteenth century, though in none of the monuments examined is it more frequent than *vil*. It declines rapidly throughout the latter half of the century, disappearing first in lyrical poetry (Heinrich von Morungen, Heinrich von Meissen). *Gar* is found in lyric poetry at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gradually increases in frequency until the end, when it appears as the predominant particle.

STRENGTHENING PARTICLES IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF LITERATURE.

In the foregoing discussions several things have been assumed concerning the different classes of literature, and their relation to each other in the matter of diction. This was for the purpose of locating, if possible, the different usages as to strengthening particles on the MHG field. It will here be in order to state in a more connected way, what has already been either directly referred to or taken for granted, and show what bearing the study of these particles may have on the subject.

An important question, when a given expression is found in any monument, and especially in the case of a word used as a general strengthening particle, is, where did it come from, or

where is it at home? The difficulties in the way of answering such a question are in many instances formidable. The greater part of the literature of this period is poetical, and shows a style and diction more or less removed from that of the spoken dialect. When a certain expression, therefore, is found in a monument of this kind, the first thing to be determined is whether it is there because it is current in the spoken language of that part of the country in which the monument originated, or whether it is merely a part of conventional literary usage, handed down it may be by general literary tradition. What in one monument may be a mark of local dialectical coloring, may be the direct opposite in another, and indicate a tendency on the part of the author to sacrifice local usage and conform to a supposed classical standard.

Of the different forms of literature of this period the religious prose may be considered the nearest, in the matter of diction, to the popular dialect. Its purpose is to appeal to the people, and in it, if anywhere, words and expressions which are actually current may be expected to appear. Even here however phrases and formulas would often find lodgement and remain long after they had disappeared elsewhere, and this might apply to a class of expressions as unconscious in their use as strengthening particles.

Next to the prose monuments, the best place to look for hints as to local usage would be lyrical poetry, or the early popular epic. Lyrical diction, though marked during this period by a certain conventionality, is in general much nearer the current spoken dialect than the diction of epic poetry. This class of literature responds more readily to popular taste and fashion. Expressions are introduced more easily from the popular speech, and forms which have gone out of general use are not retained so long as in the epic.

The popular epic, especially in its earlier stages of development, that is, before it was overshadowed by the foreign or court epic, would also reflect with considerable accuracy the word usage of the current spoken dialect. The element of local color is here strong, and although this class of literature is largely conservative, and develops a standard and tradition of its own,

this tradition is based in the first place no doubt upon current local usage.

The farthest removed, in the matter of diction, from the current popular speech, is the court epic. This comes in part from an effort to write in a language free from dialectical peculiarities and suited to the cultured classes of all parts of the country, partly from the direct influence of one literary work upon another. The court epic, after having once set up a standard of word usage, is the most conservative of all forms of literature. Expressions and formulas once in fashion, continue here long after they have become obsolete in the spoken language, or even if they have never been actually current there at all. The results of direct imitation of the older and more famous works are plainest in the monuments of the middle and latter part of the thirteenth century, where expressions and formulas from the writers which by this time have become classical, are carried along in the epic diction and curiously intermingled with similar phrases fresh from the current language of the people. This is equally true of the later popular epic. By this time the foreign epics had become well known and very popular, and the chances for the success of a native German legend were all the greater if it contained frequent allusions to the works of such famous writers as Hartmann or Wolfram.

This relation between the various forms of literature of this period is shown very clearly in the use of the different strengthening particles. During the period under consideration, *vil* and *harte* are both in process of becoming obsolete. The former, as has already been shown, shows the first signs of decline in the prose monuments and lyric poetry, and remains longest of all in the epic. *Harte* is found very rarely in prose and in the lyrics during the period, but remains in the epic until the fourteenth century. In the early Austrian popular epic it is there as a part of general popular diction, in the later epic it remains as a part of traditional usage for this class of literature. *Gar*, on the other hand, which at this time is just coming into prominence, appears first and strongest in the prose monuments and in lyric poetry, but makes its way into epic poetry but slowly. Not being current in certain parts of the Austrian field during

the first half of the thirteenth century, it did not enter into the early popular epic of this dialect, and its presence in the later popular literature is due to outside literary influence. When this particle is found in any of the early monuments from the other parts of the MHG field, however, there can be no question as to where it comes from. Unlike *harte* and *vil*, *gar* is not yet a part of the traditional literary language, and if used at all, it must be as a part of the poet's own dialect. *Rehte*, during this period, as likewise for Modern German, although a polite expression, has a decidedly popular color. With few exceptions, the monuments showing the highest percentage for this particle are lyrical, next in order comes the popular epic, while the formal court epic shows the lowest of all.

The history of the different strengthening particles, as traced in the foregoing pages, shows that they originate in the popular dialect, and are taken up into the different classes of literature with varying degrees of readiness. After the prose literature, they appear first and strongest in lyric poetry, and, for the early period, the popular epic, the fully developed court epic being the least ready of all to take up a new expression of this kind. Before any recognized standard of form or diction had been developed, the foreign or court epic, as well as the early popular literature, would show to a certain extent current local usage as to these particles. Even here however the feeling that the work was written for a wide circle of hearers, and for the higher classes of society, would prevent the use of any expression of this kind that was distinctly provincial, or that was not well known over the country.

When such expressions become obsolete, they disappear first in the prose literature and lyric poetry, and remain longest of all in the epic. They constitute there a part of what is distinctly poetic diction, dignified because it is old and quaint, and pleasing because it furnishes a bond of connection with the literature of the past.

FRED COLE HICKS.

NOTES ON RICHARD EDWARDS.

I. WHEN AND WHERE *DAMON AND PYTHIAS* WAS ACTED.

D*AMON AND PYTHIAS*, the only known play of Richard Edwards now extant, is usually assigned to Christmas, 1564, as the probable date of its acting; but there is no agreement among writers on the early English drama as to the place where the play was performed,—Windsor,¹ Richmond,² and Whitehall³ being mentioned by different authors. I wish to cite certain facts which strengthen greatly the probability that *Damon and Pythias* was acted at Christmas, 1564; and to show that the place of its performance at that time was Whitehall, the Queen's home palace at Westminster.

The title page of the quartos of *Damon and Pythias* states that the play was acted before the Queen by the Children of the Chapel. It is known from an entry in a certain document among the state papers⁴ that a play by the Chapel boys was acted before the Queen on Christmas, 1564. This document was first printed by Chalmers,⁵ who observed that the brief marginal notes of the paper were in the handwriting of Cecil, Lord Burleigh. Collier⁶ later criticised Chalmers for having made various mistakes in transcribing the document, and by a

¹ Fleay. *History of the Stage*. Vol. I, p. 15.

² Collier. *History of English Dramatic Poetry*. London, 1831, Vol. III, p. 2.

³ *Cassell's Library of English Literature, English Plays*. Edited by Henry Morley, 1880, p. 74. Also Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. VIII, p. 378.

For the history of Whitehall Palace, see *London, Past and Present*, by Wheatley and Cunningham, 1891, Vol. III, p. 505, and Stow's *Survey of London*, Morley, 1890, p. 406. Consult also a valuable note in Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, 1823, Vol. I, p. 83.

⁴ It is preserved in the State Paper Department of the Public Record Office. Vol. XXXVI, No. 22. Listed in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580*. London, 1856, p. 250.

⁵ George Chalmers. *Apology*. London, 1797, p. 354.

⁶ *Annals of The Stage*. London, 1879, p. 183.

recension of one of the marginal notes showed that the play in question was one by Edwards, though he did not feel sure that it was the *Damon and Pythias*.

To make this point plain, I shall quote exactly from Chalmers the heading of this document and the particular entry which is concerned with the play by the Children of the Chapel. The heading is as follows :

"A Brief Estimatiō off all the carġes against Cristmas and Candellmas ffor iij Plays at Wyndsor wth. thare necessaries and provicions ffor the Carages and Recarages of the same stuff and all ordinarie charges and allsoo for the conveyinge of the stuff in to the cleane ayre and save kepinge of the same in Anno Sexto Elizabeth. And allsoo in the same yeare the ixth. of June Repayringe and new makinge of thre Maskes with thare hole furniture and Div^s devisses and a Castle ffor ladies and a harboure ffor Lords and thre Harrollds and iij Trompetours too bringe in the Devise with Men of Armes and shoven at the Courtte of Richmond before the Quēns Ma^{tie}. and the French Embassitours &c. And div^s [divers] Eyrrings Repayringe and Translatinge of sunderie garments ffor playes att Cristmas and Shroftid⁷ in Anno Septimo Elizabeth and many thinges mīōnd [commissioned] and furneshed wth. ware nott sene and much stuff bought &c."

The seventh entry under this heading stands as follows :

"1564 . . . Cristmas Anno Septimo Elizabeth wages or dieats of the
Officers and Tayllo^{rs}. payntars workinge
div^s [divers] Cities and Towns Carvers
Edwd Hayedy Silkwemen for frenge & tassells mōers
[merciers] ffor Sarsnett and other Stuff and
Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov^r [cover]
div^s [divers] townes and howsses and other Devisses and Clowds for a
Maske and a Showe and a playe by the Childerne of the Chaple
ffor Rugge bumbayst an cottone ffor hosse and other p^vicions and
necessaries £87 7 8."

⁷One of these plays at "Shroftid," as shown by the last entry of the document, was by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn. From the letter of Guzman De Silva, Spanish envoy at the English Court, to his King under the date of March 12, 1565, it appears that this play was an English comedy on the question of marriage, in which the goddesses, particularly Juno and Diana, argued the matter, the verdict being given in favor of marriage by Jupiter. I believe that this account of the play has not been noted by Mr. Fleay or other writers on this period of the drama, though Mr. Froude in his *History of England* has cited it. See *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish Department, 1558-1567*. London, 1892, p. 404.

Concerning this marginal memorandum, "Edwd. Hayedy," Collier⁸ says that Chalmers "made such sad work in deciphering the handwriting of Cecil, that he did not find out that the play by the Children of the Chapel at Christmas, 1564-5, was a tragedy by Edwards: what Cecil writes *Edwd's tragedy*, Chalmers printed merely as the name of an individual *Edwd. Hayedy!*" Since I had no opportunity of seeing the document to determine whether or not Collier had rightly read the marginal note, I requested Mr. Hubert Hall, one of the officials of the Record Office, to examine the words in question. This he kindly did. He has assured me that the reading of the marginal note is unquestionably "Edward[es] tragedy." It is easy to see how Chalmers, blindly reading the words without thought of Richard Edwards, might have mistaken the letters. Besides (though further argument is scarcely necessary), the revised reading seems more probable because of the character of the other marginal notes in the same paper. Opposite the item of "Translattinge new makinge of thre maskes and other Devisses," etc., (an item corresponding to the "ixth. of June" masks at Richmond in the heading quoted above), stands the marginal note "At Richmo^d Mons Gonvi;" opposite the item for the play "maid by Sir Percival Hartts Sones" is the note "Sir Percivall Hart's Sons;" and opposite the last item for "showes made by the Gentillmen of Greys Iine" and for "payntars workinge uppon the Townes and Charretts for the Goodesses," etc., stand the notes "Gentillmen of the Innes of Court" and "Diana Pallas."⁹ In each of these instances the marginal note forms a suitable heading for the item, or is a memorandum of something important connected with the subject of the item. It is more natural, then, to suppose that Lord Burleigh wrote opposite this item of the play by the Children of the Chapel the words "Edwd's tragedy" than the mere name "Edwd. Hayedy;" especially since Richard Edwards was certainly at that time Master of the Children.

⁸ *Annals of The Stage*. London, 1879, p. 183.

⁹ We know from the letter of Guzman De Silva, mentioned in a previous note, that Diana was one of the goddesses represented in this "show." See *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish Department, 1558-1567. London, 1892, p. 404.

Collier¹⁰ conjectured that this Edwards's tragedy mentioned in the document might possibly be his *Damon and Pythias*, "termed by Lord Burleigh, in the uncertain phraseology of that time, 'a tragedy,' or it might be one of the other dramatic performances of which, according to Twine, Edwards was the author." I wish, however, to add further evidence which appears to establish the opinion that *Damon and Pythias* was the "tragedy" in question.

It will be noticed that for the play in question the words of the estimate quoted above are as follows: "and a playe by the Childerne of the Chaple ffor Ruggge bumbayst an cottone ffor hosse and other pvicions and necessaries." With this special estimate for "Ruggge bumbayst and cottone ffor hosse" should be compared the following passage from the Grim comedy part in *Damon and Pythias*:¹¹

"Grim. Are ye servants then?

Will. Yea, sir: are we not pretty men?

Grim. Pretty men, quoth you? nay, you are strong men, else you could not bear these breeches.

Will. Are these such great hose? in faith, goodman collier, you see with your nose: By mine honesty, I have but one lining in one hose, but seven ells of rug.

Grim. This is but a little, yet it makes thee seem a great bug.

Jack. How say you, goodman collier, can you find any fault here?

Grim. Nay, you should not find fau't, marry, here's trim gear!
Alas, little knave, dost not sweat? thou goest with great pain;
These are no hose, but water-bougets, I tell thee plain;
Good for none but such as have no buttocks.
Did you ever see two such little Robin ruddocks
So laden with breeches? chill say no more, lest I offend.
Who invented these monsters first, did it to a ghostly end,
To have a mail ready to put in other folks stuff,
We see this evident by daily proof."

Of course, this passage gets all its point from the exaggerated breeches of the lackeys. It was worked in for some deliberate purpose, alluding perhaps to a fashionable folly of the day. This bit of costuming was so unusual and distinctive apparently that it was specially mentioned in the "estimat;" just as in the

¹⁰ *English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*. London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 390.

¹¹ Hazlitt's *Dodsley's Old Plays*, 1874, Vol. IV, p. 71.

case of the other plays and masques of the document *special* properties were named,—for instance, the “Rocke or hill ffor the 9 Musses to singe uppon wth. a vayne of Sarsnett drawn upp and downe before them” in the play of Sir Percival Hart’s sons. The breeches of these young pages must have been “monsters” indeed, for an English ell is forty-five inches, and “seven ells of rug” put into each hose might well have resulted in a strikingly huge garment, with the bombast and cotton, of course, for padding.

The unmistakable agreement of the estimate and the play in the matter of special costuming, puts it almost beyond question that *Damon and Pythias* was the play performed at Christmas, 1564.¹² It also incidentally corroborates the reading of Cecil’s marginal note as “Edwd’s tragedy.”

As to the place where *Damon and Pythias* was performed, Morley is right in saying that it was Whitehall, Westminster. The mistakes of the other writers seem to come from a careless reading of the heading of the “Brief Estimât” which I have quoted. The estimate, it will be observed, is 1) for three plays at Windsor, “Anno Sexto,” for Christmas and Candlemas; 2) for masks at Richmond the same year on the 9th of June; and 3) for plays at Christmas and Shrovetide, “Anno Septimo.”¹³ Where these last plays, among which was *Damon and Pythias*, were given does not appear from this record.

To determine the place, however, it is only necessary to notice that the Court, during the holidays of 1564–5, was at Westminster, a fact which may be proved easily. Not only is there no record of the Queen’s going on any of her progresses for that period, but there is positive evidence that she remained at home. Stow says in his *Chronicle*¹⁴ that there was such a

¹² Whether it was written at that time, or whether it had been composed for an earlier presentation is not certain from the evidence in hand. A Wood states (*Athenæ*, Vol. I, p. 354. Bliss edition, 1813) that it was played both at the Court and the University.

¹³ Since Elizabeth’s reign began in November, 1558, the festivities of Christmas, 1563, and the Richmond masks of June, 1564, would both be reckoned as in “Anno Sexto,” while the Christmas play of 1564 and the Shrovetide plays of 1565 would both belong in “Anno Septimo.”

¹⁴ Edition 1631, p. 658.

severe frost from December 21, 1564, till after New Year that "people went over and along the Thames on the ice from London bridge to Westminster, and some played at foot-ball as boldly there as if it had been on the dry land, divers of the Court being then at Westminster."

Moreover, in the *Calendar of State Papers*, Spanish Department,¹⁵ there is a letter from Guzman De Silva, the Spanish envoy at the English Court, written to his King on the 2nd of January, 1565, which makes plain the fact that the Queen must have been at home on Christmas day. "On the 18th and 23rd ultimo I wrote to Your Majesty that this Queen had suffered from fever and had been very ill but was now recovered. I was with her on the 24th, and she complained of pains in the stomach and all over the body, and she has since been indisposed with a very bad catarrh with some fever. She is now better again and has come out into the presence chamber, but Leicester tells me she is very thin. The changes of weather have been such that it suddenly turned from heat to a cold so intense that the river here is frozen over and people walk upon it as they do the streets. Natives say they have never seen such a thing before, and it is very trying for the weak. It has found out the Queen, whose constitution cannot be very strong.—London, 2nd January, 1565."

This letter shows that Elizabeth had been very ill on the 18th, was still far from well on the day before Christmas, and continued to be indisposed afterward; it also corroborates Stow's statement about the hard frost. The Queen, then, was almost certainly too ill to have gone from Westminster for holiday festivities, and the entertainments would therefore appear to have been given at the home palace.

This evidence, however, may not seem entirely convincing and accordingly I add further details from the De Silva correspondence which tend to make it more conclusive. In the first place, if Elizabeth had gone from home, the watchful ambassador would have written to the King about it, for it was part of his

¹⁵ Spanish, 1558-1567. London, 1892, p. 400-401. The letters in this volume are arranged chronologically, and the three or four to which I have referred by date in the rest of this paper will readily be found.

business to tell the King all about the movements of Elizabeth. De Silva had come to London as ambassador in the early summer, and his first meeting with the Queen was at Richmond, where festivities were in progress in honor of the French embassy, which had come to make peace. De Silva particularly specifies on that occasion that he went to Richmond, and a few days later, in a letter of July 10, he again tells of going to Richmond for a merry-making that lasted till two o'clock in the morning and then returning to London by land, while the Queen went down the river by barge to Westminster. In just the same way De Silva tells particularly where the Queen was or where he had gone to see her in every case when she was *not* at the home palace of Westminster.¹⁶ On the other hand when she *was* at Westminster he in no case says that she was at "Westminster" or that he had gone to "Westminster" for audience with her. What he does write is that he was "with the Queen," or that "yesterday he told the Queen," or "I had audience with her in the presence chamber." It is not his practice in these letters to name Westminster, or ordinarily even "the palace," at times when the Queen was at home. This fact taken with the other fact, that in cases when we know that the Queen was away on progress De Silva regularly specifies her whereabouts, is evidence that she was at home during the holidays; for in this letter of January 2, quoted above, as also in those of December 18 and 23, he says nothing to indicate that she was elsewhere than at home, but does speak of being "with her on the 24th," of her coming out "into the presence chamber," expressions which show that she was at her customary residence, the Westminster palace.

There are two other bits of evidence which serve to clinch the matter. It has been shown that Elizabeth was ill with fever from the 18th till after Christmas, so that she could scarcely have moved for holiday shows from the place where she was when taken sick. Now she was actually at Westminster palace

¹⁶ Indeed, he even writes of her intended movements. "This Queen is well. She had intended to go for a few days hunting, but the weather has been so bad with high winds and heavy rains that she has been unable to go.—London, 4 December, 1564."

on the 18th. This is clear from another of De Silva's letters written on that day, which tells of a certain Scotchman who called on him. "I wished him to stay and dine," he writes, "but he excused himself by saying that he was going to the *palace* to take leave of the Queen." This is one of the two pieces of evidence. The second more closely concerns the place of the holiday entertainments.

The lodgings of the Spanish ambassador were at London, as he himself says in his letter of July 10, 1564. All his letters from July 27, 1564, on to the end of the year were, with one exception, dated at London. That exceptional letter was the one of December 23, to which De Silva referred in the letter of January 2, 1565, quoted above; as it is printed in the records there is no superscription whatever, and yet it must have been written from London, for the writer says nothing of going elsewhere, and he himself says in his next letter that he was with the Queen on the 24th. Now in this exceptional letter of December 23, De Silva writes in these words: "They say that Lethington¹⁷ is coming here for these holidays." "*Here*" can mean no where but London, including Westminster, the London home of the Court,—he uses it in that sense time and again throughout his correspondence; and the holiday revels of which he wrote were those to be held at Westminster, where in great Whitehall, plays were so often given.

Damon and Pythias, then, was acted Christmas time, 1564, not at Windsor, and not at Richmond, but in Whitehall palace at Westminster; and on account of the Queen's recent illness, the couplet in the last song of the play¹⁸ about her governing

"in honour and in wealth,
Void of all sickness, in most perfect health"

was very apt and timely.

¹⁷ The Scotch diplomat, who with Murray was corresponding with Cecil about the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots.

¹⁸ Hazlitt's *Dodsley's Old Plays*, 1874, Vol. iv, p. 104.

II. PALÆMON AND ARCYTE NOT A SOURCE OF
THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN.

Mr. Harold Littledale,¹ Dr. Rolfe,² and other editors have expressed the opinion that the *Palæmon and Arcyte* of Richard Edwards, which was played before Queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1566, was not a source of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Their judgment, based, as it is, solely on the lively, but meagre account which Anthony á Wood has given of this non-extant play of Edwards, seems to have too slight grounding in evidence to be conclusive. It is my purpose to call attention to another account of Edward's play, more detailed than á Wood's, and by it to establish more firmly the opinion stated above, viz. that the Oxford play of 1566 could scarcely have been a source of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

The account by Anthony á Wood, who wrote over a hundred years after *Palæmon and Arcyte* was acted, is that to which all the bibliographers and students of the early drama go when they have occasion to say anything about this lost play of Richard Edwards. But there exists a careful record of the week of the Queen's visit to Oxford in 1566, made by John Bereblock,³ an eyewitness who appears to have been a diligent

¹ *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Edited by Harold Littledale. New Shakespeare Society. London, 1885, Introd., pp. 9*-11*.

² *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Edited by W. J. Rolfe. New York, 1883, Introd., p. 24-25.

³ The title of Bereblock's record is "*Commentarii sive Ephemeræ Actiones Rerum Illustrium Ozonii Gestarum in Adventu Serenissimæ Principis Elizabethæ. Ad Amplissimos Viros Dominum Gulielmum Brokum Dominum de Cobham, et Dominum Gulielmum Petreum, Regium à sanctoribus secretis Consiliarium. Per J. B. Collegii ibidem Exoniensis socium.*"

The following account of Bereblock is taken from Mr. Plummer's Preface. "He became Fellow of St. John's in 1558, was admitted B. A. in March, 1561; and M. A. in Feb. 1565-6. In June, 1566, he was admitted Fellow of Exeter, and the same year he was made Dean. He was Senior Proctor in 1569, his colleague being Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library. In 1570, Sir William Petre, who in 1564 had practically refounded Exeter College, gave him leave of absence for four years, and during this absence he took the degree of B. C. L. in some Continental University in 1572." *Elizabethan Oxford*. Edited by Charles Plummer. Oxford, 1887, p. xvi.

reporter of all that he saw, and who has given among other things a summarized account in Latin of *Palæmon and Arcyte*. This was first printed by Hearne⁴ in 1729 and copied by Nichols⁵ in his first edition of *The Progresses*, though omitted in the edition of 1823. Mr. Plummer, after having collated the MS. used by Hearne with a slightly different one, reprinted it in his *Elizabethan Oxford*⁶ in 1886, along with other records and memorials of the Queen's visit. These "Commentaries" of Bereblock and the other records of that occasion, full of interest as they are, seem to have been unnoticed by students of the drama, even since their republication by Mr. Plummer.⁷

By quoting what á Wood and Bereblock say of the action of *Palæmon and Arcyte*, all that is known of the plot of the play will be presented and a basis given for a discussion of it as a source for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Of course the fact remains that the play itself is lost; this should be kept in mind as a *caveat* throughout the discussion. A treatment based on even the best sort of summary must be tentative rather than dogmatic, and while it may determine what is probable, it cannot establish certainty.

⁴ *Historia Vitæ et Regni Ricardi II by the Monk of Evesham*, etc. Edited by Thomas Hearne. Oxford, 1729, pp. 251-296. For *Palæmon and Arcyte* see pp. 268-270, p. 277, pp. 281-282.

⁵ So stated in Mr. Plummer's Preface, p. xv.

⁶ *Elizabethan Oxford*. Edited by Charles Plummer. Oxford, 1887, pp. 111-150. For *Palæmon and Arcyte* see pp. 127-129, p. 135, pp. 138-139.

⁷ One of these records is a treatise "of the Actes Done at Oxford when the Queen's Majesty was there, by Nicholas Robinson" (Plummer, pp. 169-191, and *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* by John Nichols, London, 1823, Vol. I, pp. 229-247). Robinson has a very puzzling passage about Edward's play, which raises many questions. He says: "Ut superiori nocte, sic et ista Theatrum exornatum fuit splendide, quo publice exhiberetur *Fabula Militis (ut Chaucerus nominat) e Latino in Anglicum sermonem translata per M^rum Edwards et alios ejusdem collegii alumnos.*" (Plummer, pp. 179-180. Also in Nichols's *Progresses* and Hearne).

If Edwards translated his play from Latin into English, as this passage says, then several possibilities open as to the source he followed: 1) It may have been a Latin version of the story existent before Chaucer, but this is not likely; 2) it may have been an early Latin translation of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*; or 3) it may have been a Latin play adapted from Chaucer's poem and presented at the university for educational purposes. The last supposition seems more probable.

I shall quote the statement of á Wood in the form in which Dr. Rolfe⁸ quotes it, which gives all that concerns the plot. Part of the play was performed on September 2, 1566, when by the press of the multitude one side of a stairway fell⁹ and three lives were lost. á Wood continues :

"Sept. 4, 1566.¹⁰ At night the Queen was present at the other part of the play of *Palæmon and Arcyte*, which should have been acted the night before, but was deferred because it was late when the Queen came from disputations at St. Mary's. When the play was ended, she called for Mr. Edwards, the author, and gave him very great thanks, with promises of reward, for his pains; then, making a pause, said to him and her retinue standing about her, this relating to part of the play : 'By Palæmon, I warrant he dallieth [*sic*] not in love when he was in love indeed; by Arcyte, he was a right martial knight, having a swart countenance and a manly face; by Trecatio, God's pity, what a knave it is; by Perithous, throwing St. Edward's rich cloak into the funeral fire, which a stander-by would have stayed by the arm with an oath, Go fool, he knoweth his part, I warrant.' In the said play, was acted a cry of hounds in the Quadrant, upon the train of a fox in the hunting of Theseus, with which the young scholars, who stood in the windows, were so much taken (supposing it was real) that they cried out, 'Now, now !—there, there !—he's caught, he's caught!' All which the Queen merrily beholding, said, 'O excellent! these boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows, to follow the hounds!' . . . In the acting of the said play, there was a good part performed by the Lady Amelia, who, for gathering her flowers prettily in a garden then represented, and singing sweetly in the time of March,¹¹ received eight angels for a gracious reward by her Majesty's command," etc.

Dr. Rolfe asserts that there is no ground whatever for supposing that the authors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* were indebted to Edwards's *Palæmon and Arcyte*, and says that the passage from á Wood shows clearly "that Edwards's play and the play before us must have differed so materially as to make

⁸ *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Ed. by W. J. Rolfe. New York, 1883, p. 25. Dr. Rolfe quotes from Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth* (London, 1823, Vol. I, pp. 206-217) where Nichols printed passages communicated to him by Mr. Gutch from á Wood's MSS. á Wood printed a slightly different account in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis* (Ed. 1813, Vol. I, p. 353).

⁹ á Wood wrongly says that it was a part of the staging that fell.

¹⁰ Mr. Fleay (*History of the Stage*, p. 17), and Mr. Collier (*English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage*. Vol. I, p. 184) erroneously date the play September 3rd or September 2nd and 3rd.

¹¹ Mr. Littledale suggests that the reading should be *May*.

it almost certain that the authors of the latter can have known nothing of the former." This assertion, which is practically the same that Mr. Littledale made some years before, is hardly convincing, for there is nothing in á Wood to show that the play of Edwards differed at all from Chaucer's poem;¹² so that it would be quite as reasonable to suppose that the writers of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* made the free adaptations of their play from *Palæmon and Arcyte* as from *The Knight's Tale*, particularly since reviving and making over of old plays was such a common practice with the later dramatists. The testimony of Bereblock, however, bears out Mr. Littledale's assertion, as a translation from the *Commentaries* will show. After telling of the tremendous crowd and the accident that happened in consequence of their struggling and pushing, he continues :

"This untoward happening, although touching every one with sadness, could by no means destroy the enjoyment of the occasion. Accordingly, taught by the misfortune of the others to be more careful, all turn again to the play. There one might behold two youthful princes, Arcyte and Palæmon, who had long lived as comrades in their native land, whom a like mortal danger and a common prison had bound together, and whom kinship and a solemn oath had rendered brothers. These two friends fell desperately in love with one and the same maiden, Emilia, sister of the Duke of Athens. Here then in the case of these men one might observe that their souls, tossed backward and forward, hither and yon, and scarcely at peace with each other in prison, were disturbed with more furious passion, that they contended, and did battle with each other. Why waste words? They are held in check by their oath, they heed no oath; they are prisoners, they burst forth; they are banished,¹³ love forbids long exile; two days is too long, three days is unbearable. The princely youth, therefore, heeding not the penalty of death, returns in meaner garb and calls himself Philostrates instead of Arcyte. He devotes himself to every sort of service, no task too humble for him to perform, nothing so distasteful to his princely nature which by the presence of Emilia does not become sweet and cleanly; without her the most pleasant pursuits are toilsome, hard, and hateful.

¹² The part of *Treatio* may have been different from anything in Chaucer, but it is possible that the character was only a dramatic amplification of the "friend" by whose helping Palæmon broke prison in *The Knight's Tale*. (ll. 609-616).

¹³ The text here has plural verbs (*prohibentur, curant, incarcerationantur, erumpunt, exulant*), but there is evidently some rhetorical confusion in the passage, for the action can refer only to Arcyte.

Meanwhile Palæmon tricks the guard with a sleeping potion, escapes from his hard imprisonment, flees by night, hiding in the woods during the day, and at length meets his brother. Here their common love for Emilia rouses their strife anew, and it had already caused such tumultuous and passionate reproaches that they were on the point of fighting, but forthwith by the arrival of Theseus the fight is checked. Palæmon then tells who he is, and for what cause they were fighting; nor yet does he beg for his life, although his offence has been serious. The Duke, softened by the prayers of the ladies, who just then happened to come up with him in the hunt, appoints a contest between the princes, and commands them to prepare for battle within fourteen days, promising the maiden as a reward to the victor. It is impossible to tell with what delight and gladness the youths went their way; and we, too, after having all cried out to God for the Queen, departed for the night."

At the end of the record for the next day, "Dies Martis," which was Tuesday, September 3rd, Bereblock says: "No play was acted on this night, because the Queen was kept late by a rather tedious disputation in the afternoon, and could not be present without some risk to her health."

The next night, the night of "Dies Mercurii," matters were more auspicious, and though a great debate in the afternoon had held rather late, the postponed play was announced for the evening.

"The Queen and the nobles are invited to the play, and they accept the invitation. All sat down in their places. Then there was a great silence. Already on the stage the two knights, Arcyte and Palæmon, were ready at the appointed day, each surrounded by a very bold array. On one side was Emetrius, King of India, in whose charge was Arcyte. A hundred soldiers followed him. As many on the other side follow in the train of Thracian Lycurgus, to whose valor, faithfulness, and good fortune Palæmon had entrusted himself. Theseus thought that the battle ought to be decided by a single contest, and that the maiden should be given to him who should win the victory. This arrangement does not displease the kings nor do the brothers make objection to it.

Thereupon marble lists are made in the woods, and three very sacred altars are built there, to one of which, that of Diana, Emilia approaches as a suppliant. Here, then, she prays for a maiden life and unbroken chastity, but in her unhappiness she could not make a long entreaty. The goddess predicted marriage. On the other side Arcyte sought victory from him in whose watchful care are warlike virtues. Immediately to him Mars thunders out victory. To Venus at her altar Palæmon makes his prayer for the maiden, and the goddess straightway

promises her to him. Here now a quarrel was on foot among the gods. It is Saturn who settles it.

Meanwhile each chief looked to the care of the arms for his soldiery, and that finished, the blast and blare of trumpets is heard. Then in hand to hand conflict they fight fiercely. When at the very first onset the weapons resounded and the shining blades gleamed, a great shudder seized the spectators.¹⁴ For a time success fell to neither contestant, and wearied with fighting they twice stop to rest; at the third onset when not only the movements of their bodies and the parrying of their swords, but even their wounds and blood are visible to everybody, Palæmon sinks to the ground and lies prostrate before his victorious cousin. All joyfully shout their approbation to Arcyte and receive him with gratulations. Palæmon, lifeless and exhausted, having failed of every hope, was none the less tormented still by love, and therefore prays now with loftier eloquence and more fervid supplication, and casts reproaches upon Venus, saying that he had served her from infancy and that now she had neither desire nor power to help him. Venus could not endure his reproaches, nor could she bear with equanimity to see Mars preferred over her. Womanlike, she pleads her case with lamentations and by weeping. Saturn, stirred by her tears, strikes with subterranean fire the princely victor, as he goes in his triumph crowned splendidly with laurel. Thus Arcyte quickly dies. Then there was a funeral ceremony of great magnificence; he is honored with a public funeral, nobles bear the pall, the kings follow the bier, and the body is burned with solemn pomp. Afterwards at the suggestion of the kings [*regio consilio*] and by the common consent of all, the maiden is given to Palæmon; and this act, (the theatre by this time being very full) was approved by the throng with a tremendous shout and clapping of hands. And this was the play that was presented on that night."

By adding to this detailed and connected synopsis the supplementary facts of a Wood's lively version, the plot may be pretty fairly reconstructed. The vivacious comments of Elizabeth add the character of Treclatio, whom Bereblock does not mention.¹⁵

¹⁴This and the following sentence are imitated from Livy, Bk. I, Ch. xxv.

¹⁵The Queen's exclamation about him, "God's pity, what a knave it is," indicates perhaps that he was a fellow of the same stamp as Stephano, the comic servant, in Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley's Old Plays*, 1874, Vol. IV, pp. 1-104). His part may have been like that of Pamphilo in Boccaccio's *Teseide*, who is the servant of Palemone and helps him escape from prison. Or, as has been suggested, he may be a dramatic amplification of the helping "friend" in Chaucer. The name Treclatio, which does not occur in any known form of the Palæmon and Arcyte story, seems to be derived (with a change of root vowel) from "*Tricæ*": [originally the name of a city] *res frivolaë, fuitiles nullius pretii, nugæ. Sic etiam dicuntur impedimenta &*

á Wood's record, also, is the only one to preserve the popular dramatic incidents of the rich cloak thrown into the funeral fire, the cry of the hounds in the hunt, and the song of Lady Emilia in her flower garden. These few additional facts, though not mentioned by Bereblock, fit in nicely with his record of the action; and the total result of this combination of the two accounts is a knowledge of the play which is sufficient for a far more satisfactory comparison with Chaucer and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* than was possible from á Wood's account alone.

Before taking up a comparison of the plays and the poem, a word may be said on the antecedent probabilities for and against Edwards's play as a source. As has been said, the practice of making over old plays was so common among the later dramatists that the presumption would be that the writers of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* took an earlier dramatization as a basis of their work. Moreover, they perhaps need not have gone back to 1566 to come into contact with Edwards, for the play of *Palamon and Arsetti*¹⁶ in 1594, may have been a rifacimento of the earlier

implicationes quia res frivolæ seria agentem impediunt" [Forcellini's *Lexicon*. Patavii, 1771]. *Trecatio*, then, would be an Italian equivalent for a Latin *tricator*; French, *tricheur*; Middle English, *trichard*; trickster. It will be noticed, however, that there are two senses in the word *Tricæ*; the first *res frivolæ*, and the second the derived sense *impedimenta* placed purposely in one's way. Cf. also for these two meanings, *trico*: "contentiosus, litium amans, rixator: & præcipue qui ne solvat æs alienum, tricæ comminiscitur & impedimenta: & universim, nequam, nebulo, male feriatus;" *tricosus*: "fallax, tergiversator, qui tricatur;" and *tricolor*: "tricæ loquor, involute & perplexe dico, nugar" [Forcellini's *Lexicon*]. The name, therefore, might signify only the clown or comic servant, the talker of nonsense; or it might mark the character as a hinderer, a master of subterfuges, a trickster. Just so Elizabeth's word "knave" might have a good or bad sense,—a servant or an evil fellow. á Wood (*Historia et Antiquitatis Universitatis Oxoniensis*. Edition, 1674, p. 288) interprets the Queen's speech by the Latin phrase: "Trecatium nequam hominem, technis fuisse fraudibusque instructissimum."

If we assume that the source of Edwards's *Palamon and Arcyte* was a Latin school play, it might also be assumed, perhaps, that the *Trecatio* character was inserted in that play, being modelled from the tricky or comic servant of Plautine comedy.

¹⁶ *Henslowe's Diary*. Edited for the Shakespeare Society by J. P. Collier. London, 1845, pp. 41, 43, 44.

Palæmon and Arcyte, as Collier has suggested.¹⁷ This is more likely from the fact that during the period of 1590–1600, there seems to have been a considerable interest in the early dramas of 1560–70; at least in the last decade of the century the subjects of several plays of that early period were put on the stage again. For instance Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* treated the same story that Arthur Brooke saw acted in a play sometime before 1562; *Ferrex and Porrex*,¹⁸ *Tancred and Gismunda*,¹⁹ and the *Damon and Pythias* of Chettle, all of which belong to the last years of the sixteenth century, were play subjects which had been used in the earlier period. It is possible that the last named plays were revampings of originals of the sixties, and that likewise the 1594 *Palæmon and Arsett* was a revamping of the *Palæmon and Arcyte* of Edwards. At any rate the 1594 play was probably known to the authors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by memory or tradition, if not in MS. or printed form.

On the other hand, the *a priori* arguments against Edwards's play being a source are of more weight. The prologue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* distinctly claims Chaucer as the source; and its statement is more apt to be a truth than a lie; for Chaucer was much read, and the authors, knowing their Chaucer, may well have gone directly to *The Knight's Tale* without stopping for the earlier plays. Moreover, the other plays which I mentioned in the last paragraph as being possibly made over in 1596–1600, from plays of the earlier period, were made over from plays that were, and still are, extant; whereas there is no record that Edwards's *Palæmon and Arcyte* was ever printed or preserved so as to have been accessible in 1594, or later when *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was written. It may have been as non-extant in 1594 as it is now. The fact of Edwards's death only two months after the Queen's coming to Oxford and the possible confusion in which he left his affairs may have resulted in the total disappearance of his MS. of *Palæmon und Arcyte*. If it was not then lost, it is strange that it was not published,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166, also pp. 93, 165, 168, 169, 170.

¹⁹ *History of English Dramatic Literature*. Ward. 1899, Vol. I, p. 213.

as were his *Damon and Pythias*²⁰ and *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*.²¹

The *a priori* argument, on the whole, then, seems to weigh against Edwards's play as a source, and a specific study of his play side by side with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Chaucer leads to the same conclusion. A careful investigation will show:²²

(1) That certain parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, viz.: Acts II, 2 and 3; III, 1 and 6; and V, 1, have a substantial equivalent in the accounts of á Wood and Bereblock.

(2) That there is considerable variation from those accounts in details of Acts II, 5; and V, 3 and 4.

(3) That Edwards's play does not contain the following parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*: Act I entire; the sub-plot entire (II, 1 and 4; III, 2 and 4; IV, 1 and 3; V, 2); and also III, 5, IV, 2, with perhaps III, 3.

(4) That there are important points in which *Palæmon and Arcyte* does not follow Chaucer, but that these differences from Chaucer are not preserved in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which either goes back to Chaucer in these points or differs from both Chaucer and the early play.

What is the meaning of these facts? Taking them up in order it will be seen: (1) That the scenes which are substantially the same in both plays are the essential scenes, those which form the groundwork of the story. There is, then, no significance one way or another as to source in their agreement, for *The Two Noble Kinsmen* would have contained these parts whether it had derived from Edwards, or Chaucer, or even Boccaccio.

(2) The variations from Edwards's play in Act II, 5, and V, 3 and 4, of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* are considerable. While they suggest that there is no connection between the two, they do not necessarily prove it, for it is always possible to explain such variations as free adaptations to suit different dramatic conditions. It

²⁰ Printed in 1571 and 1582. Both quartos are now extant. Licensed 1567-8.

²¹ Printed in 1576, and running through several editions before 1600. Edwards was the collector of this anthology and wrote several of the songs.

²² The division into acts and scenes is according to Mr. Littledale's arrangement.

is worth while, however, to note the most important of these changes, for taken with other facts they tend to establish the view that The Jacobean play was not made over from *Palæmon and Arcyte*. In the fifth act especially the variations are great. Of course, Chaucer's description of the tourney with a hundred knights fighting on either side could not be staged. Edwards's solution of the difficulty was to present the spectacular array of knights with their kingly leaders on the stage, but to have all the fighting done by the two lovers. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the kings are thrown over entirely, and the useless crowd of knights cut down to only six, all of whom engage in the fight. Moreover, in the later play the combat takes place off the stage, and while it is going on the interest is centered on the varying emotions of Emilia, who has refused to be present at the lists.

Again, Edwards seems to have represented the gods and goddesses on the stage and to have emphasized the divine agencies in the *dénouement*, whereas the later dramatists relegated them to casual mention in the dialogue.²³ Finally, the most important difference is in the treatment of the action at the end. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* follows Chaucer in that Arcyte lingers some time after his injury and gives over Emilia to Palæmon, so that Emilia must be thought of as having fixed her affection on Arcyte first and then having turned to Palæmon. Edwards, on the other hand, has Arcyte die very quickly [*confestim*] after his accident, and Emilia goes to Palæmon as to her first love. The funeral of the dead prince is held with great ceremony first, however, and the kings (who are rejected in the other play) walk behind the bier. It is by their counsel that the betrothal of Emilia to Palæmon is carried out. In Chaucer's poem the kings are feasted and sent away before Arcyte's accident; the injured prince lingers many days, and after his death is mourned

²³ It is entirely possible that there should have been a scene between the deities actually represented, for it was common enough in the tradition of the drama. The gods come in as characters in Heywood's *Play of the Weather*, in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, and in other plays and court masques nearer the date of Edwards's work. An interesting example of this is a comedy in English (referred to in the previous paper) played before the Queen on March 5, 1565. See a letter of Guzman de Silva to the King of Spain. *Calendar of State Papers*. Spanish Department, 1558-1567. London, 1892, p. 400.

by Emilia with a widow's grief. It is strange that no trace of the rearrangement made by Edwards in this part of the play should have been retained by the authors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, if, indeed, they worked from Edwards's *Palæmon and Arcyte* as a source.

(3) Those parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* which are not found in Edwards at all are chiefly Act I and the sub-plot. The sub-plot certainly did not come from Chaucer nor from Edwards, and probably not from the 1594 *Palæmon and Arsett*; it looks much more like the style of sub-plot that Fletcher introduces into his plays, derived not from the same source as his main plot, but from elsewhere. The strongest argument which can be drawn in this section of the comparison depends on the fact that *The Two Noble Kinsmen* begins the action where Chaucer begins the narrative, viz., with the prayers of the queens to Theseus, while Edwards does not represent at all the prayers of the queens, the fall of Thebes, and the capture of the young princes; in short, begins his play at what corresponds to the second scene of the second act of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, where the friends are in prison. This is clearly shown by the wording of the first clauses in Bereblock about the plot. Bereblock says, "There one might behold two youthful princes, Arcyte and Palæmon, who had long lived as comrades in their native land, whom a like mortal danger and a common prison had bound together, and whom kinship and a solemn oath had rendered brothers. These two friends fell desperately in love" etc. In the Latin the verbs which describe the previous condition of the young captives are pluperfects (*habuerat, connexerat, reddiderat*) while those which are used in the further account are either perfects, imperfects, or historical presents. The use of pluperfects here at the beginning indicates that this part of the story was not represented in action, but was simply explained, either by a prologue or by the opening speeches of the play. Surely no such striking scenes as the entreaty of the queens for redress, the battle at Thebes, and the capture of Palæmon and Arcyte, if they had been acted on the stage, would have been condensed by Bereblock into three colorless relative clauses with pluperfect verbs. Edwards chose the better

place for beginning his play as far as unity is concerned, and it is evident that he told only enough of the previous story to make plain the sworn friendship of the princes; which, of course, must be made plain in order that the perfidy of Arcyte may be understood and that their early amity may contrast with the hatred which rivalry in love afterwards begot. Certainly, then, the first act of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* does not come from the tradition of the old *Palæmon and Arcyte*, and the most natural supposition is that it was dramatized directly from Chaucer.

Assuming that Shakespeare wrote the first act of the later play, it is possible to believe that remembering the old 1594 *Palamon and Arseth* which had been acted at Newington Butts, he conceived a notion of writing a play on the same subject. He knew his Chaucer well, however, and was fond of the dramatic incidents of the first part of *The Knight's Tale*, and turning to it wrote the first act and experimented with some of the other scenes. Seeing that there was not enough unity in the plot for a firmly constructed play, and that the emotional situations of the play were really artificial and unadapted for that loving analysis of character and motives in which he delighted, Shakespeare gave his work over to Fletcher, who cared not for unity and character analysis, provided he had striking material for separate scenes. Fletcher's roving genius introduced the sub-plot, the scenes of Gerrold and his rustics, and the disgusting scene where Palæmon and Arcyte twit each other about their former loves (III, 3). Shakespeare, however, in his experiments with the theme may have worked out the scenes of the last act with some care, for there particularly the test of characterization would come; and these scenes were, no doubt, like the first act, taken from Chaucer with such adaptations as dramatic convenience and the demands of characterization would suggest. Thus, e. g., by keeping Emilia on the stage while the combat of the knights is in progress at a distance, Shakespeare made it much easier to portray the delicate vacillations of her feeling, the problem in which he was especially interested.

The argument up to this point has shown that the evidence, as far as it has any significance as to the source of *The Two*

Noble Kinsmen, is against a connection with the play of Richard Edwards. The last and most conclusive test proves the same thing. What are the points which both plays have in common differing from Chaucer? These may be summed up as follows: 1. Chaucer's Arcyte is in exile all the summer long: but in the plays this time is reduced. In Edwards's play three days suffice to drive him back, and in the other he does not really leave the kingdom at all. 2. Chaucer gives his *Palæmon and Arcyte* fifty weeks to prepare their troops of knights, but both the dramas reduce the time, one to fourteen days and the other to thirty. 3. The order of prayers in Chaucer is Palæmon, Emilia, Arcyte. The plays both change this order; but in Edwards it is Emilia, Arcyte, Palæmon, and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Arcyte, Palæmon, Emilia. 4. In Chaucer the whole array of knights join in the combat. The plays are both different here; but in Edwards the combat is single, and in the later play three knights join on either side. 5. The kings in Chaucer's *Tale* are feasted three days and sent away before the injury of Arcyte. Arcyte's death comes on very slowly. In the plays there is no feast for the kings and the death of Arcyte comes very quickly; here again, however, with the difference that in Edwards the kings are present to the end of the play and the death of the injured man comes almost immediately,²⁴ while in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the kings do not appear at all and Arcyte lives long enough to bestow Emilia upon his rival.

It will be observed that all these points in which the plays differ from Chaucer are concerned with changes inherently necessary in a dramatization. They have to do with making the time of the action more continuous, or the plot capable of representation on the stage; and are such as any dramatic writer would feel to be necessary. Besides, in all of these cases where

²⁴ The peculiar way in which Edwards treats the last scene of his story,—the fact that Arcyte dies so soon, that the Kings are retained and that they are the ones who propose Emilia's marriage to Palæmon, that the applause at the betrothal was universal and genuine,—suggests that the play is an allegorical expression of the desire of the nation that Elizabeth marry. See Plummer. *Elizabethan Oxford*, p. xxii. I shall speak of this point more fully in another paper.

the plays differ from Chaucer, they also differ from each other. If Edwards's play had been a source of the later piece, it would be expected that some of his changes from the Chaucer form of the story would be preserved ; but they are not. The problem of the dramatization of a narrative poem presented itself to each of these authors, but each solved his problem in a different way.

When this strong testimony is added to the fact that the plays were so different at the beginning and the end, and that Edwards's play was probably non-extant at the time when *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was written, there seems to be no reason for not accepting the statement of Fletcher's prologue, which specifically declares that Chaucer was "the noble breeder" of the play.

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MILTON'S 'ELM STAR-PROOF.'

A WRITER in the Contributors' Club of the November *Atlantic* enters into a brief discussion concerning the accuracy of Milton's epithet 'star-proof' as applied to the elm. The lines which contain the word are in *Arcades*, and run as follows :

Follow me as I sing
And touch the warbled string :
Under the shady roof
Of branching elm star-proof
Follow me.

It seems that Professor Schelling, in his collection of seventeenth century lyrics (p. 243), says that Milton is here guilty of 'a trifling inaccuracy,' since elms are not star-proof at all. The contributor to the *Atlantic* reminds him that Milton was speaking, not of the American, but of the English elm, of which several thick-leaved specimens, transplanted during the poet's youth by the colonists, are still to be seen on Boston Common. Professor Schelling was not the first to urge the point. He was anticipated by an Englishman—Mark Pattison—who, having in mind of course the English elm, says, in his *Life of Milton* (p. 23) : 'The elm, one of the thinnest foliaged trees of the forest, is inappropriately named star-proof.'

Then is Milton in error after all ? Other poets may be found who agree with him ; thus Ovid calls the elm *densa* (*Met.* 2. 257), the elm at the mouth of Vergil's Avernus is *opaca*, and Tennyson speaks of 'the full-foliaged elms' (*In Mem.* 95. 58).¹ What then are the facts concerning the English elm ? In his *Arboretum et Fructicetum Britannicum* (3. 1379), J. G. Loudon describes the *ulmus campestris*, the species by far the most common in England,

¹ In Verg. *Ecl.* 2. 70 the elm is *frondosa* ; cf. 'fecundæ frondibus ulmi' of *Georg.* 2. 446.

as putting forth 'rather slender branches, which are densely clothed with small deep green leaves.' Again he says that the tree is used for planting in avenues. 'For this purpose it is well adapted . . . from the denseness of the foliage.' He speaks of it as being, except the oak, the most frequent tree in the parks and pleasure-grounds of the English nobility and gentry. Evelyn, who writes in Milton's time, and who is well informed on these matters, says that the elm grows best, not in the forest, nor alone, but in hedgerows; 'for the elm is a tree of consort, sociable, and so affecting to grow in company, that the very best which I have ever seen do almost touch one another.'² One is reminded of the hedgerow elms in *L'Allegro* (58). Loudon's careful description and plates leave little doubt that Milton knew this variety of elm and described it faithfully.

One is now tempted to ask whether the poet had not in mind a definite group of elms. It will be remembered that *Arcades* was written for a particular occasion and place, namely, an open-air performance in the evening at Harefield Place, near Uxbridge in western Middlesex, in honor of the aged Countess Dowager of Derby. Milton would certainly not have committed the indiscretion of making the Genius of the Wood invite nymphs and shepherds to follow him beneath branching elms, while he actually walked under oaks or firs or in the open. Nor would he have made himself ridiculous by calling elms 'star-proof' which, as every one of the group gathered in the dusk on the lawn of Harefield would be sure to see, were quite the opposite. The evidence cited herewith is much of it referred to by Todd and Masson, but so far as I know has not been clearly focused upon the point under consideration. *Arcades* was not the first masque to be performed at Harefield. As is well known, Queen Elizabeth visited the place in 1602, and was splendidly entertained by its owners, the Lord Keeper Egerton and his lady, the same Countess of Derby who is celebrated in *Arcades*. The Queen was received with an elaborate masque, of which an authentic account in manuscript was handed down in the family of Egertons until some time in the eighteenth century during the life of Sir Roger Newdigate, a direct descendant, when it

² *Sylva* (ed. 1679), p. 32.

was lost for a period. In 1800, before the manuscript had been recovered, Lysons, the antiquarian, writes (*Historical Account of those Parishes in the County of Middlesex which are not described in the Environs of London*, p. 108) that Sir Roger Newdigate, in trying to recall its contents, recollects that the Queen 'was first welcomed at Dew's Farm by several allegorical persons, who attended her to a long avenue of elms leading to the house, which obtained from this circumstance the name of the Queen's Walk. Four trees of this avenue still remain (1800), and the greater part were standing not many years ago.' Lysons furnishes an engraving of Harefield in which the four elms are conspicuous, and, if the picture is to be trusted, they not only prove the truth in general of Milton's epithet, but suggest that it contained a local allusion of some force. Another engraving of Harefield in which the foliage is very thick appears in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (vol. 3. opp. p. 581), but when it was made (about 1820), the old avenue had entirely disappeared.³

The recovered account of the masque begins thus (Nichols 3. 586 ff.):

'After the Queene entered (out of the highway) into the Deamesne grounde of Harefelde, near the Dayrie howse, she was mett with 2 persons . . . with the Speech. Her Majesty being on horsebacke, stayed under a tree (because it rayned) to heare it.' It would be interesting to know whether this water-proof tree were one of the avenue. The account seems to imply that it was not. The narrative proceeds: 'When her Maiestie was alighted from her horse, and ascended 3 steps neare to the entering into the house, a carpet and chaire there sett for her; Place and Time present themselves.' Place is a personification of Harefield, dressed 'in a partie-colored roobe, like the brick house,' and two or three times in the ensuing dialogue allusion

³In her *Gossip from a Muniment Room* (1898), p. 148, Lady Newdigate-Newdegate mentions Harefield church as standing 'in solitary beauty in an oasis of green meadow land, whilst behind it rises a noble background of fine old trees.' From Lysons' engraving it would appear that the 'fine old trees' belong to Harefield Place, which touches the church on the south and east sides. The church must have stood frequently in the shadow cast by the elms at the lower end of the Queen's Walk.

is apparently made to the shaded and bowery retirement of this seat. Furthermore the narrator leaves one to infer that it was under the shelter of the elms that the queen stood as she listened to the second part of the entertainment. However that may be, it is probable that when *Arcades* was performed thirty years later the stage was a spot where the smooth-enameled green was overhung by the great elms under which Elizabeth had been welcomed to Harefield House, and that Milton wrote with these elms in mind.

