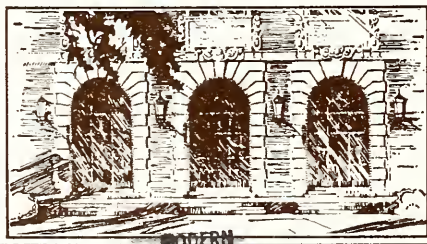



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES.

| | |
|--|-----|
| JULIUS GOEBEL, Gøthe's Quelle für die Erdgeistscene..... | 1 |
| CLARENCE PASCHALL, The Semasiology of German "Laib," English "loaf" | 18 |
| H. C. ROEDDER, Selbstanleihe bei Schiller (Continued)..... | 25 |
| H. C. GODDARD, Chaucer's Legend of Good Women (Concluded).... | 47 |
| J. F. ROYSTER, 'Simplification' of Gemination in the Old English Weak Verbs, Class 1..... | 112 |
| G. S. FORD, Two German Publicists on the American Revolution...144 | |
| E. C. ROEDDER, Selbstanleihe bei Schiller (Continued)..... | 177 |
| G. M. PRIEST, Ebernand von Erfurt and the Vita Heinrici..... | 198 |
| C. M. LOTSPEICH, The Composition of the Icelandic Family Sagas.. | 217 |
| LOUISE DUDLEY, An Early Homily on the "Body and Soul Theme"..... | 225 |
| FR. KLAEBER, Textual Notes on the Beowulf..... | 254 |
| H. N. MACCRACKEN, Another Poem by Hoccleve?..... | 260 |
| ERNST VOSS, Aus den Schaetzen in Wolfenbuettel..... | 305 |
| HANS EMIL LARSSON, Swedish Literature..... | 313 |
| EDWIN C. ROEDDER, Selbstanleihe in Schillers Nachlass..... | 330 |
| C. H. IBERSHOFF, A Variant Verse in Schillers Marie Stuart.... | 352 |
| JAMES WALTER RANKIN, A Study of the Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry | 357 |
| NEIL C. BROOKS, Some New Texts of Liturgical Easter-Plays..... | 463 |
| CHARLES A. WILLIAMS, Zwei deutsche Liederbücher des 16-Jahr- hunderts | 489 |
| GRACE F. VON SWERINGEN, Women in the Germanic Hero-Sagas.... | 501 |
| J. L. LOWES, Is Chaucer's <i>Legend of Good Women</i> a Travesty?.... | 513 |

REVIEWS

| | |
|---|-----|
| H. M. BELDEN: Gummere, The Popular Ballad; Bückel, Psychologie der Volksdichtung | 114 |
| F. W. C. LIEDER: F. Spee, Trutznachtigall | 129 |
| C. VON KLENZE: G. Stapfer, Etudes sur Goethe..... | 135 |
| O. E. LESSING: Urban, Die literarische Gegenwart; Kummer, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts..... | 139 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| H. F. ALLEN: Festschrift zur 49 Vers. deutscher Philologen..... | 140 |
| F. W. C. LIEDER: Rea, Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England.. | 267 |
| C. H. HANDSCHIN: Ulbrich, G. Freytag's Romantechnik..... | 275 |
| G. T. FLOM: Olsen, H. Ibsen's Brand | 279 |
| A. A. KERN: Root, The Poetry of Chaucer..... | 282 |
| W. H. HULME: Floyer and Hamilton, Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral.... | 287 |
| C. N. GREENOUGH: Conant, The Oriental Tale in England in the 18th Century | 296 |
| J. B. E. JONAS: Briefwechsel zwischen Clemens Brentano und Sophie Mereau | 423 |
| H. Z. KIP: Gottfried Kellers Dramatische Bestrebungen..... | 428 |
| E. LESER: Goethes Hermin und Dorothea | 431 |
| E. O. ECKELMANN: Marie Stuart in Drama der Weltliteratur.... | 439 |
| GEORGE W. HAUSCHILD: A History of Scandinavian Studies in American Universities | 442 |
| JULIUS GOEBEL: Hebbelprobleme | 445 |
| WILLIAM STRUNK, JR.: Lodge's Rosalynde, ed. Greg..... | 454 |
| WILLIAM STRUNK, JR.: Exodus and Daniel, ed. Blackburn..... | 456 |
| JACOB ZEITLIN: Arthur Odams, Temporal Clause in O.E. Prose.. | 459 |
| G. O. CURME: Deutsche Grammatik von W. Wilmanns..... | 570 |
| F. W. C. LIEDER: Faust in English and in England..... | 584 |
| C. VON KLENZE: Lenaus Werke | 593 |
| G. H. MENSEL: The Linguistic Status of the Burgundians..... | 595 |
| G. T. FLOM: Sproglige og Historiske Afhandlinger..... | 597 |
| G. T. FLOM: Vestnorsk Maalföre fyre 1350..... | 602 |
| W. W. LAWRENCE: Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. 2. | 606 |
| C. M. HATHAWAY, JR.: Krieb's Valiant Welshman..... | 616 |
| J. L. LOWES: Eleanor Prescott Hammond's Chaucer, a Biblio- graphical Manual | 619 |

GOETHES QUELLE FUER DIE ERDGEISTSCENE.¹

Zu den vielen Anregungen, die dem jungen Goethe aus seiner Beschäftigung mit alchemistischen und kabbalistischen Schriften zuflossen, gehört ohne Frage auch die Conception des Erdgeistes im Faust. Die Geschichte dieses verhältnismässig späten und selten erwähnten Geistes liegt noch nicht völlig klar, so viel ich jedoch sehe, entstammt er nicht, wie die übrigen Planetengeister, dem Volksglauben, sondern verdankt seine Entstehung künstlich philosophischer Zeugung. Sogar den Zeugungsprocess können wir noch verfolgen, er lässt sich in Plotins 4. *Enneade* (4. Buch, Cap. 22 ff.) genau beobachten. Aus der langen Untersuchung wähle ich nur folgende Stelle aus: 'Wenn wir nun auch viele lebende Wesen aus der Erde erzeugt sehen, warum sollen wir sie nicht auch als ein lebendes Wesen betrachten? Wenn sie aber ein lebendes Wesen von solcher Grösse ist und nicht einen kleinen Teil des Ganzen ausmacht, warum soll man nicht zugeben, dass sie Vernunft (*νοῦς*) hat und so ein Gott (*θεός*) ist? Ferner, wenn jeder Stern ein lebendes Wesen ist, warum soll man die Erde, die ein Teil des lebendigen Gesamtorganismus ist, nicht auch für ein lebendes Wesen halten? Denn man darf doch nicht sagen, dass sie von einer ihr fremden Seele (*ψυχή*) von aussen her zusammengehalten werde, in ihrem Innern dagegen keine habe, als könne sie selbst keine eigene Seele haben.'

Da die Lehren Plotins der gleichzeitigen wie späteren mystisch-magischen und alchemistischen Spekulation die philosophische Grundlage lieferten, so taucht denn auch der Erdgeist zunächst in den Schriften des Hermes Trismegistus auf und

¹ Der Aufsatz, den ich hier vorlege, sollte ursprünglich vor meiner Faust-Ausgabe erscheinen; ganz zufällige Gründe verhinderten dies jedoch. Wenn ich ihn nachträglich noch zum Abdruck bringe, so geschieht es in dem Glauben, dass die Sache, die ich in jener Ausgabe nur zerstückt vortragen konnte, eine zusammenhängende Behandlung wol verdient.

gelangt von diesen schliesslich in Agrippas von Nettesheim grossartiges System der *Magia naturalis*. So citiert Agrippa zum Beweis für seine eigne Ansicht, dass die Erde von einem Geiste belebt sei, folgende Stelle aus den hermetischen Schriften: *Et Mercurius, in tractatu, quem de communi inscripsit, inquit: Totum quod est in Mundo, aut crescendo, aut decrescendo movetur. Quod autem movetur, id propterea vivit, et cum omnia moveantur, etiam terra, maxime motu generativo et alterativo, ipsaquoque vivit (De occulta philosophia II, Cap. 56)*. In seinem bekannten Aufsatz: *'Der Erdgeist und Mephistopheles in Goethes Faust'* (*Preuss. Jahrbücher* 68, 700 ff.) wies Graf-funder darauf hin, dass unter den Alchemisten Basilius Valentinus ähnliche Ansichten über den Erdgeist hegte. Von ihm mag dann Joh. Joach. Becher, ein späterer berühmter Alchemist, beeinflusst sein, der sich freilich über unsern Geist schon etwas skeptisch-rationalistischer ausdrückt: *'Es seyn deren, die dafür halten, es sey in der Erden ein absonderlicher Geist oder Spiritus, der alle Körper begrünet und erhält. . . . Es scheinen aber solche, als wollten sie die Natur darunter verstanden haben, und dieselbe körperlich vor Augen stellen wollen.'*

Da sich nun von einer *Beschwörung* des Erdgeistes weder bei den erwähnten Schriftstellern, noch sonstwo, irgend eine Spur findet, so scheint dieser eine traurig philosophische Schattenexistenz geführt zu haben, bis Goethe ihm zu einem besseren Leben verhalf. Es galt denn auch für längere Zeit als ausgemacht, dass Goethe wol die Vorstellung vom Erdgeist jenen Schriften entnommen habe, dass aber die Beschwörungsscene selbst seine eigenste dichterische Tat sei. Da wies vor mehreren Jahren Max Morris, einer Anregung von Erich Schmidt folgend, auf die Aehnlichkeit hin, die zwischen den Geistervorstellungen bei Swedenborg und der Erdgeistscene im Faust bestehe. Noch ehe die Abhandlung von Morris erschien, war, ohne von Schmidts Hinweis zu wissen, ein Schüler von mir, selbst Swedenborgianer, in einer Seminararbeit zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen gelangt. Trotzdem konnte ich den Zweifel an der Richtigkeit des Resultates beider Arbeiten nicht unterdrücken und vor Allem die Vermu-

tung nicht los werden, dass der schwedische Geisterseher seine intime Vertrautheit mit Geistererscheinungen vielleicht derselben Quelle verdanke, die wol auch Goethe benutzte.

Dass wir diese Quelle in der neuplatonischen Literatur zu suchen haben, war mir von vornherein klar. Ich hoffe im Folgenden den Nachweis zu führen, dass sie in der dem Jamblichus zugeschriebenen Schrift *De mysteriis* vorliegt, dem Buche, das die Zaubersliteratur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts ebenfalls direkt oder indirekt beeinflusst hat. Noch ist ja die Geschichte der Weltanschauung nicht geschrieben, die Lamprecht in seiner *Deutschen Geschichte* die pandynamistische nennt, die, von den Neuplatonikern ausgehend, durchs ganze Mittelalter verstreute Bekenner hat, im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert mit der Wiederbelebung des Altertums eine neue Blütezeit erlebt, in der Folgezeit sich unerkannt weite religiöse Kreise erobert und auch in unserer Literatur tiefe Spuren zurücklässt².

Es ist hier nicht der Ort, die philosophischen Voraussetzungen zu untersuchen, die der Schrift des Jamblichus zu Grunde liegen oder den Einfluss festzustellen, den Philo, Plotin, Porphyrios und Andere auf seine Dämonenlehre hatten. Nur auf einen charakteristischen Zug der letzteren sei hier kurz hingewiesen. Nach ihr ist es nicht nur Aufgabe der Dämonen, dienend den Willen der Götter zu vollziehen, sondern zugleich auch das Mittel zu sein, durch das der Mensch die stufenmässige Reinigung und Vollendung erreicht, die in der Vereinigung mit dem Göttlichen, der Henosis, gipfelt. Dies höchste Ziel wird nicht auf dem Wege philosophischer Spekulation erlangt, wol aber durch theurgisches Wissen und theurgische Praxis, in der uns die Götter durch heilige, uns unverständliche Zeichen und Symbole auf geheime Weise beeinflussen.

Was uns hier jedoch am meisten interessiert, ist die Schilderung, die Jamblichus von den Dämonen und ihrer

² Die Geschichte dieser gewaltigen, lange nicht genug beachteten Geistesbewegung, die auch Goethe in seiner Jugend ergriff, ihn recht eigentlich zur Faustsage führte und seinem Denken bleibende Spuren eindrückte, habe ich kurz in der Einleitung zu meiner Faustausgabe (New York, Henry Holt & Co.) skizziert.

Erscheinungsweise gibt. Dem vielgliederigen Organismus der Welt entsprechend, bildet auch das Dämonenreich einen Organismus, eine Art 'Kette oder Stufenleiter, in welcher das Höhere immer das Niedrigere mit umfasst und das Niedrigere auf das Höhere sich zurückbezieht.' Auf der untersten Stufe dieser Leiter sind die Seelen, auf der höchsten die Götter. Zwischen beiden walten die Dämonen, die wieder in eigentliche Dämonen und in Heroen (ἥρωες) zerfallen.

Das Wesen dieser verschiedenen Geister lässt sich nun am besten aus der Schilderung erkennen, die Jamblichus von ihrer Erscheinungsweise entwirft. Diese Schilderung ist ohne Zweifel der glänzendste Teil der Schrift *De Mysteriis* und zeigt nicht nur des Verfassers Vertrautheit mit der theurgischen Praxis der Aegypter, sondern auch sein offenbares Bestreben, die vulgäre Zauberei auf die Stufe des religiösen Kultus zu erheben.

Die Erscheinungen der Götter sind einfach (μονοειδῆ) und angenehm dem Anblick (χρηστὰ τῇ ὄψει), die der Dämonen vielgestaltig, bald gross, bald klein und furchtbar (ποικίλα καὶ φοβερά). Die Heroen heissen in dieser Schilderung Archontes, und werden in zwei Klassen geschieden: in κοσμοκράτορες, mundi rectores qui sublunaria elementa gubernant, und in Archontes, qui materiam moderantur et regunt. Die Erscheinungen der ersteren erregen Bestürzung (καταπληκτικά), die der letzteren sind geradezu schädlich und beschwerlich (βλαβερὰ καὶ λυπερά). Alle Erscheinungen sind von Licht und Feuer begleitet.

Es ist für mich keine Frage, dass die Schilderung der verschiedenen Geistererscheinungen bei Jamblichus Goethe die Farben lieferte zu seinem grossartigen Bilde von der Erscheinung des Erdgeistes. Dass uns für die Beschäftigung Goethes mit der Schrift *De Mysteriis* bis jetzt wenigstens kein direktes Zeugnis vorliegt, darf hier nicht in Betracht kommen. Denn wer sich in vermeintlich wissenschaftlicher Exaktheit darauf versteifen wollte, dass Goethe in der bekannten Stelle seiner Lebensbeschreibung (Hempel 21, 188 ff.) den Jamblichus nicht mit unter den Quellen aufzählt, aus denen er sein alchemistisch-theosophisches

Wissen schöpfte, der würde damit nicht nur aller Quellenforschung die Adern unterbinden, sondern sich stillschweigend auch zu der absurden Annahme bekennen, der Dichter selbst habe zukünftigen Commentatoren in jener Stelle mit freundlicher Genauigkeit unter die Arme greifen und sich weiteres Nachspüren verbitten wollen. Dabei würde er noch einen weiteren, wichtigen Punkt übersehen.

Wer der pandynamistischen Weltanschauung nicht kalt staunenden Besuch nur abgestattet, sondern sie zu verstehen gesucht hat, kennt den Zauber, mit dem sie den Adepten immer tiefer in ihre Geheimnisse lockt und ihn zwingt, folgerichtig gleichsam, von der Alchemie zur Astrologie und so weiter durch den ganzen Kreis dieser Geisteswelt zu schreiten, in der Alles sich zum Ganzen webt, eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt. Auch Goethe-klar bezeugt es noch seine späte Erinnerung in Wahrheit und Dichtung-hat disen Zauber an sich erfahren. Er blieb nicht dabei stehen, von Welling angeregt, dessen Quellen aufzusuchen (Paracelsus, Basilius Valentinus, Helmont, Starkey und Andere, wie die Aurea Catena Homeri, Alles wesentlich Alchemisten), er dringt, namentlich an der Hand von Gottfried Arnolds *Kirchen=und Ketzergeschichte*, noch tiefer in diese mystisch—theosophische Welt ein und schafft sich jene wunderlich phantastische Theo=und Kosmogonie, die er uns am Schlusse des 8. Buches von *Dichtung und Wahrheit* als sein Glaubensbekenntnis in jenen Tagen aus frisch gebliebenem Gedächtnis mittheilt. 'Der neue Platonismus,' so erzählt er, 'lag zu Grunde; das Hermetische, Mystische, Kabbalistische gab auch seinen Beitrag her, und so erbaute ich mir eine Welt, die seltsam genug aussah.'

Sollte unter den neuplatonischen und hermetischen Schriftstellern, aus denen er sich diese Welt zimmerte, deren duftigste Blume dann in der ersten Scene des Urfaust aufspröss, nicht auch Jamblichus gewesen sein? Zu den Büchern, die Goethe, wie die *Ephemeriden* bezeugen, wol schon in Frankfurt, sicher in Strassburg, studierte, gehörte auch die *Bibliographia antiquaria* (1713) von Joh. Albert Fabricius, 'ein Werk, das mit unendlichem Fleiss und erstaunlicher Sorgfalt ausgeführt ist'

(Boeckh). Schon Schöll hat in seiner Ausgabe der *Ephemeriden* darauf hingedeutet, dass Goethe dies Buch wol vornahm, um sich über das Wesen der Magie zu unterrichten. Denn beide Citate, die er sich daraus aufschrieb, sind dem Kapitel: *Scriptores de Diis, Geniis, Sanctis etc.* entnommen, wo in den verschiedenen Abschnitten u. A. folgende Gegenstände behandelt werden: Pro Numine culta quaecunqve vel prodesse vel nocere possent, ut astra atqve aliae res naturales, vel homines eorumque affectiones, vel genii ac daemones. Dii et Deae boni et mali. De Selenolatria, cultu stellarum, elementorum etc. apud varios populos. De Idolatria Aegyptiorum ac Graecorum, et ultra absurdior? De Geniis, Laribus, Lemuribus u. s. w.³

Wie eingehend sich Goethe gerade mit diesem Kapitel des Buches beschäftigte, geht daraus hervor, dass die beiden Citate in den *Ephemeriden* örtlich und darum auch zeitlich von einander getrennt sind. Das erste steht in Martins Ausgabe S. 4 und lautet: De Numerum potestate ap. Pyth. vid. Fabr. Bibliographia antiquar, p. 234; das zweite S. 10: Ad. Fabric. Bibliograph. antiq. p. 234 et seq. Die besondere Stelle, die Goethe bei diesem letzten Citat im Sinne hat und zu der er eine längere Bemerkung in lateinischer Sprache macht, worin er den Spinozismus verwirft, steht nun nicht auf p. 234, sondern auf p. 236 bei Fabricius, wie Martin in seinem Commentar S. VII mit Recht gesehen hat. Auf derselben Seite (p. 236) aber führt Fabricius unter den Philosophen, die Gott und Welt mit einander verknüpft haben und deren Lehre Goethe in seiner lateinischen Anmerkung verteidigt, auch den *Jamblichus* an. Eodemque tendere, sagt Fabricius, dogmata Philosophorum, unitatem, immutabilitatem omnium rerum statuentium vel motum negantium, ut Zenonis Eleatae, Xenophanis, Melissi, Sorani, Stilponis, Plotini, *Jamblichi*, Procli s w. Und nicht nur an dieser Stelle, sondern wiederholt weist Fabricius in diesem Kapitel auf Jamblichus Schrift *De Mysteriis* und zwar auf deren vorzügliche, durch reichhaltige und gelehrte Anmer-

³ Dass Goethe wol auch Cap. XII der *Bibliographia antiquaria* gelesen hat, worin Fabricius ausführlich über die verschiedenen Arten der Magie handelt, darf wol ohne Widerspruch angenommen werden. Auch hier musste er wiederholt auf Gales Ausgabe des Jamblichus stossen.

kungen ausgezeichnete Ausgabe von *Thomas Gale* hin (S. 232 Anm.; 236; 276; 278; 279 etc.) Da nun Goethe ein Buch wie die *Bibliographia* nicht wegen der theologischen Ansichten des Verfassers—es sind die gangbaren Ansichten eines lutherischen Theologen, die er auch sonstwo leicht finden konnte—sondern gewiss wegen des Quellenmaterials wiederholt vornahm, so ist es für mich gar keine Frage, dass er auf diesem Wege zu unserem neuplatonischen Mystiker kam, den er dann in Gales mit Recht gepriesener Ausgabe studierte. Schon darum, weil Gale zugleich eine lateinische Uebersetzung des Originals gibt, für das Goethes griechische Kenntnisse damals nicht ausgereicht hätten.⁴

Zur Gewissheit aber wird, wie ich glaube, meine Annahme, sobald wir eine Reihe von Stellen aus der Schrift des Jamblichus mit Goethes Erdgeistscene vergleichen. Nicht als ob der Dichter, wie sich's der philologische Schulmeister gern träumt, den Quartband *De Mysteriis* neben sich gelegt und nun drauf losgedichtet habe. Die Stellen, um die es sich handelt, mussten sich mit ihrer sinnlichen Bildkraft dem reizbaren Geiste des Dichters mit ganz besonderer Energie einprägen, und noch können wir nachfühlen, wie die Erscheinung des Geistes riesengross in seiner Phantasie zuerst aufgeblitzt sein mag. Keine der aus Swedenborg beigebrachten Stellen kann sich an solcher Bildkraft mit den nachstehenden messen. Auch liessen sich aus Swedenborg nur vereinzelte Züge der Geistererscheinung erklären. Vor Allem aber fehlt dem schwedischen Geisterseher das mystisch-schwüle Halbdunkel der Theurgie, der geheimnissvolle Zauberhauch, der die Blätter des alten ägyptischen Mysterienbuches umwittert und ahnungsvoll auch um Fausts erste Geisterbeschwörung schwebt. Doch mag die nachfolgende Zusammenstellung für sich selber reden:

⁴ Von den beiden früheren Ausgaben des Jamblichus (Ficinus 1483, Scutellius 1556), könnte höchstens die öfter gedruckte des Ficinus für Goethe in Betracht kommen. Sie ist jedoch, wenn auch viel lesbarer als Gales Uebersetzung, eigentlich eine freie Uebertragung oder Umschreibung des Originals in lateinischer Sprache. Eine Vergleichung der Stellen aus Gale, die ich hier anführe, mit der Uebersetzung bei Ficinus würde das zwingende Resultat ergeben, dass Goethe nur den ersteren benutzt haben kann.

DE MYSTERIIS.

Sec. II, cap. 4: His accedit magnitudo epiphaniarum: et deorum quidem tanta conspicitur ut et totum caelum, et solem et *lunam abscondere aliquando videatur*

Sec. II, 5: Nam daemones sibi *admistos* habent *vapores mundanos*

Sec. II, 4: Daemones ignem turpidum prae se ferunt.

Sec. II, 8: *radii* aliqui circumquaque *fulgent*.

Sec. III, 2: Quandoque etiam *spiritus* quidam non corpulentus, nec spectabilis tamen, se jacentibus *circumfundit*, ita ut non oculis, sed alio quodam sensu et perceptione sentiatur.

Die bisher angeführten Parallelstellen schildern die Erscheinung des Geistes, die folgenden deren Wirkung auf den Beschwörenden:

Sec. II, 3: Archontes, si mundo imperitent, obstupefaciunt, si materiales sunt *videntibus noxii occurrunt*, et dolores *afferunt*.

Ibid. II, 3: Et dii quidem salutare visui affulgent. *daemones horribiles*.

Sec. II, 6: Heroum apparitio hoc tamen proprium habet, quod ad *facinora* quaedam *et fortia facta instiget*.

FAUST.

Es wölkt sich über mir,
Der Mond *verbirgt* sein
Licht.

Es dampft.

Es *zucken rote Strahlen* mir
ums Haupt.

Es weht ein Schauer vom Ge-
wölb herab und fasst mich an.

Ha! wies in meinem Herzen
reisst! (Im Urfaust erscheint
der Geist 'in *wiederlicher Ge-
stalt*.')

Schreckliches Gesicht.

Ich fühle *Mut* mich in die
Welt zu wagen. Mit Stür-
men mich herum zu schlagen.

Sec. II, 8: homines qui di-
vinum ignem spectant, non val-
entes respirare.

Du flehst *eratmend* mich zu
schauen.

Ibid.: Splendorem emittunt
respirantibus quidem *intolera-
bilem*. . . Sub archontibus *dif-
ficile toleratu* circumcurrit mul-
torum phantasmatum agmen.

Weh! ich *ertrag dich nicht*.

Sec. II, 6: Dii adventantes
omnes nostras facultates in pro-
pria principia restaurant.

Schon fühl ich meine Kräfte
höher.

Ibid.: Si quid est in nobis
frigidum et lethiferum, tollunt,
calorem augent et in majus
provehunt.

Schon *glüh* ich

Sec. II, 9: animae invocan-
tium ita afficiuntur ut. . . *in-
credibilem laetitiam sentiant*.

Ich *fühle* junges, heiliges *Le-
bensglück*.

Neuglühend mir durch Nerv
und Adern rinnen.

(Urfaust: *Fühle neue Glut*).

Es scheint, dass sich der Phantasie des Dichters die Züge be-
sonders einprägten, welche der Erscheinung der Heroen und Ar-
chonten eigentümlich anhaften, der Dämonen, die nach Proclus
mit den Planetengeistern identisch sind.⁵ Manches in Goethes

⁵ A. R. Hohlfeld hat in seiner dankenswert fleissigen Besprechung meiner Faustausgabe (Mod. Lang. Review III, 379 ff.) mit heissem Bemühn ausgerechnet, dass die Züge der Geistererscheinung, die ich zusammenstelle, von Jamblichus teils den Göttern, teils den Dämonen, Heroen und Archonten zugeschrieben würden und dass meine Vermischung dieser Züge zum mindesten der Lehre des Mystikers zuwiderlaufe. Gewiss—wenn das Buch *De Myst.* für Goethe eine Art Operntext gewesen wäre, den er Wort für Wort, in Poesie gesetzt hätte, oder wenn die Dichterphantasie nach Philologenart fein säuberlich reduzierte und klassifizierte. Es ist auch wirklich ein Jammer, den Dichter so un-systematisch irrlichtelieren zu sehen, der dazu noch von sich prahlt: 'das weit Zerstreute sammelt sein Gemüt' usw!

eigentümlicher Auffassung des Erdgeistes, den übrigens auch Jamblichus (*De Myst.* I. 9) gekannt zu haben scheint, mag so seine Erklärung finden. Ist es mir doch höchst wahrscheinlich, dass der Begriff des *κοσμοκράτωρ*, der uns zu 'tapferen Taten' anspornen soll, bei Goethe zuerst die Idee des 'Welt und Taten-genius' anregte, wie der Erdgeist im ersten *Paralipomenon* heisst.

Hier möchte ich gleich noch einer anderen Anregung erwähnen, die meiner Meinung nach Goethe aus der Schrift des Jamblichus zugeflossen ist und auf das Verhältnis zwischen Mephistopheles und dem Erdgeist Licht wirft. Dass jener nämlich ursprünglich von Goethe als Sendling des Erdgeists gedacht ward, steht fest. Wie kam Goethe auf den Gedanken? Ich glaube durch folgende Stelle bei Jamblichus *De Myst.* Sect. IX, 9: est unus quidem eorum daemonum (*nicht deorum*) dux qui generationis et mundi princeps est (*ηγεμὸν τῶν περὶ γένεσιν κοσμοκρατορῶν*) isque ad unumquemque daemonem suum dimittit. Nach Porphyrius, den Jamblichus freilich zu widerlegen sucht, kann dieser Daemon proprius aber sowol ein guter als ein böser sein. Gale bemerkt in seinen Anmerkungen: *Malus genius non quidem aget curam hominis sibi commissi: potest tamen homini praefici eumque regere; aliud nihil vult Porphyrius.* Auch bei Fabricius p. 278 ff. konnte Goethe von den *κοσμοκράτορες*, (mit dem Hinweis auf Jamblichus), wie von guten und bösen. Dämonen lesen. Dass der Dichter aus Jamblichus nur die Anregung zu der *Sendung* des Mephistopheles schöpfte und nicht etwa die ganze abstruse Lehre des Mystikers mit Haut und Haaren herübernahm, brauche ich wol kaum zu betonen.

Doch zurück zur Erdgeistszene. Wie Fausts gebieterischer Ruf: Du musst! Du musst! seinen Ursprung vielleicht darin hat, dass der Theurg nach Jamblichus die Geistererscheinung durch Drohung erzwingen kann (Sect. VI, 6: *sacerdos per potestatem symbolorum arcanorum, non jam tamquam homo at humana utens anima, mundanis imperitat potentiis etc.*), so mag auch die stolz abweisende Haltung, die der Erdgeist Faust gegenüber annimmt und in den Worten gipfelt:

‘Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst, nicht mir!’ ihre Erklärung wol in der Tatsache finden, dass Jamblichus den erscheinenden Archonten *fastus et plurima arrogantia* zuschreibt (Sect. II, 4).⁶ Auch ‘*imperiosi*’ nennt er sie (II, 4). So erklärt sich denn auch, dass Faust beim ersten Anblick des Geistes der Mut entsinkt, ja dieser ihm höhnisch zuruft:

‘Welch erbärmlich Grauen fasst Uebermenschen dich?’

Unser Mystagoge belehrt uns nämlich, dass *homines, qui ignem quam primum vident, deficiunt animis, intercluso spiritu naturali* (Sect. II, 8).

Von den Archonten wird ferner behauptet (Sect. II, 5): *archontes vel praesidentiam rerum mundarum exhibent vel ma-*

⁶ Die Worte des Erdgeistes: Du hast mich mächtig angezogen, An meiner Sphäre lang gesogen, erklären Morris und E. Schmidt aus Swedenborg, der von den Geistern sagt: *Sunt genii et spiritus, qui capiti inducunt speciem suctionis seu attractionis, taliter ut locus, ubi talis attractio seu suctio existit, doleat.* Goethe soll nun die Sache umgekehrt haben und den Menschen an den Geistern saugen lassen. Mir will es wenig zusagen, dass das widerliche Bild saugender Geister dem Dichter bei der Stelle vorgeschwebt habe, zumal ihm gewiss aus Agrippa von Nettesheim und Paracelsus, wenn nicht aus Jamblichus bekannt war, welche Rolle die *attractio* im magischen Verkehr mit Geistern spielte. Um sich die geheimnisvolle Kraft der *attractio* anschaulich zu machen, griff man auch zum Bilde des Saugens. So definiert Hübner in seinem *Handlungs-Lexicon*: ‘*attractio*, eine Anziehung, wenn man etwas zu oder an sich zieht; *als wenn ein Kind die Milch aus der Mutter Brüsten in sich sauget.*’ Noch deutlicher wird die Sache bei Paracelsus, *Astronomia magna*, Frankfurt 1571, p. 57f: ‘Also ist der Mensch ein zweyfacher Magnet des Leibes halben, darum er das Gestirn an sich zeucht. In Elementen findt er die Narung seines Bluts und Fleischs, im Gestirn findt er die Weisheit seiner Sinn und Gedancken durch die anziehende Kraft, so ein jeglicher Mensch zwuyfach an ihm hat wie gemelt ist. . . . Also der *Magnet der Sinnen sauget auch an sich vom Gestirn* seine tägliche Vernunft wie eine Bine den Honig aus dem Kraut und Blumen’. . . Nach der Lehre des Paracelsus sind aber nicht nur ‘alle Ding nach Sphärischer Ordnung gegen dem Menschen,’ sondern es sind vorzüglich zwei Sphären, die im Menschen als dem ‘*Centrum und Punkt*’ zusammentreffen and an denen jener ‘*zwiefache Magnet*’ im Menschen ‘*saugt*’: die Sphäre des Himmels und die Sphäre der Erde. Nimmt man hinzu, dass sich die Vorstellung von einem Kreise mit magnetartigem Mittelpunkte, der jedes Lebewesen umgibt, früh schon bei Goethe, gewiss unterm Einfluss von Paracelsus, entwickelte, so braucht man zur Erklärung unserer Verse seine Zuflucht zu dem ekelhaften Bilde saugender Geister nicht zu nehmen.

terialium studium, was denn in Fausts Gebet an den Erdgeist wiederklingt:

Gabst mir die herrliche Natur zum Königreich

* * * * *

Vergönntest mir, in ihre tiefe Brust,

Wie in den Busen eines Freunds zu schauen.

Wenn Faust zum Erdgeist sagt:

Geschäftiger Geist...

Der du die weite Welt umschweifst,

so mag Goethe die Anregung wol in folgendem Satze bei Jamblichus gefunden haben (Sect. II, 2): *daemonum operationes consideramus tamquam versantes circa mundum*. Die Dämonen werden bei Jamblichus auch die "Schmücker der Materie" genannt, was denn die Veranlassung gewesen sein wird, dass der Erdgeist von sich sagt, er "wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid."

Fragen wir schliesslich, wie Goethe den Gedanken fasste zu der wunderbaren Selbstoffenbarung, die der Welt- und Tatengenius über sein Wesen und Wirken dem erzitternden Magus macht, so hat, wie ich vermute, der neuplatonische Mystagoge wieder den Weg gewiesen. Im 7. Kapitel Sect. II seiner Schrift⁷ handelt er von den Begleiterscheinungen der Götter und Dämonen, womit diese zugleich ihr Wesen und ihren Wirkungskreis kundgeben. Hier nun heisst es: *Ut compendio dicam, omnia haec genera (daemonum) ordinem sibi proprium ostendunt*. Die meisssten Handschriften lassen hier noch einen erklärenden Zusatz folgen, den Gale in seinen Anmerkungen beibringt und also übersetzt: *simul etiam insuper regiones, quas obtinere et provincias in quibus agitant, commonstrant*. Von den Archonten heisst es dann in Gales Uebersetzung des Textes weiter: *archontes (profitentur) quam habent potestatem sibi convenientem, sive sit ea circa totum mundum, sive in materiam tantum*.

Ich schliesse, dass Goethe wie den Text, so auch die erwähnte Anmerkung Gales gekannt hat. Nirgends in der mir bekannten

⁷ Auch die "rächenden Geister" der Szene "Trüber Tag. Feld" erscheinen in diesem Kapitel: *daemones ultores suppliciorum varia genera ostendunt*. Vergl. ebenso den "bösen Geist" in der Domszene des Faust.

Zauberliteratur hätte er überhaupt so tiefe Einsicht ins Geisterwesen gewinnen können, und kaum glaublicher Zufall wäre es, wollte man annehmen, seine Phantasie hätte von selbst die gleichen Wege wie Jamblichus beschritten. Wie er freilich die Anregung, die ihm dieser gab, benutzte und die Selbstoffenbarung des Erdgeistes in den Aether erhabenster Poesie hob, brauche ich hier nicht auszuführen.

Aber ich glaube es ist uns vergönnt, noch tiefer in die Werkstatt des Dichters zu blicken, wenn wir die der Beschwörung vorhergehenden Stellen auf ihr Verhältnis zu der Schrift *De Mysteriis* ansehen.

Angeekelt von dem Kerker, dem verfluchten, dumpfen Mauerloch, das ihn umfängt, will Faust hinaus, ins weite Land fliehen—nicht, um den Teufel im Freien zu beschwören, wie Scherer und Andere in hyperkritischer Weisheit träumten, sondern um in engste Berührung mit der Natur zu kommen—als plötzlich das Zauberbuch vor ihm seinen Blick bannt. Er schlägt es auf, gewahrt das Zeichen des Makrokosmus, und eine wunderbare Vision steigt in ihm auf. Was sind das für Zeichen, die eine so magische Wirkung auf Faust's Seele ausüben? Es sind die *divina synthemata* oder *divina symbola*—Faust nennt sie 'heilige Zeichen'—die nach Jamblichus diese Zaubergewalt über die menschliche Seele besitzen und zwar nicht infolge unserer eignen Anstrengung, sondern weil die göttliche Kraft in diesen Zeichen Abbilder von sich selbst erkennt und darum durch sie wirkt. *Nobis enim nec opinantibus divina synthemata per se opus suum perficiunt, et deorum virtus ineffabilis, ad quam diriguntur synthemata, suas in iis ultro agnoscit imagines, non quasi a nostro intellectu excitata. . . . Quare nec principia divina antecedenter a nostro intellectu ad opus excitantur.* (II, 11).

Wir verstehen nun, warum Faust ausruft:

Umsonst, dass *trocknes Sinnen* hier

Die *heiligen Zeichen* dir erklärt

und weiter:

War es *ein Gott*, der diese Zeichen schrieb?

Die Visionen, die die Götter dem Theurgen aus Mitleid mit

seinen Bemühungen gnädig gewähren, werden von Jamblichus also beschrieben (I, 12): nam beatas visiones, dum speculatur anima, aliam vitam adipiscitur, alias operationes operatur, sed et sibi nec amplius esse in hominum censu videtur; nec immerito illud quidem; saepe etenim suam exiit vitam, et beatissima deorum actione commutat. Jetzt wird es uns klar, warum Faust in höchster Entzückung ausruft:

Bin ich ein *Gott*?

Obwol die unio deifica, die von dem Theurgen zeitweise erreicht wird, wesentlich ein Werk göttlicher Gnade ist, so mag sie doch von denen, die die theurgische Kunst und ihre Regeln verstehen, herbeigeführt werden. Jamblichus nennt die Seelenverfassung, in der die ἐνωσις θεωρητικὴ erlangt wird, Enthusiasmus.* Da dieser nun wesentlich ein Zustand göttlicher Erleuchtung ist, so besteht die theurgische Kunst hauptsächlich darin, diesen Zustand herbeizuführen. Die Kunst selbst heisst Licht-Erweckung (φωτὸς ἀγωγή oder φωταγωγή) und zu ihren Mitteln, die Erleuchtung zu erwecken, gehört auch *das Mondlicht* (III, 14). Ich brauche nicht darauf hinzuweisen, welch zarten, wunderbar poetischen Gebrauch Goethe von diesem Zuge machte, so wenig auch manche Kommentatoren gerade mit dem Mondlicht in unserm Monologe anzufangen wissen.

Das Vermögen des Geistes (die Seelenkraft), durch die das göttliche Licht in uns wirkt und die Götter so zu sagen zu uns reden, ('Wie spricht ein Geist zum andern Geist') ist die Imagination, die φανταστικὴ δύναμις. Ich zitiere die ganze Stelle: Sed totum hoc genus manticae, quanquam multiforme sit, potest tamen sub una specie comprehendi, quam non male illuminationem (φωτὸς ἀγωγή) quis appellaverit. Illa autem circumpositum animae aetherium et splendidum vehiculum divina luce perfundit, unde ad deorum voluntatem percitae imagines divinae eam quae est in nobis attingunt phantasiam. Tota enim animae

* Fabricius weist in seiner Bibliogr. antiqu. Cap. XII (De Divinationibus, Vatribus, miraculis, *Magia* etc.) wo er den *enthusiasmus divinatorius* bespricht, direkt auf Gale's Anmerkungen zu Jamblichus, De Mysteriis, Sectio III als Hauptquelle hin.

vita omnesque ejus facultates deorum parent motibus, ut quo velint earum duces impellant.

Fit autem dupliciter hoc, vel cum dii sola praesentia sine medio animae adsunt, vel *cum lumen aliquod praeivium in animam emittunt* ('*Mir wird so licht!*'), sed utroque modo separabilis permanet tum praesentia deorum tum irradiatio. Nam attentio quidem animi et cogitatio animadvertit quae fiunt, nam ad has rationis facultates divina lux non pertingit, sed alienatur interim phantasia, so quod amplius sui compos non sit, sed evehatur in modos phantasiarum humanis omnino majores. (III, 14).

Zu den Mitteln, die göttliche Erleuchtung, die Faust beim Anblick des Zeichens des Macrocosmus in wunderbarer Vision erlebt, hervorzurufen und damit auf die menschliche Phantasia zu wirken, gehört schliesslich auch 'der Sterne Lauf': Porro *astrorum cursus* vicini sunt aeternis caeli motibus, non tamen loco, sed et qualitatibus et lucis radiationibus, unde nimirum ad deorum nutum et ipsi concitantur:

Damit fällt dann ganz neues Licht auf die folgende, bisher schlecht verstandene Fauststelle:

Erkennest dann der *Sterne Lauf*,

Und wenn *Natur* dich unterweist,

Dann geht die *Seelenkraft* dir auf,

Wie spricht ein Geist zum andern Geist.

Und die vielerklärten Verse:

Jetzt erst erkenn ich, was der Weise spricht:

Die Geisterwelt ist nicht verschlossen,

Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist tot!

Auf! bade, Schüler, unverdrossen

Die irdsche Brust im Morgenrot,

finden nun auch, wie ich glaube, ihre befriedigende Erklärung. Denn, dass Goethe den Strom leidenschaftlicher Poesie hier unterbrochen habe, um ein wörtliches Zitat aus irgend einem obscuren Schriftsteller anzubringen, konnte doch nur einem Philologen einfallen, der gewohnt ist, seine eignen Abhandlungen auf diese zarte Weise zu spicken. Ist es nicht weit natürlicher, anzunehmen, dass der Dichter in eigner poetischer Sprache die

Lehre eines ihm vertrauten Philosophen (der Weise ist natürlich=philosophus) wiedergibt? Ich fürchte daher, dass die Jagd auf die Quelle dieses angeblichen Zitates vergeblich sein wird. Der Weise ist wol kein anderer als Jamblichus, und der Schüler ein *φιλοθέμων*, oder, wie Gale übersetzt: *veritatis theurgicae studiosus*. Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist tot, umschreibt, was Jamblichus also ausdrückt: *nostra enim natura infirma est et imbecillis et parum prospicit, cognatamque habet nullitatem: et unica est ei medela erroris . . . si possit aliquam divini luminis particulam haurire*. Mit unvergleichlich grösserer poetischer Kraft als sie dem Jamblichus zu Gebote stand, nennt Goethe das Atmen oder Trinken (haurire) des göttlichen Lichtes: ein Baden im Morgenrot. Dabei mag er sich denn auch erinnert haben, dass die spätere Magie, wie die Theosophie, die Offenbarung des göttlichen Lichtes mit dem Morgenrot des anbrechenden Tages in Verbindung brachte. "Der Aufgang (der Sonne) hat die grössten Geheimnuss' sagt die *Clavicula Salomonis*, und das Zauberbuch *Arbatel* bemerkt: *Olympicos spiritus cum evocare volueris, observa ortum Solis*.

Kein schöneres Bild als die Morgenröte für jenes innere Licht, den Abglanz des ewigen göttlichen Lichtes, das sie Alle suchten und priesen, die je im Lauf der Jahrhunderte den Anhauch neuplatonischen Geistes spürten,—Paracelsu, Weigel, Böhme und ihre zahllosen Nachfolger und das zuletzt noch seinen rosigsten Schein auch über dem verzweifelnd stürmenden Lichtsucher Faust, für einen Augenblick wenigstens, aufgehen lässt.

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch bemerken, dass es keineswegs die Absicht dieser Zeilen ist, das gewaltigste Denkmal von Goethes dichterischer Jugendkraft durch den Hinweis auf die Quelle zu verkleinern oder gar zu zerstückeln. Nur einen Beitrag wollte ich liefern für das psychologische Verständnis seines Dichterverfahrens, wobei es denn ausserordentlich lehrreich ist, zu beobachten, was seine schaffende Phantasie aus dem vorhandenen Material mit feinstem künstlerischem Takte aufnahm und was sie unbenutzt liegen liess. Denn so gross die Versuchung für ihn auch gewesen sein mag: nirgends findet sich in unserer Szene

auch nur eine Andeutung äusserer Zeremonien und sonstiger magischer Zurüstungen, mit denen die neuplatonische Theurgie und die spätere Magie wirtschafteten. Was der Dichter uns bietet, ist die poetische Blüte aller Magie und Theurgie, deren Duft berauschend über dem Ganzen webt wie das leise Mondlicht, das ungerufen und doch so bedeutsam während dieser Nacht in die Zelle des Magus fällt. Und je genauer wir des Dichters Material kennen, desto grösser wird unsere Bewunderung für den Schöpfergeist, der es verstand, daraus ein lebenatmendes Ganzes zu wirken, sprühend von mystisch philosophischem Tiefsinn:

Wiederholen zwar kann der *Verstand*, was da schon gewesen,
Was die Natur gebaut, bauet er wählend ihr nach.
Ueber Natur hinaus baut die *Vernunft*, doch nur in das Leere—
Du nur, *Genius*, mehrst in der Natur die *Natur*.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

THE SEMASIOLOGY OF GERMAN "LAIB," ENGLISH
"LOAF."

As Kluge points out in his Etymological Dictionary, we have in the German word "Laib" the older Germanic designation for bread, the word "Brot," which is connected with "brauen," being younger.

Corresponding to N. H. G. Laib, M. H. G. leip, O. H. G. leib, hleib, we have Goth. hlaifs, O. N. hleifr, O. E. hláf, Eng. loaf. No related word having the same meaning is found outside the Germanic languages except in Slavic, where it appears in O. C. S. as chlěbŭ, in Lith. as klėpas and in Lettic as klaips. Attempts have been made to establish relationship with Latin libus, libum (cake) and Greek κλίβανος (a vessel in which bread was baked).

The Germanic words indicate as the Prim. I. E. form either *kloibho-s or *khloibho-s. We would then have to do with the I.E. Ablaut series ei-oi-i.

The Slavic word is generally believed to be a Germanic loan-word. Kozlovskij in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 11, 386, however, places the Slavic word beside the Germanic as I. E. in origin and connects both with Latin libus, libum. He assumes as the Prim. I.E. form *χloibho-s. This is rejected by Lidén in *PBB.* 15, 514 on the ground that the existence of a primitive spirant χ² has not been established. Pederson in the *I.F.* 5, 550 and *K.Z.* 38, 593 holds the same theory as to the relationship of the three words, but suggests that Slavic ch may go back to the I. E. velar tenuis aspirata, which he transcribes qh, and assumes as the primitive form *qhloibho-s. In an article entitled *Die Vertretung der Tenuis aspiratae im Slavischen* in Vol. 17 of the *I. F.*, Uhlenbeck regards the solutions proposed by Kozlovskij and Pederson as equally unsatisfactory. He rejects in toto Pederson's theory that I.E. qh becomes Slavic ch, pointing out that there is no reason to suppose that the velar tenuis aspirata was treated differently from the other tenuis aspiratae,

where the aspiration was lost already in Prim. Balto-Slavic. Uhlenbeck looks upon the Slavic word as a loan-word from the Germanic. Hirt in an article in *PBB.* 23, 330 quotes a large number of Germanic loan-words in Slavic and repeats Uhlenbeck's list including the word in question. In his *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Walde agrees with Uhlenbeck as to the impossibility of uniting the Germanic, the Slavic, and the Latin word under either * χ loibho-s or *qhloibho-s. He too believes the Slavic word to be of Germanic origin. All things considered, it would seem that this theory is the true one; and in that case, of course, the Slavic word is of no importance in the reconstruction of the I.E. form.

Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* connects the Latin word with the verb *lībo*, Gk. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega$, meaning to pour out as a libation, suggesting as a possible bond of union in meaning the fact that the little cakes designated as "lība" were used in sacrificial offerings. This attempt to establish a connection in meaning appears forced, and the etymology has accordingly not been generally accepted.

From time to time attempts have been made to connect *libus*, *libum* with Goth. *hlaifs* etc., as well as with Gk. $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$. The similarity in meaning makes the connection *hlaifs* very tempting. The difficulty is that I.E. *kl* does not become *l* in Latin, but remains *cl*. Pederson's *qh* would coincide with I.E. *gh* and both would become a χ , which initially before a vowel would go into *h* and ultimately disappear. According to Brugmann and authorities generally, however, before *l* and *r* does not go into *h*, but into the media, cf. Lat. *glaber*, O.H.G. *glat*, O.C.S. *gladŭkŭ*. But in *B.B.* 26, 140 Otto Hoffman takes decided issue with Brugmann's statement and cites more cases where I.E. *ghl* and *ghr* appear in Latin as *l* and *r* than have been produced in support of the traditional theory. He does not deny that *gl* and *gr* occur in Latin for I.E. *ghl* and *ghr*, but admits both developments. Hoffman's theory, if correct, makes it possible to derive *libus* from *qhloibho-s, although Hoffman himself in the same article connects it with $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omega$.

Lidén, however, in the article in *PBB.* before mentioned, offers an explanation which is accepted by Walde, and which seems more satisfactory. He derives Latin *libum* from **slibum* < I.E. **skleibhom*, which contains the ei-grade of the Ablaut series, while *hlaifs* would go back to a form having the oi-grade and without the s-prefix.

It is just as easy, however, to derive *libum* from **skloibhom*, for oi between l and a labial becomes ī in Latin (cf. Sommer, *Handbuch der lat. Laut-und Formenlehre*, §65). In my opinion there can be no question that if *libus* and *hlaifs* are related at all, they stand in the same Ablaut grade. Their close connection in meaning would make it improbable that one went back to a stem having present significance, while the other went back to the corresponding perfect.

Walde connects *libum* directly with *κλίβανος* through I.E. **sklibhom*, **klibom*. I likewise connect the Greek word with the words we have been discussing, but I hold that the Latin word like the Germanic goes back to the oi-grade of the Ablaut series, while in *κλίβανος* we have a reduced oi. As Greek β does not go back to I.E. bh, we must assume that this is another case where I.E. media interchanges with media aspirata in the ending of the same root.

Let us recapitulate briefly the results of this sifting of theories. We have set aside the Slavic word as Germanic and have admitted the Latin and Greek words as related, thus deciding for the I.E. form with k. We have accepted the explanation of the Latin initial l as going back to skl. We have therefore to seek for related words under the I.E. forms: *(s) *kleibho-*, *(s) *kloibho-*, *(s) *klibho-*. We have connected the Germanic words for loaf, bread etc. and the Latin *libus*, *libum* with the second of these forms, and the Greek *κλίβανος* with the third.

It seems strange that more attention has not been paid to the suggestion of Kern (*Tijdschr. v. Ned. taal-en letterk.* 5, 55, and quoted in Uhlenbeck's *Etymological Dictionary*), that *hlaifs* may be related to Goth. *hleibjan* "protect," "take some one's part," O.N. *hlífa* "spare," "protect," and O.H.G. (h) *liban*, hav-

ing the same meaning. Kern's attempt to trace the development in meaning from hleibjan "protect" through an intermediate stage "strengthen" to the meaning "nourishing" which he finds in hlaifs, is very far-fetched. The failure of his theory to find acceptance is due entirely to bad semasiology, for all the words mentioned correspond in their phonology exactly to *klebho-. Only the apparent lack of connection in meaning can be responsible for the failure to accept these words as related to hlaifs, and the key which reveals the connection in meaning is not to be found in the Germanic languages.

I believe I have found the key-word in the Modern Irish *clíabh*, O.I. *clíab*, meaning basket. This word corresponds exactly in its phonology to I.E. *kleibhos. I.E. k remains, being written c in Irish; l remains; ei becomes ē and this becomes ía, toward the end of the seventeenth century. I.E. bh becomes b, which after vowels goes into the spirant *b̥*, written bh in Modern Irish.

Beside the verb *hlífa* there is in O.N. the noun *hlíf*, a shield, and connection between this noun and O.I. *clíab* has already been pointed out by Zupitza in *B.B.* 25, 94. Zupitza however does not connect the O.I. or O.N. word with hlaifs. He proposes as the original meaning of *hlíf* "basket-shield."

I consider the verbs hleibjan, (h)liban and hlífa as denominatives going back to the noun stem preserved in *clíab* and *hlíf*. These verbs were all originally strong, forming their perfect with an ai < I.E. oi. And in view of what has been said, it requires no violent effort of the imagination to conceive of the I.E. denominative to which these verbs go back as having the meaning "to shield" or "to basket"—that is to protect with a shield or to inclose within a basket. Now the perfect stem of such a verb would be *kloibho-, so we have in hlaifs and libus that which was "basketed"—that is to say that which was prepared in a basket.

So far as the Germanic words and the Celtic word are concerned, and they alone are sufficient to establish my point, the agreement in phonology is clear and beyond question. Let us

now turn for a moment to the archaeological side of the question.

The custom still exists among the German peasantry of kneading bread in a shield-shaped basket of straw. This basket is removed after the bread is placed in the oven, and the baked loaf presents an exact mold of the interior of the basket. This custom bears the marks of great antiquity; it seems hardly probable that such a method of bread-making could have arisen at a time when other and more suitable vessels were at hand. It seems likely that we have here a survival from a time when the basket was the only vessel available.

The use of the basket, however, is the only point in which the German peasant's bread-making resembles that of his primitive ancestor. When we try to picture to ourselves the beginnings of bread-making among a primitive people, we must divest ourselves of modern and even of historical ideas. A little cake of something resembling bread, found in the charred ruins of a Swiss lake dwelling is of but little more assistance to us in arriving at a conclusion than the modern loaf with which we are familiar. In both cases we have before us the result of a long period of evolution. The American Indian who mixes up a thick gruel of grain or acorns with water and boils it in a basket by inserting heated stones, probably furnishes us with a good illustration of how our primitive Aryan ancestors prepared their bread.

Kozlovskij mentioned *κλίβανος* in connection with *hlaifs* etc., but only to reject it as impossible both in phonology and in meaning. As we have seen, the only difficulty in the phonology is the presence of *β* where we would expect *φ*, and that I.E. *b* sometimes stood beside *bh* in root endings, is generally admitted. Moreover, in this case, a plausible explanation suggests itself. The more frequent occurrence of the base in those languages in which I. E. *bh* between vowels became *b* (i.e. in Germanic, Latin and Celtic), together with the fact that the Greek word has *b*, would indicate a northern origin for the word.

That Kozlovskij saw no connection in meaning between *κλίβανος* and *hlaifs* is not strange; but for us it should not be difficult to see the connection in meaning between the name of a vessel in which bread was baked and the word for pot or basket.

It would not be at all strange if with the introduction of pottery, the name for basket were transferred to the pot. It is generally held that, in many cases at least, the pot has developed out of the basket. Grosse says in his *Anfänge der Kunst*: "Pottery is a comparatively young art; it is at least very much younger than basketry, which even the rudest tribes have rather highly developed. The basket is everywhere the forerunner of the pot, and has consequently been everywhere its prototype. 'The vessel of clay is a usurper, which has taken possession of the place as well as of the dress of its predecessor.' The workman tries to make the new pot as like as possible to the familiar basket, in all respects, unessential as well as essential. He is not satisfied with giving the new vessel the convenient curvature of the old, but he also gives it the pattern of a woven basket; not because he considers it suitable or pretty, but because he is so accustomed to it that he can not easily think of a vessel without it." Hoernes in his *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst* quotes Grosse's statement with strong approval, and also suggests the way in which the development from basket to pot may have taken place. If left standing on the moist earth, the interstices in the bottom of the basket would become filled with clay, the owner would not fail to notice that his vessel had now become more watertight than before, and he would probably continue the process of calking until his basket had a complete clay covering. If such a vessel were accidentally exposed to the fire, the wicker frame might be burned away and the result would be a pot.

That the *κλίβανος*, which was later made of iron, was an evolution from the earthenware pot, is an assumption that seems wholly in accord with probability.

The base of the words we have been discussing is *klei-, or probably *klēi-. Hirt gives it in its full form as *kalēi- (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Ablaut* §452.) If the diphthong was originally long, it became short in the different languages very early in the period of their separate existence—before the change I.E. o > Ger. a took place. The presence of the long i in *κλίβανος* is best explained on the assumption of an original ēi, although it is not

impossible for it to go back to ěi (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Ablaut* §25.)

It is not necessary for the purpose of this investigation to determine the exact original meaning of the base *klei-, which occurs in a large number of related words in the different I.E. languages. We have to do here with the specialized meaning "basket" which was early acquired by the base *kleibh-. Out of this primitive form with this fundamental meaning have developed the words we have been discussing: clíab and κλίβανος directly and retaining more or less the primitive meaning; hlaifs etc. and libus indirectly and with a secondary significance acquired through the transference from present to perfect.

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CLARENCE PASCHALL.

My attention has just been drawn, through a reference in the February number of the *Mod. Lang. Notes*, to a conjecture offered by Francis A. Wood in the *Am. Germ.* 3, 317 f. which in part anticipates my theory. Wood points out the possible connection between hleibjan, liban, hlifa and hlaifs and suggests that 'Loaf' meant 'baked in a covered vessel,' an hypothesis which approaches my own. However he fails to connect O. I. clíab and O. N. hlif with the above mentioned verbs, which is, I think, responsible for his failure to define precisely their original meaning. It is not at all necessary to assume that the 'loaf' was first prepared in a *covered* vessel. From the attempt to separate Lat. libum from κλίβανος and hlaifs (cf. Wood, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb. 1909) I dissent entirely.

SELBSTANLEIHE UND WIEDERHOLUNG IN SCHILLERS DRAMATISCHEM NACHLASS.

(Continued from Vol. VII, No. 4).

Auch in den Herzensangelegenheiten des Helden zeigt der Dichter Anlehnungen des späteren Dramas an das frühere. Im Warbeck ist es Prinzessin Adelaide, in einem der Entwürfe Blanda genannt, die durch ihre Liebe zu dem Prätendenten ein Hauptinteresse wachruft: S. 129, Z. 12 "Die Prinzessin den vorgeblichen Richard liebend, und ihm vor einem wahren Prinzen, dem sie verlobt ist, den Vorzug gebend"; S. 131, Z. 8 "Prinzesz ist ein einfaches Mädchen, ohne alles Fürstliche; ihre Geburt und ihr Stand erscheinen an ihr nur als hindernde Schranken, die ihrer schönen Natur widerstreben. Die Grösze hat für sie keinen Reiz, sie hat Sinn für das Glück des Herzens allein... In ihrer Bescheidenheit hält sie sich für eine viel zu geringe Parthie gegen Richard. Sie sieht an ihm hinauf, und rechnet es ihm an, dasz er auf sie herabsieht, da er königliche Ansprüche machen könne—. . . ihre Hofnung wirklich zu ihm zu erheben wagt sie nicht. Er musz eine reiche oder mächtige Königstochter heirathen, aber sie ist eine arme Waise, die nur von der Gnade ihrer Verwandtin lebt. *Nausikaa*"; S. 132, Z. 13 ff.; S. 147, Z. 3 "Übrigens aber ist ihre Liebe ganz nur dem Menschen, nicht dem Fürsten gewidmet, und nachdem er einmal Besitz von ihrem Herzen genommen, kann er nicht mehr daraus vertrieben werden. Die Entdeckung des Betrugs kann sie unglücklich machen aber nicht gleichgültig gegen ihn; und auch nur deszwegen unglücklich, weil sie ihn für einen Nichtswürdigen zu halten gezwungen wird... Nur achten will sie ihn, um ihn zu lieben. Dasz sie nur seine Person liebt, und nur in der Liebe ihr Glück findet, hat sie schon früher geäußert, wo sie wünscht, dasz er unbekannt geblieben wäre und nur für sie gelebt hätte. Wenn die Prinzessin die Wahrheit erfahren, so fühlt sie sich unübersehbar unglücklich, weil der Gedanke eines Betrugs, einer so ungeheuren Frechheit zu ihrem Gefühle für Warbeck den ungeheuersten Absatz macht.

Sie musz also verstummen und kann nichts als sich entfernen (S. 148, Z. 8) Warbeck verhehlt nichts von seiner Geschichte, er macht die Liebe zu seiner Richterin. Blanda wird bewegt, sie fühlt sich unfähig ihn zu verdammen, zugleich aber auch genöthigt, ihm zu entsagen. . . . Sein wahrer Schmerz erregt ihr ganzes Gefühl, sie läsz ihm merken, dasz er ihr auch noch jezt theuer sei, ob sie gleich entschloszen ist, oder vielmehr überzeugt ist von der Unmöglichkeit, ihn zu besitzen"; S. 196, V. 394 ff. Daneben sollen noch andere zu ihm in Beziehung gesetzt werden: S. 135, Z. 23 "Ist es vielleicht rathsam, noch mehrere Weiber, Hoffräulein der Margaretha einzuflechten, die sich um die Liebe des vorgeblichen Prinzen bemühen? (Am Rand: Eine will sich durch ihn zur Prinzessin und Königin erheben, eine andere liebt seine Person.) Eine darunter welche listig und fein ist, kann die Wahrheit soupçonieren, aber ihm darum nicht weniger gewogen seyn (Am Rand: Eine Gräfin von Aremberg macht ihm Avancen.)" All diese Motive finden wir nun auch im Demetrius wieder, auf verschiedene Personen verteilt, auch den Verhältnissen entsprechend umgestaltet, mit Vertauschung der Rollen, soweit die soziale Stellung der Personen in Betracht kommt, insofern Marina mehr der letztgenannten Hofdame, Lodoiska mehr der Prinzessin entspricht: S. 205, Z. 24 "wird geliebt von der Marina"; S. 207, Z. 18 f. "Trennung von der liebenden Pohlin. Marina erwählt ihn"; S. 238, Z. 25 "Eine Pohlin von niedrigem Stande liebt den Demetrius, den sie für ihres Gleichen hält. Seine entdeckte Hoheit bringt ihre Neigung zum Schweigen, aber ihr Bild hat sich doch tief in seine Seele gedrückt. Während ist ihre Trennung, denn sie ist tugendhaft genug ihm zu entsagen, sobald er nicht der ihrige seyn kann. . . . Am Ende seiner unglücklichen Laufbahn erinnert er sich mit Liebe der sanften Lodoiska, die allein ihn redlich geliebet. / Marina glaubt in ihrem Herzen nicht an die Zarische Geburt des Demetrius, obgleich sie es nicht geradezu ausspricht. Aber ihr Ehrgeiz, ihr Unternehmungsgeist findet dabei seine Rechnung, . . . und die Aussicht Zaarin von Moskau zu werden hat Reiz genug für sie, um das Abentheuer zu wagen. Edler Adelstolz

ist nicht in ihr, darum trägt sie kein Bedenken, sich einem Glücksritter zu überlassen, wie sie auch nachher zeigt. Dabei findet selbst ihre Neigung Vorthail, weil Demetrius eine angenehme Person ist"; S. 210, Z. 1 "Er liebt die schöne Marina, die Gefallen an ihm findet auch in seinem niedrigen Stand, und mit Begierde die Entdeckung seiner Geburt ergreift, um sich zur Czaarin zu erheben. . . . Er wird geliebt von einem unschuldigen Mädchen, für die er verloren ist, wie sich sein Stand entdeckt. Nausikaa"; S. 221, Z. 3 "Die Liebe des armen Mädchens zu dem Czarowitz, ihr stilles Entsagen"; S. 223, Z. 7 ff.; S. 225, Z. 21 "Lodoiska zeigt eine tiefe Neigung zu ihm, die sie nicht ganz verbirgt"; S. 223, Z. 28 "aber er hat auch nichts als die Gunst des Woiwoden und die Wohlmeinung der Frauen"; S. 85, Z. 26 "Er erhebt die Augen zur Tochter seines Herrn. Nicht sowohl Liebe als Ehrgeiz. Sie scheint nicht gleichgültig gegen ihn. Nichts von Zärtlichkeit Lodoiskas wahre Zuneigung zu dem russischen Jüngling"; S. 86, Z. 16; S. 87, Z. 27 "Sie freut sich seiner Grösze, ob sie gleich schmerzlich seinen Verlust fühlt"; S. 90, Z. 2 "besonders die Weiber begünstigen ihn, . . . seine (Mnischeks) Tochter Marina unterscheidet ihn, Lodoiska des Castellans Tochter liebt ihn. Er beträgt sich mit Verehrung und Anmuth gegen seine Tochter"; S. 91, Z. 11 "Die schöne Gunst der Marina"; Z. 13; S. 104, Anm., 4; Z. 29 "Sie verbirgt nicht ihre Gunst für den Grischka"; S. 96, Z. 25 "Sie führt ihm ihren Bruder zu und nimmt einen rührenden Abschied von ihm"; S. 97, Z. 18 "Lodoiska, die Nausikaa des Stücks"; ebenso S. 117, Z. 8 und S. 75, V. 312; S. 84, Z. 4 "Lodoiskas zarte Neigung"; S. 108, Z. 13; S. 115, Z. 15 und 17; S. 116, Z. 30 "erhebt die Augen zu der Marina, der schönen hochstrebenden jüngsten Tochter des Woiwoden, die ihn nicht gleichgültig ansieht, wird geliebt von der Lodoiska"; S. 122, Z. 21; S. 126, Z. 20; S. 133, Z. 9 "Es ist die Situation der Nausicaa. Lodoiska war die Veranlassung zur Erkennung des Demetrius, aber indem er das höchste Glück findet ist er für Sie verloren. Sie findet sich von selbst darein, ihn zu verlieren, aber ihre Zärtlichkeit bleibt sich gleich. Es ist eine uneigennützigte,

schöne Neigung, die mit dem selbstsüchtigen Sinn der Marina einen rührenden Contrast macht. Zugleich giebt es ein Gegenstück zu der Axinia; diese haszt den Demetrius, von dem sie geliebt wird. Lodoiska liebt den Demetrius ohne Gegenliebe"; S. 188, Z. 16 "Der Russe haszt den Pohlen und musz ihn ewig hassen. Da ist kein festes Herzensband zu knüpfen"; S. 73, V. 268; S. 74, V. 284 ff.; S. 9, V. 157 ff.; S. 25, V. 541; S. 31, V. 697 f.; S. 36, V. 801 "Die Liebe oder Grösze musz es seyn, Sonst alles andre ist mir gleich gemein"—vgl. hierzu noch S. 107, Z. 26 "Sie hat schon einen Roman gehabt und man hat ihr durch den Sinn fahren müssen".

Das Gegenstück zu Lord Hereford, der auf die Nachricht, dass sich der totgeglaubte Richard von York in Brüssel befinde und sein Thronrecht geltend machen werde, von Heinrich VII. abfällt, seine Besitzungen an seine Hoffnungen wagt und mit seinen Söhnen aus England flieht (S. 154, Z. 29; S. 182, V. 1 und S. 183, V. 29), bieten die Bojaren am Hofe Mnischeks zu Sambor (S. 238, Z. 6 "Ein Russischer Groszer ist von Boris beleidigt und denkt auf Rache"; S. 210, Anm. 2 "Ein ausgewanderter misvergnügter Russe"; S. 225, Z. 1; S. 87, Z. 15 "Ein flüchtiger Russe oder mehrere welche vom gegenwärtigen Zustand des Russischen Reichs Kunde bringen [am Rand: Russen bitten um das Gastrecht und werden gleich eingelassen]"; S. 96, Z. 9; S. 109, Z. 23 "Vornehme Flüchtlinge aus Moskau melden sich bei dem Woiwoden und werden gastfreundlich aufgenommen. Sie sind in der Absicht gekommen, dem Boris Feinde zu erwecken, hassen seine Regierung und sind nach einer Veränderung lüstern"; S. 117, Z. 1; S. 123, Z. 1 ff.; S. 176, Z. 29; S. 63, Z. 39 ff. [Z. 50 ff. "Das Land ist uns verschlossen, das uns das Leben gab.—Ich beklage euch, aber der wackere Mann findet überall eine Heimat. Aber was vertrieb euch aus eurer Heimat?—Jeder Rechtschaffne musz flüchtig werden, wo ein finsterrer Tyrann waltet". Vgl. W S. 183, V. 20 "Verbannung ist in England, wo des Throns / Ein Räuber, ein Tyrann sich angemaszt"]; S. 11, V. 197). Die Fragen nach dem Vorleben des Prinzen, die Hereford an Warbeck stellt (S. 178, Z. 31 "O,

wo wart ihr? Wo hat euch der Himmel verborgen gehalten, um mit einmal als Mann als vollendeter Jüngling auftreten zu können? Wie entgiengt ihr dem Morden? Wie den Nachforschungen? Wie wurdet ihr so gebildet? Wodurch brachte euch der Himmel zur Entdeckung?" S. 188, V. 176 "O Redet! Redet! Wie entkamet ihr / Den blutgen Mörderhänden! Wo verbarg / Euch rettend das Geschick in anspruchloser Stille / Die zarte Blume eurer Kindheit pflegend, / Um jetzt auf einmal in der rechten Stunde / Den vielwillkommenen herrlich zuzuführen!"), werden im Demetrius im ursprünglichen Samborakt Mnischek und den Bojaren, im späteren Reichstagsakt dem Erzbischof von Gnesen und im zweiten Akt Marfa zugeteilt (S. 224, Z. 8 "Nach einigen Fragen, die ihn sehr befremden müssen, die er aber sehr einfach beantwortet"; S. 86, Z. 29; S. 96, Z. 13 "man fragt ihn nach ganz vergangenen Dingen, nach seiner Heimat, seinen Jugendjahren, seinen übrigen Particularitäten"; S. 96, Z. 17; S. 110, Z. 19; S. 125, Z. 31 ff.; S. 177, Z. 1; S. 66, V. 111 ff.; S. 8, V. 24 "Wodurch beglaubigt ihr, dasz ihr *der* seid? / An welchen Zeichen soll man euch erkennen? / Wie bleibt ihr [unentdeckt von den Verfolgern]? / Und tretet jetzt, nach sechzehnjähriger Stille, / Nicht mehr erwartet an das Licht der Welt?" S. 47, V. 1028 "Durch welcher Zeichen und Beweise Kraft / Beglaubigt sich der kecke Abentheurer / Als Iwans Sohn, den wir als todt beweinen?" V. 1035 "Was für ein Kleinod? O das sagt mir an!" S. 48, V. 1040 "Und wie behauptet er dasz er entkommen?" V. 1044 "Wo aber hielt er sich—wo giebt er vor—/ Dasz er bis diese Stunde sich verborgen?")

Auch die Form der Huldigung nach der Erkennung, wenn die Umstände bei dieser auch verschieden sind, ist in beiden Fällen dieselbe: W S. 156, Z. 9 "Hereford wird von dem Anblick Richards hingerissen, überzeugt und überwältigt. Er wirft sich vor ihm nieder und huldigt ihm als dem Sohn seines Königs"; S. 160, Z. 21;—D S. 87, Z. 21 "Er wird den Russen als ihr Czar

⁷ Die Ergänzung von Martin Greif in seinem "Demetrius" (Leipzig 1902).

vorgestellt und empfängt die Huldigung von ihnen"; S. 94, Z. 25 "Der Russe, wie er gelesen, wirft sich vor ihm nieder . . Er hört sich als Czarowitz begrüßt"; S. 96, Z. 18; S. 177, Anm. "Hier stürzten sich die Fürsten überzeugt zu meinen Füßen und erkannten mich für ihres Czaren Sohn"; S. 11, V. 223 "Hier stürzten die Bojaren mir zu Füßen, / Besiegt von dieser Zeugnisse Gewalt, / Und grüßten mich als ihres Czaren Sohn".

Aus eigenen Mitteln den Thron seiner Väter zu besteigen vermag weder Warbeck noch Demetrius. Warbeck wendet sich darum an seine nächste Verwandte, Herzogin Margareta, Demetrius an Polen: W S. 155, Z. 16 "Der Bischoff von Ypern, vertrauter Rath der Herzogin, . . . rühmt die Pietät der Herzogin gegen ihre unterdrückte Parthey und ihre schutzlosen Verwandten"; S. 159, Z. 30;—D S. 117, Z. 10 "Demetrius sollicitiert (auf dem Reichstag zu Krakau) um Polnische Hilfe"; S. 173, Z. 31 "Ich steh vor euch, ein unterdrückter Fürst, ich suche Recht, *etc.*, wer aber soll gerecht seyn auf der Erde, wenn es ein freies, groszes Volk nicht ist"; S. 181, Z. 1 ff; S. 6, V. 64 "Ich stehe vor euch ein beraubter Fürst, / Ich suche Schutz, der unterdrückte hat / Ein heilig Recht an jede edle Brust. / Wer aber soll gerecht seyn auf der Erde, / Wenn es ein groszes tapfres Volk nicht ist"; S. 15, V. 317 "o so duldet nicht / Dasz sich ein frecher Räuber meines Erbs / Anmasze . . . Es ist die grosze Sache aller Staaten / Und Thronen, dasz gescheh' was rechtens ist".

Nicht nur aus dem eigenen Lande, auch von fremden Staaten wird beiden Hilfe in ihrer Unternehmung zugesagt: W S. 156, Z. 30 "Hereford verstärkt seine Versicherungen und verspricht dem Herzog Richard einen zuströmenden Anhang in England"; desgl. Portugiesen, Schottländer, Hanseaten und Irländer S. 176, Z. 28 ff.;—D S. 238, Z. 20 "Groszer Zudrang der Polen und Kosaken zu dem neuauferstandenen Czaarowiz"; S. 224, Z. 16 "In dieser Zeit drängen sich alle Pohlen aus der Nachbarschaft zu dem neuentdeckten Czar und wollen den Degen für ihn ziehn"; S. 87, Z. 13 "verspricht ihm *kühnlich in dessen Nahmen* allen Beistand"; S. 88, Z. 29; Z. 33; S. 97, Z. 26 "vier edle

Pohlen . . . bieten sich an mit ihren Vasallen"; S. 99, Z. 24; S. 103, Z. 14 und 20; S. 111, Z. 1 ff.; Z. 31; S. 128, Z. 11; S. 133, Z. 2; S. 142, Z. 1; S. 169, Z. 33 "Cosaken, die auch den Reichstag beschickt haben, erklären sich *hautement* für ihn"; S. 170, Z. 2; S. 185, Z. 3 ff.; S. 186, Z. 5 "Zudrang zu dem Unternehmen, ist grösser als nöthig, alles will mit"; ebenso Z. 21; S. 17, nach V. 370 sollte der Ataman Korela seine Unterstützung versprechen, dem sich unmittelbar die Polen unter Odowalsky anschliessen. Das Motiv der nationalen Feindschaft, das im Warbeck hier schweigend mitspielt, wird im Demetrius stark betont: S. 210, Z. 9 "Feindseligkeit der Pohlen"; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 34 "Rivalität der Pohlen mit Ruzland"; S. 97, Z. 8; S. 124, Z. 1 "Pohlen machinieren schon ohnedas einen Angriff auf Ruzland"; S. 169, Z. 10 "Der Wunsch Ruzland zu theilen und zu *schwächen*"; S. 17, V. 376 "Auf, laszt uns fallen in das Land des Czars/ Und einen dankbarn Bundesfreund gewinnen / Indem wir Pohlens Macht und Grösze mehren". Dasz es nicht die Person des Demetrius ist, für die man sich in den Krieg stürzen will, spricht Odowalsky Marina gegenüber unverblümt aus, S. 29, V. 651 "Ist es / Des Moscowiters Sache die mich kümmert?"

Abgesehen von einem noch zu erörternden Punkte hat der einzige, der am Hofe zu Brüssel die Anerkennung Warbecks als rechtmässigen Herrschers von England bekämpft, Sir William Stanley, auch im einzelnen das Vorbild für Fürst Leo Sapieha geliefert: W S. 155, Z. 11 "Lord Stanley, Botschafter Heinrich VII am Hof der Margaretha tritt ihm (Hereford) hier entgegen und sucht umsonst ihm die Augen über den gespielten Betrug zu öffnen"; S. 156, Z. 1 "Stanley schilt ihre (der Brüsseler Bürger und Bürgerfrauen) Verblendung, sie gerathen aber durch die Schmähung, die er gegen ihren angebeteten Prinzen ausstöszt in eine solche Wuth, dasz sie ihn zu zerreißen drohen"; Z. 26 "Stanley protestiert noch einmal dagegen (Richards fabelhafte Geschichte) und geht ab, ohne Glauben zu finden"; S. 160, Z. 5 "Der englische Resident entrüstet sich über diese Bosheit oder Verblendung (Anerbieten auswärtiger Hilfe)"; Z. 27 "Der englische Botschafter protestiert gegen dieses Gaukel-

spiel (Herefords Huldigung)"; S. 177, Z. 7 "Welche Raserei! Welcher Unsinn! Welches frevelhafte Spiel! Geht es soweit! Nein, nicht Verblendung! Boshafter wiszentlicher Trug!" S. 183, V. 20-28; V. 37 "Ists möglich! Wie? Betrogner alter Mann / Auch euch hat dieses freche Gaukelspiel/ Bethört, das ein ohnmächtger Hasz ersann, / Der Hasz nur glauben kann"; S. 184, V. 68 "Wohl! Eine mächtige Zauberkünstlerin / Ist Margaretha! Todte weckt sie auf, / Mit ihrem Stab erschafft sie Königssöhne! / Und Greise giebt es, achtungswerthe Männer, / Die an das Märchen glauben oder doch / Sich also stellen"; S. 185, V. 85 "Laszt euer würdig graues Alter / Das Spielwerk nicht grausamer Arglist sein".⁸—D S. 111, Z. 27 "Stimmen für und wider"; Z. 29 "Widerspruch und Zerreizung des Reichstags"; S. 169, Z. 14 "Sapieha, der den Frieden mit Moskau abgeschlossen, will sein eigenes Werk behauptet wissen, und spricht also gegen den Demetrius. Er spricht vortreflich, als Staatsmann, als stolzer Pohle und Magnat"; S. 172, Z. 25 "Sapieha will Einwendungen machen"; S. 173, Z. 1 "Wenn man ihn hört, so heiszt das ihn anerkennen, sagt Sapieha"; Z. 12 "Unterdessen protestiert Sapieha förmlich dagegen und gegen alle Folgen dieses Schritts"; S. 180, Z. 27 "Bedenkt euch edle Herren, man übereile nichts! Der edle Reichstag lasse sich nicht hinreizen"; S. 182, Z. 5 ff.; S. 183, Z. 5 ff. ". . . Ich will dieses Gewebe der Arglist *etc.* zerreißen. (Am Rand: Hochwürdiger Bischoff verstellst du dich so oder bist du so gutmüthig?) Pohlen seid ihr so sehr verblendet? König, bist du so schwach?" S. 184, Z. 14 (Das Veto, Wut und Angriff der Landboten, Einschreiten der Bischöfe); S. 4, V. 22; S. 5, V. 27 ff.; S. 14, V. 302 ff.; S. 19, V. 408 ff. ". . . (410) Zerreißen will ich diesz Geweb der Arglist, / Aufdecken will ich alles, was ich weisz.—Ehrwürdger Primas, wie? Bist du im Ernst / Gutmüthig, oder kannst dich so ver-

⁸ Auch die Worte Prinz Erichs von Gothland, der ebensowenig wie Stanley an die Echtheit Warbecks glaubt und ihn aus persönlichen Gründen hasst, gehören hierher (S. 192, V. 173): "Mich rühren! Solch ein Gaukelspiel! Denkt ihr / Ich sei so leicht zu täuschen als die Welt? / Ich soll an diesen aufgehaschten York, / Das Geschöpf und Machwerk eurer Muhme glauben?"

stellen?/ Seid ihr so gläubig Senatoren? König, / Bist du so schwach? Ihr wiszt nicht, wollt nicht wissen, / Dasz ihr ein Spielwerk seid des listgen Woiwoda / Von Sendomir, der diesen Czar aufstellte, / Desz ungemeszner Ehrgeitz in Gedanken / Das gütereiche Moskau schon verschlingt?"⁹ S. 21; V. 457 ff. (wie oben S. 184). Auch die Antwort Warbecks an Stanley, die nicht ausgeführt ist (S. 156, Z. 27 "Richards edle Erklärung löscht den Eindruck seiner Worte aus"; S. 160, Z. 28 "Warbeck antwortet ihm mit der Würde eines Fürsten und dem edeln Familienstolz eines Yorks"), und die des Demetrius an Sapiaha (S. 182, Z. 24; S. 18, V. 397 "Fürst Leo Sapiaha! Ihr habt Frieden / Geschlossen, sagt ihr, mit dem Czar zu Moskau?/ Das habt ihr *nicht*, denn ich bin dieser Czar. / In mir ist Moskaus Majestät, ich bin / Der Sohn des Iwan und sein rechter Erbe. / Wenn Pohlen Frieden schlieszen will mit Ruszland, / Mit mir musz es geschehen, euer Vertrag / Ist nichtig, mit dem Nichtigem errichtet") wären dem Geiste nach dieselbe gewesen. Was Sapiaha zu einer so ungleich machtvolleren Gestalt macht als Stanley, ist neben seiner gebieterischen Persönlichkeit der Umstand, dass er nicht als Vertreter der persönlichen Interessen eines dem Prätendenten feindlichen Monarchen, sondern als Staatsmann und Verteidiger des Grundsatzes internationaler Ehrlichkeit spricht.

Über das erste Aufsteigen eines Zweifels an Warbecks Echtheit wurde sich Schiller schon sehr frühe klar; besser noch, er war es von Anfang an; wenigstens findet sich gar nichts, was dieser Annahme irgendwie widerspräche. Und genau dasselbe gilt für den Demetrius: W S. 126, Z. 32 "1. Überwiegender Glaube an Richard. Er rührt durch seine erdichtete Lage, die Erzählung wirkt stoffartig und wie eine Poesie durch augenblickliche Täuschung. 2. Zerstörte Rührung an dem Erdichteten und anfangendes Interesse an dem wahren Verhältnisz. Furcht und Mitleid, anfangs mehr mit der Prinzessin. 3. Warbeck ein Betrüger, Furcht für seine Rolle, Interesse an seiner Kraft, Kühnheit und heroischen Tugend, Theilnahme an seiner

⁹ Vgl. S. 131, Z. 1 "Sie (Marina) verschlingt in Gedanken schon das unermeszliche Ruszland."

lastvollen Lage. 4. Mitleid mit dem Warbeck selbst, Contrast seines Characters mit seiner Betrügers Rolle, Furcht für seinen Character, Furcht für seine Rolle. 5. Auflösung"; S. 133, Z. 19 "Herzog Richard von York ein Gegenstand der Neugier, der Erwartung, der Rührung, der Neigung. Zweifel über seine Person, welche aber anfangs weniger Gewicht haben. Ein liebenswürdiger und mitleidenswürdiger Fürst, die Freude des Volks, die Hofnung einer Parthei, ein geliebter Neffe, der wiedergefundene wunderbar erhaltene. Kurz, das Hauptinteresse ruht jetzt noch auf der Maske, welche durch sich selbst interessiert. Hier kann die Täuschung so weit gehen als möglich, und weiter sogar, als die Betrügerei zu gestatten scheinen möchte; denn jetzt schon muß die Catastrophe vorbereitet werden. Der Dichter selbst muß augenblicklich den *Warbeck* vergessen und bloß an den Herzog von York denken. Es muß so aussehen, als wenn man ein ganz anderes Thema verfolgt, als wenn in dem ganzen Stück wirklich von nichts anderm als dem wahren York, und von einem Versuche zur Wiederherstellung desselben in England die Rede seyn sollte.¹⁰ Disz Thema hat für sich selbst viel rührendes und könnte einen tragischen Stoff abgeben. Dieses dauert bis zum Ende des Acts, wo der Zuschauer wegen der wahren Beschaffenheit und Bewandtnis anfangen darf in Unruhe zu kommen. Sobald es ausgemacht ist, daß dieser York nur eine Maske, so entsteht die Neugier, wer dahinter stecken möchte, das Interesse verändert bloß den Gegenstand und Inhalt, aber es kann dem Grade nach sogar steigen"; S. 143, Z. 12 "Diese Zweifel an der wahren Person des York dürfen nicht eher ein Gewicht bekommen, als bis die erste

¹⁰ Dass auf die erste Täuschung verzichtet werden sollte, wie Petersen a. a. O. S. 41 meint, halte ich mit nichten für ausgemacht; denn dass Schiller in dem Personenverzeichnis S. 181 wirklich die Bezeichnung "vorgeblicher Herzog Richard von York" beim Namen Warbecks und die entsprechenden Erklärungen für Simnel und Eduard Plantagenet auf dem Theaterzettel und im Druck beibehalten hätte, scheint mir keineswegs sicher; und selbst wenn Simnel und Eduard auf die genannte Weise auseinandergehalten werden sollten, konnte dies bei Warbeck wegfallen, da ihm ja kein "wirklicher Herzog von York" in dem Stücke entgegentritt.

Exposition ganz vorbei ist. Sie werden erst analytisch aus den gegebenen Daten herausgewickelt"; S. 154, Z. 9 "Der erste Eindruck Warbecks ist als von einem *Fürsten*; seine sinnliche Erscheinung ist so mächtig, sein Betragen so decidiert, die Umstände so affektivvoll, dasz der Zuschauer fortgerissen wird. Wenn nachher der vorgebliche Herzog als ein Betrüger und *homme du commun* behandelt wird, so macht es desto grözern Effekt und erregt Schrecken".—D S. 236, Z. 3 "Alles beruht auf einer glücklichen Eröffnung der Handlung. 1) Um das Fremdartige, seltsam und abentheuerlich unwahrscheinliche des Stoffes *objective* möglichst zu überwinden und 2) Um die Neigung und das Interesse, subjectiv, dafür in Bewegung zu setzen...*Dieses* wird bewerkstelligt, wenn sogleich ein lebhaftes Wohlwollen für den Helden erzeugt wird, und besonders, wenn sein Charakter so angelegt wird, dasz die Sphäre, in die er erhoben werden soll, sein wahres Element scheint, dasz sie ihm gebührt und von Natur- und Rechtswegen zukommt, auch eine Aussicht von hoher Glückseligkeit für die Welt eröffnet. Die Rührung kann gleich im Anfang erweckt werden (durch seinen höchst seltsamen Glückswechsel, wenn sich etwas bei ihm findet, das seine hohe Geburt bezeugt) wenn er im niedrigen Loose eine hohe Natur zeigt, und seine Neigungen sich über seinen Stand versteigen wie die Liebe zur Marina, die Freigebigkeit, der ritterliche Muth"; S. 215, Z. 6 "Befriedigend für der Verstand musz zweierlei dargethan werden. 1. Wie jemand darauf kommen kann, eine so abentheuerliche, weit aussehende und kühne Betrügerei mit der Person des falschen Demetrius zu unternehmen. 2. Wie dieser Betrug dem Demetrius selbst und allen übrigen, Beweis fodernden, Personen glaublich werden konnte"; S. 222, Z. 25 "Demetrius ist auf die möglich günstigste Art einzuführen, im Zustand der Unschuld und der Hofnung. Er erscheint liebenswürdig, hochgesinnt, tapfer, und vom Glücke geliebkostzt"; S. 171, Z. 4 "Es würde eine gute Wirkung thun, wenn erst die Sache durch die That sich exponierte und nachher die Maschinen sichtbar würden. Durch die Erscheinung des Demetrius vor dem Reichstag und die Kraft seines Vortrags kommt man hinein, nachher entdeckt sich das

geschäftige Spiel der Marina, und man mag ahnden, dasz Demetrius selbst nur die Düpe davon ist. Man merkt es unter anderm daraus, dasz er aus sich selbst und nicht in Abrede mit den andern handelt, dasz ihn diese nicht einmal zu ihren Berathschlagungen ziehen". Ferner erwähnt Schiller unter den Nachtheilen, die das Streichen des ursprünglichen Samboraktes mit sich bringen würde (S. 168, Anm. 2), zu allernächst "1) Die *bonne foi* des Demetrius lässt sich schwerer erweisen, aber doch erweisen. 2) Die Beweise lassen sich weniger führen". Es dürfte demnach wohl feststehen, dasz Schiller nicht wie einige der Fortsetzer des Fragments¹¹ die geheime Unterredung zwischen Marina und Odowalsky, die bei Schiller den ersten Schatten auf die Echtheit des Demetrius wirft, der Reichstagsszene vorangestellt hätte, trotz einer vorübergehenden Bemerkung S. 168, Anm. 1 "Ob vorher noch eine Scene in der *Landbotenstube* zu bringen seyn möchte, in welcher *Marina*, so wie in der Reichstagsscene *Demetrius* das Wort führte?" Gerade dass er dann bei der Ausführung das fallen liess, ist beweiskräftig. Der Glanz der ritterlichen Gestalt des Demetrius leidet in der Tat ganz ausserordentlich unter Laubes Anordnung; der gewaltige Eindruck in Sapiehas Auftreten wird bei den Fortsetzern unnötigerweise ebenfalls geschwächt, wenn man erfährt, dasz Odowalsky versucht hat, ihn zu überreden, während alle andern sich gewinnen liessen, und Sapieha das in seiner Rede gar nicht erwähnt.¹²

Die Betrachtungen, die der Dichter mit sich über den Eingang des Warbeck anstellt, bedürfen nur geringfügiger Ände-

¹¹ Petersen a. a. O. S. 65 nennt hier nur Laube; aber auch Otto Sievers und A. Weimar (Augusta Götze) nehmen diese Änderung vor.

¹² Auch darin kann ich Petersen nicht beipflichten, wenn er a. a. O. S. 65 es als fraglich hinstellt, "ob Schiller selbst mit der Reichstagsszene, wie sie ist, das ganze Stück eröffnet hätte." Die Menge der Figuren ist doch hier nicht verwirrend wie in der "Polizey," wo sich Schiller die Möglichkeit einer Verwirrung vor Augen hält; die ganze Versammlung ist wundervoll gegliedert, die Vorstellung der Personen gibt sich so ausserordentlich leicht und natürlich, und der Verlauf der Handlung ist bei jeder guten Aufführung, wovon man sich leicht persönlich überzeugen kann, von jedem Zuschauer, der die Voraussetzungen nicht kennt, mühelos zu verfolgen.

rungen und Streichungen, um auf den Demetrius angewandt werden zu können: W S. 132, Z. 21 “Die ganze Fülle der Situation, welche vorgespiegelt wird, musz erschöpft werden. 1. Das Gefühl der *Tante*, welche ihren todgeglaubten *Neffen*, der *kinderlosen Yorkierin*, welche einen Prinzen ihres Geschlechts wiederfindet. 2. Die Wiederauferstehung eines Todtgeglaubten, die wunderbare Rettung eines Todesopfers aus der furchtbaren Mörderhand, die rührende Geschichte seiner Verborgenheit und seine mitleidswürdige Lage. 3. Die Unschuld, welche ihr Recht zurückfodert, und von dem unrechtmäsigen Thronbesitzer nicht anerkannt wird. 4. Der liebenswürdige Character und hohe Fürstensinn des wiedergefundenen, auch die grosze Familienähnlichkeit. 5. Die Freude des Volks an dieser Begebenheit. 6. Der Prinz, den das Unglück erzogen und menschlich gemacht. 7. Die Freude der Parthey über ihren Fürsten. 9. Die Beweise für seine Person und die Geschichte seiner Erkennung. . . . Beweise gegen Heinrich, die seinen Widerspruch verdächtigen. 10. Heinrich VII, und Englands gegenwärtiger politischer Zustand in Absicht auf die vorhabende Landung. 11. Margaretha und ihre Lage”; ebenso S. 158, Z. 9 “Die Anlage wird zu einem ganz andern Stück gemacht als wirklich erfolgt. Ein todtgeglaubter Prinz hat sich lebend gefunden, er soll in das Erbe seiner Väter hergestellt werden. Freude seiner Parthey, welche bisher unterdrückt gewesen. Freude des Volks über eine solche rührende Begebenheit—Und das Interesse, welches er schon durch sein *Schicksal* einflöszt wird durch seine *Persönlichkeit* noch um ein groszes vermehrt. Er gefällt durch sein Äusseres und zeigt eine hohe Gesinnung. / Er ist von mehreren Höfen schon wirklich für den Prinzen, den er sich nennt, anerkannt und auf den Widerspruch der Gegenparthei wird, weil sie ein feindlich Interesse hat, nicht geachtet. Die Beweise für die Wirklichkeit seiner Person sind überzeugend befunden worden. Endlich erkannte ihn auch diejenige Person an, zu der er das nächste Interesse hat, die Schwester seines Vaters. Diese Begebenheit ist noch neu in Brüssel, das Interesse an ihm ist, bei dem Volk, noch im Steigen. / Die Anstalten zu seiner Restitution

beschäftigen die Welt. Er soll in England eine Landung thun, dort ist alles vorbereitet, die gedrückte Parthei der York wird sich bei seiner Ankunft erheben und zu ihm schlagen. Schottland wird die Waffen für ihn ergreifen, Irland für ihn sich erklären". In einer Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle lobt sich Schiller hier den "glänzend fürstlichen Eingang"; beim Erwägen, ob er die Samborszenen im Demetrius fallen lassen solle, nennt er unter den sich daraus ergebenden Vorteilen (S. 168, Anm. 2) "Eine glänzende Exposition wird gewonnen". Es ist nicht allzu gewagt anzunehmen, dass den Dichter in diesem Entschlusse die Erinnerung, zum mindesten eine unbewusste Erinnerung, an die für den Warbeck geplanten prächtigen Eingangsszenen bestärkt hat, wenn nicht gar solche Betrachtungen eben diesen Entschluss hervorriefen.¹³—Auch eine rein technische Bemerkung im Warbeck S. 136, Z. 1 "Es ist dem Stück vortheilhaft, wenn es viel Handlung und wenig Rede enthält", findet sich im Demetrius zu wiederholten Malen: S. 226, Z. 15 "Vorzüglich ist das zu beobachten, dasz alles in Handlung erscheint, und von bloszen Reden so wenig als möglich vorkommt", S. 143, Z. 15 "Soll diese

¹³ Dadurch dass Schiller die schon so weit gediehenen Samborszenen opferte, gewann er ausserdem noch den bedeutenden Vorteil, dass Demetrius nunmehr im kritischsten Augenblick, da er schon am Block niedergekniet ist, um den Todesstreich zu empfangen, erkannt und gerettet werden konnte. Die Entdeckung des Taufkreuzes des Zarewitsch wird weit wirkungsvoller, und der Art, wie er es ursprünglich Lodoiska übergeben und es durch deren Hand zu Marina und weiter zu Mnischek und den flüchtigen Bojaren gelangen sollte, haftete unleugbar etwas Unwahrscheinliches an. Die Szene am Block aber hätte sich den Anforderungen der modernen Bühne oder vielmehr denen, die die Nerven der modernen Zuschauer berechtigterweise stellen, nicht gefügt. —Paul Ernst, der in seinem "Demetrios" (Leipzig 1905)—der schönsten unter allen vollendeten Demetriustragödien—den Demetriusstoff nach Sparta am Anfang des zweiten vorehristlichen Jahrhunderts verlegt, stellt im ersten Akt dar, wie Pytheas-Demetrios dafür, dass er Theridas (=Kastellan von Lemberg), den Verlobten der Kallirhoe (=Marina), erschlagen hat, gekreuzigt werden soll; das Kreuz ist schon aufgerichtet, und Pytheas wird hingezerzt, als die Sklavin Tritäa ihm das Oberkleid aufreisst und das Weibbild des Apollo, das der Erstgeborne des Königshauses trägt, zum Vorschein kommt. Paul Ernst konnte das wagen,—zwischen einer Kreuzigung und einer Enthauptung auf der Bühne ist ein Unterschied.

Scene nicht auch zu irgend einer Handlung benutzt werden können? Es musz soviel geschehen, es ist soviel zu zeigen”.

Mehr noch als in den äusseren Begebenheiten zeigen Warbeck und Demetrius auffallende Übereinstimmungen im Charakter.

Im Grunde ihres Wesen sind sie beide Realisten: W S. 117, Z. 6 “Er musz physisch-furchtbar, mächtig, verwogen, resolut und dreist seyn und grosze Gegenwart des Geistes besitzen”; S. 143, Z. 22 “Warbecks Keckheit, Gewandtheit, Gegenwart des Geistes und Klugheit müssen dargestellt werden; man musz es sehen und mit Augen schauen, dasz er der Mann zu der Rolle ist, die er spielt, der kühne Betrüger musz sich darstellen aber mit Grösze und tragischer Dignität. Damit er aber nicht moralisch zu sehr verliere, so musz es bei solchen Gelegenheiten geschehen, wo die Delicatesse nicht verletzt wird, und wo kein Interesse des Herzens sich einmischet; so z. B. gegen Stanley, gegen Erich (am Rand: gegen Belmont, gegen die Herzogin), gegen den schlechten Menchen, und gegen Simnel (am Rand: aber nie gegen Hereford, noch weniger gegen die Prinzessin—furchtbar aber darf er gegen Plantagenet dastehen und wie auf dem Sprung, einen Mord zu begehen). Er musz sich fähig zeigen, ein *Verbrechen* zu begehen, aber unfähig zu einer *Niedrigkeit*. / Er darf nie klagen, als zulezt, wenn die Liebe ihn aufgelöszt hat. Kränkung erleidet er mit verbiszemem Unmuth und Gutes thut er mit stolzer Grösze und einer gewissen Trockenheit, nicht sentimentalisch sondern realistisch aus einer gewissen Grandezza, aus Natur und ohne Reflexion. Immer musz der gebohrene Fürst, der Yorkische Abkömmling unter dem Betrüger und Avanturier versteckt liegen und durchschauen. Daraus entstehen Inconsequenzen und Unbegreiflichkeiten, welche die entdeckte wahre Geburt Warbecks auf einmal erklärt. / Alle Spuren von Herz und Gefühl, welche der Betrüger zuweilen zeigt, bekommen aber dadurch ein Relief, dasz sie nicht zu sehr verschwendet sind, dasz er der Regel nach kalt, besonnen, realistisch und kurz als ein weltkluger Wagehals sich zeigt”.—D S. 205, Anm. 2 “Er erscheint zuerst im Stand der glücklichen Unschuld.... Seine Unschuld ist aber

keineswegs sentimental"; S. 211, Z. 10 "Er darf durchaus nichts weiches noch sentimentales haben, sondern ist eine unbändige wilde Natur, stolz, kühn und unabhängig"; S. 233, Z. 22 "Seine Kühnheit, sein Verstand, sein hoher Sinn kommen zur Sprache —aber seine Kühnheit erscheint als Keckheit, sein Hochsinn als Uebermuth, als umgreifendes Wesen"; S. 85, Z. 26 "Er erhebt die Augen zur Tochter seines Herrn. Nicht sowohl Liebe als Ehrgeiz"; S. 89, Z. 17 "Er ist kühn und keck, hochgesinnt, trotzig und bescheiden. Man erblickt in ihm eine unbändige feroce wilde unabhängige Natur, weit über den Stand worinn man ihn findet—Er war ein Mönch und alles an ihm ist ritterlich, er erscheint als Diener und alles an ihm ist fürstlich. Er hat alle ritterliche Geschicklichkeiten inne, weisz die wildesten Pferde zu bändigen, feuert Kanonen ab, und zeigt überall ein kurzes, entschiedenes, entschlossenes Wesen. (Am Rand: . . . Er hat einen groszen Stolz gegen alle, die ihn verachten)"; S. 90, Z. 17 "Es fragt sich. . . ob es besser ist, dasz er gleich anfangs im Unglück erscheine? Dieses letztere ist darum nicht günstig, weil es die Gelegenheit abschneidet, ihn gehörig zu introducieren, besonders seinen kühnen hohen Sinn, womit er sich über seine Lage erhebt, recht darzustellen. Alles wird gleich zu sehr ins sentimentale gespielt, wenn er gleich anfangs als ein Gegenstand des Mitleids erscheint"; S. 104, Z. 1ff.; S. 143, Z. 8 "Nichts sentimentales darf aber hier statt haben; das Sentiment musz immer *naiv* bleiben". Ganz besonders interessant ist die Art, wie Schiller in der Szene zwischen Demetrius und Lodoiska sein Verhältnis zur Liebe darzustellen gedachte: S. 73, V. 249 "(L.) Wird nicht dies Herz noch andre Wünsche hegen?—(D.) Nein keinen andern, glaube mir. Das süzeste / Wonach ich streben mochte, ist erreicht.—(L.) Und wirst du nichts nach einem Herzen fragen?—(D.) Schon fühl ich da des Ruhmes Glanz mich lockt, / Von keinen Wünschen sonst mich festgehalten. / Macht braucht kein Herz; der Wille nur allein / Spricht in den Handlungen das Leben aus.—(L.) . . . Besize nur, und bald wirst du entbehren.—(D.) Entbehren? wenn in meiner Seele Tiefen / Kein Wunsch entstehet den die Macht verbietet? / Die Krone

ist Geliebte, Freund und Bruder. / Wo nur der Wille frey: da ist dem Herzen / Kein Glück versagt, denn selbst das Herz lernt schweigen. / Im freudigen Gewühl des Lebens, wenn / Die Kraft mit Kraft sich bändigt, ist nur Glück. . . . Doch Kampf gebietet das Geschick mir nun, / Mit Waffen und mit widerspenstigen / Gemüthern soll ich fortan den Kampf bestehn / Um meine Freyheit, Freyheit soll ich erwerben, / Doch nicht andern geben, sonst ists der Herrscher nicht, / Es ist die Meinung, die gebietet, und / Ich will Gebieter sein im strengsten Sinn. . . . erst musz in tausend Kämpfen / Das Glück in mir den stolzen Liebling zeigen / Eh ich die Wünsche meines Herzens sage". Man bedenke, dass er hier schon mit Marina verlobt ist, denn gleich nach dem grossen Glücksumschwung ist seine Neigung zu ihr laut geworden (S. 87, Z. 10; S. 95, Z. 5 ff.), und die Szene mit Lodoiska sollte die letzte derer in Sambor sein. Welche Bewandnis es mit seinem Gefühl gegen Marina hat, hat Schiller S. 85, Z. 26 (s. o.) u. S. 109, Z. 5 ausgesprochen, und der scharf blickenden Intrigantin ist dies auch gar kein Geheimnis.¹⁴ Seine spätere Liebe zu Axinia muss deshalb mit der Gewalt des Wunders wirken.

Ein Hauptkennzeichen Warbecks wie Demetrius' ist ihre stürmische Wildheit, ihre "Ferocität": W S. 117, Z. 10 "Die Yorkische Ferocität musz in ihm und auch in Plantagenet sich zeigen", (vgl. auch S. 152, Z. 30 "Plantagenet musz irgend einmal seine Yorkische *Ferocité* oder doch seine Kühnheit oder Herzhaftigkeit an den Tag legen");—D S. 211, Z. 10 (s. o.); S. 89, Z. 18 "eine unbändige feroce wilde unabhängige Natur".¹⁵

¹⁴ Seine Liebe beruht aber nicht auf schlauer Berechnung, etwa um sich die Hilfe des mächtigen Woiwoden zu sichern; denn wo sie sich zuerst kundgibt, hat er noch gar nicht an die Gewinnung seines Erbreichs gedacht. Nicht ganz klar ist der Zeitpunkt, wann er im Herzen von Marina abfällt; dies kann schon geschehen sein, ehe er Axinia sieht. Wird er seinem Verlöbuis untreu, weil er als Russe immer mehr die übermütigen Polen hassen muss, weil er Odowalsky als Marinas Späher im Verdacht hat, weil er nach der Enthüllung in Tula instinktiv fürchtet, gerade Marina könne den Betrug ahnen?

¹⁵ Das Wort erscheint in den Fragmenten ferner noch in der *Elfride*, S. 115, Z. 18 "Edgar ist kein schlimmer Fürst und zur Güte mehr geneigt als zur Ferocität," und in der *Gräfin von Flandern*, S. 202, Z. 11 "Er ist *ferox* und gewalthätig."

Auch in der raschen Besonnenheit gleichen sie sich, Warbeck, als er Erich, der einen Elenden¹⁶ gedungen hat, Warbeck zu entlarven, nach einem Augenblick vernichtenden Gefühls den Degen auf die Brust setzt und ihn zum Geständnis seines boshaften Anschlags zwingt (S. 164, Z. 2 ff.),¹⁷ Demetrius nach den Enthüllungen Andreis (S. 101, Z. 17 "Wenn Demetrius seine wahre Geburt erfahren und sich überzeugt hat, dasz er nicht der wahre Demetrius ist . . . so verstummt er erst und thut darauf einige kurze Fragen, hohl und kalt—dann scheint er schnell seine Parthei zu ergreifen und theils in der Wuth theils mit Absicht und Besonnenheit stöszt er den Botschafter nieder"; S. 156, Z. 24 "Während X erzählt geht die ungeheure Veränderung im Demetrius vor, sein Stillschweigen ist furchtbar und von einem schreckhaften Ausdruck begleitet. Wenn Demetrius die ersten Bewegungen übermeistert hat, so giebt er der Klugheit Raum und forscht den X aus, um zu wissen, ob noch sonst jemand um dieses gefährliche Geheimisz wisse. X beru-

¹⁶ Dass sich Schiller diesen "Kerl," der sich für Warbecks Vater oder Bruder ausgeben sollte, als Juden dachte, ist von Oskar Frankl in seiner Schrift *Schiller in seinen Beziehungen zu den Juden und zum Judentum* (M. Ostrau und Leipzig 1905) übersehen worden.

¹⁷ Zu dieser sechsten Szene des zweiten Aktes vgl., was mit dunkler Tinte und kleinerer Schrift am Ende des vierten Aktes eingetragen ist: (S. 171, Z. 14) "Warbeck könnte einmal in den unerträglichen Fall kommen, durch Erichs boshafte Veranstaltungen öffentlich beschimpft zu werden, wenn auch Erich nichts dadurch erreicht, als dasz sein Nebenbuler dadurch lächerlich und in ein verächtliches Licht gesetzt wird, welches ihm in den Gemüthern unwiederbringlich schaden musz. Wenn dieses Motiv aber gebraucht wird, so musz es entweder ins furchtbare endigen oder die Ungereintheit musz ganz auf den Erfinder zurückfallen. Warbeck setzt in besonnener Wuth dem Erich den Degen auf die Brust, dasz er augenblicklich bekennt und mit Schmach bedeckt abgeht. Warbeck ist gegen das Werkzeug groszmüthig." In der oben angeführten Stelle hatte Schiller dieses Motiv bereits genauer ausgeführt und ihm statt des hypothetischen "könnte einmal" seinen ganz bestimmten Ort im Drama angewiesen. Der Nachtrag muss also, da der Dichter die andere Stelle völlig vergessen zu haben scheint und offenbar ein neues Motiv aufnehmen wollte, für das er die rechte Eingliederung noch nicht gefunden zu haben glaubte, aus einer viel späteren Periode der Beschäftigung mit dem Stoff stammen und verdankt seine Entstehung wohl einer augenblicklichen Eingebung.

higt ihn darüber, alle andern Mitwisser seien todt. Es darf der Mord den er an X verübt nichts zu praemeditiertes haben. Die Handlung ist zwar ein momentanes *Apperçu* der Nothwendigkeit aber auch zugleich ein Werk der höchsten Wuth und Verzweiflung“) und in der Szene mit Marfa unmittelbar vor seiner Ermordung (S. 164, Z. 19 ff.).

Ebenso sind beide von demselben Glauben an das Glück be-seelt: (W S. 119, Z. 2 “Monolog Warbecks, wo er sich seine kühne Glücksritterschaft ausspricht—Man sieht, dasz er sich dem Strom der Verhängnisse überlassen hat, dasz er sich selbst geheimnisvoll vorkommt, es ist als ob er sich unter den Flügeln eines Genius wüszte. “Glück! in deine Hände werf ich mich, ich bin dein Sohn, vollende deine angefangne Schöpfung”.—D S. 200, Z. 1 “Demetrius im Stand seiner Niedrigkeit will als Czaar wenigstens begraben werden”; S. 205, Z. 25 “hat einen begeisternden Glauben an das Glück”; S. 125, Z. 9 “Er ist zwar gefaszt zu sterben, doch fühlt er einige Bitterkeit darinn, dasz das Glück ihm so schlecht Wort gehalten und seine groszen Hofnungen so ganz zu Nichte werden”; Z. 17 “bei ihm ist der Ehrgeiz, das ungeheure Streben ins Mögliche durch eine gewisse Götterstimme gerechtfertigt”; S. 68, V. 146 “(Demetrius im Gefängnis) So hältst du meiner Hofnung Wort o Schicksal ! / Mit vollen Segeln lief ich in das Meer / Des Lebens, unermeslich lags vor mir, / Es dehnte allgewaltig sich die Brust, / Als wollte sie ein ewiges umfassen—. . . . Das hatten die Gestirne nicht gemeint / Die aus der Heimat dunkel mächtig dich geführt”.

Trefflich stimmt zu diesem Glauben an das Glück bei Warbeck wie Demetrius der Tatendrang: W S. 139, Z. 1 “Nicht durch Worte, sagt W., durch Thaten will ich euch meine Geburt beweisen. Was hilft es euch Eduards Blut in mir zu finden, wenn nicht sein Geist, wenn nicht der königliche Sinn der Yorks mich beseelte. (Am Rand: Ich habe sagt er, ein Geburtsrecht an England aber ich will es als ein Soldat geltend machen, ich will es meinem Arm und eurer Treue zu danken haben). An meinen Thaten sollt ihr Edwards Sohn erkennen—Ich will England

erobern—Stellt mich an eure Spitze—Laszt die Kriegsmusik erschallen—Laszt mich auf Lancaster treffen im Gefechte—dann sollt ihr erkennen, dasz ich ein York bin *etc.* Warbeck zeigt eine heftige Sehnsucht, in Thätigkeit zu kommen, er strebt heisz nach der brittannischen Insel hin¹⁸. . . . Er wünscht sich nur Schiffe zur Überfahrt, nur ein kleines Heer zur Begleitung”. —D S. 89, Anm. 2 “Er möchte gern im Kriege sich zeigen, er strebt fort”; S. 125, Z. 18 “der Ehrgeiz, das ungeheure Streben ins Mögliche”; S. 72, V. 242 “Doch meiner eignen Kraft will ich verdanken / Aufs neu, was die Geburt mir einst gegeben”.

“Der erste Eindruck Warbecks ist als von einem *Fürsten*; seine sinnliche Erscheinung ist so mächtig, sein Betragen so decidiert, die Umstände so affektvoll, dasz der Zuschauer fortgerissen wird” (S. 154, Z. 9). Ebenso S. 135, Z. 18 “Warbeck spielt also zwar die *falsche* Rolle eines Prinzen, aber er spielt sie als ein Muster für alle Prinzen, und die Empfindung des Zuschauers musz seyn, wenn er kein Prinz ist so verdient er einer zu seyn, und seine Person ist mehr werth als seine Maske”; S. 193, V. 308” Wem hat Natur den Fürsten auf das Antlitz / Geschrieben, wenn auf deiner Stirne nicht / Das hohe Zeichen leuchtet—Nicht vermochte / Das Miszgeschick, das dich im Staub gewälzt / Den angestammten Adel zu verlöschen”. So erweist sich auch Demetrius schon vor seiner Entdeckung, insbesondere aber unmittelbar nachher und bis zur Enthüllung seiner wahren Geburt durchaus fürstlich: S. 235, Z. 22 “*Dmitri* zeigt sich wirklich fürstlich sowohl im Unglück als im Glück”; S. 236, Z. 19 “Dasz die Sphäre, in die er erhoben werden soll, sein wahres Element scheint, dasz sie ihm gebührt und von Natur- und Rechtswegen zukommt”; Z. 24 “wenn er im niedrigen Loose eine hohe Natur zeigt, und seine Neigungen sich über seinen Stand versteigen wie die Liebe zur Marina, die Freigebigkeit, der ritterliche Muth”; S. 238, Z. 3 “Demetrius selbst findet sich so schnell und mit solchem Anstand in seine neue Person, dasz er dadurch den Glauben der andern nicht wenig bestätigt”; S.

¹⁸ Dass sein Motiv, wie eine Zwischenbemerkung des Dichters hier dartut, hauptsächlich die qualvolle Lage in Brüssel ist, beweist an sich nichts gegen seinen Tatendurst.

210, Z. 14 "Demetrius glaubt an sich selbst und zeigt sich ganz seines neuen Standes würdig"; S. 222, Z. 25; S. 223, Z. 29 "musz. . . sich über seinen Stand erhaben zeigen"; S. 225, Z. 17 ff.; S. 226, Z. 9 "Körperliche Stärke, Schönheit, kühner Muth, Geist und Einsicht, Hochsinn finden sich in ihm, weit über seinen Stand und sein Schicksal"; S. 233, Z. 2 "Ein Hohes blickt aus allen seinen Zügen, obgleich er *sans aveu* ist und nur von der Gnade des Woiwoden lebt"; Z. 20 ff.; S. 86, Z. 3 "Grischka antwortet erst mit edelm Selbstbewusstseyn"; S. 88, Z. 1 "Demetrius verändert nach geschehener Erkennung seine Kleider und ist eine ganz andre Person geworden, wenn er wieder auftritt"; Z. 5 "er selbst aber ist nie lebenswürdiger gewesen, obgleich er sich vollkommen in die Würde seines Standes findet"; S. 89, Z. 17 ff.; S. 90, Z. 5 "Er beträgt sich mit einer gewissen Grandezza gegen die Mitbedienten, mit edelm *Devouement* gegen seinen Wohlthäter, mit Verehrung und Anmuth gegen seine Tochter"; S. 104, Z. 7 "Grischka zeigt bei seinen Antworten die edle Hoheit seines Charakters"; S. 92, Z. 31 f.; S. 95, Z. 3 "Und mit bewundernswürdiger Leichtigkeit findet er sich in diesen ausserordentlichen Glückswechsel, er ist so schnell und so ganz Fürst, als ob er es immer gewesen. Sein erstes Gefühl ist für Marina, deren er sich nun auf einmal würdig und mehr als gleich fühlt"; S. 106, Z. 5 ff.; S. 108, Z. 13 ff.; Z. 23 "Die Natur scheint ihn zu etwas höherem bestimmt zu haben, als das Glück aus ihm machte (Anm. "Geistvolle Reden, Tapferkeit und Kühnheit. Hochfliegende Neigung. Stolz, doch mit Bescheidenheit. Einsichten und Gaben). Sein hoher Geist im Contrast mit seinem Zustand, er erscheint als ein merkwürdiges Kind des Schicksals"; Z. 29; S. 109, Z. 1 ff. · S. 110, Z. 33 ff.; S. 116, Z. 30 ff.; S. 122, Z. 2 ff.; Z. 21 ff.; Z. 33 "Sie schilt die Blindheit des Glücks, wenn sie ihren Bräutigam mit dem Grischka vergleicht"; S. 124, Z. 20 "Aber wenn er nicht von edler Geburt ist so hat die Natur sich sehr vergriffen"; S. 127, Z. 31 "Und wie ihm nun seine Geburt bewusst ist, so weisz er sich gleich darein zu finden. (man sieht die schnelle Wirkung des Fürst-seyns auf einen Character) Er nimmt die Huldigung der russischen Flüchtlinge

mit Würde an, er umarmt den Woiwoden als seines Gleichen, gegen die Marina bezeugt er sich mit anständiger Freiheit und verbirgt seine Neigung nicht mehr"; S. 128, Z. 15; S. 154, Z. 22 "Demetrius ist gütig wie die Sonne und wer ihm naht erfährt Beweise davon, keine Rachsucht, keine Raubsucht, kein Uebermuth"; Z. 33 "er aber ist voll Huld und Gnade"; S. 155, Z. 9 "In dieser Scene zu Tula steht er auf dem Gipfel des Glücks und der Gunst, alles scheint die erfreulichste Wendung zu nehmen. Er verspricht Ruszland einen gütigen Beherrscher"; S. 173, Z. 22 "Die Antwort des Demetrius athmet ein edles Selbstvertrauen und eine erhabne Naivetät, welche ihm gleich die Herzen gewinnt"; S. 178, Z. 18 "die *bonne foi* und Aufrichtigkeit des Jünglings"; S. 182, Z. 24 (Antwort an Sapieha); S. 67, V. 119 "Nein, keiner Niedrigkeit möcht' ich ihn zeihen, / Sein ganz Verbrechen ist sein böses Schicksal!" V. 123 "Doch warlich ist er edel nicht gebohren / So wars ein groszer Miszgriff der Natur"; S. 71, V. 199 ff. (Monolog nach der Erkennung); ebenso das Gespräch mit Lodoiska, S. 72 ff.; S. 6, V. 73 "Ihr gebt euch für des Czaren Iwans Sohn; / Nicht wahrlich euer Anstand widerspricht / Noch eure Rede diesem stolzen Anspruch"; S. 14, Z. 292 "Und kräftger noch aus seiner schlichten Rede / Und reinen Stirn spricht uns die Wahrheit an".¹⁹

¹⁹ Die Fürstennatur ist Demetrius so in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen, dass er selbst kurz vor der Katastrophe den Empörern noch majestätisch erscheint: S. 199 Z. 20 "Bei der Catastrophe ist er schon soweit, dasz er die Empörer bald herumbringt, so sehr imponiert seine Gestalt und der erste Respekt"; S. 165, Z. 6 "Demetrius bringt die wüthenden Rebellen durch seine Majestät und Kühnheit auf einige Augenblicke wirklich zum Schweigen"; Z. 12 "Die Macht des Herrscheransehens, das imposante das in der Ausübung der höchsten Gewalt ligt, kommt hier zum Vorschein".

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(To be continued.)

CHAUCER'S LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII, No. 4.)

The second work upon which Cupid, in the Prologue to the *Legend*, has chosen to rest his indictment of Chaucer is the *Troilus and Criseyde*. Its use by the little god, as a basis for his charge of heresy, seems still less apposite than that of the *Rose*. Surely Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, a book given exclusively to the theme of love, is a curious work to have been written by one who cherishes bitterness toward Cupid. We have Lydgate's own testimony, on the contrary, that the book was a favorite with lovers:—

Whiche for to rede lovers them delyte

They have therein so grete devocyon.

Furthermore, Cupid's original accusation is that Chaucer is guilty of heresy, not specifically against women, but against love. Now this work of the poet's is not less a story of the triumph than of the failure of love, not less a tale of the truth of Troilus' ("one of the patterns of love," as Shakespeare calls him) than of the falsehood of Cressid. Indeed, the fact that Cressid proves unfaithful is, as "Chaucer" himself indicates, little to the point:

Ne a trewe lover oghte me nat blame, (466)

Thogh that I speke a fals lover som shame.

Yet, even so, he is putting his case weakly, for the author of the *Troilus*, so far from exhibiting any gratification at Cres-

The choice of the *Troilus*, as the basis of Cupid's charge, becomes especially ironical in the light of Alceste's command to Chaucer to write of women

That weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves; (485)

And telle of false men that hem betrayen.

If to make the faithfulness of woman shine out on the dark background of man's falsehood be a legitimate method of honoring love, why is not the reverse process just as lawful, and why, therefore, is not a tale in which the truth of Troilus is contrasted with the perfidy of Cressid a poem to the glory of love instead of a heresy against it? It is a poor rule that will not work both ways.

sid's "untrouthe," expresses sorrow for her faithlessness, and affirming that he writes as he does only because he finds it in his authority, cuts short the bitter story:

Ne me ne list this sely womman chyde
 Ferther than the story wol devyse.
 Hir name, allas! is publisshed so wyde,
 That for hir gilt it oughite y-now suffyse.
 And if I mighte excuse hir any wyse,
 For she so sory was for hir untrouthe,
 Y-wis, I wolde excuse hir yet for routhe.¹

In spite of the poet's attitude of detachment toward his story (no other of his works is more pervaded with irony, but the irony of the *Troilus* is always fundamentally tragic), and in spite of Cressid's great weakness of character, no candid reader can deny that Chaucer has a real affection for his heroine. In her—his most complex character, perhaps—he has wrought the miracle of making a thoroughly weak woman thoroughly attractive, and of arousing truly tragic emotion when she proves false.

It is pretty clear, then, that Cupid has chosen to rest his case on rather unconvincing evidence. One wonders, indeed, whether he has really read the works in question at all. Alceste, though in not quite such blunt terms, practically tells Cupid that he does not know what he is talking about. Somewhat in the fashion in which Cicero says *his omissis* and then gives an exhaustive list of the things he is leaving out, the Queen remarks:

And if ye nere a god, that knowen al, (348)
 Than mighte hit be, as I yow tellen shal,

whereupon she proceeds, in a speech of nearly a hundred lines, to state in detail the ways in which the omniscient Cupid, had he not been omniscient, might have been deceived. But now, the question of Cupid's literary attainments aside, suppose that a reader of the A Prologue is himself unacquainted with the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Troilus*. He will be quite unable,

¹V, st. 157. See also IV, st. 3.

on his own account, to pass upon the merits of Cupid's accusation. He is compelled, in other words, to go beyond the poem itself for its interpretation, to depend on his comprehension of an extrinsic reference for an individual opinion as to Chaucer's guilt—an arrangement constituting a palpable artistic blemish. In B, on the other hand, though the extrinsic reference remains, the blemish is effaced *by putting the ballad in Chaucer's mouth*. What the author has done might be illustrated in some such way as this: If we see a man arrested for cruelty to animals and hear from his accuser a number of lurid stories of his inhumanity, we shall probably be considerably affected, but, till the man has stated his side of the case, we shall, if we are wise, hold our final judgment in abeyance. If, on the other hand, only five minutes before he is arrested, we have ourselves beheld the prisoner (quite unaware that he is being watched) treating with the utmost kindness an old, broken-down horse, we shall certainly be inclined to think that the wrong man has been taken into custody and to accept with much more than the proverbial grain of salt the stories of his cruelty. It is quite thus in the case of Chaucer in the *Legend*. Things seen are mightier than things heard—especially when the latter are the windy charges of an ill-tempered little god. What confidence—whether he knows the *Troilus* or not—will the reader of Prologue B be inclined to place in the story of Chaucer's poetical transgressions, in the face of having seen him, only a moment or two before, in the very act of composing a ballad in praise of the Queen of Love? The number of improvements flowing from this one change in the B version is astonishing.

But leaving the question of the ballad,¹ let us return to a

¹The appearance of the names of two *men* in the ballad at once suggests that this is part of the satire, and, indeed, few aspects of the whole jest would be funnier than the intimation that there were not enough beautiful and virtuous women to fill up even a little ballad and that the poet, therefore, had to eke out with two masculine names. But this at once introduces a difficulty: if Chaucer has carried his satire, in this and other respects, into the ballad, he is thereby detracting from its value as a spontaneous expression of his own reverence for

passage the discussion of which (for reasons that will presently be obvious) has been deferred till now.

It has been declared by adherents of the priority of B that the passage about the birds (B 155-170) is but loosely woven into the texture of the poem and was accordingly cut out in the revision. But *is* the passage, I ask, merely a purple patch of fanciful description? I think it can be shown that it is highly organic, serving in fact a truly dramatic purpose. One of the most dramatic of devices, it will be readily admitted, is the repetition of the main theme in an under-theme; nothing is more helpful, indeed, in imparting to a work of art that high unity of which the drama stands especially in need. Now not more than four or five lines of this bird-mating passage need be quoted to render it clear that Chaucer has anticipated very charmingly the main situation of the Prologue in this description of the quarrels and reconciliation of the birds:

And tho that hadde doon unkindenesse— (153)
 As dooth the tydif, for new-fangelnesse—
 Besoghte mercy of hir trespassinge,
And humblyly songen hir repentinege,
 And sworn on the blosmes to be trewe,

etc. Thus "humblyly" was Chaucer to sing his "repentinege" in the legends ("voide of al malyce"!); and just as Alceste is

love. This is the one and only piece of adverse criticism which I have to offer—and I offer it merely tentatively and with the greatest hesitation—against the revised *Legend* as a whole. It is overwhelmingly likely that it is the present criticism rather than Chaucer's art that is at fault, for it seems highly improbable that so self-restrained an artist as Chaucer would have let the desire for an additional "purple patch" of satire interfere with an important part of the satirical *organization* of his poem. Yet, for aught that I can now see, this is what, in this one instance, he has allowed himself to do. And the thing is perhaps explicable after all, and lends corroboration to the view that A is the earlier of the prologues. When the ladies sing the ballad, the presence of satire in it, unintended on their part, is ironically most effective and entirely in harmony with the rest of the A Prologue. Is it not possible that Chaucer, in transferring the ballad to himself, either overlooked, or, not overlooking, forgot actually to make, the necessary changes?

to intercede and break the stern "justice" of Cupid, so not Daunger but Pitee prevails among the birds and makes "Mercy passen Right." Is it stretching the meaning of the word to call all this "dramatic" foreshadowing?

In emphasizing, however, the organic function of this "bird-mating" passage I do not wish to overlook its intrinsic beauty. And this suggests an important matter. The long description¹ of which this picture of the birds is but a part is one of the most charming descriptions that Chaucer ever wrote—and it is wholly lacking in the A version! This is only one example—though, considering its length, doubtless the most striking—of the inferiority of A in the quality of pure delightfulness. This inferiority is frankly admitted by Dr. Lowes himself, his contention being that the structural and dramatic improvements in A more than offset the loss of charm.² Suppose one were to concede, for the sake of argument, the validity of all which Dr. Lowes says concerning the influence of the French *marguerite* poems and the organic superiority of A. Even then would one have come into the possession of any reason for Chaucer's deliberate omission of such a line as

Agayn the sonne, that roos as rede as rose, (112)

which might have been utilized so easily in A; or for the exclusion of that incomparable passage

Adoun ful softly I gan to sinke; (178)

And, leninge on myn elbowe and my syde,

The longe day I shoop me for to abyde

For nothing elles, and I shal nat lye,

But for to loke upon the dayesye,

That wel by reson men hit calle may

The 'dayesye' or elles the 'ye of day,'

The emperice and flour of floures alle.

I pray to god that faire mot she falle,

And alle that loven floures, for hir sake!—

lines which might have been introduced without a single change

¹B 153—187.

²P. M. L. A., XIX, 683, n. 7.

into either the real or the dream May-scene of A? (Even the assumption that Chaucer was expunging allegory or removing references to Queen Anne cannot explain these excisions.) Above all, why should the poet have cut out from a description *which still appears in A* its very top and climax, that superlative couplet about the birds?—

Upon the braunches ful of blosmes softe,
In hir delyt, they turned hem ful ofte.

(Ah!—but the ever-convenient soulless scribe is the scape-goat suggested for this last atrocity.) As even these few illustrations show, Chaucer might have attained all the supposed structural advantages of A without sacrificing a number of the most charming passages in B. One may admit, in other words, all Dr. Lowes' premises and yet his argument remains logically ineffective, for, making these admissions, this is the situation: B is the more diffuse, albeit more charming, version; A is the more compact, albeit less charming, version; how tempting to assume a causal relation between these two judgments, and to argue, wherever a charming passage of B has disappeared, that it must have been eliminated *for the sake of* the structure of A! Just this assumption, unless I am myself mistaken, Dr. Lowes has made. And whatever he may or may not have shown concerning this or that group of lines, I think he has totally failed to prove that the most charming passages in B were sacrificed in the interest of the unity or dramatic quality of A. That I am not misrepresenting his article is shown by the fact that he entirely omits any detailed consideration of those passages which all must agree are the most delightful in the poem, choosing to center his attention on other passages where the quality of charm is not nearly so conspicuously present and where the difference between the two versions, in this particular respect, is relatively small.

But now if Chaucer, without any compensation for the sacrifice, has deliberately omitted from his revision some of the finest poetry he ever composed, he is guilty of a lack of conscious art in comparison with which Wordsworth's most stupid emenda-

tions were inspirations from the muse. Rather than to enter against Chaucer any such unpleasant accusation, it might be deemed preferable to give up the assumption that B is the earlier version. But let us suppose—for once more one may go to any extreme *argumenti causa*—that Chaucer was compelled to sacrifice the most charming passages in B in the interest of organic improvements. Is there, however, one straw of evidence for the belief that in revising his work he would not have produced new passages just as charming as the old? In other words—putting the *Legend of Good Women* aside for a moment—is there a straw of evidence that the increase of Chaucer's dramatic and architectonic power was attended by any corresponding loss? Are his earlier works more charming than his later ones? Dr. Lowes seems to think so. But when one remembers, for example, the description of the Carpenter's wife in the *Miller's Tale*, containing such couplets as

But of hir song, it was as loude and yerne (71)
As any swalwe sittinge on a berne,

or

Hir mouth was swete as bragot or the meeth, (75)
Or hord of apples leyd in hey or heeth,

one is at a loss to understand his opinion; and for my part I would give the whole *Parlement of Foules*, if it came to a choice simply on the basis of charm, sooner than lose that one paragraph from the *Miller's Tale*. Dr. Lowes' admission of the greater charm of B seems a very innocent matter, but in my judgment that single concession easily effaces in value all his arguments for the later date of A.

The thing is torned into was;
That which was whilom grene gras,
Is welked hey at time now.

Green grass to withered hay!—we have Dr. Lowes himself to thank for these lines from Gower which, relatively speaking, describe so excellently the metamorphosis of Chaucer's Prologue, if it be true that the A version followed the B.

The obverse side of Dr. Lowes' argument carries with it, if anything, even greater difficulties. He explains the dramatic and structural superiorities of A (whose date, he thinks, was 1394) as the result of Chaucer's mature art, an art gained in part by his work on the *Canterbury Tales*. "Suppose now," says Dr. Lowes, "that about 1394 Chaucer for some reason did come back to his earlier poem. What difference would his preoccupation meantime with the *Canterbury Tales*, so far as one may judge from their qualities, have made in his point of view? For one thing, he would certainly have a stronger prepossession in favor of compactness of structure, and that, as we have already seen, A shows. But with equal certainty, I think, we may assume that to the man who had conceived the vivid contrasts of the Wife of Bath and the Clerk of Oxford, of Harry Bailly and the Prioress, of the 'chanoun of religioun' and the London priest, the possibility of *dramatic contrasts* would be likely to make the first appeal;"¹ and this assumption concerning Chaucer's increasing dramatic and architectonic powers, even where no specific reference is made to the *Canterbury Tales*, is the hypothesis at the foundation of Dr. Lowes' whole theory. Now to the view that one of the prologues is much more dramatic than the other I have no objection whatever, that being, indeed, precisely my own conception. But when that conception carries with it the implication that Chaucer was in any sense deficient in dramatic and constructive powers at the time when he composed *either* of the prologues, it is time to enter strenuous objection, the objection being based in part on the further implication thereby involved in regard to the *Troilus*. Dr. Lowes places both prologues after the *Troilus*. Then he tells us that the improvements in A are due to Chaucer's late artistic advance along two specified lines. The plain logic of the situation, then, demands the belief that Chaucer was *relatively* lacking in dramatic and architectonic powers when he composed the *Troilus*. But can

¹ P. 787—second article.

such a conception be entertained for an instant?¹ Where has Chaucer surpassed—one is tempted to ask, where has he equalled—the perfection of construction of the *Troilus*; and for sheer dramatic genius what that he wrote later exceeds the level of numerous passages of that poem? He who remembers, for example, the visit of the “gossips” to console Cressid, will search the *Canterbury Tales* in vain, I think, for a scene of higher comic power, or for one which, with fewer changes, might be placed effectively on the stage of a twentieth century theatre. And as for “dramatic contrasts,” what one in the *Canterbury Tales* can quite equal that astonishing triple contrast involved in the three main characters of the *Troilus*, where each of the three (even Cressid against Pandarus) stands out in sharp relief on the background of the other two? No; it is not pre-eminently in dramatic and constructive powers, not even in humor, that the *Canterbury Tales* show an advance over the *Troilus*.² The advance, if there be any, is rather along the line of a specific kind of realism³—the realism which is the result of the writer's close contact with the life around him, the realism that makes the *Canterbury Prologue* a sort of epitome of fourteenth century England.

Before leaving this long discussion of the two Prologues and coming to the legends themselves, attention may be called to

¹ Dr. Lowes might answer that I am dealing with a man of straw, that he himself, in a later part of his article, insists on the maturity of the *Troilus*. I agree most heartily with that part of his paper, but my point is that every time he insists on the dramatic and structural merits of the *Troilus* he contradicts his contention that Chaucer acquired at a later period the powers exhibited in the revision of the Prologue of the *Legend*. Cf. p. 788 and p. 840, note 4!

² Though I have never happened to notice such a comparison, someone before this has undoubtedly suggested a likening of Chaucer's development to Shakespeare's. Chaucer in the *Troilus*, like Shakespeare in the tragedies of his “third” period, gives us in not a few respects his profoundest and most serious “criticism of life,” and the very length of that wonderful poem permits him to reveal aspects both of his art and his “philosophy” which we shall seek well-nigh in vain within the relatively narrow limits of any single *Canterbury Tale*.

³ Realism of its own kind is the last thing, of course, that the *Troilus* lacks.

one of the weightiest pieces of evidence of the satirical nature of the poem: I mean its title—*The LEGEND of Good Women!* If the word “legend” had been used in Chaucer’s time in its modern sense, the title would at once, in itself, suggest that the whole thing was a joke. Is there no evidence that Chaucer might have used the word in its modern sense? The moment we consider two things—the character of the mediaeval legend and the character of Chaucer’s mind—we perceive that the word, because of its connotations, *must* have had for him, to all intents and purposes, exactly its modern meaning. Chaucer’s intellect was essentially skeptical; we need not go beyond the Nun’s Priest’s and Canon’s Yeoman’s tales to see that he has made abundantly clear his attitude toward all superstitions and popular “wonders.” The typical mediaeval legend was a tissue of such superstitions and wonders. “It abounds,” says Professor Lounsbury, “in marvels and miracles. But the marvels are usually puerile, and the miracles are, if anything, too miraculous.”¹ Chaucer has given us, in the Prioress’ and Second Nun’s tales, two such legends. In the former he tells of the little boy who sang “‘*O Alma*’ loude and clere” after his throat had been cut to the “nekke-boon”; in the latter, of St. Cecelia, who (to mention a single incident from her thrilling biography) was put in a bath beneath which a great fire had been built;—

The longe night and eek a day also,
 For al the fyr and eek the bathes hete,
 She sat al cold, and felede no wo,
 It made hir nat a drope for to swete.

Both of these stories are highly appropriate in the mouths of their narrators; but if Chaucer, by calling the tales of Cleopatra and Thisbe “legends,” intends to relegate them to the same class as the two just mentioned, it need not be asked how deep a faith he wishes his readers to place in them as transcripts of real life. This contention is corroborated by Chaucer’s use of the word “legend” in the *Canterbury Tales*. When we bear in mind that the Wife of Bath had contempt for “legends,” while

¹ *Studies*, II, 322. See, also, *ibid.*, 488.

Chauntecleer trusted them implicitly, we know practically what Chaucer himself thought of them. The scorn of the Wife of Bath for her fifth husband's tales of "wicked wyves" will be remembered, and it is significant that she twice¹ uses the word "legend" in referring to them; while it is the superstitious arch-egoist Chauntecleer, who, after telling the story of St. Kenelm—how at the age of seven a vision of his own murder came to him in a dream—exclaims to the ignorant Pertelote,

By god, I hadde lever than my sherte (300)

That ye had rad his legende, as have I.

After that, do we need to ask any further whether Chaucer, if he were suddenly to awake in the twentieth century, would have to consult a dictionary in order to understand our use of "legend"? It is a plain case. Chaucer, condemned for offences against Cupid to write in praise of feminine virtue, produces—a "Legend" of good women, a "Seintes Legende of Cupyde"! What an infinitely Chaucerian jest! And the fact that Alceste herself suggests the title, "a glorious Legende of Gode Wommen," but deepens the irony.

And Chaucer, by another device peculiar to the B Prologue, has rendered his tales of virtuous ladies even more shadowy and "legendary" than ever. When we compare the last couplets of A and B, two interesting alterations are discovered:

A And with that word of sleep I gan a-wake,
And right thus on my Legend gan I make.

B And with that word my bokes gan I take,
And right thus on my Legend gan I make.

In A Chaucer awakes. In B he does not. In other words, in B, the stories of good women, even on the assumption that they are quite above reproach as examples of feminine virtue, have only a dream reality—a manifest heightening of the jest.

The other change in the couplet just quoted is also interesting: "my bokes gan I take"! With that very word "bokes" the reader's thoughts return to the introduction (binding the whole Prologue in a perfect unity), especially to the couplet:

¹ 686 and 742.

Wel oghte us than honouren and beleve (27)
 These bokes, ther we han non other preve.

"Well may I turn to my ancient volumes," Chaucer seems to say, "for I shall never find any trace of a good woman outside the covers of a book." And this shows—what it is exceedingly important for us to notice—that even though every one of the legends be written in a perfectly serious vein, they still serve a humorous purpose and the poem as a whole remains a satire. If, however, even these examples of ancient virtue are found under examination to be of a somewhat dubious nature, then the satire will be all the keener.

That some of the subjects which Chaucer has chosen for his legends are very curiously (*sehr eigenthümlich*) adapted to their ostensible purpose seems long since to have been felt by more than one critic of the *Legend*. To choose the *Heroides* of Ovid—a book which contains such tales as those of Phedra and Canace—as the principal source of a work upon good¹ women is, to begin with, strange enough. But most infelicitous of all is the singling out of Cleopatra to stand first among the models of ancient virtue, a choice which, coming from Cupid himself, constitutes further evidence, perhaps, of the questionable character of his literary education. *Apropos* of this choice of Cleopatra, Professor Lounsbury remarks in his *Studies*: "The selection of her at all is, to say the least, singular for a scholar. While much can be conceded to the exigencies of fiction, it is of a nature to startle the reader to find an addition to the lives of the saints made by representing Cleopatra as a martyr for love. The Queen of Egypt presents peculiar difficulties to him who attempts to make her course of conduct serve as a lesson to faithless man of the beauty of feminine devotion."²

¹ The adjective "good" in this poem, it is perhaps superfluous to remark, means much more than merely *faithful* to the marriage or betrothal bond. Chaucer's words for *faithful* and *faithfulness* are, consistently, "trewe" and "trouthe." "Good Alceste," *e. g.*, is *good* because of her self-sacrificing love.

² II, 185.

Dr. Mather in the introduction to his selections from the *Canterbury Tales* speaks of the story of Phyllis as "almost burlesqued."¹ And Professor Lounsbury again, speaking of another of the legends, says: "The tale of Philomela is really a tale of man's infidelity and brutal cruelty. It is not in any sense one of woman's devotion or of her martyrdom for love."² Now the question I would raise is whether these words of Professor Lounsbury's may not be applied—even though their application be less striking in some other cases—to nearly all of the legends. The possible exceptions would be the *Cleopatra*, the *Thisbe*, and the *Hypermnestra*, though even the *Hypermnestra* contains two thoroughly cruel and cowardly men. Indeed, as we read these tales of model women, we are confronted with an astonishing absence of positive virtues. Chaucer's principal formula for proving a woman good is to make her the victim of a bad man. All women, whatever their own part in the affair may have been, who are betrayed by false lovers are—presto!—fit subjects for canonization: such is the delightful logic with which Chaucer manufactures new martyrs and sings the praises of woman. A more exact, if less ironical, title for the poem would be *The Legend of Bad Men*.

Another interesting fact is that a majority of these betrayed heroines either die of broken hearts or violently fordo themselves—the decided preference being for the latter form of exit from the miseries of existence. Now suicide, under these circumstances, is doubtless a proof of the greatest virtue, even though our own rather unsentimental age may not so regard it. But the matter becomes "curiously" confusing when we remember that Chaucer, unfortunately, shows himself in this respect egregiously modern—witness his treatment of the theme in the *Troilus!*—and was far better fitted to make fun of death for unrequited love than to dwell upon its infinite pathos.

But all these matters, and many others, may best be handled by a separate consideration of each of the legends. The discus-

¹ *Riverside Literature Series*, no. 135, p. xxix.

² *Studies*, III, 337.

sion has shown, it is thought, that the Prologue is satirical. The reader will hardly be proceeding unnaturally, then, if he is on the outlook for satirical touches in the stories themselves, and attention may be called at the outset to the fact that Chaucer himself has given us a rather specific hint, in the last paragraph of the Prologue, as to how the first legend at least should be interpreted.

CLEOPATRA.

It has long been recognized that a favorite form, perhaps *the* favorite form, of Chaucer's humor is the seemingly innocent statement which, however, upon examination, reveals a possible second meaning, usually containing some sly thrust or roguish sally.¹ Chaucer, of course, is not the only writer who employs these Delphic utterances, but the characteristic which seems to make his use of them unique is the *extreme* slyness and delicacy with which he is capable of investing the insinuation, a slyness and delicacy so extreme that to those not acquainted with Chaucer insistence on the presence of a second meaning seems like absurd supersubtlety, while oftentimes, even among those who know the poet and are on the lookout for just this sort of thing, doubt may remain in some cases whether or not the *double-entendre* is deliberate. The constant recurrence of this sort of thing in Chaucer's works, however, justifies, to say the least, a careful examination of all suspicious statements. Let us take an illustration. The Somnour, at the conclusion of his prologue in the *Tales* (his interchanges with the Friar have already afforded much merriment), remarks:

God save yow alle, save this cursed Frere;

My prologe wol I ende in this manere.

The former of these two lines, it will be conceded, takes on a

¹ I may take this opportunity of saying that it was Professor Lounsbury's delightful treatment of this matter in his *Studies* which first awakened me to the perception of this kind of humor in Chaucer. The present contention merely is that the *Legend of Good Women* is a supreme example of this same principle of humor, applied, not merely to single phrases and lines, but to a whole poem.

meaning which varies perceptibly according as the second "save" is a verb or a preposition. And as a further example, I may quote, without comment, from the *Merchant's Tale*, the couplet:

How mighte a man han any adversitee
That hath a wyf? Certes, I can nat seye.

Now the connection of all this with the subject is the fact that there occurs a couplet of just this suspicious nature in the last paragraph of the B Prologue. If the appearance there of this nicely two-edged utterance is to be attributed to chance alone, it certainly affords one of the most remarkable instances of the perversity of language ever recorded. If it is not there by chance, it is sufficient in itself to prove Chaucer's satirical purpose in the *Legend*.¹ The couplet is this (the God of Love has just ordered Chaucer to write the story of Cleopatra):

For lat see now what man that lover be,
Wol doon so strong a peyne for love as she.

This, as Cupid certainly intends and as the casual reader would certainly gather, is equivalent to the question: "Where can the *man* be found who will suffer for love as much as Cleopatra suffered?" And the implied answer is, "Nowhere!" But it is clear that the lines are open to another interpretation. They may simply mean: "For now let us behold the lover who ('what man that lover be') will suffer as much for love as Cleopatra suffered." And the man referred to is, of course,—Antony. Indeed, the first legend is merely an expansion of this second interpretation of the couplet. In Chaucer's words:

But love had brought this man in swiche a rage, (20)
And him so narwe bounden in his las,
Al for the love of Cleopataras,
That al the world he sette at no value.
Him thoughte, nas to him no thing so due

¹ There are other passages of the same sort in the Prologue, to one of which, in particular, later reference will be made. Note, especially, some of Chaucer's interrogations, where the implied answer may really be very far from the actually intended one; for example:

What seith also the epistels of Ovyde (A, 305)
Of trewe wyves and of hir labour?

As Cleopatras for to love and serve ;
Him roghte nat in armes for to sterve
In the defence of hir, and of hir right.

Antony, when he sees that Cleopatra is flying, pierces "himself anoon through-out the herte." Cleopatra (the noble woman!), having discovered that Caesar will offer her no mercy, makes tracks toward Egypt "for drede and for distresse." There, after elaborate preparations for death, she begins this affecting address to her lover:

Now love, to whom my sorweful herte obeyde (102)
 So ferforthly that, fro that blisful houre
 That I yow swor to been al frely youre—

Suddenly—a horrible thought strikes her! She has sworn oaths resembling this to several gentlemen in the course of her life—what if the wrong one should appropriate this carefully prepared address to himself! Suggestion too terrible to mention! But Cleopatra is resourceful to the last, and without a moment's hesitation, inserts *extempore*, after the words just quoted, a line of identification,

I mene yow, Antonius my knight!—

and the oration is carried successfully through, followed shortly after by her death among the serpents. Now all this, doubtless, was very noble on Cleopatra's part, but the question remains whether Antony's suicide—in spite of the fact that his *antemortem* statement was, as compared with hers, a distinctly shorter and less polished product—is not to be considered just as heroic? Professor Lounsbury remarks on this legend: "Even in the story as told by Chaucer, Antony is not only the more in

¹ It is plain that lines 87-89 are corrupt or out of place (owing, doubtless, to the carelessness of some scribe), for surely Chaucer would not have chosen the very moment when Antony kills himself and when Cleopatra, after her failure to compromise matters with Caesar, flees—to exclaim:

Ye men, that falsly sweren many an ooth
 That ye wol dye, if that your love be wrooth,
 Heer may ye seen of women which a trouthe!

This last phrase, too, seems somewhat ambiguous.

earnest of the two, he is much more of a martyr."¹ Chaucer clearly was of the same opinion, and Cupid was little aware of the real purport of his remark when he said:

For lat see now what man that lover be,
Wol doon so strong a peyne for love as she.

As an execution of Alceste's command to write

Of Gode Wommen, maidenés and wyves,
That weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves;
And telle of false men that hem bitrayen,

Chaucer's story of Cleopatra can be adjudged only a limited success.

In connection with these observations, the last three lines² of this legend are of special interest. Referring to Cleopatra's death, the poet remarks:

Now er I finde a man thus trewe and stable,
And wol for love his deeth so freely take,
I pray god let our hedes never ake!

Explicit Legenda Cleopatrie, Martiris.

This curiously back-handed statement seems all the more curious (*eigenthümlich*) coming at the end of a tale about a man who

¹ *Studies*, II, 185.

² The line preceding these three is also worthy of note. When Chaucer has concluded his tale he remarks:

And this is storial sooth, hit is no fable.

Professor Skeat gives in his glossary, with a reference to this line, *storial sooth*=historical truth. Yet one of Professor Skeat's own definitions of *storie* is "legend of a saint (or the like)" [see Prologue to *C. Tales*, 709; also Miller's Prologue, 71], and it is worth while in this connection to remember that the Nun's Priest, speaking of his story of Chauntecleer, remarks:

This storie is al-so trewe, I undertake,
As is the book of Launcelot de Lake,
That wommen holde in ful gret reverence.

Now when we bear in mind that in the *Canterbury Tales* the physician says of his story of Appius and Virginia,

this is no fable

But knowen for historial thing notable,

is it going too far to suggest that there was a delicate distinction in Chaucer's mind between *storial sooth* and a *historial thing*?

did "for love his deeth so freely take." The author has already suggested that there is a certain distinction between real women and the heroines of legends. Does he now infer that there is likewise a difference between a man and the hero of *olde stories*? May I never have the head-ache, Chaucer says, in effect, till I find a man who will commit suicide for a broken heart. When I find such a fool, he says by implication, then let my head begin to ache. (Evidently Scogan was not that fool!)

In addition to the couplet selected as a basis for the discussion of the first legend, there is another passage, also in the last paragraph of the B Prologue, which is of interest in connection not only with the *Cleopatra*, but with several others of the stories.

The God of Love gives Chaucer certain directions as to how to compose his legends. He does not wish him to be too lengthy or to enter into too circumstantial description of all the events in the lives of his heroines:

I wot wel that thou mayst nat *al* hit ryme,
 That swiche lovers diden in hir tyme;
 It were to long to reden and to here;
 Suffyceth me, thou make in this manere,
 That thou reherce of al hir lyf the grete,
 After thise olde auctours listen to trete.
 For who-so shal so many a storie telle,
 Sey shortly, or he shal longe dwelle.

This advice, considering the subject of the *Legend*, the praise of feminine virtue and constancy, and considering, still more, the women chosen to exemplify these qualities, shows a commendable foresight on the part of Cupid. More than one of these heroines were, as we should say today, "women with a past," and to arrange a scheme of narration that shall spare the reader painful revelations concerning these virtuous women is indeed a mercy. For instance, if Chaucer had been compelled to relate *in extenso*—at the beginning of the first legend—the story of how Cleopatra poisoned her younger brother Ptolemy, might not some overscrupulous reader with a too retentive memory

fail to be properly affected by her pure devotion to Antony and by the beauty of her sacrifice to love—in the pit of serpents? (That pit of serpents, by the way, is an artistic addition to the story for which Chaucer has never received due credit.) Or take Medea! There were probably some fathers and mothers among Chaucer's readers. How thankful, then, the poet must have been that he had Love's permission to omit the story of how Medea sliced up her children—not to mention such other little episodes¹ in her career as the occasion when, to delay her pursuing father, she cut her brother in pieces, and strewed the fragments of his body along the road, or when, promising thereby to restore his youth, she persuaded the three daughters of Pelias to tear asunder the limbs of their father. And then the tale of Progne and Philomela!—as a legend of good women what an anticlimax it would have been if Chaucer, bound down to a minutely historic method, had been obliged, after the story of Tereus' cruelty to the sisters, to tell how they in turn cooked Tereus' little boy and served him up, as a banquet, to his father! That certainly would have left a bad taste in the mouth. Or, to take one more example, the legend of Hypermnestra! Suppose Chaucer had been required to present all its ramifications! How embarrassing that might have proved! He would have had to tell how Hypermnestra's forty-nine sisters killed their husbands on their wedding night. Now all that, even though narrated in the most bloody and realistic manner, would have in no way detracted from the virtue of Hypermnestra—in fact it would have enhanced it by the contrast. Yet even without being too coldly mathematical, is it wholly fanciful to raise the query whether, as part of a poem whose subject is the goodness of woman in general rather than the goodness of any individual, the narrative of those forty-nine murderesses might not have had a slightly irrelevant effect? I judge that Chaucer was wise in leaving it out; and Cupid—wise beyond his years in permitting the omission.

¹ These are both referred to in Epistle xii of the *Heroides*. In fact that epistle is little more than a story of the crimes of Medea.

Chaucer, then, makes ample use of the instructions of the God of Love, and no one can deny that his *Legend* is rendered thereby much more entertaining. That he was conscious of what he was doing a single example will show. In the *Cleopatra*, Chaucer tells us, at the outset, of his heroine's love for Antony and of the latter's virtues, facts for which he vouches "but-if that bokes lye" (a most unkind suspicion, by the way, to insert right in the heat of the story—that thought that books might possibly prove untrustworthy—especially when we remember that they are our only source of information concerning good women); the author then goes on to say of Cleopatra:

And she was fair as is the rose in May.

And, for to maken shortly is the beste,

She wex his wyf, and hadde him as her leste.

Now though there is surely a close causal relationship between the first and third lines of this quotation, it would not be improper to say that there exists a sort of hiatus between them—something, so to speak, like certain of the unwritten chapters of *Tristram Shandy*. Cleopatra, of course, was young and giddy, and Chaucer, seeing that a full account of her courtship with Antony might cause a pang to some of her admirers, remembers opportunely Cupid's remark,

I wot wel that thou mayst nat *al* hit ryme,

That swiche lovers diden in hir tyme,

and wisely passes on with the remark, "for to maken shortly is the beste." He is equally judicious when he comes to the point in his original where, after the suicide of Antony, Cleopatra, apparently unmoved by her lover's death, tries her seductive wiles on Caesar, this whole distressing episode being dismissed with the tactful abridgment:

His wyf, that coude of Cesar have no grace.

But Chaucer's crowning kindness to Cleopatra is his omission to say (what Florus blurts out with the most unblushing frankness) that the real motive which led to the Queen's death, so far from being love for Antony, was the fear of figuring, in an undignified role, in Caesar's triumphal procession.

The philosophy back of all these chivalric silences of Chaucer has been expounded in an earlier passage of the legend:

The wedding and the feste to devyse,
 To me, that have y-take swiche emprise
 Of so many a storie for to make,
 Hit were to long, lest that I sholde slake
 Of thing that bereth more effect and charge;
 For men may overlade a ship or barge;
 And forthy to th' effect than wol I skippe,
 And al the remenant, I wol lete hit slippe.

This comparison of the heaping up of material irrelevant to his theme of good women to the overloading of a ship is certainly very effective. Chaucer might easily have overfreighted, and so upset, his *Legend*. But why does he speak of his work as "swiche emprise" and of "so many a storie for to make"? Surely the nine legends do not form such an enormous volume. Ah, but I forgot!—the *Legend* is unfinished, and here at the beginning, in the first flush of his inspiration, Chaucer was planning, perhaps, after singing the praises of the ladies of his ballad, to write the lives of the

twenty thousand mo sittinge (559)
that been good wommen allee

And trewe of love, for aught that may befall.

With more than twenty thousand biographies before him, the poet might well feel the necessity of avoiding prolixity.

This last point suggests the question whether, after all, these observations concerning the reasons for Chaucer's omissions have not been decidedly supersubtle, whether a great deal has not been made out of a very insignificant matter. Chaucer's works are overflowing with just such notices to his readers that he intends to avoid prolixity. Has not the belief that the *Legend* is a satire begun to dictate to the facts? Is not the text being forced to conform with a theory? During the rest of the discussion of the legends, at any rate, it shall be assumed, very rigorously, that the tales are perfectly serious, and instead of searching for satirical matter, the method shall be adopted of seeing how far

such passages as oversuspicious persons might deem ironical may be explained away.

THISBE.

[When we consider the last three lines of the *Cleopatra*,
 Now, er I finde a man thus trewe and stable,
 And wol for love his deeth so freely take,
 I pray god lat our hedes never ake!

—it is apparent that they must have been written before Chaucer ever heard of Pyramus. It requires no critical acumen whatever, therefore, to perceive that the story of Thisbe (doubtless through the carelessness of some scribe) has wandered from its proper place among the legends; for, even though the poet's final arrangement of his tales was not in the order of their composition, it is perfectly plain that his sense for variety and contrast would have led him to separate by a considerable space the stories of Antony and Pyramus. There can be no harm, however, in discussing the latter in its traditional place.]

Of all Chaucer's heroines in the *Legend*, Thisbe is perhaps the most attractive. Not that she is *entirely* without blemish. Her midnight tryst with her lover, for instance, outside the walls of Babylon, was hardly according to the canons of modern, or, one might add, mediaeval, propriety. Indeed Thisbe herself seems to recognize, in the end, that her conduct was scarcely in conformity even with Babylonian convention:

And lat no gentil woman her assure (203)
 To putten her in swiche an aventure.

Yet, after all, we do not wish even a good woman to be too good—to run the risk of being faultily faultless—and in addition to that Thisbe was a mere girl and her parents were unreasonably despotic; at any rate there is such a halo of romance over her and over the moonlit scene of her misfortune that we readily forgive any slight breach of decorum on her part. That the meeting of the lovers involved nothing more than this and was to be of the most innocent sort, Chaucer plainly suggests when he alters or suppresses several phrases of Ovid's to which only the

most cynical-minded person would ever think of attaching a questionable implication.

In the story of Pyramus and Thisbe Chaucer has the most intrinsically affecting of his themes. But, on the other hand, precisely because of its deep and pure pathos, that theme, in sacrilegious and unfeeling hands, is one that lends itself pre-eminently to burlesque; we all know, how, two centuries after Chaucer, Shakespeare profaned this beautiful tale of the cruel lioness.¹ Now if Chaucer really had any maliciously satirical intent behind his poem, is not this legend just the place where we might naturally expect to find evidence of it; and, conversely, will not the complete absence of any comic touches from the legend of Thisbe be the most convincing of proofs that there is nothing satirical in any of the other stories?