But the origin of this epithet 'star-proof,' as of many another epithet and phrase in Milton, is twofold. He has united his own observation of nature with reminiscences from other great poets. Thus Statius describes a grove near the House of Sleep as 'nulli penetrabilis astro' (*Theb.* 10. 85). The instance was cited by Warton in his note on the passage in *Arcades* more than a hundred years ago. He notices also that Spenser seems to imitate Statius in describing a grove in *Faery Queen* 1. 1. 7 as being not 'perceable with power of any starr.' The phrase just quoted from Statius lingered in Milton's mind, as is shown by his use of it in *Paradise Lost* 9. 1088, where he mentions 'highest woods impenetrable To star or sunlight.' It therefore seems likely that during some moment when he strolled beneath the Harefield elms, perhaps in the long twilight of a midsummer evening, the phrase from Statius and the line from Spenser's lovely description rang in the poet's ears, and reminiscence and experience becoming thus inseparable in his memory, exerted an equal influence in the moment when he conceived the line in *Arcades*.

Critics have been pleased at times to find in Milton's descriptions of nature a tendency to bookishness, under the influence of which he is said to betray now and then a dull indifference to natural beauty. Where this tendency is commented upon it is usually exaggerated. But a careful study of instances will, I think, show that Milton's bookishness is generally not a source of inaccuracy or dull conventionality, but that it is an element of almost prime importance in the rare beauty of his art. The passage under discussion is but one among many which illustrate Milton's peculiar method in this respect. In the course of his

vast reading he comes upon a phrase or line which, however clumsy or outworn it may seem to duller ears, reveals to him its peculiar power or sweetness. Then refining it, and touching it with the magic possessed only by those who look lovingly and unerringly upon nature herself, he fills it with new and perennial life.

So much for the origin of Milton's epithet, and his observation of English elms.

But the contributor to the *Atlantic* observes that American elms are not star-proof. In general this is true; there are exceptions, however, as one may testify who, wandering through the broad street of a Connecticut village, say in an evening of latter June, has passed from the starlight into a darkened aisle of aged elms, with trunks like pillars, and branches that lose themselves in the deep and unbroken vaulting of a shady roof. Let Milton's epithet occur to one at such a moment, and its beauty and exquisite precision, as applied even to American elms, will be sufficiently apparent.

Milton's allusion to the elms, then, is local. It suggests to the reader the possibility that the masque contains other allusions of the same kind. Murray's *Handbook of the Environs of London* (s. v. Harefield) says that the region is one of 'much quiet sylvan beauty. It lies in a valley with, on the one hand, uplands abounding in elms and oaks, . . . on the other, the little river [the Colne] flowing gently among broad willow-fringed meadows.' Murray also quotes Norden's description of Harefield (*Speculum Britanniae*): 'a fair house standing on the edge of the hill; the river Colne passing near the same, through pleasant meadows and sweet pastures, yielding both delight and profit.' It is this sort of landscape which one finds reflected throughout *Arcades*. The Genius of the Wood says in ll. 44 ff.:

I am the power
Of this fair wood, and live in oaken bower
To nurse the saplings tall, and curl the grove
With ringlets quaint, and wanton windings wove.

Again (l. 54):

I fetch my round
Over the mount and all this hallowed ground.

To these one may add the 'lonely shades' mentioned in line 42, and the 'high thicket' of line 58. Warton seems to think that 'Ladon's liliated banks' of line 96 is an implied allusion to the Colne. Two things are evident: that Milton has suggested throughout *Arcades* a background of just such rural beauty as he most enjoyed; and that the landscape is local, and corresponds to that which lay about Harefield House, where it was acted. From the exactness of his allusions it would seem almost certain that he had visited Harefield at least once, if not frequently, or at any rate—what seems less probable—that he had listened to vivid and exact descriptions of the place which deeply stirred his imagination.

This brings us to consider the somewhat vexed question of Milton's relation to the musician Henry Lawes, to the Countess Dowager of Derby, and to her descendants, the Egertons of Ashridge, who acted in *Comus*, and probably in *Arcades*. Just what these relations were, and how they sprang up, may remain a matter of conjecture for ever; this much, however, is certain. In 1631 or 1632 Milton began his five years' residence at Horton, a tiny village in the lower valley of the Colne, seventeen miles west of London, and not more than twelve miles down the river from Harefield. It is also certain that Lawes, who was teacher of music to the young Egertons, collaborated with Milton in the preparation of *Comus* in 1634 (cf. Lawes' letter of dedication prefixed to *Comus* in the edition of 1637, and reprinted below and in most modern editions), and in that year the masque was performed at Ludlow Castle in honor of the Earl of Bridgewater, father of the Egertons at his installation as Lord President of Wales. It is, however, undetermined whether Lawes was previously acquainted with Milton,⁴ or whether the Egerton family of Ashridge, being acquainted with both young men, brought them together in the collaboration of *Comus*, and thus founded the pleasant friendship between them; or whether possibly the intermediary was the Countess Dowager at Harefield herself. The first student to utter an opinion in the matter was apparently the Reverend Francis Peck, a man whose notions concerning Milton were sometimes eccentric, to say the

⁴ Cf. Masson's *Life* 1. 567.

least. In 1732 he writes that, 'being desired to provide an entertainment, and being well acquainted with Mr. Milton's abilities, he [Lawes] pitched on him to compose the masque.' In spite of its origin this opinion has hitherto been the favorite one. Now *Arcades* was pretty certainly composed in 1633, that is, about a year before *Comus*, and the natural inference is that if Lawes applied to Milton for the words of *Comus* in 1634, it was only a repetition of what he had done the year before in the case of *Arcades*. It is on this point that the students of Milton differ. Warton (edition, p. 132; cf. 128), would date Milton's acquaintance with Lawes only from the composition of *Comus*, intimating that Milton was employed on both *Arcades* and *Comus*, not because of any acquaintance with Lawes, but because he lived in the neighborhood of Harefield and Ashridge, and could be conveniently employed for the purpose. In point of fact, Horton is all of twelve miles from Harefield and twenty-five from Ashridge. Keightley, on the other hand, insists with some indignation that if Milton was thus employed by the Egertons or the Countess, or had anything to do with them, the relationship could have been only one of humiliating dependence, and that this the proud mind of the poet would never endure. Masson believes that *Arcades* and *Comus* sprang from Milton's acquaintance with Lawes, though he admits that personal acquaintance on the part of the poet with the Egertons and the Countess was quite possible.

While nothing can be proved, yet it seems that insufficient account has been taken of such scanty evidence in the matter as we already possess. I cannot resist the feeling that the Countess Dowager was personally acquainted with Milton when *Arcades* was written. In the first place, the local allusions in the masque seem rather to have been based upon actual familiarity with the charms of Harefield than upon mere hearsay. Secondly, the adoration of the Countess which prevails throughout *Arcades* seems personal in a degree which Milton would hardly have ventured had he not known and admired this venerable friend of poets. Imagine, for example, that he writes any of the following lines without being on terms of greater or less intimacy with the one to whom they refer :

This, this is she
 To whom our vows and wishes bend;
 Here our solemn search hath end.
 Fame, that her high worth to raise
 Seemed erst so lavish and profuse,
 We may justly now accuse
 Of detraction from her praise;
 Less than half we find expressed;
 Envy bid conceal the rest.

I know this quest of yours and free intent
 Was all in honor and devotion meant
 To the great mistress of yon princely shrine,
 Whom with low reverence I adore as mine.

And yet such music worthiest were to blaze
 The peerless height of her immortal praise
 Whose lustre leads us, and for her most fit,
 If my inferior hand or voice could hit
 Inimitable sounds.

I will bring you where she sits
 Clad in splendor as befits
 Her deity.
 Such a rural queen
 All Arcadia hath not seen.

If the extravagance of such eulogy verges at times upon the playful—for so it appears—it is but another indication of the relationship already suggested. It is interesting to notice that in *Comus* Milton had a good opportunity to praise the Earl of Bridgewater if he had wished, and if he had known him sufficiently well. He has taken little advantage of it, and there is some probability that the two were not intimate, if indeed they had ever met. In his lovely *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, which lady he probably never knew, Milton has been equally sparing of praise.

If, then, Milton was acquainted with the Countess, what was the origin of their friendship? Perhaps it came about through Lawes, though his business as instructor in music to the Egertons was not at Harefield, but at Ashridge, some thirteen miles further to the north. Masson suggests the possibility that some relative of Milton was connected with the service of the dowager's family. It may be that the necessary evidence in the matter

now lies buried in the rubbish of a muniment-room in some English country-house, or that it was burned up with Harefield House in 1660, when, it is said, Charles Sedley during a visit, insisted upon reading in bed, and was careless with his candle.

In 1637 *Comus* was published, not by Milton, but by Lawes, who prefixed to it a letter in which he dedicated it 'to the Right Honorable John Lord Viscount Brackley, son and heir-apparent to the Earl of Bridgewater,' in other words to the eldest of the Egerton children, the one who acted the part of the elder brother in *Comus* when it was performed in honor of his father at Ludlow Castle. The letter reads as follows:

My Lord,

This poem, which received its first occasion of birth from yourself and others of your noble family, and much honour from your own person in the performance, now returns again to make a final dedication of itself to you. Although not openly acknowledged by the author, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely and so much desired that the often copying of it hath tired my pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view, and now to offer it up, in all rightful devotion, to those fair hopes and rare endowments of your much-promising youth, which give a full assurance to all that know you of a future excellence. Live, sweet Lord, to be the honour of your name; and receive this as your own from the hands of him who hath by many favours been long obliged to your most honoured parents, and, as in this representation your attendant Thyrsis, so now in all real expression,

Your faithful and most humble servant,

H. LAWES.

I think this letter leaves the impression that Milton, though he may have known the Countess at Harefield, was not intimate with the Egertons at Ashridge. Otherwise why should Lawes refer to him in the somewhat distant manner of the letter, or why should it not include some intimation at least of Milton's approval of such a dedication, and of his concurrence therein? ⁵ If Milton knew the younger members of the family, and agreed with Lawes in his admiration of this particular member, he would hardly have lost this opportunity of showing his regard in a way which was neither fawning nor unmanly. But further conjecture seems at present unwarranted.

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⁵ Explained in part, perhaps, by Milton's modesty concerning his early work.

REVIEWS.

Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg: A Translation into Modern English Prose, with Introduction and Notes. By John R. Clark Hall, M. A., Ph. D. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. London, 1901. Pp. xlv, 203.

THIS book should commend itself at once to teachers and students as a useful compendium of Beowulf material. The author aims to present in his introduction 'what is actually known with respect to the poem,' and what seems to him 'most likely to be true amongst the almost innumerable matters of conjecture concerning it.' It will thus be evident that the book is intended to serve as a convenient work of reference rather than to offer entirely new solutions of the many Beowulf problems. Under the heading 'Fact,' Dr. Hall gives a clear and concise account of the history of the MS., of geographical and historical allusions in the poem, and of the little we know about the culture of the period; under the heading 'Conjecture,' he gives us his own opinions respecting the date and composition of the poem. To this are added a bibliography, a map, twelve valuable illustrations, numerous indexes, and a good translation with notes. Thus the volume makes an excellent supplement to a text-edition of the poem, such as Wyatt's. So much for the book's appeal to the teacher and the elementary student.

Scholars will naturally be attracted to the author's discussion of the more intricate problems of the poem. As regards the composition of the *Beowulf*, Dr. Hall will have nothing of the somewhat fine-spun theories of Ten Brink and Müllenhoff. He believes that the poem was made by an Anglian who had been converted to Christianity, but who had attained to nothing beyond a rudimentary knowledge of its doctrines. Thus Dr. Hall takes issue with Professor Blackburn in the explanation of the Christian coloring in the *Beowulf*. He thinks that there is too large a number of incidental allusions to Christianity to be accounted for by a theory of interpolation, and that all theories of interpolation presuppose infinite pains on the

part of the one who made the changes. For the well known passage at line 175, denouncing heathen rites, Dr. Hall has no adequate explanation, nor does he make quite clear why a man whose allegiance to Christianity was merely perfunctory should have troubled himself to insert any Christian references whatever.

Dr. Hall's views concerning the English authorship of the poem do not differ much from those expressed in Arnold's *Notes on Beowulf*, though he believes that the Scandinavian element was very probably introduced through the Anglian dialect. References to Garmund, Offa, and the Helmings, together with the Mercian forms in the poem, lead him to postulate a Mercian authorship. He thinks that the work may have been written in 660, soon after Penda's death, during the peace and prosperity in Mercia. The latter part of the work, however, he would date twenty years later; for this somewhat baseless opinion no other proof is offered than the vague and unsatisfactory statement that 'the author enters into the feelings of the old so thoroughly that it seems almost certain that he had grown old himself.' (p. xxvi.)

Parts of the introduction and the Bibliography contain errors. I note the following :

Schaldemose's *Beowulf* appeared in 1847, not in 1837.

Müllenhoff's 'Innere Geschichte des Beowulfs' appeared in 1869, not in 1860.

Dr. Davidson contributed nothing to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* for 1892, nor do we know of any article by him entitled 'The Philosophy [*sic*] of the Stressed Vowels in Beowulf.'

Professor Cook's note on *Beowulf* in *Modern Language Notes* for 1893 begins at column 117, not at 111.

Hoffman's *Beowulf* appeared in 1893.

Several omissions are noted :

Müller's *Mythen im Beowulf*; Sievers, 'Sceaf,' *Paul und Braune* 16. 361. If mention is made of Mr. Frye's article on Beowulf translation, it should be supplemented by other articles which really form with it a series: Gummere, 'On the Translation of Beowulf,' *American Journal of Philology*, 1885; Garnett, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 6, 3 and 4; and finally Fulton, 'On Translating Anglo-Saxon Poetry,' in the same periodical, 13 (1898). Sharon Turner's discussion of *Beowulf* is certainly of historic interest. It would seem also that Mr. E. H. Jones's paraphrase of the poem for modern readers in Cox and Jones's

Popular Romances of the Middle Ages, London, 1871, and Ragozin's *Siegfried and Beowulf* should have been mentioned.

Dr. Hall's prose rendering of *Beowulf*, based on Wyatt's text, is a very serviceable translation. He has no admiration for the *Beowulf* dialect of William Morris, with its often meaningless, often ridiculous archaisms, nor does he attempt an imitative measure like Lesslie Hall's, which often seems imitative of nothing at all. Without being too literal, he tries to be accurate, clear, and readable, and it is fair to say that he has in general succeeded. In these respects, however, the second half of the translation is quite inferior to the first. The following passage is especially well done (544-558):

' Thus we two were together on the sea for the space of five nights, till the flood, the tossing seas, the bitter-cold weather, the darkening night, drove us apart, and the fierce north wind turned on us,—rough were the waves. The wrath of the sea-fishes was aroused; then my corslet, hard and hand-locked, furnished me with help against the foes; the woven shirt of mail, adorned with gold, covered my breast. A spotted deadly brute dragged me to the bottom, the grim beast had me fast in his grip; it was granted to me that I might strike the monster with my sword-point, with my fighting weapon; the force of battle carried off the sea beast by my hand.'

If Dr. Hall does not always succeed in giving us a noble simplicity of style, it is because he has deferred too often to his scholar-readers, and has chosen to translate according to the letter rather than the spirit of the poem. It seems to us that he is often faultily literal in the translation of compounds, and that he sometimes suggests too plainly the Old English syntax. The ideal rendering of *Beowulf*, if we ever get it, will evince as much literary art as its archetype; it will cover at once the remoteness, the rapidity, and the strength of its original.

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Friðþjofs Saga ins Frækna, herausgegeben von Ludwig Larssen.
Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1901. xxiv + 54 pp.

The present edition of *Friðþjofs Saga* forms Heft 9 in the *Altnordische Sagabibliothek* at present in the process of publication under the general editorship of Gustaf Cederskjöld, Hugo Gering and Eugen Mogk.¹ So few of the shorter sagas have been edited in German that a separate edition of this excellent saga in this series is doubly welcome. As a piece of literature the *Friðþjofs Saga* is perhaps superior to anything else in the later Old Icelandic period. In portrayal of character, motivation of incidents, and the clearness and conciseness of style in which an interesting and harmonious story is told one is almost tempted to compare it with such a masterpiece of the classical period as the *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*. Especially good, though perhaps a little disproportionate in length to the rest of the story, is the chapter that relates *Friðþjof's* journey to the Orkneys. The Saga is short, covering only fifty-two pages in Larssen's edition, or a little less than a thousand lines. The version followed in the present edition is that of the longer and later redaction B, which probably belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century. The basis of the text is that of the Stockholm paper manuscript, 17, 4°, printed in the larger edition of *Sagan och rimorna om Friðþjofr hinn frækni* in 1893. The orthography has been adapted to the norms fixed by the Sagabibliothek. In an introduction of twenty-four pages are given first briefly the contents of the saga, then are discussed, § 2, Glaubwürdigkeit der Saga, § 3, Die Handschriften der Saga und ihre Verhältnis zu den *Friðþjofs-rimur*, § 4, Alter der Saga, § 5, Komposition der Saga, Ihr Verhältnis zum Tegnér'schen Gedicht, § 6, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen.

The editor rejects the view expressed by himself in the edition of 1893, that B and the *rimur* have a common prototype, itself a copy of A. The parts in which the *rimur* and B both vary from A are more numerous and more important than those in which A and the *rimur* agree, which suggests that the author of B must also have used the *rimur* as a secondary source, and he has, moreover, followed them in important points wherein they vary from the older

¹ The following volumes have hitherto appeared: I, *Aré's Isländerbuch*, edited by W. Golther; II, *Orvar-odds Saga*, R. C. Boer; III, *Egil's Saga*, Finnur Jónsson; IV, *Laxdæla Saga*, K. Kalund; V, *Flóres Saga ok Blankifstur*, E. Kölbing; VI, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Hugo Gering; VII, *Ivens Saga*, E. Kölbing; VIII, *Grettis Saga Asmundarsonar*, R. C. Boer.

version A. Of the rimur and the sagas that treat of Friðþjof, the older Friðþjofs Saga is the oldest. This the editor agrees with Falk (*Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, VI) in placing at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. The *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* dates back to not later than 1400. The *Friðþjofsrimur* are later than the *Þorsteinssaga*, but earlier than the younger *Friðþjofs Saga*, which probably belongs to the end of the Fifteenth Century.

In discussing the relation of Tegnér's poem to the Saga the originality of treatment in the former is justly emphasized. A few lines or a short chapter has sometimes been expanded to a song of considerable length, and again song 9, "Ingeborgs Klagan," which is one of the most beautiful in the Tegnérian poem, and songs 23 and 24, "Frithiof på sin faders hög" and "Försoningen" have nothing that correspond to them in the original. The editor might, furthermore, have called attention to a fundamental difference between Tegnér's poem and the original. In the Saga the motive that underlies everything that takes place is Friðþjof's love for Ingebjörg. It is a love story pure and simple, a romantic saga. In Tegnér the love story of the first part loses in importance toward the end. After the burning of the temple of Balder, song 13, it is no longer Frithiof's longing for Ingeborg that motivates the action, but the desire to atone for his crime in having destroyed the Balder image and burned the temple, and to appease the wrath of Balder. Thus the Tegnérian poem becomes a (kind of) glorification of ancient Balder worship. And so he has conceived his hero as one who is faithful to the heathen beliefs, different then in this respect from the hero of the Saga. To Friðþjof of the Saga Baldershage was not a sanctified place, and the burning of the temple was a wilful act of revenge on the kings Helge and Halfdan, who had burned Framnes, his ancestral estate, and broken their faith with him. The present reviewer does not think, however, that the facts bear out the statement of the editor that "nur das nackte gerippe der erzählung hat Tegnér der isländischen saga entlehnt, alles übrige ist sein eigen. Nur selten findet man in der saga eine einzelheit die Tegnér in sein gedicht aufgenommen hat. Höchstens der anfang des liedes 'Frithiofs frestelse' worin man c. 11, 22 der saga erkennt, und die heiteren Worte des 5 liedes (quoted here 183-5), vgl. c. 3, 8 . . . , machen einigermassen den eindruck unmittelbarer entlehnung." No one will fail to note the closeness with which the 10th song, "Frithiof

på hafvet," follows the 6th chapter, Friðþjóf's journey to the Orkneys, where, in some cases, even the wording of the text is reproduced. It would be superfluous here to cite particular passages. In this connection the 17th song, "Frithiof kommer til kung Ring," might also be compared with chapter xi of the Saga.

The very full notes on historical and mythological allusions with which Larssen's excellent edition is equipped must, finally, be mentioned. These add greatly to the value of the book in the hands of students. No vocabulary is furnished, difficult passages, of which there are very few, are explained in the notes, where also the strophes are reproduced in prose word-order and translated.

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Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich und Deutschland. Von August Sauer, o. ö. Professor an der deutschen Universität in Prag. Wien und Leipzig, 1903. Carl Fromme.

Aus Österreich ist in den letzten Jahren eine Fülle von Anregung zu uns herübergekommen. Ich erinnere nur an Anton Schönbachs *Gesammelte Aufsätze* und *Über Lesen und Bildung*, zwei Bücher, die hierzulande die weiteste Verbreitung gefunden haben und zu wichtigen Vermittlern zwischen amerikanischer und deutscher Kultur geworden sind. Dann zeigte uns Jacob Minor in seinem *Faust-Werk*, dass es drüben trotz allen Kleinkrams der Goethe-Philologen auch noch echte Goethe-Kenner gebe, die über der Erforschung des Einzelnen die Anschauung des Ganzen als Kunstwerk nicht verlieren. R. M. Werner bewies in seinem Buch *Vollendete und Ringende*—trotz mancher Fehlgriffe—, wie fruchtbar die vorurteilslose Hingebung des Gelehrten an die lebendige Gegenwart sein kann; und in seiner musterhaften *Hebbel-Ausgabe* mit den tiefgründigen Einleitungen stellt er uns den grössten modernen Dramatiker in seiner ganzen imponierenden Erhabenheit vor Augen.

Es liegt offenbar in dem österreichischen Volkscharakter, der sich vor dem reichsdeutschen durch Gemütswärme und frische Sinnenfreudigkeit auszeichnet, dass diesen Männern bei gründlichster Gelehrsamkeit und mühevollstem Forschen künstlerischer Geschmack und aesthetische Einsicht treu bleibt. Dies gilt in ganz besonderem

Masse auch von AUGUST SAUER, der uns in der Sammlung seiner *Reden und Aufsätze* eine nicht hoch genug zu schätzende Gabe darbietet.

Gleich der erste Aufsatz, *Friedrich Hölderlin* spannt unsre Erwartung aufs höchste. Was die kalte Marmorstatue des Dichters im botanischen Garten zu Tübingen nicht ahnen lässt, das lässt uns die Kunst Sauers hier miterleben: all den Glanz und Schmerz, all die Zerrissenheit dieser einsamen Dichterseele.—Ich sage absichtlich *Kunst*. Denn das ist keine detailüberwucherte Relation, keine geistreichelnde "Charakteristik" im Sinne gewisser modernster Literaturhistoriker: das ist vielmehr nachschaffende Darstellungskunst, die aus dem genauesten Wissen, aus dem intimsten Sicheinleben in die Persönlichkeit des Dichters hervorwurzelt. Wir fühlen, da steht kein leeres Wort, keine Zeile, die in dem Verfasser nicht recht eigentlich gelebt hätte, ehe sie zu Papier kam. Dieser Eindruck bleibt in dem Leser des Buches haften von Anfang bis zu Ende. Legen wir es beiseite, so sind wir nicht nur mit einer Reihe von bedeutenden Dichtern und Schriftstellern aufs engste vertraut geworden, sondern wir haben auch im Verfasser selbst eine hochsinnige und starke Persönlichkeit achten und lieben gelernt.

Wer die von Moritz Necker mit Recht "unerschöpflich" genannte Einleitung Sauers zu Grillparzers Werken kennt, wird ohne weiteres darin übereinstimmen, dass dieser Literaturhistoriker ebenso sehr als Gelehrter, wie als schriftstellerische Kraft ersten Ranges anzuerkennen ist. Dies neue Werk ist ein weiteres Zeugnis davon. An Fähigkeit die Ergebnisse wissenschaftlicher Forschung zum vollendeten Kunstwerk zusammenzufassen, an greifbarer Anschaulichkeit der Darstellung, an tiefem Empfinden, an Sprachgewalt, kommt ihm kaum ein Anderer gleich.

Die Aufsätze sind chronologisch geordnet. Auf *Hölderlin* folgt *Seume*. Die nächsten acht bilden eine Gruppe: sie geben ein fast vollständiges Bild der wichtigsten Erscheinungen aus der Glanzepoche der österreichischen Literatur. *Graf Sternberg* trägt das Verständnis für Goethe und für die deutsche Kultur überhaupt, nach Böhmen. Schreyvogel—*Zur Geschichte des Burgtheaters*—ist der Prophet Goethes in Wien. Den Höhepunkt der von diesen Männern eingeleiteten österreichischen Renaissance bildet Grillparzer, dessen Leben und Dichtungen vier Aufsätze gewidmet sind: *Akademische Festrede zu Grillparzers hundertstem Geburtstag*, *Grillparzer und Katharina Fröhlich*, *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*,

Über das Zauberische bei Grillparzer. Zu dem Klassiker des "Hohen Dramas" gesellt sich der Klassiker der Volksbühne: *Ferdinand Raimund*. Eine Gedenkrede und eine Charakteristik schildern ihn als Menschen, Schauspieler, und Dichter.—Von neueren österreichischen Dichtern werden noch *Ludwig Anzengruber* und *Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach* behandelt, von reichsdeutschen *Otto Ludwig* und *Josef Viktor von Scheffel*.

Diese trockene Inhaltsangabe muss genügen, zum Studium des Buches einzuladen. Es ist ganz unmöglich in einer kurzen Anzeige dem Gehalt des Buches auch nur annähernd gerecht zu werden. Wollte man aus der stattlichen Reihe von Dichterporträts ein einzelnes hervorheben, so würde man vielleicht der *Festrede* über Grillparzer die Krone geben. Man darf kecklich sagen, es giebt niemand auf der Welt, der Grillparzer so gründlich kennt, so innig liebt, so vollkommen versteht, wie Sauer. Die andern Grillparzerforscher mögen einige Seiten von Grillparzers Wesen erfasst haben: Sauer sieht ihm ins Herz. So hat er denn in dieser Rede das höchste Mass von charakterisierender Verdichtung und Konzentrierung erreicht. Da fehlt nicht ein einziger wesentlicher Zug, keine Seite bleibt unbeleuchtet, keine Tiefe unergründet.

Um Sauers Kunst plastischer Darstellung zu illustrieren gebe ich einige Proben. Müllner wird charakterisiert als der "Dichterprotz in Weisslingen," als "der Stern, der mit fahlem, erborgtem Glanz am Himmel des deutschen Theaters leuchtete." Von Medea heisst es: "Ein dämonisches Weib sondergleichen, durch Zauberei an die unterirdischen Götter gekettet und zugleich zum Himmel emporragend, ein dämonisches Weib, das, wie es ihm aus Duft und Nebel, rings von wolkennahen Klippen umgeben, entgegentrat, den Dichter selbst aufwühlte und erschütterte bis ins innerste Mark." Hätte man die Tragik von Grillparzers Liebesleben eindrucksvoller schildern können als in dem kurzen Satz: "Ein jammervoller Anblick, wie zwei gute, ausgezeichnete, edle, aber herb in sich abgeschlossene, eigenwillige Menschen vergebens sich abringen und abquälen, und ein geringer Trost, wie aus der Asche der Liebe nach Jahren der Phönix der Freundschaft . . . emporsteigt"? Sagt uns das ergreifende Bild nicht alles, wenn wir von Bankbanus lesen: "Darin besteht das Eigentümliche seines Charakters, dass er ächzend zusammenbricht wie ein ins Innerste getroffenes Edelmilch"? Grillparzers Dramen sind "über momentane Zeitströmungen erhaben. Sie tauchen immer wieder aus der über sie zusammenschlagenden Flut empor."—"Otto Ludwig gehört zu den wenigen deutschen

Dichtern aus der Mitte unsers Jahrhunderts, die wir erhobenen Hauptes die Schwelle in das nächste Jahrhundert überschreiten sehen, zu den wenigen, denen die Pforte der Ewigkeit offen steht, soweit sie menschlichem Tun und Schaffen überhaupt geöffnet ist."

Doch ich kann das herrliche Buch nicht ausschreiben. Es wird und muss einen Ehrenplatz finden in den Bibliotheken nicht nur der Fachgenossen, sondern aller, denen die Sache deutscher Poesie am Herzen liegt. Es hat eine Aufgabe, eine Zukunft vor allem in diesem Lande. Immer noch lassen wir die schwächlichen Halbdichter der siebziger und achtziger Jahre ihr Wesen treiben; und schon lassen wir uns durch die ephemeren Grössen des Modetheaters den poetischen Sinn verderben: aber die wahrhaft grossen Dichter des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Grillparzer und die Realisten der fünfziger und sechziger Jahre stehen fast unbeachtet beiseite. Sauer's Werk wird einige der grössten dieser Dichter und von den neueren Anzengruber und Ebner-Eschenbach hier erst bekannt machen; es wird noch mehr vollbringen, es wird vielen, die unsicheren Geschmacks von einem Literaturerzeugnis zum andern tappen, ein treuer Führer sein zum Heiligtum der Kunst selbst: "Der hastige Drang nach täglich Neuem jagt uns an den Meilenzeigern vorüber, die der Geist der Jahrhunderte von Zeit zu Zeit errichtet. Die kritische Zweifelsucht raubt uns auch die Ruhe und Andacht, um auf den Altären zu opfern, die die Genien der Menschheit in den höchsten und unvergänglichsten Kunstwerken erbaut haben mit allem Aufwand ihrer Kräfte, mit ihrem eigenen Leben, mit dem Blut ihres Herzens."

O. E. LESSING.

Smith College.

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ASSOCIATIVE AND APPERCEPTIVE TYPES OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE.

WHILE there is no question that literary criticism abounds in dogmatic books on style, in which the law is laid down as to how one ought to write, there are on the other hand very few investigations of an analytic character, attempting to show how prosaists actually have written, and why they have shaped their style in just such and such a manner. In German even less work has been done in this line than in English. The reasons are obvious to anybody who will compare the curriculum of the English or American college with that of the German institutions with regard to the importance ascribed to the study of the native tongue. Whatever one may think of the relation between objective and subjective (individual) stylistics, it is safe to say that the main reason for neglecting the latter is found in the complexity of the problem. Provided that it is mainly the power of individuality which chemicalizes, as it were, a given material of language and moulds it into what we call style, it is evident that a true history of prose style is one of the most difficult tasks to be undertaken, because it implies an insight into as many individualities as there are writers. No branch of philological or literary work requires a greater variety of points of view, and while brilliant aphorisms or a powerful deduction of one predominating principle may be of great heuristic value, it is only the combination of several points of view, the method of "reciprocal elucidation," as Scherer calls it, which will free us from mechanical classifications and give us an organic view of the problem of individuality.

If we were to undertake the grouping of these various elements which constitute style, a practical scheme might be obtained by formulating the problem of style as the problem of the relation between the individual writer and the various forces or conditions by which he is determined. Among these there are five which are of special importance: 1) material (type

of language); 2) class of writing (narrative, descriptive, etc.); 3) environment (spirit of the age, philosophy of the writer); 4) process of writing (spontaneous, elaborated, etc.); 5) process and form of thinking. The last of these 5 points of view implies the question: How were the ideas formed and organized at the moment they were embodied in language and in how far is this mental process reflected in language or does it produce a type of style? It is evident that a stylistic investigation based on this question will exhibit a purely psychological character, and it is from this psychological point of view only that certain forms of prose style will be examined in the following article.

The problem of style has only very recently been approached from this side, namely in Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*, or rather the first part of it, *Die Sprache*. But the methods applied in this book are so clearly formulated and have at once yielded such definite results that they encourage a more detailed investigation on the psychological basis. It is well known that Wundt's epoch-making book is essentially a practical application of his long-established system of psychology, which in its most condensed form may be found in his *Grundriss der Psychologie* (4th edition, Leipzig, 1901). In referring to this book with regard to the elementary principles of Wundt's psychology, we pass on, without further preliminaries, to those chapters in his book on language, in which the fundamental theories on sentence structure are discussed.

The basis of our investigation is Wundt's definition of the sentence (p. 240):¹ "The sentence is the analysis and organization of a unit of thought accomplished by bringing its elements into logical relations."² We have furthermore to realize that

¹ All quotations given under *Wundt* refer to the second volume of his book, *Die Sprache*, which forms the first part of his *Völkerpsychologie*.

² I hope I have succeeded in giving a fairly good translation of this fundamental definition, the original of which runs as follows: "Der Satz ist der sprachliche Ausdruck für die willkürliche Gliederung einer Gesamtvorstellung in ihre in logische Beziehungen zu einander gesetzten Bestandteile." The adjective, 'willkürliche,' which is here the psychological term for a 'volitional action,' has been omitted, because this feature of the process is immaterial for our purposes. The main difficulty lies in the accurate rendering of the word: 'Gliederung,' which implies both the analysis and synthesis, a unity in variety, though the stress is laid upon the analytical act.

the entire process of forming a sentence consists of three stages : 1, the formation of the unit, a synthetic act ; 2, the analysis ; 3, the binding together by the elements of relation, which is another synthetic act. There are consequently two moments in our thinking during which we take a comprehensive view of a compound thought : the moment before and after the analysis ; the first time it stands vaguely, the second time more clearly before our consciousness. As to the analysis it is important to realize the dichotomy of the logical forms of thought. By a strictly apperceptive act every unit is divided into two parts, the idea of an object, and of a quality or condition, perceived in this object. The formula \widehat{ab} expresses the simplest form of an apperceptive unit or of a judgment. Wundt constantly emphasizes the fact that this form of predicative thinking is by no means the original form, but rather an advanced one. He shows that in accordance with the frequency of attributive forms in primitive languages, all languages had to pass through a stage, in which the attributive form prevailed. It is the copula which performed the task of changing the attributive into the predicative form, and the triumph of the latter is one of the most important events in the inner history of language. This development seen from a broader point of view is only a special case of the general law that all apperception, that is the faculty of perceiving an idea distinctly and giving it the preference to other ideas by a voluntary action, rests upon associations, the more primitive form of thought.

To return to the conditions of language, we find, in distinction from the strictly dichotomic type of apperception, another type, which shows the associate character, a passive form of thought, a mere flow of ideas, without giving any one the preference over another. This type, the open connection, Wundt symbolizes by a horizontal bar, indicating that an element of the sentence is loosely attached : \widehat{ab}^- . The associative type in its purest form, i. e., the attributive sentence structure, is nowadays confined to primitive languages, as stated above. But though all literary languages are based upon the apperceptive form of thought, the associative forms or loosely added parts are indispensable and

occupy a more or less prominent place according to the writer and the occasion. Wundt illustrates this by analyzing two periods, one of which is taken from Goethe's early prose writing, and abounds in emotional abrupt clauses of a distinctly associative character, while the second period shows the calm, apperceptive flow of thought of his later style (p. 342 f.).

It is up to this point that Wundt carries his investigations; the reason why he did not touch upon the stylistic side of the problem may be seen in the general ethnological character of his book, in which there was little room left for the discussion of subtle details bordering partly on the field of æsthetics. However that may be, it seems to me that the establishment of these two main types may be used as a foundation upon which to build a system of types, and that in this way we may be able to find a clue to a great many stylistic problems on a strictly psychological basis.

If we undertake here to construct such a system of types it must be emphasized first of all that in presenting a certain number of types and a certain arrangement of them, we make no claim to completeness or to a definite solution of the problem. The complexity of the conditions and forces that constitute style accounts sufficiently for the endless variety of sentence-forms imaginable. Nevertheless it seems feasible to reduce these many possibilities and mixed forms to a small number of types, the character of which largely depends on the general character of the language upon which the classification is based. The system given below will apply to all Indo-Germanic languages.¹ With regard to the degree of frequency it need hardly be stated that in most writers almost every type will be found; on the other hand it could be easily shown that a tendency towards one or the other or several types prevails in nearly every writer, and that very few of them display an absolute freedom and an unlimited variety of sentence-forms.

¹ The illustrations in this article are mostly taken from German and English, for the reason that I am more familiar with these two literatures than any others.

The following plan is intended to give a general survey of the various types of sentence structure which in the course of this article will be discussed in full and illustrated. The scheme of symbolic letters is identical with the one that Wundt introduces, a few slight changes excepted. U means "unit of thought" (*Gesamtvorstellung*); \widehat{ab} symbolizes the "closed connection" (*geschlossene Verbindung*); $\widehat{ab}-b$ the open one. A group of letters placed beneath another group refers to a subordinate clause with descending construction: $\frac{ab}{cd}$, while the ascending form is symbolized by juxtaposition and capitalizing the main clause: $\widehat{ab} \widehat{AB}$. The figures attached to the letters representing open connections indicate the number of associative additions: $\widehat{ef}-f_1-f_2$.

I. ASSOCIATIVE.

1) *primitive*:

$$U_1 - U_2 - U_3$$

2) *intuitive*:

$$\begin{array}{c} \widehat{ab} \\ c-d-d_1-d_2-d_3 \\ \widehat{ef}-f_1 \end{array}$$

3) *combining*:

$$\begin{array}{c} U \\ \left. \begin{array}{c} U_1 - U_2 - U_3 - U_4 \\ \widehat{ab} \quad \widehat{ab} \quad \widehat{ab}-b \quad \widehat{ab} \end{array} \right\} U_5 \\ \widehat{AB}-\widehat{CD} \\ \widehat{EF} \end{array}$$

II. APPERCEPTIVE.

1) *isolating*:

$$\text{a) } \widehat{ab} \quad \text{b) } \widehat{ab} \widehat{AB} \quad \text{c) } \frac{ab}{cd}$$

2) *narrative*:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{a) } \overbrace{a \ b \ b \ A \ B \ B} \\
 \text{b) } \begin{array}{l} U_1 \text{ --- } U_2 \\ \widehat{a \ b} \\ \widehat{c \ d} \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

3) *interlocked*:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 U \\
 \hline
 \begin{array}{cc}
 U_1 & U_2 \\
 \widehat{a \ b} \text{ --- } \widehat{a_1 \ b_1} & \widehat{A \ B} \\
 \widehat{c \ d} & \widehat{C \ D} \text{ --- } \widehat{C_1 \ D_1} \\
 \widehat{e \ f} \text{ --- } \widehat{e_1 \ f_1} & \\
 \widehat{i \ k} \text{ --- } \widehat{l \ m} \text{ --- } \widehat{l_1 \ m_1} & \\
 & \widehat{o \ p}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

4) *analytical*:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 U \\
 \hline
 \begin{array}{cc}
 U_1 & U_2 \\
 \widehat{a \ b} & \widehat{A \ B} \\
 \widehat{c \ d} & \widehat{C \ D} \\
 \widehat{e \ f} &
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

5) *synthetical*:

$$\begin{array}{cc}
 \text{a) } \widehat{U_1 U_2} & \text{c) } \frac{U_1}{U_2}
 \end{array}$$

I, 1. In turning first to the simplest type of the associative group we need hardly explain the formula $\widehat{U_1 U_2 U_3}$, which represents the crudest form of linking associations together in a *primitive polysyndeton*, without any attempt to apperceive a unit and to analyze it. This type prevails in the speaking and writing of children or illiterate people. It is well known that children in telling their experiences are apt to begin every new clause with: "and then" or "and there." This explains itself very simply, because a child would be inclined to use such

elements of a sentence for the initial notion, which are the most important ones in emphasizing a sequence of events or which, according to Wundt's terminology, are the predominating ideas: these are of course the particles of time and space.¹ The primitive polysyndeton is likewise to be found in letters of uneducated people, because they instinctively reproduce the natural flow of their every day language.

As to the literary use, this type is naturally most appropriate in juvenile literature, fairy stories, etc. The beginning of "Sneewittchen" from Grimm's collection, may serve as an illustration: "It was winter and the snow-flakes fell from heaven like feathers, there sat a queen at a window the frame of which was of ebony, and was sewing. And as she sewed and looked up at the snow, she ran the needle into her finger and three drops of blood fell in the snow. And as the red looked so beautiful in the white snow, she thought: If I only had a child as white as snow, as red as blood and as black as the window frame." Of German writers who aimed to reproduce the sentence-structure of the lower classes and their associative tendency, I know none more successful than the Low-German poet, F. Reuter. A short passage from his novel *Stromtid* may be quoted: "So Hawermann sat there and his hands were folded and his honest blue eyes turned upward and a more beautiful light was mirrored in them than that of God's sun. Then a little maiden came running up and laid some daisies in his lap and his prayerfully uplifted hands sank and were thrown round the child: it was his child—and he rose up from the bench and took his child on his arm and in his hand he had the flowers and went with his child along the path down the garden." (Works, popular ed. VI, 197).

II, 1. The apperceptive types a-c represent forms of simple narrative, b) with preceding, c) with following subordinate clause, or b) with ascending, c) with descending construction. These types differ from the primitive associative type mainly in offering closed connections. The ideas are clearly and distinctly apperceived, that is clear in themselves and distinct from their

¹ Cf. Weil, *Order of Words* (transl. by Super), p. 31.

surroundings. I call them "isolating" because no larger units are formed but the field of consciousness is small and the smaller units follow each other quite rapidly in being moved towards the fixation-point (in Wundt's terminology). The advantage of the isolating type is a distinct exposition of the separate ideas, the disadvantage a certain nervous character (because the receiving mind has no time to rest and survey a broader field) in which one central idea dominates over the ascending and descending ideas. This type occurs neither in speaking nor in literature as frequently as one might suppose judging from its simplicity. I have found it in certain dialect writers as, for instance, in German: Rosegger, Auerbach, though with a strong leaning towards type II, 2. On the whole the excessive use of the isolating type may be considered as a mark of strong individuality, of studied effects or even mannerism. Notable instances of this kind are in German: Novalis, the romanticist, H. Grimm and W. Scherer, both literary critics, and Fr. Nietzsche, the philosopher.

With regard to Novalis, the studied simplicity of his prose may be explained as a reaction against the more elaborate periodic form prevailing in the literature of the eighteenth century, all the more as we observe the same tendency in other romanticists, as Brentano, Hoffmann, Eichendorf, etc. Simplicity and plain homely phrasing is characteristic of a great many romantic productions, and in keeping with their doctrine about folk-poetry and the natural expression of the inward thought-life without artificial embellishments. But not one of them goes as far as Novalis in presenting his ideas in the most abrupt form, and composing sometimes whole pages of short declarative sentences. Compare for instance the following passage from his novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*: "Henry was excited and did not fall asleep till towards morning. The thoughts of his soul blended in wonderful dreams. In the green plain sparkled a deep blue stream. On its smooth surface floated a boat. Mathilda sat rowing in it. She wore a wreath, was singing a simple song, and gazed across at him with a tender plaintiveness. His mind was oppressed. He did not know why. The sky was clear, the river calm. Her heavenly face was reflected in the waves. Suddenly the boat began to spin around. He cried out anxiously

to her. She smiled and laid her oars in the boat. . ." (*Novalis' Schriften*, ed. by E. Heilborn, I, 108). We might continue for two more pages and would find the same type right through, with the exception of one consecutive, two temporal, and three relative clauses. Another explanation of Novalis' style may be found in his aphoristic form of thinking. His famous *Fragmente* give the impression of inspirations hastily jotted down, breaking forth in fits and starts. How different they seem from Goethe's aphoristic thought, in which likewise fragments are presented, but each one rounded out, modified and carefully defined in its relations to cognate problems. In Novalis' aphorisms, on the contrary, we notice a feverish hunting for paradox and sharply pointed ideas, and such methods of thinking will always result in short sentences. The same might be said of Herm. Grimm, whose Goethe-biography gives evidence of this kind of style on nearly every page. With him it almost grows to be a mannerism, just as in certain novels of Felix Dahn.¹ Scherer, on the other hand, though he also indulges in sharply pointed periods, may have been influenced by a restless journalistic temperament, which makes itself so distinctly felt in his shorter essays and reviews. Scherer uses this same argument—rapid, nervous working of the reviewer—in characterizing Jacob Grimm's style, though it certainly does not apply to Grimm's orations and treatises. Scherer, by the way, states in this same article on Grimm's language (*Kleine Schriften*, I, 388) that a simple style implies moral simplicity—a statement which throws more light on Scherer's delight in coining antithetic sayings than on the problem in question. Nietzsche's style, like that of Novalis, is explained by the aphoristic tendency of his writings. He does not cultivate the 'isolating' type, however, to any great extent, except in his main work: *Also sprach Zarathustra*, a book which in its sibylline and visionary character, as if dictated by inspiration, necessarily calls for an aphoristic, lapidary style as the only adequate form of expression.

¹ An English writer who exhibits the same mannerism is Benj. Disraeli; his novels *Contarini Fleming* and *Alroy* are almost entirely written in the 'isolating' sentence-type.

Next to the aphoristic form of writing there is a certain humorous style, which by its own nature tends towards the "isolating" sentence-type and which has found its classical expression in American literature. It has nothing in common with the humor of Sterne, Jean Paul or even Dickens, but rather approaches or is influenced by Celtic wit and burlesque. The essentially American feature of this wit which distinguishes it from French "esprit" is partly the tendency to relate simple self-evident facts with a great deal of emphasis by singling out each phase of it and giving it here and there some unexpected turn,—partly the tendency to use the plainest every-day situations and most absurd objects for metaphorical purposes. In the latter respect this style of writing is greatly aided by the liberal use of slang because a great many slang expressions are pictorial phrases, humorous by general consent, thus helping to produce the effect of suggestive brevity. Without going further into the philosophy of this subject,¹ I would merely like to point out the effect which this kind of humor has upon style and that the "isolating" type is the prevailing type of sentence-structure. Nearly all the American humorists down to Eugene Field and G. Ade, offer illustrations and most of all Artemus Ward himself, the founder of this school of humor. The following passage is taken from his famous lecture on the Mormons: "Time passed on. It always does, by the way. You may have noticed that time passes on. It's a kind of way time has. I became a man. I haven't done much as an artist; but I have an uncle who takes photographs, and I have a servant who takes anything he can lay his hands on. I like art. I admire dramatic art, although I failed as an actor. It was in my schoolboy days that I failed as an actor. The play was the 'Ruins of Pompeii.' I played the ruins. It was not a successful performance. But I was better than the burning mountain. He was not good. He was a bad Vesuvius." (R. Ford, *American Humorists*, p. 19).

II, 2 and 4. In type 2 the two forms are combined, but in such a way that either the apperceptive (2 a) or associative (2 b)

¹ Cf. for instance, Brander Matthews, *Parts of Speech*, p. 194 ff; Hunt, *Style and Humor*, in his book, *Studies in Literature and Style*, p. 193 ff.

character predominates. The structure of it will become clear if compared to type 4, a type that corresponds practically to what is given as a pattern of style in books on rhetoric. Type 4 is called *analytic*, because it represents the ideal form of the analysis of a unit, in which a central idea is clearly perceived and divided into its elements by the dichotomic law in such a way that all related ideas in the whole field of consciousness arrange themselves according to their importance and relation to the goal. In how far this arrangement is well balanced, is a question of æsthetics, the discussion of which lies outside of our province. It is the style which is cultivated by English historians as Macaulay, Froude, Matthew Arnold, Washington Irving,¹ in German by such writers as Ranke, Treitschke, Schiller, etc. Only few cases of purely narrative prose seem to be represented as for instance Hawthorne, in German, Gottfried Keller and above all Goethe in his second and third period. The following sentence from Ranke's *History of the Popes* corresponds in its structure to the diagram of the analytical type (II, 4) in our plan: "Whilst the furious preachers pronounced every one excommunicated who should venture but to speak of peace with the heretic, even though he should return to the mass, the parliament recalled to memory the fundamental laws of the realm, by which foreign princes were excluded from the throne." (Kelly's translation, p. 232.)

It is evident that type 2 represents a simpler form of 4; the field of consciousness is smaller and the apperceptive power less developed, but compared to type 1, there is a decided tendency to organize a unit of thought. This intermediate stage and the elasticity of its structure may be the reason why this type is the most popular of all of them, especially in *narrative* prose; in fact nine-tenths of all novels are written in a style which may be reduced to either of the two formulas (2 a and b). It will be sufficient to quote a few lines from *David Copperfield*; the third sentence in the first chapter corresponds to formula b): "It was remarked that the clock began to strike, and I began

¹ A careful analysis of the style of some of these writers will be found in Brewster's *Studies in Structure and Style*, and in Hunt's *English Prose and Prose-Writers*.

to cry, simultaneously." The following sentence from the same novel illustrates formula a): "Often when we were at work, and she was sitting by, I would see her pausing and looking at him with that memorable face." It is to be expected that type b) should be more popular than a), because it allows greater freedom in handling loosely-woven structures, and an easy flow of associations is one of the main characteristics of narrative. If this tendency becomes very marked, as, for instance, in Dickens' prose, type 2 b) will be frequently replaced by type 2 of the associative order, or at least by a type, which may show the characteristics of the associative group, though, as will be seen later, it may not deserve to be called "intuitive."

To return with a few words to type 4, it is true that this type, from the æsthetic point of view, will always have to be regarded as a model, and the writers, who cultivate it, deserve the leading position ascribed to them in books on rhetoric. But on the other hand, the fact ought to be taken into consideration that only a very small percentage of books are written in this style and that almost all the speaking and writing done by the average person shows quite a different character from the ideal analytical type. Wundt, in his lectures on Human and Animal Psychology, maintains that the well-known saying "man thinks" is in reality nothing but an old metaphysical prejudice: "I am inclined to hold that man thinks very little and seldom. Many an action which looks like a manifestation of intelligence most surely originates in association. Besides this, man is constantly translating acts of logical thought back again into customary associations. . . . By practice we can reduce anything to association. Trains of thought which at first involved considerable intellectual labor are completed with increasing certainty and mechanical facility the oftener they are repeated. . . . For this reason, thought proper is continually engaged with permanent mental associations at the same time that it is making new ideational connections." (Creighton's and Titchener's translation, p. 363). In a similar way we might say that style proper is something very rare and that most of our writing and speaking consists in following the natural train of associations, the ready-made thought-forms, without attempting to organize them into a higher unit

and to perform an intellectual or rather ideational process.¹ It is therefore to these simpler forms of expression that we should turn in order to analyze the prevailing types of prose from a psychological point of view.

II, 3. This type is called "interlocked" on account of its complexity and involved structure. It represents a preliminary stage of four, inasmuch as it shows an attempt to apperceive larger units of thought, but the results are not satisfactory because either the language has not fully developed its syntactical resources or the writer neglects to reduce his involved periods to the strictly analytical type. It is evident that philosophical prose is most apt to fall into this mistake. The field of consciousness is unusually large and though a central idea is clearly perceived it is entangled in a network of restrictive or modifying clauses and parentheses.² I need hardly mention that Kant is the classic representative of this style and that the majority of German philosophers, above all Hegel, followed his bad example. One of Kant's favorite constructions is an ascending period opening with a conditional or causal clause, the term consequent being as a rule introduced by the particle "so." The experienced reader of Kant, who first takes a bird's-eye view of the period, appreciates this little word as a kind of a light-house or guide-post, the existence and location of which is a matter of great importance to the traveller before starting out on his adventurous journey. The frequency of this ascending construction in Kant's writings is unquestionably due to his

¹ We know of a few instances in which a writer's style is the organic expression of his individuality to such a remarkable degree that his style will be reflected even in the colloquial forms of his speech. This is, for instance, true of Goethe, who, according to the testimonies of various persons, spoke exactly as he wrote (cf. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 17, 62). As a rule, however, the spoken sentence represents the analytical stage in a more or less rough form, while the organizing act of the process of 'Gliederung' is the main function of the higher types of style.

² From a strictly psychological point of view the obscurity of the interlocked type is explained by the general law about the normal range of attention, according to which man is not able to perceive distinctly more than three or four disconnected impressions of a complex character. Cf. Wundt, *Psycholog. Psychologie*, II, 286 ff.

mathematical training, and the skeleton of some of the most involved structures corresponds in fact exactly to supposition and proof of a theorem; but the heavy cargo of limitations, parentheses and accessories, which is loaded upon the framework, covers the outlines entirely, so that the first impression is anything but that of an analysis. The following period, which is the basis of our graphical transcription (see above, p. 394) may be quoted as an illustration of this ascending construction: "If the empirical philosopher had no other purpose with his antithesis ($\widehat{a\ b}$), but to put down the rashness and presumption of reason in mistaking her true purpose ($\widehat{c\ d}$) while boasting of insight and knowledge ($\widehat{e\ f}$) where insight and knowledge come to an end ($\widehat{g\ h}$), nay, while representing what might have been allowed to pass on account of practical interests ($\widehat{i\ k}$) as a real advancement of speculative interests ($\widehat{e_1\ f_1}$), in order, when it is so disposed, either to tear the thread of physical enquiry ($\widehat{l\ m}$) or to fasten it under the pretence of enlarging our knowledge, to those transcendental ideas ($\widehat{l_1\ m_1}$) which really teach us that we know nothing ($\widehat{o\ p}$);—if, I say, the empiricist were satisfied with this ($\widehat{a_1\ b_1}$), then his principle would only serve ($\widehat{A\ B}$) to teach moderation in claims, modesty in assertions ($\widehat{C\ D}$) and encourage the greatest possible enlargement of our understanding through the true teacher, given to us, namely experience ($\widehat{C_1\ D_1}$)." (Max Müller's translation, pp. 409–10).

The interlocked type has, for various reasons, crept also into historical, scientific and even narrative prose, not to speak of German newspaper style. There are a few English writers, who indulge in this mode of writing, especially those of the 16th and 17th centuries (Richard Hooker, Walter Raleigh, Philip Sidney), and in later times, for instance, Coleridge and Carlyle; but on the whole it is true that this type is representative of a large class of German writings, and this feature of German prose has justly been regarded as one of its main deficiencies. A discussion of this matter will raise several interesting questions, but it seems advisable to postpone the settling of them to another chapter (pp. 414 ff.), in which investigations will be made to what extent the psychological treatment of stylistic problems is deter-

mined and modified by the inner history of a language and by the subject matter with which the writer has to deal.

I, 2 and 3. Leaving the discussion of the sentence-structure, which is called here "synthetic" (II, 5) until the last, we pass on to the *associative* types. In order to bring out the fundamental difference between the apperceptive and associative groups, it will be necessary to enter into a short digression about a certain force, which influences the processes of association considerably, namely *imagination*. To begin with, imagination is, as well as understanding an apperceptive process, but it rises directly from and remains in closer touch with the associations. The main difference is that in the case of understanding, a unit of thought is analyzed by being taken apart, by comparing the different components and determining their relation to each other; in the case of imagination a unit is analyzed by being compared to other units which are a reproduction of experiences or those analogous to experience. In one case the aim is to explain a thing by showing its components and measuring them by abstract concepts, in the other case to make the object in itself stand out as clear as possible by conceiving it as a whole, as something individual and measuring it by other objects—in other words by using metaphors and pictures. As the distinction is rather important, it may be permitted to use a simile. The process of understanding is like taking a watch apart, while imagination would leave it as a whole and try to visualize the idea of a watch by comparing it to other objects and impressing one as strongly as possible with a vivid picture of it.

The question arises as to how this process influences language? It is true that even in most types of the apperceptive order the power of imagination is noticeable, because the majority of associative elements in a sentence arise through the power of the imaginative process. Yet in all these types, that are called here apperceptive, the associations never gain the upper hand, but are controlled by the clear perception of a unit of thought. Herein they mainly differ from the associative types, in which the power of imagination is stronger than that of the logical thought and puts its stamp upon language by subjoining associative

clauses more or less profusely. These associative clauses do not tend to organize or analyze a unit, but to strengthen and vivify it by adding new impressions, pictures and metaphors, and by establishing thus a clear perception on the basis of intuition rather than of a minute analysis.

According to Wundt¹ imagination is active in two main directions: if the power of visualizing a single object is more fully developed, we may speak of *intuitive* imagination, while the power of combining separate units of thought or making new ideational connections might be termed *combinating* imagination. Accordingly there may be distinguished two different types of sentence-structure, reflecting in either case the underlying mental process. Both of them are represented in every literature and since imagination is one of the chief forces in the production of art, it is to be expected that these types in their extreme forms should be the vehicle of poetical prose in the same manner as the apperceptive types tend towards logical thought and scientific prose.

As to the *intuitive* type, it may be regarded as the most perfect type of the associative order in so far as it is more highly organized than the primitive form and yet not influenced by apperceptive forces like the combinating type. All it attempts is to vivify a certain unit of thought by calling up in the mind of the reader a definite visual image of what has been seen or experienced. We shall find this type especially in writers of emotional intensity, whose strength lies not so much in a calm epic flow of narrative, as in a vivid imagination, great phrasal power and strong convictions resulting rather from emotion than from thought,—in short, qualities which make the writer a poet. Such is the prose of Herder, Goethe (during his first period), Hölderlin, Heine, George Eliot, Ruskin, George Meredith, Emerson, to mention only representative writers. The first sentence from Eliot's *Romola* may serve as an illustration (cf. plan of symbolic letters, I, 2): "More than three centuries and a half ago, in the mid spring-time of 1492, we are sure that the angel of the dawn, as he travelled with broad slow wing from the Levant to the Pillars of Hercules, and from the

¹ *Physiological Psychology*, 4th ed., Vol. II, p. 445.

summits of the Caucasus across all the snowy Alpine ridges to the dark nakedness of the western isles, saw nearly the same outline of firm land and unstable sea—saw the same great mountain shadows on the same valleys as he has seen to-day—saw olive mounts, and pine forests, and the broad plains, green with young corn or rain-freshened grass—saw the domes and spires of cities rising by the river sides or mingled with the sedge-like masts on the many-curved sea coast, in the same spots where they rise to-day.” Another noteworthy example is Ruskin’s description of St. Mark’s in his *Stones of Venice*: “Beyond those troops of ordered arches there rises a vision out of the earth,” etc.

I, 3. The *combining* type is undoubtedly the most complex form of sentence-structure, and this seems natural if we examine the psychological basis of it. Combining imagination does not attempt to create a vivid mental image of an object in the readers’ mind, but to make new ideational connections, which sometimes only upon closer examination prove to form a higher unity (unless indeed the drift of ideas becomes too rapid and takes the character of fancy-flights as in the case of mental derangements). The fertile imagination of the poet produces one aggregate idea after the other; each of these is more or less distinctly apperceived and forms a unit in itself, yet without being analyzed but rather being considered as a totality. The character of this style is therefore apt to be somewhat desultory and while the boldness of combinations and power of invention may be a source of æsthetic pleasure, the result is often unsatisfactory, partly because the reader is not able to perceive the predominating idea, partly because the sentence-structure will likewise show a desultory character and in many ways resemble the interlocked type. The combining type is not likely to be found in writers who excel on the intuitive side and vice versa, because of the almost opposite qualities of these two forms of imagination: one resulting from a concrete mind observing the phenomena of the outside world, the other from an inward life of thought and fancy. One of the few writers, who combine both sides, is Goethe, at least during his Storm and Stress

period; if we add to this the purely apperceptive character of his later writings, we realize once more the universality of his mind even as reflected in his style.¹ Other representatives of the combining type are, in German, Herder and Jean Paul, in English Sterne and Carlyle; the following passage is taken from Jean Paul's novel *Titan* (cf. table of letters, I, 3): "To that soul, the morning dew of whose ideals has changed into a steady rain—and to that heart which in the subterranean walks of life meets only dry wrinkled mummies walking through catacombs leaning on staves,—and to the eye impoverished and forsaken, in which no man will ever delight again,—and to that proud son of God, whom his lack of faith and lonely solitary breast chain to an eternal unchanging sorrow—to all these thou, O reviving nature with thy flowers and mountains and cataracts, art faithful and consoling, and the bleeding Son of God, silent and cold shakes the drops of pain out of his eyes that they may gaze clear and far over thy volcanoes and thy springs and thy suns." (Hempel edition, p. 15.)

A comparison between this passage and the one from Kant quoted above will convince any one that the favorite term "loose structure" is absolutely inadequate to characterize either one or the other type from a psychological or any other scientific point of view. Kant's prose is purely apperceptive, Jean Paul's associative; with the former writer the so-called loose structure is caused by carrying the process of analysis to a point which lies beyond the normal field of consciousness, in the latter case the apperceptive volitional power is constantly thwarted by the searching for new ideational connections and metaphors. The effect produced upon the reader may be in both cases that of a hypertrophy of the organs of style, if measured by the analytic ideal, but the underlying motives are as different as the two

¹ It has to be emphasized, however, that Goethe's strength lies most decidedly in the direction of intuitive imagination (*anschauliches Denken*), whereas Schiller's style is characterized by a rapid moving train of thought and by a certain richness and splendor of metaphors, the power of close observation being very limited (cf. Elster, *Principien der Literaturwissenschaft*, I, pp. 108, 114, 125). The reason why his prose does not reflect the combining character of his imagination, has to be sought in the strong counteracting effect of his analytic power.

main forms of intellectual activity: logical thought and imagination.

II, 5. A few words remain to be said about the *synthetic* type. It has been stated before that we survey a unit of thought twice: before and after the analysis. Type 5 rests upon the supposition that the writer himself enters into the synthetic stage and that, after having perceived his idea and analyzed it, he reproduces it in a condensed form. The reader therefore receives not the analysis of the unit as the final result, but the second synthesis, which in the other types he has to obtain himself by apperceiving the gist of the whole period. This explanation might seem rather far-fetched, but I confess that in studying writers like, for instance, Tacitus or Emerson, it seemed to me wrong to classify them under type 1 or 2, simply because their sentences are very short. Everybody knows that, in spite of this virtue Emerson is not light reading, because many sentences imply the contents of a whole period. But the connecting links, which lead up to the goal and down again, are missing and this gives his style that desultory character, or, if a simile may be permitted, his sentences seem like a row of islands without bridges. What we call 'jumping' is in reality only the lacking of such bridges; all modifying elements are thrown aside in the very moment of apperceiving the goal, in order to impress the main idea upon the reader and leave it to him to substitute the connecting parts. It is the style of a man who in an assertive and apodictic manner puts down his convictions, without troubling himself about ifs and buts. The following specimens from one of Emerson's essays (*Circles*) will illustrate this condensed, synthetic type: "There are no fixtures in nature. The universe is fluid and volatile. Permanence is but a word of degrees. Our globe seen by God, is a transparent law, not a mass of facts. The law dissolves the fact and holds it fluid. Our culture is the predominance of an idea which draws after it this train of cities and institutions. Let us rise into another idea; they will disappear." (As to the intuitive element in Emerson's style, see below, p. 416).

In German, writers like H. Grimm, Novalis and Scherer seem to show a tendency in the synthetic direction; with H. Grimm

it seems all the more plausible as he is the prophet and herald of Emerson's philosophy in Germany. One of the most striking instances is the style of Tacitus, though of course the more pronounced attributive character of the ancient languages and the greater freedom with regard to word-order facilitate synthetic unity (cf. Weil, *Order of Words*, p. 35 ff.; 77; Wundt, p. 354; 359). The following chapter is taken from Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 21: "Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere testis nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatis exulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur; notum ignotumque quantum ad jus hospitii nemo discernit. Abeunto, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris, et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis."

It is interesting to notice that the two extremes of the apprehensive group seem almost alike at first sight. A careful analysis, however, shows that they form a kind of a circle, in which the famous, though much misused, principle of economy of mental energy (cf. Spencer's *Philosophy of Style*) manifests itself in a remarkable way: a wide field of consciousness is surveyed without expending more energy than it took to oversee a narrow one, or in other words: type 5 endeavors to accomplish the task of type 4 with the means of type 1. This fact alone will sufficiently illustrate the futility of measuring the average length of sentences in a writer and of relying entirely on such statistics; these may be, on the other hand, very useful as a support of proofs which rest upon an organic conception.

It has been emphasized above that this article does not claim more than to present one point of view. Only the greatest variety of applied principles can do full justice to the complexity of stylistic problems. Five such principles have been named in the introduction, but it is of course beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the way in which they act upon each other. The only question which will be briefly treated is: how the

results obtained by psychological methods are determined, confirmed or modified by the other principles. An answer is given by first determining the normal sphere and spontaneous growth of the psychic element, and after that bringing it into relation to the other principles.

In examining first the normal growth of language from the psychological view, we find that in the life of the individual as in that of a community there are typical stages of development, to which certain types of sentence structure correspond.¹ The primitive polysyndeton, as stated above (p. 394) is characteristic of the child's speech.² As to the period of transition we find either the intuitive type (if the emotional life is more developed) or the interlocked type; it has been frequently noticed that high school and college students tend at first to heavy style, and gradually learn to shorten their clauses.³ From the mature man we would expect more settled forms, such as the narrative or analytic type, according to temperament and character of work. The extreme types of the apperceptive order are highly individual, and not included in the normal growth.

Similar observations can be made on the phylogenetic side, yielding even more positive results. The extent to which certain forms of the attributive sentence-type are preserved in a great many primitive languages has been discussed and illustrated by Wundt (p. 330 ff.). The primitive type is likewise to be found in modern dialects, and as these often preserve previous styles of the literary language, it is to be expected that the same

¹ The question as to parallels which may be drawn between the ontogenetic and phylogenetic growth of language, has been frequently discussed, especially in connection with the numerous investigations about infantile linguistics which have sprung up during the last ten years. A full list of books and articles concerning this subject will be found in a recent contribution by E. Meumann: *Die Entstehung der ersten Wortbedeutungen beim Kinde*, *Philosophische Studien*, ed. by Wundt, vol. xx, p. 213.—An extensive use of this parallel has been made by Sherman, *Analytics of Literature*, pp. 269 ff.

² Cf. Ament, *Sprechen u. Denken beim Kinde* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 185: 'Endlose Coordination von Sätzen ist sehr beliebt.' See also the letters of children on pp. 187 ff.

³ Cf. Sherman, *University of Nebraska Studies*, vol. I, p. 363; it is probable, however, that the influence of Latin diction or the study of literary style in general, accounts for this tendency to a certain extent.

structure should prevail, for instance, in the Old or Middle High German literature.¹ That this supposition is true to some extent, may be illustrated by a passage from a popular sermon of the fourteenth century (treating of the miracles of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia): "In irre kintheit, dô si wart loufende in deme hûse, dô stal si allez das si begreif, daz man ezzen unde trinken mochte unde gap iz den armen. Dô si die koche vormelditen und daz gesinde, dô wartit iz der herre selber; und dô si ûz der kuchin ginc und hate iren gêren vol geladen, dô begegnete her ir und sprach: libez tochterchîn, waz treist du? Dô sprach si: ich trage rôsen und will ein schapel machen. Dô sprach her: wîse mir di rôsen, wanne her wiste wol daz iz brôt unde vleisch was. Dô warf si tûf den gêren: dô wâren iz allez rôte rôsen und wîze, und in der armen lûte hant wart iz wider brôt und vleisch." (Pfeiffer, *Deutsche Mystiker*, vol. I, 242).²

If we compare with this passage another Old German sermon, which shows quite a periodic structure, though it dates from an earlier time, we realize at once the powerful influence of other agencies, which thwart the normal growth of style. In this particular instance it is the effect that Latin, the literary language of the Middle Ages, exerted upon national thought and expression, and which may be traced in the following specimen from a sermon of the 11th century, written under the influence of Gregory's homilies: "Fore sînere kiburte sô santi er die patriarchas unde die prophetas. Suie unole die kiuworhte nâh sînere hulde, sô ni phiegin si doh sâ nieth des lônis, unande si alla zi helli fuoren. Ava nû zi gunste siet sînere kiburti, dô santi er die boton. Suie die zi jungisti chômen, sô inphiengen si doh folliz lôn, unande in daz himelrîh offen stuont, sô si allerêrist got volgetin, sô iz auh noh uns allen tuot, suenne uuir unsih durhnahtlîchen bichêrin." (*Mûllenhoff und Scherer's Denk-*

¹ As to Early English, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle offers copious illustrations of the coordination of clauses. Cf. Sherman, *Analytics of Literature*, p. 270.

² It is of interest to notice here the same tendency towards a liberal use of demonstrable particles of time and space, which we observed in the child's speech. Both these cases agree with the general law stated by Wundt (pp. 417, 456) that an abundance of demonstrative pronouns is highly characteristic of the concrete thinking of primitive languages.

mäler, I, 278; cf. interpretation, vol. II, 423 f.). It would be easy enough, however, to quote from the same source other passages which, as to their structure, are based upon the primitive-demonstrative type and prove that the original psychic force was strong enough to assimilate foreign influences.

Formative periods are inclined towards an involved grammatical structure, a fact which could be illustrated from both German (15th–17th centuries) and English literature (15th–16th centuries; cf. Hunt, *English Prose*, p. 54). Least of all will the predominance of the analytic type in settled periods be disputed; all literatures from the Golden Latinity to the English prose of the 19th century offer illustrations.¹ As to the highly individual types, they seem to occur mostly in periods of reaction, which are apt to follow epochs of a more periodic structure: a symptom of subjectivity, as for instance in the Silver Latinity and the Romanticism of the 19th century.

This latter problem however touches upon the second part of our investigation, i. e., the question, in what way the psychic factor is determined by the other elements which constitute style. It seems most practical to follow the list of these as given above (p. 390) and discuss each of the four principles in its relation to the psychological view: 1. material; 2. class of writing; 3. method of thinking; 4. process of writing.

I. *Material*. The languages with fixed construction may either give the governing word the precedence over the governed word (descending construction) or place the former after the latter (ascending construction), and the same distinction may be made in respect to the period.² The ancient languages enjoyed considerable liberty in arranging both words and sentences; of the modern languages French and English tend to descending, German to ascending construction. These general tendencies explain why certain types of sentence-structure are characteristic

¹The evolution from a more involved to a clear analytic construction is clearly indicated by the fact that in several modern languages a gradual shortening of sentences has taken place since the 16th century. This has been observed in French (cf. *American Journal of Philology*, VI, 344) and in English (L. A. Sherman, *University of Nebraska Studies*, I, 337 ff.; *Analytics of Literature*, p. 256 ff.).

²Weil, *Order of Words*, pp. 59, 75.

of certain languages. The ancient languages with their greater freedom, their interlocked periods, verbal nouns, etc., were better enabled to bring out the synthetical unity,¹ and the concise style of Tacitus greatly profited by this. French and English prefer the analytic types, while the ascending character of the German calls for synthetic forms, in which the period is bound together. This tendency towards the involved period in German is even encouraged by the final position of the verb in dependent clauses and by the separation of the inflected and uninflected parts of the verb. It may be, that the striving after synthetic unity is more characteristic of German thought than the clear analysis and decomposition, at any rate there is a causal connection between the frequency of the interlocked type and the ascending construction. The contrast between Macaulay and Ranke is quite striking in this respect; the German historian tends to the ascending, the English to the descending structure.²

Next to the organic character of a language, its *history* or rather the agencies which have checked or furthered the growth of the language, have to be considered. Nothing has done more harm to the steady development of the German language than the absence of political life and public speaking; the consequence was that the spoken and written language each lived a separate life: one had no models to follow except those set up by the needs of the day, while the other by following foreign models and lacking the stimulating influence of oratorical prose, grew into a bookish language, and had no occasion to develop a simple, clear and incisive style.³

¹ Wundt, p. 354; Weil, p. 77.

² Whenever a German writer uses descending types, it is safe to assume foreign influence; thus in the case of Lessing's style, as was keenly observed by Jean Paul (Works, Hempel edition, 52, 181).

³ One of the few critics of the 18th century, who recognized this national calamity, was Thomas Abbt (cf. Philippi, *Kunst der Rede*, pp. 123 ff.). It is worthy of mention that Goethe likewise was deeply impressed with this fact, and that he referred to it in his conversation with the two Americans Ticknor and Everett, who saw him in 1816: "Here we have no eloquence—our preaching is a monotonous, middling declamation—public debate we have not at all, and if a little inspiration sometimes comes to us in our lecture-rooms, it is out of place, for eloquence does not teach." *Gespräche*, 3, 271. A similar statement is reported by Eckermann, *Gespr.*, 5, 64.

Furthermore the dependence on Latin models was a natural consequence of the same unfortunate lack of national life, and this Latin influence proved to be one of the strongest agencies in thwarting the organic growth as determined by psychological laws. It is true that the English language likewise had to pass through a period, in which the study of Latin during the Humanistic movement left its stamp upon the grammatical diction.¹ Another adverse agency in the history of the English literary style was the so-called Euphuism, which was imported from Spain and is exhibited in the writings of Philip Sidney and John Lylye.² But all these disturbances in the history of English prose were far less serious than the disastrous influence both of Latin³ and of the bureaucratic language⁴ upon German style. These foreign or artificial models were fatal, because the spoken language did not produce any models out of its own resources; hence a literary language could only arise through the medium of books or official documents which had to be understood by everybody. The bureaucratic style is, however, the last source from which a simple narrative prose would receive a stimulating influence. It is not until the Storm and Stress and Romantic movements that the living language was utilized for higher literary purposes; the German prose has now reached the stage which the English occupied more than a century ago.

This short sketch will be sufficient to prove that the psychological interpretation of style has to be supplemented by the historical view, and that psychic forces may be given a different direction or altogether checked by more powerful agencies. As to German prose-style, however, a few words may be added concerning less the objective view and actual development than the subjective criticism, which has been passed upon German

¹ Cf. Hunt, *English Prose*, pp. 56, 251, 311. A typical Anglo-Latin writer is Richard Hooker, whose prose is more or less based on the interlocked type; cf. J. Payne, *Studies in English Prose*, p. 99.

² Cf. Landmann, *der Euphuismus*. Dissert., Giessen, 1881.

³ A. Socin, *Schriftsprache und Dialecte*, pp. 191 ff. The radical difference between Latin and German periodic structure has, besides Abbt, been stated with remarkable clearness and emphasis by Herder (*Über die Verschiedenheit der lateinischen und deutschen Perioden*, Works, Hempel, 24, 261 ff.).

⁴ Socin, *Schriftsprache*, pp. 164-198.

style. While its shortcomings are very evident, it is no less true that they have often been misrepresented and that it has been held responsible for the palpable defects of a few writers. The criticism which De Quincey passed upon the German language,¹ may be regarded as typical of the prevailing view especially among the English-speaking nations. De Quincey cannot find strong enough words to express his utter disgust with German style, but it is characteristic that he refers almost exclusively to Kant as an illustration. It would be absurd to defend Kant or any of the German philosophers (except Schopenhauer and Nietzsche) as to their prose-style, but it ought not to be overlooked that even in the 18th century there were as good prose-writers in Germany as anywhere, such as Lessing, Möser, Lichtenberg, Thümmel, Forster,—not to speak of Goethe himself, and that the age of Romanticism and of the so-called “Young Germany” produced an abundance of good prose. If therefore De Quincey maintains that “German prose, as written by the mob of authors, presents, as in an . . . exaggerating mirror, the most offensive faults of our own” (*Essay on Style*, p. 34), this statement is wrong and based on such extremes as that of the philosopher of Königsberg. The reason why this prejudice could be established, may be seen in the fact, that German metaphysics was studied and appreciated at a much earlier time than German literature at large.

De Quincey's sharp censure, whether it was justified or not, might teach us however something else; namely the utter failure of the dogmatic view in matters of style. Nobody who approaches these problems from a historical or psychological side, would take it for granted that a whole nation consists of either dunces or bunglers, and he would be convinced that certain tendencies, which are noticeable in the style of a foreign nation and remain unchanged through centuries, must be deeply rooted in the whole psychic structure of the nation. It is true that the material which the German writer has to handle, is not favorable to a clear analytic style, but we have now learnt to look upon limitations not only in the light of an obstacle but of a stimulating force and opportunity. In his criticism of Spencer's

¹ Thomas De Quincey, *Essays on Style*, ed. by F. N. Scott, pp. 31, 34, 182, 210.

Philosophy of Style, T. H. Wright tries to interpret Spencer's saying: "to have a specific style is to be poor in speech," and finds that "style at all owes its existence to the imperfection of the vehicle of thought."¹ In a similar way Walter Pater in his *Essay on Style* maintains that "the art of the scholar is summed up in the observance of those regulations demanded by the nature of his medium, the material he must use."² Given a language, which tends to *involved* diction, it will be found that its periods *evolve* a greater synthetic unity than the analytic type can ever produce. The separating of the inflected and uninflected parts of the verb as well as the position of subordinate clauses³ both presuppose and require a constructive mind, a power of organization and a striving for organic unity.

This point of view, to exemplify and dilate upon which, lies outside of our province, has been well set forth by F. N. Finck,⁴ who interprets the involved German period as a proof "of an unusual power of will and mental energy," p. 477; "the truly German tendency towards an involved structure (*Einschachteln*) gives not only evidence of intellectual labor accomplished, but furnishes at the same time the best obtainable lesson, how to perform such a task," p. 570. It has to be admitted that narrative prose, as a rule, will suffer from the use of the involved structure, and it is to be regretted, that even such writers as Heinr. von Kleist do not realize the unfitness of it in a novel, and in such a dramatic novel as *Michael Kohlhaas*.⁵ But in reading, for instance, Gottfried Keller or Raabe, or even Goethe, we are on the other hand struck with the redeeming qualities and availability of this type, if not carried to an extreme. In how far epic prose may be greatly benefitted by this kind of diction has been pointed out by O. Ludwig, the poet and critic, in one of his suggestive "*Studien*," which may be quoted here at length: "Short sentences impart to style a jumping, hurried

¹ Spencer, *Philosophy of Style*, etc., ed. by Scott, p. 57.

² Walter Pater, *Appreciations*, p. 9.

³ Cf. Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau*, 2nd ed., I, 404.

⁴ *Der deutsche Sprachbau als Ausdruck deutscher Weltanschauung. Die Neueren Sprachen*, vol. VI.

⁵ Cf. for instance, works ed. by Muncker, vol. 4, p. 63, the long period, beginning with: "Nicht nur, dass," etc.

character, which is not in keeping with epic calmness and epic comfort. They remind somewhat of the direct straight line, which may correspond to descriptive prose, but least of all to epic poetry, that takes pleasure and enjoyment out of its own course. They especially stand in opposition to the novel, which in the whole presentation of the story imitates the involved character of the period. In the character of the period we find already expressed, what is called the indirect, i. e., retarding element of the epic poem. The beauty, which lies in the turnings and windings of the individual incidents, in the way these are interlocked and bound together, may be reflected, on a smaller scale, in the structure of the sentence.”¹

II. *Class of Writing.* Very little need be said about the relation of the psychological view to the classes of prose style. If we were to group the representative literary forms under the heads of the eight sentence-types which are the basis of our investigation, the following plan would represent normal conditions: Apperceptive group: 1. aphoristic; 2. narrative; 3. philosophical; 4. historical, scientific; 5. aphoristic. Associative group: 1. narrative, folk poetry; 2. oratorical; 2 or 3. descriptive, poetical prose.

There are, of course, many exceptions to this arrangement, owing to the powerful action of the two individual forces, which will be discussed next: the philosophy of the writer and his methods of working. But it will be found, on the other hand, that a man is apt to do most of his literary work in that type which is characteristic of his representative writings. As an illustration I refer to the influence which the *oratorical* form has had upon several writers whose life work was lecturing or preaching. Thus Herder's prose betrays throughout the preacher, and is mostly written in the intuitive type. The same is true of Emerson; his style exhibits, however, two features, partly the condensed synthetic form, which appeals to the reader more through emphatic statements, partly the emotional character of the intuitive type. Both forms have this feature in common, that they are strongly rhetorical; they are born out of and appeal to an affective state of mind.

¹ Otto Ludwig, Werke, vol. vi, 183 f.

Emerson was preëminently a lecturer, and the fact that his productions were conceived in the form of orations, explains both the strong and weak side of his style: his pithiness, energy and sententiousness on one hand, and the discontinuity of thought, abruptness and even incorrectness on the other hand.¹

A rhetorical figure, which will almost invariably occur in the intuitive type, is the *anaphora*, the repetition of one or more words, to intensify each successive statement and thus produce the effect of a rhetorical climax. Both Emerson and Herder use this figure abundantly; George Eliot is likewise very fond of it.

III. *Philosophy.* One would naturally expect that the intellectual process, which underlies all writing, should be reflected in style, but it seems extremely difficult and next to impossible to classify the types of sentence-structure from this point of view, because of the infinite variety of individual forms of thinking. The ratio in which the elements of logical thought and imagination are mixed, is in reality identical with the individuality of the writer himself, and a history of prose-style, which is based upon the individual point of view, has to determine this ratio in every individual case. The only way of reducing the individual cases to a certain number of types, might be found in such classifications, as the one offered by Wundt:² by intercrossing the two forms of understanding (deductive and inductive) with the two forms of imagination (intuition and combination) four types of thinking are obtained: observation, invention, analysis, speculation. But it is questionable, whether even this classification, as applied to the types of sentence-structure, would be more than a mechanical one. Much simpler is the question, in how far the predominance of imagination or understanding in a writer influences his productions;³ it is obvious that the almost opposite style of such men as Lessing and Sterne can be easily traced back to the totally different organization of the two minds.

¹ Cf. Hunt's analysis, *Studies in Literature and Style*, pp. 246-278; also Morley, *Critical Miscellanies*, I, 313 ff., where Emerson's style is very aptly termed 'staccato.'

² *Physiological Psychology*, fourth ed., II, 496.

³ Elster, *Principien der Literaturwissenschaft*, pp. 75-145, where Goethe, Schiller and Lessing are analyzed from this point of view, without touching, however, upon their style.

With regard to certain specific forms of the intellectual process, little need be said about the metaphorical power, unless it be excessively developed. In that instance the combining or intuitive type of sentence-structure will be the natural form of expression (Carlyle, Sterne, Jean Paul, etc.). Far more important is *antithesis*, which, as a rule, is ranked among the so-called rhetorical figures, but in reality is a fundamental form of the intellectual process, as has been justly emphasized by Elster.¹ A clear definition can be obtained by contrasting it with the metaphor; the latter is a product of simultaneous association (cf. Wundt, p. 557) and appeals to imagination, in so far as it results from thinking in concrete ideas and units of thought. Antithesis rests upon successive associations; it appeals to understanding and aims at explaining an idea by contrasting it with another one. It is obvious that metaphor as a rule will not be reflected by the sentence-structure, because, it merely substitutes one unit of thought for another one. Antithesis, on the contrary, depends entirely on the logical form of thought and impresses itself upon the grammatical diction in an unmistakable manner. In fact, the contrasted structure is one of the chief forms of the analysis and has always been most popular in historical and scientific prose. It is undoubtedly organic in many instances, but the very character of it explains, why it has often become a mere rhetorical figure and why even the best writers have not been able to escape this danger. The two main sentence-types of the antithesis are the isolating and analytical types; the former, if the two statements are set over against each with incisive forcefulness, the latter, if the whole period is organized antithetically. The most important representatives in English are Johnson and Macaulay;² in German, Schiller,³ Lessing⁴ and Scherer; the antithetic apperception of Scherer explains his extensive use of the isolating type, and the

¹ *Principien*, pp. 395 ff.

² Hunt, *English Prose*, pp. 402 ff. The author takes the occasion to point out the interesting fact that "in poetry and prose alike all successful *satirists* have dealt largely in counter statement. Butler in *Hudibras*; Pope in *The Dunciad*; Dryden in his epistles; Swift in his allegories and Addison in his papers have all freely used it."

³ Elster, *Principien*, p. 398.

⁴ E. Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, 2, 717.

way in which he carries this method of counter-statements to mannerism, has often been severely criticised.

No less than the process of thinking is the philosophy of the writer reflected in style, and in this respect more than in any other, a mechanology of style is absolutely helpless. Even the psychological laws will have to submit to this most powerful of all agencies, but it would be futile to draw up any generalizing schemes, as each individual case represents a world of its own, which in its complexity and mixture cannot be measured by any typical standards.

IV. *Process of Writing.* A few words may be added about the way in which the normal psychological growth is affected by the process and method of working. It would be simple enough to trace the unity between man and style, if we had not to realize the fact that style is often something artificial, fostered by imitating certain models, which in their turn are dictated by aesthetic doctrines or fashions. No better example could be found than the style of Flaubert the "martyr of literary style;"¹ in instances of this kind the spontaneous action of psychological laws is almost entirely neutralized by the process of voluntary artistic production.

In studying the sentence-structure of a writer, his method of working should be taken into account, before drawing inferences as to the psychological and causal connection. Since the higher analytic forms are apt to follow certain models or doctrines more or less intentionally, there is no question that the simpler types, as stated repeatedly, offer a more reliable and accessible basis for studying the problem of the relation between thought and language.²

¹ Walter Pater, *Appreciations*, p. 24; G. Brandes, *Moderne Geister*, pp. 291, 308.

² The more artificial and bookish a man's style, the more his writings will differ from his spoken language; hence it seems very plausible that Johnson, whose style was to a large extent the conscious imitation of Latinic diction should have been a different man as soon as he talked. "He had a kind of a dual personality. One was for the coffee-house and the street; the other was for the desk." Hunt, *English Prose*, p. 323; or, as Macaulay puts it: "When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of English into Johnsonese." Compare with this the unity of speaking and writing in Goethe (above, p. 401, note).

The foregoing sketch does not claim more than to offer a few suggestions as to the question, in how much the psychic elements in style are determined and modified by other more or less powerful agencies. But even the most accurate analysis of these various forces and their relation to each other will not be able to master a certain irrational element, which may be easily traced in its effects, but less so in its sources: the element of *individuality* itself. We define individuality as that power which vitalizes the material of language, which causes all the various acting forces to appear in every instance in just such and such a constellation, and which finally binds them all together in an *organic unity*. 'All depends upon the original unity, the vital wholeness and identity of the initiatory apprehension or view.'¹ But here before the problem of individuality the scientific investigation leaves the field to the higher forms of synthesis, that present the only adequate expression of what is individual: to *art* and *intuition*. The greater the variety of points of view, the greater the possibility of encircling that which is typical, by logical concepts and judgments, and of eliminating from the complexity of the individual phenomenon everything which may be reduced to a type or formula. The final residuum, however, is irrational, and its congenial reproduction is the province of the artist.²

Whatever means may be employed in determining the typical elements of style, there is no doubt that the *psychological* methods will gain the upper hand and conquer the method of logical subsumption. They are a decided step towards breaking away from the old rhetorical definitions, which have controlled the field ever since the days of Aristotle; they will aid in classifying forms of style, not according to the effect, but to the cause, and in revealing an infinite variety of types instead of a few dogmatic models. Style can only be fully understood by analyzing the growth of thought, before it is born into language.

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¹ Pater, *Appreciations*, p. 19.

² Lamprecht, *Zeitschr. für Socialwissenschaft*, vol. II, 13.

A REMOTE ANALOGUE TO THE MIRACLE PLAY.¹

IN the First Part of Cynewulf's *Christ*, that dealing with the Advent, there is a passage of 49 lines which various writers have imagined to constitute a precursor of the English drama. Thus Conybeare said of it in 1826: 'Dialogues of this kind were probably in our own country, as in Greece, the earliest and rudest species of the drama, and that here preserved is unquestionably by many years the most ancient specimen of this kind of poetry existing in our native language.'

In 1885 Wülker thought of the individual hymns which, according to him, composed the Advent section, as sung in church on certain festival occasions, and, under these circumstances, of Joseph and Mary, the speakers in this dramatic passage, as perhaps represented bodily before the congregation. 'Upon this supposition,' he continues, 'we should here have the beginning of the ecclesiastical drama, as we know it arose in other countries.'

Gollancz calls it the earliest dramatic scene in English literature, and believes that it was 'derived from an undiscovered hymn arranged for recital by half-choirs.'

In his *History of Early English Literature*, Stopford Brooke wrote—though he retracted his views in a foot-note: 'It seems to be the first dawning in our literature of the Mystery Play. I cannot but think that this part of the poem was written to be recited in the church, or in the market-place on a stage, and that the characters were taken by different persons. If so, we ought to look on the next few lines with the interest which should gather round the beginnings of the English drama.'

Courthope, in his *History of English Poetry*, is more guarded, and only says of it that 'it breathes a genuine dramatic spirit.'

¹ A brief abstract of this paper was read before the Modern Language Association of America, Dec. 29, 1902.

The passage which has inspired these views reads thus in the prose translation by Whitman :

[*Mary*]. Alas my Joseph, son of Jacob, descendant of the great king David, art thou bound to break off thy firm troth and forsake my love?

[*Joseph*]. I am full deeply troubled, bereft of my good name; on thy account I have heard many words, boundless causes of grief, taunts and contumely; they utter insults and many reproaches against me. Sad in spirit I must needs pour out my tears. God alone can easily heal the sorrow of my heart and comfort me in my misery. Alas young damsel, maiden Mary!

[*Mary*]. Why grievest thou and criest out in sorrow? Never have I found in thee any fault, or cause for suspicion that thou hast wrought evil; and yet thou speakest these words as if thou thyself wert filled with every sin and iniquity.

[*Joseph*]. I have endured too much misery because of this child-bearing. How can I refute their hateful words, or find any answer to my enemies? It is known far and wide that from the glorious temple of the Lord I willingly received a pure maiden free from sin, and now all is changed by I know not what. Neither speech nor silence avails me aught. If I declare the truth, then must the daughter of David perish, slain with stones. Yet is it harder for me to conceal crime; as a perjurer I should be forced to live thenceforth, hated of all peoples, despised among the tribes of men.

Then the maid unraveled the mystery, and thus she spake: 'I swear truly by the Son of God, the Savior of souls, that I have never yet had intercourse with any man on earth; but it was granted unto me, while yet young in my home, that Gabriel, heaven's archangel, bade me hail, and said in truth that the heavenly Spirit would shine upon me with His splendor, and that I should bear the Glory of life, an illustrious Child, the great Son of God, the bright King of glory. Now without guilt have I been made His temple; the Spirit of comfort hath dwelt within me. Do thou henceforth forego all grievous care. Give eternal thanks unto God's great Son that I have become

His mother, though still a maiden, and that thou art reputed
His earthly father in the thoughts of men ; thus was prophecy
to be truly fulfilled in Himself.'

This passage, as I discovered after the appearance of my edition of the *Christ*, should be brought into relation with certain homiletical expansions, four of which, in particular, are to be found in the Greek Fathers, and one in the Latin. Of the four Greek texts, one can be approximately dated, being received among the undoubted works of its author. Another is printed among the undoubted works, but pronounced spurious in a distant foot-note, apparently for no other reason than because of this dialogue between Mary and Joseph. The former of these is by Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died in 740 ; the latter is perhaps by Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople, who died in 446 or 447. The two remaining Greek texts are printed among the spurious works passing under the names of Athanasius and Chrysostom respectively. Finally, there is a Latin text, printed among the spurious works attributed to Augustine. Could these attributions be authenticated, we should have one of these homilies, that by Athanasius, falling before 373 ; a second, by Chrysostom, before 407 ; a third, by Augustine, before 430 ; a fourth, by Proclus, before 447 ; and a fifth, by Germanus, before 740.

The homilies are contained respectively in Vols. 28, 60, 65, and 98 of the *Patrologia Graeca*, edited by Migne, and Vol. 39 of the *Patrologia Latina*. Taking them up one by one, the Benedictine editors, whom Migne reprints, decline to accept the first as by Athanasius, (1) because it contains this dialogue, which they characterize as inept, (2) because the style lacks the gravity and energy shown by Athanasius, (3) because it contains several unusual words and phrases. On the other hand, they admit that some of the manuscripts date from the seventh century, and that the dialogue is in all the manuscripts ; and they censure Surius and Lipomannus for printing the homily without the dialogue. Holsten, a previous editor, also says that the dialogue is in all the manuscripts he knew, but complains that such interpolations are found not only in Athanasius, but also in Proclus, Chrysostom, and others. As for the second, that attrib-

uted to Chrysostom, the editors have nothing better to say than that it is inept and ridiculous. The third, though printed as a genuine work of Proclus, is elsewhere denied to him in a note, as containing certain absurdities. The fourth, that by Germanus, no one refuses to him, perhaps because he is so late. The Latin text, that ascribed to Augustine, is by an illiterate person, think the editors; but they admit that it exists in some very old manuscripts, one of which, that of Corbey, attributes it to Ambrose, and nearly all the rest to Augustine. Apparently, therefore, the chief reason for obelizing these homilies is that they contain the dialogue. The argument seems to be something like this: No reputable Father, as early as the fourth or fifth century, would give free rein to his imagination in the invention of an illustrative dialogue for homiletical purposes, even though the positions taken were those of Holy Writ; hence all such dialogues stigmatize the compositions in which they occur. Against this tenet two objections may be urged: (1) A dialogue of this general character, but on another theme, is contained in a work of Hippolytus belonging to the first half of the third century, a homily which is unhesitatingly, and even enthusiastically, ascribed to him by the editors; and (2) no suggestion is given as to how four dialogues markedly different come to be ascribed by a large number of manuscripts, some of them early, to authors of such rank.

Moreover, dialogues as independent as these of their homiletical context are not the only ones found. For example, among the undoubted works of St. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem († 638), there is a very extended paraphrase of Luke 2. 28-38 (*Patr. Gr.* 87³. 3241 ff.), the dialogue between the angel and Mary. Here are introduced, as it were incidentally, various theological doctrines, but always as if a mere expansion of the words attributed to the speakers by Luke. In fact, in the examination of similar dialogues on other themes, of which, besides the one just mentioned, I have found five in all on the Annunciation, three on the baptism of Christ, and one each on six other topics, it becomes abundantly clear that such passages vary from reproduction of the Scriptural texts with but little expansion, through exclamatory utterances of the preacher him-

self in amplification of his theme, to dialogues of a more strictly dramatic cast. Into the full illustration of this I cannot at present enter, but hope to resume the task with the consideration of the remaining materials which I have collected. Here I adduce only one specimen of the passages which depart less widely from the Biblical originals. This is from Pseudo-Athanasius, *Homily on the Annunciation* (*Patr. Gr.* 28. 927):

‘Since she knew not the outcome of the mystery, she was immediately troubled at the word of the angel, when he said, “Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee,” and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be. Accordingly the archangel answered and said to her: “Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.” But at these words the virgin stood uncertain, considering what is according to nature, and thinking of Joseph, to whom she was betrothed. Then she answered the angel, and said: “How shall this be to me, seeing I know not a man? Seeing I know not a man, O angel, while at the same time with the interjection, Behold, thou declarest Behold, thou shalt conceive (as if the time were at hand)—how this can be I know not; but do thou, O angel, explain how this shall be.” The angel answered and said unto her: “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. This is,” he saith, “the manner of conception, thus shalt thou conceive in thy womb, by the coming upon thee of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing thee by the power of the Highest. Therefore,” he saith, “the holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest.” Then she, who had thus far hesitated, besought this for herself, and said: “Be it unto me according to thy word.” And the angel departed from her.’

I spoke above of our four dialogues as being materially different. They vary, for one thing, in the extent of the composition and the number of speeches. One, the Pseudo-Atha-

nasian, has a single speech each by Joseph and Mary; another, by Pseudo-Chrysostom, three speeches each; another, by Pseudo-Proclus, twelve speeches each, and the fourth, by Germanus, twenty-two each, with an extra one for Joseph. That by Pseudo-Augustine has no dialogue between Mary and Joseph; but Joseph's reflections, and a speech to him by the angel, are to a similar purport. It is noticeable, and perhaps not without significance, that the speeches increase in number with the century of their putative authors, and that the dialogue by Germanus, the latest of all, though mutilated at the end, is by far the longest.

Of the matter contained in the Cynwulfian dialogue, six points are to be specially noted:

(1) Joseph is called a descendant of David.

(2) Mary says to him: 'Never have I found in thee any fault.'

(3) Joseph says: 'From the glorious temple of the Lord I willingly received a pure maiden'—a point found in the Apocryphal Gospel of James.

(4) Joseph says: 'Neither speech nor silence avails me aught.'

(5) Joseph speaks of Mary as liable to be slain with stones.

(6) Mary congratulates both on their kinship to the child.

In the five homilies before us, reference is made (1) to the Davidic descent by Pseudo-Chrysostom, Pseudo-Proclus, and Germanus. Mary's remark (2), 'Never have I found in thee any fault,' is paralleled by one in Germanus, 'Thou art righteous and blameless.' Reference is made by Joseph (3) to receiving Mary blameless from the temple by Pseudo-Athanasius and Germanus—by the latter repeatedly. Joseph's hesitation as between speech and silence (4) is found in Pseudo-Chrysostom and Pseudo-Augustine. The reference to stoning (5) is also in Pseudo-Augustine. Finally, their complacency over the parentage of the child is paralleled in Pseudo-Proclus and Pseudo-Augustine. In the former Mary says: 'Then, O Joseph, shall we be blessed of all, when we shall be called the parents of the Creator of the universe.' In the latter, Joseph is congratulated by the angel on being called the father of the Savior.

The extracts under consideration are here subjoined in the following order: (Pseudo-) Athanasius, (Pseudo-) Chrysostom, (Pseudo-) Proclus, Germanus, and (Pseudo-) Augustine.

The Pseudo-Athanasian dialogue is from the *Homily on the Taxing of Mary* (*Patr. Gr.* 28. 944 ff.). The dialogue begins in col. 952:

Joseph. How seemeth it to thee, O Mary? Art thou not she who was reared in the precincts of the temple as a modest virgin?¹ Art thou not she, O Mary, who didst not endure to look upon the face of a man? Art thou not she, O Mary, who against thy intention wert persuaded to betroth thyself to me? Art thou not she, O Mary, who didst pray to keep the unfading rose of thy maidenhood? Art thou not she, O Mary, who didst love Susanna and hate Egypt? Art thou not she, O Mary, who didst often read of the ravished Tamar, and didst loath the lawless (*ἄτακτον*) Amnon? Where is the couch of thy temperance? Where is the stainless bridal chamber of thy chastity? where thy modest countenance? I am covered with confusion, but thou art bold. Because I am silent concerning thy transgression thou hastenest to come nearer. Dost thou not see the swelling of thy womb? The infant stirs within, but thou beamest like one incapable of succumbing to temptation. Go forth, O Mary, return to thy home; seek out the thief of thy maidenhood, and be taxed along with him. I will not accept another's shame, and thou canst find no shield against thy punishment.

Mary. Why art thou vexed, my betrothed? Why dost thou condemn me as lawless? Why with scandalized eyes dost thou behold the swelling of my womb? Why dost thou compel me to blush? I am the glory of women; I have lifted them out of their former dishonor. I have recalled Eve,² and put away the flaming sword; and dost thou prepare to thrust me into concealment? No one has power to exact penalties from me, since I bear the Lord of all. If I testify concerning myself, I shall be convicted of vainglory. Wait but a little, O Joseph, and the shepherds will convince thee; the wise men

¹ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 8.

² Cf. p. 436, and Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*, chap. 1.

shall remove all doubt; the star shall put thee to shame; the angels shall sting thee to repentance. Now thou doubttest, but soon thou shalt glorify, when thou shalt hear the heavenly host singing with one voice: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will to men. Then shalt thou bow the knee, and not consider so curiously. Dost thou not behold our journey, O Joseph, how no man bringeth us on our way? Dost thou not see that the sun is clothed in brighter raiment, that the whole creation is bounding, the mountains leaping, the hills rejoicing, the water-springs overflowing, Jordan overspreading its banks? Understand, O Joseph, from these signs what they signify, nor doubt when thou seest me pregnant. I am borrowed, but not polluted; I have lent my womb, but not defiled my maidenhood. Do not refuse thy belief to the things placed before thee, O Joseph. When I shall be delivered, then shall be made known who I am; now I am upbraided, then I shall be called blessèd; now thou dost drive me away as a culprit, then thou wilt beseech me to draw nigh a saint. Do not boast thyself because thou weenest to guard me, for it is I who guard thee, since He who hath stooped to make of my womb his tabernacle is the guardian of all nature. Let us go forward, then, and be taxed, that both the military regulation and the imperial edict may be fulfilled.

The second is from Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Homily on the Annunciation* (*Patr. Gr.* 60. 755-9):

[*Angel*]. 'Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee.' She, being troubled, looked askance upon the speaker; and, marveling at the sight, she cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be, saying: [*Mary*] 'Stranger, strange is it to me that thou speakest to me strange words. Art thou ignorant of the manners of those who give greeting, or dost thou try me to see if I am easy to ensnare? The word Hail, it is true, is common to all who give greeting, but Thou that art highly favored is strange, especially to those who profess piety and soberness of life.' Then, with austere countenance and angry look, she repulsed him with menace: [*Mary*] 'Depart, depart, O man, from my threshold; thou comest from thy pre-

ambles.¹ Thou pleasest me not with thy thoughts. Thou seekest to deceive me like Eve, the mother of the race. Thou shalt not overcome the beauty of my countenance, nor the sentiments which I cherish toward my poor suitor. Before the aged man come, depart from my house; leave here, lest he seize thee, for he is of jealous mood. It is better that thou shouldst get thee away, for if he should behold thee announcing to me what surpasses human nature, thou wouldst bring down evil upon thyself, and grief and tears upon me.' He, without heeding her, uttered his [*Angel*] 'Hail, thou that art highly favored.' The virgin, seeing his pertinacity, lent her ear, and desiring more exactly to ascertain his sincerity, she afterward entertained and accepted the 'Hail, thou art highly favored.' But he went on: [*Angel*] 'The Lord is with thee.'

But when the virgin heard 'The Lord is with thee,' she straightway invited the speaker to enter. [*Mary*] 'Since thou bringest the Lord with thee,' said she, 'come within, and tell me straightway why thou art come.' Then the angel replied: [*Angel*] 'Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Immanuel. He shall be great, the Mighty God, the Prince of Peace, the Puissant One, the Everlasting Father.'²

The Virgin answered: [*Mary*] 'As yet there is no marriage, no bridal chamber, and is there whereby to be a birth? Thou hast no means of giving effect to thy words.'³ If thou needest anything as a stranger, take it and depart, and do not prophesy out of season that which thou knowest not. Even if I do conceive a son, it will be by Joseph.' The angel responded: [*Angel*] 'I deceive not; he shall be great.' The virgin made answer: [*Mary*] 'How great? My betrothed is poor, and I am very needy; I have no goods, we have no goods, we are not of conspicuous family, and we are now going to be taxed. He will pay only a half-shekel; yet thou sayest: He shall be great. Cease, cease from such promises.'

The angel replied: [*Angel*] 'Wilt thou not believe what is less? Thou shalt admire what is greater, whether thou will or no: He shall be called the Son of the Highest.' The virgin

¹Text corrupt.²Cf. Isa. 9. 6.³Ὁὐκ ἔχεις τί πρόξεις.

answered : [*Mary*] 'Depart straightway from my house, lest Joseph hear and report it to the priests, and, being deprived of wedlock, sever thy neck with his adz, since thou speakest to me close and on the threshold of my chamber. Dost thou promise to bring me a bridegroom from heaven? What being in heaven desires marriage? All heavenly spirits are without bodies; how then shall incorporeal spirits mingle with bodies?' The angel answered : [*Angel*] 'Of body and the bodiless he shall be called the Son of the Highest.'

The virgin responded : [*Mary*] 'Whence shall he who, as thou sayest, shall be born of me, have a father?' The angel replied : [*Angel*] 'This is passing wonderful, O virgin, that thou knowest no man and shalt bring forth him whom I predict, and yet the boy shall not be an orphan. He shall issue from thy womb, yet he shall not injure the gate nor thou lose thy maidenhood. Thou shalt give suck to that which is born of thee, and carry the child in thy arms, and look upon him who sitteth above the cherubim. To him who shall be born of thee, the Lord God shall give the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' The virgin made answer : [*Mary*] 'Thou hast spoken as thou wouldst not. Thy own mouth accuseth thee, and thy own lips reproach thee. A little while ago thou saidst, He shall be called the Son of the Highest; and now thou callest him the son of David. What words are these? Thou raisest my mind to heaven, as thou willest; again, when thou willest, thou dost cast it down to earth. Which speech shall I believe, the first or the second? Thou sayest, The Lord will give him the throne of his father David, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. No king was ever immortal, none ever escaped the common end. Death as lord snatches away all, and all are eaten by worms; no one escapes the gate of the king of hell; he rules all, and holds them in their bonds; no one hath evaded his nets, nor escaped from his snares. Is not Saul dead, who first received the diadem of the kingdom? and David, made known by the horn [of oil], and Samuel, the father of kings, who acknowledged in the oil him who was worthy, and rejected the unworthy? and Solomon most wise,

who rebuked by the sword the falsehoods of the harlot? and Hezekiah, who averted with his tears the sentence of death? how then shall my son reign for ever and ever?’

The angel answered: [*Angel*] ‘O Mary, this is a stupendous mystery, that all die, yet thy son shall overcome death, raise the dead, open the tombs, break the bars of hell, and raise again many bodies of them that sleep. He who shall be born immortal from the Immortal shall slay death by his own death. Therefore delay no longer to believe, lest thou be guilty of a fault, for he of whom I speak hath already leaped into thy womb as thou hast been listening, and there celebrates its consecration?’ The virgin replied: [*Mary*] ‘Before I consent, first inform me how he who shall be born of me without father, as thou sayest, can be Son of the Highest and son of David; and how thou canst predict two fathers.’ The angel made answer: [*Angel*] ‘First learn, and then gainsay. When I said, Son of the Highest, I prophesied him who was begotten of the Father without passion before all ages; and when I said, Son of David, I referred to thy descent from father David. Take therefore this assurance, and heed my words, for I am the servant of him whom thou shalt bear.’ Having spoken thus to the virgin, the angel departed from her.