With what entire seriousness Chaucer conducts his narrative, may be indicated by the statement that his account is an almost word-for-word rendering of the passage in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*. Unlike the sources of most of his legends, Chaucer evidently felt, in the case of the story of Thisbe, that his original was sufficiently pathetic, and might, on the whole, be allowed to speak for itself; his alterations, therefore, consist mainly in the addition, here and there, of some delicate com-

¹ One comparison will be sufficient to indicate the difference in spirit between the two poets. Just before the death of his heroine, while Thisbe is mingling her moans with her lover's blood, Chaucer condenses the whole pathetic scene into a single vivid line (a line not present, be it noted, in the Latin):

And with his blood herselven gan she peynte. (170)

Put beside that simply tragic statement of fact the high-flown appeal to the Fates of the Thisbe of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*:

O Sisters Three,

Come, come to me,

With hands as pale as milk;

Lay them in gore,

and we have the difference between Chaucer's treatment of the theme and—parody. Such evidence as this, adding immeasurably to the weight of merely chronological considerations, makes it finally certain that Chaucer borrowed nothing from Shakespeare. The phrase "O wicked wall" is plainly a mere coincidence.

ment¹ or suggestion, or, on the other hand, perhaps, some equally trivial suppression or variation² in the prasing. The perfect

¹ The earliest of these consists of the lines (touching the growing acquaintance of Pyramus and Thisbe):

The name of everich gan to other springe (14)
 By wommen, that were neighebores aboute.
 For in that contree yit, withouten doute,
 Maidens been y-kept, for jelosye,
 Ful streite, lest they diden som folye.

The first part of this passage (a substitute for Ovid's *Consciuis omnis abest*) constitutes a graceful recognition of that instinctive interest in others (sympathy, one might call it), which, knowing neither time nor place, is found wherever womankind is present—a recognition inserted with peculiar aptness, it will be conceded, in a Legend of Good Women. What the latter part of the passage refers to is less obvious, but whatever it means, it is plainly an improvement in the story, for, were it not, Chaucer would certainly have made no alteration.

The second important addition occurs (where Thisbe steals in secret from the city) in the lines:

For alle her frendes—for to save her trouthe— (93)
 She hath for-sake; allas! and that is routhe
 That ever woman wolde be so trewe
 To trusten man, but she the bet him knewe!

Evidently the text is contaminated at this point (by 'Adam' or some other equally wretched scrivener perhaps), for to say *she hath for-sake alle her frendes for to save her trouthe* is palpably to fly in the face of all logic and utter the veriest nonsense. The latter part of this quotation, together with the only other considerable passage added by Chaucer, is commented on below.

² It is indeed true that these variations in the phrasing sometimes seem to alter the sense of the original and it is of course possible to imagine an uncouth and ill-starred critic contending that Chaucer was consciously attempting a ridiculous effect. "Take the suicide of Pyramus, for instance!" (we seem to hear this ill-favored one exclaiming)—

"And with that worde he smoot him to the herte. (145)
 The blood out of the wounde as brode sterte
 As water, whan the conduit broken is.

Thou, too, O Pyramus, as well as thine evil brothers of the *Legend*, wast a bloody man!" But such criticism is as futile as it is boorish. It may be granted that Chaucer has failed to get the full significance of the beautiful figure in the Latin, but one must remember that the poet's knowledge of that language was of the rough and ready sort, and the word *conduit*, furthermore, even though it usually did mean an aqueduct in Middle English, may well have had a dozen other meanings.

gravity of Chaucer's narrative, therefore, may be regarded as established—for how can a story be humorous which contains not a single humorous line? You cannot make a red house out of blue bricks.

This main point being settled, one is prepared to admit, with the utmost cheerfulness, that the legend of Thisbe, even less than that of Cleopatra, carries out Alceste's injunction to write of true women betrayed by false men. That Pyramus is far enough from being one of those men

That al hir lyf ne doon nat but assayen (B 487)

How many wommen they may doon a shame,
is not only proved by his suicide but is admitted by Thisbe herself, when, just before plunging the dagger in her breast, she exclaims:

But god forbede but a woman can (205)

Been as trewe and loving as a man!

Chaucer, to be sure, in the early part of the tale, does his utmost (another indication that he is performing his task with perfect soberness) to blacken the character of Pyramus, remarking when Thisbe departs to keep the tryst:

allas! and that is routhe (94)

That ever woman wolde be so trewe

To trusten man, but she the bet him knewe!¹

Or again, take the awful moment when Thisbe, searching for her lover in the moonlight, suddenly comes upon him

Beting with his heles on the grounde. (158)

This, to be sure, is not an exactly literal version of Ovid's

tremebunda videt pulsare cruentum

Membra solum.

Chaucer has, indeed, added a subtle connotation, due, possibly, in part, to the rendering by *heles* of *tremebunda membra*, but in its inner nature defying analysis. But to suggest that this evanescent something in any way savors of burlesque is (as was also the case with the *conduit* passage) to be totally insensible to one of the poet's fundamental qualities—his naive realism. Chaucer (as we have often been told) is like a child. Is not the discrepancy, then, between the passages just quoted, exactly what we should expect when an author as sophisticated as Ovid is rendered by one as ingenuous as Chaucer?

¹ Thisbe had seen very little of Pyramus. The hole in the wall, it will be remembered, was small.

Yet even this, Chaucer perceives, is not enough, and evidently realizing that the voluntary death of the hero may somewhat detract from the force of his instance, the poet hastens to add, when his story is over, that this case of Pyramus is a highly exceptional one, and he acknowledges the deep felicity (*deyntee*) which it affords "us men" to hear of a man who can be faithful in love:

Of trewe men I finde but fewe mo (212)

In alle my bokes, save this Piramus.

Only a person in that unwarrantable mood which, as was said at the beginning, is to be studiously avoided in this discussion of the legends, would think of suspecting that Chaucer, by the phrase "in alle my bokes," intends to suggest that the place to look for true *men* is in real life rather than in literature.

DIDO.

We now come to the case of Dido. Chaucer's main authority is Vergil.

I coude folwe, word for word, Virgyle, (79)

But it wolde lasten al to longe a whyle,

and it would also, Chaucer might have added, have involved various other difficulties, such, for instance, as the translation of a passage like

Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores (iv, 28)

Abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro,

in connection with Dido's later exclamation,

Non servata fides, cineri promissa Sychaeo! (iv, 552)

or of a line like,

Coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam, (iv, 172)

or of the well-known,

Varium et mutabile semper

Femina,

a maxim highly inappropriate, it will be recognized, to appear in a work upon good women. And Chaucer's omissions from Ovid, his other source, are equally discerning.¹ Now if he had

¹ For example:

Exige, laese pudor, poenas! violate Sychaei. (97)

really wished to be satirical, might he not have seized on these very aspects of his originals—and written a travesty on woman's faithfulness? Could we ask for clearer proof, then, of his serious purpose than the fact that he omits these questionable passages, and instead of following his authorities servilely, gives, to a considerable extent, his own account of the affair?

Earlier in life, in the *Book of the Duchesse*, Chaucer had written:

Another rage (731)

Had Dydo, quene eek of Cartage,
That slow hir-self, for Eneas
Was fals; whiche a fool she was!—

but no such irreverent exclamation as this last line mars Chaucer's considerate treatment of the Queen in the *Legend*. One of the most significant points is the fact that the poet generously omits all mention of Dido's marriage with Sichaeus, for good women are ordinarily supposed to remain true to their first loves. Even the reader of Chaucer's account, however, cannot help admitting that there were certain aspects of Dido's career which make it impossible to set her up as, *in all respects*, a model of womanly virtue. Take, for instance, that matter of her going into the cave with Aeneas without a chaperon. To be sure there was a thunder storm—and an unusually heavy one at that. But to show that the suggestion is not hypercritical, and as evidence that the questionable propriety of her conduct had occurred even to Chaucer himself, one may quote the lines:

And shortly, fro the tempest her to save,
She fledde her-self into a litel cave,
And with her wente this Eneas also;
I noot, with hem if ther wente any mo;
The autour maketh of hit no menciou.

Chaucer, it is clear, wishes to give Dido the benefit of every doubt, and suggests that in reality the lovers may not have been alone after all.

A peculiarly aggravated feature of Dido's case was the fact that, unlike some of her more fortunate sister-victims in the *Legend*, she had neglected to go through a marriage ceremony with her betrayer. This thought is so painful to Chaucer that he declares he "may nat wryte" of her complaint,

So greet a routhe I have hit for t'endyte, (422)

and he tenderly spares his readers a transcript of Dido's last letter to Aeneas, referring those who can endure its perusal to Ovid. In the few opening words of the letter, which Chaucer does give, it is worth while to note the line,

'But sin my name is lost through you,' quod she,
a confession which clearly embodies another virtue of the Queen's—humility. Dido, as she looked back over her career, laid no claim to *absolute* perfection.

Chaucer, then, in his *Dido*, has made a very effective legend out of recalcitrant material. Perhaps it was the very love of setting himself a difficult task that led him to follow the *Aeneid* rather than the pre-Vergilian Dido legend in which the Queen perishes in a funeral pyre sooner than to prove faithless—by marriage with Iarbas—to her first husband, Sichaeus. That Chaucer knew this form of the story is attested by its presence in Jerome's treatise against Jovinian.

The name Iarbas suggests a word of final comment. Chaucer does not tell us how far Dido had acquiesced in the suit of this King who had "wowed her, to have her to his wyf," though he does tell us that it was pitiful to see Iarbas' sorrow when he was deserted. In the light of this fact it seems a little inappropriate for Chaucer to choose exactly this place to insert the lines:

O sely womman, ful of innocence,
Ful of pitee, of trouthe, of conscience,
What maked yow to men to trusten so?
Have ye swich routhe upon hir feined wo,
And han swich olde ensamples yow beforn?

etc. Now this "sely womman" is, of course, woman in general, and what she is chided for is her trust in false men like—

Aeneas. But coming in so suddenly just after the account of Dido's desertion of the King, the lines beginning "O sely womman" seem, unless one is on one's guard, to refer to Dido herself, and until the reader detects his own error, he wonders why Chaucer has selected the moment when Dido leaves Iarbas to commend her innocence, her pity, her truth, and her conscience. Doubtless through the error of some scribe (or scribes) the passage has wandered from its proper context.

HYSIPYLE AND MEDEA.

The stories of Hypsipyle and Medea are brief and need not detain us long. Chaucer tells how the false Jason wooed and deserted them, and how, thereby, two more were added to the list of martyrs, two more affecting life records to the legends of the saints; while, as for Jason himself, he is painted in such black hues that the poet may well cry out:

Have at thee, Jasoun! now thyn horn is blowe! (16)

Hypsipyle, though she does not appear on the scene till the short tale devoted to her is about half over, makes her entrance in the attractive role of one offering welcome to the becalmed wanderer. Open-armed hospitality was perhaps her crowning virtue. And if this willingness to receive the stranger went so far as to make her appear at times almost gullible, it must be remembered, first, that Jason was a past-master in the art of seduction, and, secondly, that one must always have the defects of one's qualities. It seems certain, for instance, that it must have been merely the defect of some quality—sympathy, perhaps—that led Hypsipyle, when Jason abandoned her, to express the wish that her rival might soon find herself deserted also and that she might murder both her children. This, at first blush, until we remember the provocation that prompted it, *does* seem a little cold-blooded, and we cannot help wishing that a good woman like Hypsipyle might have found it possible to spare the innocent children. At any rate, we are glad Chaucer found it possible to omit his heroine's last letter to Jason (from Ovid),

Which were to long to wryten and to sein, (198)
 for it would have grieved us to think of her as being, even in
 desire, the murderess of Medea ("Medeae Medea forem!"¹)—
 though as far as Medea herself was concerned, would not such
 a fate have served her right for being fool enough to trust in
 Jason?

Chaucer concludes the tale with the lines:

And trew to Jasoun was she al her lyf, (209)
 And ever kepte her chast, as for his wyf;
 Ne never had she joye at her herte,
 But dyed, for his love, of sorwes smerte.

This is indeed a rare example of womanly devotion. In fact,
 Jason hardly seems worthy of such consecration. But on the
 other hand, woman's constancy becomes all the more pathetic
 when the man concerned is a blackguard and a villain.

The story of Medea is essentially that of Hypsipyle over
 again (how much of his past Jason revealed to his new love we
 do not know). Chaucer humanely omits the account of the
 killing of the children—and some other events in his heroine's
 life—and the Man of Law in his prologue shows that he does
 not know what he is talking about when he speaks of the *Legend*
 as giving a picture of

The crueltee of thee, queen Medea, (72)
 Thy litel children hanging by the hals.

To speak of the "crueltee" of Medea is nonsense, for how could
 a good woman be cruel? If it be true that Medea really did
 kill her children she plainly must have done it while suffering
 from what in these days we should call a "brain storm." Chau-
 cer was certainly wise in excluding the account of this unfortu-
 nate event. It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the poet
 also omits, as usual, the pitiful last letter of his heroine ("which

¹ See *Heroides*, vi. 149—151.

were as now to long for me to wryte"), referring those interested to Ovid.¹

LUCRETIA.

In the story of Lucrece, even more than in any of the previous legends, Chaucer's theme is a *bad man*. The poet is entirely conscious of the fact and declares explicitly, at the beginning, that he paints the blackness of Tarquin only in honor of the whiteness of Lucrece.

But for that cause telle I nat this storie, (5)

But for to preise and drawn to memorie

The verray wyf, the verray trewe Lucesse,

and again at the end when he has recounted

The horrible deed of her oppressioun, (189)

he repeats the statement:

I tell hit, for she was of love so trewe, (195)

Ne in her wille she chaunged for no newe.

Chaucer finds, then, in the tale of Tarquinius, a beautiful example of a woman's faithfulness to *one* man (Lucrece, that is, remaining true to Colatyne, does not let Tarquinius alienate her affections); to his heroine belonged that

stable herte, sad and kinde, (197)

That in these women men may alday finde;

Ther as they caste hir herte, ther hit dwelleth.

¹ This omission, once more, is a well-advised one. Medea, unfortunately (we may perhaps venture to say *in a footnote*), had committed, unwittingly we will hope, a good many crimes in her day, and it would have rather marred the effect of his legend if Chaucer had had to translate, for instance, Ovid's lines (19-20) where Medea cries out to Jason, wishing that he had perished:

Quantum perfidiae tecum, scelerate, perisset,

Dempta forent capiti quam mal multa meo!

or where she exclaims to the brother she has murdered (115-116):

Quod facere ausa meast, non audet scribere dextra;

Sic ego, sed tecum, dilaceranda fui,

or finally, where, remembering the death of Pelias, she says to Jason (131-2):

Ut culpent alii, tibi me laudare necessest,

Pro quo sum totiens esse coacta nocens.

Only the most malicious-minded person, bent on finding satire whether it exist or not, could discover the sign of any interruption to the serious flow of this tragic and pathetic tale, One can imagine such a person, to be sure, affirming that Lucrece had ample opportunity to cry out during Tarquin's preliminary speech beginning,

I am the kinges sone, Tarquinius, (110)

and then pointing out that Chaucer himself has assigned four or five contradictory reasons for her failure to alarm the house. "First," (one can imagine this malicious-minded objector saying) "the poet says she was physically unable—presumably through fright—to utter a sound:

No word she spak, she hath no might therto; (117)

secondly, he says she was mentally unable to phrase her utterance coherently:

What shal she sayn? her wit is al ago (118)

(whereas both of these lines are flatly contradicted by a later one—136—which asserts that it was only after Tarquin's second speech that

She loste bothe at-ones wit and breeth);

thirdly, he practically declares that she did not speak because there was no one to hear her:

To whom shal she compleyne, or make moon? (120)

fourthly, he asserts that she could not cry out because of physical incapacity, this time *external*:

What! shal she crye, or how shal she asterte (123)

That hath her by the throte, ?

fifthly, in the phrase 'with swerde at herte' he returns to the first suggestion that fear was the deterrent cause; and finally on top of all this confusion, a confusion packed into a passage of only a few lines, he makes the surprising assertion:

She axeth grace, and seith al that she can. (125)

The natural inference is that this 'al she can' was not very much." Such criticism defeats its own end, and the best reply is a word or two from M. Bech's comparison of portions of this legend with its sources: "Während Ovid, gebildet an den meis-

terwerken griechischer sprache, zugleich in der blütezeit römischer literatur lebte, war es Ch., dem vater der englischen poesie, bestimmt, die noch im werden begriffene englische sprache für den poetischen gebrauch fast ganz neu zu bilden und zu fixieren. Kein wunder also, wenn er nicht diese gewalt über die sprache hat, wenn er nicht so mit ihr spielen kann wie der römische dichter, der dabei durch sein ungewöhnliches talent, die ihm nachgerühmte *luxuries ingenii*, unterstützt wurde. Dies verhältniss ist zu berücksichtigen, wenn wir die verse (Fasten II, 759 ff.):

Illa revixit,

Deque viri collo dulce pependit onus

so übersetzt finden (v. 64ff.):

And she anoon up roos, with blysful chere,

And kyssed hym, as of wives ys the wone.

Oder wenn unser dichter das kunstvolle distichon (805):

Instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque

Nec prece nec pretio, nec movet ille minis

wiedergibt mit den worten (v. 125):

She axeth grace, and seyde al that she kan." ¹

It has long since been pointed out that Chaucer has committed a curious blunder at the end of the *Lucretia*. He writes:

For wel I wot, that Crist him-selve telleth, (200)

That in Israel, as wyd as is the lond,

That so gret feith in al the lond he ne fond

As in a woman.

This *woman* upon examination turns out to be—the Roman Centurion! The error itself is insignificant,² but coming in a *Legend of Good Women*, a poem in which the faithfulness of woman is contrasted with the faithlessness of man, it is surely unfortunate enough. It is merely one more tribute to the unflinching accuracy of scholarship of the Germans that it was a critic of that nation (M. Bech) who pointed out this (under the circumstances) important error, an error which he hastens

¹ *Anglia*, v. 333.

² A not dissimilar error occurs in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*.

to correct in the interest of our sex. These are his own words: "Eine ungenauigkeit dagegen hat sich Ch. zu schulden kommen lassen bei einem citate aus der bibel, das ich mir im interesse unseres geschlechtes zu berichtigen erlaube."

Chaucer ends the *Lucretia* with his usual note of warning:

as of men, loketh which tirannye (204)

They doon alday; assay hem who so liste,

The trewest is ful brotel for to triste,

a moral somewhat weakened, one is compelled to confess, by the unfortunate blunder of which mention has just been made.

ARIADNE.

The story of Ariadne, it must be frankly admitted, seems one of the least successfully handled of the legends, mainly for the reason that Chaucer does not appear to have availed himself, as fully as he might, of Cupid's permission to leave out extraneous matter. For instance, the story begins with an account of how Nisus' daughter, out of love for Minos, betrayed her native city and how "he quitte her kindenesse" by letting her drown in sorrow and distress. Now of course it serves Chaucer's purpose to mention as many bad men as possible, and what Nisus' daughter did was done, to be sure, for love. But the fact that she was a traitress remains, nevertheless, in a poem of this sort, a distinctly jarring element. Then, too, Phedra, Ariadne's sister, has a part in the story at times too prominent. Chaucer tells us that she was fairer than her sister, and she seems to have been, also, intellectually superior. At any rate it was she who devised the scheme of the clew of twine, as a guide from the maze, and who hit on the bright idea of feeding caramels to the Minotaur. When, therefore, leaving Ariadne sleeping on the island, she elopes with her sister's lover, and Chaucer exclaims:

Thise false lovers, poison be hir bane! (303)

we wonder whether he refers to masculine "lovers" in general

¹ *Anglia*, v. 336.

or to the eloping pair, Theseus and Phedra, and we feel, whatever he means, that all this is very disconcerting in a *Legend of Good Women*. Phedra, or whoever was to play the part of the false woman, should have been kept more in the background. Then there is another point. In the days of Theseus it may have been the custom for women to propose, but considering the manners of his own day, would it not have been better for Chaucer to have put a little less baldly the fact that the offer of marriage came from Ariadne (especially since she arranges, incidentally, another match for her sister)?

But whatever is said of Ariadne at first, it must be conceded that she becomes very affecting at the end, in her apostrophe to the bed. (How this article of household furniture came on the desert isle—"ther as ther dwelte creature noon save wilde bestes"—is not explained.) Chaucer does not give the whole of her complaint, but refers the reader to "Naso's" epistle, remarking:

Hit is so long, hit were an hevy thing. (334)

By "hevy" he perhaps means "causing a heavy heart." The poet ends the legend with the succinct lines,

I wol no more speke of this matere;
But thus this false lover can begyle
His trewe love. The devil him quyte his whyle!

It has long since been pointed out that Chaucer has committed a curious blunder in this legend. Theseus is twenty-three years old and yet has a son of marriageable age. This is made all the stranger if we accept his declaration that for seven years he has been, though from afar, the "servant" of Ariadne. Even Theseus would hardly have dared openly make this assertion unless his former wife had been dead before these seven years began. Seven from twenty-three leaves sixteen. The whole thing becomes an interesting, but withal a rather baffling, problem in arithmetic.

PHILOMELA.

In none of the other legends, not even the *Lucretia*, does Chaucer demonstrate so triumphantly as in the *Philomela* that the best way of showing the whiteness of woman is by painting the blackness of man. It may in all literalness be said that Chaucer proves the eminent virtue of Philomela by showing how Tereus mistreated her, cut out her tongue, and shut her up in prison. "*Cut out her tongue and shut her up in prison*—a neat formula under the conditions of which any woman might be virtuous!" is the sneer with which the malicious-minded person, already referred to, will probably greet this statement.

Chaucer is equally happy in his omissions. He brings his story to an end with the meeting of Progne and Philomela, remarking that

The remenant is no charge for to telle, (156)
 a very true comment, for the grewsome account of how the sisters revenged themselves might make the reader less keenly appreciative of other aspects of the tale more important for Chaucer's immediate purpose.¹ Chaucer concludes the legend by telling women that, if they so desire, they may beware of men, observing of the best man that, even though he prove no murderer,

Ful litel whyle shul ye trewe him have, (164)
 That wol I seyn, al were he now my brother,
 But hit so be that he may have non other.

PHYLLIS.

The story of Phyllis is much like that of Ariadne. Chaucer in the earlier legend speaks of Ariadne as the "wyf" of Theseus—though a careful perusal of the text would seem to indicate

¹ M. Bech remarks in this connection: "Die schreckliche rache der Progne wird er unerwähnt gelassen haben, nicht nur um damit nicht gegen die tendenz seines werkes zu verstossen, sondern auch um seinen besonderen leserkreis nicht durch die sich dabei offenbarende rohheit zu verletzen. Von diesem letzteren gesichtspunkte aus hat Ch. überhaupt verschiedene zu haarsträubende züge mit recht und erfolg zu mildern gesucht." *Anglia*, v, 342.

that the marriage ceremony, if it occurred, must have been an extraordinarily brief one. In the *Phyllis*, however, occurs a passage from which the plain inference is that Ariadne was *not* married to Theseus, an inference corroborated by Ariadne's confession that even though succor were to come to her on the desert island, she *dare* not return home. The passage in the *Phyllis* is as follows:

(66)

Ye han wel herd of Theseus devyse
 In the betraying of fair Adriane,
 That of her pite kepte him from his bane.
 At shorte wordes, right so Demophon
 The same wey, the same path hath gon
 That dide his false fader Theseus,
 For unto Phyllis hath he sworn thus,
 To wedden her, and her his trouthe plighte,
 And piked of her al the good he mighte,
 Whan he was hool and sound and hadde his reste;
 And doth with Phillis what so that him leste.
 And wel coude I, yif that me leste so,
 Tellen al his doing to and fro.

Phyllis, then, at any rate, neglected the wedding ceremony. Little oversights like this are vastly more painful in the biographies of *good* women than elsewhere, and it is not to be wondered at that Chaucer, remembering Cupid's leave to condense, consumes no less than eighteen lines (that he should have used so much of his valuable space in this way shows the *depth* of his regret) in informing us that he is hastening over this part of the story and that certain details—with which the reader of Ovid is familiar—are omitted. Demophoön, the villain, who inherited his evil ways from Theseus, is in Chaucer's eyes beneath contempt; the poet disdains to spend upon him "a penne ful of inke," and petitions the devil to set on fire both his soul and his father's. Of the last letter of Phyllis to Demophoön, Chaucer gives us samples. Among the many virtues of Phyllis literary talent was probably not one. Indeed her

epistolary style seems to have been both verbose and uneven, as is indicated by Chaucer's observation:

But al her lettre wryten I ne may (120)
 By ordre, for hit were to me a charge;
 Her lettre was right long and ther-to large;
 But here and there in ryme I have it laid,
 Ther as me thoughte that she wel hath said.

Perhaps this incapacity for expression, instead of some of the other reasons that have been suggested, explains why Chaucer has omitted or cut short so many of these last letters in the *Legend*. And yet—one makes bold to ask—is he justified? Surely facility in writing is no index of character.

Phyllis, we hear, "was her owne deeth right with a corde," and the author ends the legend with his usual practical application, this time, however, putting in a claim for himself as an exception to the general run of men:

Be war, ye women, of your sotil fo, (166)
 Sin yit this day men may ensample see;
 And trusteth, as in love, no man but me.

HYPERMNESTRA.

Of all Chaucer's good women Hypermnestra seems entitled to the crown of virtue. Her virtue consisted pre-eminently in this fact: that she had an opportunity to kill her husband and didn't. Indeed, even to say this, is to give her a niggard's praise—for her father had threatened her with death if she failed to do away with her husband. Here then we have a heroine who, in her spirit of self-sacrifice, towers even above the other noble women of the *Legend*. It seems, therefore, a little small-spirited in Chaucer—especially when there appears to be no warrant for it in his sources—to take from Hypermnestra the credit for her action by declaring that she was so made by Fate that, whether she would or no, certain virtues were hers, and that she was so shaped by Destiny that "she dar nat handle a knyf in malice." But the poet may well have meant nothing

by this. At any rate, his description of Hypermnestra, when, waxing "cold as any frost" at the thought of the awful deed, she hesitates in the night, is perhaps the most effective picture in any of the legends, the line,

And husht were alle in Argon that citee (121)

being especially magical, an improvement, one is inclined to think, even on Ovid's

Securumque quies alta per Argos erat. (34)

And he shows the truest instinct in omitting that part of the description in the *Heroïdes* which brings Hypermnestra to the very verge of murder.¹ It is masterfully handled. We cannot but be slightly irritated with the poet, therefore, for permitting his heroine in the very midst of this tragic, almost sublime, scene to break in with the remark, "What the devil have I to do with the knife?"²—an exclamation, it need hardly be pointed out, pitched far below the tragic level. (Possibly Matthew Arnold had this line in mind when he observed that Chaucer does not have "high seriousness," does not write in the "grand style.") But both Chaucer and his heroine, we are happy to record, quickly recover themselves. Nothing could show more clearly that emotion has not yet wholly unbalanced Hypermnestra than the unerring accuracy with which she foresees the nexus of cause and effect in the wonderful lines:

And shal I have my throte corve a-two? (134)

Then shal I blede, allas!—

lines which do hardly more credit to Hypermnestra's coolness of mind than to Chaucer's marvelous powers of observation. The heroine awakens her husband and he jumps out the window

¹ Erigor et capio tela tremente manu;
Non ego falsa loquar: ter acutum sustulit ensem,
Ter male sublato reccidit ense manus;
Admovi iugulo, (sine me tibi vera fateri!)
Admovi iugulo tela paterna tuo,
Sed timor et pietas crudelibus obstitit ausis. (xiv, 44.)

² What devil have I with the knyf to do?— (133)

Ovid is much wiser in leaving out the devil entirely and simply remarking: *Quid mihi cum ferro?*

and escapes. She follows, but being unable to keep up, sits down in despair, is captured, and put in prison. Then comes the line,

This tale is seid for this conclusioun, (162)

and with it the story and the *Legend* end.

The discussion of the separate legends is now concluded. I recognized at the beginning (since I myself firmly believe that the *Legend* is a satire) the danger of distorting the facts to meet my own conception; and I promised, therefore, to proceed cautiously, to assume that the legends were perfectly serious, and to attempt to explain away any seeming departures from a solemn method of treatment. For the sake of absolute candor, I chose to waive that safe rule of Chaucerian criticism:—whenever the poet's language arouses the suspicion that it is humorously intended, always assume that the suspicion is well grounded. Having kept my promise, then, I am now free to say that, whatever may be thought of this or that questionable line or passage—and for all of these I have tried to offer satisfactory explanations—taken as a whole these lines and passages seem to me to afford overwhelming proof that Chaucer deliberately planned his legends as a mere travesty on feminine virtue.

In the light of this book of tragedies, one of Alceste's remarks in the Prologue seems to take on something of that Delphic ambiguity for which Chaucer shows so strong a predilection. The Queen of Love is telling Cupid that if Chaucer is spared now, he will never be guilty again,

But he shal maken, as ye wil devyse,
Of wommen trewe in lovinge al hir lyve,
Wher-so ye wil, of maiden or of wyve,
And forthren yow, *as muche as he misseyde*
Or in the Rose or elles in Creseyde.

It has already been shown that, in the case of both the *Rose* and the *Troilus*, the amount by which Chaucer has "misseyd" is in reality a minus quantity. When Alceste, therefore, declares that in his *Legend* Chaucer will help the cause of love to the same

extent to which in these former works he hindered it—she is building the truth far better than she knows. Once more I ask: is the presence in the Prologue of this nicely two-edged utterance to be attributed to chance? If so, we shall soon be forced to the conclusion that Chance had a peculiar grudge against Chaucer.

There was at least one reader of Chaucer's poem—a man born not many years before it was written—who evidently, from the beginning, regarded it, in one respect at least, as a satire. Lydgate, referring to Chaucer and the *Legend*, declared:

This poete wrote, at the request of the quene,
 A Legende of perfite holynesse,
 Of Good Women, to fynd out nynetene
 That did excell in bounte and fayrenes;
 But for his labour and besinesse
 Was importable, his wittes to encombre,
 In all this world to fynd so gret a nombre.

This one stanza seems to me without exception (outside Chaucer himself) the best bit of criticism on the *Legend of Good Women* which I have ever seen. So good is it, indeed, that I cannot help wondering whether it was not, in modern journalistic parlance, "officially inspired." At any rate, wherever it came from, and whether or not its author recognized its full significance, it is absolutely sound, and among all the excellent jests connected with the *Legend*, none certainly surpasses in deliciousness the fact that after telling the tales of less than a dozen good women it comes to an abrupt conclusion; and the deliciousness of the jest is immensely enhanced when we remember Alceste's grave command:

Thou shalt, whyl that thou livest, yeer by yere (481)
 The moste party of thy tyme spende
 In making of a glorious Legende
 Of Gode Wommen,

etc. Evidently Alceste had no fears lest the poet run out of subjects! Let us hope, then, that we have heard for the last time that the *Legend of Good Women* is an unfinished work.

By a stroke of humorous and dramatic genius Chaucer has rendered this seeming fragment of a poem complete, complete in a sense in which it never could have been, had other legends actually been written;¹ and he seems himself to hint as much in the last line of the *Legend*:

¹ It is worthy of note that Chaucer has done this same thing in at least two other cases. Both *Sir Thopas* and the *Monk's Tale* are, when considered by themselves (just as are the legends considered without the *Prologue*), unfinished, but as parts of the *Canterbury Tales* they are dramatically complete. Chaucer makes use of his book of tragedies in a masterful fashion. After the poet's own moral tale of *Melibeus* (which, once more, *dramatically considered*, is one of the hugest jests Chaucer ever perpetrated), the Host turns to the monk, from whom he evidently expects a sprightly tale to serve as a contrast to the one just delivered—for the Monk, we remember, is one who

leet olde thinges pace, (pro. C. T., 175.)

And held after the newe world the space.

But Harry Bailly is doomed to disappointment. The Monk, who "took al in pacience," whether because he himself possessed a Chaucerian sense of humor, or, more likely, because he did not wish to tell a tale, sets out with the most deliberate malice to bore his audience:

I wol doon al my diligence, (M. Prol., 78)

As fer as souneth in-to honestee,

To telle yow a tale, or two, or three.

And if yow list to herkne hiderward,

I wol yow seyn the lyf of seint Edward;

Or elles first Tragedies wol I telle

Of whiche I have an hundred in my celle.

He will, he says, tell a tale or two or three, *and* he will narrate the life of St. Edward (long and dry!), or else *first* (blest be the Knight for interrupting!) he will favor the company with a little matter of a hundred tragedies. Doubtless the Monk was exasperated because the interruption came no sooner than it did, and when the Host begs for a story of hunting, the Monk, who has fulfilled his "forward" and so accomplished his purpose, refuses to try again.

In this same connection it should be said that while the *Canterbury Tales* are plainly incomplete, it is nevertheless foolish to talk about Chaucer's stupidity in undertaking so huge a task. The fact that the Host planned to have all the pilgrims tell four tales apiece, is no proof that they would have ever told them, much less is it a proof that Chaucer ever intended to compose so many. It is part of the realism to have the undertaking larger than the execution, and even though Chaucer had had fifty years at his disposal, he was under no artistic or dramatic obligation to carry out in detail Harry Bailly's original scheme.

This tale is seid for this conclusioun (!)—

Shall we admit the suspiciously significant character of this as a *last* line, or—shall we believe that Chance has been playing more pranks with Chaucer?

This matter of the supposed “unfinished” nature of the *Legend* long ago suggested the question: what stories has Chaucer omitted from his work? This same inquiry, even though we deem the poem complete, remains, in a slightly different sense, entirely pertinent, and we cannot fail to admit, upon reflection, that singular (*eigenthümlich*) as are the heroines whom the poet selects, those whom he omits form no less strange a list. Why, if the *Legend* is a perfectly serious affair, did the author choose to write of Cleopatra but neglect the account of Penelope? Why did he give the tale of Dido but leave out the story of Alceste?

And gladlier I wol wryten, if yow leste, (*Tr. v.*, 1777.)
Penelopeës trouthe and good Alceste.

The record of Penelope is in Chaucer's main source, the *Heroïdes*. How peculiar that he should have passed over her and Laodamia to write of Phyllis and Medea! Indeed, even heroines like Oenone and Hero seem much better suited to his purpose than most of those he has chosen,¹ to say nothing of women naturally not included in Ovid's list, like Andromache and Hecuba. It is the omission of Alceste, however, that is fullest of significance. “But the poem *is* unfinished,” comes the objection, “and the story of Alceste was to be the last of the legends.” Suppose, for the sake of argument, that that were so. Still, when Chaucer began to tire with the monotony of his subjects, when he began to be “agroted” to “wryte of hem that been in love forsworn,” is it not a little peculiar, especially since he was under no obligation to write his legends

¹ This matter of the omissions of the *Legend* might be put in another way. If Chaucer really wished to sing the praises of woman, why did he not compose a story of Constance or Griselda? A single stanza from the most pathetic parts of the *Clerk's Tale* would be worth this whole collection of legends for that purpose.

seriatim, that, letting some of the others go, he did not write the story of Alceste? Surely that tale is an infinitely better illustration of womanly love and devotion than any one of those which he has told, and around its theme his imagination had apparently long played. It is well-nigh incredible that he should have omitted it even from an unfinished *Legend*. And the matter becomes even more incredible, if, still considering the poem a serious production, we adopt the popular notion that it is dedicated to Queen Anne and that the Queen is allegorically represented by Alceste. It might be thought, in itself, sufficiently ungracious to dedicate an unfinished poem to the Queen. (The difference in the case of the *Faerie Queene* is palpable.) What, then, shall be said of a poem of this nature which records the good deeds of other women but does not tell at all the crowning story of the very one to whom it is dedicated? To account for the omission, whether the poem is allegorical or not, some positive motive, such as the satirical one here alleged, must be adduced.

The much-debated question of the allegory of the *Legend* and of its possible reference to Queen Anne is one into which, up to this point, I have refused to enter. Though the suggestion that Alceste represents Anne is a decidedly plausible one, the whole matter, after all, is mainly in the realm of conjecture, and since I have desired to rest my contentions on facts rather than upon guesses, I have omitted it, realizing that the argument for the satiric nature of the *Legend* neither stands nor falls with the question of allegory. Wishing it plainly understood, then, in advance, that what I have to say on this point in no way affects the previous argument, I would like, nevertheless, to offer, hypothetically, one or two observations on the matter.

In the first place we have Lydgate's categorical statement that Chaucer wrote the poem "at the request of the Queen." Why this statement has been so discounted, I do not know. Even though Lydgate be deemed untrustworthy, ought not a statement of fact from him to be worth nearly as much as the mere conjectures of twentieth-century critics? Now if it were act-

ually true that Chaucer was *requested* to write this poem, we have at once, in addition to the natural bent of his mind, a new motive for the humorous treatment of the theme. Any real poet prefers to choose the occasions for the exercise of his poetic powers. The muse is not, so to speak, perpetually on tap. And in the whole range of English literature it would be hard to select a poet whom, we might well imagine, it would have more irked than Chaucer—in spite of his undeniable capacity for occasional verse—to have a poetical task arbitrarily assigned him. What could be more like him, under such circumstances, than to make sport of his “requester”?¹ But to make sport of royalty is dangerous—albeit for that reason all the more attractive—business. Well may Chaucer have smacked his lips at the prospect and sharpened even more than usual the tools of his subtle humor! Well may he have been discontented with the first draft of his prologue, and increasing the fun tenfold in a revision, have increased at the same time, by a peerless stroke of genius, the improbability of its being discovered!—for he was precisely the sort of man, I conceive, to write humorous poems content with the thought (if I may adapt a line from the *Troilus*) that

God and Chaucer wiste al what this mente,
or, to use the Wife of Bath's words (for this was a favorite conception of the poet's):

There was no wight, save god and he, that wiste.

But now on the other hand—leaving this matter of pleasant conjecture—if the *Legend* be really a serious poem and Alceste still represent the Queen, then there are certain passages in the Prologue which offer rather perplexing difficulties, passages which, however, with the humorous interpretation, only add to the jocoseness and the satire.

As the first instance of what I mention, I wish to place together two short selections from the B Prologue—separated in

¹ It has already been seen what he did in the case of another occasional poem, *The Parlement of Foules*.

the text by about a dozen lines—trusting to the juxtaposition to bring out a “curious” fact. Alceste says to Chaucer:

Thou shalt, whyl that thou livest, yeer by yere, (481)
 The moste party of thy tyme spende
 In making of a glorious Legende
 Of Gode Wommen, maidenes and wyves,
 And whan this book is maad, yive hit the quene (496)
 On my behalfe, at Eltham, or at Shene.

As long as you live, Alceste says to the poet, continue to write on this book, and when it is done give it to the Queen. Without further comment this trifling inconsistency may be recommended to the attention of those interested in the question of the relation of the *Legend* to Queen Anne; and if some critic astute enough to explain it as another of Chaucer's blunders chances to come forward, he may be assured in advance that his explanation will be quite consistent with the text of a poem already copiously sprinkled with lapses of this sort.

But to take a second example. The opening passage of the Prologue, in both versions, even though one allege no satirical purpose, produces, actually, an effect on the mind just the opposite of what it purports to produce. It is ostensibly a statement of absolute belief in authority throughout those realms where experience fails—a belief, for example, in the existence of hell or heaven. But in reality the passage has a skeptical tendency, and Professor Lounsbury is quite right, I think, in laying stress on it as evidence of the questioning character of Chaucer's mind. How has the poet accomplished this paradoxical effect? Largely by two lines. That inexorably straight-forward, common-sense couplet,

ther nis noon dwelling in this contree

That either hath in heven or helle y-be,

quite overtops all that follows and obliterates its impression. Now is it not rather unkind in Chaucer, especially since this introduction is entirely unnecessary, to place this suggestion of the possible non-existence of hell in the very fore-front of a poem whose heroine is none other than Alceste, the woman who

chose to die and go to hell for her husband? If the work is a serious one, this certainly is an egregious blunder, as is also the "peculiar" couplet, toward the end of the Prologue,

But er I go, this muche I wol thee telle, (552)

Ne shal no trewe lover come in helle,

and these lapses become vastly worse if the poem really refers to Queen Anne. But if the poem is a satire, whether allegorical or not, all of these things are exquisite jests, and, if it be allegorical, the most exquisite jest of all is the implication that King Richard (an excellent candidate for the role of Admetus) stands in need of being saved from hell—a hit, eminently just, and pre-eminently Chaucerian.¹

Finally, brief comment is demanded on two other theories in regard to the Prologue: the theory, in the first place, that the poet revised it (from B to A) when his own relations with the court were strained, and deliberately went through his earlier work cutting out its compliments to the Queen. Geoffrey Chaucer do that! Let him who has entertained such an idea for the fraction of a second read the works of Geoffrey Chaucer! Only a few degrees less unthinkable than this is the theory that the poet, out of tender regard for Richard's sentimentality, cut out, after her death, the allusions to Richard's queen. Why, one feels constrained to ask, if it so pained the King to recall his lost days of happiness (for it is to be noted that much more than the mere reference to 'Shene' is omitted), did not the obedient and considerate poet "publish" an expurgated *Parlement of Foules*? In reply to this, possibly some critic may suggest (may he pardon me this theft of his critical thun-

¹ Chaucer need not have had the slightest fear that Richard would see the joke, for, if we may trust history and Shakespeare, few men have been more completely lacking in the sense of humor. If, on the other hand, the poem is a serious one, then certain features of the Alceste story (as Dr. Lowes, following Professor Kittredge's suggestion, says—*P. M. L. A.*, *xix*, 671, *n.* 4) do become an argument against the theory that Alceste represents the Queen, for Chaucer, recognizing the ungraciousness of these features, could hardly have failed to exclude them, even though he felt perfectly certain that the King would not be keen enough to see the point.

der!) that such a revision probably *was* written, but has, owing to the carelessness of the scribes, been lost.

A word or two may next be said concerning the suggestion, made by Dr. Lowes, that the separate legends were perhaps written before the Prologue. While personally I cannot admit the validity of the reasoning by which he supports his theory nor of the conclusions he draws from it,¹ I think the theory it-

¹ Dr. Lowes, after making the suggestion that the separate legends may have been composed before the Prologue, goes on to show how his theory involves important results for the chronology of Chaucer's writings. He brings forward three principal arguments in favor of his theory:

(1) That certain passages in the *Ariadne* are similar to others in the *Knight's Tale*, and that both are plainly based on the *Teseide* of Boccaccio—the clear inference being, since the passages in the *Knight's Tale* are much superior poetically, that the *Ariadne* must have been written before the *Knight's Tale*;

(2) That the legends are poetically inferior to the Prologue;

(3) That since the *Phyllis* is closely associated with the *Ariadne*, and since the former was one of the last legends composed (as is shown by the lines,

But for I am agroted heer-biforn (61)

To wryte of hem that been in love forsworn,

And eek to haste me in my legende,

Which to performe god me grace sende,

etc.), practically all the legends must be of early date.

Now it will be perceived at once that, if the satirical interpretation of the poem be allowed, confusion is at once introduced into this carefully constructed train of arguments—to say nothing of the inferences based upon it. Since, too, there are other objections to be brought against these arguments even on their own basis, a word or two may be said concerning each.

To begin with, Dr. Lowes' first contention entirely overlooks the possibility that the superiority of these particular passages in the *Knight's Tale* may be due to Chaucer's mature touch when he revised it. In the next place, the fact that Theseus says he has been Ariadne's servant *seven* years, while the period of Palamon's imprisonment is also *seven* years—this is certainly a thread of association so slender that its serious use by Dr. Lowes suggests that his case is, after all, not quite so "conclusive" as he would have us believe. But the question of conclusiveness aside, let us see whether the argument of Dr. Lowes leads. "If the *Ariadne* followed the *Knight's Tale*," he declares, "what we have is a decidedly inferior and rather sketchy replica of two motives already fully and artistically worked out. That is, to say

self, on entirely different grounds, quite worth considering; in fact, even prior to reading Dr. Lowes' article, the notion had occurred to me that parts of these stories may have been composed before the Prologue, antedating, in that case, the very conception of the *Legend*. Indeed, to suppose that this was the case would, in one respect, add immensely to the facetiousness of the poem. What aspect of the whole jest would be more ludicrous than the supposition that Chaucer, commanded to write of love in penance for the misdeeds of his early literary life, fished out some of the products of that very life and palmed

the least, inherently improbable. More specifically, while the substitution of the 'foreyne' of the *Legend* for the lovely picture of the garden in Boccaccio is on any theory puzzling enough (though as the crude working out of a suggestion from a story not yet made the poet's own, it is at least intelligible), the view that just that substitution of all others should be deliberately made for Chaucer's own exquisite rendering of the picture in the *Knight's Tale* is almost inconceivable. And finally, that after he had created the very noble and stately figure of Theseus in the *Knight's Tale* Chaucer should, once more deliberately, superimpose upon it in his reader's minds the despicable traitor of the *Legend of Ariadne* ['The devil him quyte his whye!'], only the most convincing external evidence could lead one to believe." (P. 809.) I have no *external* evidence to offer; but merely grant that the poem is satirical and both this puzzling substitution and this atrocious superimposition are plain as daylight. What would a man like Chaucer enjoy better than parodying his own poetry? It may be pure imagination on my part, but nevertheless I cannot escape the feeling that there is a distinct flavor of the mock-romantic in that picture of Ariadne and Phedra

as they stode on the wal
And lokeden upon the brighte moon;
Hem leste nat to go to bedde soon.

In other words—and this brings us to Dr. Lowes' second point—if the poem be a satire, we have a *positive* motive for the inferiority of the legends; the more tedious and less life-like they are, the huger the joke on Cupid and Alceste, who have commanded Chaucer to write a "glorious *Legende*."

Concerning Dr. Lowes' deductions from the passage in the *Phyllis* several things may be said. If, on his basis, we accept a theory of the early composition of the legends and insist also on their marked inferiority to the Prologue, the only tenable hypothesis will be, it is clear, that they were composed quite independent of and prior to the very conception of the *Prologue*, Dr. Lowes himself speaking in one place

them off for penance? It is as if a minister—Chaucer surely would not resent the comparison, and this same minister has already been turned to good account for purposes of illustration—it is as if a minister who has recently assumed a new pastorate and who labors to keep abreast of the times, burning the midnight oil in the preparation of his discourses, were to be waited on by a committee of his rural but cultured congregation, who submit to him a suspicion they have conceived: that

(862, note 1) of the poet's "later return to the *Legends*. when the Prologue was conceived." And even if we imagine that one or two stories were added at that time to the earlier collection, the additions could not have included, on Dr. Lowes' theory, either the *Ariadne* or the *Phyllis*. But the word *legend* (used in the singular number and in such a way as plainly to imply the conception of the Prologue—cf. *Phyllis*, 62, and *B Prologue*, 486) occurs in the passage under discussion in the *Phyllis*! Hence Dr. Lowes must give up his original contention or fall back on the theory that the passage is a later interpolation—a possibility which does not seem to have occurred to him, and which, upon examination, proves rather disconcerting to his line of thought, for the view that the *Phyllis* was one of the last legends composed is a necessary link in his intricate argument. If the passage be an interpolation, Chaucer would naturally have inserted it in one of the legends *near the end of his poem*. But one of the legends near the end of his poem would not necessarily be one of those last composed. In fact, throughout his argument about these lines in the *Phyllis*, has not Dr. Lowes been guilty of that same "strangely literal-minded" sort of interpretation against which he protests so strongly in the paragraph of his article where he speaks of the high "imaginative power" with which "Chaucer—whatever must be said of his interpreters—was endowed"? When Chaucer declares that he is tired of writing on his *Legend*, his critic proceeds to take him at his word—though it is to be observed that, on Dr. Lowes' own theory, the poet's weariness did not prevent his writing a very sprightly and charming Prologue *after* he had finished the *Phyllis*. But why linger further over a passage whose significance, on the basis that the poem is a satire, is so plain?

In spite of all that has just been said, the possibility (discussed in the text) still remains that Chaucer *did* utilize in his *Legend* earlier work of a serious but tedious nature, turning it now to ironical purposes. At any rate I think Dr. Lowes' feeling that the legends are poetically inferior to the Prologue is worth much more than the complex structure of hypothesis and inference built up so elaborately in this portion of his paper.

he has inverted his barrel of sermons and is offering them the ancient offspring of his mind. The minister, instead of angrily protesting against the injustice of the charge, makes no answer, but, seeming by his silence to admit his guilt, promises to do differently in the future. When finally he is again alone—and the darkness has begun to fall—he goes to his dusty barrel, and with the faint trace of a smile at the corners of his mouth, brings forth the most time-eaten remains of his divinity-school imbecility. These, week by week, he serves up to his delighted congregation, who, aware of the change of fare and perceiving the increased profundity of the thought, shower him with congratulations—members of the committee that formerly waited upon him even going so far as to suggest, in a paternal way, that they had foreseen at the time the effect of their advice. The minister, accepting these compliments with grace, continues “yeer by yere” to draw from the same reservoirs of his youth, and finally goes from that pastorate—and later to the grave—his secret untold.

Now whether Chaucer, in his *Legend*, has done something comparable to this is a matter mainly of conjecture, and, as such, I do not care to dwell on it further except to remark that if he *has* done it (as the present discussion of the legends serves to show), he has added to and altered, at least slightly, his original versions of the tales. Not a few passages may actually be pointed out which seem exceedingly like satirical interpolations in previously serious (but tedious) matter, this being especially true of the concluding lines of nearly all the legends. To have utilized old work, written originally in a sober vein, would have aided Chaucer in not permitting his satire to get beyond bounds, and this fact may help account for the marvelous self-restraint (marvelous even for Chaucer¹) which characterizes the poem. A less self-restrained humorist,

¹Whose golden rule of composition, in this respect, is the advice of Pandarus to Cressid (when teaching her how to write love-letters):

And if thou wryte a goodly word al softe, (ii, 1028)
Though it be good, reherce it not to ofte.

wishing to write a satirical Legend of Good Women, would have chosen such heroines as Dalila or Clytemnestra. Swift could have written such a Legend with magnificent irony. But Chaucer is not Swift, and he belongs, not to the cannonball, but to the sugar-coated pill, school of satirists.

There is another conclusion of Dr. Lowes' with which (this time with more certainty) I have from the first been in agreement, though here again, I am forced to say, the reasoning by which he supports it seems to me fallacious. I believe with Dr. Lowes that the reference, at the end of the *Troilus*, to the "comédie" that Chaucer has in view is a reference, not to the *House of Fame*, but to the *Legend of Good Women*. Long before I approached the matter from this point of view, I wondered how Chaucer could have written the *House of Fame* after the *Troilus*. Excellent a poem as the *House of Fame* may be in certain respects, it is surely a temperate statement to affirm that it is as far beneath the *Troilus* both in artistic merit and in its grasp of life as *Love's Labour's Lost* is beneath *Hamlet*. The *House of Fame*, in spite of its delightful humor and in spite of the presence of that irony which characterizes Chaucer's latest art, is a mediæval poem. The *Troilus*, in spite of its subject, is a modern poem, in some respects vastly nearer the temper of our own time than is many an Elizabethan play. Of course this does not prove that the *House of Fame* was written, much less does it prove that it was "published," before the *Troilus*; but it does demand a stronger argument than one based on more or less far-fetched analogies between the *House of Fame* and the *Divine Comedy* to overthrow the natural presupposition of a later date for the *Troilus*. But now I ask, how can Dr. Lowes, on his own theory of Chaucer's serious treatment of good women, believe that the allusion at the end of the *Troilus* is to the *Legend*? In order to believe it he is compelled (1) to assume that Chaucer, owing partly perhaps to "scarsitee" of rhymes for *tregedie*, uses the word *comédie* in a very general sense, intending to express by it merely his desire "for a complete change of theme;" and (2) he is obliged to

make the further very arbitrary assumption¹ that in referring to his future work the poet has in mind only its Prologue—a tacit admission on Dr. Lowes' part that, as he interprets the poem, the Prologue and the rest of the *Legend* are lacking in unity of spirit.² With the first of these assumptions I have no particular quarrel. If, however, Chaucer was really seeking "a complete change of theme," I fail to see how even the Prologue, taken as a solemn production, forms such a striking contrast—at least, a contrast of the kind suggested—with the poem which contains the character of Pandarus; while if, as is much more natural to imagine, the poet is referring to the whole *Legend*, then his method of seeking relief from the tragic tale of *Troilus* becomes the still stranger one of turning to these narratives of villainous men, to this book of love stories all of which end in death and most of them in suicide. But, on the other hand, merely adopt the satirical interpretation and the whole thing is perfectly plain. A desire on Chaucer's part to lay aside the *Troilus*, which he had treated with the maturest art, that he might hasten to such mediæval themes as those of the *House of Fame* (which he never completed!) or of a serious *Legend* (which, again, he never completed!) is well nigh incredible. A desire, on the contrary, to hasten from the *Troilus* to the perpetration of a joke the like of which we shall seek in vain in the annals of literature—that desire in anyone with a taste for the jocular would be explicable enough, while in Chaucer it is really infinitely natural. In the reference, then, at the end of the *Troilus*, we seem to have Chaucer's own word that the present interpretation of the *Legend* is the right one, that this collection of tragic love stories is, at bottom, anything but tragic.

In connection with this probable prospective reference to the *Legend* in the *Troilus*, may be placed the unquestionable

¹It is worth noting that the single legend of Dido is four-fifths as long as the longer Prologue.

²This lack of unity is, in itself, an overwhelming argument against the current interpretation of the poem.

retrospective reference in the Man of Law's headlink. Says the Man of Law:

I can right now no thrifty tale seyn, (46)
 But Chaucer, though he can but lewedly
 On metres and on ryning craftily,
 Hath seyde hem in swich English as he can
 Of olde tyme, as knoweth many a man.
 And if he have not seyde hem, leve brother,
 In o book, he hath seyde hem in another.

 Who-so that wol his large volume seke
 Cleped the Seintes Legende of Cupyde,
 Ther may he seen the large woundes wyde
 Of Lucesse, and of Babilan Tisbee;

etc. "Why," it has been asked, "does he call the rather slender collection of tales a large volume?" To this the rather obvious answer is: he calls it a large volume precisely because it is a slender volume.¹ What could be more delicious than to refer

¹This simple rule of Chaucerian criticism may be offered, applicable to the poet's later works, and, like the innocence of an accused man before the law, to be taken for granted and adhered to till positive evidence to the contrary is adduced: Always assume that Chaucer means the opposite of what he seems to say. In the case under consideration the irony is, of course, unconscious on the part of the speaker. The situation, it will be noted, is a dramatic one, for the Man of Law, plainly unaware that Chaucer is one of his fellow pilgrims, has made a rather disparaging reference to the latter's poetic endowment:

But Chaucer, though he can but lewedly
 On metres and on ryning craftily,

etc. We have already seen how Alceste was rewarded for a strikingly similar observation in the *Legend*:

Al be hit that he can nat wel endyte,
 and we naturally tremble for the Man of Law. Nor are our fears unfounded, for the poet's vengeance is swift. The lawyer's learning proves his nemesis. He enters upon a description of the *Legend of Good Women*—the *Seintes Legende of Cupyde*, as he calls it!—which, as is soon evident, is based far less on an intimate acquaintance with the poem itself than on the speaker's store of encyclopedic information. With the true legal instinct for ancient precedent, for instance, he says, among other things, that Chaucer tells of

The crueltee of thee, queen Medea,

to this tiny pamphlet in which is written an exhaustive account of the goodness of the women of the world—what could be more delicious than to refer to this as if it were a tome which a yoke of oxen would be needed to transport, and to the stories which compose it, as if

Men mighte make of hem a bible

Twenty foot thikke, as I trowe.

Dr. French speaks of the allusion to the *Legend* by the Man of Law as “admittedly inexact, both in naming the book and in describing its bulk.”¹ Assuredly, as the same writer remarks in another connection, Chaucer “is never half so serious as his critics.”

But this discussion has already reached an undreamt-of length, and I must hasten to conclude, denying myself reference to a large number of the shorter passages of the poem, especially of the two Prologues, which corroborate my contentions.²

Thy litel children hanging by the hals

For thy Jason, that was of love so fals,

wholly unaware that the poet has exercised his privilege (quite incomprehensible, doubtless, to a member of the legal profession) of setting tradition aside and relating the story as best suits his purpose. The sad fact must be recorded that there was a strain of pedantry in the Sergeant of the Lawe, and pedants being at all times proper prey for poets, Chaucer does not resist the temptation to give his fellow pilgrim a few thrusts.

Ther coude no wight pinche at his wryting;

And every statut coude he pleyn by rote.

Statutes, however, are not poems, and the Man of Law would have done well to keep out of the realm of literary criticism (which proceedeth not “by rote”). As a gravely legal account of a humorous masterpiece the lawyer’s description of the *Legend* may be pronounced a distinct success.

¹*Op. cit.*, 31.

²Three or four of these only may be briefly dismissed in a footnote:

(1) Which is more likely (in a poem in which Chaucer is giving a supreme example of his own power to “endyte”) ?—that the poet should cause Alceste to say of him:

But wel I wot, with that he can endyte,

(A 402)

If even a small part of what has been said concerning the satirical nature of the *Legend of Good Women* be deemed true, it is at once evident that Chaucer has come very far from really following his supposed French models. Why, then, does he express his indebtedness so profusely? He apologizes to his predecessors, in my opinion, precisely because he owes so little to them. What he has already done in the *Troilus* he repeats

Al be hit that he can nat wel endyte. (B 414)

To suppose the change of the latter to the former, is, for aught that I can see, to suppose nothing more nor less than the obliteration of Chaucer's sense of humor. (Compare the poet's likening of himself, through Alceste, to a fly which the lion whisks courteously away with his tail.)

(2) Without going into the matter here, I may say that the argument which Dr. Lowes (p. 677) constructs around the word "florouns" seems to me, partly owing to the very specificalness of the term, to point in just the opposite direction from that in which it evidently points for Dr. Lowes.

(3) Dr. Lowes calls attention (p. 675) to the line (in A) in the description of Cupid where Chaucer says his face shone so bright that

A furlong-wey I mighte him nat beholde, (165)

and notes the comparatively commonplace line of B:

That wel unnetthes mighte I him beholde. (233)

Once more, when we consider simply the two lines themselves, A is assuredly the better and the change would seem to be either from B to A or—inexplicable. But consider the context, especially the lines immediately following and most especially the couplet (common to both versions):

For sternely on me he gan biholde,
So that his loking doth myn herte colde.

Assuredly if Chaucer could not look at Cupid, for the blaze of his glory, at a furlong's distance (for "furlong-wey" is plainly *spatial* here), his ability to gaze at him nearby, apparently undazzled, seems rather peculiar.

(4) Dr. Lowes (p. 682) has the following comment: "It is scarcely superfluous to note, perhaps, that the reference to the 'observaunces' of the birds in B. 152—'Constueth that as yow list, I do no cure'—which to say the least is unnecessary, does not occur in A., although the rhyme-syllable is unchanged." Now I should say, on the other hand that the substitution of the line (as Skeat restores it):

So ech of hem [doth wel] to creature. (138)

for a line which is, as far as words can be, the very embodiment of a wink, is incredible.

even more humorously in the *Legend*. In the former poem he professes to be following his authority with abject servility, when, as a matter of fact, he is creating a unique work. Quite so in the *Legend*. He does, to be sure, employ existing scaffolding, but his employment of it serves only to call attention to the complete difference between his own style of architecture and that of the French romancers, between the purpose of his building and that of theirs. Nor do I need to rest my opinion concerning this point on the character of the *Legend*, adequate as such a basis is. Chaucer has virtually explained the whole matter himself, and if, as has been suggested,¹ he sent his poem to Desclamps in return for manuscripts sent from France to him, he must have chuckled at the audacity of what he had done. If a writer today, at the beginning of a work, were to express his profound indebtedness to Mr. George Bernard Shaw and that work itself should turn out to be a series of passionate love songs in the Sapphic manner—we should hardly take the expression of indebtedness seriously. Yet something, at least inversely, comparable to this is what Chaucer has had the colossal audacity to do. After what appears to be a humble acknowledgment to the flower and leaf poets (though owing to the skillful management of his "ifs" and "thoughts" even this passage becomes slightly suspicious²), he comes out—I speak first of A—with the categorical statement:

For this werk is al of another tunne, (79)
Of olde story, er swich stryf was begunne.

This is a queer way to express your literary obligations—to thank your master and then declare you are going to do something quite different from anything he ever attempted. Even

¹ By Professor Kittredge in *Modern Philology*, I, 6.

² "If I may finde an ere"—he does not say that he *does* find it. "Thogh it happen me rehercen eft"—he does not say that he *does* rehearse anything.

Chaucer was evidently frightened at his own boldness and in the B version moved this last statement, and the passage preceding it, some hundred lines further on, where its significance, though remaining the same, would be less likely to be noted.¹ This is the way the lines read in B:

(188)

But natheles, ne wene nat that I make
 In preysing of the flour agayn the leef,
 No more than of the corn agayn the sheef:
 For, as to me, nis lever noon ne lother;
 I nam with-holden yit with never nother.
 Ne I not who serveth leef, ne who the flour;
 Wel brouken they hir service or labour;
 For this thing is al of another tonne,
 Of olde story, er swich thing was begonne.

Now if these lines are not an expression of good-natured contempt (for such was the complex emotion of which the rare nature of Chaucer was capable) for the trivialities of the flower and leaf controversy, what are they? Surely, once more, it is a curious (*eigenthümlich*) way of acknowledging indebtedness to the poets of that controversy to affirm utter indifference toward a matter which was to them one of the deepest concern, especially when the disciple goes so far as to say (in the line "Ne I not who serveth leef, ne who the flour") that he does not even know on which sides the partisans are arranged. And the sarcasm of

(194)

Wel brouken they hir service or labour

is not less real because the line *could* be interpreted in another way. But most significant of all, perhaps, is the alteration in the last couplet quoted, the change of the words "werk" and "stryff" (of A) to "thing." This is the very change on which Dr. Lowes puts such emphasis in arguing the priority of B.

¹ There was another reason, already given, for getting rid of the passage where it stood in A. This is my double answer to Dr. Lowes' remark that the two flower and leaf paragraphs, once put together, "are seen to belong together, and it seems very difficult on any hypothesis, to assign a reason for their severance."

He declares that these changes "are as nearly conclusive as evidence can be. For, granted the careful discrimination involved in the *werk* and *stryf* of A. 79-80, what conceivable motive could there be for substituting, not for one only, but for both, the least discriminating word in the language—namely, *thing*?" This, it seems to me, involves, again, the mistake of judging isolated passages solely on their own merits, instead of in the light of the poem as a whole. In the first place, Chaucer's object is not always "careful discrimination," and what better word than the delightfully indefinite "thing" could be hit on to describe the nature of this gloriously unique production, the *Legend of Good Women*?¹ The reader can think of no better one today. "Werk"² is surely inappropriate enough, as Chaucer himself implies in the delicately hinted contrast between the "service and labour" of his predecessors and the "thing" which the poet himself is producing. And next, by the repetition of "thing" in the following line (for he substitutes it "not for one only, but for both"), the poet achieves one of his roguish ambiguities, of which the humor, to say nothing of the mere truth, is obvious. This, then, is the "conceivable motive" which I would offer. And such, to summarize this matter of Chaucer's expression of indebtedness, is the upshot of what Dr. Lowes calls the poet's "consummately happy" apology. However highly Chaucer may have thought of this group of French predecessors and contemporaries (and for my part I do not for a moment intend to deny such high estimate), we must

¹Chaucer, in the *Tales*, after the disastrous shipwreck of Sir Thopas, meekly informs the host that he will treat the company to "a litel thing in prose," the *Melibeus*. Since the word *litel*, as applied to this piece, is (to borrow a phrase used in another connection by Dr. French) "admittedly inexact in describing its bulk," and since, too, the word *thing*, as Dr. Lowes has pointed out, is "the least discriminating word in the language," I respectfully beg to suggest a textual emendation in accordance with which line B 2127 of the *Melibeus Prologue* shall read, in future editions of the poet:

I wol yow telle a longe tale in prose.

²The "labour" of B 71 is plainly a different case.

accept with some reservation what Dr. Lowes says when he writes: "For no more acceptable compliment—and this must never be lost sight of in thinking of the happy breed of men who vied with one another in sowing each the other's flowers in his several garden—on Chaucer's part could have been paid Deschamps and Froissart, than that of taking up their goodly words into what one of them once called his 'douce mélodie'; and nothing could be more apt, nothing more courtly, than his heightening of the compliment by graceful acknowledgment of what he had, as one now sees, gleaned after their master Machault and themselves."¹ Not wholly otherwise (the temptation is to think) did Chaucer glean after the authors of the metrical romances, and (with his incomparable courtliness and grace) gather up *their* goodly words into the lilting stanzas of *Sir Thopas*. Nor can it be pure fancy to suggest that he who saw so keenly the ludicrous aspect of the old romances must have been capable of finding, even in the procedure of the Courts of Love, something, occasionally, to provoke a smile.

And now do not all these things powerfully imply that the revision of the Prologue, so far from being executed when Chaucer's remembrance of the *marguerite* poems was dulled by time, was more likely the occasion for a refreshing of his memory concerning these songs in honor of the daisy? The greater the number of reminiscences of these poems in the "apology" passage, the more effective its irony; the closer the superficial and external resemblance between Chaucer's poem and its "models," the more striking the real and essential difference. Here, then, is a motive which harmonizes beautifully with the whole tenor of the *Legend*, and which, applied to Dr. Lowes' argument regarding the relative dependence of the two Prologues on their models, suddenly turns black to white, causing the evidence he has marshalled around the standard of Prologue A not merely to desert that standard, but actually to take up arms against it. Indeed, in this connection, again, the spirit of *Sir Thopas* will not down. Suppose there should come

¹ P. 616.

to light, at some future day, a variant version of the story of that Knyght of the "semely nose." The happy discoverer of the treasure, examining it with eager emotion, counts only half as many reminiscences of the old romances as in the current version. How easy—adopting Dr. Lowes' line of argument—to demonstrate the significance of the "find," to prove the new text a later and superior rendering! The old one, with its more frequent "echoes," is plainly closer to the sources; hence the new one must have been composed when the poet's memory of those sources was dulled by time and his eye fixed on his own work; ergo, the new version is the more Chaucerian and the later. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

And now I may perhaps sum up my own feeling as to the originality of the *Legend of Good Women* by commenting briefly on a remark of Dr. Lowes' in that connection. "But what becomes," says Dr. Lowes, referring to his own theory of Chaucer's borrowings, "there will be those who ask [I confess myself among the askers], of the originality of the Prologue—particularly of the famous and beautiful lines in celebration of the daisy itself? The difficulty back of such a question lies in this—that one persists in bringing modern preconceptions to a mediaeval case" Now I should have supposed that the *real* danger in this matter of the *Legend* was quite the opposite of all this, the danger, namely, of bringing mediaeval preconceptions to a modern case. True, a mediaeval writer, Chaucer, in one sense, is. We need know no more than his century to know that. But so is Machault a mediaeval writer; so is Deschamps. And Machault and Deschamps are dead names on the dead pages of literary history, while Chaucer is a living force in a still living world. Wherein consists the difference? Does it not consist precisely in this:—that Chaucer is something more than a mere "mediaeval case"; that he is, among other things, a modern case; that we *can* bring modern ideas to his poetry and they *do* apply; that we *do* gaze into those works that body forth so faithfully the fourteenth century

¹ P. 658.

and see reflected there as in a glass—not darkly but with the strange light of poetic illumination—the twentieth century? Why, this—I had almost said—is the only test of great poetry, the only test of true originality! I agree, then, most heartily, with Dr. Lowes, when he goes on to say, in the passage which I rather ruthlessly interrupted: “So soon as one comes to see that for the older literature the question of the source of its material has, beside the imaginative handling of it, absolutely no ethical and only indirectly any aesthetic significance, so soon is one rewarded for the possible relinquishment of one delight by the more habitual sway of a larger and certainly truer sense of what originality really is.” Yes, this, assuredly, in any age, is the only originality; but what I fail to perceive in the *Legend of Good Women* is where, in the light of Dr. Lowes’ interpretation, the high “imaginative handling” comes in. What is there about this work which makes it so superior to these various French poems to which its many points of likeness have been shown? Surely (since they are dead) it is in its *differences from* them that we must seek its life. And if we cannot point out those differences, then to speak of it as a *great* poem is to fall into a blind and indiscriminate Chaucer-worship which is the moral death of all effective criticism. Hieronimo throws floods of light upon Hamlet; but between Hieronimo and Hamlet there opens a great gulf. Machault and Deschamps may throw floods of light upon Chaucer; but where, in this case, one must relentlessly insist on knowing, is the gulf? Was it vain paradox, then,—or was it not—to deny that the Prologue is a mere “mediaeval case”? And if one were to seek something resembling Chaucer’s treatment of his sources in the *Legend*, would one—or would one not—be forever ostracized from polite society, if one were caught turning the pages, not of Gower or of Lydgate, but of certain of the works of Fielding, Jane Austen, or of Thackeray? Indeed, as these last names suggest, one sometimes longs, in one’s wilder hours, for a new school of literary investigation. Some of the metaphysicians—applying, I suppose, the old adage about the poor rule which will not work

both ways—tell us that effects are not simply effects, but also causes; causes, not simply causes, but effects. Why not have a new method of research whose point of departure should be the belief that the sources of *great* poets should be sought in the works, not of earlier, but of later, ages than their own? Of course such a method might conceivably be pressed too far—methods usually are. But think how refreshing it would be to hear of a doctor's dissertation tracing the influence of Ben Jonson on the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, to read a brilliant little monograph on the indebtedness of Chaucer to the author of *Tristram Shandy*, or to discuss the question: Did Chaucer steal Sir Thopas from Cervantes? Why, such a method might attain the very philosopher's stone of criticism, a criterion by which to distinguish the great poets from the small! And then, too, there would never be the danger of bringing "modern preconceptions to a mediaeval case." But it is time to dismiss these beautiful dreams and to return.

Chaucer, in the *Legend of Good Women*, has produced a work whose meaning is far other and far more than that which lies upon its surface. No poet who ever wrote was more profoundly aware than he that the method of art is indirect, that the artist, if he would seek an end, must not seek it—if he would say a thing, must not say it. This is the counterpart in art of the irony of life. When the Wife of Bath declares of her first husbands,

The three men were gode, and riche, and olde,
she is apparently making a very plain statement of three facts. But the laws of human nature are not the laws of mathematics, and three innocent facts, placed side by side, make, oftentimes, far more than their mere arithmetical sum. That one line of Chaucer's is better than a book about him. The *Legend of Good Women* is surely evidence enough of its own ironic nature; but if it is not enough, all the other mature works of Chaucer cry out in unison that he is just the one to have written such a satire. If he did not do it—one may make bold to say—he ought to have done it.

Yet let us not leave the *Legend* without a recognition that, in spite of its humor, the poem is more than a satire. Just as behind its superficial seriousness there lurks an ironic meaning, so, in turn, behind that irony an even deeper seriousness is hidden. The opening passage of the Prologue—with its intentionally bad logic in behalf of ancient books—is the key, not merely to the humorous but to the sober purport of the poem. Like the *Nun's Priest's Tale* and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* (to mention, from many possible examples, merely two) the *Legend of Good Women* is a powerful protest against the domination of authority, a defense of experience as the only ultimately valid basis for knowledge. Across the centuries Chaucer clasps hands with John Locke and David Hume. He anticipates, without ceasing to be a poet, the temper of the eighteenth century. His, too, is the English grace of common sense. Nor is it too much to assert, perhaps, that Chaucer's doctrine carries with it a conscious implication which beautifully contradicts the irony of his own poem—the implication that had the author chosen his heroines from the life around him, the stories of their virtue would have been of a less questionable nature.

And now, of the interpretation of the *Legend* which has here been offered. I find a final, crowning confirmation. This poem is by no means the only one of Chaucer's into which he himself enters as a living figure. Among the others the *Canterbury cycle* is best known. Of the pilgrims who gathered at the Tabard Inn, more than one was endowed, in this degree or that, with power to perceive the discrepancy between 'things as they seem and as they are, to find reality behind hypocrisy and sham. Yet I have sometimes half suspected that there was one in that "companye" who saw more keenly than the rest, whose sympathy was wider, whose smiles were more profound. And he who could read so searchingly the hearts of others—was he wholly ignorant of his own? I cannot think so. Nor can I believe that, knowing himself, he was unregardful, in choosing his own narrative, of that same dramatic propriety (subtle sometimes and sometimes obvious) with which, in the case of the other pilgrims, he so justly suited the story to the teller. I

have often gone so far as to fancy, therefore, that the humorous masterpiece of the *Canterbury Tales* is no other than that "litel thing in prose," the *Melibeus*. This, at least (as it ought to be), it is: a glorious symbol of the Chaucerian method, a mountainous dust-heap of pedantry and dullness, and yet, not less, a fountain of perpetual joy. Between the tragic lines of this "mery tale" I seem to read Chaucer's analysis of himself and his relation to his age: a poet (so he seems to say) who, employing the very conventions he condemns as the channels of his satire, is the unsparing castigator of everything artificial and narrowly mediaeval. Nor, as has just been hinted, is this enthralling drama of the "noble wyf Prudence" less profound as a self-revelation of its author's artistic method. Master as he is of the humor of expression, the *Melibeus* bids us remember that he is a still greater master of the humor of construction. We have all laughed at Chaucer's poetry; the *Melibeus* bids us beware lest we fail to laugh at Chaucer's poems. Who will be bold enough to assert, then, that the very treatise on the Astro-labe may not turn out to be the most pathetic piece of writing in the language?—or the most morally profound, or the most sublimely facetious, or all of these combined? There are infinite things as yet undiscovered in Chaucer. In final warrant of which faith let us hear again those words of Pandarus that describe with such perfect felicity what Chaucer has himself done in the poem we have been discussing in this essay:

How-so it be that som men hem delyte

With subtil art hir tales for to endyte,

Yet for al that, in hir entencioun,

Hir tale is al for som conclusioun,

and, last of all, let us exclaim: O Chaucer dere,

y-blessed be thy name,

That so can turnen ernest in-to game!

Mayst thou have thy reward in thy heavenly home and be vouchsafed the infinite joy—of reading the commentators on thy *Legend of Good Women!*

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SIMPLIFICATION OF GEMINATION IN THE OLD
ENGLISH WEAK VERB, CLASS I.

It is probable that a careless use of grammatical terms rather than a misconception of the true state of the case is responsible for such a statement as the following (Sievers' *Old English Grammar*, 3d ed., transl. by Cook, 405, 3; p. 309):—

“Gemination [in the pret. 1 class weak verbs] is simplified: *fyllan, fylde*, ‘fill’;—*wemman, wemde*, ‘defile’; *cennan, cende*, ‘beget’”

“Note 7” states that “now and then gemination is preserved in the preterite by an etymological spelling, especially in North.: L. *fyllde, cerrde*, etc.”

Compare with this the statement made in section 404:—

“The ending of the preterite is *-de*, which is in general attached immediately to the radical syllable. The *i*-umlaut is retained.

Note 1. The *-de* arose by syncopation from prehistoric *-ida*.”

These two statements are contradictory. “Simplification” of gemination necessarily means that at one time a double consonant existed. In the pret. of the weak verb, class I, however, there never was anything to cause gemination, unless one accepts Kögel’s suggestion (*PBB* 9, 522) that the form of the pret. was **nasjida, *nasjips*. This suggestion Sievers evidently does not accept, for he affirms (404, 1; cf. above) that the “prehistoric” form is *-ida*. This form is capable of producing umlaut of the radical vowel; but it works no gemination of the consonant, which has to be “simplified.” In those cases where the consonant in the pret. is found to be geminated the supposition will more easily lie that the gemination is due to analogy with the infin. and with the two forms of the pres. indic. and the 2 imper., where gemination organically exists.

The same kind of error in the use of grammatical terms is frequently found in the explanation furnished for the lack of

a double consonant in the 2 and 3 sing. indic. and in the 2 sing. imper. in verbs of this same class.

"The geminated consonant is simplified in the 2 and 3 pres. indic. and in the 2 sing. imper.: *frēmest, frēmep, frēme.*" (Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 96, p. lxx).

The low grade endings of the 2 and 3 sing. pres. indic. and the 2 sing. imper. produced umlaut, but no gemination, which has to be "simplified". Sievers does not use "simplification" here (400, 2; p. 303). He says: "These [verbs] originally geminated the final consonant of the stem in all forms of the present except the indic. 2 and 3 sing. and the imper. 2 sing. . . .",—which is a statement of fact, but no explanation at all.

In Old High German, as well as in Old Saxon (Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, 457), the verb of the first weak class exhibits the same variation between the geminated and the simple consonant: *zellu, zelis, zelit*. Braune (*Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, 358) clearly points out for Old High German what is not so exactly stated in Old English grammars: "Und auch im Praesens gibt es drei Formen, welche kein *j* hatten, nämlich die 2. 3. sing. ind. auf *-is, -it* und die 2 sg. imp. auf *-i*: in diesen Formen konnte auch kein Consonanten-gemination entstehen."

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THE POPULAR BALLAD. By Francis B. Gummere. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York and Boston, 1907.

PSYCHOLOGIE DER VOLKSDICHTUNG. Von Dr. Otto Böckel. Verlag von B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, 1906.

The Popular Ballad is Professor Gummere's fifth attempt to explain and establish his doctrine of the ballad. The first was made in the Introduction to his *Old English Ballads* (Athenæum Press Series) in 1894. In 1897 he stated his position boldly, but without much room for proof, in an article on *The Ballad and Communal Poetry* in the Child Memorial Volume. Four years later came *The Beginnings of Poetry*, in which what began as an explanation of British balladry has become an evolutionary theory of the relation of poetry to social development, supported by extensive study of the poetry of uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples. Pressed by his critics to show how ballads, as we have them in English, are to be connected with 'primitive poetry' as expounded in the latter work, he replied in a series of papers in the first volume of *Modern Philology*. Finally he has reviewed the whole matter, restated it and begun again, as Hosea Biglow says, with due regard to his most formidable critics, in the volume now under consideration. Despite his playful warning to "gentle readers" to begin with the second chapter, it is the first chapter (comprising about one-third of the whole volume), with its labored discussion of ballad origins, that is of chief interest to scholars. The second chapter is a classification, on the basis of that discussion and marked throughout by admirable critical taste and judgment, of the ballads in Child's collection; the two remaining chapters, both posited on the initial theory, deal briefly with "The Sources of the Ballads" and "The Worth of the Ballads." Accordingly it is with the first chapter, "The Ballad," that we are chiefly concerned. The qualified assent of Mr. Lang and Mr. Sidgwick in the old country, the cordial approval of Professor Kittredge, and the fact that Dr. W. M. Hart's important study of *Ballad and Epic* is in great part founded upon the same theory, show that we have to do here not with one man's lucubrations merely but with a school of criticism, what we might call the school of Child. Child himself, than whom no man was better fitted to speak on the subject, unfortunately left no final definition or theory of the ballad; and it is this omission which his distinguished pupil has undertaken to supply.

The ballad question, from the beginning, has been one of definition. Hardly any reader of Scott's *Minstrelsy* or of Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* can fail to perceive, more or less distinctly, a special esthetic effect in these

rude poems. Vaguely and subjectively, the ballad is a poetic kind to all modern readers. But the student must go further. What are the qualities, the intrinsic constituent elements that give us as a subjective effect the notion of a ballad? Or is it something in the genesis and history of the poems that holds them together as a kind? Until these questions are answered there can be no scientific criticism of the ballad; for the very basis of science is classification. Unless analysis reveals in what we have vaguely held together in mind as ballads some distinguishing characteristics either of structure and style or of origin and history or of both together, the ballad as a kind has, scientifically, no existence, and it is quite impossible to determine whether any given poem shall be classed as a ballad or not. Since the completion of Child's great collection the ballad problem in England and America, especially for Child's disciples, has taken a more definite shape: to find those principles of ballad style or those facts of ballad history which guided the great editor in making up what he believed to be a complete collection of British balladry; so to define the ballad, in structure and in genesis, that the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* shall stand as a critically established canon of the ballad for our speech.

The distinguishing merit of Professor Gummere's work is that he has pointed out—and never before so convincingly as in the first chapter of this his latest book—the structural differentiae of the ballad style. Anonymity and oral transmission, tho they are conditions of the ballad as we know it, are not of course intrinsic characters. Anonymity may in any given case be an accident; and both together, tho they may satisfy Dr. Meier as a test for *volkslied*, would admit a vast and heterogeneous body of verse not only excluded from all accepted ballad collections but without any intrinsic principle of cohesion. Many other facts about ballads have been noted: that they tell a story in an objective, impersonal way; that they are rude in diction, without figurative ornament, metrically rough, and uncertain in rime; that they commonly follow a certain stanzaic form, and make great use of the refrain. None of these facts—not even the last, important as is the part played by the refrain in ballad style—nor all of them together, afford a satisfactorily definite characterization of the ballad type or account for that sense of the ballad as a kind which is so strongly borne in upon every discriminating reader of the better collections. Professor Gummere, after due consideration of each of these, proceeds to show what are the real differentiae, structural and fundamental, of the ballad as a kind. These are (1) the presentation of the story as a situation, and (2) incremental repetition.

The ballad typically, he points out (and nearly all the ballads in Child will be found to follow this type, in varying degrees of closeness), takes a situation or a related series of situations, and with the least possible introduction or with none at all presents it to the hearer, most often in dialog. In *Edward* the situation is single, with no introduction, and in dialog thru-out; so likewise in *Lord Randal*. In *The Demon Lover* there are two situations, both in dialog, with two stanzas of narration between them and one of catastrophe at the end (so in Child's D, and in the traditional version current in Missouri); *Sweet William's Ghost* has one stanza of introduction and one of transition between the two dialog scenes. From these and many like specimens of the simple ballad of situation it would not be difficult to trace a regular gradation of diminishing dramatic and increasing narrative method up to the long martial, historical or pseudo-historical ballads such as *Otterburn* and *Cheviot* and the *Gest*, which are furthest removed from the type, tho they happen to have been the first to come on record. But in all of them the tendency to dwell upon situations and to leave out or hurry over connecting matter will be found; and this is one of the two things that constitute the essential ballad character.

The other is incremental repetition. This is Professor Gummere's term for that structural peculiarity which gives us most strongly the ballad impression. It is not repetition for emphasis, it is not refrain. It is that method of telling a story in which successive stanzas reveal the situation or advance the interest by successive changes of a single phrase or line in the stanza, the rest of the stanza remaining the same. It may be illustrated, with more or less exactness, from pretty nearly every ballad in Child's collection; typically from *Babylon*, *Edward*, *Lord Randal*, *The Gay Goshawk*, *The Lass of Roch Royal*, and scores of others. A favorite form of it is what Gummere calls the "relative-climax," in which a question is asked of or by, or a demand made upon, a series of relatives—father, mother, brother, sister, a succession of brothers, or the like—ending with the one who is to meet the demand or answer the question. But it may be simply a progressive dialog between man and woman, mother and daughter, master and servant. It may even be, in its least distinctive phase, no more than the 'ballad commonplace' used to fill out stanzas. In one form or another, however, it is a persistent mark of the ballads in Child's collection; and it is most evident in precisely those ballads which, from Scott's time to ours, have been accepted as best embodying the *idea* of the ballad. Anyone who will take the pains to read thru the output of the nineteenth century bal-

lad press as preserved in the collections of the British Museum will find that the infrequent items that stand out with almost startling distinctness from the waste of dulness and bad taste in which they are imbedded as specimens of the 'genuine' ballad do so by virtue of one or both of the structural characteristics that Professor Gummere has defined. Thus to have pointed out the specific causes of the ballad 'effect' is no slight contribution to critical science. It is a step forward which we shall certainly not have to retrace, and that is decidedly a boon in the tortuous thickets of ballad discussion.

To establish the structural characteristics of the ballad is not, however, the only or even the chief aim of Professor Gummere's study. For him this is merely an argument for a larger thesis upon which he has been at work for fifteen years,—the thesis, namely, that ballads are a survival of communal poetry. Dramatic situation and incremental repetition are for him the crowning proof that the ballad is distinguished from other poetry not in style and effect only but in origin. As a survival of folk-made poetry the ballad is for him a species, or rather a genus, fundamentally different from the 'poetry of the schools.' If this distinction of origin is denied, he says, "all boundaries of the subject are obscured, the material is questionable, and a haze at once fills the air." Why, one asks, must the material be questionable if there are acknowledged structural and stylistic tests of ballad character that may be applied in any given case? The test of origin can never, as Gummere himself repeatedly shows, be directly applied to the ballads that we have. There is no record of the origin of any one of them, unless it be in Mr. Henderson's notes to the *Minstrelsy*. Communal origin is merely inferred from the structural character of the ballads. The style and structure is the test by which the material is to be sifted and the boundaries of the kind established. The relation of this style and structure to the origin of the kind or of particular ballads, to primitive poetry, communal making, and the antithesis of poet and folk—these are independent, tho doubtless pertinent, questions. If the denial of communal authorship at once fills the air with haze, it cannot be said that Professor Gummere's affirmation of it does much to clear the atmosphere. *The Popular Ballad* is an improvement in this respect upon his former discussions, defining the problem on certain sides with admirable distinctness, but leaving his position on many important questions undetermined or at least not easy to ascertain.

The best way, probably, to bring out the bearings of his doctrine and define his meaning will be to try his theory upon some accepted and characteristic ballad. This I shall endeavor to do.

But certain fundamental conditions of the problem, and a certain underlying assumption that governs his attitude toward it, must be made clear.

In the first place, we must distinguish between the origin of the form and style of the ballad and the origin of any particular ballad. To find the source of the ballad type in the homogeneous dancing throng of primitive society is one thing, to find the authorship of one of our British ballads in the same throng is quite another. The Greek drama, in its essential structure, is confidently traced to the same source; but no one proceeds from that to ascribe any given play to the throng. And it is not apparent, without further argument, why the ballad form, once established, may not have been used as a model by individual poets in making the ballads that we have.

In the second place, the distinction between the ballad and 'artistic' poetry as impersonal and individual respectively is not one of kind but merely one of degree. This of course Professor Gummere knows, since he has expounded it in a masterly fashion in *The Beginnings of Poetry*; yet in all that he has written on the ballad he has insisted upon this difference as proof that the ballad is different generically from other poetry. The distinction is particularly ineffective as a means of separating 'authentic' balladry from the kind of verse that Gummere and his school are most solicitous to exclude from the canon, "the vulgar ballads of our day," which, says Child, are "the products of a low kind of art" and "belong to a different genus." Nothing could be more stereotyped and conventional, more impersonal, than the countless versions of the Returned Lover theme that poured from the ballad press and roared from the throats of the vulgar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but are excluded from *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. That they are, "from a literary point of view, thoroughly despicable and worthless" is quite true, but this is not due to the intrusion of individual artistry.

In the third place, it is impossible to draw a definite line between the reproductive and inventive processes in composition. At one extreme we have, to be sure, mere reproduction without invention; but we have not at the other extreme pure invention without reproduction, since all human art, the savage choral and the *Song of Myself* as surely as *Paradise Lost*, uses precedent method and material. In the oral transmission of ballads, particularly, it is impossible to distinguish by any general principles between the merely repetitive and the modifying or inventive activities of successive reciters. And the activity of the ballad-hack who writes out copies for the broadside press is not generically different from that of the modifying singer or re-

citer. His taste may be different, but he is no more and no less an 'individual artist' than Mrs. Brown of Falkland.*

Finally, it is evident that Professor Gummere's repeated assertion that ballad making is a closed account, as well as his contention for a peculiar origin of ballads, springs from a desire to secure distinction and a venerable, if not aristocratic, pedigree for ballad poetry. The folk themselves, or rather the vulgar of our own time and the country people of eighteenth century Scotland among whom ballads have been found, do not for the most part distinguish them from the "low kind of *art*" that Child condemned. But the literary man and the scholar does. And he is not content with selecting the 'good' ballads, nor even with ascertaining by analysis what are the characteristics of the good (or 'authentic,' or 'genuine') ballad; he strives to separate it from its despised neighbors by a gulf as wide as civilization and reaching back to the beginnings of human society. Altho they are of record only from about the time of the invention of printing, and existed in their best estate—that is to say, the best specimens are recorded—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; altho earlier English and continental poetry shows nothing analogous to the ballad, and what are often supposed to be allusions to popular ballads in early chronicle are shown by Professor Gummere himself, in one of the most convincing sections of his book, to refer rather, for the most part at least, to minstrelsy or to aristocratic poetry of art; yet he asks us to see, in the ballads of Child's collection, the remains of a kind of poetry and of a method of composition older than *Widsith* and *Beowulf*; and further, to believe that social conditions which rendered possible such an efflorescence of this sort of composition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have so completely passed away that ballad making is no longer possible. In this way he would assure a peculiar distinction to the ballads in Child's collection, and at the same time lock the door against any inquisitive experimenter who might wish to test the theory of communal composition of ballads in living society.

Let us, then, see what the doctrine of communal origin means for a typical ballad. I shall select for the purpose not an early chronicle ballad like *Otterburn*, once held to be the glory of the collections but now, along with the *Gest* of Robin Hood, yielded more or less definitely to the epic category and the individual

*To whom we owe many of the best versions of our ballads; and who, it should be remembered, was by no means a representative of unlettered and homogeneous society, but the wife of a clergyman and daughter of an Aberdeen professor, a lady who "writes verses, and reads everything in the marvellous way."—Anderson's letter to Percy, in Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, VII, 88.

poet, nor any of the later pieces of the sentimental or lewd or "journalistic" type that Professor Gummere is likewise almost ready to surrender. I shall take that "genuine ballad of tradition, still undeveloped into epic breadth" and duly characterized by dramatic situation and incremental repetition, preserved too in a satisfactory number and variety of versions—a ballad that all ballad lovers love—*Mary Hamilton*.

I choose it, of course, because we may with some confidence give it a date *a quo*. It seems to tell of an incident supposed to have occurred at the court of Mary Queen of Scots in 1563,—or possibly of a similar incident that occurred at the Russian court, but with a Scottish lady as protagonist, in 1718. Child was inclined to refer it to the latter event, but Mr. Lang converted him to the earlier date. Neither Child, nor Mr. Lang, nor Professor Kittredge, nor Professor Gummere seems to doubt that it is based on an actual occurrence, one or the other of these. *Mary Hamilton*, then, is not older than the last third of the sixteenth century. But since it meets satisfactorily all the tests of the "genuine ballad of tradition," it will serve as well as *Earl Brand* or *Sir Patrick Spens* to bring out the meaning of "communal origin." Whatever conclusion we reach as to the probable origin of *Mary Hamilton* may be applied to other equally authentic and genuine ballads and to the ballad as a kind.

The following are, I believe, the possible hypotheses as to the origin of *Mary Hamilton*:

1. The several versions as we have them are the work of individual poets.

2. The several versions as we have them are the result of tradition working upon an original poem or poems of individual authorship.

3. The several versions as we have them are the result of tradition working upon an original poem or poems composed in and by the homogeneous festal throng.

1. The first hypothesis need not detain us long, yet its implications should be definitely brought out. It means that, in so far as the several versions can be distinguished in matter or manner, in incident, arrangement, and phraseology, each is the work of a separate author. It does not attempt to distinguish between tradition and invention in the work of these authors, nor to point out an original version; but it sees in each variation the choice or invention of an individual poet, and, consequently, in each version a separate poem. At one extreme, it merely emphasizes the individual element in the process of tradition; at the other, it recognizes the traditional element in the work of the individual poet. It does not imply in any case the book-

learned, subjective, solitary poet of the school, of the ivory tower and the library, whom Professor Gummere threatens us with as the only alternative to impersonal authorship. It merely supposes more or less gifted, more or less professional individuals among the simple folk who, bred to and loving the ballad style and knowing the story of Mary Hamilton, made their several ballads upon it for the people to sing. And it does not deny a dependence of one version upon another, or of all the versions we have upon a version or versions now lost. It does, however, imply that the ballad style is one that may be learned and practised by the individual poet under favorable social conditions, and that poems so composed may pass into oral tradition. And here it is that the present hypothesis bears upon the doctrine of communal origin. Once it is acknowledged that a genuine and authentic ballad may be composed by an individual, the whole contention for a distinctive genesis of ballads falls away, the antithesis between the school and the folk is nugatory, and the savage choral, the Siberian native, even the Faroe fishermen are beside the point. If an individual poet in the seventeenth or eighteenth century made one of our authentic ballads, then there is no distinction of impersonal authorship to protect the integrity of the ballad *corpus*.

But this supposition leaves undetermined the important and difficult distinction between original composition and traditional modification; and we proceed to the second hypothesis.

2. By the terms of this hypothesis the quality of the original poem is not defined except as the work of an individual poet. He may have been simply the rustic singer described above, he may have been a belated minstrel, a journalistic hack, or a gentleman of culture and refinement; or *she* may have been a gypsy wife or a lady of literary aspirations like Elizabeth Wardlaw. But it is implied that the recorded versions of *Mary Hamilton* proceed from an original poem or poems of personal authorship that told the story of Mary Hamilton in a form that commended itself to the people and passed into oral tradition. This poem (I shall speak of it henceforth in the singular to avoid repetition) need not have been in the ballad style at all. The American poem of *Young Charlotte*, a story of a young girl frozen to death at her lover's side on the way to a Christmas dance, has been sung for a generation or more among simple folk in half a dozen states from Maine to Missouri; it is, to those who sing it, a completely authorless popular ballad, and no trace of a printed copy has yet been found; yet it has no item of the structural character of the ballad as ascertained by Professor Gummere's analysis—no refrain, no 'situation,' no repetition, no ballad commonplace—and it has not a little descrip-

tion, reflection, and other elements of the 'poetry of art.' But this point need not be labored; it is well recognized that poems quite without the ballad character pass into oral tradition. And indeed it is assumed in this second hypothesis, in distinction from the first, that the technical ballad character in our versions of *Mary Hamilton* has come in by oral tradition.

Would this assumption be acceptable to Professor Gummere? From certain passages in his book one gathers that it would. Tradition, he says, "is a prime factor in ballads; it chooses and moulds its material in its own way" (p. 38). It accounts for "the many variants, the versions more or less diverging in stuff and style, . . . and for all the peculiarities that that sort of transmission must bring about; but it will not account for the original ballad" (p. 64). Tradition "has made over and over again the stuff of communal song" (p. 62). "Not only is a ballad changed to almost any extent in tradition, not only does tradition itself largely determine the matter and the style, but there is still the possibility, often enough fact, of parts of one ballad fusing with parts of another and so forming a piece which in course of time may come to its own individual rights" (p. 310). This seems to give ample room and verge enough for the work of tradition in shaping, from an original poem of individual authorship and no distinct ballad qualities, the 'authentic' versions of *Mary Hamilton* that we have. Tradition in this sense means repetition from imperfect recollection, with its accompaniments of omission, substitution, combination, and more or less conscious approximation to familiar types; and traditional *singing*, where the air must go on tho the memory fails, would seem likely to give rise to the repetition which is so marked a feature of ballad style. Viewed closely, every such modification of the original poem is the work of some individual; seen from a distance and collectively it may without confusion be described as an activity of the folk, the work of tradition.

But it soon appears that this is not the doctrine of *The Popular Ballad*. That the conditions of oral transmission can give rise to the structural peculiarities of the ballad Professor Gummere flatly denies. "Tradition," he says, "which could make no literary form, and simply accepted the ballad as its rhythmic expression, modified that form to suit epic needs, and made the various ballads as we have them" (p. 287). Whatever else this sentence may mean, it clearly denies to tradition any power of originating the ballad style. Tradition is not, it seems, a rule that will work both ways. It will modify a choral form "to suit epic needs," but it will not modify an epic form—the simple narrative of our hypothesis—to suit the choral needs

of ballad-folk. "This Malaprop theory," he cries, "will never do," and he gives short shrift to Dr. John Meier's *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde*. His argument is not exactly luminous; but it is evident that to recognize in tradition itself the source of ballad qualities is to set ajar "the gates of authentic balladry" which he has already had to defend against the insidious attacks of Mr. Henderson, and leave ballad-making an open instead of a closed account.

Perhaps, however, we should understand the sentence quoted above to mean, in the case of *Mary Hamilton*, that tradition, having "accepted," from whatever source, "the ballad as its rhythmic expression, made the various" versions "as we have them." But made them from what? Tradition works upon material given. "It will not account for the original ballads." The story must enter upon its traditionary course in some form, and presumably in a form suited to oral transmission. Did *Mary Hamilton* begin, then, as a poem of individual authorship? That is the hypothesis we are now examining. Professor Kittredge, apparently, accepts it. "That ballads are initially the work of individual authors like any other poem," he says, "may probably be the truth with respect to most and perhaps all of the English and Scottish ballads which have survived." This is a simple and intelligible position. It recognizes the individual maker, and yet leaves ample room for the modifying powers of tradition. But it can hardly be what Professor Gummere means; for it ascribes no distinctive origin to the ballads of our collections, leaves the labored antithesis between the poet and the throng unapplied, and assigns no necessary function to communal composition in the making of ballads. Above all, it provides no "definition by origin" to guide us in establishing the ballad *corpus*. If individual poets made, or made the originals of, the ballads in Child's collection, we have nothing but structural peculiarities and the facts of anonymity and oral currency by which to test any new applicant for admission.

Our typical ballad, then, must not be ascribed to an individual poet, either directly or thru the medium of tradition. It remains to consider the third hypothesis.

3. The theory of communal origin, as applied to the ballad of *Mary Hamilton*, may be briefly stated. It means that, at some time later than the year 1563, there were in northern Britain homogeneous communities in which the story of Mary Hamilton, being generally known, was, upon occasion of some festal gathering, made into a ballad by the assembled company to the rhythm of the dance and probably of some rude but familiar tune; and that the ballad so composed passed into tradition.

To comprehend the full significance of this theory, however, we must scrutinize it more closely. Observe, first, that the poetic product of this homogeneous throng had the essential qualities of the ballad, and really told the story; for otherwise we must assign to tradition, which "makes no literary form" and "does not account for the original ballad," or to subsequent individual authorship, the structural characteristics and the narrative content of the versions that we have. Observe, further, that the story is familiar to the community, but not in definite poetic form; not as a ballad certainly, for by the terms of our hypothesis the ballad of Mary Hamilton is not yet in existence; not as remembered minstrelsy or "journalism," for then our "original" ballad ceases to be the original and communal composition is indistinguishable from tradition.

Just how does this homogeneous festal throng make a ballad? What is this lost method of poetic creation?

"Improvisation and tradition," we are told, "is the ballad formula." The original of *Mary Hamilton* was improvised in the dancing throng. By one or by many? If by one, we have again the individual poet that Professor Gummere is striving to eliminate. For surely the successful improviser of even a rude ballad is decidedly the "gifted individual" that even Mr. Lang recognizes as the author of poetry among the Australian blacks. The ballad "was composed originally, as any other poem is composed, by the rhythmic and imaginative efforts of a human mind" (p. 61). This seems unequivocal; and it leaves the individual poet intact. Here is no genetic distinction between ballads and other poetry, none certainly between "genuine" ballads and those that "are the product of a low kind of art." On the score of individual initiative and personal art, there is nothing to choose between this hypothetical improviser and the manufacturer of nineteenth century gallows pieces. If, on the other hand, our ballad was improvised bit by bit by various members of the throng, each accepting the suggestions of the stanzas made before his, and adding his own item of development, we have at last—not in strict logic perhaps, but in effect—something distinct from personal authorship. The shaping power of imagination, the construction and development of the piece, is no longer the function of the individual but a function of the communal consciousness. The piece is under this assumption the product not of a mind, but of the consenting and unified activity of many minds. This apparently is Professor Gummere's conception of ballad origin. And it will not be denied that it is, for our language, an extinct method of composition. Indeed it is more than that; it is a method that never, in any recorded British instance, has produced a ballad

that we can examine and test. Even the hardworked ballad of the Faroë fishermen is not preserved. All other instances of 'communal' improvisation in Europe of which the product is accessible and has been examined show not a ballad at all but something quite different, *schnaderhüpfel*, *stev*, *stornello*, flying, keening, all of which are the work not of communal composition as we have just conceived it but of individual composition on traditional lines under the stimulus of competition or of fellowship. From these to the ballad there is no getting over but by the flying leap of conjecture.

But "There is no miracle, no mystery even, to be assumed for the making of the ballad." It was originally composed like any other poem by the rhythmic and imaginative efforts of a human mind. "The differencing factors lie in the conditions of the process, not in the process for itself." What are these differencing factors? With this question we reach the last, tho hardly the strongest, hold of those who would maintain a distinctive genesis for our ballad.

Substantially these factors are all included in the term "homogeneous society." Primitive society was "homogeneous." The Siberians that Radloff studied are marked by "an almost inconceivable uniformity." In *The Beginnings of Poetry* evidence is heaped together from ethnologists and anthropologists to prove the homogeneity of savage life. In "primitive" or "homogeneous" society there is no cultural distinction of classes, no aristocracy of taste or breeding, and consequently no "vulgar." Instead there is "the folk," living a common material, intellectual, and emotional life. And this emotional life finds its characteristic expression in the festal dance with its accompaniment of improvised song. In this festal throng the relation of the individual to the mass, in the matter of making poetry, is something quite foreign to our civilized experience. The individual is merely the mouthpiece of the communal emotion or imagination, what he utters is accepted at once by the rest as tho it were their own expression, is at once repeated in choral unison, being indeed but an insignificant item in the general mass of choral repetition; and thus the rude original of a ballad, with the ballad characteristics of situation and incremental repetition and refrain, is evolved, an authorless composition from the start. Such is the communal origin of the ballad, as a type, for which Professor Gummere contends.

And not of the type only, but of our British ballads. Altho "it should be cried from the housetops that no one expects to find in the ballads of the collections anything which springs directly from the ancient source," altho the ballad as we know it has been "ennobled and enriched on its traditional course,"

yet it "is originally a product of the people under conditions of improvisation and choral dance." As I have already pointed out, the formula of "improvisation and tradition" must be intended to apply to the 'authentic' ballads that we have, for otherwise no distinctive origin is secured for them; their originals must be ascribed, on any other hypothesis, either to the individual poet or to tradition itself, and both of these proposals have been rejected. That is, we must recognize, for the place and time in which our ballads originated, a homogeneous society such as is required for the hypothesis of communal composition. In fact, we are not here left to inference. The life of the Scottish border, he says, in "the sixteenth century when our best traditional ballads were making," presented "homogeneous conditions beyond dispute" (pp. 59, 248). Under these conditions our ballads originated, in a fashion no longer possible. The conditions have passed away, and ballad-making is a closed account.

Thus we have reached, by a process of testing and rejecting, what must be Professor Gummere's position with regard to the origin of 'authentic' ballads in general, and of *Mary Hamilton* in particular. Of its tenability I must leave those to judge who are better versed in the social history of northern Britain than I am. There may have been in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries communities so homogeneous as to have had no consciousness of social classes, no peasantry, gentry, and nobility separated from each other by taste and culture, nothing to check the gregarious instinct and the improvising impulses of the festal throng. Mr. Henderson seems to doubt it (*Minstrelsy*, I., xxiii); Professor Gummere is so confident of it that he states it without argument. It may be that the process of oral tradition in such communities "ennobled and enriched" the rude original down to Scott's time, when the best versions of *Mary Hamilton* appear, and at the same time debased and disfigured it—for both these activities are assigned to tradition. And it may be that at some time since then these homogeneous communities ceased to exist. His "task here," as he has said himself (*Mod. Phil.*, I, 375, note), "is to prove the homogeneous conditions, once real, to be now no longer in existence, and also to prove the necessary connection of these conditions with communal poetry." Whether he has proved it or not, he asserts it, and it is an integral part of his contention that ballad making is a closed account and the *corpus* made up. My endeavor has been not to confirm or controvert his theory, but to show what his theory is.

It is not, I confess, the easiest theory for the modern mind to accept. It would be much easier to suppose that our ballad

of *Mary Hamilton* was made by some humble poet in a style approximating that of 'authentic' balladry, and that oral tradition has made from that original the versions that we have. This I take to be the position of Professor Kittredge (Introduction to the Cambridge edition of the *Ballads*), of Mr. Lang (*Chamber's Cycl. of Engl. Lit.*, ed. of 1901, I, 520ff.), and of Child himself (Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia*, 1893; tho he did not wish this to be taken as his final utterance on the ballad question). But it is not the position of *The Popular Ballad*. It nullifies the main thesis of that book, which is the communal origin of 'the genuine ballad of tradition.'

In conclusion, let it be repeated that, whatever judgment may ultimately be passed upon Professor Gummere's doctrine of ballad origin, the analysis of ballad style to which it led him, the convincing—shall we not say, final?—presentation of the structural and esthetic qualities of our British ballads, is a triumph of criticism and a thing to be thankful for.

Dr. Böckel's *Psychologie der Volksdichtung* appeared about the same time as *The Popular Ballad*. The alluring promise of the title is not fulfilled by the work itself, which, from the genially sentimental preface with its offer to lead us into "die Wunderwelt der Volksdichtung" to the romantic "Ausklang" with its exhortation to join in the reawakening of folksong as a cure for all the diseases of modern society, is marked by a really surprising absence of the critical sense. Its twenty-two chapters map out the subject enticingly—The Beginning of Folksong, The Nature of Popular Poetry, The Origin of the *Volkslied*, Women and their Share in Folksong, Laments for the Dead, Persistence of Popular Poetry, Migration of Folksongs, The Optimism of Popular Poetry, Man and Nature, History and Popular Poetry, etc.—and under each of these heads much curious and interesting information is got together with regard to the popular song of a great variety of lands and races. Dr. Böckel's reading in folksong has been wide and sympathetic, and has resulted in the assembling of a good deal of valuable material for the student. But the appearance of scientific method is deceptive and his "psychology" is mere schematism. His theory is beautifully simple. The *Lied* grows out of the *Ruf*; from the *Freudenruf* come songs of love, marriage, spring-time, harvest, dancing and derision; from the *Schmerzenruf*, *Toten-* and *Scheideklagen* of various sorts. The *Totenklage*, for instance, has three stages: (1) the cry of grief, with a song growing out of it, uttered by the women relatives of the dead; (2) professional *voceri*; (3) the decline of the custom; and of these the "älteste Stufe ist die dichterisch wertvollste, weil sie der Empfindung unmittelbaren poetischen Ausdruck verleiht." The growth of the song out of the cry

takes place only among *Naturvölker*, who are described as peoples that "der Kultur noch fernstehen und im unmittelbaren Zusammenhange mit der Natur leben," tho they are found to include the humble folk of most European countries down to—well, not very long ago. Among them the process of composition was the spontaneous and immediate expression of feeling. To quote: "Erlebnisse weckten im sangeslustigen Naturzustande der Menschheit die Gabe des Dichtens. In den Volksliedern finden sich noch Spuren solcher unmittelbaren Sangeskunst, Erzählungen von Geschehnissen, bei denen das soeben Erlebte den unmittelbaren Anstoss zur Entstehung des Liedes gab. So entquillt im ersten Rausch der Freude des gewährten Liebesglückes dem erregten Gemüt des Begünstigten ein Lied, wie es ihm sonst wohl nicht gelungen war." And he proceeds to give instances,—half a dozen German and French ballads in which the hero or heroine is represented as giving vent to the emotion arising from the situation in verse—the verse of the ballad, of course. By this sort of argument one might be tempted to prove that people in Shakspeare's time carried on their daily conversation in blank verse.

Dr. Böckel's *Naturvölker* seem to correspond in the main with Professor Gummere's "homogeneous communities," but the term is much more loosely used. *Spilleute* and *Edelleute* are both to be found among *Naturvölker*, also (p. 428) the arts of architecture and painting as well as music and poetry. Neither is the festal throng a necessary condition for the production of *Volksdichtung*, as appears from the case described on page 94 on the authority of *Das Deutsche Volkslied*, VIII, 72. "About the middle of the last century, in the Böhmerwald, a peasant lad was slain at his sweetheart's window, out of revenge. Shortly afterwards a *sangesfrohe Dienstmagd*, working by herself in the forest, conceived the idea of making a song on this murder, and that same day composed several *G'sätzln* which she sang that evening in the *Bauernstube*. Each following day brought fresh stanzas, which were all composed to an air (*singend gedichtet*). Thus a song was made which is sung to this day in the Böhmerwald." This is genuine folksong for Dr. Böckel, apparently, and is a rather interesting instance of humble and unlettered, but solitary, laborious (for she seems to have composed by herself in the forest, a few stanzas a day), and conscious authorship; but the product would not pass muster with Professor Gummere as a "popular ballad."

The book is full of interesting items like this, gathered from a great variety of sources, and with authorities duly cited. But it lacks much of being a satisfactory "psychology of folk-poetry."

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TRUTZNACHTIGALL von P. Friedrich Spee S. J. nebst den Liedern aus dem *Güldenem Tugendbuch* desselben Dichters. Nach der Ausgabe von Klemens Brentano kritisch neu herausgegeben von Alfons Weinrich. Mit den Titelbildern der Originalausgabe und der Ausgabe von Brentano. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1908. pp. XL+428.

If we were to select any one period in the history of German literature in which the poems of Friedrich Spee exerted their greatest influence and in which there began a distinct reawakening of interest in the *Trutz-Nachtigal* and *Güldenem Tugendbuch* we should certainly turn to the Romantic movement in Germany. The typical German Romanticist along with his reverence for Nature, his interest in the German mediaeval past, his leaning toward mysticism, and his admiration for Catholicism, seemed to take a peculiar interest in resurrecting the works of well-nigh forgotten authors. It was natural, therefore, that Spee should have received the attention of the Romanticists. He was a Jesuit priest; he may well be called a mystic.

The last regular edition of the *Güldenem Tugendbuch* had appeared in 1688, of the *Trutz-Nachtigal* in 1709. It remained for Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, then vicar-general, afterwards bishop-coadjutor, of Constance, to publish in 1802 modernized versions of nine of Spee's poems. Wessenberg's preface shows that he was one of the early Romanticists. He tells of a basket of flowers which, neglected and covered with dust, lies at the roadside. Upon blowing off the dust and planting the flowers in a garden the finder is rewarded with the most beautiful array of forms and colors and the sweetest of fragrance. At the bottom of the basket is a slip of paper upon which is written 'Friedrich Spee'—presumably the name of the gardener who originally raised the flowers. Only after a long search was the finder able to glean from an old chronicle a few facts concerning the life of the newly-discovered author.

Other Romanticists besides Wessenberg became interested in Spee. Friedrich Schlegel in the *Poetisches Taschenbuch* for 1806 printed, with alterations of his own, a number of poems from Spee's *Trutz-Nachtigal*, together with a short account of Spee's life. In 1812 appeared an edition of poems from the *Trutz-Nachtigal* by P. L. Willmes; in 1817 appeared the first complete edition by Clemens Brentano, many of whose own poems show a distinct Spee influence. That Spee appealed also to the later Romanticists may be seen from Eichendorff's profuse praise of Spee in his *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*, also in the poems of Annette von Droste Hülshoff, if she may be called a late Romanticist (H. Hüffer, *Annette von Droste Hülshoff und ihre Werke*, Gotha, 1887, p. 66).

Of special interest therefore, is Weinrich's excellent reprint of Brentano's edition of *Trutz-Nachtigal*. Weinrich's edition contains the title page of the original 1649 edition; 'Vorwort' by the editor; 'Einleitung' giving a brief but adequate account of Brentano's life and of his interest in Spe, also a list of the poems taken from the *Trutz-Nachtigal* and incorporated in the *Wunderhorn*; the title page of Brentano's edition; Brentano's 'Zueignung' to his edition of *Trutz-Nachtigal*; Brentano's account of Spe's life; 'Dedikation' by Wilhelm Friessem, the publisher of the first edition of *Trutz-Nachtigal*; 'Vorrede des Autors' (Spe's own introduction in which he draws the all-important distinction between quantity and accent in German poetry); 'Widmung' by Nakatenus, a fellow-Jesuit and Spe's literary executor; the poems from *Trutz-Nachtigal* (pp. 39-317); the song and rhymes from *Güldenes Tugendbuch* (pp. 317-385); 'Zugabe dreier Lieder von andern Dichtern' (one by Nakatenus, one from *Geistliches Psälterlein*, and one by Brentano and Fräulein Luise Hensel); 'Lesarten' (citations by Weinrich from the original editions of Spe's works); 'Anmerkungen' (Weinrich's explanations of the most difficult passages); 'Register.'

We thus have in Weinrich's reprint a complete apparatus for the study of Brentano's interest in Spe. We get, moreover, a complete collection of Spe's poems—those from *Güldenes Tugendbuch* as well as those from *Trutz-Nachtigal*. Weinrich and Brentano have followed the original editions fairly closely, and in the 'Lesarten' Weinrich has given further help toward an appreciation of Spe's style. In minor points Weinrich has followed Brentano's preferences—the spelling 'Spee' instead of 'Spe,' the use of 'sind' and 'nicht' for Spe's 'seind' and 'nit,' the use of the weak form of the adjective after the plural of the article where Spe generally uses the strong form, etc. For an exact study of Spe's language the edition (1879) of *Trutz-Nachtigal* by Gustav Balke (based, however, not on the 1649 edition, but on the Trier manuscript) is still the best. On the other hand, Weinrich's edition would give the reader a better idea of Spe's position in the history of German literature for the reason that the edition includes selections from the *Tugendbuch*.

Brentano's life of Spe is corrected and enlarged by Weinrich's scholarly footnotes which follow in the main the biography by Diel and Duhr. Brentano in his 'Zueignung' gives a bibliography of Spe comprising nine titles. Weinrich in his 'Einleitung' adds a bibliography of thirty-one titles (exclusive of editions of *Trutz-Nachtigal*, articles in lexicons and encyclopedias, titles already quoted in footnotes, etc.), making at least forty in all—the most complete and most accurate bibliography of Spe that has yet been published. The following titles of more or less

importance, not included in the lists by Brentano and by Weinrich, might be supplied.

Teipel, [Review of] *Trutz Nachtigall von Friedrich von Spee*. Mit Einleitung und Erklärung von B. Hüppe und W. Junkmann, Münster, 1841. (*Neue Jahrb. für Phil. und Pädagogik*, Bd. 34, Heft 3, 1842, p. 278.)

G. Balke, [Review of] *Friedrich Spees Trutz Nachtigall verjüngt von Karl Simrock*, Heilbronn, 1876 (*Anz. für deut. Altertum*, 2, 262).

J. G. Schick, *Pater Friedrich Spee (Leben ausgezeichneter Catholiken der letzten Jahrhunderte*. 7th Pamphlet, Regensburg, 1877).

J. Stötzner, *Friedrich von Spee und Christian Thomasius, die Bekämpfer des Hexenwahns*. (In the series *Wohlthäter der Menschheit* edited by E. Gosse and F. Otto.)

H. Gruber, *Friedrich von Spee. Zum 300 j. Gedächtnistage am 25 Febr. 1891* (*Post* v. 24 Febr.) Cf. *Jb. f. Lit. Gesch.*, 1891, III, 2:27.

Anonymous, *Friedrich von Spee (Volks Zeitung Beilage* Febr. 21, 1892). Cf. *Jb. f. Lit. Gesch.*, 1892, III, 2:30.

Jul. Schall, *Zum Andenken an Fr. von Spee (Deutsch-evangelische Blätter*, 1899).

Anonymous, *F. von Spee (Dtsch. Adelsbl.* 21, p. 146. 1903).

None of the works cited by Brentano or by Weinrich are in English. The following titles may, therefore, be of interest:

H. I. D. Ryder, *A Jesuit Reformer and Poet (Nineteenth Century Magazine*, Aug., 1895, Vol. 18, 249; also in *Living Age*, Sept. 26, 1885, 166, 771).

G. L. Burr, *The Witch Persecutions*, Philadelphia, 1897. (*Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, III, No. 4). Chapter VIII of Professor Burr's pamphlet contains a short account of Spee and an English translation of one of the most important sections of the *Cautio Criminalis*.

Robert Schwickeroth, *Attitude of the Jesuits in the Trial for Witchcraft (American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902).

Anonymous, *A Jesuit Philanthropist. Friedrich von Spee and the Würzburg Witches. (Church Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1904, Vol. 57, 318-337).

Although Weinrich excludes from his bibliography all articles in encyclopedias and lexicons, I take the opportunity of quoting two accounts on Spee in readily accessible English refer-

ence books—James Mearns, *Friedrich von Spee* (In Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, London, 1892, p. 1071), and an unsigned article *Friedrich von Spee* (*Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, New York, 1885, Vol. IX, 918—an adaptation of Palmer's article on Spee in Hertzog's *Real-Encyklopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Gotha, 1861, XIV, 519).

On p. 14 of his account of Spee's life Brentano cites the various translations of Spee's *Cautio Criminalis*—a partial German translation by Johann Seiffert, Bremen, 1647; a substantially complete German translation by Hermann Schmidt, Frankfurt, 1649 [it was really published in 1648], included by Johann Reiche in his *Unterschiedlichen Schriften von Unfug des Hexenprocesses*, Halle, 1703; a French translation [by Ferdinand Bouvot de Velledor M. A. D.], Lyon, 1660; 'eine andere deutsche' published by Niewerts at Amsterdam, 1657. This last-named German translation is, however, merely a reprint of Schmidt's translation of 1649 (DeBacker, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, Paris, 1896, VII, 1430), and should not be confused with a Dutch translation which also appeared at Amsterdam in 1657. Mention might be made also of a Polish translation appearing in 1680.

The earliest reference to Spee is given, according to the bibliographies of Brentano and Weinrich, in the *Trierer Ordensnekrolog* for 1635 and in Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, Antwerp, 1643. There are two letters, however, dated May 14th and May 23, 1631—the very year that the *Cautio* first appeared—which refer to Spee. They were written to Count Franz Wilhelm, Bishop of Osnabrück by the Franciscan Johannes Pelking, suffragan-bishop of Paderborn and Hildesheim (*Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, vol. 68, pp. 497, 503), and contain a scathing criticism of the *Cautio Criminalis* which they brand as 'pestilentissimus liber.' These letters are important for two reasons; they afford a striking example of the ill-feeling which existed between a Franciscan and a Jesuit, and they show that the authorship of the *Cautio Criminalis* was known to some the very year that the first edition appeared.

It was the great philosopher Leibniz who took such pains to make known to the world at large that Spee was the author of the anonymously published *Cautio Criminalis*, that powerful attack on witch persecution, marking the beginning of the end of that folly in Europe. Brentano, probably following the account in E. D. Hauber, *Bibliotheka Acta et Scripta Magica*, Lemgo, 1741, vol. III, 15, states in his account (p. 14) of Spee's life that Leibniz first mentioned Spee in his letter to Placcius of April 26,

1697. Weinrich adds no footnote to challenge this statement. As a matter of fact, however, Leibniz mentioned Spe a number of times in letters and documents written before 1697—first in his *Grundriss eines Bedenckens von Aufrichtung einer Societät in Teutschland zu Aufnehmen der Künste und Wissenschaften* (1669-70); then in his *Elogium Patris Friderici Spee S. J.* (May, 1677); in a letter to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels (Autumn of 1680); in a letter to Herzog Rudolf von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (Mar. 9, 1693); in a letter to Andr. Morell (Dec. 10, 1696). The year 1697 brought forth at least three references by Leibniz to Spe—in a letter to the Electress Sophia, in a review of a book by the Archbishop of Cambray, and in the above-mentioned letter to Placcius. Leibniz continued to call attention to Spe in a letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (1698), in a letter to Baron d' Imhof (1708), in one to the Jesuit Des Bosses (Oct. 2, 1708), in the *Théodicée* (1710), and in two more letters to Des Bosses (Feb. 8 and July 8, 1711). Brentano, nevertheless, deserves credit for having again pointed out in his popular edition of *Trutz-Nachtigal* this interest of Leibniz in Spe. Spe's influence upon Leibniz was, as I shall attempt to point out in a study to be published later, of no little interest and importance in the development of the *Théodicée*.

One other point deserves notice. Brentano emphasizes the fact (p. 18) that Leibniz was not an admirer of Spe's poems. Weinrich adds this footnote, based upon a similar footnote in the Diel-Duhr biography of Spe (p. 132): "Diese Worte [referring to Leibniz's opinion of Spe's poems] braucht man nicht allzu hoch anzuschlagen; schrieb doch Leibniz alle seine Werke und Briefe lateinisch oder französisch und war mit *deutscher* Poesie und Sprache vertraut."

It is to be regretted that the latest editor of Spe's *Trutz-Nachtigal* has re-echoed the opinion that Leibniz had no interest in the German language. Klopstock in his *Gelehrtenrepublik* (Leipzig, 1817, p. 58), Schleiermacher, Lindner who edited the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken* of Leibniz, Julian Schmidt, Weber in his *Lehrbuch der Geschichte*, and others seem to be responsible for this once prevailing idea. It is needless to say that such a statement is extremely misleading. In the first place, Leibniz wrote many of his works in French and Latin not because he had no skill in German, but because he knew he could reach a larger public through these foreign languages and could find in them philosophical terms and expressions lacking in German. He begs for forgiveness in the last sentences of the introduction to the *Théodicée*. In the second place, Leibniz did use German in many of his writings. Edmund Pfeiderer, *Gottfried Wilhelm*

von Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger, Leipzig, 1870, p. 726, states that of the works of Leibniz published up to that time at least 1100 printed pages were in German. This takes no account, of course, of the many unpublished letters and manuscripts and of the anonymous publications which may be attributed to Leibniz. Leibniz was an ardent admirer of his mother tongue. In his dissertation on the philosophical style of Nizolius, in his *Ermahnung an die Teutsche*, in his various outlines for the foundation of a German academy of sciences, and above all in the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken* Leibniz continually and consistently emphasizes the importance of the vernacular. In fact, Leibniz was an enthusiastic advocate of the use of German twenty years or more before Christian Thomasius delivered at Leipzig his first university lecture in German.

Leibniz's interest in Spe is all the more significant inasmuch as he emphasizes the *popular* style of Spe's works. In the *Elogium* (1677) Leibniz points out that Spe wrote *in populi usum*; in the letter to Landgraf Ernst of Hessen-Rheinfels (1680) he ranks Spe's works with those "qui meritoient d'estre mis en usage *parmy de peuple*"; in the letter to Morell (1696), and again in a letter to Mlle. de Scudéry (1698) he remarks: "Mais il y a de pensées si belles proposés pour toucher meme *les ames populaires* et enfoncées dans le monde que j'en ay esté charme."

Two misprints in Brentano's introduction have been overlooked in the new edition. The reference (p. 17) to the *Théodicée* should be § 96 (not 6), and the name of the French correspondent to whom Leibniz wrote about Spe should be Fräulein (not Frau) von Scudéry.

Weinrich's reprint of Brentano's edition of Spe's poems is a masterly and welcome addition to Spe literature. For the student of Brentano and of the revival of interest, during the Romantic movement, in Spe and other almost forgotten authors and works of the earlier centuries, it is indispensable.

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STAPFER, Paul: *Etudes sur Goethe*. Paris 1906. 8° 291pp.

In Goethe's *Sprüche in Prosa* we read: "Keine Nation hat ein Urteil als über das, was bei ihr getan und geschrieben ist. . . . Wahre, in alle Zeiten und Nationen eingreifende Urteile sind sehr selten." The book before us, written by a man of scholarship and culture, the author of many treatises on various phases of literature, corroborates the truth of this severe dictum. Of the two parts which make up the *Etudes* ("Goethe et la littérature de son temps" and "Les chefs-d'oeuvres de Goethe") the first consists of a chapter on "Goethe et Lessing" and one on "Goethe et Schiller." In the former, no trace of jingoism prevents S. from recognizing the marvelous originality of the greatest enemy of French classical drama. The latter is a fine instance of a Frenchman's appreciation of the nobility implied in the friendship of the two great poets and of its importance for the world's literature. Nevertheless, there asserts itself, almost from the first page, a distinctly temperamental bias which must of necessity limit the author's appreciation of Goethe to very narrow bounds. So Goethe's universality appears to S. as an "eclecticism universel" (p. 36), and in last analysis he is but an "amateur sans pareil" concerning whom S. asks himself whether he be truly "un des grands poètes de l'humanité, comme Shakespeare ou comme Molière, et s'il ne serait pas plus justement nommé *le plus grands des Alexandrins*." (p. 69.) An explanation for this utterance is to be found in the following passage in which S. defines the limits of his admiration of Goethe's works: "... dans *Iphigénie en Tauride*, dans *Hermann et Dorothee*, dans les belles et solides parties du premier *Faust*, dans les meilleures portions des poésies lyriques, bref, dans tous les pures chefs-d'oeuvre de Goethe, on met le pied sur la terre ferme, l'oeil se repose sur les contours aussi nets, sur les horizons aussi lumineux que ceux de cette Italie et de cette Grèce classique où le poète admire la réalisation de son idéal. C'est le temps de son robuste paganisme, le temps où il adore la forme, où le réel lui suffit, où la nature sert de modèle à son art, où il se restore et s'égaie sans s'enivrer à la coupe de la vie. Son talent alors est plastique; il a horreur de tout ce qui est vague, indéterminé, nuageux, comme ses maîtres les Grecs, qui faisaient de l'aspiration à quelque chose d'infini un motif de damnation et qui ont précipité dans le Tartare les puissances titaniques où la mythologie personnifiait l'absence de règle et de mesure. Tel a été Goethe dans la meilleure moitié de sa vie; mais tel il n'a point su rester." (pp. 11f.) In other words, what is least thoroughly German in Goethe is what most appeals to our critic.

Very logically, in the second part of his book, S. cares to

discuss only very few works: *Werther*, *Iphigenie*, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Faust I*. In the first of these the psychological realism appeals to him, and *Faust* satisfies him only on account of the Margaret episode and the wealth of apothegm. Yet even *Faust* is "décousu... non seulement dans la seconde partie, mais même dans la première! Quel capharnaüm d'idées confuses, contradictoires! Quel manque de dessein suivi et de logique!" (p. 163.) In last analysis, nothing remains truly worthy of admiration in its totality, except *Iphigenie* and *Hermann und Dorothea*. *Wilhelm Meister* and the other works (Götz, *Egmont*, *Faust II*) being either mentioned in passing, or attacked.

Thus there comes to the fore in this book a most characteristically Romance attitude towards the great German, an attitude best expressed by the words: "Ce qui est achevé satisfait seul l'esprit" (p. 164) and "L'auteur d'*Hermann et Dorothee* n'a point failli à cette grande règle de l'art grec et de l'art français, qui doivent à la logique leur perfection exemplaire." (p. 172.) At least as far as *Hermann und Dorothea* is concerned, this is a step in advance over former French criticism. Deschanel had thought the little epic inferior to Lamartine's *Jocelyn* and Schérer had nothing but sneers for it. Very naturally, to a temperament like Stapfer's the second part of *Faust* would appear merely as a sign of Goethe's decadence, as nothing but "l'immense fouillis d'un bazar en désordre" (p. 64), and "un long tissu d'énigmes et de logogriphe à deviner." (p. 12.) It is then not to be wondered at that the admirable unity of personality apparent through all Goethe's works and manifold interests should entirely escape S., and that his self-culture should become a source of irritation rather than uplift to him. Baldensperger, in his illuminating study *Goethe en France* points out that in the seventies French criticism bitterly attacked this principle of self-culture represented by Goethe. Interest in the commonweal and in utilitarian ideals had in France become the watchword of the generation that was still suffering from the "débacle." Like the Young Germans of the thirties—Menzel and his associates—Frenchmen for a time saw in Goethe the greatest promulgator of a vicious principle. Stapfer seems to continue this tradition.

This book, then, adds nothing to our comprehension of Goethe, and might well be set aside without further comment, were it not a singularly happy illustration of the limitations in criticism that spring from national idiosyncracies.

When a French savant, evidently anxious to understand the great German poet, free from jingoism, scholarly, intelligent, and sincere, comes to conclusions like those quoted above, must we not feel that very few even of those of a large literary experi-

ence are ever capable of overcoming the trammels of national temperament. This suspicion is deepened by a perusal of Baldensperger's book referred to above; even so appreciative a study as Bonafous's *Kleist* contains conspicuous instances of an inability to enter into the German point of view.

No age before ours has offered such lavish opportunity for acquaintance with the temperament and the literary output of other nations. Steamships, the telegraph, newspapers, and last but not least the teaching in schools and Universities of the literature of other races, all contribute to this end. Yet it is no paradox to say that never has the veneration of our own national individuality been profounder, and never have we been more conscious of our inability fully to enter into the psyche of a foreign race. The old fallacy that all men are essentially equal in temperament, and that all racial differences are merely superficial, has yielded, since Herder and especially since Gobineau, to the recognition of those essential differences which no training and no transplanting can quite overcome.

So for instance, Bourget, one of the most widely intelligent modern Frenchmen, tells of his vigorous efforts to do justice to the English people. He settled at Oxford, lived with Englishmen as an Englishman, and finally came to the conclusion that the viewpoint of the Anglo-Saxon would forever remain a mystery to him. Isolde Kurz, after a sojourn of many years in Italy, could write a poem of almost poignant force, deploring her inability to cease being a foreigner in the land she had learned to love so well.

The attitude towards foreign temperaments has passed through an evolution curiously parallel to that of the theological attitude towards the heterodox. Here to make proselytes was at one time considered the highest duty. When it was discovered that such efforts were futile, even when supported by the sword and the rack, bitterness and contempt for those of a different creed ensued. We have at last reached a point of vantage which enables us to respect all religious convictions without yielding our own. In matters literary, also, has this humane if resigned attitude been forced upon us. Leslie Stephen, in his essay on cosmopolitanism in literature has pointed out that, generally speaking, those elements in a poet which make the most powerful appeal abroad, are his least national characteristics. Any one studying the career of Byron's works on the continent, or of those of Heine outside of Germany, will pay tribute to the sagacity of this remark. Hence, a true understanding of any literature on the part of a foreign nation seems almost impossible, as Goethe remarked in the aphorism quoted above. We may well ask: has foreign criticism ever contributed on an important

scale to an understanding of German literature? or: does Taine furnish the only instance of a fundamental misconception of the quality of English letters coming from a superior foreign critic? Wordsworth and Browning find few admirers outside of English speaking countries, and if so many-sided a genius as Goethe fails to appeal to so critically acute a nation as the French, how can men like Hebbel and Raabe, gnarled and idiosyncratic, ever find an intelligent hearing outside of their own country?

Very characteristically, the reason why Goethe's work as a whole fails to appeal to a critic like Stapfer, resides in the fact that to Stapfer much of his work offends against what he calls "la bonne santé du goût français" (p. 64). He congratulates his nation on having stoutly refused to be lured into an admiration of the second part of Faust. An intelligent German would feel that a people so strongly determined by "la bonne santé du goût," greatly though it profit thereby, would never produce a Luther or a Beethoven. Very significantly, France has hardly ever been capable of doing full justice to her own turbulent Diderot.

To teachers of modern literature this book and the train of thought it suggests is of especial interest. None of us would deny the immense advantages flowing from our modern impassionate preference for our own national individuality. Who would not hail with pleasure the fact that we moderns feel ourselves do deeply rooted in our own soil? In matters of literature, this feeling has led to a careful and loving study of the monuments of our national past and to important discoveries in this field. The name of the Grimms alone suffices to prove the vitality of this impulse. On the other hand, there lurks here an element of serious danger. Patriotism and jingoism are twin-sisters, and love for one's own literature and blindness for every other are almost as nearly related. Worse than that, a certain tendency to misplace emphasis is too frequently the result of lack of correction from without. The position of Schiller in Germany, of Tennyson in England, of Victor Hugo in France seems a case in point.

It is precisely the function of modern-language teaching to encourage on a large scale critical hospitality to ideals contrary to our own traditions. And never has the need of such teaching been greater than to-day.

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URBAN, Richard. *Die literarische Gegenwart. Zwanzig Jahre deutschen Schrifttums 1888-1908.* Xenien-Verlag zu Leipzig 1908. 309 S. Preis M. 5.00.

KUMMER, Friedrich. *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Verlag Carl Reissner. Dresden 1909. 720 S. M. 10.00.

Richard Urbans "Buch" ist eine unergiebig und überflüssige Sammlung von Feuilletons. Nirgends ein eigenes Urteil. Nirgends auch nur ein Versuch in die Tiefe zu dringen. Wertvoll sind höchstens die zahlreichen Zitate. Offenbar war es dem jugendlichen Verfasser in erster Linie darum zu tun, das allzu leichte Fahrzeug eigenen Ruhmes mit Ballast zu versehen: wir erfahren von einem Drama und von Gedichten Richard Urbans. Das ist das einzig Neue in den mit üppiger Platzverschwendung bedruckten dreihundert und neun Seiten.

Kummers Werk stellt die Frucht dreizehnjähriger, gründlicher und liebevoller Arbeit dar. Es bietet das, was auch die Umarbeitung von R. M. Meyers bekanntem Buch nicht gebracht hat: eine Sichtung des Chaos der Erscheinungen. Vor anderen Rivalen hat es den Ton ruhiger Sachlichkeit voraus. Die Einteilung des Stoffes in fünf Generationen ist im grossen ganzen annehmbar und praktisch, wenn auch einzelne Gewaltigkeiten wohl oder übel mitunterlaufen. So wird Gutzkow in seiner Gesamtheit der zweiten Generation, d. h. Heine, Lenau, Immermann, Mörike, Droste-Hülshoff, zugerechnet. Der Theoretiker des Nebeneinander, der Praktiker der "Ritter vom Geist" hat aber doch wohl seinen Platz in der folgenden Generation der Ludwig, Keller und Freytag, so gut wie Fontane, der alte, in die Zeit des Naturalismus gehört. Keller, geb. 1819, erscheint unter den älteren, Storm, geb. 1817, unter den jüngeren führenden Talenten, wo doch Storm 1843, Keller 1847 als Dichter zum erstenmal hervortrat. Raabe wird unter Freytag gestellt. In Sachen der Moderne sind die Wertungen natürlich noch mehr anzufechten; so wenn Hauptmanns "Kaiser Karls Geisel" auf die Stufe der Grillparzerschen Tragoedie erhoben wird. Doch die Literarhistorik ist keine exakte Wissenschaft. Und einzelne Meinungsverschiedenheiten ändern an der Tatsache nichts, dass uns Kummer ohne Zweifel die brauchbarste und gediegenste Einführung in das Studium der behandelten Periode geschenkt hat. Mit Freuden ist es vor allem zu begrüssen, dass die Literatur im Zusammenhang mit den "philosophischen, naturwissenschaftlichen und religiösen Zeitströmungen" vorgeführt wird, dass auch Musik und bildende Kunst in den Bereich der Darstellung gezogen sind. So ist das Werk voll Leben und Anschauung. Dem klugen, feingebildeten, vornehmdenkenden Verfasser gebührt hohe Anerkennung.

O. E. LESSING.

FESTSCHRIFT zur 49. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel im Jahre 1907. Basel, 1907. Carl Beck, Verlag, Leipzig. Mk. 15, pp. 1-538.

This work contains a collection of twenty-two articles as follows:

1. Zum inschriftlichen NY ΕΦΕΑΚΥΣΤΙΚΟΝ. Von Ferdinand Sommer. A study of the use of *ν* movable, chiefly in pause, based upon I. Die offiziellen Urkunden, II. Die privaten Urkunden, III. Die Vaseninschriften, IV. Die ionischen Prosainschriften, V. Die Epigramme, pp. 1-39.

2. Das Gleichnis in erzählender Dichtung. Ein Problem für Philologen und Schulmänner. Von Theodor Plüss. pp. 40-64. Beginning with the simile of Hermes and the seamew (Odyssey 5. 50-54), which he endeavors to explain, Plüss goes on to seek the basis of the simile in all poetry. He finds that the narrative poet does not in his use of similes wish to produce *Stimmung* or *Anschaulichkeit*, but that his method is as follows: The poet is describing, or is about to describe an event. This event takes in his mind a special or peculiar form which can not be expressed in words. By association of ideas there then arises in his mind some act or event by which his thought is pictured in lively form, so that by a kind of symbol that which the poet can not express in words is presented to the mind of the reader or hearer.

3. Über den Barditus. Von Wilhelm Bruckner. pp. 65-77. On the basis of *bison*, *ontis*=germ. *wisund* in which Latin *b* in anlaut corresponds to Germ. *w*, Bruckner seeks for a basis for **warditus* from a weak verb **wardjan* and finds it in altind. *vardhati*, causative *vardhayati*=strengthen, cause to grow, to which Germ. **wardjan* would exactly correspond and **warditus*=crescendo would agree with its description by Ammianus. Comparing the passage in Tacitus with Ammianus (16, 12, 43; 31, 7, 11), Plutarch (Marius cap. 19) and Vegetius (Epit. rei milit. 3, 18), Bruckner concludes: that the *barditus* consisted not merely of a swelling roar, but of words used rhythmically, though the words may have been only a battlecry oft-repeated; that Tacitus took the words *affectatur intumescat* from a written source and, misunderstanding *obiectis* (*ad os*) *scutis*, added *ad os*; that *fractum murmur*, if it does not mean that the *barditus* stopped suddenly, must mean that it was repeatedly interrupted.

4. Aus Seb. Faesch's Reisebeschreibung (1669). Von Emil Thommen. pp. 78-103. The text, with manifold notes, of those parts of Faesch's diary which describe his stay in France and England.

5. Zu Ciceros Briefwechsel mit Plancus. Von Felix Stähelin.

pp. 104-113. A treatment of certain points in the correspondence between Cicero and Plancus in the explanation of which Stähelin disagrees with Groebe and Bardt.

6. Die *MEPH THΣ TPAGΩΔIAS* in der Tragödie des V. Jahrhunderts. Von Jakob Oeri. pp. 114-147. The divisions of the tragedy are usually made on the basis of the twelfth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*. In this paper Oeri seeks a rational division of tragedy in answer to the question, How should we make the division, if we did not have the above-mentioned work of Aristotle? The divisions of the paper are as follows: I. Der Prolog, II. Die Zwischengesänge, 1. die Hindernisse, 2. die Arten des Zwischengesangs, 3. die Verbindung des Zwischengesangs mit Vorhergehendem und Folgendem, 4. Rückblick auf den Zweck des Stasimons, III. Die Einzelnen Teile der dialogischen Partien. Die Formen der Chorbewegung.

7. *Le fabliau du Buffet* publié par Albert Barth. pp. 148-180. Classification of the manuscripts, text with critical apparatus, remarks.

8. Untersuchungen zum altenglischen sogenannten *Crist*. Von Gustav Binz. pp. 181-197. Binz believes that the oe. *Crist* is not as a whole the work of Cynewulf, but that the second part alone is his. Still Binz does not seek to prove this here. What he does try to find out is the relationship of the third part, V. 867ff (Cr. III), to the old Saxon poem. By a study of Cr. III in respect of 1. Wortschatz, 2. Laut—und Wortformen, 3. Syntax, 4. Stil, 5. Metrik, he finds that in the narrative and descriptive passages the metrical criteria agree in a striking manner with those of language and style in suggesting an old-Saxon basis, while the moralizing passages, as far as alliteration and style are concerned, offer no proof of relationship with the old-Saxon poem.

9. Der Kothurn im fünften Jahrhundert. Von Alfred Körte, pp. 198-212. Körte finds that Chamaileon of Portus is our oldest authority for the changes which Aeschylus made in the dress worn by tragic actors, and that he depends on the comedians for his statements; that the cothurnus is peculiar to Dionysus; that no archaeological remains of the fifth century show the cothurnus with high heel and sole; that Euripides, *Orestes* 1369ff., and Aeschylus, *Agam.* 935ff., are against the use of a high-heeled boot; that *κόθορνος* and *ἐμβάτης* are used indifferently for the same footwear.

10. Die Anfänge der Kartographie in der Schweiz mit Seb. Schmid's Anleitung zum Kartenzeichnen a. d. J. 1566. Von Rudolf Luginbühl. pp. 213-231. The text of Seb. Schmid's work, with an introduction on the earliest maps of Switzerland and their makers.

11. Die Mathematik auf dem Gymnasium. Von Otto Spiess. pp. 232-246. The aim of the gymnasium is humanistic, not practical. Mathematics as a major study can and should be taught in accordance with this aim.

12. Zur Komposition des Velleius. Von Friedrich Münzer. pp. 247-278. Velleius has many of the good and bad qualities of a mediocre journalist. His matter is obtained from epitomes, historical tables and biographical collections; his knowledge apparently wide and inclusive, is derived from a few books. Upon the predecessor whom he is using at any one time Velleius depends for his choice, order, and estimate of the material; his independence frequently consists merely in using several authorities at once. All his statements are cobbled together hastily and crudely. Catchwords and stock phrases lend a seeming freshness and originality to short passages, but, in general, language, style and composition are not up to the most modest standard.

13. Die Einführung des gregorianischen Kalenders in der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Von Rudolf Thommen. pp. 279-294. The subject is treated historically.

14. Zur Entstehung von Platons "Staat." Von Karl Joël. pp. 295-323. From a study of its matter and form Joël concludes that the Republic was a work of Plato's old age.

15. Zur Agglutination in den französischen Mundarten. Von Ernst Tappolet. pp. 324-340. A study of the agglutination of l and n and an explanation of its cause.

16. Une Source des "Tragiques." Par. Charles de Roche. pp. 341-382. Parts of the text of the Tragiques of d'Aubigné are compared with the Histoire des Martyrs, etc., of Jean Crespin, from which comparison it appears that the latter work was in large part a source of the former.

17. La poésie religieuse patoise dans le Jura bernois catholiques. (Noëls.—Chants de fêtes religieuses.—Complaintes.) Par Arthur Rossat. 383-447. A collection of religious poems, most of which are printed phonetically with translation into French.

18. Markellinos' Pulslehre. Ein griechisches Anekdoton von Hermann Schöne. pp. 448-472. Introduction, in which the name of the author, the MSS and the waterclock of Herophilos are discussed, and text with index.

19. Franz Krutters Bernauerdrama. Von Albert Gessler. 473-490. A study and critique.

20. Ferndissimilation von r und l im Deutschen. Ein Beitrag zu den Prinzipien des Lautwandels. Von Eduard Hoffman-Krayer. pp. 491-506. On the basis of the examples presented the causes of dissimilation are classified.

21. Wolfram von Eschenbach und einige seiner Zeitgenossen. Von John Meier. pp. 507-520. A study of Wolfram's at-

titude toward some of his literary contemporaries as expressed in his *Parzival*.

22. *Elterliche Teilung*. Von Ernst Rabel. pp. 521-538. An historical inquiry into the division of property in the German and Roman empires, in Greece, and according to the papyri.

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TWO GERMAN PUBLICISTS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

It is always interesting for an American to learn by direct testimony that the old world knows that the new is in existence. Half the pleasure of foreign travel lies in seeing Europe, the other half is in hearing what Europe thinks of you and your like and the land you come from. And the experience is none the less interesting when it comes second-handed and relates to an America and a Europe a century and a quarter behind us. Indeed the letters of men who did not know they were reporters to an editor who did not know he was an editor, in an age when public opinion was an infant whom any petty prince felt free to belabor, are as fascinating in their way as any that Stanley or Kennan ever wrote.

To anyone who is interested in Europe, especially Germany, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the magazines of that day with their statistics and geography and literary history and voluntary contributions on all subjects but politics, spell out an interesting chapter in the history of journalism and of public opinion before the French Revolution.¹

But we must not expect too much from them concerning America. Europe to-day with America a "world power," has not yet come to fill its magazines and newspapers with news from the West, and America in the eighteenth century was more distant than Thibet to-day. And were we much more important than we are now, it would have required something besides the eighteenth century German journal (one might say the twentieth) to impress that fact on the German reading public of 1776.²

¹ Cf. on the history of German journalism, L. Salomon, *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens*, etc. Oldenburg, 1899ff. Other material of a more special character is listed in Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde*, etc., Nos. 2123-2124 and Nos. 8330-8336, seventh edition, Leipzig, 1906.

² On the general subject of the essay cf. H. P. Gallinger, *Die Haltung der deutschen Publizistik zu dem amerikanischen Unabhängig-*

Schiller's view that you must make men for the constitution before you make a constitution for men applies to newspapers. There must be the public made for newspapers, not only a public but all the appurtenances and opportunities for the collection and distribution of news and certainly Germany where as late as 1850 the Prussian ministers wished to close the mails to the newspapers—their distribution being held no proper part of the postal duties¹—must not be too harshly judged if its eighteenth century journalism was not effective.

The century itself was unpolitical and unhistorical. Savigny condemns it for its lack of all sense or feeling for what was great and unique in other ages and its disregard of the natural development of peoples and constitutions.² Petty despots and greater ones like Joseph II of Austria and Frederick the Great had no conception of the freedom of the press. Personal lamppoons the larger sovereigns might allow, because strong enough to despise them, but secrecy was the impenetrable veil they drew over all affairs of state. Woe to the journalist within or without their lands who wrote of forbidden things. If he did it within Prussia, for instance, the police had him; if he did it in Cologne, the great king spent his good ducats to pay a thug who caught the journalist in a back alley and taught him that the sceptre reaches as far as the pen.³

keitskriege, 1775-1783. This is a Leipzig dissertation published at Leipzig in 1900. Also Bancroft, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, chs. XXXI and XXXII (edition of 1878), and Schlosser, *History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. III, and an article by James Hatfield and Elfrieda Hochbaum in *Americana Germanica*, III, 338-386. 1899-1900. The article is entitled 'The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature,' and has a good bibliography. Cf. Also J. G. Rosengarten, *Sources of American History in German Archives*.

¹ *Archiv für den deutschen Buchhandel*, III, 1-2, and V, 769ff.

² Savigny, *Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 4. Cf. also Wenck, *Deutschland vor Hundert Jahren*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1887, 1890, and L. Levy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz*. Paris, 1890.

³ Cf. article by J. G. Droysen, *Die Zeitungen im ersten Jahrzehnt Friedrich des Grossen*, in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, Vol. XIII, p. 1-38, and article by E. Consentius, *Friedrich der Grosse u. d. Zeitungscensur in Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 115.

Schubart, whose *Deutsche Chronik* we shall have occasion to notice at length, wanted to fill his journal, not with local gossip, but with statistical information and its discussion; but when he sought to execute his plan, to use his own words, 'Men threw their hands above their heads and exclaimed, 'What, reveal the affairs of state!' 'As if,' contemptuously adds Schubart, 'the national affairs were state secrets. As if every country did not suffer in general, more from the ignorance of its authorities and citizens concerning its real activities than it would from the use a neighbor or rival might make of the knowledge publicity gave it. Year out, year in, they must simply record the court gossip and trivialities that interest no one. 'He has arrived from Potsdam and has left for Potsdam. This one is made colonel, that one is made corporal.' Such is the news,' Schubart says, 'you may expect to find in the Berlin newspapers.' One feels obliged to add that he is writing in 1776. 'The rest that we should so much like to know comes under the rubric of state secrets about which my tailor knows as much as I do. What is the use of writing always about things that you understand either not at all, or only in part. You hear the bells ring and you do not know what it is all about. What is the good of this everlasting hanging in reverential silence and adoration before the cloud enveloped magnates.' But Schubart, though he urged his correspondents to seek long and hard for news, closed his instructions with words suited to the age: 'Beware. Touch not the anointed. Their crowns are electrical and lightning flashes from them at the moment of contact.' With this condition before us, we must not expect too much concerning America from the journalist in a land that did not know itself. Schubart it is again who warns us against the limitations of his countrymen. 'Germany is the land least known in Germany. We have absolutely no idea in any province what is going on right at our boundaries. The Swabian scarcely knows the Bavarian, nor the Bavarian the Austrian. The Saxon has the strangest ideas about what is going on in Brandenburg, and

the Brandenburger's ideas of Hanoverian affairs and the Hanoverian's about other provinces are equally hazy.¹

Liberty and light, the harbingers of intelligent public opinion, had failed to break a path through the German political jungle. The free cities of the religiously divided South were as fearful of untrammelled discussion as their princely neighbors. Schubart's journal started in Augsburg, and in one of the earlier issues he concluded a statement of his aims with this sentiment: 'And now like the German who was leaving London, I throw my hat in the air and shout, Oh England, just this hat full of your spirit and freedom.'² Shortly after this, a local alderman of Augsburg rose in his place and said, 'A vagabond has crept into our midst, who desires for his worthless sheet a hatful of English freedom. Not a nut shell full shall he have.' And Schubart moved on to Ulm there to become the victim of a still harsher oppressor of free thought.

There was but one place in Germany where a man could get a hat full of English freedom,—where he did get it, even though a journalist. That spot was Hanover. The man who was driven from Augsburg to Ulm, and from Ulm to nine years of prison life, looked enviously northward where his colleague Schlözer, the Göttingen professor, was gathering and publishing what he chose. 'If one could always publish such interesting news as Schlözer does in his *Briefwechsel* it would be a pleasure to read newspapers.'³

The government of the Regency in Hanover was most mild and tolerant, and undoubtedly the connection with England had tempered whatever of harshness it was in the power of the governing aristocracy to manifest.⁴ The new epoch in the dynastic greatness of the House of Brunswick had been signalized by the founding of the University of Göttingen, an event in itself almost an epoch in German history. As the house of Hohenzol-

¹ Cf. Article by Trost in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Politik* V, 839ff. These words are in *Deutsche Chronik*, Nov. 2, 1775.

² This is in the first issue of *Deutsche Chronik*.

³ Schubart in his *Deutsche Chronik* quoted frequently from Schlözer's periodical.

⁴ Ford, *Hanover and Prussia*, 1795/1803, 1-48, New York, 1903. A. W. Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover*, 1-35, London, 1899.

lern had its Halle with its Thomasius in the decade of its rise to royal power, so the House of Brunswick had its Göttingen with its Schlözer. The University founded in 1737 was given a greater degree of academic freedom than was common in the older German universities dependent on petty despotic princes. This freedom was proudly guarded and well repaid. Further Göttingen had been founded with an idea of making learning and practice synonymous. As a result Göttingen was the alma mater of almost all north Germany's prominent men at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It was the cradle of the science of statistics and gave to history a veritable renaissance. Its whole spirit made it a shrine for the worshippers of freedom of thought. Well might the lovers of free thought say with Schlözer, '*Extra Göttingam vivere non est vivere.*' German public opinion is the offspring of the University of Göttingen and the foster child of the French Revolution. In its nurture among the names and service of Göttingen professors such as Spittler, Pütter, Rehberg, Brandes, Schirach, Gertauer and Lichtenberg the name and service of August Ludwig von Schlözer stands by common consent pre-eminent.¹

Schlözer was born in 1735 and trained at the University of Wittenberg for a theological career.¹ Coming to Göttingen to finish his studies he widened his interests and activities. Travel and residence as a teacher in Sweden and Russia gave him, when accompanied by his tremendous power to work and readiness in absorbing information, a breadth of knowledge approaching universality. Medicine, natural sciences, law and political science had been added in his post graduate years, so that when he was called in 1770 to a chair at Göttingen he was equipped as are

¹On the University of Göttingen, cf. Dahlmann-Waitz, *sup. cit.* Nos. 2057 and 8467. For an account of the German Universities including Göttingen in 1789, cf. article by Fester, *Der Universitäts-Bereiser Fr. Gedike und sein Bericht an Friedrich Wilhelm II in Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV, *Ergänzungsheft I*. Gedike made a seven weeks' trip to look over professors and University conditions at fourteen different non-Prussian universities.

²Cf. Christian von Schlözer's biography of his father: *A. L. v. Schlözer's öffentliches und Privatleben aus Originalurkunden*, 1828, and

few men in any generation. His deserved success as a teacher came from the freshness and vigor of a man who combined knowledge of the world with knowledge of books. Here was a man who had traveled and seen things and made these travels supplement his lectures. Hundreds of students flocked to hear his lectures on history and statistics. However, teaching was but a part of the activity of this professorial Charles XII. Journalism was the field of activity that interested him even more strongly than scholarly research—a field in which his contributions mark an epoch in historiography. He was in a way a reformer and publicity was his pole star. With his experience as a traveler, his wide knowledge and his great circle of acquaintances, he was well qualified to start a journal and it is these magazines, the *Briefwechsel* and the *Staats Anzeigen*, that possess perhaps the greatest importance of all his literary work. It is the *Briefwechsel* which furnishes the material for this study of Schlözer's views on the American Revolution.

This magazine, '*Briefwechsel meist historischen and politischen Inhalts,*' was published at Göttingen from 1776 to 1782, ten volumes in all. It appeared on an average about six times yearly. It was in a certain sense to serve as a text book supplementing his lectures—to supply details, give sources and make accessible material of value that might otherwise be lost. It was to be free from polemics and contain no book reviews. Schlözer's own reading and his extensive correspondence easily furnished enough material and the magazine reached the unprecedented circulation of 4,400 copies¹ and yielded Schlözer an income only exceeded, as a literary man, by those of Goethe and

the article in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. The treatment of Schlözer in volume two of R. von Mohl, *Geschichte und Literatur der Staatswissenschaften*, 3 vols. Erlangen, 1855-58 is very suggestive. See also Wegele, *Geschichte d. deutschen Historiographie* and H. Wesendonk, *Die Begründung d. neueren deutschen Historiographie durch Gatterer und Schlözer*. Leipzig, 1876, also *Göttinger Professoren: Ein Beitrag, etc.*, Gotha, 1872. This is a group of brief essays. Cf. the one by Waitz, pp. 231-260.

¹K. Th. v. Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zur Auflösung des alten Reichs*, I, 85. Stuttgart, 1899ff.

Kotzebue. Princes offered themselves as contributors. The Duke of Saxe-Meiningen offered to write so that he might help forward enlightenment and toleration and expose and banish evil and ignorance.¹ Crowned heads read and profited by its columns;² petty despots trembled when its issues appeared, and warned their youthful subjects to beware of Göttingen where Schlözer taught. It was something new in Germany to see these tyrants getting their just deserts in print, and the nation came more and more to see that 'unlimited publicity is the most righteous judge.' Hard, vigorous, fearless, dictatorial and ruthless, Schlözer struck right and left, unconsciously rousing a force which when it grew strong enough frightened the man who had stamped it out of the ground.

Schlözer in his many sidedness is such a fascinating figure that one is tempted to linger on other features of his character and career, but justice to the phase we are to consider, his activity as a journalist as shown in the *Briefwechsel*, compels me to hasten on.

The material on America in this periodical may be divided into four classes: I. Statistical, i. e. population, debt and war expenditures. II. Historical, such as quotations from Petrus Martyr on the discovery of America, excerpts from Hakluyt and an interesting description of the project of 1669 for creating a new Germany in South America. III. Controversial, the translation from the French and English of pamphlets and articles replying to such statements of the American case as John Adams had made at the Hague. To the controversial matter one might add the foot-notes with which Schlözer occasionally accompanies his correspondents' contributions. IV. This group is descriptive, being mainly the letters written to Schlözer by his soldier correspondents in the new world. An examination of this material should enable us to determine Schlözer's views

¹Heigel, *sup. cit.* I, 85-86.

²Maria Theresa is said to have disapproved an action of her Privy Council accompanying her veto with the query: 'Was würde Schlözer dazu sagen?' Cf. Wenck, *Deutschland vor Hundert Jahren*, p. 101.

and the impression his magazine would be likely to give a constant reader—two things not necessarily the same.