But she reasoned with herself, saying: [*Mary*] ‘Shall I tell Joseph, or shall I rather conceal the mystery? If he who came was a liar, I shall rouse the tongue of the old man against me.’ And while the virgin was casting these things in her mind, her womb began to swell, and the child within to dance.

But Mary, reflecting upon this, threw many garments over herself, seeking to keep Joseph in ignorance; but she was not able to hide the city set upon a hill. The swelling of her womb stung Joseph, and he looked askance upon the virgin. He wished to upbraid, yet was forced to keep silent; he wished to upbraid her with selling the treasures of her virginity, but the whole course of her life forbade him. At length his soul was tortured with agony. ‘Alas,’ said he, [*Joseph*] ‘what shall I do? Her face is that of a virgin, her character, her eyes, her smile; but her form is not that of a maiden, but of a mother; again, her language is that of a virgin. Alas! alas! I can-

not bear the sight. Shall I reveal the matter, and upbraid Mary? ¹ The disgrace will be a public one. Shall I cry with a loud voice, only to be called the father of the son who is born without seed? No one accuses the maiden, since he who is carried in the womb has none who sowed the seed. Perchance silence and speech are alike dangerous to me. ² What shall I do? Shall I question her, or shall I make it known without questioning? But the Scripture bears witness; I will rather accuse her. But perhaps she is not guilty.'

Having called her with a stern countenance, the judge of the Judge in her womb takes his seat. 'Tell me,' saith he, [*Joseph*] 'exactly what hath happened to thee; hide nothing from me; no one is present to listen to thy words; I am able to keep a secret; no one shall know the matter, only acquaint me fully. Whence hath come what is seen in thee? Make known to me his father, and I will clear thee from the error; thou shalt obtain forgiveness, as a woman overcome by desire.' The virgin answered him: [*Mary*] 'If thou seekest his father, thou shalt never find him; but if thou deemest him an orphan, thou art mistaken.' Joseph replied: [*Joseph*] 'Thou canst not lie, Mary; how can he fail to be an orphan if he has no father?' The virgin answered: [*Mary*] 'If thou seekest to know who he is, Joseph (for thou surely dost not know), thou wilt refuse to believe if I tell thee the truth. Thou seest my womb, but thou seest not the Lord whom it hides; thou considerest my belly, but thou thinkest not on him who from the womb was begotten of the Father before the morning star, and who hath his abode in me. If I tell thee what the angel told me, thou wilt say: Thou bearest witness of thyself, and the witness is not true.'³ Then said Joseph: [*Joseph*] 'Bring forward those who heard, those who were present; produce true witnesses.' The virgin made answer: 'If thou seekest this thou shalt never find it; one was sent by One to one, and spake during a single visitation; no one was present, since no one was to be the father of him who shall be born.'

¹ Cf. pp. 426, 447.

² Τάχα μοι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν ἔστιν ἐπικίνδυνον.

³ Cf. John 5. 31.

When the virgin was not believed, she fell upon another counsel: [*Mary*] 'My womb betrays me, the son leaping in my womb accuses me; why should I still further irritate Joseph against me? I will shut my lips in silence, and will plead with the unseen angel: "Where now art thou who addressed me with, Hail, thou that art highly favored? in what region dost thou dwell? Tell me, that I may betake myself thither, and hang upon thy neck until thou come and satisfy Joseph whose son it is that leaps in the chamber of my womb. I cannot bear the old man's frowns and murmurs. Where thou tarriest I know not; but come and plead my cause."''

While Mary was thus speaking, behold, the angel was at Joseph's side, and, having fully satisfied him, forbade him to put the virgin away: [*Angel*] 'Fear not, said he, Joseph, to take unto thee Mary thy wife.¹ I announce to thee, not the commerce of wedlock, but the economy of divine mysteries. But thou art not a father. Seek neither the father on earth, nor the mother in the skies. Nature is freed from all orphanhood. Only he alone is from the only One before the world was; now is he only from the unique maiden, as he alone knows. Be not faint-hearted as regards Mary, neither grieve him who is to come from her; inquire not the how, nor let the child distress thee; be not over-curious about the casket, lest thou lose the jewel. Unde-filed is the vessel, spotless the treasure, pure the alabaster, seed-less the birth, the maiden unwedded, unbedded the virgin, unhewn the stone, the garden enclosed,² the fountain sealed, the field unsown, the vine unplanted, the birth unplanned. If Mary weeps and laments, like other women, it is a man, and not God, who is born of her.' Joseph made answer: [*Joseph*] 'If this be so, as thou hast said, O archangel, why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?'³ The angel replied: [*Angel*] 'If thou dost wish to learn, receive it at once: Because the Lord said to him that shall be born: Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.'⁴

To him belongs glory for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ Cf. Matt. 1. 20.

³ Cf. Ps. 2. 1.

² Cf. Cant. 4. 12.

⁴ Cf. Ps. 2. 7; Acts 13. 33.

The third passage is from Proclus, *Homily in Praise of St. Mary* (*Patr. Gr.* 65. 736-7. The speeches are introduced with: *And the holy one (said); And Joseph.* This is expanded, in the case of Mary's first reply, to: *Then the holy Virgin gave gentle answer to the grave accusation, saying.*

(1) *Joseph.* Go far apart from the Jewish race, since thou art become a partaker of the uncleanness of the Gentiles.

Mary. Thou thinkest me defiled because thou seest that I am grown larger.

(2) *Joseph.* It is not for a modest woman to mind things alien to piety.

Mary. Thou who judgest lewd ways, dost thou furnish no opportunity for defense?

(3) *Joseph.* Dost thou persist in denial, when thou art become great with child?

Mary. Seek out faithfully the truth of prophecy, and thou wilt thence learn clearly how unexampled is the conception of the Lord.

(4) *Joseph.* Dost thou disregard holy wedlock? Thou shalt come, when thou least expectest, to a strict accounting.

Mary. Wilt thou then condemn on suspicion her who is not polluted by carnal knowledge?

(5) *Joseph.* Perchance I am of blameless life; how then can I deliver thee over into the hands of them that judge these things?

Mary. The Lord will judge me for this sin, who himself, as he knows, hath entered my womb.

(6) *Joseph.* Doth this inexorable reproach move thee? Manifest, then, the candor of thy purity.

Mary. Wait only the due time of gestation, and thou shalt behold the hallowed birth of the Lord.

(7) *Joseph.* Thinkest thou by this prodigality of words to deceive the discretion of my hoary head?

Mary. These words seem strange until thou seest the unheard-of deeds.

(8) *Joseph.* Because of thy kinship with David, I would not put thee away; and, on the other hand, I cannot depart from the strictness of the law.

Mary. Think that the root of Jesse has of itself blossomed forth into the unfading flower of life.¹

(9) *Joseph.* I will suppress the rising of unreasonable thoughts when I behold the birth of the Lord of all.

Mary. Without passion I acquiesce in thee as a wooer, according to the law ; I would not that thou shouldst be offended in the Savior because of this birth.

(10) *Joseph.* On this account I have hesitated so long to separate from thee.

Mary. Remember the prophesied advent of the Lord, and beware of the unbelief suggested to thee by the Evil One.

(11) *Joseph.* When I considered thy exceeding beauty of person, I readily entertained the sinister suspicion of this thing.

Mary. Spend the approved penny of patience,² that thou mayest gain the everlasting inn of the kingdom.

(12) *Joseph.* I reckon on the exact measure of the brief time which remains before I shall see the ineffable incarnation of the Lord.

Mary. Then, O Joseph, shall we be blessed by all, when we shall be called the parents of the Creator of all things.

The next dialogue is by Germanus, *Homily on the Annunciation* (*Patr. Gr.* 98. 321-340):

(1) *Gabriel.*³ Hearken, O glorified one ; hearken unto the hidden words of the Most High : Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.⁴ Make ready then, for the coming of Christ ; for I am come to announce unto thee the good tidings which were prophesied before the foundation of the world.

Mary. Depart from my city and country, O man ; depart, and leave my abode in all haste. Flee far from my threshold, thou who speakest to me, and bear not such good tidings unto my low estate.

(2) *Gabriel.* Desirous to fulfil the counsel of old, and to have mercy upon erring man, the Lover of mankind hath vouchsafed,

¹ Cf. p. 439, no. 17.

² Cf. Luke 10. 35.

³ The names Gabriel and Mary are substituted throughout for the Greek 'The angel' and 'The mother of God.'

⁴ Luke 1. 31.

of his great goodness, to become man. Why therefore dost not thou, highly favored as thou art, receive my salutation?

Mary. I see, O young man, the comeliness of thy form such as never painter drew,¹ and the radiant beauty of thy countenance; I hear from thee such words as I never heard; and misgiving seizes me lest thou be come to beguile me.

(3) *Gabriel.* Know and be assured that it is rather I who am amazed as I behold thy God-imparted loveliness; as I gaze upon thee, I seem to contemplate the glory of the Lord.

Mary. I listen to a voice which I have never known, and look upon a form which I have never seen. Why then, as I tremble in every limb, am I not astonished, since I have a righteous spouse, and am not wont to converse with a stranger?

(4) *Gabriel.* Accept from my message a joy worthy the hearing, and praise for thee most meet; he who shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of the Highest,² and the Son of thee who art hallowed shall be exalted in goodness beyond measure.

Mary. I fear and tremble at these words of thine; I surmise that thou art come to lead me astray like the former Eve,³ but I am not such as she. Why dost thou salute a maiden whom thou hast never seen?

(5) *Gabriel.* I bring thee good tidings of great joy;⁴ I bring thee tidings of a birth unthought-of; I bring thee good tidings of the unspeakable advent of the King Most High. It may be that the purple which thou holdest⁵ prefigures his royal dignity.

Mary. Since thou showest me these things, and wilt not cease from showing, I tell thee that I believe not these good tidings of thine. Thou art come to blast my maiden honor, and to grieve my spouse.

(6) *Gabriel.* Zacharias the prophet, the beloved husband of thy cousin Elisabeth, will rid thee of thy unbelief. Go therefore to her, that thou mayst learn from him what things have befallen him.

Mary. My parents, Joachim and Anna,⁶ are noble and innocent; how then, should I, their offspring, become blameworthy?

¹ See p. 444, no. 15.

² Luke 1. 32.

³ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 13.

⁴ Luke 2. 10.

⁵ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 10.

⁶ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 5.

Who will see and make evident that Mary has not walked disorderly?

(7) *Gabriel*. When my words shall be fulfilled in their season, then shalt thou understand the virtue of the incomprehensible mystery; then shalt thou know the issue of my discourse.

Mary. How can I, who draw my lineage from the house and family of David,¹ be the handmaid of such tremendous and heavenly mysteries? And how shall I be able to conceive the holy Jesus, him who sitteth above the cherubim?²

(8) *Gabriel*. Thou shalt be called the throne of God, the royal seat of the heavenly King, as thou art queen and lady, the daughter of an earthly king, and endowed with a royal nature.

Mary. Explain, O thou who speakest unto me, how I shall become the throne of the Most High, or how this flesh of clay can lay hold of that intangible light above the brightness of the sun. Thou proclaimest, young man, tidings impossible of accomplishment.

(9) *Gabriel*. To what end, by reason of what, because of what, O glorified one, dost thou persist in disbelieving my message? and how long wilt thou disobey the angel sent unto thee from heaven? I am not he who beguiled Eve.

Mary. I saw the manifold beauty of thy countenance, and heard the marvelous sweetness of thy words; these I never heard before, and therefore I cannot entertain this message.

(10) *Gabriel*. Although my comeliness bewilders thee, I know that these words of my mouth will be welcome guests of thine; and hereafter thou shalt be blessed of heaven and earth.

Mary. How shall I know that thy saying will be fulfilled, since I am a maiden unbedded, and the shame of lust is not mine? I am the handmaid of the Lord who created me.

(11) *Gabriel*. I tell thee plainly that Elisabeth thy kinswoman will bear about this time a son in her old age; many shall rejoice and marvel at his birth; and his name shall be called John.³

Mary. Accept gifts from me, and depart from me, O thou who speakest to me; for whether thou art angel or man in sooth

¹ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 15.

² Cf. p. 430.

³ Luke 1. 13, 14.

I know not. By thy mien I recognize the angel, but by thy gaze the man.

(12) *Gabriel*. Hast thou not seen me, O blessed one, when thou hast been in the Holy of holies? Verily thou hast seen me, and hast received food from my fiery hand,¹ for I am Gabriel, who stand continually in the presence of the glory of God.

Mary. I have a spouse, wise, holy, and just, skilled in the craft of a carpenter; him I fear, lest perchance he find me conversing with thee a stranger, and especially alone.

(13) *Gabriel*. As yet I have but begun to speak, for I am full of words. Next I will say unto thee that the Lord, the King of kings, intends to be born of thee; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.²

Mary. Now is my soul troubled, and I know not what I shall account of this fearful vision. I suppose thy words will prove true; but Joseph will deliver me into the hands of them that judge these things.³

(14) *Gabriel*. I think it strange, O glorified one, that thou still doubtest me, who am come to thee from such heights. Rather is it I that should fear the future mother of my Lord, and tremble at thy royal dignity.

Mary. Thy good tidings are marvelous, and thy authority makes public thy words and ways. Thou camest into my bed-chamber, thou drewest nigh to me as it were unwittingly, accounting me perchance as a handmaid, and not as mistress.

(15) *Gabriel*. As thou art altogether pure and blameless, I marvel, O thou that art highly favored, that thou dost disbelieve my words so long. Behold the King of glory, even while I speak, hath, as I suppose, made his dwelling in thy palace(?).⁴

Mary. Thou that salutest a virgin who hath not known man, and speakest to an unwedded maiden, thou knowest the truth; when, whence, and how shall this be, seeing I know not a man?

(16) *Gabriel*. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be begotten shall be called the Son

¹ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chaps. 8, 13.

² Luke 1. 33.

³ Cf. p. 442, no. 7.

⁴ ἐν τῇ σῆ βασιλίδι.

of God.¹ Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God.²

Mary. Thou comest from heaven to bring me a mystery much sought into,³ and to promise me the coming of the Holy Ghost; how shall I not the rather disbelieve this strange gospel of thine?

(17) *Gabriel.* Cast away, O virgin, thy faithless mind, for behold, methinks my words are fulfilled, and thy womb bears a burden; whether thou will or no, no word from God shall be void of power.⁴

Mary. I am a branch out of the root of David,⁵ and I fear lest the unlooked-for reproach of another's bed come upon me; and the holy plate⁶ of the priest shall make it manifest to me.

(18) *Gabriel.* Thou shalt bear the Lord, the Savior, one of the life-originating Trinity; thou shalt procure ineffable joy for the world, such as no angel or man ever procured; and thy name shall be blessed.

Mary. Tell me, O young man, how I shall bear the Savior, as thou sayest; thy good tidings verily amaze the intellectual powers of the angels, the glowing squadrons of archangels, and the orders which are full of eyes.⁷

(19) *Gabriel.* Thy words, O glorified one, are a delight and pure sweetness; wherefore I say unto thee: Not of the will of the flesh, but of the will of God,⁸ and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, shall thy pregnancy be.

Mary. Who shall convince Joseph that I have conceived, not by the will of man, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, since it has never been heard of that an unwedded virgin hath borne a babe?

(20) *Gabriel.* Under thy loving-kindness all mankind shall take refuge, and every tongue of clay shall call thee blessed. Thy name shall be uttered from generation to generation,⁹ because from thee the Lord, the light of the world, shall be born.

¹ Luke 1. 35.

² Luke 1. 30.

³ πολυζήτητον.

⁴ Cf. Isa. 55. 11.

⁵ Isa. 11.1.

⁶ Exod. 28. 36-38.

⁷ Cf. Rev. 4. 6, 8. The Greek here is: *καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τὰς φλογεράς, καὶ πολυομμάτων ταξιαρχίας.*

⁸ John 1. 15.

⁹ Luke 1. 48.

Mary. Such as I am, and having my source from the earth, how shall the race of men take refuge in me? how shall I take in my arms the light of the world? and how shall that Sun which never sets be carried by the visionary moon?

(21) *Gabriel.* Put on a joyous aspect, O glorified one, for thou art to become the heaven, a temple to contain the divine, the living tabernacle of God, more spacious, more lofty, and more wonderful than the seven firmaments.

Mary. I tremble at the consecration wrought by the strange and incredible birth; I likewise fear Joseph, and what shall befall me I know not. It were better for me to go to the house of Zacharias, among my own kin.¹

(22) *Gabriel.* Thou shalt become the one mercy-seat of all Christians; therefore again do I hail thee with fitting speech: Thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.²

Mary. Since I sustain the royal character, and was reared in my palace at Bethlehem, and have been brought up blameless and dedicate from my childhood, and am a virgin, how shall I be called the mother of my child?

(23) *Gabriel.* When the Most High had sought diligently throughout the world, and found no mother like unto thee, he willed and it was his good pleasure, out of his love for mankind, to be born of thee, who art hallowed.

Mary. I will praise the Lord with a psalm, because he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaid; for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,³ and the people of the Gentiles shall continually praise me.

(24) *Gabriel.* O virgin, source of heavenly joy, delightful and marvelous dwelling-place, and mercy-seat of the whole world, truly sole blessed among women, make ready for the mystical coming of Christ.

Mary. O young man, source of heavenly joy, thou who hast come from the unbodied ones and dost speak with clay, how long shall I suffer thee, and when wilt thou cease from thy

¹ Cf. Luke 1. 39, 40, and p. 436, no. 6.

² Luke 1. 28, 42.

³ Luke 1. 48.

words? Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.¹

Such words did the all-praised and blessed virgin speak, or in all likelihood words still more mystical and befitting. But yet, if you think well, O beloved, let us hear what the righteous Joseph spake to her:

(1) *Joseph*. I received thee undefiled from the house of the Lord, and a stainless maiden I left thee in my house;² how then is this which I now behold—an unlooked-for mother and no maiden? Tell me, Mary; tell me the truth with all speed.

Mary.³ Thou didst leave me, as thou sayest, stainless in thy house, but so, I ween, dost thou find me; even from my childhood I have hated a tunic soiled by the flesh, and there is no trace of sensuality in me.

(2) *Joseph*. Beware, O Mary, of the judgment-seat, the austere council, the undeceivable tribunal of the Jewish synagogue. Tell me plainly; thou wilt not conceal from me what is to happen.

Mary. Beware, O Joseph, of the judgment-seat, and the immutable decision of the future, before which tremble the angels who have never sinned; but mind not an earthly king or an earthly court.

(3) *Joseph*. In the book of Moses⁴ it is thus written: If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, then that man shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels. What then wilt thou do as respects this?

Mary. It is written in the prophets:⁵ There shall be given to a man that is learned a sealed book, and he shall say, I cannot read it; it may be, I ween, that this prophecy was made concerning thee.

(4) *Joseph*. Reveal, O Mary, the plotter against my house; bring into the midst the libertine, that I may smite off his head with my carpenter's sword,⁶ because he hath dishonored my white head, and the twelve tribes of Israel shall have me in derision.

¹ Luke 1. 38.

² Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 13.

³ Mary is throughout called the mother of God, Ἡ Θεοτόκος.

⁴ Deut. 22. 21, 29.

⁵ Isa. 29. 11.

⁶ ἕμφυ τεκτονικῆ; cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 9, and p. 430.

Mary. Thou art righteous and blameless. Perchance God will reveal to thee what shall befall me, and will show thee in sleep him whom thou callest a plotter. My wont hath not been to rise to his height.

(5) *Joseph.* Straightway leave my house, and go to thy new lover. From henceforth I will not feed thee; thou shalt not eat the bread of my table, because, in place of joy, thou hast dishonored my gray hairs with scorn and contempt.

Mary. Wait, Joseph, but a little, and thou wilt not banish me secretly from thy house; I have not been wont to live a stranger, nor am I acquainted to the right or the left, neither do I know whither I shall now proceed, nor to whom I shall flee.

(6) *Joseph.* Tell me the truth, Mary, thou who art found between life and death. Who hath preyed upon me? Reveal to me who hath had intercourse with thee; declare to me his station, and of what city he came, that I may go thither and bring him to naught.

Mary. As the Lord liveth, I am pure, and know not a man.¹ He who appeared unto me was, as I ween, an angel of the Lord in the form of a man. He stood reverently apart, and gently spake to my low estate.

(7) *Joseph.* Upon thee, and upon me, old man as I am, will come the accusation of stolen wedlock, and unlooked-for contempt from those who pass judgment upon these things; the ordeal of water² shall put us both to the proof, whether we will or no.

Mary. Thou hast heard that Elisabeth my kinswoman, the wife of Zacharias, hath at this time conceived, against all hope, a prophet and forerunner. Were he not a prophet, he would not worship with leaps the Lord who is hidden in me.³

(8) *Joseph.* I wonder and am beyond measure amazed at thee. I know that thou art become a byword to the children of Israel. The Lord God will bring me to naught, because I received thee from the Holy Spirit and from the holy habitation for safe keeping, and I have not kept thee virgin.

¹ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 13.

² Num. 5. 17; *Gospel of James*, chap. 16.

³ Luke 1. 44.

Mary. The day of tribulation hath got hold upon me, and the reproach of suspicion is come upon me. The inquisition of my betrothed presses hard upon me, and the bearing of my child accuses me; and the angel who said unto me, Hail, is perchance in hiding. I know not what to think.

(9) *Joseph.* I beheld the fruit of thy once hallowed womb, and I trembled in every limb. Tell me, where shall I make thee known, or how shall I be able to escape the notice of the Jewish council? Depart, therefore, from my house; depart at once.

Mary. Behold, thou dost thrust me, O Joseph, from thy house, and whither to go I know not. Shall I return to my abode in the holy sanctuary, or shall I turn back to my parents? But with what face shall I look upon them?

(10) *Joseph.* If I should hold my peace about thy sin, the stones will cry out,¹ and the Holy of holies will proclaim with a loud voice that I received thee for safe keeping from that chosen priest, and kept thee not virgin.

Mary. Henceforth I will hide myself in one of the caves of my Bethlehem, and will await the appointed time of my delivery; then shall I learn who is to be born of me. Perhaps God will regard my low estate.

(11) *Joseph.* Tell me plainly who was that stranger and traitor who came unheralded to my dwelling like a spy, at the very time when I was absent and no longer within the walls of the city of Nazareth.

Mary. When I had taken up the water-pot to go to the well and draw water to drink, a voice came into my ears in the silence, and thus it said: Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee.²

(12) *Joseph.* Didst thou indeed conceive by the hearing? It hath never been heard that a virgin innocent of man hath conceived by the sound of a word, neither have our fathers revealed unto us that anything of this kind befell in ancient days.

Mary. Is it not written in the prophets that a virgin shall conceive, and bear to us a son?³ Canst thou say that the prophets are liars? Thou deceivest thyself, O Joseph, and art run mad.

¹ Cf. Luke 19. 40.

² *Gospel of James*, chap. 11.

³ Isa. 7. 14.

(13) *Joseph*. Now will I say, Mary, that thou dost follow in the footsteps of thy mother Eve. Just as she was sent forth from Paradise because she opened her ears to a whisperer, so shalt thou, guilty as thou art, be thrust out of my house.

Mary. Now hast thou chidden me as if thou wert a stranger and come of another race; thou hast spoken like an accuser, not as if thou wert addressing a queen.¹ I am to be driven secretly from city to city; and what shall I say to excuse myself?

(14) *Joseph*. This child-bearing will astonish, I ween, not me only, but angels and men, and none will credit it. Who hath ever heard that a virgin hath borne a son, especially without knowledge of man?

Mary. These things that are spoken will astonish thee, and the strange mystery of this marvelous child-bearing will amaze thy mind. It is not I that am responsible for this mischance that hath come upon me, seeing that from a child I have been occupied in serving the Lord who made me.

(15) *Joseph*. Did I not tell thee to show me the plotter against my house, and I would free thee from this charge? Did I not tell thee to go straightway to thy lover? What dost thou still hope for?

Mary. I know not well where he sojourns. Would that I might indeed encounter him! Would that I might gaze upon that beauty such as painter never drew, and hold converse with him!² For he said to me, Hail, and now I am desolate.

(16) *Joseph*. How shall I not be struck with horror and smite my face, because I received thee a maiden from the house of my Lord, and have not kept thee? How shall I henceforth offer to the Lord my God, and discharge my lawful duty according to my wont?

Mary. Believe the prophets of God, and consume thyself not thus in excessive grief, for in them thou wilt find written: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel.³

(17) *Joseph*. The rod⁴ of the High Priest induced me to take thee from the house of prayer for safe-keeping. Then I left

¹ Cf. p. 438, no. 14.

² Cf. p. 436, no. 2.

³ Isa. 7. 14.

⁴ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chaps. 8, 9.

thee in my house in all good order. Why didst thou not await, Mary, the term of my absence and the completion of my business?¹

Mary. As the Lord liveth, I know not the shame² of an alien bed, nor the disgrace of fleshly lust; only it came to pass that while I again held the purple, I heard an angelic voice saying to me: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor with God.

(18) *Joseph.* Be content to remain yet a little while in my house, because the time is now at hand of the enrolment of Augustus Cæsar,³ who now reigns; I fear that thou wilt enrol thyself as my wife, especially on account of the kinship through David.

Mary. I will keep all thy words in my heart, and will be content to remain yet a little longer in thy house; and I will await the time of enrolment and the day of my delivery, until we shall pay tribute to Augustus Cæsar, to that Augustus who now rules over the Romans.

(19) *Joseph.* Perchance it was an angel who appeared to me in sleep and said to me: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost; and she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus.⁴

Mary. Perchance, O my lord, he was the very one who addressed me with, Hail. But as for the rest, make ready the cave, and seek out a Hebrew midwife of our kin; she shall keep the secret, and shall serve me in the wonted manner.

(20) *Joseph.* He who appeared to me will certainly show me the place and the cave; but do thou, O Mary, make ready the swaddling clothes. Whether he who is to be born shall be prophet or king, we know that he shall be called a Nazarene.⁵

Mary. I surmise that he who is to be born shall be called a king, for it is written in the prophets:⁶ Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy king cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation.

(21) *Joseph.* He who instructed me in sleep will yet reveal to me what shall hereafter befall us. But I fear Herod, lest, being apprised by some one, he seek the child born with us.⁷

¹ Cf. *Gospel of James*, chap. 9.

² ῥυτίδα.

³ Luke 2. 1.

⁴ Matt. 1. 20, 21; *Gospel of James*, chap. 14.

⁵ Matt. 2. 23.

⁶ Zech. 9. 9.

⁷ Matt. 2. 13.

Mary. The sign shall appear in the heaven, for it is written in the prophets: There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a man shall rise out of Israel, and shall break in pieces the princes of Moab.¹

(22) *Joseph.* Deceived yesterday by jealousy, I found fault with thy youthful bloom and beauty, but now, having received assurance from on high, I will both make acknowledgment, and revere thy piety and majesty, and bless thy name. [*End lacking.*]

The fifth passage is from Pseudo-Augustine, *Homily on the Annunciation*, No. 195 (*Patr. Lat.* 39. 2108-9). Mary first addresses the angel:

‘How shall this be, that I shall conceive in a modest womb and be untouched by a husband, seeing that I know not a man? I am betrothed to a just man; if I have no intercourse with him, how shall I teem? But if I can conceive while intact, and engender while shut up, reveal to me the manner, and thou wilt find my mind prepared. In every way I devote myself to my God, both to have offspring, and not to lose my modesty.’ The angel Gabriel reveals the manner of the Savior’s conception, which should be by word of mouth: [*Gabriel*] ‘O Mary, maid of God,’ saith he, ‘spouse of God, the beloved of God, his daughter, his mother, if thou demandest from me the manner in which thou shalt conceive as a virgin, shalt bring forth as a virgin, and shall remain a virgin after the birth, or how he who made thee shall become within thee, hear me, and be not troubled in thyself. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. In such a way shall the power of the Highest overshadow thee that thou shalt not suffer the heat of lust, and yet shall be the mother of the Creator.’

In the mean while Joseph, Mary’s bridegroom, knew not what was passing between her and the angel. Suddenly Joseph with familiar gaze and conjugal allowance looked upon Mary his wife. He saw the swollen veins of her neck, her emaciated countenance; then he saw her heavy gait, and perceived that she was pregnant. Joseph, being a just man, was troubled to find

¹ Num. 24. 17.

that Mary, whom he had received from the temple of the Lord and never yet had known, was big with child ; and that what he had not deserved in the honor of wedlock, he should now have in disgrace. For a long time his bosom burned, and he reasoned with himself: [*Joseph*] ‘How hath this come to pass? what hath befallen? I have not known her, nor even touched her ; if I have not touched her, I have not deflowered her ; if I have not deflowered her, I have not impregnated her. Alas! alas! what hath happened? what hath come to pass? through whom hath Mary so fallen? whom hath she found to soothe her more than me? I, though I had the rights of a husband, did not trouble her maiden modesty before the nuptial couch. I feared, I greatly dreaded what is prefixed to the word of the sententious law in the book of Moses, that whatsoever virgin shall defile her father’s house with adultery shall be stoned that she die. In like manner, the man who hath not taken the garment of virginity to the father, and unfolded it before witnesses, and shown the token of virginity, he shall die with the virgin. Moses willed that this sentence should strike both the adulterers, and that they should perish together, for he said: Thou shalt put away reproach from the house of Israel ; and every one who heareth shall fear. This sentence of Moses I heeded, and restrained the lust of my body, both because I knew that she was the daughter of David and that I was to perform a royal priesthood. [*The text which follows is apparently corrupt, but contains a comparison between David’s conduct with respect to Bathsheba and Mary’s supposed transgression*]. What therefore shall I do? What shall I undertake? I am in anxiety, I groan, I grieve, I run, I seek advice, but find none adequate. Shall I denounce her, or be silent? What to do I certainly know not. Shall I denounce the adultery, or hold my peace to avoid the shame? If I make the disclosure, I dissent from the adultery, but incur the reproach of cruelty, since I know that according to the law of Moses she is to be stoned. If I am silent, I assent to the evil, and take my portion with adulterers. Since, then, it is evil to keep silence, and worse to denounce the adultery, I will, lest I occasion manslaughter, put away the marriage privily.’

This method of animating a discourse by the introduction of dramatic elements is undoubtedly due to Hellenic influence.¹ The Greek Fathers of the fourth century seem to have been particularly attached to the eloquence and poetry of Greece. Thus St. Basil (329–379) says: ‘We must needs believe that the greatest of all battles lies before us, in preparation for which we must do and suffer all things to gain power. Consequently we must be conversant with poets, with historians, with orators, indeed with all men who may further our soul’s salvation.’² Gregory Nazianzen (325?–390?), roused to indignation by the Emperor Julian’s edict forbidding the Christians to teach Greek literature, exclaimed: ‘I forego all the rest—riches, birth, honor, authority, and all goods here below of which the charm vanishes like a dream; but I cling to oratory, nor do I regret the toil, nor the journeys by land and sea, which I have undertaken to master it.’³ And the same orator composed a number of poems which still further evince his predilection for Greek literature. At bottom, such Christians agreed with Julian

¹ The dramatic tendency is illustrated by a story told of the Emperor Theodosius († 395) and the bishop Amphilochius of Iconium. Sozomen’s account is as follows (7.6): ‘It is said that the bishops then residing in Constantinople went to the emperor to render him the customary salutations. An old bishop who presided over a city of little note, and who was simple and unworldly, yet well instructed in divine subjects, formed one of this party. He went through precisely the same forms as the others in reverentially saluting the emperor, but instead of rendering equal honor to the prince, who was seated beside his father, the old priest approached him, patted him familiarly, and called him his dear child. The emperor was deeply incensed at this indignity being offered to his son, and commanded that the old man should be thrust from his presence. While being led away, however, the old bishop turned round and exclaimed, “Reflect, O emperor, on the wrath of the Heavenly Father against those who do not honor his Son as himself, and who have the audacity to assert that the Son is inferior to the Father.” The emperor felt the force of this observation, recalled the priest, apologized to him for what had occurred, and confessed that he had spoken the truth. The emperor was henceforward less disposed to hold intercourse with heretics; and he enacted a law by which he prohibited under the severest penalties all public disputes, assemblies, or disputations concerning the divine substance and nature.’ Cf. Theodoret 5. 16; Gibbon, chap. 27.

² *On the Right Use of Greek Literature*, tr. by Padelford, *Yale Studies in English* 15. 103.

³ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 35. 636, tr. Padelford, *op. cit.* p. 36.

when he said : ' If the youth whom you apply to the reading of your sacred books are better than slaves when they reach the age of manhood, I agree to be considered a maniac and a fool ; while every man among us, with our education, necessarily grows better, unless he have a nature wholly bad.'¹

One of the chief opponents of Julian in his attempt to deprive the Christians of literary instruction was Apollinarius (the younger), Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, who died before 392. After Julian's edict in 362, he set himself to the composition of Greek verse for the edification of the Christians. The most trustworthy account respecting this phase of his activity appears to be that by Sozomen (*Ecl. Hist.* 5.18) : ' He [Julian] forbade the children of Christians from frequenting the public schools, and from being instructed in the writings of the Greek poets and orators. He entertained great resentment against Apollinarius the Syrian, a man of extraordinary erudition ; against Basil and Gregory, natives of Cappadocia, the most celebrated orators of the time ; and against other learned and eloquent men, of whom some were attached to the Nicene doctrines, and others to the dogmas of Arius. His sole motive for excluding the children of Christian parents from instruction in the learning of the Greeks was because he considered such studies conducive to the acquisition of argumentative and persuasive power. Apollinarius, therefore, employed his great learning and ingenuity, in which he even surpassed Homer, in the production of a work in heroic verse on the antiquities of the Hebrews from the creation to the reign of Saul. He divided this work into twenty-four parts, to each of which he appended the name of one of the letters of the Greek alphabet. He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies resembling those of Euripides, and odes on the model of Pindar. In short, he produced within a very brief space of time a numerous set of works, which in point of excellence of composition and beauty of diction may vie with the most celebrated writings of Greece. Were it not for the extreme partiality with which the produc-

¹ Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme* 1. 95 ; compare, on the general subject, 1. 128 ff. ; Villemain, *L'Eloquence Chrétienne au Quatrième Siècle*, pp. 104 ff. ; Padelford, pp. 40-43.

tions of antiquity are regarded, I doubt not that the writings of Apollinarius would be held in as much estimation as those of the ancients. The comprehensiveness of his intellect is more especially to be admired, for he excelled in every branch of literature, whereas ancient writers were proficient only in one.'

Again Sozomen writes (6. 25): 'They sang the psalms composed by Apollinarius, for, besides his great attainments in other branches of literature, he was a poet, and by the beauty of his verses he induced many to adopt his sentiments. He composed verses to be sung by men at convivial meetings and at their daily labor, and by women while engaged at the loom. But whether his songs were adapted for holidays, festivals, or other occasions, they were all alike to the praise and glory of God.'¹

But for such dramatizations of sacred story we must look much earlier than the fourth century. The first (of whom we have any record) thus to dramatize a part of the Bible was a certain Jewish writer named Ezekiel. He wrote in Greek iambs a work called the Ἐξαργωγή, the subject being the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Of his date we know only that he was anterior to Clement of Alexandria, who quotes him in his *Stromata* (1. 23, p. 414),² following Alexander Polyhistor. Krumbacher (*Gesch. der Byz. Litt.* 2. 644) is inclined to assign him to about 150 B. C. A good account of the dramatic fragment may be found in Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Second Div., 3. 225-28, accompanied by a bibliography. 'The moment chosen as the starting-point of the action was apparently that when Moses fled to Midian after slaying the Egyptian (Exod. 2) . . . In the last fragment a messenger, in whom we are to imagine one sent to reconnoitre for the Israelites, announces to Moses the discovery of an excel-

¹ Of his poetry nothing seems to have survived but his paraphrase of the Psalms (*Patr. Gr.* 33. 1314-1538).

For other specimens of drama or dialogue, etc., in the fourth century, by Methodius, Johannes Damascenus, etc., see Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byz. Literatur*², pp. 644-5.

² The fragments of his poem may be found in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 9. 28, 29 (see especially Gaisford's text); and at the end of the appendix to Euripides, in Didot's *Auctores Classici*.

lent place of encampment at Elim, with twelve springs of water, and seventy palm trees (Exod. 15. 27 = Num. 33. 9).¹ This is followed by a description of the phoenix which the messenger had seen.¹

Schürer adds: 'The poetry of the author is very prosaic. On the other hand, a certain amount of skill in dramatizing the material cannot be denied him. The diction and versification (iambic trimeter) are tolerably fluent. It has been doubted—incorrectly it seems to me—whether this drama was ever intended for representation. The aim of it is certainly the same as that of the Scriptural dramas of the Middle Ages (the passion plays, etc.), viz., on the one hand to make the people, in this way also, better acquainted with sacred history; on the other, and chiefly, to supplant as far as possible profane and heathen pleasures by the supply of such "wholesome food." Here, perhaps, as in other productions of Judæo-Hellenistic literature, heathen readers and spectators were calculated upon.'

Graetz (*Gesch. der Juden*, fourth ed., 3¹. 356) remarks that this Hellenization of Jewish history seems to have aroused hostility in certain quarters, so that when Ezekiel subsequently became blind it was looked upon as a punishment for the profanation of which he had been guilty. This statement, however, I do not find confirmed by any other author.

To resume the preceding pages. The dialogue in Cynewulf's *Christ*, which had been looked upon as an early precursor of the miracle plays, is itself anticipated by dialogues composed by certain Greek Fathers as a homiletical feature, and are due to a tendency to Hellenize Jewish history which may antedate the time of Christ, and which is strongly marked as early as the fourth century of our era.

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¹ The passage has been excerpted by (Pseudo-) Eustathius, *Ad Hexaem.* (*Patr. Gr.* 18. 730-1).

SOME NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE.

WHILE engaged on a study of the classical mythology in Shakespeare, I have been able to clear up—at least to my own satisfaction—several of the obscurities in Shakespeare's text which have so far baffled the zeal of the commentators. Some of these results have seemed of enough importance to warrant publication. I shall give only my own explanations, referring the reader to Dr. Furness' editions for the views of preceding critics.

In *Lear* 2. 2. 133, where the straightforward Kent is rebuked by Cornwall for his bluntness, and outwitted by the smooth talk of the contemptible Oswald, Kent exclaims :

None of these rogues and cowards
But Ajax is their fool.

Shakespeare's knowledge of Ajax is mainly drawn from the account of his dispute with Ulysses over the armor of Achilles given by Ovid in *Met.* 13. Ulysses by his cunning speech persuades the Greeks to award the armor to him; on which Ajax, overcome by grief and chagrin, goes mad and kills himself with his own sword. To this dispute Shakespeare refers in several passages. Thus we find the two heroes mentioned together in the description of the Troy picture in *Lucrece*, the blunt rage of Ajax contrasting with the mild, sly glance of Ulysses; while in *Antony and Cleopatra* 4. 13. 2 and 4. 14. 38, and in *Taming of the Shrew* 3. 1. 53, may be found further proof of Shakespeare's familiarity with the story. Even in *Troilus and Cressida*, where Caxton's *Recuyell* and Chapman's Homer furnish the originals for the actions of Ajax in the play, the characterization of the Telamonian hero is that of Ovid rather than that of the authors just mentioned. If in the light of these facts one reads over the context of the line

from *Lear*, it will be obvious that Shakespeare again has the passage of Ovid in mind. I should paraphrase it as follows: 'I am a plain, blunt fellow like Ovid's Ajax. You, Oswald, are a smooth talker like Ulysses. (Ajax calls him rogue and coward in Ovid.) The Ulysses is always able to make a fool of the Ajax, as you do now of me.'

One may read several weary pages in Furness apropos of the allusion to 'Atalanta's better part' in *As You Like It* 3. 2. 293. Where so many explanations have been offered it is impossible to suggest a new one. A line from Ovid (*Met.* 10. 563) furnishes satisfactory proof that Dr. Furness is right in his conjecture that Orlando means to praise her beauty at the expense of her fleetness in running away. I quote from Golding's translation, ed. 1575, p. 137a :

And hard it is to tell
Thee whither she did in footemanshippe or beawty more excell.

Here is the necessary antithesis between two of Atalanta's excellencies, and it is not hard to guess which of these a lover would wish to have embodied in his mistress.

A less famous *crux* is that furnished by the following lines from *Hamlet* (1. 5. 31-34), where the ghost says to Hamlet :

I find thee apt;
And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
That roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,
Wouldst thou not stir in this.

There are two points at issue; what is the weed referred to, and what is the sense of 'fat'? If Shakespeare had any particular plant in view, I think I can show that it was not the asphodel, as Tschischwitz suggests, but rather the poppy. Both Virgil and Ovid connect the poppy with Lethe. Thus in describing the house of sleep (*Met.* 11. 602-605) Ovid says:

Saxo tamen exit ab imo
Rivus aquæ Lethes, per quem cum murmure labens
Invitat somnos crepitantibus unda lapillis,
Ante fores antri fecunda papavera florent.

Again in *Met.* 7. 152, Jason sprinkles the dragon with the juice

of certain herbs sent from Lethe, which are of soporific virtue. Virgil speaks of 'Lethæa papavera' in *Georg.* 4. 545, and of 'Lethæo perfusa papavera somno' in *Georg.* 1. 78. If Shakespeare was thinking of the poppy, then the phrase 'fat weed' must mean a weed which makes the eater 'fat' or dull. (For *fat* in this sense see Schmidt's *Lexicon*.) A similar prolepsis is found in *Macbeth* 1. 3. 84: 'the *insane* root that takes the reason prisoner,' and in *Othello* 3. 3. 330: 'Not poppy, nor mandragora, nor all the *drowsy* syrups of the east.' *Wharf* is of course equivalent to *shore*, the only sense in which Shakespeare uses the word.

The next passage to be discussed cannot be called a *crux* at all, since no one, so far as I can discover, has called attention to the difficulty. In *Lucrece* 265-6 we read that Lucrece smiled with so sweet a cheer

That had Narcissus seen her as she stood,
Self-love had never drown'd him in the flood.

Ovid's Narcissus died no such commonplace death. Why has Shakespeare substituted drowning for the metamorphosis of the Roman poet? That this more prosaic version of the story was not unknown to the ancients is shown in Eustathius, *Comm. ad Homeri Iliadem*, p. 266, line 7. That it was not unfamiliar to the Elizabethans may be shown from Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* 1. 74. I am inclined to believe, however, that Shakespeare's immediate source may have been a poem of 264 lines in Latin hexameters by one John Clapham, entitled *Narcissus, sive Amoris Juvenilis et præcipue Philauticæ Brevis atque Moralis Descriptio*, published by Thomas Scarlet, London, 1591, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum. The closing lines of this poem are as follows:

Haec ubi dicta dedit tendens ad sidera palmas,
Terque gemens dicit pereo, formose valetō,
Dure nimis, repetens iterum, formose valetō.
Deficiunt vires, et vox et spiritus ipse
Deficit, et pronus de ripa decidit, et sic
Ipse suæ periit deceptus imaginis umbra.

We have here the death by drowning, and in the title of the

composition the 'self-love' of Shakespeare's lines. One other fact lends some probability to the supposition that Shakespeare had this 'brevis atque moralis descriptio' in mind. Save for a mere mention of Narcissus as a type of beauty in *Antony and Cleopatra*, the only other mention of the myth is found in the following lines of *Venus and Adonis* (161-2):

Narcissus so himself himself forsook,
And died to kiss his shadow in the brook.

Not to push the similarity between the 'perit deceptus imaginis umbra' and the last line quoted, one may notice that the only detailed allusions to Narcissus in Shakespeare occur in poems published in 1594 and 1593 respectively, or within four years of the date of Clapham's *Narcissus*, and that Clapham's poem is, like the two poems of Shakespeare, dedicated to Henry, Earl of Southampton.

The remaining annotations concern themselves with one of the fairy scenes in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (3. 2. 378). Oberon has just been issuing his orders for the bewitching of Demetrius and Lysander.

Puck. My fairy lord, this must be done with haste,
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all,
That in crossways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone;
For fear lest day should look their shames upon,
They wilfully themselves exile from light,
And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night.

Oberon. But we are spirits of another sort:
I with the morning's love have oft made sport;
And, like a forester, the groves may tread,
Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.

The disputed passages are those printed in italics above. I shall consider them in order.

In three passages besides the present, Night is conceived of as drawn through the sky by dragons: *Troilus* 5. 8. 17;

Cymbeline 2. 2. 48; *III Henry VI.* 4. 1. 4. For this conception there is no classical authority. In Ovid the car of night is drawn by horses: thus, *Amores* 1. 13. 40, 'Lente currite, noctis equi'; and *Pont.* 1. 2. 56, 'Sive pruinosi Noctis aguntur equi'. Where did Shakespeare get the idea? To answer this question, I shall first show that Shakespeare identifies Night with Hecate, and secondly, that he thinks of Hecate as driving a dragon-yoke. The ancients thought of Hecate first as a moon-goddess, then as a divinity of the infernal regions, and, lastly, as a natural development of these two ideas, as patroness of witches. That Shakespeare was acquainted with all of these conceptions, is shown by one of the witch scenes in *Macbeth* (3. 5), where she appears as queen of witches, and in the course of her long speech suggests her infernal character by an invitation to meet her 'at the pit of Acheron', and her connection with the moon by the lines:

Upon the corner of the moon
There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
I'll catch it ere it comes to ground.

(Cf. also *Lear* 2. 1. 41.) These three notions are all suggestive of darkness or night, and already in Ovid we find the name of Hecate associated with that of Nox. For example, in the enchantment of Circe in *Met.* 14. 403-405 we read:

Illa nocens spargit virus sucosque veneni,
Et Noctem Noctisque deos Ereboque Chaoque
Convocat, et longis Hecaten ululatibus orat.

That this association was present to Shakespeare's mind also may be shown from *Lear's* solemn adjuration (1. 1. 112):

For, by the sacred radiance of the sun,
The mysteries of Hecate, and the night.

From close association it is only a short step to confusion and virtual identification, and this step has, I think, been taken in the following passage of *Macbeth* (3. 2. 40-43):

Ere the bat hath flown
His cloister'd flight, ere to black Hecate's summons
The shard-borne beetle with his drowsy hums
Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done
A deed of dreadful note.

There is no reference here to the witch-queen of the *dramatis personæ*; in plain prose Macbeth means to say that before the night is over Banquo and Fleance will have been murdered. It has puzzled the commentators to explain why Hecate's name is introduced at all, and why she should be called 'black', an epithet obviously inappropriate for a moon-divinity. It is possible, of course, to consider 'black' as equivalent to malignant, as in the phrases 'black magician' (*Richard III* 1. 2. 34), and 'black fate' (*Romeo and Juliet* 3. 1. 124); but this still leaves the first question unanswered. All difficulty is removed if we admit that Shakespeare is using the name Hecate as equivalent with Night. There is one more passage which seems to confirm this view, and which brings us immediately to the problem of the dragon-yoke with which we started. It is from the closing scene of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and is spoken by the same fairy Puck who speaks of 'night's swift dragons':

Now it is the time of night,
 That the graves, all gaping wide,
 Every one lets forth his sprite,
 In the church-way paths to glide:
 And we fairies, that do run
 By the triple Hecate's team,
 From the presence of the sun,
 Following darkness like a dream,
 Now are frolic.

If Hecate is the moon, with what appropriateness can those who run by her team be said to follow darkness! If on the other hand, Hecate means only night, or darkness, the inconsistency immediately disappears.

But what is the team of triple Hecate by which the fairies run? Ovid mentions no team as belonging to Hecate, but he does tell us in *Met.* 7. 219 (so Seneca, *Med.* 1023; cf. Euripides, *Med.* 1321) that Medea's prayer to Hecate is answered by the descent of a dragon-drawn car in which Medea is carried aloft, and Shakespeare's contemporaries, if not Shakespeare himself, ascribed a dragon-yoke to Hecate. (Cf. Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* 1. 103; Drayton, *The Man in the Moon* (about 100 lines from the end); Milton, *Il Penseroso* 59, and *In Obitum*

Præsulis Eliensis 56.) These facts seem to warrant us in asserting that 'triple Hecate's team' is a team of dragons, and that the phrase is the exact equivalent of 'night's swift dragons', which we set out to explain.

It remains now to explain the line already quoted from *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which Oberon declares that he has often sported with the 'morning's love.' Morning is apparently Aurora; but who is her love? Shakespeare twice mentions Aurora by name, and morning is personified in several passages; but never is there any mention of Tithonus, nor does it seem likely that Oberon would have found the withered Tithonus very lively company. Neither does it seem at all likely that Shakespeare is referring to Cephalus, as some of the editors would have us believe. If the reader will take the trouble to peruse the passage in question, and, stripping it of its highly elaborate imagery, get at the plain prose sense of it, he will agree that it can mean only this: Oberon says, We are not spirits of the malignant type, whose nature compels them to flit at the first cock-crow; I have often stayed until the sun was well risen. If the morning's love could be shown to be the sun, all difficulties would be dispelled. That this was actually what Shakespeare meant is shown pretty conclusively by the following passages. The first is from *Romeo and Juliet* (1. 1. 142):

But all so soon as the all-cheering sun
Should in the furthest east begin to draw
The shady curtains from Aurora's bed.

These lines would apparently mean that the all-cheering sun drew the curtains, and left her bed. So too *Venus and Adonis* 855-6:

And wakes the morning, from whose silver breast
The sun ariseth in his majesty.

Again in *III Henry VI* 2. 1. 21-2:

See how the morning opes her golden gates
And takes her farewell of the glorious sun,

where the sun seems to be thought of as a lover sent forth by Morning to run his course and return to her again. Further illustration may be found in the opening lines of *Venus and*

Adonis, and in *Titus Andronicus* 2. 1. 5. That this conception is not peculiar to Shakespeare may be shown by Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* 3. 1464-7:

And eek the sonne Tytan gan he chyde,
And seyde, 'O fool, wel may men thee dispyse,
That hast the Dawing al night by thy syde,
And suffrest hir so sone up fro thee ryse.'

One is tempted to ask whether there may not have been some confusion of the names *Titan* and *Tithonus*. If now it be asked how Oberon could sport with the sun, we may answer that one still speaks of getting up with the sun, and that Oberon's words need mean no more than that he was in the habit of sporting at sunrise.

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THE WANDERER AND THE SEAFARER.

THE two pieces known as the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* have long been held to rank among the finest specimens of extant Anglo-Saxon poetry. Unfortunately, however, their deep and true feeling for nature and passionate lyric earnestness are marred by occasional obscurity of language and abruptness in the sequence of thought, and by a mingling of Christian and heathen material.

These defects have led to the conclusion that the poems as we now have them are not in their original form, that they have suffered interpolation, and that in the *Seafarer* we have to do with a dialogue, or the fragments of one. Much time has already been spent by scholars in the endeavor to separate later elements, and to show the correct interpretation of the subject-matter. It is, indeed, of considerable importance in estimating the literary significance of Anglo-Saxon elegiac poetry to determine what the facts in the case really are.

The whole subject has been reopened in an article by R. C. Boer (*Zs. f. d. Phil.* 35. 1 ff.), in which the two poems are subjected to a minute critical analysis. The results are in brief as follows: The pieces which we know as the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* contain the remains of three old poems. In the first¹ of these an *eardstapa* bewails the loss of lord and kinsmen, and relates in the third person the visions which appear to him in sleep. This is probably preserved entire, but in interpolated form. The second² poem is the fragmentary complaint of a seafarer who has suffered much upon the ocean. The third³ is a dialogue, treating of the longing inspired by the sea and of

¹ *Wanderer* 6-16; 19-24^a; 29^b-36; 39-57; 90 (with *bonne* in line 88)-98; 101-110.

² *Seafarer*, 1-15; 17-22; a line from 23-24^a; [25^b-26 ?]

³ *Ibid.*, 33^b-38; 44-64^a.



the dangers of travel on the water, and is composed in relatively free strophic form. The two latter pieces were joined together by the interpolator of the *Wanderer*, who added to them, in turn, much new material. These additions consist principally of repetitions, ideas transferred from one poem to the other, gnomic reflections, partly borrowed, and religious coloring (frommes gerede). It is to be assumed that the two poems—counting the two parts of the *Seafarer* as one—followed each other in the manuscript from which the Exeter Book was copied, and it is probable that the scribe who wrote them in this earlier form was the above-mentioned interpolator.

I believe that a careful examination of the two pieces and a comparison of the characteristics of their language and construction with those of other Anglo-Saxon verse will show that there is no reason to assume such extensive contamination or interpolation, or to interpret any portion of the *Seafarer* as a dialogue. In an investigation of this sort previous opinions must be reviewed with some care, particularly the arguments advanced by Professor Boer, which have not yet been challenged. The *Wanderer* is practically virgin soil for critical exegesis; with the exception of the opening and the closing lines its unity has, so far as I am aware, never before been questioned. The case is quite different with the *Seafarer*. Boer's arguments in regard to this poem represent to a considerable extent an elaboration of the theories of preceding scholars. Since the question of its interpretation is more complicated, it may be well to consider it first, reserving the *Wanderer* for later discussion.⁴

The suggestion that the *Seafarer* should be taken as a dialogue between an old sailor and a youth was first made in 1869 by Rieger.⁵ This idea has found wide acceptance among later scholars,⁶ although some have preferred the division made by Kluge.⁷ Rejecting the whole latter portion of the poem, 64b-124, as a later addition, Kluge argued that the dialogue pre-

⁴ The reverse order is adopted in Boer's article.

⁵ *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, 1. 330 ff.

⁶ Compare, for example, besides those named, ten Brink (Brandl), *Gesch. d. Engl. Litt.*, p. 72; Körting, *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. Engl. Litt.*, p. 56.

⁷ *Engl. Stud.*, 6. 322 ff.

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ceding should consist of but two speeches, one by the old man, and the other by the youth, instead of several speeches by each, as Rieger had assumed. He later brought forward some striking parallels from Anglo-Saxon religious literature in support of his theory that 64b-124 is the work of a homilist.⁸ While this theory has been generally accepted, his contention that this second part was written by two different men has been destructively criticised by Hönncher⁹ and Wülker.¹⁰ Hönncher prefers Rieger's division of the dialogue, with some modifications of his own.

It should be noted that in 1887 Ebert¹¹ expressed the opinion that the *Seafarer* should be interpreted as a monologue from beginning to end. He brought forward no arguments to support this view, however, save a paraphrase, which fails to give a close rendering of disputed passages, and is in no wise an answer to previous objections. It is obvious that such a paraphrase, unless most carefully made, may give an entirely misleading cast to the thought of the poem.

Beer's theory is original in that he regards 1-24, discounting interpolations, as a separate poem, the *Complaint of the Seafarer*. He agrees with Kluge as to the added lines (64b-124), but favors in general Rieger's division of the intervening dialogue.

In spite of the more or less prevalent opinion to the contrary, I think it will be seen that the *Seafarer* admits of a more consistent interpretation as the lyric utterance of one man. The attempt has not hitherto been made, to my knowledge, to furnish such an interpretation, with due regard to the objections of those who hold the opposite view. I believe with Kluge that 64b-124 is an addition, but not that two hands may be traced in it in the way which he suggests. It will simplify the discussion to leave these closing lines out of consideration for the present, and deal with the older portion of the poem.

The difficulties begin with 33, or at most with 28. Wülker¹² remarks, 'Weiterhin ist klar, dass v. 34 ff.

⁸*Ibid.*, 8. 472 ff.

⁹*Anglia*, 9. 435 ff.

¹⁰*Grundriss*, p. 211.

¹¹*Allg. Gesch. d. Litt. d. Mittelalters im Abendlande*, 3. 81 f.

¹²*Grundriss*, p. 210.



For þon cnyssað nu
 heortan gēohtas, þæt ic hean streamas
 sealtyþa gelac sylf cunnige

nicht von demjenigen sein kann, welcher v. 1 f. sagte:

Mæg ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan,
 sibas secgan, hu ic gewincdagum
 earfoðhwile oft þrowade.¹³

Boer objects, in regard to 27 ff.: 'Was lange vorher erzählt worden ist, wird noch einmal wiederholt, und obgleich es nichts erklärt, mit einem erklärenden *forþon* eingeleitet. Z. 12 fgg. heisst es: "das weiss ein glücklicher mensch nicht, wie ich unglücklicher im winter auf dem kalten meere mich aufhielt." Es folgt eine beschreibung der situation: reif, hagel, wasser-vögel; und dann: "darum (!) weiss ein glücklicher mensch nicht, welches elend ich auf dem meere erduldet habe."¹³ In regard to 33b, he points out that it is highly illogical for a man to say, after a description of the discomforts of seafaring, that *therefore* he desires to undertake a voyage. The contradiction in this latter case is almost equally great whether it occurs in a dialogue or a soliloquy, and Boer avoids the dilemma by assuming that 33b ff. begin a poem which originally had no connection with what precedes.

A part of the apparent illogicality of these passages is due, I believe, to a misunderstanding of *forþon*. It is extremely important to determine what its significance really is, since it occurs frequently in disputed passages in both poems, and is constantly regarded by Boer as an index-finger pointing to interpolations. He generally translates it 'darum.' It was also often used as a conjunction, 'because.' There is good evidence, however, that it might indicate a much looser logical connection. Compare the use of the English word 'so' at the present day. Originally denoting a strict inference, 'so' often serves, especially in conversation, to bring new ideas into general relation with preceding statements, whether they follow as logical conclusions or not. This appears to have been the case with *forþon*, particularly in the northern dialects. It is frequently

¹³ p. 17.



mittelbar daran schliessen sich eine reihe sprüche.' These proverbs and other matter disturb the narrative, he thinks, until 87, where the connection abandoned at 57 is once more taken up.

Discussion of the general admissibility of proverbial material in Anglo-Saxon elegiac poetry is best postponed until later. The interpretation of the word *forþon*, suggested in the discussion of the *Seafarer*, may make the transition easier, but the connection of thought is perfectly comprehensible, even if *forþon* be understood to mean 'darum.' 'The world is constantly changing. Therefore a man cannot be called wise until he has lived a deal of winters (for these changes are bound to affect him some day).' The same thought is brought out in 73 ff., the sense of which Boer has misunderstood:—²⁹ 'A wise man is bound to come to a realization of how terrible it is to see the fair habitations of this world lying waste.' The acceptance or rejection of the above explanation of 64 ff. does not affect our main argument, however. The chief thing to note is that the beginning of this assumed interpolation is consistent with what precedes.

Moreover, Boer's attempt to carry out his hypothesis leads to insurmountable contradictions. It will be remembered that the sequence of thought broken off at 57 is according to this hypothesis resumed at 88. Commenting on 88 ff., Boer says, 'Hier sind zwei auffassungen denkbar. Entweder sind *þās word ācwiþ* worte des dichters und z. 92–110 werden vom *eardstapa* gesprochen . . . Oder der *eardstapa* spricht *þās word ācwiþ*, und was folgt, sind worte des *winelēas guma*.'³⁰ He decides for the latter alternative, that is, that the lines beginning *Hwær cwōm mearh* are spoken by the *winelēas guma*.

This interpretation is obviously impossible for the poem as it stands. The reason is well stated in Boer's own words. 'Das pronomen [*sē*, 88] genügt kaum zur bezeichnung einer person von der in den letzten 30 zeilen nicht die rede war.' Yet he assumes that this very *sē* was the feeble attempt of an interpolator to make some sort of transition after his long insertion. Although this redactor felt the break in the thought, he did not or could not do better than this to bridge it over, even in adding two lines here, as he is presently made to do! Must not the

²⁹ Cf. p. 475 below.

³⁰ p. 4.



used elliptically, signifying no close relation of cause or effect, and sometimes so vaguely that the meaning seems to have been scarcely more definite than 'in regard to this matter.' Kluge¹⁴ has remarked that there is no justification for translating it as an adversative, 'but' or 'yet,' as some have done.

A passage from the poem known as *Wunder der Schöpfung*¹⁵ illustrates the use of *forþon* as a loose connective.

Gewiteð þonne mid þy wuldre on westrodor
 forðmære tungol faran on heape,
 oþæt on æfenne utgarseges
 grundas pæpeð: glom oþer cigð,
 niht æfter cymeð, healdeð nydbidod
 halgan dryhtnes. Heofontorht swegl
 scir gescyndeð in gesceaft godes
 under foldan fæþm, farende tungol.
Forþon nænig fira þæs frod leofað,
 þæt his mæge æspringe þurh his ægne sped witan,
 hu geond grund færeð goldtorht sunne
 in þæt wonne genip under wætra geþring
 oþpe hwa þæs leohtes londbuende
 brucan mote, siððan heo ofer brim hweorfeð.
Forþon swa teofenede, se þe teala cuþe,
 dæg wiþ nihte, deop wið hean
 lyft wið lagustream, lond wið wæge. (68-84)

The train of thought is in brief as follows. 'The sun sets in the west, night comes on, the sun sinks beneath the bosom of the earth. *Forþon* no man is so wise that he knows the pathways of the sun, when it sinks beneath the waters, or what peoples enjoy its light after it speeds over the ocean. *Forþon* he who well knew how (the Lord), hath associated day and night, the deep with the high land, the air with the water, etc.'

Compare also two passages from Cynewulf's *Christ*.

'May (the Lord) be the guardian of our souls and encompass with glory our feeble spirit, make worthy of this us whom He hath shut out from glory when we were doomed, deprived of our home, to sojourn in wretchedness in this narrow world.

¹⁴ *Engl. Stud.* 8. 472.

¹⁵ Grein-Wülker's *Bibliothek d. ags. Poesie*, 3. 1, 152. The quantity of vowels is not indicated in the present article unless it is marked in the source from which the citation is made. Quotations follow the text of the *Bibliothek* where not otherwise specified.

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Forþon can the man who speaks truth say that He rescued the race of men which had departed from His ways.' (28 ff.).

'Ye ask from curiosity how I preserved my maidenhood, my chastity, and yet became the mother of the son of the Creator? *Forþan* the mystery is not known to men, but Christ revealed that the guilt of Eve has been removed,' etc. (92 ff.).

In these cases it seems to mean little more than 'verily' and Gollancz¹⁶ has so translated it.

A comparison of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses¹⁷ on the Gospels with the versions in West-Saxon shows that this use of *forþon* to connect a statement loosely with what has preceded was particularly characteristic of the northern districts. It will be remembered that it was in this territory that the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* were written.

<i>Lind.</i>	ond	eft-locadon	gesegon	efet-awaelted
	et	respicientes	uident	reuolutum
	ðone stan	wæs forðon	micel suiðe.	
	lapidem	erat quippe	magnus ualde.	

<i>Corp.</i>	hi gesawon þæne stan aweg awyltne.
	soðlice he wæs swyðe mycel.

(Mark, xvi, 4.)¹⁸

Similar passages, showing the employment of *sōðlice*, or a like word, in the southern versions, where *forþon* appears in the northern might be cited, did space permit. Enough material has, however, been brought forward to show clearly that *forþon* was susceptible of a wider range of meaning than is sometimes attributed to it.

It may be well at this point to present an analysis of the *Seafarer*, interpreted as a lyric. A paraphrase is here given, rather than a literal translation, in order to bring out the sequence of ideas more clearly. The effort has been particularly made, however, not to introduce any turn of thought not strictly justified by the text. The disputed transitional passages are

¹⁶ *Cynewulf's Christ*, Lond., 1892.

¹⁷ Ed. by Skeat, Camb. Univ. Press.

¹⁸ The Rushworth MS. here employs the same idiom as the Lindisfarne, and the Hatton the same as the Corpus. The word *ond* has been substituted above for the graphic sign in the Lindisfarne MS.



rendered literally. The word *forþon* has purposely been omitted in the translation throughout, since there seem to be no expressions not excessively awkward which perfectly reproduce the meaning as conceived in the preceding discussion, and are not liable to be misunderstood. It is of course impossible to render it by the same word or words in each case, because the meaning is sometimes nearer to the English 'so,' sometimes nearer to 'for.'

'I can sing of my voyages, of the hardships which I have often experienced on the sea. Cold, anxiety, hunger oppressed me (1-12). A man to whom the earth seems fair knows not how I have suffered on the ice-cold sea in winter, deprived of my kinsmen, in the falling hail. I heard naught but the roaring of the sea. The cries of the sea-birds I made my merriment and revelry (12-22). Storms beat on the rocky cliffs, the tern and the eagle screamed. . . .¹⁹ None of my kinsmen might comfort me. One who has lived in comfort on the land little realizes how it has been my destiny to abide in weariness on the sea. With falling night came snow, frost, hail (23-33). Now the thoughts of my heart are agitating me, that even I should make trial of the mighty billows, the play of the salt waves. The desire of my heart impels my spirit to fare forth, that I may seek strange lands afar off (33-39). There is no man on earth so haughty or so munificent or so valiant or so high in the favor of his lord as not to be concerned for his seafaring, whatever the Lord may have in store for him. He has no thought for music or wealth, no joy in woman, no delight in aught in the world save the welling of the waves, but ever hath yearning, he who thinks to sail upon the deep (39-47). The blossoming trees, the fair cities, the sunny meadows, all incite the man on his journey who intends to sail afar over the ocean. The cuckoo warns with sorrowful note, presages care. A prosperous man knows not what they endure who journey afar off (48-57). My heart wanders over the seas and returns to me, impelling my spirit forth over the welling waters (58-64a).'

It should be observed that three leading ideas are present in

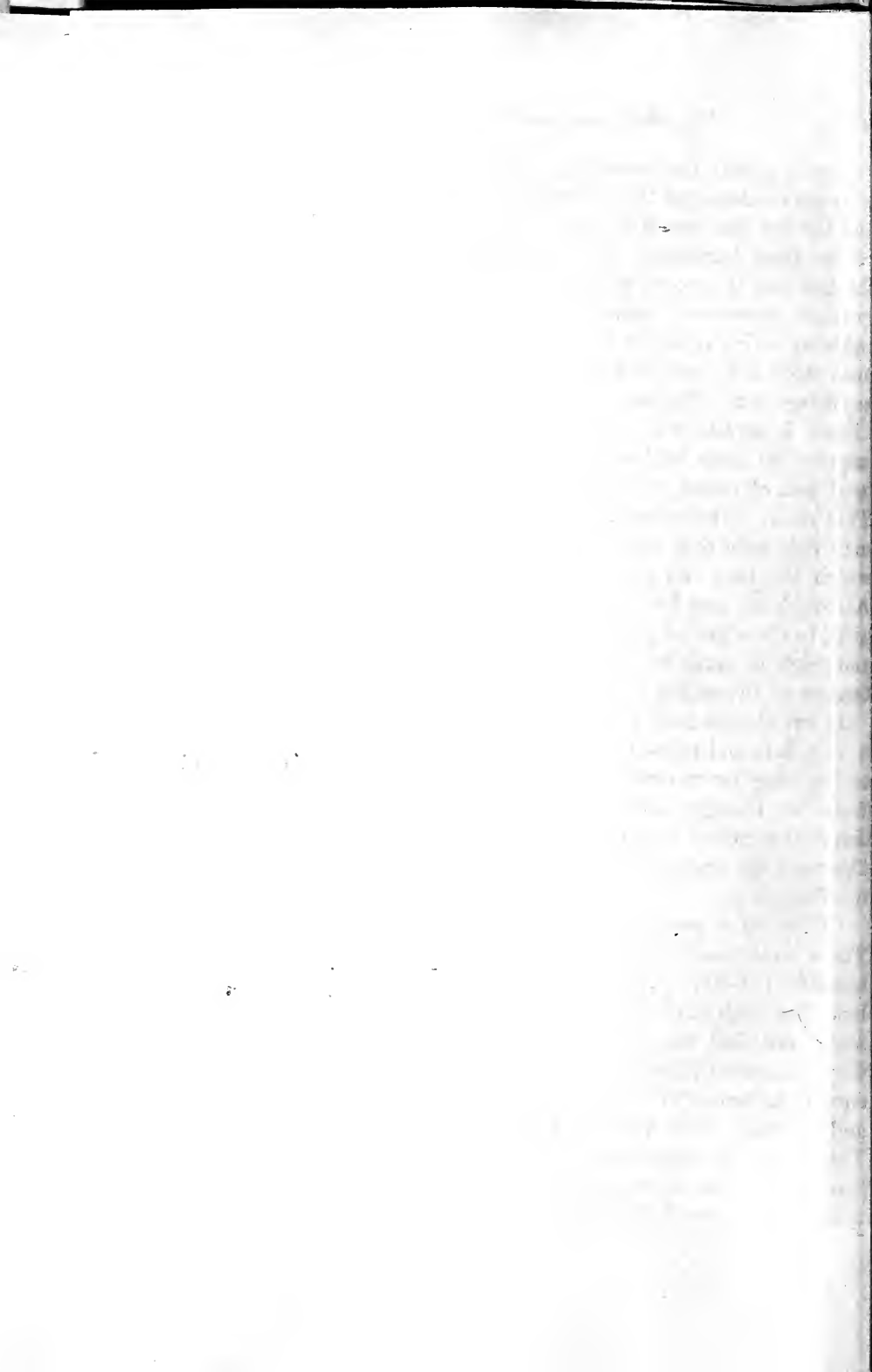
¹⁹ A line has probably been lost at this point.



the poet's mind: the irresistible fascination of the sea for those who have sailed upon it, the hardships which seafaring involves, and the fact that men who live in comfort on the land can never realize these hardships. It is precisely the antithesis between the first and the second of these ideas which gives the piece its greatest power:—in spite of a full knowledge of all the suffering which voyaging brings, the yearning to be on the sea once more is so overpowering that a man finds no pleasure in anything else. The word *sylf* (35) brings out this contrast. 'Even I myself, who have endured so much hardship, am impelled to make trial of the mighty waves again.' *Cunnian* need not, of course, necessarily mean 'try for the first time.' This desire is explained in lines 39–47, which state that the man who sails over the water finds no delight in the pleasures which the land can give, but only in being on the ocean. Although he may be a successful man, proud, able to dispense gifts, in the vigor of youth, with a reputation for valiant deeds, and high in favor with his lord, he is nevertheless not content, because of the calling of the sea.

It was characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon poetic temperament to introduce and reintroduce certain leading conceptions in more or less irregular succession. This gave rise to frequent repetitions of thought, not altogether unsuited to reflective or descriptive poetry of the type to which the *Seafarer* belongs. Compare, for example, the arrangement of the opening lines of the *Phoenix*:—

'There is a peerless and lovely land in the East (1–14). There no inclemency of weather annoys, but the plain is ever beautiful (14–21). There are no mountains or valleys. The land lies high (21–32). The forests are beauteous, the fruits never fall, but the trees always stand green, according to God's command (33–36). So shall they be blooming until the end of the world (37–41). The flood spared the land of old, and it shall abide ever blossoming until doomsday (41–49). There is naught unpleasant in the land, no evil weather (50–62). Streams traverse the country (62–70). The trees are laden with fruits which never fall, but the trees remain ever green, adorned



by the might of the Lord (71-80). The land shall suffer no change until the Judgment Day (80-84).'²⁰

This mannerism affected the Anglo-Saxon epic, particularly in its earlier stages, to a considerable degree. Heinzel comments as follows:²¹ '[Es stimmt damit überein, dass] die Angelsachsen auch die Erzählung gerne so einrichten, dass sie, nachdem eine, dann noch eine Thatsache erwähnt, sich wieder zur ersten, dann auch noch einmal zur zweiten zurückwenden.' The effect of this figure in the epic is to break the thread of the narrative, and produce repetitions inartistic from a modern point of view. It is, however, entirely beyond the limits of the present article to enter into a detailed discussion of the matter.²²

We should hardly expect, *a priori*, to find a dialogue imbedded in a poem of this character, with no indication of its presence. The first thirty lines of the piece are, as Boer points out, in the most unmistakably lyric manner. A continuation of this mood would naturally be looked for, and that is indeed what is found, if the dialogue idea be dismissed from mind. There is absolutely nothing in the text to show that there is any change of speaker. Contrast the careful way in which the *anhaga* and the man who speaks lines 92 ff. are introduced in the *Wanderer*, itself a poem of strikingly similar mood. Is it not, moreover, highly significant that the four scholars²³ cited above who have devoted most time to the matter have not agreed on the divisions of this supposed dialogue? What is incomprehensible to the microscopic eye of modern criticism is not likely to have been clear to the people of the eighth century.

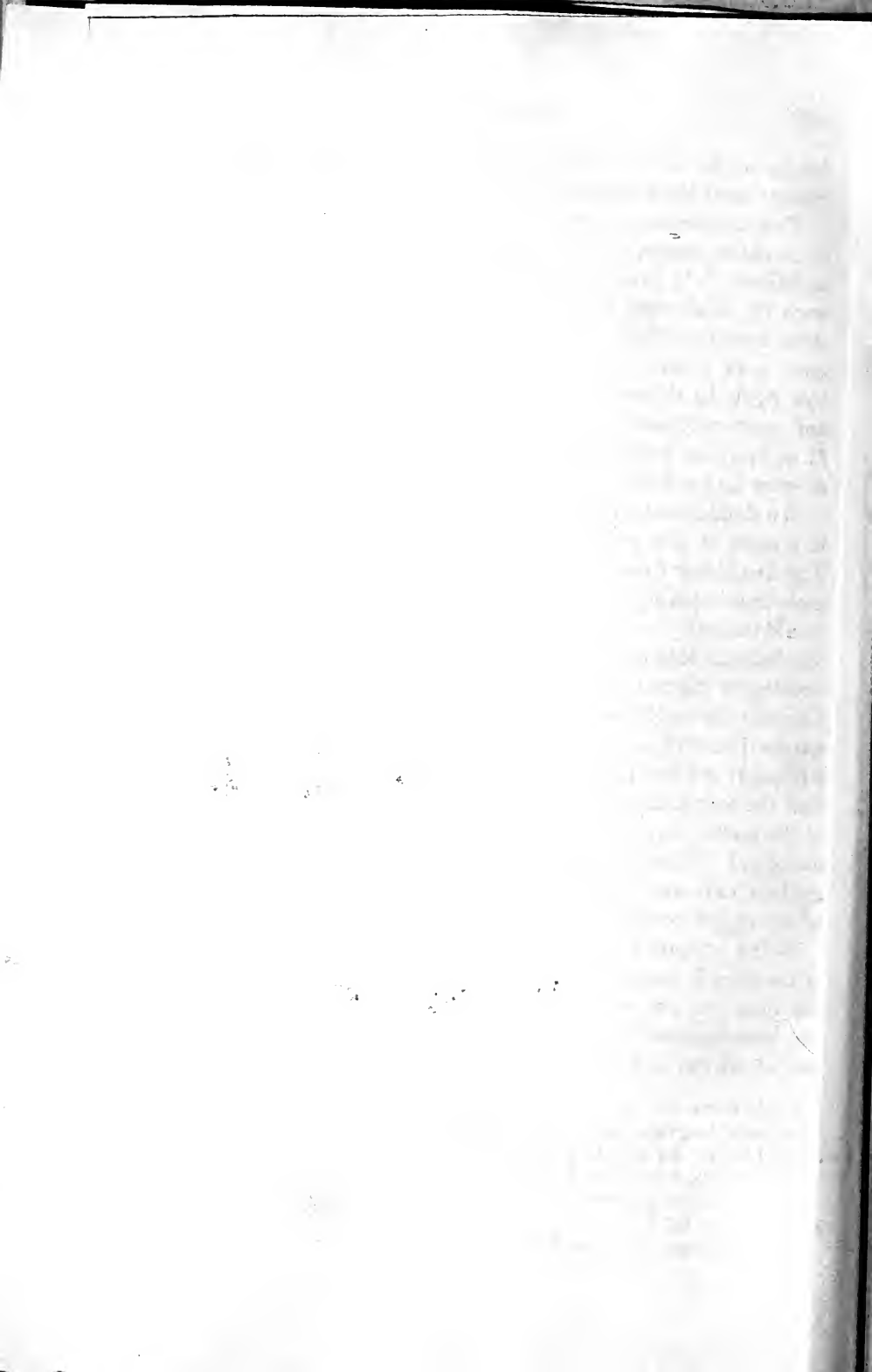
Boer's attempt to establish a separate poem at the beginning of the piece is based on the assumption that 33b-64 is a dialogue. He does not attempt to prove this assumption, since the lines had been regarded as such by earlier scholars. His endeavor is not, of course, to show that the first sixty-four lines cannot be a

²⁰ This shows only the more striking repetitions. Minor ones, as well as identities of language, will be obvious on reading the passage in the original. Heinzel has pointed out the repetition in describing the trees, *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, 15.

²¹ *Stil der altg. Poesie. Q. u. F.* 10. 10.

²² On the subject in general, cf. Heinzel, loc. cit. 10. 10 ff., and *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, 10. 220 ff.; 15. 157 ff.

²³ Rieger, Kluge, Hönncher, Boer.



lyric, but that they cannot all constitute a dialogue. So his arguments will need refutation only in so far as they make against the hypothesis of a single lyric. For this reason his first point need not be dwelt upon. He urges that the different speeches in the dialogue are well defined, and all about of a length, and that it is out of proportion for the man who advises against the journey to make an opening speech longer than all which follows. It might be noted that after previous differences of opinion his assurance that the boundary lines are 'überall scharf gezogen' is hardly convincing.

He states in the second place that there is a change of tone after 33. Instead of personal reminiscences, general and hortatory reflections follow. This is of course on the assumption that the young man speaks such lines as 58 ff., which are as subjective as anything which precedes. Moreover, the transition in the Anglo Saxon lyric from the personal to the general is not uncommon.²⁴

The third objection, that 33b ff. are illogical in connection with the preceding lines, has already been met.²⁵

Boer seems to beg the whole question in saying, 'Ferner glaube ich mit Rieger (Zschr. 1, 330), dass das, was dem zusatze vorhergeht, ein dialog ist, wobei ich nicht entscheide, ob derselbe von zwei personen geführt wird, oder ob eine person mit sich selbst redet.'²⁶ What then, is the poem but a lyric? Why assume dialogue divisions? Such an admission as this shows the ease with which the whole passage of sixty-four lines may be interpreted as in the paraphrase above.

The succeeding pages of Boer's article are devoted to an attempt to show, on the basis of similarities in language, that the same person interpolated the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*, and that certain expressions have been imitated from one poem in reworking the other. Since this method, particularly as applied here, seems misleading, the results cannot be regarded as significant. For this reason the method alone will be criticised in detail.

It may be safely said, I believe, that the establishment of relationship between different Anglo-Saxon poems on the ground

²⁴ Cf. p. 477 below.

²⁵ p. 463 ff. above.

²⁶ The italics are mine.



of like words and word-combinations is less in favor to-day than it once was. It is obvious that in a language so full of formal elements, and following so much certain stereotyped lines of thought, many striking resemblances must occur, even in pieces undoubtedly of different authorship. In two poems as similar in subject and feeling as the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* it would surely be surprising not to find correspondences in phraseology. Both are elegiac in tone, both deal with the hardships of travelers, both depict nature in her sterner moods. But Boer regards it as a ground for suspicion when the descriptions at these points show similarities in language, maintaining that these similarities would be evenly distributed, not grouped in certain places, if they arose merely from the fact that the poems are of one school.

To take a concrete example, it is certainly natural that winter weather and its effects on the earth should be mentioned in each poem. Is it strange, then, that such parallels as the following occur?

'Se. 31. *norþan sniwde*. Wa. 104-5. *norþan onsendeð hrēo hæglfare*.

Se. 14. *īscealdne sē*. Wa. 4. *hrīmcealdne sē*.

Se. 32. *hægl feol on eorþan*. Wa. *hrēo hæglfare*, vgl. auch 102 *hrīð hrēosende*.'

Or is it to be wondered at that two complaints of men destined by fate to be exiles should show the following similarities of expression?

'Se. 15. *wunade wræccum lāstum*. 57 *þē þā wræclāstas wīdost leogað*. Wa. 5. *wadan wræclāstas*.'

Some of these parallels seem to be nothing more than the accidental use of the same word. Moreover, Boer's application of his method does not seem quite accurate. He states, for instance, that in 33-64 'keine einzige übereinstimmung mit dem *Wanderer* vorhanden ist.' One of his own examples contradicts this. 'Se. 57 *þē þā wræclāstas wīdost leogað*, Wa. 5. *wadan wræclāstas*. (Cf. Wa. 32).' Also, Se. 59. *mīn mōdsefa*, Wa. 59. *mōdsefa mīn* (Cf. Wa. 19).

It was largely upon data of this sort that Rieger based his theory that Cynewulf wrote the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*.



For a discussion of the parallel passage method in general, compare J. Kail, 'Parallelstellen in der angelsächsischen Poesie.'²⁷

The reasons which Boer brings forward to prove that lines 33-64 are in strophes seem altogether insufficient. Strophic structure is rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and foreign to its nature.²⁸ It is not difficult to arrange Saxon verse in strophes, however, as Möller's operations with *Bēowulf* have shown, and it is particularly easy with such irregularity in the length of the various divisions as Boer admits (4, 5, 5½, 6½ lines). He points out double alliteration in the last line of two of his strophes in support of his argument. But apart from direct proof of Scandinavian influence in refrain, metre, or language, it seems impossible to accept strophic form in this passage. With the disproof of the dialogue theory the argument from 'die Ähnlichkeit mit mehreren dialogischen Eddaliedern' becomes of no significance.

With regard to the latter part of the poem, from 64b to the end, it seems as if Thorpe's conjecture that 103-124 were part of a different piece from what immediately precedes had not received sufficient attention. At this point a marked degeneration in style; thought, alliteration, and syntax commences, which continues to the end. The noteworthy circumstance is, however, that line 103 begins a new leaf of the manuscript (83a), which increases considerably the probability that its contents have no connection with the preceding lines. However, decision as to the composition of the second part of the poem is of minor importance, and will not be attempted here.

It remains to examine Boer's criticism of the *Wanderer*. His main contention is that 57-87 is an interpolation. After giving an outline of the poem as far as line 57, he says, 'Bis dahin erzählt nicht der dichter sondern der von ihm z. 6 eingeführte *eardstapa*. Das object der erzählung est der *winelēas guma* (45). . . . Dieser ist freilich mit dem *eardstapa* identisch; der *eardstapa* aber hält ihn mit grosser epischer selbständigkeit dadurch, dass er durchgehend von ihm in der dritten person redet, von sich fern. Auf einmal fällt nun der *eardstapa* z. 58 aus

²⁷ *Anglia*, 12. 21.

²⁸ Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, pp. 19, 144 ff.



der rolle. Aus der dritten person geht er in die erste über, und zu gleicher zeit vernehmen wir nichts mehr von seinen noch von des *winelēas guma* subjectiven empfindungen, sondern es folgen allgemeine betrachtungen.'

It will be noticed that the whole first part of the *eadstapa's* complaint, as far as line 29, is in the first person. If he may change at this point to the third person, why not back again to the first person at line 57, particularly in a poem of lyric character? And is it correct to maintain that no more is heard of his personal feelings? How can the opening lines of this assumed interpolation, in Boer's own paraphrase, be anything else than 'subjective empfindung?'—"Darum kann ich in der ganzen welt keinen grund finden, weshalb ich nicht betrübten herzens sein sollte, wenn ich das ganze leben der *eorlas* erwäge." Is this more of an 'allgemeine betrachtung' than lines 11-18?

Boer continues; 'Wäre hier noch ein zweifel berechtigt, ob von allen *eorlas* ohne unterschied die rede ist, oder ob das praeteritum auf die verwandten des *winelēas guma* deutet, das folgende lässt nur eine auffassung zu. "So fällt diese welt jeden tag hin." It appears, then, that feeling, to be subjective, must rest not on the general but on the particular. But the wanderer is just saying that he finds every reason to be *sad at heart* when he contemplates the lives of men. Even disregarding this unusual conception of the meaning of the word 'subjective,' it will be seen that the tone of 57 ff. is perfectly in keeping with the earlier part of the complaint. What is more natural than the train of thought? 'I have had many troubles; my lord has died, I have been an exile. One who has experienced it knows how dreadful a companion is sorrow. A friendless man often sees in sleep visions of past happiness, of friends long dead, but these visions are fleeting, and heaviness of heart returns when he wakes. So when I consider the lives of men, how they have died untimely deaths, I cannot but see why my heart should be heavy. This world is indeed transitory.'

'Es folgt,' continues Boer, 'eine schlussfolgerung, welche man kaum erwartet hätte,' namely, "Darum kann ein mann nicht weise werden, bevor er einen (guten) teil der winter in der welt (erlebt) hat." Das klingt einigermassen sentiös, und un-



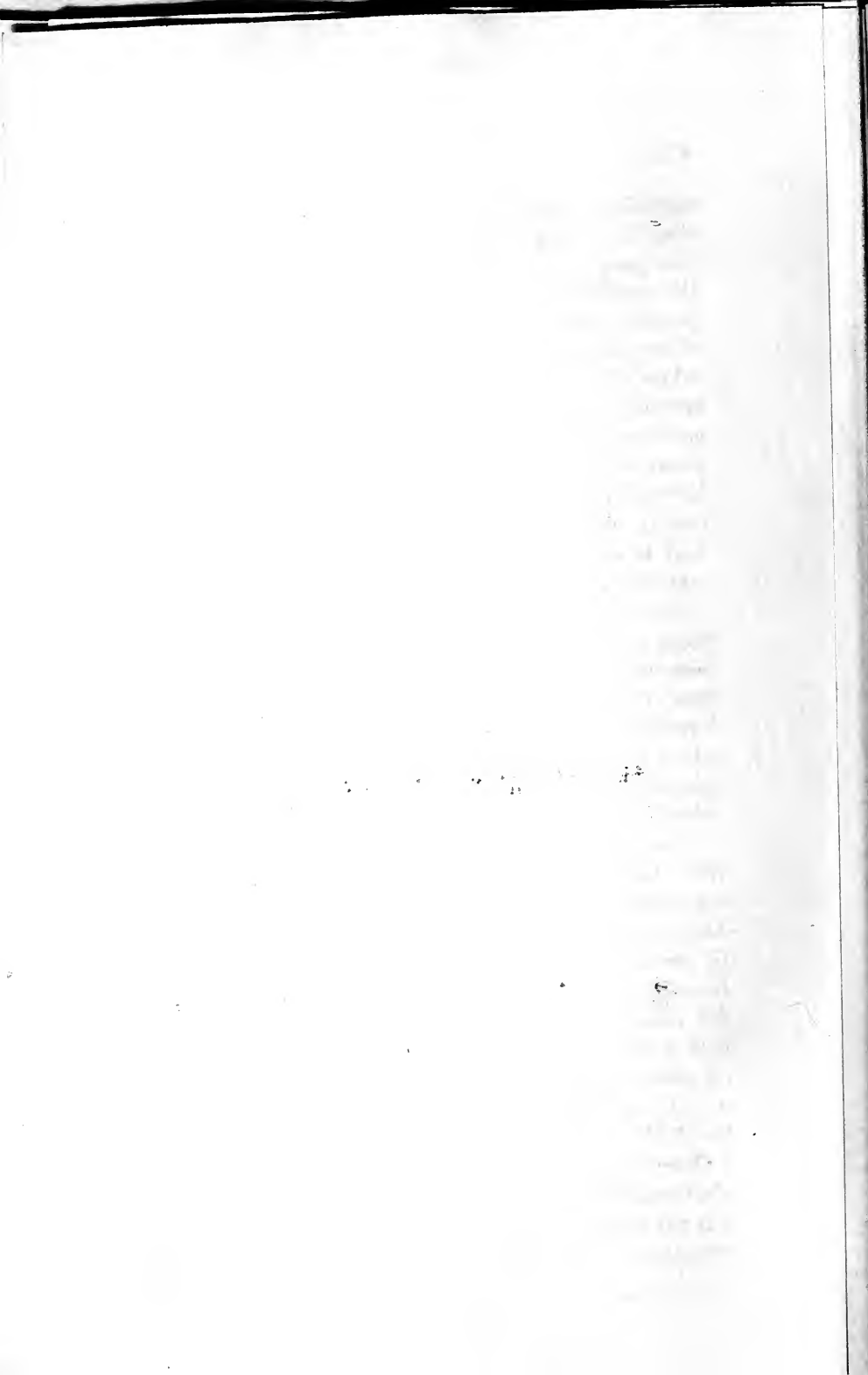
operations of an interpolator, to be convincing, be more rational than this? The chances are that a man who is making insertions in a poem will be quite as anxious as the original author to have the transitions smooth. However, having cut off the *sē*, Boer points to *þonne* (39, 45, 49, 51) and maintains that the presence of the same anaphora here clinches the argument that 88 should follow 57. But he does not at this point state that he later assumes the very line in which this satisfactory and sequence-continuing *þonne* occurs to be itself interpolated, *all but the þonne*, which is united with *frōd in ferhðe* (90). If a line may be used first to prove unity and then be stigmatized as interpolated, it will evidently be possible to support almost any theory. And, in any case, could the recurrence of so common an anaphora constitute a weighty argument?'

The only natural and unforced conclusion, when the poem is taken as it stands, is to regard 92 ff. as spoken neither by the poet nor the *winelēas guma*, but by another of the *eardstapa's* men of straw, one meditating on the ruined wall, the *glēaw hæle* himself, perhaps, of line 73. This speech (to line 110) would end the utterance of the *eardstapa*, being a quotation within a quotation, as Boer wishes to make it, only not given to the *winelēas guma*.

Boer recognizes another difficulty in developing his hypothesis. 'Z. 88–89 hängen also mit 58–87 zusammen. *Das beweist nun nicht, dass 58–87 echt, sondern dass auch 88–89 unecht sind.* Denn es ist auch zwischen 88–89 und 90 ein directer widerspruch in der ausdrucksweise vorhanden. Aus z. 90 geht nämlich hervor, dass die betübte stimmung nicht ein einziges mal durch den einmaligen anblick einer bestimmten stätte, sondern wiederholt durch das verschwindende traumbild erweckt wird. *feor oft gemon wælsleahtra worn*; das oft befindet sich in bestimmtem widerspruch mit *þisne*, steht aber in vollständigem einklang mit 39–57.'³¹

Observe in the first place that there is absolutely no mention of a 'verschwindendes traumbild' in the lines themselves, that it is not this which calls up recollections of past conflicts, but meditations upon the ruined walls and the sadness of life.

³¹ p. 7. Italics not in Boer's text.



geondþenceð does not signify actual sight of the *wealsteal*, but contemplation of it in memory. This is evident from the fact that the same verb *geondþenceð* governs the abstract *þis deorce lif*. Wherein lies the contradiction between *þisne* and *oft*? Why should not thoughts of a ruin cause sadness at many times, since one can obviously think of the ruin more than once?³²

The argument that these lines would form a good continuation to passages preceding the assumed interpolation proves nothing in itself, of course. Boer maintains further that *wise gepðhte* is 'geschmacklos' and an 'unklare widerholung' of *fröd in ferhðe*, and that it is bad art to put *geondþenceð* and *feor oft gemon* together without a connective (for which his own reconstruction is responsible). These objections carry their own refutation with them, and need not detain us here.

Since it does not appear admissible to credit 58-87 to an interpolator, the excision of various shorter passages as his work is not convincing. Lines which are inferior, or seem so, are set down as due to interpolation. Even corruption in the text is laid to this, as *mine wisse* (27) which appears quite as likely to have arisen from miscopying of the original as from the tendency of the interpolator to write bad Saxon. Furthermore, Boer's interpretation of the meaning of a word or the construction of a passage is occasionally open to doubt. For example, he is undecided whether to render *hū gæstlic bið* 'wie geistlich er ist' or 'wie nur das geistliche bleibt.' In connection with the meaning, 'how terrible it is,' compare the following clause from the Anglo-Saxon version of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. *þær was stefen and gæstlic hræam*.³³ The related verb brings out the significance of the word. *Hi gæston godes ceman gære and lige*

³² It is quite possible that *oft* belongs in sense as much with *geondþenceð* as with *gemon*. Compare a similar passage in the *Wanderer*, 39 ff.

ðonne sorg and slæp somod ætgædre
 earmne anhogan oft gebindað:
 þinceð him on mode, þæt he his mondryhten
 clyppe and cysse.

Here *oft* evidently belongs logically rather with *þinceð* than with *gebindað*. Whether this suggestion apply to *oft* in 90 or not, the passage certainly admits of a perfectly natural interpretation.

³³ 16. 1.

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(Juliana, 17). Compare Goth. *usgaisjan* and mod. Engl. *ghastly*. —Again, in criticising 79 ff. he argues ‘wenn *duguð eal gecrong wlonc bi wealle*, wer bliebe dann gespart, auf eine andere weise sein leben zu verlieren?’ The phrase can hardly be taken literally to mean that all the men met their death here beside the wall. Does not *bi wealle* belong with *wlonc* rather than with *gecrong*? ‘The warriors perished, proud by the wall.’ This seems to refer to their pride in the days when they were inhabiting the now ruined hall.

The excision of various passages in the *Wanderer* as the work of the interpolator is based largely on repetition of thought, lack of originality in expression and interruption of the sequence of ideas. It has been shown above that repetition of motifs and consequent disturbance of logical arrangement is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Under these circumstances, some literal repetitions naturally occur. But Boer regards the recurrence of words or phrases as suspicious. He cites the following lines, for example.³⁴ ‘24b: ofer wapeþema gebind = 57a. 25 sele . . . since bryttan vgl. 34: sele . . . and sinþeþe. 29: wenian mid wynnum, vgl. 36: wenede tō wiste. 28 frēondlēasne, vgl. 45 winelēas guma.’ Thirty lines chosen at random from Anglo-Saxon poetry will, I believe, show an equally large percentage of correspondences. In Cynewulf’s *Christ* we find, within twenty-four lines,

1626 Cyninges worde.	1629 . . Cyninges word.
1618 æt dōmdæge.	1636 æt dōmdæge.
1632 heofonrices þrym.	1638 on heofonrice.
1614 fā þrōwiað.	1617 firenum gewyrca . . . fāh . . .
1632 firendædum fāh forð þrōwian. ³⁵	

After having cut out of the two poems the passages which he considers spurious, Boer remarks: ‘Im gegensatzte zu dem überlieferten interpolierten texte fehlen widerholungen fast ganz, und die, welche nicht ganz bedeutungslos sind, sind auch nicht zufällig, sondern haben einen stilistischen zweck.’

All this brings out the essentially subjective character of his

³⁴ p. 10.

³⁵ Ed. Cook. Notice the repetitions in the opening lines of the *Phoenix*, to which attention has been called above.



criticism. It is not impossible that the Anglo-Saxon elegies have survived in a corrupt form, but is it therefore to be assumed that they were originally in the shape that modern taste would most admire? And even granting that the art of a certain passage is inferior to the general level of the poem, does that necessarily prove the passage in question spurious? Are we to suppose that a poet was always consistent with his own best work in the eighth century any more than at the present day? Boer's analysis, as he himself points out, leaves us with poems in which repetitions, moral reflections, and religious coloring are set down as due to the machinations of the interpolator. How can we be sure that these were not characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon elegy at the stage of its development represented by the poems before us?

Consider the pronounced fondness of the Saxons for moralizing, and for gnomic material in general. This was not a literary fashion introduced with Christianity, its roots lie deep in heathen antiquity. The gnomic poetry of other peoples is as a rule of ancient date. It was characteristic of Anglo-Saxon thought to connect the particular and the general, to make a man's experiences point a moral as well as adorn a tale. The Saxon in misfortune found consolation in philosophy long before King Alfred translated Boethius. Deor's refrain *þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!* is of a piece with the Wanderer's conclusions on reviewing the fates of men. The reflective mood which leads to moralizing is closely akin to the elegiac spirit. Modern poetry is full of instances of it. The amount of Anglo-Saxon verse distinctly heathen in character is relatively small, and citations from it are likely to be questioned as later additions. This applies to the many passages in *Bēowulf* containing moral reflections, and the blighting hand of higher criticism has been laid even on *Widsið* and *Deor*. It will be noted, however, that the lyric cry of the banished wife in the *Wife's Complaint*³⁶ is interrupted at its height by reflections on the virtues beseeming a youth, while it closes with a general maxim deduced from the sad experiences of the once happy couple. The mere presence of moralizing in a poem cannot be said to indicate interpolation.

³⁶ Grein-Wulker, *Bibliothek*, 1. 302.



One of the chief blemishes upon these pieces, from the modern point of view, is the mixture of pagan and Christian elements. We should prefer to have them represent pure heathendom. Even granting, however, that the distinctively Christian material in the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* is a later addition, it is not possible to cut it out exactly. The interpolator may, in order to make a smooth transition, have inserted other lines of his own not different in tone from the original poem, and we may fail to include these in the process of excision. Or, in attempting to preserve the logical sequence, we may assign to the interpolator more than belongs to him. In all work in higher criticism there is also the possibility, which its advocates do not seem to have taken sufficiently into account, that some of the original may have been sacrificed in order to make the insertions fit. The mere fact that the sense is preserved after the removal of such an insertion does not prove that something may not have been lost.

In regard to the *Wanderer*, Rieger, followed by Wülker, holds that 'nur die epische Einkleidung, nicht der lyrische Kern des Gedichtes christlich-religiöse Wendungen enthält.' It will be seen, however, that even if the whole prologue (1-7) and epilogue (111-115) be cut off, there remains a Christian reference in line 5, *ælda Scyppend*. Again, the critics are not in accord about the amount of the prologue to be sacrificed. Boer retains 6-7. Others have suggested that only 1-2 may be added. There is a similar uncertainty in regard to the epilogue. The first two lines may be retained, as there is no Christian coloring in them. On the other hand, the tone of the succeeding lines is quite like that of the proverbial material in the body of the poem, as Boer has noted, and the *Schwellverse* are paralleled in the fine lines 92-93 and 107. In the *Seafarer*, line 43, which contains a reference to 'dryhten,' may be wholly or in part an insertion, although the lines harmonize well in the peculiar arrangement of thought in the poem. The conclusion seems to be that it is impossible to dogmatize in the matter. Some of these passages may be later additions, but it is equally possible that they formed parts of the pieces as originally composed. The temptation to clear away these apparent accretions and preserve the purely heathen tone is very great. But when



political and religious conditions in Northumbria in the eighth century are considered, it will be seen that it is by no means unlikely that elegies were composed at that time which were really heathen in spirit, but with a veneration of Christianity.

Mr. Stopford Brooke, in his *History of Early English Literature*, has pointed out³⁷ the probable conditions under which the so-called elegiac poems were produced, dating them approximately in the first quarter of the eighth century. He does not believe that they were composed in the second half of the century, since in contrasting them with the Cynewulf cycle he finds more of the pagan element, and 'the sorrow expressed is not a retrospective sorrow, like Cynewulf's, for the decay of the whole land, but a personal and present pain.' Certain lines in the *Wanderer* contradict this latter statement, however. If 'retrospective sorrow for the decay of the whole land' indicates a later date, we have the evidence here.

Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle, hu gæstlic bið,
 þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
 swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard
 winde biwawne weallas stondaþ,
 hrime bihrorene, hryðge þa ederas.³⁸

This points clearly to a time when the ravages of war had already devastated the country. Unfortunately it does not serve to date the elegies, for the history of Northumbria all through the first three quarters of the eighth century is a record of anarchy. It is to be remembered, of course, that while these poems belong together in spirit and treatment, they were very likely not by a single author, nor composed within a narrow term of years. Mr. Brooke conjectures that they were written by men 'to whom Christianity was a good thing, but over whom it had no special hold; who were half pagan at heart while Christian in name.' To these pieces, originally pagan throughout, he thinks Christian touches were added in the latter part of the century. Does it not seem equally probable that men of this character might well have given their work, as it was produced, such Christian coloring as this by way of making a concession to the new religion? Such concessions would natur-

³⁷ p. 355 f. I refer to the edition in one volume, New York, 1892.

³⁸ 73-77.

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ally have seemed incongruous. The whole poetic technique of that day was a heritage from heathendom. Certain conceptions were approved themes for poetic treatment, and it would have been difficult to remodel the whole Saxon *Ars Poetica* so as to avoid clashing with Christian conceptions. Such a view as this is supported by the prologue to the *Wanderer*. In the same sentence with a reference to *metodes miltse* is the pagan sentiment *wyrð bið ful āræd!* As Mr. Brooke notes, the Christian additions, if such they be, are not as specialized in their doctrine as the religious poetry of the late eighth century. They express thoroughly primitive ideas, such as men would have held who had scarcely forgotten the gods of their fathers. The whole matter is one for conjecture rather than decision, but I believe the hypothesis here advanced as reasonable as that of monkish interpolation.

The result of the preceding discussion, then, is that there seems to be no reason to assume that the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer* are not preserved in essentially their original form, with the exception of the homiletic addition to the latter poem. Certain textual corruptions have arisen in the processes of copying and transmission, but this is true of works of undoubted unity. The Christian coloring may be a later addition, but it is perfectly possible that it was in the poems as originally composed. There is no necessity to interpret any part of the *Seafarer* as a dialogue.

I venture to believe that in vindicating the transmitted versions of these pieces I am defending compositions which, while they represent more faithfully the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon verse, are in many ways as truly poetic as those which result from an application of the processes of the higher criticism.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE.



SHAKESPEARE'S 'PATTENS OF BRIGHT GOLD.'

THE commentators find difficulty in *Merch. Ven.* 5. 1. 59. A glance at the Furness Variorum will show that 'patterns' has been suggested for the 'pattens' of the text, as a way out of the difficulty felt by those who see no appropriateness in *patines*. However, if Shakespeare blunders, it is in good company—that of the early Greek philosophers from whom he probably borrowed the conception. In Plutarch's *De Placitis Philosophorum* 2. 14, where he is treating of the opinions of the ancients concerning the stars, he says (I quote from the translation of the *Morals* as revised by Goodwin): 'The Stoics say that the stars are of a circular form, like the sun, the moon, and the world. Cleanthes, that they are of a conical figure. Anaximenes, that they are fastened as nails in the crystalline firmament; some others, that they are fiery plates of gold, resembling pictures.' Here the Greek has: ἔνιοι δὲ, πέταλα εἶναι πύρινα, ὥσπερ ζωγραφήματα, where there is no mention of gold. It is evident that no other original is needed for the Shakespearean word than the πέταλα of the Greek. Amyot's French translation, which appeared in 1573, had: 'Autres tiennent que ce sont comme lames enflambées, comme des peintures.' Philemon Holland, in 1603, rendered: 'Others imagine that they be fierie plates, like unto flat pictures.' From Amyot, directly or indirectly, Shakespeare could have drawn, had no other access to Plutarch been possible. Plutarch is copied by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* 15. 31, and is confirmed by Stob. *Ecl.* 1. 24 (510); (Pseudo-)Galen, *Hist. Phil.* 13; and Achilles Tatius, *Isag.* 12.

Shakespearean parallels worthy of attention are the following: *M. N. D.* 3. 2. 187-8:

Fair Helena, who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light.

R. and J. 3. 2. 21-22 :

Give me my Romeo ; and, when he shall die,
Take him and cut him out in little stars.

Perhaps *T. of S.* 4. 5. 31-32 :

What stars do spangle heaven with such beauty
As those two eyes become that heavenly face ?

For the use of *inlay* compare *Cymb.* 5. 5. 351-2 :

They are worthy
To inlay heaven with stars.

KRITISCHES UND PRINZIPIELLES ZU WOLFF'S
'JUGENDLUSTSPIELEN VON HEINRICH
VON KLEIST.'

H EINRICH von Kleist hat der Kritik mehr als ein fast unlösbares Problem hinterlassen; seine Biographie weist trotz langjähriger eifriger Nachforschens noch zahlreiche Lücken auf und eine endgültige Sammlung seiner Werke ist immer noch nicht zu Stande gekommen. Zu den schon vorhandenen Problemen über Kleist hat nun der Kieler Professor Eugen Wolff neulich ein höchst interessantes hinzugefügt, indem er meint, zwei bisher unbekannte Jugendwerke Kleists entdeckt zu haben. Es sind dies zwei kleine Lustspiele, *Das Liebhabertheater* und *Coquetterie und Liebe* betitelt, welche 1802 bei H. Gessner in Bern im Druck erschienen. Diese beiden Werkchen hat Wolff neu herausgegeben¹ und mit einer ausführlichen Einlei-

¹Zwei Jugend-Lustspiele von Heinrich von Kleist, hg. von Eugen Wolff, Oldenburg und Leipzig, O. J. (1898), xxxviii, 127 pp.

Die hier versuchte Kritik der Wolffschen Hypothese wurde schon 1899 geschrieben und eingesandt; das Manuscript blieb dann auf sonderbare Weise lange Zeit verschollen, bis es Anfang 1903 wieder auftauchte. Wolffs Hypothese ist inzwischen vielleicht genügend widerlegt worden; und doch schien es geraten, vorliegende Kritik auch jetzt noch erscheinen zu lassen, erstens, weil die hier vorgeführten Argumente nur teilweise von andern vorgegenommen worden, dann, weil sich aus der ganzen Sache einige prinzipielle Bemerkungen ergeben, die über den einzelnen Fall hinausgehen. Die 'Jugendlustspiele' haben eine ziemlich ausgedehnte polemisch-kritische Literatur hervorgerufen; hier seien nur folgende Artikel angeführt: S. Wukadinović, Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, 1898, Nr. 145; 1900, Nr. 18; Die Gegenwart, xxviii, Nr. 28, (Nimmt die beiden Lustspiele für Ludwig Wieland in Anspruch. Erwidern von Eugen Wolff, Beilage z. Allg. Ztg. 1898, Nr. 152; 1899, Nr. 266, 267.) Otto Pniower, Die Nation, 1898, Nr. 45, (Erwidern von Wolff, das. Nr. 46). Helene Zimpel, Nord und Süd, Dez. 1898, (vermittelnde Stellung zwischen Wolff und seinen Gegnern). Erich Schmidt, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, xxi, Nr. 1. (Erwidern von Wolff, Zs. f. Kritik und Antikritik, I, 3).

tung versehen, worin er die Gründe vorführt, die seines Erachtens unwiderleglich für Kleist als Verfasser zeugen. Es soll nun hier versucht werden, Wolffs Beweisführung möglichst erschöpfend nachzuprüfen und wenigstens keinen wichtigen Punkt unberührt zu lassen. Eine solche eingehende Erörterung lässt sich durch die litterarhistorische Bedeutung der Frage wohl rechtfertigen, ist übrigens durchaus notwendig, da Wolffs ganze Einleitung nichts weniger als unparteiisch ist; der Herausgeber ist offenbar in der ganzen Sache mehr Anwalt als Richter und lässt sich häufig dazu verleiten, blosse Behauptungen als Argumente aufzustellen.