With the exception of Schlözer's foot-notes, and one reply to Adams, almost all the material in the first three groups (statistical, historical, controversial) is in the first two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*, the volumes for 1776 and 1777 and with almost the same exclusiveness in grouping, all but three of the letters are in volumes four to ten of the *Briefwechsel*.

In examining the first group, the statistics, we are pointed in the direction which Schlözer has taken. The few tables bearing on the relations between the mother country and her colonies mass figures to show what her expenditures have been for them in the French and Indian war¹ and again for the whole period during which the House of Brunswick has been on the English throne.² These figures are taken from a French translation³ of: 'The Rights of Great Britain against the claims of America, being an answer to the Declaration of the General Congress' (2d edition). They show clearly, according to Schlözer, that the millions of pounds paid out by the government is in no way returned to England by the much overestimated colonial commerce. And as to the much complained of tax on colonial rice and tobacco, it yields the mother country little and is, in any case, paid by the consumer. The views here expressed are consistent with Schlözer's generally hostile attitude toward popular movements and popular causes—they are distinctly his own—and the fact that he had to draw his figures from French translations of the English propaganda further indicates that he owed nothing to the English government for his information or his views.⁴ That accuracy was never subordinated to partisanship with Schlözer is evidenced by his se-

¹ *Briefwechsel*, I, 113.

² *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 110-112. By provinces and years,—two tables, 1714-1715 inclusive.

³ The French translation by Freville appeared at the Hague.

⁴ Schlözer evidently had the first English edition of the pamphlet. Cf. note *Briefwechsel* I, p. 112. He criticises both French and English editions for differing in the summaries of their two tables.

vere criticism of the errors of the translator of the French edition which he used and of the first English edition which he evidently had seen.

When the collection of the statistics depended upon his own efforts he was equally careful. His figures for the losses of the German mercenaries (11,853) stood until Kapp, on the basis of archival material, revised them to 12,562.¹ To the statistics should be reckoned perhaps the list of American generals and their former professions sent him he says by reliable persons. Arnold was a horse dealer, Knox a blacksmith, Putnam a hotel keeper, Green a debarred lawyer, General Mitchell a bankrupt and a convicted perjurer.²

The historical material is hardly important for our purpose, except perhaps Schlözer's own statement of the four periods of American history.³ I. 1492-1584, is characterized by Spanish and Portugese discovery and settlement in the Indies and South America. In its closing years tobacco and potatoes begin to be used in Europe.

II. 1584-1660 Beginnings of French and English colonization. The slave trade increases. Sugar, tobacco and indigo are the chief products. As a result Germany's agriculture declines.

III. 1660-1762 Final partitions between European powers; the treaty of Utrecht which is of epochal importance as it founds English power in America. Coffee and rice are added to products. Brazil gold and diamonds are exported. The slave trade is pursued by all. The traffic in German indentured servants begins in the English colonies.

IV. The period since 1762 is marked by the supremacy of Great Britain in North America.

The noticeable thing in this division is the use of an economic earmark to distinguish the periods and it is possibly both

¹J. G. Rosengarten, *Sources of American History in German Archives*, p. 5. In the *Briefwechsel*, II, 4, foot-note, Schlözer gives proof of his love of accuracy when he says: 'With documents one must copy mistakes.'

²*Briefwechsel*, VII, p. I. Cf. also V, 195.

³*Ibid.*, II, 227-231.

his political economy and his patriotism that help explain Schlözer's attitude toward the colonies. The New World's raw products and free land then, as now, aroused any public man who thought Germany should be developed along all lines and who held that at least some of her governments were so good that no German needed to cross the ocean to find freedom.

The controversial matter in the *Briefwechsel* outside of Schlözer's few lines of comments on all sorts of articles is comprised in seven or eight translated articles or pamphlets scattered through ten volumes. Two of the heaviest productions are by a Dutch pamphleteer named Pinto who lives in the Hague and publishes in French. The first of these is a twenty page argument against the colonial views to which Schlözer adds some of Franklin's testimony in 1776 justifying Pinto's charge that the whole tortuous argument of the colonists on taxation is *logomachy* and that their position in 1776 is just the reverse of that assumed by their attorney ten years before.¹ Pinto's next production is a political prophecy concerning America: 'I believe first that America will sooner or later, in whole or in part become independent of Europe. But I do not think the proper moment has yet arrived.'² Then he cites the strength of the loyalists and the localization of the leadership and discontent in New England. The colonies are not in harmony and no foreign power will come to their aid. Pinto by the way was accused by one of Schlözer's rival German journalists, Büsching³, of being in the pay of Lord North, but his reply and the testimonials as to character were willingly published by Schlözer in a later issue of his magazine. The other heavy articles are a plan of reconciliation translated from the English⁴ and letters from a Boston correspondent of Montcalm's in 1757 showing that rebellion was planned then, but giving a strikingly favorable view of the

¹ *Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 29ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 103-104.

³ On the position taken by Büsching's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* (Berlin, 1773ff.) cf. Gallinger, *sup. cit.* pp. 63-64.

⁴ *London Chronicle*, 1777, Apr. 22-24. Here translated supposedly from the French.

New England colonial government. The other politico-controversial material includes an extract from testimony at the trial of Hill, the Portsmouth incendiary, in which the witness makes Silas Deane, the American agent, the paymaster of Hill for his foolhardy act.¹ Otherwise it is a negligible quantity in determining Schlözer's views or the impression his readers might gather about American affairs. Such material as I have cited—omitting his references to Spanish America and Russian America—certainly does not make Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* an anti-American propaganda. However, it shows by its character where Schlözer stood as to the legal and constitutional questions involved. To him the Americans by their constantly shifting objections had convicted themselves of mere logic chopping and proved that they had no adequate conception of the relation which they sustained to the mother country.

'There is no freedom where there is not subordination, and the bright prospects of greater liberty now held forth by enlightened monarchs will be blighted if what has been granted is misused.' The words are those of Pinto whose pamphlet Schlözer translated for his *Briefwechsel*, but the sentiments are Schlözer's. One of the unforgivable things to Schlözer's mind was the violence and chicancery of the colonial leaders,² who through intimidation were bearing down the loyal element in the colonies. Power must rest somewhere and it had better be in the hands of the sovereign than in the will of the mob. This is the essential idea in Schlözer's political philosophy, and it is revealed clearly in the foot-notes which are the nearest approach to an editorial that Schlözer allowed himself. He accompanies the exposition of the Boston town meeting given by Montcalm's supposed correspondent with the following all sufficient revelation of his own views:³ 'The mob (*Pöbel*) is a child, enjoys the present apparent good and does not look into the future for distant consequences. Patriotic non-partisanship is a most ex-

¹*Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 343.

²*Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 383.

³*Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 202-203.

tremely improbable assumption in considering the masses.' The above correspondent is an admirer of Democracy and 'commits the oft corrected mistake of all eulogizers; government is to him slavery and democracy, freedom, as if there could not be in democracy the worst of slavery. I shudder at the thought of a monarchical Asiatic despot, for to me the idea of despot means that one of every ten is a monster. But terrible to me is the democratic despot, plurality, the people or the Janhagel. From the rage of the former there is some appeal in desperate times but who can tame the people. Look for instance at the history of Boston at the end of the preceding (the seventeenth) century. Those who declaim against the government and shout for the so-called freedom, take it for granted that as a rule those who administer the government are unenlightened and self-seeking and that here all the members or the most of the members of the Democracy are enlightened and patriotic beings. If either one of these premises is improbable it is certainly the latter. Penetration and love of humanity are not the heritage of the great majority of the race. To consider a whole people—a million human beings—as an aggregate of practical philosophers is contrary to all psychology and all history: 'The assembly or guardian of the mob speaks,' says the writer above. 'It is possible that they have spoken unintelligently or viciously. 'The people have spoken.' Then it is probable that out of three decisions, two are uninformed or evil.' Schlözer then preferred the unenlightened despot and certainly such a rule as the Georges gave Hanover in its mildness and toleration might compare favorably with any country in the eighteenth or first half of the nineteenth century. Such utterances left no doubt as to where Schlözer stood and his authority was incomparably greater at that day than any other German publicist—his 4,400 subscribers within and without Hanover gave him a power in moulding public opinion such as few German journalists have ever wielded. But we must remember that these few brief utterances were contained in the first two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*. Before we can determine the impression the magazine

gave of American affairs, we must examine the fourth group of material it contained: the descriptive.

Schlözer published some twenty-one letters from correspondents in America. Nineteen of these¹ have been translated entire by W. L. Stone, the New York local historian and biographer of Sir Wm. Johnson.² They extend over the period from Nov. 2, 1776, to July 4, 1779. About one-half of them, nine, are from the camps of the German mercenaries. All but four were evidently written to Schlözer with a view to their publication—many of these clearly at his request or in answer to letters of his. Their frequent allusion to letters Schlözer says he never received from them and their inquiry for news written them three months before illustrates the uncertainty of the mails of those days. These letters are generally of a descriptive character, relating either to the country, camp life or the incidents of war. None of them deal with the constitutional and legal questions involved. But the new land and its people, white and red, are the main themes, evidently sometimes because these are the topics Schlözer had asked them to write him about. Properly pieced together they give some idea of how the country from Quebec to Savannah impressed the soldiers or more properly the officers and chaplains of the German mercenaries.

The correspondents are evidently intelligent, fair minded and dispassionate. They write of the country in almost the tone that might have been used by an attaché in the suite of Prince Henry. I doubt very much if the letters of our French allies were any more favorable to us.

What is said of the colonists is first of all they are splendid specimens of manhood physically: 'large, handsome, sin-

¹ The omitted letters are in the *Briefwechsel*, I, 206 and 217.

² W. L. Stone, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution*. Albany, 1891. Cf. on the general subject of the German auxiliary troops in the American Revolution, E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians in the Revolution*; G. W. Greene, *German Element in the War*; J. G. Rosengarten, *The German Allied Troops in the War of Independence*; Baroness Riedesel, *Letters and Memoirs relating to the War*; and Fr. Kapp, *Geschichte des Soldatenhandels nach Amerika*, Berlin, 1874.

ewy, well built, strong and healthy men." No humbled foe ever paid a fairer tribute to his conqueror than the captured Brunswicker who wrote of Burgoyne's surrender: 'We passed the enemy's encampment in front of which all their regiments as well as the artillery were standing under arms. Not a man of them was regularly equipped. Each one had on the clothes which he was accustomed to wear in the field, the tavern, the church and in every day life. No fault, however, could be found with their military appearance, for they stood in an erect and soldierly attitude. All their muskets had bayonets attached to them, and their riflemen had rifles. They remained so perfectly quiet that we were utterly astonished. Not one of them made any attempt to speak to the man at his side; and all the men who stood in array before us, were so slender, fine-looking, and sinewy, that it was a pleasure to look at them. Nor could we but wonder that nature had created such a handsome race.' Then he goes on to comment on their stature. 'Captain, who was chagrined at not having succeeded in obtaining recruits among these people, will corroborate me in this statement. I am perfectly serious when I state that the men of English-America are far ahead of those in the greater portion of Europe both as respects their beauty and stature.'¹

'The determination which caused them to grasp a musket and powder-horn can be seen in their faces, as well as the fact that they are not to be trifled with, especially in skirmishes in the woods. Speaking seriously, this entire nation has great military talents.' 'It must be said to the credit of the enemy's regiments, that not a man among them ridiculed or insulted us; and none of them evinced the least sign of hate or malicious joy as we marched by. On the contrary, it seemed rather as though they desired to do us honor.'² The tribute he pays to 'the American king,' John Hancock, is equally fair and frank and interesting, for it shows the American politician of the eighteenth

¹ Stone, pp. 89-90.

² Stone, 128-129.

³ Stone, 131.

century among his constituents. 'He (Hancock) looks to all appearance worthy of the position he holds as the first man in America. Moreover, he is so frank and condescending to the lowest, that one would think he was talking to his brother or a relative. He visits the coffee houses of Boston where are also congregated the poorest inhabitants, men who get their living by bringing wood and vegetables to the city. Indeed he who desires to advance in popularity must understand the art of making himself popular. In no country does wealth and birth count for so little as in this, and yet anyone can maintain the position given him by fate without being in the least familiar with the lowest.'¹

All considerations of John Hancock and his greatness, all tributes to the conquering woodsmen, pale before the two pages of praise of the American girl. She is all that is fair and frank and attractive in face, form, dress and manners. She is quick of wit, nimble of foot, neat and graceful in carriage, with a skin free from disfiguring pock marks; and her shoes were mentioned then, as they would be today, as one of the marks distinguishing her dress from her European sister.² But his glowing periods fade before the simple statement that 'the fair sex were the cause of our losing some of our comrades—'³ One day when he was at rest this correspondent took occasion to reflect and to jot down two things which particularly struck him, things which might be used by unkind people to prove the continuity of history. I give his own words: 'The first of these was the evident mastery that the women possessed over the men. In Canada this power is used by the women to further the interests of the men; but here it is used nearly to ruin them. The wives and daughters of these people spend more than their incomes upon finery. The man must fish up the last penny he has in his pocket. The strangest part of it is that the women do not seem to steal it from them; neither do they obtain it by

¹ Stone, 157-158.

² Stone, 138-139.

Stone, 140.

cajolery, fighting or falling into a faint. How they obtain it—as obtain it they do—Heaven only knows.’ In fact this German humorist thought he saw the patriots obliged to end the war if prices for finery continued so high and the women’s Sunday clothes wore out. ‘.Should the mother die, her last words are to the effect that the daughter must retain control of the father’s money-bags.’¹

‘The second thing which attracted my attention was the negroes. From this place to Springfield few farm houses are met with that do not have one negro family. Take it all in all, slavery is not so bad.’² Not all the picture is cast in such highly favorable lights, for, tired with the march in mud and rain across the state of Massachusetts, he found Great Barrington people unhospitable and churlish. ‘A rougher and more spiteful people I never saw.’³ Palmer ‘is a miserable hamlet,’⁴ and Greenfield ‘dismal enough to silence the most disobedient child by threatening to send it there if it did not behave itself.’⁵ At Springfield where group after group of country people filed through their rooms without knocking for admission he concluded because the houses had been opened to them that ‘the people were tolerably kind but damned inquisitive.’⁶

The Philadelphia people with their fire insurance written up to 1993⁷ and their insufferable conceit about the city and the country and its great future⁸ come in for another correspondent’s criticism but he ought not to be taken as seriously as he did his informants when he goes on to say that he has never met anywhere with more crazy people than in this town.’ Only yesterday while dining with a gentleman a third person came into the room and whispered in my ear, ‘Take care, this gentleman is

¹ Stone, 141-142.

² Stone, 142.

³ Stone, 144.

⁴ Stone, 149.

⁵ Stone, 145, cf. also 174.

⁶ Stone, 147.

⁷ Stone, 224.

⁸ Stone, 226.

a madman!' The truth is, however, that nearly all the people are quietly mad—a sort of mental aberration caused by a compression rather than a heating of the blood. Very often the people are cured. One of the reasons for the extraordinary state of affairs is that none of the necessities of life possess the same nutritious properties as our own.¹ A prisoner in the Piedmont region of Virginia bewails the lack of good neighbors but testifies that 'real gentlemen, however, can be met with nearer to the coast, who are very rich and jovial and own well furnished houses of fourteen rooms or more. These extend hospitality in the noblest manner, often keeping a stranger with them for three weeks.'² But the mild complaint that he is forty-two miles (German miles?) from this type of gentleman is that of a prisoner of war pampered by the privilege of keeping his own garden,³ raising his own poultry for use and sale and attending a country theatre built by his fellow prisoners. These theatres gave two performances weekly with the aid of three sets of scenery and a drop curtain bearing the legend 'who would have expected all this here?—parquette tickets \$4.00 (paper) and parterre \$2.00.'⁴ Prisoners so treated might well be expected to repay their captors with an appreciative word to the German public.

What Schlözer's correspondents told Germany of the people, the New World rebels, was even at its best not more favorable than the things they wrote almost uniformly about the New World itself. Without exception they find something impressive in the woods or skies or mountains or lakes or the great gateway harbor of the new and strange land. Not all regions are equally praised but the German reader must have felt as even the present day American reader feels, that he would like to see with his own eyes the people and the land that impressed the soldier reporter so profoundly.

¹ Stone, 215. He goes on to comment on the unnutritious food, half grown animals and vegetables. *Briefwechsel*, III, 149ff.

² Stone, 181.

³ 'These German gardens are a great attraction for visitors from even sixty or more miles away.' Stone, 182.

⁴ Stone, 182-183.

They view the economic possibilities of the country, its climate and resources, with almost equal favor. Only one letter is divided between praise and blame and only one speaks of any region in unmodified tones of disapproval, that is a letter from Savannah, Georgia. Of the nineteen letters, seven are so short or so taken up with military events that they reveal no views of land or people. Of the remaining twelve, one half are favorable in their comments on the people; of the other six, three are combinations of praise and blame in what they say of the Americans themselves to whom they regularly refer as rebels except when the colonists had made them prisoners, and then, perforce, their captives were Americans and not rebels or Yankees. That leaves but three letters which in their casual allusions to the colonist—for they are not labored views of the American character—express derogatory opinions of them and these opinions are not bitter, nor are they unjust.

The letters in the earlier volumes from the soldier who tells the story of Burgoyne's dash at the center show him received courteously by the Americans, tell of the French officers who loaned him books, of the Prussian officers in Gates' army who greeted his uniform as the insignia of a former brotherhood in arms. They tell of comrades who as prisoners have gone out to work on farms or at their trades and have given over the English service for the pleasanter and more profitable pursuits of peace¹ and of still others who have come to see through some Yankee girl's eyes that America is the land for young men—and women.²

One of the last volumes gives space to a still more impressive statement of what America might offer to the capable in the way of opportunity. Baron Steuben tells in a letter to Privy-Counsellor von Frank, July 4, 1779, what the new world is doing for him as well as what he is doing for it. 'Oh my dearest Frank, why have I wasted my years in such a manner? Two years of work—if one is not afraid of toil and danger—can make a man

¹ Stone, 159-160.

² Stone, p. 140.

successful. Experience has convinced me of this nor can I forgive myself for my past indolence. What a beautiful, what a happy country this is! Without kings, without prelates, without bloodsucking farmers-general, and without idle nobles. Here everybody is prosperous. Poverty is an unknown evil. Indeed I should become too prolix, were I to give you an account of the prosperity and happiness of these people.¹

These are sentiments, views that read even in extracts, give after all a favorable impression of the new country, excite greater curiosity to hear more of it, to see it, to know how its people are coming out in their struggles. They are creditable to the colonists—even more creditable to the writers and leave one with a very good impression of the intelligence, justice and humanity of the officers commanding the German mercenaries, certainly of the Brunswick contingent. To this may be added the unfavorable view they take of the Indians as auxiliaries. In referring to Joseph Brant's desire to raise a band of Indian auxiliaries for the Burgoyne campaign, the German soldier says: 'God help those colonists who are their near neighbors, should this scheme be carried into effect.' They do not gloss over possible shortcomings of the Hessians for one correspondent reports a rumor that 'they have massacred the colonists in a terrible manner,' giving no quarter to the conquered, 'because the rebels refused to grant an exchange of prisoners.'² But the same writer (evidently) says of the detachment sent into Vermont, 'In all truth we are human and kind enough to these unhappy people though the rebels act in a brusque and barbarous manner toward those of their neighbors who manifest a friendly feeling toward us.'³ He later says, 'they behave like hogs.'⁴ The same writer does not overestimate the royalist party as he might be expected to do. He simply says, 'one-sixth at the utmost are royalists, one-sixth neutral, four-sixths are rebels.'⁵

¹*Briefwechsel*, VII, 327ff. Stone, 249.

²Stone, 83.

³Ibid. 89.

⁴Ibid. 179.

⁵Ibid. 88.

Another writer details the dissensions between the Hessians and English, leading to a duel between two officers in which the Englishman was killed.¹ All the letters that attempt to deal with the land show evidence of studied observation and effort to get reliable information where things could not be seen. Sketches and drawings were made for future use,² but these are lost so far as we know.

The result of this consideration of Schlözer's periodical can be briefly summed up. An examination of the *Briefwechsel* leaves no question but that its editor was opposed to the colonists in their struggle, but contrary to the general view, it convinces me that the material furnished in the sixty issues was on the whole likely to put the colonists in a favorable light before the intelligent German public.

In the second publicist we turn to a region fully as interesting and unique in its liberties and spirit as Hanover. Swabia with its free cities, even though they were in patrician hands, and the estates system of Würtemberg, had kept alive in its citizens its political life. At its doors was Switzerland, and Zurich was the centre from which spread enthusiasm for liberal institutions. The Swabian was loyal to two ideas; Swabia which existed for him despite its political divisions, and the idealized political empire. The best exponents of the institutions of the old empire were Swabians—Daft, Häberlin,³ Spittler, and the two Mosers—the first great prophets of the new united Germany, Schubart and Schiller, were born in Schwabenland. The University of Tübingen was the Göttingen of South Germany and Posselt and his *Annalen* were another such a force as Schlözer and his journal. It is worthy of note in passing that Hanover and Swabia had joined hands in the work of spreading liberal modern views. Spittler, the Göttingen historian and colleague of Schlözer, was Swabian by birth and training, and despite the warnings of Duke Charles of Würtemberg Swabia's youth flocked

¹Stone, 185-186.

²Stone, 176.

³Häberlin's *Staatsarchiv* deserves to rank with Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*. Häberlin was professor at Helmstadt.

to Göttingen. 'Half the students (at Göttingen)' writes a contemporary, 'are Swabians.'¹

The Swabian cosmopolitanism, unpolitical love for nationalism and poetic enthusiasm and bitter disappointment in the face of eighteenth century despotism is nowhere better illustrated than in the life and work of Charles Frederick Daniel Schubart.² It is peculiarly fitting, it seems to me, that North Germany is represented by a Hanoverian, who is a college professor and a trained publicist and that the representative of the Southland is a Swabian, a poet and a son of the people. Schubart is known as the forerunner of Schiller and one of the chief representatives of the *Sturm and Drang* period. But no less important is his work as a journalist and prophet of nationalism. He spent his early life in the South German city republic of Aalen,—an imperial town whose sturdy citizens stoutly maintained its independence and democracy. The fiery and impulsive boy was naturally enough interested in his father's life work, music, and later, impressed by a fragment of song from Klopstock, he turned with equal fervor to poetry. Always a lover of intercourse with people in the walks of every day life, his first efforts as a poet were folk songs. One thing his education in Nürnberg and at the University of Erlangen failed to give him was self-control and an orderly and systematic way of thinking and living. Poetry and music, love of the good and the beautiful, raised him above the mass of his fellows but they did not prevent him from indulging in all the debt-making and dissipated living of the most riotous student. This soon ended his university career.

For a while he was in turn preacher, composer, litterateur, musician and tutor. Finally the little imperial city of Geislingen near Ulm gave him a position which combined teaching

¹ Lichtenberg as quoted by W. Lang, *Von und aus Schwaben*, p. 106. Augsburg, 1885-1890. Cf. also Ad. Wohlwill, *Weltbürgerthum und Vaterlandsliebe der Schwaben insbesondere von 1789-1815*. Hamburg, 1875. Particular attention is called to the notes and references at the end of this interesting little work of Wohlwill's.

² For a brief account of Schubart with references to the literature consulted by the writer cf. Vogt und Koeh, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, Vol. II, 249ff, and 546-547. Leipzig, 1904.

in the schools with that of city director of music. Moderate success encouraged him in further self culture and the encouragement of Wieland, who recognized his poetic talents, confirmed his interest in literature. Here too, began, in a minor way, his journalistic activity. Transferred, to his great joy, to Ludwigsburg as organist, he was soon the centre of its musical and literary circles. But the old faults returned when he found his associates among the officers of the garrison. Thoughtlessness and rashness in publishing satirical poems helped with Schubart's reckless life to give Charles Eugene of Würtemberg such an unfavorable impression of him that in 1773 Schubart was banished from Würtemberg. Leaving his family, Schubart wandered from city to city, a homeless adventurer. He made friends everywhere. Max Joseph of Bavaria in the belief that Schubart was to turn Catholic, engaged him in the work of reforming the Bavarian schools brought into disorganization by the expulsion of the Jesuits. But when reports came in from the inquiries made in Würtemberg, Schubart was again sent on his travels.

A book dealer in Augsburg induced him in 1774 to assume the editorship of a journal, '*Die Deutsche Chronik*.' This occupies him for the next three years. They are among the best and most creditable in all his stormy life. As has already been pointed out, Augsburg drove out his paper two months after it started—undoubtedly the result of Jesuit influence—and three months later the magistrates compelled Schubart to follow his printer to Ulm.

*Die Deutsche Chronik*¹ which Schubart edited from March 31, 1774, to January 22, 1777, is in the first place one of the best magazines as to paper and print that I have ever handled. It appeared semi-weekly, on Mondays and Thursdays. The

¹In *Americana Germanica*, Vols. IV and V (1902-3), John A. Walz has excerpted and published the utterances of Schiller, Wekhrlin and Schubart on the American Revolution. He has given the material almost no setting and in the case of Schubart he has missed many characteristic utterances which if not bearing directly on the Revolution are necessary to an account of Schubart's views and his place in the development of German public opinion before the French Revolution.

subscription price was three florins a year. It had a circulation of about 1,600 copies—mostly in South Germany, though a few copies reached London, Paris, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. Its definite aim was to give a chronological account of the most important political and literary events. As the editor could make no promises what his mood or views would be, he left them for the readers to determine. He admitted that it was a desperate venture to attempt to edit a weekly when ‘one man wants fire, another water, one prefers a bass drum, another a bag pipe.’ ‘It seems almost impossible, under present conditions in Germany, to edit a good political periodical. Whenever a bold thought rises in the journalist’s mind he must cast a weather eye at public warnings, then he becomes timid and indifferent. That explains the monotonous tone of many a newspaper man who is now rocking politicians to sleep in grandfather’s arm chair.’ ‘We have many newspapers; that is true enough. They fly over Germany like snowflakes in an April storm. Nevertheless, it is not about their numbers that one can complain, but much more their poor quality. Most of the journalists act on the false principle of judging the times according to their philosophy instead of shaping their philosophy (*System*) according to the times. Every event that swims in the stream of time is taken as a new proof of their political and literary prejudices and before they know it, prejudice is enthroned on their writing desk. Others pay so much attention to titles and rank that you can’t read an article without disgust.’ ‘Some newspapers’, Schubart admits, ‘are good and well informed. Such are those in Hamburg—Altoona and Zweibrücken. But the timidity of most journalists is to blame for their failure to discuss their own country or to speak of it in panegyrics solely and then they seek revenge for this compulsion by harsh treatment of foreign lands. It is often the misfortune of the best journals that they have to quit publishing. I cannot refrain here from sighing profoundly and—remaining silent.’²

¹*Deutsche Chronik*, July 2, 1774.

²Again in the *Deutsche Chronik* for August 25, 1774, Schubart ends a summary of news from Württemberg: ‘Könnte dir noch vieles

The one thing that Schubart's journal expresses distinctly is the author's unflinching interest in the theme of national unity. Day in, day out, he preaches and exhorts and encourages those who despair of the good cause. But in politics Schubart was a dreamer and enthusiast without a single definite idea as to how his dreams were to be realized. He eulogizes indiscriminately Frederick the Great and Joseph II as German national heroes and remains to the end of the chapter naught but a poet in politics, unconscious of the coming centuries of conflict between Prussian egoism and Hapsburg dynastic self-seeking. A poet and a prophet, too. I cannot refrain from quoting here the vision given him of a united Germany: 'Weep not, oh son of Germany, over your countrymen's frailty and love of the foreign things. The lions are waking from slumber, they hear the eagle's scream, the beat of his wings, his battle cry. They are rushing forth as did the ancient Teutons from their forests. They will reconquer ravished lands from the foreigner's power—the fertile fields and vine—embowered hills are ours once more. Over them rises a German imperial throne in whose shadow the border lands cower in terror.'

The American struggle was for Schubart as for many another admirer of England, a sore trial. He could not understand why a nation so wise and self-restrained had allowed itself to come into such an embarrassing situation. Schubart's enthusiasm for freedom and nationalism and something new in the world made him an advocate of the colonial cause, though frequent lapses into unstinted praise of England rob him of the right to be called a consistent supporter of the colonies.

The material in the *Deutsche Chronik* admits of no such classification as that in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*. It is infinitely

sagen, Bruder, aber die Sonne brennt mich. Leb' wohl!' Yet Schubart comments favorably on an ordinance extending the censorship of the press. Cf. article by Trost, sup. cit. p. 847.

¹ *Deutsche Chronik*, 1774, p. 418. The treatment of his theme by F. W. Behrens, *Deutsches Ehr- und National Gefühl in seiner Entwicklung durch Philosophen und Dichter, 1600-1815*, (Leipzig, 1891) is inadequate. Levy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibnitz* is very suggestive.

more interesting in a way because most of it bears the stamp of Schubart's personality. It is as though one could see him at the public house with ink pot and beer can before him, editing as he loved to edit, with his every day friends, the common folk, around him.¹ Though his acquaintance was wide, he had no such a list of correspondent reporters as Schlözer.² Most of his news came either from Paris or London—generally from London from whence friends wrote him.

With all of his contempt for the German enthusiasm for foreign things, there was one foreign land to which he was devoted. England was the political ideal of the German liberals and nationalists in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Here in contrast to the unlimited monarchies of the continent was constitutional government. Schubart like other political dreamers of his age was England's enthusiastic admirer. 'Who among us,' he exclaims, 'does not dress his face in the robes of reverence when he pronounces the name of England—angel land.' 'Land where the patriot may call on freedom, a silver note to the ear, a light to the reason, a stirring in the heart, an inspiration to thought. Englishmen have a heritage such as no other people has had nor probably will have. The Englishman's ideas extend almost into infinity. Greatness is the hall-mark of his plans and he has God-like strength to execute; his are a profundity in research and an almost unattainable good spirits.and they dare with unbending courage to speak truth before the bar of justice or at the foot of the throne.'⁴

All news from London is, of course, pro-English as the news received from Paris pro-American. He had correspondents

¹The unconventionality of Schubart's methods is illustrated by the captions he chose: 'Nachtisch—Reader, eat as much as you like.' 'Da hast Du alles neue in einer Schüssel.' 'Politischer Trüdelmarkt,' 'Etwas Konfekt,' etc., etc.

²A son of Häberlin, the able editor of Häberlin's *Staatsarchiv*, was one of his correspondents. Cf. *Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 21, 1777.

³Cf. article by Walz in *Americana Germanica*, 1901, p. 92ff.

⁴*Deutsche Chronik*, May 2 and July 14, 1774.

among the German mercenaries but they did not serve him as faithfully as Schlözer's. In one instance the same man evidently reported for both.¹ Instead of an occasional article on America there is hardly an issue that does not give some space to America. In many cases the article on America takes precedence over that on Germany which Schubart had announced would always stand at the head of his columns. Over and over again he apologizes for this by saying that every one is absorbed in the news from America. 'Nothing in all the world is so talked about and discussed.' And so he hastens to lay before his readers everything that he can learn about the struggle. Sometimes it is a letter, sometimes it is a clipping, most generally a vigorous comment of his own though frequently concealed in the form of a dialogue at the public inn. Sometimes it is a vision from the year 2400 picturing the twelve colonies as ruling over all that part of the world—with America the home of the sciences and of religion pure and undefiled.²

His first article on America—the World of Columbus, defends his going outside Europe for news. 'The latest news from yonder is a prophecy that already the morning of a bright summer day is dawning. Soon our antipodes will cease to be our antipodes—nor will they be our antipodes in the matter of intelligence and good taste. They have printing presses, read and write books, understand well the science of agriculture, are used to the hardships of war and have reverence for the Supreme Being. These are the precursors of a future universal culture in America.'³ As a sample of what they can do he quotes the effusion of some Massachusetts Bay orator that for pure bombast overtops the best efforts of the Fourth of July platform. Then Schubart gravely explains why the oratory of barbaric people so excels that of the cultured. As a further proof of this supremacy, Schubart, the representative of culture, prints one of his own poems in which the dying Indian is made to hand

¹The letter from Block Island, Sept. 7, 1776, is published by Schubart on Nov. 21, 1776, as well as by Schlözer.

²*Deutsche Chronik*, April 4, 1774.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, May 5, 1774.

over to his son a wreath made of the hair of Christians, bedecked not with diamonds but with the teeth of murdered Christians—there are further allusions to cocoanut palms, altars of his fathers, a heaven where the chief's wife will hand him pine apples on a golden salver and draughts of the wine of the gods drunk from Christian skulls. Indeed this fourth reader gem leaves one with a hazy feeling that Schubart did not draw a very clear line between the red man and his white neighbor in the New World.¹ Your pride in your ancestors looks up again when a few issues later he publishes a stirring poem, '*Freiheitslied eines Colonisten*,'² and sketches the American character. 'The character of the colonists has in it something unique—a sort of pietistic heroism as though Herrnhüter and Spartan had fused. The songs with which they rally to the cause are without parallel, so mystically heroic, so much of Sinzendorf and of Tyrtæus is in them. In short when the colonists attain their goal we will have a state of a very remarkable stamp and I always rejoice when something new happens under the sun.'³ But Schubart hardly thought Washington could be compared with Paoli for whom he had no great admiration. 'Their leader, Washington, is a man between fifty and sixty, a good citizen, courteous, brave, understands war, is a good engineer, agreeable in his converse, popular, yet as strict in his discipline as a Prussian. He does not serve for money for he is rich enough himself.' Putnam is a carpenter, Lee a trained soldier, 'the rest are adventurers in whom America can put little trust.'⁴ 'If only they had an Epaminondas to lead them it would be all up with English rule in America.'⁵

¹*Ibid.* sup cit. For other poems of Schubart's on the American Indians cf. G. Hauff, *Schubart's Gedichte*, pp. 361 and 383. Leipzig, 1884.

²*Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 10, 1775. Also in Schubart's *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 286.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 10, 1775. Also in Schubart's *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 286, for Swedenborg's prophecy concerning America.

⁴*Ibid.* Oct. 31, 1776, and March 20, 1777.

⁵*Ibid.* Aug. 14, 1776. On March 13, 1777, his London news says that 2500 copies of a recent life of Washington were sold there at once.

The colonists are generally referred to as rebels but it is always in an honorable sense. 'The misnomer rebel in its etymological sense is not the term for the great hearted American people and it is to the shame of us Germans that we derive our views of the most important human affairs from the English official papers.'¹

At another time he bewails the failure of America as yet to produce any great leader. 'Their Adams' and their Hancocks are ordinary,' but the great men will soon awake from their slumber and show Great Britain what an aroused manhood can do,² while Europe sits in the sun like an old woman babbling of the past, youth storms forth in America to die for liberty.³ We Europeans have more important things: frizzing of hair, inventing snuff boxes, brass buttons and fans—that is certainly more important than fighting the battles of freedom. Believe me, brother, the Americans will certainly win their independence and according to the prophecy of a contemporary political seer, probably be by 1876 the leading free nation of the world."⁴

Nothing can be more stirring than the poetic fervor and eloquence with which Schubart in issue after issue pictures the patriots of the new world in arms for freedom.⁵ The struggle of Boston touches every heart, it is there that freedom's altar has been raised. 'To any one who loves the spirit of liberty, 'nothing could be more touching than the Battle of Bunker Hill. Undisciplined peasants under the command of a physician, Warren, fewer in numbers, poorer in equipment, awaited 'calmly the attack of Gen. Howe who led the best troops in the 'world against them.'⁶ He had already described in the issue

¹*Ibid.* Sept. 4, 1775.

²*Ibid.* May 20, 1776.

³*Ibid.* April 29, 1776.

⁴*Deutsche Chronik*, Jan. 1, 1776, and June 24, 1776.

⁵It seems strange that the Declaration of Independence did not attract Schubart's attention. In the issue for June 13, 1776, the most important news is that Congress has determined by a vote of seven colonies to five for such a declaration. Later he mentions that it was read to the army. Schubart was a monarchist and did not believe in republics. Cf. issue for Oct. 10, 1774.

⁶*Deutsche Chronik*, Dec. 21, 1775.

for July 6, 1775, how they rallied to the struggle with banners and with drums on which were inscribed '*Qui transtulit, sustinet.*' Equally vivid is the picture his correspondent gives of the confusion and dissension in London where great numbers are not only friendly but helpful to the colonists.¹ Then will come a flash in which Schubart pictures the English spirit rising triumphant over all reverses.² But only once after July, 1775, is England called *Engelland*. 'I should be glad if I could begin this year by announcing peace in America, for the complaints raised by all classes in Engelland about this war cut me to the heart, and I should like to see my dear England once more at peace and my brother Germans home again.'

Sometimes his faith and enthusiasm for the colonists grows weak and he is in embarrassment when German soldiers go out to fight the colonists—shall he wish them good fortune or shall he put the interests of American liberty above the pride of nationality?³ The latter is too strong, even though he has just told how every tramp and loafer and adventurer in Germany flocked into the mercenary service, and he wishes his countrymen God-speed, and looks anxiously for the news that their bravery and military skill have turned the tide of English disaster. '*Glück auf die Reise du deutsches Heldenheer.*' They will raise a monument to German bravery. My heart swells in anticipation.⁴ Later he warmly defends the Hessians against the charges of brutality and massacre. A Brunswick officer with General Riedesel writes him: 'We thought we would meet Spartans with a Leonidas at their head, but what we find is a leaderless mob of vagabonds that run as soon as they see us. They have evacuated about all Canada and have neither money, clothes nor shoes. Large numbers came over to us about starved. The officers are mostly a worthless class and ruined artisans. It

¹*Ibid.* July 27 and Aug. 7, 1775, and June 24, 1776. It is in this latter issue that he quotes from Paine's '*Common Sense.*'

²*Ibid.* April 4, 1776.

³'Soll man ihnen Glück wünschen oder nicht?' *Deutsche Chronik*, June 13, 1776.

⁴*Ibid.* Feb. 8, April 18 and May 2, 1776.

will be a disgrace to us and the English if we don't end the thing this summer (of 1776) without much bloodshed."¹

It is now that Schubart regrets the failure of the Americans to do anything comparable to the old Greeks and Romans or swiss or Dutch. 'They will not risk a great battle but under Washington and Putnam simply fortify themselves to the ears.'²

Strange to say, it is sometime before such a nationalist as Schubart comes to feel the disgrace of the traffic in German soldiers, but finally the awakening comes. 'The coldbloodedness with which we look on while the flower of German soldiery sails across the seas to whack the skulls of a people who have never offended them, is to me incomprehensible.' When a Hanoverian pamphleteer writes a brochure entitled, 'Why should Germans serve like bondsmen?' Schubart concludes a summary of its arguments with the parenthetical exclamation: 'Ah Hanoverian you have chosen a theme that rends my heart.' He follows it with the wail of Teutonia over her son slain in a foreign land and sends a greeting hail across to America. 'If thou art still there, dear sister, maintain thyself on the sun-crowned heights.'³

His farewell to the American struggle is his New Year's wish of 1777. 'How well pleased I should be if I could begin this year by announcing peace in America, for the complaints raised by all classes in *Engelland* about this war cut me to the heart and I should like to see my dear England again at peace and my brother German home again.'

Before the end of the month Schubart, like the publicist J. J. Moser, had fallen a victim to the tyranny of duke Karl

¹From August, 1776, on he begins to follow the German soldiers as a main interest. *Ibid.* Aug. 12 and 19, 1776.

²*Ibid.* Sept. 6, 1776.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, March 7, 1776.

⁴*Ibid.* Jan. 7, 1777. This apropos of the depressing letter from his London correspondent who says, 'We are in the saddest plight we were ever in. . . .' The picture of London in the early years of the war as drawn by Schubart's correspondent is that of a disorderly and divided city with the great masses opposing the government and sympathizing with America.

Eugene who at this time disgraced the throne of Würtemberg.¹ The duke had probably long cherished a dislike for the journalist who wrote of liberty and freedom and freely criticized the crowned heads of Germany. A personal difference between Schubart and the narrow-minded Freiherr von Reid who represented the government of Maria Theresa in Ulm led von Reid to plan the abduction and imprisonment of Schubart. When he sought the assistance of Karl Eugene the latter obligingly said he had a hearty grudge against Schubart that he would be glad to settle. A minion of the duke's was commissioned to lure Schubart out of the limits of the city of Ulm and seize him. This was done on January 22, 1777, and the journalist was thrown into a dungeon in the Hohenasperg. Here for a year he saw no face but his gaoler's. After the first year the prison conditions were bettered. From 1780 on he was allowed to correspond and receive visitors. Schiller among others came to see him. He had been in prison over seven years before his wife was allowed to visit him. Among the advantages to the poet of this forced separation from the world was a truer appreciation of this faithful wife and a more earnest view of life.² To this he bears testimony in the literary productions of these years, but the dominant note of his writings from Hohenasperg is the longing for freedom and hatred of tyranny. Finally after more than ten years of confinement he was released and allowed to settle in Stuttgart. Here the duke bought his poetic eulogies and stifled his complaints about past injustice by making him court poet and theater director and giving him freedom from the censor for his new '*Vaterlandschronik*.' Though the new journal sang the praises of the French Revolutionists, there is something gone from the fire and vigor of the days before Hohenasperg. Even these years were not without their troubles and anxieties, due to private and governmental criticism of his

¹Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I, 94ff.

²There is a prophetic ring to the words of Schubart when three years before in an article on this same Karl Eugene he writes: 'Die Solitüde ist nicht nur eine Pflanzschule des Soldatenlandes, sondern eine Pflanzschule der Menschheit.' Cf. *Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 25, 1774.

journal. Despite his bravest efforts, spirits and body failed in the summer of 1791 and Schubart succumbed to an attack of typhoid fever on October 10th of that year.

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SELBSTANLEIHE UND WIEDERHOLUNG IN SCHILLERS DRAMATISCHEM NACHLASS.

(Continued.)

Ein fürstlicher Zug an ihnen ist die Freigebigkeit: W S. 116, Z. 20 "Seine Freigebigkeit wird getadelt;" S. 117, Z. 13 "Das Moralisch schöne in seiner Natur äusert sich durch. . . Liberalität und Güte"; S. 135, Z. 4 "Er steht da wie ein beglückendes Wesen; nur für andere scheint er zu handeln, an sich selbst aber denkt er nie, er giebt alles hin, und was ihm auch zuflieszt, er gebraucht es bloz um andre damit zu beschenken. So behält er durchaus reine Hände und er kann nachher, wenn er unglücklich ist, mit Wahrheit zu sich sagen: . . . ich habe nichts von allem mir zugeeignet *etc.*"—D S. 205, Z. 24 "seine Wünsche sind bescheiden. Er zeigt eine fürstliche Grozmuth"; S. 237, Z. 2; S. 89, Anm. 2 "Er schenkt etwas, das ihm geschenkt worden an seine Mitbedienten weg und behält bloz das, was einen affektionswerth für ihn hat"; S. 129, Z. 2 ". . . Hofnungen machen auf die Generosität des Demetrius"; S. 16, V. 363 "ich kann die Freunde königlich / Belohnen und ich wills". Auch in der Teilnahme für die niederen Volkskreise, mit denen sie das Schicksal zusammengebracht hat, gleichen sie einander: W S. 136, Z. 10 "Wenn er sich des Bürgers annimmt, so gebraucht er das passende Motiv, dasz er selbst eine Zeitlang mit dieser Klasse vermengt gewesen"; S. 193, V. 315 "Nur unter Menschen lernt sich Menschlichkeit / O danke dem Geschick, das rau und streng / Das dich beraubte, um dich reich zu schmücken".—D S. 72, V. 229 "Bewahre Menschlichkeit in mir und Liebe / Zum Menschen hohe Macht die mich gelenkt"; S. 26, V. 573 "Ich bin erwachsen in der Niedrigkeit, / Das schöne Band hab ich verehren lernen, / Das Mensch an Mensch mit Wechselneigung bindet". Bei alledem sind sie sich stets der Würde ihres Standes bewusst: W S. 156, Z. 16 "Richard umarmt ihn und äusert sich mit Gefühl und

zugleich mit fürstlicher Würde"; S. 160, Z. 25 "wird von Warbeck mit fürstlichem Anstand und mit Herzlichkeit aufgenommen"; S. 178, Z. 25 "Warbeck ist gerührt, dankbar, liebevoll, bescheiden; dabei aber edel und würdevoll wie ein Fürst gegen seine Vasallen";—D S. 205, Z. 21 ff.; S. 209, Z. 8 "Seine Popularität und Liebenswürdigkeit"; S. 88, Z. 5 "er selbst aber ist nie liebenswürdiger gewesen, obgleich er sich vollkommen in die Würde seines Standes findet"; S. 127, Z. 33 "er nimmt die Huldigung der Russischen Flüchtlinge mit Würde an, er umarmt den Woiwoden als seines Gleichen".

Bei Gelegenheit sollten beide Prätendenten schon als Fürsten handeln: W S. 128, Z. 26 "Warbek kommt in den Fall auch einige *königliche* Acte z. B. Gnaden Ertheilungen, Richtersprüche, Standes Erhöhungen auszuüben";—D S. 200, Z. 17 "Demetrius dictiert einmal eine Czaarische Ukase oder andere Erklärung, wie den Heirathscontract. Er schenkt darinn Länder weg mit samt den Unterthanen (am Rand: Landcharte) (doch vergisst er auch in diesem Stande nicht das Czaarische Reichsinteresse)"; vgl. S. 224, Z. 21; S. 96, Z. 23 f.; S. 97, Z. 13 ff.; S. 111, Z. 10 ff.; S. 117, Z. 5; S. 25, V. 549 ff. Als Fürsten ihres Landes fühlen beide Bedenken wegen des Krieges gegen ihr eigenes Volk: W S. 157, Z. 3 "Es ist eine schwere Prüfung, und kein Glück, dasz er seine Rechte behaupten musz —Er scheint sich noch einmal zu bedenken zu geben, ob er das blutige Kampfspiel unternehmen soll, welches den Frieden zweier Länder zerstört";—D S. 207, Z. 25 "Demetrius wankt ob er den Krieg beginnen soll und entschlieszt sich"; S. 238, Z. 21 "Er steht einen Augenblick am Rubicon, eh er losschlägt und geht mit sich zu Rath, ob er die alte Dunkelheit der miszlichen Grösze nicht vorziehen, nicht das Blut der Völker sparen soll"; S. 117, Z. 15; S. 130, Z. 24 "Demetrius zeigt bei dieser Gelegenheit. . . . eine königliche Gesinnung. Er will dem Reich nichts vergeben, und zeigt sich darüber so zäh, als wenn er schon im Besitz davon wäre"; S. 143, Z. 1 "Der Czar, bemerkt einer vom Gefolge, sei ganz nachdenkend geworden. Demetrius hält sich an dem Pfeiler und steht gegen die Landschaft gewendet. "Noch

kann ich umkehren! Kein Schwerdt ist noch aus der Scheide! Kein Blut ist geflossen! Der Friede wohnt noch in diesen Fluren, die ich mit Waffen jezt überdecken will! König der Könige lenke du mein Herz, in deine Hände geb ichs!..... (Z. 14) Er redet den Boden seines Reiches an, er betrachtet sich als den gebohrnen Herrscher, den zurückkehrenden Sohn des Landes. Er wirft einen Blick auf das *fremde* Heer das er mit sich bringt, auf den Kampf den er beginnen will, dasz er als Feind in sein Land kommt"; S. 56, V. 1229 "(Razin) Sieh unser Czar ist ganz nachdenkend worden.—(Demetrius) Auf diesen schönen Au'n wohnt noch der Friede, / Und mit des Krieges furchtbarem Geräth / Erschein ich jezt, sie feindlich zu verheeren!—(Odowsky) Dergleichen, Herr, bedenkt man hinterdrein.—(Demetrius) Du fühlst als Pohle, ich bin Moskaus Sohn, / Es ist das Land, das mir das Leben gab! / Vergieb mir theurer Boden, heimische Erde, / Du heiliger Grenzpfiler, den ich fasse, / Auf den mein Vater seinen Adler grub, / Dasz ich, dein Sohn, mit fremden Feindeswaffen / In deines Friedens ruhigen Tempel falle".²⁰ In ähnlicher Weise möchte auch Warbeck Flandern nicht in einen Krieg mit England verwickeln: S. 136, Z. 3 "Warbeck trägt auf die Neutralität von Flandern an, die Gründe von dem Handel hernehmend, welches den Bürgern ausnehmend gefällt. Er will nichts als Schiffe zum Überfahren und das übrige mit s[einem] Degen verrichten. Das Volk und die Stände, meint er, brauchten an dem Krieg mit England keinen Theil zu nehmen; die Herzogin habe hier bloz als Privatperson zu handeln".

Wie ein Mensch von Warbecks Anlagen auf den Gedanken kommen konnte, sich für Prinz Richard von York auszugeben und von der rachsüchtigen Margareta als Werkzeug gebrauchen zu lassen, muss Schiller lange beschäftigt haben, und zunächst fehlt ihm noch die Antwort auf seine Frage: S. 117, Z. 19 "Es musz anschauend seyn, wie ein solcher Mensch, der soviel

²⁰ Mit diesen schönen Gefühlen steht nicht im Einklang, dass er im Entwurf der Reichstagsszene (S. 182, Z. 1) den Polen eine Provinz verspricht, um die lange gestritten worden ist. In der Ausführung erscheint dies nicht.

natürlich Gutes hat in eine so verwerfliche Betrügerei hat eingehen können.—Wodurch wird dieser Widerspruch vermittelt?“ ebenso S. 144, Z. 20 ff. Ganz anders lag die Sache bei Demetrius: S. 199, Z. 23 “Ein Mönch Grischka²¹ kann mit im Spiel seyn”; S. 201, Z. 1 “Durch fremde Leidenschaften und durch den Volkswahn wird Demetrius gleichsam wider Willen zum Ziele hin getragen”; Z. 17 “Es ist einer, welcher sich als den Urheber des ganzen Ereignisses betrachten kann, der eigentliche Schöpfer vom Glück des Demetrius—Dieser ergötzt sich an dem Volkswahn und selbst an dem Wahn des Demetrius”; S. 204, Z. 9 “Demetrius wird eine tragische Person, wenn er durch fremde Leidenschaften, wie durch ein Verhängnis, dem Glück und dem Unglück zugeschleudert wird”; S. 206, Z. 1 “Hauptsächlich ist zu erfinden, wie Demetrius für den Zaarowitz erkannt wird, ohne selbst zu betrügen, und wie auch er getäuscht wird. Jemand musz schlechterdings seyn, der diesen Betrug absichtlich schmiedet, und die Absicht musz klar und begreiflich seyn. Ists ein Feind des Boris? Ists ein Ehrgeiziger, der einen Weg dadurch zu machen denkt? Ists ein Religionseiferer? Wie kam er auf diese abentheuerliche Idee? (Am Rand, später gestrichen: Durch die Gesichtsähnlichkeit des Demetrius mit Iwan, durch seine übrigen dieser Rolle gemäßen Eigenschaften, durch die Dunkelheit, welche über den Tod des wahren Demetrius verbreitet ist.) Welches Mittel erwählt er, um diesen Betrug auszuführen und wann kommt er selbst zum Vorschein? (Am Rand: Dieser *Fabricator doli* musz zweimal erscheinen, und die Erwartung auf ihn gespannt seyn. Er greift auch, unverabredet, in die Unternehmung ein.) Wo möglich bleibt die Maschine ganz verborgen, bis auf den Moment, wo Demetrius in Moskau will einziehen. Und jetzt enthüllt sich ihm derjenige, welcher gleich von Anfang unerkannt ihm als ein Genius zur Seite gestanden”; Z. 28 f.; S. 235, Z. 26 “Ein Diener ist nöthig um den Demetrius erstlich zu retten und um nachher für seine Abkunft zu zeugen. Dieser musz ein groszes Motiv zu dieser kühnen Erfindung haben und überhaupt der Mann dazu seyn”;

²¹ Hier beabsichtigt Schiller offenbar noch nicht, diesen Namen für den Demetrius der Samborszenen zu gebrauchen.

S. 236, Anm. 1 "8. Ein geschäftiger Feind des Boris ist das Triebrad der ganzen Handlung"; S. 237, Z. 27 "Wenn die ungeheure Entdeckung geschehen, wobei man an einen dritten Mann verwiesen wird"; S. 238, Z. 13 "Es musz aber einleuchtend dargethan werden, wie dieser ganze Betrug ersonnen und bewerkstelligt werden konnte. Eine Hauptperson kommt gleich im ersten Akte zum Vorschein, welche den Faden dieses verworrenen Knäuels in der Hand hat"; S. 214, Z. 28 "Die Idee, ihn als den Dmitri Iwanowiz aufzustellen kommt von einem rachsüchtigen und intriguanten Geistlichen, welchen Boris schwer beleidigt. Dieser fand den jungen Dmitri zufällig, und als Knaben und weil ihn seine grosze Aehnlichkeit mit dem ermordeten Iwanowiz frappierte, so ergriff er diese Idee schnell—Er kam eben von dem ganz frischen Mord des Prinzen"; S. 216, Z. 13 ff.; Z. 30 ff. bis S. 218, Z. 7 (eingehende Ausführung des Planes; wichtig dabei "Dmitri ist wirklich der Spielkamerad des jungen Czars gewesen, und war bei seiner Ermordung". Sonst noch mehrfache Schwankungen und Unklarheiten im einzelnen); S. 240, Z. 8; S. 156, Z. 16 ff.; S. 179, Anm., letzter Absatz.

Während Warbeck, um moralisch in den Augen des Zuschauers nicht allzusehr zu sinken, des Einflusses einer unbekanntem ihn treibenden Macht bedarf (S. 117, Z. 24 "Eine gewisse poetische Dunkelheit²² die er über sich selbst und seine Rolle hat, ein Aberglaube, eine Art von Wahnwitz hilft seine Moralität retten. Eben das, was ihn der Herzogin zu einem Rasenden macht, dient ihm zur Entschuldigung"; S. 144, Z. 23 "Aus der Art wie er sich dabei nimmt, aus der Kühnheit mit der er über alles Kleinliche und Schurkische darinn wegzueilen pflegt, aus der Leichtigkeit womit er sich in das Hohe und Edle derselben findet, aus der Dignität mit der er nur an das Grosze daran sich hängt, geht seine edlere Natur hervor. Er hat ein-für allemal seine Parthei genommen und das Mittel wodurch er der Rolle gewachsen ist, ist der *Ernst*, der *Glaube* an sich, die *Erhebung* seiner

²² Sprachlich vgl. hierzu D S. 28, V. 642 "Lasz *ihn* nur jene Dunkelheit bewahren / Die eine Mutter groszer Thaten ist".

Denkart zu der Person die er spielt”), kann Demetrius sich in all seinem Tun auf den naiven Glauben an sich selbst stützen (S. 206, Z. 13 “Kurz vor dieser Eröffnung ist der Glaube an den Demetrius und sein eignes Vertrauen zu sich aufs höchste gestiegen”; Z. 17 “Der falsche Demetrius glaubt an sich selbst bis auf den Augenblick wo er in Moskau soll einziehen”; S. 210, Z. 14; S. 216, Z. 23 “im Gegentheile musz sich in seiner Knabenerinnerung etwas finden, was jenen Selbstbetrug unterstützt”; S. 219, Z. 23 f.; S. 87, Z. 5 ff.; Z. 18 f.; S. 94, Z. 30 ff.; S. 110, Z. 26 ff.; S. 127, Z. 22 ff.; S. 143, Z. 9 “Er glaubt an sich selbst, in diesem Glauben handelt er und daraus entspringt das tragische. Gerade diese Sicherheit, womit er an sich selbst glaubt, ist das Furchtbare und, indem es ihn interessant macht, erweckt es Rührung”; S. 168, Z. 15 “Weil er selbst an sich glaubt, so hat seine Sprache die volle Kraft der Wahrheit, er ist kein Redner, er handelt aus Gewalt der Natur”; S. 173, Anm.; S. 177, Z. 21 ff.; S. 178, Z. 5 ff.; S. 179, Anm., zweiter Absatz, 1); S. 180, Z. 18 “die *bonne foi* und *Aufrichtigkeit* dieses Jünglings”; S. 186, Z. 4; Z. 41 “Laszt ihn dem Gotte gläubig folgen der ihn treibt—Sein Geist musz fliegen, er musz den hohen Enthousiasmus behalten, der die Mutter groszer Thaten, der das Pfand der Glücksgöttin ist”; desgl. S. 28, V. 639 ff.; S. 14, V. 292 “Und kräftiger noch aus seiner schlichten Rede / Und reinen Stirn spricht uns die Wahrheit an. / Nicht solche Züge borgt sich der Betrug, / Der hüllt sich täuschend ein in grosze Worte, / Und in der Sprache rednerischen Schmuck”). Auch sind Demetrius grosse Dinge prophezeit worden (S. 205, Z. 26; S. 235, Z. 24; S. 214, Z. 23 “wie ihm das gröszte Loos sei prophezeit worden”), was natürlich wieder von dem Anstifter des Betrugs ausgeht, Demetrius selbst aber in seinem Glauben nur bestärken kann.

Wohl ist sich auch Warbeck zeitweise seines Betrugs nicht bewusst (S. 123, Z. 25 “W. spielt seine Rolle mit einem gesezten Ernst, mit einer gewissen Gravität und mit eigenem Glauben.—So lang er den Richard vorstellt, *ist* er Richard; er ist es auch gewiszermaszen für sich selbst, ja sogar zum Theil

für die Mitansteller des Betrugs. . . . Es ist nothwendig, dasz alles was er in dem Stück als Richard thut, augenblicklich wahr sey, dasz er sich des Betrugs nicht mehr bewusst sei, dasz also jede daraus entspringende Handlung eine mechanische oder natürliche, mithin gleichgültig und nicht mehr *imputable* sey.— Alle Schritte die aus dem ersten flieszen, hat er mit seinem ersten Entschlusz adoptiert, und er stuzt über das Einzelne nicht mehr nachdem er das Ganze einmal auf sich genommen“). Doch ist es bezeichnend, dass er seine erdichtete Vorgeschichte nicht selbst zu erzählen vermag und die Herzogin ihn mit seiner Gemütsbewegung entschuldigen und den Bericht selbst übernehmen muss (S. 137, Z. 10 ff.; S. 160, Z. 14 ff.; S. 178, Z. 32 bis S. 181, Z. 15; S. 188, V. 176-260), während Demetrius im Vollgeföhle seiner Wahrhaftigkeit mit seiner Geschichte ohne rednerischen Schmuck sofort Glauben findet (S. 214, Z. 17 ff.; S. 174, Z. 10 ff.; S. 7, V. 81 ff.).

Der Hauptgegensatz zwischen Warbeck und Demetrius ist die Abstammung, auf deren Enthüllung beide Dramen mehr oder minder rasch zulaufen. Warbecks fürstliches Betragen erklärt sich mit einem Schlage aus seiner Geburt, was aber, da es als Überraschung wirken soll, erst im letzten Akte erfolgt; Demetrius, dessen Herkunft völlig im Dunkeln bleiben sollte, erfährt im dritten Akte, auf dem Höhepunkte der dramatischen Handlung, dass er nicht der Czarewitz ist.²³ Man könnte War-

²³ Auch für Demetrius hatte Schiller vorübergehend im Anfang seines Studienheftes die Abstammung von Iwan erwogen (S. 199, Z. 27 “Soll er nicht endlich als des Iwan Wasilowitz natürlicher Sohn erfinden werden?”—S. 211, Z. 11 “Das Blut Iwan Basilowizens verkündet sich in seinen Adern” und S. 89, Z. 25 “Dieser Jüngling soll im Lauf der Handlung Russischer Czar und des furchtbaren Basilides Sohn seyn” gehören noch zu dieser Periode des Schaffens), jedoch wieder gestrichen. Ebenso hat er von der in einer seiner Quellen gefundenen Notiz, dass Demetrius ein Bastard des Stephan Bathory gewesen sei (S. 199, Z. 19), keinen Gebrauch gemacht und endlich die Erwägung, ob er auch seine wahre Familie einföhren solle (ebd., Z. 26), spurlos fallen lassen. Es ist natürlich eine müssige Spekulation, wie Schiller seinen Demetrius die Erkenntnis, dass er zwar der Sohn Iwans sei, aber ein unehelicher, hätte aufnehmen lassen. Soviel aber scheint mir sicher: Da die Tragik im Demetrius auf dem Kampf zwischen der Lüge

becks und Demetrius' Anlagen zum Fürsten in der landläufigen Formel "*nature versus nurture*" ausdrücken. W S. 118, Z. 27 "Ein Hauptmotiv im Stück ist Warbecks wirkliche Abstammung von den Yorks, welche dunkel mächtig in ihm wirkt, und Handlungen hervorbringt, die seiner Rolle zu widersprechen scheinen — das poetische Motiv der Inconsequenz"; S. 126, Z. 7 "Sein deutliches Bewusstseyn verdammt ihn, ein dunkles Gefühl rechtfertigt ihn. Er anticipt nur seine wahre Person, und vieles Widersprechende in seinem Betragen und Empfinden wird aufgelöst durch die Entdeckung seiner Geburt. Das Yorkische Blut hat in ihm gehandelt"; S. 149, Z. 30 f.; S. 160, Z. 22 "er fühlt die Gewalt des Bluts und ist überzeugt dasz er den wahren Sohn seines Herrn vor sich habe"; S. 174, Z. 1 "Das Räthsel seiner dunkeln Gefühle löst sich ihm, das Knäul seines Schicksals entwirrt sich auf einmal"; S. 179, Z. 7 "Nichts kann die mächtige Stimme des Bluts in mir unterdrücken"; S. 184, V. 50 "Der edle Stempel yorkischer Geburt, / Der Majestät gehei-

im Herzen und der sieghaften Macht der Wahrheit beruht, nicht auf dem Kampf einer geborenen Herrschernatur mit dem Grundsatz der Legitimität, so hätte dies Motiv, wenn überhaupt eingeführt, nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen können. Auch hätte der untrügliche Instinkt des Historikers den Dichter davor bewahrt, seinen Helden sich als siegreichen Eroberer im Russland des angehenden siebzehnten Jahrhunderts am Prinzip der Legitimität zerreiben zu lassen, wie Hebbel es tut, dessen grüblerischen Helden die Erkenntnis seiner unechten Geburt gänzlich lähmt,—vor ihm hatte schon Bodenstedt in seinem Drama gleichen Namens (Berlin 1856) den Betrugstifter Jefimoff die Möglichkeit, dass Demetrius Iwans natürlicher Sohn sei, aussprechen lassen, ohne aber das Motiv im weiteren Verlaufe der Handlung irgendwie zur Wirkung zu bringen; nach Hebbel lässt bekanntermassen Laube seinen "braven Jüngling" (brav im Sinne der Kinderstube) an der Legitimität elendiglich zu Grunde gehen, und ihm folgt wiederum Sievers (Braunschweig 1888); auch Paul Ernst in seinem schon genannten *Demetrius* verwendet dieses Motiv. Wenn die Behauptung, dass Schillers Demetrius gewiss nicht lediglich an seiner unechten Geburt zerschellt wäre, noch einer weiteren Begründung bedarf, so sei auf Warbeck nach der Erkenntnis seiner Abstammung S. 175, Z. 1 verwiesen: "Warbeck zeigt sich dem Botschafter in der Stellung den Plantagenet umarmend und schickt ihn zu seinem König mit der Erklärung, dasz sie beide gemeinschaftlich ihre Rechte an den Thron wollen geltend machen".

ligtes Gepräge / Erlügt sich nicht"; S. 189, unten "ich erkenne mich / Als einen York und mächtig in der Brust / Fühl ich—"; S. 191, V. 250 "Doch das Yorksche Heldenblut / Das in den Adern dunkel mächtig flosz".— D S. 178, Z. 2 "vor meiner Seele stands mit leuchtender Gewisheit, ich sei des Iwan todt geglaubter Sohn. Sein Blut fühlt ich in meinen Adern sieden, es kündigte mein Herz mit kühnern Schlägen die ungezweifelte Geburt mir an. Und nicht bloz an äusern Zeichen die betrüglich sind,²⁴ in meinem tiefsten Innern fühl ich mich seines Geistes seines Bluts, und ehr will ichs tropfenweis versprützen, als meinen Ursprung verläugnen"; S. 9, V. 136 "dunkelmächtig²⁵ in den Adern / Empörte sich das ritterliche Blut"; S. 12, V. 250 "Und vor mir stands mit leuchtender Gewisheit, / Ich sei des Czaren todtgeglaubter Sohn. / Es löszten sich mit diesem einzgen Wort / Die Räthsel alle meines dunkeln Wesens. / Nicht bloz an Zeichen, die betrüglich sind, / In tiefster Brust, an meines Herzens Schlägen, / Fühlt ich [in mir das königliche Blut] / Und eher will ichs tropfenweis versprützen, / Als [meinem Recht entsagen und der Krone]²⁶."

Wie die Enthüllung seiner Herkunft auf Warbeck wirken muss, könnte der Zuschauer bei dessen eigenem Hass gegen den Betrug voraussehen, wenn er in das Geheimnis eingeweiht und nicht die Enthüllung als Überraschung geplant wäre; bei Demetrius lässt es der Dichter ihn vom ersten Akte ab ahnen: W S. 127, Z. 12 "Nichts gleicht der Empfindung Warbecks, wenn er sich als einen gebohrnen York erkennt und die unerträgliche Last der lang getragenen Lüge nun auf einmal von sich werfen kann. An dem heftigen Grad seiner Freude erkennt man ihn erst, wie unerträglich ihm der Betrug biszher gewesen seyn

²⁴ Interpunktion der Kettnerschen Ausgabe.

²⁵ Dies Lieblingswort erscheint ausserdem in der Kerkerszene im Samborakt, S. 68, V. 153 "Das hatten die Gestirne nicht gemeint / Die aus der Heimat dunkel mächtig dich geführt". Dem Worte opfert er hier wie in V. 136 das Metrum und setzt an beiden Stellen Sechsfüssler. Die "Braut von Messina" bietet es in V. 1528 "dunkel mächtig, wunderbar ergriff / Im tiefsten Innersten mich ihre Nähe"

²⁶ Die Ergänzungen wie oben von Martin Greif.

muszte".—D S. 206, Z. 17 "Der falsche Demetrius glaubt an sich selbst bis auf den Augenblick wo er in Moskau soll einziehen. Hier wird er an sich irre, einer entdeckt ihm seine wahre Geburt und diesz bringt eine schnelle unglückselige Veränderung im Charackter des Betrogenen hervor. Der Entdecker wird das erste Opfer derselben. Von jezt an ist Demetrius Tyrann, Betrüger, Schelm"; S. 208, Z. 11 "*Demetrius in der Fülle seines Glücks, erfährt wer er ist*"; S. 209, Z. 11 "Er erfährt dasz er Betrüger"; S. 221, Z. 20 "Monolog des Demetrius, wenn er sich als Betrüger denkt und die Nothwendigkeit doch fühlt, sich als Czaar zu behaupten. Das ungeheure Moskau liegt unter dem Balkon seines Schlosses"²⁷; S. 89, Z. 3 "Er erfährt seine Geburt und tódet den Verkünder"; S. 101, Z. 18 ff. (Ermordung Andreis, Monolog, Entschluss sich als Czar zu behaupten, und verändertes Betragen gegen seine Umgebung, "der Geist des Basilides scheint in ihn gefahren"), S. 83, Z. 21 "Vor Moskau, wo sich sein Schicksal wendet"; S. 118, Z. 20 ff.; S. 155, Z. 13 bis S. 157, Z. 4 (Szene mit Andrei, "X").

So entsteht nun auch bei Demetrius der Widerspruch zwischen äusserer und innerer Lage, den der Warbeck in den ersten Akten aufweist: S. 221, Z. 23 "Sehr interessant ist die Coexistenz der entgegengesetzten Zustände; wie wenn Demetrius von einem Theil als absoluter Czaar behandelt wird, wenn er es für sich selbst und für andre schon aufgehört hat zu seyn"; S. 102, Z. 26 "Gerade jezt da dieses vorgieng (die Enthüllung seiner Geburt) ist Demetrius auf dem höchsten Gipfel des Glücks, es ist ihm alles nach Wunsch gegangen, kein Widerstand ist mehr, alles glaubt an ihn, und ist für ihn begeistert"; S. 115, Z. 6 f.; S. 119, Z. 15; Z. 19 "Demetrius im Kremel zu Moskau als vollkommener Czar etabliert, aber mit dem Bewusstseyn, dasz er ein Betrüger". Die Bemerkung im Warbeck S. 118, Z. 18 "*Physisch* verlangt man von ihm, dasz er sich behaupte, *moralisch* dasz er seine Rolle aufgebe. Aus beiden entgegengesetzten Interessen ist das Stück zusammengesetzt. Er selbst wird durch die

²⁷ Er sollte also wohl ursprünglich die unselige Entdeckung erst in Moskau, nicht schon in Tula machen.

physische Bedrängnisse in die er geräth gehindert seinem moralischen Gefühl nachzugeben" könnte fast unverändert auf den Demetrius übertragen werden; und umgekehrt gilt auch für Warbeck, was S. 226, Z. 24 von Demetrius gesagt wird: "Wie der Held angefangen moralisch zu sinken, musz er physisch mehr interessieren". Auch Demetrius muss wie Warbeck die Klarheit über seinen Zustand fliehen (W S. 118, Z. 2),—umsomehr da er sich nicht wie dieser, um sich zu behaupten, gross, kühn und heroisch, sondern nur tyrannisch und grausam zeigen kann,—und auch er muss die Rolle, die er nicht aufgeben darf, ohne sich selbst zu vernichten, verwünschen (W S. 145, Z. 2 "Der zweite Akt fängt gleich damit an, dasz Warbeck die übernommene Fürstenrolle verwünscht, und sich Muth macht, sie fortzuspielen. Welches Elend, ein Fürst zu seyn! Aber vorwärts, du hast es angefangen, vollende!"—D S. 258, Z. 8 "Der Scepter ist schwer und lastet in der Hand. Demetrius macht diese Bemerkung"); besonders da er ja seine eigene Person der Rolle hat opfern müssen (W S. 119, Z. 10 "Im Verlauf der Handlung fühlt er dasz er mit Annehmung einer fremden Person seine eigne verloren—Sehnsucht nach den Seinigen"²⁸); S. 149, Z. 35 "Über der falschen Person, welche W. spielt, ist seine wahre vergessen worden; man hat vergessen dasz er auch Aeltern haben müsze, nach diesen regt sich jezt eine Sehnsucht"; S. 153, Z. 10 ff.; S. 157, Z. 1 "Richard erinnert sich mit Rührung an seine vorige Unbekanntheit mit sich selbst und vergleicht jenen sorglosen Zustand mit seiner jetzigen Lage".—D S. 83, Z. 26 "Demetrius wird soweit von seinem ersten Anfang verschlagen, dasz dieser am Ende der Handlung ferne hinter ihm liegt—darum ist nöthig, dasz sich ein lebhaftes und anmuthiges Bild davon in die Seele drücke, welches sich nachher auf eine rührende Art in der Erinnerung auffrischt, wenn ein so ganz anderer Mensch aus ihm geworden. Lodoiskas zarte Neigung fällt in jene Zeit, auch sein dunkler hoffnungsreicher Zustand im Haus des Woiwoden weckt eine rührende Sehnsucht und eine schmerz-

²⁸ Demetrius sollte sich wohl, da seine Angehörigen nicht eingeführt oder auch nur erwähnt werden, für eine Waise halten; er selbst spricht nie von Vater und Mutter.

liche Vergleichung—Er frägt den Kasimir, Lodoiskas Bruder, nach jenem Jüngling, d. i. nach sich selbst als ob er eine fremde Person wäre, so unähnlich fühlt er sich selber, und soviel hat er indessen erlebt, dasz jene Tage ihm nur noch im Dämmerchein zu liegen scheinen—An diese süßen schmelzenden Erinnerungen knüpft sich hart und schneidend, die furchtbare Gegenwart, die Gewalt ohne Liebe, die schwindlichte Höhe ohne Ruhe, kurz seine volle Czarsmacht an, und die Grausamkeit pakt schnell wieder seine gequälte Seele”). Besonders bitter muss ein solches Schicksal für Demetrius sein, da er für sein Vaterland eine neue, glanzvolle Zeit hat heraufführen wollen (S. 236, Z. 21; S. 100, Z. 11 “Hinreißendes Glück des Demetrius, davor ihm selbst schwindelt. Alle Herzen fallen ihm zu. . . Er ist ein Gott der Gnade für alle, alles hofft und begrüßt die neu aufgehende Sonne des Reichs, er kommt wie das Kind des Hauses, kurz er ist ein Abgott für alle, er schwimmt im Glück, und glücklich sind alle seine Unterthanen”; S. 102, Z. 26 ff.; S. 118, Z. 17 f.; S. 154, Z. 19 ff.; S. 155, Z. 11 “Er verspricht Ruszland einen gütigen Beherrscher”; S. 26, V. 584 ff.), während umgekehrt Warbeck den Betrug nur deshalb übernommen zu haben scheint “um auf einer glänzenden Bühne ein beglückendes Wesen zu seyn” (S. 134, Z. 30; S. 135, Z. 4).

In beiden Dramen gibt die Existenz des ersten Betrügers Anlass zum Auftreten eines zweiten; aber während Warbeck mit diesem noch persönlich zu tun hat, sollte der dem Sinnel entsprechende Kosak erst nach Demetrius’ Ermordung erscheinen (W S. 120, Z. 20 “Sinnels Erscheinung ist begründet durch Warbecks Betrug. Es ist natürlich dasz ein zweiter Betrüger auftritt, weil der Erste erschienen”;—D S. 167, Z. 9 “Wenn alles hinweg ist, so kann einer von der Menge zurückbleiben, welcher das Czarische Siegel sich zu verschaffen gewusst hat oder zufällig dazu gelangt ist. Er erblickt in diesem Fund ein Mittel, die Person des Demetrius zu spielen und gründet diese Hoffnung noch auf manche andere Umstände. . . Dieser Monolog des 2ten Demetrius kann die Tragödie schlieszen indem er in eine neue Reihe von Stürmen hineinblicken lässt und gleichsam

das Alte von neuem beginnt. Der Mensch ist ein Cosak von verwegendem Muth, der schon vorher vorgekommen und sich zu einem kecken Abentheuer und zur Glücksritterschaft geschickt angekündigt hat"). Auch Andrei hat ein Vorbild in dem "schlechten Menschen", der Warbeck in seinem Privatstand gekannt hat und diesen durch die Kenntniss, die er von seiner wahren Person hat, erschreckt (S. 163, Z. 8 ff.); aber während Warbeck seine Verschwiegenheit mit Gold erkaufen muss, kann und muss Demetrius den Unheilstifter kurzerhand niederschlagen. Ebenso findet sich anderseits in beiden Dramen gegenüber dem Vertreter des Rechtes der kraftvollen nur auf sich selbst gestellten Persönlichkeit der Vertreter des historischen Rechtes der Legitimität, hier der junge Plantagenet (S. 121, Z. 15 ff.; S. 126, Z. 23 ff.; S. 131, Z. 33 ff.; S. 166, Z. 1 ff.; S. 168, Z. 2 ff.; S. 169, Z. 27 ff.; S. 171, Z. 26 ff.; S. 174, Z. 17 ff.), dort Romanow (S. 101, Z. 12 ff.; S. 117, Z. 24 ff.; S. 118, Z. 3; S. 120, Z. 5 f.; Z. 24 ff.; S. 149, Z. 15; Z. 31 ff.; S. 152, Z. 5 ff.; S. 153, Z. 1 ff.; S. 154, Z. 9 ff.); jeder der beiden ist als "loyale Gestalt, eine edle und schöne Seele" gedacht.

Je dringender die Notwendigkeit des Betrugers, je drückender das Bewusstsein davon für beide, desto edler und schöner ist die Wahrhaftigkeit, mit der Warbeck der Prinzessin, Demetrius der Zarin, die er noch vor kurzem für seine Mutter gehalten hat, entgegentritt: W S. 148, Z. 8 "Warbeck verhehlt nichts von seiner Geschichte, er macht die Liebe zu seiner Richterin. Blanda wird bewegt, sie fühlt sich unfähig ihn zu verdammen, zugleich aber auch genöthigt, ihm zu entsagen"; S. 153, Z. 1 "Warbeck entdeckt der Prinzessin freiwillig den Betrug, vorher eh er von der Herzogin des Mordes bezüchtigt wird. Sie vergiebt aber entsagt ihm zugleich".—D S. 119, Z. 4 "Nun erklärt er sich aufrichtig mit ihr und fodert dasz sie ihn öffentlich für ihren Sohn erkennen soll"; S. 158, Z. 7 "Da Demetrius sich als Betrüger kennt, so würde er zuviel verlieren, wenn er die Gefühle der Natur erheucheln wollte. Wahrheit zwischen ihm und ihr kann ihn erheben, er betrügt sich würdig wenn er sich als Fürst

und Staatsmann betrügt ohne sich als einen Gaukler zu zeigen“; S. 164, Z. 35 “Demetrius dürfte in dieser Scene [der Scene mit Marfa unmittelbar vor seiner Ermordung] ganz offen mit der Sprache herausgehen und der Marfa erzählen, wie er selbst getäuscht worden. Dadurch erwirbt er Mitleiden und recapituliert zugleich die Hauptmomente der Handlung. Auch wird sich diese Scene dadurch desto mehr von seiner ersten, die er mit ihr gehabt, unterscheiden”.

Selbst für die Scene, in der Demetrius die Zarin zu überreden sucht, ihn als ihren Sohn anzuerkennen, findet sich im Warbeck ein Vorbild in dem Auftritt, wo der Held den Bischof Belmont, den ersten Rat der Herzogin, über seine Stellung zu ihr aufklärt: W S. 125, Z. 4 “Sie kann sich auf einmal alle Last der Verstellung erleichtern und den Schein der Wahrheit aufs höchste treiben—sie schenke mir ihr Herz, sie habe für mich die mütterlichen Gesinnungen wirklich, die sie vor der Welt zu bekennen sich auferlegte, sie vergesse, wer ich war, sie nehme mich an zu ihrem Neffen, und ich will es seyn—ich will freudig alle Gefühle der Dankbarkeit, der Ehrfurcht, der Pietät für sie annehmen, und die Wahrheit wird mir einen Schwung geben, den keine Macht der Verstellung je hervorbringen kann Ich—ich fühle, dasz ich ihr nicht fremd bin. Mit dem Nahmen, den ich annahm, habe ich wirklich ein kindliches Pflichtgefühl für sie angenommen, und wenn sie mich vor der Welt umarmt, wenn ich ihre Hand mit meinen Thränen netze, so sind es wahre Thränen und mein Herz ist mit dabei.—Ich soll ein Fürst seyn, ich soll ihres Gleichen und soll ihres Geschlechts ercheinen—aber ein Fürst und ein York musz sich fühlen können, er musz mit Muth und Zuversicht in seinen Busen greifen. Sie befreie mich von allem, was mich einengt, erniedrigt, zu Boden drückt—Sie lasse mir das Herz grosz werden *etc.* so werde ich *scheinen*, weil ich *bin*. . . . Ich spiele nicht blosz die Person ihres Neffen, nein, ich denke, ich darf es sagen, wie Er denken würde ich fühle sein Herz in meiner Brust, wie ich seine Züge an mir trage”; ebenso S. 128, Z. 2 “Warbeck gebraucht auch das Motiv sich zu entschuldigen, dasz er keinen

Lebenden beraube. Der York, den er spiele, sei todt, er glaube aber sein Gedächtnisz nicht zu schänden, so wie er ihn vorstelle"; S. 135, Z. 8 "er kann nachher, wenn er unglücklich ist, mit Wahrheit zu sich sagen: ich habe den Nahmen eines York usurpiert, aber ich habe ihn nicht geschändet".—D S. 157, Z. 35 "Der kleine Rest der Hofnung in Marfas Herzen schwindet ganz beim Anblick des Demetrius. Ein unbekanntes tritt zwischen beide, die Natur spricht nicht, sie sind ewig geschieden. Der erste Moment war ein Versuch sich zu nähern, Marfa ist die erste die eine zurückgehende Bewegung macht, wie Demetrius dies erblickt so bleibt er *suspensus* stehen, ein momentanes höchst bedeutendes Schweigen erfolgt, welches Marfa mit dem Ausruf unterbricht: Ach, er ist es nicht!²⁹/.....Sagt dir das Herz nichts? Erkennst du dein Blut nicht in mir? Da sie fortfährt zu schweigen, sagt er: Die Stimme der Natur ist heilig und frei, ich will sie weder zwingen noch erlügen. Hätte dein Herz bei meinem Anblick gesprochen, so hätte das meinige geantwortet, du würdest einen frommen, einen liebenden Sohn in mir gefunden haben. Das Nothwendige wäre mit Neigung, mit Liebe, mit vollem Herzen, mit Innigkeit geschehn. Doch wenn du nicht als Mutter für mich fühlst, wenn du den Sohn nicht in mir findest, so denk als Fürstin, fasz dich als Königin, und schieke dich mit kluger Wahl in das Nothwendige. Das Schicksal gab mich dir unerwartet ungehofft zum Sohn, nimm du mich an aus seiner Hand, als ein Geschenk des Himmels denn ich bins. Wär ich dein Sohn auch nicht, der ich jezt scheine, so raub ich deinem Sohne nichts, ich raubt es deinem

²⁹ Ausserst wirksam hat Rudolf Lothar in seinem "Maskenspiel" *König Harlekin*, das den Demetriusstoff neu und eigenartig behandelt, dieses Motiv noch zu steigern gewusst. Wie Harlekin als Prinz Bohemund vor der blinden Königin Gertrud kniet, um ihren Segen und die Krone zu empfangen (Akt II, Szene 9), legt sie ihm mit den Worten "Mein Sohn!" tastend die Hände auf den Kopf, zieht sie aber plötzlich zurück mit dem Ausruf: "Wer bist du? Du bist nicht mein Sohn!" Auch dass Harlekin ihr gesteht, dass er ihren Sohn erschlagen hat, und dennoch sein Schicksal mutig in ihre Hand legt, würde die Wirkung überraschend und bedeutsam verstärken, wenn der Königin nicht von vornherein vor ihrem Sohn graute.

Feind, nicht deinem Sohn, dir aber geb ich Groszes.
 schicke dich darein, ich trau dir zu, du werdest dich fassen und
 deine Parthei als eine Fürstin nehmen. Hier ist nicht die
 Rede von den Gefühlen der Mutter, der Augenblick dringt, thu
 was er von dir fodert. Alles erwartet die herzliche Begegnung
 der Mutter und des Sohns zu sehen. Täusche nicht die allge-
 meine Erwartung. Ich hasse die Gaukelei, ich mag nicht mit
 den heiligen Gefühlen der Natur spielen und Gaukelwerk
 treiben. Was ich nicht empfinde mag ich nicht zeigen, ich fühle
 aber wirklich eine Ehrfurcht gegen dich und diesz Gefühl das
 meine Knie vor dir beugt, es ist mein Ernst, es ist mein wahr
 Gefühl. Ergreife deine Parthei, so ist deine Verlegenheit
 verschwunden. Lasz deines Willens freie Handlung seyn, was
 die Natur das Blut dir versagt. Ich fodre keine Heuchelei,
 keine Lüge von dir, ich fodre wahre Gefühle. *Scheine du nicht
 meine Mutter, sei es*, umfasse mich als deinen Sohn, lege dein
 Herz an meins, wage dein Schicksal an meines. Wirf das ver-
 gangene von dir lasz es fahren, ergreife das Gegenwärtige mit
 ganzem Herzen—Bin ich dein Sohn nicht so bin ich dein
 Czar, ich habe die Macht, *ich habe das Glück*. Glaub deinen
 Augen, was du deinem Herzen nicht glauben kannst. Ich
 will dich als Mutter behandeln. Du sollst einen ehrerbietigen
 Sohn in mir sehen. Was willst du mehr? Der, welcher im
 Grabe liegt, ist Staub, *er hat kein Herz* dich zu lieben, er hat
 kein Auge dir zu lächeln, er giebt dir nichts, ich aber gab dir
 alles. Wende dich zu dem Lebenden."

Die Gestalt im Warbeck, von der sich nächst dem Titelhelden
 die meisten Züge im Demetrius wiederfinden, ist die Herzogin
 Margareta. Am meisten ähnelt ihr Marina: W S. 116, Z. 1
 "Margaretha behandelt den Warbek als einen Betrüger und als
 ihr dienstbares Werkzeug"; Z. 15 "Warbek hat eine heftige
 Furcht vor der Herzogin wie vor einem hösen Geiste in desser
 Gewalt er sich gegeben hat"; S. 121, Z. 34 "Herzogin hat den
 W. blosz als ihr Werkzeug gebraucht. Er selbst, sein Wohl und
 Übel, kommt ihr in keine Betrachtung; sie will nur einen

Zweck durch ihn erreichen³⁰”; S. 122, Z. 6 “Als eine stolze Fürstin musz sie ihn, den *Homme de rien* verachten, es kostete ihr schon Zwang ihn vor der Welt als ihres Gleichen zu behandeln. Weil sie gar nichts persönliches für ihn empfindet, so ist er ihr nur ein Instrument, und ganz nichts, so wie es nicht zu dem Zwecke gebraucht wird”; S. 124, Z. 12 “Sie sieht in ihm ewig nur ihr Werkzeug, den falschen York, den *Homme de commun*, den Betrüger. . . . Umsonst will er emporstreben, immer wird er von Seiten ihrer an das schändliche Verhältnisz erinnert, das er so gern vergessen möchte, ja das er vergessen haben musz, um seine Rolle gut zu spielen”; Z. 28 “Er ist ihr vor der Welt der nächste, unter vier Augen der gleichgültigste”; S. 144, Z. 31 ff.; S. 168, Z. 32 “Ihre Antworten zeigen ihren fühllosen Fürstenstolz, ihre kalte egoistische Seele, sie hat sich nie um sein Glück bekümmert, er ist ihr bloz das Werkzeug ihrer Plane gewesen, das sie wegwirft, sobald es unnütz wird”.—D S. 200 Z. 8 “unter welchen *Marina* das kühne Wagstück unternimmt, um ein hohes Glück zu machen *vor ihren Schwestern*. Sie hat die Anlage zu einem intriguanten Spiel”; S. 204, Z. 7 “Die Polnische Braut welche das Glück des Demetrius zuerst gegründet bringt auch das Unglück mit sich. (Am Rand:) *Marina* dissimuliert mit ihm und legt's drauf an, ihn zu beherrschen. Sie kommt mit feindlicher Gesinnung und auf ihre Polnische Begleitung sich mehr verlassend als auf seine Liebe. Sie läsz ihn (im Vten Act) deutlich merken, dasz sie ihn nicht für den wahren Demetrius hält”; S. 235, Z. 33 “Der Woiwod von Sendomir glaubt an den Betrüger, nicht so seine Tochter”; S. 239, Z. 7 ff.; Z. 11 “Edler Adelstolz ist nicht in ihr, darum trägt sie kein Bedenken, sich einem Glücksritter zu überlassen”; S. 223 Z. 7 ff.; S. 233, Z. 8 “Sie ist stolz und ehrsüchtig, will über ihre Schwestern hinaus, der Liebe ist sie unfähig, aber ihr Geist ist auch durch keine Delikatesse oder Standesvorurtheile beschränkt, sie will herrschen, gleichviel wodurch”; Z. 12 ff.; S. 241, Sp. 2, Z. 39 ff.; S. 85, Z. 28 f.; S. 90, Z. 31 ff.; S. 92, Z. 29 “Sie scheint der Liebe fähig, ehe sich ihr Ehrgeiz entwickelt”; S. 95,

³⁰ Vgl. hierzu Piccolomini, III, 5, V. 1684 ff.

Z. 7 “Sie erwiedert seine leidenschaftliche Erklärung mit aufmunternden Worten, aber zugleich verräth sie ihren Ehrgeiz, indem sie ihn an die Behauptung seiner Geburtsrechte erinnert. Das Wesentliche woran er in diesem Augenblick selbst nicht gedacht hat, beschäftigt sie sogleich, und ist ihr erster Gedanke”; Anm. 2 “Marina sucht nicht sowohl sich selbst als die andern von der Czarischen Geburt des Grischka zu überzeugen, sie wartet selbst die Beweise nicht ab, denn es ist ihr nicht um die Wahrheit, nur um den Gebrauch den sie davon machen kann, zu thun”; S. 120, Z. 29 “sie gesteht ihm, dasz sie ihn nicht für den Iwanowiz hält und nie dafür gehalten”; S. 128, Z. 7 f.; S. 129, Z. 8; Z. 21 ff.; S. 170, Z. 12 ff.; Z. 19 “Auch vertheilen sich die Rollen ganz schicklich, wenn Demetrius nur das Grosze und Heroische, Marina die kleinen Mittel übernimmt. Sie ist, was die Realität betrifft, die Seele der Unternehmung, Demetrius ist nur die ideale Potenz derselben”.

Aber auch Marfa trägt Züge von Margareta: W S. 122, Z. 22 “Margaretha kündigt sich an als eine leidenschaftliche, hassende, rachsüchtige Natur; daraus entsprang ihr ganzer Plan mit Warbeck. Aber derselbe Character musz sich auch, wenn die Umstände es fügen, *gegen* ihn richten wenn er mit sich selbst übereinstimmen soll. Freilich begeht sie eine Inconsequenz gegen ihren Plan, wenn sie Warbeck entgegenhandelt; aber sie würde, wenn sie es nicht thäte, sich selbst widersprechen, und es ist weit nöthiger dasz ein Character mit sich selbst, als dasz das Betragen mit dem Plan übereinstimme”.—D S. 202, Z. 11 “Marfa ist ungern Nonne und musz den Boris mit allen Gefühlen der beleidigten Mutter hassen, weil er ihren Sohn ermordet und gegen sie selbst gewüthet. Wie also der falsche Demetrius aufsteht, so hat sie ein groszes Interesse, sich zu seinem Vortheil gegen den Boris zu erklären, und ihre Leidenschaft reizt sie hin, diese Rache an dem Boris zu nehmen”; S. 117, Z. 11 ff.; S. 141, Z. 7 “Ueberdiesz giebt sie zu verstehen, dasz sie den aufgestandenen Demetrius, selbst wenn sie nicht an ihn glaubte, als ihren Sohn vom Himmel annehmen könne, dasz sie auf jeden Fall seine Sache adoptieren werde um den Feind ihres Hauses zu stra-

fen. Sie wird nun ganz zur Czarin und diese vorher wie versteinerte Natur belebt sich zu einer heftig passionierten Partheiführerin. Die Unterdrückung welche sie erlitten . . . schildert sie mit einer Feuerzunge"; S. 164, Z. 2 "Demetrius hat die Czarin vernachlässigt und man kennt sie als einen nachtragenden passionierten Charakter. Durch den Untergang des Boris ist ihre Rachsucht befriedigt, sie hat eigentlich kein Motiv mehr, den Demetrius zu halten; das einzige, was noch wirken könnte, wäre entweder ein hohes Interesse des Ehrgeizes, wenn sie durch Demetrius herrschen könnte, oder Dankbarkeit, wenn ihr dieser gut begegnet wäre. Er hat sie aber vernachlässigt (nicht beleidigt) und so ist er ihr gleichgültig, ja sie ist ehr gekränkt, weil sie stolz ist, und das übrige wirkt nun ihr Stolz und hoher Sinn, der ihr nicht erlaubt, die Gefühle einer Mutter zu heucheln"; S. 193, Z. 21 ff.; S. 195, Z. 23 ff.; S. 49, V. 1076 bis Seite 53, V. 1171, besonders S. 52, V. 1154 "Doch wär er auch nicht meines Herzens Sohn, / Er soll der Sohn doch meiner Rache seyn, / Ich nehm ihn an und auf an Kindes Statt, / Den mir der Himmel rächend hat gebohren!"

Nach dem Vorbilde des Prinzen Erich von Gothland ist im Demetrius Marinas Freier gezeichnet: W S. 142, Z. 16 "Erich, herzlos, borniert, boshaft"; S. 149, Z. 18 "des dummen Erich"; S. 142, Z. 27 "eine verborgene aber desto ernsthaftere und glühendere Neigung, welche immer steigt, je mehr sie zwischen ihm und ihrem eignen Bräutigam Vergleichen anstellt"; S. 161, Z. 23 "Adelaide. . . . setzt ihn aufs tiefste neben dem Yorkischen Prinzen herab".—D S. 237, Z. 11 "Der Woivode von Lublin oder sonst ein Magnat, der um die schöne Marina freit, begegnet dem Grischka, der so kühn ist, seine Augen zu dem Fräulein zu erheben. Nicht erträgt dies der stolze Magnat und weil er den Grischka für einen *Homme du néant* hält, so läßt er ihn seinen Zorn auf eine beleidigende Art empfinden"; S. 211, Z. 27 f.; S. 225, Z. 22 "Der Palatinus findet ihn mit Verdrusz in seinem Weg und will sich auf eine brutale Art seiner entledigen"; S. 226, Z. 12 ff.; S. 223, Z. 5 f.; Z. 16 "Der Palatinus, ihr Freier, sendet ihr etwas, das sie geringschätzig behandelt. Grischka

ist zugegen, sie zeichnet ihn aus"; S. 91, Z. 27 "Sie kann ein plumpes Geschenk des Palatinus verachten, und eine Huldigung des Grischka ehren"; S. 104, Z. 1 ff.; Anm. 1 "Palatinus ist ein stolzer täppischer und gemeiner Geselle. Er schickt seiner Braut ein Geschenk das sie geringschätzt während dem sie dem Grischka mit Attention begegnet, und eine Blume annimmt, aus desselben Hand"; S. 122, Z. 33 "Sie schilt die Blindheit des Glücks wenn sie ihren Bräutigam mit dem Grischka vergleicht". Wenn Erich daran Gefallen findet, dass Warbeck und die Prinzessin sich lieben, er selbst aber die Prinzessin besitzen werde (S. 161, Z. 24 "Erich hat wohl bemerkt, dasz Adelaide für diesen Zärtlichkeit empfinde, aber seine Schadenfrende ist gröszter als seine Eifersucht, er findet ein Vergnügen daran dasz jene beiden sich hoffnungslos lieben, er selbst aber die Prinzessin besitzen werde. Der Besitz, meint er, mache es aus, und es giebt ihm einen süszen Genusz, dem Warbeck, den er haszt, die Geliebte zu entreiszen"; S. 194, V. 337 "Er liebt euch aber ich werd euch besitzen! / Das ist die Sache! Im Besitze liegts!"), so zeigt Odowalsky das direkte Gegenbild (S. 29, V. 650 ff., besonders V. 658 "Verdienen aber will ich deine Gunst, / Dich grosz zu machen sei mein einzig Trachten. / Mag immer dann ein Andrer dich besitzen / Mein bist du doch, wenn du mein Werk nur bist.")³¹

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³¹ Es sei nunmehr noch einiger sprachlichen Parallelen gedacht, die sich nicht direkt aus sachlichen Ähnlichkeiten ergeben: W S. 178, Z. 20 (Warbeck zu Hereford) "Steht auf Milord—Nicht hier ist euer Platz"—D S. 25, V. 536 (Sigismund zu Marina) "Steht auf Czaritza! Dieser Platz ist nicht/Für euch". (Vgl. hierzu auch noch *Merkwürdiges Beispiel einer weiblichen Rache*, Säkular-Ausgabe, Band 2, S. 187, Z. 7 "Sie sind nicht an Ihrer Stelle, Marquisin, stehen Sie auf!" und *Don Carlos*, ebd., Band 4, V. 4740 "Mein Sohn ist nicht an seinem Platz. Steh auf. / Komm in die Arme deines Vaters.") W S. 185, V. 97 (Hereford zu Stanley) "Es ist Richard! Mir zeugt es euer Hasz"—D S. 49, V. 1082 (Marfa zu Hiob) "Er ist mein Sohn..... An deines Czaren Furcht/Erkenn ich ihn". W S. 187, V. 145 (Hereford) "Auch hat der Himmel sichtbar sie beglückt, / Vom Grabe rief er ihr den theuren Neffen / Den längst für todt bejammerten zurück"—D S. 50, V. 1102 (Marfa zu Hiob) "Ich soll den Sohn verläugnen, den

der Himmel / Mir durch ein Wunder aus dem Grabe ruft?" W S. 190, V. 232 (Margaretha zu Hereford) "Nur in dem tiefsten Staub der Niedrigkeit (liesz sich ein solches Kleinod verbergen)"—D S. 26, V. 573 (Demetrius zu Sigismund) "Ich bin erwachsen in der Niedrigkeit". W S. 193, V. 301 (Adelaide zu Erich) "Ein Jahr ists kaum, dasz er sich selbst gefunden"—D S. 8, V. 129 (Demetrius in der Reichstagszene) "Kein Jahr ists noch dasz ich mich selbst gefunden".

(To be continued.)

EBERNAND VON ERFURT AND THE *VITA HEINRICI*.

Ever since the appearance of Bechstein's edition of the only poem by Ebernand von Erfurt, the so-called *Heinrich und Kunegunde*,¹ it has been known that one of the sources of the poem was some manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici*.² Bechstein could not state, however, which manuscript this was nor did he venture any theory on the question. He merely drew attention to a few passages in the poem which led him to think that the poet's source was not an exact copy of the standard *Vita*.³ It is possible, I think, to eliminate much of the doubt regarding the manuscript by reviewing the passages cited by Bechstein and by a consideration of several others which he did not notice. One of the latter is very remarkable as it presents a contradiction which is perhaps unique in literature.

The lines of the poem which are chiefly involved are 2175-2327 and contain a description of Heinrich's death. However, as some of these lines correspond closely to a paragraph in the standard *Vita*,⁴ a portion of 2175-2327 may be left out of the

¹ Herausgegeben von Reinhold Bechstein. Quedlinburg und Leipzig. 1860. In the following pages I always refer to this edition when quoting Bechstein; the citation of lines in the poem also follows his edition, the only one yet published.

²To be found in the Monum. germ. hist. VI. script. IV. pagg. 792-814. (Cited below throughout as "Monum".)

³P. II.

⁴These lines are the following: 2214-2235, 2251-60, 2280-94, and 2311-23. The paragraph in the *Vita* is as follows: (Monum. p. 810, 27-37) Denique consummatis gloriosissimae huius vitae laboribus, postquam bonae opinionis odorem longe lateque redolere fecerat, locumque sibi dilectum cum caeteris monasteriis ditando et ornando et excolendo ad perfectum advexerat, ad percipiendam inmarcescibilem coronam ab ergastulo carnis a Domino evocatus est. Qui cum cerneret imminere sibi mortis diem, citatis ad se parentibus et cognatis beatissimae imperatricis Chunegundae, nonnullis etiam regni primoribus, manu eam apprehensam, commendavit illis huiusmodi verbis memoria dignis: *Hanc ecce, inquit, mihi a vobis, inmo per Christum consignatam, qui Christo domino nostro et vobis resigno virginem vestram.* In ejus vero

present discussion and I can limit myself to certain sub-passages which are not based on the standard *Vita*. After a consideration of these I shall take up all the other passages in the poem which bear upon the question in point. The cumulative evidence of all these passages, especially of those within the lines 2175-2327, indicates, I think, the manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* which Ebernard used.

Bechstein calls attention to one passage within the lines 2175-2327 which deviates from the standard *Vita*, but I think he draws a wrong conclusion from it. Ebernard tells in the lines 2295-2310 a story about the appearance of a devil to Heinrich on his deathbed and begins it with the words: *noch hörte ich sagen ein mêre*. Bechstein questions the truth of the poet's assertion that he followed oral tradition only for these lines.⁵ But when Ebernard says that another story of much greater length and far more significance was told to him by a friend,⁶ Bechstein believes him and bases a considerable part of his discussion of the poet's life on bits of information that come out in connection with this story.⁷ This position I do not consider tenable. *Noch hörte ich sagen ein mêre* might indeed be interpreted as a meaningless formula, such formulae were of course common in Middle-High German literature, but the significance to be attached to them must be determined by the usage and credibility of each individual poet. Ebernard is not careless or misleading in his use of such references to sources. Of his references to written sources it can be proved that a large majority of the passages so ascribed arose just as he claims. Of the small minority this cannot be proved, as the manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* which Ebernard used is not at hand, but it cannot be

transsitus, terra plorante, coelum exultavit, sicut Dominus per suam misericordiam revelare dignatus est. Sub ipsa etenim hora exitus illius cuidam servo Dei in solitudine commoranti diabolus sub humana specie traditur apparuisse.

⁵ P. II.

⁶ Cf. 4095-4300 for the story, and especially 4115 sqq. for the origin of it.

⁷ P. I sq. and p. V.

proved either that they did not arise as he says. It cannot be proved that Eberhard falsified the origin, written or oral, of any passage in the poem. The lines 2295-2310 probably are based on oral tradition, therefore, because Eberhard says so, and because there is absolutely no evidence to the contrary.

Of the remaining lines of the whole passage 2175-2327 some are based on the *Vita Heinrici* as given in the Monum.,⁸ and some are not. By his table of correspondences between the lines of the poem and the Monum.⁹ Bechstein leads the reader to believe that the whole passage 2175-2327 with the single exception of the lines 2295-2310 is based on the given text. Harry Bresslau demurs to this to the extent of 2324-7, but he too does not notice a much more remarkable divergence of the poem from the present *Vita Heinrici*.¹⁰ I shall now consider in turn all the sub-passages in 2175-2327 (except the one treated in the preceding paragraph, 2295-2310) which are independent of the source cited.¹¹

The first sub-passage, 2175-2213, is a didactic introduction to the description of Heinrich's death. The next longest didactic passage in the poem which is original with the poet as compared with the present source, is contained in 265-76; I am in doubt whether this was original with the poet or not. But granting that he invented the whole of it, the passage 265-76 is a matter of twelve lines, and 2175-2213 contains thirty-nine lines. If the passage 2175-2213 is to be ascribed solely to the invention of the poet, it must be done, therefore, with the admission that it is the only really long, wholly original, didactic interpolation which Eberhard permitted himself to make in his use of the *Vita Heinrici*. I incline to think that it was at least suggested in the manuscript of the *Vita* which Eberhard used.

⁸Cf. above n. 4.

⁹P. III sq., especially under Abschnitt XXXII-XXXIV.

¹⁰Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II. Bd. III. Leipzig. Duncker und Humblot. 1875. p. 369.

¹¹Their independence of this source can be easily verified by a comparison of them with the Latin given above, n. 4.

The second sub-passage 2236-50 is the most remarkable as it contradicts an important statement about the place of Heinrich's burial not three hundred lines farther on.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Cf. 2236-50: | and 2507-13: |
| <i>der fursten in dem rîche</i> | <i>dô solde man den werden</i> |
| <i>hâte er (i. e. Heinrich)</i> | <i>bestaten zuo der erden,</i> |
| <i>harte vil besant</i> | <i>ze Babenberc wart er dô</i> |
| <i>ze Merseburg in Saksen-</i> | <i>brâht:</i> |
| <i>lant.</i> | 2510 <i>daz hâte er selbe vor be-</i> |
| <i>dâr lac der hêre guote:</i> | <i>dâht,</i> |
| 2240 <i>daz was ime ze muote,</i> | <i>daz er dâr ligen wolde.</i> |
| <i>daz er ruowen wolde dâ</i> | <i>dô wart der gotes holde</i> |
| <i>und ouch niergen ander-</i> | <i>harte keiserlich begraben.</i> |
| <i>swâ,</i> | |
| <i>wan diz daz êrste bistuom</i> | |
| <i>was,</i> | |
| <i>alse ich û ze vorderst las,</i> | |
| 2245 <i>daz er wider hâte brâht.</i> | |
| <i>nû was er des ouch wol</i> | |
| <i>bedâht,</i> | |
| <i>er wolde zuo den zîten</i> | |
| <i>endes aldâr biten,</i> | |
| <i>genâde er sich wol ver-</i> | |
| <i>sach,</i> | |
| <i>vil volliclich die ime ge-</i> | |
| <i>schach.</i> | |

In other words Ebernard seems to overlook or to forget the order in which he has told of the restoration of Merseburg and other bishoprics; Merseburg was not the first bishopric which Heinrich restored according to Ebernard's account, cf. 321 sqq. More remarkable still, Ebernard buries Heinrich in two places. In the one passage he distinctly says that Heinrich was buried in Bamberg, and in the other he leads the reader unmistakably to infer that Heinrich was buried in Merseburg. Besides this he states positively that Merseburg was the scene of Heinrich's

death. Ebernard makes no explanation of the two contradictions, apparently because he is quite unconscious of them.

The passage must, I think, be ascribed to a written source. The poet does not ascribe it to oral tradition, and this fact is an indication of written authority for it, as Ebernard seems very zealous throughout the poem in emphasizing the fact when he deviates from that which was written.¹² As Bechstein has already shown,¹³ Ebernard's dependence upon the *Vita Heinrici* is distinctly slavish. Except in the lines 2175-2327 and 2025-54, that is, in over 1700 lines he never deviates from this *Vita* in matters of fact concerning Heinrich, he adds nothing and omits nothing. It seems very improbable to me, therefore, that Ebernard would enlarge upon matters of fact in the lines just cited, and only in these. That Ebernard knew that Heinrich was buried in Bamberg, is substantiated by 3902-3 and 4475-7. Besides, it is certain that Ebernard was at some time in Bamberg before writing his poem,¹⁴ and he must have seen Heinrich's tomb there. If Ebernard had had any particular interest in Merseburg, it might have led him to insert the passage 2236-50 contrary to the usual version of the *Vita Heinrici*, but I have found nothing but this passage which would seem to establish any connection whatever between Ebernard and Merseburg. All the other references to the latter in the poem can be found to be based directly on the *Vita Heinrici* as it is in the Monum., that is, on the standard version. A passage like this which adds positive statements of fact and which denies the truth of statements which we know the poet knew were true, is not the work of a man who held himself above his source, adapting it and remoulding it and inserting new points here and there. It is rather the work of a poet who clung so closely to his source that he did not notice its contradictions, who accepted

¹² Cf. 2295 discussed above, p. 55 and 4117 sqq.

¹³ P. II sqq. Cf. also my article: The Relation of Ebernard von Erfurt to his Sources. Princeton University Bulletin. Vol. XV. No. 1. (1903.) P. 1 sqq.

¹⁴ Cf. my monograph: Ebernard von Erfurt: Zu seinem Leben und Wirken. Jena. 1907. P. 29 sqq.

as gospel everything the source offered. And Ebernard's attitude toward his source was of just this nature. For all these reasons I consider it certain that the lines 2236-50 were based on a corresponding passage in the manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* which Ebernard used.

The lines 2261-79, the third sub-passage in 2175-2327, contain a speech which Heinrich makes to his nobles as he lies on his deathbed. The speech is not particularly interesting or important in itself, but inasmuch as it is the first and only time that a speech of more than a couple of lines is put into the mouth of a character, quite independently of the *Vita*, it seems altogether improbable that it was wholly original with the poet. It was much more likely drawn from a written source.

In regard to the last sub-passage, 2324-7, I agree with Bresslau¹⁵ that it is much rather to be ascribed to a written source than to the poet's inventiveness. This I think is true because the passage adds exact facts which would be contrary to the poet's usual attitude toward the *Vita Heinrici* as already shown,¹⁶ and because the poet virtually says so, a fact which Bresslau does not mention. Ebernard says, 2314-20: *nû hôt ein frôlich mêre: die erde jâmer machte, der himel vil sêre erlachte; an sîner hinvert stunde wart des ein urkunde, daz von gote eroffent was: ich was frô, dô ich ez las*. Ebernard says explicitly therefore in 2314 and 2320 that he is going to tell a story that he read; this story must be the one contained in the lines 2321-98. To ascribe 2324-7 to the inventiveness of the poet means then that Ebernard inserted new facts in his story just four lines after saying that he had read what he tells. This is so contrary to the poet's usual attitude toward the *Vita Heinrici*, however, that it cannot be assumed. If Ebernard had gone afield for these four lines, just after saying that the story surrounding them was based on a written source, I am convinced that he would have added a line of explanation, accord-

¹⁵Ib. Cf. above, n. 10.

¹⁶Cf. the references given above, n. 13.

ing to his custom.¹⁷ I ascribe 2324-7 therefore, with Bresslau, to the manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* which Eberhard used.

The frequent deviations of the poem within 2175-2327 from the standard *Vita Heinrici* cannot be ascribed to the inventiveness of Eberhard according to the above argument. Still less can they be charged to the scribe of the manuscript of Eberhard's poem, Lewenhagen.¹⁸ There is no reason to suspect him of interpolation in any other part of the poem, and it is not reasonable to suspect him of several interpolations here, and only here. An additional argument can be drawn from a consideration of the rimes. 2175-2213 and 2236-50 are joined by the rime to the intervening passage which is certainly based on the *Vita Heinrici*, 2261-79 is joined to the following passage in the same way, and 2324-7 is connected on both sides with lines which are based on the usual *Vita*. If it were possible to disconnect the passages which show deviation from the *Vita* from the others, the latter would still make good sense, just as the paragraph in the *Vita* does,¹⁹ but it is impossible to throw out the deviating passages without leaving several rimes hanging in mid-air. Certainly no fault can be found with the flow of the narrative as it stands. The sequence of ideas and events in the whole passage 2175-2327 is indeed so smooth and natural, that Bechstein, the editor of the poem, did not notice the remarkable deviation from the source discussed above. Aside from these considerations there is also no reason to connect Lewenhagen with Merseburg. As far as known, he had no connection with that place, and, therefore, no interest in making such an interpolation as is found in this passage of the poem. The scribe cannot in view of all this be charged with the interpolation of any of these passages.

On the other hand an examination which I have made of the manuscripts of the *Vita Henrici*²⁰ leads me to think that a

¹⁷ Cf. 2295 (and above, p. 55), 4117 sqq. and 2653-6.

¹⁸ On the name and life of the scribe cf. Bechstein, p. VII, and my monograph (cited above, n. 14.), p. 41 sqq.

¹⁹ Cf. above, n. 4.

²⁰ A list of these mss. will appear shortly in the *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*.

manuscript of the *Vita* corresponding to Ebernard's poem may very easily have been in existence at the time Ebernard wrote, though I cannot for lack of space present the necessary argument for the establishment of this opinion. I must content myself with calling attention to a few facts. There are still in existence no less than seven manuscripts of the *Vita Heinrici* which were written before 1200, that is, before Ebernard wrote his poem.²¹ Of these manuscripts only two contain the whole text of the Monum. pagg. 792-814²² and no two are entirely alike in their contents. In the oldest manuscripts of the *Vita Heinrici* there is a marked tendency toward amplification and occasional remoulding of sentences and paragraphs.²³

There are many things which indicate that a manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* which would correspond to Ebernard's poem was probably in the chapter library at Merseburg. The library was established in the eleventh century and was large;²⁴ like other church libraries of the time, it doubtless consisted chiefly or at least in part of manuscripts which dealt with people and affairs connected with the local church. The members of this chapter had reason to remember Heinrich. His name was closely associated with the restoration of Merseburg after the wars with the Poles, he was indeed the prime mover of its restoration according to the *Vita* and Thietmar,²⁵ and he had remembered the

²¹ On the date of the poem cf. Bechstein, p. VI, and my monograph (cited above, n. 14), p. 36 sqq.

²² (a) Bamberg (Königl. Bibliothek): E. III 25 and (b) Klagenfurt (Bibliothek des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten): Domkapitel Gurk Lade 1 fasz. 1 Nr. 1.

²³ Cf. on the origin and early copies of the *Vita Heinrici* Monumenta Palaeographica. Herausgegeben von Anton Chroust. Lieferung XXI. Tafel 8. München. 1906, and Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte. Bd. IX. (Göttingen, 1869.) p. 361 sqq. and Bd. X. (Göttingen, 1870.) p. 603 sqq.

²⁴ Cf. Alfred Schmekel: Historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Hochstiftes Merseburg. Halle. Berner. 1858. p. 57.

²⁵ Cf. Monum. 792, 35 sqq. and 793, 47 sqq. and Thietmari Cronicon. Patrol. compl. curs. J.=P. Migne. Series latina. Vol. 139. (Paris. 1880.) col. 1183-1422.

church again and again with benefactions. In the century after his death his memory hardly waned, but a new life must have been given to it in the next century, the twelfth, by the acquirement of various relics of the saint.²⁶ Through the power of these relics, according to the story, many sick people were healed in Merseburg, and the longest list of miracles ascribed to the saint arose there sometime before 1200.²⁷ At this same time that is, in the second half of the twelfth century, the *Vita Heinrici* was being written and copied in Bamberg.²⁸ Between Bamberg and Merseburg there were strong bonds of connection because of their common interest in Heinrich as shown in the latter's acquirement of relics of the saint. It is fairly certain, therefore, that the *Vita* was known of in Merseburg, and indeed not long after it was first written. It would moreover attract the Merseburg chapter particularly by its repeated references to the church there.²⁹ When Heinrich's part in the restoration and re-founding of Merseburg is recalled, as well as the constant reminder of the saint in the possession and display of his relics, it can be assumed as certain that a copy of this new *Vita* was desired in Merseburg, and it is probable that some effort was made to get one.

Ebernand's poem discloses still other reasons for the assumption of a Merseburg manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici*. The lines 2324-7 tell of a large number of devils who passed a hermit's dwelling just after Heinrich's death, whereas the usual version of the *Vita* speaks of only one devil.³⁰ There is a clue to the indirect source of 2324-7, I think, in Jacobus a Voragine.³¹ Jacobus says in the seventh paragraph of his life of St. Lawrence: *Cum ergo Caesar (sc. Heinricus) obiisset, multitudine da e-*

²⁶ Cf. Monum. p. 814, a, 39 sqq.

²⁷ Cf. Waitz's Praefatio in the Monum. p. 789, 7 sqq. and p. 814-816.

²⁸ Cf. Monum. Palaeograph. ib. (cited above, n. 23.)

²⁹ Cf. Monum. p. 792, 793, etc.

³⁰ Cf. the Latin above, n. 4.

³¹ Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea. Recensuit Dr. Th. Graesse. Dresdae et Lipsiae. 1846. p. 495.

m o n u m ante cellum cujusdam eremitae transibat, qui aperta fenestra interrogavit ultimum, quinam essent, etc. Where Jacobus got this I cannot say, but he hardly manufactured it. It is reasonable to assume that his source was some *Vita Laurentii*.³² It is easy to see how this *Vita* might contaminate a Merseburg copy of the *Vita Heinrici*. St. Lawrence was the patron saint of Merseburg³³ and probably the library of the chapter possessed a *Vita Laurentii* which was known by the scribes. Also St. Lawrence was the patron saint only of the Merseburg church among all the churches which Heinrich fostered; consequently an accurate knowledge of the *Vita* of this saint and its contamination of a copy of the *Vita Heinrici* would be expected there sooner than anywhere else. Furthermore, this story, in which 2324-7 occurs, and its sequel³⁴ form a legend which undoubtedly arose in Merseburg;³⁵ in this legend St. Lawrence figures very conspicuously.³⁶ It must have been known by Merseburg scribes, and an interpolation corresponding to 2324-7 might have been made in a copy of the *Vita Heinrici* by a scribe who knew only local tradition and did not know the *Vita Laurentii* at all. Considering the relations of St. Lawrence to the Merseburg church and local tradition, it is easy to assume that 2324-7 were based upon a Merseburg manuscript which contained this tradition in all its completeness. It is not easy to assume that this phase of the tradition was in any other kind of a manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici*.

³² Cf. the similar passages in the *Vita Laurentii* as given in the *Acta Sanctorum X. Aug.* (Paris and Rome, 1867), p. 523, par. 16, and p. 526, par. 27.

³³ Cf. *Monum.* p. 793, 21: *Beate Laurenti. . . hunc locum desolatum, tuo nomine consecratum, etc.*

³⁴ Cf. 2321-2492 and *Monum.* p. 810, 36-811, 38.

³⁵ Cf. *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XX, 96.

³⁶ Adalbertus, the author of the *Vita Heinrici*, must have gotten this legend directly or indirectly from Merseburg. Possibly he got it from some *Vita Laurentii*, just as he got other whole chapters in his *Vita Heinrici* from other authors, cf. *Monum.* p. 811, a, 44 sqq. and note 32, and 805, 8-13 and note 18; in that case he might have simply omitted the introductory sentence about the large number of devils.

Ebernard says in the course of 2175-2327 that Merseburg was the place where Heinrich on his deathbed commended his wife Kunegunde to the care of his nobles. Besides Ebernard's poem there is at least one other work in which the same statement is made. This work is in a Munich manuscript³⁷ and is entitled: *Opus excerptum ex vulgari chronica de rebus gestis in Germania per Imperatores Rom. et de inclyta civitate alem. Nürenberga*. The paragraph in point reads as follows: *Im XXII Iare Keiser Heinrich als im sein tod vor (ver?) kund ward fodert er die fursten gen Mersburg und uberantrouet in sein gemahel sand Kungund fur ein reine iunckfrou und ordnet Conradten der auch Cono genant was hertzogen zu Francken an das reich. dar nach in dem slos Gruno gab auff sein geist und ward gen Bamberg gefurt und das kelch zu Mersburg die er von dem teufel in sein gericht a geworben*. A comparison of this paragraph with Ebernard's poem shows at once conspicuous variations; there is no mention by Ebernard of Conrad or of the Schloss Grona near Göttingen. Also, the paragraph cited makes it perfectly clear that Merseburg was only the place where Kunegunde was commended to the care of the nobles, not the place of Heinrich's death; whereas Ebernard says explicitly that Merseburg was the scene of both events. There is thus no doubt that the author of the *Opus* wrote quite independently of Ebernard. The sources of the *Opus* are given in the *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*,³⁸ but I found nothing in them that led to the source of the paragraph quoted.³⁹ Scheffer-Boichorst does not include Merseburg in the itinerary of Heinrich's last journey,⁴⁰ the one on which he died, so it could not have been generally

³⁷ Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek: 472, 4, anno 1500, fol. 166.

³⁸ Bd. III. (*Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte. Nürnberg. Bd. III.*) Leipzig. Hirzel, 1864. p. 257 sqq.

³⁹The only clue is that *Conradten der auch Cono genant was* probably goes back to Leo of Ostia, cf. *Jahrbücher*, etc., as cited above. n. 10. Bd. III, p. 356, and *Monum. germ. hist.* VII, page 665, n. y and 666, n. c.

⁴⁰ *Kleinere Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*. 1. Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts VI, 52-60.

accepted and recorded even as the scene of the address to the nobles. Such a traditional location of this scene would most naturally arise in Merseburg, it would certainly be fostered there, and the author of the *Opus* must have gotten his information from some manuscript which was contaminated by this tradition. His description of this scene, which was based on what he accepted as fact, proves that there was at one time written authority, apart from Ebernard, for locating the scene with the nobles in Merseburg. It may therefore be considered corroborative testimony of the conclusion reached above, namely, that Ebernard used a written source for the passage in point. It presents, furthermore, information that could very naturally have been obtained directly or indirectly from a Merseburg manuscript or Merseburg local tradition, and hardly in any other way. It offers additional reason for assuming that a manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* corresponding to certain chapters in Ebernard's poem might have been written for Merseburg, and that such a manuscript was written.

If such a manuscript may be assumed to have once existed, the way in which it was written can be easily imagined. Up to the paragraph in question, the one on Heinrich's death, either there is frequent mention of Merseburg in the *Vita*, or events in Heinrich's life are described which occurred in remote districts and concerning which it is fair to assume that an ordinary Merseburg scribe would know nothing. Consequently the *Vita* up to this point would not differ materially from the usual version. In the paragraph telling of Heinrich's death, however,⁴¹ the scribe might first see that this event is described more briefly than any other important event in Heinrich's whole life. He might also see that no place is named as the scene of Heinrich's death, only a mention of the completion of *locum sibi dilectum cum cacteris monasteriis*, that is, Bamberg.⁴² Zealous for an adequate, more comprehensive account of so important an event,

⁴¹Cf. above, n. 4.

⁴²Like the author of the *Vita*, Ebernard seems also to imply Bamberg in this connection, cf. 2222 sqq., so I see no reason for suspecting that a Merseburg scribe thought it meant Merseburg and amplified the passage with that as a starting point.

Alps and Apennines in the poem. This passage 2025-54 seems to me to be based beyond doubt on a contaminated source. Before it and after it Eberhard clings closely to the *Vita Heinrici* as we have it in the Monum., but the manuscripts of the *Vita* differ considerably from each other in the way in which they present this sentence. A Munich⁵¹ and a Vienna⁵² manuscript begin the paragraph in point as follows: *Inde tunc iter faciens Romam pervenit ubi a Benedicto papa honorifice susceptus est. Confirmatus*, etc.; a Basel⁵³ manuscript begins it: *Nunc iterum ad superiora redeamus, unde paulisper privilegium interserere digressi sumus*, etc.; a Gotha⁵⁴ and a Zwickau⁵⁵ manuscript begin it: *Vir ergo sanctus postquam omnia quae*, etc. The sentence as it is in the Monum. has still another form so that there are now four versions of the beginning of this paragraph, and there were three of these at least at the beginning of the thirteenth century when Eberhard wrote his poem. There is therefore decidedly less reason to think that Eberhard would break his rule of omitting nothing and adding nothing, only to return to it as conscientiously as ever, than there is to think that the scribe of a manuscript of the *Vita* would do so. A contaminated source whose meaning was not clear, and a close adherence to it afford also the most natural explanation for the strange disconnected succession of ideas and events in 2025-54. If it had been a question of Eberhard's interpolation of the contents of this passage, without any reference to the copy of the *Vita* he was using, he would have thought them out beforehand and would have written the passage accordingly; he is not a gifted storyteller, but there is no such jumble anywhere else in the poem. It cannot be denied that carelessness on the part of Lewenhagen⁵⁶ may be responsible for some of the confusion in this

⁵¹ Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek: 758 12635 (Ranshofen 35) s. XIII et XIV.

⁵² Königl. Kaiserl. Hofbibliothek: CCVI. $\frac{289}{s. 87.}$ saec. XII.

⁵³ Universitätsbibliothek: F. P. VII. 16.

⁵⁴ Herzogl. Bibliothek: Cod. membr. I 64. saec. XIV.

⁵⁵ Ratsschulbibliothek: B Nr. LXVI. saec. XVII.

⁵⁶Cf. above, p. 60.

passage. He is hardly responsible for it all, however, as a tendency to such gross carelessness is not discoverable anywhere else in his manuscript and he is certainly not to be charged with the interpolation of the main content of the passage, namely, the mention of the coronation.

Several authors, who wrote before Ebernard, mention or describe Heinrich's coronation,⁵⁷ but for various reasons which can not be given in detail here, none of the known writers on this subject can be accepted as Ebernard's direct source for this passage. The most cogent reason for rejecting these writers as a source is that the evidence to be drawn from a comparison of the poem with the standard *Vita Heinrici* indicates with reasonable certainty that Ebernard used only one manuscript, not that he gathered points for his story from many different sources and fitted them together into an harmonious whole. Nonosius, a German author of the sixteenth century, who deals with the life of Heinrich quite independently of Ebernard and who follows his source closely,⁵⁸ mentions the coronation of Heinrich in just the same place in his story that Ebernard does in his, and in the same brief way. He is, therefore, fairly reliable evidence of the sometime mention of Heinrich's coronation in manuscripts of the *Vita Heinrici* in a way which would satisfy the conditions presented in Ebernard's poem. Nonosius was a sacristan in Bamberg and, whatever manuscript of the *Vita Heinrici* was his source,⁵⁹ he probably obtained it in his place of residence. This probability furnishes additional reason for thinking that such a Merseburg manuscript as outlined above would have arisen in Bamberg.⁶⁰

Besides these passages there are three brief historical refer-

⁵⁷ Cf. *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II.* Bd. II. (Berlin. Duncker und Humblot. 1864.) p. 425.

⁵⁸ Nonosius: *Dye legent vnd leben des heyligē sandt Keyser Heinrichs.* Bamberg. Pfeyll. 1511. Cf. on Nonosius's work my monograph (cited above, n. 14), p. 86 sqq. and p. 73 sqq. Nonosius mentions the coronation Bogen E.

⁵⁹ Cf. my monograph (cited above, n. 14), p. 99.

⁶⁰ Cf. above, p. 66.

ences in the poem which also indicate Ebernard's use of a version of the *Vita Heinrici*, which differed from the one followed in the Monum. In the lines 142-3 Ebernard says that the body of Otto the Child was taken to Aix-la-Chapelle and buried there; in 157-8 he says *die schrift*, that is, his source, named the founders of Rome to him: *Rêmus unde Rômulus*; and in 1009-13 he derives *Babenberc* (Bamberg) from the name of the sister of Heinrich I., Babe. Bechstein thinks that the last two references were added by the poet from his general knowledge;⁶¹ Bresslau ascribes the last one to a written source.⁶² Neither Bechstein nor Bresslau remarks on the deviation from the *Vita* in the lines 142-3. The derivation of the name *Babenberc* Ebernard may have read in various places,⁶³ but he may also have heard it as a local popular etymology when he was in Bamberg. The other two references I think must be ascribed to the manuscript of the *Vita* which Ebernard used. The first one occurs only a half-dozen lines after an explicit reference to his source, and the second one is introduced by such a reference; and very soon after, 162-3, the poet half apologizes for the details he gives, with the words: *swaz ich vor mir geschriben sê, ich lâze ez ungerne*⁶⁴ *underwegen*.

This completes my consideration of the relation of Ebernard's poem to the *Vita Heinrici* and of the probable character of the manuscript of the *Vita* which the poet used. For the reasons given above I believe that he used a manuscript which was contaminated in various places, notably in those corresponding to lines 2025-54 and 2175-2327. I am inclined to think that it was a manuscript written for the church at Merseburg, and that it is permanently lost. He certainly did not use one of the now existing and known manuscripts of the *Vita*, as I

⁶¹ P. II.

⁶² Cf. *Jahrbücher*, etc. (cited above, n. 10). Bd. III. p. 369.

⁶³ Cf. the list of works from which this might have been taken, *Jahrbücher*, etc. (cited above, n. 57) Bd. II. p. 17.

⁶⁴ Bechstein's reading *gerne* is contrary to the manuscript of the poem; cf. his *Nachtrag*, p. 206.

have ascertained either by a personal examination of them or through reliable information concerning their contents.

For other parts of the poem Ebernard used beyond doubt a practically exact copy of the *Vita Cunegundis*,⁶⁵ according with Bechstein's table.⁶⁶ He did not to my mind use the *Additamentum* in the present version of the Monum.⁶⁷ but an older shorter version; this, however, requires a lengthy exposition and must be left until a later time.

In addition to these three sources, two of which seem to be lost, Ebernard also used the papal bull authorizing Kunegunde's canonization. This Bechstein does not consider at all. Ebernard says 4105-7: *sô man der rede* (that is, of Kunegunde's canonization) *begunde, volgên ez* (that is, her canonization) *niht enkunde: diz mac man an ir buochen lesen*. The bull must be meant in 4107, because that is the only place where Ebernard could read of the delay in Kunegunde's canonization, through the death of Pope Coelestin.⁶⁸ Other indications of the poet's use or knowledge of the bull can be found in a number of lines. 4285-9, although formal and Scriptural in character, sound very much like a translation of *caeci visum, claudi gressum, muti verbum et surdi recuperaverunt auditum*.⁶⁹ The assurance in 4290-3 that a great many miracles took place at the tomb of Kunegunde (4292: *alse mir die schrift verjach*) may be copied from the bull's emphasis on the large number of these miracles, but *die schrift* may refer to the usual list of miracles ascribed to the saint.⁷⁰ 4323 is at least proof of Ebernard's knowledge of the bull: *er* (that is, the pope) *gab in* (that is, the Bamberg prelates) *hantveste quot*. And lastly, the description of the journey of the same prelates to Rome 4308 sqq. seems to follow the bull par. 4 as its source. Ebernard doubtless saw the original bull when he was in Bamberg and perhaps he

⁶⁵Monum. directly after the *Vita Heinrici*, p. 821-824.

⁶⁶Cf. p. IV.

⁶⁷Monum. p. 816-820.

⁶⁸Cf. the bull in the *Acta Sanctorum* III. Mart. p. 281 sq.

⁶⁹*Acta Sanct.* ib. par. 7.

⁷⁰Monum. p. 825 sqq.

copied it there. The bull is not contained in any of the present manuscripts of the *Vita Cunegundis* which were written before the poem.

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE ICELANDIC FAMILY SAGAS.

Concerning the origin, growth and composition of the Icelandic sagas, there has been considerable discussion. We are met with the question: "In what form did the writer's material exist before it came to him, and in what respects, if any, did he alter that material? Did he simply write down mechanically and slavishly what already existed orally in a fixed form, or was this writer at the same time an author? Did he handle his material in a free manner and compose a literary work stamped with his own individuality?" The chief representative of the latter view is Prof. Mogk. In his history of Icelandic literature in the *Grundriss*, Vol. 2, page 734, he expresses the following opinion: "The sagas in their present form are the individual literary works of their first writers. It cannot be denied that a great part of the material, so far as contents and form are concerned, was handed down by oral tradition, but we must not assume that the whole series of events narrated, the descriptions in detail and the character sketching of the individual persons are taken from a fixed oral saga, and that the written saga in its present form simply perpetuates that oral tradition." Finnur Jónsson, on the other hand, rather takes the opposite view. He thinks that the oral tradition existed in a very fixed form and considers the saga authors as men who wrote down this fixed oral saga.

It is the purpose of this present study to show that the saga writers in some cases probably used in connection with the oral tradition, small written sources in the composition of their works; that they sometimes handled these written originals rather freely, left out passages, changed constructions, etc. If this conclusion be correct, may we not all the more assume that they treated much more freely the material which came to them only in oral form, or rather that the oral tradition did not ex-

ist in a very fixed verbal form? It seems difficult to conceive how the fine shading, the working out of delicate motives and the excellent character drawing which we find so generally in the sagas could have been preserved for two centuries or more in oral tradition. We must be indebted to the authors for such details of composition.

Chapter 16, of the *Víga-Glúmssaga* and chapter 26 of the *Reykðelasaga* contain accounts of the same incident, the two separate versions being very much alike. These two passages fell under the observation of Theodor Möbius, who expressed himself in his monograph, *Über die ältere isl. Saga*, Leipzig 1852, as being of the opinion that the longer form as we have it in the *Reykðelasaga* is the later; that this author had before him the shorter version of the *Víga-Glúma*, which he enlarged by interpolations. Finnur Jónsson (*Lit. Hist.* II. 1, 218) believes that both authors got their material only from oral tradition, and that they worked entirely independently of each other. He considers the similarity of the two versions as an indication of the fixed form of the oral tradition. It is our object to show that in all probability the two versions go back to a common written original, which we shall designate as "X". It will be impossible to present here all the material which the study brought out, but the line of argument can be indicated in a general way and the results stated.

The *Víga-Glúmssaga* relates a number of events in the life of this powerful chief and skald, in particular his conflicts with the family of a certain Sigmund whom he had slain.

The *Reykðelasaga* consists chiefly of the accounts of Skúta's fights with a certain Thórir who had murdered his (Skúta's) father. The two similar chapters of these sagas contain the following narrative: "Skúta had married Thórlaug, Glúm's daughter, but trouble having arisen between them, Skúta sent her back to her father. Others say that Glúm sent for her and brought her back to his home. This caused a feud between the two men. One day a tramp named Ásbjorn came to Skúta and asked for help. Skúta promised to aid him if

he would go to Glúm and by a little strategy prevail on the latter to be at a certain stable in the woods on the next afternoon. The tramp is successful in his errand. At the appointed time Skúta sets out for the stable with thirty men. When almost there he leaves the others and goes up to the stable alone. He knocks on the door and Glúm comes out unarmed. On seeing his enemy Glúm jumps down an embankment into a little mountain stream. Skúta leaps after him and seizes his large loose cloak, just as it is falling from his shoulders. In a moment Glúm is out and on the opposite bank mocking Skúta with the words, "It is no great honor to fight a man's clothes." Glúm succeeds in getting home, gathers his company of sixty men and sets out in search of his assailant. In the meantime Skúta has disguised himself as a shepherd by breaking off the point of his spear and turning his coat inside out. A part of Glúm's company meet him and ask him his name. He answers, "In Mývatn I am called 'Many' but in Fiskilækjarhverfi 'Few.'" When they return and tell Glúm of the incident he says "That was Skúta for in Mývatn there are many caves (Skúti) but in Fisk. there are none." They set out and find Skúta and his company, who have in the meantime taken up an excellent position on a hill. Glúm feels that it will be impossible to dislodge him and retires home, as does Skúta also later."

This little incident stands entirely isolated in both sagas. It has no logical connection with the otherwise continuous narrative of each. The version the Reykdælasaga contains, as has been remarked, a few sentences, clauses and single words and found in the Glúma. Möbius considered these as additions of the author. It seems more probable that these so-called interpolations were already in "X"; that the author of the Reyks. copied more closely from the original, while the author of Glúma treated it more freely and left out parts which seemed to him to be superfluous.

The version in Gl. begins with a few short concise introductory statements in which the author tries to explain the cause of the enmity of the two men and to establish the ground

for the event which he is about to narrate—"that Glúm had given his daughter Thórlaug to Skúta in marriage; that they later separated and she entered into a marriage with Arnór and bore sturdy children and that a long feud broke out between Glúm and Skúta." But this is not the real introduction as it stood originally at the beginning of "X". Not all of "X" was appropriated by the author of Gl.; only the last part. If we turn to chapter 23 of the Reyk. we shall find the real beginning of "X". Here we find the introduction characteristic of the sagas. "There was a man named Thórmoð who lived in Lokárdal; he was a married man and his wife was called Thórbjorg; she was Víga-Skút's aunt and had a son named Eyjólf." Then follows a corresponding passage introducing some of Glúm's relatives: "There was a man named Thórstein who lived at Mýri. He was a married man and his wife was named Thórgerð; she was the sister of Víga-Glúm of Þverá in Eyjafjorð; she had a son named Bjarni." The narrative which follows, viz: Chapters 23 to 26 of the Reyk. stands in no logical connection with the rest of the saga. That it was originally independent and existed in written form is indicated by the fact that here the heroes of both sagas are called Víga-Skúta and Víga-Glúm (and in chapter 16 of the Gl. saga we find also Víga-Glúm), although in the preceding chapters of both sagas they are always called only Skúta and Glúm. Further, in chapter 23 of the Reyk. we find a man spoken of as Thórkell Geirason of Skörði, although he had already been introduced in chapter 17, the name of his father Geiri and the name of his home Skörði had been given and he had been regularly spoken of simply as Thorkell in the chapter preceding chapter 23. It is not likely that the author would have made these changes if he had not been copying from a written original.

Beginning with this chapter 23, of the Reyk. that is, the beginning of "X", we have an account of a quarrel between Bjarni, Glúm's nephew and Eyjólf, Skúta's cousin. Bjarni is killed; this is the real cause of the trouble between Glúm and Skúta. They gather their men, each to avenge his kinsman,

and a fight takes place. According to the agreement following this fight Eyjólf has to leave Iceland for three years and Skúta receives Thórlaug, Glúm's daughter, as his wife; then comes this passage: "It is said that Thórlaug had three husbands; first, Skúta, then Eldjárn, called The Gentle, and then Arnór, and from this last marriage have come sturdy descendants." It seems probable that the Gl. author had this passage before him when he wrote his little introductory sentences at the beginning of chapter 16. "Glúm had given his daughter Thórlaug to Skúta; later they separated and Arnór had her for a wife; from them have come sturdy descendants." He did not wish to incorporate the whole of "X" into his saga, but only with the fewest words possible to make clear the former relations of the two men. But this last episode in which the climax of their affairs was reached found "a well deserved place in the saga, since it illustrates Glúm's usual presence of mind and slyness."

In regard to the opinion expressed by Möbius, viz: that the longer version of the Reyk. is simply an interpolated form of the Gl. version, I shall mention only one of the so-called interpolations. We find in the Reyk. (but not in the Gl.) this sentence: "Skúta had Fluga in his hands; some say that Fluga was an axe and others that it was a sword; but whatever it was, Skúta always had this weapon in his hand and so he did this time." In chapters 20 and 22, of the Reyk. this weapon is mentioned both times in a very casual and hasty way without comment. It does not seem probable that the Reyk. author would have introduced this remark about the nature of the weapon at the third and last mention of it. He must have been copying from a text which contained this comment; and we may assume that the Gl. author left it out as superfluous and in no way adding to his narrative. Similar points might be mentioned in regard to others of these so-called additions of the author Reyk., which would indicate that they already were present in "X".

There is a fragment of an old vellum manuscript of a part of the Gl. saga preserved A. M. 564, containing the passage in

question. It shows some variations, however, from the later complete form of the saga, but it is interesting to note that these variations and additions agree in every case with the version in the Reyk. saga. This seems to support the hypothesis that the author of the *Glúma* in the form in which we have it has changed and omitted parts of his original and that the Reyk. version is the older.

In further support of the theory that there existed a written text three points may be mentioned:

First—In both versions (Reyk. and Gl.) the historical present is used much more frequently than in the other parts of both sagas. Where there was a choice between preterit and historical present, the latter is used in 75 per cent of the cases; whereas in the other parts of both sagas it is used only in about 25 per cent of the cases. If each author had been writing only from oral tradition he would probably have told the story in his usual style (there are in both sagas several other incidents of as much life and action as this one). Since we see that the historical present is characteristic of “X” we can use this fact to aid in determining whether those passages which are found only in the *Reykdœlasaga* are really additions made by that author or whether they probably appeared in “X”. As a matter of fact, they are practically all in the historical present; hence we may infer that they were probably present in “X”.

Second—The expression “nu skilr með þeim” (now they separate) occurs twice in this passage, both times the verb being used impersonally, but elsewhere in both sagas always personally.

Third—One of the most characteristic constructions of the other parts of both sagas, viz: the pleonastic use of the personal pronoun with a proper name, eg. Hann Glúmr, hon Vígdis, etc., is not found in this account.

The following points may be mentioned as indicating that “X” was written by a friend and neighbor of Skúta’s, and that the Reyk. (in which Skúta is the chief person) more accurately reproduces this “X”. First; we find in the Reyk. this sen-

tence: "It is said *here* that Skúta was not at home when the messenger *came*." Second; in speaking of Skúta no mention is made of the place where he lived, it being assumed that all for whom the author of "X" was writing knew him perfectly well. But on the other hand we read, "Víga-Glúm of Þverá in Evjafjord." If "of Mývatn" (the name of Skúta's home) was the reading of "X" we should expect it also in the Reyk., the author of which shows himself to be a rather slavish copyist, Third; in the Reyk. version there is no error in regard to the topography of Skúta's country, whereas it seems that the author of Gl. was not acquainted with that neighborhood. He speaks of Mývatn as being north of Þverá; it is in reality southwest. In the original "X" preserved in the Reyk. the Gl. author found the expression "They ride from the north and come west," in speaking of Skúta's going from his home to that of Glúm. He evidently misunderstood this and took it as meaning that Mývatn is north of Þverá, but the account in the Reyk. is clear when read in connection with the whole narrative. Skúta goes from his home first northward to Reykjahlíð where he meets his ally Arnór of Reykjahlíð and changing his former northerly direction now rides with the latter from the north toward the southwest. Fourth; the incidents related in "X" belong to the Skúta saga rather than to the Gl. saga. These events were of more importance in the life of the former, he being a much less prominent man than Glúm. Then the story is told rather from Skúta's standpoint and the affair ends somewhat in his favor, since Glúm does not succeed in carrying out his plan for vengeance.

When one sees these two versions placed side by side, so that the very striking similarity is brought out clearly before one's eyes, one can hardly agree with Finnur Jónsson in his theory that the two were written down independently and based solely on oral tradition. There are several other double accounts of the same events in the Icelandic saga literature (*Grettissaga* chap. 25-27 and *Fostbræðrasaga* chap. 28; *Gunnslaugsaga*, chap. 10, and *Hallfredarsaga*, page 113 of the *Fornsögur* edition,

etc.), but in all of these there is no word agreement; the two accounts are entirely different. In these cases one can easily believe that the double versions are independent and based only on oral tradition, but they simply strengthen the theory that oral tradition did not mould the sagas into a fixed verbal form, and that the double narrative under discussion must be explained as going back to a written original.

The conclusion is, then, that chapter 16 of the Gl. saga and chapter 26 of the Reyk. saga were both copied, with some alterations in the case of the Gl. from a short written original. Judging from this one example may we not assume that the saga authors generally used such small written originals along with the oral tradition in the composition of their works; that they sometimes handled written originals freely and the oral tradition probably more freely; in other words, that the oral tradition handed down the sagas in a very free, not in a fixed form?

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AN EARLY HOMILY ON THE "BODY AND SOUL"
THEME.

I.

One of the most primitive forms of the "Address of the Soul to the Body" that are known is the Latin prose vision published by Batiouchkof¹ from a Roman manuscript of the 11th or 12th century. This vision, as Batiouchkof shows, is one of the important sources for later versions of the Body and Soul legend.² Definitely related to this version, moreover, are two Old English homilies in prose, one of which has been edited by Thorpe³, the other by Napier.⁴ The close likeness between these Old English homilies, and their resemblance to Batiouchkof's text, Zupitza has exhibited by ranging the three versions in parallel columns⁵.

Beside these versions I wish to place a Latin homily which contains this vision in a form similar to those already noted. This homily, Sermo 69 of the *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo*,⁶ was pointed out to me by Dr. Carleton F. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, who suggested that I study its relations to the other versions, and its place in the Body and Soul literature.

The evidence that Sermo 69 represents an early version of the Body and Soul theme is to be gathered entirely from a study of its relation to the other three (avowedly early) versions, for, so far as I can learn, neither the name of its author nor the date of its composition is known. The *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo*, of which Sermo 69 is one, appear to have been collected under this title at a comparatively recent date. According to the

¹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 576 ff.

² *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 1 ff., pp. 513 ff.

³ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Folio Ed. pp. 466 ff.; Octavo Ed., Vol. II, pp. 396-401.

⁴ *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, pp. 140 ff.

⁵ Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol. xci, p. 369 ff.

⁶ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. xl, cols. 1355-7.

editors of Migne⁷ (who are, however, tantalizingly vague in their discussion of the matter) the collection of these sermons is, apparently, to be ascribed to Jordanus de Saxonia, who died in the year 1380. The age of the individual sermons, however, is not determined by the date of the collection, for many of them are a great deal older. The sermon in question is manifestly one of these older homilies as indeed the editors of Migne have remarked.⁸

Sermo 69 (S 69)

Batiouchkof (B)

Fratres dilectissimi, quando orare vultis, aut peccata vestra plangere, claudite ostium super vos, et orate Dominum Deum vestrum in toto corde. Tunc respiciens Dominus super vos, propitius ac pius vobis erit, quasi pia mater filio suo, dum eum dolentem et plorantem reperit. Haec, charissimi, in cordibus vestris scribite, et intelligite. Et qui non intelligunt, eos qui rationabiliter sapiunt, interrogent. Acquirite vobis, dilectissimi, thesaurum coelestem, mundi hujus postpositis vanitatibus: attendentes et valde timentes quoddam exemplum horribile,

1. quod quidam homo sanctus

in excessu mentis positus vidit, et audivit de quadam anima de Aegypto exeunte, et contra corpus suum contendente.

Cum divinorum miraculorum, fratres karissimi, representatio nostre humilitatis ac bonitatis sit informatio,

1. audiamus quid Macaris qui curam gerebat animarum in Alexandria, quibusdam verba faciens, se a quodam fratre monacho in excessu mentisposito audisse peribetur.

⁷ *Admonitio*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Vol. XL, cols. 1233-6.

⁸ Note to Sermo 69: *Sermonum priorum stilum sapit.*

In order to place the relations of the four versions clearly before the reader it will be necessary to repeat the parallel columns with the addition of this homily. The parallel begins and ends with the vision itself; the introductions and conclusions, though they are conventional homiletical exhortations, differ widely.

For the sake of convenience, I have followed Zupitza's numbering in the division of the sections.

Thorpe (T)

Éala men þâ lêofestan, hwâ is æfre swâ heardre heortan, þæt hê ne maege wêpan þâ tôweardan wîtu and him þâ ondrædan ? Hwaet is ûs, lâ, sêlre on þisse weorolde, þonne wê symble ûre synna hrêowe don and hî mid aelmessan lÿsan, þæt wê þurh þâ aelmessan þâ êcan tintrega magon genesan; for þon þe þeos worold gewit and ealle, þâ þe on hyre synd?

* * *
* * *

Napier (N)

Nû, lêofan men, hwâ is æfre, þæt haebbe swâ hearde heortan, þæt hê ne maege him ondrædon þâ tôweardan wîtu? Hwaet is ûs, lâ, sêlre, þonne wê ealne weg ûre synna bêton and hî mid aelmessan georne âlÿson, forðâm þe þeos woruld âteorað and ealle þâ þing, þe on hyre syndon?

1. Magon wê nû gehÿran secgan be suman hâlgan men, sê waes on gâstlice gesyhðe gelæded.

1. Sum hâlig man waes gelæd on gesyhðe.

Sermo 69

2. Erat enim homo iste, de cujus anima fit ad praesens mentio, corpore fecundus valde, et audivit de quadam anima deimum: et in tali corporis et rerum prosperitate positus nihil aliud cogitabat, nisi cuncta quae poterat perficere mala; nec quidquam de animae suae salute tractans, totus

vixit in peccatis. Accidit ut infirmitate laborans, morti appropinquaret. Et ecce spiritus illius ad ostium corporis pulsans terrore ac moerore permaxime concussus admodum exire tardabat; quia diabolos ante se praeparatos videbat,

3. ac inter se mussitare dicentes: Quomodo tardatur? Cur fit hoc? Quare facit tot moras? Festinemus; forsitan Michael cum sociis suis oppriment nos, ac animam illam nobis tollent, quam per multos annos vinculis nostris constrinximus.

4. Tunc unus ex diabolis respondens dixit: Nolite timere, nostra est; ego opera ejus scio, ego semper cum illo diebus ac noctibus fui.

5. Haec illa anima misera audiens, dixit:

Batiouchkof

2. Erat quidam dives nimis

qui quantum divitiis habundabat tantum sceleribus exuberabat. Hic vite suae finis videns esse accessum tandem se talia commisisse pertimuit.

Cumque eius anima miseri corporis ad hostium depulsaret et non audens egredi dolore nimis extuaret, vidit demonum globum ante sui presentiam preparatum⁹

3. minitantium et dicentium: "Quid est hoc, quare nos moramur? Forsitan venit angelus Michael cum angelorum [plebe] ut nos opprimat et illam animam quam per annos multos in nostris vinculis constrinximus nobis eripiat."

4. Tunc unus de nefanda demonum plebe subiunxit "Nolite timere, nostra est. Ego scio opera eius; ego semper cum illa die noctuque permansi."

5. Tunc (n)estuans illa misera anima dicere cepit:

⁹ Batiouchkof translates: *L'âme voit des démons qui lui présentent un globe. Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 5. His mistake was noted by L. Katona, *Romania*, Vol. xxviii, p. 269.

Thorpe (T)

2. Hê geseah sumes mannes sâwle, sêo waes genýded, þæt hêo sceolde of hyre lichoman út-gangan; ac sêo earne sâwl ne dorste út-gân, for þâm þe hêo geseah þâ âwyrgeðan gâstas beforan hyre standan.

3. Þâ þæt dêofol hrye tô cwaeð: "Hwaet is þis, þæt þû dêst? Tô hwan yldst þû, þæt þû út ne gange? Wên is, þæt Michael, se hêahengel, cume mid engla þrêate, and þê genime raðe."

4. Þâ sum ôðer dêofol him andwyrde and cwaeð: "Ne þurfe gê êow ondrædan: ic wât hyre worc, and ic sýmble mid hyre waes daeges and nihtes."

5. Sêo earne sâwel hîg þâ waes behealdende and hêo ongan earmlice cleopian and cwaeð:

Napier (N)

2. Þâ geseah hê sume earne sâwle út fundigende of hyre lichaman, ac hêo ne dorste út gân, forðâm þe hêo geseah þâ âwyrgeðan gâstas beforan hyre standan.

3. Þâ cwaeð an þæra dêofla tô hyre: "Hwaet is þîn þriding? Hwî nelt ðû út gân? Wên ys, þæt Michael, se hêahengel, cume mid engla þrêatum and wyle þê geniman of ús."

4. Þâ andwyrde sum ôðer dêofol and cwaeð: "Nese: ic wât ealle hyre weorc, and ic waes daeges and nihtes mid hyre and hî bewiste, and heo â ful georne hlyste mînre lâre and georne fyligde."

5. Sêo earne sâwul beseah uppan þone dêofol and earmlice clypode:

Sermo 69 (69)

6. Heu mihi! quare unquam nata fui aut creata? Vae mihi! quare unquam in hoc corpus intravi? Vae mihi, quod unquam in isto pessimo carcere carnis exstiti!

7. Vae tibi corpus miserum! quare alienas rapuisti pecunias? Tu facultates pauperum et substantias eorum in domum tuam congregasti. Tu cibariis delicatis te nutriebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus.

8. Tu quidem fecundum eras, et ego macra; tu rubicundum, et ego pallida; tu hilare, et ego moesta. Tu ridebas, et ego flebam; tu gaudebas, et ego dolebam. Tu semper mihi contraria egisti,

9. modo es esca vermium et putredo ac pulvis. Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceris, tormenta sicut et ego passurum aeterna.

10. His dictis, corpus sudare coepit ac spiritum reddere.

11. Tunc ille diabolus angelus satanae, qui non in bono, sed in malo custos et instinctor

Batiouchkof (B)

6. "Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!

7. Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua! Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.

8. Tu eras fecunda, o caro, et ego maculenta; tu eras virgens, et ego pallida; tu eras hillaris, et ego tristis; tu ridebas et ego semper plorabam.

9. Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces modicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos."

10. Tunc cepit corpus mutari et facies sudare ad hostium corporis.

11. Tunc dixerunt qui custodes erant:

Thorpe (T)

6. "Wâ mê earmre! Tô hwon sceolde ic æfre gesceapen bêon, oððe for hwon sceolde ic æfre in-gangan on þisne fûlestan and wyrrestan lichoman!"

7. Hêo þâ lôcade tô hyre lichoman and cwaed: "Wâ þê, þû earma lichoma, þû þe wære nimende fremdra manna spêda, and þû þe æfre wære ofer eorðan welena strynende, and þû þe gefraetwodest þê mid dêorwurðe hraegle.

8. And þû þê wære rêod, and ic mê waes blâc; þû wære glaed, and ic mê waes unrôt; þu hlôge, and ic wêop.

9. Êala þû earma, nû þû byst geworden þaet fûleste hrêaw and wyrma mete: þû rest þê nû medmicle tîd on eorðan, and ic mid sâre and geômurunge tô helle sceal bêon læded."

10. Se lichoma ongan þâ swîðe swætan and mislîc hîw brêdan.

11. Þaet dêofol ongan þâ cleopian and cwaed:

Napier (N)

6. "Wâ mê earmre, þaet ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan, oððe þaet ic æfre sceolde niman eardungstôwe on þis fûlestan and on þis wyrstan licha-man

7. þe waes â nymende earmrá manna æhta on unriht. Êala þû earma lichama and wurma mete, â þû wunne aefter eorðlicum welum, and â ðû geglengdest þê mid eorðlicum" hraeglum and forgeâte mê.

8. Þonne ðû wære glaed and rêod and gôdes hîwes, þonne waes ic blâc and swyðe unrôt; þonne þû smercodest and hlôge, þonne wêop ic biterlice.

9. Êala þû earma lichama, nû þû scealt gewurðan tô fûlan hræwe and wrymum tô mete, and ic mid sâre and mid geômerunge sceal tô helle bêon gelæd."

10. Se lichama ongan þâ swætan and mislîc hîw brêdan.

11. And se dêofol hlûdre stefne clypode and cwaed:

¹¹ Zupitza suggests *weorðlicum* or *etwas Ähnlichem* instead of *eorðlicum*. Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol xci, p. 372, n. 1.

Sermo 69 (S69)

ejus perstitit, eam apprehendens dixit: Nolite, socii, nolite moram facere; sed tridentes acutissimos apprehendite, et cum dolore in oculos ejus figite! quidquid enim vidit sive pulchrum sive turpe, totum concupivit.

12. Pungite os ejus: quia omnia quae desideravit, sive in comedendo sive bibendo vel etiam loquendo, justis vel

injustis nunquam pepercit.

13. Pungite et cor ejus dolosum et falsum, in quo nec pietas nec misericordia nec charitas nec bonitas fuit. Pungite etiam manus ejus rapaces, quae ad furtum, latrocinium et rapinam promptae, et ad opera pietatis tardae fuerunt. Insuper et pedes ejus, qui ad omnem viam malam veloces exstiterunt.

14. Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam sic membratim punientes, levaverunt super alas suas nigras, tenebrosas et vespertillioneas, ad infernum ipsam deducentes.

15. Et dum sic in itinere esset, vidit anima illa claritatem magnam, et dixit: Ubi, vel quid est illa claritas?

16. Responderunt daemones dicentes: Non agnoscis patriam unde exivisti, quando in hanc peregrinationem venisti? Tu quondam renuntiasti pompis nostris, et per Baptismum ac signum crucis nos expulisti. Audisti Prophetas et Apostolos, audisti etiam sacerdotes et curatos tuos, qui non cessabant tibi viam vitae praedicare, et nomen Salvatoris tui laudare: cor autem tuum a doctrina eorum longe erat.

Batiouchkof (B)

“Apprehendite eam et pungite oculos illius, quia quicquid vidit sive justum sive injustum omnia concupivit.

12. Pungite orielos illius, quia quicquid desiderabat sive ad manducandum sive ad bibendum sive ad loquendum nunquam parcebat.

13. Pungite cor illius, ubi pietas nec misericordia nec caritas nec bonitas nunquam ascendit. Pungite manus

et pedes illius, quia ad malum faciendum currebant.”

14. Tunc extraxerunt animam miseram a corpore cum gemitu et dolore; tunc levaverunt eam super alas suas tenebrosas.

15. Dumque esset in itinere anima illa, vidit magnam claritatem et dicit: “Ubi est ista claritas?”

16. Responderunt demones: “Nonne cognoscis patriam tuam unde existi quando fuisti in peregrinatione? Dum hic fuisti, non nobis abrenuntiasti et pompis nostris per baptismum et signum Christi; audisti prophetas, audisti apostulos, audisti sacerdotes et non cessabas a malis; Christum in labiis tuis nullo modo nominabas, erat enim cor tuum longe ab illo.

Thorpe (T)

“Stingað hyne mid sære on his êagan, for þan eal, swâ hwaet swâ hê mid his êagan geseah unrihtes, ealles hê his gyrnde.

12. Stingað hyne mid sære on his mûð, for þon eal, swâ hwaet swâ hyne lyste etan oððe drincan oððe sprecan, eall hê hit âraefnde.