Wolff will zuerst beweisen, dass Kleist bisher unbekannte Lustspiele verfasst und gerade im Jahre 1802, (wo die in Frage stehenden Lustspiele erschienen) etwas Derartiges in Gessners Verlag herausgegeben habe. Das Erstere soll daraus hervorgehen, dass Ernst Münch 1831 (also dreissig Jahre später!) berichtet, Zschokke habe von 'witzigen und lustigen Komödien Kleists gesprochen, wobei man sich halb tot gähnte.' Hat sich hier Münchs 'beispiellos treues Gedächtnis' als zuverlässig erwiesen, so ist wohl anzunehmen, dass sich bei Zschokke selbst Erinnerungen an den *zerbrochenen Krug* mit solchen an die *Familie Schrockenstein* kreuzten. Als Beleg für Kleistsche Lustspiele ist dieser späte Bericht aus zweiter Hand jedenfalls völlig wertlos. Die Vermutung einer Herausgabe Kleistscher Werke im Jahre 1802 ist nun völlig aus der Luft gegriffen. Kleist redet im Frühling 1802 in seinen Briefen von Geschäften beim Buchhändler Gessner in Bern, sagt seiner Schwester, er wisse jetzt, wie er sich ernähren könne, spricht im August von 30 Louisd'or, die er durch eigne Arbeit verdient habe; und im Oktober schreibt er endlich: 'Gessner hat mich nicht bezahlt.' Das ist alles so rätselhaft unbestimmt, dass es wohl für immer fraglich bleiben wird, was für Geschäfte Kleist eigentlich bei Gessner hatte, wofür dieser ihn nicht bezahlte und wodurch er die erwähnte Summe verdiente. Da aber die *Familie Schrockenstein* 1803 wirklich von Gessner verlegt wurde, so liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass Kleist die 30 Louisd'or als vorläufige Anzahlung auf dieses Werk erhalten habe.

Wolff behauptet nun, dass Kleist unmöglich mehr als 30 Louisd'or für die *Familie Schrockenstein* hätte fordern können, und dass die Worte 'Gessner hat mich nicht bezahlt' sich auf dieses Werk beziehen müssen; dass folglich die besagte Summe als Honorar für andre Werke Kleists bezahlt wurde—natürlich eben für die jetzt entdeckten Lustspiele! Dagegen ist einzuwenden, dass Kleist später, zu einer Zeit, wo er sich über sein eignes Talent sehr bescheiden äusserte, von 40 Friedrichsd'or als dem niedrigsten erdenklichen Preis für eins seiner Werke redete (Bülow, Kleists Leben, S. 243), und wiederum den eigentlichen Wert seines *Amphitryon* auf ungefähr 72 Louisd'or anschlug; er hätte also ganz wohl eine ähnliche Summe für seine *Familie Schrockenstein* verlangen können, wovon Gessner ihm etwa die Hälfte schuldig geblieben wäre. Helene Zimpel erinnert ferner daran, dass Kleist im Juni 1808 von Cotta für *Penthesilea* einen Vorschuss von 150 Thalern (gerade 30 Louisd'or) verlangte. Somit wäre dieser Punkt wohl erledigt, ohne auf Kleists Unverantwortlichkeit in Geldsachen und die häufige Unzuverlässigkeit seiner Angaben einzugehen. Wenn Wolff endlich meint, frühere Lustspiele Kleists voraussetzen zu müssen, weil dieser mit Bezug auf *Amphitryon* und den *zerbrochenen Krug* von 'zwei meiner Lustspiele' redet, so verfährt er eben ganz willkürlich. Niemandem, der einiges Verständnis für Kleists Temperament hat und der die Verhältnisse in Dresden erwägt, kann es einfallen, diese Worte so zu deuten.

Nicht weniger willkürlich ist Wolffs Annahme, dass die entdeckten Lustspiele nur Kleist, Zschokke oder Ludwig Wieland zum Verfasser haben können, weil 'Beziehungen Gessners zu andern Dichtern aus dieser Zeit nirgends nachweisbar sind'—als ob damit die Unmöglichkeit solcher Beziehungen bewiesen wäre! Wolff meint auch noch zu wissen, dass Kleists dramatisches Talent aus dem Liebhabertheater herausgewachsen sei, weil Bülow berichtet, dass Kleist den Mädchen seines Kreises beim Aufführen von Sprichwörtern behülflich war 'und auch ganz besonders einige für sie schrieb, die er ihnen sorgfältigst einstudirte.' Aber Bülow spricht hier ausdrücklich von Mädchenspielen, offenbar ganz gewöhnlichen unbedeutenden Charaden, wobei von einer Vorbereitung für Werke wie die

Familie Schrockenstein und *Gwiskard* keine Rede sein kann. Hätten diese gesellschaftlichen Spiele sich zu einem ernstlich zu nehmenden Liebhabertheater ausgebildet, so würde Bülow dies sicher ermittelt und erwähnt haben.

Die äussern Gründe, Kleist diesen Lustspielfund zuzuschreiben, erweisen sich also als ganz nichtig. Wenden wir uns nun den innern Gründen zu, worauf sich die Wolffsche Hypothese hauptsächlich stützt.

‘Die drei typisch Kleistschen Erkennungszeichen,’ meint Wolff, ‘die uns bereits aus der *Familie Schrockenstein* geläufig sind—unwillkürliche Individualisierung des Helden nach der Seele des Dichters selbst sowie Bilderjagd und Sentenzensucht—leuchten namentlich aus *Coquetterie und Liebe* so verblüffend ungeschminkt hervor, wie selbst in keinem der an Kunstwerk hoch darüber stehenden späteren Dichtungen unseres Autors.’ Diesen Satz zu beweisen dient der Hauptteil von Wolffs Einleitung, wobei alles Mögliche auf eine seltsam verworrene Weise durcheinander geworfen ist. Ich werde versuchen, die Argumente hier etwas übersichtlicher zu ordnen.

Gewis, Kleist—wie übrigens fast jeder romantische Dichter—‘individualisiert seine Helden nach seiner eignen Seele.’ Um nun festzustellen, ob wir es hier mit solcher unbewussten Selbstbespiegelung Kleists zu tun haben, läge es wohl am nächsten, die Charaktere in diesen beiden Lustspielen mit authentischen Kleistschen Helden zu vergleichen. Gerade das unterlässt Wolff jedoch, vergleicht dagegen den Helden Eduard Felseck in *Coquetterie und Liebe* mit—Aussagen und Urteilen der Biographen Kleists über den Dichter. Da findet man denn allerdings auffallende Übereinstimmungen; wie beweiskräftig aber solche Übereinstimmungen sind, werden wir vollauf Gelegenheit haben, zu beurteilen. So gebraucht zum Beispiel ein Biograph viele Jahre nach dem Tode des Dichters die Worte ‘Alles oder Nichts’ als Wahlspruch für Kleists Leben, und eben dieser Ausdruck kommt in *Coquetterie und Liebe* vor: Sophie rügt an Eduard, dass er ‘entweder Alles oder Nichts besitzen will.’ Da ist der Zusammenhang doch sonnenklar! Nun, setzen wir gleich eine zweite ganz zufällig bemerkte

Parallele daneben. Charlotte sagt von Eduard: 'Er bittet um Liebe die Pistole in der Hand'—was Wolff auch als ein unzweifelhaftes Selbstbekenntnis Kleists aufstellte. In einem andern Werke wirft eine Dame ihrem Liebhaber die Worte zu: 'Lauter Bettler mit Pistolen in der Hand!' Und wo kommt das vor? In Kotzebues *Stricknadeln*!

Was nun diesen Helden Eduard Felseck betrifft: wie Wolff ausführt, ist er hochmütig, trotzig, verschlossen, herrisch und misstrauisch, dann wieder reuevoll, kann Ungewissheit nicht leiden, hasst alles Konventionelle, leidet an Schwermut, ist schnell zum Äussersten entschlossen. Das mögen nun meistens auch Züge in Kleists Charakterbild vorstellen; es sind jedoch Züge, welche Kleist eben mit etlichen hunderttausend jungen Helden des romantischen Zeitalters im Leben wie in der Litteratur gemein hatte. Wenn aber Wolff behauptet, in diesem oberflächlich gezeichneten Lustspielromantiker Eduard Felseck trete uns 'schlechtweg der ganze Heinrich von Kleist' entgegen, so lässt er sich von seinem Eifer zu einer gänzlichen Entstellung des Sachverhalts verleiten. Dabei sind auch einige Einzelargumente ganz verkehrt. 'Eduard verlangt und setzt es durch, dass die Geliebte das erste Wort des Geständnisses spricht, wie auch Kleist gern ein ausdrückliches Liebesbekenntnis fordert'; aber die Sache verhielt sich bei Kleist gar nicht so, denn in dem ersten erhaltenen Brief an Wilhelmine bat Kleist sie, ihn 'in das Heiligthum ihres Herzens einzuführen,' nur nachdem er nicht allein ihr seine Liebe eingestanden, sondern sogar bei ihrem Vater um ihre Hand angehalten hatte.²—Charlotte nimmt an Eduards Prüderie Ärgernis, und Tieck erzählt, dass Kleist 'durch alles Gemeine und Niedrige empört wurde'—was aber noch lange nicht beweist, dass Kleist besonders prüde gewesen wäre; seine Werke von Anfang bis Ende beweisen gerade das Gegenteil.—Sophie wirft Eduard seinen Mangel an Gefühl vor: 'Ihr zählt und messt die Sterne; Ihr habt das Regelloseste

² Bülow's Behauptung (S. 13), Kleist habe 'bei seiner *Verlobung* die Grille als Grundsatz gelten gemacht, dass die Eltern nichts davon zu wissen brauchten,' ist sicher unrichtig; der erste Brief an Wilhelmine zeigt, dass Kleist sie mit 'Sie' anredete, nachdem er beim Vater schon um sie geworben; erst später kommt das vertraute 'Du.'

in Formeln und Systeme gebracht;—aber das Gemüth des Weibes ist euch ein unbekanntes Land.' Damit vergleicht Wolff Kleists Worte an seine Schwester: 'Das Glück kann nicht wie ein mathematischer Lehrsatz bewiesen werden, es muss empfunden werden'—Worte, welche gewis aus des Dichters tiefster Seele gesprochen sind, denn er hegte wie ein echter Romantiker die höchste Ehrfurcht für das Gefühl; nur scheint Wolff nicht zu bemerken, dass Kleist und Eduard Felseck hier als antipodisch entgegengesetzt erscheinen. Was den Wortlaut betrifft, vergleiche man die Äusserung von Frau von Langsalm gegen Fritz in Kotzebues *Wirrwarr* I. 3: 'Dein pedantischer Hofmeister . . . hat allerlei Systeme in deinem Kopf aufgebaut.'—Wo Eduard dann, weil Sophie ihm nicht sofort mit einem Liebesbekenntnis zuvorkommt, spornstreichs nach Amerika flüchten will: 'zu den Wilden . . ., da finde ich noch Herzlichkeit und Treue,' ist eigentlich von 'Rousseauscher schwärmerischer Sehnsucht nach Naturboden und Naturvölkern,' welche allerdings für Kleist wie für fast jeden deutschen Romantiker charakteristisch ist, gar nicht die Rede; das ist nur der ganz banale Ausdruck der Verzweiflung eines erbitterten Liebhabers. Sagt doch sogar bei Kotzebue der Unbekannte in *Menschenhass und Reue* iv. 3: 'Ihr friedlichen Insulaner der Südsee! zu euch will ich; ihr seid noch unverdorben. . . Oder zu euch, ihr wackern Bewohner von Bisnapore. . . Fort! fort aus diesem cultivirten moralischen Lazareth!—Hörst du Franz? morgen mit dem Frühesten.'—Sehr sonderbar ist Wolffs nächstfolgendes Argument. Charlotte spottet über das Liebespaar Eduard und Sophie: "Statt der Neckereyen und der Wortspiele wird man in Euerem Hause nichts als Sentenzen und Sprüchwörter hören,' und Wolff erinnert dabei an Tiecks Bemerkung über Kleists Freude an *Wortspielen*,—also gerade was Eduard abgesprochen wird! Ist es ferner noch nötig, ausdrücklich zu betonen, dass die Wortspiele sowie die Sprichwörter und Sentenzen in der *Familie Schroffenstein* gar nicht 'eigenartig Kleistisch' sind, sondern nur ein Zugeständnis an eine allgemeine litterarische Mode? Bei Kotzebue und andern zeitgenössischen Dichtern kommt dergleichen viel häufiger vor, als bei Kleist.

Ausser Eduard Felseck sollen auch andre Personen in *Coquetterie und Liebe* Kleists Charakter bespiegeln—der Graf Schall, weil er fein aristokratisch ist und sich der Unannehmlichkeit eines Korbes nicht ausstellen will, und der Engländer Williams, weil er entweder trotzig oder ausgelassen und immer halb verrückt ist. Da kann man nur die Gegenbehauptung aufstellen, dass der Graf nichts besonders Kleistisches an sich hat, und dass Williams die ganz stereotype possenhafte Karrikatur des britischen 'Spleen' darstellt.

Wolff findet in *Coquetterie und Liebe* 'augenfällige äussere Analogien mit Kleists Liebesverhältnis,' aber wiederum dadurch, dass er den beiderseitigen Sachverhalt bedeutend entstellt. 'Im Leben wie in der Dichtung sind die Liebenden Nachbarskinder;' gar nicht, denn Eduard ist als Mündel des Cornelius im selben Hause mit den beiden Mädchen aufgewachsen (S. 63, 101);—'deren Liebe sich auf dem Wege steter Eifersüchteleien äussert' trifft auch nicht zu; dass Kleist häufig über 'Mangel an Liebe' klagte, wie Bülow berichtet, beweist noch lange nicht, dass er eifersüchtig gewesen wäre, und in seinen Briefen ist nicht die geringste Spur von Eifersucht zu entdecken.—'Die Schwester der Geliebten, mit der sich Eduard von Kindheit an immer herumgeneckt hat,³ ist ebenfalls die einzige Mitwisslerin dieser bizarren Neigung'—wiederum eine ganz falsche Deutung; Kleist redet zwar von seiner Braut als von einer Jugendfreundin (Brief an Wilhelmine, 2. Dez. 1801), was jedoch nicht besagen will, dass die Beiden als Kinder mit einander aufgewachsen seien; im Gegenteil, sogar im November, 1799, wie aus einem Brief an Ulrike erhellt, stand Kleist der Familie des Generals von Zenge noch ziemlich fern, und musste er seiner Schwester 'die älteste Zenge' ausdrücklich unter ihrem Namen 'Minette' vorstellen; von Zenge kam übrigens erst im Februar 1799 als Kommandant des dortigen Regiments nach Frankfurt. Auch ist Charlotte im Lustspiel gar nicht in dem Sinne Mitwisslerin der Liebe, wie Luise in der Wirklichkeit; Luise war die Ver-

³ Das ist übrigens ein sehr weitverbreitetes Motiv; um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen: 'Muss ich dich an Julien erinnern? Du warst mit ihr aufgewachsen, sie liebte dich wie ein Kind, sie schrieb dir kindliche Briefe,' u. s. w. (Kotzebue, *Der Verschwigene wider Willen*, 6. Sc.)

traute der Liebenden, Charlotte dagegen vermutet nur, dass Eduard und Sophie einander lieben, und zwar ehe ein Liebesbekenntnis überhaupt zu Stande gekommen ist (S. 64, 94 f.); das Verhältniß ist also grundverschieden.—‘Wilhelmine von Zenge war 1780 geboren, zählte also 1801 ebensoviel Jahre wie im Lustspiel Sophie;’ es ist aber kein triftiger Grund vorhanden, die Abfassung von *Coquetterie und Liebe* in das Jahr 1801 zu verweisen, und hätte Kleist seine eigne Liebesgeschichte wiedergegeben, so würde er gewis eher das Alter seiner Braut zur Zeit der Verlobung (19 Jahre) als zur Zeit der Abfassung des Dramas auf seine Liebhaberin übertragen haben.

Wolff getraut sich offenbar nicht, zu behaupten, dass Sophie viel Ähnlichkeit mit Kleists Braut Wilhelmine hätte, doch findet er die äussere Rolle Charlottens ersichtlich nach Wilhelmines ‘goldner Schwester’ Luise gebildet, ferner soll ‘ihr Leichtsinn, ihr gleichgültiges Spiel mit den Männern’ sowie ihre Leidenschaft für Verkleidungen an Kleists Schwester Ulrike erinnern. Von Luisens Verhältniß zu Kleist und Wilhelmine war schon die Rede; von ihrem Charakter wissen wir so gut wie gar nichts, sind also nicht in der Lage, sie mit Charlotte vergleichen zu können. Ulrike kennen wir besser, können auch behaupten, dass das Wenigste in ihrem Wesen mit Charlotte verwandt ist; sie war unschön und gar nicht dazu angetan, das andre Geschlecht zu fesseln, scheint sich auch nie darum bemüht zu haben, ein ‘gleichgültiges Spiel mit den Männern,’ wie die Kokette Charlotte es liebt, kann Kleist also bei ihr nicht beobachtet haben. Ulrikens ‘lustiges, zu allem Abenteuerlichen aufgewecktes Wesen’ äusserte sich hauptsächlich in einer förmlichen Reisewut und in ihrer sonderbaren Marotte, sich in Männerkleidern verummmt herumzutreiben; keins von beiden kommt bei Charlotte vor. Ueberhaupt ist der ganze Verkleidungsapparat in beiden Lustspielen uraltes Possengut.

Sophie sollte nach Wolffs Hypothese sicherlich nach Wilhelmine gebildet sein, oder mindestens in etwas an die typisch Kleistsche Liebhaberin erinnern, wie sie in Kleists Werken von der *Familie Schrockenstein* bis zum *Prinzen von Homburg* fast immer wiederkehrt; das ist aber gar nicht der Fall. Wilhelmine kennen wir als ‘eine heitere, reine und liebevolle Natur,

anspruchlos und genügsam, und, so bereitwillig sie den Sinn für geistige Fortbildung in sich wecken liess, von bürgerlich-bedächtiger und verstandesmässiger Art, die Dinge dieser Welt aufzunehmen' (Wilbrandt). Sophie soll zwar nach ihrer Schwester 'Eduards Schwächen mit Langmuth ertragen,' das tut sie jedoch in der Handlung selbst gerade nicht, erscheint dagegen als abwechselnd neckisch und kalt ironisch, und in ihrem Betragen gegen Eduard als eine ziemlich herzlose Kokette — das gerade Gegenteil von Wilhelmine und auch von dem Griseldis-Typus der Heldin in Kleists Werken. Wo diesem Typus auch die unendliche Geduld abgeht, eignet ihm doch immer die unverbrüchliche Treue und die unbedingte Hingabe an die Liebe. Sogar Thusnelda ist nur eine scheinbare Ausnahme; ihre Koketterie hat einen bestimmten satirischen Gelegenheitszweck.

Auch in dem ersten der beiden Lustspiele, *Das Liebhabertheater*, will Wolff deutliche Berührungen mit Kleists Leben und dessen Verhältnissen erkennen, und auch hier ist fast jedes Argument mehr spitzfindig als zutreffend. 'Aus dem Liebhabertheater sahen wir Kleists dramatische Anfänge sich herausbilden;' das sahen wir gerade nicht. Wir sehen zwar 'ein ernstes und ein schalkhaftes Mädchen,' das ist aber auch der stereotype Lustspielkontrast. 'Vor allem tritt ein Mädchen das ganze Stück hindurch in Mannskleidern auf . . . und dies Mädchen reist in Gesellschaft eines Mannes umher—ganz wie Ulrike mit Kleist;' lieber ganz wie zum Beispiel Miranda in Kotzebues *Bayard* und die Baronin im *Rehbock*, oder Imogen und ein dutzend andre bei Shakespeare; wir haben es hier eben mit einem viel gebrauchten romantischen Motiv zu thun.—Der Held heisst Roderigo, wie der junge Liebhaber in der *Familie Ghonorez*, und wie Schillers Posa auch heisst, der ein Lieblichsheld Kleists war, und der Name Brigitte kommt vor, wie auch im *zerbrochenen Krug* und im *Käthchen*; wenn aber unter dreizehn Rufnamen in diesen beiden Lustspielen zwei mit Kleistschen Namen gleichlauten, stimmen deren mindestens acht mit Kotzebueschen Namen überein. Dazu sollte Wolff, der doch auf die geringsten Kleinigkeiten einget, bemerkt haben, dass *Das Liebhabertheater* durchweg

Roderigo buchstabiert, Kleist dagegen im Entwurf der *Familie Thierrez* wie in der *Familie Ghonorez*, also gerade 1801–2, immer *Rodrigo* schrieb, und dass Schiller die Form *Roderich* gebraucht.—‘Die Geliebte des Helden ist, wie Wilhelmine, die Tochter eines Offiziers, er selbst desgleichen Offizier, der seinen Dienst quittiert;’ nun, bei Kotzebue wimmelt es geradezu von Offizieren und Offizierskindern, und wo Roderigo-Karl seinen Dienst zu quittieren verspricht, sehen wir nur die banale Lösung einer possenhaften Liebesintrigue, die mit Kleists Aufgabe der militärischen Laufbahn nicht die entfernteste Ähnlichkeit hat.

Es ist merkwürdig, dass Wolff sich durch seine eigne Voraussetzung von zu vermutenden Lustspielen des jungen Kleist (S. XIV) nicht gezwungen sieht, im *Liebhabertheater*, welches noch früher als *Coquetterie und Liebe* entstanden sein soll, eine ‘unwillkürliche Individualisierung des Helden nach der Seele des Dichters selbst’ nachzuweisen. Der Nachweis würde aber auch viel Mühe kosten, denn von Kleistschen Charakterzügen ist bei Roderigo keine Spur zu entdecken; auch zeigen die Frauencharaktere nicht die geringste Verwandtschaft mit Wilhelmine oder Ulrike.

Sehr viel Gewicht legt Wolff auf zahlreiche mehr oder weniger genaue verbale Parallelen zwischen den Lustspielen und Kleists Briefen, und auf das Vorkommen vermeintlich Kleistscher Stileigenheiten. Um den Wert solcher Übereinstimmungen zum Feststellen der Verfasserschaft anonymer Werke zu prüfen, habe ich die beiden Lustspiele mit Kleists Briefen und seinen Werken bis *Penthesilea* verglichen (also Wolffs Material bedeutend ergänzt), dann mit einer an Umfang ungefähr gleichen Anzahl Werke Kotzebues, wobei mindestens ebenso überraschende Parallelen in Menge zum Vorschein kamen. Zu diesem Zweck eignen sich die Werke Kotzebues ganz besonders, erstens weil sie wenigstens nach einer Seite hin die dramatische Durchschnittsmode der Zeit repräsentieren, dann weil es Niemandem einfallen könnte, “spezifisch Kleistisches” bei Kotzebue zu suchen; ein weiterer Abstand an Geist und Stil zwischen zwei zeitgenössischen Dichtern ist kaum denkbar. Das ganze gesammelte Material zu verwerten verbietet der Raum; einige Proben werden aber genügen, um die

Unzuverlässigkeit von Wolffs Verfahren darzutun. Um Wolff das grösstmögliche Zugeständnis zu machen, habe ich in der Hauptsache nur das berücksichtigt, was dieser als unverkennbar Kleistisch hervorhebt, und viele frappante Übereinstimmungen mit Kotzebue bei Seite gelassen.

Eduard stellt 'die Eitelkeit und die Mode' als Feinde der Liebe dar; Kleist schreibt: 'An den Höfen herrscht die Mode; und die Liebe flieht vor der unbescheidenen Spötterin;' Kotzebue: 'Sie wähten glücklich zu sein? ach! das Glück wohnt nicht im Geräusch der verdorbenen Welt!' (*Der Edukationsrath*, 4. Auftr.).—Eduard sagt: 'Die Männer können uns nur äussere Güter rauben; wer uns die Herzen stiehlt, ist unser ärgster Feind;' Kleist: 'Das Herz ist das einzige Eigenthum, das wir uns lieber rauben lassen, als auf Bitten und Gesuche verschenken;' Kotzebue: 'Man kann sich Arme kaufen, Herzen nicht' (*Bayard*, I. 5); in beiden Fällen ist die eigentliche Gedankenverwandtschaft gleich gering.—Graf Schall bemerkt über Sophie: 'Sie ist blos Geist und Vernunft, sagte ich zu mir selbst . . . da sah ich einmal beym Anhören einer rührenden Geschichte eine Thräne in dem schönen Auge blinken, und nun suchte ich Ihren nähern Umgang;' als Wilhelmine den Eindruck geschildert hatte, die eine Erzählung auf sie gemacht, antwortete Kleist: 'So tief kannst Du empfinden, Mädchen? . . . dass Du so tief und innig empfinden kannst, war mir eine neue, frohe Entdeckung;' Wolff hätte hier auch an den ersten Brief an Wilhelmine erinnern können, wo Kleist sich über die 'Freudenthräne, die Sie bei der Erklärung Ihres Vaters vergossen haben' höchlich freut; aber die eine Thräne ist bekanntlich ein allgemeines Merkmal der romantischen Empfindsamkeit; auch bei Kotzebue kommt eine solche Thräne als Zeugnis eines weichen, edlen Herzens häufig vor—sogar Ligny in *Bayard* weint eine solche.

Graf Schall nennt Sophie 'Frey vom Sturm der Leidenschaften'—'Nur wenige besitzen eine so glückliche Gemüthsruhe wie Sie, schöne Sophie,' worauf diese antwortet: 'Und wer sagt Ihnen, dass ich diese heilige Ruhe geniesse?' Mit diesen banalen Worten will Wolff Kleists übermächtige Sehnsucht nach Ruhe, die sich in den Briefen in leidenschaftlichen Worten ergiesst, in

Beziehung bringen ; viel näher berühren sie sich mit Kotzebue'schen Ausdrücken, wie z. B. : 'Dort ist Ruhe, . . . Mag's von aussen stürmen, wenn nur das Herz nicht tobt' (*Menschenhass und Reue*, III. 3), oder : 'Nach manchen Stürmen des Schicksals glaubte ich hier unter edeln Menschen eine Freistatt gefunden zu haben' (*Der Rehbock*, II. 2).

Kleists Bilderjagd, seine Gewohnheit, 'jedes Bild so lange hin- und herzuwenden, bis es allseitig erschöpft ist,' findet Wolff natürlich in diesen Lustspielen wieder, doch scheint es ihm nicht eingefallen zu sein, nachzusehen, ob vielleicht andre Dichter auf die Bilderjagd zu gehen pflegen und ihre Bilder gelegentlich zu Tode hetzen. 'Den glänzenden Vorzug wie die Schattenseite der von andern Werken bekannten Diktion Kleists überhaupt' sieht Wolff in den Bildern dieser Lustspiele—ohne uns zu sagen, worin dieser Vorzug eigentlich bestehen soll. Aber gerade das Schlagende, Verblüffende, manchmal Bizarre, oft wunderbar Poetische in Kleists Bildersprache vermisst man hier ganz; dagegen findet man zum Überdruß die gemacht-geistreiche Spiegelfechtereie, den mühsam ausgeklügelten Replikenkram, die für eine tief prosaische Natur wie Kotzebue charakteristisch sind. Einige Beispiele werden das klar machen.

'Auffallend viele Bilder,' sagt Wolff, 'sind—gerade an einem eben aus dem Offiziersstande geschiedenen Dichter begreiflich—der militärischen Sphäre entnommen.' Nun sind aber Bilder auf Krieg und Waffen bezüglich in Kleists Briefen und seinen Werken verhältnismässig selten, dagegen bei Kotzebue auffallend zahlreich, obgleich Letzterer nie Offizier war. In Wolffs beiden Lustspielen kommen folgende bezeichnende Bilder vor: 'Ich legte eine eigne Mine an, sie wurde aber gesprengt' (S. 49) und 'List um List, eine Mine gegen die andere' (S. 125). 'Wir haben nun wohl alle . . . die Musterung passiren lassen' (S. 57). 'Suchen Sie meine Allianz. . . . Meine Waffen sind nur defensiv ; ich streite nur für meine Unabhängigkeit' (S. 59). 'Sie sind zu hitzig, Sie laufen gleich Sturm. Schliessen Sie die Festung lieber ein, hungern Sie sie aus. Was? soll ich Ihnen erst die Kriegslisten lehren?' (S. 84). 'Ich muss das Terrain recognosciren' (S. 91). 'Stolz gegen Weiber ist ein Schwerdt, das seinen eigenen Herrn verletzt' (S. 77). 'Beyde müssen bald

das Feld räumen und ich setze mich als Sieger in den einigen Besitz' (S. 111).—Bei Kleist stehen folgende Bilder den oben citierten am nächsten, und da springt der Gegensatz gleich in die Augen: 'Um die Täuschung vollends mit dem Dolche der Wirklichkeit niederzubahren' (Biedermann, Kleists Briefe an seine Braut, S. 18). 'Denn in die Brust schneid' ich mir eine Wunde, Die reiz' ich stets mit Nadeln, halte stets Sie offen, dass es mir recht sinnlich bleibe' (*Ghonorez*, Z. 870 ff.). 'Da ist die Eve noch! sag' ich Und schicke freudig euch, von wo die Ohren Mir Kundschaft brachten, meine Augen nach—Und schelte sie, da sie mir wiederkommen, Für blind und schicke auf der Stelle sie Zum zweitenmal, sich besser umzusehen . . .' (*Krug*, Z. 903 ff.). 'Denn jetzt steig' ich in meinen Busen nieder, Gleich einem Schacht, und grabe, kalt wie Erz, Mir ein vernichtendes Gefühl hervor. Dies Erz, dies läutr' ich in der Glut des Jammers, Hart mir zu Stahl; tränk' es mit Gift sodann, Heissätzendem, der Reue, durch und durch; Trag' es der Hoffnung ew'gem Amboss zu, Und schärf' und spitz' es mir zu einem Dolch; Und diesem Dolch jetzt reich' ich meine Brust' (*Penthesilea*, Z. 3024 ff.).—Jetzt eine kleine Blumenlese aus Kotzebue: 'Wir müssen schnell eine andre Mine springen lassen' (*Blind geladen*, 11. Auftr.). 'Nun, so müssen wir sehen, wer am hartnäckigsten das Feld behaupten wird.—Ich weiche nicht eher, bis meine Fahne von der Festung weht. Sieg oder Spott ist die Losung. . . Ein Complot, pfui! Man nennt es eine Allianz oder eine Coalition. . . Nun bin ich Ihr Rekrut mit Leib und Seele' (Dasselbst, 3–4. Auftr.). 'Der Kopf ist die Festung, die den Eingang zum Herzen vertheidigen soll; aber heut zu Tage umgeht man die Festungen' (*Der Rehbock*, 5. Auftr.). 'Die eheliche Zärtlichkeit rührt die gedämpfte Trommel, und der Herr Bruder lässt seine Truppen abmarschiren, gerade wenn die Reserve vorrücken und den Sieg entscheiden sollte' (*Die eifersüchtige Frau*, I. 4). 'Madame Müller, ich bringe Ihnen einen Invaliden, der in Zukunft zu keiner andern Fahne schwören soll, als zu der Ihrigen' (*Menschenhass und Reue*, II. 5). 'Jetzt ist der Feind noch in Allarm. Wir müssen temporisiren. Es liegen mir gar zu viel Feinde auf dem Halse, und ich steh' allein.—Ich werde mir doch wohl Allirte suchen

müssen' (*Pagenstreiche*, III. 13). 'Wir wollen Sturm laufen' (*Die beiden Klingsberg*, IV. 2). 'So wird ein solcher Blick der lieben Frau zum Dolche' (*Der häusliche Zwist*, 3. Auftr.). 'Eine von uns beiden muss das Feld räumen' (*Menschenhass und Reue*, IV. 6).

'Markant durchgeführt sind auch Bilder und Wortspiele aus der Spielwelt,' sagt Wolff, als ob das auch 'spezifisch Kleistisch' wäre. Vergleichen wir wieder. Lustspiele: 'Doch steht unser ganzes Glück auf dem Spiel' (S. 40). 'Sie sind mir aber noch Revanche schuldig' (S. 49). 'Spielen? Ganz recht, bey Euch ist alles nur Spiel, und obendrein spielt Ihr falsch; denn es giebt mehr Nieten als Gewinner, und das grosse Loos kömmt gar nicht heraus.—Begnügen Sie sich mit einer Ambe oder einem Auszug, und gönnen Sie andern auch etwas.—Ich kenne einen, der schon lange in Ihre Herzenslotterie gesetzt hat, aber noch immer durchgefallen ist' (S. 59).—Kleist: 'Der Würfel liegt, und, wenn ich recht sehe, . . . so stehen die Augen gut' (Biedermann, S. 71). 'In meinem Kopfe sieht es aus wie in einem Lotteriebeutel, wo neben einem grossen Loose tausend Nieten liegen' (Koberstein, Kleists Briefe an Ulrike, S. 25). 'Das Leben ein schweres Spiel . . . weil man beständig und immer von Neuen eine Karte ziehen soll und doch nicht weiss, was Trumpf ist' (Daselbst, S. 50). 'Die Gnade des Königs nicht zum drittenmal auf's Spiel zu setzen' (Das. S. 104). 'O niemals ein Gewinnst kann mir ersetzen, Was mir auf dieser Nummer fehlgeschlagen' (*Ghonoréz*, Z. 2665f.). 'Doch ganz gewonnen Ist, wie geschickt du's führst, noch nicht dein Spiel.—Willst du ein Beispiel sehn, wie sicher meins, Die Karten mögen liegen, wie sie wollen?' (*Guiskard*, Z. 261ff.).—Kotzebue: 'Setzt vielleicht seine Ehre auf eine Karte' (*Stricknadeln*, II. 8). 'Warte dein Spiel ruhig ab! ich will die Karten schon mischen' (*Menschenhass und Reue*, III. 5). 'Jetzt Revange, Herr Bruder!' (*Pagenstreiche*, III. 15). 'So ist das Spiel noch nicht verloren. Mich kannst du brauchen, wie den Skis im Tarok. Aber lass mich doch ein wenig in deine Karte sehn' (*Landhaus an der Heerstrasse*, 1. Sc.).

Wolff weist ferner hin auf 'originelle Bilder aus dem Kommerz- und Zolldepartement, dem sich Kleist damals zugewandt.'

Ob sich auch Kotzebue diesem Departement zugewandt, ehe er Bilder aus dem Handels- und Finanzwesen prägte?—Die Lustspiele weisen Bilder wie folgende auf: 'Seine Firma mag gut seyn; aber taugen wir beyde deshalb zu einer Ehestandscompagnie?' (S. 60). 'Mädchen sind Güter auf der See; es giebt Klippen und Sandbänke; die einzige sichere Assecuranz für sie ist der Ehestand' (S. 62). 'Ihr Witz macht Bankerott' (S. 104). Tom will Nanntchen küssen; sie sagt: 'Nein, nein, ich pränumerire nicht' (S. 89).—Kleist hat folgende: 'Wenn gar ein ganzer Tag ohne solche moralische Revenüen vergeht . . . Ein Capital müssen wir haben, und wenn es kein Geld ist, so muss es Bildung sein' (Biedermann, S. 124). 'Daher kann ein Wechsler die Ächtheit der Banknote, die sein Vermögen sichern soll, nicht ängstlicher untersuchen, als ich Deine Seele' (Daselbst, S. 139). 'Denn meine Absichten und meine Entschlüsse sind solche Schaumünzen, die aus dem Gebrauche gekommen sind und nicht mehr gelten; daher zeige ich sie gern zuweilen einem Kenner der Kunst, damit er sie prüfe und mich überzeuge, ob, was ich so emsig und eifrig sammle und aufbewahre, auch wohl ächte Stücke sind, oder nicht' (Koberstein, S. 7). 'Denkst Du, Ich werde dein verfälschtes Herz auf Treu Und Glauben zweimal als ein ächtes kaufen?' (*Ghonorez*, Z. 693ff.). 'Ob ihr mir Wahrheit gabt? O scharfgeprägte, Und Gottes leuchtend Antlitz drauf. O Himmel! Dass ich nicht solche Münze mehr erkenne!' (*Krug*, Variant, Z. 468ff.).—Kotzebue: 'Ein Frauenzimmer bin ich allerdings, mein Herr, doch keine Waare, die sich nach Belieben verhandeln lässt' (*Rehbock*, III. 6). 'Der Herr Graf verpfändete dagegen ihr Ehrenwort.—Ein kostbares Pfand.—Und doch war der Fremde so unverschämt, zu behaupten, es sei keine sichere Hypothek' (*Die Witwe und das Reitpferd*, 4. Auftr.). 'Im Grunde freut es mich, dass Schmeicheleien hier falsche Münze sind' (*Die beiden Klingsberg*, II. 15). 'Aber sie mögen dich nun bezahlen in dieser oder in jener Münze, du bist immer betrogen' (*Menschenhass und Reue*, III. 2). 'Liebeserklärung . . . aus einem von Ihnen aufgefangenen Liebesbriefchen entlehnt.—Also doch immer geborgt?—Nicht doch! Alte einkassirte Schuld, abgeschrieben von einem Billet-doux, das Sie vor sechs Jahren von

mir erhielten.—Wie ökonomisch!’ (Daselbst, IV. 9). ‘Ach! nur . . . was überall Zinsen trägt, Kopf und Fleiss sind wahrer Reichthum’ (*Klingsberg*, II. 14). ‘So müssen Sie mir wenigstens einen Kuss pränumeriren’ (*Wirrwarr*, II. 3).

Wolff bezieht Williams Vergleich: ‘in die Welt nur noch wie in einen Guckkasten hineinsehen’ auf Kleists Worte: ‘so ist es, als ob man in einen Kuckkasten gesehen hätte’ (Biedermann, S. 214); aber auch Kotzebue hat: ‘wo immer etwas Neues, wie in einem Guckkasten, vorüber zieht’ (*Landhaus an der Heerstrasse*, 3. Sc.). Wiederum übersieht Wolff die orthographische Abweichung bei Kleist.

‘Wie auch blossе Wortspiele bis zum Äussersten ausgepresst werden,’ sagt Wolff, ‘zeigt z. B. der Schluss des I. Aufzugs: Williams vergass den Ring wieder anzustecken; Sophie vergass sein Vergessen; Eduard vergisst sich, wie Sophie ihm vorwirft; er aber will nicht entscheiden, wer sich hier am meisten vergessen hat.’ Nun kommen aber solche Wortspiele bei Kotzebue massenhaft vor, viel häufiger als bei Kleist. Hier nur ein Beispiel: ‘Ich *verstehe* Sie nicht.—Wollte Gott, ich *verstünde* mich selbst nicht.—Hüten Sie sich, Her Stallmeister, dass ich, wider meinen Willen, Sie nicht *verstehen müsse*. . . . *Vergessen* Sie nicht, dass mein Gemahl in mir eine Sterbliche zu besitzen glaubt. . . . Für Schwachheiten habe ich kein *Gedächtnis*. . . . Sie mögen bleiben—vorausgesetzt, dass Sie nie *sich vergessen* werden’ (*Der Rehbock*, II. 2). So vollkommen geistlos sind Kleists Repliken nie.

Es wäre ein Leichtes, hier seitenlang die auffallendsten Übereinstimmungen in der Bildersprache zwischen den beiden Lustspielen und Kotzebues Werken aneinanderzureihen, wofür Kleists Werke keine Parallelen aufweisen, aber aus dem schon Verzeichneten geht wohl zur Genüge hervor, wie zuverlässig Wolffs Beweisführung in diesem Punkt ist. Nur noch ein paar Beispiele, um noch deutlicher zu zeigen, wie es mit der vermeintlich spezifisch Kleistschen’ Eigenschaft, die Bilder allseitig zu erschöpfen, bestellt ist. In den beiden Lustspielen ist das am längsten gehetzte Bild wohl dieses: ‘Ich verstehe mich etwas auf die Misanthropie, und halte die deinige nicht für unheilbar. Eduard . . . hatte einen ähnlichen Anfall; vielleicht wäre Euch beyden eine sympathetische Cur dienlich. Nebst andern Heil-

mitteln suchte ich ihn mit der Geschichte eines gewissen Ringes zu zerstreuen, und siehe da, es trat sogleich eine Crisis bei ihm ein. . . . Er hat kein Vertrauen zu mir, und das ist bey jeder Cur das Unentbehrlichste. . . . Ah, da kömmt der andere Patient,' (S. 99 f.). Ähnliches leistet auch Kotzebue sehr häufig, z. B. : 'Es thut weh, wenn das tiefste Gefühl immer kalt bespöttelet wird. Dem Fieberkranken Eis auf die Herzgrube legen, ist ein verzweifelttes Mittel.—Es hilft aber zuweilen. Übrigens freut es mich, dass Sie selbst bekennen, Ihre Liebe zu mir sei eine Krankheit.—O ja wie das Heimweh, das zu tödten vermag, wenn die Sehnsucht ungestillt bleibt.—Wer schon öfters an dieser Krankheit darnieder lag, weiss auch Mittel dagegen,' (*Stricknadeln*, III. 1). Oder dieses : 'Sie gleichen der Aloe, Sie blühen nur alle hundert Jahr ein Mal.—Nun, mein Schatz, Ihre Blüthezeit ist ja auch vorüber.—Aber die gnädige Tante hat eine Frucht getragen.—Die du Schelm pflücken sollst.—Wenn sie nicht wurmstichig wäre.' (*Wirrwarr*, I. 2). Geradezu endlos ausgeführt sind die Bilder aus der Seefahrt in den *Indianern in England*.

In der grammatischen und orthographischen Sprachhandhabung findet Wolf auch manche 'spezifische Kleistsche Eigentümlichkeiten,' welche noch kurz zu besprechen wären. Das Meiste, was Wolf hier anführt, ist so uneigenartig wie nur möglich ; das Wechseln von *kommt* mit *kömmt*, *Herren* mit *Herrn*, Ausdrücke wie 'Sieht sich im Spiegel,' 'auf den Abend wird getanzt,' auf französische Wendungen wie 'ist an der Toilette,' "studirt auf ein Impromptu' u. s. w., könnten bei jedem beliebigen Schriftsteller der Zeit vorkommen ; auch Kostruktionen wie 'schreie ich das ganze Haus in den Garten hinunter,' 'mich aus meinem Unmuth herauscherzen' sind ganz gewöhnlich, und haben mit Kleists kühner und plastischer Sprachbehandlung nichts zu schaffen. Eine Fülle Fremdwörter soll auch auf Kleist hinweisen, der französisch geläufiger als deutsch gesprochen haben soll. Lehrreich ist in dieser Beziehung ein Vergleich des fremdsprachlichen Materials in den beiden Lustspielen mit demjenigen in Kleists Briefen und Werken und bei Kotzebue. In den beiden Lustspielen kommen 163 verschiedene Wörter und Ausdrücke vor, welche billig als fremdsprachlich gelten können ;

davon finde ich nur 37 bei Kleist wieder belegt, gegen 113 bei Kotzebue; 30 Fremdwörter haben die Lustspiele mit Kleist und Kotzebue gemein, 83 mit Kotzebue allein, nur 7 mit Kleist allein. Dabei ist noch zu bemerken, dass die Übereinstimmungen nichtfranzösischer Fremdwörter sämtlich mit Kotzebue allein stattfinden (u. A. *brittisch, incognito, Insulaner, Lady, magnetisch, Miss, Physiognomie, Punsch, Qui pro quo, Spleen, Starost, Victoria, Zephyr.*)—Dass ferner die 'Vorliebe für jede Art der Antithese' ebensowohl zu Kotzebues wie zu Kleists Stileigentümlichkeiten gehört, ist es wohl kaum nötig, mit Beispielen besonders zu erhärten.

Wolffs Schlüsse aus der Orthographie der beiden Lustspiele sind wiederum ganz unzuverlässig. Der Text wimmelt von Druckfehlern und zeigt überhaupt die höchste orthographische Inkonsequenz; Formen mit *k* und *ck*, *z* und *tz*, *f* und *ff*, *f* und *v*, *k* und *c*, *c* und *z*, *s* und *sz*, *eu* und *ey*, mit und ohne Vokaldoppelung und Dehnungs-*h* (sogar *verliehren!*) gehen auf die verworrenste Weise durcheinander; so auch *kommt* und *kömmt*, *fodern* und *fordern*, *Ihrentwegen* und *Ihretwegen*. Aus diesem bunten Allerlei sucht Wolff gerade solche Absonderlichkeiten heraus, welche auch bei Kleist gelegentlich vorkommen, lässt alles Unkleistische bei Seite, und meint dann, unverkennbare Merkmale Kleistschen Ursprungs entdeckt zu haben. 'Spezifisch Kleistisch' soll die Apostrophierung von *sah'*, *blieb'* u. s. w. sein—vermutlich weil Wolff es behauptet; auch darin schwankt der Text. *Scheue, Trümmern, irrdisch* sind wohl ebensowohl eigenartige Schreibweise des Verfassers wie z. B. *sammmt* und *Tichter* in einer wohlversorgten Ausgabe von Kotzebues 'Bayard.' Wie in Kleists Werken, finden wir eine Schwankung zwischen *ig* und *igt*, aber auch *ich* kommt vor, wie nie bei Kleist; *ü* statt *i* stimmt zwar zu Kleists Sprachgebrauch, ist aber auch allgemein niederdeutsch und mitteldeutsch, und Kleist schrieb gerade nicht *kützlich*, sondern *kitzlich*.—Wolff sagt nichts von der ganz konsequenten Schreibung *ey*, welche stark gegen Kleistsche Verfasserschaft zeugt, da Kleist immer *ei* schrieb, und da in der gedruckten 'Familie Schrockenstein' (ebenfalls bei Gessner gedruckt!) auch *ei* steht. Merkwürdig ist es auch, dass *Das Liebhabertheater* durchweg *vor sich* setzt,

Coquetterie und Liebe dagegen immer *für sich*; Ersteres kommt bei Kleist nicht vor.

Wolff findet Kleists Neigung zur Verwendung des Silbers in Attributen und Zusammensetzungen in den Lustspielen wieder: 'ausser dem Namen Silberbach könnten wir beiher der "Stimme so klar wie von Silber" gedenken (ebenso zweimal in *Penthesilea*);' der Name Knallsilber und die Bilder 'hell und klar wie Glöcklein aus purem Silber' und 'ich höre ihre Silberstimme' bei Kotzebue gehören dann auch wohl hierher.—'Die Klage über die Unterdrückung des armen Herzens ist ein echt Kleistisches Motiv,' meint Wolff; er hätte sagen sollen, ein echt romantisches Motiv, welches für das betreffende Zeitalter so allgemein bezeichnend ist, dass es sogar bei dem in vielen Stücken antiromantischen Kotzebue sehr häufig wiederkehrt.—'Kleistisch ist mit Betonung der Bewegung konstruiert: er macht Verse in *Musen-Almanache*, auf deine heitre Stirn Furchen eingraben, u. ä.'; auch Kotzebueisch, z. B.: 'Aus dem Staub, in den die Selbstverachtung Menschen krümmt.'—'Frappierend märkisch ist der ungewöhnlich ausgedehnte Gebrauch von machen'—gerade so frappierend, wie bei Kotzebue; die Beispiele liessen sich endlos häufen.—Schliesslich ist der 'gewandte, flüssige Stil,' welchen Wolff richtig hervorhebt, eben auffallend unkleistisch; von wirklich individuell charakteristischen Kleistischen Eigenheiten, wie sie in *Minde-Pouets* Buch über Kleists Sprache und Stil ausführlich behandelt sind, ist in diesen Lustspielen nicht das geringste zu finden. Freilich ist *Minde-Pouets* Darstellung darin irreführend, dass sie nicht sorgfältig genug zwischen Gemeingut und Privateigentum sondert.

Nur noch ein Argument, auf welches Wolff viel Gewicht legt: der 'unmillkürlich jambische Rhythmus und Schwung weiter Strecken des Prosadialogs.' Ich schlage ganz aufs Geratewohl Kotzebues *Wirrwarr* auf, das Buch öffnet sich bei der dritten Scene des zweiten Akts, da steht gleich folgender Dialog zwischen Selicour und Doris, welcher sich, in 'Verse' verteilt, gar wohl mit der Stelle vergleichen lässt, die Wolff aus *Coquetterie und Liebe* citirt:

Der Himmel stehe Ihnen bei
Wenn ich Eins von jüngerm Datum finde.—

Sie sollen gar nichts finden. Her damit!—
 Ich proponire einen Frieden.
 Erst die Eroberung heraus gegeben! ich
 Bestehe auf dem status quo.—Ich negociere.
 Wir treffen einen Tausch. Da ist mein Taschenbuch.—
 Was soll ich damit?

Um zu zeigen, wie leicht es ist, auffallende Übereinstimmungen zwischen litterarischen Werken derselben Periode zu finden, seien hier einige von vielen solchen zwischen Wolffs beiden Lustspielen und Kotzebues Werken angeführt: Wohlgemuth spielt die Rolle des Biedermann in *Menschenhass und Reue* (*Lustspiele*, S. 17); Sperling spielt den Peter in *Menschenhass und Reue* (*Kleinstädter*, II. 3). Den Baron mit einem lebhaften Interesse für das Liebhabertheater finden wir z. B. im *Vielwisser* wieder. Der Baron und Julie zählen die Schauspielkächer auf (S. 5, 25); so Dreipfennig im *Vielwisser* (I. 2) und Frau von Altenhayn in der *respectablen Gesellschaft* (6. Auftr.); daselbst wird der 'neuesten Trauerspiele' satirisch gedacht, gerade wie im *Liebhabertheater*. Williams ist ein steinreicher Ausländer, der die Pfund Sterling zu tausenden verschleudert, und seiner Geliebten, die ihn nicht wieder liebt und am Ende nicht heiratet, einen sehr kostbaren Ring giebt; genau so Kaberdar in den *Indianern in England*. Die Scenen, wo Eduard nach Amerika will und Sophie ihn aufhält (S. 122 f.) und wo Charlotte und Sophie maskirt den Grafen überlisten (S. 117 ff.) zeigen eine verblüffende Ähnlichkeit mit den Scenen zwischen Clara und Wallfried⁴ und Clara, Margaretha und Wenzel in der *Feuerprobe*. Die verkleidete Emilie-Felix spricht von sich selbst als von einer Schwester 'die mir von Kindheit auf sehr ähnlich war' (S. 38), gerade wie die verkleidete Miranda in *Bayard* (III. 7) von sich selbst als 'meine Zwillingsschwester.' Roderigo-Karl und Emilie-Felix treten als unbekannte Schauspieler auf, spielen ihre eigne Geschichte und geben sich so zu erkennen; genau so Babet im *Vielwisser* (III. 8).⁵ Die doppelte Verkleidung der Emilie-Felix finden wir bei der Baronin im *Rehbock* genau wiedergegeben. Die possenhafte Verwechslung der Verkleideten

⁴ Ebenso die Scene zwischen Fazir und Liddy, *Indianer in England*, II. 12.

⁵ Dasselbe Motiv in Schröders *Porträt der Mutter*, welches auch andre merkwürdige Ähnlichkeiten mit den beiden Lustspielen aufweist.

und die dadurch verfehlte Verführung in *Coquetterie und Liebe* begegnet z. B. im *Wirrwarr*. Charlotte spricht von einer Ehestandscompagnie; Kotzebue liebt solche Zusammensetzungen mit *Ehestand*: Ehestandscompliment, Ehestandshimmel, Ehestandskatechismus, Ehestandsgericht, u. s. w. Kotzebuesche Lieblingsausdrücke, wie *weiss machen, mein Gott, verdammt, Topp! Frauenzimmer, den Staar stechen, den Kopf warm machen, zum Kreuz kriechen, einen Korb kriegen, zum Narren haben* kommen in den Lustspielen häufig vor, bei Kleist dagegen selten oder gar nicht. Die Zunamen in den beiden Lustspielen: Eichthal, Silberbach, Wohlgemuth, Felseck, Schall, erinnern an die gewöhnlichen Kotzebueschen Namen, wie Eschenholz, Greisen-thal, Blumenau, Knallsilber, Kindlein, Bittermann, Wolkenstein, Trott, Freude. Auch Kleist hat Schroffenstein und Wetter von Strahl, doch sind das Ausnahmen.