13. Stingað hyne mid sære on his heortan, for þon þe on hyre ne wunode ârfaestnis ne mildheortnes nê Godes lufu.

14. Hîg genâman þâ þâ earman sâwle mid micle sære and geômorunge and hî âsettan ofer hyre þâ sweartestan fyðra

15. And, mid þî þe hî wæron fêrende, sêo earne sâwl geseah miccle beorhtnesse: hêo âxode þâ dêoflu, hwaet sêo beorhtnysse wære.

16. Hîg hyre andwyrden and cwæden: “Ne ongytst þû,

Napier (N)

“Stingað stranglic sâr on his êagan, forðâm, swâ hwaet swâ hê unrihtes geseah, þæt waes eall sylfwilles.

12. Stingað hine scearplíce on þone mûð, forði, swâ hwaet swâ hine lyste etan oððe drincan oððe on unnyt sprecan, eall hê hit âraefnode.

13. Stingað hine mid sorhlicum sære on his heortan, forðâm þe on hyre newunode ârfaestnys ne mildheortnys nê godes lufu.”

14. Þâ dêoflu feredon þâ earman sâwle þâ tô þýstrum.

15. Þâ geseah hêo be þâm wege mycele beorhtnyssa: þâ âxode hêo þâ dêoflu, þê hî læddon, hwaet sêo beorhtnys wære.

16. Hî cwædon: “Ne ongytst ðû, þæt hit ys heofonan rîces

Sermo 69 (69)

17. Modo transis juxta patriam illam unde prima venisti, non tamen ibi divertes, nec venies.

18. Choros Angelorum audis, non ad tuam consolationem, sed ad tuam perpetuam desolationem. Claritatem sanctorum videbis, nec tamen ibi habitabis, quemadmodum et nos non facimus, qui de paradiso ejecti sumus: et sicut fuimus ac sumus in perditione, sic et tu nobiscum eris. Usque modo fuisti in peregrinatione, nunc moraberis nobiscum in damnatione, in qua multos habemus socios.

19. Tunc coepit illa misera anima cum dolore et fletu ac gemitu ingenti dicere: Heu me miseram, quod unquam creata fui ac nata, seu in hoc corpus maculatum posita! Heu mihi, quod in ista damnatione posita claritatem aeternam perdididi, ex qua olim sine macula exivi! Modo video spatiosam viam, quae ducit ad patriam, non tamen perambulabo eam.

20. Tunc perduxerunt eam inimici sic flentem et gementem ad perditionis portas, ubi diabolus ad recipiendum eam praeparatus erat in similitudine draconis; et aperiens fauces suas fetidissimas, ac glutuens eam, revomuit in calidissimum locum igneum, ubi sui consimiles expectant iudicium.

Batiouchkof (B)

17. Modo transis per priuitam patriam tuam et non ibi requiescis nec ullam istorum bonorum presentium leticiam consequeris.

18. Modo audis choros angelorum, modo vides¹² claritatem sanctorum et non ibi habitas, sicut et nos non facimus qui de paradiso eiecti sumus in perditione[m], et tu eris nobiscum usque in sempiternum. Usque nunc fuisti in peregrinatione, modo eris in perditione, ubi in multorum impiorum societate permanebis.”

19. Tunc cepit illa misera anima cum dolore et gemitu, cum fletu et lacrimis dicere: “Heu me miseram quare unquam fui creata, aut quare perexi in Egiptum et dereliqui claritatem illam, unde sine macula exivi! Modo video illam viam spaciosam de qua in evangelio legitur que ducit ad vallem perditionis!”

20. Erat ibi diabolus preparatus in similitudine draconis. Aperiens autem fauces suas strictissimas et degluciens, eam evomuit in calidissimum ignem ubi cum sibi consimilibus venturum expectaret iudicium.¹³

¹²Zupitza's emendation; cf. *ibid.*, p. 374, n. 1. MS *audis*. Cf. Sermo 69, *videbis*.

¹³Here follows the vision of the good soul.

Thorpe (T)

þæt hit is heofona rīces gefêa,
þanon þû wære ûtgangende,
þâ þû on þinne lichoman in-
êodest?

17. Nû ðû faerst þurh þâ
faegerestan and þâ beorhtestan
wununga, ac þû þær ne môst
wunian.

18. Nû þû gehyrst engla
þrêatas,

and þû gesyhst eallra hâligra
beorhtnessa, and swâþêah þe
nis lÿfed þær tô eardianne.

19. Sêo earme sâwl þâ ongan
mid micelre sâre and wôpe
hêofian and cwaed: "Wâ mê,
þæt ic æfre swâ earm mid-
daneardes lêoht gesêon sce-
olde!"

20. Þâ dêoflu hîg þâ gelæd-
dan, and wêpende and geôm-
rigende hy sealdon suman fÿ-
renan dracan: sê ontÿnde his
þâ fÿrenan and þâ scearpestan
gôman, and hê hîg swealh and
hîg eft âspâw on þâ hattestan
lîgas.

Napier (N)

gefêa, þanon þû wære ær cu-
men tô þinum lichaman, þê þû
on eorðan on wunodest?

17. Nû ðû faerst þurh þâ
beorhtan wegas, ac ðû naefst
þær nâne wununge.

18. Nû ðû gehÿrst engla
þrêatas,

and ðû gesihst ealra hâligra
beorhtnessa, and ðû naefst
þær nâne gemânan.

19. Hêo ongan þâ wêpendre
stefne cweþan: "Wâ mê earm-
re, þæt ic æfre middaneardes
lêoht gesêon sceolde, and þæt
ic swâ mycele beorhtnesse for-
lætan sceolde!"

20. Þâ dêoflu hî ðâ læddon
and bescuton hî ânum fÿrenan
dracan innan þone mùð, and
hê hî þærrihte forswealh and
eft âspâw on þâ hâtostan
brynas hellewites.

The two Old English homilies must have been translated from a single Latin original though they are independent and very literal translations of it. This original cannot be Batiouchkof's text, as Zupitza has already shown.¹⁴ It is evident, furthermore, that it is not Sermo 69. The two Old English homilies, therefore, establish the existence of a third Latin hom-

¹⁴ Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol. xci, p. 375 ff.

ily, which for convenience I may designate by *Y*. Since it is clear that *B*, *S 69*, and *Y* are very early versions, it is of the utmost importance, in attempting to trace the legend to its source, to establish their inter-relations.

It needs but a slight comparison of the texts to show that *B* occupies a medial position, being more nearly related to each of the other two versions than they are to each other. This position *B* holds, not only by reason of its length—being neither so condensed as the Old English homilies nor so elaborated as *Sermo 69*,—but, even more, through its correspondence with each of the other versions in regard to details. *B* and *OE* often agree in the omission of specific phrases and passages found in *S69*¹⁵, while on the other hand *B* and *S69* often agree in preserving phrases and passages which do not occur in *OE*¹⁶.

In addition to these obvious characteristics of these three versions, it will be necessary to observe and classify their more minute differences and resemblances. In the following details *B* and *S69* agree and *OE* differs from them: the scene is laid in Egypt (§1); the man when alive was rich, and did all the evil he could (§2); *all the devils* speak to *one another*, in *OE*, *one devil* speaks to *the soul*¹⁷ (§3); *S69 unus ex diabolis*, *B unus de nefanda demonum*, *OE sum ôðer dêofol* (§4); *S69 and B pallida*, *OE blâc* (§8); *S69 esca vermium et putredo ac pulvis* *B esca vermium et putredo pulveris*, *T fûleste hrêaw and wyrma mete*, *N fûlan hræwe and wyrnum tô mete* (§9); *S69 custos*, *B custodes*; *S69 eam apprehendens*, *B apprehendite eam* (§11); *S69 dixit*, *B dicit*, *OE âxode*; *S69 and B ubi* (§15); *S69 and B patriam*, *T heofona rices gefêa*, *N heofonan rices gefêa*; *S69 peregrinationen*, *B peregrinatione*, *T lichoman*, *N lichaman* (§16); *S69 and B patriam*, *T þâ faegerestan and þâ beorhtestan wununga*, *N þâ beorhtan wegas* (§17); *S69 diabolus ad recipiendum eam praeeparatus erat in similitudine draconis*, *B*

¹⁵ Compare §§ 7, 11, 13, etc.

¹⁶ Compare §§ 2, 13, 16, 18, etc.

¹⁷ This is clearly a mistake, because a devil, not the soul, answers and addresses the other devils as though all had shown fear of the archangel as in *S69* and *B*.

Erat ibi diabolus preparatus in similitudine draconis, T suman fȳrenan dracan, N ânun fȳrenan dracan (§ 20).

In the following details *B* agrees with *OE* and differs from *S69*. *B audens egredi, OE dorste út, S69 exire tardabat (§ 2)*; *B angelus Michael, OE Michael, se hêahencgel, S69 Michael (§ 3)*; *B cum angelorum plebe, T mid engla þrêate, N mid engla þrêatum, S 69 cum sociis (§ 3)*; *B die noctuque, OE daeges and nihtes, S69 diebus ac noctibus (§ 4)*; *B in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum, T þisne fûlestan and wyrrestan lichomon, N þis fûlestan and on þis wyrstan lichaman, S69 in hoc corpus...in isto pessimo carcere carnis (§ 6)*; *Body in B and OE, begins to change color (§ 10)*; *B Tunc extraxerunt animam miseram a corpore cum gemitu et dolore, T Hîg genâman þâ þâ carman sâwle mid micle sâre and geômorunge, S69 Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam (§ 14)*; *B. per, OE þurh, S69 juxta*; *B non ibi requiescis, T ac þû þær ne môst wunian, N ac ðu naefst þær nâne wununge, S69 non ibi divertes, nec venier (§ 17).*

Finally, a third class of correspondences may be noted in which the Old English homilies differ from *B* but agree with *S69*. These agreements of *S69* and *OE* in details not found in *B* make it impossible to regard *B* as the source from which the other versions have been derived. Thus, in *OE* and *S69* the story is ascribed only to a certain holy man, in *B* to Macarius (§ 1); *S69 respondens dixit, OE andwyrde and cwæð, B subiunxit; S69 fui, OE waes, B permansi (§ 4)*; *S69 quare unquam nata fui aut creata, T Tô hwon sceolde ic æfre gesceapen bêon, N þæt ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan; S69 exstiti, T sceolde ingangen. N sceolde niman, B ingredi merui (§ 6)*; *S69 corpus, T lichoma, N lic hama, B anima (§ 7)*; *S69 ille diabolus, T þæt (N se) dêofol, in B* this subject is plural and is not expressed (§ 11); *S69 cum dolore, T mid sâre, N sâr (§ 11)*; *S69 os, OE mûð, B oriclos¹⁸ (§ 12)*; *S69 ad infernum ipsam de-*

¹⁸ Batiouchkof translates this word literally *oreilles*, Zupitza asks in a note (p. 372) *was ist das?* The other versions, however, make it clear that *oriclos* is a mistake for some word meaning *mouth*. Cf. Holthausen, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. XCII, p. 412.

ducentes, *N* þá dêoflu feredon þá earman sâwle þá tô þýstrum (§ 14); *S69 quid*, *OE hwaet* (§ 15); *S69 venisti*, *T* ðodest, *N wære cumen*, *B fuisti* (§ 16); *S69 Tunc perduxerunt eam inimici*, *T* þá dêoflu hîg þá gelæddan, *N* þá dêoflu hi ðâ læddon (§ 20).

If neither of the three versions is the source of the other two, the question arises: are they, then, remotely parallel versions, or do they go back to some definite common source? In answer to this question, it may be said that even where verbal differences exist, there are such likenesses in idea as to prove that the three versions have a definite common original. Let us note: *S69 diabolos ante se praeparatos videbat*, *B vidit demonum globum ante sui presentiam preparatum*, *OE geseah* þá âwyrgedan gâstas beforan hyre standan (§ 2); *S69 Quomodo tardatur? Cur fit hoc? Quare facit tot moras? B Quid est hoc, quare nos moramur? T Hwaet is þis, þaet þû dêst? Tô hwan yldst þû? N Hwaet is þin þrîding?* (§ 3); *S69 postea mecum in infernum deducaris*, *B et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos*, *T and ic mid sâre and geômurunge tô helle sceal bêon læded*, (*N* is almost the same) (§ 9); *S69 Tunc through dixit*, *B Tunc dixerunt, qui custodes erunt*, *T þaet dêofol ongan þá cleopian and cwaeð*, *N And se dêofol hlûdre stefne clypode and cwaeð* (§ 11); *S69 pulchrum sive turpe*, *B justum sive injustum*, *OE unrihtes* (§ 11); *S69 Tu quondam renuntiasti through the section*, *B Dum hic fuisti through the section* (§ 16); *S69 quod unquam creata fui ac nata*, *B quare unquam fui creata, aut quare perexi in Egiptum*, *OE þaet ic æfre . . mid-daneardes læoht gesêon sceolde* (§ 19); *S69 and B Modo video through the section* (§ 19).

The differences between the three versions have made it clear that no one of them is the source of the other two; the likenesses, that they proceed definitely, if not directly, from a common source. This unknown original, undoubtedly Latin, probably a homily, we may designate as *Z*.

As to the precise character of this *Z*, I can say little: in regard to several points, however, one may feel comparative con-

fidence. In the first place, the name Macarius was probably retained in *Z* since it appears in *B*, and also in a vision written in Greek by a certain Alexander,¹⁹ which, according to Batiouchkof, was one of the sources of the Body and Soul legend. The vision of the good soul, likewise, although it is preserved only in *B*, probably was included in *Z* because it appears again in the Old English poem, *The Address of the Soul to the Body*. This Old English poem, as I shall endeavor to show later,²⁰ can not derive from the Latin text *B*, but must go back instead to *Z*. In length, *Z* must be nearer *B* than either of the others, since only in this way can we account for the greater resemblances between *B* and *S69*, and *B* and *OE*, as compared with those between *S69* and *OE*. *S69*, *B*, and *OE* are, however, so closely related to one another that their points of divergence from *Z* must, in any case, be very slight. It should be noted, too, that *Z*—not *B*—becomes now the meeting point of the various elements which, as Batiouchkof showed, made up this vision.

II.

We have, thus far, defined as closely as possible the relation of the three texts to their lost original, and the character of this original, *Z*. I wish now to determine to what extent this view of the derivation of the text obliges us to modify the accepted theory as to the later development of the Body and Soul legend. To this end let us consider in detail the relations of the later versions to those we have studied thus far, following in the main the work of Batiouchkof. In the parallel now to be undertaken, the Old English homilies are consistently briefer and less important than either Sermo 69 or Batiouchkof's text; it will not be necessary, therefore, to cite them in each particular instance.

We turn first to the Old English poem, the *Address of the*

¹⁹Text in Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 385-395; cf. Batiouchkof's discussion of this vision, *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 9-17.

²⁰See below, p. 97f.

*Soul to the Body*²¹ (*Ad.*). The resemblances between this poem and *B* have been fully studied by Batiouchkof. The version *S69* does not furnish a parallel for the entire poem, as does *B*; it is significant to note, however, that in so far as *S69* does furnish a parallel for the poem, it resembles *Ad.* more nearly than does *B*. Thus, the lament of the soul over its captivity in *Ad.* finds a much closer parallel in *S69* than in *B*:

“& þu me . . . ʒhæftnedest helle witum. / Eardode ic þe on innan: ne meahste ic ðe of cuman / flæsce befanʒen” (Vercelli Text, vv. 32-4).

Beside this, place the corresponding passage in *S69*; “Vae mihi! quare unquam in hoc corpus intravi? Vae mihi, quod unquam in isto pessimo carcere carnis exstiti!” In *B*, on the other hand, this emphasis on the captivity of the soul is lacking: “Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!”

Again, in a passage in *Ad.* which Batiouchkof cited as parallel to *B*, the resemblance to *S69* is still closer.

“Wære þu þe wiste wlanc & wines sæd, / þrymful þunedest & ic ofþyrested wæs / ʒodes lichoman, ʒastes drynces.” (Vercelli Text, vv. 39-41.)

S69: “Tu cibariis delicatis te nutriebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus.”

B: “Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.”²²

The special points in which *Ad.* resembles *S69* rather than *B* are the details of food and spirit's drink, and more especially the antithetical style.

In yet another passage where *Ad.* definitely refers to the

²¹Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Bd. II, pp. 92-107; Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 367-377.

²²Batiouchkof, *Ibid.*, page 7, quotes also the next few lines: *Tu eras fecunda*, etc. These are almost identical in *B* and in *S69*, and in the case of *S69* are quite unnecessary for the above resemblance.

events of the Last Judgment²³ the time reference in the corresponding passage in *B* is confused.

“*Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces modicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos.*” The soul thus speaks of the corruption of its body in the future, then, although the scene is at the death bed, says that it has already been led to inferno by the body. After *requiesces modicum tempus*, as Batiouchkof remarked²⁴, one expects a reference to the Last Judgment. If we turn now to *S69* this confusion is explained.

“*Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceris, tormenta sicut et ego passurum aeterna.*” The future tense is preserved throughout; *postea* also refers distinctly to a definite time after which the body will share the soul’s punishment, in other words, to the Judgment day. This allusion, in a later version, may easily have been expanded into an explicit reference to the Last Judgment.

Only one other parallel, pointed out by Batiouchkof, remains to be considered. This is the reference to the riches of the dead man (“*Ve tibi, . . . quare pecunias et alienas facultates. . . tulisti et congregasti.*”). Here, *S69*, though no nearer *Ad.* than *B* is, is equally close.

With the single exception of the point just mentioned where *S69* and *B* stand equally close to *Ad.*, it will be seen that *Sermo 69* approaches nearer than Batiouchkof’s text to the form of the Old English *Address*. This parallel, however, extends only through the first half of the poem. The second half of the *Address* deals with the speech of the good soul, and this, as we have already seen, is lacking in *S69*. *B*, on the other hand, contains also the vision of the good soul, though it affords no closer parallel to the Old English poem in the second half than in the first.²⁵

Where then does the obvious dependence of *Ad.* on this vision lie? Batiouchkof, after studying all these resemblances

²³ *Ad.* vv. 87-106 (Grein-Wülker II, 101-3; Thorpe, p. 369).

²⁴ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 7.

²⁵ For a detailed account of these parallels cf. *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 8.

between *Ad.* and *B.*, concludes: "Les rapports indiqués entre le poème anglo-saxon et la légende latine nous prouvent qu'il y a un fond commun dans les deux versions, mais nous ne croyons nullement que le texte latin ait été la source directe du poème."²³ This is the conclusion now forced on us by the comparison of the two versions in their relation to *Ad.* The closer resemblances of *Ad.* in its first half to *S69* make the theory that *Ad.* was influenced by *B.*, untenable. It is equally impossible to believe that the author of *Ad.* followed *S69*, because of the parallel of *Ad.* and *B.* in the second half. *Ad.*, therefore, must depend on neither *S69* nor *B.*, but must go back to their common source, *Z.*

We may next inquire in what way the group of homilies we have been considering is related to the Latin *Visio Fulberti* (*L.*)²⁷ and the Old French *Samedi* (*F.*).²⁸ In these poems we study two of the most important representatives of a distinct type of Body and Soul poems—those in which there is a debate between the body and soul.

The first speech of the soul in the *Visio* conforms, as Batiouchkof points out, in general to the greater part of the speech of the soul in the *Samedi*: "Les deux textes ne font que développer librement, chacun à sa manière, les idées qui sont indiquées brièvement dans la légende latine en prose du ms. de Rome, quand l'âme prend congé de son corps:

'Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua? Tunc bibebas vinum, et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.'²⁹

Exactly the same ideas appear in the corresponding passage in *S69*, so that in this respect it is just as close to the debate poems as is *B.* In other ways, however, this portion of *S69* shows distinctly the closer resemblance to those poems.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁷ Ed. du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, pp. 217 ff.

²⁸ Varnhagen, *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, Heft I, Anhang I. In connection with this poem Batiouchkof studies a Norwegian debate of the body and soul of the 12th century, which is very much like *F.* As I do not know this version I have been unable to consider it in this article.

²⁹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 518.

The opening lines of the soul's speech in *L* read as follows:

“O Caro miserrima! quis te sic prostravit,
quam mundus tam prospere praediis ditavit?

6. “Nonne tibi pridie mundus subdebatur?
Nonne te provincia tota verebatur?
Ubi nunc familia quae te sequebatur?
Cauda tua florida jam num amputatur?

7. “Non es nunc in turribus de petris quadratis,
sed nec in palatiis magnae qualitatis;
quae delata feretro parvae quantitatis
nunc jaces in tumulto brevioris satis.”

This passage, with its contrasts between the body's present and former condition, shows a markedly antithetical style. These same antitheses occur also in *F* though they are less numerous.

“U sont li bon destrier?
Ne pues mais cheualcier?
Ia ne les uerras mais;
Chi giras tu pusnais.

85. U sont ti uestement
Et ti cher garniment?
.....

Et ou sont ti ami?

90. Ia sont tot departi.”³⁰

The suggestion for these antitheses could not well have come from *B*, but may easily have been taken from *S69*, which exhibits this same antithetical style: Here, however, the contrasts are drawn between the condition of the body and that of the soul.

“Vae tibi corpus miserum! quare alienas rapuisti pecunias?
Tu facultates pauperum et substantias eorum in domum tuam congregasti. Tu cibariis delicatis te nutrebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus.”

³⁰ I quote from the P text.

There is a still better parallel between *S69* and *L* in the beginning of the soul's speech in *S69* where the soul, seeing the devils eagerly awaiting it, cries out: *Heu mihi! quare unquam nata fui aut creata?* Though with a slight change of meaning the soul in *L* uses the same words.

10. "O caro miserrima! mecum es damnata;
 si sciris supplicia nobis praeparata,
 vere posses dicere: Heu! quod (quum?) fui nata?"

A corresponding passage in *F* parallels these lines closely, merely changing the wish from the first to the second person.

53. "Chaitis, maleures,
 Mal fuisses onques nes."

In *B* there is no parallel for these lines.

The last sentence of the soul's speech in *S96*, as the first, is closely paralleled in *L*.

S69: "Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceres, tormenta sicut et ego passarum aeterna."

- L* 23. "Et licet non sentias nunc tormenta dura,
 scito quod suppliciiis non es caritura;
 nam testantur omnium prophetarum jura
 quod tormenta postmodum mecum es passura."

The *requiesces per modicum tempus* of *S69* is essentially the same as the *non sentias nunc tormenta dura* of *L*. And the last phrases of each are almost identical. There is in *B* only a confused passage to place beside the one from *S69*, and its resemblance to *L* is very slight.

We have finished now the consideration of the speeches of the soul to the body in *S69* and *B* so far as they offer parallels to *L* and *F*. And throughout this speech *S69* has shown the closer resemblance to the phrasing of both *L* and *F*. We shall take up, at this point, the second half of the vision in *B* and *S69*, the scene with the devils.

The speech of the devils when they seize the soul and demand that the various members of the body be punished for their different sins, Batiouchkof thinks, influenced lines 359-438 of *F*.³¹ This passage, which does not occur in *L*, describes

³¹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 519-20.

the corruption of the body after death, member by member. The passage in *S69* corresponding to the one noted by Batiouchkof in *B*, bears just as close a resemblance to this description in *F*.

There are, also, certain other resemblances to *F* in this speech of the devils in *B* and, more especially, in *S69*. Compare *F*:

687 "C'onques ne uis mantel
Ne precious uaiscel,
Tresor d'or e d'argent
.....

697 Que tot ne couoitoies
Ce que as ex ueoies."

with *B*: "pungite oculos illius, quia, quicquid vidit sive justum sive injustum omnia concupivit." *S69* has *pulchrum sive turpe* instead of *justum sive injustum*, and is in that point a little nearer *F*.

Again, the charge of perjury which the soul brings against the body in *F* (vv. 40-154) may be a reminiscence of the sentence in *S69*: "Pungite os ejus: quia omnia quae desideravit, sive in comedendo sive bibendo vel etiam *loquendo, justis vel injustis nunquam pepercit.*" *B*, on the other hand, omitting the *justis vel injustis*, fails to connect the body's license in speech with injury to others, that is, it does not suggest perjury.

More important than the two likenesses just noted is the motive of the soul's baptism.

S69: "Tu quondam renuntiasti pompis nostris, et per Baptismum ac signum crucis nos expulisti. Audisti Prophetas et Apostolos, audisti etiam sacerdotes et curatos tuos, qui non cessabant tibi viam vitae praedicare, et nomen Salvatoris tui laudare: cor autem tuum a doctrina eorum longe erat." This passage, though a part of the devils' speech in *S69*, in *F* is introduced by the soul itself.

121. "Tu recheus baptesme
Par oile et par le cresse.
Deable renoias
Et od deu t'aiostas.

125. Mais d'icele aiostee
Fu brieue la duree."

In *B* this passage is put in the negative: 'You did *not* renounce our pomps', etc., and therefore it resembles *F* but slightly.

It is in the scene where the devils carry off the soul that *F* and *L* run most closely parallel to the Latin homilies *B* and *S69*. In these poems, as in the homilies, as soon as the soul ceases speaking, the devils carry it off to hell, gloating over their prey, while the soul laments. Batiouchkof, though he refers casually to the resemblance of *F* and *L* to *B* in the devil scene, does not seem to perceive its significance.³² To me this parallel is important as indicating that the poetical versions follow the structure of the homilies as a whole instead of reproducing merely the vision setting and the soul's rebuke of the body.

The extent to which *F* and *L* are indebted in this scene to their homiletical source becomes more evident when they are compared in detail with *S69*. For in this scene *S69*, with its greater abundance of detail and its clearer expression of the thought, supplies many points of agreement with the poetical versions which are not to be found in *B*.

The most significant of these resemblances is the way in which the devils seize the soul. In *S96* as soon as the soul has ceased to speak, one of the devils says:

"Nolite, socii, nolite moram facere; sed tridentes acutissimos apprehendite, et cum dolore in oculos ejus figite! quidquid enim vidit, sive pulchrum sive turpe, totum concupivit."

And in the same way he commands them to tear the mouth, heart, feet, and hands of the corpse.

"Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam sic membratim punientes, levaverunt super alas suas nigras, tenebrosas et vespertillioneas, ad infernum ipsam deducentes." In *L* the scene is very similar. When the soul ends its last speech, two devils enter:

³² *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 531.

67. "Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes,
.....

69. "Isti cum furcinulis animam carpsērunt,
quam secum ad inferos gementem traxerunt:
.....

70 (v. 3) quidam uncis ferreis ipsam diruperunt."

Then follows a description of how the devils insulted the soul with mention of the face and mouth in particular;

71 (v. 4) "et tandem a corpore pellem extraxerunt."

In *F* this scene is briefly described:

1063 "L'ame estoit entre II
Com aignel entre lous,
.....

1067 "Li felon l'en portoient
De rien ne l'espargnoient,
Pechoient li le dos

1070 Et le uentre et les os."

Here there is a distinct influence of *S69* in that the devils are said to prick the separate members, the back, the stomach, and mouth.

In these devil scenes the speeches of the devils, too, offer some parallels. In *L* when the devils have ceased tormenting the soul, it cries out *Jesu, fili David!* The devils answer:

74 (v. 2) "Tarde nimis invocas nomen tui Dei;
parum prodest amodo MISERERE MEI;
non est ultra veniae spes vel requiei.

75 "Non lumen de caetero videbis diei;
decor immutabitur utae speciei,
nostrae sociaberis dehinc aciei;
nam sic apud inferos consolantur rei."

In *S69*, likewise, the devils dwell on the hopelessness of the soul's condition. The situation is slightly different, however; the soul's misery arises not from the fact that it cannot see the brightness of day, but because it does see the brightness of heaven but may not dwell there.

"Choros Angelorum audis, non ad tuam consolationem, sed ad tuam perpetuam desolationem. Claritatem sanctorum vide-

bis, nec tamen ibi habitabis, quemadmodum et nos non facimus, qui de paradiso ejecti sumus: et sicut fuimus ac sumus in perditione, sic et tu nobiscum eris. Usque modo fuisti in peregrinatione, nunc moraberis nobiscum in damnatione, in qua multos habemus socios."

It is significant that in *L* as in *S69* the soul becomes the *socius* of the devils.

In *F* the speech of the devil is, for the most part, merely a repetition of the soul's sins, and, therefore, is very little like the two speeches we have been considering. The hopelessness of the soul's condition, however, is stated, though not amplified as in the other versions.

1049 "Or se repentiroit
Li fel, se il pooit.
N'i a mais recourance."

This speech ends, likewise, as did the others with the promise that the soul will be one of the company of devils.

1061 "En la grant pullentie
Nos feras compaignie."

In the scene in which the devils carry the soul to hell there is one detail in which the accounts of both *F* and *L* exhibit confusion. Thus, in *L* the devils, by pricking the members of the body, succeed in tearing off the skin *after the soul has been separated from the body* and borne off to hell: and in *F* the devils prick the members of the body *when carrying off the soul from the body*. This confusion may easily have arisen from a careless reading of *S69* or some similar version. In *S69* the devils torment the members of the body on earth in order to tear the soul from the body, and then they carry the soul to hell. In the debate poems the devils torment the members of the body in order to punish the soul; in *L* this scene occurs after they have carried the soul to hell, in *F* it takes place on the way to hell. Thus in the *place* and in the *purpose* of the tormenting, the two poems differ from the homily; the *manner* in which this torture of the body is accomplished is the same in the three versions; and in all three the incident is intimately connected with the flight of the devils with the soul to hell.

The fact that *F* and *L* agree in this confusion would indicate that they were based on some intermediate version in which the mistake had already been made.

Our comparison of Sermo 69 and *B* with the metrical versions *F* and *L* is now completed, and the conclusion to which it leads us may be stated in a word. In every instance *S69* has shown closer resemblance than *B* to *L* and *F*. Hence it is impossible longer to regard these metrical versions as lineally descended from *B*, though, of course, they derive ultimately from the parent version, *Z*.

It remains now to inquire more particularly as to the relation between *L* and *F* and Sermo 69. In the first place, it may be affirmed without hesitation that *S69* cannot be the immediate source of these metrical versions, for the reason that it lacks the debate between the body and soul which, as we have seen, is found in both *L* and *F*. Batiouchkof, in order to account for the form of the legend in these poems, postulated the existence of a lost version, *O*, in which the debate between the body and soul was for the first time introduced, and supposed that this hypothetical version was the direct source of *L* and the indirect source of *F*.³³

Still another intermediate version, Batiouchkof believed, was necessary in order to effect the transition from *B*³⁴ to *O*. To supply this link he introduced another hypothetical version, *I*, which he conceived to have been the direct source of *O*. "Il est à signaler, en premier lieu, que ce n'est que la première partie de la légende latine, où il s'agit de l'âme d'un pécheur, qui a été utilisée par l'auteur de *O*. Ensuite le discours que l'âme adresse à son corps en prenant congé de lui a dû être notablement allongé déjà dans cette version intermédiaire * * * , bien que le fond en soit indiqué dans la légende en

³³The existence of the Norwegian version makes it necessary to suppose an Old French poem between *O* and *F*, which, serving as the source of the Norwegian poem and the *Samedi*, accounts for their likenesses. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 526 f.

³⁴Batiouchkof, of course, was working on the assumption that *L* and *F* were lineally descended from *B*.

prose. Il se peut que déjà le récit du jugement dernier y fût intercale."²⁵ "Nous insistons seulement sur ce que le discours de l'âme dans la version intermédiaire a été sensiblement allongé."²⁶ "Il est probable que dans la version intermédiaire *I*, * * * le nom du visionnaire ne figurait plus."²⁷

Is there reason, now, for regarding *S69* as identical with the hypothetical version *I*? Most of the requirements of *I*, it will be noticed, are satisfied by the version in *S69*. Thus, *S69* contains the vision of the bad soul only, and it does not mention the name of the visionary. Moreover, though *S69* does not give an account of the Last Judgment, it clearly alludes to the Judgment, as has been pointed out, in its reference to the time after which soul and body reunited shall begin their eternal suffering. This allusion might easily have been made into a direct reference to the Last Judgment, and then expanded into a detailed account of it. Batiouchkof's hesitancy as to the inclusion of this motive among the characteristics of *I* makes it probable that some such explanation of its presence is the correct one.

In one point, on the other hand, *S69* fails to conform to the hypothetical *I*, as it has been outlined by Batiouchkof. The speech of the soul in *I*, Batiouchkof supposes, was much more developed than in the earlier versions. In *S69*, however, this speech is not appreciably longer than in *B*. Is this fact in itself decisive against the identification of *S69* as the hypothetical *I*?

Let us notice in the first place that we expect the longer speech in *I*, because, in postulating intermediate versions between two forms differing so widely in length as the speech in *B* and the debates in *F* and *I*, it is natural to suppose that this greater length came about by a gradual process, and that each of the intermediate versions was longer than the one before. At the same time, so long as the foundation of the speech remains the same, as it does in *I*, this greater length must be gained

²⁵ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 529.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

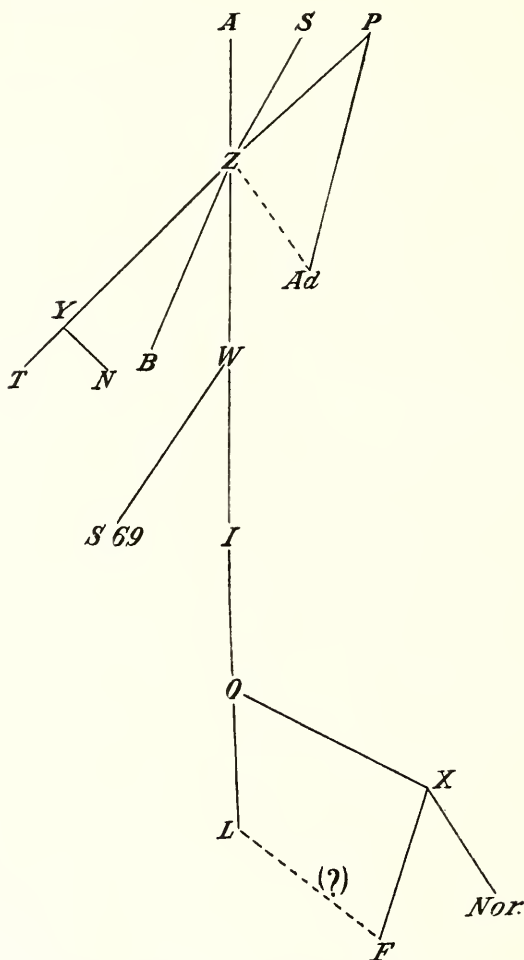
²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

entirely by multiplication of details. Now which details were added in *I*, and which in *O*, it is impossible to determine without more accurate knowledge of *I*, or *O*. Batiouchkof himself, though he insists upon the greater length of the speech in *I*, makes no attempt to define its additional contents. In other words it cannot be objected that *S69* is not identical with Batiouchkof's hypothetical *I* on the ground that certain specific elements, which should be present in *I*, do not appear in *S69*. Moreover, though the speech of the soul in *S69* is but slightly longer than in *B*, it exhibits more resemblances and more significant ones to the later poems, *L* and *F*, than does *B*, and in this way it shows much of the increased nearness to *L* and *F*, which *B* would gain from greater length.

To reject as impossible the identification of *S69* and *I* on this ground alone, especially when our basis for inference is so uncertain, seems unreasonable. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Latin homiletical literature must have afforded many other versions of the Body and Soul legend besides those which we have before us. It would be rash, therefore, to insist that in Sermo 69 we have the identical version of the legend which served as the intermediary between *Z* and *O*. But even if *S69* be not actually identical with *I*, the fact that it approaches so near to the form demanded of this hypothetical version shows that its relation to *I* must be more direct than can be accounted for by common descent from the parent version *Z*. This relation to *I* may be explained in three possible ways. We may consider *I* as directly expanded from *S69*. In view of the fact, however, that we know so little in regard to the date of this homily, I hesitate to put it forward as the source of *I*, for it must be remembered that *I* is itself the ancestor by two removes of the *Visio Fulberti*. Again, *S69* might conceivably be regarded as based immediately upon *I*, and somewhat condensed from it. Third,—and this seems to me preferable—we may conjecture that *S69* and *I* derive from an unknown version (*W*) in which the legend had already developed to essentially the form represented by Sermo 69. Whichever of

these explanations be adopted, Sermo 69 is distinctly of value in establishing the existence of Batiouchkof's hypothetical *I*. If *S69* does not actually supply the needed link in the chain, it at least goes far toward confirming Batiouchkof's reasoning as to the course of the development of the legend.

The relation between the several versions of the Body and Soul theme which have here been discussed may be indicated by the following chart:



In this chart *A* is the Greek legend attributed to Alexander the ascetic;³⁵ *S*, a legend of the way in which a rich man and a poor man die; *P*, the *Visio Pauli*; and *Nor.*, the Norwegian debate of the body and soul.

³⁵*Romania*. Vol. xx, p. 9.

The results which have been gained by this study of Sermo 69, as they appear now, are as follows: (1.) We have established the existence of what, so far as is now known, is the earliest form of the Body and Soul legend, *Z*. (2) We have confirmed Batiouchkof's opinion as to the source of certain passages in the Old English *Address of the Soul to the Body*, and have identified this source with the early version, *Z*. (3). By showing a form more nearly related to *F* and *L* than any of the other known versions, we have strengthened Batiouchkof's theory as to the existence of the intermediate version *I*, and the course of the development of the Body and Soul legend.

LOUISE DUDLEY.

TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE *BEOWULF*.

168f. *no he þone gifstol gretan moste, / maþðum for Metode, ne his myne wisse.* I am persuaded that Körner (*Engl. St.* II, 249), Grein (see Wülker's note), ten Brink (*Beowulf*, pp. 18-20), and, more recently, O. F. Emerson (*Publ. M. L. Ass.* XXI, 863, 870, n.) followed the proper course in identifying the *gifstol* with the divine throne of grace and in regarding the two clauses as practically parallel in their general meaning. But certain points are still in need of elucidation. What is *for Metode*? And what meaning should be assigned to *ne his myne wisse*?

for Metode may be explained in conformity with the phrases *for Gode, for worolde* (B.-T., s.v. *weorold*; Belden, p. 64; Wülfing, §645), which appear with semi-adverbial, and occasionally semi-adjectival, function (e.g., in *Cur. P.* 4.5 *hwelc witu us þa becomon for þisse worulde*), i.e.,—'divine' or 'of the Creator'. Another possibility is that *for* carries the strictly local sense, hence *for Metode* = 'in the presence of the Creator.' The use of the definite article before *gifstol* finds a close parallel in ll. 1741f.; *þonne se weard swefeð, / sāwele hyrde* (cf. Barnouw, p. 7).

Regarding the second clause: *ne his myne wisse*, I suggest that *witan* should be understood in the well established sense of 'be conscious of', 'feel', 'show' (B.-T., s.v. *witan*, III), as, e.g., in *Boeth.* 102.7: *ne nan neat nyste nænne andan ne nænne ege to oðrum*, and furthermore that a comparison of our passage with the difficult line of the *Wanderer*: *þone þe in meoduhealle mine wisse (oþþe mec freondleasne frefran wolde)*, 27 may result in additional light for both. It seems to me that the unsatisfactory MS. reading in *Wand.* 27 can easily be healed by the insertion of *min*, viz., *min mine* (or *myne*) *wisse* 'felt love for me', or 'took (kind) thought of me'. Apart from the acceptable meaning, the metrical improvement and the possi-

bility of explaining at once the scribal blunder will be noted. Applying this interpretation to *Beow.* 169, we should be justified in translating 'nor did he (God) take thought of him'. The change of subject, though rather violent, is matched by l. 1809 (cf. *Mod. Phil.* III, 460), and the thought seems especially appropriate to the situation. As Emerson said (*l. c.*, p. 863), "If these lines [168f.] were written of Cain himself there could be no question that they were a natural expression of the everlasting nature of his curse. It is scarcely less probable that they are here extended to one who is regarded in *Beowulf* as a direct descendant of Cain, and fully merits the punishment of the first murderer." We are reminded of *El.* 1302f.: *Gode no syððan / of ðam morðorhofs in gemynd cumað*; cf. Cook's note on *Christ* 1536f.; *Muspilli* 29: *ni ist in kihuctin himiliskin Gote*.

If this view of ll. 168f. is correct, it follows that not only the second clause (as already seen by Kock, *Angl.* XXVII, 226), but the entire sentence is of similar import to the statements concerning Grendel in ll. 711 (*Godes yrre bær*), 721 (*dreamum bedaled*); cf. 105: *wonsali wer*.

1106. *þonne hit sweordes ecg syððan scolde*. Neither the assumption of a lacuna nor the admission of a more than doubtful verb *syððan* (*seððan*) can be called satisfactory. Trautmann's *sehtan* would be a good deal more acceptable if it did not involve the introduction of a late loan-word (Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*, p. 100). Perhaps the verb *seman* 'bring to an agreement', 'settle' could be proposed; cf. *Gnom. Ex.* 20: *sace semap*, and the passage (somewhat different, but instructive), *Mald.* 60: *us sceal ord and ecg ær geseman*. But still more plausible appears to me *sēðan* 'declare', 'testify', 'prove', then 'decide', 'settle'. Moreover, the whole line (and the situation to which it refers) should be compared with l. 1939: *þæt hit sceadenmæl scyran moste (cwealmealu cyðan)*. Both *seðan* and *sciran*, though they cannot be claimed as technical terms of Anglo-Saxon law (at least so far as their function in the above passages is con-

cerned),¹ seem to point to the world of legal ideas so frequently alluded to in the old poetry, especially as transferred to the subject of battle. (Cf. *þing gehegan, meðelstede, on riht gescadan*; also *Ludwigslied* 43: *uuolder uuâr errahchôn / sînan uuidarsahchôn*.) See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 858: "Das abgelegte gültige zeugnis *entschied* die sache, ohne dass vom gericht noch ein urtheil gefunden zu werden brauchte; der zeuge, indem er die *wahrheit sagte*. . . war folglich in der that *urtheilend*. . ."; p. 864: "vor ausspruch des urtheils durften die urtheilenden erläuterung dunkeler puncte begehren. . .; heredes praesentes offerieren sich, es *licht zu machen*."—Of interest is also the ME. passage (referred to in B.-T.), *Gen. & Ex.* 2035f.: *ðe wite is hise, ðe riht is hire; God almigtin ðe soðe shire.*

1107f. *að* (em. *ad*) *was geafned ond icge gold / ahæfen of horde*. If we allow *að* to stand, some questions remain unanswered, viz: Why is the singular used instead of the plural (cf. *aðum benemde*, 1097)? Why should gold be fetched from the hoard (the payment of *wergild* being practically out of the question)? Presumably the reference is to precious objects to be placed on the funeral pile (cf. ll. 1111f., 3138ff., perhaps 3134f.; cf. 3163ff.; 36ff.), which points to *ad* as the proper reading; see also l. 1110: *at þæm ade*.

As to the epithet *icge*, its form and meaning are still quite obscure. Would it be too bold a guess to explain it as a corruption of the adjective *æce* found in the runic inscription of the Isle of Wight sword? This *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον* has been ingeniously explained by Hempl as 'proprius', 'one's own' (see *Publ. M. L. Ass.* XVIII, 95ff.), and so *æce gold* might, without much violence, be rendered by 'aurum domesticum'.

1174. *nean ond feorran þu nu hafast*. [*frīðu*], or [*freoðu*], is metrically objectionable on two scores; see Rieger, *Verskunst*, p. 29; Sievers, *Beitr.* X, 248 ([*freond*] would be slightly better); *genog* requires a serious departure from the MS. and makes

¹ On a technical use of OE. *scīran* see B.-T.; cf. O.Fris. *skīria*, ON. *skīra, skjāra*.

trivial sense; the hypothesis of a gap is an easy but far from satisfactory solution; the interpretation of the unchanged MS. reading fails to account for the emphasis placed on *nu* and appears altogether too forced. It occurs to me that *lufast*, in place of *hafast*, might possibly help to clear up the passage. 'You love now (from) near and far', i.e., your love extends now to your own kin and to the Geatish hero whom you have 'adopted', cf. ll. 946ff.: *nu ic, Beowulf, þec. . . me for sunu wylle / freogan on ferhþe; heald forð tela / niwe sibbe*. Only in this way, it seems to me, is a proper connection established with the following lines (1175f.): *me man sægde, þæt þu ðe for sunu wolde / hereri[n]c habban*.

It is to be admitted that the absolute use of *lufian* is out of the ordinary, and, besides, *neah ond feor* would seem more natural than *nean ond feorran*. Still it should be noted that the conceptions of 'motion from a place' and 'direction to a place' appear to be applied promiscuously to practically identical situations in *Beow.* 1701: *feor eal gemon, El. 657: nean myndgiaþ (Beow. 2106: feorran rehte)*. The underlying idea in the above passage seems to be that the starting point of the course of the king's affections was considered respectively nearer or more remote.

2149f. *gen is eall at ðe / lissa gelong*. The change of *gelong* to *gelenge*, though sanctioned by high authority, is open to serious doubt, since the functions of *gelong* and *gelenge* are entirely distinct, and only the former is seen to fit the context. The adjective *gelenge* (with dative) means 'belonging to', 'having affinity with' (Sweet), as in *Beow.* 2732: (*yrfeweard*) *lice gelenge; gelong* (commonly with the preposition *at*) means 'at hand', 'dependent on', as in *Beow.* 1376f.: *nu is se ræd gelang / eft at ðe anum*. Numerous examples are cited in the dictionaries.

A metrical improvement of the transmitted text would be effected by reading [*minra*] *lissa gelong*.²

2299a. Why not read *beaduwe weorces*? If the MS. read-

²Holthausen (*Literaturblatt XXI*, 61) suggested *gelong lissa*.

ing (*bea* : :) was originally *beadu* / *weorces* (as seems not unlikely), this may have been derived, by haplographic error, from *beaduwe weorces*. As regards the use of the combination *bead(u)we weorc* by the side of the compound *beaduweorc*, we find similarly, alongside of *guðræs*, the expression *guðe ræs*, *Beow.* 2626. (The form *beaduwe* may be compared with *fealuwe* 2165, *bealuwa* 281, *bealewa* 1946, 2082.)

2659f. *urum sceal sword ond helm, / byrne ond byrduscrod bam gemæne*. Of the various attempts to throw light on l. 2660a, Ettmüller's emendation *byrne ond beaduscrod* (so also Thorpe and Arnold) is by far the happiest expedient, the one, in particular, which leaves little doubt about the genesis of the scribal error. (Partial repetition of the first word rather than [according to Ettmüller] contamination of *beadu-* and *fyrd-*). An additional amelioration would be the dropping of *ond*, resulting in the asyndetic combination *byrne, beaduscrod* (of the same type as *wudu, walsceaftas; eafor, heafodsegn*, etc.) Still the joining of the two synonyms by 'and' may be justified by reference to passages like *Beow.* 2321f.: *lige. . / bæle ond bronde*, 3163: *beg ond siglu*, 1454: *brond ne beadumecas*; *El.* 584f.; *deaðes. . . / ades ond endelifes*.—Cosijn's insistence on the mention of the shield is entirely too dogmatic.

2857. (*ne meakte he on corðan, ðeah he uðe wel, / on ðam frumgare feorhgehealdan*) *ne ðos Wealdendes wiht oncyrran*. I suspect that the mistake is not in *wiht*, but in *Wealdendes*, which stands in place of *weorldendes*: 'he could not turn aside (or, avert) anything of the end of his life (in this world)', i.e., he could not avert his death at all. Though *weoroldende* is nowhere recorded in the sense attributed to it in this instance, it would not be hazardous to infer it from various uses of *w(e)orold*, e.g., *worolde brucan, worold oflætæn; on ealre eowerre worulde*, *Boeth.* 44.10; *his worulde gedal* *Beow.* 3068, cf. *lifgedal*, 841, (*ende gebidan / worolde lifes*, 1386). The employment of two fairly synonymous clauses followed by a positive one (which, in a certain way, adds an explanation) is paralleled by ll. 154ff.

3005. *after hæleða hryre hwate Scildingas*. (Heyne, Grein,

Ettmüller, Wülker, Wyatt, Holthausen: *Scilfingas*.) We have the choice of the following explanations.

a) On the basis of *Scildingas*. 1. Beowulf ruled for some time over the Danes. [An extraordinary assumption.] 2. The whole line is a thoughtless repetition of l. 2052. [A performance which even Müllenhoff hardly dared to lay at the door of his interpolator B, see *Anz. f. d. A.* III. 178.]

b) On basis of *Scylfingas*. 3. Beowulf, for a certain period (cf. ll. 2392ff.) exercised authority over the Swedes, the hereditary foes of the Geats. [A statement that would be absurd in this context, see Müllenhoff, l.c.] 4. "The term 'Scylfingas' could be applied equally, on the ground of common ancestry, to both Swedes and Geats." (Wyatt.) [A desperate guess.] 5. *Scylfingas* is to be construed in apposition with *hie* in l. 3002. ["Intolerably forced" (Wyatt.)] 6. l. 3005 is to be placed in parenthesis and the substantive verb to be supplied: 'after the fall of the heroes the Scylfings are (or were) bold,' cf. ll. 2474f.—a remark called forth by the mention of the *hettend*, 3004. [Very strained.] 7. l. 3005, which was misplaced in the MS., should be inserted after l. 3001 (Ettmüller, Holthausen). [A mere possibility which leaves, however, the meaning of *after hæleða hryre* rather doubtful; in fact, Ettmüller emends to *hæleðes*.]³

Obviously, there is no getting around the fact that neither *Scildingas* nor *Scylfingas* can be forced into a reasonable or plausible interpretation. Would it not, then, be a safer course frankly to admit that the author (or the scribe) at this point became momentarily confused and instead of penning, say *Sægēatas*, blundered into the (far more familiar) *Scildingas*? (Two tribal names are confused in the MS. in l. 443: *Geotena* for *Geata*.) *after hæle a hryre* would in this case refer to the slaying of Heardred and (doubtless a number of) his host, ll. 2385ff.

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³ Cf. ll. 2911ff.: *syððan under[ne] / Froneum ond Frysum fyll eyninges / wide weorðeð.* See also Ælfric's *Life of Oswald* (Bright, *Ags. Reader*, 98, 9ff.): *and se Ccadiwalla sloh and to sccame tuode þa Norðhymbran leode after heora hlafordes fylle.*

ANOTHER POEM BY HOCCLEVE?

I.—THE POEM.

MS.—Univ. Lib. Cambridge Kk. I, 6, fols., 200b-201b.

1.

Heyle! be glad! & Joye *withouten* ende,
 Modyr of god! to whome he doth honoure
 So hie, þat ʒe þe bryght place transcende
 Be flouryng of maydenhede so sure,
 5 And chosen ʒow, O virgyne clene & pure!
 Aboue oþer *principate* to dwelle,—
 Angel & seynt & euery creature
 From hie to lowe, þy beaute to excelle.

2.

Be glad also, ther ʒe be loue & spouse
 10 Chosen of god, to weyuyn al oure drede;
 That as the day his lyght precieuse
 Taketh only þer Phebus lyste to scheede
 His bemes cleere; ryʒt soo þe goodely heed
 Off oure swete pees & souereyne excellens
 15 Enlumined hath þis world on lengh & breed
 Wyth lyʒt of *grace* in ʒoure magnificence.

3.

Make ʒe gladnesse among ʒoure joyes seuene—
 O vessel clere in vertu peerelesse!—
 Hath al þe holy reall court of heuene
 20 ʒow to do honoure, & besyly dresse
 At ʒoure tokenyng, ffeyre lady & maystresse!
 ʒoure lyste to beye, & in more humble wyse

Corrections of the text, and notes: 1-3. *bryght*) bryghte. 6. *Aboue*
) *Aboue alle*, or *Abouen*. 11. *lyght*) *lyght so*. (?) 15. *lengh*) *length*.
 22. *to beye*) *tobeye*.

As moder of Criste & hie heuenly pryncesse,
Then hert may thenke or tonge can expresse.

4.

- 25 Glaade eke in Joye, O virgine wemlesse!
That he thembranchyng swete of Charyte
And byndyng weele betux the wurpynesse
Off his godheed & 3oure humilite,
Vnto his loue so faste Jknet 3e be,
30 That what yow lyste in þylke glade Empyre
To asche or haue, reseuyd is in gree
Off 3oure swete sone, ryght at 3oure owne desyre.

5.

- Be glad marie! þat clepyd art by ryght
Moder of confort & helpe to wrecches all!
35 For loue of whome þe ffader ful of myght,
To suche as woll 3oure mercy clepe & call
And 3ow honoure, grauntuth guerdone reall
Bothe in þis worlde, & aftur þis victorie
In þe hie regime clepyd celestiall
40 To haue here place in pees & endeles glorie.

6.

- In vertu glaade, O moder of god & mayde!
The wheche only þourgh 3oure humilite
And werkes goode þat so weel were conveyde
Be ful purpos of all þe deite;
45 So hie Emprise 3oure wommanli beaute
Deceruyd hath, aboute seyntus all
That next þe hie & holy trinite
3e sitte & Regne as queene Imperiall.

7.

- In gladnesse joye, O cause of hertis glaade,
50 Whose moderheede no chastite denyeth
Syth þese seuene joyes cleer schal neuer ffaade

24. *expresse*) *dyuyse*.

25. *wemlesse*) *wemmeless*. 31. *asche*) *aske*. 46. *Deccruyd*)
Deseruyd.

- Nor 3it discreese, but eueryche multiplieth
 Endeles in 3ow where grace & mercy lyth,
 Wheer of 3e lyue in surete hoole & pure
 55 Whoom heuene & Erthe honoureth & magnifieth
 Wyth joye in joye eternally to dure.

8.

Omnis virtus te decorat—

- Thus eueri vertu in þat bryght pole
 Nowreth 3ow in beaute stellyfyed;
 Honowreth 3ow þe noumbr pleyne & hole
 60 Of seyntus eeke, & al in oon alyeed,
 Wyth laude & prise 3oure beaute magnified
 Hertyly þey blesse, & swetely þus þey synge,
 “Heyle ful of grace! moste nye to god alyed,
 And next hymself honowred aboue all thyng!”

9.

propter plagas Jhesu Cristi—

- 65 Wherefore now lady, meeke & *gracyous*
 Humbely we prey to 3oure mercycous grete,
 For loue of tho swete woundes precycous
 Hath 3oure feyre yen cleere, *with* terys wete,
 Bledyng behulde, to quynchyn oure forfeete
 70 O on Jhesu Criste, as make vs dyngne & able
 3ow to behoolde, & in 3oure royall seete
 The to salewe, *with* reuerence acceptable.

10.

O sponsa dei electa—

- O Impereall, ful chosen & no moo!
 Vnto þe hie maieste devyne
 75 Be spousayle kneet, & moderheede alsoo,
 Oure olde grevaunce & sorewe to betwyne,
 The Eris of 3oure mercy now enclyne

52. *discreese*) This word is not in the Oxford distionary.

57. *bryght*) bryghte. 58. *Nowreth*) Honowreth.

66. *prey*) prey; *mercycous*) mercies. 70. O on) On. 76. *betwyne*) Not in the Oxford Dictionary.

At our request ful lowely wee 3ow praye,
 And to þat joye, þat neuer schall haue ffyne,
 80 Os gyde & leede þe ryght redy waye.

(Here enduth a preyere to oure lady——)¹

II.—THE MANUSCRIPT.

MS. University Library Cambridge Kk. 1. 6, is fully described in the Manuscript Catalogue of the University. It contains three prose tracts on the seven psalms, the seven days of the week, and the twenty-one passions, and

(4). Crystes Passioun, by Lydgate.

(5). Upon the Cross, by Lydgate, followed by (6) A Prayer in Verse, anonymous.

(7). Vexilla Regis Prodeunt, translated in English metre, by Lydgate.

(8). To the Queen of Heaven, by Lydgate.

(9). The poem here given.

(10). Prayer to St. Edmund, by Lydgate.

(11). Vertu, by Lydgate.

(12). Haste, by Lydgate.

(13). Churl and Bird, by Lydgate.

(14). Gesta Romanorum, in prose.

(15). A Legend of the Pope and his mother.

Lydgate's name is attached to all the pieces by him, except the hymn *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt*. The other pieces are anonymous.

The manuscript, as I could show from collations made of the pieces by Lydgate, is only moderately accurate, and fails chiefly in the omission of words. I consider my suggestions made at the foot of the page entirely justifiable, in view of the fact that there is no other known copy of this piece. It will be seen that with only half a dozen exceptions, the stanzas are perfectly metrical, though not conforming to Chaucerian standards.

80. *ryght*) *ryghte*. Os) Vs.

¹The text as given above is an exact transcription of the poem, now for the first time in print. I have written out all abbreviations, and italicized the parts so written.

The peculiar use of *u*, as in *seyntus*, 60, *grauntuth*, 37, *betux*, 27, etc., occurs throughout the manuscript.

III.—NATURE OF THE POEM.

The poem, as the colophon tells us, is a prayer to our lady, introducing her seven joys, and begging her for mercy. The Latin lines inset indicate that it is an expansion of a prayer to our lady in that language, very likely part of the Hours of the Virgin. It is an excellent one of the type, and compares favorably with any similar pieces by Lydgate, who by the way always speaks of the five joys or the fifteen joys of Our Lady, never of her seven joys.

The eight-line stanza is used by both Hoccleve and Lydgate, and their imitators, as a variation of rhyme royal, and particularly in invocations and envoys.

IV.—AUTHORSHIP.

John Lydgate and Thomas Hoccleve were the two great writers of prayers and hymns in the first half of the fifteenth century, the period to which our poem belongs. There is scarcely a single prayer in the eight-line stanza written at this time which does not belong to one or the other of these prolific writers. At the same time it is nonsense to hold that every metrical poem of the time must have been written by one or the other. Every recent study of the poetry of the period tends to confirm the theory that there was a great number of men who could handle the decasyllable, under the tutelage of Chaucer and Gower, with considerable fluency, if not strictly adhering to the rhyme-schemes of their masters.

In suggesting Hoccleve as the possible author of our poem, I do so because, first, the poem is not by Lydgate. Lydgate's religious poetry is invariably accompanied by his characteristic rhyme-tags, not one of which occurs in the present piece. There is too a freshness about the phraseology which is unusual in this poet. Finally there is a rhyme *honoure; sure; pure; creature*, 2-4-5-7, which I cannot find in any of Lydgate's poems.

The resemblances to Hoccleve are on the other hand very strong:

1. Rhyme. The rhyming of *honour* with words in -ure, is the most characteristic of the peculiarities of Hoccleve. Dr. Furnivall in his edition of Hoccleve's Minor Poems, E.E.T.S., E.S., LXI. p. xxxix, notes seven instances of this rhyme, and accepts it as a criterion for proving that the Clerk and not Chaucer wrote the "Mother of God". Hoccleve made this word from O. F. *honur* (Anglo-Norman), and so spelt it.

2. Metre. Lines like 20 in our poem show a certain counting off of syllables with neglect of accent. Compare 1-20

Yow to do honoure & besyly dresse.

with Hoccleve's

And briddes herde I eek lustyly synge. (1-c, xviii, 4).

3. Subject. Hoccleve wrote many poems to the Virgin. Dr. Furnivall prints or catalogues seven such pieces in his introduction, not to mention a legend of the Virgin. The remarkable thing about Hoccleve's poems to St. Mary, however, is the insistence on motherhood as her prime quality. The word *moder* occurs but rarely in Lydgate's poems to the Virgin. In his poem, the Queen of Heaven, on Mary's five joys, it does not occur at all. But compare lines 2, 23, 34, 41, 50 and 75 in our poem with the following lines from Hoccleve's three poems to the Virgin published by Dr. Furnivall:

(VII, 1) Modir of lyf o cause of all our welthe—

23. o Crystes modir deere.

81. Thow, Crystes modir.

86. Thow art his modir—

113. O blessid Jhesu, for thy modres loue,

And modir, for the hy dileccion

That thow hast to thy sonne in heuene aboue.

(IX, the "Mother of God")

1. Modir of god and virgyne vndeffouled.

9. Modir of mercy.

11. Humble lady mayde modir and wyf.

63. Modir of mercy. . . .

97. Crystes modir deere.
 127. . . .heer thy modir, lo".
 132. Modir and sone..
 (XVIII, 22) him and his modir. . . .
 25. Modir of Jhesu.
 89. Lady that clept art modir of mercy
 (cf. our poem 33-34 That clepyd art by ryght
 Moder of confort)
 44. . . .Crystes modir deere.

Hoccleve continually refers to Mary as princess, queen, and empress—but these are the merest commonplaces of poems in her honor. Line 25 of our poem, . . O virgyne wemmeles, is paralleled, by

(X, 93) Lady pitous virgyne wemmeles.

The vocabularies of the poems of Hoccleve and of our author are not dissimilar.

reall, 19, 37, (for royal)

(IV, 32) In conseruyng of your estate real.

69. to quynchyn oure forfeete.

(XVI, 28) . . . in qwenchyng of my wo.

The two unusual words I have noted in the footnotes need not surprise the reader of Hoccleve. See Furnivall's edition, p. xl. Even 'princiate' occurs in Hoccleve. (XXIII, p. 214, line 1.) 'Allied' is in Hoccleve, too. (XVIII, 66.)

In fact, if it were not for one bad rhyme, I should not have put the interrogation mark in my title. This is peerelesse: dresse, and wemlesse: wurpynesse, 18-20, 25-27. While the adverb lesse by itself always rhymes in Hoccleve with words in -esse, the suffix -lees rhymes only with pees, prees, and the like, at least so far as I have observed. In view of this fact it is impossible to give this poem a definite place in the canon of Hoccleve's works. But it is none the less interesting as an attractive piece in itself, and as a poem which approaches in the closest possible way to the manner of Hoccleve's religious works.

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SCHILLER'S DRAMAS AND POEMS IN ENGLAND. By Thomas Rea, M.A. Lecturer in German and Teutonic Philology in the University College of North Wales, Bangor. London. T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. pp. IX+155.

Mr. Rea gives short accounts of the various translations of Schiller's dramas and of three of the poems (*Lied von der Glocke*, *Taucher*, *Spaziergang*), an enumeration in each case of the reviews of the translation, and a few remarks concerning the influence of the translations upon English writers. His results are based on an examination of the English translations of Schiller contained in the British Museum and in the Cambridge University Library.

The task undertaken by the author was no easy one. As Professor Albert Köster has pointed out in his brief summary of Mr. Rea's book (*Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, vol. 27, p. 2438, Sept. 29, 1906), of all the possible methods of approaching the problem the author has chosen one of the most unfavorable—a method of citing in chronological order the various translations, of quoting illustrative lines from each, of mentioning the book reviews, of commenting briefly on the success or failure of the translation, and of naming the authors and works upon which Schiller's poems and dramas seem to have exerted an influence. It might have been advisable, for instance, to treat more fully those translations which seem to be of lasting value, to determine whether the art of translating has advanced or retrograded in England, and to draw more definite conclusions regarding Schiller's importance in England. About five pages of the book are devoted to introductory remarks, three to a conclusion, eight to bibliography, three to an index, and the rest to the summaries of the translations, reviews, and influences.

In the book proper, the author strives, as the title indicates, to limit his investigation to England, though he cites at various times translations and reviews printed in Scotland, Ireland, and on the continent. In the Appendix, however, he gives under the heading "English Translations and Editions of Schiller's Dramas and Poems" as complete a list as possible, and includes books which appeared in America as well as those which appeared in Europe. As a matter of fact, however, although many American editions are mentioned, the American translations are practically ignored.

Possibly there was a reason for this. Although many translations of Schiller's dramas have been printed in the United States, all of them—with three exceptions—are translations by

Englishmen or reprints of translations which originally appeared in England.¹ The American translations are G. H. Calvert's *Don Carlos* (Baltimore, 1834), C. T. Brooks's *William Tell* (Providence, 1838), and C. A. McMurry's *William Tell* (New York, 1902). Two others—translations of *Maria Stuart* (Philadelphia, 1840) and of *Jungfrau von Orleans* (Cambridge, Mass., 1843)—were first published in the United States but were written by a British consul William Peter, who had already published on the continent other translations from Schiller. A translation of *Maria Stuart* by Frances Anne Kemble, the famous English actress who lived most of her life in the United States, was published in London in 1863. A few manuscript translations—of *Don Carlos* by William Dunlap,² and of *Maria Stuart* and *Jungfrau* by C. T. Brooks,³—practically complete the list of American translations of Schiller's dramas. Mrs. Ellet's book, mentioned above, contains literal translations of a number of scenes from each of Schiller's dramas. Of Schiller's poems, on the other hand, numerous American translations have appeared. To make more complete the list of English translations and editions of Schiller's dramas, I have appended below a number of titles omitted by Mr. Rea.

Interesting conclusions might be drawn from the combined lists regarding Schiller's popularity in English-speaking countries. In the list of translations *Tell* would come first with 17, then follow *Don Carlos* 11,⁴ *Jungfrau* 10, *Wallensteins Lager* 10, *Maria Stuart* 7, *Räuber* 6, *Piccolomini* 6, *Wallensteins Tod* 6, *Kabale and Liebe* 5, *Braut von Messina* 5, *Fiesco* 4. In the list of editions *Tell* again stands at the head with 26, then follow *Maria Stuart* 18, *Jungfrau* 11, *Wallenstein* (each part) 6, *Braut von Messina* 2. Whereas all nine of Schiller's dramas

¹ English translations of Schiller do not seem to have been widely known in the United States to some of the early American students of Schiller. Mrs. Ellet, *The Characters of Schiller*, Boston, 1839, says in a footnote to page 63: "The writer is unacquainted with any translation of the plays of Schiller excepting Wallenstein; and is therefore compelled to use in all the extracts a version of her own, which has indeed no earthly pretension except that of being as *literal* as the structure of the verse will possibly allow."

² Cf. Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Plays, 1714-1830*, New York, 1900, p. 37.

³ Cf. E. C. Parry, *Friedrich Schiller in America*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 39.

⁴ Henry Morley in his collection *Schiller's Poems and Plays*, London, 1889, has included *Don Carlos* by Lord John Russell which is, however, an original drama by Lord Russell (published 1822) and not a translation of Schiller's drama.

have repeatedly been translated, only five have had English editions. The four earliest dramas—*Die Räuber*, *Fiesco*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Don Carlos* (which next to *Tell* has been translated most frequently)—have not during the century and a quarter of their existence, been edited in English.⁵

In summing up the good and bad qualities of the various English translations an author of a book like Mr. Rea's would naturally find most difficulty. In general, four points should be kept in mind in judging a translation—the success in translating individual words and phrases, in preserving the poetic spirit and fluency of the original, in maintaining the metrical system, and finally in reproducing the rhymes, particularly the feminine and dactylic rhymes of the original. This point concerning the feminine rhymes has been almost entirely disregarded by Mr. Rea.

Let us take Coleridge's attitude toward his translation of *Wallenstein*. He translated *Die Piccolomini* and *Wallenstein's Tod* but did not attempt the *Lager* because, as he explains in his introduction, the *Lager* is written in a nine-syllable verse, a "lilting" metre, which is difficult to reproduce. "To have translated into prose," he continues, "or into any other metre than that of the original, would have given a false idea both of its style and purport; to have translated it into the same metre would have been incompatible with a faithful adherence to the sense of the German from the comparative poverty of our language in rhymes; and it would have been inadvisable from the incongruity of those lax verses with the present taste of the English public."

According to Sir Theodore Martin (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Feb., 1892) Coleridge did not translate the *Lager* for the reason that he had received so small a sum (£100) for his labors and had misgivings concerning the success of the *Camp*. A reviewer of Hunter's translation of *Wallenstein* (*Saturday Review* 60, 231, Aug. 15, 1885) maintains that in the *Lager* Schiller has risen above his other works, has laid aside pomp and varnish, and has produced a piece which reads like Shakespeare's historical plays; Coleridge, a great critic as well as a poet, realized Schiller's success and hesitated to reproduce a masterpiece. An anonymous translator of the *Lager* (*Dublin University Magazine*, Dec. 1836, Jan. 1837), boldly denies, in opposition to Coleridge, that the rhyming capabilities of German surpass those of English. "We have never yet met," he

⁵The 1909 catalogue of Henry Holt & Co. announces a forthcoming edition of *Kabale und Liebe*, by Professor W. A. Hervey. The Oxford Press (American Branch) is preparing to publish an English edition of *Don Carlos*.

states, "with a Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch or German line, which we found it impracticable to render by a corresponding English line. If translators have declared certain tasks impracticable, the declaration may be proof of their unwillingness to undertake those tasks, but cannot be a proof of anything besides. . . . It is not the way that is wanting; it is the will. The statue is in marble, said Praxiteles to his pupil; the point is to hew it out. The equivalents lie ready for all translators; the business is to look for them in the right places."

Apparently all three commentators mistook Coleridge's motives for not translating the *Lager*. If, as Sir Theodore Martin states, the compensation for translating *Piccolomini* and *Tod* was too small to warrant a translation of the *Lager*, why did Coleridge begin with the last two parts? Why did he not begin with the first part, the *Lager*, and then, if he objected to the compensation or if he thought that the translation was not popular, decide against translating the last two parts? Nor can the contention of the reviewer in the *Saturday Review* be upheld; of all translators Coleridge would not have been afraid of trying to reproduce a masterpiece. His *Wallenstein* translation is regarded by Sir Walter Scott, Professor Saintsbury, Edmund Gosse as superior to Schiller's original, and by Mr. Rea "as the best translation we possess of any foreign classic." Finally, the argument advanced in the *Dublin University Magazine* that English has as many rhyming capabilities as German may be true, but is not confirmed by the same writer's own translation of the *Lager*. In short Coleridge's hesitation about reproducing the nine-syllable lilting metre of Schiller's *Lager* is probably due to his doubt concerning the possibility of reproducing in English the feminine rhymes of the German original.

Of the eleven hundred lines in Schiller's *Lager* more than half have feminine endings. We cannot insist of course that to the predominance of feminine rhymes is due the flowing, progressive, kaleidoscopic movement in the scenes depicting the ever-changing life of the heterogeneous collection comprising Wallenstein's army. We can convince ourselves, however, that the translations are unnecessarily abrupt. In the translations by Walkington and by Wirgmann the metre of the original is entirely disregarded; the iambic pentameter is a poor substitute for the "Knüttelvers." In the other translations the proportion of feminine rhymes is very small—in only one case considerably more than five per cent. In the *Dublin Magazine* translation, to be sure, one-fifth of the lines are feminine, but even this falls far short of Schiller's original. The only drama in which Schiller has consistently employed rhyme and has adopted a metre other than the iambic pentameter has found no adequate presentation in English.

That it is possible to reproduce feminine rhymes in English is shown by Bayard Taylor's translation of *Faust* and by W. H. Furness's translation of *Das Lied von der Glocke*. If we take the first three divisions of *Faust*—the 'Zueignung', 'Vorspiel', and 'Prolog'—we find the proportion of feminine rhymes practically the same as in the *Lager*. In Taylor's translation the proportion is only slightly less than in Goethe's original.

Had the test of feminine rhymes been applied by Mr. Rea to other English translations of Schiller a more definite conclusion might have been drawn concerning the merits and shortcomings of those translations. Miss Swanwick, for instance, has constantly disregarded this point in her translation of *Jungfrau*. In the final scene of the 'Prolog', where three-fifths of Schiller's lines are feminine, not a single one is feminine in the translation. In the opening stanzas of the fourth act Schiller's feminine rhymes in the ottava rima are rendered masculine by Miss Swanwick. Sir Theodore Martin's translation of *Tell* begins:

The dear smiling lake wooed to bathe in its deep,
A boy on its green shore had laid him to sleep.

How much better is Bayard Taylor's fragmentary translation of the opening scene of *Tell* (in his *Studies in German Literature*) beginning:

Inviting the bather, the bright lake is leaping,
The fisher-boy lies on its margin a-sleeping.

If, finally, we point to Joseph Mellish's translation of *Maria Stuart* as the most successful translation from Schiller it is not only because he has paid more attention to feminine rhymes (for instance in the opening stanzas of the third act) than have other translators. Mellish had the advantage over Coleridge in that he had a thorough knowledge of German through long residence in Germany. His translation is, moreover, faithful to the original. Coleridge omitted passages, interpolated verses, at times misunderstood constructions, and not infrequently avoided the rhymes of the original.

Has the art of translation progressed in England? If we judge from the English translations of Schiller's dramas our answer must be in the negative. Coleridge's translations (1800) are still the most poetical English versions of *Piccolomini* and *Tod*, Mellish's *Maria Stuart* (1801) has not yet been improved on, Boylan's *Don Carlos* (1847) and Miss Swanwick's *Jungfrau* (1843) are as good as any translations we possess of those dramas. Mr. Rea makes a plea for a new translation of *Die Braut von Messina*. We might well add a plea for a new translation of the *Lager*.

A number of minor corrections and additions might be sug-

gested for the next edition of Mr. Rea's book. To the statement (p. 44) that *Don Carlos* was never brought on the English stage might be added a note referring to Dunlap's production in New York on May 6, 1799, and Richard Mansfield's production (based on Boylan's translation) on his tour of the United States during the season 1905-1906. In connection with Moir's translation of *Wallenstein* Mr. Rea quotes (p. 59) a letter of Goethe in which the statement occurs "Von dem *Lager*, das er nicht zu übersetzen wagt, giebt er historische Kenntnisse." No translation by Moir of the *Lager* is mentioned in the bibliographical table. There appeared, however, in Boston in 1837, an English translation of the *Lager* by Moir—based, as the preface explains, on an earlier English edition. An interesting monograph, not mentioned by Mr. Rea, might have been cited in the chapter on *Wallenstein* — Hans Roscher, *Die Wallensteinübersetzung von Samuel T. Coleridge und ihr deutsches original*, Borna-Leipzig, 1905. That Coleridge's translation is, as Mr. Rea states p. 54, "the best translation we possess of any foreign classic", might be denied by admirers of Mellish's *Maria Stuart*, Bayard Taylor's *Faust*, Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat*, Professor Herford's *Brand*, Longfellow's *Divine Comedy*, and the many excellent translations of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid*. The translation of *Jungfrau* by H. Salvin (1824), mentioned p. 82, is not included in the list on p. 148. The statement (p. 86) that the first translation of *Jungfrau* was by Bethune (1835) should be corrected to read Salvin. The version of *Maria Stuart* by W. Peter is cited (p. 83, also p. 148) as appearing in Hamburg in 1841; the first edition appeared in Philadelphia in 1840. The edition of *Maria Stuart* by M. Müller and C. Wenckebach (p. 148) was published in 1903; its notes are entirely in German. The edition of *Tell* by A. Sachtleben (p. 150) was copyrighted in 1877, and published a number of times before 1904, the date put down by Mr. Rea. In summing up in six lines (p. 117) Furness's translations of *Das Lied von der Glocke*, Mr. Rea is rather severe. The translation is more than "fairly respectable" even though it does contain a number of impure rhymes. In the final chapter are cited the English biographies of Schiller—those by Carlyle, Sime, Nevinson, Calvin Thomas. Three others might be of interest—Carl Follen, *On Schiller's Life and Dramas*, Boston, 1841; Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Schiller*, Leipzig 1844, [an introduction of 104 pages to *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller*]; and H. H. Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller, Their Lives and Works*, New York, 1879. Follen's work is of special interest; it was, next to Carlyle's, the earliest extended English biography, it was the first biography of Schiller written in the

United States, and, finally, it contains specimen translations of many scenes from Schiller's dramas.

The following list of the titles omitted in Mr. Rea's table includes only three books (Professor Rhoades's edition of Schiller's poems, Dr. Florer's edition of *Jungfrau* and President Nollen's edition of *Maria Stuart*) that have appeared since the publication of Mr. Rea's work.

TRANSLATIONS.

Die Räuber

Christopher W. Mann. London, 1841. [From the "College Magazine," Kings College, London. Included by Henry Morley in *Schiller's Poems and Plays*, London, 1889].

Kabale und Liebe

Fettes. 1884. [See Lowndes's *Bibliographies of English Literature*.]

Don Carlos

G. H. Calvert. Baltimore. Wm. and Jas. Neal, 1834.

Wallensteins Lager.

George Moir. Boston. Jas. Munroe & Co., 1837.

M. Verkrüzen, Hamburg, 1899.

Jungfrau von Orleans

H. Salvin. London, 1824.

Braut von Messina

Charles Hodges. Munich, 1836. [*Demetrius* and scenes from *Braut von Messina*.]

J. Towler. Carlsruhe, 1850.

Wilhelm Tell

C. T. Brooks. Providence, R. I. B. Cranston & Co., 1838.

Chas. A. McMurry. New York. Silver, Burdett & Co., 1902.

Albert G. Latham. London, 1904.

EDITIONS.

Wallensteins Lager

E. C. F. Krauss. Boston. S. R. Urbino, 1866.

Die Piccolomini

E. C. F. Krauss. Boston. S. R. Urbino, 1865.

James M. Hart. New York. Putnam, 1875.

Wallensteins Tod

E. C. F. Krauss. S. R. Urbino. Boston, 1865.

Maria Stuart

Anonymous. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co.; Cambridge

Brown, Shattuck & Co., 1833.⁶

J. C. Oehlschlager. New York, 1853.

E. C. F. Krauss. Boston. S. R. Urbino, 1866.

W. A. Hervey. New York. Hinds & Noble, 1899.

Carl E. Eggert. Chicago. Scott, Foresman & Co., 1903.

John S. Nollen. Boston. Ginn & Co., 1909.

Jungfrau von Orleans

A. Bernays. London. Parker's German Classics, 1847.

G. J. Adler. New York. D. Appleton & Co., 1854.

W. A. Hervey. New York. Hinds & Noble, 1900.

L. A. Rhoades. New York. Appleton, 1901.

W. W. Florer. New York. American Book Co., 1908.

Braut von Messina

W. H. Carruth. New York. Silver, Burdett & Co., 1901.

Wilhelm Tell

J. C. Oehlschlager. Philadelphia. John Weik, 1851.

E. C. F. Krauss. Boston. S. R. Urbino, 1865.

E. A. Oppen. London. Longmans, 1869.

E. M. Granger. New York. Hinds & Noble, 1898.

C. A. Buchheim. Revised ed. by H. Schoenfeld. London, 1902.

E. C. Roedder. New York. American Book Co., 1905.

R. A. von Minckwitz. New York. Maynard, Merrill & Co., 1905.

Poems

W. H. Van der Smissen. New York. Appleton, 1903.

[Goethe and Schiller.]

J. S. Nollen. New York. Holt & Co., 1905.

L. A. Rhoades. New York. American Book Co., 1908.

Mr. Rea's labors have been of great value. His book is an example of diligent inquiry and painstaking research. It will find a welcome place in a fascinating field—the study of English translations of the German classics. It shows, moreover, the increasing popularity in English-speaking countries of the works of Schiller.

FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER.

Harvard University.

⁶The complete title is "German Dramas from Schiller and Goethe; for the use of persons learning the German language." The dramas are *Maria Stuart*, *Torquato Tasso*, and *Egmont*. Only the text is given. An English preface (one page) explains that the dramas are selected for the use of students at Harvard. There are no notes or vocabulary. It is not, properly speaking, an English edition: it is, however, one of the first German texts printed for the use of American students.

[This edition was without question prepared by Karl Follen for the use of his students.—Ed.]

GUSTAV FREYTAGS Romantechnik von Dr. Paul Ulrich. Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Buchhandlung, 1907. (Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, hrsg. von Dr. Ernst Elster.)

Die Art und Weise, wie die Romantechnik eines Schriftstellers abzuhandeln ist, steht jetzt nach dem Vorgang von mehreren der Einrichtung nach beinahe mustergiltigen Werken wie Biemann *Über Goethes Technik*, Müller-Embs *Otto Ludwigs Erzählungskunst* und Whitcomb *The Study of a Novel*, Heath, 1905, ziemlich fest. Allerdings werden je nach dem behandelten Autor oder Werk Abweichungen von dem Schema eintreten müssen, trifft das ja auch für die dramatische Technik zu. Es ist sicherlich zu wünschen, dass auch in das Studium der Romantechnik etwas mehr Technik gebracht werde, anstatt wie in älteren Werken alles kunterbunt durcheinander zu würfeln.

Denn je mehr das Studium der Romantechnik zur Wissenschaft erhoben wird, desto klarer werden auch unsere Begriffe von der Romankunst werden, desto weniger wird es jedem Beliebigen möglich sein, öffentlich über Romane zu urteilen.

Die Romankunst ist eine neue, z.T. noch sehr unvollendete, so ist auch das Studium der Technik des Romans noch allzusehr in den Anfängen. Es gibt noch zu wenig feste Normen zur Beurteilung, auch ist das Material noch nicht genügend zusammengetragen. Durch dieses Stadium muss jede Wissenschaft hindurch. Wie lange ist's, seitdem das Studium des Dramas eben so regellos und unwissenschaftlich, wie bisher das Studium der Romantechnik, betrieben wurde!

Es gilt hier nicht nur die Regeln festzustellen, die den Schriftsteller geleitet, weniger noch ein Regelbuch aufzustellen, es gilt, die besten Romane zu studieren, die Gesetze zu abstrahieren, um dadurch eine bessere Romankunst zu ermöglichen und um dem Leser ein Verständnis für gute Romane aufzutun.

Hierzu soll auch das vorliegende Buch ein Beitrag sein. Doch müssen wir an der Arbeit rügen, dass sie z.T. das, was man in einem Werk über Romantechnik zu finden erwartet, nicht enthält, z.T. das enthält, was entbehrlich ist.

Es ist z.B. zwar ein Verfahren der historisch-kritischen Methode bei Behandlung eines Werkes auf die Entstehungsgeschichte einzugehen. Das ist aber bei der Darlegung der Technik eines Romans nur insofern nötig, als die Art der Entstehung Einfluss auf die Technik hat und kann dann meistens in wenigen Paragraphen erledigt werden.

Im vorliegenden Buch kommen von 116 S. (ohne Einleitung und Anhang) 34 S. auf die Entstehungsgeschichte der Romane. Zwar wird nebenbei die Idee und der Stoff gestreift, auch

etliche Seiten Allgemeines über Freytags Technik gesagt und Vergleiche mit andern Romanschriftstellern herangezogen, besonders aber ein ganzer Abschnitt auf einen Vergleich mit Walter Scott verwendet. Die Beziehung auf Scott kehrt, nebenbei gesagt, in jedem der folgenden Kapitel wieder, und zwar in solcher Ausdehnung, dass man geneigt ist anzunehmen, diese Arbeit sei aus einer Dissertation entstanden, die einen Vergleich zwischen Freytag und Sir Walter zum Vorwurf hatte.

Es liegt ja für den Sachkundigen auf der Hand, dass Scott, Dickens und Gutzkow in dieser Abhandlung genannt werden müssen, ja dass auch ausführliche Vergleiche veranstaltet werden müssen, wir tadeln aber, dass dies in solcher Ausdehnung geschah, da doch so manches Ebensowichtige ganz unterblieben ist.

So scheint der nächste Abschnitt "Die Handlung" ganz unzulänglich. Was hier behandelt wird, ist 1) Die Willensmotive, 2) Die Einheit der Handlung, 3) Die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Handlung, 4) Bedeutsamkeit der Handlung. Das erste wird mit zwei Seiten abgetan.—Hier hätten sämtliche Motive und Nebenmotive nach Art und Durchführung abgehandelt werden müssen. Anstatt einer Analyse der Motive finden wir nur einige allgemeine Sätze über die Willenstätigkeit der Freytagschen Helden. Unter 2) wird konstatiert, dass alle Romane Freytags Einheit besitzen, sowohl in der Handlung als in der Gegenhandlung. Nebenbei gesagt, ist die Rotsattelhandlung in "Soll und Haben" nicht die Gegenhandlung, wie auf S.52. behauptet wird, sondern eine Nebenhandlung—sonst wäre ja auch die Finkhandlung eine Gegenhandlung, es sind diese beide vielmehr Nebenhandlungen, die eine aufsteigend, die andere absteigend, und die Gegenhandlung des Ganzen ist die Ehrental-Veitel-Handlung.

Unter Abschnitt "Wahrscheinlichkeit der Handlung" wird behandelt: Die historische Treue; Das Übersinnliche; Der typische Ideengehalt und Tendenz in Freytags Romanen. Freytag wird als tendenzlos dargetan, obwohl auch Belege für das Gegenteil angeführt werden, und man auch zuweilen eine ganz leise Absicht merkt.

Unter 4.) "Bedeutsamkeit der Handlung" wird der Freytagsche Satz, "dass der Held eines Romans einen starken, über das gewöhnliche Mass menschlicher Kraft hinausreichenden Inhalt haben müsse", als für den Roman nicht bindend verworfen, womit wir jedoch kaum übereinstimmen können. Für den Roman gilt schon seit der Klassikerzeit das Diktum, dass der Inhalt des Romans *ein bedeutendes Menschenleben* sein müsse. Und zudem hat ein Roman hauptsächlich Wert, insofern als er uns in eine Weltanschauung versetzt. Wenn aber der Held

nicht über das gewöhnliche Mass des Menschen hinausragt, so wird seine Lebensanschauung uns kaum interessieren.

Es scheint fast, als ob Ulrich auf S. 75 das Wort "Inhalt" als=Willenskraft nehme, woraus dann allerdings seine Ablehnung des Freytagschen Satzes erklärlich wäre.

Kapitel 3., "Der Aufbau der Handlung", folgt in der Anordnung ganz der Freytagschen Technik des Dramas, wie es ja auch unbestritten ist, dass der Aufbau von Roman und Drama vieles gemeinsam hat. Doch möchten wir diesen Aufbau nicht allzustreng von dem Roman fordern. Es liegt ja in der Natur der Sache, dass jeder Roman bis zu einem gewissen Grad ein ähnliches Schema aufweist, besonders der neuere, dramatischere Roman. Es gibt aber auch viele Abweichungen und darf sie geben, wie ja auch im Drama. Überhaupt hat man zur Darlegung der Technik noch das wenigste getan, wenn man konstatiert hat, dass der Roman mit diesem Schema übereinstimmt.

Auch Goethes Satz vom passiven Helden wird citiert, aber wie gewöhnlich wird er in zu gesteigertem Sinne verstanden. Nebenbei darf hier gesagt werden, dass der Satz unter deutschen Romanschriftstellern schon viel Unheil angestiftet hat. Der Deutsche neigt so wie so schon zur Darstellung von Gesinnungen und Begebenheiten, anstatt Charakteren und Taten. Und wenn Goethe imstande war, selbst aus einem solchen "leidenden" Helden einen lesbaren Roman zu schaffen, so kann es doch nicht jeder, wie viele tausend Romane mit hunderten von Seiten Beschreibung, Reflexion und Introspektion seit Goethe dargetan haben.

Seit Goethe hat sich aber auch manches verändert. Der neuere Roman, wohl mehr noch im Ausland als in Deutschland, hat sich stets dramatisch gebärdet. Am alten lyrischen Apparat ist der deutsche Roman bis in die neueste Zeit hineingehinkt. Freilich zur Ablagerung von Weltanschauung und Subjektivem ist auch der lyrische Roman geeignet. Um aber einen lesbaren Roman zu schaffen, hat sich die dramatische Technik seit den Tagen Scotts, Dickens, Eliots und Freytags am wirksamsten erwiesen. Daher kommt es auch, dass englische und amerikanische Romane sich leicht zur Dramatisierung hergeben, der deutsche Roman aber nicht.

Als Anhang des Buches wird Freytags Jugendversuch im Roman "Der Kampf um das Leben" sowie ein Verzeichnis der Bücher, die Freytag bei Hirzel bestellt hat, und ein Verzeichnis der in dieser Arbeit zum ersten Male veröffentlichten Äusserungen Freytags mitgeteilt. Das Ganze kann man als ein ziemlich nutzloses Buch bezeichnen.

Gar nicht erwähnt werden z.B., um nur etliches herauszugreifen, das Symbol, die Pantomime, die Physiognomik, die in Freytags Romanen eine so grosse Rolle spielen.

Hätte U. einen Plan verfolgt wie ihn z.B. Riemann in seiner Arbeit über Goethe benutzt, so wäre er auf noch vieles gestossen.

Und da wir von dem Plan zu einer solchen Arbeit sprechen, möchte ich den folgenden vorschlagen, der nicht nur für Fachleute, sondern auch für pädagogische Zwecke dienlich sein dürfte.

- 1.) Allgemeines { Idee, d.h. Thema; Entstehung; Einfluss Anderer.
Über Ort, Zeit und Tendenz.
Exposition, Aufsteigende Handlung, Höhepunkt, u.s.w., wie im Drama.
- 2.) Stoff { Handlung und Gegenhandlung; die Motive und Nebenmotive und deren Durchführung, Aufbau der Handlung.
- 3.) Verwendung des Stoffes { Formen der Darstellung { Ich=Erzählung, Briefe, Verse, Prosa, Citate, eingeschobene Erzählungen, subjektive oder objektive Art der Darstellung.
Einführung der Personen { Dramatisch, durch Erwähnung, nach Gruppen, u.s.w.
Symbol
- 4.) Charakteristik { Durch die Einführung, Charakterskizze, Handlung, Redeweise, (Dialekt, gemein, gewählt, Ideengehalt auch in den Reden.)
Durch Namengebung
Kontrast, Natur- oder Milieuschilderung, Physiognomik, Mimik, Indirekte Schilderung.

- Allgemeines über des Autors Sprache und Stil.
Vorwalten von beschreibenden, erzählenden,
dialektischen, analytischen Partien.
- 5.) Sprache { Dialog { zwischen zwei oder mehreren Personen;
ob dramatisch oder nicht dramatisch,
Chorsprechen, u.s.w.
- { Monolog, Tropen, Vocabular, u.s.w.
- 6.) Zusammenfassung { Eindruck des ganzen Werkes, Einfluss
auf Literatur und Leben. Analyse
vom soziologischen und psychologischen
Standpunkt.
{ Bedeutung des Werkes, u.s.w.—

CHARLES HART HANDSCHIN.

Miami University, August, 1908.

HENRIK IBSEN'S Brand. Et dramatisk Digt. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Julius E. Olson. John Anderson Publishing Company, Chicago, 1908. pp. LVI + 341.

When the John Anderson Company in the fall of 1905 published the present writer's annotated edition of Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken* I took occasion to note the fact in the Preface of that volume that it was the first Scandinavian text to be published in this country thus equipped with introduction and notes for use in school and college. It is an encouraging sign that the same enterprising publisher has seen fit, within a comparatively short time, to supply us with another text similarly equipped. We are thus at once put upon a far better basis for the teaching of Norwegian in our American colleges than we have ever been before. Nor is Swedish to be neglected. The H. W. Wilson Company of Minneapolis published in November, 1907, a *Swedish Grammar and Reader* for beginners which is far more serviceable for American students than any of the Swedish grammars previously in existence. The editor is J. C. Carlson, formerly Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures in Minnesota University. I take pleasure in announcing also that my much belated edition of Tegnér's *Frithjofs Saga* is now announced by the publishers, The Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company of Chicago, as ready for issue in June. This edition will be supplied with notes, an introduction on the genesis of Tegnér's great masterpiece and a complete bibliography of translations.

In the whole field of recent Scandinavian literature there is no work of which we welcome more gladly a critical edition at this time than Ibsen's *Brand*. As Ibsen's works are coming to be more generally read and better understood, the significance of *Brand* for a proper understanding of Ibsen's whole authorship is beginning to be appreciated. While *Brand*, owing in part to its linguistic difficulties, has not been read much in college classes in Norwegian in this country, it is hoped that hereafter no course that extends into the second year will fail to include the study of Olson's edition of *Brand*, and in lecture courses upon Ibsen's life and his earlier works the student might very well use this edition of *Brand* as a hand-book. Professor Olson has had over twenty years' experience as a teacher of Norwegian in an American university and he has during most of that time conducted courses in *Brand*. He should therefore be qualified in an especial degree for the task which he has undertaken; and it pleases me greatly to say that he has done a most painstaking work and given us an edition that in every way meets the requirements of present scholarship, both as to the study of Ibsen it offers and as to the general make-up of the edition.

In the introduction the editor discusses those elements in Ibsen's early life and training which are of value to the student in the study of *Brand*. He thereupon gives an account of the particular situation and the personal experience of which the drama is an outgrowth, concluding with an interpretation of the general theme and purpose of the great masterpiece. Interpretative discussion is also embodied in considerable part in the notes upon difficult passages, especially upon the last pages of the drama where the text is annotated almost line for line. The introduction and notes give evidence of careful study of the poem, and it will not be too much to say that there has not been heretofore published a commentary on *Brand* which shows a better insight into the meaning of the poem or offers a saner interpretation of its difficulties than the editor's Introduction, pages XXXIX-LVI and notes, pages 333-341.

It has been the editor's special care, first of all, to present a reliable text, free from the errors and misprints of earlier editions of the drama. This was highly desirable inasmuch as Ibsen, painfully careful as he was of first editions, rarely gave any attention to new editions of his works, and the editor has discovered that "all the editions of *Brand* that have appeared during the last twenty-five years contain a number of misprints." *Brand* was the first of Ibsen's works issued by Hegel in Copenhagen, and it was at this time that the author began to take especial pains in the reading of proofs; but in the following

three editions numerous errors crept in. Ibsen at this time wrote to the publisher calling attention to these, and in 1868 there was issued the fifth edition, which is said to be free from errors, while a sixth followed in 1871, in which the orthography was changed to accord with the recommendations made by the Stockholm Congress of 1869. The editor's text has been based upon these two editions, except that where Ibsen himself changed his orthography in his later works, these changes have been adopted according to the Memorial Edition (16th) of 1907.¹ Among errors that have been especially troublesome may be noted page 72, line 12, *som skraemmer sjaelen*, corrected to *some skæmmer sjaelen*; page 78, line 3, *går end det største udenom*, corrected to *går en det største udenom*, and 158 line 10 *hanekjælken* corrected to *hanebjælken*. It is gratifying that the editor has been able to discover and weed out these and many other errors of earlier printed editions.

I have found very few misprints in the present text. There is a rather unfortunate one on page 76, where a line *i skyggen under bræens brem*—has been dropped out after line 21, line 24 appearing in its stead, and again a second time in its proper place in the second following line. On page 101, line 12, "sa" appears twice for *så*, and on page 283, note 57-14, *sore* should be *store*. On page 308, note 136:23-26 should be 136:22-26, I take it; and on page 307 note to 124:16 comes before note to 124:14. It is clearly also a misprint when on page 327, note to 249:25, King Harald the Fairhaired is said to have ruled in Norway from 860 to 930 instead of 872 to 930.²

The text is fully annotated, seventy-two pages being devoted to notes alone. An especially excellent feature of these is the use made of Ibsen's own *Letters*, and such works as Jäger's *Henrik Ibsen* and Paulson's *Samliv med Ibsen*, to bring out the biographical and the local-historical background of the drama, which is so essential to a proper understanding of Brand, as of *Peer Gynt*. Such are, e.g., the notes to 27:21-26, 27:27, 35, 87:4, 108:3-6, 114:5; 187:24; 188:7; etc. The care which the author has given the Notes is evidenced in the discussions to such lines as: *lidt lysten efter nat-verd-svalgen* (28:26), and *der blir en frossen som is-tap-kallen over fossen* (68:10). I do not wish to find fault where the work has been so excellently done, but I miss in some cases a note where the text clearly calls for one or where a reference would have been

¹For errors of the 10th edition, which have found their way into translations also, see Preface V and notes to 72:12 and 78:3-4.

²Minor misprints occur as follows: p. 171, line 30; p. 270 in line 3 of note 14:11; p. 290, in line 4 of note 73:3; p. 294 in note 78:9; and p. 296 in note 83:13. On page XXXVIII, line 1 in the note, 'seems' was evidently intended to be 'seemed'.

of aid to the student. Thus on page 274, note to lines 12-14 a reference to Ibsen's Petition to King Charles dated at Rome April 15th, 1866, would have been in place. Other similar cases are page 31, lines 21-22 (Letter 79), page 81, lines 9-10 (cf. *Peer Gynt*, 246, 8, 3d ed.) and page 10, line 11 (cf. *Catilina*; first line), page 22, line 23, and page 24, lines 8-9, on the expression *med löv om hat*. Compare the expression *med vin löv i håret* in *Hedda Gabler*, pp. 144 and 191 and Professor Dietrichson's most interesting comment on this in *Svundne Tider*. But these are little things.

We welcome heartily this new addition to our working material, and hope that Professor Olson will find opportunity in the near future to present in a similar edition the results of his work on Kielland's *Skipper Worse*.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

University of Iowa, April 16, 1909.

THE POETRY OF CHAUCER. By Robert Kilburn Root, Ph.D. Boston. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906. Pp. viii, 298.

Chaucerian research, accompanied by a fuller appreciation of the poet, has made seven league strides since a reviewer of Ward's *Chaucer* in 1880 wrote, "We can hardly expect anything more will be known of Geoffrey Chaucer than we now know." Increasing attention has been paid to him not only in the graduate seminaries but also among scholars and readers in general. Dr. Root's aim, as expressed in his Preface, has been "to render accessible to the readers of Chaucer the fruits of these investigations, in so far as they induce to a fuller appreciation of the poet and his work," and he appears to have placed his shaft fairly within the clout.

The opening chapter is devoted to a description of "Chaucer's England," and puts clearly before the reader the distinction between the mediæval point of view and that of the Renaissance, closing with a hasty review of "the great movements of the fourteenth century, political, social, religious, and literary," in order that we may more clearly see "in what sort of a world Chaucer lived and worked." Perhaps the most interesting chapter is the second, having as its subject the poet himself, and being concerned with the poet's sources and with "what may be called his philosophy of life." Those who are but beginning the study of Chaucer will gain a fuller appreciation of the chapter if they will postpone the reading of it until they

¹ *Westminster Review*, LVIII, 308.

have read not only the remainder of the book but also a fair number of the poems which are therein discussed. They will then have formed opinions for themselves, or will at least be in a position to appreciate those which have been made for them.

The third chapter gives a clear summary of the discussion as to the English *Romaunt of the Rose* and an account of its French original. Single chapters are also devoted to the description of "The Minor Poems," *Troilus and Criseyde*, *The House of Fame*, and *The Legend of Good Women*, and the discussion of the problems connected with them. Chaucer's translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and his compilation of the treatise on the astrolabe are treated of in the fifth chapter, and the last four chapters are filled with the tales and doings of honest Harry Bailly and his "mery companye" en route to Canterbury, "the holy blisful martir for to seke." "A Chronological Survey of Chaucer's Life and Works," placed at the beginning of the volume, and "A Few Suggestions as to the Study of Chaucer," which are added as an Appendix, complete the study.

In the chapter upon *Troilus and Criseyde* are described somewhat fully the successive sources of the poem, the degree of prominence which they give to the hero and heroine, and the varying manner in which Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakespeare have treated the theme. The gradual downfall of Criseyde is traced, and the author holds "after the newe world the space" in regard to Chaucer's treatment of Criseyde—that Chaucer has not ennobled the character of Boccaccio's heroine, but has merely made her a little more clever in deceiving her friends, and that "it is Pandarus, and not Criseyde, who is the dupe." Dr. Root has also clearly brought out Chaucer's skill in improving upon his sources, as for example, in the tales of the Prioress and the Physician (pp. 197, 222); he has pointed out the artistic triumph in the portrayal of Constance (p. 185); he has emphasized the architectonics of *The Miller's Tale* (p. 177); and he has rather strongly stressed the "undertone of melancholy" in the character of the Wife of Bath (p. 237).

As suits a work of this type, Dr. Root's style is easy and pleasant, and at the same time direct. His conclusions are conservative and incline to the saner and safer view. Thus, after admitting the possibility that Chaucer may have invented his "eight yere siknesse"² in accordance with the custom then prevalent, he concludes: "Still we must not assume the truth of such a hypothesis merely because the expression of this love

² See *The Book of the Duchess* (written in 1369) and *The Complaint to Pity*.

is clothed in artificial and conventional forms. Personally, I find the idea of a hopeless love, protracted through eight long years, out of harmony with the eminent sanity of Chaucer's nature. But who shall say?" (p. 58). The discovery at last of what seems to be proof that the much doubted Thomas was really the son of Geoffrey³ makes it also practically certain that Philippa Chaucer was Philippa Roet,⁴ and that by 1369 Chaucer had been married for three or more years. The period which is usually assigned as the birth-date of Thomas, 1364-1367,⁵ agrees with the inference, and the two facts taken together should be sufficient to lay forever the time-honored theories of Chaucer's late marriage and his hopeless eight years' love.

Another instance of the author's conservative point of view is his belief that the French marguerite poems served as suggestions rather than as definite sources for the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* (p. 139, note), and that the evidence which these poems present as to the priority of the B version of the *Prologue* is not sufficient to outweigh the aesthetic superiority of B and its identification of Alcestis with Queen Anne (p. 143), facts which point toward the priority of A. A further bit of evidence in favour of A's priority can perhaps be found in Chaucer's mention of *Troilus and Criseyde* in the two versions of the *Prologue* (A, ll. 265, 344, 431, 459, 531; B, ll. 332, 441, 469). We should expect to find more references to the writing of *Troilus and Criseyde* in that version of the *Prologue* the date of whose composition was closer to the date of *Troilus and Criseyde*, that is to say, in the earlier version—the subject of *Criseyde* would then be fresh in the poet's mind and frequent reference to her would be natural. Since Chaucer in the A version refers to his composition of the poem almost twice as often as he does in the B version, it would thus seem that A was probably written first.

As to the alleged meeting of Petrarch and Chaucer, Dr. Root says: "We cannot positively assert that Petrarch and Chaucer did not meet; but in the absence of any positive evidence of their meeting, we must admit that the probabilities are strongly against it" (p. 257). He does not believe, as did the writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* (LXXIV, 164), that Chaucer would not have written the tales which are objection-

³Skeat, *Athenæum*, Jan. 27, 1900, p. 116.

⁴Thomas Chaucer used the Roet arms; see the cut of his tomb in Speght (1602) and the remarks of Nicolas (*Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, London, 1843, pp. 60, 65).

⁵Speght (1602) says. "Thomas Chaucer was borne about the 38 or 39 yeere of Edward 3;" cf. also Nicolas (*Life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, London, 1843, p. 108).

able on the score of their indecency had he known that the printing press was to be invented, nor does he believe that Chaucer was in the least deceived by his own apologetic argument for their insertion (p. 176). On the contrary he holds that such stories as those of the Miller, and the Reeve are by no means necessary to the plan of *The Canterbury Tales*; that they are, however, in no sense evidence of the immoral character of their author; and that Chaucer's serious defence of the tales is contained in the single line,

"And eek men shal nat make ernest of game."

Dr. Root is probably correct when, referring to *The Book of the Duchess*, he says that "Some attempt is made to create a sort of suspense by withholding until the very end the fact that the knight's loss of his lady is the irreparable loss of death" (p. 62). This could be proved by the allusions which the knight makes throughout his narrative to the climax of his tale, and the manner in which the lines just preceding the climax (1302-06) refer back to what has preceded. As suspense, however, in the stricter sense of the term,—as causing the reader to have any uncertainty as to the outcome,—the device is rather a failure, since the knight in his "compleynt" (ll. 475-486) has already plainly stated the cause of his "gret sorwe." Moreover, since Chaucer represents himself as having heard this complaint, his later ignorance as to the cause of the knight's "sorwes smerte" is, to say the least, naive. The chief value of the device seems to be that the poet is thereby enabled to give a sort of unity to what would otherwise be the interminable discourses of the sorrowing knight. This Chaucer does by causing the knight to insert in his narrative the lines already alluded to,⁹ which look forward to the disclosure of the cause of his grief, and lead the reader on until he arrives at the end of the tale and the definite

⁹ "For I am sorwe and sorwe is I.
Alas! and I wol telle the why." (ll.597-98)

"For now she worcheth me ful wo,
And I wol telle sone why so." (ll.815-16)

"I will anoon-right telle thee why." (l.847)

"But wherfor that I telle my tale?" (l.1034)

"'Nede!' nay, I gabbe now.
Noght 'nede,' and I wol telle how." (ll.1075-76)

"But wherfor that I telle thee
Whan I first my lady sey?" (ll.1088-89)

And especially ll.742-757, 1126-1144, which are the two most important passages.

statement of the death of Blanche. But even the device which is employed for the sake of unity only emphasizes the looseness of construction for which the poem is famed.

One may be permitted to dissent from the suggestion that "Corinne" was invented by the poet in order to increase the obscurity of his allegory of some love story of the English court which he has shadowed forth in *Anelida and Arcite* (p. 69), and to doubt whether the author has not slightly overworked the allegory in *The House of Fame* (pp. 128ff.). I should also prefer to make a less definite statement as to the poet's birth year than, "the date of Chaucer's birth cannot be later than 1340" (pp. 15, 59); there is no evidence that fixes 1340 as the maximum limit of his birth, but, on the contrary, there are indications which may yet show that "a little after 1340" is a safer guess than "just before 1340."

Not least among the commendable points of the book is the care with which Dr. Root has selected the references given in his footnotes; they have been well chosen and are neither too plentiful nor too few. In addition to them, mention might well be made of Sypherd's article upon "Chaucer's Eight Years' Sickness" in connection with the discussion of that period in the poet's life (p. 58); of Hamilton's *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne* (Macmillan, 1903) in the chapter on *Troilus and Criseyde*, especially since the question of sources is entered into rather thoroughly; and of Shipley's discussion of "The Arrangement of the Canterbury Tales" (p. 153).⁵

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⁷ *Modern Language Notes*, XX, 240.

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, X, 259; XI, 145. I have noted but few typographical errors: the words "Student's Chaucer" (p. vi) should be italicised (see pp. 291-92, and elsewhere); "Geek" (p. 94) is for "Greek;" "in deed" (p. 136) should doubtless be "indeed;" and Professor Mead's edition of the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* (p. 200, note 1) appeared in the Albion Series, not the Athenaeum Press Series.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS PRESERVED IN THE
CHAPTER LIBRARY OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Compiled by the Rev. John Kestell Floyer, M.A., F.S.A., formerly Minor Canon and Librarian of Worcester Cathedral, Vicar of Warton, Lancashire; and edited and revised throughout by Sidney Graves Hamilton, M.A., Fellow and Librarian of Hertford College, Oxford. Oxford, 1906, XVIII + 196 pages.

This book represents a kind of scholarly work of which unfortunately too little has been done in connection with the libraries of England. While Dr. M. R. James and a few other English scholars have been for some years, and are still, doing much towards cataloguing the collections of the various colleges of Cambridge and Oxford, there yet remains much to be done, even at the two great English universities. And the vast majority of cathedral and other "country" libraries are for the most part without any convenient, reliable catalogues. The Historical Manuscripts Commission and H. Schenkl in his *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britanniae* (*Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* of Vienna) have indeed browsed over the entire field. But in one case the chief concern has been the cataloguing manuscripts of historical value only, while in the other the work has of necessity been limited mainly to the recording of pieces which are of especial interest to the student of mediæval theological literature. Both Schenkl and the Historical Commission have occasionally described pieces contained in the manuscripts they examined which are of interest to students of mediæval literature in the broader sense, but we are never sure that either of them has made an exhaustive list of the manuscripts in any library, or of the pieces of any manuscript. Schenkl's catalogue, for instance, of the Worcester Cathedral library (see *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 139, No. X, 1898, not 1894, as stated by Hamilton, *Preface*, p. vi, footnote) takes no account of the Folio manuscripts (six in number) after F. 171, though FF. 175, 176, 177 contain almost exclusively Latin pieces of a mediæval theological character.

The new Catalogue of Floyer and Hamilton is therefore a valuable addition to the library literature of the world. It is a neat, attractive, interesting volume, containing a short Preface in which Mr. Hamilton describes the origin and plan of the catalogue, a very interesting and illuminating Introduction (pp. IX-XVIII) by Mr. Floyer on "The Mediæval Library of the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary, in Worcester Cathedral Church," the catalogue proper (pp. 1-157), "Fragments" (pp. 158-164), "MSS. formerly belonging to the Library of Worcester Cathedral, now in other Libraries" (pp.

165-175), an "Appendix" (pp. 176-192) in which "are collected certain documents found in the MS. volumes which are the subject of the present Catalogue, though not forming part of their text; together with some additional notes," and an Index (pp. 183-196). The volume is moreover adorned with a Frontispiece,—a facsimile of a "Leaf from a Choir Book of the Fifteenth Century",—and three additional illustrations: "Ownership Marks from MSS. in Worcester Cathedral Library" (to face p. XIII), "Binding of a Book" (to face p. XVI), "Seal Impressed on Q 28" (to face p. 192).

We learn from the Preface that most of the work of compilation and description of the first 110 Folio MSS. was done by Mr. Floyer, while Mr. Hamilton is mainly responsible for the remaining 67 Folios and all the (100) Quartos, and in fact for the rest of the book. Mr. Floyer gives in the Introduction (which is mainly a paper formerly contributed to *Archaeologia* vol. lviii) an interesting account of the origin and growth "of the ancient Library of the Cathedral priory of St. Mary, Worcester," which "as an institution is older than any portion of the present buildings." In its earliest, unexploited form the collection of volumes was one of the most important possessed by any English cathedral library. "There are 275 volumes still remaining which date from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and sixty-six which formerly belonged to Worcester are in existence in other libraries in England. This makes a total of 343 (*sic*) now existing. Of this number a very few have been added since the dissolution of the priory. A thorough search would doubtless bring to light several others formerly belonging. To estimate the original total there must be added a large number of service books, which were generally the best written and illuminated, and so most liable to spoliation and dispersion, and a number which it is impossible to conjecture, which have been either wantonly destroyed at different times or have perished through decay.

Of the 275 volumes which now remain in manuscript, only a few seem ever to have belonged to other religious houses, and to have been added since mediæval times. The great majority are of the fourteenth century. The earlier books, that is of the tenth to the thirteenth century, are for the most part collections of Homilies of the Fathers in Latin, including many of English writers such as Bede and Anselm. Another group written in Anglo-Saxon, many of which were left to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Parker, is made up of miscellaneous collections of Canons, Constitutions, Creeds, etc., and the Anglo-Saxon Homilies of Lupus, Aelfric, and others. Perhaps the most interesting early Worcester books now existing are

the copy of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care' (Hatton, 20) and a copy of Gregory's 'Dialogues' (Hatton 76), both apparently autographs of Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, 873-915 and written for King Alfred. The 'Pastoral Care' has the Worcester inscription on the first page, and the 'Dialogues' begins with the celebrated preface of Alfred.

The Worcester copy of Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, which is contemporary with Florence, still exists (C.C.C. Oxon. 157), and two beautifully written manuscripts, apparently autographs of Prior Senatus (1189-1196), are preserved; the one a copy of the Vulgate (C.C.C.C. 48), the other of the Evangelists (Bib. Bodl. Oxon. Rawl. G. 168).

Of twelfth century manuscripts should also be mentioned the Commentary of Vacarius on Justinian, said to be the only copy of this work in England (Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 24). There is also of the twelfth or early thirteenth century an interesting group of early Latin translations of the works of the Arabian School of medicine, Constantine of Monte Cassino, Isaac, Joannitius (Honein ibn Ishak el Ibadi), and others (F. 70. 85; Q. 39, 40, 41).

The books of the thirteenth century are not numerous, but among them should be mentioned the unique Worcester Service Book (F. 160), a combination of Processioner, Antiphoner, Kalendar, Psalter, Litany, Hymnal, Collects, *Sanctorale*, *Dirige*, and *Missale* according to the Worcester use. There is also a good group of Canon and Civil Law, chiefly Gratian's *Decretum*, with commentaries on it, and Justinian and his commentators. They have the characteristics of being as a rule particularly well written, with wide margins, and for the most part have been very little read.

In the fourteenth century, to which the majority of the books belong, the influence of university life is largely felt. Many of the Benedictine houses had a house for their own students at Oxford or Cambridge, or at least a share in one. The Worcester students went chiefly to Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College. There they learned the art of writing after the newer models. . . The monastic custom in later days of making entries on the fly-leaves of books as to their cost and of the succession of ownership is well known. In many of the Worcester books, in spite of careless rebinding, these entries remain. But even with their assistance it is impossible to determine which were written in the Worcester monastery or by the monks themselves, and which were purchased."

As to the general appearance and the bindings of these ancient books Mr. Floyer says (p. XV ff): "The books of the mediæval library are not in any sense fancy products. There are no illuminations, and only an occasional good initial or

border is introduced to relieve the dull usefulness. . . . As a rule they are essentially books made to be read and to last. The ornate and beautiful books of hours and mass books which were made for the rich and the pleasure of the devout never seem to have found favour among the Worcester Benedictines, and those that did have all disappeared. The writing is always in black with occasional rubrics, and the initial always in red and blue with scarcely any gold. Green is used in the earlier MSS., but not in the later, though the severe simplicity of the latter is sometimes softened by curious designs in penwork filling in and proceeding from the initials, and often the writing of the first words is purposely fanciful. Only in a few of the more elaborate are figures of what may be called the combination of animals which defy natural history and which the illuminator often appears to have invented at the moment to suit the exigencies of the vellum or the space to be occupied. The typical Worcester book is worth describing. It is essentially a home production. The sheep of the farms provided the cover, the oak trees furnished the boards. The quires of vellum are sewn with hemp on to ligatures of hide, the ends of which are taken down through holes in the oak boards, brought up again an inch further on and finished in a neat knot. The ligature is let into the board on both sides so as to provide a smooth surface for the covering skin. A stiffening of plaited hemp is also worked on the upper and lower edges of the back. The whole is then covered with white sheepskin. A strap is riveted with an iron stud on to one front edge of the cover, carrying a brass clasp, which fits on to an iron pin set in a small brass plate about the middle of the reverse cover. Some of these clasps are preserved and are often chased with some care. A vellum label is then stuck outside the last cover with the title of the book. This is the usual type, of which of course there are many small variations. The whole production is most workmanlike and durable, as is proved by the fact that some of these bindings are still supple and in good order after four or five hundred years of wear, dust, neglect, and other destructive influences."

The extracts are sufficient to show both the scholarly character of the work and the author's attractive style. It is indeed an unusual thing for the author of a catalogue of manuscripts to show any appreciation of the graces of style. Like most other works of a scientific character, such catalogues are apparently considered most valuable and useful when their compilers are most successful in making them unattractive and unreadable. But the makers of the Worcester catalogue seem to have taken particular pride in writing and compiling an interesting account of their very interesting subject. Even the descriptions

of the manuscripts, and the listing of the various pieces do not present that repellent front to the reader which he has learned to expect from his experience with the average catalogue. The descriptions are accompanied by numerous comments of a bibliographical and historical kind which are likely to attract the attention of the casual reader, and which are a boon to the serious student. For instance, in the account of the contents of *F. 1* on the first page of the catalogue proper, the comment is given after No. 1 (*Historia Scolastica Veteris et Novi Testamenti*) that it is "one of the four copies in the library of Comestor's popular work. See *F. 33, 37, 138*. For the first introduction of this history to St. Alban's (perhaps to England) see Hardy (*Cat. Brit. Hist.* iii. 321). Comestor died 1198. He also wrote a book of eighty sermons, which have not been printed." And we are given certain items of valuable information about the second piece (*Corrogationes Promethei Alexandri Neckam*): "For an account of Neckam see T. Wright's Introduction to his edition of Neckam's 'De Naturis rerum,' Rolls Series. Another by Paul Meyer, *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nat.* Also a paper on his monument by J. K. Floyer, *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, 1897. Neckam died in 1217, and his effigy is in the cloisters of Worcester Cathedral. He was the author of many other works, of which a list is given in Cave and Bale."

The description of the first manuscript is a very good average specimen of the work of Messrs. Floyer and Hamilton. Where an author's name occurs for the first time a few of the important facts and dates of his life are reproduced. In the account of a manuscript we generally find the beginning and ending of each piece, a brief description of the binding and the handwriting, and the date. The conclusion of the description of *F. 16* (p. 9) may be taken as a typical specimen: "Rebound in dark red skin. Initials in red and blue. Tabula at beginning. Annotated throughout in two hands. XIV cent." The date is, however, not always added, because perhaps it is unknown.

A casual glance at the catalogue shows what we should naturally expect, that the contents of the MSS. in the Worcester collection are principally of a mediæval religious or theological character. But there are several MSS. which contain works of a secular moral and historical nature. For example, *F. 4*. contains 'Commenta super duodecim libris Metaphysicorum Aristotelis'; *F. 24*, 'Vacarius's Commentary on the Code of Justinian'; *F. 61*, a 'Collection of Grammatical works' (by Jerome, Brito, William de Monte, and Richard Hanbury); *F. 66*. Boethius's Latin translation of certain philosophical works of Aristotle and Porphyry; *F. 80*, the 'Gesta Roman-

orum,' "an entirely different collection from that of the printed 'Gesta,' and it is probably the Anglo-Saxon collection, which has been attributed to John Bromyard (temp. Ric. 11);" *F. 85*, the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, and several Latin translations of Greek and Arabic medical treatises; *F. 155*, 'Holcot super librum Sapientiae'; *F. 172*, certain moral treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole, and Peter Alfonse's *Disciplina Clericalis*, all in English prose; *F. 174*, Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary; *Q. 5*, Bede's 'De arte metrica' and other grammatical works, etc.

Q. 84, is particularly worthy of note because it contains Purvey's recension of Wycliffe's translation (completed in 1388) "of the New Testament, and it is one of the few finely illuminated books in the library."

The careful examination of the contents of the various MSS. of the collection by the authors of the catalogue is everywhere in evidence. In describing *F. 10* ('Liber Sermonum') for instance, a piece of English is quoted from "the middle of a sermon, otherwise entirely in Latin. . . which might be the fragment of a Passion Play:—"Virgo eius mater quam tradidit

Johannis custodie quando dixit
Mulier, ecce filius tuus, etc.

A blysseful mayden and modyr! this is a wonderful change: the angell behette (i. e. *promised*) the that kryst walde be thi sonne & dwel wyt the & now he takys the a new son & gosse fro the.

The angell sayde to the that the fruyt off thi body sulde be blyssede.

Ande now in the dome of the Jewes criste is a cursede;
At hys burth thu harde angels syngynge,
And now thou seyes his frendys wepynge;
At hys burth kynges & schiperdys dyd hym omage & wurschyppe,
And now al men don hym despyte & schendschyppe;
At hys burth thou wantyd womans wo,
Bot as thou wel fellys now it ys noght so;
Some tyme thou hadest cause for to syng lullay,
But now thi songh ys all of wylaway;
Somtym thou fed hym wyt thi sweet mylk to his esse,
Ande now the Jewys fedyn hyme wyt bitter gall to his disese;
Som tyme thou fonde hym in the mydys off the doctors in the
temple,

And noy thou fflyndyst hyme hangynge in the mydys of the
Jewes on the krosse.

Crisostomus de planctu beate virginis ymaginat quod beata virgo stans sub cruce dixit filio suo sic; Fili agnosce matrem tuam; exaudi precem meam: decet filium audire matrem.—

A son! take hede to me whas son thou was

And sett me uppe wyt the on i crosse,
 Me here to leve an the thus hense go;
 Yt ys to me gret kare & wo;
 Stynt now sone to be harde to thi moder,
 Thou that ever was god to all other.
 Et sic (idem doctor ymaginat ibidem) filius matri conquerenti
 respondet—
 Stynt now moder & wepe no more;
 Thi sorow & thi dysesse grevyssse me ful sore;
 Thou knowyss that in the I tok mannys kynde;
 In hyt for many sin to be pynde.
 Be now glad moder & have in thoght
 That mannes hele is fondyn that I haue soght;
 Thou salt noght now bare what thou hast done;
 Lo Ion thi kosyne sal be thi son. Explicit”
 This manuscript belongs to the fifteenth century.

F. 147 is in many respects the most noteworthy MS. of the entire Worcester collection. Its contents are in the main of a secular character, embracing (1) ‘Libri ethici Catonis [Disticha]’; (2) ‘Liber Theoduli [Theoduli Ecloga]’; (3) ‘Claudianus de Raptu Proserpinae’; (4) ‘Liber Statii Achilleis’; (7) ‘Anticlaudianus (Alani de Insulis)’; (9) ‘Horatii Carmina’; (10) ‘Juvenalis’; (11) ‘Persius’; (13) ‘Urbanus’; (14) ‘Lucanus’’.

The MS. belongs to the fourteenth century and the “collection”, says Hamilton (p. 78), “is the most decidedly literary in character to be found in any volume in the library. Unfortunately it is sadly mutilated.”

A version of Richard Rolle of Hampole’s ‘Psalterium Latine et Anglice, cum glossa Anglicana ad singulos versus’ is preserved in *F. 158*. Hamilton is inclined to think that the fragmentary version of the Psalms contained in *F. 172* is also the work of Rolle of Hampole. “Evidently this version” (*i.e.* of *F. 172*), he says (p. 98), “and the first prologue are substantially Hampole’s though this MS. and *F. 158* do not correspond word for word. But Hampole’s psalter occurs in more than one dialect of English.” It is true, as Hamilton shows, that a comparison of the last verse of the *F. 172* translation (it does not end with “Ps. 83, 18,” as Hamilton says, but with Ps. 73, 19. And on the margin of fol. 213 the number of the Psalm is designated “C.L. xxii”) with the corresponding verse of the *F. 158* psalter shows a rather striking resemblance between the two. But I am not sure that the similarity between the version of *F. 172* and the Purveyite translation (cf. *The Wycliffite Bible* of Forshall and Madden, II, 811) is not even more striking and in all respects closer.

F. 166, a seventeenth century MS., also contains the Hampole Latin-English psalter (cf. p. 94).

F. 160 contains an "Antiphonarium, etc." and it dates from the early thirteenth century. The MS. is important because it "is perhaps the only standard service-book of the Cathedral remaining from ancient times" (cf. p. 90).

If the description of *F. 172'* (p. 96ff) may be taken as a specimen of Mr. Hamilton's accuracy as a bibliographer (the writer is quite familiar with this valuable MS. and its contents), then the catalogue is unusually trustworthy. The first piece, a fragmentary version of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus' in Middle English prose, does not end at f. 16 but at f. 12; altho the *Explicit passio Nichodemi* occurs near the middle of f. 16. The leaves 13-16 contain a version of the Oil of Mercy and Origin of the Cross legends. But the cataloguer would have to be familiar with the contents of the pieces in order to detect this slip of the copyist. Then the second piece, according to Hamilton's list, Hampole's 'Libel of the Amendment of mannes lif' does not begin at f. 16, but at f. 17; and the words quoted by Hamilton (p. 96), "It was wont to be douted, are not the *Incipit* of the 'Libel,' but of a homily on the giving of tithes (ff. 16-16b) which he fails to record. It is also somewhat misleading to call Peter Alfonse's *Disciplina Clericalis* (No. 9) "Sayings of philosophers", but this is a pardonable slip. And 11 (Treatise of the Pope's authority in excommunication,) ends on f. 155 instead of f. 154. The *expl.* and *Inc.* should have been given of 'The Statutes of blac Rogier' (No. 12). In fact it would have been better to arrange No. 12 differently. The three pieces listed as i, ii, iii under the heading 'Certain Constitutions Ecclesiastical' have no intimate connection in date and origin and should have been catalogued as 12, 13 and 14, or as 12 and 13. The Statutes of Roger le Noir must have been written while he was Bishop of London (1229-1241), while the Constitutions of Robert of Winchelsey could hardly have originated before the last decade of the thirteenth century (he was Archbishop of Canterbury 1294-1313), and the date of the 'Constitutions' of William de Courtenay occurs at the end of that document: "Given in our manor at Lamblith (Lambeth) the Xi Kalendis of December, the yeere of our Lord MCCCXXXViii, and of our trans-lacioun the Vii."

Following the 'Constitutions' of Archbishop Winchelsey, which come after the 'Constitutions' of Archbishop Courtenay,

¹ On the inside of the front cover near top of the page are the words (in late hand): *Liber Decani et Capituli Eccles. Cath. Vigorniensis*, 172.

there is a list of sacrificial vessels and priestly garments, together with a calendar of saints days celebrated in the church in England, extending over about one page of the MS (ff. 165 b-166), which closes with the words: "Written Anno domini Milesimo CCCXLVii." So far as the arrangement in the MS. is concerned this last page might belong to the preceding 'Constitutions'. But the date, 1447, cannot possibly be that of the writing of Winchelsey's Constitutions, nor can it be associated with the name of any one of the prelates previously referred to. It is not at all improbable that it is the actual date of composition of the manuscript *F. 172* itself. The hand seems, to be sure, to be somewhat later than the middle of the fifteenth century, but it is hardly possible to obtain anything like accuracy in dating a MS. by means of the handwriting alone. This part of the manuscript was very probably written in the year 1447, and since the entire book was written by one scribe, the rest of it must have originated about the same time.

Hamilton's comment on these constitutions, "All the above ff. 155-166, are done into English by an amazingly incompetent translator", applies equally well to most of the pieces of the MS.

This MS. is plainly bound (seventeenth or eighteenth century) in rough brown leather. Near the top of the *recto* of the first fly-leaf we find the words, "See Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 345, cap. 372 De Richardo Hampolo. Will. Ballard 1707; W. Thomas." Then at the bottom of the same page there are extensive notes,—data about numerous manuscripts of the works of Richard Rolle of Hampole, and the libraries where they are (or were) preserved. The "notes" are continued backwards on the inner side of the first cover, and they are all in the handwriting of the name "W. Thomas."

The notes may have been copied from the catalogues of Bale, Barnard and Leland. At any rate we find this reference near the bottom of the first fly-leaf: "Cod. Ms. Ashmoleani 6921 Ricardus Rolle Hampolensis de stimulo conscientiae fol. membran. obiit 1349. Vide Ba. p. 431,41". This note is followed by what seems to be a query of the scribe: "Qu. if he be the same, for in the MS. in the library of York Cathedral are these words: Explicunt capitula de Emendatione Vitae per venerabilem Ricardum de Hampule Eremitam qui festo S. Michaelis 1449 migravit ad Deum; it is the same, and instead of 1449 it must be 1349. Vixit tempore Edwardi Tertii Anglorum Regis, obiit anno Domini 1349 in festo St. Michaelis. Sepultus est honorifice in Hampolensi Monasterio Virginibus sacro quod quatuor passum millibus destat a Duncaastro celebri Eboracensis provinciae oppido. Leland de Schipt. p. 349".

After this we have a descriptive list of more than a dozen MSS. containing works of Richard Rolle of Hampole, which are preserved in various English libraries.

The only Old English MS. of this valuable collection, *F. 174*, which contains Ælfric's Grammar and Glossary and belongs to the twelfth century, is of course particularly interesting and valuable, altho it has been considerably mutilated. It has been described several times, but nowhere better than in this catalogue.

One of the quarto manuscripts, *Q. 5*, which contains mainly Latin grammatical and critical treatises, and is in an eleventh century hand, has the following O.E. charm for fever on the *verso* of a fly-leaf at the end (cf. p. 107): þis mæg wið gedrif genim. ix oflætan 7 gewrit on ælcere on þas wisan. IHC. XPC. ⁊ sing þærof ix paternoster ⁊ syle æt æenne dæg iiii ⁊ oðerne iiii ⁊ ðridan iiii ⁊ cweðe æt ælcon siðan þis of þone mann.

In preparing his description of "MSS. formerly belonging to the Library of Worcester Cathedral, now in other libraries" Mr. Hamilton might have consulted with profit Wolfgang Keller's excellent book, *Die Litterarischen Bestrebungen von Worcester in Angelsächsischer Zeit (Quellen und Forschungen, Strassburg 1900)*, where several of the most important Old English MSS. that formerly belonged to the Benedictine collection at Worcester are discussed with great erudition. But even this oversight has in no way impaired the excellence and usefulness of this model catalogue of mediæval manuscripts.

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THE ORIENTAL TALE IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Martha Pike Conant, Ph.D. Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908. Publishers, The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price, \$2.00 net.

Between 1684 and 1786 Miss Conant finds a pronounced tendency both in France and in England to orientalize—sometimes very slightly, sometimes as thoroughly as might be—the novel, allegory, tale, vision, drama, and fictitious correspondence. This material she very effectively divides into four main groups, —imaginative, moralistic, philosophic, and satiric. A rather long chapter on each of these groups, together with a final "literary estimate," an introduction, appendices, and an index, make up the work.

Miss Conant's book will certainly be useful; she has brought together French and English literature at many points, she has shown the presence in a period which was prevailingly classical, of an influence more than slightly romantic; she has spoken of books in a way that makes one wish to read them, and she has delighted those who love a phrase by dubbing the *Arabian Nights* the fairy godmother of the English novel. In her final chapter she sums up clearly and justly. She is particularly to be commended for the good judgment with which she handles her point (on the whole perhaps the most salient in the book) that the material with which she has been dealing was popular chiefly because it was pseudo-romantic. Just as Bishop Hurd, a pseudo-romantic in criticism, prepared the way for Coleridge, or as Thomson, a pseudo-romantic in landscape poetry, prepared the way for Wordsworth, so "less obviously, but none the less truly, the translators and writers of the oriental tale, together with historians and travelers, were forerunners of Southey, Moore, Byron, Matthew Arnold, Fitzgerald, and many others, on to Kipling in the present day." Such results as these should go far toward convincing those not already under conviction that—notwithstanding all of its enemies and many of its friends to the contrary—the literature of the eighteenth century is quite sufficiently complex and inconsistent to be interesting.

With the heartiest thanks to Miss Conant for what she has done, we venture to suggest some additional facts and considerations which seem to us to enlarge or modify the subject.

In the first place, we doubt if it can be too clearly kept in mind that the oriental movement in fiction extended rather more generally than Miss Conant makes us realize to most other arts, and that as a cult it was regarded by its enemies as no less inimical than the "gothic" to all that was orthodox and "just". Scores of passages show this: for a single instance let us take a part of the fifty-sixth letter in Dr. John Shebbeare's *Letters on the English Nation: By Battista Angeloni, a Jesuit, Who resided many years in London. Translated from the Original Italian*, etc. (1755),—a work which Miss Conant has, strangely enough, neglected to include in her list of pseudo-letters after the manner of Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*.

"The simple and sublime have lost all influence almost every where, all is Chinese or Gothic; every chair in an apartment, the frames of glasses, and tables, must be Chinese: the walls covered with Chinese paper filled with figures which resemble nothing of God's creation, and which a prudent nation would prohibit for the sake of pregnant women.

"In one chamber, all the pagods and distorted animals of

¹ Page 251.

the east are piled up, and called the beautiful decorations of a chimney-piece; on the sides of the room, lions made of porcelain, grinning and misshapen, are placed on brackets of the Chinese taste, in arbors of flowers made in the same ware, and leaves of brass painted green lying like lovers in the shades of old Arcadia.

"Nay, so excessive is the love of Chinese architecture become, that at present the foxhunters would be sorry to break a leg in pursuing their sport in leaping any gate that was not made in the eastern taste of little bits of wood standing in all directions; the connoisseurs of the table delicacies can distinguish between the taste of an ox which eats his hay from a Chinese crib, a hog that is inclosed in a sty of that kind, or a fowl fattened in a coop the fabric of which is in that design, and find great difference in the flavor.

* * * * *

"To my unpolite ears, the airs which are sung at present have no longer the imitation of anything which would express passion or sentiment, and the whole merit lyes in the Gothic and Chinese closes and cantabiles, frithered into niceties and divisions, which, like minute carvings, are the certain characteristics of a little taste, that delights more in difficulties than truth, that would rather see a posture-master in all bodily distortion than the graceful attitudes of Dupré on the French theatre of the opera at Paris, in the most exalted manner of dancing.

"The Chinese taste is so very prevalent in this city at present, that even pantomime has obliged harlequin to seek shelter in an entertainment, where the scenes and characters are all in the taste of the nation."

A glance at almost any book on the furniture, the gardens, the music, or the cookery of 1750 and thereabouts will confirm the essential truth of Shebbeare's amusing picture. Something is said (pp. 223-225) by Miss Conant about this aspect of the matter, but hardly enough.

Again it is to be observed that this rage for things oriental, and particularly for things Chinese, was partly due to actual contact with the east. Exploration, travel, trade, war and the great number of books which these brought into being,—all give us help which we must not neglect if we are to understand the full complexity of English interest in the orient. Turn where we will, we meet it; for example, in that curious "Essay upon all sorts of Learning, written by the Athenian Society," which is prefixed to the *Young-Students-Library* (1692) we find in the chapter devoted to history, which is decidedly en-

lightened,² a strikingly large number of books of travel and the like—most of them pointing eastward—set down among the sixty-three “best books” for the historian. There are Chardin’s *Voyages into Persia*, *The Embassie of the Five Jesuits into Siam*, Chammont’s *Embassie into Siam*, Dapper’s *Description of Africk*, Tavernier’s *Travels*, a *History of Barbadoes and the Caribbee Islands*, Ogleby’s *History of China*, his *Japan*, his *Asia*, and his *Africa*, Rycaut’s *History of the Turks* (which Addison makes Will Honeycomb quote in *Spectator* 343), Knowl’s (sic) *History of the Turks*, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies*, and *The Travels of Monsieur Thevevot into the Levant*. Thus the trend of serious writing was largely in the paths of trade and travel, and the trend of fiction followed that of serious writing. A part of an essay in *The World* (No. 102, December 12, 1754) bears upon this point:

“Besides those words which owe their rise to caprice or accident, there are many which having been long confined to particular professions, offices, districts, climates, etc., are brought into public use by fashion, or the reigning topic on which conversation has happened to dwell for any considerable time. During the great rebellion they talked universally the language of the scriptures. * * * In our own memory the late war, which began at sea, filled our mouths with terms from that element. * * * The peace taught us the language of the secretary’s office. * * * With the rails and buildings of the Chinese, we adopted also for a while their language. A doll of that country, we called a joss, and a slight building a pagoda. For that year we talked of nothing but palanquins, nabobs, mandarins, junks, sipoyes, etc. To what was this owing, but the war in the East Indies?”

At the same time it is true, and particularly true in the case of the material which Miss Conant treats in her fourth chapter (“The Satirical Group”), that the orient was used largely as a point of view. The popular attitude toward neighboring nations was unfavorable; the seventeenth-century “characters” of France, Spain, Ireland, Scotland, and Italy are adverse; and the Frenchman or Dutchman in the drama of the period is, like the Irishman or the Welshman, usually a butt for ridicule. The oriental had the advantage of remoteness,—his habits of thought were quaint and fresh, and there was nothing against him. Moreover, he had other advantages than mere re-

² For example, the chapter closes thus: “There only remains to inform our *Readers*, That ’tis not onely *Books*, but *Maps*, *Monuments*, *Bas-Reliefs*, *Medals*, and all Antient Descriptions, that mightily strengthen and confirm History.”

moteness; he lived in the chosen abode of magic, wealth, wisdom, and gravity. In a romantic period—and in the more imaginative writings of any period—the magic and the fabulous riches of the east would be emphasized; in the eighteenth century, particularly by the moralist and satirist, constant use was made of oriental wisdom uttered with oriental gravity. As these characteristics were developed, the unskilful erred on the side of excess; long before the *Citizen of the World*, Dr. Johnson commended Father Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* because the eastern people described in it were not "either devoid of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all private and social virtues; here are no *Hottentots* without religion, polity, or articulate language; no *Chinese* perfectly polite and completely skilled in all sciences." The oriental in literature very early acquired his characteristic manner of speaking in similes and parables, and this manner was applied with little discrimination to Turks, Chinese, and American Indians. As early as 1706 Charles Gildon, in his *Post-Boy Robb'd of his Mail*, introduced some letters from one Honan, an Asiatic, but of just what country even his friends did not know. As these letters are about to be opened,

"Now shall we (said *Grave*) have Metaphors, Allegories, Exclamations and Interrogations in abundance. Right (pursu'd Church,) for that is the style of the Asiatic Virtuoso's. At least (pursu'd *River*,) if we may credit all that goes in our Language for such."³

This sameness of thought and language serves well enough when the oriental is merely, as he so often was, a prodigy constructed for didactic purposes. In such cases the main care of the writer is to take a good long jump away from England. He does not always land in China, or even in the orient. Sometimes he finds his foreign observer among the South Sea islands,⁴ or the American Indians.⁵ So later, we find American authors (for example, Wirt in his *British Spy* and Jacob Duché in his "Caspipina's Letters") using the eyes of Englishmen, and Matthew Arnold, in *Friendship's Garland*, resorting to a German, the notable Arminius, Baron von Thunder-ten-Tronckh. Primarily, in this species of satire, the search is for a representa-

³ *The Post-Boy Robb'd of his Mail*, second edition, 1706, p. 229.

⁴ Opposite the title-page of the first edition of Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (1704), among several other "Treatises writ by the same author * * * ; which will be speedily published," is "A Voyage into England, by a Person of Quality in Terra Australia incognita, translated from the Original." This probably explains Swift's well-known comment on *Spectator* 50 in his letter to Stella of April 28, 1710. Another South Sea Islander is the supposed author of No. 15 on p. 303 below.

⁵ Cf. *Spectator* 50, and Nos. 8 and 13 on pp. 302-3 below.

tive of that people who would be most unfavorably struck by the particular faults which it is desired to correct.

Little praise can be given to Miss Conant for her investigations into the oriental material in periodical publications. Indeed the mere existence of such lists as those of the periodical publications in the British Museum, Nichols⁶, Drake,⁷ and the Hope Collection,⁸ should suffice to check one from venturing to apply the word "complete" (p. xi) to a list of oriental material in periodical publications which includes nothing except English periodicals, and of English periodicals only the *Spectator*, *Guardian*, *Freeholder*, *Rambler*, *Idler*, *Adventurer*, *World*, *Connoisseur*, *Babler*, *Lounger*, *Mirror*, and *Observer*.⁹ Ten minutes' use of Drake's *Gleaner*—the work to which one would naturally turn after exhausting Chalmers and the other familiar collections—would have revealed several additional papers of importance. Much more might be found by a careful search through the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which a great many important periodicals are summarized. Even then there would still remain the British Museum and the "Nichols Newspapers" in the Bodleian. Meanwhile, let us note:

Le Babillard, Vol. III, Nos. 25ff.

The Champion, I, 300.

Common Sense, July 23, 1737; August 5, 1738.

Flying Post, No. 1.

Free Thinker, Nos. 84, 128, 129.

Friend, No. 8.

Hyp-Doctor, No. 10.

Lay-Monastery, No. 18.

Loiterer, No. 25.

Looker-On, I, 372.

Meddler, No. 11.

Muscovite, Nos. 1-5.

Pharos, Nos. 11, 12.

Philanthrope, No. 24.

⁶ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, IV, pp. 39 ff.

⁷ Nathan Drake, *Essays * * * illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler*, etc., London, 1810, especially Parts IV and V.

⁸ *Catalogue of a Collection of Early Newspapers and Essayists, * * * presented to the Bodleian Library by the late Rev. Frederick William Hope*, M.A., D.C.L., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865.

⁹ A similarly unguarded statement is (p. 173) that in the *Connoisseur* No. 21 "is the only example of deliberate parody in all the eighteenth-century periodicals." It is of no great moment to point out the entirely deliberate parody of "L'Allegro" in *Looker-On*, No. 53; it is of importance, however, that a general warning should be issued against reckless generalizations concerning such a vast and—to American scholars—such an inaccessible body of material.

Prater, Nos. 13, 15, 28.

Visitor, Nos. 17, 24, 25, 26.

The handling of the *Citizen of the World* device also leaves a good deal to be desired in the matter of completeness, although here the omissions are less conspicuous than in the case of the periodical publications. The device of a foreigner visiting the country to be satirized, and writing letters about it which are accidentally translated and made public, is still vital and effective, as is shown by Mr. Howells's *Traveller from Altruria* and *Through the Eye of a Needle*, Mr. Dickinson's *Letters from a Chinese Official*, and—with a certain difference—Mr. Irwin's *Letters of a Japanese School-Boy*. Miss Conant follows this interesting little genre down from Marana (or whoever wrote *The Turkish Spy*) through Montesquieu and the rest to Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* and beyond, not forgetting to mention Lord Lyttelton's *Letters from a Persian in England* and Horace Walpole's *Letters from Xo Ho*, as well as the Marquis d'Argens' *Chinese Letters* and others, and Madame de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une péruvienne*. She even goes so far afield as to include Defoe's *Consolidator* and his *Tour through Great Britain*.

She fails, however, to mention several examples; and so it is perhaps worth while to arrange chronologically some instances of the genre which occur before 1787 and which are not noticed in this book:

(1) 1704. Swift's hint given opposite the title page of his *Tale of a Tub*. (See note, p. 300 above.)

(2) 1706. Charles Gildon's *Post-Boy Robb'd of his Mail; or, the Pacquet Broke Open, Consisting of Letters of Love and Gallantry, and all Miscellaneous Subjects; In which are Discovered the Vertues, Vices, Follies, Humors and Intrigues of Mankind*.

(3) 1714. *The Muscovite*. (See the catalogue of the Hope Collection, page 29, No. 108.)

(4) 1728. *The Flying Post*, No. 1.

(5) 1731. *The Hyp-Doctor*, No. 10.

(6) 1744. *The Meddler*, No. 11.

(7) 1749 or 1750. Dr. William Dodd's *The African Prince now in England, to Zara at his Father's Court and Zara's Answer*. (Watt dates this work 1750; the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives 1749.)

(8) 1752. *Lettres iroquoises*.

(9) 1755. John Shebbeare, *Letters on the English Nation: By Batista Angeloni, a Jesuit, Who resided many years in London. Translated from the Original Italian, by the Author of the Marriage Act a Novel*.

(10) 1755. *The Friend*, No. 8.

(11) 1760. *The Visitor*, No. 17.

(12) 1760-61. *The Algerine Spy*.

(13) 1766. *L'Espion Americain en Europe, ou Lettres Illinoises*.

(14) 1774. Jacob Duché, *Observations on a Variety of Subjects, Literary, Moral and Religious; in a Series of Original Letters, written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction, who resided some time in Philadelphia*. (Better known as "Caspipina's Letters," their supposed author being one Tamoc Caspipina, "an acrostic upon the full title of the office which Duché then held: 'The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America.'" Tyler, *Lit. Hist. Am. Rev.*, II, 293, note.)

(15) 1775. *An Historical Epistle, from Omiah, to the Queen of Otaheite; being his Remarks on the English Nation. With notes by the Editor*.

Books do not stand or fall by their bibliographies, however; and from even fewer cases than she has studied Miss Conant might safely have drawn the conclusions which entitle her book to consideration among the not very large number of serviceable studies in special phases of the literature of the eighteenth century.

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NOTES.

Among the few publications of real worth, produced during the Schiller centennial of 1905, was Albert Ludwig's prize essay: *Das Urteil über Schiller im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Bonn, 1905. Under the title: *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1909, the author now publishes a more extensive work on the same subject, for which he has been awarded the first prize by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna.

The book certainly deserved this mark of recognition. It is a masterly piece of work, a contribution not only to the literature on Schiller, but also to the history of German intellectual life during the 19th century, the great philosophical and political movements of which the author unrolls before us and characterizes with regard to their relation and their attitude to Schiller. But he does not merely register the answers to the question: What think ye of Schiller, which he has collected from innumerable critics, scattered over a whole country. He also inquires into the causes of the fluctuations which the critical appreciation of Schiller underwent, and tries to answer the question: did the poet have a noticeable influence on the intellectual life of his people as a whole? It is in the treatment of these problems where the mature judgment and the true historical spirit of Ludwig's work are revealed.

No greater tribute to the supreme power of Schiller's genius than the fact that he survived all the attacks made on him, and no more effective condemnation of his detractors than their own depreciatory criticism of him. How small, one-sided and effeminate, compared with Schiller's virile genius, appear to us now the once infallible critical oracles of the Romanticists, whose dangerous influence has of late been revived in Germany! And how puerile do we consider today the ignorant onslaughts of the would-be geniuses of Germany's last so-called literary revolution!

In the last chapter of his book, entitled "*Schillerrenaissance*," Dr. Ludwig discusses the various recent attempts at a more adequate appreciation of the poet's work. We do, however, not agree with him that either the biography of O. Harnack or the effusive declamations of a Kühnemann have really increased our understanding of Schiller. The future biographer of Schiller must combine the training of the philologist and the philosopher with the intuition of the poet and the taste of the artist. But we shall probably have to wait for him until, as Schiller says, sich Gelehrsamkeit und Geschmack, Wahrheit und Schönheit als zwei versöhnte Geschwister umarmen. None of his biographies thus far have shown signs of this happy reconciliation.

The fact that it has become necessary to publish reprints of some of the volumes of Müllenhoff's monumental, though unfinished life work, the *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, is welcome proof that the interest in the study of Germanic antiquities and in kindred philological problems of importance has not been entirely sacrificed to the literary and journalistic propensities of German Philology of recent times. Nevertheless it is with a feeling of sadness that one turns over the familiar pages of the present fifth volume (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), edited by Professor Max Roediger. There can be little doubt that Müllenhoff would have made essential changes had he lived to publish a second edition of this very volume.

Professor Roediger has wisely refrained from altering the text, but has added three important and characteristic essays by Müllenhoff, of which the paper on *Ragnaröckr*, originally published in Vol. 16 of the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, is the most valuable, and especially welcome to the admirers of the great master.

J. G.

AUS DEN SCHÄTZEN DER HERZOGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK IN WOLFENBÜTTEL.

No. 1.

Ain erschrockenliche
Newe zeyttung / So geschehen ist den
12 tag Junij / Jn dem 1542 Jar. Jn ainem
Stättlin hayszt Schgarbaria leyt 16 welsch
Meyl wegs von Florentz / Da haben sich
grausammer Erdtbidem Siben Jn
ainer stundt erhoebt / wie es da
zuo ist ganngen / werdt jr
hierjnn begriffen
finden.

Ein andere Newe zeyttung / So geschehen ist in des Türekhen Land / Da ist ain Statt versuncken / das nit ain mensch daruon ist kumen / die ist von Solonichio ein tagraysz da der Türkisch Saffran wechst auf der ebne
zc.

Wfb. Qu. 127. 1. 4to.

ANFANG DER ERSCHROCKHENLICHE DING.

ERsamer lieber Herr / Jaemerliche zeyttung hab Jch gesehen / den Ersten tag Junij / kam ich mit sampt meinen zwen geferten Jn ain Stätlin. 16. Welsch meil von Florentz / Das hayszt Schgarbaria / Da lag mir vber nacht / Auff den 13. tag Junij ain stundt vor tags / hat vns der Allmechtig got ganntz Vätterlich vor allen vbel unnd layd behueet vnnnd erhalten / des wir Jm nymmer mer gnuogsam erdancken künden / Der woell vns auch fürter erhalten.

DER ERST ERDTBIDEM.

Der was so grawsam / das Jch daran erwachet / Vnd mainet
 ich fueer in ainem Schif in ainer khlainen Fortuna / im selben
 augenplück huob an zuofallen / Des dach etlich meyren vnn
 Thüren am Würtzhausz / wie wir nackent / oder wie mir aus
 dem hausz kamen / Wais ich schier nit / Doch kam yederman
 on schaden des leibs daruon. Jm Stätlin aber seind gefallen
 vnn
 zerbrochen gleych schier alle heüser / Ettlich volckh vmb-
 kumen / Die Kirchen vnn
 Baletz / aller zuo grundt vnn
 zer-
 fallen/das volck so bey leben beliben/mit grosser forcht vnd zyt-
 tern / zenklaffen / Misericordia schreyendt / Ausz dem Stätlin
 gelauffen / Auf ain wisen / Da mir vnd der Würt warenndt /
 Ach Gott was Jamer vnn
 geschray was da / von Mann vnd
 Schwangern / vnn
 annderen weibern / Vil volckhs hinder
 Holtz vnn
 Stain gelegen / den man vor forcht nit hat helffen
 künden / mag jnen seyder geholffen sein worden / waisz ich
 noch nicht / Jch khan Eüch von der straff vnn
 warnung
 Gottes nit genuog beschreiben / vnd anzeygen.

DIE ANNDERN ERDTBIDEM.

Weitter hond sich nachmals erhebt in der selben stund 6.
 Erdtbidem nach ain annder / die waren so grawsam wann sy
 anhueoben / Das sich das Erdtrich mit ainem wümpffen da
 kam, nit anderst als woelt sich das Erdtrich auffthuon / Vnd
 vns alle verschlücken / Es war auch so gar kain lufft / das sich
 doch nit ein bletlin an ainem Baum geruert hett / So gar wind
 still ward es auff dem Erdtrich / Der himmel was so schwartz
 vnn
 so grawsam / Das Jch meins thayls all augenplückh des
 Feürs von himel wartet. Vnn
 in Summa alle dinng seind
 hefftigen vnn
 grausamer / weder Jch eüch soelichs schreiben
 vnd anzeygen kan / yedoch so gab Gott genad das die Finstre
 verguong / vnn
 der tag widerumb kham / Auch die lüfft
 hueoben sich widerumb an / Da waren wir von hertzen fro /
 Vnn
 sagten Got Lob vnd dannekh / das er vnns sein gnad so
 Vaetterlich güettig vnd gnedig bewisen hat.

Darnach aber seyen wir vollent / vnd hinein gen Florentz geritten / Der Ewig Gott woelle vnns genedig vnnnd barmhertzig sein / Jch gelaub krefftig / Das Jch ain geleichnusz des Jungsten Tags wol gesehenn vnnnd erfahren hab.

Weitter aber / hat das Stättlin dennocht bis inn hundert vnnnd zwaintzig Feür stett gehabt / Ach Gott was Jämmerlichs geschraj Vnd anrueffens zuo Gott man da gehoert hat / Es ist alles nichts / sehen ain Stat abprinnen / gegen disem grausamen wesen.

Gott der Herr woelle vnns allen genedig vnd barmhertzig sein / vnnnd vnns sein gnad verleyhen / das wir vns ab disen grausamen Erdbidmen / vnd erschrockenlichen wesens / pessern vnnnd bekeren moegen / zuo seinem Lob vnd vnns zum guoeten Amen.

Sollich Erdbidem sein zuo Florentz vnnnd auff Jrem ganntzen Lannd auch gewesen / Aber sollich grossen schaden nit gethan / allain vil Kümich* eingeworffenn / Das hab Jch euch in Eyll muessen anzeygen / die post will weckh.

AIN ANNDERE NEWE ZEYTTUNG / SO GESCHEHEN
IST INS TÜRGKHEN LANND.

JN des Türgkhen Lannd ist ain Statt so auff der ebene gelegen ist. Dauon der Türckisch Saffaren kumbt / ist versunckhen in grundt / vnd kain mensch dauon komen / ist vngeuerlich ain Tagraysz von Solonichio die auch des Türgkhen ist.

ERNST VOSS.

Madison, Wis.

z. Zt. Wolfenbüttel.

*Vgl. Grimms Wörterbuch unter Kümich=Kamin.

EIN SCHÖNER SENDT—

brief des wol gepornen vnd Edeln
 herrn Johanssen / Herrn zu Schwartzenberg / An
 Bischoff zu Bamberg ausgangen / Darinn er treffentliche
 vnd Christenliche vrsachen anzeigt / wie vnd waruemb
 er sein Tochter ausz dem Closter daselbst
 (zum Heyligen Grab genant) hinweg
 gefuert / Vnd wider vnter sein vät-
 terlichen schutz vnnnd ober-
 hand zu sich geno-
 men hab.

Nuremberg

Anno. M. D. XXIII.

Berlin, Cu 5901.

Wolfenbüttel 297 Theol. 4to.

Johann von Schwarzenberg ist neben Hutten ohne Frage der bedeutendste der schriftstellernden Adeligen aus der Reformationszeit.

In der Geschichte des Kriminalrechts spielt er eine Rolle als der Verfasser des Bambergischen, Brandenburgischen und des heiligen römischen Reichs peinlicher Halsgerichtsordnung. Bekannt ist er ganz besonders aber durch den *Teutschen Cicero*,* worin er seiner Zeit den Spiegel vorhält und mit seinen Zeitgenossen recht scharf ins Gericht geht.

Als Satiriker, aber stets mit der unverkennbaren Absicht zu bessern und immer voll Ernst und Würde, kennen wir ihn aus seinem Büchlein vom Zutrinken, das neuerdings von Willy Scheel in Braunes Neudrucken des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts einem grösseren Leserkreise zugänglich gemacht worden ist.

Schwarzenberg ist als ein eifriger Freund Luthers früh in

*Goedeke, Grundriss II, 235. Die Uebersetzung des Cicero ist ursprünglich von Joh. Neuber, Caplan zu Schwarzenberg, von Ulrich von Hutten durchgesehen und von Schwarzenberg endlich in 'Fränkisch Hofdeutsch' gebracht.

die kirchliche Bewegung jener Zeit verwickelt worden, und er hat dafür durch Wort und Tat gewirkt. Davon legt ganz besonders auch sein *Sendbrief an den Bischof von Bamberg* Zeugnis ab, der aus dem Jahre 1524 stammt. In höchst würdevoller ruhiger Weise gibt er darin die Gründe an, die ihn bewogen, seine Tochter aus dem Kloster zum heiligen Grab, in das sie ohne Zwang, aus freiem Willen und eigener Wahl eingetreten war, hinweg zu bringen.

Dieser Sendbrief liegt vor mit einer Vorrede von Andreas Osiander, in welcher er die Mönche ernstlich warnt und sie an ihren zukünftigen Untergang erinnert. Die Vorrede kommt hier nicht mit zum Abdruck, da es mir in erster Linie darum zu tun war, von der Sprache Schwarzenbergs, des klar und scharf urteilenden Juristen, eine Probe zu geben, welche die starke Anlehnung an den Kanzleistil jener Tage aufs beste illustriert.

ERNST VOSS.

Madison, Wis.