Die häufigen und meistens satirischen Anspielungen auf ältere und neuere Litteratur, auf Schriftsteller und andre Berühmtheiten, sind ganz nach der Art Kotzebues; in Kleists Werken kommt solches fast gar nicht vor. Kotzebue verhöhnt gern Lohenstein, wie Charlotte über die asiatische Banise spottet. Buonaparte und Seladon erscheinen auch, gerade in dieser Schreibweise, bei Kotzebue. Der Baron spricht vom grossen Iffland, wie auch Blum in *Blind geladen*. Shakespearesche Charaktere werden herangezogen, wie häufig bei Kotzebue. Roderigos Worte über 'einen auf Reisebeschreibungen herumwandernden Autor' (S. 26) scheinen auf Nicolai zu zielen; gerade so die Reisen des Herrn von Kreuzquer in *Pagenstreiche*. Charlotte erwähnt Grandison (S. 105), wie Eulalia Lovelace (*Menschenhass und Reue*, III. 7). Die Mode-Romane werden mit einem versteckten Seitenhieb gegen Lafontaine im *Liebhabetheater* bespöttelt: 'Unsere beliebtesten Romane sind gleichsam eine hohe Schule der Liebe, und die Weibchen sind klug und schöpfen nur aus der Fontaine' (S. 20), und weiter oben: 'Meine Landsmänninnen sind mir, seitdem sie den Jean Paul lesen, zu thränenreich und mondsüchtig.' Sehr ähnlich lautet eine Stelle bei Kotzebue (*Kleinstädter*, I. 5): 'Die neuen Romane hat er alle gelesen, und folglich kennt er das menschliche Herz. . . . Die weinerlichen Romane sind aus der Mode . . .

Räuber müssen es sein, Banditen. . . . Schade nur, dass unsere Dichter so wenig Patrioten sind, und immer nur Italiener verewigen.' Geradezu unkleistisch ist die Verspottung von Lafontaine, dessen Werke Kleist im Jahre 1801 zweimal mit Anerkennung erwähnt (Biedermann S. 140, Koberstein S. 59). Die Persiflage des historischen Trauerspiels (*Liebhabertheater*, S. 33) erinnert an die unaufhörliche Satire der neuern Tragödie (Lessing, Goethe und Schiller, Klinger und Leisewitz, Tieck und die Schicksalstragödie) bei Kotzebue. Wie kann man Kleist eine solche Persiflage zumuten, gerade zur Zeit wo seine höchste Bewunderung *Wallenstein* und *Don Karlos* galt und wo er selbst Pläne zu lauter historischen Dramen—Guiskard, Ghonorez, Leopold von Osterreich, Peter der Einsiedler—mit sich herumtrug? Dass es Kleist übrigens gerade in Jahre 1801 mit seinem litterarischen Schaffen heilig ernst war, sieht man aus dem Brief vom 10. Oktober an Wilhelmine: 'Ich habe mir . . . in einsamer Stunde ein Ideal ausgearbeitet; aber ich begreife nicht, wie ein Dichter das Lied seiner Liebe einem so rohen Haufen, wie die Menschen sind, übergeben kann.—Dich wollte ich in das Gewölbe führen, wo ich mein Kind, wie eine vestalische Priesterin das ihrige, feierlich aufbewahre bei dem Schein der Lampe.' Ist es wohl möglich, bei solchen Worten an Sächelchen wie *Das Liebhabertheater* oder *Coquetterie und Liebe* zu denken?

Bei fast jedem beliebigen Lustspieldichter der romantischen Periode wären ebenso auffallende Übereinstimmungen mit den von Wolff entdeckten Werkchen zu finden, wie bei Kleist und Kotzebue. Um dieses kurz nachzuweisen, sei hier noch ein einziges Lustspiel, Bretzners *Räuschchen*, zum Vergleich herangezogen; wären der Verfasser und das Datum dieses Werkes unbekannt geblieben, so würde es gar nicht schwer fallen, dasselbe nach der Wolffschen Methode für Kleist in Anspruch zu nehmen, Die Personennamen Julchen, Sophie, Eduard, Karl erinnern stark an die Namen der beiden Lustspiele; der Name Wilhelmine und Ausdrücke wie 'goldne Schwester,' 'Goldmädchen,' 'Wie siehts aus in der Herzkammer?' u. s. w. weisen direkt auf Kleist. Wilhelmine und Sophie bieten denselben Kontrast wie Charlotte und Sophie, Karl ist Kleist ebenso

ähnlich wie Eduard in *Coquetterie und Liebe*. Wilhelmine kommt Eduard mit einem Liebesbekenntnis zuvor, und sie hat früh Sophiens Liebe für Karl erraten. Der eine Liebhaber ist ein reicher, hitziger Engländer, der sein Mädchen kurzentschlossen entführen will, wie Williams. Die wohlbekannte 'eine Thräne' wird vergossen, Romane werden als 'gefährliche Bücher für ein junges Mädchen' missbilligt und die 'übeln Früchte der neumodischen Lektüre' bedauert. Verblüffende Ähnlichkeiten in der Bildersprache fallen auf und viele Bilder sind auch richtig zu Tode gehetzt; so aus dem Kriegsleben (Gewehr strecken, schwere Artillerie spielen lassen, verwunden, Ravage unter Armee der Liebe; Herzen fallen gliederweise, manches kapituliert, manches ergiebt sich auf Diskretion, manches tödlich verwundet u. s. w.; Minen springen lassen; ins Gedränge kommen, attackiert, zwischen zwei Feuer bringen, Sieg oder Tod, Kriegslist ersonnen u. s. w.); aus dem Finanzwesen (meine Aktien stehen schlecht; Spekulationshandel, Ware schon vermakelt, Partie zweimal verkaufen; viel in dem Artikel negociirt u. s. w.); aus der Spielwelt (Glück aufs Spiel setzen; eine Niete ziehen Sie immer, u. s. w.). Auch das fremdsprachliche Material zeigt die merkwürdigste Übereinstimmung; das *Räuschchen* hat mit den beiden Lustspielen 36 Fremdwörter gemein—so viel, wie alle Breife Kleists und fünf Kleistsche Dramen zusammengerechnet!

Ich glaube aus dem Vorhergehenden folgende Schlüsse ziehen zu dürfen: 1° Wolff irrt sich gewaltig, wenn er meint, in seiner Einleitung 'überall solche individuellen Züge, die in Gegensatz zu den hervorstechenden Zügen jener Epoche stehen' vorgeführt zu haben. Im Gegenteil, er hat gerade das hervorgehoben, was Kleist 'als Kind seiner Zeit mit den kleinsten poetischen Zeitgenossen teilt,' um mit Pniower zu reden. 2° Die 'Porträtähnlichkeit der weiblichen Hauptgestalten mit Kleists Braut und deren Schwester' besteht nur in Wolffs Phantasie, und diese Charaktere haben nicht die geringste Ähnlichkeit mit dem wohlbekanntem Kleistschen Heldinentypus. 3° Die 'Analogie der Handlung von *Coquetterie und Liebe* mit Kleists eigener Liebesgeschichte' ist ziemlich weit hergeholt; viel genauer ist die Analogie mit andern Lustspielen. 4° Mit Bezug auf

Gedanken- und Gefühlsausdruck, Sprache und Stil sind ebens auffallende Übereinstimmungen, wie Wolff für Kleist konstatiert, bei dem ersten besten Durchschnittsdichter der Zeit zu entdecken. 5° Die Lustspiele enthalten vieles, was direkt gegen Kleist als Verfasser zeugt.

Es ist wenigstens denkbar, dass irgend ein beliebiger deutscher Dichter um das Jahr 1800, ohne die geringste Kenntniss von Kleists Charakter und dessen Verhältnissen, diese beiden Lustspiele hätte schreiben können. Ganz sicher ist es, dass die Werkchen nichts enthalten, was Ludwig Wieland nicht hätte wissen können; es ist gar nicht nötig, mit Spiridion Wukadinović zuzugeben, diese Stücke könne nur jemand geschrieben haben, "der mit Kleists geheimsten Regungen bekannt war."

Es ist jedoch nicht meine Aufgabe, hier nachzuforschen, ob diese Werkchen wirklich Ludwig Wieland zuzuschreiben sind.⁶ Es kam mir nur darauf an, die Einseitigkeit von Wolffs Beweisführung und die Unzuverlässigkeit seiner Schlüsse zu beleuchten und ein von Vornherein beim Lesen dieser Werkchen gefasstes Bedenken über die Hypothese der Kleistschen Verfasserschaft zu begründen.

Jetzt sei es aber gestattet, an diese Untersuchung einige prinzipielle Erörterungen anzureihen. Denn der vorliegende Fall ist geradezu typisch, besonders für Studien und Vergleichen auf dem schwierigen Gebiete des Stils.

Wenn Lessing behauptet, jeder habe seinen eignen Stil sowie seine eigne Nase, so ist dieser Vergleich zwar nicht erschöpfend, aber doch lehrreich. Wenden wir ihn auf Wolffs Methode der Beweisführung an, so springt der Trugschluss sofort in die Augen. Das Argument würde dann, ins Komische übertrieben, etwa lauten: Herr K. hat bekanntlich eine lange, dünne, spitze Nase; ich sehe hier eine Nase, die offenbar lang, dünn and spitzig ist, daher habe ich unfehlbar die Nase des Herrn K. vor mir.

Ein persönlicher Stil ist eben, wie überhaupt irgend etwas Persönliches, ein höchst kompliziertes Phänomen, dessen charakteristische Eigenschaften unter ein paar bequeme Rubriken gar nicht unterzubringen sind. Andreerseits aber ist ein Stil wie-

⁶ Was inzwischen Wukadinović durch seine weitem Untersuchungen sehr wahrscheinlich gemacht hat.

derum ganz anders als eine Nase etwas Konventionelles, von der Mode und allerlei äussern Einflüssen Bedingtes. Ausser von einem persönlichen Stil reden wir z. B. auch von einem prosaischen, einem poetischen, einem epischen oder dramatischen Stil, von einem nationalen oder einem Dialektstil, von dem Stil einer litterarischen Epoche oder einer litterarischen Gruppe, von dem Stil einer Periode im Leben eines Dichter, oder gar von dem Stil eines einzelnen Werkes. Das sind alles verschiedene Abstractionen von denselben Grundeigenschaften in unendlich variirender Zusammensetzung. Das Verhältnis dieser verschiedenen Stilarten untereinander ist natürlich höchst verwickelt und es wäre ganz unmöglich, das Verhältnis eines zum andern oder die Grenzen dazwischen mit mathematischer Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Und doch sind gerade diese Grenzen und dieses Verhältnis von der allergrössten Bedeutung, wo es sich um die Beschreibung eines individuellen Stils oder gar um die Ermittlung des Verfassers irgend eines anonymen Werkes handelt.

Das allererste Erfordernis für eine Untersuchung über die Verfasserschaft eines Werkes ist eine genaue Bekanntschaft mit dem durchschnittlichen Stil, den litterarischen Anregungen, der herrschenden Mode der Zeit oder der Gruppe, woraus das Werk stammt. Ein solches Werk einfach mit den Werken eines einzelnen Dichters zu vergleichen, wird fast immer irreführen. Es sind eben nicht die allgemeinen Merkmale des Stils, die hier entscheiden, sondern gerade die Eigenschaften, die wirklich persönlich sind, die sich von dem Zeitgeist und der jeweiligen Mode abheben. Der Dichter muss also gegen seinen ganzen Hintergrund projiziert werden, erst dann wird man die persönliche Nüance unterscheiden können; und nur wenn gerade diese feine Nüance und keine andre unverkennbar in dem anonymen Werke erscheint, wird der betreffende Dichter als Verfasser des Werkes anzunehmen sein. Zu diesem Zweck ist eine eingehende und möglichst erschöpfende Analyse des Stils, sowohl für den in Betracht kommenden Dichter als für das anonyme Werk, unumgänglich notwendig. Dazu werden auch die ausführlichsten Monographien über den Stil einzelner Dichter nur selten taugen, denn in den meisten Fällen scheiden solche Monographien das Individuelle lange nicht scharf genug vom Gemeingut einer

Zeit oder einer Gruppe. Ein Vergleich auf Grund einiger willkürlich gewählten Merkmale hat sehr wenig Wert, denn eine Untersuchung von jeder andern Qualitätengruppe würde wahrscheinlich zu einem andern Resultat führen. Nur aus einem systematischen und symmetrischen Vergleich aller Stileigentümlichkeiten wird man zu einem irgendwie wahrscheinlichen Ergebnis gelangen.

Aber auch hiermit ist nicht alles gesagt. Der sehr ungleiche Wert der verschiedenen Kriterien muss sorgfältig erwogen sein. Um ein Beispiel aus dem konkreten Fall zu holen: Die Metaphern und Bilder werden gewöhnlich nach ihrem Inhalt eingeteilt. Aber der Inhalt der Bilder hat gerade für unsern jetzigen Zweck verhältnismässig wenig Bedeutung. Es ist in erster Linie nicht die Frage, ob die Bilder aus dem Spiel, oder dem Soldatenleben, oder der Geschäftswelt hergeholt sind, die hier entscheiden muss; sondern vielmehr die weit wesentlichern Fragen, ob die Bilder überhaupt trivial und stereotyp oder neugeprägt sind, ob wirklich konkret oder mechanisch und gedacht, ob sie Gefühlswert oder dramatischen Sinn haben. Durch solche Kriterien kommt ein tiefer Unterschied zwischen Kleists Bildersprache und derjenigen Kotzebues und der beiden 'Jugendlustspiele' zum Vorschein. Auch beim Wortschatz muss man unterscheiden. Es hat zum Beispiel das rein quantitative Gewicht der Fremdwörter ziemlich wenig zu bedeuten. Dagegen ist die Qualität gerade hier sehr wichtig—also die verschiedenen Quellen dieses fremden Materials, der bewusste oder unbewusste, direkte oder dramatische Gebrauch, die Ähnlichkeit oder Verschiedenheit im einzelnen. Dass aber auch der ganze Wortschatz untersucht werden muss und dass gerade die Fremdwörter als ein schliesslich ziemlich nebensächliches und der Mode besonders unterworfenen Element als Kriterium nicht überschätzt werden sollen, das braucht wohl kaum ausdrücklich hervorgehoben zu werden.

Wenn sich litterarische Untersuchungen überhaupt gegen den alten Vorwurf des Dilettantismus rechtfertigen sollen, so müssen sie eben nach einer streng wissenschaftlichen Methode verfahren. Anstatt einer einseitigen und willkürlichen Auslese, möglichste Vollständigkeit des Materials; anstatt hastiger Annahme einer

lockenden Hypothese, die sorgfältige Erwägung alles Tatsächlichen in allen seinen Beziehungen. Zwar wird man gerade bei litterarischen Untersuchungen mit einer richtigen wissenschaftlichen Methode allein nicht auskommen, denn hier giebt es bedeutende Werte, für welche eben keine bequeme logische Münze vorhanden ist, und da gilt es vielleicht vor allen andern Dingen, die Frage auf die "Goldwage" der Anempfindung zu legen. Das Relative und Persönliche einer durch Anempfindung gegebenen moralischen Gewissheit soll aber auch der strengen Kontrolle einer methodischen wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung unterworfen werden.

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THE SEMASIOLOGY OF *SCHENKEN* 'SKINK.'

JACOB Grimm endeavored to explain the obvious connection between *schenken* and O. E. *scanca* 'crus, tibia,' M. H. G. *schinke* 'crus, perna,' *schenkel* 'femur' by conjecturing 'dass man in frühster zeit das getränk mit einer (knöchernen?) röhre aus dem fass laufen liess;' ¹ 'die bedeutung tibia mochte leicht auf die röhre des gefässes führen, aus dem man einschenkte.'² This explanation was, for lack of a better one, quite generally accepted; the main objection to it was that a people who knew how to make casks were not likely to use so primitive a tap or faucet as a hollow bone. In view of this difficulty, Weigand³ took up Grimm's suggestion⁴ of the possible existence in O. H. G. of a verb **skinkan* and considered *schenken* as a causal of that verb, attributing to the latter the meaning 'durchhingehen' invented ad hoc. But the verb **skinkan* is too problematical; and the explanation of O. E. *sceanca* ('der durchhingehende Knochen') to which Weigand is driven, would, so far as it goes, be equally apposite to a number of other bones and fails utterly to account for the commoner use of the word in the sense of 'femur, perna,' the only meaning attaching to the German cognate *schenkel*.

J. Franck,⁵ in a review of Kluge's *Etym. Wb.*⁵, rejected Grimm's etymology as a 'blosser einfall' unsupported by any evidence as to the use of hollow bones as taps or of the name of any bone to designate a tube generally. Grimm, however, builded better than he knew. It is doubtful whether the more indefinite 'gefäss' which he in the *Kleinere Schriften* wisely substituted for the improbable 'fass' of his earlier statement, may be construed as applicable also to the earliest large receptacle

¹ *D. Gr.* 2. 60.² *Kl. Schr.* 2. 179.³ *Wb.*⁴ 2. 564.⁴ *D. Gr.* 2. 60.⁵ *Anz. f. d. A.* 21. 306 f.

for liquids, the skin ; but in any case, something like the device that was vaguely in Grimm's mind is occasionally found at the present day in countries where skins are still used. In Palestine, for instance, may be seen goatskins with straight, tapering tubes in their necks,⁶ for the better control of the outflow ; and if this device dates back to early times, it is likely enough that the tube consisted at first in a hollow bone. Franck objects that it is difficult to explain the meaning of Germ. **skankion* 'schenk' as derived from that of a noun **skank-* 'beinröhre,' and that it would hardly be 'sprachgemäss' to speak of a 'hahnist,' as we do of a 'hornist,' or to call a 'zapfer' a 'pfeifer' even in parts of Germany where a 'pfeife' means a 'tube.' His first point is not clear ; for if, as Grimm's theory presupposes, our forefathers closely associated with the word **skank-* the idea of a 'tap,' then the verb **skankjan* and the nomen agentis **skankion* are as easily explained as the Gothic *haurnjan* and *haurnja*, or as *zapfen* 'to tap' and *zapfer* 'tapster.' The remainder of Franck's argument is curiously irrelevant ; 'sprachgemässheit' is in the last resort purely and simply a matter of usage, not of conformity to the rules of word-formation or to any other philological abstraction.

What Franck himself offers in lieu of Grimm's theory is equally unsatisfactory. He is doubtless right in etymologically dissociating *schank* in the sense of 'cupboard' from the synonymous *schränk*, of which it was supposed to be merely a variant, and in explaining it as properly denoting a 'gestell für trinkgeräte,' like the borrowed Low Lat. and Ital. *scancia* and the cognate *schenke* 'schenktisch, büffet' of Northern Germany ; the English 'cupboard' shows precisely the same development. But to derive the verb *schenken* from the noun *schank*⁷ is clearly to reverse the natural order of things. It is self-evident that there was skinking and a verb denoting this act, long before a 'gestell für trinkgeräte' came into use ; and we have no reason whatever for supposing that the original verb was lost and that a new one was derived from *schank*. As between *schenken* and

⁶ For an illustration, see Sir Charles Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine*, 2. 32.

⁷ This derivation is now quoted by Kluge, *Et. Wb.*⁶ 336, but without endorsement.

shank all the evidence available points to the priority of the verb. The latter is found in most of the Germanic dialects and must date back to Primitive Germanic, while *shank* in the sense of 'cupboard' makes its appearance comparatively late and is restricted to parts of Germany. The form and inflection of *shank* suggest that the word was primarily a verbal abstract like *trank*, *schwank*, *flug*, etc., and denoted 'a pouring or serving of drink;' and this is actually the only meaning of it in O. N. (*skenkr*), besides being the only one that has remained in common use in German. From it alone, moreover, can the diverse other meanings attaching to the word at different times in the various dialects be easily and naturally derived; Franck's 'gestell für trinkgeräte' as a starting point would be out of the question.

More recently, the etymology of *schenken* was discussed by F. A. Wood,⁸ who thinks it probable 'that "shank" was named because it was hollow like the horns or drinking cups in use, and that "skink" meant to pour from the drinking cup.' But even if the similarity between a horn or cup and a shankbone were less remote than it is, the probability would still be that the shank was named *before* the cup or horn, especially if the cup, as Wood thinks possible, was itself made out of a shankbone. Above all, there is no warrant for the assumption (due, apparently, to a misunderstanding of Grimm's view) that 'shank' denoted originally a 'shankbone;' both in English⁹ and in German (*schinke*) that meaning has always been comparatively rare, and in the case of German *schenkel* it has been and is entirely excluded. The statements of Heyne *D. Wb.* 9. 203 and his own *Wb.* 3. 307, Schade, and Paul concerning the priority of the meaning 'beinröhre' occasionally attaching to *schinke* rest obviously also upon a misapprehension of Grimm's theory and are not borne out either by their own citations or by those of Graff (6. 519), to whom Heyne and Schade refer; as a matter of fact, Grimm rendered *schinke* by 'crus, perna,' *schenkel* by 'femur,' and O. E. *seeanca*, to be sure, at first

⁸ Germanic Etymologies, *Am. Germ.* 3. 323.

⁹ Cf. Bosworth-Toller, 823.

(*Gr.* 2. 60) by 'tibia, crus,' but later (*Kl. Schr.* 2. 179) more carefully by 'crus, tibia;' and he laid stress upon the 'knöch-erne röhre' only because he saw no other way of connecting the meaning of *schinken* with that of *schenken*, *schinke*, 'shank.' Wood is of the opinion that O. E. *scencan* 'skink' is a direct derivative from *scenc* 'cup, draught' and meant 'to pour from the drinking cup;' he sees a similar correspondence in O. E. *stéap* 'drinking vessel' (more correctly: 'stoup, pitcher, or dipper')¹⁰ and O. N. *steypa* 'pour out,' and he points also to O. E. *scencing-cuppe* 'cup from which drink is poured.' But the proposed derivation is in itself improbable because the drinking cup was neither intended nor used for the purpose suggested; to the question: if mead or ale was poured *from* the drinking cup, what then was it poured *into*? there is no serious answer. Further, O. N. *steypa* does not come from a noun answering to O. E. *stéap*, but is the causal of *stúpa* 'fall, run out;' and a *scencing-cuppe* was most likely, as the modifying *scencing* shows, not an ordinary drinking cup, but like the analogous O. S. *skenkifat* (*skeinkiuaz*, Wadstein 91) of the Prudentius glosses, a 'cyathos,' a dipper or ladle.

So far then, we should still have to give the preference to the theory of J. Grimm, though it operates with a secondary and infrequent meaning of *skank- and even then does not get beyond mere possibility. The problem of explaining the undoubted connection of *schinken* with *schenken* etc., admits, however, of a very simple solution that can, moreover, be thoroughly substantiated.

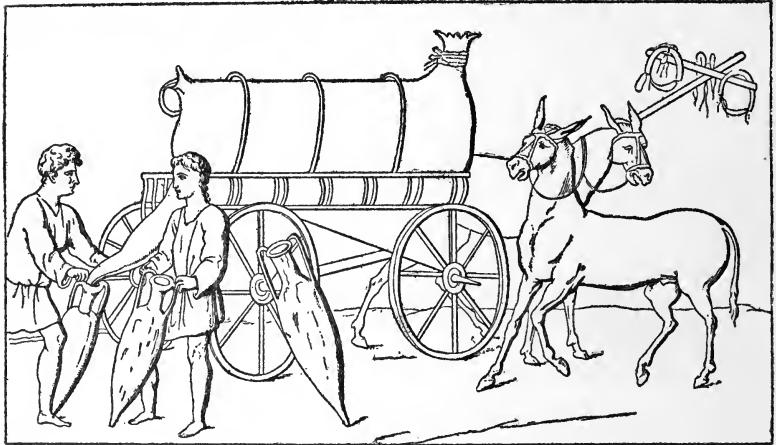
The earliest large receptacles for liquids were, as has been pointed out, skins; in Germany they remained in use to the end of the middle ages.¹¹ Now it is obvious that these skins must have been filled through their largest apertures, the necks; while, inversely, the drawing of the contents must have been done from the small openings at the tapering ends of the shanks. That this was actually the case appears from both archæological and philological evidence.

¹⁰ Bosworth-Toller, 913: *steap* 'ciatum,' Wrt. Voc. 1. 290. 78.

¹¹ Schultz, *D. höf. Leben z. Z. d. Minnesinger*, 1. 410; Heyne, *D. Wb.* 9. 506.

In a tavern at Pompeii there are two wall paintings¹² representing the same subject, a market scene, with a marked similarity of conception and execution; a sketch of one of them is here reproduced.

The picture shows a large wine-skin on a wagon, held in an upright position by hoops; the neck of the skin is securely tied up; the tail and, we may add, the forelegs (not visible here, but clearly shown in numerous ancient sculptures) are sewed up close to the body; from one of the shanks, which is hanging



down from the rear of the wagon, the vender is drawing wine¹³ into an amphora, while another amphora is held in readiness by the customer and a third is leaning against the wagon. The scene is evidently a typical one and taken from life. The other painting, though inferior in some of the details, is interesting because of the very realistic pose of the wine-vender, who grasps the lower part of the shank of the skin in a manner that enables

¹² Otto Jahn, *Über Darstellungen des Handwerks und Handelsverkehrs auf antiken Wandgemälden*, Plate 5, cf. p. 283.

¹³ Jahn's statement (l. c. 283) that the wine is being drawn by means of a tube inserted in the skin conflicts with his own illustrations and is disproven by the description of the original paintings in H. Roux' *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, 3. 65. Compare also Guhl & Koner, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, 703 f., where the other of the two illustrations in Jahn is reproduced.

him to compress it strongly and to stop the flow of the wine the moment the amphora is full; also, and particularly, because there the string with which the end of the shank is tied up when not in use, is seen hanging down from it.

A relief on an ancient stone sarcophagus¹⁴ likewise represents a big skin resting upright on a cart, with one or both of the shanks hanging down behind. Furthermore, the peculiar Greek earthenware vessel called *ἄσκος*, which was fashioned, as the name indicates, in imitation of the wine-skin,¹⁵ illustrates very clearly the points under discussion; the large opening at one end, through which it was filled, and the long, tapering spout at the other, correspond respectively, to the neck and the shank of the skin.

In Herodotus' story of the clever thief who robs Rhampsinis's treasure chamber and outwits the king at every turn, we read (2. 121): (ἔλεγον) ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἄσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι etc. ποδεῶν is defined by the Patriarch Photius¹⁶ as denoting κυρίως τοῦ ἄσκου τὰ προῦχοντα, ἦτοι¹⁷ τῶν ποδῶν τὰ δέρματα, and this meaning is in accordance with the derivation of the word and bears the stamp of antiquity.

More striking still in its bearing upon the problem under discussion is the familiar line (679) in the *Medea* of Euripides where Aigeus says that the oracle has enjoined him

ἄσκου με τὸν προῦχοντα μὴ λύσαι πόδα.¹⁸

The scholia¹⁹ explains: ἄσκου οὖν τῆς γαστροῦ, πόδα δὲ τὸ μῶριον, παρόσον ὡς ὁ ποδεῶν τοῦ ἄσκου προέχει . . . ποδεῶνα δὲ εἰώθασι λέγειν τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αἰδοῖον. Evidently, then,

¹⁴ Jahn, l. c. Plate 5.

¹⁵ A picture of one may be seen in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 1. 413.

¹⁶ Photii Patriarchæ Lexicon, ed. Naber, 2. 95.

¹⁷ Evidently in its exegetical sense = ἦγουν.

¹⁸ Similarly, in Plutarch's *Theseus* c. 3:

Ἄσκου τὸν προῦχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν,
μὴ λυσης πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθενέων εἰσαφικέσθαι.

¹⁹ Scholia in Euripidem, ed. Schwartz, 2. 178.

λύειν ποδεῶνα ἀσκοῦ was the everyday phrase, while poetic diction, for aesthetic (and, sometimes, metrical) reasons preferred to substitute πόδα; the meaning being always, to quote Paley:²⁰ 'to untie the foot-skin of a wine-bag, i. e. to let out the liquor through the projecting skin of the animal's foot, which served (as it still does in wine-producing countries) as a spout or tap.' That this mode of tapping the wine-skin was the prevailing one, appears conclusively from the metaphor used by the oracle and from the vulgar connotation of ποδεῶν which the scholiast mentions; without prejudice, of course, to the fact that, as ancient sculptures show, wine was sometimes also poured from the necks of skins small enough to be carried and easily manipulated.

Schenken, Germ. **skankjan* 'skink,' is therefore best explained as a direct derivative from a Germ. noun **skank*—(*skankōn*? cf. O. E. *sceanca*) 'shank, schenkel, ποδεῶν,' and as meaning literally 'to shank out.'

Incidentally, an interesting vista is opened with reference to *zapfen* 'tap' and the related *zipfel* 'tip, narrow, tapering end.' The feet of a skin, whether the skin is sewed up to hold liquids or not, form what in German would be called 'zipfel'; ποδεῶν denoted also various other kinds of 'zipfel,' such as a narrow strip of land extending into foreign territory, or the lower corners of a sail (cf. our 'foot of the sail'); and on the other hand the ποδεῶν was in effect the 'zapfen,' the 'tap,' of the wine-skin. The agreement is too complete to be merely accidental; we may safely assume that O. H. G. *zapfo* 'zapfen, tap' meant originally simply a 'schlauchzipfel,' a ποδεῶν.

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²⁰ *Euripides*, 113, note.

ANOTHER UNPUBLISHED SONNET OF
WILHELM MÜLLER.

AS a supplement to the series of early sonnets of Wilhelm Müller, published by Mr. Philip Allen in the first number of the fourth volume of the *Journal of Germanic Philology* (pages 1 to 9), I send one which I found last June, laid loosely in a packet in the manuscript department of the Royal Library at Berlin, containing a set of letters from Müller to Helmine von Chézy, Varnhagen von Ense, and Achim von Arnim. Probably it was originally enclosed in Müller's letter to Frau von Chézy of September 14, 1819, in which he asks her for a long review of Malsburg's Calderon. She had herself co-operated with Malsburg in translating some of Calderon's dramas. The sonnet is

CALDERON.

Was in der Menschenseele dunklen Tiefen
Mit Lust und Schmerz, mit Hass und Liebe waltet,
Bis er der Knospe feste Hüllen spaltet,
In der die Keime aller Thaten schliefen ;

Und die Gewalten, die an's Licht sie riefen,
Die Hand, die Blüthen abbricht und entfaltet,
Und aus den Blüthen Früchte dann gestaltet :
Das sind des Erdendrama's Hiroylyphen.

Du hast sie uns mit Blumenschrift geschrieben
In einem weiten, hellen Zaubergarten,
Aus dem wir in des Himmels Fernen schauen.

Kein blindes Schicksal ist zurück geblieben ;
Des ew'gen Gärtners Hände selber warten
Der Blumen in den bunten Lebensauen.

— *Wilhelm Müller.*

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

REVIEWS.

Der Traum, ein Leben. Dramatisches Märchen in vier Aufzügen von Franz Grillparzer. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Edward Stockton Meyer, Boston. D. C. Heath & Co., 1902.

Die vorliegende Grillparzer-Ausgabe hat manche Vorzüge. In der sehr gewandt geschriebenen Einleitung erscheinen Dichter und Werk im Zusammenhang der litterarhistorischen Entwicklung; überall finden sich ansprechende Vergleiche, Hinweise, Ausblicke.

Die Anmerkungen bieten in gedrängter Form dem Studenten die nötigen Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis des Textes. Kurz: im grossen ganzen haben wir es mit einem brauchbaren Schulbuch zu thun.

Vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkte aus ist allerdings manches auszusetzen. Zunächst wäre es wünschenswert gewesen, wenn der Herausgeber die vorzüglichen Spezialarbeiten über *Traum, ein Leben*, denen er so gut wie alles, insbesondere die vielen Nachweise litterarischer Beziehungen, verdankt, mit dem vollen Titel angeführt hätte. Statt dessen werden sie aber gar nicht erwähnt, wie Lichtenhelds treffliche Deutsche Schulausgabe und die Aufsätze von Zeidler¹ und Payer,² oder in der Bibliographie gewissermassen kalt gestellt, wie Farinelli, Ehrhard und Richard Meyer.³ Auf diese Weise ist dem Studenten ein wichtiges Mittel, weiter in das Studium des Werkes einzudringen, genommen.

Die Zusammenstellung von Hebbel, Ibsen, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Fulda, als die 'five leading dramatists since Grillparzer in Germany' (p. iv.) erscheint mir sehr merkwürdig. Nach dem Wortlaut des Satzes könnte man schliessen, dass Otto Ludwig und Anzengruber überhaupt nichts zu besagen hätten, Ibsen aber ein deutscher Dichter wäre, und Sudermann und Fulda wirklich neben Grillparzer und Hebbel genannt zu werden verdienten. Freilich,

¹ *Wiener Zeitung*, 1887, No. 176 ff.

² *Österreichisch-Ungarische Revue*, Nov. and Dec. 1890.

³ *V. j. L. G.*, v, 430 ff.

Ludwig und Anzengruber sind von Grillparzers Märchendrama nicht beeinflusst worden. Aber auch der Einfluss auf Ibsens *Peer Gynt* scheint mir ausgeschlossen zu sein. Ehrhard weist auf die Ähnlichkeit beider Werke hin, sagt aber: 'Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass Ibsen den *Traum, ein Leben* nicht gekannt hat.'⁴ Ausser dem ganz allgemeinen Gedanken, dass Peer Gynts erstrebtes Kaisertum, das er in der Welt sucht, für ihn in der Brust der treuen Solveig liegt, kann ich in der That auch nicht eine Spur von Ähnlichkeit, geschweige denn Abhängigkeit, in *Peer Gynt* finden. Ebenso geht es mir mit Sudermanns *Drei Reihfeder*. Eine Abhängigkeit Hebbels von Grillparzer im *Rubin* vollends möchte ich entschieden bestreiten. Allerdings: Assad erzählt in der Eingangsszene des *Rubin*, er habe geträumt, dass er Prinz (oder Kalif) geworden sei! Für dieses tausendmal vorkommende Motiv brauchte Hebbel gewiss nichts bei Grillparzer zu borgen. Grundgedanken, einzelne Motive, Ausführung, alles ist bei Hebbel so verschieden als denkbar.

Eine Beeinflussung durch Grillparzer liegt vor in Fuldas *Talisman*, gewiss. Aber Fuldas Persönlichkeit ist zu klein, als dass sie mit dem gigantischen Hebbel in *einem* Atem genannt werden dürfte; und der *Talisman* ist zu unbedeutend, als dass er mehr bieten könnte als die flüchtige Unterhaltung einer Stunde.

Diese Zusammenstellung von grossen Dichtern mit ephemeren Theatralikern ist m. E. verfehlt. Wo der Einfluss eines Dichters sich nicht auf Geist und innere Form im Werk des nachschaffenden Künstlers erstreckt, wo er sich nur auf Äusserlichkeiten, und vollends nur auf unbedeutende Durchschnittsprodukte beschränkt, da ist eine Vergleichung ganz ohne Belang.

So kann ich mit dem Herausgeber wieder nicht übereinstimmen, wenn er sagt, dass Addison's *Vision of Mirza* Grillparzers Märchendrama beeinflusst habe (p. xxx.). Ausser dem *einen* Satz: 'man is but a shadow, and life a dream,' den hundert andere Schriftsteller auch ausgesprochen haben, und den Grillparzer schon in Calderons *Leben ein Traum* vorfand, kann ich nicht einsehen, was Grillparzer mit Addison gemeinsam haben sollte. Den Namen *Mirza* aber hat der Dichter doch wohl von Voltaires *Mirza* und *Mirzasse* genommen. Soweit ich die Grillparzerlitteratur übersehe, findet sich kein Anzeichen von einer Bekanntschaft Grillparzers mit Addisons Werken.

Hat Webers *Freischütz* den *Traum ein Leben* beeinflusst—s. p. 113—, so doch gewiss nicht die erste Szene des ersten Aktes! Denn

⁴ Ehrhard-Necker, *Grillparzer*, p. 410.

der erste Akt wurde am 21. Sept. 1817 beendet, und 1821 in Lamberts *Taschenbuch für Schauspieler* gedruckt. Der *Freischütz* wurde Ende desselben Jahres in Wien zum erstenmal aufgeführt, und wirkte dann allerdings auf die 1822 geschriebene *Melusine* ein, und durch dieses Medium auf die später entstandenen Teile von *Traum, ein Leben*.⁵ Dass der erste Akt bereits 1821 gedruckt war, weiss Meyer übrigens, p. xxiii, selbst!—Und dass Grillparzer erst dann sich innerlich mit dem *Freischütz* beschäftigte, geht daraus hervor, dass er Ende 1821, nicht etwa schon nach der Berliner Aufführung im Juni, einen Aufsatz dagegen schrieb.

Zur Charakterisierung Grillparzers als Dichter wäre gar manches zu bemerken. Ich muss mich auf wenige Hauptpunkte beschränken. Zunächst die Lyrik. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen vernachlässigen die Litterarhistoriker Grillparzers Lyrik heute noch ebenso sehr, wie bis vor kurzem die Lyrik Hebbels. So heisst es denn auf p. xix. unserer Ausgabe: 'as a lyric poet Gr. is of no great importance; he lacked the requisite tenderness and subjectivity,' etc. An *Zartheit* fehlte es dem Dichter des 'zartesten' deutschen Liebesdramas *Hero* gewiss nicht. Und *Subjektivität*? Lässt sich denn ein Dichter, oder überhaupt ein Mensch ohne Subjektivität denken? Noch niemand hat in Grillparzers Dichtungen, die er samt und sonders mit seinem eigensten Herzblut schrieb 'Subjektivität' vermisst.—Nein, wenn Gr. kein Lyriker allerersten Ranges geworden ist, und auch Hebbel als Lyriker weit nicht erreicht, so hat das seinen Grund vornehmlich in einer Eigenschaft, die auch z. T. seinen Dramen verhängnisvoll geworden ist: in der Unfähigkeit sich lange genug auf der Höhe der jeweiligen dichterischen Stimmung zu erhalten, um das im ersten Überschäumen des Gefühls Niedergeschriebene künstlerisch abzurunden. Viele seiner Gedichte sind somit in der Skizze stecken geblieben. Denn die geheimnisvolle Gabe—und das ist das Ausschlaggebende—, die Goethe und Mörike vor allen deutschen Lyrikern auszeichnet, die Gabe der unmittelbaren Krystallisierung des Gefühls- und Gedankeninhalts zum Kunstwerk, die Gabe die innere Form mit der äusseren in selbstverständlicher Einheit hervorfliessen zu lassen—diese Gabe besass Grillparzer nur in geringem Masse. Und er hatte nicht, wie Konrad Ferdinand Meyer, die eiserne Geduld, durch stetiges Feilen den Fehler wiedergutzumachen. Endlich aber könnte man, gerade im Gegensatz zum Herausgeber, sagen, dass Grillparzers Lyrik zu subjectiv,

⁵ Vgl. *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, IV, 136.

d. h. zu individuell befangen gewesen sei. Nicht oft giebt er einem Gefühl Ausdruck, das in tausend anderen Menschen geschlummert hat und durch das Dichterwort aus der Gebundenheit erlöst wird. Das 'lösende,' das 'einzig mögliche,' *das* Wort zu finden, ist ihm in seiner Lyrik selten gelungen. Es gelang ihm in seinem Lied an *Rudetzky*, es gelang ihm in den Gedichten *Tristia ex Ponto*.—Um Grillparzers Lyrik einigermassen gerecht zu werden, muss man endlich auch in Betracht ziehen, was die patriotischen Gesänge des Dichters für sein Vaterland bedeuten. Der Kürze halber sei hier auf die Bemerkungen Sauer's in *Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 132 f., verwiesen.

Ein eigentümliches Missgeschick verfolgt Grillparzer. Galt er jahrzehntelang als Schicksalstragedien-Dichter, so spukt er heute noch da und dort als der pessimistische Dichter der Resignation, des 'stillen Sinns,' des 'einfachen Herzens.' Auf Seite xx. schreibt denn Meyer: 'This melody of the *einfach Herz* runs through all his dramas. It cannot be denied that it becomes monotonous. Monotony of motivation, situation, and thought is Grillparzer's great fault.' Es ist unnötig gegen Windmühlen zu kämpfen. Sauer hat in der *Einleitung* zu den gesammelten Werken alles gesagt, was gegen eine solch einseitige Auffassung zu sagen ist. Ich kann jetzt auf die schönen Ausführungen in dessen *Reden und Aufsätzen*, p. 131 ff., hinweisen: 'Wie ein König schaltet und waltet er im dramatischen Reiche von der hohen Tragoedie bis zum musikalischen Drama, vom Schauspiel bis zur Karikaturposse' 'Mit seltenem Scharfsinn für das Auffinden tragischer Syntesen ist er begabt, die ganze Welt ist ihm eine Schatzkammer voll dramatischer Stoffe,' etc. Ist es nicht bezeichnend, dass ein so hervorragender Aesthetiker wie Volkelt Grillparzer anfangs vorwiegend als Dichter 'der dem Leben nicht gewachsenen Innerlichkeit,'⁶ 'des Zwiespaltes zwischen Gemüt und Leben,'⁷ dann später als 'Dichter des Willens zum Leben'⁸ geschildert hat? Sieht der Herausgeber die im Verhältnis zu der Anzahl von vollendeten Dramen—es sind nur zwölf—geradezu erstaunliche Fülle von Problemen und Charakteren nicht? Sieht er nicht, dass neben Ottokar, dessen Übermut aus innerer Schwäche entspringt, die feste Männlichkeit Rudolfs den Sieg davon trägt? Sieht er nicht, wie Grillparzer von einem Drama zum andern, zu immer schärferer Fassung, zu immer mannigfaltigerer Gestaltung

⁶ Volkelt, *Franz Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen*, 1888.

⁷ *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, IV. 1893.

⁸ *Ib.*, x. 1899.

der höchsten und reinsten Form der Tragik vorschreitet? Wie der Dichter mehr und mehr sich von der Tragik Schillers, die mit moralischer Schuld noch allzu eng verknüpft ist, zur Tragik im Sinne Goethes und Kleists emporhebt und damit Hebbel die Wege bahnt—nämlich zur Tragik der ‘schrecklichen Gebundenheit in der Einseitigkeit,’ zur Tragik der ‘Einsamkeit des Individuums’? Es scheint, als ob dem Herausgeber die Entwicklung der äusseren Technik, der Sprache, des Stils, der Milieuschilderung, wichtiger gewesen wäre als die Entwicklung in der Darstellung innerer Probleme.

Bei Gelegenheit des *Goldenen Vliesses* weist er auf die Unterscheidung der Volkscharaktere durch metrische Mittel, auf die Ausgestaltung des Milieus hin—hierin werde Grillparzer das Bindeglied zwischen Klassikern und Modernen. Ähnlich findet er im *Treuen Diener* und der *Jüdin von Toledo* den Übergang zum ‘Naturalismus,’ im ‘Symbolismus’ der *Libussa* den Vorboten von Maeterlincks Symbolismus: ‘Thus he was the last of the classicists and the first of the moderns.’ Gewiss, ‘die Geschichte der Kunst, ist die Geschichte ihrer Technik,’ sagt Arno Holz einmal; aber nur zur Hälfte. Die wichtigere Hälfte bleibt die Darstellung des Lebens, die Erschöpfung des Lebensgehalts, die allerdings umso vollkommener werden *kann*, je vollkommener die äussere Technik ausgebildet ist. Das ist Binsenwahrheit. Aber wenn Grillparzer nichts anderes geleistet hat, als dass er einigen modernen Schriftstellern technische Hilfsmittel vererbte, dann hat er umsonst gelebt und gewirkt. Davon, dass Grillparzer von der einseitigen Bevorzugung der ‘Schönheit’ zur Betonung der ‘Wahrheit’—wieder im Sinne Goethes und aller grossen Realisten—vordrang, dass er in *diesem* Sinne klassische und moderne Kunst zu vermitteln half, davon giebt die Einleitung keine rechte Vorstellung. Die paar Bemerkungen über Grillparzers ästhetische Ansichten, p. xxi. f., genügen durchaus nicht.

‘The superb symbolism of *Libussa* has certainly had influence upon Maeterlinck and his school,’ p. xxii! zunächst möchte ich, ehe mir das Gegenteil bewiesen wird, sehr bezweifeln ob Maeterlinck die *Libussa* überhaupt gelesen hatte, als er seine Marionetten-, symbolistische und mystische Kunst entfaltete. Dann heisst es m. E. mit Worten spielen, wenn die Symbolik der realistischen Kunst Grillparzers, eine Symbolik, der alle grossen Dichter huldigen, insofern sie im Mikrokosmos den Makrokosmos darstellt, wenn diese Symbolik mit modernstem, nebelhaftem ‘Symbolismus’ in einen

Causalzusammenhang gesetzt wird. Irgend welcher mystisch verborgene Tiefsinn hat sicher weder Carlo Gozzi, noch Schiller in seiner Bearbeitung von dessen *Turandot* vorgeschwebt. Aus der *Turandot* nämlich stammt das Rätselspiel und noch manches andere in der *Libussa*. Das 'Zauberische' aber geht auf die Zauberstücke der Wiener Vorstadtbühne zurück, wenn es auch ganz in das Gebiet seelischer Kräfte emporgehoben ist. Man vergleiche Sauer, *Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 205 ff.⁹ Dass der Herausgeber den Kern des tragischen Problems in der *Libussa* nicht erfasst hat, geht dann mit aller Deutlichkeit aus seinen, an und für sich richtigen Bemerkungen darüber, p. xix, hervor: 'It is another drama of disillusion, the conflict of culture and nature presented in remarkable symbolism.' Allerdings, Kultur und Natur, Prosa und Poesie, Nutzen und Kunst, u. s. w., stehen einander gegenüber. Die eigentliche Tragik aber ist nicht die der 'Enttäuschung'; die Tragik liegt vielmehr in der Begrenzung der Individualität, die zwar ein zeitweiliges und scheinbares, aber nie ein vollkommenes Einswerden zweier Menschen zulässt, auch wenn sie für einander geschaffen sind und sich ganz einander hingeben. Ja, es ist die Tragik des Verzichtens auf völliges Glück, die Tragik der Einsamkeit, die Tragik des Menschseins, des Lebens überhaupt.

Über Meyers Stellung zum historischen Drama Grillparzers—p. xviii—kann ich mich kurz fassen. Niemand der Klaars Aufsatz über den *Ottokar*, niemand, der dieses Drama selbst und den *Treuen Diener*, den *Bruderzwist in Habsburg* gelesen und verstanden hat—die *Jüdin von Toledo* nicht zu erwähnen—wird guten Gewissens sagen können: 'The historical drama was less Grillparzer's forte.' Es ist zu bekannt, aus welch traurigen Gründen die Welt von Entwürfen zu historischen Dramen ein Trümmerhaufen geblieben ist; vgl. *Werke*, 19, 152.—Ich will nur wieder auf eine Stelle hinweisen, die des Herausgebers aesthetische Betrachtungsweise beleuchtet: 'Real, ephemeral persons and the outer world were less interesting to him than ideal eternal types and the inner world.' Deswegen hat also Grillparzer keine historischen Dramen fertig gebracht? Als ob es nicht die Aufgabe des Dichters wäre, im Kleinen das Grosse, im Einzelnen das Ganze, im Menschen die Menschheit, in der Beschränkung ein Weltbild darzustellen! Als ob es jemals einen grossen, oder überhaupt einen Künstler gegeben hätte—die angeblich idealsten und abstraktesten, Schiller und

⁹ *Über das Zauberische bei Grillparzer.*

Shelley, eingeschlossen—der nicht von der Beobachtung der kleinsten und vergänglichsten Aussenwelt ausgegangen wäre, der nicht die Wirklichkeit zur Wahrheit gesteigert hätte! Und Grillparzer!—Doch wozu einen Satz widerlegen, der sich in seinem inneren Widerspruch selbst auflöst!

Die Bemerkungen des Herausgebers über Bancbanus im *Treuen Diener*—er nennt diesen 'Heros der Pflichttreue,' p. xviii, eine Karrikatur,—werden durch Sauer's Aufsatz in der schon mehrfach erwähnten Sammlung erledigt.¹⁰

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch auf einige Versehen im einzelnen hinweisen.

Das goldene Vliess wurde nicht, wie p. xi. behauptet wird, in Italien vollendet. Der Dichter verliess nämlich Ende Juli 1819 Italien, und nahm erst anfangs November die Arbeit an der Trilogie wieder auf; vgl. Sauer, *Einleitung*, p. 42.

Die Aufhebung der 'Ludlamshöhle' fällt nicht, wie es Meyer, p. xii, darstellt, in die Jahre 1821–1823, sondern ins Jahr 1826; vgl. *Jahrbuch*, I, 346 f.

Ottokar wurde nicht zwei Jahre lang von der Zensur zurückbehalten. Das Stück wurde anfangs October 1823 eingereicht, der Druck und damit auch die Aufführung, die sich zwar bis zum 19. Februar 1825 verzögerte, schon am 5. Juni 1824 gestattet; vgl. *Jahrbuch*, IX, 243.—Und Grillparzer schwieg nach dem *Ottokar* nicht 'fünf Jahre' lang; denn der *Treue Diener* wurde Ende 1826 beendet und anfangs 1828 aufgeführt; vgl. *Jahrbuch*, III, 39 und *Werke*, 6, 254.

P. xiv. Tieck wohnte 1826 nicht in Berlin, sondern in Dresden; auch lud er Grillparzer, den er früher in Wien besucht hatte, ein; vgl. *Werke*, 19, 123; 20, 22; und Ehrhard-Necker, *Grillparzer*, p. 43.

Aus der Darstellung, p. xv, könnte man schliessen, als ob Gr. noch 1856 mit seiner Biographie beschäftigt gewesen wäre; diese war schon 1854 abgeschlossen; vgl. Sauer, *Einleitung*, p. 96 und Fäulhammer, *Franz Grillparzer*, p. 212.

In der Analyse von *Traum, ein Leben* endlich versäumt es Meyer den wesentlichsten Punkt hervorzuheben, dass nämlich der Dichter nicht den Ehrgeiz, das Streben an sich verurteilt, sondern den masslosen Grössenwahn des Unfähigen. Zu jeder That muss Zanga seinen Herrn anspornen; 'Rustan verdankt keinen einzigen seiner

¹⁰ Sauer, *Reden und Aufsätze*, p. 170 ff.

geträumten Erfolge seiner eigenen Geschicklichkeit und Kraft.' Rustan trägt einige Züge von Ottokar; und wie dieser gleicht er, allerdings nur in der Masslosigkeit des Strebens, dem Usurpator Napoleon. Diese Beziehungen hätten angedeutet werden sollen. Vgl. Lichtenhelds Schulausgabe, p. 17; Klaar, *Geschichte des modernen Dramas*, p. 175; Emil Reich, *Grillparzers Dramen*, p. 147 ff.

O. E. LESSING.

SMITH COLLEGE.

Dansk-norskens Lydhistorie med særligt hensyn paa orddannelse og bøjning af Alf Torp og Hjalmar Falk. Kristiania, 1898. Pp. xvi, 276.

This excellent little manual is stated in the preface to be based on a course of lectures delivered by Dr. Torp at the University of Christiania in 1896. After a revision and enlargement of these lectures, to which Dr. Falk gave his assistance, they were published in the form which here appears as a joint product. As the title indicates, the work has been prepared with especial regard to word-formation and inflection. By Dano-Norwegian is of course meant the Danish as written and spoken in Norway at the present time. Though ostensibly a history of Dano-Norwegian phonetics, this term on the title-page might with propriety be exchanged for *Danish and Norwegian*, since the work shows the development of the sounds and their treatment side by side up to the present time in both idioms. In fact the subject could not very well be treated otherwise, being that the difference between the Danish book-language of Norway and the Danish proper has ever been marked, especially in matters of pronunciation and accent.

The book is intended as a brief survey of the subject and does not aim at completeness of detail. Features of the older language which have disappeared without leaving any trace in the modern speech, are not included. In regard to sources, to illustrate the early Danish, considerable material has been gathered by original investigation from the literature of the different periods. Kalkar's dictionary of Old Danish has been made use of, likewise Molbech's and Feilberg's dictionaries of the Danish dialects. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to Thorsen's and Varming's works

on the Danish dialects, and to articles by Kock, Wimmer, Saaby, and others, on Danish phonology and grammar. For the Norse¹ dialects the grammatical writings of Ivar Aasen have formed the principal source; considerable illustrative material has been gotten from O. Rygh's *Norske Gaardsnavne*, now in course of publication.

In the Introduction attention is called to the causes which have conspired to produce the modern Dano-Norwegian. When two closely related languages are brought into contact they are mutually acted upon by each other. This influence is more or less one-sided according as circumstances favor the one or the other language. In Norway it was not one-sided, but extended both ways. Norse writers of Danish as early as the middle of the 16th century, employ a large number of Norse terms, while on the other hand the language spoken in the country districts was modified in the direction of Danish, through intercourse with Danish officials. What tended perhaps more than anything else to secure the supremacy of the Danish was the Lutheran Reformation, bringing with it the Danish Bible and other religious literature, besides Danish pastors, thus making Danish the language of church and school. The language of the higher classes in the cities very soon became Danish in vocabulary, inflections, and also, to a large extent, in pronunciation, especially where the spoken sound could be expressed in writing. But here is just where the so-called Dano-Norwegian parts company with the Danish. In matters of stress and sentence-accentuation, pronunciation of vowels, etc., things that can not be expressed phonetically, the Norse influence prevailed. Briefly stated, the Danish has prevailed in the following points: 1. By employing the simple vowels instead of the old diphthongs, e. g., Dan. *dyb* = Norse *djup*, Dan. *læs*, *løse* = Nor. *laus*, *løysa*, etc. 2. By the vocalization of consonants and the formation of new diphthongs, e. g., Dan. *vei* = Nor. *veg* < O. Nor. *vegr*; this transition however also pertains to some dialects of eastern Norway. On the other hand the voiced consonants in Danish have not been able to displace the voiceless consonants of the Norse, e. g., Dan. *gabe* = Nor. *gapa*, Dan. *mad* = Nor. *mat*.