Hochwirdiger Fürst vnd Herr / Ewern Fuerstlichen gnaden seyn zuuor mein vnterthenig willig dienst. Gnediger Herr / Nachdem vor zweyntzig iaren / meiner iuengsten Tochter eine / die der zeyt zwischen dreytzehen vnd vierzehen iarenn jres allters gewest / on das ich sie darauff geweyst / vnd noch viel weniger darzu bedrangt / in ein iungfraw Closter begert / on zweyfel keins andern willens / denn das sie vermeynt / Gott dem Almechtigen darinnen gefelliger / weder in Eelichen standt (der jr soensten forstund) zue dienen / vnd derhalb das iungfraw Closter bey Ewern Fuerstlichen gnaden Stat Bamberg (zum Heyligen Grab genant) erwelet. Vnd dieweyl denn der zeyt der recht lautter ware grunt Goettlichs worts / so lange zeyt verdrueckt gewest / das ich denn daneben eyngfuerten, gleyssetten, Phariseisehenn scheyn / Closterlichs lebens (wie soensten damals viel leut) fuer Goettlich gehalten / vnd nit anderst gewist / Wo ich sie daran verhynderet / das ich damit wider Gott / vnd der seelen heyl thette. Hab ich jr darzu

geholffen vnd sie mich bey vierhundert guelden / in soelch Closter zuepringen gestanden (Wie denn gar sellten eine on ein vergewiszt gelt in disem vnd anderm dergleychen Cloestern angenommen wirdt). Es hat sich auch dieselbig mein Tochter in gemeltem Closter dermassen gehalten / das sie volgendes Priorin erwelt worden / wie Ewern Fuerstlichenn gnaden vnuerporgen ist. Aber ueber ettlich iar darnach / dieweyl ich noch zu Bamberg Hoffmeyster was / hab ich der Prediger muench halben (vnter der gehorsam dise arme Closter junckfraw seyn muessen) etliche vngoettliche ding erfahren / vnd erfunden die ich itzo im besten zu meldenn / vnterlasse / des dann E. F. gnaden negster vorfarn Bischof Georg / seliger vnd loeblicher gedechtnus / als ein frommer Christenlicher Fuerst / nit wenig miszfallens gehabt / vnd derhalb schriftlich vnd muentlich / mit den muenschen gehandelt / der gleychen ich auch gethon. Aber bey jnen verächtlich vnd vnfuertreglich gewest / wie zum tayl / etlich der alten geheymen Rethen / so noch bey E. F. gnaden sind / auch etlich erbar. Burger in der Stat / wissen moegen / Daruemb ich seydt der zeyt / stetliche anfechtung gehabt / das mein / vnd ander vnschuldige Tochter / vnter soelchen der muenchen vngoettlichem Tirannischem gewalt sein soellen vnd doch in zweyfel gestanden / wie ich soechs inn beserung wenden koente / Bisz ytzo Gott der Herr / das liecht seins gottlichen worts / vns armen Christen menschen / so gnediglich helle vnd klare / wideruemb herfuer scheinen lest / vnd mir dieselbig mein Tochter geklagt / das jr vnd iren Conuent schwestern / durch die gedachten muench das rein / lauter / ewig / vnd vneberwintlich / wort gots / dadurch wir allein selig werden moegen / zu lesen vnd zu hoern versperret / vnd anderst nit / denn allein mit jren eingemischten verkerten vnd verfuertlichen menschen gesetzen / zuchoern / vnd lesen zugelassen / vnd das sie in etlichen Euangelischen buechern / (die ich jr in soelche hellische gefengknucs / uemb behaltung willen jrer seelen / geschickt) souiel offentlichs grunts erfunden / das nit allein sie / zu vielerley in Goettlicher schrift verworffen / vnd zum teyl Goettlichen offentlichen gepotten / widerwertigen

menschen gesetzen (als soelten die zur seligkeyt / not seyn) von den muenchen bedrängt worden sey / soender das sie / als Priorin / andre Conuent schwestern / auch darzu hab halten vnd noeten / vnd also durch der Muench Tyranny öffentlich wider Gott / vnd sein ewigs seligmachendes wort / (darzu oder dauon nichts gethon werden soll) teglich vnnnd stetlich / zu verdammung jrer seelen / handeln muessen / Vnd wiewol sie aus dem / das sie gewist das sie soelchen Cloesterlichen stant / on mein verursachung, angenommen / bey mir uemb erledigung desselben / nit begern doerffen / So ich aber souiel grunts erfarn / vnnnd gewist / das dieselbig mein Tochter / durch die muench vnd jre regel / dahin benoettigt vnnnd beträngt / das sie nit Gott vnnserm schoepffer vnd erloeser / soender dem Baal hat dienen muessen / vnd da bey bedacht / wes ich nit allein aus natürlicher vetterlicher, soender viel mehr Christlicher lieb / vor Gott schuldig, vnnnd verpflichtet bin / Auch souiel wissens gehabt / wo ich gleich soelchs E. F. gnaden / als jrem ordenlichem Bischoff / claget das die muench in disen fellen / uemb E. F. gnad alsz wenig / als uemb Euer gnaden vorfarn (bey dem ich dergleichen wol gesehen) geben wuerden. Byn ich verursacht vnd bewegt worden / vnangesehen das ich wol achten kan / wie etlich ausz Gotloszhey (die ich nit hoch wege) Aber da bey auch ander ausz dem / das sie noch durch das öffentlich wort Gottes nit erleucht / mir vnd meiner Tochter / soelchs zum ergsten auszlegen werden Vnd das es mir / in mehr denn einen weg / viel zeytlichs schadens / geperen mag / jr selbs souil angezeygt. Wo sie allein uemb Goetlichs lobs / vnd jrer seeln seligkeyt willen / von diesem tyrannischem stand / der muench / erledigung begere / Woelt ich jr als der vatter / darzu helffen / das sie nach vilerley sorgueltiger bewegung (die von einem weybs bild seltzam zuehoeren) beschlislich dermassen angenommen. Das sie Gott mehr / weder die menschen / vnd alle zeytliche anfechtung / die sie der halb zugewartten nit vergessen / gehorsam sein woelle / Darauff ich sie imm namen des Almechtigen Gots / durch eine jre leiblichen schwester / mit etlichenn andern / die ich jr zueuerordnet / ausz ange-

zeygter / Thyrannischen teufflichen Muenchischen gefengknis
 hab holen vnd fueren lassen. Bis ich sie nach dem willen Gotts
 / weytter versorgen moege. Vnd nach dem dann / das gemelt
 Closter E. F. gnaden, zc. verwand ist / zeig ich das / den sel-
 ben / ewrn gnaden / gantz vntertheniger meinung an / Damit
 ewr gnad nit gedechten / das es anderer gestalt / vnd arger
 mineung bescheen were. Der hoffnung E F. gnad, als eyn
 Christenlicher fuerst vnd Bischoff / werden des meinent halben
 kein vngefallen oder vngnad empfahren. Das will ich uemb
 E. F. gnad vntertheniglich verdienen. Datum Sambstag nach
 Martini. Anno zc. xxiiiij

JOHANNES HERR ZU SCHWARTZENBERG.

Dem Hochwirdigen Fuersten vnd
 herrn / herrn Weyganden Bi-
 schoffen zu Bamberg /
 meinem gnedigen
 Herren.

SWEDISH LITERATURE.

IV.

The period between 1880-1890 has been designated in Swedish literature the period of realism and the literature of problems.

It is only by degrees that the new scientific and social ideas enter into the minds of the people to such an extent as to exert any considerable influence upon the literature. Their influence gradually makes itself felt however. Charles Darwin's work on *The Origin of Species*, which appeared in 1859, became epoch-making even beyond the domain of the natural sciences. That organisms through natural selection and the struggle for existence developed from the lowest to the highest forms was a doctrine that soon came to be applied also to human life. It is inherited tendencies and the social milieu that makes man what he becomes. Herbert Spencer published in 1862 in his *First Principles* a general theory of the doctrine of evolution, which gradually made its way into the various sciences. Taine applied it to the history of literature and to general history. In literature it appeared first in French naturalism, principally through Flaubert, the brothers Goncourt and Zola. For them the essential thing in a literary work was not to give expression to an idea but to analyse a personality, a social class, or society as a whole. And these writers did not hesitate to portray with revolting details common everyday matters, vulgarity, misery of every kind, vices and crimes. Without beautifying or concealing anything they aimed to give a true and faithful picture of society in order to show how men have become what they are, and they aim to show what men in their innermost selves are. And as men have become what they are by inheritance and the influence of environment, and as environment is society, it follows that this literature prompts the question, even though but indirectly, as to how these evil conditions may be remedied, i. e. it introduces social questions for discussion.

This naturalistic movement received an unusually talented advocate in the Scandinavian countries in Georg Brandes. In the beginning of the seventies he delivered a series of lectures at Copenhagen University calculated to kindle the minds, and which

later were published as *Hovedstrømninger i det 19de Aarhundredes Literatur*. With these he inaugurated a wide activity as an author in the domain of criticism and literary history. A new generation of authors grew up in Denmark, filled by the same ideas, J. P. Jakobsen, Drachman, Schandorph, the Norwegian Kielland and others, and this new literature soon became known in Sweden and admired by the new generation, which entered upon the same course.

But a poet who exerted still greater influence on Swedish literature during this period is Henrik Ibsen. In his dramas *Kjærlighedens Komædie*, *Brand*, *Peer Gynt*, and *De Unges Forbund*, written in the sixties, he had applied to reality the standard of idealism, and he had found that reality fell lamentably short of what he demanded of it. His demand was: *all or nothing*; that which man is or aims to be he must be wholly and completely. But the ideals in their purity and their loftiness shattered reality: love, religion, personality, enthusiasm for liberty, all was weakness, fragments and emptiness when they were mustered before the ideal, the absolute. Nothing was what it aimed to be or what it represented itself to be.

With *Samfundets Stötter* (1877) a new period is inaugurated in Ibsen's literary activity. Instead of dramas of idea he now writes social dramas. It is no longer abstract ideals, by which he measures reality but on the basis of reality he shows how ideals, which he finds here, are either worn-out forms which require to be replaced by new ones or else they are found to be mere cloaks, in which to conceal all kinds of moral wretchedness. It is hypocrisy which he now undertakes to lay bare. The ideals upon which society lives are not ideals; they are lies. The official religion, morality, community spirit, exist merely to conceal the lack of ideals. The most prominent member of society in *Samfundets Stötter* conceals, with pretended interest in the general good, his egoism; woman exists only for the sake of the man, and in marriage her position is such that her personality is smothered (*Et-Dukkehjem-Nora*, 1879); our religious and our moral ideas and our social institutions are ghosts of former ages

(*Gengangere*, 1881) and serve but to suppress our personality and to degrade the race. And he who unselfishly tries to do away with these conditions or to lay bare a social lie comes in conflict with prejudices, economical considerations, and party interests on every hand, and is branded as an enemy of society (*en Folkefiende*, 1882). Truth in life and literature and the rights of personality are demands which call aloud out of these social dramas of Ibsen. And herewith the discussion of problems is aroused. The questions that Ibsen's dramas propounded were treated with equal interest in Sweden as in Norway and Denmark. They put their stamp upon Swedish literature in the beginning of the eighties.

The preceding generation of writers had aimed to portray the ideal; now it was the real that was to be pictured. Before the object of literature had been sought in the interpretation of the beautiful; now it was the truth that was to be presented. To be sure, writers from the circle of *N. S.* had also striven to picture reality, but they had demanded that it be a beautiful reality. The esthetic interest had been predominant. Now the aim was to expose evil conditions in life and society and not hesitate before that which was ugly, repulsive, commonplace. The young authors felt that they were physicians who by a process of dissection aimed to discover the causes of disease. And so "the discussion of problems" was aroused.

The labor question had come to the fore, and with warm sympathy for the poor the attempt was made to understand and to picture their life and even the indigent criminal, fallen women, and children of misfortune in general, became subjects of literary treatment from the point of view that one wished to learn how they had become so. On the other hand, the higher classes of society did not fare so well in these works, under their glittering exterior, they found all kinds of wickedness. Society was divided into two classes, an upper and a lower class and the new movement in literature pleaded ably the cause of the latter.

The marriage question and especially that of the rights and the position of woman were favored subjects, in particular among

those women writers, who belonged to the movement, and Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem* called forth a host of works with similar purpose. Sacrifice had formerly been held to be the chief womanly virtue. A woman must forget self for parents, husband, brothers and children. Now the same right was demanded for her which man already had; namely, that of being a personality; besides man was to be subject to the same laws of morality as woman. When a man married he was to be equally pure morally as the woman, and within matrimony, he was to show the same faithfulness that was demanded of the woman. Within matrimony both parties were to have equal rights, and a union which was not founded on true love and complete confidence between the man and the woman, was no true marriage and ought therefore to be dissolved. The divorce question, which was an actual one in France and played no insignificant rôle in literature, did not have the same importance in Sweden, a Protestant country, as in Catholic France, and therefore it became necessary here to place higher demands upon marriage.

This movement strove, indeed, to be objective, to portray reality truthfully, without taking sides and without adding anything to the bare facts. In this respect, it could not, however, carry out its program, as has been indicated above. But the attitude in these literary products was, nevertheless, objective in the sense, that in them, conclusions were not drawn and no open tendency was exhibited. The conclusions were left to be formed by the readers themselves. The demands of faithfulness to reality, however, and of objectivity enslaved the fancy and often led to a minute depicting of details, which became tiring. Nor could objectivity hinder that a pessimistic touch stamped the movement, when in general objectionable conditions of society were pictured. It should, however, not be left unsaid that the reason for these portrayals generally was the belief that these conditions could be remedied only when brought out into the light of day, and there was also present a firm faith in humanity and its powers of development.

In Swedish literature realism and problem literature hold a significant place. Serious and truth-loving study of reality and

its varying changes strengthened the demands for a deeper study of works of art. The social questions that were treated paved the way for literature down to the lower strata of the people which at first had no part in them, and even led to a social work which ever since has advanced in strength. The aspirations of the times received expression in poetry, and it came to stand in close touch with the people and created a more powerful feeling of responsibility among high and low.

Also in purely formal respects, this movement had a reformatory influence. The literary language which had been sanctioned by time proved inadequate to portray the depths of society to which it penetrated, the changes in the mental life, which it desired to interpret. It was necessary to delve deeply into the resources of the language in order to find the necessary means of expression. It was necessary to take out of every day speech not only words, but expressions, idioms, constructions, such as it offered in order to produce the effect of reality; it was necessary to exercise selections in order to secure means for the colors and the varying tints with which one desired to paint.

And even if the movement in the beginning was cold, gloomy, and monotonous, and only too often void of imagination, the individuality of the different writers soon asserted itself, so that as early as the close of the eighties, they had thrown down the narrow barriers, which held the movement in the beginning, had given imagination and feeling more room and raised the demands of art above ethical and social interests.

V.

It was in 1878 and 1879 that the first three works appeared in which the new movement found expression. One of them was a collection of poems and its author was Albert Ulrik Bååth; the two others were a play and a novel by August Strindberg. Albert Ulrik Bååth (born 1853 in Malmö, 1875-79 instructor in the People's High School at Hvilan, at present, docent in Göteborg Högskola and director of its Museum), aroused quite a sensation through his poems (*Dikter*, 1879). Snoilsky had long been

silent; Viktor Rydberg had not yet appeared, and the post-romantic poetry of the period was in general but an echo of better times, and was rather pale and conventional. But here there was fresh blood, a strong will and a new touch in the chords. As early as 1881, followed *Nya dikter* and in 1884 *Vid allfarväg*. Both in contents and in form, there was something new in Bååth's manner. He seized upon living reality boldly and forcefully. In his national songs, he did not turn to the great past, but showed that the present Sweden, was worthy of being loved, and he exhorted to elevation of the national spirit through happy and healthy work with a view to the development of the resources of the country and through the dissemination of a higher national culture within all the strata of society. He painted pictures and moods from nature for their own sake and as symbols of a thought, and he painted with lines and colors, with tones and fragrances taken directly out of reality, without regard to what was held to be beautiful and suitable, if but that which was characteristic was brought out. By preference, he described his own native district Skåne, especially its plains, of the poetry of which he is the discoverer. But his literary work also extended to the domain of social life and conditions. In sketches and situations from life, he contrasted sharply deedless dreaming with active, forceful work, wealth with poverty, abundance with misery, a satisfied life with the hard joy-bereft battle for existence, immorality under conventional correctness (*konventionell otadlighet*) with the sparks of higher life among those who have fallen low or among the outcasts of society.

These poems are stamped by a warm sympathy for the unfortunate and a genuine humane conception of life and its relations. In them, however, he does not hesitate to draw in bold colors much which was not then regarded as proper subjects for poetic treatment. These collections contained even erotic poems and these, too, were put in the form of genre-pictures.

The form, likewise, was new. Figures sanctioned by time had quite vanished. New and vigorous pictures from real life were here accorded their due, and words from every day speech

and even from the dialects made claims to the right to be part of the language of poetry. Rhythm was not constructed, as usually before, on the principle of the number of syllables, but on the number stresses, just as in Old Norse metre. To be sure, his poetry sometimes seemed a little rough and crabbed, and those who had accustomed their ear to the language and rhythm of the older poetry, found it difficult to accustom themselves to the new. But Bååth became more and more master over the form, and in proportion as the new movement established itself, he won increasing recognition.

Bååth had never belonged to the extremists of the movement. Bitterness and hatred do not appear in his poems, even where social elements were most sharply contrasted. But in the third collection of poems these features of social contrasts are present to a less extent. He portrays in these by preference the bright spots in the life of the poor themselves, the joy of work, its happier phases, rest after work, contentment. He sees in labor one of the principal sustaining forces of life and in love its glorification. A still more peaceful spirit pervades the collection of poems, *Pa gröna stigar* (1889). Self sacrificing love and unselfish labor for others here appear in the foreground as that which gives life worth and beauty, and in *Svenska toner* (1893) the same note prevails. Here he has also, more than before, painted the Swedish uplands and scenes from Swedish history, which also form the subject of his longer narrative poems *Marit Vallkulla* (1887) and *Kärlekssagan på Björkeberga* (1892). Since has also appeared *Flickan från Antwerpen och andra dikter*.

The gentler note which appeared in Bååth's poetry after the middle of the eighties, did not diminish its vigor and originality, nor did it effect its truth to reality.

Bååth has furthermore produced excellent translations of a number of Icelandic family sagas and he has written several works in cultural history and in national psychology, treating of the Northmen during the Viking period and the early Middle Ages.

The one among Swedish authors about whom the most violent war raged even from the beginning, the one whom the younger generation regarded as their chief, and who later, made his name and his work most widely known, was August Strindberg. Endowed in a high degree, with an ingenious poetic temperament, he has traversed all the domains of poetry and developed a remarkable productivity; but without inner harmony and balance, impelled by the mood of the moment and often manifestly striving for sensational effects, he has gone from the one extreme to the other, and seldom permitted himself time to revise and perfect his works; these never appear therefore as completed works of art, although they always, in a varying degree, bear the marks of an unusual poetic gift.

In 1878, he published his first work, *Mester Olof*, a play the hero of which is Olaus Petri, Swedish reformer of the sixteenth century, Gustaf Vasa's coadjutor and later, to a certain extent, his opponent. For my part, I still regard this his chief work. With a glowing youthful enthusiasm, he pictures here the battle between the new era and the old, the victorious advance of new over antiquated ideas, and it is apparent that in the fermenting times of the Reformation, he pictures his own age and the struggles and aspirations of its youth.

A novel, *Röda rummet* followed in 1879. This is a series of pictures from the Bohemian life of the young authors and artists of Stockholm. Carefree and poor, often without food for the day, but usually in good humor, they exist in and for their ideas and their art, and criticise the old without mercy. The hero is a lover of truth who constantly finds that nothing is what it represents itself to be, and who openly gives expression to his views, but who, therefore, also everywhere encounters opposition and is looked upon as dangerous to society. In spite of his learning and his gifts, he does not succeed in securing for himself a place in society. The masterly descriptions of nature, home-life, and the analysis of character drawn directly from life, the striking psychological observations and the forceful epigrammatic terms applied to those who enjoy re-

spect, power, and the luxuries of life, all these things were new, and the book aroused a sensation, in spite of the immaturity of style and the lack of clearness in the fundamental idea and the spirit of bitterness that prevailed it.

New works appeared in quick succession, among them three plays, *Gillets hemlighet* (1880), *Lyckopers resa* (1882), *Herr Bengts hustru* (1883), and a collection of poems (1883). These poems are in the nature of a declaration of war against well-nigh every tradition, and rhyme and metre are treated with the same supreme contempt for that which had become sanctioned by time.

At the same time, there appeared writings in prose. A work in cultural history, which he began to publish in 1881 under the title: *Svenska folket i halg och soken*, in which he aimed to relate the history of the common classes of Sweden, was hardly successful; much better was an account of Old Stockholm (*Gamla Stockholm*), which he published in collaboration with Claes Sundin.

He also rewrote in verse his historical studies when in 1882 he began the issuing of a series of historical narratives, *Svenska oden och fventyr*, the subjects of which were taken from different periods of Swedish history, and in which he again pictures the life of the common man and not the prominent figures of history. These novels are among the best of Strindberg's works; they are clear and living, drawn with powerful realism and generally have the proper color of the age they represent. But under the garb of history we not infrequently meet with beings whose ideas and feelings belong to the present, and a sharp criticism of the ideas and social conditions of the age comes clearly to view. And the criticism of the society of the present broadens into one of every form of culture society. Society curtails the rights of the individual, deprives him of the possibility of making use of the resources of nature, which like air and light belong to all, and it further hampers his liberty of action. Culture is not an evolution, but a degeneration, culture is perverted nature.

Nya riket (1883) was a satire on society, directed against the changes that had taken place in Sweden since the establishment of the new method of representation in 1865. In his *Utopier* (1885), he presages new social forms. That hatred of women, which began to appear in Strindberg's works, became more prominent in the two collections of short stories entitled, *Giftas* which appeared in 1884 and 1886. It was at a time when Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem* had inspired a considerable number of writings in Sweden, in which were advanced the demand for the freedom and independence of woman in matrimony. In *Giftas*, Strindberg maintains, with the weapons of wit and satire, the right of the husband as the supporter of the family, on whom the responsibility for the maintenance of the family rests. He becomes more individualistic here than before and he even turns against various ethical principles. The first collection of *Giftas* drew down upon him an indictment for blasphemy of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, of which he was, however, declared innocent. Nevertheless these volumes are written in a fresh and lively style with surpassing humor and with telling repartee which produce throughout an almost immediate illusion of reality.

Strindberg's demands of truth in art at last led him to the view that an author can picture truthfully only that which he himself has experienced. The only correct form of narrative is therefore autobiography. In this attitude of mind, he wrote *Tjänstflickans son* in 1886 and 1887, followed in 1893 by *Die Beichte eines Thoren*, not published in Swedish, in which he ruthlessly gives vent to his bitterness and his hatred of all with whom he had come in closer contact, even those who had been kind to him. These works are insignificant and of little real worth. Their weakness may in a measure, be explained by the unfortunate situation of the author. He had for several years been in voluntary exile in Germany, nourishing the most unpleasant feelings toward his own countrymen, among whom he had been subjected to much adverse criticism. His native country had "worked itself" out of his consciousness he explained.

He regained favor, however, by two sketches of the life of the people, which are among the best that Strindberg has pro-

duced and the best of the kind in Swedish literature; namely, *Hemsöborna* (1887) and *Skärkarls lif* (1888).

A change took place in Strindberg's literary activity about 1888. He had become acquainted with Nietzsche and acquired the latter's views of "The Superman" and the conception that humanity exists for the sake of its most highly developed individuals, who are to be masters over the rest. Strindberg's earlier condemnation of culture, therefore, had passed over into its opposite, the highest valuation of culture. This idea, combines with his hatred of woman: woman as a being is far inferior to man, she is in a stage of development which he has passed long ago. She represents a stage intermediate between the child and the adult, between the savage and the highly civilized man. From this, it follows that man ought to rule over woman. She may, to be sure, seem amiable and good, but that is largely a make-believe, weapons which she, by the side of her weakness, makes use of to get the man into her power. She has, for him, all the hatred of the inferior for the superior, and when she has gotten him into her power, it is her greatest joy to torment him to the last extreme. These ideas he has carried out in short stories (*Aschandala*, 1889, and *I hafsbandet*, 1890) and in plays (*Freden*, *Fröken Julie*, *Kamraterna*, 1888). It is a woman of studied wickedness and heartlessness, the morally degenerate woman, who here plays the main rôles, and the author goes far beyond the accepted boundary of what is proper to present. In these plays, Strindberg also desires to create a new dramatic form, which was to approach reality as much as possible, in that there is no exposition, the spectator is immediately placed in the midst of the action, the whole action is performed in one place and in brief time, in a single act even if the play is as long as three or five act dramas usually are.

Again in the nineties, Strindberg's literary activity strikes out into new paths, but we cannot here enter upon a discussion of these.

All that he wrote down to this time, is stamped more or less with a rare ingeniousness. We meet everywhere great intensity

and perspicuity in the presentation, great dramatic power in the action and a strikingly expressive style. But his works generally lack unity and completeness, the ideas are often paradoxical, the repartee not infrequently deteriorates to a mere quarrel and the representation goes to extreme recklessness, now and then even to coarseness and cynicism. His works are rather fragments of a discordant talent than complete works of art. In the meantime, Strindberg has had a great influence on Swedish thought and literature during the eighties.

VI.

Another of the most prominent champions of the realistic movement was Gustaf af Geyerstam, who published several series of short stories, as *Gråkallt* 1882, *Fattige folk* 1884, *Tillsvidere* 1887, and *Kronofogden's berättelser* 1890, and the novels *Erik Grane* 1885 and *Pastor Hallin* 1887, the comedies *Svärfar* 1888, *Aldrig i lifvet* 1891 and *Svenska bondepjeser* 1894. It was especially social conditions that interested him. He pictured the life of the poor as poor even in the elements of joy, in a cold gray (Gråkall) tone and mood, but with warm sympathy. In his sketches of the common people, he broke with the romantic portrayal of the beautiful which had been inherited from Björnstjerne Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, and he portrays among his peasants also greedy, ignorant, and self-sufficient types. About the middle of the nineties, he began devoting himself to the investigations of the social conditions of the working classes. He occupies a prominent position among the realistic writers through his faithfulness to reality and his accurate observation. The period of greatest development comes, however, after 1895, when he turned to the psychological novel, with the same love of truth which he had developed in his earlier works. He pictured partly the obscure depths of the human soul, partly the feelings which finds and unites man to man.

George Nordensvan also appeared in 1882. As early as 1885, he broke with the gloomy mood, which in general, characterized realism during its first years in his artists novel, *Figge*, which

bubbles over with healthy humor, something that we meet with also in his later short stories, his novels and plays. During the nineties, he began to devote himself more and more to the study of the history of art.

The realistic literature of the eighties contains several names of women authors. Zealously and often with much talent, they took up social problems for discussion, and it was especially marriage and the question of women's rights which they treated in the novel and the drama. Several of these writers were especially notable and their works held a prominent place in the period.

Anne Charlotte Leffler-Edgren, later Dutchess di Cajanello, (d. 1892) had already published some of her works which, however, had attracted little attention, when under the influence of realism, she found her own style. With Bååth and Strindberg, she became a foremost representative of realism and the literature of problems. In 1882, she issued a collection of stories, *Ur lifvet*, which was followed by several under the same title. In them the author deals with the upper classes and often shows how natural feelings break through the forms, which custom and training have created. She possesses a sharp eye for shallowness and hypocrisy, and lays them bare without mercy. Her portrayal is generally characterized by an objective calmness and the artist's attitude, and her style is dignified and self-possessed. In her plays, *Elfvan*, *Skådespelerskan* and *Sanna kvinnor*, which enjoyed great success on the stage, she turns from the ideal of womanhood, which had prevailed before, and which demanded only sacrifices and the suppression of her own inclinations, wishes and efforts, whether as daughter, sister, wife or mother, and in *Hur man gör godt* she attacks that benevolence, which parades itself and boasts, but in reality lacks heart for the sufferers and often does more evil than good.

Victoria Benedictsson, who wrote under the name, Ernst Ahlgren, was a writer of rare talent. Her sketches were always fresh and spirited. Her romances, *Från Skåne* 1884, *Folkklif och småberättelser* 1887 and *Berättelser och utkast* 1888, possessed

much true and genuine humor, and her novels, *Pengar* 1885, and *Fru Mari-Anne* 1887, deal with the question of marriage in a more artistic manner than most of the works of the period. Useful and honorable work stands out victorious in the battle against the more esthetic life of enjoyment and enfeebling self-analysis. Her style is elevated and artistic. But her healthy mind was seized by an incurable hypochondria, and in 1888, she put an end to an existence which had become unbearable to her. The works which she left incomplete, a novel, *Modern* and a play *Den bergtagna*, have been completed and edited by Axel Lundagard. Her sad death and its cause, he has described in part in a biography, in part in the novel *Elsa Finne*.

A very prolific writer was Afhild Agrell, whose stories, novels, and plays, treated nearly all questions that were mooted in the literature of the time. Matilda Roos published several novels in a realistic vein in the eighties, but when later, she passed through a religious crisis, her work assumed another tone and spirit. *Fru Ina Lange* (pseudonym: Daniel Sten) pictured her native district life in Finland; and she wrote some novels of psychological realistic content. And Anna Wahlenberg wrote several novels and stories with much talent.

In the middle of the eighties there appeared several new writers, who were led into different directions by the new tendencies which soon made themselves felt in the realistic movement. Thus e. g., Tor Hedberg, who began as an objective portrayer of real life and a writer of "problem-works," but who soon, more and more, was drawn to the interpretation of psychological peculiarities. As a lyricist with much of Bååth's spirit, Ola Hansson at first, described his native place, the plains of Skåne, but with a more sensitive and a more nervous temperament, which became more and more prominent in his later works both in verse and prose. Fru Matilda Malling also followed the same tendency in her first works, which were published under the nom de plume Stella Cleve. But in the nineties, she struck out into a new path which was more fortunate for her authorship.

Henrik Wranner and August Bondeson attracted much attention for their excellent portrayal of the life of the people. The

former described peasants and artisans of Skåne, the latter those of Halland.

During the decades when the realistic movement was in the ascendancy, there were writers who did not join the movement, but who continued in the older romantic traditions. Still they could not help being influenced in some measure by the craving for the real which was characteristic of the new movement. Such were *Fru Amanda Kerfstedt*, who also made contributions to the literature of problems, and Alfred Hedenstjerna, who over the non de plume Sigurd, became widely known, and gained a greater popularity than most of the writers of the time. Sigurd was pre-eminent as a humorist, influenced on the one hand by American humor and on the other by Fritz Reuter, and his *Kaleidoskop* in which he humorously treated the questions of the day, were at least in the beginning very clever. He became prolific as a writer of stories and novels in which he pictured the life of the common and middle classes with not a little of the old romanticism and sentimentality. He did not, therefore, gain as much recognition from the critics as from the large public, especially since he criticised with much severity the new movement which soon came to be in control.

As will have appeared from the preceding, the year 1888 may be said to mark the climax of realism, individualism, and the literature of problems. Realism demanded truth to reality and objectivity of portrayal, but in all poetry the presentation depends after all upon how the author looks at reality, that is, it depends upon his own temperament. And the temperament of the different writers asserted itself more as each one developed more and more the individual traits of character. The literature of problems began to become monotonous when the same social questions were treated in much the same manner. And when individualism had sufficiently long presented its demands for the rights of the individual over against society, customs and convention, the time soon came when one, out of regard to self and others, was forced to confess that, as man forms a part of society, he is forced to take this into consideration and

that the rights of the individual must be adjusted according to the rights of other individuals.

The gloomy seriousness, that characterizes most of this literature, which aimed at a study of the faults of society in order to correct them had a depressing influence. They were mostly pictures *en grisaille*. And the faithful study of reality fettered the imagination, which after all, is the strongest power in poetry and its real essence.

And so there developed among the realistic writers, new phases, new ideas, in short, a new style of treatment. They no longer made that which was actually true, but rather the artistically true the object of their work. It became more and more clear to them that poetry is an art, which has its own means. And in the new period many of them entered upon a new development. But at the same time, there appeared several new writers who sought new paths for poetry.

Verner von Heidenstam indulged his fancy freely in his first works, "*Från Col di Tenda till Blocksberg*" 1888, "*Vallfart och vandringsår*" 1888, "*Endymion*" 1889. He urged the rights of the joy of life, and he painted it in warm and powerful colors, in verse and prose, although often perhaps in a manner fitful and vague. Oscar Levertin who had made his debut as a realistic writer struck new lyric tones in his "*Legender og visor*" 1891, attaching himself to medieval mysticism and emotionalism and the quiet mood of the pre-Raphaelites, which he desired to interpret in a modern manner.

The year 1891 is noteworthy in Swedish literature. Besides the work just named, there appeared the first efforts of three new authors, who, together with the two just named, put their stamp upon Swedish literature in the nineties, and came to occupy a place among the foremost names in Swedish literature in general. These were Selma Lagerlöf's "*Gösta Berlings saga*," Gustaf Fröding's "*Guitar och dragharmonika*" and Per Hallström's "*Lyric och fantasier*." Axel Lundegård, who in the eighties also had written realistic novels, published in 1891 his sketch "*La Mouche*" which makes a new and rich phase in

his literary activity. And Fru Sophie Elkan began, under the nom de plume Rust Roest, in 1889 a literary career which has borne rich fruit.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to give an account of the character and the works of these authors. Under the fresh impression of the new, there was a tendency to judge rather severely the realism of the eighties, the products of which, soon lay almost forgotten upon the bookshelves of an older generation. But already now, the verdict seems to have become milder and more just. The literature of the eighties had been called forth by the general current of the time which was connected with the period of greatest achievement in the biological sciences. It had been born of a spirit of humanism; the writers represented in it had demanded serious and thorough study of the questions and problems they treated and a painstaking study of their works, and it had called to life a new period of bloom in Swedish literature. The reaction in the nineties often, especially among other writers than those just named, led to looseness of form, haziness and vagueness of contents, fitfulness and arbitrariness in plan and composition, often to a disregard of all plan and method. But the best works of the nineties preserve for the new content the good qualities of realism, and various signs indicate that the latter will again come to the fore, even if in a new manner and in new forms.

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HANS EMIL LARSSON.

SELBSTANLEIHE UND WIEDERHOLUNG IN SCHILLERS DRAMATISCHEM NACHLASS.

(Concluded).

II.

WARBECK, DEMETRIUS UND "DIE KINDER DES HAUSES."

Bei der inneren Verwandtschaft des Warbeck- und Demetriusstoffes ist die Übernahme einzelner Motive und ganzer Gruppen von Motiven aus dem einen Drama in das andere nicht zu verwundern und in keiner Weise zu beanstanden. Wie nun der Warbeck in der Enthüllung der Abkunft des Helden gipfelt, sollten auch "die Kinder des Hauses"³² auf eine Reihe von Enthüllungen hinauslaufen, darunter vor allem die Entdeckung, dass Saintfoix-Charlot und Adelaide Geschwister und die rechtmässigen Besitzer des Narbonneschen Erbes sind. Daraus ergeben sich ungesucht eine Reihe von Parallelen; noch grösser aber ist die Anzahl der Punkte, in denen sich "die Kinder des Hauses" und der Demetrius berühren.

Wie bei Warbeck und Demetrius tut "die Familienähnlichkeit auch das ihrige, den Glauben an die Herkunft der Kinder zu begründen" (S. 93, Z. 4).³³ Die Kinder hatten ermordet werden sollen (S. 83, Z. 12 "Wie wurden die Kinder weggeschafft? [An Stelle der früheren Fragen hier eingeschoben:] Kinder sollten aus der Welt geschafft werden und wurden ohne Wissen Narbonnes gerettet"); Madelon, Narbonnes Mitschuldige, hat sie "einer Zigeunerin verkauft oder übergeben und ausgesprengt dasz sie bei einem Brand umgekommen" (S. 84, Z. 8; S. 86, Z. 14). Auch das Alter Charlots stimmt zu dem Warbecks und Demetrius' (S. 84, Z. 13 "Er ist damals gerade 14 Jahr alt, also 9 Jahre älter, als er sich daraus verloren"; Z. 35 "Saintfoix ist 20"; S. 90, Z. 1 "Madelon hat die zwey Kinder an eine Zigeunerin ver-

³²Zum Titel vgl. oben Band 7, No. 4, Seite 139 und Ammerkung.

³³Entwicklung des Plans: S. 79 bis S. 86, Z. 4; Erster Entwurf: S. 86, Z. 5 bis S. 95, Z. 5; Zweiter Entwurf: S. 95, Z. 6 bis S. 104; Dritter Entwurf: S. 105—110.

kauft, da das älteste nur vier Jahr alt war" und S. 97, Z. 23 "daz die Zigeunerin beide Kinder vor 16 Jahren erhalten habe"). Wie Warbeck seinem Pfleger und Demetrius den Klosterbrüdern, so entläuft er der Zigeunerin (S. 84, Z. 11) und findet nach einigen Irrfahrten gastliche Aufnahme im Haus Narbonnes, ähnlich wie Demetrius, dem er auch im Charakter gleicht, am Hofe Mnischeks (S. 86, Z. 25 "daz vor ohngefähr sechs Jahren ein junger Mann, Namens *Saintfoix* in Narbonnes Haus als Waise aufgenommen worden, viele Wohlthaten von ihm erhalten, und wohl erzogen worden. Der junge Mensch, damals 14 Jahr, war sehr liebenswürdig und durch seine Hilflosigkeit ein Gegenstand des Mitleids für die ganze Stadt. Narbonne öffnete ihm sein Haus,³⁴ und übernahm es, für sein Wohl zu sorgen. Er lebte bei ihm, nicht auf dem Fusz eines Hausbedienten, sondern eines armen VerwandtenSaintfoix machte schnell grosze Fortschritte in der Bildung die ihm Narbonne geben liesz. Er zeigte ein treffliches Naturell des Kopfs und Herzens, zugleich aber auch einen gewissen Adel und Stolz der ihm wie angebohren liesz und dem armen aufgegriffenen Waisen, der von Wohlthaten lebte nicht recht zuzukommen schien. Er war voll dankbarer Ehrfurcht gegen seinen Wohlthäter, aber sonst zeigte er nichts gedrücktes noch erniedrigtes Sein Muth schien oft an Uebermuth, eine gewisse Naivetät und Fröhlichkeit an Leichtsinne zu grenzen. Er war verschwenderisch, frey, *fièr* und eifersüchtig auf seine Ehre").

Wie Demetrius die schöne Marina im stillen verehrt (S. 9, V. 157 "Mir selbst noch fremd, mit stiller Huldigung/ Verehrt' ich seine reizgeschmückte Tochter, / Doch damals von der Kühnheit weit entfernt / Das Herz zu solchem Glück empor zu wagen"), so liebt Charlot Fräulein Victoire von Pontis (S. 87, Z. 24 "Saintfoix betete Victoire vom ersten Augenblicke an, als er sie kennen lernte, aber seine Wünsche wagten sich nicht zu ihr hinauf"; S. 88, Z. 31: "dieser hatte keine Ahnung seines

³⁴ S. 90, Z. 28 nennt Schiller es als erste der "Unwahrscheinlichkeiten" seines Planes, "wie Charlot ins Narbonnische Haus kam, ohne daz Narbonne oder Madelon etwas von seiner Geburt vermuthet."

Glücks, weil er nie eine solche Hofnung gewagt hatte"); und seine Liebe wird im stillen erwidert, umsomehr da Victoire, wie Prinzessin Adelaide und Marina, in kein herzliches Verhältnis zu dem ihr bestimmten Bräutigam treten kann (S. 82, Z. 28 "Das Mädchen ist die einzige Person, welche durch einen inneren unerklärlichen Abscheu vor ihm gewarnt wird"; S. 87, Z. 18 "Victoire hatte öfters Gelegenheit gehabt, diesen Saintfoix zu sehen, bald empfand sie eine Neigung für ihn, welche aber hoffnungslos schien; die Bewerbungen Narbonnes um ihre Hand, vor denen sie ein sonderbares Grauen hatte, verstärkten ihre Gefühle für Saintfoix"; S. 88, Z. 27 "Victoire erklärte ihren Widerwillen gegen Narbonne"; S. 93, Z. 27 "Es ist die Rede von ihrer bevorstehenden Heirat, wovor ihr graut"; S. 96, Z. 9 ff.; Z. 12 "Man entdeckt an ihr ausser einem unbegreiflichen Grauen vor Narbonne auch Spuren einer Leidenschaft für einen andern ärmeren, den sie nicht hoffen kann zu besitzen"; S. 101, Z. 2 ff.; S. 105, Z. 16 f.; S. 110, Z. 13 ff.; 18 ff.).

Die leidenschaftliche Unruhe, in die Charlot gerät, so oft von der bevorstehenden Heirat Narbonnes und Victoires die Rede ist (S. 93, Z. 10 ff.; S. 95, Z. 17 ff.; S. 96, Z. 4 ff.; S. 100, Z. 21 f.; S. 108, Z. 33 bis S. 109, Z. 6), findet im Demetrius kein Gegenstück; auch kommt es im Demetrius nicht zu einer Erklärung zwischen den Liebenden wie dort (S. 89, Z. 18 f.; S. 101, Z. 13 f.; S. 105, Z. 30); wohl aber lässt sich der Umstand, dass Charlot und Victoire dabei von Narbonne überrascht werden (a. a. O.), mit der Szene, in der die Eifersucht des Palatinus ausbricht, in Parallele setzen.

Dass Charlot, nachdem er in den Verdacht des Diebstahls gekommen ist (S. 88, Z. 16 ff.; S. 92, Z. 22 f.; S. 94, Z. 6 ff.; S. 96, Z. 6 ff.; S. 109, Z. 11 f.), wozu sein leidenschaftliches, unruhiges, unstetes Wesen, seine Lust am freien Wandern und seine unschuldigeren Begriffe von Mein und Dein Anlass gegeben haben (S. 88, Z. 19 f.; S. 91, Z. 22 ff.; S. 93, Z. 10 ff.; S. 95, Z. 17 ff.; S. 100, Z. 16 ff.; S. 108, Z. 33 ff.), im Augenblicke grösster Gefahr als Narbonnes Neffe und rechtmässiger Erbe des Besitzes erkannt wird, findet sich wieder in der Erkennung des

Demetrius als Zarewitsch in ähnlich dringender Lage. Auch dass ein Schmuckstück zu dieser Entdeckung beiträgt (S. 89, Z. 10 "Man findet bei ihr zwar nichts von Narbonnes Schmuck, aber etwas anderes kostbares, welches bei einer so geringen Person Verdacht erregen musz"; Z. 24 f.; S. 93, Z. 1 "Die fromme Mutter hat ihrer Tochter ein goldenes Kreuz oder sonst etwas auf Religion sich beziehendes umgebunden. Kurz, die Andacht ist im Spiel, die Entdeckung herbeizuführen"; S. 100, Z. 26 f.; S. 105, Z. 23 f.; S. 109, Z. 28), erinnert lebhaft an das Taufkreuz des Demetrius (S. 105, Z. 28 f.; S. 236, Z. 23 f.; S. 215, Z. 4; S. 216, Z. 30 f.; S. 217, Z. 21; Z. 33; S. 86, Anm. 2; S. 87, Z. 1 ff.; S. 93, Z. 19; S. 96, Z. 7 f.; S. 109, Z. 20 ff.; S. 110, Z. 1 ff.; S. 124, Z. 3 ff.; S. 176, Z. 20 ff.; S. 179, Anm., 2); S. 166, V. 105 ff.; S. 10, V. 182 ff.) Auch Charlots Fürbitte bei Victoire für Adelaide (S. 89, Z. 15 f.; S. 94, Z. 3 f.; S. 97, Z. 8 f.; S. 101, Z. 10 ff.; S. 105, Z. 29) geschieht unter ähnlichen Umständen wie die Lodoiskas für Demetrius bei Marina (S. 63, Z. 37).³⁵ Wenn dann nach geschehener Erkennung die Kinder vom Volke im Triumph nach Narbonnes Haus gebracht werden (S. 85, Z. 8; S. 92, Z. 5 f.; S. 94, Z. 29), so entspricht dem das Verhalten des ganzen Mnischekschen Hofes nach der Entdeckung Demetrius' als Zarewitsch; und die Grossmut Charlots, mit der er nach seiner Erkennung Narbonne im Besitz seiner väterlichen Güter lassen und nur von ihm als Erbe anerkannt sein will (S. 81, Z. 35; S. 85, Z. 10 f.; S. 95, Z. 2; S. 104, Z. 10 f.), ist auch ein Charakterzug des Demetrius, wo er den Tod des Boris erfährt (S. 154, Z. 25 "Und wie er den Untergang des Boris erfährt zeigt er eine edle Rührung. Er starb eines Königs werth, aber mir nimmt er den Ruhm der Groszmuth").

³⁵Charlots und Adelaides Verhältnis ist jedoch ganz anderer Art als das des Demetrius und Lodoiskas; vgl. S. 87, Z. 29 "Für diese hatte er eine zärtliche Freundschaft; Leidenschaft und Anbetung hatte ihm Victoire eingeflöszt. Zwischen beiden war sein Herz getheilt, aber ohne dasz er seine Gefühle confundiert hätte;" S. 100, Z. 28 "Man entdeckt eine unschuldige Neigung von Seiten des Mädchens, Dankbarkeit, Mitleid von Seiten des Jünglings;" S. 109, Z. 25 "Zu Charlot zieht sie eine starke Sympathie, die aber entschieden nicht Liebe ist." Nur scheinbar widerspricht dem S. 93, Z. 24 "Saintfoix zieht und lässt seine Geliebte nicht mishandeln;" dies ist lediglich ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler.

An Zar Boris erkennt man leicht gewisse Züge Narbonnes wieder. So die Art, wie dieser sich in Besitz der Erbschaft setzt, nämlich durch die—seinem Plane zuwider nicht ausgeführte—Ermordung der wahren Erben (S. 83, Anm.), nur muss Narbonne sein Werkzeug belohnen, während Boris gerade durch seinen Undank gegen den Mörder des Prinzen die Aufstellung des Pseudozarewitsch und damit seinen eigenen Untergang herbeiführt. Ferner seine Lage zu Beginn des Stückes, sein Ansehen bei der Mitwelt (S. 81, Z. 10 "Der Held der Tragödie musz ein sicherer und mächtiger Bösewicht sein, den die Reue und Gewissensbisse nie anwandeln; zugleich ist er geehrt, durchaus nicht beargwohnt, wird für einen exemplarischen Mann gehalten"; S. 82, Z. 6 "Er ist ein verständiger, gesetzter, sich immer besitzender, sogar zufriedener Bösewicht. Die Heucheley ist nicht bloz eine dünne Schminke, der angenommene Charakter ist ihm habituell, ja gewissermaszen natürlich geworden, und die Sicherheit, in der er sich wähnt, läsz ihn sogar Groszmuth und Menschlichkeit zeigen"; S. 86, Z. 5 ff.). Desgleichen seine Aussicht auf eine ruhige, friedliche Zukunft, so dass er daran denken kann, "eine Heirath zu thun, und sein Geschlecht fortzupflanzen" (S. 86, Z. 20), wie Boris seinem Sohne Feodor die Nachfolge auf dem Thron gesichert hätte. Seine Sicherheit (S. 82, Z. 10; s. o.; S. 95, Z. 10; S. 104, Z. 5 "Seine *Sicherheit* führt ihn zum Fall"; S. 108, Z. 2 f.;—D S. 148, Z. 28 "Das Abenteuerliche und monstrose des Falls, welches er (Boris) anfangs verachtet hat")³⁰, sowie auch der Gedanke, dass er den unrecht erworbenen Besitz gut verwendet habe (S. 108,

³⁰ Vgl. denselben Gedanken in Schillers Macbeth-Bearbeitung, IV, 2, V. 1468 "Den Sterblichen, das wisst ihr lange, führt Sicherheit zum Untergange." Auch mit *Wallensteins Tod*, V. 3584 ff. ("Die bösen Götter fordern ihren Zoll") und dem Grundgedanken im "Ring des Polykrates" ergeben sich Parallelen; vgl. S. 85, Z. 24 "Betrachte den Verlust als eine Expiation.—Schon lange ängstigt mich euer groszes Glück;" S. 99, Z. 21 "Nehmt dieses kleine Unglück willig hin. Seid froh, dasz euch der Himmel diese Züchtigung zuschiekt. Schon lange hat mich die ununterbrochene Dauer eures Wohlstands bekümmert;" S. 107, Z. 13 ff. Nur ist hier die Rede von der Gerechtigkeit, dort von dem Neide der Götter.

Z. 11 "Narbonne tröstet die Madelon mit seiner guten Verwendung dieses Erbes, wie er sagt";—D S. 149, Z. 5 "Wahr ists, ich habe das Reich nicht ganz unschuldig erworben, aber ich hab es gut verwaltet. Wie? Kann ein wohlthätiges Leben ein Verbrechen nicht gut machen? Kann der gute Gebrauch nicht die verwerflichen Mittel entschuldigen?"). Endlich die Art, wie das Gericht bereinbricht, und wie er sich zu dieser scheinbaren Laune des Schicksals stellt (S. 91, Z. 6 "Alles musz grade in den unglücklichsten Moment für Narbonne fallen, dasz es aussieht, als wenn das Schicksal unmittelbar es dirigierte, obgleich das Zutreffen jedes einzelnen Umstands hinreichend motiviert seyn musz"; vgl. auch S. 104;—D S. 206, Z. 23 "Boris ist durch ein Verbrechen Zar geworden, aber er herrscht würdig. Das Schicksal straft ihn durch eine abentheuerliche Wendung der Dinge, welche aus seinem Verbrechen selbst hervorgeht. Die blutige Maaszregel zu seiner Sicherheit gereicht ihm zum Verderben, der ermordete Demetrius stürzt ihn vom Thron"; S. 220, Z. 15 "Boris Situation und Untergang ist höchst dramatisch—eine furchtbare Nemesis waltet hier"; S. 148, Z. 30 "Es ist etwas incalculables, göttliches, woran sein Muth und seine Klugheitsmittel erliegen . . . dasz gerade der Prinz, den er ermorden liesz, dem Betrüger die Existenz geben musz, ist ein eigenes Verhängnisz."³⁷

³⁷ Rein sprachliche Parallelen zwischen den "Kindern des Hauses" und "Demetrius" bieten S. 89, Z. 1 "mit einer jungen Person *de basse condition et sans aveu*" (vgl. S. 96, Z. 18 "mit einer hergelaufenen Frauensperson;" S. 100, Z. 8 "dem jungen herkunftlosen Menschen");—D S. 233, Z. 3 "obgleich er *sans aveu* ist;" S. 90, Z. 1 "der *sans aveu* ist;" ferner K. d. H. S. 85, Z. 17 "Es giebt den Anstosz, dasz sich die bereitliegenden Umstände wie ein Räderwerk in Bewegung setzen, und den furchtbaren Aufschusz herbey führen, dasz er selbst ihn nicht mehr hemmen kann;" S. 104, Z. 12 "Bis sich, durch das nehmliche verhängniszvolle Triebwerk, welches er anregte, die ganze Wahrheit entfaltet und er sein furchtbares Loos zieht. Dasz das einmal in Lauf gekommene Triebwerk wider seinen Willen und wenn er es gern wieder aufhalten möchte fortgeht, ist von tragischem Effekt;"—D S. 221, Z. 27 "Das aufgezogene Uhrwerk geht ohne sein Zuthun."

III.

DIE ÜBRIGEN FRAGMENTE.

Bei den Beziehungen der übrigen Fragmente zu den bereits betrachteten und unter sich handelt es sich nur um die Feststellung einzelner, zum Teil freilich auffallender, sachlichen und sprachlichen Ähnlichkeiten und Anleihen.

Der *Demetrius* zeigt an zwei Stellen Übereinstimmung mit den *Malthesern*: M S. 59, Z. 6 "... wie die Flocken fallen, im Winter Sturm, also steigen Völker aus den donnergeladenen Schiffen aus einer Wolcke von Heiden-Stämmen"—D S. 14, V. 1194 ff. in älterer Fassung (s. S. 284) "Wie Meereswogen strömet zahllos her, / Und dränget euch zu eures Königs Fahnen, / Wie Flocken Schnees die der Arktur ergieszet." Ferner M a. a. O., Z. 10 "das Meer, das allverbreitete, ewig offene"; S. 63, V. 21 "die See die allhin verbreitete / Ewig offene"—D S. 54, V. 1200 "du allverbreitet ungehemmte Luft."³⁸ Ausserdem sollte wie St. Priest in den *Malthesern* Romanow ein beschütztes Haupt sein (M S. 55, Z. 13 "es ist als ob eine Wache von Engeln ihn umgäbe"—D S. 101, Z. 14 "Romanow ist ein beschütztes Haupt, dem Demetrius nichts anhaben kann"; S. 84, Z. 18 "und doch ists als ob höhere Mächte diesen jungen Helden beschützten, dasz er ihm nichts anhaben kann").

Bedeutsame Charakterähnlichkeit zeigt Marina mit *Elfride*: S. 111, Z. 6 "Der Reiz Königin zu werden und durch Schönheit sowohl als Grösze alle andre zu überstrahlen"; Z. 11 "Fragt sich nun, hat sie ihn geliebt, hat sie ihn nur als Mittel zu einem andern Zweck gebraucht"; S. 112, Z. 19 "ihre Empfindung für ihn ist Vergnügen aber keineswegs Liebe"; Z. 21 "Dieser Leichtsinn, diese Selbstsucht stellen sich gleich anfangs dar; man sieht, dasz die Liebe ihr nicht alles ist, dasz also die Person ihres Gemahls ihr doch gewissermaassen gleichgültig ist (Zusatz: und das, was Er ihr ist, sich leicht auf einen andern übertragen lässt)".

³⁸ Vgl. auch Schillers *Macbeth*-Bearbeitung, III, 8, V. 1214 "das freie Element, / Das uns umgibt, unendlich, allverbreitet."

Mit der *Gräfin von Flandern* verbindet den Demetrius die Charakterzeichnung Florisels und des Demetrius am Hofe zu Sambor, vor allem ihre Freigebigkeit, die auch Warbeck teilt (G v F S. 198, Z. 22 "Florisels fürstliche Groszmuth im Zustand der Dienstbarkeit"; S. 200, Z. 7 "Florisel ist der jüngere Sohn eines sehr edeln aber herabgekommenen Geschlechts; er . . . musz am Hof seiner Fürstin von seinen treuen Diensten sein Glück erwarten; aber er ist liebenswürdig, tapfer, verständig und hochgesinnt und seiner Gebieterin mit einer Neigung, die an Anbetung grenzt, ergeben"; S. 207, Z. 11 "Florisel theilt das Geschenk an die Diener der Gräfin aus, und legt nur auf eine Kleinigkeit die der Person der Gräfin angehörte, einen Werth. Sein Betragen kündigt eine hohe fürstliche Gesinnung und eine Delikatesse der Gefühle an, die ihn über alle andre Figuren erhebt"; S. 218, Z. 1 ff.—W S. 135, Z. 4 "Er steht da wie ein beglückendes Wesen; nur für andere scheint er zu handeln, an sich selbst aber denkt er nie, er giebt alles hin, und was ihm auch zufließt, er gebraucht es bloz um andre damit zu beschenken".—D S. 205, Z. 25 "Er zeigt eine fürstliche Groszmuth"; S. 89, Anm. 2 "... Er schenkt etwas das ihm geschenkt worden an seine Mitbedienten weg und behält bloz das, was einen affektionswerth für ihn hat"), desgleichen Florisels Verhältnis zur Gräfin und das des Demetrius zu Marina,—auch Beziehungen zu den "Kindern des Hauses" ergeben sich hier—(G v F S. 200, Z. 12 "Von dem Vorzug, den ihm die Gräfin giebt, weisz er nichts, und ob er gleich für keine andere Dame Augen hat als für sie, so ist ihm doch der Gedanke nie gekommen sie zu besitzen. Selbst die bevorstehende Heirat der Gräfin beunruhigt ihn nur insofern, als er ihre Abneigung dagegen bemerkt und keinen der Bewerber für würdig genug hält, sie davon zu tragen"; S. 208, Z. 3 "Florisel betet seine Gebieterin an, aber er hat sich die Natur seiner Gefühle noch nicht gestanden; er hält sie bloz für Ehrfurcht und Dienstfeier; er hat noch keinen Gedanken an den Besitz der Gräfin, und selbst ihre Heirath beunruhigt ihn nur um ihrentwillen"). Ebenso die Abneigung der Gräfin gegen die Heirat, wobei wiederum Ähnlichkeiten mit den

“Kindern des Hauses” und mit Warbeck erscheinen (G v F S. 200, Z. 1 “Ihre Abneigung dagegen gründet sich nicht bloss auf ihre Gleichgültigkeit und ihren Widerwillen gegen ihre Freier. Ihr Herz ist schon für einen andern interessiert, einen jungen Damoiseau an ihrem Hof, der nicht im Stand ist sie zu schützen, der keine Ansprüche an sie machen und den sie nicht wählen kann, ohne sich selbst und ihn zu Grunde zu richten”). Die Neigung des Fräuleins von Megen zu Florisel (S. 203, Z. 6 ff.) erinnert an die Hofdamen im Warbeck und Lodoiska im Demetrius. Schliesslich noch eine sprachliche Kleinigkeit: G v F S. 202, Z. 20 “er verschlingt in Gedanken schon die Staaten der Gräfin”—D S. 131, Z. 1 “Sie verschlingt in Gedanken schon das unermessliche Ruszland” (vgl. oben S. 33 und Anm. 9).

Der Widerspruch zwischen glänzender äusserer Lage und elender innerer Stimmung, unter dem Warbeck und in den späteren Akten Demetrius leiden, findet sich auch in der Situation der Heldin in der *Prinzessin von Zelle* (S. 232, Z. 17 “Eben jetzt also, wo ihr die schönsten Hofnungen zu blühen scheinen, wo das Haus Hannover dem höchsten Glanz entgegen geht, überrascht sie ihre Ältern mit der unerwarteten Bitte, sie wieder bei sich aufzunehmen. Dieser Widerspruch ihres Zustandes mit dem öffentlichen giebt eine tragische Situation: verlassen will sie dieses Haus gerade in dem Momente, wo es das höchste Glück scheint ihm anzugehören, und ohne dass sie für Glanz und Grösze unempfindlich wäre”). Die Freundlosigkeit, an der die Prinzessin (S. 233, Z. 15 f.) leidet, drückt auch Demetrius (S. 161, Z. 22 “Er hat keinen Freund, keine treue Seele”).

An den *Themistokles* erinnert nur entfernt, da sie sie nicht im selben Grade fühlen, die Heimatlosigkeit Warbecks und Demetrius’ in Sambor (Th S. 235, Z. 5 “einem Bürger . . . , dem das Verhältnisz zum Vaterland das höchste Gut war. Themistocles ist in Persien heimatlos, heisz und schmerzlich und hoffnungslos ist sein Sehnen nach Griechenland, es ist ihm nie so theuer gewesen als seitdem er es auf ewig verloren. Ewig strebt er, sich in dieses geliebte Element zurück zu begeben.”—W S. 180, Z. 20 “Jetzt erduldet er im Ausland alles, was die Heimat-

losigkeit, der Zustand der Waise *etc.* bitteres hat.“—Wärmere Gefühlstöne verleiht im Demetrius in diesem Punkte der Dichter nur den flüchtigen Bojaren bei Mnischek, S. 63, Z. 39 ff.).³⁰ Wie im Themistokles “griechische und persische Sitten im Contrast” (S. 236, Z. 29) dargestellt werden sollten, so wollte Schiller im Demetrius auch eine Anzahl Szenen auf den Unterschied zwischen polnisch-westeuropäischen Sitten einerseits und russisch-halbasiatischen anderseits anlegen.

So merkwürdig es zunächst klingen mag, selbst zwischen der *Agrippina* und dem Demetrius scheint sich ein Faden zu spinnen, insofern nämlich als Agrippina ihrem Sohne Nero die Herrschaft aus selbstsüchtigen Gründen verschafft und dann unter den Folgen zu leiden hat wie Marfa von der Vernachlässigung durch Demetrius (A S. 240, Z. 27 “Ihre Macht ist gesunken, sie hat ihren Einflusz auf ihn verloren und musz andre, statt ihrer ihn beherrschen sehen. Disz ist ihr grösstes Unglück, denn sie hatte ihm die Herrschaft mehr verschafft um ihrentwillen als um seinewillen. . . . Jezo büszt sie es theuer durch Verlassenheit und Verachtung”—D S. 164, vgl. oben S. 195).

Ebenso findet sich noch ein Motiv in dem *Seestück*, das auch im Demetrius wiederkehrt: S. 253, Z. 29 “Wüthende Rachsucht gegen eine bestimmte Nation, gegen einen besondern Stand (die Mönche) . . . beseelt ihn [den Korsaren]”—D S. 203, Z. 21 “Weil er selbst Mönch gewesen und viel dabei ausgestanden, so verfolgt er die Mönche.”

Endlich wäre noch die Lage Karl Moors in der *Braut in Trauer* mit der des Boris vor dem Auftreten des Demetrius sowie der Narbonnes am Anfang der “Kinder des Hauses” zu vergleichen (B i T S. 255, Z. 1 “*Karl Moor* hält den Himmel für verhöhnt, er ist endlich in eine gewisse Sicherheit eingewiegt worden, ein zwanzigjähriges Glück läsz ihm keinen Umschlag mehr fürchten. Er hat in dieser Zeit Gutes gestiftet, er hat Unglückliche

³⁰Es sei ausserdem an *Macbeth*, IV, 1, V. 1404 “Und der Verbannung Bitterkeit vergessend” und *Maria Stuart*, I, 6, V. 499 “Freudlose Tage der Verbannung,” erinnert; Stellen, die der Zeit nach aus derselben Periode stammen wie die Beschäftigung mit Warbeck.

getröstet, er hat eine wohlthätige Rolle gespielt"—zu den "Kindern des Hauses" und Demetrius vgl. oben S. 334-5 f.). Auch die Art, wie Warbeck sich über die Annahme seiner falschen Person tröstet (S. 135, Z. 10 "ich habe Thränen getrocknet und glücklich gemacht"), lässt sich hier beiziehen.

Den *Warbeck* verbindet ausserdem mit den *Kindern des Hauses* noch das Motiv, dass, wie hier Adelaide "aus Armuth ihren einzigen Reichthum, ein Pretiosum verkaufen" will (S. 96, Z. 34; ähnlich S. 93, Z. 19; S. 100, Z. 26 f.; S. 105, Z. 23 f.; S. 109, Z. 28 f.), so auch dort Eduard Plantagenet "durch Mangel gezwungen ist, eine kostbare Sache zu veräusern" (S. 152, Z. 21); jedoch ist im Warbeck nicht davon die Rede, dass diese Kostbarkeit irgendwie zu seiner Entdeckung beiträgt. Auch berührt sich das Schicksal Plantagenets mit dem Philippe Narbonnes (Saintfoix-Charlot) in der Entwicklung des Plans, als er heimlich nach Hause zurückkehrt: S. 80, Z. 3 "Was er erfährt nimmt ihm allen Muth, Gerechtigkeit zu suchen, er ist entschlossen wieder zu gehen....die Polizey....findet den Sohn auf dem Grabe des Vaters"—W S. 166, Z. 1 ff., wo Eduard von dem bevorstehenden Zweikampf zwischen Simnel, dem vorgeblichen Eduard Plantagenet, Prinzen von Clarence, und Warbeck hört, und S. 169, Z. 27 "Plantagenet tritt auf, schüchtern und erschrocken sich umsehend, und den theuren Familienboden mit schmerzlicher Rührung begrüszend. Er erblickt die Yorkischen Familienbilder, kniet davor nieder und weint über sein Geschlecht und sein eigenes Schicksal."

Mit der *Gräfin von Flandern* zeigt der Warbeck die Übereinstimmung, dass das dort auftretende Fräulein von Megen (S. 203, Z. 4 ff.) auch hier erscheint (S. 141, Z. 24), desgleichen Erich Prinz von Gothland, mit denselben unliebenswürdigen Eigenschaften, wie im Warbeck, als Freier der Gräfin, und ebenso der Bischof von Ypern, der im Warbeck Belmont heisst. Den Namen des Grafen Aremborg in der "Gräfin" trägt im Warbeck eine der Hofdamen der Prinzessin (S. 135, Z. 35). Man darf wohl Kettner und Bellermann beipflichten, wenn sie daraus schliessen, dass Schiller zeitweise den Warbeck ganz aufgegeben hatte.

Eine bedeutsame sprachliche Übereinstimmung weisen der Warbeck und die *Prinzessin von Celle* auf: W S. 120, Z. 15 "Die Handlung ist eine aufbrechende Knospe, alles liegt schon darinn und es entfaltet sich nur in der Zeit"; S. 144, Z. 18 "es ist eine aufbrechende Knospe, alles was sich ereignet lag schon darinn"—P v C S. 220, Z. 7 "Es musz eine aufbrechende Knospe seyn, und alles was geschieht musz sich aus dem Gegebenen nothwendig und ungezwungen entwickeln."

Mit *Agrippina* teilt auch Margareta im Warbeck einen hervorstechenden Charakterzug: A S. 241, Z. 16 "Sie kann die Rechte des Nero an den Thron des Augustus umstürzen, sobald sie, mit Aufopferung ihrer eignen Ehre, die Wege bekannt macht, durch die er zum Thron geführt worden, und von ihrer Verzeiſung ist ein solcher Schritt in der That zu fürchten." Die Herzogin enthüllt das sie selbst blossstellende Geheimnis wirklich, nach der vermeintlichen Ermordung Plantagenets durch Warbeck (S. 172, Z. 25 ff.).

Nur äusserlich zeigt sich eine Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Freier der *Rosamund* und dem Prinzen Erich: R S. 261, Z. 19 "Er zeigt ihr weder Liebe noch sonst irgend eine lebenswürdige Eigenschaft . . . keine Spur eines fühlenden Herzens. Er will sie bloz besitzen"—W S. 161, Z. 27 ff.; S. 194, V. 337 ff. Im übrigen muss der Höllebräutigam in der *Rosamund* natürlich einen viel mächtigeren Eindruck hervorrufen als der schwachköpfige Erich.

Die Zusammenhänge zwischen den beiden Stücken, die in den Entwürfen den Titel *Die Polizey* tragen, und von denen das eine als Trauerspiel, das andere als Lustspiel gedacht war, haben Ludwig Stettenheim⁴⁰ und Gustav Kettner⁴¹ auseinandergesetzt, ebenso die Entwicklung der *Kinder des Hauses* aus diesen Plänen. Stettenheim hat überdies die *Braut in Trauer* mit diesen Entwürfen in Beziehung gesetzt. Es sei hier noch darauf hingewiesen, dass der Name Saintfoix, für den Schiller später Charlot einsetzt, auch in der Entwicklung des Plans der *Maltheser*

⁴⁰*Schillers Fragment "Die Polizey"*. Berlin 1893.

⁴¹*Schillerstudien*. Programm Pforta 1894.

erscheint, wo er später St. Priest umgenannt wird (S. 3, Z. 15, 35, 38; in der Liste der Ritter hat Schiller den Namen nachträglich gestrichen), in die "Kinder des Hauses" mag er aus einer der Quellen Schillers zu der "Polizey," nämlich Saintfoix' *Essais historiques sur Paris* gekommen sein. Das Motiv, dass die Tochter eines Kaufmanns, um der Heirat mit einem ihr bestimmten ungeliebten Bräutigam zu entgehen, mit ihrem Liebhaber entfliehen will, finden wir im *Schiff* (S. 246, Z. 1 ff.) und in der "Polizey" (S. 74, Z. 31 ff.; S. 75, Z. 17 f.; S. 77, Z. 18 ff.).

Einige Ähnlichkeiten allgemeinerer Art bieten die *Maltheser* (S. 18, Anm. 1 "Unter den Chevaliers sind wilde Seeleute, die alle Schliche auf dem Mittelländischen Meer kennen") mit dem *Seestück* und dieses wieder mit dem *Schiff*.

Auf die Wiederholung des technischen Motivs, dass jemand in einem Zimmer oder einem Schranke versteckt ist und lauscht, in der *Gräfin von Flandern* (S. 211, Z. 23 ff.) und der *Prinzessin von Celle* (S. 226, Z. 30 f.) hat schon Kettner, a. a. O. S. 24 unten, hingewiesen.

Übereinstimmungen zwischen der *Elfride* und der *Rosamund* ergeben sich aus der Eitelkeit der Titelheldinnen beider Dramen (E S. 111, Anm. 1 "Die Eitelkeit ist grausam und ohne Liebe" — R S. 263, Z. 4 "Rosamund ist *nur eitel*, aber sie ist es so ganz, dass diese Selbstsucht *alle* andern Empfindungen in ihr ertödet") und der Charakterähnlichkeit der Väter, des Grafen von Devon (S. 114, Z. 29 ff.), der die Verräterei seiner Tochter, und des Vaters Rosamundens, der ihre Eitelkeit verabscheut (S. 263, Z. 14 f.). Im Vorübergehen sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass der märchenhafte Zug an Rosamund, wenn sie in Verzweiflung gerät, wie sie hört, dass es irgendwo eine grössere Schönheit gebe (S. 261, Z. 35 f.), lebhaft an die Stiefmutter Schneewittchens erinnert.

IV.

DIE FRAGMENTE UND DIE VOLLENDETEN DRAMEN.

Es sollen nun endlich auch noch die Übereinstimmungen in Motiven und Ausdrucksweise zur Sprache kommen, die zwischen den Fragmenten und den ausgeführten Dramen sowie einigen Bearbeitungen obwalten, soweit solche nicht schon anderwärts (z. B. bei Stichelberger und Bellermann a. a. O., Kettner in den Anmerkungen zur Säkular-Ausgabe) aufgedeckt worden sind. Wir machen dabei die—keineswegs überraschende—Beobachtung, dass sich die Parallelen mehren, je näher wir zeitlich an den Demetrius heranrücken.

Die allgemeinen Beziehungen zu den *Räubern* behandelt Bellermann bei der Besprechung der *Flibustiers* und des *Seestücks*. Karl Moors wehmütiger Monolog "Sei gegrüsst, Vaterlandserde" (IV, 1) klingt an in Eduard Plantagenets Begrüssung der Ahnenbilder in Margaretas Palast zu Brüssel (W S. 169, Z. 27 ff.) und in den Reden des Demetrius bei seiner Rückkehr nach Russland (S. 55, V. 1209 ff.).—Mit *Fiescos* zweitem Monolog (III, 2) "Diese majestätische Stadt" lassen sich das Selbstgespräch des Demetrius nach seiner vermeintlichen Entdeckung als Thronerbe und seine Äusserungen gegenüber Lodoiska (S. 71, V. 199 ff.) zusammenstellen; und Leonorens schwärmerischen Wunsch, in romantischen Fluren ganz nur der Liebe leben zu dürfen (IV, 15, Schluss), teilt im Warbeck Prinzessin Adelaide (S. 196, V. 405 ff.). Sonst wäre zu den Prosadramen noch zu bemerken, dass, wie Lady Milford (*Kabale und Liebe*, II, 3, Schluss) auf der schon bekannt gemachten Verlobung bestehen zu wollen erklärt, so Erich der Prinzessin gegenüber seinen Entschluss mit derselben Begründung kundgibt: (S. 195, V. 350) "...Schickt euch darein so gut ihr könnt. / Ihr müsz doch Herzogin von Gothland werden, / Ihr müsz, die Tante wills, ich wills, die Welt / Ist unterrichtet und es musz geschehen"; hier wie dort Abgang des Sprechenden und Ende des Auftritts.

An den *Wallenstein* erinnern ausser den von Kettner zum Demetrius, V. 649, beigebrachten Parallelen⁴² noch in den *Malthesern* die Rückkehr der Ritter zum Gehorsam (S. 48, Z. 10 "Sie werden unter sich uneins, es giebt zwey Partheyen, einige meinen, man müszte dem Groszmeister gehorchen"), vgl. die Szene zwischen Octavio und Isolani, *Wallensteins Tod*, II, 5; und in der *Polizey* die Bemerkung: (S. 66, Z. 13) "Sie musz oft geheimniszvolle Wege nehmen und kann auch nicht immer die Formen beobachten," vgl. Octavios Worte in der Szene mit Max, *Piccolomini*, V, 1. besonders V. 2447 ff.

Die *Maria Stuart* bietet eine sprachliche Parallele zu den *Malthesern*: M S. 49, Z. 11 "Zuerst spricht er als ein Abscheidender von seinem letzten Willen"—M S V. 191 "Um meinen letzten Willen aufzusetzen. . . ich achte mich / Gleich einer Sterbenden"; und eine zum *Warbeck*: W S. 186, V. 120 (*Stanley*) "Wohl! hier ist jeder ein willkomner Gast, / Der gegen England böse Ränke spinnt"—M S V. 2679 (*Aubespine*) "Mein Haus ist offen."—(*Burleigh*) "Jedem Feinde Englands." Talbots Wort (V. 1323) "Nicht Stimmenmehrheit ist des Rechtes Probe" kehrt verschärft wieder in *Sapiehas Ausruf* (V. 461) "Was is die Mehrheit? Mehrheit ist der Unsinn."

Die Schilderung, die Bertrand im Prolog (V. 213 ff.) der *Jungfrau von Orleans* von der Belagerung der Stadt gibt, war ähnlich in den Reden des Chors in den *Malthesern* vorgezeichnet (S. 41, Anm. 2; S. 49, Z. 8 "Chor verbreitet sich über die furchtbare Macht des Feindes, Zahl ihrer Schiffe ihrer Anführer, er nennt ihre Nahmen bezeichnet sie mit kurzen Prädikaten, und erweckt ein furchterregendes Bild von ihrer Uebermacht;" weiter ausgeführt S. 59, Z. 1—14;⁴³ vgl. besonders J v O V. 220 "So goss sich eine Kriegeswolke aus / Von Völkern über Orleans' Gefilde"—M S. 59, Z. 7 "also steigen Völcker. . . aus einer Wolcke von Heiden-Stämmen"). Im Ausdruck erinnert die *Prinzessin von Celle*, S. 229, Z. 12 "Dulden sei des Weibes Loos, es sei doppelt

⁴²Säkular-Ausgabe, Band 8, S. 341.

⁴³Hier hat ohne Zweifel die *Iphigenie in Aulis* eingewirkt, vgl. Schillers Übersetzung, V. 178—295.

das Loos der Fürstentöchter" an J v O V. 1102 "Gehorsam ist des Weibes Pflicht auf Erden, / Das harte Dulden ist ihr schweres Los." Im *Demetrius* sagt der Dichter selbst bei der Besprechung von Boris' Lage: (S. 148, Z. 30) "Es ist etwas incalculables, göttliches, woran sein Muth und seine Klugheitsmittel erliegen. (Talbots Situation in der Johanna)." Auch Demetrius' Rührung bei der Nachricht von Boris' Tod (S. 154, Z. 25 ff.) hat ein Vorbild in der Rührung des Dauphins vor Talbots Leiche (V. 2374 ff.). Sprachlich wären D V. 510 "Rusland wird nur durch Rusland überwunden" zu J v O V. 1334 "Nur Frankreich konnte Frankreich überwinden;" D V. 228 "Seltsam! höchst ausserordentlich und seltsam!" zu J v O V. 985 "Seltsam bei Gott! höchst wunderbar und seltsam!" desgl. Marfas Rede V. 1114—17 zu Isabeaus Worten V. 1439—44 zu stellen. Warbeck, Demetrius, die Prinzessin von Celle und die Jungfrau teilen dasselbe Schicksal, dass sie im Augenblicke höchsten äusseren Glanzes innerlich am elendesten sind, J v O V. 3171 ff.

Die Ansichten über Frauenraub, wie sie Don Cesars Ritter in der *Braut von Messina* in dem Chorlied II, 4 aussprechen, finden sich schon in den *Malthesern*, S. 58, V. 6 "Die Schönheit ist die Beute des Tapfern;" V. 10 "Der Reiz der Frauen ist des Sieges Preisz;" S. 61, V. 16 "Mein ist sie durch des Krieges Recht und Brauch, / Auf dem Korsarenschiff gewann ich sie;" V. 21 "Der Frauen Schönheit ist der Preis des Muths." Die Rede des Chors an die hadernden Ritter S. 59, Z. 26 ff. klingt wieder in Isabellas strafender Mahnung an ihre Söhne; deren "Höre mich, Mutter!—Mutter, höre mich!" (V. 394) haben ebenso schon Romegas S. 60, Z. 12 "Höre unsern Streit und sei Richter" und Biron Z. 14 "Höre mich an" dem Chor zugerufen; und die Lage Messinas ist dieselbe wie die Maltas, S. 59, Z. 26 ff. "... Drauszen um die Insel ist der Krieg und der Krieg ist im innern. Seinem Untergang ist der Orden nahe und ihr wüthet gegen euch selbst in rasender Zwietracht".—Beatrices Liebe zu Manuel gilt ganz nur dem Menschen, nicht dem Fürsten, als den sie ihn nicht kennt, wie Adlaides Liebe nur War-

beck, nicht dem Prinzen von York gilt (S. 147, Z. 3 ff.), und Beatrices schmerzvolles "O, gib mir diesen Unbekannten wieder, / Mit ihm auf ödem Eiland wär' ich selig!" (V. 1867) findet sein Gegenbild in Adelaides Klage, S. 196, V. 405 "O warum musztest du deinen Stand erfahren! / O hätten wir, uns ewig unbekannt, / Dort unter einem niedern Dach getroffen! / Da hätten unsre Herzen uns vereint, / Den Glanz der Grösze hätten wir entbehrt / In selger Blindheit und das Glück gefunden!"—Isabellas Worte "...Dies Haus—Ein Frevel führte mich herein, / Ein Frevel treibt mich aus—Mit Widerwillen / Hab' ich's betreten und mit Furcht bewohnt, / Und in Verzweiflung räum' ich's" (V. 2503 ff.) klingen an in dem Rückblick Marfas in einer früheren Fassung des zweiten Aktes: (S. 79, V. 52) "Aus hundert edeln Jungfrauen erkor / Der Herrscher mich zu seiner Ehegossin, / ...Ein zitternd Leben lebt' ich ihm zur Seite, / Mit theilt ich sein Lager / Die erste Sklavin seines Reichs".—Bedeutsame Ähnlichkeiten zeigen die *Braut in Trauer* und die *Braut von Messina* zunächst in der unnatürlichen Geschwisterliebe, die freilich in der Braut von Messina—wie auch in Grillparzers *Ahnfrau* und Ibsens *Gespensstern*,—auf dem geheim aber unwiderstehlich wirkenden psychophysiologischen Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit beruhend, in der Form der Liebe des Jünglings zu einem fremden Mädchen auftritt, in der Braut in Trauer jedoch in unseliger Nacktheit erscheint: S. 256, Z. 17 "Die Tochter soll vermählt werden, aber der Bruder liebt sie leidenschaftlich und kann den Gedanken nicht ertragen, sie in die Arme eines andern wandern zu sehen. Er hat seine Leidenschaft bisher noch zu verbergen gewusst und niemand als die Schwester weisz darum"; ebenso S. 258, Z. 6 ff.; S. 256, Z. 23 "Beim herannahenden Vermählungstag bricht die Leidenschaft des Bruders aus. Er gesteht sie der Schwester, der Geist⁴⁴ hezt ihn an". Auch dass "ein *Parricida* begangen werden" sollte (S. 256, Z. 27), kehrt in der Braut von Messina wieder. Ebenso

⁴⁴ Von den im Personenverzeichnis aufgeführten Geistern, dem des Franz Moor, der Amalia und des alten Moor, kann hier wohl nur der erste gemeint sein.

die Strenge des Vaters, den der Sohn fürchtet (S. 256, Z. 21 f., 25 f.; S. 258, Z. 1 f.); und der allgemeine Charakter des Jünglings, in dem wir Don Cesar wiedererkennen (S. 257, Z. 31 "Xaver ist ein leidenschaftlicher und unregiersamer Jüngling, der von seinem Vater kurz gehalten und ihm deszwegen aufsätzig wird. . . . Er liebt die Jagd und ist ein wilder trotziger Weidmann. Niemand ist im Stand, diesz wilde Gemüth zu bändigen, als Mathilda seine Schwester").

Auf die Rütliszene im *Tell* weist der Auftritt in den *Malthesern*, wo La Vallette mit Mendoza vor den Rittern erscheint: S. 14, Z. 9 "La Valette fängt damit an den Rittern zu erklären, dasz sie ihre Hofnung von jetzt an nur auf sich selbst zu setzen hätten. Denket nicht mehr auf irdische Hilfe, sehet nicht mehr nach der sicilischen Küste hin, sehet aufwärts zum Himmel, suchet Rath in eurem eigenen Muth. Er läsz den Mendoza seinen Auftrag erzählen, man erfährt dasz vor der Hand nichts von Spanien zu hoffen sey"; ähnlich S. 42, Z. 23 ff.; zu Einzelheiten vgl. *Tell* V. 1323 "Nun ist's an Euch, Bericht zu geben. Redet"; V. 1340 "Helft euch selbst, / Gerechtigkeit erwartet nicht vom König"; auch I, 4, V. 704 "so muss Gott uns helfen / Durch unsern Arm".—Birons wegwerfende Bemerkung Romegas gegenüber "Vom heiszen Kampf, der auf der Bresche glüht, / Läszt sichs gemächlich hier im Kloster reden" (S. 62, Z. 2 f.) kehrt wieder im *Tell*, V. 141 "Vom sichern Port lässt sich's gemächlich raten".—Die Szene, wo die Ritter der verschiedenen Zungen sich in den Kampf Romegas' und Birons mischen, ohne lange nach der Ursache zu fragen (S. 62, Z. 17 ff.) ruft die charakteristische Zeile des *Tell* V. 1845 zurück "Wir helfen euch. Was gibt's? Schlagt sie zu Boden!"—Bertas "Er folgt mir. Endlich kann ich mich erklären" (*Tell* III, 2, V. 1585) erinnert an *Warbeck*, S. 141, Z. 15 "Er möchte nur Einmal eine Erklärung mit ihr haben und weisz nicht, wie er an sie kommen soll. Sie selbst ists, welche einen Weg zu ihm ausfindet"; in derselben Szene ist der Keim zu den Versen 1657 "Ist's der Verwandten mächt'ger Wille nicht, / Der über Eure Hand tyrannisch waltet?" und 1667 "O Freund, zum Opfer bin ich ausersehn, / Viel-

leicht, um einen Günstling zu belohnen" im Warbeck enthalten: S. 128, Z. 21 "Die Vermählung der Prinzessin mit Erich ist eine sehr grosze Angelegenheit für die Herzogin und liegt ihr äuserst am Herzen politischer Gründe wegen. Zwar hält sie nichts auf Erich, aber die Parthei conveniert ihr" und S. 195, V. 360 "ich / Soll diesem Rohen aufgeopfert werden. / Ein fremder Wille waltet über uns, / Nicht darf das Herz sich freudig selbst verschenken".

Mit der *Huldigung der Künste* V. 176 "Er schafft sich ein gesittet Volk aus Wilden" (Jenaer Prachtausgabe: "Er macht den Sklaven frei und menschlich selbst den Wilden") stimmt überein *Demetrius* S. 26, V. 586 "Ich will aus Sklaven [freie] Menschen machen".

Macbeth III, 8 bietet mit V. 1216 "Jetzt bin ich wieder eingengt, gebunden" eine Parallele zu *Demetrius*, S. 54, V. 1196 "O warum bin ich hier geengt, gebunden".

In *Turandot* I, 1, V. 75 ff. gibt Kalaf einen Bericht über seine Erlebnisse am Hofe Keikobads, der stark an *Demetrius'* Schicksal in Sambor erinnert: "Dort, in den Gärten König Keikobads, / Musst' ich zu Knechtesdiensten mich bequemen, / Dem bittern Hungertode zu entfliehen. / Mich sah Adelma dort, des Königs Tochter, / Mein Anblick rührte sie; es schien ihr Herz / Von zärtlichern Gefühlen, als des Mitleids, / Sich für den fremden Gärtner zu bewegen. / Scharf sieht die Liebe, nimmer glaubte sie / Mich zu dem Los, wo sie mich fand, geboren". —Mit II, 3, V. 637 "Dem Adel deiner Mienen, deiner Worte, / Holdsel'ger Jüngling, kann ich Glauben nicht, / Gewährung nicht versagen" vergleiche man des Erzbischofs Worte im *Demetrius*, S. 14, V. 292 "Und kräftiger noch aus seiner schlichten Rede/Und reinen Stirn spricht uns die Wahrheit an"; mit III, 5, V. 1446 "In diesem Staub! in dieser Niedrigkeit!" *Warbeck* S. 190, V. 232 "Nur in dem tiefsten Staub der Niedrigkeit" und *Demetrius* S. 26, V. 673 "Ich bin erwachsen in der Niedrigkeit"; mit V, 2, V. 2490 "Hier endet deine Macht. Du kannst mich töten; / Doch mich zum Leben zwingen kannst du nicht" *Demetrius* S. 52, V. 1161 "Er kann mich töden, meine Stimme

kann er / Im Grab ersticken oder Kerkersnacht, / . . . Das kann er, doch mich reden lassen, was / Ich *nicht* will, das vermag er nicht”.

Endlich noch eine Stelle aus dem *Menschenfeind*, Szene 2 “Ich habe Leben gekostet, kann mich mit der toten Bildsäule nicht mehr zufrieden geben”—*Demetrius* S. 40, V. 880. “. . . Ein Bild des Grabs, wenn alles um dich lebt. / Du gleichst der unbeweglichen Gestalt, / Wie sie der Künstler in den Stein geprägt / Um ewig fort dasselbe zu bedeuten”.⁴⁵

SCHLUSS.

Zur Erklärung des wiederholten Erscheinens der gleichen und annähernd gleicher Motive in den dramatischen Entwürfen des Nachlasses müssen wir zunächst Schillers bekannte Selbstcharakteristik im Briefe an Goethe vom 31. August 1794 heranziehen, in dem er Wiederholung und Überarbeitung als einen Grundzug seiner ganzen Geistesanlage anführt: “Erwarten Sie von mir keinen groszen materialen Reichthum von Ideen. . . . Mein Bedürfnisz und Streben ist, aus Wenigem Viel zu machen . . . Weil mein Gedankenkreis kleiner ist, so durchlaufe ich ihn eben darum schneller und öfter, und kann eben darum meine kleine Baarschaft besser nutzen, und eine Mannichfaltigkeit, die dem Inhalte fehlt, durch die Form erzeugen”.

Es wäre nun freilich äusserst verkehrt, annehmen zu wollen, dass Schiller sich damit einem andern als gerade Goethe gegen-

⁴⁵ Es sei gestattet, hier vorläufig einige Nachträge zu Sticelberger zu verzeichnen: *Menschenfeind*, Szene 8 “Deine Jugend ist ihr schuldig, was mein frühzeitiges Alter ihr nicht mehr entrichten kann”, vgl. *Tell*, V. 2475 “Und leisten soll euch meine frische Jugend, / Was euch sein greises Alter schuldig blieb.”—*Turandot* II, 1, V. 466 “und mancher jüngere Sohn und Krippenreiter, / Der alle seine Staaten mit sich führt / Im Mantelsack,” vgl. *Tell*, V. 267 “Er ist ein jüngerer Sohn nur seines Hauses, / Nichts nennt er sein als seinen Rittermantel.”—*Turandot* IV, 10, V. 2251 “Nicht müss’ge Tränen bloss hab’ ich für Euch,” vgl. *Tell*, V. 2345 “Nicht mit müss’gen Tränen / Beklagt’ er dich.”—*Iphigenie in Aulis*, V. 416 “Kopf macht den Herrn. Es sei der erste beste / Der Einsichtsvolle—er soll König sein,”—vgl. *Walensteins Tod*, V. 244, “Und stets der Herrschverständigste, beliebt’ ihm / Zu sagen, sollte Herrscher sein und König.”

über eine gewisse Ideenarmut zuzuschreiben oder gar sich besonders über einen Mangel an dramatischen Ideen, Problemen und Motiven zu beklagen beabsichtigte. Von der Verkehrtheit einer solchen Auffassung müsste ein Blick auf die vollendeten Dramen überzeugen, für die, in geradem Gegensatz zu den Entwürfen, das Nichtvorkommen sachlicher Wiederholungen charakteristisch ist. Schiller wollte, sobald seine dramatische Fruchtbarkeit nachlassen würde, sich der Geschichtsschreibung zuwenden; die Fülle seiner nachgelassenen Pläne zeigt, dass ein Erlahmen dieser Tätigkeit noch lange nicht zu befürchten stand, und man kann nur Erich Schmidt beipflichten, wenn er sagt, Schiller "hätte hundert Jahre leben können und wäre nie um Stoffe, nie um neue Methoden verlegen gewesen"⁴⁶. Denn wie schnell schiessen ihm schon bei der ersten Lektüre die tragischen Probleme auf, wie deutlich zeigen sich ihm die Möglichkeiten der dramatischen Behandlung, wie reichlich gliedern sich die einzelnen Motive an, wie scharf heben sich die technischen Besonderheiten hervor.

Die Wiederholungen im Nachlass sind also jedenfalls Schillers Arbeitsweise zuzuschreiben. Bekannt ist seine Neigung, wenn er in der Mitte eines Stückes war, in gewissen Stunden an ein neues zu denken.⁴⁷ Auch bei solchen Gelegenheiten, nicht nur wenn sein Kalender eigens verzeichnet, dass er einen bestimmten Plan wieder vorgenommen habe,—um sich eingehender damit zu befassen,—blättert er wohl in seinen Entwürfen; wohl auch dann, wenn er nach längerer Unterbrechung in seiner Arbeit zu einem besondern Plan zurückkehrte, mag er ebenso andere Bruchstücke durchblättert und sich in Einzelheiten vertieft haben, um daraus Anregung zu schöpfen und sich wieder in die erforderliche Stimmung zu setzen. Deutlich ist das natürlich an einzelnen Schichten innerhalb desselben Dramas zu merken,—so wenn Schiller bei der Ausführung des Szenars im Demetrius mit fast völliger Beibehaltung des Wortlauts einen

⁴⁶ *Charakteristiken (Erste Reihe)*, S. 344.

⁴⁷ Brief an Goethe vom 20. August 1799, bei der ersten Erwähnung des Warbeck.

Teil der Skizzenblätter wiederaufnimmt, vgl. S. 83, Z. 1 ff. mit S. 114, Z. 1 ff.,—mit der Annahme dunkler Erinnerungen, Reminiscenzen, kommt man hier nicht aus. In allen solchen Fällen nahm er unbedenklich jedes ihm für den Augenblick geeignet erscheinende Motiv aus einem beliebigen andern Entwurf herüber und probierte es auf seine Anpassungsfähigkeit an das gerade unter der Bearbeitung befindliche Drama durch, um es dann, wenn nötig, ebenso entschlossen wieder fallen zu lassen. Wie rücksichtslos er in dieser Hinsicht mit seinen eigenen Schöpfungen umging, beweist die völlige Aufopferung der Sam-borszenen, die fast einen Akt ausmachten, und deren Erfindung und Ausgestaltung ihm sehr viel Mühe und Arbeit verursacht hatte.

Schon dieser letzterwähnte Umstand ist bei der Frage, ob Schiller nach Vollendung des Demetrius sich nochmals an den Warbeck gemacht hätte, nicht ausser acht zu lassen. Soviel ich sehe, ist Wychgram der einzige der Schillerbiographen, der die Frage bejahen zu müssen meint: "Wir dürfen als sicher annehmen, dass Schiller diese Dichtung, wenn ihm das Leben erhalten wäre, vollendet haben würde; gerade der Demetrius würde ihm ein Anreiz gewesen sein, die ganz andere psychologische Entwicklung des englischen Prätendenten zu versuchen."⁴⁸ Man darf wohl eher gerade daraus schliessen, dass man, ein Schiller ganz besonders, nach einem Demetrius keinen Warbeck mehr schreiben kann; ganz abgesehen davon, dass der Warbeck, wenn er vollendet wurde, wie er vorlag, teils wie ein abgeschwächter, teils wie ein mit Advokatenkniffen umgekehrter Demetrius ausgesehen hätte. Jedenfalls hätte Schiller den ganzen Plan gründlich ändern müssen; und selbst zugegeben, dass dies dem Dichter hätte gelingen können, so ist noch sehr fraglich, ob das Ganze nicht noch an dem völlig unzufriedenstellenden Schluss, über den Schiller selber klagt (D S. 116, Sp. 1, Z. 6), gescheitert wäre. Denn dieser Schluss bedeutet für den Historiker wie für den Dramatiker Schiller eine Verirrung;

⁴⁸*Schiller, dem deutschen Volke dargestellt.* (Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1895). S. 509.

wenn wir auch den historisch gebildeten Zuschauer ausser acht lassen, der weiss, dass auf Heinrich VII. von Lancaster sein Sohn Heinrich VIII. folgte, woher nimmt der gewöhnliche Zuschauer die Gewähr, dass das Unternehmen Warbecks und Plantagenets gegen England nicht fehlschlagen kann und wird? und angenommen es gelingt, wie sollen sich die beiden über ihr Anrecht auf den Thron auseinandersetzen? sollen sie sich darein teilen? oder entbrennen die blutigen Greuel von neuem?

Was von den übrigen Entwürfen vollendet worden wäre, braucht uns hier nicht weiter zu beschäftigen; sicherlich hätte im Lichte der obigen Betrachtungen auch in den "Kindern des Hauses" manches verändert werden müssen. Nicht beistimmen kann ich Kettner, wenn er bei der "Gräfin von Flandern" meint, man werde es "kaum bedauern, dass der schon ziemlich weit ausgeführte Plan nicht zur Vollendung gelangte"⁴⁹, so bestehend auch der Vergleich mit dem unglückseligen "Gang nach dem Eisenhammer" zunächst wirkt. Das Stück hätte Schiller von einer neuen Seite gezeigt und hätte besonders interessant werden müssen mit Rücksicht auf den Ausspruch des todkranken Dichters wenige Tage vor seinem Ende: "Gebt mir Märchen und Rittergeschichten; da liegt doch der Stoff zu allem Schönen und Grossen!" Wir hätten uns freilich mehr zu freuen gehabt, wenn er seine Kraft gewaltigeren Gegenständen gewidmet hätte; aber jedes Drama, das er vollendet hätte, hätte so sehr den Stempel seiner Eigenart getragen, dass es für uns köstlicher Gewinn gewesen wäre, jeder Stoff hätte sich unter seinen Zauberhänden in lauterer Gold verwandelt.

Über die sprachliche Form der in vorliegender Arbeit genannten Parallelen zwischen verschiedenen Entwürfen und noch mehr die sprachliche Entwicklung der einzelnen Fragmente mit ihrer fortschreitenden Worttypik und ihrer interessanten Behandlung z. B. des Fremdwortes hoffe ich in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft eine eingehende Untersuchung vorlegen zu können.

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⁴⁹ Einleitung zum 8. Band der Säkular-Ausgabe, S. XXXVI.

A VARIANT VERSE IN SCHILLER'S *MARIA STUART*.

I have before me the version of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* as contained in Cotta's *Säkular Ausgabe* of Schiller's complete works.¹ In act I scene 6 where Mortimer, in his conversation with Mary Stuart, refers to her uncle, the Cardinal of Guise, we read as follows (II. 474-82) :

“Der Treffliche liess sich herab,
 Die hohen Glaubenslehren mir zu deuten
 Und meines Herzens Zweifel zu zerstreun.
 Er zeigte mir, dass grübelnde Vernunft
 Den Menschen ewig in der Irre leitet,
 Dass seine Augen sehen müssen, was
 Das Herz soll glauben, dass ein sichtbar Haupt
 Der Kirche not tut, dass der Geist der Wahrheit
 Geruht hat auf den *Sitzungen* der Väter.”

In the many editions of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* which have been issued by various publishers both in Germany and in other countries, the last line and a half of the passage quoted have had a most interesting career. Indeed, if I may so put it, the particular reading presented above has now for almost a century had a veritable struggle for existence. This I shall briefly elucidate. The specific section referred to is the clause

‘dass der Geist der Wahrheit

Geruht hat auf den *Sitzungen* der Väter’

in which, for the purpose of this article, I have italicized the variable element.

Schiller very probably wrote *Sitzungen*. This is shown by the reading of the first Cotta edition (Tübingen 1801), and by the English rendering of the passage as we find it in Joseph Mellish's authorized translation of *Maria Stuart* which was prepared from the prompter's copy before the play was published in Germany.² The passage in Mellish's version reads

¹ Schillers *Sämtliche Werke*, Säkular-Ausgabe, Sechster Band. Stuttgart und Berlin.

² *Mary Stuart*, Translated by J. C. Mellish, etc. London, 1801.

‘ . . . and that the spirit

Of truth inform’d the *councils* of the Fathers.’

Moreover, the two manuscript copies made at Schiller’s command and known respectively as the Leipzig-Dresden and the Hamburg stage-copies show the same reading *Sitzungen*. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to appeal directly to the original Schiller manuscript, since that is no longer extant. This first reading *Sitzungen* is consistently retained in all the Cotta editions of the drama down to 1814. In that year, however, we find the original passage suddenly altered to read

‘dass der Geist der Wahrheit

Geruht hat auf den *Satzungen* der Väter’—

a change which seems to have been deliberately introduced by Christian Gottfried Körner when, as the editor of Schiller’s works, he brought out a new edition of the text after the death of the poet. Körner, as is well known, was himself an author; he was the father of the poet, Theodor Körner, and an intimate and valued friend of Schiller. It is, of course, needless to say that he made the change in the reading in absolutely good faith. Referring to Körner’s alteration of the text, Düntzer in his commentaries on *Maria Stuart* says in a footnote p. 119: “Körner schrieb wider den Sinn des Dichters, der an Konzile denkt, *Satzungen* der Väter.” Then, by way of comment, he adds the significant remark: “Der Ausdruck Sünder ist kaum würdig genug.”³ It is interesting to note that for a period of thirty years the Cotta editions quite as consistently, indeed, as previously in the case of the original reading *Sitzungen*, now seem to have perpetuated Körner’s arbitrary version *Satzungen*. In 1844, however, as I learn through the J. G. Cotta’sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger (Stuttgart), Joachim Meyer in his (Cotta) edition of the drama restored the original reading *Sitzungen*; but, strange to say, even after this correction had been made, the erroneous reading *Satzungen* persisted in cropping out again at intervals in the subsequent Cotta editions even down to the year 1872. It was then that the *historisch-kritische*

³ Schillers *Maria Stuart*, Erläutert von Heinrich Düntzer, Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1878.

Ausgabe appeared in which the *corpus delicti* was finally and definitely disposed of, as far as the Cotta editions are concerned.⁴

As for the parallel career of the passage in German editions other than the Cotta, I shall not attempt to give a full account. For my purpose it will suffice to select at random the readings of only a few of these editions published since 1814,—the date of Körner's innovation *Satzungen*. J. G. Fischer's edition of Schiller's works (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1877-9, vol. ii, p. 270) has the reading *Sitzungen*; Heskamp's edition of *Maria Stuart* (Paderborn 1888, p. 25) has *Sitzungen*; Boxberger, in Kürschner's historisch-kritische Ausgabe deutscher National-Literatur (Berlin and Stuttgart 1889, vol. 122, p. 49) has *Satzungen*; the edition of Schiller's works by Bellermann (Leipzig 1895-7, vol. iii, p. 285) has *Sitzungen*; Leitzmann's edition of *Maria Stuart* (Leipzig 1903, p. 15) has *Sitzungen*. To this list I might add the statement that in the *Schiller-Lexikon* by Rudolph and Goldbeck I find the entry *Satzung*, to the definition of which is appended a direct reference to the *Maria Stuart* passage under consideration.⁵

After this partial survey of the German versions it may be interesting to glance also at the readings of some of the English and American editions of *Maria Stuart*. In view of the number of these editions which have been accessible to me, it seems advisable to list the various readings in chronological order. This I shall accordingly do. The list is as follows:

| Publisher | Editor | |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (a) Thomas (Phila.) | (1865) | <i>Satzungen</i> |
| (b) Macmillan | Sheldon (1883) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (c) Cambridge Univ. Press | Breul (1893) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (d) Holt & Co. | Joynes (1894) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (e) Heath & Co. | Rhoades (1894) | <i>Satzungen</i> |

⁴ Schillers Sämmtliche Schriften. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Zwölfter Teil. Wallenstein. Maria Stuart. Herausgegeben von Hermann Oesterley. Stuttgart, 1872.

⁵ Rudolph und Goldbeck. Schiller-Lexikon. Erläuterndes Wörterbuch zu Schillers Dichterwerken. Berlin, 1869.

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|-----|---|-------------------|------------------|
| (f) | Clarendon Press | Buchheim (1895) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (g) | Macmillan | Schoenfeld (1899) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (h) | Hinds & Noble | Hervey (1899) | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (i) | Ginn & Co. . Müller and Wenckebach (1900) | | <i>Sitzungen</i> |
| (j) | Scott Foresman & Co. | Eggert (1903) | <i>Satzungen</i> |

It will be noted that the unauthorized *Satzungen* is pretty regularly distributed, occurring first, last, and in the middle of my list. In the Heath edition above (1894), I discovered, moreover, a most surprising discrepancy between the text and the vocabulary, for whereas the text in this case has *Satzungen*, the vocabulary, strange to say, shows only the form *Sitzungen*. Then, to add to the confusion, this entry is referred directly back to line 482 which, as stated, has the reading *Satzungen*.

Now to sum up our incomplete survey. In place of the original reading *Sitzungen*, Körner's unauthorized version *Satzungen* has now intermittently but persistently appeared in various editions of Schiller's *Maria Stuart* from 1814 until 1903, and in all probability even more recently than that. In view of this fact, I trust it will not be felt as an undue forcing of the figure if I characterize the fickle phenomenon as an interesting case of literary atavism.

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A STUDY OF THE KENNINGS IN ANGLO-SAXON
POETRY.

The word *kenning* is used throughout this investigation not at all in the sense in which Snorri uses it in the *Skaldskaparmal*, but simply as a convenient designation of a metaphorical, a periphrastic, or a more or less complex term employed in the Anglo-Saxon poems instead of the single, specific name for a person or thing. It is intended, further, to include even the single, specific word, when that word is modified by an adjective which expresses an important quality or attribute. Thus, for example, *halig god* and *witig god* are classed with *cyning*, *weoroda dryhten*, and *callra þrymma þrym* as kennings for the Deity.

A study of the Anglo-Saxon terms involves a comparison in some measure with the terms for corresponding conceptions in the other Germanic dialects. As for the Old Norse kennings, there is no attempt here either to list them in full or to discuss them in detail. Those in the older and more or less heathen poems are almost all quite different from the Anglo-Saxon terms, and, furthermore, have been collected and conveniently classified in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*,¹ and those in the later Christian poems have been discussed by Kahle.² The instances of resemblance, however, that seem significant are mentioned in the notes on the Anglo-Saxon terms.

With the Old Saxon poems the case is different; here both the resemblances and the differences are so many and so interesting that it seemed worth while to include the *Heliand* and Old Saxon *Genesis* kennings and to make some general observations on them as well as to make use of them in the discussion of the authorship problems in certain of the Anglo-Saxon poems.

¹Vigfusson and Powell: *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, II. 449-486. Oxford, 1883.

²B, Kahle: *Das Christentum in der altwestnord. Dichtung. Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, XVII, Ny Följd XIII. [cf. also *Die Altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums* by the same author. *Acta Germanica*, I, 4 ff. Berlin, 1904.]

From the Old High German I have included for comparison the few terms found in the Hildebrandslied, the Muspilli, and the Wessobrunner Gebet. Lack of time has forbidden a collection of the terms from Otfrid's prosaic Evangelienbuch.

Furthermore, in this study of the kennings in Anglo-Saxon poetry, no attempt whatever is made to classify, or in any way to consider the terms from the point of view of a rhetorician or a psychologist. The two and only two aims at present are these: (1) to discover and classify the sources of as many Anglo-Saxon terms as possible; and (2) in the light of these sources, to compare the kennings for a considerable number of representative conceptions as expressed in the most important Anglo-Saxon poems, for the purpose of determining what evidence may be deduced from such comparison in regard to questions of authorship.

In the matter of sources, there is practically no evidence of Celtic influence; but the number of Latin originals for Anglo-Saxon terms is very large. For the great majority of terms for religious conceptions—the most numerous class in Anglo-Saxon poetry—there can be no doubt as to Latin origins. For many terms expressing ideas not of a religious nature, moreover, there are exact or nearly exact Latin equivalents. Since, however, these latter terms for the most part designate universal and commonplace objects or ideas, consisting of phrases for Men, Human Body, Breast, Live, Die, Death, Speak, Earth, Sea, and the Heavenly Bodies, it is impossible to determine with absolute finality whether they are derived from their Latin equivalents, or whether, being of independent Germanic origin, their resemblance to the Latin terms is purely accidental. In the case of the vast majority of the religious kennings, however, there can be no question. In them we see clearly mirrored the triumph of Christianity over the old beliefs.

In the authorship problems, it is evident, in view of the common stocks of phrases, native and Latin, which were liberally used in every Christian poem, that one can draw no safe conclusions as to identity of authorship from the fact that two

poems contain a large number of identical or similar terms. If such evidence were valid, one could prove that Cynewulf wrote all of the religious poetry and Beowulf besides. The problem is much more complicated; one must consider in detail the terms for a large number of varied conceptions, and, in so doing, note both similarities and differences in usage. If the similarities in the terms may be reasonably explained by the common sources, then the differences in usage, if consistent throughout, become good evidence of diversity of authorship. And if, on the other hand, there are no appreciable differences in usage and the terms in all the categories are similar in number and in kind, then there is evidence of identity of authorship.

From the point of view of kennings, then, the authorship problems are considered in the following poems: (1) the Cynewulfian group—Crist I, Crist III, Guthlac, Andreas, Phœnix, Dream of the Rood, Judith, and the Riddles; (2) the Caedmonian group—Genesis, Exodus, Daniel (and Azarias), and Christ and Satan; (3) Beowulf. And the sole purpose is to discover what evidence as to authorship may, in the light of the sources of many terms, be drawn from a careful and detailed study of the kennings for a considerable number of conceptions common to the poems compared.

SOURCES OF ANGLO-SAXON KENNINGS.

Since kennings in the sense in which the term has been defined constitute an important element in the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry, both Christian and pagan, it may be assumed that the attempt to discover the sources of these often recurring phrases needs little defense. It will perhaps be granted further that the collection and classification of any considerable number of these sources would be a task worth doing. Such a work ought to assist somewhat in the understanding and consequently the appreciation of Anglo-Saxon poetry in that it would tend to show when the author is giving expression to conceptions borrowed by him or by his predecessors from non-Germanic for-

eign sources and when he is giving utterance to conceptions that are either of native or of common Germanic origin. If this in each instance could be fully shown, we should doubtless derive some valuable hints as to the mode of thought and method of workmanship of the different authors, some hint likewise as to their personality, and thus some light on the much vexed questions of authorship. The complete and accurate solution of these involved problems probably can never be attained, and of course cannot be expected to result from the investigation of one element in the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is certain, nevertheless, that the study of the sources of the kennings does throw a good deal of light on the Latin influences which strongly colored the style of the Anglo-Saxon poems.

Nothing like a thorough, systematic study of the sources, however, has as yet been made. The reasons doubtless are that such a task is bound to require a great deal of very tedious labor, and further that investigators have been deterred by the opinion of Bode,³ who has studied Anglo-Saxon kennings with more care probably than anyone else. He says: "Wenn ich an eine vollständige Bewältigung meiner Aufgabe hätte denken können, so hätte ich nicht auf gelegentliche Anmerkungen beschränken dürfen, sondern hätte die den Angelsachsen bekannten lateinischen Schriftsteller, also etwa diejenigen, die Alcuin als Eigentum der Bibliothek zu York erwähnt, eingehend vergleichen müssen. Ich konnte den dazu nötigen Mut nicht fassen und tröste mich nun mit den geringen unanzweifelbaren Ergebnissen, die die Litteraturgeschichte von derartigen Vergleichen bisher gehabt hat, wiewohl doch so viele Litteraturhistoriker von einem krankhaften Eifer befallen sind, mit Hülfe der beliebten, aber unsicheren Methode, aus Aenlichkeiten auf Einwirkung zu schliessen, überall neue Entdeckungen zu machen."

What actually has been done may be briefly summarized. Bode accomplished what he limited himself to do, viz., to collect

³Wilhelm Bode: *Die Kenningar in der Ags. Dichtung*. Darmstadt u. Leipzig, 1886, page 22f.

and arrange from most of the Anglo-Saxon poems many kennings (but not all) for fifty-four well selected representative conceptions. Of these kennings he found about 900, which occur altogether some 2500 times. This was his main purpose. He adds, for comparison, a few parallels, apparently such as occurred to him at the moment, from Greek, Latin, Old High German, Modern German, Modern English, Modern French, etc., together with a very considerable number from Old Saxon and Old Norse. As to the sources of the Anglo-Saxon kennings, he says:⁴ "Sind nun alle dieser kenningar angelsächsisches oder altgermanisches Eigentum? Die meisten sicherlich, doch nicht alle. Keltische Entlehnungen wären denkbar, die Entnahme von religiösen Kunstnamen aus der Bibel, unmittelbar oder mittelbar, steht ausser Zweifel, auch ist eine Einwirkung des lateinischen, namentlich des Christlich-lateinischen Sprachgebrauchs nicht abzuweisen, denn unsere ags. Denkmäler sind zumeist im Original oder in der letzten Uebersetzung in Klöstern niedergeschrieben, wo angelsächsisches und lateinisches Lesen und Dichten oft nebeneinander gepflegt wurden; da waren gegenseitige Beeinflussungen natürlich." This certainly does not imply any wide or deep Latin influence. He then continues with the discouraging *obiter dictum* quoted above about the futility of inferring influence from similarity, and concludes as follows:⁵ "Wir lassen also die Frage wo angelsächsische kenningar Uebersetzungen lateinischer sind und wo lateinische Schriftsteller und angelsächsische selbständig zu gleichen Ausdrücken gelangt sind, offen." Thus he puts aside the question of sources, consoling himself with the reflection that the quest is not likely to prove fruitful.

MacGillivray,⁶ in discussing the Christian influence on the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, confines his attention simply to terms relating to church services, offices, officers, and the like. His

⁴Bode, page 22.

⁵Bode, page 23.

⁶H. MacGillivray: *The influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English.* Halle, 1902.

investigation, which is called Part I, appeared in 1902, but nothing, so far as I know, has been published by him since that time. MacGillivray, then, does not concern himself with kenning and of course has nothing to say about the sources.

Gummere⁷ deals with Anglo-Saxon metaphors from the point of view of formal rhetoric, and makes a technical analysis and classification of them, particularly of those that occur in *Beowulf* and in the so-called Caedmonian poems. He is arguing against the views of Heinzel,⁸ who, in regard to *Beowulf*, proposed the theory that the gentleness, humanity, and idealization of the poem show that it was composed after the conversion to Christianity and also that Christian clerical influence restricted the development of simile and metaphor. Gummere, on the other hand, concludes: "The typical Anglo-Saxon metaphor was originally confined to one word, or at the furthest, to several words that stood in closest syntactical relation. This general type has been invaded by the influence of the Latin literature of the church, especially by the hymns. The result, whether as an extended metaphor, simile, or learned allegory, is found not so much in *Beowulf* as in the Caedmonian poems, but even here to no overwhelming degree." He adduces no proof, however, of Latin influence in the matter of similes, nor does he say anything in regard to the innumerable Christian Latin metaphors. His investigation is not in any way a study of sources.

Hoffmann⁹ thinks there is some measure of truth in Heinzel's view in regard to Latin influence. And others, for example Kent¹⁰ and Price,¹¹ in studies of the Teutonic antiquities in

⁷F. B. Gummere: *The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*. Halle, 1881.

⁸R. Heinzel. *Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie. Quellen u. Forschungen X*. Strassburg, 1875.

⁹A. Hoffmann: *Der Bildliche Ausdruck im Beowulf und der Edda. Eng. Studien, VI*, 163ff.

¹⁰C. W. Kent: *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*. Leipzig, 1887.

¹¹M. B. Price: *Teutonic Antiquities in the Generally Acknowledged Cynewulfian Poetry*. Leipzig, 1896.

special poems, point out occasional equivalents that occur in the generally accepted Latin sources of these poems. In so doing, Kent calls attention to the fact that the number of these equivalents in the originals is very small. This fact, like the statement of Bode quoted above, would naturally tend to deter others from the attempt to investigate the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kennings.

For one reason or another, then, though Celtic influences have been thought conceivable by Bode and Latin influences have been affirmed in a general way by him, as well as by Heinzel, Hoffman, Gummere, and others, no very definite attempt apparently has yet been made to ascertain specifically what these foreign influences were or to what extent they were operative. And this notwithstanding the fact that in some instances Biblical sources are obvious and notwithstanding the additional fact that certain Anglo-Saxon translations and paraphrases, such as the *Phoenix*, *Be Domes Dæge*, the *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and the *Lord's Prayer* as well as the *maccaroni verses*, suggest Latin originals for a considerable number of the kennings in the Anglo-Saxon stock.

In this article I shall try to identify the sources of many of the Anglo-Saxon kennings, particularly, those of a religious nature. As for Celtic originals, I shall have little to say, first, because I cannot speak from a first-hand knowledge of Celtic texts; secondly, because translations reveal extremely few equivalents but suggest that the native Celtic kennings differed widely from the Anglo-Saxon and are much more nearly akin to the highly artificial diction of the skaldic Norse poetry; and thirdly, because practically all of the close Celtic equivalents that I have found occur in Irish hymns and can be most reasonably accounted for by the theory that they are translations or paraphrases of the same Latin phrases that produced the corresponding Anglo-Saxon kennings. "Manches ist im religiösen Wortschatz der Angelsachsen noch dunkel, aber nichts ist als frühe Entlehnung von ihren keltischen Nachbarn erwiesen."¹²

¹²A. Brandl: *Pauls Grundriss. Second ed., p. 950.*

In making this investigation, I have selected from the vast amount of Latin literature that one might consult if time allowed, the following works as a basis for my study:

A. The Vulgate Bible, and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

B. Some fifty authors of Latin hymns dating from the earliest extant down to the 11th century.

C. Other late Latin poets in addition to the hymn writers as follows: Sedulius, Juvencus, Prudentius, Avitus, Fortunatus, Arator, Ennodius, Lactantius, Meropius Paulinus, Aldhelm and Bede.¹³

D. Other Latin prose as follows: Gregory, Augustine, Boethius, Acta Sanctorum, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Evangelia Apocrypha.¹⁴

d I have selected these works because it is reasonable to assume that they were more or less familiar to the authors of the Anglo-Saxon poems. The Christian tone and coloring of the great majority of the poems and indeed of all the Anglo-Saxon literature, as well as the themes treated and the method of treatment, make it probable certainly that the authors were familiar with the Bible, the hymns and church services, and to some degree at least with the writings of the church fathers, the Acta Sanctorum, and the works of the early Latin Christian poets. Further, in regard to books that were accessible, we have, aside from evidence furnished by translations and paraphrases such as the Phœnix, the direct evidence of Alcuin in his often quoted lines on the treasures of the library at York:

“Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum,
 Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
 Graecia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis,
 Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbri superno,
 Africa lucifluis vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
 Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius atque

¹³Not all the poems in each instance; the ones consulted will be mentioned later.

¹⁴The specific works and parts of works will be indicated later.

Ambrosius praesul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit auitus :
Quidquid Gregorius summus docet et Leo papa ;
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruscant.
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostomus atque Johannes.
Quidquid et Althelmus docuit, quid Beda magister,
Quae Victorinus scripsere Boetius atque,
Historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipse
Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens.
Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvencus,
Alcimus et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt.
Quae Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et auctor,
Artis grammaticae vel quid scripsere magistri ;
Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus Priscianusve,
Servius, Euticius, Pompeius, Comminianus.
Invenies alios perplures, lector, ibidem
Egregios studiis, arte et sermone magistros,
Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu ;
Nomina sed quorum praesenti in carmine scribi
Longius est visum, quam plectra postulet usus.”¹⁵

Bede also in his *De Arte Metrica*¹⁶ quotes Fortunatus,¹⁷ Sedulius,¹⁸ Arator,¹⁹ Paulinus,²⁰ Ambrosius,²¹ and others.

With this compare also Otfred's dedication of his *Evangelienbuch* to Archbishop Liutbert: "Dum rerum quondam sonus inutilium pulsaret aures quorundam probatissimorum virorum, eorumque sanctitatem laicorum cantus inquietaret obscenus, a quibusdam memoriae dignis fratibus rogatus, maximeque cuiusdam venerandae matronae verbis nimium flagitantis, nomine

¹⁵*De Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae. II. 1536-61.* Quoted in *Translations from Old English Prose.* Cook and Tinker, p. 263. Boston, 1908.

¹⁶*Opera Bedae Venerabilis, Basilcae, 1563.*

¹⁷ib. p. 51.

¹⁸p. 50.

¹⁹p. 47.

²⁰p. 51.

²¹p. 56.

Judith, partem evangeliorum eis theotisce conscriberem, ut aliquantulum huius cantus lectionis ludum secularium vocum deleret, et in evangeliorum propria lingua occupati dulcedine, sonum inutilium rerum noverint declinare; petitioni quoque iungentes queremoniam, quod gentilium vates, ut Virgilius, Lucanus, Ovidius caeterique quam plurimi suorum facta decorarent lingua nativa, quorum iam voluminum dictis fluctuare cognoscimus mundum; nostrae etiam sectae probatissimorum virorum facta laudabant Juvenci, Aratoris, Prudentii caeterorumque multorum, qui sua lingua dicta et miracula Christi decenter ornabant; nos vero, quamvis eadem fide eademque gratia instructi, divinorum verborum splendorem clarissimum proferre propria lingua dicebant pigrescere." (Wilhelm Braune. *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 141. Halle, 1902.) Furthermore, it is inherently probable, not to say certain, that the Anglo-Saxon narrative Christian poems were modeled upon those of Juvencus, Sedulius, Avitus, Arator, and others, who in turn are largely indebted to Vergil and more remotely perhaps to Lucan and Ovid.²²

By indicating the direct and the indirect sources of many Anglo-Saxon terms, I shall distinguish them from the kennings for which I have found no Latin sources or parallels. And in regard to these, I shall try to determine by means of comparison with the other Germanic dialects, what kennings, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, may reasonably be supposed to be either of native or of common Germanic origin. I need hardly add that such a classification of kennings as borrowed, native, and common Germanic, is necessarily simply tentative and a matter of probabilities. One could not make a definite, sharp classification even if he could determine and should study carefully every bit of Latin that the Anglo-Saxon authors were acquainted with. In the first place, a Latin equivalent does not in every instance necessarily mean a direct Latin source; and secondly, the amount of Germanic poetry which can be posi-

²²cf. Otfrid's dedication above.

tively said to have been uninfluenced by Christian and Latin literature is obviously too small to warrant one in making a strictly categorical classification on the basis of origins. A study of the following collections, however, will show that many of the Anglo-Saxon kennings may be definitely classified as of Latin, others of Germanic, and still others of mixed origin.

It is to be noted, further, that in the following collections, whether from the Bible or from any other source, I do not maintain that each Latin phrase here given produced an equivalent in Anglo-Saxon. Many Latin phrases are included in order to indicate how large was the stock of kennings from which Anglo-Saxon authors might have drawn. It is to be noted also, as will be explained later, that in many instances a Latin kenning produced in Anglo-Saxon not only its exact equivalent but also, as a result of the demands of metre, alliteration, etc., a considerable group of variants. And finally it is to be noted that I do not maintain that in every case where an exact equivalent does occur the Anglo-Saxon kenning is necessarily derived from the Latin and could not possibly have had an independent origin; this is a question that can be decided—if decided at all—only upon a consideration of each particular case by itself.

In the presentation of the following collections, it has seemed advisable not to use the method of parallel columns, one for the Latin and the other for the Anglo-Saxon—a method which may seem to be the most convenient. Relations are often too complicated to be shown adequately in this way. Accordingly, I give first all the Latin terms and then the Anglo-Saxon. The Latin kennings, with reference to the sources from which they are drawn, are divided into four main groups, as follows:

Group A: Kennings from the Vulgate and the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

Group B: Kennings from the hymns.

Group C: Kennings from other late Latin poetry.

Group D: Kennings from prose.

In each of these groups and in the same order are the various subdivisions under the titles "Deity," "Heaven," "Hell,"

“Angel(s),” “Devil(s),” “Man,” etc. And in some of these sub-classes further subdivisions were desirable: *e. g.* under “Deity” will be found lists respectively for “Creator,” “Ruler,” “Judge,” “Savior,” etc.

In the Anglo-Saxon collections the same categories are used and occur in the same order as in the Latin. Cross-references, it is hoped, will make comparison easy.

A.

First, then, as to the Biblical terms. Most of these from long familiarity seem to us to-day simple and natural, though in some cases, as, for example, in the *Canticum Canticorum*, they are as highly wrought and artificial as the Celtic or skaldic Norse kennings. I have examined particularly Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, Judith, the Gospels, and Revelations because we know these parts to have been used by Anglo-Saxon authors, and the Psalms because—aside from the fact that they were translated and paraphrased—it is inherently probable that they were very familiarly known and hence influential in determining the nature and the form of many of the Anglo-Saxon religious kennings. The following lists, however, do not pretend to be exhaustive for these parts, much less for the whole Vulgate.

In connection with the Vulgate, I include here terms from the Gospel of Nicodemus; the references are to the pages of the Tischendorf edition.²³

There is some evidence that Old Latin versions of parts of the Bible were known and used as well as the Vulgate. This evidence is furnished by the Latin text in the Regius Psalter, the Eadwine of Canterbury Psalter, and by two quotations in Asser's Life of King Alfred. The Latin text in the Regius Psalter²⁴ is the Psalterium Romanum, with slight departures from the readings given in Migne Patrol. XXIX, and is very close to the Latin in the Eadwine Psalter.²⁵ The differences be-

²³*Evangelia Apocrypha. Evang. Nicodemi.* Leipzig, 1876.

²⁴*Der ac. Regius Psalter.* F. Roeder, p. XVI. Halle, 1904.

²⁵*Der Psalter des Eadwine von Canterbury,* p. 212. K. Wildhage, Halle, 1905.

tween these Latin texts and the Vulgate are simply in small details mostly grammatical, and do not in any way affect the terms from which Anglo-Saxon kennings were derived. As for Asser's quotations, Stevenson remarks: "The Biblical quotations are derived in two cases (cc. 76, 49; 99, 18) from Old Latin versions; in the remaining cases (cc. 76, 58; 89, 9; 96, 20; 99, 21; 101, 12) they may be either from the Vulgate or from Old Latin versions. The use of these pre-Hieronymian versions is noteworthy, for they remained long in use in the Gaulish and Celtic churches. The English, owing to their close intimacy with the Church of Rome, used the Vulgate. The advance of the Church of Rome in Wales and Ireland is marked step by step by the gradual adoption of the Vulgate. The fact that the author used an Old Latin version is, therefore, quite in consonance with his character of a Welshman writing at the end of the 9th century".²⁶

Aside from the Psalters, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that Old Latin versions were used by Anglo-Saxon writers. It certainly seems probable that from the introduction of Roman Christianity at the beginning of the 7th century, the use of the Vulgate must have been increasing, and that after the Council of Whitby (664) it must have been supreme. My Biblical references, accordingly, are all to the Vulgate version of Jerome.

B.

For the Latin hymns I have used the collections in the *Analecta Hymnica*, vols. 50²⁷ and 51²⁸. My references are to volume and page, but the authorship of each phrase will appear from the following list, in which I give the date of each writer and the page numbers of his hymns whenever the author is known:

²⁶W. H. Stevenson: *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, p. XCIVf. Oxford, 1904.

²⁷²⁸*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 50: *Lateinische Hymnedichter des Mittelalters. Zweite Folge*. Ed. by G. M. Dreves. Leipzig, 1907. Vol. 51: *Die Hymnen des 5-11 Jahrhunderts und die Irisch-Keltische Hymnodie aus den ältesten Quellen*. Ed. by Clemens Blume. Leipzig, 1908.

FOR VOL. 50:

| | PAGES. |
|---|---------|
| 1 Hilarius Pictaviensis +366 | 3-9 |
| 2 Aurelius Ambrosius +397 | 10-21 |
| 3 Aurelius Prudentius Clemens +405 c | 22-46 |
| 4 Meropius Pontius Paulinus +431 | 47-52 |
| 5 Caelius Sedulius saec. V. med. | 53-60 |
| 6 Magnus Felix Ennodius +521 | 61-69 |
| 7 Venantius Fortunatus +600 c | 70-88 |
| 8 Eugenius III, Episc. Toletanus +658 | 89-95 |
| 9 Beda Venerabilis +735 | 96-106 |
| 10 Paulus Diaconus, Monachus Casinensis +799 | 117-125 |
| 11 Paulinus II, Patriarcha Aquilegiensis +802 | 126-151 |
| 12 Alcuinus Flaccus +804 | 152-159 |
| 13 Theodulphus, Episc. Aurelianensis +821 | 160-166 |
| 14 Walafridus Strabo, Abbas Angeiensis +849 | 167-179 |
| 15 Rabanus Maurus +856 | 180-209 |
| 16 Florus, Diaconus Lugdunensis saec. IX. med. | 210-218 |
| 17 Godescalculus, Monachus Orbacensis +869 | 219-228 |
| 18 Sedulius Scottus, Scholasticus Leodiensis +874 c | 229-236 |
| 19 Ratpertus, Monachus Sangallensis +884 c | 237-243 |
| 20 Waldrammus, Monachus Sangallensis saec. IX. ex. | 244-249 |
| 21 Hartmannus, Abbas Sancti Galli +925 | 250-263 |
| 22 Odo, Abbas Cluniacensis +943 | 264-270 |
| 23 Ekkehartus, Decanus Sancti Galli +973 | 271-279 |

FOR VOL. 51:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| 1 Gregorius Maximus +604 | 24-31, 34-38 |
| 2 Sigon Claromontanus vel Carnotensis +873 c | 68 |
| 3 Flavius Cabilonensis +591 | 77-78 |
| 4 Eugenius Vulgarius saec. X. | 109-110 |
| 5 Huckbaldus Elnonensis | 146, 192-193 |
| 6 Wandalbertus Prumiensis saec. IX. | 153-154, 172 |
| 7 Petrus Subdiaconus Neapolitanus +890 c | 160 |
| 8 Wolstanus Wintoniensis | 164-166 |
| 9 Petrus Diaconus (Petrus Pisanus or No. 7, supra. ?) saec. IX. ex. | 173-175 |

| | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------|
| 10 | Paulus Diaconus +799 | 169 |
| 11 | Anonymus Compendiensis saec. IX. ex. | 173-175 |
| 12 | Chilpericus Rex +584 | 203-207 |
| 13 | Notkerus Physicus +975 | 213-214 |
| 14 | Anonymus Padoliranensis saec. X. | 223-224 |
| 15 | Ermanricus Ellwangensis saec. IX. | 225 |
| 16 | Notkerus Balbulus +912 | 229-234 |
| 17 | Cosmas Matealensis saec. X. | 234-235 |
| 18 | Petrus Damiani saec. XI. | 241-243 |
| 19 | Anonymus Angiensis saec. X. (?) | 244-254 |
| 20 | Probus Agannensis saec. VI. (?) | 256 |
| 21 | Hilarius Pictaviensis +366 | 264-265 |

FOR IRISH-CELTIC LATIN HYMNS IN VOL. 51:

| | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Columba +597 | 275-286, 325 |
| 2 | Cuchuimneus +746 | 305-306 |
| 3 | Cumineus Longus +661 c | 308-309 |
| 4 | Ultanus saec. VI. med. | 317 |
| 5 | Pengus MacTipraite +741 | 328 |
| 6 | Colmanus MacMurchon +731 | 330 |
| 7 | Moilruainus +792 | 333-334 |
| 8 | Secundinus +448 c | 340-342 |
| 9 | Columbanus +615 | 352-353 |
| 10 | Gyldas Sapiens ²⁹ +569 | 358-361 |

In addition to these hymns from the *Analecta Hymnica*, I have also used the *Surtees Hymns*.³⁰ Among these appear certain hymns of some of the authors already named: for example, seven hymns of Aurelius Ambrosius; six of Rabanus Maurus; four of Venantius Fortunatus; one of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, etc. I have not attempted to identify all the hymns in the Surtees collection. The references are to the pages.

I have also used the hymn ascribed to Bede³¹ quoted by Professor Cook on pp. 116-117 of his edition of the *Crist*, and of the hymn quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*:

²⁹My authority for date and authorship in each case is the conclusion of the respective editors of the *Analecta Hymnica* cited above.

³⁰*The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Publications of the Surtees Society for year 1851. Vol. XXIII.*

B.H. . . . Ascension hymn ascribed to Bede (Migne Patrol. XCIV, 624ff) printed by Professor Cook on p. 116ff of his edition of the *Crist*.

Q.B. . . . Alphabetical hymn (quoted by Bede in his *De Arte Metrica*) printed by Professor Cook on p. 171f of his edition of the *Crist*.

Ant. . . . Antiphons cited by Professor Cook as sources of *Crist I*.

C.

Of the Christian Latin poetry in addition to the hymns, I have examined the following works:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| of Sedulius: ³² | Carmen Paschale. |
| Avitus: ³³ | De Mundi Initio, De Transitu Maris Rubri. |
| Prudentius: ³⁴ | All extant poems. |
| Juvenius: ³⁵ | Libri Evangeliorum IIII, De Laudibus, Triumphus Christi Heroicus, Genesis (ascribed to him.) |
| Arator: ³⁶ | De Actibus Apostolorum. |
| Venantius Fortunatus: ³⁷ | Poems in Migne's Patro- logia. |
| Aldhelm: ³⁸ | Extant poems. |

³²Migne, *Patrologia*, XCIV, 624-626.

³³*Caelii Sedulii: Opera Omnia*.

³⁴*Monumenta Germ. Historica. Auct. antiquissimi. VI 2, p. 203ff.*

³⁵*Aurelii Prudentii Clementis quae extant Carmina*; ed. by Albertus Dressel. Leipzig, 1860.

³⁶*C. Vetii Aquilini Juveni Libri Evangeliorum IIII*; ed. by C. Marold. Leipzig, 1886.

³⁷Migne *Patrol. LXVIII 81-246*.

³⁸Migne *Patrol. LXXXVIII, 132ff.*

³⁹*Sancti Aldhelmi: Opera quae extant*. Ed. by J. A. Giles. Oxford, 1844.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| of Lactantius: ³⁹ | De Ave Phoenice. |
| Ennodius: ⁴⁰ | Extant poems. |
| Bede: ⁴¹ | De Die Judicii. |
| Paulinus: ⁴² | Extant poems. |

D.

As for the Latin prose writings, it is obviously impossible to do more than make a few selections. To read all the Latin Christian prose with which the Anglo-Saxon authors might have been acquainted would be the labor of years. From this vast amount I have selected a few works, which may reasonably be supposed to have been influential in giving direction and form to Anglo-Saxon kennings, particularly to those of a religious nature. Such works probably were the following:

Gregory: Liber Sacramentorum,⁴³
Liber Antiphonarius,⁴³ Liber Responsalis.⁴³ Also his homilies, especially the 10th and 29th on the Gospels.

Augustine: Confessions⁴⁴ (because of the highly wrought poetical style.)

Acta Sanctorum: (Because they recount *inter alia* the lives of St. Guthlac,⁴⁵ St. Juliana,⁴⁶ St. Elene.⁴⁷)

Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha: (Because a version of the Andreas story is found here.)

³⁹Text in A.—S. Reader: J. W. Bright. p. 189ff. N. Y. 1899.

⁴⁰Magni Felicis Ennodii: Opera Omnia. Vindobonae, 1882.

⁴¹Be Domes Daege, (pp. 22ff) Ed. by J. R. Lumby. London, 1876.

⁴²Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina. Vindobonae, 1894.

⁴³Migne Patrol. LXXVIII.

⁴⁴Sancti Aureli Augustini: Confessionum Libri Tredecim. Ed. by Pius Knöll. Vindobonae, 1896.

⁴⁵Acta Sanctorum, Apr. 11. Vol. II, 48ff.

⁴⁶ib. Feb. 16. Vol. II. 873ff.

⁴⁷ib. May 4, Vol. I. 445ff.

It is to be noted, however, that in both the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, the style is generally simple and straightforward for the most part. Accordingly the number of Anglo-Saxon kennings that may be referred to these works as sources is comparatively small.

In regard to two other books presumably well known—the Natural History of Pliny and the Consolation of Boethius—neither one in my opinion furnishes models for kennings. This seems certainly true in regard to Pliny, whose style is exceedingly downright and matter-of-fact. Possibly a careful examination of all the poetical passages in Boethius might yield a few sources, but my tentative investigation indicated that the result would be too small to warrant a minute examination.

In the following Latin lists the symbol * indicates that the equivalent term occurs in A.S., and ° indicates that a term of similar import occurs in A.S., and that the Latin term was probably the source.

I. TERMS FOR THE DEITY.

A. *Terms from the Vulgate and the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.*

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. scyppend, ordfruma, wyrhta, fruma, et al., pp. 410 ff.

*Creator, Eccle. 12/1, Rom. 1/25, 1 Petr. 4/19; *dominus creator, Deut. 32/18; *creator omnipotens, Eccli. 1/8; *creator omnium, Eccle. 24/12, 2 Mac. 1/24; mundi creator, 2 Mac. 7/23, 13/14; creator aquarum, Judith 9/17.

*Auctor vitae, Acta 3/15; *auctor salutis, Heb. 2/10; auctor fidei, Heb. 12/2.

*Artifex et conditor, Heb. 11/10.

*Formator, Isa. 44/24.

Deus factor, Deut. 32/15; *factor, Job 4/17, Isa. 17/7; rex factor, Eccle. 2/12; *dominus factor, Isa. 51/13.

*Fabricator omnium, Ecce. 11/5; in ipso condita sunt universa in caelis et in terra, Col. 1/16; *principium creaturae, Apoc. 3/14

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. cyning, dryhten, wealdend, frea, agend, þeoden, hlaforð et al., pp. 411 ff.

*Gloriosus rex, 2 Reg. 6/20; *rex, Ps. 5/3 and passim, often in N.T.; °rex omnis terrae, Ps. 46/8; rex dominus, Ps. 97/6; deus meus rex, Ps. 144/1; °dominus rex omnipotens, Esther 13/9; *rex gloriae, Ps. 23/7, 8, 9, 10; *rex regum, 2 Mac. 13/4, 1 Tim. 6/15, Apoc. 19/16; *rex sempiternus, Jer. 10/10; *dominus magnificus, terribilis, laudabilis, Ex. 15/11; *rector omnium et salvator, Esth. 15/5; *dominus (passim); *dominus exercitum, Isa. 44/6, 47/4; *dominus virtutum, Ps. 45/8, 11; *dominus deus (passim in O.T.); *dominus dominantium, 1 Tim. 6/15, Apoc. 19/16; dominus pater, Eccli. 23/1; *dominus gloriae, 1 Cor. 2/8; °dominator dominus deus, Ex. 34/6; *dominator hominum, 2 Reg. 23/3; *dominator virtutis, Sap. 12/18; *dominator vitae, Eccl. 23/1; *dominator dominus exercitum, Isa. 3/1, 33; *dominator dominus Isa. 10/16; 51/22; *dominus justus, sanctus, P.S. 144/17; dominus solus, altissimus, Ps. 82/18; dominus deus omnipotens, Apoc. 15/3; misericors dominus et justus, Ps. 115/5; justus dominus, Ps. 10/7; *dominus fortis et potens, Ps. 23/8; *dominator terrae, Isa. 16/1; *dominator caeli, Dan. 5/23; *dominator universae terrae, Zach. 4/14; *dominator vitae ac spiritus, 2 Mac. 14/46; *dominator caelorum, 2 Mac. 15/23; *solus dominator, Jud. 4; *dominus—decorem indutus est, Ps. 92/1; *dominus qui fecit caelum et terram, Ps. 120/1; *magnus dominus, Ps. 95/4; *dominus gloriae, 1 Cor. 2/8; *dominus omnium, Act. 10/36.

3. *God as Protector.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, helpend, geocend, pp. 415 ff.

*caeli defensor, Judith 6/13.

*pastor animarum, 1 Petr. 2/25; *pastor, 1 Petr. 2/25; pastor unus, Ezech. 34/23; °bonus pastor, Joan. 10/14, 11; *pastor magnus, Heb. 13/20; °protector omnium sperantium in se, Ps. 17/31; *protector, Gen. 15/1, Ps. 17/3, 19, 31, often; *protector vitae, Ps. 26/1; *protector est omnibus, Eccli. 2/13; *susceptor, Ps. 45/8, 11; *adjutor meus, Ps. 18/5; °adjutor et protector, Ps. 113/9, 10, 11, 127/7, 34/18, et al.

4. *Goā as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, pp. 417 ff.

*Judex, Isa. 33/22; dominus judex, 1 Reg. 24/16, et al.; deus judex, Ps. 119/6, et al.; judex et testis, Jerem. 29/23; °justus judex deus, 2 Mac. 12/5; *justus judex, 2 Tim. 4/8; °judex omnium, Hebr. 12/23.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. hælend, nergend, pp. 417 ff.

*Salvator (passim); *deus salvator (passim); *dominus salvator, 1 Reg. 14/39, 4 Reg. 13/5, et al.; *salvator mundi, Gen. 41/45, Joan. 4/42; princeps et salvator, Acta 5/31; *salvator omnium hominum, 1 Tim. 4/10; Jesu Salvator, 2 Petr. 1/1, 11; 12/20; Jesu Christus Salvator, 2 Petr. 3/18, Tit. 1/4, 3/6; redemptor meus, Job 19/25, Ps. 18/15; redemptor eorum, Ps. 77/35; redemptor tuus, Isa. 41/14; *dominus redemptor, Isa. 43/14 (passim in Isa.); redemptor vitae meae, Thren. 3/58; princeps et redemptor, Acta 7/35.

*Servator animae tuae, Prov. 24/12.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lâreow, p. 417.

*Magister, Matt. 8/19, 9/11, 12/38 et al., (passim in gospels); °bonus magister, Matt. 19/16; *praeceptor, Lu. 5/5; 8/24, 45, 9/33, 49, 21/7; Jesu praeceptor, Lu. 17/13.

7. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. bearn, ancenned et al., pp. 419.

*Filius dei, (passim in N. T.); *filius hominis (passim in N. T.); filius David (passim in N. T.); *filius meus dilectus, Matt. 3/17, 17/5, et al.; *unigenitus, Heb. 11/17; °unigenitus a patre, Joan. 1/14; *unigenitus filius, Joan. 1/18, 3/16, 18,

1 Joan. 4/9; °filius altissimi, Lu. 1/32; *filius primogenitus, Matt. 1/25, Lu. 2/7; *primogenitus, Heb. 1/6; *primogenitus omnis creaturae, Colos. 1/15; *verus filius dei, Sap. 2/18.

8. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. gast, frofre gast et al., p. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, Matt. 3/11, (passim in gospels); °spiritus dei, Matt. 3/16 et al.; *paracletus, Joan. 14/16, 26, 15/26, 16/7, et al.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, p. 418.

*Pater (passim); *pater noster, Matt. 6/9; *pater celestis, Matt. 5/48; *pater qui es in celis, Matt. 6/9; pater luminum, Jac. 1/17; *pater misericordiarum, 2 Cor. 1/3.

10. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend, et al., pp. 419 ff.

*Claritatem dedi eis, Joan. 17/22; *gratiam et gloriam dabit dominus, Ps. 83/12; dominus virtutem populo suo dabit, Ps. 28/11; dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae, Ps. 67/36; humilibus dat gratiam, Jac. 4/6; dabo pacem in finibus vestris, Lev. 26/6; dans flatum populo, Isa. 42/5; °omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum, desursum est descendens a patre luminum, Jac. 1/17; °inquirentes dominum non minuentur omni bono, Ps. 33/11.

11. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, se torhta, et al., p. 417 ff.

°Illuminatio mea, Ps. 26/1; lux mundi, Matt. 5/14; Joan. 8/12, 9/5, 7/9; *lux hominum, Joan. 1/4; *lux vera, Joan. 1/8; *splendor gloriae, Hebr. 1/3; °gloria virtutis, Ps. 88/18; *sol justitiae, Mal. 4/2.

12. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, p. 418.

°Ductor vester, Deut. 1/30; 31/8; °ductor tuus, Deut. 31/6; spiritus domini ductor, Isa. 63/14; princeps pastorum, 1 Petr. 5/4; princeps pacis, Isa. 9/6; princeps regum terrae, Apoc. 1/5; *dux, Matt. 2/6.

13. *Miscellaneous Titles.*

Cf. Miscellaneous list at end of A.S. collection, also god, meotod, pp. 420 ff.

Altissimus, Ps. 9/2, 83/19; *sanctus, Ps. 88/19; *deus caeli, Ps. 135/26, Dan. 2/18, 19, 37, 44; °deus justitiæ, Ps. 4/1; *deus majestatis, Ps. 28/3, °dominus deus noster victor, Judic. 11/24; *miserator et misericors, Ps. 85/15; 102/8; 110/4, et al.; *deus vivens, Jerem, 10/10; *deus verus, Jerem. 10/10; *deus virtutum, Ps. 79/8, 15, 20; *deus omnipotens, Gen. 17/1; *deus misericors et clemens, Ex. 34/6; deus fidelis, Deut. 32/4; °deus justus, Deut. 32/4; °deus rectus, Deut. 32/4; *a seculo et in seculum deus, Ps. 89/2; *deus magnus, Ps. 85/10, Dan. 2/45; deus solus, Ps. 85/10; °deus lux est, 1 Joan. 1/5; *dominus deus, (passim); *lapis angularis, 1 Petr. 2/6; oriens ex alto, Lu. 1/78; desideratus cunctis gentibus, Ag. 2/7; *consilarius, Isa. 9/6; admirabilis, Isa. 9/6; *sapiens, Job. 9/4; justus, Acta 7/52; *agnus dei, Joan. 1/29; stella splendida et matutina, Apoc. 22/16; via, Joan, 14/6, Hebr. 10/18; veritas, Joan. 14/6; vita, Joan. 14/6; *initium et finis, Apoc. 21/6; *principium et finis, Apoc. 22/13; *crucifixus, 1 Cor. 1/23; *homo, 1 Tim. 2/5; °deus totius consolationis, 2 Cor. 1/3; °non derelinquet sanctos suos, Ps. 36/28; °custodit dominus animas sanctorum suorum, Ps. 96/10.

FROM THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

Terms for the Deity:

°Auctor luminis sempiterni, 392; *creator omnium creaturarum, 405.

*Rex gloriæ, 397, and passim; *rex omnipotens, 405; *dominus fortis et potens, 398; dominus Jesu Christus filius dei, 392; *dominus omnipotens, 406; *dominus virtutum, 429.

°Redemptor mundi, 403.

*Filius dilectus, 393; *amantissimus dei filius, 394; filius dei ex alto veniens, 393.

*Lumen coeternum, 392; lux patris, 392; ipse oriens, 393.

Pater aeternorum bonorum, 406; pater misericordiarum 406.

Miles, 399; *imperator, 399; praeliator, 399; °deus potens in humanitatu, 396; °deus fortis in imperio.

B.

FROM THE LATIN HYMNS.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. scyppend, ordfruma, wyrhta, fruma, et al., pp. 410 ff.

*Creator (passim); *deus creator omnium, S. H. 2, 83; *rerum creator omnium, S. H. 30; 51/28.

*Creator omnium, 50/58, 51/13, 51/264; °summus creator omnium, 50/101; *rerum creator, S. H. 11; 50/93, 50/128; °rerum summus creator, 50/183; °rerum creator optimus, S. H. 20; °creator optimus, 50/215; °summus creator, 50/521; °almus creator, 50/153; °lucis creator optimus, S. H. 13; 51/35; *creator spiritus, S. H. 92; °orbis creator, 50/123; °creator siderum, 51/71; °creator saeculi, 50/101; °mundi creator optimus, 51/103; creator atque conditor, 51/187; solus omni creator, 51/212; °sanctus spiritus creator, 51/143; ignis creator igneus, 51/296.

*Formator omnium, 51/284.

*Plasmator hominis, 51/38; S. H. 28; plasmator saeculi, 51/235.

Mundi constitutor, 51/12.

*Factor, 50/221, 223; *factor omnium, S. H. 81; 51/71; °noster factor, 51/304; °bonus factor, 51/302; °mundi factor, 51/130; *factor caeli, 51/264; 50/187; *omnipotens rerum factor, 50/93; factor temporum, S. H. 63.

*Auctor, S.H. 40; 50/221; 51/96; °beatus auctor, 51/109, 50/58; *omnipotens auctor, 50/175; °perennis auctor, 50/84; °aeternus auctor, 50/215; °auctor saeculi, 51/73; *auctor vitae, 51/196, 50/78; *auctor aetheris, 50/111, 51/11; *bonitatis auctor, 50/233; *auctor summae bonitatis, 51/213; *salutis auctor, 50/40; S.H. 39, 79; *lucis auctor, S.H. 152; 50/85, et al.; *auctor veri gaudii, 50/258; *auctor omnium,

S.H. 83; °altus auctor omnium, 51/302; beatus auctor saeculi, 50/58; S.H. 50; auctor orbis, 50/78, 79; *fulgentis auctor aetheris, 51/11; *auctor salutis unicus, S.H. 79; *humani generis auctor, 50/197; S.H. 116; deus auctor rexque redemptor, 50/208; *auctor summus angelorum, 50/187; *receptor salvator et auctor 50/181.

*Conditor, S.H. 4; conditor almus, 50/114; 50/124; S.H. 34; conditor inclitus, 50/192; 50/220; benignus conditor, S.H. 62; *rerum conditor, 50/30; 51/9; *caelorum conditor, 51/41; *polorum conditor, 50/214; *caeli conditor, 50/8; °conditor pacis, 50/171; *aeternae lucis conditor, 51/10; °immensus caeli conditor, 51/35; S.H. 17; °telluris ingens conditor, 51/36; S.H. 19; siderae conditor aulae, 51/116; *regni caelestis conditor, 51/3, 14; conditor almus siderum, S.H. 34; bonus conditor et redemptor, 50/77; creator atque conditor, S.H. 112; °aeternus rerum conditor, S.H. 6; orbis conditor, 51/117; S.H. 163; aeternus orbis conditor, 51/244; *vitae conditor, 51/296.

Repertor orbis, 50/40.

*Omnium patrator, 51/109.

Propagator optimus, 51/117.

°Supernus artifex, S.H. 75.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. cyning, dryhten, wealdend, frea, agend, þeoden, hlaforð, et al., pp. 411 ff.

*Rex, 51/73 and passim; *aeternus rex, 51/302; *pius rex, S.H. 8; 50/160; 50/213; *rex magnus, hymn quoted by Bede, 11, 30, 46; rex mysticus, S.H. 41; rex sacer, 50/78; *rex clemens, 50/160, 213; *rex hagijs, 51/3; rex primus, 51/12; *rex serenus, 50/42; *rex piissimus, 51/85; 132; *rex perennis, 51/155; *rex omnipotens, 51/271; *rex sempiternus, infinitus, 51/335; *rex laudabilis, B.H. 96; rex pacificus, Ant.—Cook's *Crist*, p. 100; *rex sidereus, 50/212; rex benedictus, 50/220; rex colendus, 51/172; *rex gloriae, B.H. 91; *rex gentium, 51/8; *rex virtutis atque gratiae, B.H. 92; rex et factor temporum, S.H. 63; rex deus, 50/62; rex deus immensus, 50/89; *rex caeli,

50/113; 51/316; rex deus maximus, 50/111; *rex angelorum, 50/128, 51/69, 289, 301, et al.; °rex caelestis gloriae, 50/6; *rex angelorum praepotens, 51/69; rex factor omnium, 51/71; *rex optimus, 51/71, 50/211; *rex regum, 51/106, 171, 191, 277, 312, et al.; *caelorum rex, 50/6; 51/108; *rex rectissimus, 51/277; *Christus rex, 51/264; rex sanctorum, 51/301; 50/242; *rex omnium regum, 51/289; *rex dulcium, 50/113; rex aeternus dominus, S.H. 30; *rex altissimus, S.H. 90; rex Christus bonus caelitus, S.H. 132; °rex saeculi, B.H. 60; *rex omnium, 50/234; *rex gloriosus, Q.B. 13.

*Dominus, 51/3; 50/115; S.H. 7, et al.; excelsus dominus, 51/20; *aeternus dominus, 51/273; *sanctus dominus, S.H. 13, 51/109; *dulcis dominus, 50/136; *verax dominus, 50/232; trinus et unus dominus, 51/68; °verus et magnus Jesu Christus dominus, 51/108; S.H. 12; *Jesus dominus, 51/7, et al.; dominus deus omnipotens, 51/8; *dominus gentium, 51/8; *caeli dominus, 51/12; *dominus polorum, S.H. 70; *virtutum dominus, S.H. 42; 50/157; *caeli dominus terraeque, 50/213; dominus tonans, 51/69; rex aeternus dominus, S.H. 30; *dominus potens et fortis, B.H. 86; *ipse caelorum dominus, S.H. 60; *saeculorum dominus, S.H. 124; *dominus dilectus, 50/232; *dominus omnipotens, 50/247; *angelorum dominus, S.H. 81.

*Sator, 50/216, 223; *sanctus sator, 51/299; *sator lucis, 51/8, 50/37; sator temporum, 51/19; *sator rerum, 51/106; °sator regum, 51/110; sator summus saeculorum, 51/302; pius mundi sator et redemptor, 50/121, 171, S.H. 104; °regum sator inclitus, 50/259.

*Rector, 51/28, S.H. 20; 51/312; 50/223, et al.; *sanctus rector, 50/230; *rector almus, 51/154; *rector potens, S.H. 10; *rector sanctissimus, 50/239; *rector invictissimus, 50/259; rector immensus lucis, 51/12; *rector orbis, 51/155; rector aeterni saeculi, 51/213; *rector regiminis, 51/315; rector salvator et auctor, 50/181; *poli rector, S.H. 2; deus magnus rector, S.H. 72; *mundi sanctissimus rector, 50/182; trinus

unus rector, 51/107; *rector humanis generis, 50/197; *rerum maximus rector, 50/217.

*Dominator omnium, 51/41; °dominator maximus, 51/293; *dominator orbis, 50/234; *regnorum dominator, 50/169; *cunctorum dominator, S.H. 141.

*Caeli regnator, 50/175.

°Moderator temporum, 51/223; *vitae moderator, 50/156.

Mortis perdomitor, 50/40.

Altus prosator, 51/275.

*Imperator omnium, 50/231.

Gubernator, 50/223.

3. *God as Protector, Helper.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, helpend, geocend, et al., pp. 415 ff.

*Protector omnipotens, 50/146.

*Defensor, 50/223; °defensor noster, S.H. 13.

*Custos animae, 51/109; *custos sanctorum, 51/299.

*Pastor, 50/223; 51/264; S.H. 42; *pastor benignus, 50/130; *mitissimus pastor, 50/157; °pastor amandus, 50/220; °almus pastor, 50/231; *pastor omnium, 50/58, S.H. 51.

*Suffragator, 51/299.

*Adjutor, 50/223.

*Recreator, 50/221.

*Animator, 50/221.

*Altor, 50/233; °Christus altor omnium, S.H. 65.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, rhytend, p. 417.

*Judex, 51/12; S.H. 32, et al.; °magnus judex, Q.B. 22; *maximus judex, 50/260; *aeternus judex, S.H. 119; *judex omnium, S.H. 88; *judex saeculi, S.H. 35; judex judicum, 51/284; judex mortuorum, 51/80; justus judex cordium, 51/29; venturus diei judex, 51/12; judex cordium, S.H. 23.

°Arbiter omnipotens, 50/94; arbiter omnitenens, 50/183; tremendus arbiter, 50/65; *supernus arbiter, 51/73, 109; pius arbiter, 51/109; *justus arbiter, I.B. 24; *arbiter altithronus, 51/212; clemens arbiter, 51/109.

*Aetherei censor mitissimus regni, 50/214.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. haelend, nergend, p: 417.

*Salvator, 51/8, 17, 272, et al.; salvator unicus, 51/51;

*mundi salvator, 51/295, 50/128; °mundi salvator maximus, 51/12; *salvator omnium, 51/298; *salvator hominis, 50/154; rector salvator et auctor, 50/181.

°Reparator aevi, 51/106; *orbis reparator, 50/209; *reparator, 50/221, 223.

Necis preceptor, 50/223.

*Redemptor, 50/110, 136, 148, 160; 51/30, 295, et al; redemptor credentium, 51/71; °redemptor gentium, 51/73, 285; 50/13 et al; *redemptor omnium, 51/85; S.H. 34, 39, 48; *redemptor orbis, 51/90, 50/85, 130; °redemptor saeculi, 51/107; °factor et redemptor, 51/304; bonus conditor et redemptor, 50/77; pius mundi sator et redemptor, 50/121, 171; °auctor et redemptor, 50/208; *redemptor mundi, 50/148; S.H. 79; °Christus redemptor omnium, S.H. 34, 39; sator et redemptor, S.H. 104; sponsus redemptor conditor, S.H. 112; °redemptor plebium, 50/190.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lareow, p. 417.

°Bonus magister, 50/113; *tutor, 50/223; *magister, S.H. 72; *doctor, 50/223.

7. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, se torhta et al., pp. 418 ff.

°Lux, 51/38; 50/143; °vera lux, 51/271, 62; 50/31; *vera lux fidelium, 51/13; vera lux et suavitas, 51/105; °lux angelorum, 50/92; °aeterna lux credentium, S.H. 34; *aeterna lux, 50/231; *lux aeternae gloriae, 50/209; *lux ipsa lucis, 51/28; S.H. 18; °nata lux de lumine, 51/107; lux et origo lucis, 50/155; *lux lucis et fons luminis, S.H. 15; deus et lux, 50/153; lux et dies, S.H. 12; °lux pura, 50/213; lux tenebrarum, 50/220; °lux pia vitae, 50/220; pia lux saeculi, 50/225.

Lumen unum, 50/44, 51/102; *lumen aeternum, 51/223, 271; *lucis lumen, 51/8, S.H. 12; *caeli lumen, 51/8; *lumen de lumine, 51/127; *lumen gentium, 50/134; lumen aeternum patris, 50/222; altum lumen, 50/107; jubar sancti spiritus, 50/11.

°Candor inenarrabilis, 51/12.

*Splendor, 50/224; *splendor lucis, 50/143; splendor patris, 50/207; S.H. 39; °splendor paternae gloriae, S.H. 15; *splendor gloriae, S.H. 135; *splendor lucis aeternae, Ant, Cook, *Crist* 88.

Paterna claritas, S.H. 5.

°Decus angelorum, 51/106; decus mundi, 50/124; *aeternae decus gloriae, 50/5; °sanctorum decus angelorum, 50/197; S.H. 116; decus patris, 50/5.

°Gloria sanctorum, 51/289; °perennis gloria, 50/92; mundi gloria, 50/136; *aeterni caeli gloria, S.H. 27; *trinitatis gloria, 51/7; paternae lucis gloria, 51/9.

°Sol, 51/104; *sol verus, 50/235; *sol justitiae, S.H. 155, et al.

Lucifer, 51/8, S.H. 67; lucifer exoriens, 50/124.

Lucis nuntius, 51/9.

*Oriens, Ant, Cook *Crist*, p. 88.

*Aurora, S.H. 16, 30.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, wuldes ealdor et al., pp. 418.

*Ductor, 50/223.

Dux bonus, 50/30; dux pacis, Q.B. 76.

*Princeps, 50/230; S.H. 38; princeps pacis, 50/232; *gloriae princeps, 50/234; princeps regum, 51/303; *polorum princeps, 50/215; princeps temporum, 51/19.

*Praesul, S.H. 11.

*Ducator, 50/223.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, ece fæder, fæder ælmihtig, et al., p. 418 ff.

*Pater, 51/2, 27; 50/4 et al; *verus pater, 51/13; *sanctus pater, 51/155; 50/203, et al; deus pater, 50/146; S.H. 1, 51;

*almus pater, 50/156; *summus pater, 50/175; innascibilis pater, 50/5; pater ingenitus, 51/3, 13 285; pater piissimus, 51/27, 28, S.H. 5 (passim); *pater perennis, 51/96; pater optimus, 50/38; *pater supremus, 50/44; pater inclitus, 50/269; pater credentium, 51/284; °pater rerum, 51/291; *pater perennis gloriae, 51/293; S.H. 15; *pater omnipotens, 51/303; S.H. 12.

*Genitor, 51/68; *genitor omnipotens, 50/48, 181, 183.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. bearn, ancenned, sunu (and combinations containing bearn) et al., p. 419.

*Unigenitus filius, 51/12; filius David, 51/13; °solus filius, 51/38, 187; 50/128; S.H. 1; °filius verus, 51/171, 304; summus filius unicus unigenitus, 51/285; *coaeternus filius, 50/147; *semper cum patre filius, S.H. 30; *coaevus et coaequalis filius, 51/109; *consempiternus filius, Q.B. 112; °deus rexque filius, 51/17; *dei filius, 51/108, 298; S.H. 133, et al; *dilectus filius, 50/147; °aeterni patris filius, S.H. 109; *aeterni regis filius, S.H. 152; Jesu Christus filius, S.H. 145; *filius, 50/5.

°Genitoris natus, 51/62; *natus inclitus, 51/155; natus, 50/4; °natus deusque, 50/111; *unicus natus, S.H. 73; *dei unicus natus, 51/302.

*Unigenitus, 51/3, 41, 68, 275; 50/134; patris unigenitus, 51/108; dei patris unigenitus, 51/302; a patre unigenitus, S.H. 53.

*Primogenitus, 51/271, 303.

*Regia proles, 51/146; *inclita proles, 50/160; virginis proles, S.H. 139; genitus proles, S.H. 139.

*Genitus, S.H. 93.

Veneranda dei suboles, 50/224.

*Progenies dei. 50/5.

*Progenitus dei, 50/5.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, halig gast, et al., p. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, 51/3, S.H. 12; *spiritus paraclitus, 51/40, 68, (passim); verus spiritus, 51/304; *spiritus almus, 50/156.
°Pneuma, S.H. 48.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend et al., p. 419 ff.

°Largitor veniae, 51/72; *vitae perennis largitor, 51/298; *largitor omnium bonorum, 50/41; *lucis largitor splendidus, 51/9; *largitor premii, S.H. 67.

*Perpetis vitae dator, 51/172; *dator salutis, 51/296, 298; *largus dator, 51/299, 302; *dator luminis, 51/296; °remunerator, S.H. 33.

13. *God as Source.*

Cf. A.S. fruma, brytta, et al., p. 411 and 419.

°Fons lucis, 50/231; fons veritatis, 50/231; *fons vitae, 51/104; °fons omnium, 50/25; fons pietatis, 50/135; °fons, 50/143; °fons luminis, 50/155, S.H. 15; °origo, S.H. 13, 50/143.

14. *God as Victor.*

Cf. A.S. sigedryhten, sigora frea, et al., p. 412 ff.

*Victor, 51/96; 50/7, 223; S.H. 66, 83, 84, 85; °victor resplendens, 51/72.

*Triumphator, 50/223.

*Superator, 50/223.

15. *Deus phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod,—also frea, þeoden, dryhten, pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

*Dominus deus, (passim); *dominus deus omnipotens, 51/8; °deus creator omnium, S.H. 2, 83; *verax deus, S.H. 10; *deus altissimus, 51/285, 289; S.H. 92; deus simplex, 50/121, S.H. 105; *deus aeternus, 50/182; S.H. 145; 50/5; *deus optimus, 50/45; *deus maximus, 50/111; *deus vivus, 50/157; *deus verus, 50/5, 232; deus tonans, 51/108; *deus altus, 50/99, 51/284; *deus amabilis, 51/284; *deus altithronus, 50/183; *caelestis deus, 50/211; °de exselsis deus, 51/13; *caelorum deus, 51/303; °deus caeli dominusque terrae, 50/206, *caeli deus sanctissimus, 51/36; S.H. 23; *deus aeterni luminis, 51/12, 284; rerum deus, S.H. 11; *magnae deus poten-

tiae, 51/37; S.H. 25; *summus deus clementiae, 51/30; S.H. 29; deus perenne gaudium, 50/62; rex deus immensus, 50/89; deus deorum dominus, 51/335; deus unigenitus, 50/5; *deus auctor, 50/208; *deus angelorum, 51/171; deus pater, 50/146; S.H. 51; deus alti agminis, 51/315; *deus victoriae, 51/293; deus factus homo, 50/190; incorruptibilis deus, 50/5.

16. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. miscellaneous list in A.S. collection, p. 421.

Salus, 50/171; °salus mundi, 51/106; °salus viventium, 51/285; salus certantium, 51/227; salus perennis, 50/136.

°Spes, 50/171; beata spes, S.H. 27; °spes perennis omnium, S.H. 39; ardua spes mundi, 50/237; °una spes mortalium, 51/80; °unica spes omnium, 50/148.

Vita, 51/106; vita sanctorum, angelorum, 51/90; 50/171; vita viventium, 51/284.

*Virtus, 51/106; vivida virtus, 50/213.

Bonitas et vita, 51/62; infinita bonitas, 50/135.

Verbum patris, 50/42; verbum patris aeterni, 51/12.

Via, 51/106, 50/171.

Vera sapientia, 51/108.

Victoria credentium, 51/192.

Fides credentium, 51/285.

*Vis una, 50/44.

*Alma potestas, 50/78.

Pax perennis, 50/92.

°Dulce desiderium, 50/136.

Dives, 51/71.

Una deitas, 51/102.

°Vitae laeta exordia, 50/7.

Dies dierum aius, 51/8.

Sabaoth omnipotens, 51/12.

*Lapis angularis, 51/264, Ant. Cook *Crist*, 73.

*Principium et finis, 51/212.

*Agnus, S.H. 37; *agnus dei, 51/108; caelestis agnus, S.H. 51; *agnus immaculatus, 51/13.

Corona celsior, 51/132; corona martyrum, 51/192.

Columba, 51/264; columba potens, 50/39.

Flamma, 51/264.

Janua, 51/264.

Venerandus pontifex, 51/211; sanctus deus pontifex, 51/223.

Sponsus, 51/264.

*Inclitus, 50/216.

*Consolator, 51/303.

*Advocatus, 51/303.

Crucifer, 50/37.

°Altithronus, 50/116.

*Unus potens, S.H. 3.

Solus ante principium, S.H. 39.

Legum lator, 51/299; 302; legis lator, 51/108.

Cultor caeli carminis, 51/315.

Postulator sublimus, 51/347.

Socius cum patre coaevus, 50/77.

°Compar unicus patri, 51/28, S.H. 5.

Consors paterni luminis, 51/28.

*Sanctus, 51/27.

*Altissimus, 50/147, 51/288; altissimus virtutum; illuminans altissimus, 50/15.

°Piissimus, 50/114, 132, 51/35.

*Omnipotens, 50/124, S.H. 57.

°Omniparens, 50/39.

*Cunctipotens, S.H. 8.

°Tonans, S.H. 27.

*Caelorum habitator, S.H. 143.

*Trinitas, S.H. 1; *beata trinitas, 51/38, 51; °sancta trinitas, 51/102, 50/102; sacrosancta trinitas, 51/101; alma deus trinitas, 50/98; *beata et benedicta et gloriosa trinitas, Ant. Cook, Crist. 108; *majestas trina, 50/253.

Indivisa unitas, 51/51; trinitas unitas, S.H. 26; trinitatis unitas, 51/29; principalis unitas, S.H. 1.

C.

FROM OTHER CHRISTIAN LATIN POETRY

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. *scyppend*, *ordfruma*, *wyrhta*, *fruma*, pp. 410 ff.

**Conditor*, Ald. 271; *bonus conditor*, Ven. Fort. Migne. 88/132, Prud.-Ham. 346; *conditor aevi*, Ald. 99; *orbis conditor*, Sed.-Car. Pas. I 61; °*conditor sanguinis humani*, Sed.-Car. Pas. IV 254.

**Lucis creator*, Paul. 11; **hominum creator*, Paul. 16; °*rerum aeternus creator*, Paul. 16; **rerum creator*, Arat.-Migne. 68/83; °*venerandus creator*, Juv.-Triumph. 56.

°*Mundi auctor*, Ald. 135; **auctor*, Avit.; **auctor vitae*, Juv. III 503; **lucis auctor*, Sed.-Car. Pas. V. 151.

**Factor*, Prud.-Cath. X 130; *aquae factor*, Prud.-Ap. 667; *orbis factor*, Prud.-Peris. II, 415.

**Opifex*, Prud.-Cath. III, 73; **opifex hominum*, Arat.-Migne, 68/110.

**Repertor caeli terraeque*, Juv. I, 35; **lucis vitaeque repertor*, Juv. II, 405, IV, 479.

**Caeli fabricator*, Sed.-Car. Pas. 61.

Faber astrorum, Juv.-Triumph. 1.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. *cyning*, *dryhten*, *wealdend*, *frea*, *agend*, *þeoden*, *hlaford*, pp. 411 ff.

**Rex*, De Die Judic. 58, Sed.-Car. Pas. II. 108; **rex Christus*, Ald. 121; **rex summus*, Paul. 356; **rex regum*, Ald. 136; **rex gentium*, Prud.-Cath. XII. 41; **rex caeli*, Juv.-Triumph. 7; **rex viventium*, Prud.-Cath. IX. 106.

**Rector regnorum*, Ald. 271; **potens rector*, Paul. 357; *rector Olympi*, Arat.-Migne. 68/91.

**Summus sator*, Ald. 111; °*sator aeternae vitae*, Juv. III, 161; *primus sator credentium*, Prud.-Cath. XII. 47.

**Mundi dominus*, Paul. II, Sed.-Car. Pas. III, 196; **omnitenens dominus*, Ald. 135; **dominus*, Juv. (passim); **dominus lucis*, Juv. IV. 655, 811; *dominus de lumine lumen*, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 313.

*Regnator mundi, Ald. 135, Juv. II. 265.

*Rerum dominator, Sed.-Car. Pas. V. 209.

3. *God as Protector.*

Cf. A.S. hyrde, weard, et al., p. 415 f.

*Pastor, Ald. 135; °fidus pastor, Prud.-Cath. VIII. 49.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. A.S. dema, demend, ryhtend, p. 417.

*Judex, De Die Judic. (passim); judex mortuorum, Prud.-Cath. IX. 106.

°Arbiter omnipotens, Ald. 120; *arbiter altithronus, Ald. 135; *arbiter, Ald. 248.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. A.S. hælend, nergend, p. 417.

Bonus redemptor, Ven. Fort.-Migne, 88/132; *redemptor orbis, Paul. 356, Prud.-Cath. IX 21; sanctus redemptor, Juv.-Triumph. 40.

*Salvator, Ald., Juv., Sed. (passim); Christus Salvator, Ald. 123.

*Saeculi servator, Juv. II. 327.

Salutifer, Juv. IV. 365.

6. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, leohtes leoht, wuldor, þrym, et al, p. 417 f.

*Lux nostra, Sed.-Car. Pas. III. 196; lux Bethlem, Prud.-Cath. VII. 1.

*Lucis lumen, Paul. 350; *de lumine lumen, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 313, Prud.-Ap. 278; *hominum lumen salusque, Juv. III. 356; *lumen, Juv. II. 75, 733.

*Regis decus, Avit.

°Gloria mundi, Avit; °aeternae gloria vitae, Juv. III. 530; °terrarum gloria, Juv. II 134.

Splendor patris, Prud.-Peri. II. 414.

7. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. A.S. lareow, p. 417.

*Praeceptor, Juv. III. 501; *doctor, Juv. III. 399; indulgentissimus doctor, Prud.-Psych. 888.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, p. 418.

*Princeps, Ald. 207, Prud.-Cath. XII. 205; *princeps populorum, Ald. 136; optimus ductor, Prud.-Cath. X. 165; dux bonus, Prud.-Cath. V. 1.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, ece fæder, fæder ælmihtig, et al., p. 418 f.

Omnipater, Prud.-Peri. III. 70; *pater altithronus, Ald. 118; Juv. II. 62. *pater omnipotens, Ald. 136, Ennod. 563; *summus pater rerum, Paul. 7; pater ingenitus, Paul. 356; *primus pater, Avit; *pater aeternus, Juv. III. 203; pater regnans, Juv. II. 552; *pater rerum, Juv. I. 16; *pater sublimus, Juv. III. 463; *pater supremus, Juv. I. 173; *summus pater, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 319-320.

*Omnipotens genitor, Ald. 136, 510; *rerum genitor, Ald. 272; °omnipotens genitor rerum, Paul. 3; *genitor clarus, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 317; °genitor lumenque et gloria semper, Sed.-Ap. 286.

°Vitae lucisque parens, Juv. I. 747; °parens astrorum, Juv. I. 118; °parens perfectus, Juv. I. 572; °omniparens, Prud.-Cath. III. 2; Sym. II. 447.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. ancenned, bearn and combinations, pp. 419.

Filius patris non adoptivus, Prud.-Hom. 48; *filius hominis, Prud. Hom. 970; *filius altithroni, Ald. 119.

°Proles veneranda tonantis, Juv. IV. 785.

*Incorrupta dei soboles, Juv. de Laud. 37.

*Unica progenies, Ven. Fort.-Migne 88/132.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, et al., p. 419.

*Spiritus almus, Ald. 148; Arat.-Migne, 68/115 (passim); spiritus sempiternus, Prud.-Cath. IV 114; *spiritus benignus, Prud.-Cath. VI. 3.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend, and combinations, p. 419 ff.

*Largitor deus omnium, Prud.-Cath. IV. 74; °largitor perennis, Prud.-Contra Sym. II. 114; largitor dierum, Prud.-Ap. 701.

*Dator vitae, Prud.-Psych. 624; °dator escae, Prud.-Psych. 624; *dator animae, Prud.-Ham. 931; °dator luminis, Prud.-Peri. V. 276.

13. *Deus Phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod, dryhten, þeoden, frea, et al., pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

*Deus omnipotens, Sed.-Car. Pas. I. 60; °summus deus, Prud.-Cath. IV. 78; *deus perennis, Prud.-Cath. VI. 7; deus igneus, Prud.-Cath. X. 1; *deus genitor, Prud.-Ap. 268; °lucis deus, Prud.-Ap. 282; deus ex patre verus, Prud.-Ap. 366; deus cunctiparens, Prud.-Ham. 931; deus cunctipollens, Prud.-Preface Ham. 19; deus ingenitus, Ald. 108; *sanctus deus, Paul. 350; *deus aetherius, De Die Judic. 145.

14. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. A.S. miscellaneous list, pp. 421.

Caeli terraeque salus, Juv. I. 194; °salus populi, Paul. 356. °Vitae spes unica, Juv. III. 521.

Crucifixus victor, Paul. 350; rediturus victor, Arat.-Migne 68/90; leti victor, Juv. II. 405 et al; erebi victor, Juv.-Triumph. 55.

Christus potens rerum, Ald. 99; *omnipotens, Ald., Arat., Juv. (passim); *caelipotens, Prud.-Ap. 660; celsithronus, De Die Judic. 48; °tonans, Ald. 119, et al; expiator criminum, Paul. 350; *mediator, Arat.-Migne, 68/97; concordia rerum, Paul. 350; verbigena, Prud.-Cath. III. 2; secundus et novus homo, Prud.-Cath. III. 137; petra stabilis, Prud.-Cath. V. 11; patris sermo, Prud.-Cath. VI. 3; verbum patris, Prud.-Cath. VII. 1; veritas, Prud.-Cath. VII. 55; beatus ortus, Prud.-Cath. IX. 19; herus, Prud.-Ap. 40, 160; *lapis angularis, Prud.-Psych. 837; *miserator, Juv. II. 293; legum completor, Juv. II. 568; destructor scelerum, Juv.-Triumph. 56; *inclitus, Ven. Fort.-Migne 88/365; *clarus, Juv. II. 128, et al.; mentis perspector, Juv. II. 274.

D.

FROM THE LATIN PROSE.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. A.S. *scyppend*, *ordfruma*, *whyrrhta*, *fruma*, pp. 410 f.

*Creator omnium, Lib. Sac.; Aug.-Conf. 38; *mundi creator et rector, Lib. Sac.; *creator noster, Lib. Ant.; *creator angelorum, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; creator omnium saeculorum, Acta Sanct. 16 Feb.; *creator rerum omnium naturalium, Aug.-Conf. 14; *creator universae creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 349; unus et verus creator, Aug.-Conf. 58; creator mirificus, Aug.-Conf. 270; *omnis creaturae creator, Aug.-Conf. 290; °omnicreans, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Auctor pacis, Lib. Sac.; °nostrorum auctor munerum, Lib. Sac.; *nostrae salutis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *lucis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *virtutis auctor, Lib. Sac.; *auctor naturae, Aug.-Conf. 56; omnium saeculorum auctor et creator, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Conditor mundi, Lib. Sac.; *humani generis conditor et redemptor, Lib. Sac.; °orbis conditor, Lib. Ant.; Jesus conditor, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; *conditor et rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 28, 58; °conditor universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 309; *conditor animarum et corporum, Aug.-Conf. 309.

Fabricator mundi, Lib. Ant.

*Caeli et terrae artifex, Aug.-Conf. 290.

2. *God as Ruler.*

Cf. A.S. *cyning*, *dryhten*, *wealdend*, *frea*, *agend*, *þeoden*, *hlaford*, pp. 411 ff.

Imperii rex, Lib. Sac.; rex dominus, Lib. Res.; *rex regum, Lib. Res.; *caelorum rex, Lib. Res.; *rex, Aug.-Conf. 22, 177.

*Dominus sanctus, Lib. Sac.; Christus dominus noster, Lib. Sac.; *dominus deus virtutum, Lib. Res.; *dominator dominus, Lib. Res. (passim); *dominus angelorum, Greg. Hom. in Evang.; dominus deus omnipotens, Acta. Sanct. 16 Feb.; *dominus omnium, Aug.-Conf. 7; *dominus caeli et terrae, Aug.-Conf. 8, 106; *dominus Jesus, Aug.-Conf. 16; *dominus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 93.

*Rector, Lib. Sac.; *mundi rector, Lib. Sac.; *populi rector, Lib. Sac.; *rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 28; unus et verus rector universitatis, Aug.-Conf. 58.

*Dominator, Lib. Res.; *dominator dominus, Lib. Res.

*Regnator, Aug.-Conf. 325; *regnator creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 297; *regnator universae creaturae, Aug.-Conf. 57.

*Ordinator rerum omnium, Aug.-Conf. 270; *ordinator rerum omnium naturalium, Aug.-Conf. 14.

*humani generis gubernator, Acta. Sanct. 16 Feb.

3. *God as Protector, Helper.*

Cf. A.S. helm, hyrde, weard, brego, gehyld, helpend, geocend, pp. 415 ff.

*Custos, Lib. Sac., Aug.-Conf. 15; *protector, Lib. Sac.; *adjutor meus, Aug.-Conf. 152; *adjutor et redemptor, Aug.-Conf. 166; via ipse salvator, Aug.-Conf. 169.

*Redemptor animarum, Lib. Sac.; *humani generis redemptor, Lib. Sac.; °redemptor noster, Greg. Hom. in Evang.

*Conservator humani generis, Lib. Sac.

4. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. A.S. leoht, wuldor, þrym, et al., pp. 417 f.

°Lux vera, Lib. Sac.; lux incommutabilis, Aug.-Conf. 157; *lux permanens, Aug.-Conf. 276; lux caecorum, Aug.-Conf. 282; lux mentium, Aug.-Conf. 290.

°Lumen verum, Lib. Sac.

*Splendor, Lib. Sac.; *fidelium splendor animarum, Lib. Sac.

*Illuminator, Lib. Sac.; °illuminator omnium gentium, Lib. Sac.; *inluminatio, Aug.-Conf. 252; *inlustrator, Aug.-Conf. 318, 325.

°Decus meum, Aug.-Conf. 266.

5. *God as Leader.*

Cf. A.S. ealdor, latþeow, pp. 418.

*Dux, Lib. Sac.; *princeps, Lib. Sac.

6. *God as Father.*

Cf. A.S. fæder, and combinations, pp. 418 f.

*pater omnipotens, Lib. Sac.; *clementissimus pater, Lib. Sac.; *aeternus pater, Lib. Sac.

7. *God as Son.*

Cf. A.S. ancenned, sunu, and bearn, combinations, pp. 419.

*Unigenitus filius, Lib. Sac.; *unigenitus, Aug.-Conf. 92, 202; *unigenitus filius coaeternus, Aug.-Conf. 155; filius hominis, Aug.-Conf. 283, Greg.-Dial. II g; *filius meus dilectus, Blick. Hom. 27.

8. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. A.S. frofre gast, and other combinations, pp. 419.

*Sanctus spiritus, Aug.-Conf. 94; spiritus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 203 .

*Paracletus consolator, Aug.-Conf. 50; °consolator fidelium, Aug.-Conf. 94.

9. *God as Source.*

Cf. A.S. fruma, brytta, and other combinations, pp. 410 ff. and 419.

*Fons lucis, Lib. Sac.; °origo bonitatis, Lib. Sac.; *fons vitae, Aug.-Conf. 58.

10. *God as Giver.*

Cf. A.S. brytta, gifa, sellend and combinations, pp. 419 f.

°Largitor immortalitatis, Lib. Sac.; *largitor aeternae salutis, Lib. Sac.

*Honorum dator, Lib. Sac.; dator gratiae spiritualis, Lib. Sac.; bonarum virtutum dator, Lib. Sac.; *vitae dator, Acta Sanct. 16 Feb.; *ordinum distributor, Lib. Sac.; *omnium dignitatum distributor, Lib. Sac.

11. *Deus Phrases.*

Cf. A.S. god, meotod, frea, dryhten, þeoden, et al., pp. 420 f. and 412 ff.

Aeternus deus, Lib. Sac.; *deus vivus et verus, Lib. Sac.; *omnipotens deus, Lib. Sac., Aug.-Conf. 54; *misericors deus, Lib. Sac.; °deus—coelestia dominans, Lib. Sac.; °creator omnipotens deus, Lib. Sac.; deus vita mea, Aug.-Conf. 18; incorruptus deus, Aug.-Conf. 93; *deus vivus, Aug.-Conf. 355; °dominus deus veritatis, Aug.-Conf. 93; *deus homo, Greg. Hom. in Evang. 29.

12. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. miscellaneous list in A.S. collection, pp. 421.

*Majestas, Lib. Sac.; *mediator, Lib. Sac.; dispositor, Lib. Sac.; *magnificus triumphator, Lib. Sac.; *altissimus, Aug.-Conf. 10; pulcherimus omnium, Aug.-Conf. 38; °summum bonum, Aug.-Conf. 38; °summum et verum bonum, Aug.-Conf. 325; vita animarum, Aug.-Conf. 52; vita vitarum, Aug.-Conf. 52; vita vitae meae, Aug. Conf. 141; ipsa vita nostra, Aug.-Conf. 79; °spes mea, Aug.-Conf. 72; bonus omnipotens, Aug.-Conf. 61; °mediator dei et hominum, Aug.-Conf. 163, 278; °verax mediator, Aug.-Conf. 278; laus, vita, deus cordis mei, Aug.-Conf. 224; medicus meus intimus, Aug.-Conf. 228; *omnipotens, Aug.-Conf. 230; veritas, Aug.-Conf. 252, 275, 301; salus faciei meae, Aug.-Conf. 252; victor et victima, Aug.-Conf. 278, *principium, Aug.-Conf. 288; *omnitenens, Aug.-Conf. 290; *principium et finis, Aelf. Lives of Sts. 217; *consilarius, Homs. and Sts. Lives, 111.

THE USE OF THE LATIN PHRASES.

It is not surprising and there is considerable evidence to prove that the Anglo-Saxon poets in taking over Latin kennings, especially those for the Deity, did not in every case make an exact and literal translation of the Latin phrase, but that they sometimes varied the original terms.

For such variation, the chief causes lay in the demands of alliteration and metre in Anglo-Saxon verse. For example, instead *dryhten* in the common phrase *weoroda dryhten* (dominus exercitum), an author might need a word beginning with *sc* and so substitute *scyppend*, making a new phrase *weoroda scyppend*, or he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend* or *wuldorcyning*, producing the new phrases *weoroda wealdend* and *weoroda wuldorcyning*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *engla dryhten* (dominus angelorum) he might need a word beginning with *b* and substitute *brego*, or a word beginning with *w* and substitute *weard* if he desired one syllable or *wealdend* if he desired two; or, instead of *cyning* in the phrase *wuldres cyning* (rex gloriae) he might need a word beginning with a vowel and substitute *agend*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the

phrase *ece dryhten*, he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend*.¹

All these phrases just cited actually occur in the poetry, and seem to present instances of substitution. Inasmuch as I do not pretend, however, to have discovered and collected every Latin term which the Anglo-Saxon poets could have known, it may be that some of the phrases which I have mentioned are exact translations of Latin terms that I have not found. But there can be little doubt that variations were made in this way.

The Latin phrases were doubtless sometimes varied by addition as well as by substitution. In some cases, we may regard the variation as due to either one of these causes. For example, in *weoroda wuldorcyning*, cited above, we may regard *wuldorcyning* as a substitution for *dryhten*, or we may regard *weoroda* as an alliterative word prefixed to *wuldorcyning* (*rex gloriae*) to fill out the half line. We have the same choice in *weoroda wilgifa* and other phrases.

In some cases it is fairly evident that the word is added to secure alliteration. For example in

heahengla cyning ofer hrofas up (Cri. 528 and

heofonengla cyning halig scineþ (Cri. 1010)

heahengla cyning and *heofonengla cyning* are probably nothing more than variations of the formula *engla cyning* (*rex angelorum*)—variations due to the exigencies of alliteration and metre. This same cause, in my opinion, accounts for the rather frequent use of *sige*, *sigora* (*es*), *maegen*, and *þeod* as prefixes in phrases where they apparently have little force except as intensives. (Cf. *sigebeorn*, Cri. 520; *sigebeorht*, Cri. 10; *maegencraeft*, Cri. 1279; *þeodbealu*, Cri. 1267).²

It is likely also that variations of Latin terms were sometimes produced by analogy. For example, *soþcyning* seems to be modelled on *verus deus*, *verax dominus*, *verus pater*, *vera lux*, et al., though there may well have been a *verus rex* which I have not noted.

¹Cf., for example, Dan. 332, *weroda waldend*, *woruldgescafta* with its equivalent Az. 48, *wuldres waldend and woruldscafta*.

²Cf. Dan. 333, *sigora settend*, *soþfaest metod* with its equivalent Az. 47, *sigerof settend and soþ meotod*.

In connection with this subject of the use of Latin phrases by the Anglo-Saxon poets, it is interesting to examine a good translation of a Latin poem in comparison with its original—not a literal word for word rendering such as we have in the interlinear prose translations in the Psalters and the Surtees Hymns, but one in which concessions are made to the demands of alliteration, metre, and technique in general of Anglo-Saxon verse. A good example is the poem entitled *Vom Jüngsten Tage* (Grein-Wülker), which is an excellent translation of Bede's *De Die Judicii*.³ The following examples illustrate the treatment of the Latin phrases:

- L. 36, *omnipotens, aelmihtig,*
 45, *deus aetherius, heofones god,*
 48, *celsithronus, heahþrymme cyninge,*
 58, *regem, þone maeran metod and þone maeran kyn-
 ing,*
 59, *ille sedens solio fulget sublimis in alto, Sitt þonne
 sigelbeorht swegles brytta on heahsetle,*
 138, *deus, ece dryhten,*
 142, *praemia perpetuis tradens coelestia donis
 angelicas inter turmas sanctasque cohortes,
 Sigores brytta
 sylþ anra gehwam ece mede
 heofonlice hyrsta, þæt is healice gifu,
 gemang þam aenlican engla werode
 and þæra haligra heapum and þreatum.*
 148, *alma dei genitrix, seo frowe þe us frean acende*
 64, *polorum, swegles hleo*
 127, *coelestia regna, heofonrice,*
 58, *coetibus angelicis, uppllice eoredheapas, ealle engla
 þreatas, eal engla werod,*
 10, *genus humanum, eall manna cynn*
 66, *omnes homines, eal Adames cnosl, corþbuendra,*
 36, *orbis, eorþan ymbhwyrft*

³For an edition of the poem containing the Latin text, cf. J. R. Lumby, *Be Domes Daege*. London, 1876.

94, gehennae, *grunde, susle on helle,*

93, miseris poenas, *earnlicu witu.*

In this, as in the other translations from the Latin, the peculiar technique of Anglo-Saxon verse often necessitated departures from an exact rendering of Latin phrases.

If we should attempt to draw conclusions from this or any other given example of translation, we might say that the Latin influence in the formation of Anglo-Saxon phrases was not very great. An examination, however, of a large body of Latin poems including hymns, and of Latin prose including the Vulgate, puts it beyond question that the majority of Anglo-Saxon terms for religious conceptions, and probably some of the others, are of Latin origin.

The Anglo-Saxon poets had abundant precedent for their practice of multiplying religious terms, especially designations of the Deity, in their poems. The Psalms and other lyrical parts of the Bible sanction the usage, and, more markedly, the Latin hymns and many of the other Christian Latin poems are full of these repetitions. Take, for example, the following lines from Paulinus (d. 431) and these from Ennodius (d. 521), both of whom also wrote well known hymns:

Indulgens sanctus justus patiens miserator
plenus perfectus maximus omnipotens
Solus nec solus terque unus et in tribus unus
hoc semper major quo fides es uberior.⁴

and

Fons via dextra lapis vitulus leo lucifer agnus
Janua spes virtus verbum sapientia vates
Hostia virgultum pastor mons rete columba
Flamma gigans aquila sponsus patientia vermis
Filius excelsus dominus deus, omnia Christus.⁵

⁴Saneti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina. Vindobonae, 1894.

⁵Magni Felicis Ennodii Opera Omnia. Vindobonae, 1882. Good evidence of the familiarity of the Anglo-Saxon poets with the phraseology of the Latin hymns and other Christian Latin poems is afforded by the bilingual poems. Compare, for example, the following entitled, "Aufforderung zum Gebet" in Grein-Wulker:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| þæenne gemiltsaþ þe, N., | <i>mundum qui regit,</i> |
| þeoda þrym cyninge | <i>thronum sedens</i> |
| a butan ende..... | |
| saule wine | |
| Geune þe on life | <i>auctor pacis</i> |
| sibbe gesaelþa | <i>salus mundi,</i> |
| metod se maera | <i>magna virtute</i> |
| and se soþfaesta | <i>summi filius</i> |
| fo on fultum, | <i>factor cosmi,</i> |
| se of æpelre waes | <i>virginis partu</i> |
| claene acenned | <i>Christus in orbem,</i> |
| metod þurh Marian, | <i>mundi redemptor,</i> |
| and þurh þæene halgan gast. | <i>Voca frequenter,</i> |
| bide helpes line | <i>clementem dominum,</i> |
| se onsended waes | <i>summe de throno</i> |
| and þære claenan | <i>clara voce</i> |
| þa gebyrd bodade | <i>bona voluntate,</i> |
| þæt heo sceolde cennan | <i>Christum regem,</i> |
| calra cyninga cyninge | <i>casta vivendo.</i> |
| And þu þa soþfaestan | <i>supplex roga,</i> |
| fultumes bidde friclo | <i>virginem alman</i> |
| and þær æfter to | <i>omnes sanctos</i> |
| bliþmod bidde, | <i>beatos et justos,</i> |
| þæt hi ealle þe | <i>unica voce,</i> |
| þingian to þeodne | <i>thronum regenti,</i> |
| aecum drihtne, | <i>alta polorum,</i> |
| þæt he þine saule, | <i>summus iudex,</i> |
| onfo freolice, | <i>factor aeternus,</i> |
| and he gelaede | <i>(in) lucem perhennem,</i> |
| þær eadige | <i>animae sanctae,</i> |
| rice restap | <i>regno caelorum!*</i> |

*Grein-Wulker *Bibliothek*, II, 277 ff.

ANGLO-SAXON TERMS FOR EARTHLY RULERS USED IN BEOWULF AND THE NON-RELIGIOUS POEMS.

A comparison of the following lists of terms for earthly rulers with the lists of designations of the Deity will show that less frequently than one would probably expect was the appellation of the earthly ruler transferred to God. This point I shall try to make clear in my notes which accompany the lists.

Cyning, *Beo. et al.*, passim; god cyning,^o 11, 863; bregorof cyning, 1925; þeodecyning, 2, 2144, 2579, 2694, 2970, 3008;

^oThe references are to the lines in the Grein-Wulker *Bibliothek* and are for *Beowulf* except when some other poem is named.

Chron. V, 34; *gūpcyning*, 199, 2335, 2677, 3036; *leodecyning*, 54; *sigerof cyning*, 619; *heahcyning*, 1039; *eorpcyning*, 1155; *frodcyning*, 1155; *woroldecyning*, 1684, 3181; *rumheort cyning*, 2110; *saecyning*, 2382; *folccyning*, 2733; *heapogeong cyning*, Finns. 2; *heaporof cyning*, 2191; *nīþheard cyning*, 2417; *beorn-cyning*, 2148; *Engla cyning*, Chron. III, B. 2.

Mondryhten, 1249, 1978, 2604, 2647, 2849, 3149; *Wand.* 37; *Botschaft* 6; *Geata dryhten* 1831, 2402, 2483, 2560, 2576, 2901, 2991; *winedryhten*, 1604, 2722, 3176; *Wand.* 37; *Maldon* 248, 263; *freodryhten*, 1169, 2627; *eorla dryhten*, 1050, 2338; *Brun.* 1; *gumdryhten*, 1642; *freadryhten*, 796; *sigedryhten*, 391; *Widsiþ* 104; *dryhten wereda*, 2186; *dryhten*, 2753, 2789; *Seefahrer* 41 (?), 43 (?); *hleodryhten*, *Widsiþ* 94.

Wealdend, Chron. V, 6, *Rid.* 21/4, 24/6; *Wand.* 78; *haeleþa wealdend*, Chron. V, 8; *Engla wealdend*, Chron. III, A 1.

Frea, 2537, 2853, 641, 2285, 2662, 3002, 3107; *Mald.* 12, 184, 259, 289; *Botschaft* 9; *frea Scyldinga*, 351, 1166, 1680, 291; *maere frea*, 276.

þeoden, 1085, 1627, 2869; Chron. III. A 20; *Wand.* 95, *Mald.* 120, 158, 232, 294; *Botschaft* 28; *maere þeoden*, 245, 797, 1046, 1715, 2572, 1598, 2788, 3141, 129, 201; *þeoden Scyldinga*, 1675, 1871, 2032, 2056, 3037, 2786, 2336; *rice þeoden*, 1209; *leaf þeoden*, 34, 3079; *þeoden þrīsthydig*, 2810; *Engla þeoden*, Chron. II. 1.

Landfruma leaf, 31; *aepelē ordfruma*, 263; *wigfruma*, 664; *hildfruma*, 2649, 2835, 1678; *El.* 10, 101; *daedfruma dyre*, Chron. II, 3; *leodfruma*, *Klage* 8; *El.* 191; *Ex.* 354; *And.* 1662; *Gen.* 1246; *Met.* 1/27; *Beo.* 2130; *leaf leodfruma*, *Ph.* 345; *And.* 989.

Hlaford, 267, 2634, 2642; *Mald.* 189, 224, 240, 318; *Klage* 6; *Wald.* A. 30; *leaf hlaford*, 3142; *Engla hlaford*, Chron. V. 1; *wigena hlaford*, *Mald.* 135.

Helm Scyldinga, etc., 456, 1322, 2382, 2462, 2705, 371; *lid-manna helm*, 1623; *weoruda helm*, *El.* 223; *aepelinga helm*, *Gen.* 1858, 2656, 2721, 2145; *herigea helm*, *El.* 148.

Rices weard, 1390; folces weard, 2513; Gen. 2666; eþelweard, 616, 2210, 1702; Dan. 55; hordweard haeleþa, 1047, 1852; guþweard gumena, El. 14; Ex. 174; hordweard, Ex. 35, 511; Dan. 65; beahhorda weard, 921; beaga weard, Gen. 2782; Babilone weard, Dan. 116, et al.; yrfeweard, Ex. 142; dryhtenweard, Dan. 535; gumena weard, Gabea 59; weorodes weard, Dan. 552; wigena weard, El. 153.

Folces hyrde, 610, 1832, 1849, 2644, 2981; Finns. 46; rices hyrde, 3080, 2027; Gen. 2334; Ex. 256; Met. 26/8, 41; sinces hyrde, Gen. 2101.

Bregu Beorht-Dena, etc., 427, 609; haeleþa bregu, 1954; bregu, Brun. 33.

Eorla hleo, 791, 1866, 1967, 2142, 2190; Deor. 41; wigen-dra hleo, 429, 899, 1972, 2337; Chron. II. 12; El. 150; haeleþa hleo, Mald. 74; aeþelinga hleo, El. 99.

Leodgebyrgea, 269; El. 11, 203.

Mecga mundbora, Chron. II, 1.

Eodor Scyldinga, etc., 428, 663, 1044.

Folca raeswa, Dan. 667; weoroda raeswa, 60.

Ealdor, 56, 346, 1848; Mald. 11, 53, 222, 314; aldor East-Dena, 392; ealdor þegna, 1644; folces caldor, Mald. 202; eorla aldor, Chron. III, B. 12; þioda aldor, Met. 26/7; werodes aldor, Gen. 1643.

Aeþelinga bearn, 1408, 2597; aeþelinges bearn, 888; þeodnes haeleþa bearn, 1189.

Sinces brytta, 607, 1170, 2071; Wand. 25; El. 194; Gen. 2727, 1857; beaga brytta, 35, 1487, 352; goldes brytta, Gen. 2867, 1997.

Sinegyfa, 1012, 1342, 2311; Mald. 278; Met. 1/50; beaggyfa, 1102; Mald. 290; goldgyfa, 2652; Seef. 83; Jud. 279; wilgyfa, 2900; maþþumgyfa, Wand. 92; beorna beahgifa, Chron. III, B. iv; Brun. 2; Chron. I. 2; El. 100, 1199; aetgifa, Gen. 1361; Geschicke 91.

Aeþeling, 1596, 1815, 1920, 2374, 2443, 2715, 3; Brun. 58; Chron. IV, 16; aeþeling aergod, 130, 2342; aeþeling aenhydig, 2667.

Gumena baldor, Gen. 2693; rinca bealdor, Jud. 339; wigena bealdor, Jud. 49; winia bealdor, 2567; sinca bealdor, 2428.

Wine Deniga, etc., 350, 2101, 30, 148, 170, 1184, 2027; goldwine Geata, 2419, 2584; goldwine gumena, 1171, 1476, 1602; freowine folca, 430, 2429, 2357; freawine, 2439; goldwine, Wand. 35; wine, Mald. 250; Wald. B. 14; Beo. 3097.

Werodes wisa, Ex. 258; folces wisa, Gen. 1198; æþelinga aldorwisa, Gen. 1237; heafodwisa, Gen. 1619; herges wisa, 3020, Dan. 203.

Wedera leod, 341, 625, 829, 1538, 1612, 2551; leod, 24.

Hringa fengel, 2345; snottra fengel, 1475.

Hringa þengel, 1507.

Eorl, 6, 1512; Wand. 84; Mald. 89, 146, 165, 233.

Caser, Seef. 82.

Aldordema, Gen. 1156.

Heretema, El. 10.

Frumgar, 2856; Gen. 1169, 1183, 1708, 2052, 2116, 2614, 2577, 2659.

Folcagend, Jul. 186.

Hearra, Mald. 204.

Se rica, 1975.

Se goda, 1518.

Kyning [a] wuldor, 665.

It might be assumed that whenever a designation of an earthly ruler was felt to be an appropriate term to apply to the Deity, the transference was easily and naturally made. This was doubtless true but with this limitation: the evidence indicates that the term was not felt to be appropriate unless it was sanctioned by Latin use of an equivalent term which was applied to the Deity. At least, every one of the terms so transferred was sanctioned in this way, and many of those not transferred were not so sanctioned.

In the first group, the terms taken over were *cyning* (rex), *heah cyning* (rex altissimus), and perhaps *þeodcyning* (=þeoda cyning?—rex gentium).

ƷeodecƷning, used frequently in Beowulf of earthly rulers, was not improbably an old Germanic term (cf. O. N. ƷioƷkonungr). In the Heliand it occurs once as a designation of Christ (4799). In Anglo-Saxon it occurs only once as a designation of the Deity and this is a doubtful passage of the Vercelli text of the Rede der Seele (l. 12), in which the reading is not supported by the Exeter text of the poem. The passage in the Vercelli text is as follows:

Sceal se gast cuman geoƷum hremig
 Symble ymbe seofan niht, sawle findan
 Ʒone lichoman, Ʒe hie aer lange waeg,
 Ʒreo hund wintra, *butan aer ƷeodecƷning*
 aelmihtig god ende worulde
 wyrcan wille, weoruda dryhten.⁷ (9-14)

In the Exeter text the reading is:

Sceal se gast cuman. gehƷum hremig.
 Syle ymb seofon niht. sawle findan.
 Ʒone lichoman. Ʒe heo aer longe waeg
 Ʒreo hund wintra, *butan aer wyrcen. ece dryhten*
 aelmihtig god. ende worulde.⁸ (9-13)

In regard to line 12 Wulker notes: "12 ff. Ettm. sagt: Lacunam Thorpius non notavit; scribi fortassis potest: 'Ʒreo hund wintra siƷƷan Ʒonan gewat.' Gr. meint in der Exeter hs. fehle halbzeile. Ich halte mich an der Verc. text, der hier entschieden besser ist." But *ƷeodecƷning* in the Vercelli reading affords questionable alliteration, and the word is at least doubtful.

There is a point to be noted also in regard to the meaning of *ƷeodecƷning*. It is difficult to determine to what extent *Ʒeod* as a prefix had faded into an intensive. (Cf. *Ʒeodbealu*, *cruciatuſ ingens*-Grein). In Old Saxon, *Ʒiod* seems certainly to have become an intensifier—cf. *Ʒiodgumo*. *ƷeodecƷning* then may mean here "the mighty king."

⁷Grein-Wulker, II, 93.

⁸Ibid, p. 92.

In the next group, *dryhten* (dominus), *dryhten wereda* (dominus exercitum) and *sigedryhten* (dominator dominus) are used as terms for the Deity. It will be noticed they occur very rarely as names for earthly rulers. *Sigedryhten*, though used only once in Beowulf applied to an earthly ruler, was perhaps an old Germanic compound, sanctioned by Latin precedent to be applied to the Deity. It occurs three times in the Heliand applied to God. In O.N., Odin is *Sigtivi*, *sigfödr*, *sigrhöfundr*.⁹ In A. S. *sige* is used in a large number of compounds, and from such formations as *sigetorht* it would seem that this word like *þeod* was becoming an intensive prefix. The same is true of *sigor* and perhaps also of *sigora* (*es*).

Drihten wereda applied to an earthly ruler occurs only once in A.S. in the following passage in Beowulf:

naes him hreoh sefa

ac he mancynnes maeste craefte
ginfaestan gife þe him God sealde,
heold hildedeor. Hean waes lange,
swa hyne Geata bearn godne ne tealdon,
ne hyne on medobence micles wyrþne
drihten wereda gedon wolde.

Beo. 2180 ff.

On the other hand, the phrase is extremely common as applied to the Deity, in which cases it is undoubtedly equivalent to *dominus exercitum*. It will be noted further that this is a "Christianized" passage in Beowulf, and it does not seem likely that a Christian poet would transfer a regular and very frequent term for the Deity to an earthly ruler. Is it not possible at least that the phrase here refers to God?

In Old Norse the nearest equivalents to this term are *verþungar visi*, *verþungar gramr*, *gumna stiori*, *drotta stiori*, *inn-drottar geymir*, and *verþungar vörþr*, *hers oddviti*, *folks oddviti*, *her-baldr*, and *her-konungr*.

⁹Because of the Christian veneer on the Old Norse mythology, it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether the conceptions embodied in many of the mythological terms are of Germanic or of Christian origin.

In the next group the only certain representative as a term for ruler of tribe or band is *Engla waldend* (ruler of the English). In this term, as in *Engla þeoden* (lord or King of the English), it is possible that we have a play on words (also sanctioned by the high precedent of Gregory), because *engla waldend* and *engla þeoden* (lord and ruler of the angels) were very common designations of the Deity. (Cf. *Engla hlaford*, also in the Chronicle.)

It is strange that *waldend* was not more frequently used as a term for lord and king; it seems like a most natural and appropriate designation, yet it is not clearly so used in Anglo-Saxon poetry except in the three instances cited above from the Chronicle. As a term for the Deity it is exceedingly common, both singly and in combination, and is equivalent to *dominator rector, regnator, gubernator*.¹⁰

In the next group, *frea* was taken over as a term for the Deity. Though it is so used in many Anglo-Saxon poems, it is comparatively not very frequent in any of them. In the Gothic gospels, *frauja* regularly translates dominus (Matt. 3/3, 5/33 et al.), just as in the Anglo-Saxon gospels *dryhten* regu-

¹⁰In connection with *waldend*, one might note here *ealwalda*, which though not actually found in the extant A. S. poetry to designate an earthly ruler, might have been so used. O. N. *Yngva þiöpar allvaldr*. *Yngva aldar allvaldr* (*Corp Poet. Bor.* II, 479). It is more probable, however, that when the A. S. poets applied the term to God, they had in mind the Latin *omnipotens*.

In regard to the use of *allvaldr* as a designation of Odin, Kahle reaches the conclusion: Das in Gísla saga Surssonar für Opinn vorkommende *allvaldr alda* hat natürlich keine beweiskraft; eher schon derselbe ausdruck bei Kormakr (Sn. E. I, 242) der um die mitte des 10 jahrh's lebte. Dass man die gestalt Opins nach dem muster irdischer könige bildete war schonbemerkt. Um so mehr konte er *allvaldr* genannt werden, denn Snorri Sturluson nent dies wort unter den heiti für kaiser, könig, jarl, Sn. E. I, 512, dabei hinzufügend: *þui heitir hann allvaldr at hann er einvaldi alls rikis sins*. So auch der von den skalden gefeierte Opinn.¹¹ Yet in the old mythological poems of the Edda, *allvaldr* as a name for Odin does not occur.

¹¹B. Kahle-Das Christentum in der Altwestnordischen Dichtung. *Arkiv für Nordisk Filologi* XVII, Ny foljd XIII, p. 142 f.

larly translates the same word. In Old Saxon *frao* (*fro*) is frequently used as a term for Christ and less frequently for God; but in Old Saxon also it is much less frequent than *drohtin*. It looks as if in both Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon the word was being superseded by *dryhten* (*drohtin*).

In the next group, *þeoden*, *maere þeoden*, and *rice þeoden* (used once), were taken over. Like *frea*, these terms, though widespread, are comparatively infrequent as designations of the Deity. In the Gothic gospels *þiudans* regularly translates *rex*. (Mk. 15/2 et al.)

In the Heliand, *thiodan* is used fourteen times, *mari þiodan* once, and *riki þiodan* once, and in all these cases designates Christ, not God. In the Anglo-Saxon Gospels *cyning* is used where the Gothic has *þiudans* (Mk. 15/2 et al). Possibly in Anglo-Saxon the word was giving way to *cyning* or was becoming more generalized in meaning so as to be equivalent to *dryhten*. With *maere deoden* and *rice deoden* respectively compare the Latin designations of the Deity *rex laudabilis*, *gloriosus rex*, *dominus glorie* and *rex magnus*, *rex omnipotens*, *dominus potens et fortis*.

In the next group, *aeþele ordfruma* is interesting. It occurs in Beowulf (263) as a designation of *Ecgþeow*. *Waes min faeder folcum gecyþed, aeþele ordfruma Ecgþeow haten*.

Ordfruma is very common among the designations of the Deity as Creator. It is synonymous with *scyppend* and equivalent to *auctor*, *fons*, *creator*, in *eades ordfruma* (*auctor salutis*) *lifes ordfruma* (*auctor, fons vitae*), *engla ordfruma* (*creator angelorum*) and the like. In Cri. 402 we find *aeþele ordfruma ealra gesceafta* (*creator universae creaturae, omnis creaturae creator, auctor naturae et al.*) In the Heliand it occurs once, *apalordfruma alomahtig* (H. 31). In the Beo. passage the meaning of the term given by Wyatt in the vocabulary of his edition is "chief, prince;" and Grein (*Spracheschatz*) gives "summus, princeps" as the meaning for this place. In view of its frequent

use as "author," "source," may it not here have the meaning of "genitor?"¹²

From the next group, *hlaford*, is taken over occasionally (principally by Cynewulf) and seems to be substituted for *dryhten* (*dominus*), though possibly the Biblical conception of God as the giver of life and sustenance is implied. Cf. also *dator escae* (*Prudentius-Psych.* 624).

The next five groups show that the conception of the Germanic king as protector and defender is very common. Cf. O.N. *landvörþr*, *foldarvörþr*, *folkvörþr*, *landreki*, *þioþskati* et al., In the Latin there are many terms for God as protector: *custos*, *pastor*, *susceptor*, *protector*, *adjutor*, *suffragator*, et al. Of the compounds *folca weard* as a term for God is perhaps closer to *folces weard* applied to earthly rulers than to the Biblical *protector est omnibus*.

The last phrase *Kyning[a]wuldor* (*Beo.* 665) is taken by Wyatt as referring to Hroþgar and by Grein (*Sprachschatz*) as referring to God. The passage is as follows:

Haefde kyning[a]wuldor

Grendle togeanes, swa guman gefrungon,

Seleweard asetod; sundornytte beheold

Ymb aldor Dena, eotenweard ahead. (*Beo.* 665 ff.)

Then follows immediately:

Huru Geata leod georne truwoðe

modgan maegnes, Metodes hyldo. (*Beo.* 669-670)

Cyninga wuldor is not an infrequent designation of the Deity and probably is equivalent to *gloriosus rex* or *rex gloriae*. Cf. *wifa wuldor* (*Men.* 149) and *gloriosa femina* as designations of the Virgin. There can be little doubt that the term in *Beo.* refers to God, not to Hroþgar, and the meaning is: "The Glory of Kings (King of Glory) has set a guard against Grendel, as men (afterwards) found out."

In the next group of phrases, the *bearn* element is interesting. In *Beowulf* it is used almost exclusively of *Beowulf*; and in phrases fashioned like *bearn Ecgþeowes*, in which the

¹²Cf. *Runenlied* 10: (OS) *byþ ordfruma aelcre spraece*.

second element is the father's name, there is no clear case showing that *bearn* is applied to anyone but Beowulf, for in the only other instance *b* [*earn*] *Healdenes* (line 1020), the Ms. has "*brand.*" *Bearn Ecgþeowes* for Beowulf occurs ten times, and *sunu Ecgðeowes* three times; whereas instead of *bearn*, *sunu* is regularly used in the phrase to designate *Hroþgar*, *Hygelac* and *Wiglaf*. *Bearn* (proles, suboles, projenies) probably was not so prosaic and commonplace in its connotation as *sunu* (filius). Cynewulf's use of the word in the signed poems is noteworthy, for, whereas, in other poems it frequently occurs in phrases like *fira bearn*, *niþþa bearn*, *haeleþa bearn*, etc. as a term for Men, Cynewulf does not so use it except once in El. 181. As a designation of Christ, however he uses it in combination very many times.¹³

¹³In connection with *bearn*, *faeder* (*pater*) often used as a designation of God, may be mentioned here, though the term is not used in Anglo-Saxon as the designation of an earthly ruler. It occurs in Old Norse in combinations as a term for Odin.

As to the question as to whether Odin was conceived of as father before Christian influences had an opportunity to operate, Kahle's investigation led him to the following conclusions: "Es sind das besonders beivortet, durch die Opinn als vater der götter und menschen, als der mächtiger herrscher des weltalls erscheint. Zur erklärang diene die stelle Snorri Sturlusons, Sn. E. I, 54: *ok fyrir þui ma hann heita Allfaþr, at hann er faþir all allra guþanna ok manna, ok all dess, er af honun ok hans krapti var fullgert.* Und an anderer stelle, Sn. E. I, 89, *Opinn heitir Allfaþr, þui at hann er faþir allra goða.* Dass dieser beiname nicht etwa nur eine Konstruktion Snorris est, zeigt uns der umstand, dass er unter den Opinsheiti der Grimnismal, 48³, vorkommt, ebenso Helg. Hunt. I, 38⁴. Nach der datierung Finnur Jons-sons sind die Grimnismal etwa in die zeit von 900-925 zu setzen, Halg. Hund. in die von 1000-1025. Das erste gedicht fällt also in rein heidnische zeit, das zweite in die zeit des übergangs zum neuen glauben. Aber es ist zu bemerken dass der vers der Grimm. sicher nicht zum alten gedicht gehört hat, sondern erst später, vielleicht aber doch noch in heidnischer zeit, interpoliert ist. In einer strophe Brages, 15², wird Þorr *sour alfadar* genannt, was der lesart *aldafaþur(s)* vorzuziehen ist. Wenn man nun, wie ich tue, die stropfen Brages für echt hält, dann könnte man, für diesen ausdruck wenigstens, kaum, wie Golther will, Christlichen einfluss annehmen; denn dass dieser sich auf erzeugnisse der dichtkunst schon in der ersten hälfte des 9 jahrh's, geltend gemacht haben könnte, ist doch sehr unwahrscheinlich. Ist aber

From the next groups, *sincgyfa* and *wilgyfa* were taken over, doubtless under the influence of the Christian conceptions of God as the liberal rewarder of those that seek him and the giver of every good and perfect gift. Cf. Latin phrases for God: *largitor premii*, *largitor deus omnium bonorum*, *largus dator*, etc.

From the next group, *aepeling* was transferred. Here the Latin equivalent applied to the Deity is *inclitus*, or *inclitus natus*, terms frequent in the hymns. (Cf. Wr.-Wülk, A.S. and O.E. Vocabularies, I 309/23, where *clito* is glossed *aepelinge*.) It is probable that *beorn*, much less frequently used as a term for Christ, was also equivalent to the Latin *inclitus natus*.

ANGLO-SAXON KENNINGS.

In dealing with this matter of sources, I cite only one instance of the occurrence of each Anglo-Saxon term.

*Indicates that the equivalent term occurs in Latin.

°Indicates that (1) a term of similar import occurs in Latin or (2) the phrase is formed on the analogy of some other Anglo-Saxon phrase which comes from the Latin.

ANGLO-SAXON TERMS FOR THE DEITY.

1. *God as Creator.*

Cf. Latin *creator*, *constitutor*, *formator*, *faber*, *plasmator*, *factor*, *fabricator*, *auctor*, *conditor*, *repertor*, *opifex*, *patrator*, *propagator*, *artifex*. pp. 374, 379 f., 389, 393, 386, 395.

aldafapur das richtige, so gilt das gesagte natürlich auch für dieses wort. beide sind ja aus derselben vorstellung hervorgegangen, die in den kriegler—und dichterkreisen die herrschen geworden war, und der in den erwähnten worten Snorris ausdrück gegeben ist, eine vorstellung, die sich ganz auf nordischen boden entwickeln konte, nachdem Öpinn einmal der alles überragende himmelsgott geworden war, und man die gütter in ein verwandtschaftliches system gebracht hatte.*

Odin was also *sigfapr*, *herfapr*, and *valfapr*.† The *faeder* phrases for God in Anglo-Saxon, nevertheless, seem directly dependent on the Latin.

*B. Kahle—*Das Christentum in der Altwcstnordischen Dichtung. Arkiv for Nordisk Filolog; XVII, Ny. Foljd XIII, p. 141f.*

†Vigfusson-Powel. *Corp. Poet. Bor. II. 461f.*

*Se scyppend,¹⁴ Sal. Sat. 56; °Scyppend maere, Ps. 103/23; *mihta scyppend, Gu. 1131; *heofona scyppend, And. 192; *engla scyppend, And. 119; *gasta scyppend, Dan. 292; *frymþa scyppend, Ph. 630; °weoroda scyppend,¹⁵ V.L. 62; *manna scyppend, And. 486; *haeleþa scyppend, Hym. 34; *aelda scyppend, Wand, 85; *eallra scyppend, El. 370. *Ece eadfruma, Cri. 532; *eades ordfruma, Cri. 1199; *ordfruma,¹⁶ Gen. 13; *engla ordfruma, Fa. 28; *ordfruma ealra gesceafta, Cri. 402; *liffsuma, lifes fruma, El. 335; *lifes ordfruma, Cri. 277; °sigores fruma,¹⁷ Cri. 294; °dugeþa daedfruma,¹⁸ And. 75; *maerþa fruma, Chron. III B. 21; °herga fruma,¹⁹ El. 210; °þiodfruma,¹⁹ Met. 29/95; *moncynnes fruma,¹⁹ Ph. 377; *ealles folces fruma,¹⁹ Höll. 41; *fyrnweorca fruma,²⁰ Cri. 578; *lifes leohtfruma, And. 387,

*Wuldres wyrhta,²¹ Ph. 130; *wealdend and wyrhta, Met. 30/14.

2. God as Ruler.

Cf. Latin rex, dominus, sator, rector, dominator, regnator, moderator, perdomitor, imperator, gubernator. For the whole group, cf. pp. 375, 380 ff., 389 f., 393 f., 386.

¹⁴All the phrases for the conception of God as creator come from the Latin.

¹⁵A variant of *weoroda dryhten*, which comes from *dominus exercitum* or *dominus virtutum*. Cf. *creator hominum*.

¹⁶*Fruma* and *ordfruma* pass over from the meaning of *beginning* to that of *beginner*, from *principium* to *fons, origo, auctor*, etc., sometimes also from *principium* to *princeps*.

¹⁷Probably a variant of *sigores god* and *sigores frea (deus victoriae)*.

¹⁸A variant probably of *dugeþa dryhten* from *dominus virtutum*, but cf. *virtutis auctor*.

¹⁹See under "Ruler."

²⁰Cf. *principium creaturae*.

²¹A variant perhaps of *wuldres cyning (rex gloriae)* or *wuldres dryhten (dominus gloriae)*, but more likely from *factor caeli*, or *caeli conditor*.

*Cyning, Jul. 704;²² *heahecyning, Gen. 124; *se hyhsta cyning, Jul. 716; °aepelcyning, El. 219;²³ °se aepela cyning, Ph. 614;²³ *acrafaest cyning, Jud. 190; *waerfaest cyning, And. 416; *sopfaest cyning, Ex. 9;²⁴ soþcyning, Gen. 2635;²⁴ *wuldorfaest cyning, Az. 133; stipfrip cyning, Gen. 107; *tirmeahtig cyning, Cri. 1166; tiredig cyning, Geb. 3/2; *beorht cyning, Cri. 828; *blipheort cyning, Gen. 192; *se mihtiga cyning, Ph. 496; *cyning aelmihtig, El. 145; *se eca cyning, Schöpf. 32; *maegencyning, El. 1247; *maegena cyning, Cri. 833; *nergend cyning, Geb. 4/49; *haelend cyning, Glaub. 10; cyning anborn, Cri. 618;²⁵ *þrydcyning, And. 436; *ealra cyninga cyning, Jul. 289; *cyninga cyning ewicera gehwilces, Hy. 15; cyninga selast, Holl. 119; reþust ealra cyninga, Holl. 36; *engla cyning, Gen. 1503; *heahengla cyning, Cri. 528; °gastcyning, Gen. 2883; *heofenengla cyning, Cri. 1010; *heofoncyning halig, Gen. 1315; *heofoncyninga hyhst, Jüngste Ger. 108; *heofones (na) cyning, And. 1507; *se heofonlica cyning Ps. 67/14; *heofones heahcyning, Gen. 50; *rodorcyning, El. 1074; *rodora cyning, El. 1074; *swegelecyning, Gu. 1055; *wuldorcyning, Gen. 165; *wuldres cyning, Jul. 516; *cyning on wuldre, Vater Unser 3/2; *cyning ewicera gehwaes, And. 912; *cyning ealwihta, Cri. 687; °weoruda(es) wuldorcyning, Gen. 2;²⁶ *monna cyning, Versuch Chr. 24; *þeodcyning, Rede de S. 12; *þeoda þrymcyning, Metr. 20/205; °sigora soþcyning, Cri. 1229.²⁷

For the dryhten group, cf. pp. 375, 381 f, 389, 393 f.

*Maere dryhten, Ps. 79/5; *mihtig dryhten, Jud. 92; *lifes dryhten, Ps. 119/2; frea dryhten, Gen. 884; *dryhten,

²²Though *cyning* was of course a common appellation of an earthly ruler, yet practically all of the kennings in this list come from the Latin.

²³Cf. *inclitus natus, inclita proles*.

²⁴Cf. *verus deus, verax dominus, vera lux*, etc. Cf. also *rex recitissimus*.

²⁵Cf. *filius unigenitus*.

²⁶Cf. *dominus exercitum*.

²⁷Cf. *deus victoriae* and note 24 supra.

passin;²⁸ *eccc dryhten, Gen. 7; *dryhtna dryhten, Jul. 594; *mihta dryhten, Geb. 3/33; *engla dryhten, Ex. 558; °gaesta dryhten, Jüngst. Ger. 81;²⁹ *heofones(na) dryhten, Cri. 348; *wuldres dryhten, Geb. 3/54; *dugeþa dryhten, El. 81; *weoruda dryhten, El. 896;³⁰ *dryhten gumena, Vater Unser 2/14; *weorulddryhten, Met. 29/1; °gifena dryhten, Gen. 2935; °sigora dryhten, El. 346;³¹ °sigedryhten, Cri. 128;³² *soþ sigedryhten, Vater Unser 2/34; *bealde dryhten, Ps. 67/22; *soþ dryhten, Cri. 572; *dryhten haelend, El. 725; *dryhten ealra haeleþa cynnes, El. 188; *dryhten dyre and daedhwaet, El. 292; *halig dryhten, Beo. 686; *rice dryhten, Ps. 96/1; *witig dryhten, Beo. 1841; *dryhten god, Beo. 181; *maegena dryhten, Ps. 83/1; *wealdend dryhten, Ps. 65/16; *leaf dryhten, Ps. 77/5; °bliþe dryhten, Ps. 84/1; *nergend dryhten, Ps. 113/9.

For the wealdend group cf. pp. 375, 381 f., 389 f., 393 f.

*Wealdend,³³ Gen. 49; °eccc wealdend,³⁴ Geb. 1/2; *meahta wealdend, Vater Unser 2/7; *maegena wealdend, El. 347; *wealdend frea, Cri. 328; *gasta wealdend, Gen. 2174; °wealdend engla,³⁵ Cri. 474; *wuldres wealdend,³⁶ Dan. 13;

²⁸Though *dryhten* is often used of earthly rulers, these phrases in my opinion all come from the Latin. *Dryhten* ordinarily translates *dominus*.

²⁹Cf. *custos animarum, dominator vitae ac spiritus, dominus omnium*.

³⁰*Weoroda dryhten* (*dominus exercitum*) though possibly it occurs once (Beo. 2186) to designate an earthly ruler.

³¹Cf. *sigores god* (*deus victoriae*). *Sigora* probably simply intensive.

³²*Sigedryhten*=*sigora dryhten*. *Sigedryhten* is found once (Beo. 391) as appellation of an earthly ruler.

³³Wealdend is a translation of *dominator, rector, gubernator*, and perhaps occasionally of *dominus*.

³⁴Probably variant of *ecc dryhten* (*aeternus dominus*). Cf. *aeterus auctor, aeternus conditor, aeternus iudex*, etc.

³⁵Variant of *engla dryhten* or *engla cyning*, or from a Latin that I have not found.

³⁶Variant of *wuldres cyning* or *wuldres dryhten* perhaps. But compare *dominator caeli, poli rector, caeli regnator*.

*heofones(na) wealdend, Cri. 555; *rodera wealdend, Dan. 291; *dugeþa wealdend, And. 248; *wihta wealdend, Klagen Eng. 125; *weoroda wealdend, And. 388; *ylda wealdend, Beo. 1661; *fira wealdend, Beo. 2741; *folca wealdend, Az. 104; *þeoda wealdend, Dan. 361; *ealles wealdend, Vater Unser 3/1; *calles oferwealdend, El. 236; *lifes wealdend, Met. 20/268; *leohtes wealdend, Gloria 9; wyrda wealdend,³⁷ El. 80; sigora wealdend,³⁸ Ph. 464; *eorþan wealdend, Glauben 6; *waldend werþeoda, Cri. 714; *haeleþa wealdend, Ps. 141/6; *tires wealdend, Ps. 79/4.

*Anwalda,³⁹ Beo. 1273; °ece anwalda,⁴⁰ Chr. H.A.H. 276; *ealwalda, Beo. 955; °ealwalda engelcynna,⁴¹ Gen. 246; *alwealda ealra gesceafta, Met. 11/22.

*Ece rex, El. 1041.

*Roderia ryhtend, Cri. 798.

*Frea mihtig,⁴² El. 680; *frea aelmihtig, Gen. 116; *engla frea, Gen. 157; *heofona frea, Gen. 1404; *monecynnes frea, Kreuz, 33; *frea folca gehwaes, Dan. 401; *lifes frea (liffrea),⁴³ Cri. 27; °sigora(es) frea, Jul. 361; °rices frea, Glauben 34; °soþ sigora frea, El. 488.

*Hearra, Gen. 358; Gen. 8.

*þeoda bealdor,⁴⁴ And. 547.

³⁷An interesting analogical formation. Is there any allusion to the Norns, or does the term mean simply "ruler of destinies?" The latter is more probable. Cf. *rerum maximus rector*, *rerum dominator*, *sator rerum*, *moderator temporum*, *dominator omnium*.

³⁸Variant of *sigores frea*, *sigores god*.

³⁹All these phrases also from the Latin.

⁴⁰Probably variant of *ece wealdend*, *ece dryhten*, etc.

⁴¹Probably variant of *engla dryhten*, *engla cyning*, etc.

⁴²*Frea* (Goth frauja-dominus in Ulfilas) is used for earthly rulers, but these phrases come from the Latin.

An examination of the Kennings under *dominus*, *dominator*, *rector*, and *deus* will show that the Anglo-Saxon phrases are translations or analogical formations.

⁴³Cf. *rex viventium*, *conditor vitae*, *fons vitae*, and especially *dominator vitae*.

⁴⁴Probably *princeps populorum*, *rex gentium*.

*Maere þeoden,⁴⁵ And. 94; *þeoden;⁴⁶ *rice þeoden,⁴⁵ And. 364; *þeoden engla, Ex. 431; *þeoden þrymfaest, Cri. 457; *herga fruma, El. 210; *ealles folces fruma, Holl. 29; *man-cynnes fruma, Ph. 377; *upengla fruma, And. 226; °burhleoda fruma, Chr. H.A.H. 196; °þiodfruma, Met. 29/94; *heofona hlaford,⁴⁷ Kreuz. 45; *hlaford, Cri. 461; *eallra hlaford, El. 475.

*Casere,⁴⁸ Ph. 634; *se recend, Rā. 41/3.

*Se agend, Beo. 3075;⁴⁹ °sigores agend, Cri. 420; *wuldres agend, Cri. 1198; *swegles agend, Cri. 534; *lifes agend, Cri. 478.

3. God as Protector.

Cf. Latin protector, defensor, custos, pastor, suffragator, adjutor, recreator, animator. Cf. pp. 375 f., 382, 390, 394.

*Se micela helm,⁵⁰ Klagen Eng. 252; *heofona helm, Jul. 722; *heofonrices helm, Cri. 566; *wuldres helm, Cri. 463; °engla helm,⁵¹ Gen. 2751; *gasta helm, El. 176; *aepelinga helm,⁵² And. 277; *helm ealwihta, Cri. 274; *wera helm, Cri. 634; *haligra helm, Cri. 529.

⁴⁵Maere þeoden and rice þeoden were perhaps only Germanic formulas, though there are plenty of Latin equivalents.

⁴⁶(Goth. *þiudans*—*rex* in Ulfilas).

Þeoden which occurs 39 times in Beowulf as the designation of an earthly ruler or leader is not often used of God. *Cyning* was probably used instead. See *rex* combinations for sources of these phrases, also *dominus*.

⁴⁷Hlaford is occasionally substituted for *dryhten*, *frea*, etc., in combinations from *dominus*, *dominator*, etc.

⁴⁸A rare loan word.

⁴⁹Not used to designate earthly rulers. It is sometimes used for *frea* and *dryhten* in combinations from *deus*, *dominus*, *dominator*, etc. Cf. *dominus omnitenens* and *omniteneus*.

⁵⁰Though *helm*, *weard*, *hyrde*, *brego* are often used of earthly rulers, yet their Latin equivalents *protector*, *defensor*, *custos*, *pastor*, etc., are in my opinion the sources of practically all the Kennings in this list.

⁵¹Cf. *dominus angelorum*, *rex angelorum*, *lux angelorum*, etc.

⁵²Cf. *protector omnium*, *pastor omnium*.

Burhward,⁵³ And 660; *gasta weard, El. 1021; °upengla weard, Men. 210; °engla weard,⁵⁴ El. 1315; wuldres weard, Gen. 941; *swegles weard, Jud. 80; *moncynnnes weard, Gen. 2757; *folca weard, Cri. 946; °middangeardes weard, And. 82; °brytenrices weard, Az. 107; °heah hordes weard,⁵⁵ Schöpf. 39; lifes w., lifweard, Gu. 901; °leohtes weard, Jüng. Ger. 53; °sigora(es) weard, Cri. 243; *heofonrices weard, Jul. 212; *heofones weard, Ps. 101/2.

*halig hyrde, Cu. 761; *gasta hyrde, Dan. 199; *wuldres hyrde, Beo. 931; tungla hyrde,⁵⁶ Geb. 4/9; °þeoda hyrde,⁵⁷ Az. 150; °rices hyrde,⁵⁸ And. 808; °leohtes(a) hyrde, Az. 121; °þrymmes hyrde, El. 348; °sawelcund hyrde, Gu. 288; *feorh-hyrde, Gloria 8.

°Engla brego,⁵⁹ Gen. 181; °heahengla brego, Cri. 403; *gumena brego,⁶⁰ And. 61; *beorna brego, And. 505.

*Manna gehyld, Beo. 3056,⁶¹ °mihtig scyldend, Ps. 143/3; *fultum, Ps. 69/7.

*Hepend and haelend, Jul. 157; *helpend wera, Vater Unser 1/7; *helpend haeleþa, Dan. 403.

⁵³I have not found either a native or a Latin source for this. Cf. *eþelweard*, *rices weard* used of earthly rulers in Beo. On the other hand cf. *caeli defensor*, remembering that heaven was the *sanctas civitas*.

⁵⁴Cf. *dominus angelorum, rex angelorum*.

⁵⁵This too is not clear as to source. Cf. *hordweard haeleþa*, and *beah-hordða weard* in Beo. On the other hand, the author of this phrase might well have had in mind the "treasures in heaven," *thesauri in caelo*.

In each of these instances, probably both native and Latin influences were operative.

⁵⁶For this fine phrase I suspect a Latin source though I have not found one. Cf. *creator sidcrum*, also *parens astrorum* and *faber astrorum*. Juv. I, 118.

⁵⁷Cf. *folecs hyrde* (Beo.) for earthly ruler.

⁵⁸Cf. *rices hyrde* (Beo.) for earthly ruler.

⁵⁹*Brego* is used in these combinations as a variant of *helm* and *weard* and *hyrde*, and the phrases come directly or indirectly from the Latin.

⁶⁰Cf. *haeleþa brego* (Beo. 1954) used of a man.

⁶¹Cf. *salus viventium, protector omnium*.

°Gasta geocend,⁶² Cri. 198; °gasta hleo, Jul. 49; *beorna hleo, Jul. 272. *mundbora, Jul. 156; *mild munbora, Jul. 213.

4. *God as Judge.*

Cf. Latin *judex, arbiter, censor*. Cf. pp. 376, 382, 390.

*Dema, Christi. H.A.H. 15; *ece dema, Cri. 796; *se hehsta dema, Jud. 4; °sigedema,⁶³ Cri. 1061; *heofendema; *wuldres dema,⁶⁴ Jud. 59; *eorþan dema, Ps. 93/2; *sopfaest dema, Ps. 93/22; *halig dema, Ps. 67/6; daeda demend,⁶⁵ Jul. 725.

*Rodera rhytend, Cri. 798.

5. *God as Savior.*

Cf. Latin *salvator, redemptor, servator, reparator, peremptor*, cf. pp. 376, 383, 390.

*Nergend, Cri. 398; *fira nergend, El. 1172; *sawla nergend, Cri. 571. *niþþa nergend, Gu. 612.

*Haelend, Cri. 435; *helpend and haelend, Jul. 157; *haelend miþþangeardes, Jul. 215; *alysend, Ps. 69/17.

6. *God as Teacher.*

Cf. Latin *praeceptor, magister, tutor, doctor*. Cf. pp. 376, 383, 390.

°Lifes lareow, And. 1466.⁶⁶

7. *God as Light, Glory.*

Cf. Latin *lux, lumen, jubar, candor, illuminatio, splendor, claritas, decus, gloria, sol, oriens, aurora*. Cf. pp. 377, 383 f., 390, 394.

*Cyninga wuldor, El. 5; *haeleþa wuldor, And. 1462; *beorna wuldor, El. 186; °wuldor ealwalda,⁶⁷ Dkspr. 133.

þaet ece leoht, Geb. 3/30; *leohtes leoht, Geb. 3/1; *sopfaestra leoht, El. 7.

⁶²Apparently a variant of *gasta weard (custos animarum)* as is also *gaesta hleo*.

⁶³Analogical formation; cf. *sigedryhten*, et al.

⁶⁴Cf. *supernus arbiter*. Cf. also *wuldres cyning, wuldres dryhten*.

⁶⁵Analogical formation; cf. *dugeþa dryhten*, or from a Latin original that I have not found.

⁶⁶Lareow—*magister, praeceptor*, etc. The phrase probably formed on analogy of *lifes fruma, lifes frea*, etc. Cf. also Joan, 14/6: *Ego sum via et veritas et vita*.

⁶⁷Cf. *Candor innarabilis*.

*Wuldres þrym, Jul. 641; *eallra þrymma þrym, Gu. 1076; *rodera þrym, Cri. 423; °ealra cyninga þrym,⁶⁸ Vater Unser 3/45; *þrynnesse þrym, Cri. 599; °wigena þrym,⁶⁹ El. 1089; °lifes þrym, Cri. 204; °sigetorht,⁷⁰ Klagen Eng. 240; °sigebeorht,⁷⁰ Cri. 10; *se torhta, Klagen Eng. 294.

*Wuldres leoma, Klagen Eng. 85; *soþfaest sunnan leoma, Cri. 696; *wuldres gim, Ph. 516.

8. *God as Leader.*

Cf. Latin dux, ductor, princeps, praesne, ducator. Cf. pp. 377, 384, 390 f., 394.

°Gaesta ealdor,⁷¹ Jung. Ger. 91; *wuldres ealdor, Gen. 1002; *swegles ealdor, Jud. 124; *heofona ealdor, Chr. H.A.H. 202; *weoruda ealdor, Cri. 229; °lifes ealdor, Gen. 1113; °sigores ealdor, Geb. 3/20; *þrymmes ealdor, Jul. 448; °mid-dangeardes ealdor, Jul. 154; *maegenþrymmes ealdor, Jul. 154; °lifes latþeow, El. 898; *latteow, Gu. 335; °se rica raesbora, And. 385; °herga fruma,⁷² El. 210; °þiodfruma,⁷³ Met. 29/94.

9. *God as Father.*

Cf. Latin pater, genitor, parens. Cf. pp. 377, 384 f., 391, 394 f.

*Halig faeder, Met. 20/46; *faeder,⁷⁴ Beo. 188; *heahfaeder, Kreuz. 134; *soþfaeder, Cri. 105; *beorht faeder, Jüing. Ger. 90; *bilewit faeder, And. 997; *faeder ece, Hy. 14; *faeder aelmihtig, Jul. 658; *faeder alwalda, Beo. 316; *faeder frumsceafta, Cri. 472; °faeder engla, And. 83; *faeder monecynnes, And. 846; *faeder swegles, Cri. 110; *wul-

⁶⁸Cf. *regis decus*. Cf. also *callra cyninga cyning*, of which this may be a variant.

⁶⁹I have not found the source for this in Latin or in A. S.

⁷⁰*Sige* had become an intensive prefix apparently, as probably also in *sigedryhten*. Cf. *sigecading* (Beo. 1557).

⁷¹The phrases in this group practically all come from the Latin either directly or by analogical formation.

⁷²This looks like a native kenning, but it might well be a rendering of *dominus exercitum*.

⁷³*þiod* is probably only an intensive prefix. It is not used of an earthly ruler. Cf. *princeps populorum*.

⁷⁴This *faeder* group comes from the Latin.

dorfaeder, Men. 147; *frofra faeder, Gloria 8; *faeder frofre gaest, Jul. 724; *faeder on roderum, El. 1150; *swaes faeder, Cri. 617.

10. *God as Son.*

Cf. Latin filius, natus, unigenitus, primogenitus, proles, suboles, genitus, progenies, progenitus. Cf. pp. 376 f., 385, 391, 395.

°Sigebearn,⁷⁵ Holl. 43; *eigebearn godes, Holl. 11; *cynebearn,⁷⁶ And. 566; °wuldres cynebearn, Men. 159; *haelubearn, Cri. 586; *se ancenneda, Rede 51; *efenece bearn agnum faeder, Cri. 465; *godes ece bearn, Cri. 744; *bearn godes, Cri. 774; *god bearn, El. 719; *bearn wealdendes, Jul. 266; °eallre sybbe bearn, El. 466; *aepelust bearna, El. 476; *frumbearn, Cri. 507; *freobearn, Cri. 643; *cyninges freobearn, El. 672; °godes gaestsunu, El. 673; *meotudes sunu, El. 564; *sunu wealdendes, Cri. 635; *soþ sunu meotudes, El. 461; *se deora sunu, Jul. 725; *ancenned sunu, Cri. 464; *sunu dryhtenes, Cri. 297; *mannes sunu, Cri. 126; *meotudes bearn, Cri. 126; °beorht sunu, Cri. 245; *bearn eacen godes, Cri. 205.

11. *God as Spirit.*

Cf. pp. 377, 385 f., 391, 395.

*frofre gast, El. 1036; °swegles gast, Cri. 203.

12. *God as Giver.*

Cf. Latin largitor, dator, auctor, fons. Cf. pp. 377, 386, 391 f., 395.

*Swegles brytta,⁷⁷ Cri. 281; *lifes brytta, Cri. 334; *blaedes brytta, El. 162; *tires brytta, Jul. 93.

⁷⁵The members of this group also probably all come from the Latin. It is noteworthy that *bearn* occurs far more frequently than *sunu*, which apparently was a word of more commonplace and prosaic connotation.

⁷⁶*Cynebearn* was perhaps an old word for *prince*. It is of course a natural formation, and yet it occurs rarely and only once (Gen. 1704) not referring to Christ. The Latin equivalent is *regia proles*.

⁷⁷One is inclined to think that the phrases of these groups are surely derived from the common Germanic conception of their king or ruler as a treasure-giver. Yet, in my opinion, most of these kennings come rather from the Latin. In the Bible, the idea of God as a giver is prominent, as it is also in the hymns and the other Christian Latin writings. God is the free giver of life, hope, heavenly rewards, of every good and perfect gift.

*Wilgifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 531; °weoruda wilgeafa, And. 62; °weo-
°sincgifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 460; °engla eadgifa, And. 74; *ecra eadgifa,
ruda wuldorgifa,⁷⁹ Glaub. 48; *gifena dryhten, Gen. 2935;
°sincgifa,⁷⁸ Cri. 460; °engla eadgifa, And. 74; *ecra eadgifa,
Jul. 563; °eorla eadgifa, Cri. 546; *folca feorhgifa, Cri. 556;
*se argifa, Gaben 11; °beorht blaedgifa, El. 851; °sawla sym-
belgifa,⁸⁰ And. 1417.

°Sigora sellend,⁸¹ Jul. 668.

13. *Meotod, God.*

Cf. pp. 378, 386 f., 392, 395 f.

*Meotod,⁸² Cri. 716; *meotod mihta, El. 566; °meotud
moncynnes,⁸³ Jul. 182; *meotud meahhtig, Jul. 306; *milde
meotod, El. 1042; soþfaest meotud, And. 386; *meotod al-
mihtig, And. 904; *soþ meotod, And. 1602; *scir meotod,
Beo. 979.

*god meahhtig, Cri. 6861; °weoroda god, Cri. 6311; *lif-
gende god, Cri. 755; *wealdend god, El. 4; *frymþa god, El.
345; *eallra þrymma god, El. 519; *heahengla god, El. 750;
*maegen a god, El. 809; wuldres god, Jul. 180; *heofonrices
god, Jul. 239; *heafonengla god, Jul. 642; soþ god, Jul. 47;
*god mihta wealdend, El. 1042; *dryhten god, El. 759; *mihta
god, El. 785; *halig god, El. 679; *ahangen god, El. 687;
*sigora god, El. 1307; *þrymsittende god, Jul. 435; *witig

⁷⁸These are of course common appellations of an Anglo-Saxon ruler, but a Christian poet when using them would probably also have in mind such phrases as *largitor premii* and the like, or at least the general idea of God as a giver of rewards. *Wilgifa* translates *largus dater*; *eadgifa*, *auctor salutis*, and all the terms have equivalents in Latin.

⁷⁹Cf. *dator luminis, vitae perpetis largitor*.

⁸⁰Cf. *dator escae*.

⁸¹Cf. *sigora frca, sigora dryhten*, et al. Cf. also *victor, triumphator, superator*.

⁸²Though *meotod* is generally translated "creator" and though possibly that is the etymological significance of the word, yet in the majority of cases I believe it means *deus*. *Meotodes sunu* is an often recurring formula—Cynwulf uses it 8 times, and this suggests *filius dei*. Furthermore, the epithets used with *meotod* are those attached to *deus*.

⁸³In this phrase it may mean *creator*.

god, Ps. 77/20; *ece god, Ps. 5/1; *heah god, Ps. 56/2; *se-goda god, Ps. 58/10; *se maera god, Ps. 76/11; *se deora god, Ps. 143/1; *leof god, Ps. 114/5.

14. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. pp. 378, 387 f., 392, 396.

*Heofonmaegen, Geb. 4/35.

*Rice raedbora,⁸⁴ Vater Unser, 3/38.

*Rice raesbora,⁸⁵ And. 588.

°Aedelinga wyn,⁸⁶ Holl. 121; *lifes wyn, Geb. 3/1.

°Sigora settend,⁸⁷ Dan. 333; °sigerof settend,⁸⁷ Az. 47.

°haligra hyht, Jul. 642;⁸⁸ °se hyhsta hyht, Ps. 90/9;

°se soþa hyht, Ps. 141/5.

*ferþfripend, Rā. 39/3.

°Beorn, Cri.⁸⁹ 449.

*Se æþeling,⁹⁰ Cri. 448.

°Aedelinga ord,⁹¹ Cri. 515.

°Byrhtword,⁹² Klagen Eng. 238.

*Se halga, Ph. 399.

*Se aelmihtiga, Cri. 443.

*Se craeftga, Met. 11/92.

*Fruma and ende, And. 556.

*Or and ende, Rā. 84/10.

°Se steora,⁹³ Schöpf. 45.

⁸⁴Cf. *consiliarius*.

⁸⁵Cf. *mediator*.

⁸⁶This phrase may be taken over from A. S. sources without any Latin influence. Andreas is called *æþelinga wynu* (And. 1223). On the other hand, cf. *summum bonum, dulce desiderium, salus populi*, et al.

⁸⁷Cf. *sigora sellend*.

⁸⁸Cf. *spcs* compounds.

⁸⁹*Beorn* is often used to designate earthly heroes and may be taken over directly without Latin influence.

⁹⁰*æþeling=inclitus**. Wt.-Wülk.: Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, p. 309. The word is often used to designate Beowulf.

⁹¹Used only by Cynewulf. If *ord* means either *princeps* or *auctor* there are Latin parallels.

⁹²If *byrhtword* means "famous," it may come from *inclitus* also.

⁹³Cf. *dux*.

*Se bilwita, Jul. 278.

°Maegena goldhord,⁴ Cri. 787.

*Se guma, Kreuz. 49.

*Godes lomb, Gu. 1015.

*Þæt halige lamb, Hym. 22.

*Se weallstan, Cri. 2.

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⁴Probably there was no Latin original for *goldhord*, but doubtless the author meant "the mighty keeper of the treasures in heaven." For composition, cf. *mægena dryhten, et al.*

(To be continued.)

BRIEFWECHSEL ZWISCHEN CLEMENS BRENTANO UND SOPHIE MEREAU. Herausgegeben von Heinz Amelung. 2 Bände, XXXIV + 231 und 243, mit 2 Bildnissen. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1908. Geheftet M. 7, gebunden M. 9.—

The bundle of letters here published for the first time, passed from Clemens Brentano into the hands of his sister Bettine, from her came into the possession of Varnhagen, and then, with the latter's *Nachlasz*, was transferred to the keeping of the Royal Library at Berlin. Here it was jealously withheld from public scrutiny, save for an occasional favored nibbler, till now. Thus these letters have enjoyed a period of secrecy of more than a century, longer than is usually accorded even to documents of state.—It is still an open question whether the love letters of a poet are to be sacredly guarded as private property, or, like his poetry, belong to the nation and to the world. Herman Grimm was of the former opinion. He characterized these letters of his uncle as “für die Öffentlichkeit nicht geeignet” and had them put under lock and key. A succeeding generation has taken a different view, and Heinz Amelung, aided by Professors Erich Schmidt and Gustav Roethe, induced the Director of the Royal Library, Professor Adolf Harnack, to break the seal of secrecy that held them bound, and to allow their publication. Now the world is at liberty to read these missives of love, so ardent, so fiercely passionate, and again so hopelessly, helplessly despairing, that, in comparison with them, the most sentimental effusions of the Werther period pale into insignificance. A strange man, truly, was this vehement Romantic genius, a monster and a god. “Clemens, Du bist ein Dämon! Du bist wunderlich, Du bist ein Geist, kein Mensch!” exclaims Sophie.

In April, 1798, Brentano, then 19 years old, entered the University of Jena. Here he found gathered together the leaders of the newly rising School of Romanticism, and yielded himself wholly to their influence. Here it was, too, in their circle, perhaps in the Salon of Karoline Schlegel, that he met the poetess Sophie Mereau, the daughter of Gotthelf Schubart, who, 9 years his senior, lived in unhappy marriage with the Professor of Law, Ernst Carl Mereau. She was a beautiful and highly ed-

nated woman, the center of attraction at the soirées, and so talented that even Goethe and Schiller valued and encouraged her poetical ability, and published her productions by the side of their own in their periodicals, the "Thalia" and "Horen." This beautiful little woman, whom one contemporary describes as "eine reizende kleine Gestalt, zart bis zum Winzigen, voll Grazie und Gefühl. Beides an einen rohen Gatten gekettet und verschwendet", and another as "eine niedliche kleine Figur. . . Sie hat ein freundliches Wesen, spricht gern von literarischen Productionen, doch ohne Ziererey und ohne sich etwas darauf einzubilden", became at once the ecstasy and the torture of the young poet-student and the fate of his life. He soon lost his heart completely to her, paid her many visits, read to her from his works, and contributed to her "Kalathiskos." She returned his affection, and the intercourse between them became more and more intimate. However, not only "glückliche, heitere Stunden", but "schreckliche Szenen" and "Misverständnisse" are recorded in Sophie Mereau's *Tagebuch*. In August, 1800, their relations were entirely severed. Then follows the divorce of Sophie from her husband, Mereau, which was granted July 21, 1801, by a commission that was presided over by Herder. Both Sophie and Clemens are now away from Jena: she in Kamburg, he in Göttingen and on the Rhine. But he could not forget her. His attempts at reconciliation were unsuccessful. A year later, through the intervention of his brother Christian, their relations were renewed. He visits her in Weimar. Now follows that most extraordinary series of letters, in which he wrestles and writhes, rather than sues, for her love. She finally consents to union, but not to marriage. He again implores, entreats. She yields. On November 29, 1803, they are married at Marburg. Now follow the three years of married life with its ups and downs, chiefly downs, of which Clemens writes: "Ich fühle mein Dasein durch sie verschönt, aber beflügelt sehe ich es nicht. Sie ist ein gutes Kind und eine freundliche Frau, die ich liebe, aber ich bin ohne Gehülfe, ohne Mittheilung in meinem poetischen Leben, ich möchte sagen in meinem poetischen Tod"; and, "Du sollst Dich freuen, was Sophie mich lieb hat und wie gut sie ist. Wir leben in einer wunderschönen, einigen Ehe"; but also: "Es schmerzt, mit einem kalten Wesen täglich zusammen zu sein, das die

Häuslichkeit verachtet, ohne zu einem andern Dasein Talent zu haben . . . Sophie ist immer traurig, launenvoll und hart . . . Die Götter verwandelten sie in eine kalte, nordische Insel, ein traurig Feld, um das ich mein begehrend Herz bewegte . . . öde ist das Feld, muthlos, trüb, und liebt mich nicht. Sie fühlt das, so wie ich, wir haben oft ruhig darüber gesprochen." Sophie writes, "Das Zusammenleben mit Clemens enthält Himmel und Hölle, aber die Hölle ist vorherrschend." Achim v. Arnim whimsically describes the marital infelicities of the couple by comparing them to two expert organists, "die beyde recht spiellustig sind, doch fällt es erst dem einen ein zu spielen, wenn schon der andre angesetzt, da zieht er ihm die Pfeifen aus und will sie stimmen. Da tadeln sie sich wohl einander, dasz jenem nun die Töne fehlen, die er ihm selber ausgezogen und jener diesen, dasz er so ungezogen dazwischen pfeift und stimmt." In July, 1804, they leave Marburg and settle in Heidelberg. Achim spends the following summer with them, and the three work together on the "Wunderhorn". On October 30 1806, Sophie dies, together with her newly born daughter. Clemens laments, "Sie starb, und die Erde starb, alles starb! . . . Sophie, das Herz ist zerbrochen!" Thus ends this demonic love of a brilliant but erratic Romantic, and with it the years which were no doubt the happiest of his unhappy life.

The publication of these letters is a most important contribution to our knowledge of the Romantic School. It has corrected erroneous statements and dates that had gained currency through histories of German Literature; it gives us a vivid picture of the inner life of the Jena of this period, with its "Butterbrodgesellschaften" and social activities, opens new and interesting vistas into the private life of members of the circle, throws light on the attitude of Goethe and Schiller toward the new movement, and gives a pleasant picture of the fatherly interest they took in Sophie Mereau and other members. It has resurrected from oblivion a poetess and woman of no mean ability, and one who had influence upon men greater than herself. But first and foremost it has given us a new and better picture of Clemens Brentano, whom these letters reveal, as he had never been known before, to the very secrecy of his innermost being. The motives, the very psychology of this singular and often incomprehensible

man are mercilessly exposed by his own letters, so that we, too, can now comprehend, and assent to, the fine characterization of him by Eichendorff: "Eben darin liegt die eigentümliche Bedeutung Brentanos, dasz er das Dämonische in ihm nicht etwa, wie so viele andere, beschönigend als geniale Tugend nahm oder künstlerisch zu vergeistigen suchte, sondern beständig wie ein heidnisches Fatum gehaszt hat, das ihn Wahrhaft unglücklich machte."

The editorial work of these two beautifully printed little volumes is well and carefully done. The letters are an exact and dependable reproduction of the original MSS., with their odd spellings and ungrammatical cases, except for the correction of an occasional obvious slip of the pen. They are preceded by a suggestive and balanced Introduction, followed by helpful Notes, and supplemented with an exhaustive, extremely carefully done *Namen- und Sach-Register*. In some cases there may be a difference of opinion as to details of editorial work, and inevitable, but minor errors have crept in. A number of the latter are subjoined.—The text has "von drei Aufzügen" (I, 182, 1.3), while the MS. reads "Auftritten"; "meine Scheu" (II, 15, 1.17), where MS. reads "eine"; "ich die" (II, 116, 1.5), MS. reads "die ich"; in the dating of the letter II, 117, the brackets should include only "den 14.," the rest is given in MS. These slips are probably chargeable to the proof reader.—In the Notes, "Karl" should have been annotated under I, 15, its first appearance, instead of p. 29; "Mayer" (I, 59) might have been annotated or provided with a reference to Majer to show the identity of the two; "Gräfinn" (I, 87, and II, 54 and II, 58) should have been annotated to show that Charlotte von Ahlefeld is the person in question; "Johanna" (I, 175) and "Hanne" (II, 96) ought to have been annotated instead of merely giving the name of Johanna Körner in the *Register*; "Protegee" (II, 28) ought to have been annotated or a reference made to II, 46 where it is explained; "Jemand aus Norden" (II, 47) might well have been provided with a reference to II, 30 and the note to that passage; "Pierer" (II, 182) should have been annotated, though given under Schubarth in the *Register*; "Ankunftsfest" (II, 116) should have been annotated; "Liebhaber" in the Notes II, 217 should be preceded by 134, the page on which it occurs; a note might also have been

added on the peculiar expression, "Es ist [nicht] der Wehrt" (I, 161, l.9, and II, 204, l.15).—The *Register* should read under "Philadelphia" I, 48 instead of I, 148; under "Guido Reni" I, 58 instead of I, 180; under "Rousseau" II, 103 instead of II, 18 (where, also, "Sohn Schlichtegrolls" is given, while the Text calls him "Schwager"); "Rosenstiel" II, 120 instead of II, 35; "Ritz" II, 121 instead of II, 36; "Rudolphi" II, 126, 128, 167, 170, 173, 186 instead of II, 40, 42, 81, 85, 88, 101; "Reinheimer" II, 151, 154 instead of II, 66, 68; "Schaumann" II, 156 instead of II, 71; "Riepenhausen" II, 169 instead of II, 84; "Weiss" II, 181 instead of II, 191; "von Ruhmor" II, 197 instead of II, 112; and the following omissions occur: Johannes Bücking (II, 66); Sachsen, Hessen (II, 101); Franken (II, 103); Dru (II, 148); Baszermann (II, 159); Carlsruh (II, 170); Batt (II, 181); also a number of additional occurrences of names that are given in the *Register* were overlooked. The following misprints may be noted: "Übung" for "Übung (XXII, l.16); "hm" for "ilm" (XXVII, second last line); "sti" for "ist" (I, 99, l.19); "uud" for "und" (I, 142, l.7); "Oich" for "Dich" (II, 28, l.8); "Dmit ir" for "mit Dir" (II, 48, l.3).

These minor errors notwithstanding, we have a capital edition of one of the real monuments of the Romantic School, in which neither the editor nor the publishers have spared pains to make the work internally and externally as nearly perfect as is possible in the first edition of so difficult an undertaking. Great credit is due the editor for making accessible this interesting and important document, and we all owe him a debt of gratitude for his work.

J. B. E. JONAS.

Berlin, Germany.

GOTTFRIED KELLERS DRAMATISCHE BESTREBUNGEN. Von Dr. Max Preitz. Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Ernst Elster. Nr. 12. Marburg, N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. pp. 187. Unbound M. 4.40.

The average reader will doubtless take this volume in hand with some misgivings. It is an unpromising task to point out what a man of letters has failed to accomplish and the presumable reasons therefor, a task from which at best one might expect only barren and negative results. This volume, however, is offered as a contribution to German *Literaturwissenschaft*, and as a scientific study of a literary man it is unquestionably a successful and able piece of work, with results more substantial than the title would lead one to anticipate.

Those who know Keller only from his published works, from the paragraphs devoted to him in the standard histories of German literature and even from Baechtold's exhaustive biography will be surprised at the revelation here made of the intensity and vitality of his dramatic aspirations and the extent of his dramatic plans.

Making all necessary allowance for the over-emphasis and exaggeration that almost of necessity result from the exclusive consideration of one phase of an author's life and activity, Dr. Preitz has yet proven beyond peradventure that for years Keller cherished the hope of accomplishing his best work in the field of dramatic art and that his emergence from this controlling idea, like his earlier renunciation of painting, was brought about more by inner necessity than by voluntary choice. In the perhaps disproportionate respect which Keller showed for the drama above other forms of literary art he was part and parcel of the generation to which he belonged, for, as Dr. Preitz well expresses it: "What was more natural than that Keller should turn to this form of poetry in an age when the drama stood upon new heights, when literary criticism indeed estimated the capacity of a poet according to the measure of his dramatic achievement?" This universal taste and demand for the drama which he shared with his contemporaries was supplemented in Keller's case by his unquestioned talent for individualization (*Gestaltungskraft*),

his delicate critical sense and thorough knowledge of dramatic theory and history, so that even so gifted a critic as Hettner was misled into encouraging Keller to devote himself to dramatic production.

What was lacking then in Keller's equipment that brought his long cherished ambitions and frequent endeavors to naught?

The answer to this question is the most important single aim that Dr. Preitz has had in view and while it is perhaps unreasonable to demand a reply in a single sentence the following passages from the last pages of the monograph leave little to be desired:

"The creation of dramatic characters would have been for Keller an act of the will; not a product of his inner soul." "As in life so also in his art the pathetic, the heroic, everything melodramatic was lacking in Keller, so also intense concentration, the power of opposing mighty contrasting elements one to the other." Or, to use Keller's own words, he feared, *maniriert und anspruchsvoll zu werden, wenn er den Mund voll nehme.*

Although the answer to the question why Keller failed to achieve success in the drama is the simple one that might have been anticipated from the beginning: his talent did not lie in that direction, still no reader will feel that Dr. Preitz has labored in vain.

The passages and scattered remarks of the master which the author has here assembled under the heading Keller's *Dramaturgie* form interesting, at times inspiring reading and reveal a side of Keller's activity not generally appreciated. The description and reconstruction of nearly a score of dramas which the poet had in mind at different times and which survive in some cases only in note book jottings, in others in nearly completed form, is done with skill and success. It is here perhaps that the author has made his most valuable contribution to the literature on Gottfried Keller. For while others have speculated with more or less plausibility on the question of Keller's dramatic talent no one has hitherto gathered up, elucidated and filled out his dramatic fragments with such scholarly care and sympathetic insight as Dr. Preitz exhibits in this volume.

Here and there also we run across excellent bits of criticism or appreciation which are welcome quite apart from the light

they throw upon the main question which the author has in mind. Here might be mentioned the discussion of Keller's use of the words *zierlich* and *anmutig*, *ziervoll* and *anmutsvoll*, his delicate perception of the significance of the mere sound of words as shown in the names he chooses for his characters, the nature of his metaphors and similes, the character of the material with which he creates his imaginary world.

It is not so easy to bestow praise when we find our author offering personal criticism of Keller for his failure to renounce the drama with military precision and promptitude at a time when he recognized or should have recognized that his talents ran in other lines.

When he says, for instance: "It was not his own conviction, not a manly decision as the result of the recognition of his insufficient ability which led him away from painting, but the art of poetry," he is, perhaps unconsciously, setting up an ideal of human conduct to which he tacitly invites his readers to assent and then reproaching his hero for failure to measure up to this standard. The fact that Keller recognized that he could achieve happier results in literature than in painting and acted accordingly is surely no occasion for animadversions even when we know that this conviction dawned upon him only slowly.

Although Dr. Preitz's style is vigorous and his diction as a rule clear, one is forced nevertheless to conclude that he has lost sight of the *Klarheit* and *Einfachheit* which he so much admires in Keller when we read such sentences as: "Die Voraussetzung genauester Erinnerung Baechtolds scheint noch mehr aus der Hinrichtungsszene, wie Keller sie geplant haben soll, nicht gemacht zu werden dürfen." Nor can we admire either as an artistic or a logical creation the labored metaphor: "Gottfried Kellers langer, erhabener Arbeitsweg durch ein Lebensfeld, das schwere und reiche und goldene Früchte gedeihen und reifen liess, hat zur linken Seite einen Saum niedrigen Gesträuches, das nie recht zur Höhe und Breite gedeihen konnte, spärlicher und dünner wird und nach kurzer Strecke ganz aufhört; das war seine Malertätigkeit. Rechts begleitet den, der Kellers Lebenswanderung nachspürt, bis ans Ende eine ganz ungleichmässige Pflanzenkette; bald dicht und voll, bald

dürr und schwächlich, bald hochaufgeschossen, bald zurückgeblieben, aber niemals völlig abbrechend—Kellers dramatische Dichtung.”

Nevertheless it would be unjust to leave with the reader as final any but a favorable impression of this admirable monograph. Unquestionably Dr. Preitz has made a valuable and permanent contribution to the understanding of one of the world's great literary masters, and as such the volume deserves and will doubtless command the careful attention of all who pass from the mere enjoyment of Keller's writings to a study of the man and his art.

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GOETHE'S HERMANN UND DOROTHEA. Edited for the use of students with notes and vocabulary by Waterman Thomas Hewett, Ph.D., etc. American Book Company.

Professor Hewett, in his new edition of *Hermann und Dorothea*, as is shown by the addition of a vocabulary and certain words in the preface, has in view the needs of high-school pupils and also of young college students. It is with profound regret that I state that the present edition, with its surprising number of shortcomings of various kinds, does not fulfill its purpose. An edition intended for "the elementary study of German" should be absolutely free from mistakes in the text, and practically free from misleading notes. Neither the pupils nor their teachers can be expected to correct misprints or other signs of carelessness, let alone grave blunders of interpretation or grammar. The word of the teacher, if he should really have at hand all the material with which to make the corrections, is as a rule not sufficiently effective as compared with what the pupils see in black and white on the authority of a university-professor.

In speaking of mistakes in the text itself, I do not, of course, mean deviations from the Weimar text, but careless deviations from Hewett's own text as it appears in his former edition and in that of Hatfield, a number of which deviations (V 239,

Mannes; VI 73, *Blut*; VIII 68, *Tages*) actually destroy the meter. In I 167 we find *blankem zinnernen* instead of *blankem zinnernem*; I refer the editor to §82 of Matthias' *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden* or to §16 of the same author's *Kleiner Wegweiser* for the mischievous effect this reading may have on beginners. I 176, *es* should be *er*; II 5, *vertraulichhen: traulichen*; II 49 *Unseres: Unsers*; II 256, *that: tat*; III 50, *andern: anderen*; IV 154: The last line of the mother's speech (with its period and its closing quotation mark: *Wider Willen die Träne dem Auge sich dringt zu entstürzen.*" is omitted here; the note belonging to it remains however, and disconcerts the student who does not see why a note that says: "*sich* belongs to *dringen*," etc., should be given for the line which in numbering now takes the place of the real line 154 and contains a *sich* but no form of *dringen*. At the top of the next page, line 154, with its period and its closing quotation-mark, is placed after line 157, separating Hermann's words. IV 162, *hab* should be *hab.'* IV 237, *kann er: kann es*; although *er* would give an entirely good meaning, it should not be here, no edition having it, not even Hatfield's or Hewett's former. V 150, *Dacht* should be *Dacht'*. V 204, *habt* should be *habet*; V 239, *Mannes* should be *Manns*; comp. above. VI 66: The quotation-marks before *Grimmig* are wrong; VI 73, *Blut* should be *Blute*; comp. above. VI 177, *Sagt: Saget*; VII 121, *sind ihr: ihr sind*; VII 204, *kaum* is to be added before *und*; VIII 27, *liebt* should be *liebet*. VIII 68, *Tages: Tags*; comp. above.

In discussing Prof. Hewett's notes, I have to complain of quite a number of serious mistakes that are directly harmful to students who, without them, might understand the text correctly. It is a mistake in the notes to I 3 and 19, II 117, to speak of Hermann's town as a village, the more so as a village is mentioned in the poem; compare also note to II 200. The note to I 20 creates the wrong impression that the line in prose would have to be *unter dem Tore des am Markte gelegenen Hauses sitzend*; it may very well run, with less change from poetry: *unter dem Tore des Hauses am Markte sitzend*. In the note to I 56 I should have wished a clearer statement in regard to the old etymology of *Landauer* adopted by the poet and rejected

by the editor; comp. e. g. Chuquet. In his notes to I 86 (by the way, *Kasten und Kisten* does not occur I 141 or anywhere else in the poem), I 109 (*Gedräng' und Getümmel*) and, worse than these, IX 309 (*Gott und Gesetz*) the editor gives the student an entirely erroneous idea in regard to alliteration. He does not mention, on the other hand, the true alliteration in some other passages, such as II 178 (*Gütern und Gaben*) or III 54 (*Wert und ein trefflicher Wirt, ein Muster Bürgern und Bauern*). It seems the more necessary to emphasize this point as other editions of German texts betray a certain negligence in regard to the nature of alliteration; Gruener's edition of *Frau Sorge* (note to I 18) even speaks of *Hangen und Bangen* as "an example of . . . alliterative phrases." I 96 does not contain an ethical dative. The note to I 156 wrongly translates *schienen uns selber beruhigt* by "we feel relieved" instead of "we felt relieved"; even if it should be a misprint, the learner is misled. The etymology of *Römer* given I 168 is at least superfluous. The word "similarly" in the note to I 174 gives the student a wrong impression in regard to "*bewahrte=bewahrt hat.*"

It is hardly desirable to make the beginner suppose that Goethe "derived" the expression *des Auges* . . . *Apfel* in I 178 and 179 "from the original narrative of the Salzburg refugees." I 194, Hewett takes "*den Franken*" in "*abzuwehren den Franken*" as a dative plural; Hatfield correctly says "acc. sing." II 26, Hewett should not have mentioned at all that "some editors regard" *sie* before *leitete* "as referring to *Tiere* in the preceding line," etc. He weakens his own correct interpretation by this addition which is as unsound pedagogically in a school edition as Allen's hint (II 153-154) at somebody's having misunderstood "*die ersten Zeiten der wilden Zerstörung.*" II 92, where *Kräuter und Wurzeln* are placed side by side, the note is at least superfluous; *Wurzeln* is = "roots", II 149, *Ihre* should be *deine*. II 156 gives an entirely erroneous interpretation of *Auch ein Mädchen dir denkst in diesen traurigen Zeiten*; the whole context proves that *auch* means: "as your father has done." II 161, the allusion to a proverb in Polish is superfluous. II 186, the verse called by Goethe *die siebenfüszige Bestie* is not discussed well. III 13, the note in this careless form is mislead-

ing; cut out *Wie man*. III 55 does not necessarily contain a litotes (*nicht der letzte*). III 60, the note to *er verdient' es* is not convincing. III 65, *Sprüchlein der Alten* is not equivalent to "old-fashioned proverb." IV 8, the explanation of *doppelten Höfe* is wrong, in spite of the reference to II 138. Chuquet again has the right interpretation. There were two yards, one behind the other, behind the house, through each of which the landlady had to walk to reach the garden (comp. line 7); if the yards has been formed by the union of the estates, they would have been situated side by side just as the estates were, and the landlady would have had to walk through one only. IV 90, it is not correct to say that Hermann was "exempted, as being the only son"; other reasons of his exemption in connection with the first one, are produced by the poet in line 92. IV 109, *Sage der Vater alsdann* requires a note, just as similar uses of the subj. pres. do in other passages. IV 154, it would be good to refer here to line 125, where *dringen* is used as a transitive verb. IV 158, Prof. Hewett should not give *nicht heute noch keinen der Tage* as a means for understanding better *nicht heut' und keinen der Tage*. IV 218 and the following lines require a note which distinguishes clearly between *Liebe der Mutter* and the other *Liebe* and helps one to understand *Wenn sie die ihrigen knüpft*. IV 229, the note about *gegen* with the dative is harmful, there being no dative. IV 239, *Wo* cannot be said to be used here for *wenn*; is this merely an oversight for "when"? V 114, the note translating *hergeht* is not accurate enough. V 140, by using the word *Stränge* in the note instead of the *Stricke* of the text, Prof. Hewett unnecessarily makes things hard for his readers. V 182, *den Weg her* needs a good explanation here or in the vocabulary, students even trying to make connection with the preceding *aus*. V 213, *jeder ist sich der Klügste*: again the note about ethical dative is mischievous. V 227, *Denk' ich doch eben* is wrongly translated by "indeed I can even fancy"; *eben* means "just now". VI 84, the note is quite unintelligible. VI 90, *Ihr erinnert mich klug, wie oft . . . Man den . . . Besitzer . . . erinnert*; the *wie* should be translated by "as" and its function fully explained in the note. VI 213, would it not be a good thing to direct the attention of

the learners to the apothecary's opening his leather pouch *zierlich*? This out-and-out rococo-man touches things *zierlich*, just as in the painting of his garden-house the gayly dressed gentlemen and ladies hand and hold the flowers *mit spitzigen Fingern* (III 97). VI 223, why should *dasz* be supplied after *Bis* in the following line? Does not the editor mean rather: Supply *als* before *Bis*? VI 239, even if the note had not been disfigured by the misprint "become" for "to come," the learners would not be sufficiently helped by it. VI 241, for this line, easy as it seems, my experience with students of the Middle West makes me express the wish for a note. VI 298, *Aber du zauderdest noch, vorsichtiger Nachbar*, etc., Hewett calls this a "personal address on the part of the pastor, interpreting and suggesting a timidity which the latter might wish to conceal." Without, or rather but for, this note, an intelligent student might find by himself that the author addresses the apothecary; with it, he is hopelessly led astray. Comp. line 302 (not 301) and VII 173. VI 307, mention of the "middle ages" is out of place. VI 309, "the environment of Strassburg, with *their* glorious trees"! VII 18, *die einzige*: "the (italics!) *only one*," as Hewett translates *allein* does not fit in the sentence; say *als die einzige*. VII 36, *des Folgenden*, Hewett flatly excludes the correct interpretation which both Chuquet and Hatfield give as the only one, and which Allen at any rate admits, namely, "the following person" (italics!). VII 51, *ihr Auge blickte nicht Liebe, Aber hellen Verstand*. According to Hewett, "her eye did not merely look love, but clear intelligence as well"! Comp. Chuquet! VII 90, *Als* (not *als*) *allein nur die Not*. Hewett's translation: "save only *when*" does great harm to the conscientious student who, without it, might understand the passage. VII 95, *der Guten*. Again a blundering note; *ihnen* in line 96 would prove even to the beginner that *der Guten* is plural; of course, the *Wöchnerin* is included in these *Guten*. VII 163, *es* (= *verständlich*) *sein, wie Reichen geziemet*. The addition of the clause seems to me to prove that "sensible" would be a better translation of *verständlich* than "intelligent." VII 173, *Aber du sagtest indes, ehrwürdiger Richter*. Hewett again, as in his note to VI 298, misleads his readers, speaking of the "unex-

pressed" sentiment of the magistrate. IX 47, *dem Weisen*. A note is needed to emphasize the clear distinction the poet makes between the unbeliever (for the average student of American universities "philosopher" or "sage," and "pious man" do not form a contrast) and the believer; without some such help *Jenen* in line 48 and *Diesem* in line 49 are not understood. IX 83 *sich* is not a "dat. after *eigenen*," it belongs to the verb as an indirect object. IX 102, *die frohen Bewohner gewisz macht* requires a note. IX 140, a note is the more needed for the subj. *vermehrte*, as the subj. *Zeige* offers difficulties. IX 315, to my knowledge no one has yet called attention to the interesting contrast between this utterance of the *newly betrothed* Hermann, who is ready to *risk his life against the enemy*, provided that he knows his house and loving parents to be taken care of by his *bride*, and, on the other hand, the words of the apothecary (II 94), who is ready to leave his house *to save his life from the enemy*, provided that his *assistant* remains behind.

The Vocabulary is not as free from errors as one might wish. Under the following headings corrections seem desirable: *abwehren* (comp. above note to I 194); *Bauherr* ("superintendent of public works" creates a wrong impression); *Besinnung* (the meanings given do not fit IX 165; say "the coming to my senses" in a note); *Bürger* ("burgher" seems better than "citizen" to fit V 19, and similar passages); *deuchten* (should not appear in the vocabulary as infinitive; *deucht* of I 3 does not call for it); *entgegenneigen* (does not take account of IV 79: *den Garben entgegen sich neigen*); *freuen* (*freun* I 103, should be mentioned); *gewandt* (read *sich umwendend*); *glänzen* (*glänzend gebohnten*, I 169, needs a word or two); *halten* (read VI 150 instead of V 153); *merken* (the special meaning in IX 21 is not well given); *Müssiggang* (read *Müsziggang*); *Surtout* (spelling different from text I 35); *versorgen* (does not mean "attach, fasten to," in V 186); *weit* (*im weiten bleiben* different in spelling from text).

The Introduction, as was to be expected, treats satisfactorily the various subjects in question, such as the Sources of the Poem (subdivided again into three parts), the Composition of the Poem, Voss' Luise, Idyllic and Epic Poetry, the Metrical Form, Goethe's Elegy of Hermann und Dorothea. Aside from minor

defects, such as misprints¹ which will be mentioned later, I have to find fault with the following points only: On page 13, Hewett speaks of the Archbishopric of Salzburg as "adjoining" Bohemia. Students may be misled by the sentence on page 16 (near the bottom) "Dorothea is represented as having left her parents for the sake of her faith;" the Salzburg maiden is meant. "The source of *this* poem," on p. 18 (near the bottom) immediately following a translation of the narrative, should perhaps be changed into: "*This* source of *the* poem." On page 44 H. wrongly implies that Virgil has a "fondness for a trochee in the first foot of his hexameters"; is there one single trochee in that position on record?

Page 48, Hewett translates *Dasz kein Name mich täuscht, dasz mich kein Dogma beschränkt*: "That no name, however great, deceived and no dogma restricted me".

There is a Bibliography on pages 51 to 57, and a list of Quotations, numbered 1 to 39, very few of which are really in the mouths of Germans. The book is more or less adorned by several pictures, among them one of "Salzburg, the Home of the Exiles"; I doubt the wisdom of putting the latter as a frontispiece to an edition of the poem intended for young people who, as a rule, come to the reading of it with very shady ideas of the geography of the German-speaking countries. A very great number of passages of the whole book show misprints (a few are mentioned above), broken letters and so on. Read page 19, line 14 from bottom, émigrés instead of emigrés; page 20, line 4, capital instead of capitol; page 29, line 18, eighth instead of eight; page 31, line 9 from bottom: it instead of is; page 52, line 7: 1903 instead of 1893; page 77 (note to I 166), *des klaren herrlichen* instead of *des klaren, herrlichen*; page 77 (I 172), a period is wanting; page 79 (I 187), *Macht* should be *macht*; page 79 (I 191), "any" should be "my"; page 80 (I 194), read "The word *Franken*" instead of "The word Franks;" page 80 (I 198), Loeben should be Leoben; page 82 (I 211), read "onomatopœic" instead of onomatopœic;" page 97 (II 177), read *aufbewahren* instead of *aufbewahrt*; p. 111 (III 72), 70

¹On pages 43, 44 and 45 Goethe's Reineke Fuchs is persistently (six times) called Reinike Fuchs; on page 38, Reinecke Fuchs.

should be 72 and the whole note be moved to the following page; p. 112 (III 77), *hatten* should be *hätten*; p. 119 (IV 43), *hätte* should be *hatte*; p. 124 (IV 90), 91 should be 90; p. 128 (IV 136), *in*: *in*; p. 129 (IV 154), *usuage*: *usage*; p. 131 (IV 178), *haben*: *habend*; p. 133 (IV 194), *der*: *die*; p. 136 (IV 236), capitalize *verweigerte*; p. 147 (V 103), a wrong comma; p. 149 (V 123 and 124), notes belong to preceding page; p. 161 (VI 5), *weil uns auch*: *weil auch uns*; p. 162 (VI 17), II 9: VI 9; p. 166 (VI 51), 52; 51; p. 166 (VI 56), *Seine* disagrees with the text; p. 167 (VI 63), "and" is superfluous; p. 202 (VII 168), *werde*: *wird*; p. 204 (VII 195), *an*: *auf*; p. 205 (VII 202), *Deut*: *Deuten*.

Incomplete letters or numerals should be replaced in or around the text or note of the following passages; I 70, Supply; IV 201, *es*; V 5: 5; V 32, *for*; VI (Title): VI; VI 195: 195; VII 20, *Kraft*; VII 84, *sich*; VII 85, *in*; VII 180: 180; VIII 103, *wenig*; IX 2, *Auf*; IX 10, *night*; IX 63, *sie*; IX 107, *sich*; IX 120: 120; IX 270, *jeder*.

This enumeration of minor defects is probably very incomplete; I have mentioned only those that caught my eye without my seeking any. Whoever reads through these pages impartially, especially those devoted to a discussion of the notes, will agree with me, I hope, that a warning had to be sounded against the use of this edition before a reasonable amount of care be bestowed on it by its otherwise meritorious editor and his publishers.

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E. LESER.

MARIA STUART IN DRAMA DER WELTLITERATUR
vornehmlich des 17 und 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur
vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte von Dr. Karl Kipka.
Leipzig, Max Hesses Verlag, 1907, pp. 421.

Dr. Kipka's work on the drama forms Volume IX of the Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte, edited by Prof. Max Koch and Prof. Gregor Sarrazin. The purpose of these critical contributions to the study of comparative literature is that of compiling the ascertained results of scholarship in the various fields of literary research. In conformity with the general character of the series the author has undertaken a task of great magnitude. It is one of which De Quincy said, it will "furnish occasion, beyond any other form of historical researches, for the display of extensive reading and critical acumen." Dr. Kipka aims to give us an exhaustive view of the dramatic literature of all nations, bearing on the character and tragic fate of Mary Stuart.

Extensive reading and critical acumen are characteristics of this piece of research. The bibliography chronologically arranged affords an easy and comprehensive survey. With the purpose of bringing out developments in dramatic technique and of throwing such light on the historic matter from age to age, that there may be reflected most clearly the spirit of the times and the national temper of the poet, the author arranges his material in the following groups: *first*, the Catholic popular drama and the drama of the monastic schools; *secondly*, the Mary Stuart dramas of the Renaissance—Roulers, Ruggieri, Della Valle, Montechrestien, Joost von Vondel, Kormart, Riemer, Haugwitz and Gryphius; *third*, the Spanish and Italian drama of the 17th century—Manuel de Gallegos, Diamante, Sararo, Celli, Giliberti; *fourth*, the French tragédie classique—Regnanti, Bonsante, Tronchin; *fifth*, the Germanic drama of the 17th and 18th centuries—Banks, St. John, Spiesz; *sixth*, Schiller; *seventh*, Alfieri. The book concludes with a summary and retrospect and an extensive review of Björnson's and Swinburne's dramas. It is but fair to state that the author's thoroughness and conscientiousness prompts him to hope for a fuller treatment of the 19th century at some later date.

It is not clear by what standards this vast material is measured. The dramatic possibilities of the historic material reduced to a formula (p. 349 f.) seems to be Hebbelian [See Herbert Koch, *Ueber das Verhältnis von Drama und Geschichte bei Friedrich Hebbel*. Leipzig, 1904.] Or is it the thesis of the historian?—The author finds that the subject was of interest to dramatists in three distinct phases of the problem. The mere circumstances of Mary Stuart's tragic death appealed to the emotions of a certain group and were depicted. At a later period she was looked upon as the victim of a conflict between the antagonistic forces of Catholicism and Protestantism. Finally, in the 19th century, the individuality of her being, the soul experiences of her remarkable personality became the supreme object of literary interest and interpretation.

The first phase of the problem was treated in the dramas of the monastic schools and the Renaissance tragedies of Roulers, Ruggieri, della Valle and Vondel. These are little more than dialogues of confessional strife. Mary is the stoic martyr, Elizabeth the "feminine Nero with the wild thirst of the cannibal for blood." Catholic interests predominate in the treatment of this historic material throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Montechrestien is the first to censure a change of standpoint followed by Kormart, Riemer and Haugwitz. These men treat the political aspects of the situation much as a political economist dissects an interesting case of state action. The drama is technically crude. It is merely a dry account of the circumstances leading up to the catastrophe, purely didactic and void of all pathos.

Mainly during the 18th century the romantic-sentimentalist movement runs its course. Though awakened by personal sympathy and pity for the fate of Mary Stuart and the sudden reverse of her fortune, these dramas are not historic. The motifs are purely conventional ones—love, jealousy, envy, humiliated pride—and the characters conventional types. The two queens bear their royal names but show no trace of historic personality. The conflict is one of rivalry for love devoid of any historic setting.

Banks, Tronchin and St. John were the first to attempt historic personages and a union of the romantic-sentimental

tragedy with the historic. Banks is interested in the political situation, Tronchin in the confessional. In St. John's drama a confessional-political moment is the all-important one. But all three are defective and incomplete in shaping this historic material dramatically; the political and personal phases of interest are never reconciled.

In this regard Schiller alone is successful and achieves the "utmost perfection possible." A summary of Schiller's drama, either in the abstract or concrete, tends to show that its vital center embraces the first two phases of the problem. Schiller was the first poet who recognized the necessity of Mary Stuart's death, not only politically but historically, and the first dramatist to clothe these cold political antinomies into a personal conflict. The kernel of the nut is as follows: the political-religious controversy of the age—Catholic hierarchial interests and an absolute monarchial form of government versus Protestant interests vested in a national constitution—is brought to a head by the struggle for supremacy between two rival queens and results in the execution of Mary, a heroine striking in her personality, mysterious in her soul-life, sympathetic in her grandeur.

The author devotes considerable space to a proof of his thesis. He attempts to show how Schiller's drama must be interpreted. He wishes the execution of the heroine to be looked upon as an unavoidable act of political necessity, which Elizabeth indorsed not merely from personal emotions. He thinks the best effect is produced, when the role of Leicester is acted as superficially as possible, because its primary function is to bring about a meeting between the two queens. That accomplished, the role is superfluous. All personal jealousies arising are incidental and should not obscure the historical perspective. Mortimer's role, too, comes in for a special interpretation. His is not a purely imaginary character, but a creation born from the deepest insight into history, a synthesis and personification of Catholic interests and activities. Dr. Kipka concludes this chapter with a quotation from Calvin Thomas to the effect that "the historical background, with its luminous vistas of European politics, really leaves very little to be desired."

In the end this book smacks somewhat of partiality towards a favored author and lays itself open to the charge of artfully

managing its results to support an inapplicable theory of development. Surely no one who has but casually compared the grouping of the characters in Schiller's dramas with those of Hebbel, e. g., will seriously maintain that the petty intrigue at the Court of St. James is not made to weigh far heavier in the balance than the political-religious controversy in deciding the fate of Mary Stuart. Mortimer is a fiery, rash, turbulent youth. Aside from his part in the Court intrigue, what a caricature of a power that dominated the world for centuries! A Grand Inquisitor at the very least was needed to offset a Burleigh and this would have necessitated many other changes. And yet these are questions too far-reaching to debate. Nor does the value of the book depend upon them. It is a storehouse of great wealth for the student of dramatic literature and it is to be hoped that Dr. Kipka will continue his studies of the 19th century dramas in as thorough a manner as he presents Swinburne.

E. O. ECKELMANN.

A HISTORY OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES,¹ together with a Bibliography, by George T. Flom, Ph.D. The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1907. pp. 66.

The following paragraphs are here submitted to call the attention of those interested to a praiseworthy labor of love undertaken by Professor Flom.

Surely after half a century it would, as the author says, "seem a fitting time to take an inventory, as it were, of the work in Scandinavian literature and philology that has been and is being done in the colleges of this country". As might be expected the presentation of the survey is "necessarily statistical". Dr. Flom's material has invariably been derived from data furnished him first-hand by the latest instructors in charge of the respective Scandinavian courses. The thoroughness of the compiler's work is best given in his own words: "I have thought it

¹ The volume appears as Number II in *Iowa Studies in Language and Literature*.

desirable in all cases where possible to specify texts and editions, amount of work done and length of courses. The different colleges are given in the order in which Scandinavian branches were introduced. As far as I have been able to ascertain the facts, the equipment of the libraries will be given, the activities of the Scandinavian literary clubs in the different places and other facts of special interest." We glean all this interesting information, written most entertainingly, of no fewer than thirty public and private seats of learning, beginning with 1858 and coming down to the current year. The institutions listed follow in order of time of their introducing courses of study in the Scandinavian languages: New York, 1858; Wisconsin, 1869; Cornell, 1869; Columbia, 1880; Minnesota, 1883; Northwestern, 1882; Johns Hopkins, 1882; Indiana, 1885; Nebraska, 1886; Harvard, 1888; Michigan, 1888; Yale, 1889; Bryn Mawr, 1890; North Dakota, 1891; Western Reserve, 1891; Brown, 1892; California, 1892; Chicago, 1893; Leland Stanford, Jr., 1894; Pennsylvania, 1895; Vanderbilt, 1897; Wellesley, late 90's; Iowa, 1900; South Dakota, 1901; Princeton, 1901; Washington State College, 1905; Ohio, 1905; Missouri, 1907; Cincinnati, 1907; Kansas, 1908.

It is not surprising to learn that the universities of those states having the largest Scandinavian population, namely Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and North Dakota (the last with the largest Icelandic constituency) are in the lead as far as the attendance of these courses is concerned. These states provide the most ample programs, both in the older Scandinavian dialects and in the modern ones. As regards the best library facilities in Scandinavian literatures and antiquities the University of Chicago, with its extensive portion of the excellent Konrad Maurer Collection, seems to divide honors with Harvard and Cornell.

Since the nature of the compilation is such as to provoke no controversy, it may be permitted to give Dr. Flom's own summary of the growth of the work:

'Looking back over the field we may briefly summarize the growth of the study of Scandinavian as follows: The first course was offered in 1858, forty-nine years ago. As instruction in the Northern languages in this case, however, was only a temporary arrangement, the actual beginning may be said rather to date

from the simultaneous introduction of Scandinavian courses of study in the University of Wisconsin in the West and Cornell University in the East in 1869.

In the following decade these were the only two giving instructions in Scandinavian languages or literature. In 1880 courses were introduced in Columbia University, and this was followed by eight other institutions during the next ten years, three in the East and five in the West. During the nineties ten more are added, while since 1900 the total number has been increased by ten. The Scandinavian languages had then been taught in one higher institution in 1860, three in 1870, four in 1880, twelve in 1890, twenty-two in 1900 and thirty-one in 1907. It should however be added that in two of these institutions such courses were later discontinued, New York University and Vanderbilt University; while in one other Old Norse is offered at the present time, the University of Missouri, though not yet actually taught. Of the institutions to be included then as now offering such instruction ten are located in the East, sixteen in the Central States (the larger Northwest) and three on the Pacific Coast namely California, Leland Stanford, Jr., and Washington State College.

It may also be noted that no southern University has permanently introduced Scandinavian languages into its curricula of courses, and only in one have they ever been taught. In general the eastern universities appear earliest, with however the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota in the West also being among the first; of the nine latest additions to the list seven are Middle Western colleges. The total number of courses actually given at different times, as near as it is possible to determine, has been as follows: In 1880 seven, 1890 twenty-seven, 1900 thirty-eight, 1907 sixty-two. The total number of courses offered however at the present time is about 100. As to the extent to which each of the various Scandinavian languages or their literatures are studied the condition is found to be about as follows: Old Norse is offered in all except Nebraska, Wellesley and Washington State College; in the first of these it being taught only as part of a course in Old Germanic Dialects. The courses are of two hours weekly through the year generally and in the first year usually linguistic in character. The literary side of Old

Norse study is specifically stressed in Harvard, Yale and Wisconsin and in the second year course also in Columbia and Iowa, while the linguistic side has always been emphasized at Chicago, Bryn Mawr, Western Reserve, Pennsylvania, Cornell and in the first year course in Iowa.'

This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which different parts of the field have been studied, texts used, publicational activity in the past, present needs, etc.

The Bibliography of twenty finely printed pages exhausts, in chronological order, the "American Publications on the Languages and Literatures of the Scandinavian Countries" in book-form, as well as in periodicals.

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HEBBELPROBLEME. Studien von Oskar F. Walzel. Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte Neue Folge, 1. Heft. H. Haessel Verlag Leipzig 1909. Pp. VIII, 123.

Das vorliegende Heft, mit dem Walzel eine 'Neue Folge' seiner 'Untersuchungen' eröffnet, ist, wie das Vorwort berichtet, aus einem Vortrag entstanden, worin er früher in den Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen (1905) skizzenhaft vorgetragene Anschauungen weiter ausführte. 'Nicht ohne Bedenken,' gesteht der Verfasser bescheiden, 'vergrössere ich den Papierwust, der sich um Hebbel anhäuft'.

Selten auch hat sich stoffhungrigen Doctorcandidaten und aesthetischen Salbadern ein willkommeneres Versuchsobject dargeboten, als der wiederentdeckte Hebbel, den uns die hysterische Freude an Superlativen, die im Reiche Wilhelms II. nun Mode ist, noch zudem als den endlich erschienenen Kunstmessias und Verkünder der deutschen Zukunftstragödie anpries. Dass die geschichtliche Erscheinung Hebbels damit in ganz falsche Perspective gerückt ward und die wichtigsten Fragen, die das Wesen und die Kunst dieses Dichters dem Forscher aufgeben, übersehen blieben, kümmerte die meisten seiner Apostel gar wenig.

Obwol es mir scheinen will, als ob auch Walzel die herrschende Ueberschätzung Hebbels theile, so deutet doch schon der

Titel seiner Studien an, dass er wenigstens Probleme sieht, wo die philosophische Unschuld bloss anbetend bewundert. Das erste dieser Probleme fasst Walzel in die Frage: 'war Hebbel bemüht, Menschen in seinen Dramen zu zeichnen oder wollte er Ideen verkörpern, galt es ihm nur seine aesthetischen Theorien in Praxis umzusetzen, oder war er ein intuitiver, halbbewusster Schöpfer?'

Eine sonderbare Frage eigentlich, wenn man sich all der Vorzüge erinnert, welche tätig ihn preisende Jünger auf den Einzigsten gehäuft haben. Walzel antwortet darauf mit einigen Brief- und Tagebuchstellen, in denen sich Hebbel selbst eine Art visionären Zustandes beim Dichten zuspricht. Wäre es aber nicht möglich, dass er in verzeihlicher Selbsttäuschung den Process des *Vergegenwärtigens*, wie ich ihn nennen möchte und worin er Meister war, mit dem Schöpferakt unbewusst quellender, wahrer Phantasie verwechselte? Es ist hohe Zeit, dass dieser Gradunterschied in der Phantasietätigkeit, der die Dichter scheidet und sich selbst bis in den Character ihrer Sprache hinein verfolgen lässt, genauer untersucht werde. Denn so sehr der dichterische Vorgang durch Hegel und seine Schule zum Gegenstand breiter, auch von Hebbel geteilter, aesthetischer Discussion geworden war, so wenig war damit doch für die wirkliche Erkenntnis der schöpferischen Tätigkeit, ihre seelischen Vorbedingungen und ihre Gradunterschiede geleistet. Auch der moderne Psychologismus hat sich auf diesem wichtigen Gebiete menschlicher Seelentätigkeit als völlig unfruchtbar erwiesen.

Es sind uns aus Hebbels Münchener Zeit eine Anzahl von Aussprüchen überliefert, die scheinbar das bewusstlose Schaffen des Dichters feiern. Sie sind jedoch, wie Waetzoldt gezeigt hat, nur Nachklänge Schellingscher Gedanken und beweisen bloss, wie früh sich bei Hebbel die Gabe des Anlesens entwickelte.

Walzel sucht seine Ansicht von Hebbels angeblich visionärer Dichtweise durch eine Stelle aus den 'Nibelungen,' den 'prophetisch mystischen Sang Volkers vom Nibelungenhort' zu stützen. Kein Ohr, das den geheimnisvollen Ton ursprünglicher Phantasieoffenbarung je vernommen hat, wird sich jedoch überreden lassen, dass dieser Sang aus gleichen Tiefen entsprungen sei. Das helle Bewusstsein begleitet jede Bewegung dieser absichtlichen poetischen Extase. Denn es gibt wirklich auch ein gemacht Visionäres, das vom Verstande eingegeben ist, auf religiösem wie auf poetischem Gebiete.

Dies veranlasst uns, das von Walzel formulierte Problem noch von anderer Seite her zu beleuchten.

Nur wer das Lähmende des Hegelschen Aestheticismus noch erlebt hat, der, scheinbar die tiefste Kunsteinsicht versprechend, dennoch wie Starrkrampf auf die productive Dichterkraft sich legte, nur der vermag der sonderbaren Erscheinung Hebbels geschichtlich gerecht zu werden. Die Kunstlehre Kants hatte unsern grossen Dichtern nicht nur in die Hand gearbeitet, sondern auch vor dem Geheimnis des Dichtergenies mit einer Art ehrfürchtiger Scheu als vor einem Gleichberechtigten oder der Philosophie gar Ueberlegenen Halt gemacht. In dem aesthetischen System Hegels war Alles rationalisirt. Nun denke man sich ein zur Reflexion neigendes Talent, das sich früh in den Maschen des Gewebes fängt, das ein Riesenverstand um die Welt gesponnen hat und gewahre, wie es im Glauben, sich von der Verschlingung zu befreien, dennoch innerhalb jenes Netzes hängen bleibt. Ich kann nicht begreifen, wie man Hebbels Verhältnis zu Hegels System mit Schillers Stellung zur Philosophie Kants vergleichen konnte. Hier eine ausserordentliche Denkkraft, die im siegreichen Ringen mit dem Philosophen dem dichterischen Schaffen ein selbständiges Gebiet erobert, eine Geisteskraft, die, trotz alles zeitweisen philosophischen Knaupelns, den metaphysischen Krankheitsstoff schliesslich auswirft und im Innersten ganz und gesund bleibt. Und dort ein viel kleineres, in die Grenzen des Aphorismus gebanntes, philosophisches Vermögen, das in der Abhängigkeit von Hegel verharret, abstracte Schulphilosophie mit Poesie vermengt und die eigene Gebrochenheit des Geistes rückwärts auf die 'Idee' schieben möchte.

Damit ist denn im Grunde auch schon beantwortet, wie Hebbel sich das Verhältnis von Philosophie und Kunst vorstellt. Obwol er nach Epigonenart—und damit ist er unserer Zeit so nahe verwandt—vom Selbstzwecke der Kunst übertrieben redet und ihn gegen die Ansprüche der Philosophie zu verteidigen sucht, so ist es doch schliesslich eine philosophische Idee, der die Poesie dienen soll. Er weiss zwar, dass die Welt der Erscheinungen das eigentliche Arbeitsfeld des Dichters ist, aber er dringt nicht dahin vor, zu erkennen, dass, bei aller Gleichheit des Zieles, zwischen philosophischer Reflexion und dichterischem Denken ein wesentlicher Unterschied besteht. Denn wie jenes bloss subjectiv ist und die Dinge, ihres eigentlichen Lebens entkleidet, ins Ich hineinzieht, ist dieses objectiv und setzt die Hingabe, die liebende, des Ichs an die Dinge voraus. Da Hebbel diesen Unterschied in seiner ganzen Tiefe und

Tragweite nicht erfasste und ihm ausserdem die naive Hingabe an die Welt von Natur versagt war, so ist es nicht zu verwundern, wie er sich von der angemassen Autorität einer hochmütigen Zeitphilosophie blenden liess, die Dichtung, besonders das Drama, für realisierte Philosophie zu halten und sogar glauben konnte, er habe damit Hegel überwunden, während er ihm doch gerade dadurch rettungslos verfiel.*

‘Es ist ein grosser Unterschied,’ sagt Goethe, ‘ob ein Dichter zum Allgemeinen das Besondere sucht, oder im Besonderen das Allgemeine schaut. Aus jener Art entsteht Allegorie, wo das Besondere nur als Beispiel als Exempel des Allgemeinen gilt; die letztere (Art) aber ist eigentlich die Natur der Poesie; sie spricht ein Besonderes aus, ohne ans Allgemeine zu denken oder darauf hinzuweisen.’

Wer die Wahrheit dieser Worte übersieht und Hebbels Theorie der Tragödie als besonders tiefe Offenbarung preist, verrät nach meiner Ansicht ein zweifelhaftes Verständnis für Poesie nicht nur, sondern auch schwache Kenntniss der Geschichte des Tragischen. Schon Waetzoldt hat in seiner vortrefflichen Dissertation, ‘*Hebbel und die Philosophie seiner Zeit*’ klargelegt, wie Hebbels Ansicht vom Tragischen auf Hegelschen Gedanken ruht. Walzel führt in der vorliegenden Schrift Waetzoldts Nachweis eigentlich nur weiter aus. Ich halte diesen Teil für den wertvollsten des Heftes, obgleich es mir mislungen scheint, wenn er, der Mode folgend, Hebbels Theorie auch aus dem ‘Erlebnis’ des Dichters folgern will. Weit eher liesse sie sich aus seiner ethischen Veranlagung, vor Allem aus seinem erstaunlichen Mangel an persönlichem Schuldgefühl erklären. Wie nahe lagen Schiller dagegen Schuldgedanken!

Noch weniger kann ich mich damit befreunden, wenn Walzel, gleich Anderen, aus Hebbels Theorie ein specifisch Neues, sozusagen dramatisch Messianisches herausdestillieren will. Es lohnt sich dies sogenannte ‘Neue’ etwas schärfer anzusehen.

*Damit hängt denn, im letzten Grunde, auch sein vielgerühmtes Motivieren, dieser Seelentrost für Verstandesmenschen, zusammen, und es gilt von den Hebbelschen Dramen, was der junge Goethe von Lessings *Emilia Galotti* treffend bemerkt: ‘Es ist alles nur gedacht. Mit halbweg Menschenverstand kann man das Warum von jeder Scene, von jedem Worte, möcht ich sagen, auffinden.’ Oder wie’s der alte Goethe noch schlagender andrückt:

Das ist eine von den alten Sünden,
Sie meinen: *Rechnen* das sei *Erfinden*.

Die Hebbelsche Tragödie wolle, so meint Walzel, den Lebensprocess, die Entwicklung des Weltgeschehens selbst darstellen. Dies Weltgeschehen sei wesentlich ein tragischer Vorgang und bestehe im Ablauf von Thesis, Antithesis und Synthesis, ein Ablauf, der im dialectischen Character d.h. im Zwiespalt der 'Idee' selbst seinen Ursprung habe. Walzel geht zwar auf diesen letzten Punkt, die eigentlich metaphysische Voraussetzung des Hebbelschen Begriffes vom Tragischen, nicht genauer ein, aber Andere haben es als Grosstat des Dichters gepriesen, dass er die Dialektik in die 'Idee' selbst geworfen hätte.*

Es bedarf keiner tieferen Kenntnis Hegels und seiner Vorläufer, um zu sehen, dass Hebbel den bekannten Schulbegriff der 'Idee' von diesem entlehnt hat. Ich habe nun schon vor 25 Jahren in meiner Schrift: *Ueber Tragische Schuld und Sühne* (Berlin 1884), worin die Geschichte dieser Begriffe zum ersten Male dargestellt ist, gezeigt, dass bereits Solger, um den tragischen Process metaphysisch zu motivieren, eine Negation d.h. also einen Dualismus im Absoluten annahm und dass, wenn auch versteckt, bei Hegel, klarer bei Vischer, vor Allem aber bei Schopenhauer, dessen 'Wille' der Hegelschen 'Idee' ja brüderlich verwandt ist, die eigentliche Urschuld jenseits des Individuums d.h. in der 'Idee' zu suchen sei.** Zugleich aber

*Wie weit es mit dieser 'Grosstat' des Dichters her ist, zeige die folgende Stelle aus Vischers Ausführungen über das Tragische in seiner Erstlingsschrift *Ueber das Erhabene und Komische* (1837) S. 83: 'Wahrhaft erhaben kann nur der Geist seyn, der die Bestimmtheiten und Einseitigkeiten des subjectiven Geistes—nicht neben oder ausser sich hat, sondern—in sich begreift und als die Macht über diese beschränkten Geister sie ebensosehr aus sich hervorgehen, als auch an ihrer Unvollkommenheit und Relativität zu Grunde gehen lässt. Hiermit ist bereits gesagt, dass wir uns den absoluten Geist (d.h. die 'Idee') nicht als etwas Fixes und Starres, sondern flüssig denken müssen, als eine Macht, die ihre Allgewalt in einer Bewegung, in einer factischen Dilaktik offenbart. Dieser Process hat, wie alles Erhabene, eine positive und eine negative Seite: der absolute Geist erzeugt die subjective Erhabenheit aus sich und schlingt sie in seinen Abgrund zurück'.

**Hebbels Ansichten über diese Dinge schienen mir in ihrer Abhängigkeit von den Theorien Solgers, Hegels und Vischers schon damals nicht wichtig genug, um in der Geschichte der Erkenntnis des Tragischen eine besondere Stelle zu verdienen. Die Versuche, die seitdem gemacht wurden, ihnen diese Stelle zu erobern, haben meist nur gezeigt, wie sehr die philosophische Bildung, wol durch den Einfluss Nietzsches und verwandter Geister, in manchen Kreisen Deutschlands bereits versandet ist.

habe ich in meiner Schrift darauf hingewiesen, dass diese 'Idee' dem 'antiken Schicksal' verwandt, ja im Grunde dieselbe blind grausame Macht ist. Denn sei es nun, dass sie, wie bei Solger, mit dem Einzelnen ein Spiel treibt, sei es, dass sie, wie bei Hegel—Vischer, im Drama des Entstehens und Vergehens ihre Erhabenheit offenbart oder, wie bei Schopenhauer, sich selbst gebiert und wieder auffrisst: es ist dasselbe philosophische Ungeheuer, das bei Schopenhauer als 'Wille' im bleiernen Meer absoluter Ruhe haust oder bei Hegel als Begriffscoloss im 'tatenlosen Götterzustand' abstracter Idealität sich wälzt.

Auch die zwiesgespaltene 'Idee' Hebbels ist nichts Anderes. Mit Recht sagt Zinkernagel in seinem feinsinnigen Buche *'Die Grundlagen der Hebbelschen Tragödie'*: 'In genialer Konception (?) schafft sie (H's Phantasie) jenes gewaltige Bild des finsternen Weltmysteriums, das sich selbst ein unabänderliches, dem Menschen unerforschliches Gestz, alles Leben aus sich gebiert, um es grausam wieder zu verschlingen'. Zinkernagel hätte noch hinzusetzen können: es war der eigene innere Zwiespalt, den Hebbel, gleich Anderen, auf das abstracte Gedankenmonstrum der 'Idee' übertrug, der Widerspruch, der als Erbteil einer versumpften, tatenarmen, aber gedankenvollen Epigonenzeit, wie ein Fluch auch auf ihm lastete.

Nicht weniger ist der verbissene Pessimismus, der diesen trostlosen Zwiespalt zum Weltgesetz machen und in der 'Kunst' widerspiegeln möchte, aus der Grundstimmung der Epigonenzeit zu erklären. Zwar will man uns vorreden, die erbarmungslos im bekannten Räderwerk von These und Antithese zerriebenen Menschen in Hebbels Tragödie hätten die angenehme Genugtuung, dass mit dem Untergange ihrer Sonderexistenz ein Neues, Höheres für die ganze Menschheit angebahnt werde. Welch erbärmlicher Altweibertrost für die Toren, denen ihr Vater Hebbel in der 'List seiner Vernunft' verschwieg, dass es dieser kommenden Menschheit im Räderwerk der 'Idee' gerade so gehen werde, wie ihnen. Und anstatt sich mit promethischem Trotze aufzulehnen gegen das Ungeheuer der 'Idee,' diesen verkappten, die eigene Brut fressenden Kronos, ballen die wurmstichigen Hebbelmenschen nicht einmal ein Fäustchen in der Tasche, sondern halten sich im Voraus salbungsvolle Leichenreden. Auch darin echte Epigonensprösslinge, gezeugt und geboren in der Studierstube, ganz wie die zusammengetiftelte Theorie, der sie ihr Dasein verdanken.

Und was ist das angeblich Neue, Höhere, das aus dem Konflikt in Hebbels Tragödien für die Menschheit herauspringen soll? Man sehe sich z. B. *Gyges und seinen Ring* darauf an.

Der Lyderkönig Kandaules, ein prahlerischer, raffiniert lüsterner Halborientale, dessen abgenutzte Nerven neuen Stachel suchen, fällt auf den schamlos perversen Gedanken, sein schönes Eheweib seinem Günstling, dem Griechen Gyges, heimlich in unverhüllter Nacktheit zu zeigen. Die Frau gewahrt den im Ehegemach versteckten Späher und, empört über die unerhörte Schandtath, fordert sie den Griechen auf, entweder sich selbst oder den König umzubringen. Gyges wählt, nach Herodots Bericht, widerwillig das letztere, tötet den König und erhält das Weib wie das Königreich.

Auch bei Hebbel bleibt, trotz einzelner Aenderungen, wie die Einführung des Zauberringes und der modern gedachte Selbstmord der Königin am Schluss, das Grundmotiv der Fabel dasselbe: die schamlos perverse That eines Halborientalen, die für jedes gesunde menschliche Empfinden die Verletzung des Heiligsten in reiner Frauenbrust bedeutet.* Man halte sich dies vor dem klaren Auge reinen Gefühles gegenwärtig und lese dann das Gejammer des Hebbelschen Kandaules vom Schlaf der Welt und die profetisch gemeinten Worte in seinem schönen Autonekrologe: 'ich weiss gewiss, die Zeit wird einmal kommen, wo alles denkt wie ich'. Man schlägt sich an die Stirn und fragt sich: ist *Dies* das Neue, Höhere für die kommende Menschheit? Sie sollte wirklich kommen, die Zeit in deutschen Landen, wo 'ohne Scheu Mann und Weib zeigt den Leib,' wie Goethe im *Deutschen Parnass* wettet? Die Zeit, wo die Scham so weit geschwunden, dass unsere Nachkommen ihre Weiber—deutsche

*Der Grundgedanke der Erzählung, dass der sittlich verkommene Frevler an der altgeheiligten Schamhaftigkeit der Frau dem Untergang geweiht sei und dass in diesem besonderen Falle orientalische Sittenlosigkeit der reineren Sittlichkeit Griechenlands Platz machen müsse, liegt für den Unbefangnen auch bei Herodot so klar zu Tage, dass man sich nicht genug über Hebbels beispiellose Naivetät wundern kann, mit der er erzählt, die Idee der Sitte sei ihm erst nach der Vollendung seines Dramas wie eine Insel aus dem Meer emporgestiegen. Was ihn an dem Stoff reizte, war also ohne Zweifel die 'pikante' Situation und die seinem amoralischen Denken daraus entspringenden verzwickten Seelenprocesse. Der unverwüstliche sittliche Gehalt des Stoffes trug aber dennoch, wenn auch in sonderbarer Weise, den Sieg davon.

Frauen—vor Fremden scrupellos und ungestraft entblößen? Und unsere Frauen sollten so weit sinken, dass sie diese Schmach nicht mehr empfinden? Oder wäre Hebbel wirklich der Profet gewesen jener schamlos lüsternen Erotik, die die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart bereits zu höhnischen Gespötte des Auslandes gemacht hat?

Ich kenne den Schwall windiger Phrasen im Voraus, der mir auf diese Fragen antworten wird. Man lese ihn nur nach in den Commentaren der Hebbelpriester zu dieser Gygesstelle und erfahre, wie das kraftlos schale und dabei so lächerlich hochmütige Aesthetentum unserer Tage innerlich soweit schon ausgehöhlt ist, dass es vor lauter 'künstlerischem Empfinden' zu gesundem sittlichen Gefühl gar nicht mehr fähig ist. Um die Brutalität des Motives zu verhüllen, faselt man vom 'Schleierrecht' der Rhodope, das natürlich ein Vorurteil sein soll und schraubt den perversen Halbasiaten Kandaules zu einer Art Uebermensch auf, der sich über 'Vorurteile' und 'historisch gewordene Bräuche' kühn hinwegsetze, um schliesslich als Profet einer neuen und reineren Sittlichkeit zu enden.* Derselbe Kandaules, der seine verglimmende Brunst an dem Feuer entfachen möchte, das sein nacktes Weib in den Augen eines Fremden entzündet! Zum Heulen, wenn es nicht zum Totlachen wäre! Ja, das ist der Fluch der Phrase, dass sie fortzugend Phrasen muss gebären. Nur Zinkernagel hat den Mut, schüchtern wenigstens, zu bemerken: 'Die Schamhaftigkeit des Weibes gilt uns mehr als ein kleinliches Vorurteil, das nach Kandaules' Ansicht, der hier durchaus zum Sprachrohr des Dichters wird, die Zeit noch einmal überwinden wird.'

Auch Walzel ist von dem Vorwurf der Phrase nicht ganz frei zu sprechen. Denn was ist es anders als Phrase, wenn er von unserem edlen Halbasiaten behauptet (p. 72): 'das Aergernis, das er gibt, muss gegeben werden, weil nur dadurch eine höhere reinere Sittlichkeit Raum finden kann.' Oder wenn er uns das 'Seelenleid' des Kandaules schildert und sich zu den

*Natürlich handelt es sich auch bei Hebbel um den Anblick hüllenloser Nacktheit im Beisein des perversen Ehemannes, sonst hätte das Verstecken im Schlafgemach keinen Sinn. Ein Weib aber, das den ganzen tragischen Spectakel machte, nur weil ein Fremder ihr unverschleiertes *Gesicht* sah, wäre in seiner Zimmerlichkeit höchstens in einem Lustspiel erträglich.

rührenden Worten versteigt: 'Doch aus dem schier unerträglichen Leid flüchtet er zu dem erlösenden Gedanken, dass er nicht unsonst leide; er rettet sich in die Höhen einer Betrachtung, die alle Schmerzen des Erdenlebens überwunden hat. . Befreiend und erlösend (!) naht sich ihm der Grundgedanke Hebbelscher Weltanschauung, dass Gute wie Böse, wenn sie ihre Individualität zu ihrer Zeit in Gegensatz bringen, ein notwendiges und sogar kulturförderndes (!) Werk leisten'.

Ach nein! Bei aller Anerkennung der raffinierten Kunst, die Hebbel aufgewandt hat, den ekelhaften Stoff uns schmackhaft zu machen: mit seiner höheren Zukunftsittlichkeit in diesem Drama ist's nichts. So wenig wie mit dem 'neuen Staat,' der sich aus dem Konflikt in der Tragödie *Agnes Bernauer* erheben soll. Nirgends zeigt sich besser, welch trauriger Prophet der von Hegel verführte Dichter auf politischem Gebiete war, als in der Verherrlichung der Staatsraison in diesem Drama. Und nichts zugleich offenbart klarer als diese Verherrlichung, wie sehr Hebbels ganze 'Kunst' sammt ihrer Theorie Treibhausgewächs ist, wie wenig der Dichter den Herzschlag seines Volkes fühlte, das doch gerade damals mit jener Staatsraison bis auf den Tod rang. Niemand aber empfindet dieses schärfer als der amerikanische Deutsche, der da weiss, welche erschütternden Lebenstragödien die achtundvierziger Kämpfe in diesem Lande zur Folge hatten.

Freilich, was wissen die feministischen Aestheten von heute in ihrer 'künstlerischen' Empfinderei von dem heissen Pulsschlag nationalen Fühlens in jenen Tagen? Was wissen sie von dem Gigantenschritt des ungeheuren Schicksals *wirklicher* Geschichte, sie, die nie etwas anderes vernahmen, als den abgezirkelten Tritt künstlich erdachter Brettergeschicke?

Was sie an Hebbel zieht und ihn als Kunstmessias preisen lässt, ist eben die 'Kunst,' die durchaus reflektierende, zwischen Philosophie und Poesie hinschillernde, der Pessimismus, der sich zum Weltgesetz aufbläht, der Geruch des modern Angefaulten, die Vorliebe für sexuelle Probleme, wie die Neigung zum Problemhaften überhaupt, kurz: die Wahlverwandtschaft der Epigonen zum Epigonen. Denn es möchte nicht schwer fallen, die gemeinsamen Züge der Epigonenpsyche an Beiden nachzuweisen: die masslose Selbstüberschätzung, die Geniepose

und Originalitätssucht, die unüberbrückte Kluft zwischen Wollen und Können trotz aller technischen Fertigkeit, die Anleihe beim Verstande aus Mangel an ursprünglichem Gefühl, der nervöse Cikadensprung und die Freude am Quark, vorzüglich dem erotischen.

Zwar gibt es auch Leute, die in diesen Dingen den modernen Fortschritt sehen und nach Art der politischen Byzantiner in Deutschland uns lärmend verkünden, dass es nie so herrlich gestanden habe um die deutsche Dichtung wie heute. Wer deren Gang jedoch aufmerksam und mit Liebe aus klarer Ferne verfolgt hat, dem fehlt der Glaube an diese lärmende Botschaft. Ein Volk ist nicht geistig im Aufsteigen, das die grossen Ereignisse seiner literarischen Vergangenheit bewusst wiederzuerleben unternimmt, das gestern die gequälte Pose des Sturm- und Dranges und heute der Neuromantik annimmt, um morgen wahrscheinlich in jungdeutscher Ausstafflerung vor den Spiegel zu treten. Der Biedermeierstil ist auf anderem Gebiete ja bereits da.

Das wäre der schlimmste Tag für das deutsche Geistesleben und das sicherste Zeichen seines Niederganges, käme mit dem künstlich wiederbelebten Hebbel auch die ganze Stickluft des Hegeltums wieder.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

LODGE'S 'ROSALYNDE,' BEING THE ORIGINAL OF SHAKESPEARE'S 'AS YOU LIKE IT,' edited by W. W. Greg, M. A. London: Chatto and Windus, 1907, pp. xxx + 209.

This volume, the first to appear in Messrs. Chatto and Windus's new series, The Shakespeare Library, is No. 1 of the subdivision entitled The Shakespeare Classics, under the general editorship of Professor I. Gollancz. This part of the series is to comprise from twelve to twenty volumes, devoted to reprints in modernized spelling, at low price and in convenient form, of romances, histories, plays, and poems used by Shakespeare as the originals or direct sources of his plays. The next seven volumes will contain the originals of *The Winter's ale*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King John*, *Hamlet* (two volumes, containing *The Historie of Hamblet* and other material, but of course not

Shakespeare's actual source), *Lear*, and *he Taming of the Shrew*. Holinshed will apparently not be included, as Mr. Boswell Stone's *Shakespeare's Holinshed* forms part of another subdivision of the library.*

In its mechanical features the volume now issued is excellent. Paper and print are attractive, and a reduced facsimile of the title-page of the fifth edition (1609) serves as frontispiece. Margins and spacing are generous. The lines of the text are, however, not numbered.