The present tendency in Dano-Norwegian is away from the Danish and toward the Norse. An interesting chapter might be written on the present condition of the language question in Norway and the so-called '*Maalstræv*,' the success of which is now beyond

The reviewer uses *Norse* in the sense of *Norwegian*.

doubt, but that does not belong here and must be deferred to some other occasion.

The literary language of Norway, which up to the last few decennaries was pure Danish with here and there a touch of Norse, is now approaching more and more the mixed language spoken in the cities. Of less importance are here the numerous Norse words introduced than the phonetic distinctions. Here the breach between the two idioms has afforded a wide field for irregularity and uncertainty. It has come to a point where it is nearly impossible to lay down rules for either orthography or inflection. Each author writes according to his liking, i. e. he determines for himself to what extent he will allow the spoken language to predominate. The confusion is greatest in the use of consonants, viz: hard or soft (*p* for *b*, *t* for *d*, etc.); the retention or omission of *d* in certain combinations; the use of *g* and *v*. Many words in their special or derived meanings belong properly to the literary language or to cultured speech, hence, as purely literary words receive the Danish pronunciation and spelling; not to mention the fact that this is the tendency in all higher forms of diction. This practice gives rise to doublets, e. g., *vid*, *videnskab*, but *vet*, *vite*; *skabe*, *skaber*, but *skape sig til*; *fin smag* (figuratively), but *vond smak* (literally), etc. Uncertainty exists even in ordinary language of conversation, without causing any misunderstanding, e. g., *lyde* and *lyte*, *raad* and *raa*, *skov* and *skog*, etc., are used indiscriminately.

This inconsistency is also apparent in the vocabulary. Many genuine Norse words have been introduced, while others are struggling for supremacy with the corresponding Danish words. In the formation of words the Danish predominates; however, abstracts in *-ing* have come in from the dialects, replacing the Danish formations in *-en*; e. g., *kjøring* for Dan. *køren*, *børing* for Dan. *bæren*, etc. Compound adverbs derived originally from the German, as f. i. *hvoraf*, *dermed*, etc., have been almost entirely crowded out, such forms being contrary to the linguistic sense of the people. In the inflections it is especially the formation of plurals which distinguishes the Dano-Norwegian from the Danish, e. g., *hester* for *heste*; the ending *-er* conflicting also with the Norse plural forms without termination, in the case of such words as *fjeld*, *land*, *vand*, etc. A number of small words are said to be but rarely used in speech, as *der* for *som*, *hin* for *den*, *intet* for *ingenting* or *ikke noget*, the pronoun *I*, etc.

The syntax abounds in constructions which are peculiarly Norse,

and not permissible in Danish, instances of which are: the definite article both before and after the substantive, e. g., *den beste maaten*; the use of *sin* for *deres*; placing the adverb immediately after the verb, e. g., *slippe ud kjørne*, Dan. *slippe kørerne ud*. On all points, therefore, we see that the Dano-Norwegian occupies a middle ground between Danish and Norse.

The authors proceed to trace briefly the historical development of the Danish from the earliest period (ab. 400-700, A. D.), when the language was identical throughout all Scandinavia, giving in outline the chief phonetic distinctions between Old West Norse (Old Norse and Icelandic) and Old East Norse (Old Swedish and Old Danish). The date of separation is placed at the 11th century, the differences being yet slight, but increasing in the following centuries; while at the same time the members of the eastern branch, Danish and Swedish, diverge more and more, each following a different course of development.

Pp. 16-62 are devoted to quantity of vowels; pp. 63-178 to quality including Ablaut and the various kinds of Umlaut; then follows the discussion of the consonants, pp. 179-249. The more important linguistic phenomena, such as the laws of Grimm and Verner, Ablaut, Umlaut, etc., are briefly discussed in their bearing upon Germanics in general and upon the Scandinavian idioms in particular. Due attention has been given to German (chiefly Low German) loan-words, forming a surprisingly large percentage of the Danish and Norwegian vocabulary. Some data as to the time and circumstances of their introduction, while perhaps not properly within the scope of a work of this kind, would have been of interest both to the student and the general reader. Pp. 250-262 contain an interesting chapter on Phonetics and Analogy. Last comes a word index. There is no index of matters. This omission, which we are used to in European text-books, would not be tolerated, I believe, in this country, especially in a work that is intended to serve as a book of reference. It may be economy to the publisher, but it becomes a waste of time to the investigator, who is left to hunt for a point with only a very inadequate table of contents to guide him. There are a large number of misprints and other errata, most of which have been corrected on pp. xiii-xvi. Some of the cited English words are misspelt, as f. i., *sleak* for *sleek*, *cnot* for *knot*. But these little faults do not detract from the value of the work as a whole. As we read its pages we are impressed by its many excellent features: the thoroughness of the discussion without encumbering it

with needless detail; the clear and concise statement; the simple and scholarly presentation; and its readableness, a quality not possessed by many works of this character, and one which will appeal to the general reader.

The languages of northern Europe offer a large and comparatively unworked field for investigation. The present volume is a valuable contribution and cannot fail to be both interesting and helpful, and at the same time suggestive, to the student and investigator of Scandinavian philology and especially of modern Norse.

NILS FLATEN.

ST. OLAF COLLEGE, MINN.

KING HORN: RECENT TEXTS AND STUDIES.

King Horn: a Middle-English Romance. Edited from the Manuscripts by Joseph Hall, M. A., Head Master of the Hulme Grammar School, Manchester. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1901. 8vo, pp. lvi, 238. Price, \$3.10, net.

King Horn, Floriz and Blaunchefur, The Assumption of Our Lady. First edited in 1866 by the Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, B. D., and now re-edited from the Manuscripts, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by George H. McKnight, Ph. D. London. Kegan Paul. 1901. 8vo, pp. lviii, 171. Early English Text Society, Original Series, 14². Price, 5 s.

Lorenz Morsbach. *Die angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen "King Horn," nebst einem Anhang über anglofranzösische Konsonantendehnung.* In *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie: Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster zum 26. Oktober, 1901*, pp. 297-330. Halle. Niemeyer. 1902. 8vo.¹

William Henry Schofield. *The Story of Horn and Rimenhild.* Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. 18, No. 1. Baltimore. 1903. 8vo, pp. ii, 83.

¹The following reviews of the publications mentioned have already appeared: Hall and McKnight, in *Athen.* 1902, 2. 822; by C. G. Osgood in *A. J. P.* 23. 207-11; Hall, by O. Hartenstein in the appendix to his *Studien*

It is not every year that sees the publication, in the same country, of two wholly independent editions of even so important a poem as *King Horn*; and we may hail the appearance of these volumes as significant, not only of the deepening interest in the study of our earlier literature, but also of the growing conviction of its vast importance for the history of institutions and of culture.

The two editions before us are both works of great merit. Both editors have done their work conscientiously and well, and both have made, we think, permanent contributions to scholarship. It is, of course, unfortunate that there should have been so much duplication of labor, as, for example, in the glossaries; yet even in this respect, in view of the obscurity of many words in the poem, neither edition can be disregarded.

Mr. Hall's treatment of the poem in introduction, notes, and glossary is much fuller than that of Dr. McKnight; but it should be borne in mind that the Early English Text Society exists primarily for the printing of *texts*, and that for lack of money it is generally unable to add an elaborate apparatus for the study of these texts. Bearing in mind, therefore, that Dr. McKnight had to shape his apparatus 'to fit the volume,' we must judge of his book not by its bulk, but by what he has attempted to do.

Lumby's edition of *King Horn* had long since ceased to be of value. It was not universally praised by the critics of its day (cp. Paul Meyer's review in the *Revue critique* 1867, 2. 360-4). It is somewhat surprising that Lumby did not embrace the opportunity to print also the Laud MS., which had never been published, and for which scholars had to wait till Horstmann edited it in the *Archiv* (50. 39-58) in 1872. The Harleian MS. Lumby represented as having been printed under the superintendence of Thomas Wright, whereas Wright merely allowed his transcript of it to appear in Michel's edition of 1845 (cp. note in Michel, p. lxxiii.). Lumby was none too familiar with either of these MSS., and contented himself with printing the Cambridge MS. alone, borrowing the variant readings in his notes apparently from Madden's collations in Michel.

The present editors have both taken the right course in printing all three MSS. side by side. They differ, however, in their system of numbering; and in this respect, indeed, there are unfortunate

zur *Hornsage*, Heidelberg, 1902, and in *E. St.* 31. 281-2; Morsbach, by O. Hartenstein in *E. St.* 31. 283-5. A note by K. Luick in reply to Morsbach appeared in *Anglia Bei.* 13. 332-3.

differences among the nine editions. In view of the labor this confusion has caused the present writer in comparing the various editions, it has seemed to him that a comparative table of line-numberings would prove of great service to future students; and such a table is accordingly appended. Hall's numbering of the lines of the Cambridge MS. is taken as the starting-point. Brackets indicate that the Cambridge MS. line has no exact equivalent.

Ritson Hall (Harl.)	Michel (Camb.)	Lumby Mitzner Hall (Camb.)	Morris (Camb.)	Horstmann (Laud)	Wissmann (Camb.)	McKnight (Camb.)	Hall (Laud)
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
22	22	20	20	22	22	22	22
32	32	30	30	32	32	32	32
44	44	40	40	44	42	44	44
59	54	50	50	59	52	54	59
64	64	60	60	64	62	64	64
74	74	70	70	74	72	74	74
86	86	80	80	86	82	86	86
96	96	90	90	96	92	96	96
104	106	100	100	106	102	106	106
114	116	110	110	116	112	116	116
124	126	120	120	128	122	130	128
134	136	130	130	138	132	140	138
144	146	140	140	148	142	150	148
156	156	150	150	158	152	162	158
168	166	160	160	170	164	174	170
178	176	170	170	180	174	184	180
188	186	180	180	190	184	194	190
198	196	190	190	200	194	204	200
208	206	200	200	210	204	214	210
[218]	216	210	210	[220]	214	224	[220]
226	226	220	220	230	224	234	230
236	236	230	230	240	234	244	240
246	246	240	240	251	244	256	251
256	256	250	250	261	254	266	261
266	266	260	260	273	264	276	273
276	276	270	270	281	274	286	281
286	286	280	280	291	284	296	291
296	296	290	290	301	294	306	301
[306]	306	300	300	311	304	316	311
315	316	310	310	321	314	326	321
328	328	320	320	333	326	338	333
338	338	330	330	343	336	348	343
346	348	340	340	352	346	358	352
356	358	350	350	362	356	368	362

Ritson Hall (Harl.)	Michel (Camb.)	Lumby Mätzner Hall (Camb.)	Morris (Camb.)	Horstmann (Laud)	Wissmann (Camb.)	McKnight (Camb.)	Hall (Laud)
365	368	360	360	371	365	377	371
374	378	370	370	382	376	388	382
[384]	390	380	380	[394]	386	400	[394]
392	400	390	390	402	396	410	402
400	410	400	400	412	406	420	412
416	420	410	410	432	426	440	432
424	430	420	420	442	436	450	442
434	440	430	430	452	446	460	452
444	450	440	440	460	456	470	460
454	460	450	450	470	466	480	470
464	470	460	460	478	476	490	478
474	480	470	470	488	486	500	488
484	492	480	480	500	496	512	500
494	502	490	490	510	506	522	510
[504]	512	500	500	517	516	532	517
512	522	510	510	530	526	542	530
522	532	520	520	540	536	552	540
531	542	530	530	549	546	562	549
538	552	540	540	[556]	556	572	[556]
547	562	550	550	566	566	582	566
558	572	560	560	576	576	592	576
568	582	570	570	[584]	586	604	[584]
578	592	580	580	592	596	614	592
588	602	590	590	602	606	624	602
598	614	600	600	616	616	638	616
606	624	610	610	626	626	648	626
616	634	620	620	634	636	658	634
625	644	630	630	643	646	668	643
[636]	654	640	640	[654]	656	678	[654]
[649]	666	650	650	666	666	690	666
660	678	660	660	678	678	702	678
672	690	670	670	690	690	714	690
682	700	680	680	[699]	700	724	[699]
692	710	690	690	709	710	734	709
[700]	720	700	700	719	720	744	719
[710]	732	710	712	[731]	[730]	756	[731]
722	744	720	722	745	740	770	745
734	756	730	734	757	750	782	757
744	766	740	744	767	760	792	767
754	776	750	754	777	770	802	777
766	786	760	766	789	782	814	789
776	796	770	776	799	792	824	799
786	806	780	786	809	802	834	809
796	816	790	796	819	812	844	819

Ritson Hall (Harl.)	Michel (Camb.)	Lumby Mätzner Hall (Camb.)	Morris (Camb.)	Horstmann (Laud)	Wissmann (Camb.)	McKnight (Camb.)	Hall (Laud)
806	826	800	806	827	822	854	827
818	838	810	818	839	832	866	839
828	848	820	828	849	842	876	849
838	858	830	838	859	852	886	859
848	868	840	848	867	862	896	867
858	878	850	858	877	872	906	877
868	888	860	868	887	882	916	887
880	898	870	880	899	894	928	899
[892]	908	880	890	[910]	[906]	938	[911]
[901]	918	890	900	929	914	958	929
[913]	928	900	910	941	924	970	941
922	938	910	920	[951]	934	980	[951]
928	948	920	930	963	944	992	963
938	958	930	940	973	954	1002	973
948	968	940	950	983	964	1012	983
958	978	950	960	993	974	1022	993
970	990	960	972	1005	984	1034	1005
982	1000	970	982	1017	996	1044	1017
990	1010	980	992	1025	1004	1056	1025
1000	1020	990	1002	1031	1014	1066	1031
1010	1030	1000	1012	1041	1024	1076	1041
1020	1040	1010	1022	[1052]	1034	1086	[1052]
1030	1050	1020	1032	1059	1044	1096	1059
1040	1060	1030	1042	1069	1054	1106	1069
1052	1072	1040	1052	1083	1064	1120	1083
1057	1082	1050	1062	1092	1073	1130	1092
1068	1092	1060	1072	1103	1084	1140	1103
1076	1102	1070	1082	1111	1092	1150	1111
1086	1112	1080	1092	1121	1102	1160	1121
[1094]	1122	1090	1102	[1131]	1112	1170	[1131]
1104	1132	1100	1112	1141	1122	1180	1141
1112	1142	1110	1122	1147	1132	1190	1147
1120	1152	1120	1132	1155	1140	1200	1155
1130	1162	1130	1142	1165	1150	1210	1165
1140	1172	1140	1152	1175	1160	1220	1175
1152	1184	1150	1162	1187	1172	1232	1187
1162	1193	1160	1172	1197	1182	1242	1197
1174	1206	1170	1184	1209	1192	1254	1209
1186	1218	1180	1194	1221	1202	1266	1221
1196	1228	1190	1204	1231	1212	1276	1231
1206	1238	1200	1214	1241	1222	1286	1241
[1218]	1248	1210	1226	[1253]	[1234]	1298	[1253]
[1228]	1258	1220	1236	[1263]	1244	1308	[1263]
1238	1268	1230	1246	1273	1254	1318	1273

Ritson Hall (Harl.)	Michel (Camb.)	Lumby Mätzner Hall (Camb.)	Morris (Camb.)	Horstmann (Laud)	Wissmann (Camb.)	McKnight (Camb.)	Hall (Laud)
1248	1278	1240	1256	[1279]	1264	1328	[1279]
1260	1288	1250	1270	1291	1274	1338	1291
1270	1300	1260	1280	1303	1284	1352	1303
[1278]	1310	1270	1290	1313	1294	1362	1313
1288	1320	1280	1300	1323	1304	1372	1323
1298	1330	1290	1310	1333	1314	1382	1333
1310	1342	1300	1320	1341	1324	1394	1341
1322	1354	1310	1332	1351	1334	1406	1351
1332	1364	1320	1342	1361	1344	1416	1361
1340	1374	1330	1352	1371	1354	1426	1371
1350	1384	1340	1362	1381	1364	1436	1381
1360	1396	1350	1374	1391	1374	1448	1391
1370	1406	1360	1384	1401	1384	1458	1401
[1381]	1418	1370	1394	[1410]	1394	1468	[1410]
1392	1428	1380	1408	1423	1404	1482	1423
[1405]	1440	1390	1424	[1439]	1416	1494	[1439]
1416	1450	1400	1434	1450	1426	1508	1449
1428	1460	1410	1452	1466	1444	1524	1465
1438	1470	1420	1462	1474	1454	1534	1473
1450	1482	1430	1444	1458	1436	1546	1457
1457	1492	1440	1474	1485	1463	1556	1484
1470	1504	1450	1486	1498	1474	1568	1497
1480	1514	1460	1496	1508	1484	1578	1507
1492	1526	1470	1508	1520	1494	1590	1519
1502	1536	1480	1518	1530	1504	1600	1529
1512	1546	1490	1528	1540	1514	1610	1539
1520	1556	1500	1538	1548	1524	1620	1547
1531	1566	1510	1548	1558	1534	1630	1556
1542	1576	1520	1558	1566	1544	1640	1565
[1546]	1586	1530	1568	[1570]	[1548]	1650	[1569]

In his introduction and notes, Dr. McKnight has made large use, which he has frankly acknowledged, of the studies of Wissmann. This of course does not imply that he has not made a careful independent study of the poem; but one regrets to see here and there, especially in the notes, such constant reference to Wissmann (cp. notes on ll. 210, 221, 266, 282 [should be 294], 403, 492, 848, 911, 1202, 1259, etc.) that the notes cannot well be used without Wissmann's two volumes (*King Horn: Untersuchungen*, 1876, and *Das Lied von King Horn*, 1881) at one's elbow. For the use of 'the ordinary reader' it would have been better to reproduce the best of Wissmann's notes, abridged, in English. Of the pedigree of the

three MSS. McKnight does not attempt an independent study, but borrows Wissmann's diagram (*Das Lied von King Horn*, p. v.). He might very properly have added a reference to *Anz. f. d. Alt.* 9. 181-92, where Zupitza, in his review of Wissmann's edition, expressed a different view—namely, that Laud and Harl. are nearer to each other than either to Camb., a view which Hall defends and elaborates (though without pointing out the source of it), and which seems on the whole preferable. In dating the MSS. McKnight is less explicit and more cautious than Hall; but the two agree substantially.

To the setting, the elements, the different versions, and the topography of the story, McKnight devotes relatively more space than Hall. The two agree in pronouncing the poem, as it stands, essentially 'Teutonic in spirit and details;' but Hall finds the origin of the story to be 'a British tradition, arising out of some temporary success in which the Cornish, aided by the Irish, checked the westward progress of the English invader.' This is not impossible, notwithstanding the fine scorn of the 'Celtic craze' displayed by the *Athenæum* reviewer; but it cannot be said that Mr. Hall has fully established the point. We must not attach too much importance to the similarity of the *Gesta Herewardi*, even though it be conceded that several incidents of the latter were supplied from an early version of the *Horn* story; for it is at least conceivable that in compiling the *Gesta*, its author wrenched these incidents from their previous connection, and intentionally gave them a different setting. Here again Dr. McKnight is cautious. The expulsion and return motive he believes to be especially Germanic; but the separation and reunion of the lovers 'may have been of Germanic origin, though it has become greatly conventionalized.'

Dr. McKnight devotes only four pages to the phonology of the poem; whereas in Mr. Hall's edition the grammar and dialect form the subject of an elaborate study of thirty pages. In dealing with the phonology it would have been better if Hall had distinguished more sharply between stressed and unstressed syllables, and between Southern and Midland forms. For example, his remark on p. xxi, 'ā before e is a in *wedlak* [*wēd-lak*], 1254, L 1264: o in *strokes*, O 915 (comp. *strācian*)' is entirely misleading. Likewise, the statement that *ie*, the *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, yields *e* (p. xxiv) is liable to misinterpretation as it stands; it is strictly not true for either Southern or Midland; cp. Morsbach, *Me. Grammatik*, § 7. A. 9. It is still more unfortunate, as Dr. Osgood remarks, that Hall has perpetuated the

confusion needlessly introduced by Bülbring in his *Geschichte des Ablauts* in the classification of strong verbs. Why should not the standard order used, for example, in the *Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialekte*, and accepted by most German and American scholars, be good enough for Sweet, Hall, and others?

As for the metre of *Horn*, we must confess our belief that Dr. McKnight has given us a more satisfactory statement than the English editor. We find it difficult to accept Hall's elaborate theory of secondary stress of light syllables. For example, Hall reads C 275 thus: *De stúard wàs in herte wò*. To scan thus is to ignore the fact that the poem was written to be recited or sung. It seems, moreover, to emphasize overmuch the persistence of the O.E. metrical types. We prefer with Schipper and Morsbach to scan the line like l. 9: *Here sone hávede to náme Hórn*. The use of 'prelude' for extra syllables at the beginning of a line (anacrusis) seems unhappy. We believe with Luick that ll. 294 and 366 begin with three unstressed syllables (the comparison with 586 C and 1170 C respectively seems hardly pertinent); and we do not find 554 C essentially different from these. After all has been said, however, the fact remains that Mr. Hall has brought together a valuable collection of material.

Some minor corrections and other points of criticism may be worth noting. McKnight: (p. x, l. 6 f. b.) read Athelbrus; (p. xxix, l. 9 f. b.) Ritson's ed. appeared in 1802; (p. xxxiv, l. 13 f. b.) read H. von Fallersleben; (p. xlv) in the diagram, for I read T; (p. xlvi, l. 18) the better spelling is Margaret; (p. xviii, l. 11) read Alfric, cp. p. xlvi, l. 4; (p. 17, l. 393 Laud) why is the line under *wit?*—is it merely a lead? (p. 71, l. 6) as an emendation one might suggest striking out the second *of*, though it is not necessary; (p. 73, l. 173) the sense seems to require changing *soler* to *celer* "cellar;" the two words sound much alike; (p. 76, l. 251 T) the sense seems to require *save* for *herde*, which may have been written because of *herde* in 249; (p. 81, l. 60 C) emend by inserting *I* before *mizte*; (l. 61 C) *i wende* < *zewendan* and should have been noted as thus descended in the Glossary (it is entered s. v. *wende*, with the wrong reference); (p. 89, l. 580) a better emendation would have been *torche*; or preferring *torch* (not in Stratmann-Bradley), the editor should have noted it in the Glossary; (l. 262 Camb.) there should have been a note on this referring to Zupitza's change (*Anglia* 1. 473) of *sune* to *wune*, which Kölbing defends, *E. St.* 3. 99; (p. 105, l. 675 Camb.) a note should have referred to Stratmann's emendation *gult*

(*E. St.* 3. 271); indeed, a general bibliographical note somewhere should direct the reader to the emendations and notes of Zupitza, Kölbing, Stratmann, and others; (p. 138, note on 55) *gunne* can hardly be an intensive here, any more than it is in O.E.; it were better taken as a word without force, used simply to fill out the line and make alliteration; cp. l. 419, where it helps out the riming scheme by making *stonde* possible (otherwise *stod* would be required), also 392, 396 H; (note on 57) *under schelde* can hardly mean 'in arms,' and the meaning in *Richard Cœur de Lion* 5693 is, it seems to us, still more doubtful; we prefer to take both these passages as meaning 'smite under the shield;' they would then fall into Hall's first group (Hall, p. 98, ll. 3 ff.); (note on 82) the explanation of *hundes* is, perhaps, to be sought rather in the wretched condition of dogs in early times, especially in Eastern countries; the explanation suggested by the author of *Richard* seems late and artificial; there were other animals quite as humble; but cp. N. E. D.; (p. 140 l. 11) for 282 (Wissmann's number) read 294; the full reference is Layamon 3. p. 291, ll. 32110-1; (l. 12) the reference to 268, note, is apparently a misprint; (note on 333) McKnight gives up *bi one ribbe*; Hall's explanation (Hall, l. 315, note) is satisfactory; (note on 366) Hall's explanation of *wroþe* (Hall, l. 348, note) seems more satisfactory; (p. 141) a note on 510 Laud should have explained the corruption: *m* comes from the preceding *morwe*; (p. 142, note on 729) McKnight's explanation of *bi sture* seems preferable to Hall's (Glossary s. v. *sture*, 685); (note on 734) *berne* should give McKnight no trouble; cp. Stratmann-Bradley s. v. *brenne*; (note on 767-8 L, H) McKnight calls this obscure; Hall's note (Hall, l. 742 Laud, note) is satisfactory, though there is no need of replacing *hyt* with *he*; (p. 144, note on 1034) McK. is here too cautious; cp. Hall, l. 960 C, note; (p. 145, note on 1202) inconsistent with the entry in the Glossary; which is McKnight's final utterance? (p. 145, note on 1422) a more plausible view than that of Hall, who regards *bi este* as a scribal error for *bi weste*; but cp. Morsbach on *Estnesse*, p. 319; (p. 147, note on 250 T) *on hye* means 'in haste;' (note to 497 C) this was first suggested by Stratmann, *E. St.* 3. 270. The following omissions from the Glossary have been noted: *alder-rychest*, *F. and B.* 551 T; *amy*, *F. and B.* 180 T; *binden* 'overpower,' Horn 1196; *botelere*, *F. and B.* 174 T; *capoun*, *F. and B.* 594 T; *charbugleston*, *F. and B.* 234 C, cp. 172 T; *chauntement*, *F. and B.* 312 C; *coniureson*, *F. and B.* 312 C; *couercle*, *F. and B.* 169 T; *ende*, *pende* 'place,' Horn 1480; *ender*, cp. *sender*; *fol*, *F. and*

B. 545 T; *gray*, *Ass.* 489 H; *hye*, *F. and B.* 250 T, *hyze*, *F. and B.* 259 T; *hym* 'them,' *Ass.* 607 Add.; *imake*, *F. and B.* 78 Cott., cp. *make*; *ilome*, *F. and B.* 96 Cott.; *oniele*, *F. and B.* 288 C; *rewe*, *F. and B.* 298 C, cp. Stratmann's note, *E. St.* 3. 271; *sender*, *F. and B.* 405 T, 468 T; *served* 'deserved,' *Ass.* 76 Add., cp. Kölbing, *E. St.* 3. 95; *sette*, Horn 758 H; *spray*, *F. and B.* 275 C; *steke*, *F. and B.* 116 T; *strimes*, *F. and B.* 228, 230 C; s. v. *par*, *porte*, *F. and B.* 253 C, put wrongly s. v. *dar*; s. v. *pinke*, *puste*, *Ass.* 226 C, cp. Kölbing, *E. St.* 3. 93-4; *purst* *F. and B.* 1; *weder*, *F. and B.* 428 T; *wilne*, *F. and B.* 254 C; *wyssh*, *F. and B.* 353 T; *wipowte*, *Ass.* 26 Add., *bipute*, 22 C, *F. and B.* 218 C. The meaning of *boneyres* is rather 'well-bred,' cp. Hall; s. v. *butnep* should be a reference to Stratmann, *E. St.* 3. 271; s. v. *burgeis*, for 207 read 205; *catel* hardly means 'capital' in the modern sense; *derne* is rather < O.E. *derne* (Ml.); for *veracle* read *verade*; *follyche* is rather < O. E. *füllīce*; *zelle* imitates the gurgling sound of boiling; *zem* < Ml. *zēman*; *lype*, Horn 372 H, cannot < ON. *hlj̄ða*, but must < O.E. *liðian*; *lure* probably means 'look gloomy' in both passages; s. v. *serie*, we know of no O.E. form *scerwen* 'a scattering;' see below; s. v. *wed-broper* the reference should be to Plummer i.

Hall: (p. 106, note on 195 Laud) Hall's explanation of *salyley* is ingenious; the *s*, however, may have come from *se* in 196 by anticipation; McK. does not attempt an explanation; (p. 111, note on 249) Hall's explanation of *doster* seems better than McKnight's (McK., p. 137, note on 10 C); (p. 112, note on 277-80) Hall's interpretation seems correct, but the transposition is unnecessary to secure this construction; McK. has no note; (p. 116, note on 353-4) Hall's argument for *lynne* as the original reading is convincing, notwithstanding the preference of Stratmann (*lihhe*, *E. St.* 3. 270) and Wissmann (*leiže*); (p. 121, note on 437) Wissmann's view seems preferable: 'help me to knighthood . . . at the hand of my lord the king, [pleonastic] that he may dub me;' (p. 133, note on 598) add *biforen sinfule men pa heaðene hundes*, Morris, *O.E. Hom.* 1. 279 l. 18; (p. 152, note on 1013) Hall seems to be right here in retaining *and*; McK. follows Stratmann in preferring the *of* of Harl. and Laud; but *strike* cannot mean 'strip;' moreover, for the meaning, *of mastc* is superfluous; (p. 159, note on 1122) Hall's evidence is to us conclusive; McK. (note on 1202) agrees, but in his Glossary says 'beer (?)'; (p. 166, note on 1268) Mätzner's emendation was, however, desirable; (p. 171, note on 1385) in view of the difficulty with *serie*, we are inclined to accept Hall's emenda-

tion *ferie*; McK. here follows Mätzner; (p. 172, note on 1411) Hall interprets *blenche* as 'lurch;' this would naturally come through the idea of flinching, varying from the straight course; 'overturn' (McKnight, following Mätzner) is an extension of the same idea, but too sweeping; (p. 203) s. v. *ende*, *pende*, 1378 seems to mean rather 'the place;' (p. 207) s. v. *ginne*, *gon*, 390 Laud, must be a scribal error for *gin*, cp. 1473 Laud; (p. 211) *iknowe* must come rather < **ȝeenāwe*; (p. 223) *s(l)ette*, 714 Laud, could hardly come < O.E. *slātan*; we might possibly read *slette* = *slitte* 'slit, pierce.'

The dogma of the English origin of the *Horn* story has no sooner attained the respectability of orthodox belief than certain bold heretics come forward with new theories. We have alluded above to Mr. Hall's view. Professor Morsbach has advanced a still different opinion: that the English *Horn* is based on an earlier Anglo-French version, which in its turn rested on a Viking saga brought down by Danish settlers or first formulated in the North. This view he supports by (1) the *a priori* deduction that *Horn* cannot be of native origin, since the English, who were especially dependent upon foreign sources in the field of epic literature, produced not one undoubtedly native romance; (2) the allegation that the popular tone and style of *Horn* do not prove native origin; (3) a metrical and etymological consideration of the proper names.

We must, however, concur in the conclusion of Dr. Hartenstein, that the case for a Scandinavian origin is as yet 'not proven.' That *Horn* is unique among mediæval English romances in having a native origin is not, of course, impossible. If the popular tone of the romance proves nothing, still it must be taken into account, together with the fact that the three extant MSS. agree rather closely. Metrical tests (cp. Hall, p. 1, bottom) do not, after all, furnish much evidence. In a majority of instances, we believe, the proper names may fairly be scanned with the normal English accentuation, and the other instances, e. g., possibly *Harild*, 761 (Hall's numbering), *Durston*, 819, *Aylmár*, 506, are perhaps no harder to deal with than other words in which the metrical ictus is at variance with the normal accentuation. Remembering that *Horn* was put into its present form two centuries before Chaucer, we must not expect to find unimpeachable metre. As for the proper names, etymology seems to yield small support for the Viking theory. The names which Morsbach believes to be Norse are *Durston*, *Harild*, *Berild* (?), the Irish king and his two sons; *Murry*, *Horn's* father;

Modi, king of *Reynes*; and *Westir*. Now, intercourse with Danes and Norwegians began early enough so that it is not impossible that these names may have been borrowed by an original English poet on English soil. French influence, as Morsbach shows, was marked. But these changes in the names, such as **Æðelmær* > *Ailmar*, and **Æðelhulf* > *Aðulf*, are not necessarily the conscious changes of a single Anglo-French translator, who might even wish to retain the original forms; they may be, as Hartenstein points out, the gradual changes effected unconsciously by generations of *jongleurs*.

The wide reputation of its author, however, lends great weight to the conclusions of this paper; and we shall await further discussion of Professor Morsbach's theory with interest.

The above was already in type, and the corrected proof had been returned to the editor, when Dr. Schofield's paper reached us; and at the suggestion of the editor we add a brief comment on this most stimulating discussion. Dr. Schofield has made a careful and exhaustive investigation of the various *Horn* poems from various points of view, and as a result he most ably advocates the theory that the original story of *Horn* was an Old Norse tale, possibly historical, of the tenth century, and orally transmitted; that this was first written down (p. 50) by an Old English poet; that not this O.E. version, but a French redaction of it, formed the direct source of the extant *King Horn*; while the story of *Aalof*, *Horn's* father, goes back ultimately to a West Germanic source. His view is to the last detail most ingenious, and, in the main, plausible. The country of *Sudene* he identifies as the Isle of Man, from which a strong northwest wind would blow a boat within twenty-four hours to the coast of Britain. From Douglas, in Man, to New Brighton, at the mouth of the Mersey, it is a matter of seventy miles. *Aylmar* of *Westernness* ruled in the district about Chester and the Mersey; 'the *Westernness* seems pretty certainly the peninsula of the Wirral' (p. 24). *Westir*, on the other hand, < *Westey(j)ar* "Western Isles", the Norse designation of all the British Isles, and Ireland in particular as the most remote' (p. 14). To the proper names claimed by Morsbach as Norse, Schofield would add *Horn*, his father *Aalof* (< *Anlāf*), his mother *Godhild*, his companions *Aðulf* (< *Auðúlfr*), and *Arnoldin* (a French adaptation of *Arnaldr*); but *Murry* he thinks is for *Moray*, 'the ancient district of Moravia.' That *Horn's* father *Aalof* could rule both *Moray*, in northern Scotland, and *Man*, does not, he demonstrates, 'conflict with historical possibility.'

Space and time forbid our entering into a detailed criticism of this paper. The theory of the Norwegian origin of the legend has never before been advanced; and it is difficult to see how this theory could be more effectively and convincingly presented. Professor Schofield's familiarity with Scandinavian literature has enabled him to suggest striking parallels in the sagas, which seem to us better evidence than etymologies or metre. On some points we should not feel disposed to insist quite as strongly as does Dr. Schofield. For example, the derivation of *Stoure* (< O.N. *stór á* 'big river', p. 17) may be correct, but seems not altogether unquestionable. It would then be a compound: what becomes of the second part? And is it not remarkable that the four Stour Rivers are found in that part of England where Norse influence was least felt? On the theory of a French translation as the basis for the M.E. poem Dr. Schofield expresses himself as having given over unwillingly the view of native origin which he long held, and to which he now perceives cogent arguments to be opposed. We do not wish to seem more stubborn than he in persisting in this view. We would only point out that the argument of French influence on diction, style, and metre is not as convincing as that regarding the form of the proper names; also that proper names are the first words to lose their etymological significance and the first to be altered by foreigners ignorant of their meaning. Some, at least, of the changes in the *Horn* names can probably be accounted for on this ground.

We have noted one or two slips of the pen in Dr. Schofield's carefully written paper: (p. 11, l. 22) read, 'If, then, we look . . . for an island off the west coast of England from which a strong northwest wind would blow a boat to the mainland within twenty-four hours,' etc.; (p. 79, l. 11 f. b.) read, 'a totally different spirit animated this version of the Horn story from that of any of its predecessors.'

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The North-English Homily Collection: A Study of the Manuscript Relations and of the Sources of the Tales. A Dissertation presented to the Board of Studies for English Language and Literature of the University of Oxford, in June, 1901, for the Degree of Bachelor of Letters, by Gordon Hall Gerould. [no place or publisher] 1902.

The above study is a welcome addition to Horstmann's essay on the North-English legendary in his *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. lvii, ff. The study consists of two parts, the first being a discussion of the ms. relations of the various versions of the legendary, the second a discussion of the legends themselves and their origins. In the examination of the MSS. the author omits the expanded collections, and considers only the so-called original collection. This is preserved in eight redactions, none of which, however, represents the first form of the collection; it is necessary here, as with the South-English legendary, to suppose forms of the legendary earlier than any of those now preserved. The chief result of this half of the study is the conclusion that the Edinburgh MS., a fragment, is the closest representative of the original form of the collection. No endeavor is made to determine the home of the original collection or its possible immediate source, or to draw any inferences concerning its compiler. If the whole collection was, as Horstmann and the author think, the work of a single writer of some independence and ability, a detailed study of his methods should prove interesting and valuable.

The second part of the study gives an analysis of each of the fifty-five tales of the collection, and, with the exception of two for which the author finds neither sources nor parallels, some discussion as to sources. The great number of forms, however, in which the various legends are transmitted, and the close similarity of these forms, make it frequently impossible to determine exact sources. Something might be done in this direction by determining the collections—*Latyne* or *Frankisse* according to the Ashmole MS.—from which the original English collection was made up. It is not probable that this English compiler hunted out his legends one by one, or that he used very numerous sources in gathering together his material. The fact that 'twenty-two different works are represented in the compilation,' beside the Bible, is no proof that the compiler used all these works, for a parallel is not a sufficient proof of source

in the case of such widely diffused and closely copied stories as these legends; for certain legends a half-dozen different possible sources might be cited.

A good bibliography of each legend is given, with a discussion of the diffusion and variety of forms of the legends. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum*, 2. 586 ff., should be added, as making some additions to the bibliography of both the printed and ms. versions of certain of the legends.

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What has Become of Shakespeare's Play 'Love's Labor's Won'?

Albert H. Tolman. Chicago, 1902. Pp. 34. (*University of Chicago Decennial Publications* VII.)

One can best describe Professor Tolman's study by calling it a variorum edition of a hypothetical play. The author has not answered the question stated in his title; he is all but ready to admit that 'unless some new evidence shall be discovered' the question never can be settled; what he has done is to collect and summarize the various answers which have already been made to the question, and by brief criticism and comment to indicate which of these answers seem to him most plausible. If such work does not constitute creative scholarship of the highest order, it is none the less scholarship of a very useful sort, thoroughly welcome to all who have tried to find a way through the labyrinth of Shakespeare literature.

The author begins of necessity with the man who is responsible for all the trouble, and quotes the passage from Francis Meres in which *Loue labours wonne* is mentioned as one of Shakespeare's comedies. What play does Meres mean? That is the whole question. Two hypotheses are alone possible: either the play is lost, or it is identical with some play which has come down to us under another title. After dismissing as improbable the hypothesis that the play has been lost, Professor Tolman discusses in order the attempts which have been made to identify it with (1) *Love's Labor's Lost*, (2) *Midsummer Night's Dream*, (3) *Tempest*, (4) *All's Well*, (5) *Much Ado*, (6) *The Taming of the Shrew*. In the several sections

dealing with these theories, one finds summaries, admirable in their clearness, of the arguments of those scholars and critics who have suggested or defended the identification in question. Here and there the author suggests a criticism or offers some contribution to the argument; but in the main he is the impartial expositor. So thoroughly impartial and unprejudiced is he throughout, that one is half startled to find him in the closing paragraph assuming the rôle of judge, and pronouncing his opinion, though modestly, in favor of the view advanced by Craik in 1857, and supported by Sievers and Hertzberg, that *The Taming of the Shrew* offers the best solution of the question.

His argument in favor of this hypothesis, which in essential points is that of Sievers, is briefly as follows. *The Taming of the Shrew* was certainly in existence in 1598, and, since the comedy has always been one of the most popular of Shakespeare's plays, it seems strange that Meres should have omitted it from his list. The fact that Shakespeare may not have been the sole author is not sufficient reason for this omission. Moreover, the play is in some respects similar in tone to *Love's Labor's Lost*, which under this hypothesis was intended as its companion-piece. Both plays belong to the class which Professor Tolman denominates 'pure comedy,' and both exhibit the spirit of 'judicial satire,' as opposed to the 'non-judicial' or 'sympathetic comedy,' which is Shakespeare's commoner manner. The author's chief contribution to the argument is found in his theory as to the motive which prompted the change of name from *Love's Labor's Won* to that which the play now bears. Adopting Ten Brink's theory that the earlier *Taming of A Shrew* was not, as is usually held, the source from which *The Taming of THE Shrew* was drawn, but that both these plays represent an earlier play on the same subject by Shakespeare himself, Professor Tolman argues thus: 'It is natural to suggest that this youthful work of Shakespeare bore the name of *Love's Labor's Won*, that then an unauthorized adaptation of this early piece became popular under the name *The Taming of A Shrew*, and that later Shakespeare's play was revised to meet this competition and received its present title. The new name, *The Taming of THE Shrew*, involved, we may suppose, a claim to the rightful ownership of the common material.'

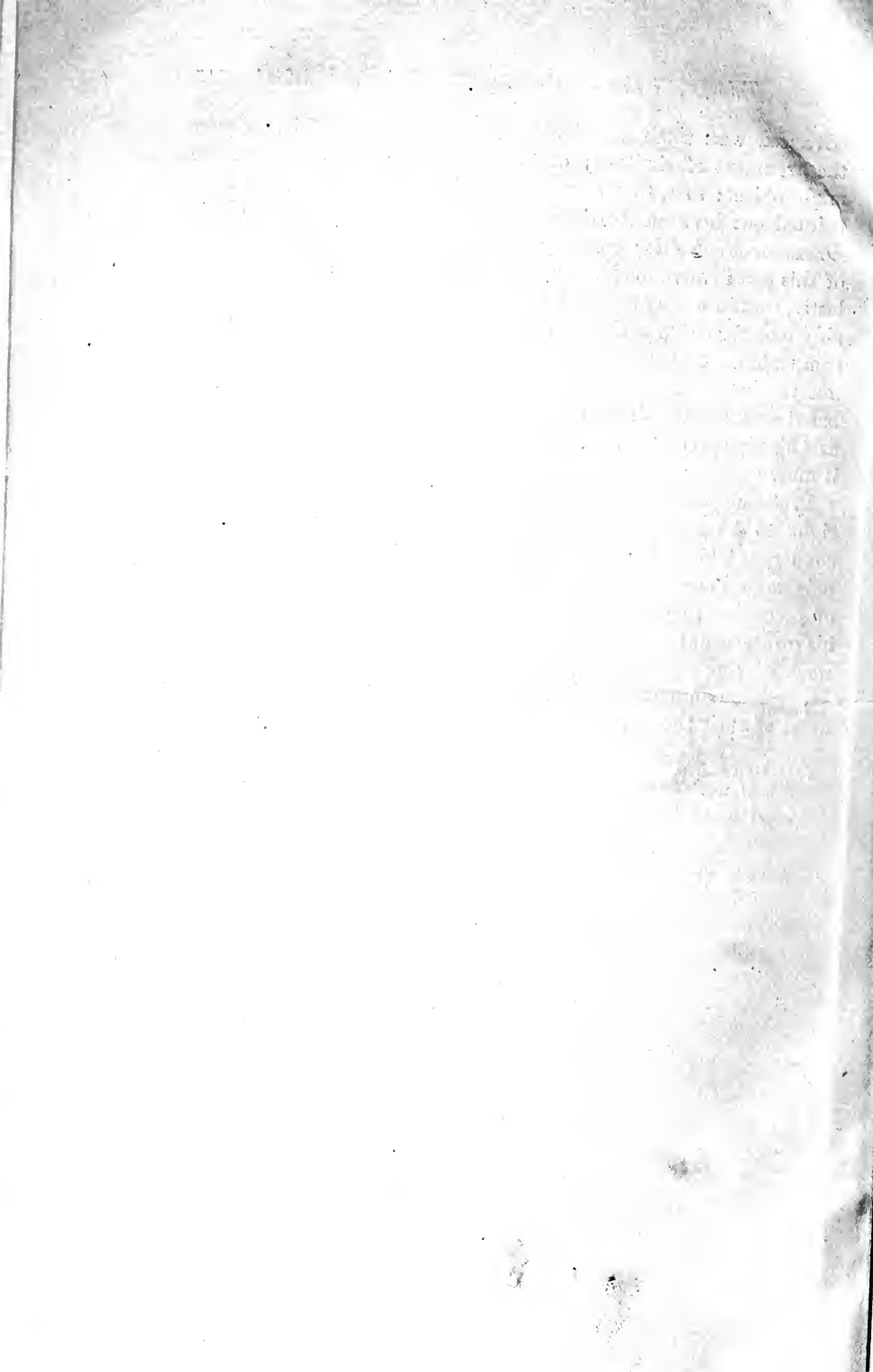
Of these arguments, the first alone seems deserving of serious consideration. It must be admitted to have considerable force; though, as the author has shown, an exactly similar argument has been

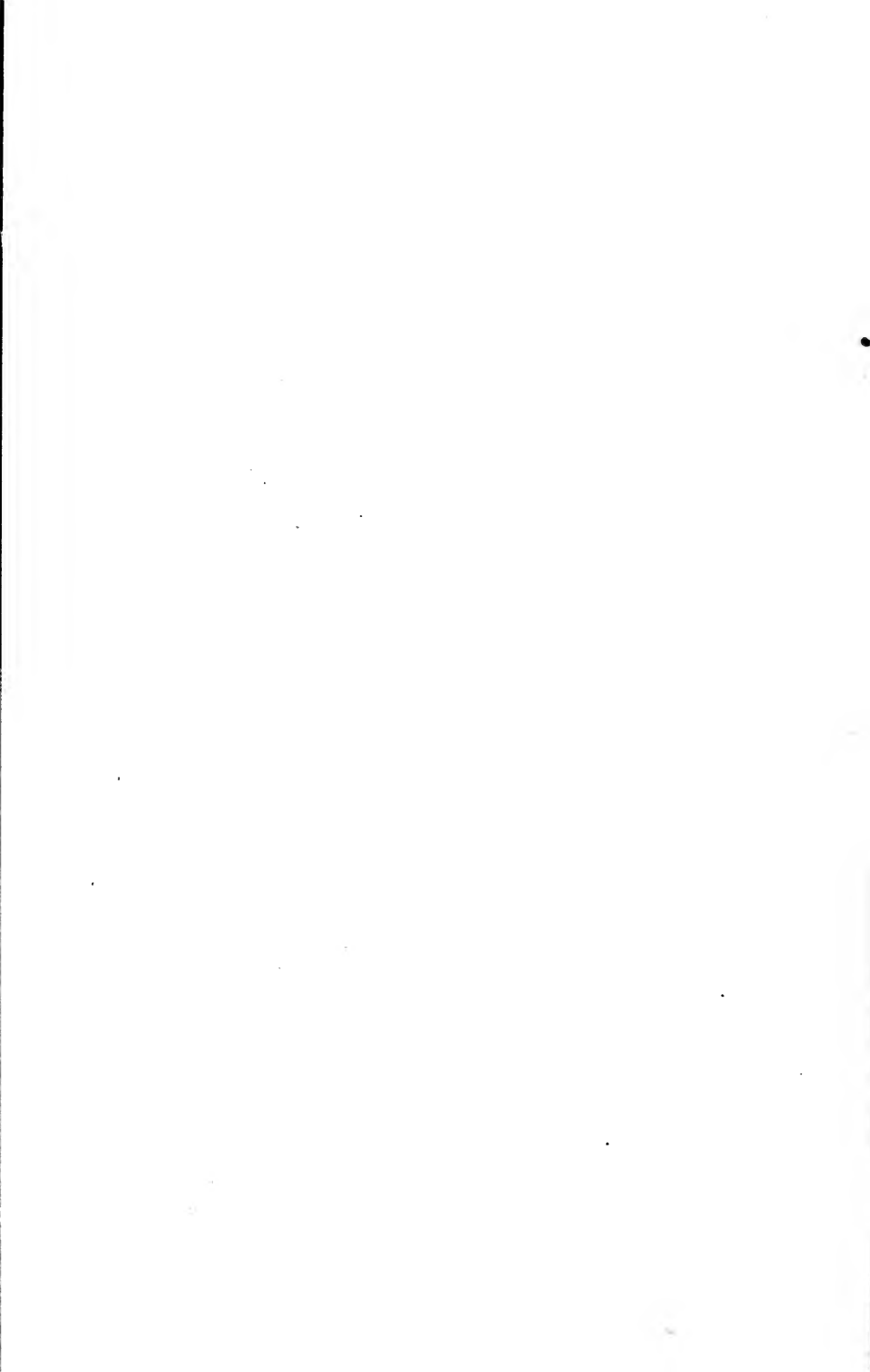
advanced with some plausibility in favor of *Much Ado*. As for the argument of similarity of tone with *Love's Labor's Lost*, one might object: first, that much more striking similarities have been pointed out between *Love's Labor's Lost* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* or *Much Ado*; secondly, that arguments based on similarities of this sort involve too large an element of subjective criticism; and lastly, that in a play named *Love's Labor's Won* we might as reasonably look for sharp antithesis as for close similarity to its supposed companion. The attempt to supply a motive is certainly ingenious; but it must be remembered that it is after all only a hypothesis, based on a hypothesis which Professor Tolman himself characterizes as 'highly speculative.' The whole question remains, and one fears it must ever remain, unsolved and insoluble.

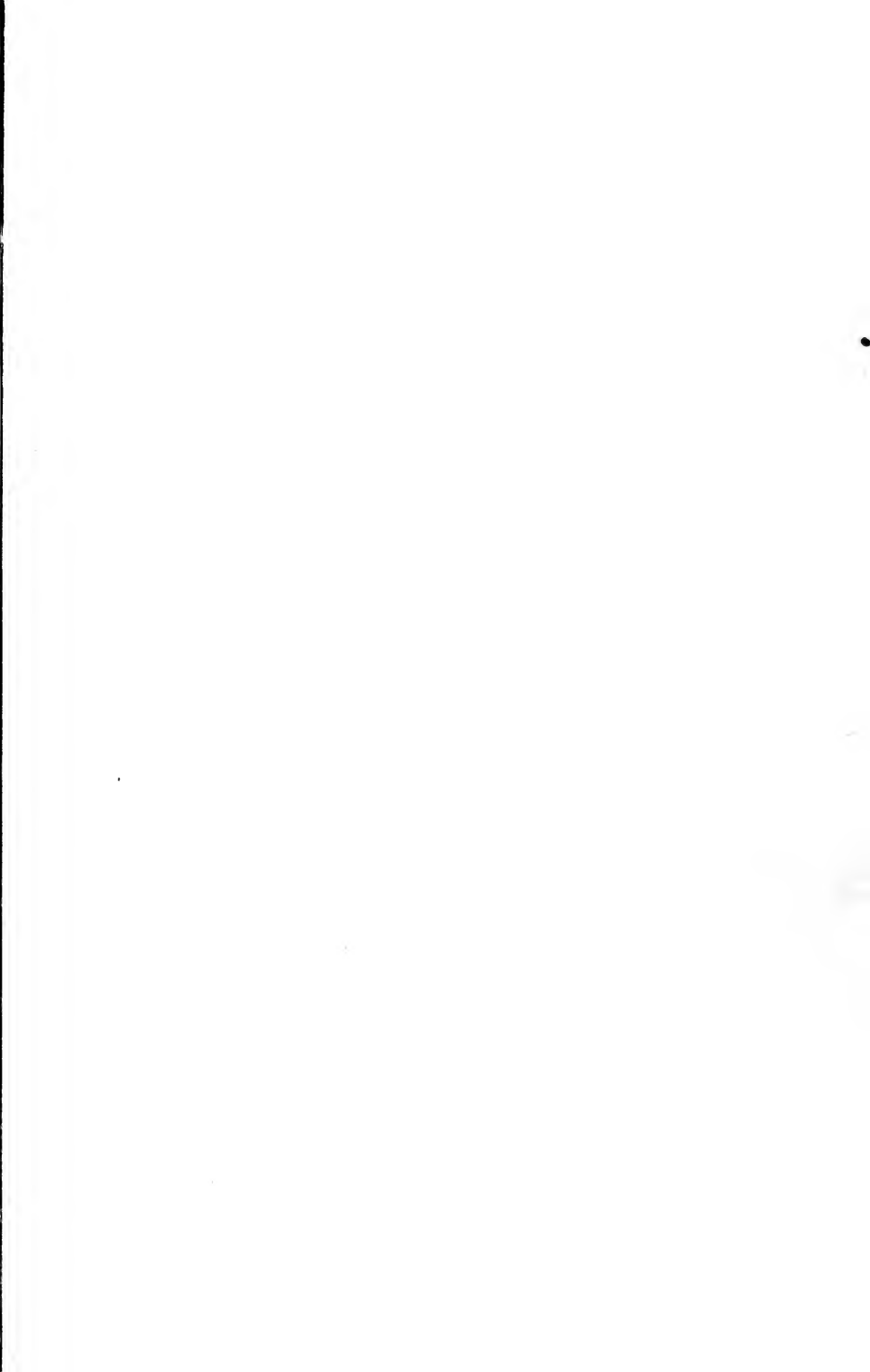
Professor Tolman has already in two previous articles shown his right to be numbered among the Shakespeare scholars of this country. This article, like its predecessors, shows wide reading and painstaking care. One would wish to see him throw off the incubus of preceding scholarship, and break new paths of investigation on his own account. It is indispensable that one should have read the work of those who have gone before; is it necessary, though, to devote such an overwhelming proportion of one's space to a restatement of their theories?

ROBERT KILBURN ROOT.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
Feb. 11, 1903







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