Mr. Greg has provided an introduction, notes, and a glossary, and has printed as an appendix Mr. W. G. Stone's paper on *Rosalynde* and *As You Like It*, from the *Transactions* of the New Shakespeare Society, 1880-6. The introduction sketches the history of pastoral romance and the life of Lodge, and comments on Shakespeare's use of the work. The notes are chiefly devoted to a collation of the first two editions, touching upon other matters only here and there. Thus while a few of Lodge's Latin quotations are identified and corrected, others are left without comment (13, 15=Ter., *Andr.* III. 3.23; 26, 16 and 113, 4=Horace, *Epist.* I. 1. 53, read *virtus post nummos*; 26, 21=Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 280; 33, last line=*Aen.* i. 203, read *hæc olim*). It is pointed out that Corydon's song (p. 161) is imitated from Spenser, but nothing is said of the originals of the other poems in the text, and in the appendix (p. 206) a note by Mr. Stone is allowed to stand uncorrected which follows Collier in assuming a poem by Desportes in the original French (p. 117) to be Lodge's own. In a note to 63, 10, *This news drive the king* (1590-2), Mr. Greg says, "I do not think *drive* is a possible form of the preterite, the only recorded instance of its use as such being about two centuries earlier," and accordingly substitutes in his text *drave*, the reading of the edition of 1598. But at 59, 7 he retains *rise* as a preterite, and he will find the preterite *drive* (*i*) in *The Faerie Queene* II. i. lv. 7, published, it is hardly necessary to mention, in the same year.

As misprints may be noted xiv, 15, *orks* for *works*; xvii, last line, *treatise* for *Treatise*; 168, 22, *Lillies* for *Lilies*. *Margarret*, xvii, 18, is a misleading and unnecessary alteration of *A Margarite*. P. xxix, 25, for *island* read *islands*. P. 32, 14, for

*Since the above was written, have appeared Greene's *Pandosto*, edited by P. G. Thomas; Brooke's *Romcus and Julict*, edited by J. J. Munro; and *The Taming of a Shrew*, edited by F. S. Boas.

scene read *seen* (1590, *seene*): "Have I not heard thee say that high minds were discovered in fortune's contempt, and [that] heroical [minds were] seen in the depth of extremities?" P. 119, 11 (in the the refrain of "Phoebe's Sonnet") omit the fourth *down*: "With a down a down, a down a down a."

WILLIAM STRUNK, JR.

Cornell University.

EXODUS AND DANIEL: TWO OLD ENGLISH POEMS PRESERVED IN MS. JUNIUS II IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, ENGLAND. Edited by Francis A. Blackburn, Ph.D., Associate Professor of the English Language in the University of Chicago. Boston. D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. 8vo., pp. xxxvi, 235. The Belles-Lettres Series, Section 1. Price, 60 cents, net.

Professor Blackburn's work is a welcome addition to the Old English section of the Belles-Lettres Series. A new edition of the *Exodus* and *Daniel*, incorporating the results of recent study, and provided with an adequate commentary, has long been needed, and the numerous new and sound contributions to the understanding of the two poems offered by the present editor afford further justification of his work, if such be needed.

The text of this edition is based upon a new and thorough examination of the manuscript, which has been twice collated with the text of previous editions. The manuscript is reprinted *verbatim et literatim*, without correction of errors, modernized only so far as is involved in metrical division by lines instead of by pointing, in spacing and in punctuation, but not in the use of capitals. The peculiarities of the manuscript are minutely recorded. Quantities are marked only in the glossary, in the forms under which the words are entered. As the editor points out (p. xxx), by relegating all corrections, even those of the most indisputable character, to the variants and notes, he has compelled the student to pay attention to matters which he is sometimes tempted to overlook. The result is a volume which may be commended to teachers of Old English who wish their students to do some genuine work.

While as indicated above, Professor Blackburn has thrown much new light on the text, his edition is characterized by great

conservatism. He says (p. xxix), "The work put on the book has been chiefly spent in the effort to understand and explain the hard places, not to make them easy by changing them into something else, which the glossary and notes would enable the student to replace with modern English. The result has satisfied the present editor that the manuscript is correct in many places which have been regarded hitherto as corrupt, and has led to the belief that many more difficulties not yet satisfactorily explained, will be solved by further study." In keeping with this is the editor's conservatism in retaining previously rejected manuscript readings which it is possible to explain as dialectal forms, for instance, *Ex.* 8, *werode*, gp. (Edd. *weroda*); *Ex.* 15, *andsaca*, ap. or gs. (Edd. *andsacan*); *Dan.* 30 and 115, *drēamas*, gs.; *Dan.* 77, *lēode*, gp.; etc.

Notable is the view advanced (pp. xv-xvii) that in some cases, especially when placed over the prefix *un-* and over short preposition-adverbs, as *on*, the accents of the manuscript were intended to indicate not length but metrical stress. From examination of the ink used it appears that the accents of the Junius manuscript were inserted probably at different times and by different persons, of whom none was entirely consistent in his practice.

Some details may be noted which call for correction or revision. The use of commas in connection with the signs of parenthesis is not consistent; in *Ex.* 175, *Dan.* 186-187, a comma is put before the phrase in parenthesis, but none after; in *Ex.* 157-159, 342-343, commas are put before and after. *Dan.* 194 needs a comma after *wærfaste*. *Dan.* 627 should have no comma at the end (see the editor's note translating the passage). The variants to *Dan.* 590-591 (p. 99) should appear on p. 98; in those to *Dan.* 590, for *witel-easte* read *wite-leaste* (word divided at end of line). By what seems to be an oversight, the editor, although as a rule indicating half-lines that are metrically deficient or that require forms monosyllabic in W.S. to be pronounced as dissyllables, fails to do so in several cases. Under the first head come *Ex.* 248b, 540b, *Dan.* 276b, 527a (for all of which satisfactory emendations appear among the variants); under the second, *Ex.* 308b, *læste nēar*, and *Ex.* 526b, *ræd forð gæð*. For these two passages unnecessary alterations have been proposed by previous editors. Again, while as a rule attention is called in the notes (as in those to *Dan.* 172, 202, etc.) to deficiencies or irregularities in alliteration, no com-

ment is made on *Ex.* 340 or *Dan.* 122, in both of which, according to the manuscript, the alliteration of the second hemistich is on the second half-foot. Of *Ex.* 14a, *freom folctoga* (Kluge, *from*), the editor says, "The form *freom* in the sense of *from* is found elsewhere and no emendation is needed. But both here and in *Gen.* 2793 the metre calls for a long syllable. It is doubtful therefore whether the form is a variation of *from*. It may be a different word." He accordingly enters it as such in his glossary, with the definition "strenuous, bold." But a monosyllable ending in a consonant is a closed syllable, and therefore for metrical purposes long. This very combination, *from folctoga*, occurs elsewhere, *Guth.* 874a. *Frēom*, *Gen.* 2793, is ds. of *frēo*.

P. 48, the note to *Ex.* 194 is misplaced.

P. 108, "Another portion of the Vulgate *Daniel* from the same source [the Greek version of Theodotion] is included in our poem [ll. 362-408], to be sure, but bears the marks of an insertion of later date. It will be considered in its proper place." But when we come to this place (p. 119) the editor says, "Steiner has pointed out that in this lyric the author did not use the Vulgate as his original," etc., and makes no further reference to interpolation. The two passages are hardly in accord.

In a few cases the notes and glossary are slightly inconsistent, favoring different interpretations, or querying in one place what is asserted in another. Thus in the note to *Ex.* 176, *hwaethlencan* is "an error for *wael*—, as the alliteration shows," whereas the glossary reads, "*hwaethlence*, f., coat of mail; as. *hwaethlencan*, E. 176 (error for *waelhencan*?)." Similar slight discrepancies between notes and glossary occur in connection with *Ex.* 15, *Dan.* 56, 112, 412, 576.

The glossary seems to be in need of correction in the following places. P. 144, s. v. *cæg*, for *cægum*, r. *cægon*. P. 161, *fyrðgetrum*, *Ex.* 103, can only be accusative. P. 163, s. v. *gedriht*, for *gedrihte*, r. *gedriht*. P. 168, *gescēon*, defined intransitively, is used in the passive in *Ex.* 507. P. 168, *gesittað*, *Ex.* 563, is 2pl., not 3pl. P. 179, s. v. *heofontorht*, for *nsm.*, r. *nsn*. P. 183, s. v. *hweorfan*, and p. 189, s. v. *mægen*, both in connection with *Dan.* 221; the editor construes *mægen* as accusative and *hwyrf* as prt. opt. 3pl. of *hweorfan*. But *hweorfan* is invariably intransitive; consequently it cannot govern *mægen*. Cosijn's *mā gehwurfe* meets every requirement. P. 188, s. v.

līgfyrd, adds ns. P. 225, *weard*, *Dan.* 460, is as., not ns.; it is to be construed with *ic sēcan gefrægn*, l. 458. P. 230, s. v. *wit-gian*, for prt. 3s., r. prt. ort. 3s.

The following words have been omitted from the glossary: *blōdig* (*Ex.* 329, 573); *lēodwerod* (*Ex.* 77); *nēar* (*Ex.* 308); *syllic* (*Ex.* 109); *wæfre* (*Dan.* 240); *wæterscipe* (*Dan.* 388); *yrre* (occurrence in *Dan.* 554 not recorded).

As an illustration of one of those differences between the *Exodus* and the *Daniel* that point to a difference in authorship, it may be noted that the present edition averages one page of notes to 20 lines of the *Exodus* and one page of notes to 37.7 lines of the *Daniel*; i. e., the former poem seems to present about twice as much difficulty as the latter.

One textual conjecture may be allowed here. After Nebuchadnezzar, despite Daniel's interpretation of the dream of the tree, has hardened his heart and accordingly been overtaken by the wrath of God, the poem reads (615-618),

Swā wōd wera in gewindagum
 gēocrostne sīð in Godes wīte,
 ðara þe eft lifigende lēode begēte,
 Nabochodonossor.

Wōd is Dietrich's emendation for ms. *wōð*. *Wera*, however, seems to make no sense. I propose to read *werig*, 'accursed,' a word which occurs in *Dan.* 267, and which would be in keeping with the context.

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ADAMS, ARTHUR: The Snytax of the Temporal Clause in Old English Prose. (Yale Studies in English, XXXII). New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1907.

To the Yale studies in English, in which there has already appeared Dr. Shearin's study of the expression of purpose, Dr. Arthur Adams contributes a thorough analysis of the temporal clause in Old English prose. To the historian of English grammar this dissertation will be of great value. The writer has painstakingly examined from every angle "eight thousand or more clauses," and he has tabulated his results with a precision and exhaustiveness that render further statistical investigation unnecessary. Not only does an appendix supply the references to all the (8861) temporal clauses, grouped under the con-

nectives which serve to introduce them, but the careful tables show at a glance just how often a given temporal conjunction occurs in any document, the number of instances in which the mode is indicative, optative, or indeterminate, and the extent to which the so-called modal auxiliaries are employed in their full verbal content. In the body of his dissertation the author confines himself to an analysis of typical or questionable cases, his discussion of the latter being particularly interesting. The principal chapter is concerned with the connectives, which Dr. Adams groups under six heads, according to the temporal relation between subordinate and main clause which they attempt to denote. He thus distinguishes connectives indicating (a) time when, (b) immediate sequence, (c) duration, (d) the time of an action by reference to the preceding action, (e) the time of an action by reference to a subsequent action, and (f) the time of the termination of the action of the main clause. There are two additional chapters in the dissertation, one dealing with the mode of the verb, and the other, a single page in length, making a statement concerning the position of the temporal clause and the sequence of tenses. The writer's method in the body of his work is, in the nature of the case, essentially descriptive. The historical and comparative points of view are not, however, lost sight of entirely, for there are frequent notes in which reference is made to later English developments or to analogies in parallel Germanic dialects.

In making his generalizations, Dr. Adams has but rarely had occasion to correct or modify the existing interpretations of the constructions he has examined, or to add something striking to our knowledge of them. One cannot escape a feeling of futility when, after reading that the author has counted thirty-three hundred clauses introduced by *þa* (p. 12) and two thousand introduced by *þonne*, he is told that the distinction between the two conjunctions is best made in the words of Wülfing or Bosworth-Toller (p. 18). When the writer finds it necessary to disagree with Wülfing, he is likely to be found leaning on the support of Mätzner's authority, as in the interpretation of the meaning of *mid þy* (pp. 41-42). Many of the conclusions which Dr. Adams sums up at the end of the discussion, if they are not already familiar, as when he says that the so-called modal auxiliaries have their full verbal content, are either negative, like his statement that the syntax of the temporal clause is essentially the same throughout the Old English period, or they are colorless, like his assertion that Ælfric seldom omits *þe* from the conjunctive formulae,—a generalization to which no particular significance is attached. However, Dr. Adams does point out for the first time the frequency with which the indicative form

of the verb occurs in *ær* clauses, and distinguishes clearly and accurately between the optative and indicative usages with that conjunction. The general meagreness of the positive results reflects no discredit on the author of the dissertation, for Dr. Adams has drawn from the subject all that it is capable of yielding; it is merely pointed out because it inevitably suggests the thought that any investigation which almost limits itself to a field already so thoroughly covered in the elaborate work of Wülfing must be comparatively fruitless. One may be pardoned for venturing to remark that in view of the many more pressing problems of English syntax which await solution, the writer of the present dissertation might have expended his energy to greater advantage in regions less explored.

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NOTES.

The University of California recently has added to its publications a series in Modern Philology, the first number of which is a doctor's thesis, entitled *Der junge Goethe und das Publikum* by W. R. R. Pinger. The subject is certainly one deserving careful and exhaustive treatment, despite the fact that it suggests a certain chapter in Scherer's now almost forgotten *Poetik*. For the history of the literature of a nation may comprise all its literary documents and still remain 'das Fragment der Fragmente,' as Gøthe says, as long as it does not reflect also the response of the people to the efforts of their leading poets; the effect of these efforts upon the contemporaries and the growth of the message of the poets in the mind of the public. The importance of the mutual relations between a poet like Gøthe and his readers is, therefore, quite evident.

The author of the present study takes into consideration only one side of the problem, i. e., the poet's attitude toward his readers. By numerous quotations from Gøthe's works and correspondence, which show a laudable amount of careful reading, he attempts to disprove the poet's statement in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* that he felt for a long time nothing but disregard and even contempt for the public. That his statement is an exaggeration goes without saying, despite the fact that nearly all of Gøthe's biographers have accepted it on its face-value. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Gøthe's relations to the general public were always those of the intellectual aristocrat. To be sure, not in the sense of the learned poetasters of the 17th and 18th centuries, who looked with disdain upon the profanum vulgus. But the very nature of Gøthe's message made it necessary that he addressed it an *die kleinste Schaar, die edle Geisterschaft, seine Gemeinde*. His early letters to Herder show how the prophetic ideal, 'der

göttliche Beruf zum Lehrer der Menschen,' inspires him from the very beginning of his literary career. And we can notice also that he was convinced even then—presumably through Herder's example and teaching—that the influence of the great leaders of mankind had always manifested itself first in the small circles of enthusiastic followers. This conviction of his does, of course, not exclude the fact that he, too, believed in the democratic mission of modern German poetry which Bürger first proclaimed by saying: 'alle darstellende Bildnerei kann und soll *volkstümlich* sein, denn das ist das Siegel ihrer Vollkommenheit.' It constitutes no small part of Gøthe's greatness that he did not sacrifice his message to the desire for mere popularity, but had the patience of waiting until his 'Gemeinde' embraced the truly cultured men and women of his own nation and of the civilized world in general. Who will blame this man for his lifelong aversion in matters of art and poetry to the 'Menge,' whose very plaudits dismay his heart, or to the 'Majorität,' composed of a few leaders and a mass of rogues and weaklings (Sprüche in Prosa No. 945)? And who will dare censure him for his occasional outbursts of impatience with the very public which he had undertaken to educate to his own standards? 'Un auteur allemand forme son public, en France, le public comande aux anteurs' says Madame de Stael, who had carefully studied the problem in question. What the educational standards of Gøthe were, and how he viewed the relations existing between the best German authors of his time and their nation, we may learn from his essay *Literarischer Sanscülottismus* (1795), an essay which contains a great deal of self-confession, but which Dr. Pinger, among other important utterances, seems to have overlooked entirely.

Professor W. Paszkowski's *Lesebuch zur Einführung in die Kenntnis Deutschlands und seines geistigen Lebens* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), which is especially designed for foreign students of German, has recently passed through a fourth edition. Its usefulness has been greatly increased by the addition of some forty pages of explanatory notes in German. Brief and to the point the latter contain a large amount of information for American students, and may well serve as a model for some of our own bookmakers and publishers. It is to be hoped that this excellent reader will find its way into many of our colleges and universities.

J. G.

SOME NEW TEXTS OF LITURGICAL EASTER PLAYS.

Some unpublished texts are presented here as a small contribution of new material for the study of the liturgical drama. The name which the manuscripts themselves most frequently give to the widespread liturgico-dramatic office of Easter Sunday is *Visitatio sepulchri*. Of these new texts of the *Visitatio* some differ but slightly from versions already known and merely add their mite to a fuller understanding of the extent of the liturgic Easter drama; many of them, however, have some features of particular interest either in text or in rubrics. The texts are arranged roughly according to their degree of development, beginning with the simpler ones.

I. NOVALESA.

Manuscript Douce 222 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford is described by Frere (*Bibl. mus.-liturg.* I, 72) as a Benedictine troper, gradual, and processional of the twelfth century from Novalesa. In the library show-case where the manuscript is displayed it is called a Novalesa-Breme troper of the second half of the eleventh century. The dramatic office still has its original position as a *Resurrexi*-trope, and is further of interest as being from Italy, from which country comparatively few texts are known.

(fol. 18). In die sancti pasce cum omnes simul convenerint in ecclesiam ad missam celebrandam stent parati duo diaconi induti dalmaticis retro altare dicentes :

Quem queritis in sepulchro, christicole?

Respondeant duo cantores stantes in choro :

Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Item diaconi :

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat, ite nunciate quia surrexit dicentes.

Tunc cantor dicat ¹ excelsa voce :

Alleluia resurrexit dominus.

Tunc psallat scola *Resurrexi.*

II. METZ.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 990. *Liber de ordinatione et officiis totius anni in ecclesia Metensi.* The manuscript contains the following note with the signatures of the two notaries: Praesens copia authentica cum originali suo, sano et integro, in pergameno descripto, centum quinquaginta sex folia scripta in se continenti, concordat. Sic testantur Notarii Apostolici, Metis residentes, infra scripti. Actum Metis, A. D. 1670, die vero 27 mensis Julii.

(fol. 52) Ordo ad visitandum sepulchrum.

Interim dum ultimum responsum est reinceptum post *Gloria* duo diaconi egressi a choro induti dalmaticis albis ferentes in manibus thuribula tenentes etiam palmas in manibus ita quod in una manu scilicet dextra thuribulum teneant, in reliqua vero palmam, debent paulatim procedere versus altare et cantare bis: ²

Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti.

Duo autem sacerdotes induti casulis stent retro altare et cantent:

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicole?

Duo vero diaconi stantes juxta cornua ipsius altaris interim debent thurificare anteriorem partem altaris et cantare respondendo:

Jesum Nazarenum querimus crucifixum, o celicole.

Tunc duo sacerdotes respondeant:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat. Ite nunciate quia surrexit a morte.

Et interim discooperiant capsam argenteam qua est super altare sublevando levamen cum duobus baculis.

¹ One would expect *cantores dicant*; the noun in the MS. is abbreviated *cant*, but the verb is singular.

² MS. has *bis* (*cantare bis quis revolvat* etc.), but it is probably a mistake of the copyist for *Deus*, introducing the *quis revolvat*.

Diaconi vero vertant se ad chorum et eant super gradus et ibi cantent alta voce:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro.

Et statim episcopus vel alia persona incipiat ad praeceptum cantoris *Te deum laudamus*, diaconis ipsis recedentibus. Iste versiculus dicitur ante laudes per totam hebdomadam:

In resurrectione tua, Christe, coelum et terra laetantur, alleluia.

III. VILLINGEN.

Hof-und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, MS. Geo. 1. *Antiphonarium Benedictinum, pars hiemalis*. A large antiphonary of the fifteenth century from the Monastery of St. George at Villingen. The *Quem quaeritis* here is in an entirely anomalous position, being part of the service at nones¹ on Holy Saturday.

(fol. 189) [Ad]nonam. Antiphona: *Joseph ab Arimathia petiit corpus Christi et sepelevit eum in sepulchro suo.*

Psalmus: *Mirabilia.*

Psalmus: *Clamavi, principes.*

Psalmus: *Quis revolvat.*

Angeli: *Quem queritis* [MS. queris] *in sepulchro, o christicole?*

Mulieres: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

Deinde: *Dicant nunc Judei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem. Quare non servabant petram justicie. Aut sepultum reddant* (MS. reddat) *aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes, alleluia aevia aevia.*

Antiphona: *Crucifixus.*

Dominica (?) pasce ad vespas.

Antiphona: *Surrexit.*

Psalmus: *Confiteant.*

¹ The following statement in Ducange (Glossarium, III, 166) may throw some light on its occurrence at this time as well as upon the rubric Dominica pasce ad vespas, instead of vigilia pasce: *Dominicæ observatio jam olim a nona seu vespere præcedentis diei incipiebat.*

Responsorium: *Angelus domini*. (A half line of the musical staff is blank, then) *In resurrectione*.

Ad magnificat: *Vespere autem sabbati . . .*

IV. ST. ADELPHE.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9486. A ritual of the twelfth century with neumes. It has a brief *Depositio crucis* with the burial of the cross and eucharist, but has no mention of the *Elevatio crucis*.

(fol. 60) In visitacione sepulchri infra matutinas. Duo presbyteri veniant cum thuribus ad sepulchrum, quibus duo diaconi induti albis et stolis dicant:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, christicole?

Presbyteri respondeant:

Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Diaconi dicant:

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nuntiate quia surrexit a morte.

Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeva, aeva.

Tunc presbyteri accepto sudario reverenter cantent clam antiphonam:

Surrexit Christus et illuxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo aeva.

Alia antiphona:

Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus et precedet vos in Galileam, aeva, ibi eum videbitis, aeva, aeva, aeva.

Post hec manifeste et alte voce antiphona:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aeva, aeva, aeva.

Finita antiphona incipiat abbas *Te deum laudamus*.

V. ORDER OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS OF ST. JOHN
OF JERUSALEM.

Hofbibliothek in Vienna, MS. lat. 1928. *Breviarium ordinis hospitalis Hierosolymitani*. The MS. is not properly a breviary, but rather a *Directorium chori*; it has brief mention of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *O deus*, which introduces the *Quis revolvat*, as well as the rubric *Versus sacerdotalis* indicate that the *Visitatio* is of French origin.

(fol. 44) *Dum transisset*, quod reiteratur. Quod dum cantatur sint parati tres clerici juvenes in modum mulierum retro altare. Finito responsorio procedunt deferentes vasa aurea vel argentea, thuribulis et candelis precedentibus, cantando antiphonam:

O deus quis revolvat.

Respondentes in sepulchro:

Quem queritis.

Respondeant mulieres:

Ihesum Nazarenum.

Tunc illi:

Non est hic, quem queritis. Venite et videte.

Antiphona:

Cito euntes.

Sacerdos ad populum in medio choro:

Surrexit dominus de sepulchro.

Te deum laudamus. Sacerdotalis versus: In resurrectione tua Christe.

VI. ADMONT.

Stiftsbibliothek of the monastery of Admont (Austria), MS. 6. *Breviarium monastico-Benedictum*. Fifteenth century. There is nothing to indicate for what monastery the breviary was intended. On the leather of the binding are pressed the letters I H A A (Johannes Hofmann Abbas Admontensis, [i. e., 1581-1614]).

(fol. 143) (After the third respond) Ad visitandum sepulchrum. *Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti, aevia, aevia.*

Interrogatio: *Quem queritis in sepulchro o christicole?*

Responsio: *Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

Item responsio: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixit; ite nunciate quia surrexit de sepulchro.*

Item antiphona: *Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus, aevia, aevia.*

Ante chorum cantanda antiphona: *Dicant nunc Judei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem. Quare non servabant petram iusticie. Aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes aevia aevia.*

Sequitur antiphona: *Surrexit enim sicut.*

Te deum laudamus.

VII. HILDESHEIM.

In the Dombibliothek (also called Beverinische Bibliothek) at Hildesheim, are the following three manuscripts with simple versions of the *Visitatio sepulchri*.

1. MS. 684. *Breviarium*; thirteenth or fourteenth century; provenience bishopric of Hildesheim.

(fol. 245) Post *Gloria patri* tertium responsorium. Incipe responsorium *Dum transisset* et statim descendatur. Nota duo canonici ad hoc deputati intrabunt sepulchrum; tres sacerdotes induti casulis albis visitent sepulchrum in parte aquilonari. Cum [intrabunt (?)] et dicent qui sunt in sepulchro *Quem queritis*.

Visitatio sepulchri.

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?

Versus: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

Responsio: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nunciate quia surrexit dominus.*

Versus: *Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus, aevia, aevia.*

Responsio: *Cito euntes dicite discipulis quia surrexit dominus, aevia.*

Et ascendentes pulpitum ostenso sudario cantent: *Surrexit. Qua finita dicatur Te deum laudamus.*

2. MS. 697. *Antiphonarium officii divini Hildesiensis*. Fol. 4 has the date 1528, fol. 5 has 1526. The *Visitatio* (fol. 182) comes after the third respond, is entirely without rubrics and agrees in text with the above, except that the *Surrexit* sentence is given in full: *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aevia.*

3. MS. 690. *Breviarium, pars aestivalis* (titulus externus: *Liber lectionum officii divini*). Fifteenth century. Provenience Hildesheim Cathedral. The text of the *Visitatio* agrees exactly with No. 2; it has no rubrics except the title *Visitatio sepulchri, mulieres* before the second sentence, *angelus* before the third, and *antiphona* (i. e. *an*) before each of the three remaining ones.

VIII. ST. MAXIMIN.

Stadtbibliothek in Treves, Cat. MSS. 1635. An *ordinarius* of the Monastery of St. Maximin near Treves. The catalogue assigns the MS. to the fifteenth or sixteenth century; it belongs in all probability to the fifteenth. It has quite full directions for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

(fol. 79) *Ultimum responsorium post Gloria patri repetitur a capite. Quo finito antequam Te deum laudamus, duo dyaconi in albis stent apud sepulchrum et duo presbiteri in albis et cappis veniant ad eos; tunc dyaconi cantent mediocriter: Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?*

Sacerdotes: *Jhesum Nazarenum, o celicole.*

Dyaconi: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat.*

Item dyaconi: *Venite et videte locum.*

Item dyaconi: *Cito euntes.*

Post hec sacerdotes accipiant sudarium de sepulchro et vadant super gradus presbiteri et extendentes sudarium cantent alta voce: *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.*

Sequitur *Te deum laudamus.*

Deinde versus *In resurrectione tua, Christe; Deus in adiutorium.* Evangelium omittitur cum suis appendicibus.

IX. TREVES.

Stadtbibliothek in Treves, Cat. MSS. 1738. *Ordinarius horarum ecclesie Trevirensis a reverendo in Christo patre et domino Baldwino de Lecell (Lutzellmburg) renovatus et correctus.* (Baldwinus a. 1307-1354.)

(fol. 54) *Dum transisset sabbatum.* Post *Gloria patri* resumatur ipsum responsorium et egrediatur processio ante tumbam sancti Symeonis, candelis accensis precedentibus tribus altaristis in cappis purpureis qui stabunt simul ante ostium altaris, finito responsorio, reperient duos scolares in sepulchro tanquam angelos cantantes sonora voce antiphonam:

Quem queritis.

Et prefati tres vicarii qui representant tres mulieres simul cantando respondent antiphonam:

Jhesum Nazarenum.

Item angeli respondent cantando antiphonam:

Non est hic.

Postea sine intervallo incipient idem angeli antiphonam:

Venite et videte.

Qua finita accedent dicte tres mulieres accipientes sudarium de sepulchro et cantent angeli:

Cito euntes.

Finito cantor incipiet *Victime paschali laudes.* Procedat processio in medium ecclesie et tres Marie ante chorum vertent se et cum chorus cantaverit versum:

Dic nobis Maria.

Respondeat una Maria :

Sepulchrum Christi.

Item chorus :

Dic nobis Maria.

Secunda Maria respondeat cantando :

Angelicos testes.

Item chorus :

Dic nobis Maria.

Tertia Maria cantando respondeat :

Surrexit Christus.

Chorus :

Credendum est.

Intrando chorum postea cantor incipiat antiphonam :

Et recordate sunt.

Te deum laudamus.

Versus : *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia.*

X. PARIS (SAINTE CHAPELLE).

The following two versions of the *Visitatio* of the Sainte Chapelle have not only close similarity in text but have closely related and interesting rubrics. Of particular interest is the mention, in the first one, of the soldiers or guards at the sepulchre. The only other *Visitatio* mentioning soldiers at the sepulchre is that of Coutances, and this Wilhelm Meyer¹ would classify as an 'Osterspiel' rather than an 'Osterfeier.'

1. Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS. 114. *Ordo divini officii secundum usum Sacrae Cappellæ.* Fifteenth century.

(fol. 73) Responsorium *Et valde mane*, versus *Et respicientes, Gloria*, et finito responsorio chorales et adjuutores debent recipere *Et valde* et finito responsorio tres Marie, albis amictis non paratis dalmaticis aut tunicis albis ornate, vultus sive facies semitecte, voce submissa et humili, subter organa existentes debent subsequiter et una [MS. unam] post aliam per ordinem accedere ad chorum cappelle cantando videlicet prima *Mane prima sabbati*

¹ *Fragmenta Burana* p. 81.

et secunda secundum versum et tertia tertium, et semper et pedetentim transeundo, et dum fuerint ad hostium chori, cantabunt in simul et una voce simplici antiphonam :

O deus quis revolvat.

unus ad caput et alius ad pedes invitant ipsas Marias cantando unus ad caput et alius ad pedes invitant ipsas Marias cantando antiphonam :

Venite venite et nolite timere vos.

Et hoc cantato predictae Marie accedunt ad angelos et, dum ibi fuerint, prefati angeli cantant in simul :

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?

Marie respondent angelis :

Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Angeli ad eas :

Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixit; ite nunciate quia surrexit.

Quo finito statim predictae Marie una post aliam eant ad sepulchrum ipsum palpando et, dum ibi fuerint, secunda Maria accipiat sudarium et abscondat penes se, postea vertant se omnes ad chorum et dicat prima Maria sola :

Victime paschali.

Secunda :

Agnus redemit.

Tertia :

Mors et vita.

Cantor dicat eas respiciendo :

Dic nobis Maria.

Respondeat prima Maria sola :

Sepulchrum Christi viventis. Et ostendat illud cum digito.

Et secunda Maria sola dicat statim post primam versiculum *Angelicos testes*, eos ostendendo, *sudarium et vestes*, ostendendo manifeste sudarium quod penes se absconderat et illud teneat in manu sua.

Tertia Maria dicat sola versum :

Surrexit Christus spes mea, usque in finem.

Alius choralis versum :

ERRATUM.

The rubric beginning with line 5 on page 472 (unus ad caput etc.,) should read:

Qua cantata duo angeli existentes et custodientes sepulchrum unus ad caput et alius ad pedes invitant ipsas Marias cantando antiphonam :

Antiphona.

Et istis completis episcopus vel thesaurarius incipiat alta voce *Te deum* sine neupmate, quia ista die per octabas et in die octaba et in Annotino paschate antiphone vesperarum et horarum et *Te deum* finiuntur sine neupmate.

Sequitur versus sacerdotalis: *Surrexit dominus vere.*

2. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 1435. *Ordinarium tenendum in capella regis.* Fourteenth century.

(fol. 17) Finito autem ultimo responsorio, debent venire tres Marie una post aliam ad sepulchrum, indute albis non paratis et habentes amictus desuper capitæ sua, cantentes simul submissa voce:

Mane prima.

Quum autem veniunt ante sepulchrum debent se ordinate ponere coram eo. Et tunc duo angeli stantes unus a dextris et alius a sinistris dicant ad mulieres :

Quem queritis.

Mulieres ad eos :

Jhesum Nazarenum.

Angeli ad eas :

Non est hic.

Tunc mulieres eant ad sepulchrum una post aliam palpando sepulchrum. Tunc secunda Maria accipit sudarium quod abscondit penes se.

Postea vertant se ad chorum et dicat prima :

Victime paschali.

Secunda :

Agnus redemit.

Tertia :

Mors et vita duello.

Tunc unus de choralibus stans coram eis dicat :

Dic nobis.

Prima mulier sola versum, *Sepulchrum Christi*, ostendendo illud cum digito.

Secunda mulier sola dicat versum *Angelicos testes*, ostendendo digito; dicendo autem *sudarium* ostendat manifeste sudarium quod prius absconderat et teneat illud in manu sua.

Tercia mulier sola dicat versum :

Surrexit Christus spes nostra.

Tunc unus de choralibus solus dicat versum :

Credendum est magis.

Postea totus chorus dicat versum :

Scimus Christum.

Et tunc recedant mulieres cum duobus cereis. His finitis incipiat sacerdos *Te deum*.

XI. PARIS (CHURCH OF PARIS).

Lange has published eight texts of the *Visitatio* of the Church of Paris.¹ Professor Karl Young has recently published twelve more.² I wish here to add four new ones. All of these twenty-four texts are, with one exception, in breviaries, and all the manuscripts, so far as I have seen them, are of exquisite workmanship.

1. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 660.

(fol. 291) Finito responsorio debet fieri representatio sepulchri, et angeli ad mulieres :

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?

Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Versus: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat.*

Versus: *Ite nunciate quia surrexit.*

Tunc vertant se mulieres ad chorum et veniant cantando³ prosam sequentem simul.

¹ *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (1887), pp. 60-62.

² Publications of the Modern Language Association, XXIV, 2, pp. 298-301.

³ *Cantando* is here repeated in MS.

Prosa: *Victime paschali laudes immolant christiani*
Agnus redemit oves; Christus innocens patri recon-
ciliavit peccatores.
Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando; dux vite mor-
tuus regnat vivus.

Tunc cantor stet in medio chori et dicat mulieres:

Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?

Prima mulier respondeat cantori:

Sepulchrum Christi viventis, et gloriam vidi resurgentis

Secunda mulier vero vertat se et cum manu ostendat sepulchrum dicens:

Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.

Tertia mulier dicat versum:

Surrexit Christus spes mea; precedet suos in Galileam.

Cantor ad chorum:

Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam Judeorum turbe fallaci.

Chorus:

Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere. Tu nobis victor rex miserere.

Et statim sequitur psalmus *Te deum laudamus.*

Versus sacerdotalis: *Surrexit dominus vere.*

R. *Et apparuit Symoni, alleluia.*

2. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 133, Fifteenth century. The *Visitatio* (fol. 226) agrees exactly with the above down to the *Victime paschali* (here called Hymnus); this the *mulieres* apparently sing entire including the *Dic nobis* without any division. Then comes the final *Te deum* with its versus as above.

3. British Museum, Harl. MSS. 2927. Fifteenth century, ca. 1420. The *Visitatio* (fol. 285) agrees in text with No. 1 above, but with slighter briefer rubrics.

4. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 37399. Circa a. 1300. The *Visitatio* (fol. 236) agrees with No. 3 but with still briefer rubrics.

XII. SORBONNE.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 16317. *Ordinarium*. Thirteenth century. The MS. is one of those from the Sorbonne; its origin is not known.

(fol. 32) Et reincipiatur a cantore responsorium [et] versus. Ad sepulchrum angeli ad mulieres: *Quem queritis*.

Mulieres: *Jhesum*.

Angeli: *Non est hic*.

Tunc vertant se mulieres ad chorum cantando:

Victime.

Versus: *Agnus redemit*.

Versus: *Mors et vita*.

Tunc cantor stans in choro dicat mulieribus versum: *Dic nobis Maria*.

Prima mulier sola dicat: *Sepulchrum Christi*.

Secunda mulier: *Angelicis testes*.

Tertia mulier: *Surrexit Christus*.

Tunc cantor dicat ad chorum: *Credendum est*.

Chorus: *Scimus Christum*.

Episcopus vel sacerdos psalmum *Te deum laudamus*.

Versus sacerdotalis: *Surrexit dominus vere*.

XIII. MELK.

Stiftsbibliothek of the Monastery of Melk, MS. 1094. *Processionale*. Fifteenth century. At the end, fol. 120, is the note: Explicit processionale per manus Christanni professi eo tempore dyaconi ordinis Benedicti. The text of this *Visitatio* is of considerable interest, especially from its use of the *Resurrexit victor*. These ten-syllable Latin verses became known for the first time upon the discovery of the fragmentary Benediktbeuren Easter play, where three of the couplets occur.¹ All six are in the recently

¹ Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (1901), p. 128.

rediscovered Klosterneuburg Easter play.¹ In these plays the verses are sung by an angel just after the resurrection and before the appearance of the Marys. Similar to this use is the occurrence of at least the first line sung by an angel at the beginning of some versions of the Passau *Visitatio*.² In the *Visitatio* of St. Emmeran³ at Regensburg three of the couplets are sung by the three Marys to spread the angels' announcement of the resurrection. Here at Melk the verses are used by the angel to make the announcement. These are the only known cases of the occurrence of the verses. Wilhelm Meyer⁴ finds in them reminiscences of a sequence of Adam of St. Victor.

(fol. 36 ff.) *Ad visitandum sepulchrum.*

Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab hostio monumenti.

Angelus: *Quem queritis in sepulchro, o christicole?*

Marie: *Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

Angelus: *Aevia.*

*Resurrexit victor ab inferis,
pastor ovem reportans humeris.*

Aevia.

*Reformator ruina veteris
causam egit humani generis.
Vespertina migravit hostia
matutina suscepta gloria.*

Aevia.

*Non divina tamen potencia
est absorpta⁵ carnis substancia
Cui perhennis est benedictio
summe carnis glorificacio.⁶*

Aevia.

*Benedicto patre cum filio
benedicat nostra devocio.*

¹ *Jahrbuch des Stifts Klosterneuburg* Vol. I (1908), p. 30.

² Cf. *Visitatio XIX*, 4, in this article, also *Zt. f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. L (1908), p. 309.

³ *Zt. f. d. Altert., L*, 300.

⁴ *Frag. Bur.* p. 131.

⁵ MS. *absorta*, as also in MSS. of Klosterneub. and Ben. plays.

⁶ This line in Klosterneub. play reads: *summe laudis congratulatio.*

Angelus: *Nolite expavescere, Jhesum queritis Nazarenum crucifixum; surrexit, non est hic. Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum, sed ite dicite discipulis ejus et Petro quia precedet vos in Galileam (MS. galilea), ibi eum videbitis sicut dixit vobis.*

Angelus: *Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus, aevia aevia.*

Marie: *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aevia.*

Chorus: *Dic nobis Maria quid.*

[Marie]: *Sepulchrum Christi (viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis).¹*

Chorus: *Dic nobis.*

Marie: *Angelicos (testes sudarium et vestes).¹*

Marie: *Surrexit Christus (spes mea; precedet suos in Galileam).¹*

Chorus: *Credendum est, et sic per totum.*

Mulieres: *Ad monumentum venimus gementes, angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Ad chorum in processione: *Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit deo, aevia, aevia.*

XIV. AQUILEIA.

Bodleian Library, Misc. Liturg. 346. Thirteenth century. According to the Bodleian catalogue this Benedictine breviary was probably written in Northern Italy in the diocese of Aquileia; according to Frere however the MS. is of German origin.

(fol. 114) (After third respond) Versus ad monumentum:

Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?

¹In the body of the *Visitatio* only the first words of these three answers of the Marys are given; at the bottom of the page in another hand they are given entire without notes (which the rest of the *Visitatio* has).

Angelus: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulto gementes?*

Mulieres versum: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.*

Angelus: *Non est hic [quem] queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Versus: *Venite et videte.*

Mulieres: *Ad monumentum venimus gementes, angelum domini vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Chorus: *Currebant duo simul.*

Discipuli: *Cernitis, o socii, ecce linteamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.*

Chorus: *Surrexit enim sicut.*

Te deum laudamus.

XV. HERZOGENBURG.

Stiftsbibliothek of the monastery of Herzogenburg, MS. 67. *Breviarium Ducumburgense*. At the end of the MS. is the note: Explicit per manus Johannis Pickchl in die translationis S. Valentini episcopi anno domini 1451; orate pro me peccatore; Kchueleben ym Andes ym Lerduss.

(fol. 1 of an old pagination beginning in the middle of MS.) Responsorium repetatur, sicque ut mos habet, sepulchrum visitatur.

Antiphona: *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata, dominum querentes in monumento.*

Alia antiphona: *Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem, quem tegere (MS. tangere) sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?*

Antiphona: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulto gementes?*

Antiphona: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.*

Antiphona: *Non est hic, quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Antiphona: *Ad monumentum venimus gementes angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Antiphona: *Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum, alleluia.*

Antiphona: *Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.*

Antiphona: *Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus, precedet vos in Galileam, alleluia, ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. Christ ist erstanden.*

XVI. HERZOGENBURG.

Stiftsbibl. at Herzogenburg, MS. 173. *Rubricæ Ducumburgense.* The MS. is in a rather late cursive hand, doubtless of the sixteenth century, and is not paginated. The *Visitatio* is not given in its entirety. Of particular interest is the clause *cum non habetur ludus*. This shows a recognized distinction between the liturgico-dramatic office of the *Visitatio* and the more fully developed *ludus*. We may perhaps assume that the *ludus* which seems to have been occasionally given at Herzogenburg was a Latin Easter play similar to the recently rediscovered one of the neighboring monastery of Klosterneuburg.¹

Responsorium *Dum transisset sabbatum.* Et sub isto responsorio fit *visitatio sepulchri*, et duo *juvenes* antecedant cum *luminibus*. Finito responsorio, *cum non habetur ludus*, tunc canitur antiphona *Maria Magdalena* cum ceteris antiphonis qui ponuntur in antiphonario secundum ordinem.

Cum adventum fuerit ad antiphonam *Cernitis, o socii*, tunc unus recipiat pannulum de sepulchro.

Incipiatur cantus vulgaris *Christ ist erstanden von der marter alle*. Et sic revertantur ad chorum, [cantores]² pronunciant prelado *Te deum laudamus*.

¹ Published in *Jahrbuch des Stifts Klosterneuburg*, Vol. I (1908).

² The word in the MS looks like *fectores* or *fertores*.

XVII. KLOSTERNEUBURG.

Stiftsbibliothek at Herzogenburg, MS. 180. *Breviarium choro Neuburgensi deputatum*. A. 1570. The MS. has a brief mention of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

(fol. 33) Iterum a choro repetatur responsorium *Dum transisset* usque ad versum, sicque ut mos habet, omnis clerus indutus cappis et cereos in manibus accensos portans sepulchrum visitat. Ibiq̄ choro in duos ordines diviso, ut in choro fieri solet, cantores imponant antiphonam :

Maria Magdalena.

Tunc tres presbiteri seniores ad hoc officium dispositi portantes pixides alabastras et eundo ad sepulchrum ad invicem cantant antiphonam :

Quis revolvat nobis.

Et diaconus, solemnī alba veste indutus, ex opposito sacristia veniens portans in manibus gladium multis luminibus circumscriptum circa sepulchrum stans in persona angeli humili voce explicat :

Quem queritis, o tremule.

Iterum presbiteri in persona mulierum aromata ferentium respondeant :

Jhesum Nazarenum.

Et angelus explicat :

Non est hic, quem.

Item subjungat antiphonam :

Venite et videte.

Et abscedente angelo presbiteri ad clerum vertentes cantent :

Ad monumentum.

Et illis abeuntibus chorus cantet antiphonam :

Currebant duo simul.

Interim dum canitur hec antiphona duo presbiteri sub persona Johannis et Petri ad sepulchrum venientes tollentes sudarium et mantille et, ad populum clerumque conversi, ostendent decantantes antiphonam :

Cernitis, o socii.

Tunc chorus subjungat antiphonam :

Surrexit enim sicut dixit.

Ac deinde predicti presbiteri seniores advertant ad altare sancte crucis et ibi cantent antiphonam *Dicant nunc Judei* sub minori nota. Hac finita intonent populo excelsa voce :

Christ ist erstanden.

Populus succinat :

Von der marter alle.

Deinde choro ad chorum redeundo imponatur *Te deum laudamus*. Quo finito dicatur versiculus *In resurrectione tua*; versus, *Deus in adjutorium*.

XVIII. SALZBURG.

The following two versions of the Salzburg *Visitatio* have the same text as the Salzburg versions in Lange but with somewhat briefer rubrics.

1. Hofbibliothek in Vienna, MS. lat. 1672. *Breviarium dioecesis Salisburgensis*. Fifteenth century.

(fol. 266) Responsorium iteratur *Dum transisset*. Quo finito omnis clerus portans cereos accensos procedit ad visitandum sepulchrum et stantes cantant :

Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento.

Mulieres: *Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sacrum cernimus sepulchrum?*

Angelus respondit: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulto gementes?*

Mulieres: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.*

Angelus: *Non est hic quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Mulieres verse ad chorum: *Ad monumentum venimus gementes, angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Tunc chorus imponat: *Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum.*

Petrus et Johannes veniunt ad monumentum et auferant lintheamina et sudarium quibus involuta erat imago domini, et vertentes se ad chorum ostendendo ea cantant antiphonam:

Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.

Chorus: *Surrexit enim sicut dixit.*

Populus: *Christ ist erstanden.*

Et ita clerus redeat ad chorum. Tunc sacerdos incipiat *Te deum laudamus.* Quo finito dicatur versus *In resurrectione tua, Christe, celum.*

2. Stiftsbibliothek of monastery of Herzogenburg, MS. 74. *Liber horarum canonicarum yemalis tam de tempore quam de sanctis secundum regulas et modum Saltzburgensis ecclesie.* A. 1475. MS. is not paginated. It has a brief mention of the *Elevatio.*

Responsorium a principio repetatur et omnis clerus portans cereos accensos procedat ad visitandum sepulchrum. Chorus cantet antiphonam:

Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento.

Tres presbyteri figuram mulierum tenentes cantant: *Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum.*

Angelus respondet: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumulto gementes?*

Mulieres: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.*

Angelus respondet: *Non est hic, quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Mulieres: *Ad monumentum venimus gementes angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Chorus: *Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum, alleluia.*

Et cantores quasi Petrus et Johannes cantent: *Cernimus, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.*

Chorus: *Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus precedet vos in Galileam, alleluia, ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.*

Populus incipit alta voce *Christ ist erstanden*, et ita clerus redeat ad chorum. Tunc sacerdos incipiat *Te deum laudamus*. Quo finito versiculus *In resurrectione tua, Christe.*

XIX. PASSAU.

The Passau type of *Visitatio* was widespread in that part of Austria and South Bavaria, as Lange's collection shows. Some versions which Lange gives without mention of Passau are not only of the general type but are from MSS. bearing the distinct heading *Breviarium ecclesie Pataviensis* or *Breviarium secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Pataviensis*. This is true of his Melk II and Melk III, and may possibly be true of others. In addition to the texts in Lange, a Passau *Visitatio* from a Vatican MS. has been published by Karl Young,¹ Six new texts from various libraries are here given or described.

1. Stiftsbibliothek of Monastery of Kremsmünster, MS. 274. *Breviarium secundum chorum Pataviensem, pars hyemalis*. Fifteenth century.

(fol. 306). Responsorium iteratur, fiat processio in monasterium omnes portantes cereos accensos. Angelus precedat se deatque in dextra parte ad caput sepulchri coopertus stola candida. Ordinata stacione et finito responsorio cantores incipiant choro prosequente:

Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento.

Interim duo vel tres cum totidem thuribulis figuram mulierum tenentes precedant ad sepulchrum et stantes cantent:

Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?

¹ Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc. XXIV (1909), p. 313 ff.

Angelus sedens in dextra parte sepulchri respondeat:

Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumultu plorantes?

Mulieres: *Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.*

Angelus: *Non est hic quem queritis, sed cito euntes nunciate discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Jhesus.*

Et cum angelus ceperit cantare *Sed cito euntes*, mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et festinanter redeant et versus chorum stantes cantent antiphonam:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes angelum domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Jhesus.

Qua finita, chorus cantet:

Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit cicius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum.

Et duo quasi Petrus et Johannes, sequente Petro, veniant ad monumentum et auferant lintheamina et sudarium quibus involuta erat imago domini et vertentes se ad chorum ostendendo ea cantent antiphonam:

Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.

Post hoc chorus cantet:

Dic nobis Maria quid vidisti in via?

Et veniens unus loco Marie Magdalene cantet:

Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.

Versus: *Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.*

Versus: *Surrexit Christus spes mea; precedet suos in Galilea*

Chorus: *Credendum est magis soli Marie veraci quam Judeorum turbe fallaci.*

Versus: *Scimus Christum surrexisse ex mortuis vere, tu nobis victor rex miserere.*

Quo finito cantores incipiant *Te deum laudamus*. Finito *Te deum laudamus*, sacerdos dicat versum: *In resurrectione tua Christe celum et terra letetur. Deus in adjutorium.*

2. Stiftsbibliothek of Monastery of Melk, MS. 1093. *Ordo sive breviarium de ecclesiasticis observationibus quomodo legen-*

dum et cantandum sit per circulum anni secundum ecclesiam Pataviensem. Fifteenth century. The *Visitatio* (fol. 37) agrees with the above Passau version from Kremsmünster except that the sentences of the text are not given in complete form and the first rubric has *Diaconus qui legit evangelium vel alter qui habet aptam vocem acturus officium angeli precedat sedeatque, etc.*, instead of the Kremsmünster words *Angelus precedat sedeatque, etc.*

3. Stiftsbibl. of Monastery of Melk, MS. 764. Fourteenth century. The title or heading at the beginning of the MS. is the same as just given under No. 2, and the *Visitatio* (fol. 51) is also exactly the same except that at the end after the *Scimus Christum* it reads: Quo finito cantores incipiant *Te deum laudamus*, populus cantet *Christ ist erstanden* et ascendunt chorum cantores porrigant clero incensum dicentes tacita voce *Surrexit Christus*, clerus respondeat *Gaudeamus* et in vice se deosculentur. Finito *Te deum laudamus* sacerdos dicat *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia. Deus in adjutorium.*

4. Stiftsbibl. of Monastery of Melk, MS. 992. *Breviarium secundum rubricam diocesis Pataviensis.* Fifteenth century. On the first page is this note: *Breviarium de rubrica dyocesis pataviensis*, quod Christiannus quondam famulus cellarii nostro monasterio Mellicensi testatus est anno 1450 quando et defunctus est in mense Decembri. The *Visitatio* is one of the few Passau versions in which the angel approaches the sepulchre singing the Latin verse *Resurrexit victor ab inferis* (discussed above under XIII). The first rubric begins: Responsorium repetatur, deinde fiat processio in ecclesiam. Choricus qui habet sonoram vocem acturus officium angeli precedat cantando *Aevia Resurrexit victor*. Quo finito redeat (MS. redeant) in dextram partem, etc. (as in No. 1). The sentences of the *Visitatio* are given in complete form except those of the *Dic nobis*. Text and rubrics agree with No. 1 above, except that at the end of the *Dic nobis* (i. e., after the *Scimus Christum*) comes: Antiphona, *Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus, precedet vos in Galileam ibi eum videbitis, aevia, aevia, aevia*. Then the *Te deum* with no mention of *Christ ist erstanden*.

5. Stiftsbibl. of Monastery of Kremsmünster, MS. 100. *Breviarium secundum usum ecclesie Pataviensis, pars hyemalis*. Written in two or three hands, all of the fifteenth century. The sentences of the text of the *Visitatio* (fol. 168) are the usual ones, as in No. 1, and are given in complete form, except in the *Dic nobis*. After the *Scimus Christum* comes *Deinde Christ ist erstanden*. Then the *Te deum*. The rubrics resemble those of No. 1, but are somewhat briefer.

6. Stiftsbibl. of Monastery of Herzogenburg, MS. 183. *Breviarium secundum ecclesiam Pataviensem*. Probably of the fifteenth century.

Visitatio sepulchri, fiat processio ad sepulchrum, omnes portant cereos accensos et unus aptam vocem habens acturus vocem¹ angeli sedeat ad caput in dextra parte coopertus stola candida et tres figuram mulierum habentes cum tribus thuribulis cantent:

Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata dominum querentes in monumento.

Angeli: *Quem queritis.* (Inserted here doubtless by mistake.)

Item Marie cantent: *Quis revolvat nobis.*

Angeli: *Quem queritis.*

Marie cantent: *Ihesum Nazarenum.*

Angeli cantent: *Non est hic quem queritis.*

Cum angeli ceperint cantare *Sed cito euntes*, mulieres thurificent sepulchrum et cito due reddant in chorum cantantes: *Ad monumentum venimus.*

Petrus et Johannes cantent: *Currebant duo simul*, et currant versus sepulchrum, Johanne precurrente Petro sequente; venientibus ad monumentum auferant lintheamina et sudarium, vertentes se ad chorum ostendendo ea cantent antiphonam:

Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est in sepulchro inventum.

Cantent versum: *Dic nobis Maria.*

Maria versum: *Sepulchrum.*

¹ Vocem instead of the usual officium would seem to be a copyist's error, due to the earlier vocem, but strangely it occurs also in the *Visitatio* just described under No. 5.

Secunda versum: *Angelicos testes.*

Tertia versum: *Surrexit Christus spes mea.*

Apostoli: *Credendum est magis. Versus, Scimus Christum*

Populus: *Christ ist erstanden.*

Sequitur *Te deum laudamus.*

Versus: *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia, celum et terra
letetur.*

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ZWEI DEUTSCHE LIEDERBÜCHER DES 16.
JAHRHUNDERTS IM VATIKAN.

Im Katalog der gedruckten Bücher der berühmten, 1623 nach Rom gebrachten Heidelberger Bibliotheca Palatina findet man zwei deutsche Liedersammlungen (ohne Noten) des 16. Jahrhunderts verzeichnet, die eine eingehende Beschreibung verdienen.¹ Es sind: 1. eine Ausgabe vom Jahre 1580 des von Nic. Basseus in Frankfurt a. M. gedruckten Liederbüchleins, die älteste und wichtigste Ausgabe des reichhaltigsten Liederbuchs des 16. Jahrhunderts; 2. ein verwandtes, beinahe ebenso umfangreiches Liederbuch, welches ca. 1580 zu Köln bei Heinrich Nettesheim erschienen ist.

Die beiden Liedersammlungen sind in einem in tadellosem Zustand erhaltenen Bande der Vatikanischen Bibliothek mit der Signatur Palatina V. 468 zusammengebunden. Auf dem Rücken des steifen Einbandes aus weissem Schweinsleder ist mit Tinte die Zahl 1535 gemalt, offenbar eine alte Signatur. Auf dem vorderen Deckel sind mit goldenen Buchstaben eingepresst, oben "L P C" (Ludwig Pfalzgraf Churfürst, Ludwig VI von der Pfalz, 1576-83, aus dessen Bibliothek der Band stammt), unten "1580," das Datum des Einbandes. In der Mitte des vorderen Deckels eingepresst ist das Wappen des Kurfürsten mit seinem Wahlspruch: . ALLE . DING . ZERGENGLICH . und der Inschrift: LVDWIG . V . G . GNAD . PFALSGRAF | DES HEI ROM REICHSERTZ DRV | CSES VND CVRFVTHERTZ IN PEI (Ludwig von Gottes Gnaden Pfalzgraf des Heiligen Römischen Reichs, Erztruchsess und

¹ Enrico Stevenson, Giunore. *Inventario dei libri stampati Palatino-Vaticani*, Roma, vol. II, parte 1 (1886), p. 218, no. 863a, 864b. Die Wiedergabe der Titel dieser Liederbücher ist im Katalog nicht ganz korrekt. Eine kurze Mitteilung über diese beiden Liedersammlungen habe ich in den *Beiträgen zur Gesch. d. deut. Spr. u. Lit.*, 35, 460f. veröffentlicht. Wie Prof. Joh. Bolte mir mitteilt, hat Ph. Wolfrum auf dieselben aufmerksam gemacht in der Monatsschrift *Sionia*, 21 (1896), S. 46 (Titel nach Stevenson, Inventaris; Wolfrum hatte diese Liederbücher nicht eingesehen.)

Kurfürst, Herzog in Bayern). Auf dem hinteren Deckel stehen in gleicher Ausführung links nochmals Wappen und Wahlspruch Friedrichs VI, rechts diejenigen seiner ersten Gemahlin, Tochter Philipps des Grossmütigen, Landgrafen von Hessen (Devise: ICH TRAV GOT ALLE ZEIT); unter den Wappen: ELISABETH . PFALTZ GREVIN | CHVRFVRSTIN . G . L . ZV . HESSEN.

Vorne in dem Bande befinden sich drei Vorsatzblätter, leer mit Ausnahme des zweiten, auf dem eine dreistrophige, wahrscheinlich noch im 16. Jahrhundert eingetragene handschriftliche Fassung des beliebten "christlichen Liedes" "Gehabt euch wol zu disen Zeitten"² steht. Darauf folgt die Kölner Liedersammlung und an zweiter Stelle das Frankfurter Liederbüchlein 1580. Am Schlusse des Bandes ist eine Anzahl (43) weisser Blätter beigegeben, die für handschriftliche Eintragungen bestimmt waren aber leer geblieben sind.

I. DAS FRANKFURTER LIEDERBUECHLEIN 1580.

Der Titel lautet: Lieder Büchlein / | *Darin Begrif-*
fen | sind Zwey hundert vnd sechtzig / | Allerhandt
 schöner Weltlichen Lieder / | Allen jungen Gesellen vnd züchtigen
 Jungfrau- | wen zum neuwen Jar / in Druck verfertigt. |
Auffs neuw gemehret mit vil schönen Lie- | dern / die in den
 andern zuvor ausgegangenen | Drücken / nicht gefunden werden.
 | *Frölich in Ehren / Sol niemand wehren.* | [Holzschnitt, 5.2x6.9 cm.]
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn. | M.D.LXXX. [Rückseite des letzten Blattes, nach dem Register:]
Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn / | durch Nicolaum Basseum / Jm | Jar / 1580.

Die kursiven Zeilen sind im Original rot. 14½ Bogen 8°, signiert A bis Piiiij=116 (unpaginierte) Blätter. Die bedruckte Fläche einer vollen Seite ist 7.5 cm. breit und 12.6 cm. hoch mit 37 Zeilen Text. Die Lieder sind von I bis CCLXI numeriert, aber zwei verschiedene Lieder haben die Nummer CVI, also 262 Liedertexte. Die Strophen sind abgesetzt, die Verse aber nicht; in nur ein paar Liedern sind die Strophen numeriert.

² Vgl. *P B Beiträge* 35, 451.

Dieses Liederbuch ist eine ältere Ausgabe des von Uhland für seine Volksliedersammlung stark benutzten Frankfurter Liederbüchleins vom Jahre 1584.³ Beide Ausgaben sind bei Nic. Basseus erschienen, der Titelholzschnitt und die Typen sind in beiden identisch, die Zahl der Blätter ist dieselbe. Der Text zeigt unbedeutende, meist orthographische Differenzen in Liedern, die beiden Ausgaben gemeinsam sind. In den Ausgaben 1580 und 1584 sind die Lieder I bis LXVII gleich; Nr. LXVIII, 1580: Dein gesund, mein freud, 8 Str., 1584: Der tag der thut herdringen, 12 sechszeilige Str.; LXIX bis CCLVI in beiden Ausgaben gleich; CCLVII, 1580: Wolauff mit reichem Schalle, 13 Str., 1584: Lost auff vnd höret zu, 24 sechszeil. Str.; CCLVIII, 1580: Wenn mein stündlein vorhanden ist (Nic. Herman), 10 Str., 1584: Ich bin so lang gewesen, 5 Str.; 1580 Nr. CCLIX=1584 Nr. 258 (1584 fehlt eine Nr. 259); CCLX und CCLXI in beiden gleich; (1584 hat noch ein Lied, Nr. 262:

³ Vollständiges Exemplar auf der Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt a. M., Signatur: Auct. Germ. Coll. 412. Vgl. Uhland, Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder, 2. Aufl. S. 769. — Ueber die verschiedenen Ausgaben der Frankfurter Liedersammlung vgl. A. Kopp, Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie Aug. Wilmanns gewidmet, Leipzig 1903, S. 445-454 und Archiv für neuere Sprachen, 121, 251f. Ein Blatt in K. H. G. von Meusebachs Nachlass Nr. 32 auf der Kgl. Bibl. in Berlin enthält folgende Notiz: "Zweyhund. zwey u. sechzig weltl. Lieder. 1600. 8°. (Catalogus Bibliothecae J. Chr. Gottschedii, Lips. 1767. 8. pag. 119);" das von Joh. Bolte in Petersburg entdeckte Lieder Büchlein o. O., 1600 (vgl. Zs. f. d. A., 34, 167-169), dürfte ein Exemplar derselben Ausgabe sein. Kopp (Beiträge etc., Aug. Wilmanns gewidmet) zeigt, dass das Petersburger Exemplar die Lieder des Frankfurter Liederbüchleins von 1584 wiederholt. Eine vermehrte Ausgabe der Frankfurter Liedersammlung, der Ausgabe von 1584 näher verwandt als der von 1580, ist das von Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Findlinge, 1, S. 150-152 beschriebene "Grosz Liederbuch" 1599; das einzige bekannte Exemplar ging 1908 mit der Bibliothek S. Hirzels in den Besitz der Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt a. M. über. Das von Uhland benutzte kleine Erfurter Liederbüchlein (157 Nrn., Exemplar in Bremen, Stadtbibl.) enthält nur Lieder des Frankfurter Liederbuchs von 1580 oder des Liederbüchleins 1582A (als Nr. 68 hat das Frankf. Liederb. 1584 ein anderes Lied als diese drei Sammlungen); Titel des Erfurter Liederbüchleins bei Goedeke-Tittmann, Liederb. aus d. 16. Jahrh., Leipzig 1867, S. XX, vgl. auch *P B Beitr.* 35, 461.

Hoer guter Gesell, Nach deiner Liebsten mit mehr stell, 9 sechszeil. Str.).

Als einen Nachdruck der Frankfurter Sammlung, wahrscheinlich der Ausgabe von 1580, zu betrachten ist das bekannte Liederbüchlein, ohne Ort, 1582, von A. Kopp "1582A" bezeichnet.⁴ In diesen beiden Sammlungen sind die Lieder Nr. I bis CCLIII gleich; 1580 Nr. CCLIII: Hertz einigs Hertz, manch grossen schmerz, glaub mir on schertz, leid ich durch deinert willen . . . , 6 sechszehnzeilige Str., fehlt 1582A; 1580 Nr. CCLV: Wie möcht ich frölich singen, weil mir nit wil gelingen, denn es hat gefangen, das trawrig Hertze mein, ein zart schöne Jungfrawe . . . , 8 zwölfzeil. Str., fehlt 1582A; 1580 Nr. CCLVI bis CCLXI = 1582A Nr. 255-260. Der Titel von 1582A stimmt genau mit dem des Frankfurter Liederbüchleins 1580 überein; 1582A hat aber einen andern Titelholzschnitt, zeigt eine andere typographische Ausstattung und weicht sonst im einzelnen von der Frankfurter Sammlung ab. Das Liederbüchlein 1582A ist sicher nicht von Nic. Basseus gedruckt worden; auch ist kein Anlass vorhanden, Frankfurt als Druckort desselben anzunehmen, wie es z. B. Hoffmann von Fallersleben und Goedeke getan haben.⁵

Dass schon vor 1580 eine oder mehr als eine Ausgabe dieser Lieder von Nic. Basseus in Frankfurt⁶ gedruckt wurde, ist nicht unwahrscheinlich. Die allerdings ziemlich unzuverlässigen alten Frankfurter Messkataloge verzeichnen Ausgaben von 1575 und 1578.⁷ Vgl. auch die Angabe des Titels 1580: "Auffs neuw

⁴ Exemplar in Wien. Facsimile des Titelblatts und Textproben in Könnekes Bilderatlas, 2. Aufl., S. 164. Der Neudruck dieser Sammlung, hrsg. von Jos. Bergmann, 1845 (Stuttgarter Lit. Ver., Nr. 12) mit dem Titel "Das Ambraser Liederbuch vom Jahre 1582" lässt an Genauigkeit manches zu wünschen übrig, (vgl. z. B. den Titel auf Seite V des Neudrucks mit dem Facsimile bei Könnecke).

⁵ Hoffmann, Findlinge, s. 250; Goedeke, Grundriss 2, 42.

⁶ Basseus ist lange vor 1580 als Frankfurter Drucker bekannt.

⁷ G. Draudius, 1625, S. 743. Collectio, etc., Frankf. a. M., 1592, S. 359; G. Draudius, Bibliotheca librorum Germanicorum classica, Frankf. a. M., 1611, S. 552. Vgl. A. Kopp in den Beiträgen, etc., Aug. Wilmanns gewidmet, Leipzig 1903; Bergmann, Das Ambraser Liederbuch, Stuttgart 1845, S. VIII f. Eine Ausgabe von 1579 von Meusebach erwähnt, Nachlass Nr. 32, Kgl. Bibl. Berlin, wohl nach einem alten Katalog.

gemehret mit vil schönen Liedern, die in den andern zuvor auszugesangenen Drücken nicht gefunden werden." Die Entstehung der Frankfurter Liedersammlung, wie sie in der Ausgabe von 1580 vorliegt, wäre aber wohl nicht über das Jahr 1575 anzusetzen (Lied Nr. 152 "Bomey, Bomey, jr Polen" etwa nach Mitte des Jahres 1574).

Jedenfalls ist das Frankfurter Liederbüchlein in der Ausgabe von 1580 oder einer ähnlichen noch älteren Ausgabe die Grundlage für das Kölner Liederbüchlein ca. 1580 gewesen.

II. DAS KÖLNER LIEDERBÜCHLEIN CA. 1580.

Lieder Büchlin / | *Zwey hunderdt* | vnd *LVII. allerhandt schöner* | auszerlesener / Weltlicher Lieder / allen | jungen Gesellen vnd züchtigen Jungfrawen zum | newen Jar in truck verfertigt. | Auffs newe gemehrt / mit vilen schönen Liedern / die in | andern Liederbüchern nit gefunden werden. | [Holzschnitt] *Zu Cöllen / in der Margardengassen / | Bey Henrich Nettessem.*

Die kursiven Zeilen sind im Original mit rotem Lettern gedruckt. 12 Bogen 8°, signiert A bis Mvii^j=96 Blätter (unpaginiert); Rückseite des Titelblattes (Bl. A) und des letzten Blattes leer. Das erste Lied fängt auf Bl. Aij^a an, Nr. CCLVII schliesst auf Bl. Mvj^a; Register Bll. Mvj^b bis Mvii^a; am Schlusse keine Angabe über Drucker, u. s. w., nur die Worte: Ende dieses Büchlin. Die volle bedruckte Seite (7.5 x 13.1 cm.) hat 39 Zeilen,—Kleine scharfe Schwabacher Typen.

Der Titelholzschnitt (6.55x6.7 cm.; als Einfassung eine schwarze Linie) stellt zwei einander gegenüberstehende Frauen dar, hinter diesen sind einige Blumen oder Kräuter zu sehen, im Hintergrunde Horizont und Wolken. Die Kleidung der beiden weiblichen Figuren ist zum Teil rot überdruckt.

Die Lieder sind von I bis CCLVII numeriert. Für XLII und XLIII sind LXII und LXIII verdruckt; die Nummer LXXXIX fehlt, aber der Text des Liedes ist mitgeteilt; die Nrn. XCIII und XCIII sind umgestellt. Mehrere Lieder kommen zweimal in fast genau derselben Gestalt oder in ähnlichen Fassungen vor. Die Strophen sind abgesetzt, die Verse aber nicht;

ausser bei den Meisterliedern Nr. 222, 223, 242 sind die Strophen nicht numeriert. Eine Überschrift oder Angabe der Melodie findet sich bei etwa elf Liedern, sonst steht über den einzelnen Texten nur die römische Zahl. Von spruchartigen Anhängseln zu den Liedertexten, wie sie in alten Liederquellen öfters vorkommen, habe ich nur ein einziges im Kölner Liederbuch bemerkt, nach Nr. LXXXII: Lieb haben ward mir oft beschert, Gelt ausgeben hat mirs erwehrt.

Von dieser Kölner Liedersammlung ist das bekannte Lieder Büchlin vom Jahre 1582 der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin ("1582B," Signatur Yd 5041) offenbar ein verkürzter Nachdruck. 1582B enthält nur 192 Lieder (einschliesslich einiger Dubletten), oder genauer 190, da Nr. 161 und 188 übersprungen sind; 1582B Nr. 38=Nr. 33; Nr. 27, 34, 35, 122, 186, 190, 191, 192 sind in keinem anderen Liederbuch erhalten; die übrigen Liedertexte von 1582B finden sich in meist genau entsprechenden Fassungen im Kölner Lieder Büchlin und zwar fast in derselben Reihenfolge. Das sehr einfache Titelbildchen von 1582B macht den Eindruck einer Nachbildung des Titelholzschnitts des Kölner Liederbuchs. Es stellt ebenfalls zwei stehende Figuren mit zum Teil rot gefärbter Kleidung dar: links eine Dame, die eine unverkennbare Ähnlichkeit mit der weiblichen Gestalt rechts auf dem Titelblatt der Kölner Sammlung hat, rechts aber einen Mann mit Mantel und Degen. Dem Bildchen von 1582B fehlen Hintergrund und Einfassung und es sieht aus, als ob die beiden Figuren von zwei nebeneinander gestellten Holzblöckchen gedruckt wären. 1582B ist mit ganz anderen Typen als das Kölner Liederbüchlein gedruckt.

Der Inhalt des Kölner Liederbüchleins lässt sich am einfachsten mit dem der Sammlung 1582B (B)⁸ vergleichen, und mit

⁸ Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Findlinge 1, 371-376 und A. Kopp in den Beiträgen zur Bücherkunde, etc., Aug. Wilmanns gewidmet, Leipzig, 1903, S. 445ff., haben den Inhalt von 1582B mit dem leicht zugänglichen Neudruck des Liederbüchleins 1582A (Ambraser Liederb.) verglichen. Ausserdem hat Kopp alle Liederanfänge von 1582B im Register zu seiner Ausgabe des Heidelberger Cod. Pal. Germ. 343 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, Bd. V, 1), Berlin 1905, angeführt.

dem des Frankfurter Liederbüchleins 1580 (F)⁹ für Lieder, die in 1582B nicht enthalten sind.

Kölner Liederbüchlein ca. 1580 Nr. **1-26**=B1-26; **27**, sechs Str., fehlt B, F 158; **28-33**=B 28-33; **34**, Im thon, Nach willen dein, etc. Vinum que pars, verstehstu das, 8 Str., fehlt B, F 96; **35**, vier Str., fehlt B, F 85; **36**, drei Str., fehlt B, F 163; **37**, elf Str., fehlt B, F 97; **38, 39**=B 36, 37, F 94, 165; **40**, drei Str., fehlt B, F 92; **41-120**=B 39-118; **121**=B 121, F 77; **122**, Wie kan ich frölich werden, 3 Str. (gleich Nr. 185), fehlt B; **123, 124**=B 119, 120, F 216, 83; **125-162**=B 123-160; **163-184**=B 162-183; **185**, Wie möcht ich frölich werden, 3 Str., fehlt B, F 80; **186**, geistlich, 9 Str., fehlt B, F 102; **187**, fünf Str., fehlt B, F 104; **188**, vier Str., fehlt B, F 244 (5 Str.); **189**=B 184, F 239; **190**, fünf Str., fehlt B, F 251; **191**=B 185; **192**, zehn Str., fehlt B, F 112; **193**, "Wolt Gott dasz ich solte singen, mit lust ein neuwes Lied, mir geliebt ein feines Jungfrewelin in meinem sinn, die mir im Hertenzen geliebt," in 7 Absätzen, fehlt B, Abdruck: Heidelberger Hs. Pal. 343, hrsg. von A. Kopp, Berlin 1905, Nr. 44 (4 neunzeil. Str.); **194**=B 187, F 243; **195**, drei Str., fehlt B, F 143; **196**, fehlt B, F 252; **197**=B 189, F 258 (1582 A, Nr. 257).

Von den übrigen Liedern der Kölner Sammlung findet sich keines in 1582 B. **198**, Man spricht, Glück hat der Neider viel, 6 sechsz. Str., vgl. Berliner Hs. 1574, Nr. 74 (Euphorion 9, 630), Hs. 1575, Nr. 116 (Archiv f. neuere Spr. 112, S. 3); **199**, sieben Str.=F 242, Str. 1-7; **200**=F 127; **201**=F 123; **202**, Mein Gemüt das schwinget sich, vor grossen freuden vber sich, bey dir feines Megdlin zu sein, die ich allzeit mit trewen meyn, 6 Str., urspr. wohl vierzeilig, verderbte Fassung; **203**, Wo find ich denn deins Vatters Hausz, seuberliches Megdelein, 7 Str., Böhme, Altd. Liederbuch, Nr. 483; **204**, Gut Gesell vnd du must wandern, 8 Str., F 250 abweichend; **205**, Auff gnad so wil ichs heben an, grosz lieb bezwingt mir meinen muth, die ich zu einer

⁹ Man findet in der Neuausgabe von 1582A die Lieder der Frankfurter Sammlung 1580 unter denselben Nummern, ausser in einigen Fällen, wo ich auch die Nummer in 1582A angebe.

Jungfrauen han, die tugendthafft, die rein, die gut . . . , 7 neunzeil. Str.; **206**, neunzehn Str.=F 253; **207**, Mein Hertz das brinnt in liebe gar, gegen dir mein schatz auff erden . . . , 3 Str. (1 und 3 zehnzeilig); **208**, Ich hab mir ein edles Lieb auszerwehlt, ist aller tugendt voll . . . , 4 achtzeil. Str.; **209**, Ich weisz mir ein knaben ist hübsch vnd fein, er hat ein krauses härelein, darzu ein rosenfarben Mund der lacht vnd ist frölich zu aller stund, Alle mein sinn steht mir zu jhm, das macht dasz ich nit bey jm bin, 5 sechszeil. Str.; **210**, Komm glück bringt freud, es ist wol zeit, dasz ich mag frölich werdē, Ich hab dich lieb . . . , 4 Str.; **211**, O Du vil heimlichs leiden wie machst mir mein hertz so schwer . . . , 4 ungleiche Str., vgl. Heidelberger Cod. Pal. Germ. 343, hrsg. von A. Kopp, Berlin 1905, S. 98 f., Nr. 91, Berliner Hs. 1574 Nr. 3 (Euphorion 8, 513); **212**, Freud vnd Muth fehrt gar dahin, 6 Str. (vgl. Nr. 140: Freuwde vnd mut ist gar dahin, 4 Str., und F 182, 3 Str.); **213**, Wir trincken alle gerne, vnd haben wenig Gelt, wer wil vns denn das wehren . . . , 7 achtzeil. Str.; **214**, neun Str.=F 237; **215**, Mit gantzem elenden Hertzen, klag ich mein schweres leyd, 8 neunzeil. Str.=Heidelb. Cod. Pal. Germ. 343, hrsg. von A. Kopp, S. 63 f., Nr. 56; **216**, Im Thon: Ach Gott wem sol ich klagen das heimlich leiden, etc. Ich hett mir ein Megdlein auszerkoren, ich meynt sie wer mir hold . . . , 4 achtzeil. Str.; **217**, Im thon: Nun welche hie jr Hoffnung gar auff Gott den Herren legen, etc. Wie es Gott gefellt so gefellt mirs auch, 8 Str., Wackernagel, Kirchenlied 3, Nr. 651, Cod. Pal. Germ. 343, hrsg. von Kopp, S. 7 ff., Nr. 8; **218**, In seinem eygen Thon: Es war ein Gottfürchtiges vnd Christlichs Jungfreuwlein, 14 Str., Wackernagel, Kirchenlied 3, Nr. 1372; **219**, Die höchste freud die ich gewann, 9 Str., vgl. Böhme, Altd. Liederb. Nr. 209; **220**, acht Str.=F 89; **221**, sieben Str.=F 236, vgl. PBBeiträge, 35, 423 zu Nr. 25d; **222** (von Hans Sachs), Joannes Bocatius schriebe, 3 Str.=F. 241; **223**, In des Speten Frauenlobs Thon. Ehe ich auff Erden geboren was, 3 Str.=F 141; **224**, Mein tag kein zag beyn gesellen was, 6 Str.=F 145, vgl. PBBeitr. 35, 453, Nr. 114; **225**, zehn Str.=F 219; **226**, neun Str.=F 150; **227**, zwölf Str.=F 228; **228**, fünf Str., geist-

lich, bei Wackernagel, Kirchenlied 3, Nr. 997; **229**, Vor Liebe brennt mir mein Hertz im leib, 9 Str.=F 70 (dasselbe Lied im Kölner Liederb. Nr. 24 mit dem Anfang: Feuer eitel feuer, brennt mir . . .); **230**, acht Str.=F 107; **231**, Überschrift und 15 Str. gleich F 222; **232**, vierzehn Str.=F 221, vgl. PBBeitr. 35, 417, Nr. 5; **233**, acht Str.=F 161; **234**, elf Str.=F 173; **235**, Ein mal gieng ich spatzieren, sonder war ich allein . . ., 14 achtzeil. Str., vgl. Wackernagel, Kirchenlied, 1841, S. 853, Berliner Hs. 1574 Nr. 2 (Euphorion 8, 512 f.); **236**, Mir liebt im grünen Meyen die fröliche Sommerzeit . . ., 13 sechszeil. Str., vgl. Böhme, Altd. Liederb. Nr. 143, und A. Kopp. Zs. f. d. deut. Unterricht, 14, S. 437-447; **237**, Ich hatt mich vnderwunden, wolt dienen ein Frewlein fein . . ., 5 achtzeil. Str., Berliner Hs. 1574 Nr. 42 (Euphorion 9, 286 f.), Hs. 1575 Nr. 77 (Archiv f. neuere Spr., 111, 264); **238**, Frölich so wil ich singen mit lust ein Tageweisz . . ., 25 neunzeil. Str. (der erste Absatz hat aber 14 Zeilen, urspr. also 26 Str.), Abdruck einer handschriftlichen Fassung aus dem Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts mit 26 neunzeil. Str. von Waldberg, Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher 3, 303-306, 322; **239**, sieben Str., geistlich, bei Wackernagel, Kirchenlied 4, Nr. 6; **240**, siebzehn Str.=F 223; **241**, sechs Str.=F 232; **242** (von Hans Sachs), Ein Körbleinmacher in einem Dorff im Schwabenland, 3 Str.=F 240; **243** (Dannheuser), 26 Str.=F 224; **244** (Hildebrand), 20 Str.=F 207; **245**, geistlich, 7 Str., Wackernagel, Kirchenlied 3, Nr. 170, Hs. Pal. 343, hrsg. von Kopp, S. 5 f.; **246**, geistl., 7 Str., Wackernagel 4, Nr. 719; **247**, geistl., 7 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 1037; **248**, geistl., 4 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 1240, 1241, Hs. Pal. 343, hrsg. von Kopp, S. 222; **249**, geistl., 3 Str., Wackernagel 4, Nr. 260; **250**, geistl., 3 Str., Wackernagel 4, Nr. 352; **251**, geistl., 4 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 1291; **252**, geistl., 6 Str., Wackernagel 4, Nr. 785; **253**, geistl., 8 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 445; **254**, geistl., 9 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 1140; **255**, geistl., 5 Str., Wackernagel 3, Nr. 209; **256**, Im thon, Wie man den Lindenschmidt singt. Hort zu jr Herren grosz vnd klein, ich wil euch singen ein liedlein fein . . ., 28 fünfzeil. Str. (Schuster und Edelmann),

dasselbe Gedicht in einem fliegenden Blatte, Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Gal. RK64, Nr. 17, vgl. E. Weller, Annalen der poet. Nat.-Lit. der Deutschen, Freiburg 1862, Bd. 1, 257 Nr. 311; 257, fünfzehn Str.=F 130.

Die Grundlage des Kölner Liederbüchleins war eine Ausgabe der Frankfurter Sammlung,¹⁰ wahrscheinlich die von 1580. Folgende Nummern der Frankfurter Lieder (1580) sind in das Kölner Liederbüchlein nicht aufgenommen worden: 23, 65, 68, 69, 78 (aber einige Str. im Kölner Lb., Nr. 28), 98, 108, 111, 128, 129, 131-140, 142, 144, 149, 152, 164, 212-215, 217, 218, 220, 225, 226, 231, 233-235, 245-249 (Abdruck der vorigen Lieder findet man unter denselben Nummern der Neuauflage von 1582A, Ambraser Liederbuch); ferner Nr. 254 Hertz einigs Hertz, 255 Wie möcht ich frölich singen (fehlen 1582A); 256, 257, 259-261 (=1582A, Nr. 255, 256, 258-260). Es handelt sich in fast allen Fällen um Liedertexte, welche in der Frankfurter Sammlung doppelt vorhanden waren, oder welche, wie A. Kopp, von 1582B ausgehend, erkannt hat,¹¹ wegen ihrer Länge, wegen anstössiger Elemente, u. s. w. "schlecht in den Rahmen eines Liederbuchs hineinpassen." An Stelle dieser Nummern finden wir in der Kölner Sammlung im ganzen etwa vierzig Liedertexte,¹² die im Frankfurter Liederbüchlein (1580) nicht vorhanden sind, darunter eine Anzahl geistlicher Lieder. Sieben Nummern des Kölner Liederbuchs sind mir in keinen andern Quellen bekannt:

¹⁰ Dies beweist der Inhalt der beiden Liederbücher, z. B., Frankf. Lb. 1580, Nr. 1-3=Kölner Liederb., Nr. 55-57; 5-22=K59-76; 24-34=K78-88; 35, 36=K90, 91; 38-41=K92-95; 44-56=K98-110; 63, 64, 66=K112-114; 71-73=K115-117; 74, 75, 77=K119-121; 79, 80=K184, 185; 92, 93, 95=K40-42; 100, 101, 103=K43-45; 105, 106a, 106b=K46-48; 120-122=K52-54; 157, 158=K26, 27; 159, 160=K30, 31; 175-178=K130-133; 180-186=K138-144; 187-197=K146-156; 201-206=K162-167; 209-211=K171-173.

¹¹ Beiträge, etc. Aug. Wilmanns gewidmet; Archiv f. neuere Spr., 121, S. 251.

¹² Nr. 15, 17 (=62, F 8), 24 (=229, F 70), 28 (einige Str. wie Frankf. Lb. 1580, Nr. 78), 29 (vgl. Nr. 220, F 89), 32 (=84, F 30), 122 (=185, F 80), 145 (=Nr. 100, F 46), 191, 193, 198, 202, 203, 205, 207-213, 215-219, 228, 235-239, 245-256.

202, 207, -208, -209, -210, 213, 216; sie sind aber nicht zu den schönsten deutschen Liedern des 16. Jahrhunderts zu rechnen.

Man darf mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, dass das Kölner Liederbüchlein nicht nach dem Jahre 1580 erschienen ist, da die Zahl 1580 auf dem vorderen Deckel des Bandes als das Datum des Einbandes zu betrachten ist (nicht etwa als das Erscheinungsjahr des an zweiter Stelle in demselben Bande befindlichen Frankfurter Liederbüchleins von 1580). Vor 1586 sind allerdings, soviel ich weiss, sonst keine Drucke von Heinrich Nettesheim (Nettessem) bekannt,¹³ aber auch ohne das Datum des Einbandes wäre das Kölner Liederbuch vor 1586 zu datieren, 1. da es die Grundlage für 1582B ist, 2. da dieses Exemplar aus dem Besitz des Kurfürsten Ludwig VI (gest. 12. Okt., 1583) stammt, und auf dem Einband auch noch das Wappen seiner am 21. März, 1582 verstorbenen ersten Gemahlin trägt.

Eine für die Feststellung des Erscheinungsjahres dieses Liederbüchleins sehr wichtige Mitteilung, die ich der Freundlichkeit des Herrn Direktors des historischen Archivs in Köln verdanke, möge hier Platz finden:

“Nach freundlicher Mitteilung der hiesigen Stadtbibliothek wird Nettesheim in den Messkatalogen nicht vor 1586 erwähnt. Dagegen habe ich festgestellt, dass Nettesheim am 2. Juni 1579 ein Haus in der Mariengartengasse [auf dem Titelblatte des Liederbuchs: Margardengasse] erwarb, in dem ihn die Steuerliste von 1589 als wohnhaft anführt (Schreibsbuch 170, 211b n. 2). Im Jahre 1587 erwarb er zwei weitere Häuschen in derselben Strasse (a. a. O., 228b n. 2). Im Jahre 1605 war er noch im Besitz (Schreibsbuch 159, 237a).”

Diese Kölner Liedersammlung wurde also vor Ende des Jahres 1580 (Datum des Einbandes) gedruckt, und zwar wohl erst nach der Erscheinung des Frankfurter Liederbuchs 1580. Der Vergleich des Inhalts der beiden Sammlungen beweist, dass eine Ausgabe der Frankfurter Lieder vorausgegangen sein muss,

¹³ Vgl. Heitz und Zaretsky, Die Kölner Büchermarken bis Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts, Strassburg 1898.

—wenn aber das Kölner Liederbüchlein auf einer noch älteren Ausgabe der Frankfurter Lieder als die von 1580 beruhen sollte, so wird es doch kaum vor der Mitte des Jahres 1579 erschienen sein (Erwerbung durch Nettesheim des Hauses in der Mariengartengasse in Köln, 2. Juni 1579).

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WOMEN IN THE GERMANIC HERO-SAGAS.

In about a quarter of the Germanic Hero-Sagas there are no women characters. These are stories of men, and there is no suggestion of a woman in them, much less a real feminine rôle. In several others women are mentioned, but without their taking any active part in the story. King Hrôthgâr's wife, Wealhtheów, appears at the banquet a time or two, the typical Germanic hostess. She presents the gifts of the Danes to Beówulf in a few appropriate words, and bids him be happy in the using of them. Hygd, the wife of Hygelâc, has even less to do in the story than Wealhtheów. But her wisdom, far beyond her years, and her generous hand, which spared not the costly jewels, are held up to us in contrast to the unenviable disposition of Thrytho. All we know about Thrytho, too, is that no man dared so much as raise his eyes in her haughty presence, but he paid for his boldness with his head. Catherine the Shrew was mild in her methods compared with Thrytho.

In the Ingeld Saga, Freáwaru was married to Ingeld to settle a feud between the Heathobards and the Danes. When the feud broke out again, Freáwaru was cast aside by her husband, not from any guilt of her own, but merely because she chanced to be her father's daughter. Völundr, the magic smith, wreaks a diabolical vengeance upon the innocent Bøðvildr for the same reason. In this group might also be mentioned the two innocent victims of a husband's jealousy, Wolfdietrich's mother, and Swanhilde, the beautiful young wife of Eormanric. Both of them are, like Desdemona, made to suffer through jealousy aroused by the poisonous whisperings of an evil counsellor. Unlike Desdemona, neither of them has an active part to play in the story. The banishment of Wolfdietrich's mother is of interest to us only because of its bearing upon the career of her son, the real hero of the saga. Swanhilde also has nothing to do, heroic or otherwise. The false Bikki invents a story about her, the king

believes it, and she is led to her terrible fate. Swanhilde is, however, a telling figure without any effort on her part. She was so lovely and her sunbright eyes so dazzling that even the wild horses which were to trample her to death, were held spellbound, and refused to do their work until these eyes had been hidden from them. A woman who looks like Swanhilde does not need to have an active part.¹

Midway between these passive women and the real heroines, are the characters that have a small part to play, but an individual part, nevertheless, which has a material bearing upon the movement of the story. They are the minor characters of whom nothing more is required than a clear head, presence of mind, and quick wit at a critical moment; or perhaps a willingness to endure hardship, and a certain degree of intelligence in carrying out the plans of another person.

Signý in the Halfdan Saga, for instance, had nothing to do with planning or executing the vengeance for her father's death, but her quick wit and ready act did save the life of her two brothers, and thus preserve them, for the work of vengeance. The boys had come in disguise into the banqueting hall of King Fróthi, the slayer of their father, and their own deadly enemy. Fróthi, suspecting their nearness, sent for a *Völva* or seeress, promising her great rewards if she could tell him where the boys were. The *Völva*, obedient to the king, opened her mouth and spoke:

Two are inside.
I trust neither,
Those who from fire
Somewhat far sit.

¹ Other well-known women characters of this class are Hildeburh, mourning for her slaughtered kinsmen, in the Finn Saga; Siegelinde, the mother of Siegfried, and Gerutha, the mother of Hamlet. Queen Helche, the wife of Attila, the Hun, is mentioned very often in the Sagas, and always as "the good Queen Helche," "the beautiful Helche," whom everyone loved. There are also two women, whose names we do not know, the princess of Jerusalem, wooed by Orendel, and the maiden who was the object of the feud between the brothers, Helgi and Hethinn.

And when she had told just enough to whet the king's curiosity, but not enough to help him at all, Signý, the sister, who had been watching her chance, tossed a golden armet into the lap of the prophetess. The woman broke off suddenly, dazzled by the unexpected gift, and declared what she had said to be a lie. The boys had had their warning, and in the tumult which followed, made good their escape from the hall.

The princess of Constantinople whom King Rother wooed and won, was a famous beauty. We are told that she shone among her people brightly as the stars in heaven. Among other women was she as gold among silks. She was entirely fit for a gentleman, or even for a king. It is the traditional feminine curiosity, which brings her into the story first. She had heard of the wonderful warrior who called himself Dietrich, encamped with his men just outside of the city. So great was his fame that she was seized by a desire to see him, and find out what manner of man he was. She therefore sent her maid, Herlint, secretly, to beg him to come to her. Dietrich did not go to the princess, but sent her a present instead. He had his smith make for him a pair of golden slippers and a pair of silver ones. He sent two of the shoes to the princess, but both for the same foot. As soon as she observed the mismated shoes, she sent her maid back with one of them. And Dietrich, with an escort of two knights, himself went with Herlint to carry the proper shoe to the princess. Once in her presence, he immediately threw off his disguise, and announced himself as King Rother, whose messengers for her hand had been cast into prison. The princess did not know whether to believe this story or not, and she lay awake all that night devising a plan to get the men out of prison, and prove the identity of Rother. Her plan worked out, everything went well, and, thanks to her own cleverness, she sailed away to the western sea with the great King Rother, whom she had long ago made up her mind to marry in spite of her father.

Another young woman who knew what she wished to do, and the best way to do it, is the princess in the Herbolt Saga. Dietrich of Berne sent Herbolt to woo for him a certain princess

named Hilde, whose father did not encourage wooers. Herbolt, by a fantastic device of his own, finally gained admission to the maiden, and stated his errand to her. "How does Dietrich of Berne look?" inquired Hilde. "Draw me a picture of him." Herbolt drew on the wall a very ugly, frightful looking face. "Heaven forbid," exclaimed the princess, "that I should be married to such a monster!" And then she added "But why do you woo me for Dietrich of Berne, and not for yourself?"—a question which has the familiar ring of Priscilla's "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"

The *Walther Saga* gives us an important secondary character in the person of Hildigunde. It was her wise coöperation in the plans of Walther, which made possible their escape from the court of the Huns. The two were hostages at Attila's court. They had been betrothed by their parents, while they were still in the cradle, and fate seemed to favour the arrangement. For, though Attila had often wished to give Walther a Hunnish wife, and thus bind him the more closely to his adopted land, the youth always declined the honour on one pretence or another, and Attila finally ceased to trouble him. Walther planned the flight very carefully, how he was to give a banquet to Attila and his men, and ply them with wine until they should sleep over into the next day. Hildigunde, who carried the keys to the queen's treasures, was to fill two chests with gold, and have ready the four pairs of shoes for Walther, and the iron hooks to catch fish and birds by the way. On the journey, Hildigunde kept guard while Walther slept. And after the fight she bound up the wounds, and poured out the wine for the men who survived. Hildigunde's part is that of the loyal, clever, ready young woman who helps to make things move, not by her own ingenuity, but by faithfully doing what she is told.

The wife of Ortnit, on the other hand, has the elements of the real heroine, though she does not chance to be the central figure in her story. When Ortnit set out to kill the dragon, he demanded from his wife a promise that if he never returned, she would give her hand to no one but the avenger of his death.

Ortnit did not kill the dragon, but himself fell a victim to it. His wife was left alone, and his land without a ruler. Many suitors came for the hand of the queen, but she refused them all, in accordance with her vow to wait for the man who should wield the avenging sword, and bring back to her the proofs of his conquest. Years passed. The queen clung to her vow, and her people one by one fell away from her, because her land was being plundered, and she refused to give them a new master. At last she was deprived of her kingdoms and her gold, and she lived with her women in sorrow day and night. But the avenger appeared at last. A stranger in search of adventure came riding by and heard her lamentations in the darkness. He immediately set out against the dragon, slew it after a fierce fight, and came back to claim his reward in the hand of the faithful woman.

Ingibjorg represents the type of woman, who, through no fault of her own, is the cause of a deadly feud between two men. She was the most beautiful and gifted maiden in all the Scandinavian lands. And two men wished to marry her. Her father, unwilling to offend either one of them, left the choice to Ingibjorg. She chose Hjalmarr, a man of great honour in her own land, rather than Angantýr, who was a Berserkr, and one of whom no one spoke aught but ill. Angantýr immediately challenged Hjalmarr to single combat, and the next midsummer they met. Hjalmarr killed his opponent, but himself received a deadly wound, and never came back to Ingibjorg. The maiden who was the innocent cause of the strife, soon followed her lover in death.

The loyalty of one woman to another, though not the main motif of any saga, appears several times as an incidental motif. When Signi, in the Hagbart Saga, announces her intention to share the death of her lover, the maidens in her following declare their willingness to go with her. And they all die together at the given signal. The generous affection of Gûdrûn's faithful companion, Hildiburg, who stood by her through all her troubles, reminds us of Celia's friendship for Rosalind. And the mild Ortrûn, Gûdrûn's one friend in the house of her tormentor, is rewarded at the end of the story for her bit of human sympathy,

by having her life spared, and that of her maidens, from the avenging hand of the warrior Wate.

The warlike maiden is also represented among the minor characters. Hervor the sister of Hlōdr and Angantýr, goes out in armor, like Joan of Arc and commands an army as her brothers do.

The cruel, heartless, woman of the traditional stepmother type, is Hartmut's mother, who undertakes to break the pride of the haughty Gûdrún. The Middle High German poet, who tells the story, is by no means choice or chary of the unpleasant epithets which he applies to her.¹

Turning now to the major characters. As we have seen, the feminine types represented by the minor characters in the sagas are somewhat varied. The real heroines, on the other hand, are confined to two types, just as the prevailing motifs in the sagas are two—vengeance and fidelity. Inborn in every Germanic warrior was the idea of absolute and unswerving fidelity to an oath—the oath of a vassal to his lord, or the oaths exchanged by lovers. Equally strong in his mind was the idea that the death of a kinsman must be avenged by the surviving members of the family. This was naturally the work of a man, but in the absence of a male relative, the woman at hand assumed the burden, and, in more than one case, proved her ability to plan a great thing, and carry it out regardless of results, to face death with all the courage and equanimity of her warrior husband or brother. Life and womanhood itself were none too dear a price to pay for her fidelity to her purpose. The Avenging Woman, and the Faithful Maiden, true to her lover even unto death, are the two types of Saga heroine.

Brynhilde and Kriemhilde are perhaps the best known, though not the noblest of the avenging women. Brynhilde's vengeance, which demanded the death of Siegfried, was for a stain upon her own honour. She had been tricked into breaking her vow to marry no one but the hero who should ride through the flames to

¹ The supernatural element in the character of Hilde excludes her from this list of purely human saga women.

win her. This motive seems trivial by the side of Signý, the Waelsing daughter's great sacrifice for the sake of her father and brothers. Kriemhilde's vengeance for the death of Siegfried is, in the *Nibelungenlied*, sullied by treachery, and by an indifference to bloodshed, which is unnatural to any woman. In the northern version of the story the vengeance is directed, not against her own kinsmen, but against Attila, and is ennobled by its being a punishment for the treacherous invitation, which, in this case, was sent by Attila, and not by Kriemhilde herself.

There is still a bit of the personal element in the vengeance of Rosamunda, the Gepid princess. Although she was fulfilling the first and highest duty of a Teuton, when she avenged the death of her father, it was an insult offered to herself, as well as to the memory of her father, which goaded her to decisive action in the matter. Rosamunda's father was killed by Alboin, king of the Lombards, and Rosamunda herself was a prisoner of war, whom Alboin afterwards married. One evening as they sat at the banquet, Alboin, excited by wine and victory, offered to his wife a drinking vessel, which he had had made from the skull of his father-in-law, bidding her 'drink and be merry with her father.' From that moment Rosamunda had but one thought—to avenge the death of her father by the death of her husband. This was not easy to accomplish. The king was a brave man, and no one was willing to assume the responsibility of his death. Finally, as the result of strategy, and by the sacrifice of herself, Rosamunda gained an accomplice in Peredeo, Alboin's bravest and most faithful courtier. At midday when all was still in the palace, and Alboin safely asleep, Rosamunda had all of his arms removed except the sword, which he wore at his side. This she had bound firmly to the head of the bed, so that it could not be unsheathed. The hand of Peredeo completed the work, and Alboin fell, with no chance to fight for his life. The cost had been great, but Rosamunda's revenge was accomplished.

The towering figure in this group, one unsurpassed, indeed, in all the sagas for tragic effect, is Signý, the Waelsing daughter, Married by her father to a man whom she hated and mistrusted

from the first moment, she never once lost courage, but was always master of the situation, and superior to her surroundings. Signý is a real hero, but a woman, too, from first to last. She makes her entrance as an actor in the story on the day after her wedding-day. As she bids her father farewell, she says to him. "I did not wish to be wedded to Siggeir, nor does my heart go out to him. I have a foreboding, too, that much ill will come to us from this union." Then they separated, and Signý went home with Siggeir. We next see her three months later, standing at nightfall on the shore of Siggeir's land, imploring her father and brothers not to set foot in her husband's territory. "Do not run into danger, I beg you, for there will be no way of escaping. Siggeir, the king, has collected a great army, and means to fall upon you without mercy." But her warning was unheeded, the men refusing to run away from an enemy, and Signý left her kinsmen to their fate, and went home weeping bitterly. The next morning a battle took place, and King Waelsing fell with all his following, except his ten sons. These were taken prisoner, but, at Signý's request, were set in the stocks instead of being put to death at once. With the aid of a trusty servant, Signý saved the life of one of them, Sigmund, and he made his escape to live in the woods until the time of vengeance should come. One at a time, when they were ten winters old, Signý sent her two sons out to Sigmund to be tested. They both showed fear, and she ordered them to be killed because they were unfit for the work of avenging her father's death. Then Signý knew that only a pure Wælsung would be brave enough to assist in carrying out the revenge. Her resolution was quickly made. In the guise of a witch she went to Sigmund's cave in the woods, and dwelt there with him for the space of three days. In due time she bore a son, whom she named Sinfjotli. When he was sent to Sigmund, he withstood the test, proving himself a true Waelsing, son's son and daughter's son, and Signý knew now that her plans would be carried out. The boy grew up in the woods with Sigmund, and when the time came, he helped Sigmund to set fire to the hall of Siggeir in the night, guarding it so that no one could

escape. Sigmund called to his sister to come out to them and be saved, promising her great honour and full atonement for all her sufferings. But Signý, mindful of the duty of a woman to her husband, as well as of the respect which she owed to her own womanhood, made this answer. "Now shalt thou know whether I have remembered how Waelsing the king was murdered by Siggeir. I had my two sons killed because they showed themselves unfit for the work of vengeance. I have done such deeds for the sake of revenge that it is not possible for me to live longer. Forced to abide with Siggeir in life, I now go with him willingly in death." Then Signý kissed Sigmund, her brother, and Sinfjötli, her son, and went back into the flames.

There are three women in the sagas, whose fidelity to a lover raises them to the rank of a hero; Gúdrûn, Signi, and Sigrún. Gúdrûn is the heroine of a love story with a happy ending. Signi and Sigrún are tragic heroines. Gúdrûn's fidelity to her betrothed lover cost her many years of hardship and suffering. Fair words, threats, and deeds of violence alike availed nothing to turn her from her purpose. She endured much and long, but the fates were on her side. And she lived to see the end of her troubles. Sigrún and Signi are different. Sigrún was a Valkyrie. Riding through the air one time with her companions she met the man Helgi on his return from a successful battle. She bemoaned to him her fate that she had been pledged by her father to Hoðbrodd, the grim son of Granmarr, "Though I have said, Helgi," she added, "that this Hoðbrodd is no better than the son of a cat. One splendid like thee have I wished as my spouse. And now do I fear the wrath of my kinsmen, because I oppose the will of my father." Helgi came to the aid of the woman in distress, raised an army, and went out to meet Hoðbrodd in battle. He was victorious, but more men fell in the fight than he himself wished. And to Sigrún must he announce not only the death of the hated wooer, but the fall of her brothers and father as well. Sigrún wept when she heard this, and said, "Fain would I wish them back again, these dear ones. But if life to them would snatch me from thy arms, to life would I never call them." After that Helgi and Sigrún became man

and wife. But Helgi did not live to grow old. He had spared one brother of Sigrún's in the fight, and this one vowed to Odin that he would avenge the death of his father and brothers. This he did with Odin's own spear, and then he rode away to tell Sigrún what he had done. Sigrún, his sister, cursed him with many curses, but she sang a song of praise to the memory of Helgi, the hero, and never ceased to weep for him. One evening when Helgi had been dead for some time, Sigrún's maid announced to her that armed warriors were to be seen riding toward the mound where Helgi was buried. "Go, Sigrún," she said, "out upon the Sefafell, if thou yearnest to see the prince of thy people. The mound is open, Helgi is come. His wounds are bleeding, and he, the dayling, bids thee cease thy weeping, and still the blooddrops from his wounds." Sigrún went with all speed to the grave, and when she had entered it, she said, "Now do I rejoice to see thee. But, Helgi, thy hair is thick with frost, and thou, thyself, art with deadly dew bedecked. How can I, O Prince, bring help to thee?" And Helgi replied. "Thine alone is the fault, Sigrún of the Sleeping Rock, that Helgi with the dew of grief is dripping. 'Tis thy tears that fall bloody on the Prince's breast, with sorrow laden. But deep shall we drink of the dearest cup, though we have lost joy and lands as men do count. No man shall sing a sorrow song, even though my wounds be plain to see. Now, I say, shall nothing seem strange, early or late, at the Sleeping Rock, since thou, living and breathing, hast rested a while in the mound of the dead." But at the first dawn Helgi started up. "Now is it time for me to ride the reddened paths, to let the white horse tread the air-way. I must over the rainbow bridge ere cockerow." Helgi rode away, and Sigrún and her maid went home to her dwelling. Sigrún did not live long after that, but pined away in grief and pain to an early death.

The tragedy in the story of Signi is also brought about by a feud between the chosen lover of the maiden and her own family—again the motif, fidelity unto death, even against the ties of blood. Signi, the daughter of King Sigar, was loved by Hagbart and secretly betrothed to him. But Hagbart had killed

Signi's brothers in battle, and for this reason knew that he could never obtain her father's consent to marry her. He resolved, however, to see her again, even at the risk of his life. He dressed himself in women's clothes, and, giving himself out as a Valkyrie, bringing a message to King Sigar, readily obtained admission to the palace. He thought not of the danger, for his confidence in safety through the fidelity of Signi was greater than his fear on account of having killed her brothers. As an honoured guest, the Valkyrie maiden was taken to the apartments of the king's daughter. Signi recognized her lover at once, and was silent. Her maids, however, were suspicious of this stranger. They spoke of his hardened hands and hairy wrists. But Hagbart cried out, "What wonder that my tender soles have been hardened, so oft the sand has touched my feet, and thorns have pinned me fast in the midst of my course. And my hands—blood-dripping weapons, and not the distaff, have busied them these many days." And Signi quickly interposed, "The hand that deals out wounds is ne'er so soft as that which holds the fine spun wool." After the maidens had retired, the two alone renewed their vows of love, and Hagbart thus addressed Signi, "If I am taken captive here and condemned to cruel death, wilt thou then thy holy vows forgetting, after my downfall seek again the marriage bond, thou my only loved one?" And Signi answered, "With thee will I die. If sad fate sink thee into the grave, my life will I not prolong. No vow will be more safely kept, if woman's word know what it be to keep the faith." These words so cheered the heart of Hagbart that he felt greater joy from her promise than pain at his own danger. But the lovers' secret could not be kept for long. The maid-servants betrayed them, and Hagbart was captured after a brave resistance. Nor was he permitted to fight for his life, as befitted a king's son. Sigar refused him this boon, and condemned him to die a disgraceful death on the gallows. Meanwhile Signi had inquired of her maidens if they were willing to share her fate to the last, and follow whithersoever she might lead. These vowed to carry out faithfully every wish of their mistress, and then Signi told them of her decision to follow her lover to the grave. At a given signal they were to set fire to the

palace, then, having made nooses of their garments, they were to hang themselves, thus sharing with their mistress the death of Hagbart. In order to test once more the steadfastness of his loved one, Hagbart begged the hangman to first suspend his mantel from the gallows, that he might have a picture of his death beforehand. The request was granted, and Signi's watchman, believing it to be Hagbart himself, gave the signal to set fire to the building. Hagbart saw the flames and cried out. "The pain of death is naught as compared with the joy that I feel in the fidelity of my beloved.—Quick, ye hangmen, seize me, raise me in the air.—Sweet it is for me, my Beloved, after thy end to die. Lo, the vow hast thou fulfilled, since thou art in death, as in life, my companion! Never can our first love die."

There are no startling conclusions to be drawn from this survey of the saga women. To be noted is, that the treatment of women in the Hero-sagas is serious. Nowhere is there anything bordering on lightness. Also, two types, well known to literature, are entirely lacking. There is no victim of a despised love, and no patient Griselda. Dido and Medea, the one dying for a faithless lover, the other living only to wreak vengeance upon one, are without a counterpart among the saga women. Equally out of place in this company would have been the patiently suffering wife. Patience in distress is nowhere lauded as an heroic quality. And meekness under oppression was no more a characteristic for a Germanic Saga woman than it is for a twentieth century heroine. Saintliness had not yet come into fashion. The Saga Women do, however, include a goodly number of familiar feminine characters, ranging in importance from the mere *freothu-webbe* of Beowulf to the strongest tragic heroines. Characters of passion and imagination, rather than of intellect, they are, nevertheless, well-poised, and courageous to the last degree. To die smiling was the ideal of every Germanic warrior, and the saga heroine went to her death, or to the duty harder than death, with the same brave smile.

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IS CHAUCER'S *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN*
A TRAVESTY?

The purpose of this article is to examine the new interpretation of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* which has recently been proposed by Professor Harold C. Goddard.^o It is not my intention to reopen the question of the priority of the B version of the Prologue; nor am I concerned with certain amiable strictures upon my own views. Professor Goddard's argument, it is obvious, stands or falls quite independently of the position which he incidentally combats, and I prefer to consider his theory on its own merits, and apart from minor controversial allurements. For the real point at issue is not, after all, the priority of one or the other of the two versions of the Prologue; it is at bottom the question of the permissible limits within which, in the interpretation of an author's work, one may dispense (however blithely) with recognition of the conventions, the preconceptions, the literary *milieu*, of that author's times.

I.

Professor Goddard tells us, in his gracefully disarming introduction, that his paper is a lecture "struck off for [his] Chaucer class" "in the heat of the moment," and that he has reproduced it "in its original and unexpurgated form," trusting that in these prefatory confessions extenuation of any vivacities of expression may be found. He would be churlish indeed who were wholly ungrateful for the vivacity of the performance. But one is none the less forced to the conviction, despite the extenuation pleaded, that the full bearings of the argument can scarcely have been given mature consideration. And inasmuch as it *has* been submitted to a wider audience than that of the class room, under the

^o *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 87-128; Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 47-111. I shall refer to these as VII, 4 and VIII, 1. The consecutive paging of the reprint is more convenient, but less generally accessible.

imprint of a journal of recognized influence and authority, it becomes necessary to take it with more seriousness than might otherwise be warranted—particularly as it rests, in the present writer's view at least, upon a grave misconception of Chaucer's art and genius.

The gist of Professor Goddard's argument may best be stated, as far as possible, in his own words. "What," he asks, "has Chaucer *apparently*¹ done in the *Legend of Good Women*? He has written a Prologue in which he is charged by the God of Love with heresy against love's law, and in which, after a remonstrance so feeble that it seems like an admission of his guilt, he agrees, on the intercession of the Queen of Love in his behalf, to write, as penance for his sins, a glorious poem in honor of good women—the legends themselves being the fulfillment of the promise. What has Chaucer *really* done in the *Legend of Good Women*? To begin with, he has clearly shown his own reverence for love. Then, through the foolish charge of heresy and other absurdities on Cupid's part, he causes the God of Love to make an ineffable dunce of himself, places even the Queen of Love in a ridiculous light, and finally, as penance for his literary sins against the other sex—sins that exist only in the imagination of Cupid—he writes, in the legends themselves, a most unmerciful satire upon women. In other words, *as penance for an act he never committed, he commits that very act.*"² The *Legend* that is (for space compels the rueful suppression here of the incomparable young clergyman), is "a satire, in the highest degree original, saturated with the modern spirit, a poem whose humor and irony are so gigantic, so colossal—one seeks in vain for a word sufficiently large—as to defy description, and yet whose facetiousness is not more stupendous than it is subtle, whose satirical shafts are not more keen than they are unsuspected. Before this achievement, even Swift's 'monumental' jest against

¹ Italics in citations are Mr. Goddard's, unless otherwise noted.

² VII, 4, pp. 100-01. I am quoting from Mr. Goddard, here and elsewhere, at greater length than might otherwise be necessary, were it not that I wish to avoid any possible danger of misrepresentation by isolating statements from their context.

Partridge, the almanac maker, dwindles to the proportions of a mere school-boy's prank."³ But in the first (or A) version this stupendous joke is felt still to be a little less than adequately telling; "it may be asserted, therefore, without hesitation that whatever other subsidiary motives may or may not have affected its recasting (as, for example, the question of references to Queen Anne), Chaucer's central motive in revising the Prologue was this: to increase the irony and satire of what he had written, yet at the same time to make that irony and satire more subtle and imperceptible than ever; to add to the fun, but keep it perfectly concealed; to deepen, in reality, the humor of the poem, yet at the same time, in appearance, to retain its seriousness. . . . If, then, the satirical purpose of the *Legend* be once admitted, on only one basis can the theory of the priority of A⁴ ever be revived; in the belief, namely, that Chaucer, being vouchsafed a prophetic vision of his critics, out of the kindness of his nature had mercy on them—for 'pitee renneth sone in gentil herte'—and deliberately went through his first version, cutting out all the rarest bits, expurgating the subtlest irony and satire, and diluting away the funniest situations."⁵

The arguments brought forward in support of this contention may, I think, be fairly summarized as three: first, the harmony of such a jest with what we know of Chaucer's characteristic humor; second, the implications of the Prologue, especially in the light of the evidence afforded by a comparison of its two versions; third, the infelicitous choice of heroines for the legends. And it may not be wholly unprofitable to consider each of the three.

II.

Professor Goddard's interpretation of the *Legend* rests in large measure, it is clear, upon what he conceives to be the distinctive qualities of Chaucer's humor. Humor, it may at once

³ VII, 4, pp. 101-02.

⁴ B, of course, is meant. Was the printer's devil (like Chaucer and the President of the Immortals) having *his* joke too?

⁵ VII, 4, pp. 99-100.

be granted, is at best a ticklish subject to split hairs about, but the view in question makes it happily unnecessary to lay stress on subtleties. The poem is a joke—"a joke the like of which we shall seek in vain in the annals of literature."⁶ The reproof of Cupid makes no sense "for the profound and abstruse reason that the whole passage is—a joke on Cupid!"⁷ Similarly, with reference to the book-passage in A, "the less appropriate the books cited by Cupid the greater the joke on him;"⁸ while as regards A 229 Mr. Goddard cannot convince himself that Chaucer "did not know what an infinitely good joke he was cracking in that line."⁹ So, too, with reference to the legends themselves, "the more tedious and less lifelike they are, the huger the joke on Cupid and Alceste."¹⁰

Quite in keeping, now, with this characterization of the poem itself, both as a whole and in detail, are the qualities which are asserted of its underlying humor. For one thing, it is *facetious*. The *Legend* is "a poem . . . whose facetiousness is not more stupendous than it is subtle."¹¹ To suppose that some of the legends may have been composed before the Prologue would, indeed, "in one respect, add immensely to the facetiousness of the poem."¹² But the *Legend* is not only facetious; it is *jocose* as well. There are certain passages in the Prologue which, "with the humorous interpretation, only add to the jocoseness and the satire."¹³ And finally, it is also *jocular*.¹⁴ "A desire . . .

⁶ VIII, 1, p. 99.

⁷ VII, 4, p. 114. So, at the foot of the same page, one finds "the possibility of an excellent joke on Cupid;" "the joke on him would remain."

⁸ VII, 4, p. 127.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ VIII, 1, p. 95 n.

¹¹ VII, 4, p. 101. Even granted that facetiousness may be subtle at all, one still asks how it may at the same time be both subtle and stupendous.

¹² VIII, 1, p. 95.

¹³ VIII, 1, p. 91.

¹⁴ It might be added that it is *funny* too. The B version, after we perceive its satirical purpose, is "much funnier than A" (VII, 4, p. 98);

to hasten from the *Troilus* to the perpetration of a joke the like of which we shall seek in vain in the annals of literature—that desire in any one with a taste for the jocular would be explicable enough, while in Chaucer it is really infinitely natural.”¹⁵

Now precisely these three words—facetious, jocular, jocose—suggesting as they do at least the debatable borderland between humor that is fine and humor that is cheap, *do* apply, and that most aptly, to the humor we are asked to see in the “huge joke on Cupid and Alceste”; but unless one may put no trust whatever in the associations that words have, they are among the least felicitous that could be found to characterize either Chaucer or *his* humor. Imagine calling the *Rime of Sir Thopas* or the *Envoy to Scogan* “facetious!”¹⁶ It is perfectly true, I grant, that the desire to perpetrate such a joke as that we are asked to assume in the poem, would, “*in any one with a taste for the jocular . . .* be explicable enough.”¹⁷ But when one is in-

“few aspects of the whole jest would be funnier than the intimation that there were not enough beautiful and virtuous women to fill up even a little ballad” (VIII, 1, p. 49 n).

¹⁵ VIII, 1, p. 99.

¹⁶ It is pure accident that the first reference I turn to for the use of *facetious* is this from John Fiske: “Probably the most tedious bore on earth is the man who feels it incumbent upon him always to be facetious and to turn everything into a joke.” “Nothing,” remarks Dr. Johnson, “is more despicable than the airiness and jocularly of a man bred to severe science . . . To trifle agreeably is an art which schools cannot impart.” “A lion and tigress went through their exercises like poodles,” wrote Scott in his *Journal*. “This is rather degrading. I would have the Lord Chancellor of Beasts good-humored, not jocose.” Dickens’s “Sundry jocose proposals that the ladies should sit in the gentlemen’s laps;” his account of Mr. Bob Sawyer as one who “had about him that sort of slovenly smartness and swaggering gait which is peculiar to young gentlemen who smoke in the streets by day, shout and scream in the same by night, call waiters by their Christian names, and do various other acts and deeds of an equally facetious description”—these remarks, with Charles Dudley Warner’s reference to “the usual facetious young man” with his “mild buffooneries,” give adequately enough the real turn of the words.

¹⁷ VII, 4, p. 99. Mr. Goddard, in saying this of Chaucer, has relieved a comment which it seems necessary to make, and which might otherwise verge on impertinence, of at least a part of its ungraciousness.

formed that "in Chaucer [this] is really infinitely natural"—one feels constrained to ask, *whose* Chaucer?

Mr. Goddard, it must be said, has here again the courage of his convictions. For he gives us without flinching his conception of just the Chaucer who is capable of perpetrating such a joke.¹⁸ "After all," we are told, "*the most thoroughly Chaucerian aspect* of this wonderful poem remains to be mentioned: the fact, namely, that the author conveys to his readers a convincing impression of his own sincere reverence for love, his real regard for woman and trust in womanhood, and that he accomplishes this at the very time when he is letting fly at woman and womanhood his sharpest darts. *What could be more typically Chaucerian?*"¹⁹ That means, on Mr. Goddard's hypothesis,²⁰ one or the other of just two things. Either Chaucer *was* sincere: in which

For does one not find in his own very statement of his theory—present, indeed, as a determining element in it—just that "taste for the jocular" of which he speaks? One feels, at least, that such things as the reference to Phedra as "she . . . who hit on the bright idea of feeding caramels to the Minotaur" (VIII, 1, p. 80); or the allusion to "that matter of [Dido's] going into the cave with Aeneas without a chaperon" (VIII, 1, p. 73); or the remark that "Thisbe had seen very little of Pyramus. The hole in the wall, it will be remembered, was small" (VIII, 1, p. 71 n.); or such a passage (VIII, 1, p. 62; quoted in part below, p. 544, n. 106) as that in which Cleopatra's address to Anthony, after she has "made tracks toward Egypt" [*sic*], is travestied (how justly the reader of it as a whole may judge)—one feels that things like these *are* really facetious, jocular, jocose. But they are Mr. Goddard's, and not Chaucer's—despite the implication that they were in Chaucer's mind. And one cannot help thinking that their writer's own conception of what humor is may perhaps have influenced him unduly in his theory of *Chaucer's* humor, and have led him, possibly, to read into the *Legend* a meaning which he might himself have put there, but which Chaucer (to speak with some restraint) scarcely would.

¹⁸ One gets an inkling of Mr. Goddard's impression of Chaucer, also, in the paraphrases which occur here and there in the article, of Chaucer's lines. The "leveth hem if yow leste" of A 88, for example, is "as much as to say, 'I am going to narrate a collection of old wives' tales; swallow them, if you are big enough fools!'" (VII, 4, p. 97). Compare VIII, 1, p. 58 (top); VII, 4, p. 98 n. (near foot); etc.

¹⁹ VII, 4, p. 102 (italics mine).

²⁰ See VII, 4, pp. 100-101.

case he has trumped up a meaningless and silly charge in order to invent an opportunity to do a thing which flatly contravenes his sincerity. Or Chaucer was *not* sincere: in which case he has elaborately produced the impression of sincerity in order, under its cover, to execute a deliberate travesty of feminine virtue.²¹ The first is stultifying, the second cowardly. "What could be more typically Chaucerian?" Again, on the supposition that Chaucer was *requested* to write the poem, it is pointed out (after a remark that "the muse is not, so to speak, perpetually on tap") that "in the whole range of English literature it would be hard to select a poet whom, we might well imagine, it would have more irked than Chaucer . . . to have a poetical task arbitrarily assigned him. *What could be more like him, under such circumstances, than to make sport of his 'requester.'*"²² But to make sport of royalty is dangerous—*albeit for that reason all the more attractive*²³—business. Well may Chaucer have smacked his lips at the prospect and sharpened even more than usual the tools of his subtle humor! Well may he have been discontented with the first draft of his prologue, and increasing the fun tenfold in a revision, have increased at the same time, by a peerless stroke of genius, the improbability of its being discovered!"²⁴ This idea of the attractiveness of making sport of royalty is still more definitely brought out a couple of pages later: "But if the poem is a satire, . . . all of these things are exquisite jests, and, if it be

²¹ See VIII, 1, p. 86.

²² Italics mine. In a foot-note Mr. Goddard remarks: "It has already been seen what he did in the case of another occasional poem, *The Parlement of Foules*." Is that also to be taken as a colossal joke?

²³ Italics mine.

²⁴ VIII, 1, p. 91. For the obvious question, Where is the fun, if nobody can see it?—Mr. Goddard has an answer ready: "For [Chaucer] was precisely the sort of man, I conceive, to write humorous poems content with the thought (if I may adapt a line from the *Troilus*) that

God and Chaucer wiste al what this mente,
or, to use the Wife of Bath's words (for this was a favorite conception of the poet's):

There was no wight, save god and he, that wiste."

Mr. Goddard—one cannot forbear the sheer pleasure of the recognition—is obviously in good company!

allegorical, *the most exquisite jest of all is the implication that King Richard (an excellent candidate for the role of Admetus) stands in need of being saved from hell—a hit, eminently just, and pre-eminently Chaucerian.*"²⁵ Comment is futile. Nor is it only royalty that suffers. "If, as has been suggested, [Chaucer] sent his poem to Deschamps in return for manuscripts sent from France to him, he must have chuckled at the audacity of what he had done. If a writer to-day, at the beginning of a work, were to express his profound indebtedness to Mr. George Bernard Shaw and that work itself should turn out to be a series of passionate love songs in the Sapphic manner—we should hardly take the expression of indebtedness seriously. Yet something, at least inversely, comparable to this is what *Chaucer has had the colossal audacity to do.*"²⁶

If, then, this be the real Chaucer—this *enfant terrible*, with his facetious joke on Cupid and Alceste, his turn for making sport of his young king and queen, his colossal audacity toward a brother poet (in return, be it noted, for a courtly tribute), his show of trust in womanhood while letting fly at it his sharpest darts—then we are indeed indebted to Mr. Goddard for a genuine discovery. But—*credat Judaeus Apella!*

III.

One's suspicion that Mr. Goddard's interpretation of the *Legend* rests on a misconception both of Chaucer and of his humor receives corroboration when one examines carefully his

²⁵ VIII, 1, p. 93 (italics mine). When one reads a few pages farther on of "the marvelous self-restraint (marvelous even for Chaucer) which characterizes the poem" (VIII, 1, p. 97), one wonders what *would* have happened had Chaucer let himself go! Still, even so, Richard would have had little to fear, for, we are assured, "Chaucer is not Swift, and he belongs, not to the cannonball, but to the sugar-coated pill, school of satirists" (VIII, 1, p. 98).

²⁶ VIII, 1, p. 103 (italics mine). The statement that "Even Chaucer was evidently frightened at his own boldness" (VIII, 1, p. 103-104) makes it clear that "even" Mr. Goddard's Chaucer had now and then compunctious visitings of nature.

argument from the two Prologues. I shall not consider this argument in all its details. I believe that it involves itself in hopeless self-contradiction, and if I can make that clear, it will be unnecessary to discuss certain minor points which otherwise might call for separate refutation.

"In order that the God of Love, later on, may put himself in a ridiculous position, and in order to demonstrate the extreme absurdity of the charge he is to bring against the poet, it is necessary," we are told, "*that Chaucer should give clear evidence in advance, before the question of heresy is even suggested, of his own reverence for love.* The more effectively this is shown, the more utterly foolish Cupid's angry outburst of temper will appear. . . Especially significant in this connection is the affection exhibited in B for the flower of love and the preparation for the identification of Queen Alceste with the daisy."²⁷ And so, "to sum the matter up, the entire passage (B 29-96) has an unbroken continuity, the dominant note of the whole being the poet's intense and burning love for the flower, *a love whose every syllable is reflected forward on Alceste.*"²⁸ The object of the daisy passage, accordingly, is to give Chaucer's readers "a convincing impression of his own sincere reverence for love,"²⁹ and to focus this reverence, this "intense and burning love," especially upon Alceste, so that, "when the reader of Prologue B reaches the line . . .

For al the world, ryght as a dayeseye . . .

he realizes that all the love and adoration which the poet expressed then for the daisy was bestowed in reality upon the Queen of Love³⁰—*a depth of devotion, in itself, sufficient to render utterly ludicrous Cupid's charge of heresy against love.*"³¹

²⁷ VII, 4, pp. 102-103 (italics mine).

²⁸ VII, 4, p. 105 (italics mine).

²⁹ VII, 4, p. 102.

³⁰ Mr. Goddard constantly refers to Alceste as "the Queen of Love." She is not that, nor does Chaucer represent her as such. The designation, one may take for granted, is simply an inadvertence, and the fact purely accidental that in more than one instance its use instead of Alceste lends fallacious color to the argument.

³¹ VII, 4, p. 103 (italics mine); cf. also VII, 4, p. 110, top.

It is a trifle disconcerting, therefore, to find that the object of this reverence and devotion is Chaucer's dupe no less than Cupid! For among the things that "Chaucer has *really* done in the *Legend*,"³² one finds noted the fact that he not only "causes the God of Love to make an ineffable dunce of himself,"³³ but also "*places even the Queen of Love in a ridiculous light*,"³⁴ while we have already seen that "the more tedious and less lifelike [the legends] are, the huger the joke on Cupid and *Alceste*."³⁵ Indeed, *Alceste* is, if anything, in the worse case. "The sweet condescension of her manner when she intercedes in Chaucer's behalf *becomes . . . almost more laughable than Cupid's loss of temper*; and the fact that she perceives what a fool the little god is making of himself and exhibits in contrast to him, as she supposes, her own sense of humor *renders her position doubly ridiculous and ironical*. The irony of the situation—*this is just what happens in the case of Iago* [!]*—gets the better of the very one who prides herself on her own power to detect and rise above the irony of life.*"³⁶ And if *Alceste* is Queen Anne, it is at the prospect of making sport of *her* that "Chaucer may well have smacked his lips . . . and sharpened even more than usual the tools of his subtle humor!"³⁷ That is to say, Chaucer constructs and carefully revises the opening portion of his poem in order to make unmistakable his love and reverence for *Alceste*, and

³² VII, 4, p. 100.

³³ Elsewhere it is "an immitigable ass" (VII, 4, p. 115).

³⁴ VII, 4, p. 101 (italics mine).

³⁵ VIII, 1, p. 95 (italics mine). It should also be noted that "the fact that *Alceste* herself suggests the title, 'a glorious *Legende of Gode Wommen*,' but deepens the irony" (VIII, 1, p. 57).

³⁶ VII, 4, pp. 108-09 (italics mine).

³⁷ VIII, 1, p. 91. Mr. Goddard does not assert that *Alceste* is the queen; but, after assuming that she is, he asks, "What could be more like him [*sc.* Chaucer]" than to make such sport, and characterizes (as we have seen) its implication about King Richard as "the most exquisite jest of all," and as "a hit . . . preeminently Chaucerian." His theory therefore clearly takes into account the possible identification of *Alceste* with the queen. I venture no comment on the logic of the note at the foot of p. 93 (VIII, I).

thereby prove the God of Love a blundering fool, and then proceeds to play on Alceste herself the very joke the whole evidence for the credibility of which he has made to rest on his sincere love and reverence for her!³⁸ Alceste may well have been perplexed, one feels, by this "gallant and tactful compliment to [her] logical sense!"³⁹

We have just seen that the elaboration of the daisy passage in B is in order to show unmistakably the sincerity of Chaucer's love. And in this connection Mr. Goddard is very explicit in his statement of Chaucer's attitude toward the flower and leaf poets. "In B all this [the apparent digressiveness of A] is quite otherwise. Here the reference to the flower and leaf poets has the most intimate connection with its context."⁴⁰ The lines addressed to them are now "not primarily an *apology* at all, but an appeal for help . . . In this version, the poet's despair of being able to sing the praises of the daisy is due not merely to the consciousness of his own weakness and to the fact that others have already reaped the corn, but, vastly more, to the hopelessly lofty nature of his theme. It would hardly be stretching the sense of the passage to assert that in this version the implication is that even the flower and leaf poets would be inadequate to the subject. All they can do is to give help and 'forthren' the poet 'somewhat' in his work. And when he asks them to have forbearance with him for his borrowings, he does not seek forgiveness on the ground

³⁸ "On the sincerity of this love [for her whom the daisy typifies], as has been repeatedly said, depends the whole irony of the prologue" (VII, 4, p. 110).

³⁹ VII, 4, p. 94. Indeed, the only adequate expression it is easy to think of for Alceste's just emotions in the premises is found in Kemble's immortal lines, which the Reverend Homer Wilbur once employed under not dissimilar stress of feeling:

"Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But *why* did you kick me down stairs?"

⁴⁰ VII, 4, p. 104.

(as in A) that he is writing in *their* honor, but rather (to use his own words),

Sin that ye see I do hit in the honour
Of *love*, and eek in service of the *flour*

Whom that I serve as I have wit or might."⁴¹

It is, indeed, these very lines (B 29-96) whose dominant note, as we have seen, is "a love whose every syllable is reflected forward on Alceste." I have quoted the passage at length, because it is a straightforward, absolutely unequivocal statement of precisely the use which Chaucer is making of the *marguerite* poets, and this use is obviously essential to that stage of Mr. Goddard's argument. What is one's amazement, then, on coming to the explanation, eighty-three pages farther on,⁴² of why B is nearer the *marguerite* poems than A, to find that Chaucer's reason for making these very changes, already explained as we have seen, *was because he was parodying the marguerite poets, after the manner of Sir Thopas!*⁴³ Chaucer is not sincere at all, we are now told. Even the "apology" in A is referred to as "what appears to be a humble acknowledgement to the flower and leaf poets (*though owing to the skilful management of his 'ifs' and 'thoughts' even this passage becomes slightly suspicious*),"⁴⁴ while the reason for the changes in B is this: "The greater the number of reminiscences of these [i. e., the *marguerite*] poems in the 'apology' passage, *the more effective its irony* . . . Here, then, is a motive which harmonizes beautifully with the whole tenor of the Legend"⁴⁵—a fresh joke, we may suppose, this time on Machault, Froissart and Deschamps. And in fact it is this

⁴¹ VII, 4, pp. 104-05.

⁴² VIII, 1, pp. 102-107.

⁴³ I shall have something to say later of the merits of this explanation. Here it is only its relation to the earlier treatment of the same lines that is in point.

⁴⁴ VIII, 1, 103 (italics mine). To this is appended the following note: "'If I may finde an ere'—he does not say that he *does* find it. 'Thogh it happen me rehercen eft'—he does not say that he *does* rehearse anything.'" I shall advert to this note again.

⁴⁵ VIII, 1, p. 106 (italics mine).

treatment of their work which constitutes the "colossal audacity" at which Chaucer "must have chuckled," if he really sent the poem to Deschamps.⁴⁶ In other words, when the argument requires sincerity, the daisy passage is devotedly sincere; when the argument requires "the spirit of Sir Thopas," the daisy passage is audaciously ironical. That comes perilously near playing fast and loose with one's argument (not to mention the intelligence of one's readers), and whatever the assurance felt that it is not deliberate, the effect is no less subversive of confidence in the procedure that permits it.

We may come now to the crucial matter of Mr. Goddard's treatment of the ballad. In A the ballad is sung by the nineteen ladies; in B it is put into Chaucer's mouth. Why? The reason is given, once more, with the utmost explicitness. "The improvements in B, I repeat, wrought by the changes in the ballad are palpable. In the first place, to have Chaucer, instead of the ladies, praise the Queen of Love will add still further evidence of his real reverence for love and beauty, and will increase emphatically the absurdity of Cupid's tirade."⁴⁷ But that is not all. Cupid has based his charges on the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Troilus*. "But now . . . suppose that a reader of the A Prologue is himself unacquainted with the *Rose* and the *Troilus*.⁴⁸ He will be quite unable, on his own account, to pass upon the merits of Cupid's accusation. He is compelled, in other words, to go beyond the poem itself for its interpretation, to depend on his comprehension of an extrinsic reference for an individual opinion as to Chaucer's guilt—an arrangement constituting a palpable artistic blemish. In B, on the other hand, though the extrinsic reference remains, the blemish is effaced *by putting the ballad in Chaucer's mouth*.⁴⁹ What the author has done might be

⁴⁶ See VIII, 1, p. 103.

⁴⁷ VII, 4, p. 111; cf. also pp. 124-5.

⁴⁸ One wonders, with some bewilderment, for what readers Mr. Goddard supposes the poem to have been written. Chaucer's audience was probably pretty well up on both! "But thereof no fors."

⁴⁹ Italics Mr. Goddard's.

illustrated in some such way as this: If we see a man arrested for cruelty to animals and hear from his accuser a number of lurid stories of his inhumanity, we shall probably be considerably affected, but, till the man has stated his side of the case, we shall, if we are wise, hold our final judgment in abeyance. If, on the other hand, only five minutes before he is arrested, we have ourselves beheld the prisoner (quite unaware that he is being watched) treating with the utmost kindness an old, broken-down horse,⁵⁰ we shall certainly be inclined to think that the wrong man has been taken into custody and to accept with much more than the proverbial grain of salt the stories of his cruelty. It is quite thus in the case of Chaucer in the *Legend*. Things seen are mightier than things heard—especially when the latter are the windy charges of an ill-tempered little god. What confidence—whether he knows the *Troilus* or not—will the reader of Prologue B be inclined to place in the story of Chaucer's poetical transgressions, in the face of having seen him, only a moment or two before, in the very act of composing a ballad in praise of the Queen of Love? The number of improvements flowing from this one change in the B version is astonishing."⁵¹ I think it is. Let us examine one or two of them.

The purpose of the ballad in B, we are to keep in mind, is to establish Chaucer's sincerity. Its exquisite stanzas will bear endless repetition, and it may be worth while to have it directly before us.

Hyd, Absalon, thy gilte tresses clere;
 Ester, ley thou thy meknesse al a-doun;
 Hyd, Jonathas, al thy frendly manere;
 Penalopee, and Marcia Catoun,
 Mak of your wyfhod no comparisoun;
 Hyde ye your beautes, Isoude and Eleyne,
 My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

⁵⁰ Poor Alceste!

⁵¹ VIII, 1, pp. 48-49.

Thy faire body, lat hit nat appere,
Lavyne; and thou, Lucesse of Rome toun,
And Polixene, that boghten love so dere,
And Cleopatre, with al thy passioun,
Hyde ye your trouthe of love and your renoun;
And thou, Tisbe, that hast of love swich peyne;
My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Herro, Dido, Laudomia, alle y-fere,
And Phyllis, hanging for thy Demophoun,
And Canace, espyed by thy chere,
Ysiphile, betrayed with Jasoun,
Maketh of your trouthe neyther boost ne soun;
Nor Ypermistre or Adriane, ye tweyne;
My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Who, now, are the ladies of the ballad? Lucretia, Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, Phyllis, Hypsipyle, Hypermnestra, Ariadne all appear. Who are the ladies of the legends? Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, Hypsipyle, Medea, Lucretia, Ariadne, Philomela, Phyllis, Hypermnestra. All but two, that is—Medea and Philomela—of the women in the legends are among the women of the ballad. But it is the women of the *legends* who are the vehicle of Chaucer's deliberately planned "travesty on feminine virtue,"⁵² of his "most unmerciful satire upon women;"⁵³ it is the ladies of the *ballad* who are the vehicle of that "spontaneous outburst of praise for the Queen of Love"⁵⁴ which gives "evidence of [Chaucer's] real reverence for love and beauty."⁵⁵ *And the ladies are the same!* One finds one's self, therefore, in a dilemma. If Chaucer considered the ladies as "good" in the ballad, why not also in the legends? In which case, what becomes of his satire? If, on the other hand, Chaucer regarded

⁵² VIII, 1, p. 86.

⁵³ VII, 4, p. 101.

⁵⁴ VII, 4, p. 125.

⁵⁵ VII, 4, p. 111.

the ladies as "bad" in the legends, why not also in the ballad? In which case, what becomes of his sincerity? Yet, *ex hypothesi*, the sincerity in the one case is essential to the satire in the other. The situation is certainly, in Mr. Goddard's favorite phrase, "very peculiar (*sehr eigenthümlich*)."⁵⁶ What is more to the point, the identity of the women in the ballad with the women in the legends is alone absolutely fatal to the proposed theory.⁵⁶

Not content, however, with placing himself once in this dilemma, Mr. Goddard proceeds to do it a second time. It is Chaucer's *modernness* in the *Legend* on which the argument in question lays its stress. "The *Legend*—instead of being a collection of tedious old tales told in mediaeval fashion . . . is seen for what it is: a satire, in the highest degree original, *saturated with the modern spirit*."⁵⁷ The *House of Fame*, on the other hand,

⁵⁶ That Mr. Goddard regards the ladies of the ballad as "good" is clear from his identification of them with the attendants of Alceste. "The ballad in B . . . suggest[s] *the appropriate identification of the attendants of Alceste with the ladies of the ballad* [italics mine]—another improvement, by the way, rendered possible by the transfer of the song *from the ladies*" (VII, 4, p. 126). Moreover, Mr. Goddard's recognition of the fatal consequences to his theory of anything but good faith on Chaucer's part in the treatment of the ladies in the ballad is complete. For he has to consider the presence of the names of two *men* in the ballad, which "at once suggests that this is part of the satire, and, indeed, few aspects of the whole jest would be funnier than the intimation that there were not enough *beautiful and virtuous women* to fill up even a little ballad, and that the poet, therefore, had to eke out with two masculine names. *But this at once introduces a difficulty: if Chaucer has carried his satire, in this and other respects, into the ballad, he is thereby detracting from its value as a spontaneous expression of his own reverence for love*" (VIII, 1, p. 49 n; italics mine). The two men it is accordingly suggested, are left in B because possibly Chaucer, "in transferring the ballad to himself, either overlooked, or, not overlooking, forgot actually to make, the necessary changes." He seems, on the whole, to have forgotten or overlooked a good deal more—the fact, for one thing, that his whole purpose in writing the *Legend* was to render just these women ridiculous and contemptible—as Mr. Goddard, speaking for Chaucer, assures us in twenty-eight pages of his second article!

⁵⁷ VII, 4, p. 101 (italics mine). Compare also: "I should have supposed that the *real danger* in this matter of the *Legend* was quite the

is *mediæval*: "The *House of Fame*, in spite of its delightful humor and in spite of the presence of that irony which characterizes Chaucer's latest art, is a *mediæval poem*."⁵⁸ Indeed, we are particularly told that "a desire on Chaucer's part to lay aside the *Troilus* . . . that he might hasten to *such mediæval themes as those of the House of Fame* . . . or of a serious *Legend* . . . is well nigh incredible," whereas "a desire, on the contrary, to hasten . . . to the perpetration of [our now familiar] joke . . . is in Chaucer really infinitely natural."⁵⁹ Now among the "mediæval themes" of the *House of Fame* to which it is well nigh incredible that Chaucer should desire to hasten, are the stories of Dido, Phyllis, Ariadne, Hypsipyle, Medea and Phedra;⁶⁰ among the themes "saturated with the modern spirit" to which it is really infinitely natural that he should desire to hasten, are likewise the stories of Dido, Phyllis, Ariadne, Hypsipyle, Medea and Phedra. And there is not the slightest difference in Chaucer's attitude towards these women in the two poems!⁶¹ One need not linger over the inference.

opposite of all this [i. e., "that one persists in bringing modern preconceptions to a mediæval case"], the danger, namely, of bringing mediæval preconceptions to a modern case" (VIII, 1, p. 107; italics mine.) This idea developed fully on pages 107-109 (VIII, 1).

⁵⁸ VIII, 1, p. 98 (italics mine).

⁵⁹ VIII, 1, p. 99.

⁶⁰ *H. F.* 239-426, esp. 372-426.

⁶¹ I may refer to but a single point. One of the "interesting facts" about the legends, we are told, is "that a majority of these betrayed heroines either die of broken hearts or violently foredo themselves." But "Chaucer, unfortunately, shows himself in this respect egregiously modern," and we are given to understand that in the legends he is showing his fitness to make fun of unrequited love (VIII, 1, p. 59). Now Chaucer's treatment of Dido's suicide in the "mediæval" poem, is this:

But what! when this was seyde and do,
She roof hir-selve to the herte,
And deyde through the wounde smerte.
But al the maner how she deyde,
And al the wordes that she seyde,
Who-so to knowe hit hath purpos,
Reed Virgile in Eneidos
Or the Epistle of Ovyde,
What that she wroot or that she dyde. (*H. F.* 372-380).

We have turned aside for a moment from the ballad. There is, however, another matter connected with that which demands attention. In order to explain the recognized difficulties attaching, in both versions of the Prologue, to Chaucer's profession of ignorance of Alceste's identity after the explicit mention of her name,⁶² it is suggested "that the whole matter may perhaps be cleared up by observing that *a sharp distinction must always be drawn by the reader of either Prologue between Chaucer the author and Chaucer the dramatic person.*"⁶³ The suggested dis-

His "egregiously modern" version of the same scene is this:

And, when she mighte her tyme wel espye,
 Up-on the fyr of sacrifys she sterthe,
 And with his swerd she roof her to the herte.
 But, as myn autour seith, right thus she seyde;
 Or she was hurt, before that she deyde,
 She wroot a lettre anon, that thus began . . .
 But who wol al this letter have in minde,
 Rede Ovide, and in him he shal hit finde.

(*Leg.* 1349-54; 1366-67).

Similarly, the account of Phyllis's death, treated as a "mediaeval theme," runs thus:

And when she wiste that he was fals,
 She heng hir-self right by the hals,
 For he had do hir swich untrouthe (*H. F.* 393-95);

the "egregiously modern" statement is as follows:

Allas! that, as the stories us recorde,
 She was her owne deeth right with a corde,
 Whan that she saw that Demophon her trayed.

(*Leg.* 2484-86).

The matter *does*, as we are told, "become 'curiously' confusing" (VIII, 1, p. 59). It is scarcely necessary to add that quite apart from Mr. Goddard's characterization of the *House of Fame* its treatment of the theme of the *Legend* is fatal to his theory.

⁶² It is not my purpose here to attempt myself to solve these difficulties, which are real enough. I am concerned at this time solely with Mr. Goddard's argument.

⁶³ VII, 4, p. 118 (*italics mine*). "It is plainly the author," Mr. Goddard goes on, "who—having, like all authors, the gift of omniscience—tells us that the Queen is no other than Alceste; and this at once suggests that while there is no suppression of the name (in A) by the writer—and none therefore for the reader—there may be such a suppression for 'Chaucer' the dramatic person, who has never had the privilege of reading either version of the Prologue. Further examination of the

inction, as Mr. Goddard himself points out,⁶⁴ is not a new one, and its use in this connection (whether successfully or not is here beside the point) is clearly warranted. The thing I wish to emphasize is that this "sharp distinction" which "must always be drawn by the reader of either Prologue" is invoked in order to explain the serious difficulty connected with the ballad in A. But the ballad in B has its difficulty too. Mr. Goddard believes, in a word, that the ballad in B is represented as actually sung by "Chaucer:" "Taken as a whole," he says, "the lines involved certainly produce the impression that the ballad is the spontaneous expression of 'Chaucer's' feeling at the moment when he sees the queen approaching;"⁶⁵ and he proceeds to argue, even with vehemence, in support of this view. "But why" he continues (and his statement is so gratifying that I must quote it in full)—"why, it may still be asked, if the author intended the ballad as part of the action, did he not make his purpose perfectly clear? Why did he introduce it in such a peculiar way? That Chaucer might have introduced it in a more satisfactory way—in a way easier, at least, for his critics—I freely admit, though that is the extent of my admission. But after all, is not the reason for his method fairly obvious? He perceived the humor which might be derived from a transfer of the ballad to himself. *Yet to represent himself as standing forth at the approach of Alceste and singing a solo, while the ladies paused*

A text tends, on the whole, to corroborate this suggestion. The name 'Alceste' occurs three times in the ballad, but, as is explicitly stated, it is the sight of the *flower* that prompts the song of the ladies and there is nothing either in the passage introducing it or in the ballad itself to indicate to 'Chaucer' that Alceste and the Queen are one and the same." In A 317 "it is clearly the author who uses [the name]," and Mr. Goddard then proceeds to argue, in the case of A 422 (=B 432), that there is "no necessity of assuming that 'Chaucer' [the dramatic person] overhears all the dialogue between Cupid and Alceste;" that there are, indeed, indications "which positively suggest that he did *not* hear it." I doubt this latter point; but its validity is immaterial to my present purpose.

⁶⁴ VIII, 1, p. 118 n.

⁶⁵ VII, 4, p. 122.

to listen, would be not merely a flat denial of the modest and 'fearful' character which he had given himself, but, more than that, would be quite impossible and absurd.⁶⁶ He escapes the difficulty, and solves his problem not unacceptably, in the lines introducing and following the ballad. *For the attainment of a definite effect, he intentionally drops the distinction between author and dramatic person, seeming for a moment to identify the two Chaucers;* but his device should not blind us to the fact that the distinction itself still remains and that it is virtually [!] 'Chaucer' in whose mouth the ballad is placed."⁶⁷ That is to say, in order to obviate the difficulty attaching to the ballad in A, a distinction between Chaucer and "Chaucer" is invoked; in order to obviate the difficulty attaching to the ballad in B, the distinction between Chaucer and "Chaucer" is cancelled! Surely that is to eat one's cake and have it too, with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine what could *not* be proved with the aid of so tractable a dialectic.

Professor Goddard's argument, then, both in its substance and in its conduct, seems to be hopelessly at variance with itself—to involve, indeed, its own *reductio ad absurdum*—and it is perhaps superfluous to carry this part of the discussion further. But three other points⁶⁸ can scarcely be dismissed without some comment.

It is essential to Mr. Goddard's argument that he account for the fact that B is closer to the French poems than A, and he

⁶⁶ Italics mine. One could surely not ask for a more convincing exposition of the difficulty involved. I do not, as I said above, intend to reopen in this article the question of the priority of B. I merely wish to point out how lucidly, not only here but elsewhere, Mr. Goddard has shown the superiority of A, at certain points, *on any other than his own assumption.*

⁶⁷ VII, 4, p. 123 (italics mine). How that escapes being juggling on Chaucer's part, I am, in all honesty, unable to see. But I fall back for explanation upon that "complex emotion of which the rare nature of Chaucer was capable," which is elsewhere invoked (VIII, 1, p. 104) to explain another trifling inconsistency.

⁶⁸ There are more. But I have no desire to prolong the discussion beyond necessary bounds.

recognizes both the fact and the necessity. He cuts the Gordian knot in characteristic fashion, by the assumption that the acknowledgement of indebtedness is itself but another of the jokes of which this astonishing poem is now seen to be all compact. His statement of this part of his case is neither clear nor wholly unambiguous, but the argument seems, briefly, to be this.

Chaucer "apologizes to his predecessors . . . precisely because he owes so little to them."⁶⁹ So complete is the irony that "if . . . he sent his poem to Deschamps . . . he must have chuckled at the audacity of what he had done."⁷⁰ Indeed, Chaucer's intention in his borrowings was in some fashion actually to parody his predecessors.⁷¹ Accordingly, in B, *in order to make his irony more effective*, he refreshes his memory concerning the poems in honor of the daisy, and deliberately adds to the number of reminiscences.

It is worth while to examine this a moment. Chaucer "apologizes to his predecessors . . . precisely because he owes so little to them."⁷² The irony of the "apology," that is,—its "colossal audacity," to be more exact—consists in the *slight amount* of the indebtedness. But with reference to the revision

⁶⁹ VIII, 1, p. 102.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 103. Here follows the illustration from Bernard Shaw, already quoted (p. 520), to make still clearer "what Chaucer has had the colossal audacity to do." This audacity is shown, in one among other ways, by the fact that "it is a curious (*eigenthümlich*) way of acknowledging indebtedness to the poets of that [i. e. the flower and leaf] controversy to affirm utter indifference toward a matter which was to them one of the deepest concern" (VIII, 1, p. 104; italics mine). The reference here is obviously to Deschamps. One wonders if Professor Goddard's memory of the four flower and leaf poems has not played him false, when one recalls the truly admirable impartiality with which, in those poems, Deschamps takes *both* sides in the debate! If the flower and leaf controversy was "a matter . . . of the deepest concern" to Eustache Deschamps, then that estimable poet has sadly belied himself. Just what connection Mr. Goddard supposes Machault and Froissart to have had with the controversy I do not know.

⁷¹ Mr. Goddard does not use the word "parody;" but his argument is pointless unless that is what he means.

⁷² VIII, 1, p. 102.

of the Prologue we are told that "the greater the number of reminiscences of these poems in the 'apology,' the more effective its irony."⁷³ Just how an irony the essence of which consists in the discrepancy between the "apology" and the facts can be heightened by diminishing the very discrepancy on which it rests, it is somewhat difficult to see. The truth of the matter is that Mr. Goddard makes use of the "apology" passage without defining either to himself or to us the limits of its reference. On one page he seems to imply that the acknowledgement of indebtedness has reference to the entire *Legend*;⁷⁴ on another he manifestly limits it to the lines in honor of the daisy.⁷⁵ The consequence is that it forms in his argument an ambiguous middle. If the "apology" to the French poets is for the entire *Legend*, then it is true that the indebtedness is small. If the "apology" refers merely to the lines in honor of the flower, then the indebtedness is great. But it clearly involves a logical fallacy to assume now one and now the other.

The assumption that the reference is to the entire *Legend* is wholly unwarranted by the facts. The acknowledgement of indebtedness applies to nothing beyond the Prologue, and even within these limits it has specific reference to the praises of the flower. To say, therefore, that Chaucer "apologizes to his predecessors . . . precisely because he owes so little to them" is to shut one's eyes to the facts. For within the limits of Chaucer's

⁷³ VIII, 1, p. 106.

⁷⁴ VIII, 1, p. 103: "What he has already done in the *Troilus* he repeats even more humorously in the *Legend*. In the former poem he professes to be following his authority with abject servility, when, as a matter of fact, he is creating a unique work. Quite so in the *Legend*. He does, to be sure, employ existing scaffolding, but his employment of it serves only to call attention to the complete difference between his own style of architecture and that of the French romancers [*sic*], between the purpose of his building and that of theirs. Nor do I need to rest my opinion concerning this point on the character of the *Legend*, adequate as such a basis is." That means anything only if ("hat jedesfalls nur sinn, wenn"—if one may avail one's self of "that excellent phrase") it has reference to the *Legend* as a whole.

⁷⁵ VIII, 1, p. 106.

acknowledgement his indebtedness is demonstrably just what he says it is.⁷⁶

We may turn, then, to Mr. Goddard's treatment of the matter on the assumption that the "apology" refers to the lines in honor of the flower. Chaucer *has* borrowed from the *marguerite* poets, to be sure; but "not wholly otherwise (the temptation is to think) did [he] glean after the authors of the metrical romances, and (with his incomparable courtliness and grace⁷⁷) gather up *their* goodly words into the lilting stanzas of *Sir Thopas*."⁷⁸ Chaucer's purpose, therefore, in borrowing from the *marguerite* poets is ironical; and, accordingly, "the greater the number of reminiscences of these poems in the 'apology' passage, the more effective its irony."⁷⁹ This position Mr. Goddard proceeds to elaborate by means of an hypothetical parallel with *Sir Thopas*—a parallel which is absolutely pointless except on the assumption (implicit, indeed, throughout this part of his argument) that the daisy passage is a burlesque.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ I quote without comment Mr. Goddard's note: "If I may finde an ere'—he does not say that he *does* find it. 'Thogh it happen me rehercen eft'—he does not say that he *docs* rehearse anything" (VIII, 1, p. 103 n). Not only is the fact of Chaucer's indebtedness perfectly well known, but Mr. Goddard himself deliberately makes use of it, three pages farther on, as we shall see, to prove the point he is then making.

⁷⁷ This parenthesis, it should be said, is an ironical adaptation of the interpretation which Mr. Goddard is criticizing.

⁷⁸ VIII, 1, p. 106.

⁷⁹ Compare again (with this statement of the reason for the additions as Chaucer's desire to heighten his *irony*) the earlier explanation of precisely these same additions on the ground that he inserted them in order to heighten the impression of his *sincerity*: "A large number of the new passages in B are plainly inserted with this end [namely, "that Chaucer should give clear evidence in advance . . . of *his own reverence for love*"] in view" (VII, 4, p. 103; italics mine).

⁸⁰ "Here, then, is a motive which harmonizes beautifully with the whole tenor of the *Legend*, and which, applied to Dr. Lowes' argument regarding the relative dependence of the two Prologues on their models, suddenly turns black to white, causing the evidence he has marshalled around the standard of Prologue A not merely to desert that standard, but actually to take up arms against it. Indeed, in this connection, again, the spirit of *Sir Thopas* will not down. Suppose there should

The contention, then, hinges entirely upon the assumption that Chaucer was doing for the French *marguerite* poets in the lines in honor of the flower what he did for the romances in *Sir Thopas*. And I confess at once I have no argument to bring against it. There are points which it is futile to discuss, and this, I fear, is one of them. For one who believes that these two consummate performances—the exquisite lines “in the honour of love and eek in service of the flour,” and the surpassingly delicious fling at the romances—are really in the same vein, would hardly be persuaded, though one arose from the dead.⁵¹

In his enthusiasm for his theory Mr. Goddard has also permitted himself certain rather serious liberties with Chaucer's opening lines. He asserts that the *Legend* is “a poem of which the theme is, to all intents and purposes, *Good women exist*.”⁵² and having thus frankly assumed his own conclusion as his premise he proceeds to interpret Chaucer's exordium, on the basis of this assumption, as a covert insinuation that “no man can be gotten trace of who ever saw, or heard, or became otherwise sensibly aware of the presense of a good woman.”⁵³ Indeed,

come to light, at some future day, a variant version of the story of the Knyght of the ‘semely nose.’ The happy discoverer of the treasure, examining it with eager emotion, counts only half as many reminiscences of the old romances as in the current version. How easy—adopting Dr. Lowes' line of argument—to demonstrate the significance of the ‘find,’ to prove the new text a later and superior rendering! The old one, with its more frequent ‘echoes,’ is plainly closer to the sources; hence the new one must have been composed when the poet's memory of those sources was dulled by time and his eye fixed on his own work; ergo, the new version is the more Chaucerian and the later. *Quod erat demonstrandum*” (VIII, 1, pp. 106-107).

⁵¹ Since only God and Chaucer were to see the joke, it is not remarkable that Chaucer's contemporaries and successors took the daisy passage for what it seemed to be. But it is a little odd that the point of *Sir Thopas* is so clearly seen.

⁵² VII, 4, p. 91.

⁵³ “Well, the proposition, *good women exist* is just like the proposition, *hell exists*. Simply because no man can be gotten trace of who ever saw, or heard, or became otherwise sensibly aware of the presence of a good woman, let us not illiberally infer that no such creature ex-

he assures us, "what Chaucer has done may be formulated in a severely logical way. Smiling benignly on the fine ladies of his day, the poet submits to them this pair of premises: (1) The man who gets evidence from books indicates by that fact that there exists no evidence from experience for what he would assert. (2) I am going to write a treatise to prove that women are good, getting my evidence from books."⁵⁴

In the light of this first premise, it is peculiarly unfortunate for Chaucer that we can hardly acquit him of having taken, in the *House of Fame*, "an actual nap." I shall quote these earlier lines of his, "not in order to hold [them] up to ridicule, but to render all the clearer, by pointing out his error, the real nature of the situation whose significance he seems so wholly to have missed."⁵⁵ He is speaking, as it happens, of the tribulations of a number of these very women—Dido, Phyllis, Hypsipyle, Medea, Ariadne—so that his reference, unluckily, is unmistakable. The lines are these:

But, welaway! the harm, the routhe,
That hath betid for swich untrouthe,
As men may ofte in bokes rede,
And al day seen hit yet in dede,
That for to thenken hit, a tene is.⁵⁶

For Chaucer, whose fundamental doctrine on this very subject is "that we should resort to authority to support a proposition *only when our world of experience gives us no chance to verify its truth.*"⁵⁷ those two lines were a sad slip! "Thy litel wit was thilke tyme a-slepe."⁵⁸

ists; but let us rather, just as in the case of hell, establish the reality of this seemingly hypothetical being by means of 'auctoritee' " (VII, 4, p. 93).

⁵⁴ VII, 4, pp. 93-94.

⁵⁵ See VII, 4, p. 113.

⁵⁶ *H. F.*, 383-387.

⁵⁷ VII, 4, p. 91 (italics mine). I suppose Chaucer saw the implications of A 527-28 just in time!

⁵⁸ It is, of course, a work of supererogation to refer to the *House of Fame* passage, or, for that matter, any of a dozen others. For an un-

Seriously, however, Mr. Goddard's tactics here are scarcely wise. For it is hardly necessary to point out that he has again insinuated, in what he calls Chaucer's second "premise," his own conclusion. That conclusion—"I am going to write a treatise *to prove that women are good*"—is identical with the "what he would assert" of the preceding "premise," and the vicious circle is complete.⁸⁹ It is a little hard to write quite dispassionately of such a procedure. For Chaucer is *not* "going to write a treatise to prove that women are good;" he is writing—if one must rehearse the obvious—of specific women who, in old times, "weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves." We cannot, in the nature of things, know Cleopatra and Dido and the others "by assay;" since, then, we have to deal with "olde thinges," let us turn with gratitude to the books that tell us of them.⁹⁰ For a poem whose object is to tell old stories—stories of people whose lives are to be known at all only through the agency of books—the introduction is consummately simple and natural and apt—as, indeed, how could it well but be? If Chaucer's lines can possibly mean what Mr. Goddard says they do,⁹¹ then there is nothing left remarkable beneath the visiting moon.⁹²

biased reading of the introductory lines of the Prologue themselves is sufficient to show that Mr. Goddard, throughout his argument, has simply reversed its real emphasis.

⁸⁹ On his last page but one Mr. Goddard writes: "The opening passage of the Prologue—with its intentionally bad logic in behalf of ancient books—is the key not merely to the humorous but to the sober purport of the poem" (VIII, 1, p. 110; italics mine). There is no question of the "bad logic" (I had rather not pass judgment on the "intentionally"). But is it Chaucer's?

⁹⁰ Chaucer's attitude is exactly that of Jean Marot in *La vray disant Advocat des Dames*:

Venons aux dames anciennes
Romaines, Juisves et Payennes
Qui pour leurs gestes ont eu gloire
En mainte Cronique et Hystoire.

(Montaignon, *Recueil de Poésies françoises des xve et xvie siècles*, x, 250-51.)

⁹¹ See VII, 4, pp. 90-94.

⁹² Mr. Goddard returns to this interpretation later in his argument. After pointing out (VIII, 1, p. 57) that in B Chaucer does not awake,

Finally, in this connection, we may notice briefly the attempt which is made to minimize (as the argument demands) the significance of Cupid's charge of heresy against love's law.⁹³ The *Romance of the Rose*, we are told, is an unfortunate choice, for two reasons: first, because it is merely a translation, and hence no real grievance; second, because the satire of the *Legend* would be heightened if Cupid has slipped up about the part of the *Roman de la Rose* which Chaucer actually did translate. But (need one point out?) the fact that the *Romance of the Rose* was a translation was absolutely beside the point in a century when translations took rank with original productions.⁹⁴ As for the suggestion that the God of Love was mistaken about the

and that, accordingly, "in B the stories of good women, even on the assumption that they are quite above reproach as examples of feminine virtue, have only a dream reality"—after noting this "manifest heightening of the jest," Mr. Goddard remarks that the phrase "my bokes gan I take" [B 578] carries the reader back to the introduction, and especially to the couplet:

Wel oghte us than honouren and beleve

These bokes, ther we han non other preve.

Thereupon he continues: "'Well may I turn to my ancient volumes,' Chaucer seems to say, 'for I shall never find any trace of a good woman outside the covers of a book.' And this shows—what it is exceedingly important for us to notice—that even though every one of the legends be written in a perfectly serious vein, they still serve a humorous purpose and the poem as a whole remains a satire" (VIII, 1, p. 58; italics mine). On the basis of an assumed conclusion a particular interpretation is given to the introduction, and that interpretation of the introduction is then employed to demonstrate the conclusion! It is all strikingly reminiscent of the ingenious procedure which impressed even the youthful Joseph Vance in the famous transaction of the peek and shovel: "I hope you observe that Jack Nicholls accepted Bill's warrant for my Father, Bill having acquired status by tendering my Father's warrant for himself! It was like Baron Munchausen's descent from the Moon; when, having slipped down the rope as far as he could go, he made use of the now useless upper half of the rope to carry him a stage lower, and so on till he reached the Earth."

⁹³ This charge I have no wish, on the other hand, to magnify, nor do I hold a brief for the God of Love. I have elsewhere (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xx, 776-77) freely expressed my opinion of that young person's petulance and captiousness! But even Cupid deserves his due.

⁹⁴ Witness Deschamps on this very translation!

actual scope of Chaucer's translation—that cannot, of course, be met. For in a poem where everything means something else, and “nothing is but what is not,” all things are obviously possible. And if one chooses to believe that the poem is a satire because, among other things, the God of Love makes an absurd charge,⁸⁵ and then to argue that the charge is absurd because it is “strikingly in keeping with the satirical object of the *Legend*”⁸⁶—truly, “against such there is no law.”⁸⁷ It is not so easy to overlook the fact that no hint is given that the sentence quoted from Professor Kittredge carries in its own context an implication exactly the reverse of that which its new setting gives it.⁸⁸

The choice of the *Troilus*, however, (we are told) is still worse. “Surely . . . a book given exclusively to the theme of love, is a curious work to have been written by one who cherishes bitterness toward Cupid . . . Furthermore, Cupid's original accusation is that Chaucer is guilty of heresy, not specifically against women, but against love.”⁸⁹ Waiving the characterization of the *Troilus*, the point is simply this: Had or had not the God

⁸⁵ VII, 4, pp. 100-101.

⁸⁶ VII, 4, p. 128.

⁸⁷ Mr. Goddard's anxiety to keep Jean de Meun out of the case (VII, 4, p. 128) makes clear his recognition of the real bearing of the charge, and that point need not be pressed. But his protestations in general regarding the *Roman de la Rose*, and his apparent assumption that the Prologue stands in this respect by itself, lead one to wonder just what account he really takes of the controversy that raged over it in the Middle Ages—a controversy ranging through a long series of documents, of which the Prologue to the *Legend* is of course only one. Christine de Pisan's outspoken and keenly reasoned letter to the Prevost de Lisle well repays reading even today (*Les Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose von Christine de Pisan*, Friedrich Beck, Neuberger a. D. [1888], pp. 7-18), as does also Gerson's *Tractatus contra Romantium de Rosa* (*Joannis Gersoni Opera Omnia*, Antwerp, 1706, III, 297 ff.). For a full discussion of the whole controversy see Arthur Piaget, *Martin le Franc*, Lausanne, 1888, *passim*. Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* is considered below (pp. 547-50).

⁸⁸ See VII, 4, p. 128.

⁸⁹ VIII, 1, p. 47.

of Love, as such, ground for his charge? Chaucer, at least, evidently thought so. For at the close of the *Troilus* itself, speaking in *propria persona*, he not only begs all women, whatsoever they be, to excuse him for narrating Criseyde's "untrouthe," but in the very next stanza proposes himself the exact theme of the Legend.¹⁰⁰ Mr. Goddard has put himself in another dilemma. If the *Troilus* really needed, from the contemporary point of view, no offset or excuse, then Chaucer, as well as Cupid, has made "an ineffable dunce of himself."¹⁰¹ But if, from the point of view of his times, Chaucer's "literary sins against the other sex" did not "exist only in the imagination of Cupid," that fact is disastrous to the thesis which forms the italicized gist of the argument: namely, that "as penance for an act he never committed, he commits that very act."¹⁰² Mr. Goddard will doubtless say that the *Troilus* stanzas are a joke too. But even so, he is caught in his own toils. For Chaucer in his own person, satire or not, is undoubtedly basing what he has to say upon the *Troilus*, which he is just completing; while the whole point of

¹⁰⁰ Bisechinge every lady bright of hewe,
And every gentil womman, what she be,
That al be that Criseyde was untrewē,
That for that gilt she be not wrooth with me.
Ye may hir gilt in othere bokes see;
And gladlier I wol wryten, if yow leste,
Penelopees trouthe and good Alceste.

Ne I sey not this al-only for these men,
But most for wommen that bitraysed be
Through false folk; god yeve hem sorwe, amen!
That with hir grete wit and subtiltee
Bitrayse yow! and this comveveth me
To speke, and in effect yow all I preye,
Beth war of men, and herkeneth what I seye!

(*Troilus*, V, 1772-85).

I have already pointed out elsewhere (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xx, 820-21) the specific parallel between the phraseology, even, of lines 1779-85 and the individual legends.

¹⁰¹ VII, 4, p. 101.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

the "joke on Cupid" is the fact that *he* makes a blockhead of himself by doing precisely that.¹⁰³

In a word, it is not likely that Chaucer lost much sleep over the heresy of which he had been guilty in either the *Rose* or the *Troilus*. But he certainly knew that he had laid himself open to such a charge, and there are still those who find charming humor in the way in which he meets it in the Prologue.

IV.

What has been said in the section just preceding has had to do with the inconsistency of the proposed interpretation of the *Legend* with itself. That, like the strictures passed upon the theory, is, in the long run, a relatively unimportant matter. The vital question is that of the consistency of the interpretation with the facts. And that, in turn, involves the still larger question of the attitude one is to take toward the work of any writer who is not of one's own time. It is not, at bottom, the well-worn antithesis of mediæval vs. modern—both (but preëminently "modern") question-begging terms. The particular century involved is after all accidental. The real point at issue is whether a writer, of whatever period, is to be recognized as belonging, in certain of his conventions, his prepossessions, his limitations, his very likes and dislikes even, to his own day, and to be interpreted, where need be, in their light; or whether one is at liberty to ignore all such preconceptions and conventions, and to interpret whatever is due to their influence precisely as if it appeared in a work written today.

I do not believe the question needs arguing on its merits. It certainly never had wiser comment than Chaucer's own:

¹⁰³ As for the suggestion that the choice of the *Troilus* is malapropos because Chaucer is charged with heresy "not specifically against women but against love," what is one to say? What, for instance, was Scogan's "heresy"—his "rebel word?" Why does Thomas Usk make Love speak of "how Jason *me* falsed?" (*Testament of Love*, Bk. I, Chap. ii, l. 92). But it would be to assume ignorance of the laws of courtly love on the part of one's readers to carry the point further.

Ye knowe eek, that in forme of speche is chaunge
Withinne a thousand yeer, and wordes tho
That hadden prys, now wonder nyce and straunge
Us thinketh hem; and yet they spake hem so,
And spedde as wel in love as men now do;
Eek for to winne love in sondry ages,
In sondry londes, sondry been usages.

And for-thy if it happe in any wyse,
That here be any love-re in this place
That herkeneth, as the story wol devyse,
How Troilus com to his lady grace,
And thenketh, so nolde I nat love purchace,
Or wondreth on his speche and his doinge,
I noot; but it is me no wonderinge;

For every wight which that to Rome went,
Halt not o path, or alwey o manere.¹⁰⁴

And to recognize the fact that some of the things which even Chaucer himself has said may seem to us "wonder nyce and straunge," and to say frankly "and yet [he] spake hem so"—that recognition is not inconsistent with a love for Chaucer, and may have the added merit of helping one somewhat to understand him. And nowhere is Chaucer's caution about the need of due allowance for "the chaunge withinne a thousand yeer" more pertinent than in the case of his own *Legend*. The strangeness (*to us*) of certain features of it one may grant at once. *But were these features similarly strange to Chaucer and his times?* That is the question which it is imperative to ask, and this question the proposed interpretation of the *Legend* leaves absolutely out of account.

Mr. Goddard has stated, in his second paper, that certain lines and passages of the legends seem to him, taken as a whole, "to afford overwhelming proof that Chaucer deliberately planned his

¹⁰⁴ *T. and C.*, II, 22-37.

legends as a mere travesty on feminine virtue.¹⁰⁵ This statement is based on a passage of twenty-eight pages which it is difficult to speak of coolly. The legends, one may grant at once, do not always show Chaucer at his best. But one is compelled to the conclusion that no more unwarranted travesty of a great poet's work has ever been printed—even in the palmy days of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*—than that in which the legends are here held up to ridicule. I do not care to criticize these pages in detail.¹⁰⁶ I simply wish to point out that the whole case rests on a total misconception of the matter-of-course attitude in Chaucer's day toward these stock examples of feminine virtue.

The gist of Mr. Goddard's objection to taking the legends seriously may best be stated in his own words: "More than one

¹⁰⁵ VIII, 1, p. 86.

¹⁰⁶ A couple of brief passages will make clear what I mean. Cleopatra has just said:

"Now love, to whom my sorweful herte obeyde
So ferforthly that, fro that blisful houre
That I yow swore to been al frely youre—"

Here is the interpretation offered of the next line: "Suddenly—a horrible thought strikes her! She has sworn oaths resembling this to several gentlemen in the course of her life—what if the wrong one should appropriate this carefully prepared address to himself! Suggestion too terrible to mention! But Cleopatra is resourceful to the last, and without a moment's hesitation, inserts *extempore*, after the words just quoted, a line of identification,

I mene yow, Antonius my knight!—

and the oration is carried successfully through" (VIII, 1, p. 62). Once more (VIII, 1, p. 81): "Whatever is said of Ariadne at first, it must be conceded that she becomes very affecting at the end in her apostrophe to the bed. (How this article of household furniture came on the desert isle—'ther as ther dwelte creature noon save wilde bestes'—is not explained)." "Article of household furniture" is part of the first definition of "bed" in Murray, to be sure; but (not to call in half the English poets) is Mr. Goddard unaware of definition 3? It is perhaps asking too much to suggest a comparison of Ariadne's "perque torum moveo brachia" (*Her.* x, 12) with the "datque torum caespes" (*Met.* x, 556)—in its context!—of Venus's invitation to Adonis; or with the "*mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum*" of *Her.* v, 14. When Chaucer can be travestied after that fashion (and these—witness the treatment accorded Lucretia and Philomela—are not the worst examples) in the pages of a learned journal, it is time, with whatever reluctance, to speak plainly.

of these heroines were, as we should say today, 'women with a past,' and to arrange a scheme of narration that shall spare the reader painful revelations concerning these virtuous women is indeed a mercy. For instance, if Chaucer had been compelled to relate *in extenso* . . . the story of how Cleopatra poisoned her younger brother Ptolemy, might not some over scrupulous reader with a too retentive memory fail to be properly affected by her pure devotion to Antony and by the beauty of her sacrifice to love—in the pit of serpents? . . . Or take Medea! There were probably some fathers and mothers among Chaucer's readers. How thankful, then, the poet must have been that he had Love's permission to omit the story of how Medea sliced up [*sic*] her children—not to mention such other little episodes in her career as the occasion when, to delay her pursuing father, she cut her brother in pieces, and strewed the fragments of his body along the road, or when, promising thereby to restore his youth, she persuaded the three daughters of Pelias to tear asunder the limbs of their father. And then the tale of Progne and Philomela!—*as a legend of good women* with an anticlimax it would have been if Chaucer, bound down to a minutely historic method, had been obliged, after the story of Tereus' cruelty to the sisters, to tell how they in turn cooked Tereus' little boy and served him up, as a banquet, to his father! That certainly would have left a bad taste in the mouth."¹⁰⁷ There is more of the same; but that is enough. It is a very edifying exposition of a possible (since actual) twentieth century attitude towards these unfortunate heroines; it has no bearing whatever on their treatment in the *Legend*.¹⁰⁸ Absolutely the only question which has pertinence

¹⁰⁷ VIII, 1, pp. 64-5.

¹⁰⁸ It involves the same fallacy as Mr. Goddard's remarks upon the word "legend" itself, the use of which he regards as "one of the weightiest pieces of evidence of the satirical nature of the poem." "The moment we consider," he tells us, "two things—the *character of the mediaeval legend* and the *character of Chaucer's mind* [*italics mine*—we perceive that the word, because of its connotations, *must* [*italics Mr. Goddard's*] have had for him, to all intents and purposes, exactly its modern meaning" (VIII, 1, p. 56). That augurs nothing short of a

in the premises is: How did *Chaucer and his contemporaries* regard Cleopatra, Medea, Dido, and the rest?

The answer to that is definite enough. They regarded them as stock *exempla of fidelity in love*.¹⁰⁹ It is needless here to illustrate in its wider bearings the familiar mediæval trick of conventionalizing a single person into the representative, the *exemplum*, of a particular attribute or quality.¹¹⁰ I may assume that as one of the commonplaces of mediæval literary usage, and con-

new philosophy of semantics! The remarkable estimate of the *Prioresses Tale* by which it is supported, however, is scarcely calculated to inspire confidence in its validity. And the citation, on the next page, of line 686 of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is peculiarly disastrous, in the light of line 687!

¹⁰⁹ Mr. Goddard's note on the adjective "good" in the poem (VIII, 1, p. 58) is a bit of special pleading: "Gode wommen . . . *that weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves*" is Chaucer's own explicit indication of the sense in which he is using the word. And Mr. Goddard's remark on the next page (VIII, 1, p. 59) that "Chaucer's principal formula for proving a woman good is to make her a victim of a bad man" ignores the fact that the expressly avowed object of the *Legend* is two-fold: to tell of faithful women, and also, no less, to "telle of false men that hem bitrayen, That al hir lyf ne doon nat but assayen How many wommen they may doon a shame" (B. 486-88). It equally ignores, one may add, the implications of *Troilus*, V, 1776-85.

¹¹⁰ For its interest in connection with the fourteenth century attitude toward the *women* under discussion, it may be worth while to refer to the way in which certain *men* were conventionalized into *exempla* of this or that. The following stanza happens to illustrate compactly a number of the stock examples, which will be recognized at once as typical:

Se tu avoies la vaillance
D'Ector le fort, et la science
De Salomon, et la largesce
D'Alixandre, et la grant richesce
De Noiron, et la grant biauté
D'Absalon, et la loiauté
Du Roy David qui fu loiaus,
Et la proesce de Ayaus; etc.

(Machault, *Voir Dit*, ed P. Paris, pp. 86-87).

It would be interesting to have Mr. Goddard's comments (in view of the incident of Uriah the Hittite) on David as an example of loyalty. I do not venture even to suggest what the logical application of his principle makes of the New Testament attitude toward certain Old Testament characters.

fine myself here to its exemplification in the case of the heroines of the *Legend*. And I shall not attempt an exhaustive treatment even of that; to establish the general usage is sufficient.¹¹¹

Christine de Pisan is a witness of authority and unimpeachable sincerity. Her lifelong devotion to the cause of her sex, and her spirited defence of women against their masculine detractors (among them, notably, Jean de Meun) are too well known to need more than mention here.¹¹² Now Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours*,¹¹³ dated May Day, 1399,¹¹⁴ is a document of uncommon interest in the present connection. In response to the complaints of women against their defamers the God of Love enters upon a vigorous yet discriminating vindication of feminine loyalty, especially in affairs of love. The whole poem is highly pertinent to the question in hand, but only a few lines may be quoted. Among the grounds of complaint on the part of women is the treatment they are accorded in books written by certain clerks:

Si se plaingent les dessusdittes dames
De pluseurs clers qui sus leur mettent blames,
Dittiez en font, rimes, proses et vers,
En diffamant leurs meurs par moz divers;

¹¹¹ I wish to say explicitly that I am not here concerned with a study of Chaucer's *sources* (see Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, xxvii-ix, xxxiv ff.; Bech, *Anglia*, V, 313-382; etc.); that, for my present purpose, is beside the point. My object is simply to make clear the attitude of Chaucer's own times towards the women of the *Legend*, from whatever sources the general knowledge of them may have come, or however such knowledge may have been transformed. The Vergil of the Middle Ages (to take one parallel instance out of many) was a rather different figure from the Vergil of the Augustan age; and the heroines of antiquity were not without their mediæval metamorphoses too.

¹¹² See esp. Petit de Julleville, *Hist. de la Langue et de la Littérature français*, II, 360-363.

¹¹³ *Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan (Soc. des. anc. textes français)*, II, 1-27.

¹¹⁴ Ll. 796-800. There is again no question here of *sources*, and the fact that Christine is writing a dozen years later than the *Legend* is immaterial. The question is simply one of the attitude of Chaucer's contemporaries toward the "good women."

Si les baillent en matiere aux premiers
 A leurs nouveaulx et jeunes escolliers,
 En maniere d'exemple et de dottrine,
 Pour retenir en age tel dottrine.¹¹⁵
 En vers dient, Adam, David, Sanson,
 Et Salemon et autres a foison
 Furent deceuz par femme main et tart;
 Et qui sera donc li homs qui s'en gart?
 Li autres dit que moult sont decevables,
 Cautilleuses, faulses et pou valables.
 Autres dient que trop sont mençongieres,
 Variables, inconstans et legieres.
 D'autres pluseurs grans vices les accusent
 Et blasment moult, sanz que riens les excusent.
 Et ainsi font elers et soir et matin,
 Puis en françois, leurs vers, puis en latin,
 Et se fondent dessus ne sçay quelz livres
 Qui plus dient de mençonges qu'uns yvres.¹¹⁶

Among the most flagrant of these offenders are Ovid in the *Remedia Amoris* and the *Ars Amatoria*, and Jean de Meun in the *Roman de la Rose*, with their cynical skepticism regarding feminine virtue. But (the God of Love declares) their work has an obvious bias; if women wrote the books, matters would be different:

Je leur respons que les livres ne firent
 Pas les femmes . . .
 Mais se femmes eussent les livres fait
 Je sçay de vray qu'autrement fust du fait,
 Car bien scevent qu'a tort sont encoulpées.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Cf. "And of myn olde servaunts thou misseyest,
 And hindrest hem, with thy translacioun,
 And lettest folk from hir devocioun
 To serve me" (*Leg.*, B 323-326).

¹¹⁶ Ll. 259-280.

¹¹⁷ Ll. 409-10, 417-19.

Men of this sort declare that *all* women are false :

Encor dient li felon mesdisant,
Qui les femmes vont ainsi desprisant,
Que toutes sont fausses seront et furent;¹¹⁸

but in saying that they ignore the facts :

Car, quant ad ce qui afflert a amours,
Trop de femmes y ont esté loiales
Sont et seront, non obstant intervalles
Ou faussetéz, baraz ou tricheries,
Qu'on leur ait fait et maintes manteries.¹¹⁹

Up to this point, now, Christine has put no concrete examples into the mouth of the God of Love. But at this juncture she *does*, and it is interesting to notice who they are :

Que fut jadis Medée au faulz Jason?
Trés loiale, et lui fist la toison
D'or conquerir par son engin soubtil,
Dont il acquist loz plus qu'autres cent mil.
Par elle fu renommé dessus tous,
Si lui promist que loial ami doulz
Seroit tout sien, mais sa foy lui menti
Et la laissa pour autre et s'en parti.
Que fu Dido, roïne de Cartage,
De grant amour et de loial corage,
Vers Eneas qui, exillé de Troye,
Aloit par mer las, despris et sanz joye,
Presque pery lui et ses chevaliers?
Recueilli fu, dont lui estoit mestiers
De la belle, qu'il faussement deçut;
Car a très grant honneur elle reçeut
Lui et ses gens et trop de bien lui fist;
Mais puis après vers elle tant meffist,
Non obstant ce qu'il lui eust foy promise
Et donnée s'amour, voire, en faintise,

¹¹⁸ Ll. 423-425.

¹¹⁹ Ll. 432-436.

Si s'en parti, ne puis ne retorna,
 Et autre part le sienne amour torna;
 Dont a la fin celle, pour s'amistié,
 Morut de dueil, dont ce fu grant pitié.
 Penelope la feme Ulixès,
 Qui raconterouldroit tout le procès
 De la dame, trop trouveroit a dire
 De sa bonté ou il n'ot que redire:
 Très belle fu requise et bien amée,
 Noble, sage, vaillant et renommée.
 D'aultres pluseurs, et tant que c'est sanz nombre,
 Furent et sont et seront en ce nombre;
 Mais je me tais adès d'en plus compter,
 Car long procès seroit a raconter.¹²⁰

In a word, to Christine de Pisan—herself a woman, writing in direct reply to those who delight to show “how that wommen han don mis”—Medea and Dido stand, *precisely like Penelope*, for examples of fidelity in love. They are simply “goode wommen . . . that weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves.” “Plus loyal que Medée”¹²¹ is Christine’s matter-of-course characterization of the deserted heroine of another poem. It was Medea’s *loyalty* that had been thrown by convention into high relief; the rest was absolutely unessential.

For the detail on which the Middle Ages seized (characteristically enough to the practical exclusion of the rest) was the fact that both Medea and Dido had actually saved their lovers’ lives before they were betrayed. That is the emphasis in the *Roman de la Rose*.¹²² It is the same in the long and detailed

¹²⁰ Ll. 437-70.

¹²¹ II, 137; cf. “the kindnes of Medee,” Lydgate, *Ballad of Good Counsel*, l. 115 (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 289).

¹²² One ne pot Eneas tenir
 Didon, roïne de Cartage,
 Qui tant li ot fait d’avantage,
 Que povre l’avoit recéu
 Et revestu et repéu

account of the loves of Jason and Medea which Benoit gives,¹²³ and which Chaucer certainly knew.¹²⁴ It has striking exemplifica-

Las et fuitis du biau païs
De Troie, dont il fu naïs.
Les compaignons moult honorot,
Car en li trop grant amor ot;
Fist-li ses nez toutes refaire
Por li servir et por li plaire;
Dona-li, por s'amor avoir,
Sa cité, son cors, son avoir . . .
Que refist Jason de Médée
Qui si vilement refu lobée,
Que li faus sa foi li menti
Puis qu'el l'ot de mort garanti,
Quant des torians, qui feu getoient
Por lor geules, et qui venoient
Jason ardoir et despecier,
Sens feu sentir et sens blecier,
Par ses charmes le délivra,
Et le serpent si envira,
C'onques ne se pot esveillier,
Tant le fist forment someillier?

(ed. Michel, ll. 14115-27, 14170-81).

¹²³ Ed. Constans, ll. 715-7078. See Benoit's final verdict in ll. 2030-2040:

Grant folie fist Medea:
Trop ot le vassal aamé,
Por lui laissa son parenté,
Son pere e sa mere e sa gent.
Assez l'en prist puis malement;
Quar, si com li Autors reconté,
Puis la laissa, si fist grant honte.
El l'aveit gardé de morir:
Ja puis ne la deüst guerpier.
Trop l'engeigna, ço peise mei;
Laidement li menti sa fei.

Compare the account in Lydgate's *Troy Book*, ed. Berger, E. E. T. S., pp. 56-122, esp. p. 87. Medea is represented in the same light in the fourteenth century Italian poem *Intelligenza* (ed. Gellrich, Breslau, 1883), stanzas 241, 243-244.

¹²⁴ See Kittredge, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxiv, 344-48; cf. Young, *Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde* (Chaucer Society, 1908), pp. 152-157. Benoit's Medea is a vividly drawn and rather splendid creature (see esp. ll. 1213-1290), of the most approved type of mediæval heroine.

tion in the *Lay de Franchise* of Deschamps, which Chaucer made use of in the Prologue itself:

Lors dist la flour, et chascuns l'acorda,
 Et par beaus mos saigement recorda
 Que sanz amour ne puet estre prouesse;
 Troie la grant tesmoing en appella,
 Et par le Bruth sa paroule prouva
 Et par Juno, l'amoureuse déesse,
Par Meda qui enseigna l'adresse
Au fort Jason qui les toreaulx dompta,
 Par Hercules qui vainquit mainte presse . . .
 Par Theseus qu'en l'aigle d'or entra.¹²⁵

It appears with even greater clearness in another passage from Christine de Pisan, and this time Ariadne is named with Medea and Dido for the same reason:

Jason jadis, si com l'ystoire tient,
Fu reschappé
De dure mort, ou estoit entrapé
 Se du peril ne l'eüst destrappé
 Medée, qui de s'amour ot frapé
 Le cuer si fort
 Que le garda et restora de mort,
 Quant la toison d'or conquist par le sort
 Que lui aprist en Colcos, quant au port
 Fu arrivé;
 Qui qu'en morust, cellui fu avivé
 Par telle amour, mais trop fu desrivé
 Quant faulte fist a celle qui privé
 L'ot du peril.
 Et Theseüs, du roy d'Athenes filz,
 Quant envoyé fu en Crete en exil,
Adriane par son engien subtil
Le reschapa

¹²⁵ Ll. 209-219 (*Oeuvres*, II, 210). And compare III, 242, ll. 17-21.

De dure mort; si le desvelopa
De la prison Minos quant s'agrapa
A son filé et la gorge copa
 Au cruel monstre, . . .
Et Eneas, après qu'ot esté arse
Le grant cité de Troye, a qui reverse
Fu Fortune qui maint reaume verse,
 Quant il par mer
Aloit vagant a cuer triste et amer
Ne ne finoit de ses Dieux reclamer,
Mais bon secours lui survint pour amer,
 Car accueilli
Fu de Dido la belle et recueilli;
S'elle ne fust, esté eust maubailli,
Dont ot grant tort quant vers elle failli.
 Si n'en morurent
Mie ces trois, ains reschapez en furent.¹²⁶

And this conception of Medea and Dido and Ariadne persisted long after Chaucer's generation had passed. Medea (together with Ariadne) reappears in her familiar role in Jean Marot's defence of women:

Jason allant in Colcos, sur la mer
Estant perdu, Médée veult l'aimer;
Mal luy en print, car ung chascun scet bien
Que ce traïstre luy rendit mal pour bien,
D'ont le toyson conquesta par ses ars,
Où failly eussent ses flèches et ses dars.
Thoreaux, serpens mist en nécessité
Qu'il n'y a cil qu'à Mort ne soit cité;
La toyson prist et Médée saisit,
Laquelle peu de son amour se aisit,
Car peu de temps après il la déchasse.

¹²⁶ *Le Debat de deux Amans*, ll. 1455-93 (II, 92-94). Space is wanting for more than a reference to the parallel passage from the *Lay de Dame* (III, 310-11), ll. 67-100. Cf. also Froissart's explicit statements, *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, II, 343, ll. 65-68; 387, No. xxxvi, ll. 3-5.

Comme ung mastin qui n'a cure de chasse ;
Sans regarder que, par son aide, honneur
Il avoit eu, luy feist tout deshonneur.
 Autant en feist Théséus par desroy
 A Aryanne, noble fille de roy,
 Et mille aultres, qu'à présent je ne nomme,
 Ont esté prinses pour se fier en homme.¹²⁷

And to Bertrand Desmarins de Masan Dido was still a pattern of loyalty :

Certainement, quand je pense,
 Femmes ont le cueur estable.
 Virgille, sans point doubtance,
 En dit vray, et non point fable,
 Quand parle du miserable
 Enée, remply d'oultrage,
 Et de Dido l'amiable,
 Qu'estoit royne de Cartage.

Ne dist-il pas verité
 D'Eneydes au quart livre,
 Disant que par loyaulté
 Dido vouloit Enée suyvre,
 Dont, quant vint qu'estoit delivre
 De Enée le malotreu,
 Fut contente plus ne vivre,
 Dont se mist dedans le feu?¹²⁸

But Christine's epistle—from which we have for the moment diverged—was brought very pointedly into connection with the *Legend of Good Women* itself. Hoccleve, as everybody knows, translated (or, rather, adapted) it, three years after it was writ-

¹²⁷ *La vray disant Advocate des Dames* (Montaignon, *Recueil*, X, 238-39). See the reference to Dido on p. 255, and to Penelope and Lucrece on p. 265.

¹²⁸ *Le Rousier des Dames* (Montaignon, *Recueil*, V, 201).

ten, in his *Letter of Cupid*.¹²⁹ After the two stanzas in which he sums up Christine's account (just quoted) of Medea and Dido,¹³⁰ he inserts two stanzas of his own. And the first of these stanzas links Christine's treatment of the case directly with Chaucer's:

In my¹³¹ Legende of Martres men may fynde
(Who-so that lyketh therein for to rede)
That ooth noon ne behest may no man bynde;
Of reprevable shame han they no drede.
In mannes herte trouthe hath no stede;
The soil is noght, ther may no trouthe growe!
To womman namely it is nat unknowe.¹³²

That is to say, the Prologue to the *Legend* and Christine's *Epistre* alike oppose to the attacks of Jean de Meun certain familiar examples of feminine loyalty, and the one poem with the utmost naturalness suggests the other. No one could dream of questioning Christine de Pisan's sincerity. Yet to Hoccleve, who knew

¹²⁹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 217-32; cf. Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, E. E. T. S., ed. Furnivall, I, 72-92, 243-48. For the date see the last stanza of the poem.

¹³⁰ How frendly was Medea to Jasoun
In the conquering of the flees of gold!
How falsly quitte he her affeccioun
By whom victorie he gat, as he hath wold!
How may this man, for shame, be so bold
To falsen her, that from his dethe and shame
Him kepte, and gat him so gret prys and name?

Of Troye also the traitor Eneas,
The feythles wrecche, how hath he him forswore
To Dido, that queen of Cartage was,
That him releved of his smertes sore!
What gentillesse might she han doon more
Than she with herte unfeyned to him kidde?
And what mischief to her ther-of betidde! (ll. 302-15).

¹³¹ It is the God of Love, of course, who is speaking.

¹³² Ll. 316-22.

his "maister dere and fader reverent" reasonably well, Chaucer's *exempla* present no difference from hers.¹³³

The attitude of Chaucer's friend Gower toward these same antique heroines is no less significant. "Gower had told," as Professor Kittredge has recently remarked in another connection,¹³⁴ "in one or another part of his *Confessio*, almost every story which Chaucer had embodied in his *Legend* up to this time. There were Cleopatra¹³⁵ and Thisbe¹³⁶ and Dido¹³⁷ and Medea¹³⁸ and Lucretia¹³⁹ and Ariadne¹⁴⁰ and Philomela¹⁴¹ and Phyllis¹⁴²— every single one, that is to say, except Hypsipyle and Hypermetra." And not one of these stories, whatever the immediate purpose for which Gower happens to be telling it, but is consistent with Chaucer's statement of the theme of his own *Legend*; every one of them tells either of women "that weren trewe in lovinge al hir lyves," or else "of false men that hem bitrayen."¹⁴³ To

¹³³ Mr. Goddard may of course retort that Hoccleve, like all his contemporaries, failed to see the peerless joke. But it is at least of curious interest to glean here and there among those who didn't share these "secret favors, sweet and precious."

¹³⁴ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxiv, 359. Professor Kittredge's summary of the correspondences between the *Legend* and the *Confessio* (*ib.* pp. 357-63) makes further consideration of details unnecessary here.

¹³⁵ VIII, 2571-77.

¹³⁶ III, 1331 ff.

¹³⁷ IV, 77 ff.

¹³⁸ V, 3247 ff.

¹³⁹ VII, 4754 ff.

¹⁴⁰ V, 5231 ff.

¹⁴¹ V, 5551 ff.

¹⁴² IV, 731 ff.

¹⁴³ As a matter of relative dignity of treatment, it is worth while to compare with Mr. Goddard's remark about how "the sisters... cooked Tereus' little boy" (VIII, 1, p. 65) Gower's statement of the same incident:

Thus sche, *that was, as who seith, mad*
Of wo, which hath hir overlad,
 Withoute insihte of moderhede
 Foryat pite and loste drede,
 And in hir chambre prively

Gower, as to his contemporaries, the status of the ladies of the *Legend* required no argument.¹⁴⁴

The eighth chapter of *La Fiammetta* of Boccaccio is unfortunately too long for quotation here.¹⁴⁵ But it is very much to the point in the present argument. Its heading gives a summary of its contents: "Nel quale madonna Fiammetta le pene sue con quelle di molte antiche donne commisurando, le sue maggiori dimostra, e poi finalmente ai suoi lamenti conchiude."¹⁴⁶ Among the ladies of antiquity with whose sorrows Fiammetta compares her own are Canace, Thisbe, Dido,¹⁴⁷

This child withouten noise or cry
Sche slou, and hieu him al to pieces.

Confessio, V, 5891-97.

Mr. Goddard's reference to "the story of how Medea sliced up her children" (*ib.*) may with profit be set beside Gower's restrained account, with its recognition of the tragic import of the deed:

Medea, q'ot le coer de dolour clos,
En son corous, et ceo fuist grant pité,
Ses joefnes fils, quex ot jadis enelos
Deinz ses costées, ensi come forsenée
Devant les oels Jason ele ad tué.
Ceo q'en fuist fait pecché le fortuna.

Traitié, VIII, ll. 15-20 (*Works*, ed. Macaulay, I, 384).

Compare, too, Boccaccio's treatment (too long to quote) in the *Amorosa Visione*, cap. xxi. In view of the fact that the exact manner in which Medea killed her children has been the subject of rather close scrutiny of late (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxiv, 126-27, 354), it would be of especial interest to scholars to know Mr. Goddard's authority for his "sliced up."

¹⁴⁴ Mr. Goddard, one may suppose, would probably have difficulty in convincing even himself that *Gower* was cracking a joke in the *Confessio*.

¹⁴⁵ The length of even such passages as I have allowed myself to quote is such as to make necessary their reduction to the notes. They are, however, quite as significant as the briefer passages which find a place in the text.

¹⁴⁶ Boccaccio, *Opere Minori*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1879, p. 127.

¹⁴⁷ Dido scored with the Middle Ages, it must be very particularly noted, on either version of her story. In the present instance, as in the *Amorosa Visione* (see below, p. 563), Boccaccio, like Chaucer and Christine de Pisan, follows the Vergilian account: "Vienmi poi inanzi, con molta più forza che alcuno altro, il dolore della abbandonata Dido, perciochè più al mio simigliante il conosco che altro alcuno. Io

Hero, Isolde, Laodamia, Cleopatra,¹⁴⁸ Hypsipyle, Medea, and

immagino lei edificante Cartagine, e con somma pompa dar leggi nel Tempio de Giunone ai suoi popoli, e quivi benignamente ricevere il forestiere Enea naufrago, ed esser presa della sua forma, e sè e le sue cose rimettere nell' arbitrio del trojano duca, il quale, avendo le reali delizie usate al suo piacere, e lei di giorno in giorno più accesa del suo amore, abbandonatala si diparti. Oh quanto senza comparazione mi si mostra miserevole, mirando lei riguardante il mare pieno de' legni del fuggente amante! Ma ultimamente, più impaziente che dolorosa la tengo, considerando alla sua morte," etc. (*Opere Minori*, p. 129). Compare: "Certo io estimo che il dolore della impaziente Didone fosse minore che 'l mio, quand' ella vide Enea dipartirsi" (*L'Ameto, Opere Minori*, p. 226); "Almeno, se amore... sarà cagione che i miei giorni si raccorcino, me ne seguirà che io, come Dido, con dolorosa fama diventerò eterna" (*La Fiammetta, Opere Minori*, p. 77; cf. p. 230). In the *De Claris Mulieribus*, on the other hand, Boccaccio makes use of the pre-Vergilian version, and Dido, "hethen" though she was, becomes an illustrious example to Christian women. The passage deserves quotation in full—if for no other reason than that it may well have suggested the "yit they weren hethen, al the pak," of A 299—but its length forbids. The following sentences, however, will give its tone: "O pudicitiae inviolatum decus, viduitatis infractae venerandum aeternumque specimen, Dido in te velim ingerant oculos viduae mulieres, et potissime Cristianae, tuum robur inspiciant, te si castissimum effudentem sanguinem tota mente considerent, et hae potissimum quibus fuit, ne ad secundam solum dicam, sed ad tertiam et ad ulteriora etiam vota transvolasse levissimum. Quid inquit, queso spectantes Christi insignite caractere, si exteram mulierem gentilem infidelem, cui omnino Christus incognitus ad consequendam parituramque laudem, tam perseveranti animo, tam forti pectere in mortem usque pergere non aliena, sed sua illatam manu antequam in secundas nuptias iret, antequam observantiae venerandissimum propositum violari permetteret... Imo et ipsa Dido erat ne saxea ac lignea magis quam hodiernae sint, non eadem ergo mente saltem valens, cuius non arbitrabatur posse viribus evitare illecebras, moriens ea via qua potuit evitavit. Sed nobis qui nos tam desertos dicimus, nonne si Christus refugium est, ipse quidem redemptor pius in se sperantibus semper adest, an putas qui pueros de camino ignis eripuit, qui Susannam do falso crimine liberavit, te de manibus adversantium non possit auferre si vetis?... Gentilis foemina ob inanem gloriam fervori suo imperare potuit, et leges imponere, Christiana ut consequeretur, aeterna imperare non potest? Heu mihi dum fallere deum talibus arbitramur, nosipsos et honori caduco (ut aeternum sinam) subtrahimus et in praecipitium aeternae damnationis impellimus. Erubescant ergo intuentes Didonis cadaver exinanire, ut dum causam mortis excogitant vultus deiciant, dolentes quod a membro Diaboli Christiculae pudicitia superentur." (*De Claris Mulieribus*, Berne, 1539, fol. 28v-29r). Boc-

Ariadne—all of them in the ballad, and six of them among the ten heroines of the legends. And once more, in every instance, the burden of Fiammetta's lament is the theme of the *Legend*—the faithfulness of women, or the treachery of men “that hem bitrayen.”¹⁴⁹

caccio refers to both versions of Dido's story in the *Genealogia deorum*, lib. ii, cap. lx.

¹⁴⁸ Boccaccio does not blink, either here or in the *De Claris Mulieribus*, Cleopatra's delinquencies; but she was none the less to him, as she was to Petrarch and Chaucer and Shakspeare—to name no more—one of the world's great lovers. Space again forbids the citation of all of Fiammetta's exposition of the “pene intollerabile” of Cleopatra; the closing sentences are as follows: “Ma quello che per sua gravissima ed estrema doglia s'aggiugne, è l'essere stata moglie d'Antonio, il quale ella con le sue libidinose lusinghe aveva a cittadine guerre incitato contro il suo fratello, quasi, di quelle vittoria sperando, aspirasse all'altezza del romano imperio; ma venutole di ciò ad un' ora doppia perdita, cioè quella del morto marito, e della spogliata speranza, lei dolorosissima oltre ad ogni altra femmina esser rimasa si crede. E certo, considerando sì alto intendimento venir meno per una disavventurata battaglia, quale è il dovere esser general donna di tutto il circuito della terra, senza agguignervi il perdere così caro marito, è da credere esser dolorosissima cosa; ma ella a ciò trovò subitamente quella sola medicina che v'era a spegnere il suo dolore, cioè la morte, la quale ancor che rigida posse, non si distese però in lungo spazio; perciocchè in piccola ora possono per le poppe due serpenti trar d'un corpo il sangue e la vita” (*Opere minori*, p. 135).

¹⁴⁹ It is not only to find parallels for her own grief that Fiammetta recurs to the tragic fortunes of her heroines; in and for themselves they stand—certain significant names among them—as exemplars of the splendor of the antique world. In a remarkable passage Fiammetta resumes the glories of her own city: “La nostra città, oltre a tutte l'altre italice, di lietissime feste abbondevole, non solamente rallegra i suoi cittadini o con le nozze o con li bagni o con li marini liti, ma, copiosa di molti giuochi, sovente or con uno, or con un altro letifica la sua gente: ma tra l'altre cose, nelle quali essa apparare splendidissima, è nel sovente armeggiare.” After a brief picture of the gathering, in the spring days, for the tourney, Fiammetta comes to the “store of ladies, whose bright eyes rain influence.” And it is interesting to observe the means she uses to add lustre to the fame of her townswomen: “Non credo elie più nobile o più ricca cosa fosse a riguardar le nuore di Priamo con l'altre frigie donne qualora più ornate davanti al suocero loro a festeggiar s'adunavano, che sieno in più luoghi della nostra città le nostre

Such formal passages as I have cited (and it would be easy to add to them) make clear enough the mediæval point of view with reference to the women of the *Legend*. But no less significant, if only for the fact that they *are* incidental and matter-of-course—are the frequent references that appear in fourteenth century writings to the heroines of the *Legend* as accepted standards of comparison for the poet's use in rehearsing the virtues of his own lady. Deschamps writes, in the *Lay de Department*, of his lady—"celle que je desir D'ardent desir De cuer vray"—in terms which, on Mr. Goddard's hypothesis, would be anything but complimentary:

Car de Dydo ne d'Elaine,
De Judith la souveraine,
Ne d'Ester ne de Tysbée,
De Lucesse la Rommaine,
Ne d'Ecuba la certaine,

Sarre loial ne Medée
Ne pourroit estre trouvée
Dame de tant de biens plaine:
C'est l'estoille trasmontaine,
Aurora la désirée.¹⁵⁰

cittadine a vedere; le quali, poichè a' teatri in grandissima quantità ragunate si veggono... non dubito che qualunque forestiere intendente sopravvenisse, considerate le contenenze altiere, i costumi notabili, gli ornamenti piuttosto reali che convenevoli ad altre donne, non giudicasse noi non moderne donne, ma di quell' antiche magnifiche essere al mondo tornate, quella per alterezza, dicendo, Semiramis somiglierebbe: quell'altra, agli ornamenti guardando, Cleopatra si crederebbe: l'altra, considerata la sua vaghezza, sarebbe creduta Elena: ed alcuna, gli atti suoi ben mirando, in niente si direbbe dissimigliante a Didone. Perchè vo io somigliandole tutte? Ciascuna per sè medesima parrebbe una cosa piena di divina maestà, non che d'umana." (*Opere minori*, pp. 84-85.) Simply as a further illustration of the matter-of-course attitude toward Cleopatra and Dido—even the "divina maestà" belongs to them by implication—the passage is not without significance.

¹⁵⁰ *Oeuvres*, II, 336 (No. cccxiii, ll. 17-26).

The juxtapositions are even more interesting in one of the *balades*:

Judith en fais, Lucesse en voulenté
Rebeque en sens, en noblesce Ecuba,
Sarre loyal et Helaine en biauté,
Plaisant Hester et royne de Sabba,
En ferme foy et en sainté Anna,
Semiramis pour gouverner contrée,
Et pour honneur et gens veoir Martha,
Dydo, Palas, Juno, Penelopée,

Marie en grace et en humilité,
En doulx maintien et en gent corps Flora,
Marguerite en coulour et purté,
Pure estoille, clere comme Aurora,
Desirée trop plus que Medea,
Katherine vous a endoctrinée,
Qui, en tous lieux, appeller vous fera
Dydo, Palas, Juno, Penelopee.¹⁵¹

And one may add the *balade*¹⁵² to which Professor Skeat refers¹⁵³ in connection with the ballad of the Prologue:

Hester, Judith, Penelopé, Helaine,
Sarre, Tisbé, Rebeque et Sarry,
Lucesce, Yseult, Genevre, chastellaine
La très loyal nommée de Vergy,
Rachel aussi, la dame de Fayel
Onc ne furent sy precieux jouel
D'onneur, bonté, senz, beauté et valour
Con est ma très douce dame d'onneur.

Se d'Absalon la grant beauté humaine,
De Salomon tout senz sanz demy, etc.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ *Oeuvres*, III, 303-04 (No. cccclxxxii, ll. 1-16).

¹⁵² Given in full in Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, X, xlix-1.

¹⁵³ *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 298.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. also No. mclxxiv (*Oeuvres*, VII, 13).

Similarly Froissart writes:

Ne quier veoir Medée ne Jason,
 Ne trop avant lire ens on mapemonde,
 Ne la musique Orpheüs ne le son,
 Ne Herculês, qui cercha tout le monde,
 Ne Lucesse, qui tant fu bonne et monde,
 Ne Penelope aussi, car, par saint Jame,
 Je voi assés, puisque je voi ma dame.¹⁵⁵

Nor is Lydgate to be outdone:

For good she is, lyk to Policene,
 And, in fairnesse, to the quene Helayne;
 Stedfast of herte, as was Dorigene,
 And wyfly trouthe, if I shal not fayne:
 In constaunce eke and faith, she may attayne
 To Cleopatre; and therto as secree
 As was of Troye the whyte Antigone;

As Hester meke; lyk Judith of prudence;
 Kynde as Alceste or Marcia Catoun;
 And to Grisilde lyk in pacience,
 And Ariadne, of discrecioun;
 And to Lucrece, that was of Rome toun,
 She may be lykned, as for honestè;
 And, for her faith, unto Penelope.

To faire Phyllis and to Hipsiphilee,
 For innocence and for womanhede;
 For seemlinesse, unto Canacee;
 And over al this, to speke of goodlihede,
 She passeth alle that I can of rede;
 For worde and dede, that she naught ne falle,
 Acorde in vertue, and her werkes alle.

¹⁵⁵ *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, II, 369.

For though that Dydo, with [her] witte sage,
Was in her tyme stedfast to Enee,
Of hastinesse yet she did outrage;
And so for Jason did also Medee.
But my lady is so avisee
That, bountee and beautee bothe in her demeyne,
She maketh bountee alway soverayne.¹⁵⁶

The constant appearance of the heroines of the legends (or of the ballad) in the conventional lists of lovers or on the pictured walls abounding in mediæval poems is a fact of no less pertinence.¹⁵⁷ In the *Amorosa Visione*—which might equally well have been considered in connection with *La Fiammetta*—Boccaccio sees depicted in the great hall, together with the philosophers and poets,¹⁵⁸ seven of the ten ladies of the *Legend*: Cleopatra,¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 271-72. See also *ib.*, p. 289, ll. 106-119:

Touching of women the parfit innocence,
Thogh they had of Hestre the mekenes,
Or of Griseldes [the] humble pacience,
Or of Judith the proved stablenes,
Or Policenes virginal clenens,
Yit dar I say and truste right wel this,
A wikked tonge wol alway deme amis.

The wyfly trouthe of Penelope,
Though they it hadde in hir possessioun,
Eleynes beautè, the kindnes of Medee,
The love unfeyned of Marcia Catoun,
Or of Alceste the trewe affeccioun,
Yit dar I say and truste right wel this,
A wikked tonge wol alway deme amis.

Add Lydgate's *New Year's Valentine*, just printed by Miss Hammond in *Anglia*, xxxii—esp. p. 195, the lines beginning:

For sheo passep of beaute Isoude and Eleyne.

¹⁵⁷ It is needless, of course, to refer to *Book of the Duchess*, ll. 326-31, and *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 288-92.

¹⁵⁸ See caps. iv-v.

¹⁵⁹ Cap. x (ed. Moutier, p. 43). Cleopatra, it should be said, is included among the followers of Fame, rather than among the lovers.

Thisbe,¹⁶⁰ Hypsipyle and Medea,¹⁶¹ Ariadne,¹⁶² Phyllis,¹⁶³ and Dido¹⁶⁴ (all, that is, except Lucretia, Hypermnestra, and Philomela,) and thirteen out of the eighteen ladies of the ballad.¹⁶⁵ Cleopatra, Ariadne, Phyllis, Medea, Hypsipyle, Helen, Laodamia, Hypermnestra, Thisbe, Isolde, and Hero appear in Petrarch's *Trionfo d' Amore*;¹⁶⁶ Medea, Dido, Polixena, and Penelope in the *Intelligenza*;¹⁶⁷ Medea, Helen, Isolde, Hero, and Polixena in the *Paradys d'Amours*;¹⁶⁸ Medea, Helen, Dido, and Isolde in Deschamps's *Lay Amoureux*;¹⁶⁹ Isolde, Helen, Dido, Phyllis, Ariadne, Medea, Cleopatra, Thisbe, Philomela, Canace, Polixena, Penelope, and Lucretia in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*;¹⁷⁰ Dido, Medea, Penelope, Isolde, Thisbe, Phyllis, Helen, Polixena, Philomela, and Lucretia in the *Temple of Glas*;¹⁷¹ Medea, Phyllis, Dido, and Thisbe in *Reason and Sensuality*.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁰ Cap. xxi (pp. 82-84). The story of Pyramus and Thisbe was of course a favorite one. See, among others, Robert of Blois (ed. Ulrich, pp. 55-56); *Poésies du Roi de Navarre*, II, 68-69; Machault, *Voir Dit*, p. 270; and especially an anonymous thirteenth century poem quoted in *Hist. littér. de la France*, XXIII, 813.

¹⁶¹ Cap. xxi (pp. 85-88); cf. cap. ix (p. 38). It is worth noting that in the *Amorosa Visione* as in the *Legend* Hypsipyle and Medea are treated together.

¹⁶² Cap. xxii (p. 89).

¹⁶³ Cap. xxv (p. 103).

¹⁶⁴ Caps. xxviii-ix (pp. 113-118); cf. caps. viii (p. 35), ix (p. 37).

¹⁶⁵ Polixena (caps. ix, p. 37; xxiv, p. 98); Hero (cap. xxiv, p. 99); Canace (cap. xxv, p. 101); Helen (cap. xxvii, p. 110; cf. cap. viii, p. 35); Laodamia (cap. xxvii, p. 111); Penelope (cap. xxvii, p. 112); and Isolde (caps. xi, p. 46; xxix, p. 118). The ladies of the ballad not found in the *Amorosa Visione* are Esther, Marcia Catoun, Lucretia, and Hypermnestra.

¹⁶⁶ Caps. i, iii.

¹⁶⁷ Stanzas 72-75.

¹⁶⁸ Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, I, 30.

¹⁶⁹ *Oeuvres*, II, 198.

¹⁷⁰ Ll. 2500-2640.

¹⁷¹ Ed. Schick, E. E. T. S., ll. 55 ff.

¹⁷² Ed. Sieper, E. E. T. S., Part I, p. 114.

There are lists of women who have had sorrow in love;¹⁷³ there are lists of false lovers.¹⁷⁴ And phrases of comparison based on these same familiar and distinguished stories are too numerous to mention.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Genievre, Ysult et Helaine,

Palas, Juno ne Medée,
Du Vergy la chastellaine,
Andromada ne Tisbée...
N'orent le mal ne la paine
Ne la dure destinée
Qui d'amours m'est destinée.

Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, II, 182.

Cf. Wherein was graven of stories many oon;
First how Phyllis, of womanly pitè,
Deyd pitously, for love of Demophon.
Nexte after was the story of Tisbee,
How she slew her-self under a tree.
Yet saw I more, how in right pitous-cas
For Antony was slayn Cleopatras.

Assembly of Ladies, ll. 456-62 (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 395) .

¹⁷⁴ Plus tricherous qe Jason a Medée,
A Deianire ou q'Ercules estoit,
Plus q'Eneas, q'avoit Dido lessée,
Plus qe Theseüs, q'Adriagne amoit,
Ou Demophon, quant Phillis oubloioit,
Je trieus, hélas, q'amer jadis soloie.

Gower, *Works*, ed. Macaulay, I, 371.

Cf. But false Jason, with his doubleness,
That was untrewé at Colkos to Medee,
And Theseus, rote of unkindenese,
And with these two eek the false Enee; etc.

Lydgate, *Complaint of the Black Knight* (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 256), ll. 372-75.

¹⁷⁵ E. g., Plus l'ama que Médée Jason (Machault, *Oeuvres*, ed. Tarbé, p. 60); Qu'onques Jason belle Medée, Ne Dido de Cartage Enée, N'aussi Byblis Cadmus, Né Helaine Paris, N'amerent tant... Com je t'aim (Machault, *Voir Dit*, p. 243); Car je t'aim plus que Hero Leandon ne Medée n'ama le preu Jason (Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Scheler, I, 170); Onques Genevre, Yseut, Helainne, Ne Lucesse que fu Rommaine... N'ama cascade tant le sien Que je fai toi (*ib.* II, 303); Ed alcuni sono, che dal biforme figliuolo feriti di Citerea, chi per conforto, e quale per

Mr. Goddard's scruples about the ladies of the *Legend* do not seem, accordingly, to have been shared by Chaucer's contemporaries, and there is not a shred of evidence that they were shared by Chaucer himself. Indeed, if Chaucer's selection of his heroines is evidence of a desire on his part to play a joke on Cupid and to indulge surreptitiously in a "travesty on feminine virtue," then by the same token the Middle Ages in general were palpably touched with the same midsummer madness. Mr. Goddard has proved too much. "You paint your devils so impossibly black, my dear," says the Rector to his wife in Maurice Hewlett's *Halfway House*, "that really they refute themselves."

The Rector's remark applies aptly enough, not only to Mr. Goddard's procedure with the ladies of the *Legend*, but also, *mutatis mutandis*, to another aspect of his argument. It is perfectly true, as is observed with elaborately ironical caution, that "Chaucer (the statement is made after due deliberation) is a humorist."¹⁷⁶ And it is equally true that Chaucer's delightful and inimitable humor does frequently take the form of an ostensibly sober statement which really veils a playful turn or one that is (often elusively enough) ironical. Not to grant that is to plead crass and inexpiable ignorance of Chaucer. But Mr. Goddard, like Esais, is very bold: "This simple rule of Chaucerian criticism may be offered, applicable to the poet's later works, and, like the innocence of an accused man before the law, to be taken for granted and adhered to till positive evidence to the contrary is adduced: *Always* assume that Chaucer means the opposite of what he seems to say."¹⁷⁷ That is precisely the defeat of Mr. Goddard's method; his (or rather, his Chaucer's) impossibly ubiquitous *double-entendres* refute themselves. Chaucer

diletto cercando gli antichi amori, un'altra volta con il concupiscevole cuore trasfugano Elena, raccendono Didone, con Isifile piangono, ed ingannano con sollecita cura Medea (Boccaccio, *Opere Minori*, p. 143). Cf. Froissart, II, 389; Deschamps, III, 286, l. 1; 291, l. 9; 294, l. 11; 318, ll. 9-11; IV, 69, l. 5; X, xlvi, l. 15; etc., etc.

¹⁷⁶ VII, 4, p. 97.

¹⁷⁷ VIII, 1, p. 100 n. (*italics mine*). Since hills are good, let us abolish valleys!

is always "achieving one or his roguish ambiguities;"¹⁷⁸ always writing lines which are "the very embodiment of a wink;"¹⁷⁹ always—one may add—forgetting unaccountably that

. . . though the beste harpoure upon lyve
Wolde on the beste souned joly harpe
That ever was, with alle his fingres fyve,
Touche ay o streng, or ay a werbul harpe,
Were his nayles poynted never so sharpe,
It shulde maken every wight to dulle,
To here his glee, and of his strokes fulle.¹⁸⁰

The result, one can but feel, would be somewhat distressing—were it true!

The same failure to observe the Chaucerian virtue of *mesure* vitiates Mr. Goddard's often excellent remarks on "bringing modern preconceptions to a mediæval case."¹⁸¹ It is true enough that "Machault [is] a mediæval writer, so is Deschamps. And Machault and Deschamps are dead names on the dead pages of

¹⁷⁸ VIII, 1, p. 105.

¹⁷⁹ VIII, 1, p. 102 n.

¹⁸⁰ Vor hit is soth, Alvred hit seide,
And me hit mai in boke rede,
'Everich thing mai leosen his goanede
Mid unmethe and mid over-dede'

(*Owl and Nightingale*, ll. 349-52).

¹⁸¹ See esp. VIII, 1, pp. 107-09. To assert in the connection which it is given, that "*Chaucer* is something more than a mere 'mediæval case'" (p. 107; my italics) is, I fear it must be said, to set up, for the sake of its facile demolition, a man of straw. As a matter of fact, the "mediæval case" actually under discussion was not "*Chaucer*," but the familiar question of originality in the Middle Ages—as would have appeared had Mr. Goddard quoted the remainder of the sentence which he permits to end with the words which form his text (see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 653, n. 1). The deft gradations by which Mr. Goddard passes, on p. 107, from the Prologue (and particularly the daisy passage at that), through the *Legend* as a whole (in the next sentence), on to Chaucer himself (six lines below), in reaching his application of the phrase, are worthy of note!

literary history,¹⁸² while Chaucer is a living force in a still living world." And it is manifestly pertinent to ask "wherein consists the difference? . . . What is it about this work [*The Legend of Good Women*] which makes it so superior to these various French poems to which its many points of likeness have been shown?"¹⁸³ With the statement of the answer, moreover, one may substantively agree: "Surely (since they are dead) it is in its *differences from* them that we must seek its life." Those differences, the more striking for the likenesses, are salient enough in the Prologue, as no one who is familiar with the French poems need be told. But when such differences are sought, as Mr. Goddard seeks them, by transporting Chaucer bodily from his own century, one must beg leave to cherish doubts. Chaucer is—if I may venture, under the circumstances, my own confession of faith—in much of his work, the most *human* of all the poets that I know; if I were sure precisely what I meant by it, I should say in many aspects the most *modern* also. But astoundingly "modern" as he is, Chaucer is none the less "mediaeval" too; which means no more than that he is a normal human being, living sanely and heartily in his own time. And being of his time, he often likes, seriously and unabashedly likes, a few things that bore us to extinction. Even when he does not actually *like* them, he sometimes passively accepts conventions that would give a twentieth century writer pause. But neither Chaucer nor one's love for him will suffer greatly from a recognition of the facts.

And in these facts there certainly is no warrant for the view that in the *Legend* Chaucer was composing "a most unmerciful satire upon women," "a mere travesty of feminine virtue." The poem must still be taken at its own word. That does not mean

¹⁸² One can but feel, however, that rhetoric has slightly outrun critical acumen in this dictum!

¹⁸³ Pp. 107-108. It must be noted, however, that Mr. Goddard persists in assuming that the whole *Legend*, and not merely the Prologue, is related to the French *marguerite* poems. Here as before (see above, p. 534) that is rather glaringly to beg the question and one is justified, I think, in expressing the wish that Mr. Goddard had seen fit to give the evidence for his contention.

that Chaucer's unfailing sense of humor was "thilke tyme," any more than any other time, asleep; it does not mean that Chaucer saw no irony in any of the situations he portrayed. To assert that would be to affirm that Chaucer was no longer Chaucer. But granted that, the ladies of the *Legend* were to Chaucer what they were to those for whom he wrote. He grew very tired of them, to be sure (one recalls the sigh of relief that followed even Grisilde!); but he accepted them at their conventional appraisal. As for the Prologue, Mr. Goddard has failed to show that it is anything else than just what it purports to be. One may still accept it gratefully for what (among other things) it is—Chaucer's consummate working out and betterment, by grace of his own genius and its inalienable humor, of suggestions drawn from a long line of poets—the "flour of hem that make in Fraunce."

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DEUTSCHE GRAMMATIK. Gotisch, Alt-, Mittel- und Neuhochdeutsch von W. Wilmanns, O. Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Universität Bonn. Dritte Abteilung: Flexion—2. Hälfte. Strassburg. Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1909. Pp. 317-772.

The first half of this volume was reviewed in the *Journal*, Vol. VI, pp. 492-507. The second half treats of the inflection of nouns and adjectives, the uses of the cases, gender, and number.

The historical method is pursued throughout. The development is traced from the oldest records down to the language of our own time. The reviewer had occasion to complain somewhat of the treatment of the present period in the first half of the volume. Professor Wilmanns evidently is more interested in the older stages of the language. In the second half of this volume he seems to the reviewer to have gone too far in his neglect of current speech. His conclusions at this point are sometimes quite doubtful, sometimes erroneous. This clear-headed scholar who has so often led us safely through the intricacies of historical development does not here always convince us. Nowhere does he here seem to have extensive materials of his own, but appears to be guided by his own speech-feeling, or by some grammatical treatise on the subject in question. This is to be much regretted, for the declension of nouns is the most difficult part of German grammar. Not only foreigners need light here, but Germans also are not infrequently in need of information here, as shown by the fluctuations in present usage. In his study of modern grammatical literature on this subject Professor Wilmanns has entirely overlooked a number of good German grammars written by Danes, Hollanders, Englishmen, and Americans. This subject of nouns has greatly worried foreigners, and some of them in their study of this part of German grammar have made some fine observations. In the following pages the writer desires to call attention to a number of deficiencies in Professor Wilmanns's work, in the hope that the corrections may be helpful to those interested in German grammar, and also that they may lead to a more careful revision on the part of the author.

In the treatment of the inflection of nouns Professor Wilmanns takes up masculines and neuters separately. This method is helpful for the older periods, but is misleading for the present state of the language. One of the characteristic features of modern German grammar is the grouping of masculines and neuters *together*. In the living language the neuter noun has

no distinctive declension of its own, but follows the model of the masculines. Survivals of older usage, such as a neuter plural in *-er*, are still to be found, but no new neuter noun will ever again enter the language with a plural in *-er*. All new neuters will follow masculine models.

In his treatment of the strong noun Professor Wilmanns states (p. 384) that the group of monosyllabics with a mutated plural in *-e*, is larger than the non-mutating group. This seems to the writer to be the greatest and most serious error in the whole book. It indicates that Professor Wilmanns does not understand the principal development in the modern declension of nouns. The writer gives in his "Grammar of the German Language," pp. 75-77, the list of the monosyllabic masculines with a plural in *-e* without mutation, and pp. 81-83, the mutating group. The mutating group is complete, but the non-mutating group can easily be increased by adding many technical words. It is a simple fact that the non-mutating group is larger. This is clearly shown by the fact that this type is felt as the great model toward which old German nouns are now moving, as *Schlote* rather than *Schlöte*, and to which all new masculines and neuters, whether of one syllable or more, conform where no difficulties of form or meaning stand in the way, as *Putsch*, pl. *Putsche*; *Aeroplan*, pl. *Aeroplane*. There was a time when the mutating group was felt as a living model. As a result of this older condition of things we have a number of foreign nouns that mutate in the plural, as *Pläne*, *Altäre*, *Bischöfe*, *Kanäle*, etc. Today words in this group are moving toward the non-mutating group, such as *Generale* rather than *Generäle*, etc. A number of them have abandoned the group entirely, as *Bibliothekare*, *Journale*, etc. The mutating group is no longer a living force in the language. It will probably never again attract a new word to itself. It is quite evident that the non-mutating group is felt as the most appropriate model for new words. It is by far the most productive group, and if certain formal principles were not in the way, it might still attract a large number of nouns. Masculines and neuters in *-el*, *-en*, *-chen*, *-er* are prevented from following it as an *-e* can nowhere in nouns follow *-el*, *-en*, *-er*. Diminutives in *-lein* follow those in *-chen* as they are so closely related to them in meaning and use. It might even be practical for teachers of German to regard nouns in *-el*, *-en*, *-chen*, *-er*, *-lein* as belonging to the plural class in *-e*; i. e., they belong here but elide the *-e*. Although most foreign nouns glided easily into this *e*-plural group, nouns with foreign case endings as *-um*, *-us*, etc., could not easily fit themselves into this group. It is interesting, however, to note how many of them are in spite of these difficulties modifying their

form so that they can assume the *-e* in the plural, as *Partizipium*, pl. *Partizipien*, or *Partizip*, pl. *Partizipe*. Some even append the plural *e* to the foreign endings, as *Globus*, pl. *Globen* or *Globusse*. Notice that in these cases as in a very large number of other words the weak declension is employed when the strong plural *-e* cannot be used on account of the presence of the foreign case ending. These foreign case endings are usually unaccented. This peculiarity of accent here has become intimately associated with the inflection so that the language of the present period seems to be developing in accordance with the following rule: Foreign words accented on the last syllable add *-e* in the plural, while those unaccented on the final syllable add *-en* in the plural: *der Majór*, pl. *die Majóre*, but *der Proféssor*, pl. *die Professóren*; *der Kantón*, pl. *die Kantóne*, but *der Dámón*, pl. *die Dámónen*. Many former exceptions are now falling into line with the rule. Thus the plurals *Reptílien*, *Minerálien*, etc., are now often replaced by *Reptíle*, *Minerále*, etc.

It should be noticed that the use of the weak plural in the foregoing cases results from certain difficulties of *form*. The weak inflection here has no particular meaning as distinguished from the strong declension. Where, however, the weak inflection is employed in both singular and plural, it has quite uniformly a distinctive meaning. It indicates a living being in contradistinction to a lifeless object. In the present period this inflection has developed this meaning so clearly that it now is distinctly felt. The list of words so inflected is very large indeed: *Philolog*, *Student*, *Diplomat*, *Gymnasiast*, etc. We read with astonishment in Professor Wilmanns' book (p. 379) that the weak declension in the present period has become very much reduced. In fact the weak declension has been working constructively, and has developed a clear meaning and two characteristic forms. The weak form either ends in *-e* or an accented syllable: *Knábe* and *Astronóm*. The meaning decides the question of inflection: *Katalog* strong, but *Geolog* weak. The weak inflection adapts itself easily to either one of its two forms, but the final decisive factor is the meaning. The list of weak foreign nouns accented upon the last syllable representing living beings is so large that it is evidently a living productive type. Strange to say, however, foreign words accented upon the last syllable representing living beings are strong if they end in *-al*, *-an*, *-án*, *-ar*, *-är*, *-eur*, *-ier*, *-ón*, *-ór*: *Admirál*, *Kapitán*, *Missionar*, *Offizier*, etc. There are some exceptions, but the rule is an excellent one. In looking over the long list of nouns with these endings it is difficult to find an adequate explanation for the strong inflection here. The only plausible

explanation that the writer can suggest is that many of these words formerly formed their plural by adding *-s*; later they followed the large group of foreign words which *dropped -s* and added *-e* in the plural as an indication that they had become naturalized. A number of these words formerly added *-en* instead of *-e* in the plural, and some of them do still as *Husaren*, *Hospodaren* or *Hospodare*, etc. It seems that present usage after a long struggle has recognized the list of strong endings as given above. Aside from these strong endings nouns accented upon the final syllable representing living beings are weak.

On p. 450 Professor Wilmanns remarks that the genitive of names of persons and other names, and also of foreign words earlier in the period, often dropped the genitive ending *-s* when a modifying word preceded, and that this careless usage has in recent times greatly increased. It seems imperative to the writer to separate these three categories, for usage in each differs. The dropping of the *-s* here is the rule in names of persons when the genitive follows, and not infrequent when the genitive precedes: *der Hut des kleinen Wilhelm, des kleinen Wilhelms* (or *Wilhelm) Hut*. In case of names of cities, countries, and continents, the older genitive with the ending *-s* is still quite common in every style of literature. It is not archaic at all, but common even in the daily newspapers: *den Eindruck des vielhunderttürmigen Moskauer zu schildern* ("Hamburger Nachrichten," April 2, 1905). The writer has a large collection of such examples. The genitive *-s* is now much more commonly used than dropped in case of foreign nouns not names. The examples given by Professor Wilmanns, *die Handlung des Drama, der Mangel alles Interesse*, would be avoided today by choice writers. The writer has also a large collection of examples at this point covering the period of the last fifty years. His materials clearly show that the tendency is to employ here the *-s*. It seems that the dropping of genitive *-s* will prevail in case of names of persons. It may possibly prevail in case of other names, but the genitive *-s* will surely become ultimately fixed in all foreign nouns not names, unless perhaps in certain words ending in a sibilant, as *des Naturalismus*, etc. The steady increase in the use of genitive *-s* in foreign words illustrates clearly the increasing carefulness of modern writers. It has become a habit upon the part of German linguists to censure current speech. It has never occurred to any one that it might be in order to prove his statements and to compare the language of the present with the speech of the great classical writers.

On p. 448 Professor Wilmanns formulates the rule that when an article-less title precedes a name only the name is inflected:

in den Predigten Pastor Hermanns. He adds that only the title *Herr* forms an exception to this rule. The writer read this rule with astonishment. Fluctuation existed here in the M.H.G. period, and still exists. Title and name may form a compound noun, and then the genitive *-s* is added to the second component element; i. e., the name as in the example cited by Professor Wilmanns. On the other hand, each word may be considered as independent and each receive inflection: die Tochter des alten, als halb toll bekannten Herrn von Sparr, des Jägermeisters weiland *Kurfürsten Joachims* (Wildenbruch); auf eine Einladung *Kaisers Wilhelms* (Hamburger Nachrichten, Oct. 5, 1909). Double inflection here was quite common in M.H.G., and is still sometimes found even in the daily newspapers, but it is much more common to suppress the inflection in the name as the preceding genitive clearly marks the case: Neben der Grabstätte der Gattin *Herzogs Konrad* des Roten (Steinhausen's "Geschichte der deutschen Kultur," p. 111); ein Brief *Königs Ludwig* (Kölnische Zeitung). The writer has a large collection of such examples. This same doubleness of conception is found where title and name follow as appositives a noun in the genitive preceded by an article or other modifying word: in der Zeit des Reichskanzlers *Grafen Caprivi* (Otto Hötsch in "Deutsche Monatsschrift," Feb., 1907, p. 601); die Feier des ersten Geburtstages unseres jüngsten Hohenzollern, *Prinz Wilhelms* ("Daheim," 1907, No. 41). As the governing genitive is preceded by an article or other modifying word the appositives may be uninflected: die Reden unseres Reichskanzlers *Fürst Bismarck*. This last form is the one given by Professor Wilmanns on p. 449. He gives, however, only *one* form, while usage recognizes *three* forms. In the writer's large collection of examples, it seems clear that present usage is inclining more and more to mark apposition by some clear formal sign rather than to leave the reader to gather the relation from the connection.

On p. 452 Professor Wilmanns says of the inflection of words not really substantives but sometimes used as such, such as *mein Gegenüber*, *das Auf und Ab*, *die Wenss und Abers*, etc., that they either remain uninflected or at most only take *-s* in the genitive singular and throughout the plural. In a grammar of this size it should surely be stated that some of these substantives are inclining towards the regular strong inflection with *e*-plural: *Kehrausse* (Vult spielte noch 5 oder 6 Kehrausse—J. Paul), *Saufausse* (frequently in colloquial speech), *ihre Stelldicheine* (J. Paul), *Taugenichtse* (common), *Tunichtgute* (Fontane's Pog. VIII), *über uns deutsche Gernegrosse* (Wil-

helm Anz in "Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Sprachvereins," 1906, Nr. 9, p. 268), *diese Nimmersatte* (common), etc.

On p. 453 Professor Wilmanns states that unmodified nouns connected by *und* lose all inflection: *mit Herz und Hand*, etc. He has, however, overlooked the fact that plural nouns must here be inflected: *zwischen Herr und Gemeinde*, *zwischen Hausvater und Familienmitgliedern* (Lamprecht's "Deutsche Geschichte," zweiter Ergänzungsband, p. 360.)

On p. 446 Professor Wilmanns says of the inflection of numerals: "Ein jüngerer Versuch, pronominale Genitive auf *-er* zu bilden (mhd. vierer, fünfer), dringt nicht durch." The term "pronominal genitive" is evidently incorrect, for this is adjective inflection, as both the strong ending *-er* and the weak *-en* are used according as the numeral is not preceded by an article or the article precedes it. Other grammarians, on the other hand, even recommend adjective inflection here: *Zehn Schüler haben gearbeitet; dieses sind die Arbeiten vierer, achter—ebenso hunderter, tausender* (Wetzels "Die deutsche Sprache," p. 199, 12th ed.). *Das Schicksal aller vieren* (Blatz's "Neuhochdeutsche Grammatik," p. 390). This inflection seems to the writer fairly well established in case of *hundert* and *tausend*. He has a large collection of examples: *das Leben tausender* (Grillparzer's "König Ottokar," 4), *vor den Augen hunderttausender von Lesern* (Jensen's "Heimkunft," VII), *die Augen tausender* (Heer's "Der König der Bernina," chap. XV), *die Unkosten der Ansiedelung vieler tausenden* (v. Zepelin in "Deutsche Monatschrift," April, 1904, p. 68), *das Endresultat aller der tausenden von Beobachtungen* (Professor Wiechert in "Deutsche Rundschau," Sept., 1907, p. 380), etc.

On p. 467 Professor Wilmanns discusses the question of using or dropping the impersonal subject *es* in connection with the well-known group of verbs expressing a state of the mind or body, such as *hungert, durstet, friert, schwitzt, bangt, graut, graust, dünkt, schwindelt*, etc. He remarks concerning these verbs: "Neben all diesen Verben wird im Mhd. *ëz* nicht gebraucht und auch im Nhd. ist es nur bei wenigen üblich geworden, besonders neben präpositionalen Verbindungen." It is unfortunate here that the discussion is marred by such an inaccurate statement. It is a simple fact that *es* is required with every one of these verbs when the *es* introduces a principal proposition: *Es friert mich*. The *es* may, on the other hand, be dropped in the subordinate clause and where it does not introduce a principal proposition: *wenn mich friert, da fror mich, friert dich?*, etc., but we may also say: *da fror es mich*, etc. Usage differs here very much with different verbs and with different authors, but it is quite clear that impersonal *es* is not

used as much with this group of words as with other impersonal verbs. Professor Wilmanns offers the following explanation for this fact: "Je enger das Abhängigkeitsverhältniss ist, um so mehr wird der abhängige Kasus als das eigentliche Subjekt (logisches Subjekt) der Aussage empfunden und um so schwerer dringt das Scheinsubjekt ein." This explanation does not seem to the writer to be in accord with the plain facts of the language. If the person is felt as subject, it becomes at once nominative: *ich friere*. There are here two constructions with a difference of meaning. The accusative represents the person as affected or impressed, the nominative represents him as acting or suffering: *mich friert, mich dünkt*, representing the person as affected or impressed; *ich friere*, representing the person as suffering. The force of the accusative which is still very common here must still be distinctly felt. Modern feeling here recognizing a verb and an object is trying to conform such utterances to the common type, and is attempting to introduce here a subject. As no definite subject can be found it employs the indefinite *es*. Older usage was content with simply indicating that a person was affected. The question still remains: Why is this particular group of words more conservative than other verbs in thus retaining the older form of expression? Other verbs cannot now drop the *es*. It seems to the writer that *mich hungert, mich friert, mir graut*, etc., are old and very common set expressions still largely employed under the stress of lively feeling and hence not so liable to be conformed to the conventional type. The forms *es hungert mich, es friert mich*, are evidently modern literary expressions.

On p. 469 Professor Wilmanns discusses the modern form of subjectless propositions containing a partitive genitive, such as *Ē im der Hilfe kaeme, den sic doch Sifrit gewan*: Before any help could come to him Siegfried had won the victory. Professor Wilmanns believes that the genitive here was felt as the logical subject of the proposition, and hence the formal subject *es* did not later work its way into this construction. This is the same argument he applies to the accusative construction discussed in the preceding paragraph. Also here his explanation is not supported by the facts. The old accusative construction still exists, but the genitive construction has passed entirely away. The old genitive is today construed as the real grammatical subject and the verb agrees with it in number: "Unweit wird die heilige Wiese sich befunden haben, wie *deren* in diesem Kulte oft vorkommen" (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's "Griechische Tragödien," II, p. 105). How could *es* become the subject of a verb in the plural? In the older periods the verb here was always in the singular. Later this construction

was replaced by the present one, where the genitive, here *deren*, has become not the logical subject but the real grammatical subject and thus determines the number of the verb. Professor Wilmanns states that this genitive construction is now rare, but the writer has a collection of examples large enough to please an experienced curiosity-hunter. It is quite true, however, that the nominative is now more common here than the genitive, so that the sentence of Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff might now more commonly run: "Unweit wird die heilige Wiese sich befunden haben, wie *sie* in diesem Kulte oft vorkommen."

On p. 467 occurs the statement in *Anm.* 2. that the subject of such an impersonal verb as *regnet*, etc., can now never be omitted. The writer believes that it is possible that the old subjectless form of statement may still occur after clauses introduced by *wie* and *als*: *Ich hörte nie ein so heftiges Donnern, als da oben donnerte; ich hörte nie fürchterlicher donnern, als da oben donnerte.* The writer is a foreigner, and has of course no right to speak here as he has not been able to find any examples in the literature of the present period, but he presents these curiosities to German readers as his German colleague Professor Eduard pronounces them good German as far as his speech-feeling goes. The writer would be glad to hear the opinion of other Germans.

On p. 470 Professor Wilmanns makes the statement that the subject *es* cannot be used in the impersonal passive construction if in the active form of statement there is no direct object. This is evidently a slip of the pen. The subject *es* can always be used here if it introduces the proposition: *Es wird hier nicht gelärmt.* If, however, it does not introduce the principal proposition, *es* must drop out. Why? As far as the author knows, this point has not been explained. Perhaps originally the participle was subject here, as in "Schlecht geritten (participial subject) ist besser als gut gegangen:" *Hier wird schlecht geritten* (subject), literally *Bad riding is going on here.* The use of the subject *es*, as in *Es wird hier schlecht geritten*, seems to point to this origin. The *es* is in fact not an impersonal subject, but a provisional subject, as in *Es war einmal ein König.* The *es* in the so-called passive construction must just as provisional *es* drop out when it does not introduce the principal proposition. Like provisional *es* it also cannot stand in a subordinate clause.

On pp. 470-2 Professor Wilmanns treats the important subject of the history and use of the logical or provisional subject *es*, as in *Es war einmal ein König.* The writer is disappointed that the discussion is not fuller. He had been looking forward to the appearance of the volume in which this subject would be treated. This *es* is the most wonderful word in German syn-

tax. It marks the boundary line of two ages, Old High German and Middle High German. In the one age it is unknown, in the other it is absolutely indispensable. Though a light slender word, without accent or meaning, it has been the means of preserving to us some of the most marked peculiarities of older German syntax. It is worthy of better treatment than it has received at the hands of grammarians. Even its origin is not yet clear to us. Grimm regarded it as a nominative. Erdmann thinks it is an adverbial accusative. Wilmanns remarks: "Mir scheint, dass man es weder als Nominativ noch als Akkusativ ansprechen darf, denn sein Gebrauch erwächst aus Konstruktionen, in denen beide Kasus vorkamen." The writer does not feel that Professor Wilmanns has thrown any light on this difficult question. Grimm's theory seems to the writer the only one that is in any measure satisfactory. In the last years the writer has returned to this question repeatedly, and is still working away at it. It seems to him that the origin of the construction might have been in such a sentence as Otfrid's (I, 17, 54): *yrscēin in sar tho ferro ther seltsano sterro*. At the beginning of the sentence we learn that something appeared, and we do not learn what it was until we reach the last word. It does not at the beginning actually say that *something* appeared. Only the word *appeared* is actually used, but the word *something* naturally suggests itself. This word in German is the indefinite *es*. The writer has collected a large list of such examples. There is in every one of them the evident desire to arouse our curiosity, to hold us in suspense. This object could be still better attained by introducing the sentence with the indefinite *es*. There was in Old High German no apparent need of this word *es*, as it never occurs. In the beginning of the Middle High German period there arose a feeling that a verb ought not to introduce a declarative sentence, as this word-order was more suitable for a question. Perhaps at this point the use of *es* began. It thus fulfilled the double purpose of distinguishing a declarative sentence from a question, and at the same time preserving the favorite old word order of introducing the proposition with a verb and placing the subject at the other end for emphasis. The *es* probably from the very beginning was weakly accented and little felt, for in the preceding period there was no tendency to use it at all. It must, however, have had some appreciable force, for it cannot even today be dropped, while in the two categories mentioned below that developed out of it the *es* is not infrequently omitted in lively language. This provisional subject *es* pointing forward to a definite subject that is to be mentioned later is quite freely used today except in case of the pronominal subjects *er*, *sie*, *es*. Professor Wilmanns says that *es* is not em-

ployed at all in case of these pronominal subjects, but in fact this usage is occasionally found: *Es irrt auch er* (Goethe). Sanders gives a few more examples in his "Hauptschwierigkeiten," p. 270. The personal pronouns are usually light unaccented words, and hence they seem out of place in the important position at or near the end of the proposition. Other heavier pronouns are freely used here: *Es können sich nur wenige regieren* (Schiller). *Es weiss ja niemand, wann er zuletzt zur Beichte gegangen ist.*

The use of *es* here gave rise to its use in two other categories which are, however, far less common. In Old High German the verb was placed at the head of the sentence to emphasize it or to render the idea of activity prominent: "Iugun sie giuuisso" (Otfrid, IV, 19, 33); "*They surely lied.*" The use of *es* as a provisional subject in the common construction just discussed suggested its use elsewhere to place the verb in the important place at the beginning of the sentence and to mention the subject later. Thus the use of *es* has preserved to us the older usage of emphasizing the verb by bringing it forward. This usually occurs in two distinct categories. In the first one the verb is brought forward to emphasize the meaning of the verb: "*Es irrt der Mensch, so lang er strebt.*" The *es* is not used here in case of the provisional subjects *er, sie, es*, as they themselves can introduce the sentence as well as provisional *es*: "*Er will nicht, aber er muss kommen.*" As all these pronouns are light unaccented proclitics, and are not felt as an independent element, the verb is felt as occupying the first place. The older usage of placing the verb at the beginning of the sentence without the introduction of *es* is, however, not entirely forgotten. In lively language it often occurs in colloquial language and abounds in the realistic literature of our own time: Trude: "*Und du—zeigst sie jetzt an?*" Förster: "*Muss ich*" (M. Dreyer's *Winterschlaf*, I).

The other category where *es* is employed is in narrative style. In the beginning of stories, ballads, etc., the past tense of a verb is often brought forward to introduce a narrative of past events with a scene of lively activity or by the choice of a verb of rest or state to call attention to a picture of things long since passed away: *Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein. Es stand in alten Zeiten ein Schloss, so hoch und hehr.* In lively language older usage without *es* still asserts itself here: *War einst ein Glockengiesser zu Breslau in der Stadt* (Wilhelm Müller's "*Der Glockengiesser zu Breslau*").

The writer knows of no other categories where provisional *es* is employed. In all of these it is in the nominative relation. Professor Wilmanns remarks on p. 472: "*Wir empfinden as*

weder als Subjekt noch als Objekt, höchstens als eine blasse adverbiale Bestimmung. Mit Recht vergleichen Grimm und Erdmann es mit dem Adverbium *da*, das im Deutschen und in andern germanischen Sprachen ähnlich gebraucht wird, aber mit stärker gefühlter demonstrativer Kraft." The English *there* corresponds here closely to German *es* in meaning and force. The writer does not feel that it has in the least degree stronger demonstrative force than *es*. With regard to meaning and force, *there* and *es* are completely identical, but they are of different origin and this difference of origin prescribes to each word different grammatical boundaries. English *there* is an adverb, and hence can stand after the verb: *Was there ever a braver man? Once upon a time there lived a good king.* As the German *es* is not an adverb, but a mere provisional subject used for the specific purpose of distinguishing a declarative sentence from a question, it cannot be used at all in a question and becomes superfluous where some other word introduces the sentence. If some other word begins the sentence, the real subject can without the aid of *es* be removed to the end of the sentence for emphasis. The English *there* has always been an integral part of the sentence, and is grammatically so still. It has lost only in force. It has been weakened and degraded to a mere formal introduction to the sentence, but it is still in grammatical rank an adverb and does not lose its place in the sentence if some other word precedes. German *es* did not exist in previous periods. It never had any grammatical standing at all, and drops out immediately when some other word precedes. It owes its existence to a mere formal peculiarity in modern German word-order that does not allow a declarative sentence to begin with a verb. In the development of the modern sentence it often seemed desirable to retain the verb in the first place. This was done in substance by placing before the verb a light unaccented provisional subject in the form of indefinite *es*.

One of the most marked differences between English *there* and German *es* is that the latter cannot be employed in the subordinate clause. This lets in a flood of light upon the nature of the German subordinate word-order. It can be seen from the above treatment that the use of *es* is connected with emphasis and fine shades of thought and feeling. Thus where *es* is found there is a flow of thought and feeling. The subordinate clause is in German presented more dispassionately as a *compact unit*. Hence, *es* cannot be employed here, for it would cause a disturbance in the set word-order of the subordinate clause. In English, however, we are here perfectly free: "He told us the beautiful story, that there once had lived in this old house a man who had deeply influenced the lives of our parents." This

sprightly narrative form is in German entirely lost in the rigidity of the subordinate clause. When the heart of the German warms up, he casts off the fetters of hypotaxis and employs parataxis here and can then relate as warmly as in English "Er erzählte uns: Es wohnte," etc.

Similar to the provisional subject *es* is the anticipative subject *es* which points forward to a following infinitive or subordinate clause that explains more fully the indefinite *es*: "Es ist eine der hauptsächlichsten Eigentümlichkeiten, die ihn (i. e. Caesar) von Alexander, Hannibal und Napoleon unterscheidet, dass in ihm nicht der Offizier, sondern der Demagog der Ausgangspunkt der politischen Tätigkeit war" (Mommsen). Here *es* also serves as a mere provisional subject, while the real subject is for the sake of emphasis reserved for the important position at the end of the sentence. There is, however, one remarkable difference between provisional *es* and anticipative *es*. The latter is often retained when some other word introduces the sentence: "Heute macht *es* mir grosses Vergnügen, Sie hier zu sehen." In accordance with older word order, however, the *es* can often drop out. The writer does not know that any law has been discovered in these omissions. It seems to him, however, from a large number of examples in his collection that there is a tendency to retain it, if it is desired to emphasize the predicate, while it drops out if the subject is to be emphasized: "*Richtig ist es*, dass er morgen kommt," with the stress upon *richtig* and falling inflection after *es*, but with the omission of *es* and rising inflection after *ist* to call attention to the subject: "*Richtig ist*, dass er morgen kommt."

On p. 574 Professor Wilmanns interprets *tiefen* in *voller tiefen Sorgen*, as a dative after *voller*. It is in fact a weak genitive. This becomes perfectly clear in other examples: "Die Ode ist voller musikalischen Gemälde" (Lessing); *Voller schönen Abdrücke* (Goethe); *voller peinlichen Erwartung* (Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Jahrg. 1901, Nov. 9, p. 5.). The strong form of the adjective is more common here: "die Zukunft voller dunkler Wolken (Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, April 29, 1905).

On p. 675 Professor Wilmanns, commenting upon older usage in such sentences as *den man dā hiez dēr ritter rot* (Parzival 206, 16) remarks: "Jetzt brauchen wir regelmässig den Akkusativ; den Nominativ nur, wenn das Substantiv unbekleidet steht." Such sentence as "Und ich sage euch, dass ich kein Bedenken trüge, ihn *heiliger Ruffinus* zu nennen" (Ertl's "Die Stadt der Heiligen"), are common in all parts of Germany in all styles of literature. It is a natural impulse to preserve the exact form of direct address.

On pp. 486 and 672 Professor Wilmanns sees a nominative in such constructions as *Wache stehen*, *Bote gehen*, etc. He later adds that perhaps there is here no distinct feeling of a definite case, that perhaps the original construction in a number of instances was in connection with a preposition: *ich sihe dēn videlaere an dēr schiltwache stān*. Whatever may be the origin of many of these constructions, there is a distinct feeling today that the complement of the verb should be in the accusative: "Ich soll nun für drei Batzen *Boten gehen*" (Hauptmann's "Der arme Heinrich," 3). "Sie waren verweist." "Ja, bei einer Nichte in Oberschlesien *Paten gestanden*" (Paul Keller's "Waldwinter," IX).

On p. 589 Professor Wilmanns treats of the Middle High German constructions *ieman vremder* (gen. pl.) and *ieman anders* (gen. sing.). He says of the former construction that it has been abandoned, but that the latter has become general. It seems strange that such a statement could appear in a learned work. It seems all the more strange because he refers to Blatz II, p. 380, A. 54, where the constructions are properly treated. Of course, in the accurate sense both constructions have disappeared. The forms *jemand Fremder* and *jemand Fremdes* are in fact exactly the same as in Middle High German, but *Fremder* is no longer felt as genitive plural but as masculine nominative singular in apposition with *jemand*. *Fremdes* is now felt as neuter nominative singular in apposition with *jemand*. It seems strange to the writer that many grammarians do not seem to know the construction *jemand Fremder*. The writer has found an apparent case of this construction in "Nibelungenlied:—"darumbe ich *niemen vremden* füere in dize lant (Zarncke's ed., p. 238).

On p. 676 Professor Wilmanns says of the construction "Lassen Sie den Grafen *diesen Gesandten* or *dieser Gesandte* sein: "Im allgemeinen gilt der Akkusativ." The writer regards this as a hasty judgment. It seems to him from the basis of a large collection of examples that the nominative is also very common here and constantly gaining upon the accusative.

On p. 704 the writer read with astonishment that the preposition *entlang* is rarely used. It is much used in the position after the noun, most commonly requiring in this case the accusative, but the dative is also quite common. If the dative is used, it may precede or follow the noun. From the collection in the possession of the writer it seems that the dative is gaining upon the accusative here. The dative is here so common that it does not seem necessary to give examples.

On p. 758 Professor Wilmanns remarks that *all* is always inflected strong. The expression *des allen*, *dem allen* are so common in good writers that they deserve at least mention.

On p. 656 Professor Wilmanns states that *mich dünkt* is more correct than *mir dünkt*. It is scarcely worth while to give examples here of *dünken* with the dative. It is freely used by the best authors of our time. It often seems more natural to use the dative as it emphasizes the personal element: "Die Stimme dünkte ihm lieblich" (P. Heyse's "Marienkind," p. 91); "Keiner hatte ihr bisher gut genug gedünkt" (C. Viebig's "Die Wacht am Rhein," p. 8).

On p. 494 Professor Wilmanns joins the throng of grammarians who reluctantly acknowledge the existence of the use of the dative with *lehren*. It seems, however, to be common in every style of literature: "Hat doch Lothar Bucher in seinem Engländerhass behauptet, die Briten hätten erst von den Indiern in ihren Kolonien die Sorgfalt des Badens und Waschens gelernt, die sie dann ihrerseits dem Kontinent lehrten" (R.M. Meyer in "Archiv für Kulturgeschichte," 1905, Band III, p. 8). "Er erbot sich, * * * ihm die Chirurgie zu lehren" (Kühnemann's "Herders Leben," p. 17). "Wie die blonde Lotsentochter ihm, dem steifen Nordschleswiger das Englisch und das Küssen lehrte" (Frenssen's "Hilligenlei," X). "Denn wenn auch Herr Reimers durchaus nicht zu den strengen Vätern gehörte, so lehrte dem jungen Dinge doch eine frühreife Wahrnehmung, dass usw." (Wilhelm v. Polenz's "Liebe ist ewig," p. 7). In the passive the dative is the more common construction: "Mir ist das nicht gelehrt worden." In the passive Professor Wilmanns thinks it is better to avoid both construction and choose some other word: "Ich wurde im Griechischen unterrichtet oder unterwiesen." Professor Wilmanns would scarcely insert some other word for *gelehrt* in the following sentence: "Bist du nicht gelehrt worden, Gott zu fürchten?" (Wildenbruch's "Kind Heinrich," 7). Professor Wilmann's advice to avoid *lehren* is hardly to be taken seriously. The plain fact is that there is considerable fluctuation in good usage with regard to the cases to be employed with *lehren*. Many writers have evidently forgotten or are not heeding the oft repeated warnings of their school-teachers, and are following the natural impulse to conform to the common type of a dative and an accusative rather than the unfamiliar one of a double accusative. The history of German syntax is the history of changing types, and usage with *lehren* indicates clearly that this process is still going on. Just as historians often enter sympathetically into the history of peoples that have long since passed off the scene of action, grammarians likewise defend sympathetically decaying constructions. The life of the past is nearer to them than the throbbing present.

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FAUST IN ENGLISH AND IN ENGLAND.

1. Die Englischen Übersetzungen von Goethe's Faust. Von Lina Baumann. Halle a. S. Verlag von Max Niemeyer. 1907. pp. vi+122.
2. Bayard Taylor's Translation of Goethe's Faust. By Juliana Haskell, A. M., Columbia University, New York. 1908. pp. xi+111.
3. The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the first half of the nineteenth century. By William Frederic Hauhart, Ph. D., New York. The Columbia University Press. 1909. pp. x+148.

The author of the first book states in the "Vorwort" that the purpose of the study is to review the various English translations of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*. Nine translations of the second part are mentioned but not discussed—an anonymous translation appearing in 1838, and the translations by Bernays, Birch, Gurney, Swanwick, Anster, Clarke, Martin, and Taylor. (The translation by Macdonald which is mentioned in Taylor's introduction is not cited.) Then follows a short and concise chapter on *Faust* in England before Goethe. Attention is called to P. F. Gent's translation of the *Faustbuch* of 1587, to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, to the English version of 1594, to the *Nova Solyma* of 1648, to the versions by W. Mountford, by John Thurmond, and by numerous unknown authors.

In the third chapter is given a bibliographical list of all the English translations of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*. Stage versions and fragmentary translations (those by Shelley and by Retzsch, for instance) are excluded. The list includes altogether thirty-five titles, and ranges chronologically from Gower's translation of 1823 to McLintock's of 1897. To this list might be added another translation which appeared recently: *Faust* freely adapted from Goethe's Poem by Stephen Phillips and J. Comyns Carr, New York, Macmillan Co., 1908.

That fifteen years elapsed between the appearance of the completed first part of *Faust* (1808) and the appearance of Gower's translation (1823) may cause surprise. This gap is bridged, however, by a work which is not mentioned in L. Baumann's study—Madame de Staël's book on Germany. *De l'Allemagne* appeared first in 1810, but the edition was almost immediately confiscated and destroyed by the French authorities. In 1813 a new edition appeared in London; an English translation was published the same year. In 1814 a new English edition appeared. Chapter 23 of the second part of Madame de Staël's work deals with Goethe's *Faust*, and contains translations of

various scenes along with a running commentary and a general summary. The importance of Madame de Staël's work should not be underestimated. The English translation of *De l'Allemagne* was for English-speaking countries practically the first introduction to Goethe's *Faust*.

Mr. Rea in his study on the English translations of Schiller's dramas* attempted to sum up briefly every one of the translations. The author of the study on *Faust* translations has wisely decided to limit the discussion to six types of translations—(1) those which give the sense of the original but not the form, (2) those which take as a basis the main thought of the original and then develop that thought according to the translator's ideas, (3) those which follow the original in some respects, expand it in others, and generally use arbitrary metres, (4) those which follow the original closely but use arbitrary metres, (5) those which follow the original and reproduce the metres, (6) those which attempt to reproduce the metres but fail to catch the poetic inspiration and fluency of the original. One translation is discussed in detail from each group—Hayward, Anster, Martin, Swanwick, Taylor, McLintock. The translations by Peithmann and by "Beta" are put in the Hayward group; Anster stands alone in his group; Martin is the most striking representative in his group; most of the thirty-five translations belong to the Swanwick group; with Taylor are classed Brooks, Arnold, and Claudy; McLintock and Latham form the last group.

Hayward's prose translation is credited with paving the way, by its careful rendering of the German, for the later English translations; through the translator's "disregard of the beauties which are commonly thought peculiar to poetry" he has, unfortunately, done little to give the English public a clear conception of the real *Faust* of Goethe. For Anster's translation, or rather adaptation, little sympathy is shown; Anster has changed the content of the poem and has distorted the characters of Faust and Gretchen. Martin's translation surpasses Anster's in that it possesses grace and fluency and reproduces faithfully the main characters; it fails, however, to sound the poetic depths of the original. Miss Swanwick's translation fails to reproduce the feminine rhymes of the original, and fails to catch the force of many of Goethe's phrases; of the many translations in the group, hers is the best, and it has served as a model for many subsequent translations. To Taylor's translation is devoted more space than to any of the others; as in the case of the others, numerous errors in translation are pointed out, but the author's judgment regarding Taylor's translation is unmistakably favorable: "Kraft,

* Cf. review of Rea's book, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* Vol. VIII, No. 2.

Tiefe, ernste Kunst zeichnet seine Arbeit aus, es weht in ihr ein starker poetischer Geist. Von allen Übersetzungen, die ich gelesen, kommt sie nach meinem Empfinden dem Original am nächsten." McLintock's translation, containing many beautiful passages in the metres of the original, marks a backward step in the development of the English translations of *Faust*. "Gehaltlich," concludes the author, "ist also diese jüngste Übersetzung ein grosser Rückschritt; sie reicht bei weitem nicht an die Taylor'sche heran."

L. Baumann's careful bibliographical list, critical resumé of the important English translations of *Faust*, and final conclusion that Bayard Taylor's is the best of all English translations, make easier the discussion of a recent detailed study of Taylor's work.

Whereas Rea's work reviews practically all the English translations of Schiller's dramas, and L. Baumann's, though citing all the English versions of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*, discusses in detail only the six most important translations, Mrs. Haskell's thesis deals with only one *Faust* translation, that of the American writer Bayard Taylor.

Mrs. Haskell is concerned, as Professor Calvin Thomas points out in an introductory note, not with the question whether Taylor's version is better than any other nor with the question whether Taylor's is the best we are likely to get in the exact metres of the original. Her problem is to decide whether Taylor's *Faust* is poetry, and whether Goethe's poetry has been sacrificed to Taylor's theory of translation—a theory which involves the abnegation of the translator's personality, a nearly equal knowledge, on the part of the translator, of both languages, an exact reproduction of the words, phrases, rhymes, and metres of the original, and, finally, a thoroughly poetic talent and inspiration in the translator.

By citing the opinions of a number of literary critics and historians, Mrs. Haskell concludes that Taylor was a hard-working master of technique, but not a poet; he was a thorough student of Goethe, and possessed a thorough knowledge of German, yet "his translation as a whole does not meet the demands which may reasonably be made upon it." Taylor's theory of translation, particularly his insistence that the metres and rhymes of the original be preserved, is combated.

This part of Taylor's theory deserves fuller discussion. Arbitrary metres, according to Taylor, are not to be endured, for "the white light of Goethe's thought is thereby passed through the tinted glass of other minds" and assumes "the coloring of each."

Mrs. Haskell rightly observes that such would be the case in any version. We might well add that if the light is passed not only through other minds but also through other metres the danger of deviating from the original is greatly increased. Mrs. Haskell does not state, moreover, that Taylor's translation would have been better if the original metres had not been adhered to.

In a number of cases—particularly in the "König von Thule"—Taylor is unable to reproduce exactly the rhymes of the original. Yet this lyric, according to Mrs. Haskell, "was perverse enough to turn out the best thing in Taylor's whole translation." It might be of interest to note, in this connection, that of the thirty-five English translations of *Faust* mentioned in L. Baumann's book—a book, by the way, which though published a year earlier than Mrs. Haskell's, is not taken into consideration in the latter's study—those translations which have attempted to reproduce the rhymes and metres of the original (Taylor, Brooks, Arnold, Claudy, Latham, McLintock, and to a certain extent, Swanwick and a few others) have been perverse enough to turn out the best among all the English translations.

Evidently, then, "form" has played an important part in *Faust* translations. Shelley's couplet from the "Walpurgis-Nacht":

The giant-snouted crags ho! ho!

How they snort and how they blow!

is praised both by Taylor and by Mrs. Haskell. We must remember, however, that Shelley's translation is a fragment, also that Shelley himself realized the weak points in his work. He employs rhyme, for instance, in only about one-third of the five hundred odd lines that he translated. In a letter from Pisa to John Gisborne, January 1822 (ed. G. E. Woodberry, IV, 427) Shelley says: "The translations [of *Faust*], both these and in *Blackwood*, are miserable. Ask Coleridge if their stupid misintelligence of the deep wisdom and harmony of the author does not spur him to action." And in another letter from Pisa to Gisborne, April 10, 1822 (Woodberry IV, 428), referring to his translations: "I am well content with those from Calderon, which in fact gave me very little trouble; but those from *Faust*—I feel how imperfect a representation, even with all the license I assume to figure to myself how Goethe would have written in English, my words convey. No one but Coleridge is capable of this work." How many great poets may have been deterred from translating *Faust* because they felt that they could not reproduce in English the forms and rhymes of the original—Coleridge, the man whom Shelley twice calls upon for this task, hesitated from translating *Wallensteins Lager* for this very reason—can only be surmised.

Mrs. Haskell first analyzes Taylor's version to determine whether it is a good translation. In a number of cases he has an extra line not warranted by the original, in a number of others he has not reproduced one of the original lines; he frequently uses words of Latin origin which do not convey the meaning of Goethe's native words; he introduces unnecessary words (also comparatives and superlatives), and phrases ("I fear," "in short," "the fact is" etc.). In several cases he has mistranslated.

The third chapter is entitled "The English of Taylor's Translation." Mrs. Haskell attributes to Taylor's formal fidelity that his work, as Professor Barrett Wendell puts it, "in no wise resembles normal English." Where Taylor is un-English, she says, he is usually German. Thus she censures his persistent use of nominalized adjectives, of unnecessary inversions, of curious capitalizations, of the so-called transposed order of words in dependent clauses, of an adverbial particle at the end of a clause, of clipped forms as "ware" for "aware," "stead" for "instead," "mid" for "amid," "'tis," "'twas," "'t were," etc., of the pronoun "ye," of imperfect rhymes, and of archaic, obsolete, and dialectic forms. The summaries are searching but helpful. In many instances—inversions, clipped forms, imperfect rhymes, archaic expressions—it would be extremely difficult to lay down definite rules. There are so-called technical imperfections even in Goethe's original. It must be borne in mind also that the faults pointed out by Mrs. Haskell are scattered over a poem of twelve thousand lines; we are apt to overlook the passages which have been praised and admired by other commentators.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the poetic worth of Taylor's translation. Mrs. Haskell does not hesitate to assert that Taylor's *Faust* is not poetry. Her final conclusion is unusually severe: "He has Latinized, sophisticated, diluted, padded and stripped off poetry until all vital semblance of the original has been lost." Only a few lines—several stanzas from the "Song of the Archangels," the entire ballad of the "King of Thule," and eleven lines from the second part—are regarded worthy of a place in an eclectic translation of *Faust*. If Taylor's translation—acknowledged by Professor Boyesen and by L. Baumann as the best among all English translations—deserves no better praise than that accorded in the above conclusion, surely English-speaking readers will have little hope of gaining a conception of Goethe's *Faust* except through the German original.

Mrs. Haskell's study has been well worth while. Its conclusion, however, will cause surprise to those who, like Boyesen, von Loeper, Arn. Krause, R. M. Meyer, L. Baumann, and others,

have always regarded Bayard Taylor's version a poetical and highly creditable translation of Goethe's *Faust*.

Dr. Hauhart's thesis, like Mrs. Haskell's, is one of the Columbia University Germanic Studies. Its main purpose is indicated by its title. It does not confine itself merely to the English translations of *Faust*, but takes up also the criticisms of *Faust* by various English writers and reviewers. The work is filled with a mass of facts, many of which have been generally known, but all of which, when brought together, are of genuine interest.

Hauhart divides his thesis into six chapters dealing respectively with the attitude toward German literature at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the criticisms of *Faust* in English magazines, the views of eminent English writers on *Faust*, the theory of translation, the translations of the first part of *Faust* up to 1850, and a general bibliography.

Six reasons are adduced for the tardy recognition of German literature in England—(1) an insufficient knowledge of the German language, (2) the poor opinion of Germany and things German that prevailed in Europe, (3) the predominant influence of French literature, (4) the general difference in the character of the Germans and English, (5) the great expense connected with printing and the duty on imported books, and (6) the lack of competent mediators before 1790 who appreciated the treasures of German literature. The second and the sixth reasons, it would seem, are really corollaries of the first, namely the lack of knowledge of the language. The fourth reason is also somewhat sweeping; are the differences between the character of the English and Germans any greater than, for instance, between the English and French? The fifth reason regarding the high duty on imported books might apply to French books as well as to German. The real reason for the lack of interest in German literature is referred to on the first page of the study; the Germans had little to offer between the end of the Thirty Years' War and the latter part of the eighteenth century. The appearance in Germany of such stirring works as Goethe's *Götz* and *Werther* and Schiller's *Räuber* soon stimulated interest in England.

Of the earlier meditators Hauhart mentions William Taylor of Norwich, Matthew Gregory ("Monk") Lewis, Henry Crabb Robinson, and Robert Pearse Gillies. Coleridge, Carlyle, Hayward, etc. are mentioned in later chapters. It would be well to give a note also to Joseph Mellish, the able translator of *Maria Stuart*, who had close relations with Goethe and Schiller.

Turning to magazine criticisms, Hauhart finds that the early reviewers thoroughly misunderstood Goethe and his work. Al-

though *Faust* is mentioned in the *Monthly Review* as early as 1798, the first extended review appeared in 1810. The reviewer, supposed to be William Taylor of Norwich, concludes that *Faust* can be recommended neither for importation nor translation. The translation of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) and of A. W. Schlegel's *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature* (1815), the outlines of *Faust* in connection with Retzsch's illustrations (1820), and the early translations of *Faust* by Gower, Hayward, Anster, and others, were followed by many reviews of *Faust* in the various magazines. The Prologue disturbed most of the reviewers; they seem to have regarded its language blasphemous. At all events, the English were slow to appreciate the real purport of Goethe's work.

In the chapter on the attitude of eminent literary men toward *Faust*, Hauhart selects for special mention Carlyle, Coleridge, Byron, Scott, and Lamb. Other writers—Wordsworth, Southey, De Quincey, Macauley—showed no special interest in *Faust*. Shelley is mentioned among the translators. Of the five men selected, Byron and Lamb knew no German and Scott very little. Though Byron's knowledge of *Faust* came mainly through Monk Lewis's oral translation, he seems to have been deeply interested in it; the question whether his *Manfred* owes much to *Faust* has given rise to frequent discussions. Scott read *Faust* in 1818, and discussed the poem with Lockhart; the latter's short summary of Scott's statement is the only thread that connects Scott with *Faust*. Lamb, who had no use for Goethe, knew of *Faust* only through Madame de Staël's book and through Gower's version. Lamb's remarks on *Faust* in a few of his letters are of interest but of no special significance. Scott and Lamb might well have been classed with other writers who produced nothing of special interest bearing on *Faust*.

Coleridge and Carlyle are more important. Whether Coleridge had an excellent knowledge of German and whether he was better prepared than Carlyle to act as an apostle of German literature and culture (as Hauhart states on p. 63) may be doubted. We may question also whether Coleridge's lukewarm reception of Goethe's work and his "aloofness" were "proof positive" to Englishmen that there was little of merit in German literature. It would be difficult to show how far a tardy recognition of a literature was due to any one man's aloofness. But Coleridge's attitude, as outlined by Hauhart, is of fascinating interest. Coleridge rated Goethe below Schiller; he translated two parts of *Wallenstein*, but nothing came of the project discussed in 1814 with the publisher Murray regarding a translation of *Faust*. Coleridge's objections to Goethe's work seem to be based mainly on the language of the Prologue.

The most important of the five English writers selected by Hauhart, in fact the most important exponent of *Faust* in England before 1850, is undoubtedly Carlyle. His criticism of *Faust* in the *New Edinburgh Review* in 1822 was the first careful summary of the poem; here he mentioned also the need of a good translation of *Faust*, and added a few specimen translations of his own. In 1827 he published an article on the "Helena," which called forth a letter of appreciation from Goethe. Thus started the correspondence between the two. Goethe urged Carlyle to translate *Faust*, and the latter seemed ready to undertake the work. Goethe's death in 1832 cut off, as Hauhart says, the source of Carlyle's personal inspiration. Fifty years after reading the first part, Carlyle, in his letters, still shows a deep interest in *Faust*. Carlyle's relation to German literature has been treated by Streuli and by Kraeger. This may explain why Hauhart devotes only eleven pages to a hasty sketch of so important a mediator as Carlyle.

Before taking up the *Faust* translations, Hauhart discusses in the fourth chapter the theories of translation. A few general considerations lead up to a review of the difficulties of translating *Faust*. This section is devoted largely to the problem of dealing with the feminine rhymes of the original. English, he says, suffers from an overabundance of short words, and possesses very few words that naturally form feminine rhymes like "ever," "never," etc. The translator has recourse to the present participle in "ing," the preterite and past participle of verbs in "ed," nouns in "ion," combinations of words which give the effect of the feminine rhymes like "know it" and "show it," and finally the small number of words which naturally form double rhymes that do not have the awkward effect of the continued repetition of rhymes in "ing," "ed," "ion" or of word combinations.

Hauhart maintains that a consistent imitation of the feminine rhymes does violence to English, and leaves an effect of awkwardness and stiffness. We might answer that it depends entirely on the skill and good taste of the translator. English poetry contains many feminine rhymes; there is no inherent objection to their use. As for the continued repetition of rhymes in "ing," "ed," "ion," etc. we might add that in German the rhyme in "en" predominates; it occurs in infinitives, in the past participles of strong verbs, in the plurals of weak nouns, and in the oblique cases of the singular of some nouns. In fact, of the feminine rhymes in the first part of *Faust* more than two-thirds end in "en," of those in *Wallensteins Lager* about three-fourths end in "en." If there were any advantage in variety, the advantage would be with the English. As a matter of fact, however, the nature of the last syllable in a feminine rhyme is comparatively unimportant; the next to the last syllable has the stress.

The use of word combinations to eke out feminine rhymes is particularly condemned by Hauhart. He admits that such combinations have been used by poets, for instance by Byron and the Brownings. "But nevertheless," he continues, "their use in translating can not be defended on this ground. They are not a usual characteristic of good English poetry, and no one will claim special elegance for them, even where they are used by great English poets." If the poets are not to be considered in the matter, what criterion are we to heed? Swinburne has written the following lines:

If love were what the rose is,
 And I were like the leaf,
 Our lives would grow together
 In sad or singing weather,
 Blown fields or flowerfull closes,
 Green pastures or gray grief;
 If love were what the rose is,
 And I were like the leaf.

A writer in the *Outlook* of April 24, 1909 expresses his admiration by saying: "What could be more perfect than these lines?" Here Swinburne employs the words "together" and "weather"—words which, as Hauhart would say, naturally form feminine rhymes. But Swinburne also boldly uses a word combination "rose is" to rhyme with "closes." Shelley in the matchless opening lines of *To a Skylark* rhymes "spirit" and "near it." The point is simply this: if the poetry is good, the presence of a word combination detracts little or nothing. We must take into consideration that such combinations are used by poets; if Byron, the Brownings, Wordsworth, Scott, Lamb, Bayard Taylor, Swinburne and others use such combinations, the reader will soon become familiar with the principle. Such combinations are not to be condemned *per se*. Neither are feminine rhymes in general to be condemned in English translations. Many translators believe that the reproduction of the form of the original is essential. Such translators have the right to try to reproduce the feminine rhymes. This is to be kept especially in mind in *Faust* where so many metres are used and almost two-fifths of the rhymes are feminine.

Hauhart mentions sixteen translations appearing before 1850. The list agrees essentially with L. Baumann's, but the two studies overlap only in the treatment of the Hayward, Anster, and Swanwick translations. One thing strikes us—the incompleteness of most of the early translations. Soane and Shelley translated only five or six hundred lines of *Faust*; Gower, the anonymous translator of 1834, Syme, Blackie, Hills, and Lefèvre either omitted parts, the Prologue for instance, or mutilated them. The

translations by Anster, the anonymous translator of 1838, Talbot, Birch, Filmore, and Knox deserve no special commendation. Only two are of importance—Hayward's careful prose version and Miss Swanwick's poetic version. Like Mrs. Haskell, Hauhart objects to inversions and Latinized expressions; both occur in Miss Swanwick's version. In the main, however, Miss Swanwick's attempt is praiseworthy. When we learn how poor most of the early translations were, we must regret that neither Coleridge nor Carlyle translated *Faust*.

A general bibliography and an index conclude Dr. Hauhart's commendable thesis. What would be the general conclusions? Did the interest in *Faust* among literary men centre in Carlyle? Did Hayward's prose version give the real impulse toward translations? Was the interest before 1850 in any one German work—in *Werther* or in *Wallenstein* for instance—greater than that in *Faust*? Was *Faust* studied in any English university before 1850? (The first definite announcement that *Faust* was read at Harvard occurs in a catalogue of 1854-55; it is not improbable, however, that Karl Follen took up *Faust* in his classes during his term of teaching between 1825 and 1835). Many vistas are opened by Dr. Hauhart's thesis; it should pave the way for similar studies on other German works.

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LENAUS WERKE. In zwei Theilen. Auf Grund der Hempel'schen Ausgabe neu herausgegeben mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen von Carl August von Bloedau. Berlin, Leipzig, Wien, Stuttgart. Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co. o. J. (1909). LXXXII, 355, 431.

Das Verlagshaus Bong & Co. hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, die bei Hempel erschienenen deutschen Klassiker dem heutigen Stand der Wissenschaft entsprechend neu herauszugeben. Dasz auch Lenau hierbei berücksichtigt werden muszte, ist selbstverständlich, und dasz die neue Ausgabe so zufriedenstellend ausgefallen ist, musz allen Verehrern Lenaus besonders erfreulich erscheinen. Bloedau gibt in der Einleitung ein mit festen Strichen gezeichnetes Lebensbild des Dichters, und zwar mit Heranziehung alles in den letzten Jahren (besonders von dem unermüdlichen Castle) herausgegebenen neuen Materials.

Gelungen ist wohl besonders die Darstellung der Entwicklung der Jugend Lenaus, ferner die Charakterisierung von Sophie

Löwenthal und ihrer Beziehungen zu ihm. Sie erscheint hier weder als Ungeheuer von Egoismus und Kälte, noch aber als ein unschuldiges Opfer der Verhältnisse, sondern als eine komplizierte Persönlichkeit, die wegen ihrer überlegenen Willensstärke den Dichter bald vollständig in ihrer Gewalt haben musste. Sehr glücklich ist der Gedanke, eine Reihe von Briefen Lenaus an seine Mutter und an verschiedene Freunde und Freundinnen in dieser biographischen Skizze wiederzugeben, und uns auf diese Weise mit dem Briefsteller Lenau bekannt zu machen. Wir hätten gerne eine noch viel grössere Auswahl der Briefe an Sophie an dieser Stelle gesehen, denn Lenaus Briefe an Sophie gehören—was noch nicht genügend gewürdigt wird—zu den grossen poetischen Denkmälern der deutschen Litteratur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts und vielleicht zum allerschönsten, was aus Lenaus Feder geflossen ist. Dieser Tatsache sollte jede neue Lenaubiographie Rechnung tragen.

Den Gedichten (zu denen auch die grösseren lyrisch-epischen Werke gerechnet werden), dem Faust, dem Savonarola, den Albigensern, und dem dichterischen Nachlasz (in dem in dieser Ausgabe auch der Don Juan erscheint) schiebt dann Bloedau kurze Einleitungen voraus, die Entstehungsgeschichte und Ähnliches behandeln. Besonders geglückt erscheinen mir die Bemerkungen über die Albigenser. Beim Don Juan wäre mir ein Hinweis auf die Auffassung des Helden bei anderen Dichtern ausser Tirso de Molina wünschenswert erschienen. Farinellis gelehrte und belehrende Abhandlungen über diesen Gegenstand bieten dafür reiches Material. Ebenso hätte auch eine Bemerkung über die Stellung Lenaus unter den Ahasverdichtern anregend gewirkt. Gerade in letzter Zeit ist die Ahasforschung durch wertvolle Beiträge bereichert worden. In Lenaus Auffassung dieser Sagen, wie auch in seiner Auffassung der Natur, tritt ja die für ihn so bezeichnende lebensverneinende Weltanschauung am klarsten zu Tage.

Anmerkungen und ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Gedichte nach Anfängen und Ueberschriften beschliessen diese durch den Abdruck mehrerer bis jetzt nur zerstreut erschienener Gedichte bereicherte Ausgabe. Wegen ihrer Gründlichkeit, so wie auch ihrer guten Ausstattung und ihres wohlfeilen Preises, ist ihr weite Verbreitung zu wünschen.

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CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

HEMPL, George. The Linguistic and Ethnographic Status of the Burgundians. Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXXIX, 105 ff.

The treatise is a reprint of a paper read, Nov., 1908, at a meeting of the Phil. Asstn. of the Pacific Coast, which again was an elaboration of a letter to the New York Nation of April 23, 1908, superscribed "Burgundian Runic Inscriptions," to which have been added reproductions of the two inscriptions treated in full, while that part of the letter referring to possible side lights thrown on questions of Germanic mythology is omitted. The paper comes as a very welcome addition to Hempl's previously published runic studies and proves once more his success at interpreting what has baffled other investigators.

Hempl's view of the runic inscriptions found in Germany is bound up with his theory of the origin and dissemination of the runic alphabet among the Germanic peoples. Believing that the runic alphabet was not a common possession of the Germanic race, and that its use did not extend south of the territory of the Frisians and the old seats of the Angles, he found himself under the necessity of explaining these continental inscriptions. While so far it has been held, on linguistic grounds, that they are probably of West Germanic origin, Hempl claims for them Burgundian descent because, negatively, the attempt to read West Germanic on them has been far from satisfactory, and positively, because the locations where they are found are along the line of march which the Burgundians took in their successive migrations from the Baltic to France.

While there are included in the paper new suggestions as to the interpretation of bracteate 59, the Charnay and the Fonnås fibulas, the Konghell club, and the Maglekilde amulet, Hempl devotes his attention chiefly to the smaller Nordendorf fibula and the Balingen fibula. In the former he reads runes 4 and 10 as a and f, resp., the reading being then, '*biranio elf*', i. e., 'ich vertreibe den alp,' 'I drive away the nightmare,' making the pin to have been a charm. Tho the verb does not seem to occur in any of the older Germanic dialects as a causative, with the meaning given it here by Hempl, the primary compound, with intransitive force, does occur, and there is no reason why *biran(n)io* should not be used with the value assigned to it. Hempl draws two important conclusions from this reading: a close relationship between the Burgundian and Anglo-Frisian as seen in the tendency to front *a* to *æ* or *e*, and the influence of the Burgundian on the Midland German word stock, 'alp' being a word peculiar to Midland German.

The second fibula considered is the one found at Balingen, containing fifteen runes in the interpretation of which Hempl differs considerably from Grienberger, *ZfdPh.* 40, 257 ff. Taking this inscription to be an example of a class written in a sort of partially syllabic writing, according to which 'the vowel *a* is not written after a consonant, being a part of the phonetic name of that letter,' Hempl reads as follows: *āh saR ḡā nālō amilungr* = ON. *ā s(ē)r ḡā nāl amilungr*, i. e., 'Amilung owns this pin.' The peculiar construction *āh saR*, ON. *ā sēr*, is for Hempl a syntactical, and the loss of *ḡ* in *nālō*, ON. *nāl*, a phonological proof that Burgundian and Norse are closely related.

The general result of Hempl's reading of these inscriptions is thus the establishment of Burgundian as a link between Norse and Anglo-Frisian, the setting up of a new grouping of Germanic dialects, as which he suggests

| | | |
|---------------|-------|--------|
| | Norse | |
| Burgundian | | Gothic |
| Anglo-Frisian | | |
| German | | |

This theory would be less startling if the probability could be shown that the Burgundians originally lived as near to the Anglo-Frisian group as, for ex., on some of the Danish islands, perhaps in Jutland itself, and this probability Hempl promises to establish in another article.

Also in regard to the chronology of these finds a recasting is urged whereby the archaeological and historical evidences are brought into closer agreement. Instead of placing the Nordendorf finds, for ex., so far down as the sixth to the eighth century, the beginning of the fifth is proposed by Hempl, the Burgundians having left this district under Gundikar about 410, and the fact that no coins of a later reign than that of Gratian, who died 383, have been found, being due to the departure of the Burgundians from these districts soon after.

The proof material for these far-reaching conclusions actually presented in this paper is, to be sure, rather meagre, but so far as it goes it offers good grounds for Hempl's theory. Various doubts that might be raised Hempl has anticipated and by the promise of forthcoming papers has for the present set aside. No less than seven articles are promised on various questions suggested in connection with the argument advanced. They will treat the so-called real 'wanderers,' which are all to be shown to be Scandinavian in workmanship and speech; the larger Nordendorf fibula and the other 'Burgundian' inscriptions; the Fonnås fibula; the linguistic phenomena peculiar to Midland Germany and traceable to 'Burgundian' origin; the resemblance between Gothic and Burgundian as seen on the Charnay fibula;

the amulet of Maglekilde; not to speak of the final edition of all these inscriptions, with photographic facsimiles, to be brought out under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution. Hempl is doing much to stimulate runic studies in this country, and his further contributions will be awaited with the greatest interest.

ERNST H. MENSEL.

Smith College.

SPROGLIGE OG HISTORISKE AFHANDLINGER VIEDE SOPHUS BUGGES MINDE, MED TILLÆG: TO UNGDOMSBREVE FRA SOPHUS BUGGE, FORTEGNELSE OVER SOPHUS BUGGES TRYKTE ARBEIDER. Kristiania, H. Aschehoug & Co., 1908, pp. 294.

This volume contains a series of twenty-five articles by former pupils of Sophus Bugge and was intended to have been presented to him on January fifth, 1908, when he would have filled his seventy-fifth year. The writers are, some of them, men who studied under Bugge during the sixties and the seventies, others are men who in more recent years have come under his inspiring influence and are now carrying forward lines of investigation which, in larger and smaller measure, are an outgrowth of the work of the master himself. The contributions thus represent the varied field of Bugge's own researches during a long life which, for real creative productiveness, remains well-nigh unparalleled. There appears, e. g., an article on the ballad (The name "Alf i Odderskär" in the Ballad about the Dual at Samsö) by Karl Aubert (pp. 20-25), and a folktale from Telemarken—*Finnkongjens Dotter* (pp. 258-267), by Rikard Berge, supplemented by critical notes by Moltke Moe. Professor Moe offers a study of some verses in the Norwegian vision ballad *Draumkvædet* (245-257), and P. L. Stavnem one on *Overnaturlige Væsener og Symbolik i Ibsen's Peer Gynt*. Dr. Amund B. Larsen contributes the results of an investigation on voiced and voiceless consonants in Norwegian dialects, a field in which Bugge himself made his first contribution to science in 1852 (*Consonant Overgange i det norske Folkesprog.*) Alf Torp discusses *Eine altphrygische Inschrift aus Kappadocien* (210-215); here also Bugge carried on extensive studies during the years 1853-1858, and again in 1883-1885. On myth interpretation and saga origins there appear the following contributions: *Til Fenrismyten* by Hjalmar Falk; *Den gamle hadeland-ringerikske Kongeät og Snøfridsagnet* by Yngvar Nielsen, and *Starkaddigtningens Udspring* by A. Olrik. Magnus Olson offers an analysis of the Runestone at Od-

dernes Church near Kristiansand, and Haakon Schetelig discusses a feature of Old Norse burial customs from the pre-Viking Age.

In the following I shall give a somewhat fuller account of a few of the other contributions.

New light is thrown upon the subject of Scandinavian Lappish linguistic reactions in Konrad Nielsen's *En Gruppe urnordiske Laanord i Lappisk*, which in the main makes up the last half of a lecture on a test of primitive Scandinavian loan in Lappish delivered by Nielsen before the Christiania Scientific Society in May, 1907. The new test of such loans that Nielsen offered at the time was that the constant stem (lack of consonantal reduction) in certain Lappish nouns of two syllables must (barring cases of recent loans) be regarded as proof that such words were originally trissyllabic with open second syllable. The corresponding Finnish words are trissyllabic, a condition which the author observes also for certain Lappish dialects. And in the Lappish dialect of Finmark there are, besides the constant stem, additional traces of the lost syllable, as the lengthening of the stem consonants, which also elsewhere appears as compensation for the lost syllable; thus *oar're*, with lengthened *r*, cp. Finnish *orava*.

The results of the author's studies, then, are a further strengthening of Villhelm Thomson's law¹ that the constant stem is a result of a lost vowel, originally *i*, which formed an open second syllable, as is still the case in Finnish. Scandinavian words of such a form are, however, only to be found by going back to Primitive Scandinavian (Urnordisch). Hence *gir'ko* can be explained only from an Old Norwegian or an Old Swedish form: *kir'kia*, gen. dat. *kirkio*, which the Lapps may have conceived as trissyllabic. The list of words thus accounted for includes such as *hal'le* "a projecting rock" (< Pr. Scand. *hallia*); *has'so*, (Norw. *hæsje*) "framework for drying hay." < Pr. Scand. *hasjō*; *did'no*, "flint," from Pr. Scand. *tinnjōn* (O. N. *linna*); *fas'te* "boat-fastener," from Pr. Scand. *fastiō* (= O. N. *festr*), etc., all of which are then to be derived from the corresponding stems in the General Scandinavian period, not from Old Norse or later Swedish (as Quigstad). A considerable number of these words are not found in Finnish at all, the Lapps having borrowed them directly from the ancient Scandinavians. That is, then, there is here evidence of direct contact between Lapps and Scandinavians in ancient times. The theory more recently advanced that the Lapps came into Scandinavia late in the Middle Ages is for linguistic reasons, therefore, absolutely untenable.

¹*Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse paa den finske*, p. 67.

Olaf Brock's *Betoningsstudie fra en nordrussisk Dialect* (191-196) is a study of the dialect of the region of Shujskoje in the Gouvernement Valogdas, and forms undoubtedly one of the most significant contributions of recent years to Slavic accent, the investigation of which already has been made to yield so much toward the solution of questions of Indo-European accent. The author points out the difference between Little Russian and Great Russian phonology in words which to-day have silent suffixal symbols τ and \mathfrak{r} in the latter, as due to general Slavic accentual conditions. The symbol \mathfrak{r} serves to-day the function of indicating the palatal nature of the preceding consonant; in its origin it is itself the silent survival of a palatal short vowel. The symbol τ stands for what was once a short guttural vowel. With the loss of these sounds Great Russian has come to have a large number of closed syllables, contrary to original Slavic conditions. In the words in question Little Russian possesses a series of new features, as certain vowel gradations, compensatory lengthenings and new diphthongal developments, while Great Russian does not exhibit these variations but has the constant vowel. The varying vowels may never have been developed in Great Russian, or they may have been levelled under one vowel by analogy. The author has discovered a variation, like that of Little Russian, in this Northern Russian dialect in Great Russian territory, which he regards as to-day illustrating purer features of common Russian conditions than the rest of the Great Russian group.

The dialect of the region of Shujskoje represents, it seems, comparatively recent colonization, and a continuous linguistic development, therefore, from the northern branch of Old Russian—the Slovene dialect of the region of the Ilmen River. From General Russian stressed *o*, two varieties of *o* have come: (1) *o*, *ó*, = open, and (2), *ô*, = closed, which latter in places is pronounced as a diphthong always with a glide from a more closed to a more open, as *uo*, *uo*, or *ôo*. The interchange of the two is identical with that of Little Russian, as the author fully illustrates (e. g., *góry*, 'mountains,' genitive *gôr*, (not *gor*) = *góry*: *gôr* of the Ukraine dialect of Little Russian. The same difference in intonation and quantity which developed in conjunction with the loss of τ and \mathfrak{r} must then, it would seem, also have existed in the basic language of the present Great Russian dialects. For the same levellings which occur in Little Russian obtain to a considerable extent also in the northern dialect of Great Russian.

It would seem highly probable therefore that the absence of the vocalic variations, spoken of above, elsewhere in Great Rus-

sian is here also a case of disappearance by the levelling influence of analogy, not one of the failure of those changes to take place. And yet is there not another possible explanation of the resemblances between the dialect of the extreme north and the Little Russian group? It can be imagined, for example, that this parallel development in these features as between the dialect studied and Little Russian is due to similar racial mixture in the two regions; may there not here, then, be an ethnic factor which would affect the whole problem? Yet we must accept, I take it, that the author has also taken this into account, for he seems to regard the locality as undoubtedly racially pure. Then it occurs to me also that if that is so, this North Russian (pure) dialect and Little Russian represent regular continuous growth, and these tendencies in Great Russian, as the language of a people much more mixed racially were therefore checked in their first stages, and hence we cannot assume the variations in question for Great Russia in general, or not at all, perhaps, e. g., for the western portions of Great Russian territory. There enters also the difficulty of explaining the many cases of \hat{o} which are of other origin than the \hat{o} in the class of words discussed.

While therefore the author in this short paper has not been able to fully develop the other evidence of traces of varying accent in Russian, he *has* shown that the special feature which differentiates Little Russian from the Great Russian also exists within the territory of the latter, and while not offering absolute proof he has advanced strong reasons for the assumption that the same features were once general Russian.

In his usual interesting style Alexander Bugge in *The Earliest Guilds of Northmen in England, Norway and Denmark* (197-209) adds the results of renewed studies upon the origin of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Guilds. In his *Studier over de norske Byers Selvstyre og Handel* in 1899, Bugge arrived at the conclusion that "the guilds first have come into existence in England among the Northmen under Anglo-Saxon influence, or among the Anglo-Saxons under Scandinavian influence." He adduces added proof of the presence of specific Norse features in the statutes of English guilds; the enactments and very words are often Norse or Danish. The term "guild" itself is Norse *gildi*, for O. E. *gield* would have given *yield*. Further, the guild of Abbotsbury, the earliest whose statutes are preserved, was founded by one of King Knut's men, a Dane by the name of Orey (= *Urki*). King Knut himself seems more than any other English king to have encouraged the establishment of guilds. Also the institution itself in the earliest period is strikingly similar to the guilds of Norway and Denmark; especially, it seems, the former. Hence, and for other reasons, the guilds could have not arisen among the Scandinavians in

England under Anglo-Saxon influence. Also, the author shows that guilds were in existence in Norway and elsewhere in the Scandinavian North (as Gothland) before they seem to come into existence in England; and the names of places where guilds are known to have existed are commonly of Norse origin. Hence, then, it would seem the guilds could not have originated among the Anglo-Saxons under Scandinavian influence.

In the subsequent portion of his paper Bugge tries to show not, as would seem to be the natural conclusion, that the institution was introduced into England from Norway or (and) Denmark, but that the Scandinavians received their first knowledge of them in France (in Normandy or somewhere within the Empire of the Franks), an important element in the argument being, (1) the evident identity of Danish and Norse guilds and, (2) their evident Christian character. Normandy then possibly was the region where Danes and Norsemen together learned to know the institution; thence it was by them introduced into the Scandinavian North and England. I am not sure that the author establishes his contention at every point. He has shown that merchant associations existed in the Scandinavian North at a very early time. The chain of evidence seems to lack one link, namely, that the character of the earliest Scandinavian guilds were so nearly identical with those known among the Franks at the time of Charlemagne that they are clearly a derived institution. Otherwise?

In a study of the plural of the personal pronouns in Norwegian dialects (216-224) Marius Hægstad comes to the conclusion that they are throughout to be derived from the old duals with here and there special local modifications. Olai Skulerud offers a most interesting contribution to dialect literature in an article on the Ore-dialect in Dalarne (130-138); Halvdan Koht discusses *Henrik Wergeland og den norske Folkearven* (50-72), and there is a contribution to Middle Norwegian history (157-169) in *Ulrik Frederik Gyldenlöve og Normændene* by Roar Tank. K. Rygh treats briefly (112-121) of the origin and nature of surnames in Norway and Iceland, their influence on place-names, their development to personal names and even patronymics (as Væpnlingar < vápn).

One of the most interesting studies in the volume is Stavem's on supernatural beings and symbolism in Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (97-111). The extent of the folkloristic sources of Ibsen's great dramas are here pointed out much more fully than has been done before, and he shows the dramatist's wonderful mastery over his varied material in his method of selection. Most apt is his designation of the *Strange Passenger* in Act IV as a kind of *fylgja*, the guardian spirit of Norse popular belief, and his interpretation of the symbolic significance of the birds

and of the scene following Peer's escape from the trolls of Ronde. He also shows that the troll-king of Dovre is to be derived in part from H. C. Anderson's "Trolldgubben som bor i det gamle Dovrefjeld" in *Elverhöi*. The writer's correlation of the morning hymn of the Memnon Statue, the Strange Passenger, the sermon in the last act, and the Button-Moulder, and these again with the strange huntsman in Ibsen's poem *Paa Vidderne* and with *Auden* in Oehlenschlaeger's *Hakon Jarl* is also of distinct value for the understanding of *Peer Gynt*. To the interpretation of the *Boyg* he has added little, I believe, to what has already before been said,¹ but again he does add something when he points out the dramatic significance of the bird scene in Act III, as a kind of intermezzo foreshadowing the future action.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

Urbana, Nov. 25, 1909.

VESTNORSK MAALFÖRE FYRE 1350. INNLEIDING: LATINSK SRIFT I GAMALNORSK MAAL, av Marius Hægstad, Kristiania, 1906. Pp. 33.

The history of the Latin script in Norway has so far received very little attention among Norse scholars, and yet such a study should be productive of important results for the history of the language and for textual criticism alike. The present monograph, which appears in the form of an Introduction to a larger work on *West-Norwegian Speech before 1350*, will therefore be very welcome to all students of Old Norse, but especially to those who (as we in America) do not have the opportunity to study at first hand the manuscripts, and do not have access even to a fac-similie, except perhaps that of the *Codex Regius*.

Professor Hægstad's work is based on an examination of the oldest manuscripts (before 1200), the old diplomes down to 1250, documents (as laws, fragments of sagas, etc.) in the Norwegian government archives, and on information given in edited texts of early manuscripts; a few MSS. from after 1250 have also been included. It has been his purpose to indicate the broad marks of difference in the writing of these documents, representing all parts of Norway, with reference to letters which

¹I regard Larson's analysis in his chapter on *Peer Gynt* in *Tanker og Meditationer* as the best interpretation of Ibsen's intention with that very elusive thing the *Boyg*. Some of the interpretations that have been made are quite impossible.

have different origin (as Latin or Old English); the variation in practice in the writing of diphthongs *au*, *ei*, *öy*, being conspicuous, these have also been included.

The author's study is concerned, therefore, almost exclusively with the letters: *f*, *g*, *r*, *þ*, *ð*, *v*, *i*-umlaut of *a* and of *o*, the diphthongs *au* and *ei* and the *i*-umlaut of *au*. His results are presented under four heads based on a division of the MSS. into four groups, representing the four geographical divisions: 1) the Trondhjem region (Trøndelagen), 2) Eastern Norway, 3) Northwestern Norway, and 4) Southwestern Norway.¹

The most significant results of his investigation may be stated about as follows (see also pp. 32-33):

1. In the North (i. e. the old Trøndelag, or Trondhjem Province) and in Eastern Norway in general the pattern of the scribes was the old English letters for *f*, *r* and *u*, and they differentiated clearly between *þ* and *ð* as in the post-Alfredian time in Old English.

2. In Western Norway there appears a mixture of O. E. and Latin writing, mostly Old English in the Northwest, principally Latin in the Southwest. The oldest Icelandic script is Latin. In Iceland and in some schools in Western Norway they took over from Old English or from the runic inscriptions² *þ* as the symbol of the dental spirant, both initially and medially.

3. Relative to the *i*-umlaut of *o*, the North and the West created their own sign *ø* (from *æ*), while in the West and in Iceland they employed *ø* (or *eo*).

4. The East Norwegian (and Trondhjem) way of writing seems to have possessed the greater prestige; by the years 1200-1225 letters which previously had been specifically East-Norwegian were also introduced into Western Norway and a little later into Icelandic from West Norwegian, supplanting the old letters. Even *gh* which is originally East-Norwegian³ and established in Trondhjem by 1300, appears often in Icelandic in the 14th century; so also the sign *ay*, which in the earliest period is most widespread in the Trondhjem region and hence probably there original.

5. As to the conditions in the first period of writing (11th century) we cannot know; but judging from the conditions in the period that we do know, the author believes the North (Trøndelagen) and the East to have adopted Old English script, Southwestern Norway, and Iceland and probably also North-

¹The exact dividing line between 3 and 4 is nowhere explained, nor, e. g., the relation of 3 to Larsen's Bergen dialects of to-day, or to the northern *e*-dialects. The Sognefjord would seem to be the intended line of division.

²It would seem most likely from the latter.

³And Swedish?

western Norway, Latin script. The influence from the cultural center of the Archbishopal See of Trondhjem shows itself from the beginning of the 15th century, first in the Northwest, later in the very conservative West proper.

Such are the conclusions suggested by the author's material. Specifically with reference to *f*, while the Old English sign is used exclusively in the East, in the North *f* is also employed, while on the other hand the former seems equally common with *f* in the West in the earliest period; thus in a MS. from 1175 printed in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum XVI*, I, it alone occurs, while in three fragments of a MS. of the older *Gulatingslag*, Ra. 1 B. of 1200, both letters are used interchangeably. And as far as the North is concerned *f* is used in the three fragments of legendary content (AM 655 qu. IX) of 1150 and even somewhat after 1200. Relative to the writing of *f* then, the evidence does not, to me, seem to show especially that the innovations comes from "Nidaros" nor perhaps even from Eastern Norway, as the MSS. in question here are from about the date 1200.

Especially interesting and instructive are the facts brought out relative to the signs for the voiced and the voiceless dental spirant. Thus in the oldest MSS. of the Trondhjem region *þ* is regularly used initially for the voiceless spirant, while *ð* is used for the medial and final voiced spirant. A rare exception the author shows to be unimportant. In the oldest East Norwegian MSS. and in the diplomes down to 1320 the practice is identical. But in Western Norway the condition is very different. Even as far North as Söndmøre we meet with a form such as Berþorson as late as 1400 (*D. N.* III. 552. 18.) Still more valuable is the evidence offered by the Hoprekstad inscription (the wax tablet of Hoprekstad in Sogn), where the older hand (before 1300) everywhere writes *þ* for *ð*, e. g. *viþ*, *heraþe*, etc.; and in diplomes from Voss, Bergen, and Hardanger, from the period 1285-1390 *þ* is usual for *ð*. The author maintains the same to be true also for the extreme Southwest, as West Telemarken and Raabygdalag. In other documents *þ* and *ð* are distinguished, but it is significant that the oldest of these are from the Northwest.

The condition pictured in the oldest West Norwegian diplomes is therefore that which we know from Old Icelandic,—the almost universal use of *þ*. Also in several younger West Norwegian writings this lack of distinction between *þ* and *ð* prevails. Only in those West Norwegian diplomes which come after 1260 are *þ* and *ð* kept apart as in East Norwegian. Still later is the practice of differentiation in Iceland. The West and Iceland are then both shown to be very much alike in practice,

both are conservative, Icelandic most so. The reformatory Movement comes from Eastern Norway to the North and to the West¹ and from the West to Iceland, that is, Icelandic scribes in the 13th century began adopting a newer way of writing, patterned after Western Norwegian practice, here as in so many other things (p. 17). In Iceland two schools are to be observed: One ultra-conservative using Latin letters exclusively clear down to Ari Frodi's time; the other more progressive one adopting distinct (Norwegian) signs for those sounds for which the Latin alphabet was inadequate.² The reforms recommended in "*The First Grammatical Treatise*" of the *Codex Wormianus* were simply a somewhat radical expression of the progressive tendency.

It is hoped that the continuation of Professor Hægstad's most valuable investigation may appear soon. The work is written in *Landsmaal*, which should not occasion much difficulty to the one who is familiar with present day Norwegian.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

June 24, 1909.

¹Or perhaps from the East to the West and the North simultaneously.

²As, e.g., the umlauts.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume II. The End of the Middle Ages. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.

This volume, taken in conjunction with the one preceding,¹ gives a clear idea of the plan of the series as a whole, and makes possible a just estimate of certain excellences and defects in method and execution. A whole period, the Middle Ages, fairly definite as to its nearer boundary, if not as to its farther one, is here rounded out, and the way cleared for a fresh start in the Renaissance. So many otherwise creditable histories of English literature are untrustworthy in the earlier periods that one fancies the editors may have heaved a sigh of relief on having passed these preliminary rocks and shoals. While some difficult channels have been successfully navigated, the keel of the vessel has scraped the rocks occasionally, sometimes with a ruder shock than usual. More than once this has been due to the presence of an inexperienced or imperfectly informed navigator at the helm. The voyager is likely to lose confidence a bit if he perceives the vessel on which he has embarked feeling its way uncertainly through troubled waters. To this reproach, it is fair to say, the second volume is far less open than the first. The editors have been fortunate in securing the services of scholars of distinction for the really important chapters, and there are fewer errors of fact and questionable literary judgments. Typographically, too, the second volume is much better. There is less tendency to bad alignment, although the general appearance of the page in the English edition will probably be more pleasing to the bibliophile. The index at the end is really an assistance, not a source of confusion, as in Vol. I. There is also a better coördination among the different sections. The division of a given subject between two writers is likely to result in omissions or repetitions. For example, it was unfortunate that, in Vol. I, Professor Ker and Mr. Atkins shared the Metrical Romances, and that Professor Jones covered a part of the same field in his chapter on the Arthurian Legends. In the second volume the effort has apparently been made to assign to one person only a topic requiring more than a single chapter. Miss Greenwood writes on Middle English prose, dividing her work into three sections. Mr. Gregory Smith has been entrusted with all the Scottish literature, save the very earliest, which is treated by the Honorable Peter Giles. The collaborative system, to be successful, should be con-

¹ Cf. review of Volume I, by the present writer in this Journal (Vol. VII), pp. 150-160.

trolled in some such way as this. The system worked very badly in the *Cambridge Modern History*, as Mr. Andrew Lang and others have noted. The editors of this sister series may well have profited by that example.

One great defect is noticeable in this as in the first volume,—lack of due proportion in the assignment of space to different authors and periods. The most glaring instance of this is the prominence given to Stephen Hawes, who has an entire chapter to himself,—eighteen pages. Anglo-Saxon national poetry is disposed of in twenty-four pages,—ergo, says the casual reader, Hawes is as important as *Beowulf*. He gets nearly twice as much space as Caxton, Malory, Lord Berners and Froissart together. The “unspeakable Lydgate” (whom he expressed his desire to imitate) was in comparison a poet of infinite variety and piercing eloquence, but Lydgate is given only ten pages. As the last leaf on the tree of Allegory, crumbling and decayed, Hawes has a certain interest, but the best way to treat such a wizened survivor of a long-past summer is to allow it to whistle unmolested on the windy bough to which it clings. William Murison, M. A., of Aberdeen, to whose pen the delineation of the *Passetyme of Pleasure* (ominously named poem!) and the other works has been confided, does not attempt to convince us that Hawes was a notable figure; he cheerfully admits his mediocrity. To take another example, forty-four pages are given to Wyclif. As a great reformer, patriot, and churchman, Wyclif deserves a high place, but surely does not merit as much space in a literary history as Chancer. (To be just, Chancer gets two pages more than he.) The literary influence of Wyclif was really not great, as Miss Greenwood acknowledges. Other instances of failure to observe due proportion in the planning of this history might be cited. It is a serious defect; the reader may get in this way a false idea of the relative values of different literary figures and periods.

The volume opens with a chapter by Professor Manly on “Piers the Plowman and its Sequence.” It is safe to say that no other contribution to the book will be read more attentively by scholars than this. For some time past an explanation of the revolutionary theory of multiple authorship put forth in a brief article in *Modern Philology* in January, 1906, has been anticipated with much curiosity. Although the present chapter is far from providing the detailed evidence desirable for forming a final judgment on so difficult a question, and though we must still wait for the promised book, we have here a sufficiently elaborate exposition to show the general trend of the arguments, and make possible some opinion in regard to the general method, if not in regard to details of proof. Professor Manly’s conten-

tions are these: The poem is really the work of five different men. Only one of these is known by name,—Johan But, to whom is ascribed, not only the twelve lines at the end of Passus XII of the A-text, but all of the Passus after l. 56. Passus I-VIII, and Passus IX-XII (1-56) of A are the work of two different persons. The alterations and additions in the B-text and the C-text are due respectively to two other men. The A-version is far superior, especially the early part. The revision in B shows that the redactor was lacking in artistic control and clearness of vision, though endowed with great sincerity and emotional power. The C-version reveals a man of learning, piety, and patriotism, though unimaginative and pedantic. Finally, Professor Manly holds the apparently autobiographical details in the poems to be fictitious, believing "Long Will as much a creation of the muse as Piers Plowman."

These conclusions have been criticised in a most interesting article by M. Jusserand in *Modern Philology*, published in January, 1909. This review is considerably longer than the chapter which we are now considering. M. Jusserand, with the greatest urbanity, disagrees categorically with Professor Manly's views, though he gladly acknowledges the importance of the discovery of the misplacement of A 236-259.¹ He will have none of "Johan But," believing the ending of Passus XII, which is preserved only in one ms., a mere scribal impudence, and regarding the four remaining authors with great scepticism. The stylistic and other differences in the text he considers may well be mere variations in the literary work of one man. He makes the most of the fact that one author is not always consistent with his own best work, and that revisions of undoubted authenticity often show changes of style and contradictions of subject-matter. This line of argument is of course familiar from epic criticism. He defends the autobiographical material in general, endeavors to rescue "Kytte and Kalote" from the slurs thrown on them, and closes his argument with the assertion of his belief that, as we

¹ In connection with M. Jusserand's remarks about the "lost leaf" should be read Mr. Bradley's note in the *Athenaeum* (Apr. 21, 1906). He proposes to put 236-59 after 145, believing a MS. sheet or note misplaced. Dr. Furnivall has given the weight of his assent to Mr. Bradley's view. The suggestion made by Professor C. F. Brown (*Nation*, Mar. 25, 1909, pp. 298-9) obviates the assumption of a misplaced sheet or a lost leaf. A similar idea had occurred to Mr. T. Hall, (*Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1908), as Professor Brown notes. Decision in regard to this matter is complicated by the fact that Langland's transitions are not invariably easy, and that inconsistencies may appear in work indisputably by one man.

read in one of the mss., "William Langland made Pers Plowman."

It is obviously impossible to enter upon a detailed discussion of so complicated a question here, or to reach a decision quickly when two doctors so eminent disagree. One may be pardoned, perhaps, for feeling that each scholar, in the ardor of the controversy, has somewhat overstated his own case. It is perhaps hardly fair to judge Professor Manly's argument from the evidence thus far submitted, but one feels a certain distrust of the apportionment of the poem among different men upon almost purely stylistic grounds. On the other hand, brilliant as M. Jusserand's eloquence is, and convincing as it sounds, it does not in all cases seem to bear searching examination.

It is unfortunate that Professor Manly could not have published his book first and his general outline and summary of results last. The nature of the contribution to the *Cambridge History* precludes detailed proof and statistical argument, such as is needed in a problem like this. M. Jusserand, on the other hand, is free to adopt these methods whenever necessary. Professor Manly is thus placed at a distinct disadvantage. As for the misplacement of ll. 236 ff., that is obviously explainable on other grounds than the assumption of a lost leaf, while the ingenious hypothesis of a gap containing the Confession of Wrath, etc., on the other part of the leaf is somewhat damaged by Jusserand's criticism. While one may agree with Jusserand that stylistic differences are not necessarily evidences of more than one hand, much depends on the nature and extent of those differences, and the critical treatment of them. The question must still be regarded as an open one, then, although Professor Manly passes, as is natural, from exposition of theory and illustration of matter to assumption of proof, as when he says, "With the recognition that the poems are the work of several authors, etc." (p. 39.) We shall await, with an open mind and lively interest, the appearance of the longer work in which the whole matter is reviewed with the detail which it demands.¹

¹ Since the above criticism was written, Professor Manly's reply to M. Jusserand, in *Modern Philology*, July 1909, pp. 83 ff., has much strengthened his position. Here he is able to meet his opponent on his own ground, and make use of the needful controversial detail. He refers again, however, to the publication of future studies on this subject, and indeed it is greatly to be desired that the whole argument should be restated with the elaborateness which it demands, and with due attention to M. Jusserand's attacks. No scholar will grudge an attentive reading of all the evidence, no matter how presented, but it seems likely that Professor Manly will win over a larger number of adherents to his cause

The chapter on religious movements in the fourteenth century, by the Reverend J. P. Whitney, of King's College, is competent, though scarcely distinguished. The discussion of the word "Lollard" (p. 53 f. note) should be compared with that in the *New English Dictionary*. Wicklif's degree is stated to have been possibly "S. T. P.," an academic title not familiar to the reviewer. The reference to an edition by Miss Paues (p. 67) seems out of place in a work in which bibliography is regularly restricted to the appendix. Miss Greenwood's treatment of early Middle English prose, while it perhaps rather exaggerates the merits and importance of Trevisa, is well done. Her summary of the puzzling question of the authorship of *Mandeville's Travels* is almost too cautiously put. The average reader likes a suggestion as to the probable solution of a question so long debated as this. It seems likely that the *Travels* were really written by the Liège physician Jean de Bourgogne "dit à la Barbe," under the assumed name of Mandeville, and highly probable that the disingenuous D'Outremeuse knew more about the business than he gives us to understand. Miss Greenwood's style is not always impeccable, as when she remarks that Mandeville was "great on numbers." One recalls the glee with which English reviewers brand as "Americanisms" such expressions in books written on this side of the water. Chapter XII, in which Middle English prose is continued, is written with a keen feeling for the picturesque; Miss Greenwood makes the figure of Reginald Pecock, that curious combination of heretic and Papist bishop, stand forth most vividly, and she brings out much that is quaint and interesting in the *Paston Letters*. Her knowledge of philological developments seems inaccurate, as when she says (p. 349) "Many a good colloquial expression never found its way into literature; 'to bear on hand' is common for 'to accuse;' 'cup-shotten,' 'shuttle-witted' are good terms." "To bear on hand" is of course common in literary usage a century earlier, in Chaucer and Gower, for example; and "cup-shotten" is found as early as Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*. Again, such a note as the following is worded with really unpardonable carelessness: "A curious instance of the fluid state of the vocabulary is the use by nearly all the colloquial writers of *me*, short for *men*, or *they*—"causeth me to set the lesse be us"—while scholarly writers are beginning to use it [sic] for *I*, *meseemeth*, etc." (p. 349.)

if he presents it somewhat more directly and fully, instead of obliging his readers to follow through his own criticisms of M. Jusserand's criticism of his original work on the poems. In so complicated a matter, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of clearness and conciseness as well as completeness.

The chapter on Chaucer, one of the most important in these earlier volumes, has been allotted to Professor Saintsbury. He has written with enthusiasm and sympathy, and the fact that his interests run in different channels from those usually followed by professed Chaucer students gives his work a certain freshness and independence. His criticism is, as usual, of the impressionistic sort, and he says many good things by the way. Disputed questions are summarized with tolerable accuracy, and disposed of without undue discussion. The bibliography, gathered by Miss Paues, will certainly be useful. It seems, on a hasty examination, well-selected, complete, and free from error, although Professor Tatlock's name is hardly recognizable under the Slavonic disarrangement "Tctolak." The discussion of Chaucer's humor is admirable; here Professor Saintsbury is at his best. Taine's remark, made in another connection, "Il se moque de ses émotions au moment même où il s'y livre" illustrates Chaucer's attitude towards his own serious moments most felicitously. It is interesting to find here something the same view of the *Legend of Good Women* and its prologs as Dr. Goddard has recently advanced in this journal. (Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 87 ff.) Saintsbury says: "Whether it (the double proem) was really intended as a palinode for abuse of women in earlier books may be seriously doubted; the pretence that it was is quite like 'Chaucer's fun,' and quite like the usual fashion of ushering in literary work with some excuse, once almost universal and still not quite unknown." (p. 201.) Even if Dr. Goddard does not convince us of all his contentions, he has shown us that we have sometimes taken Chaucer a little too seriously. The quarrel as to the sources and priority of the two prologs has reached such minuteness that it is refreshing to hold the book at arm's length for a while, and look at it as a human document, remembering that Chaucer's eye was seldom long without its sly twinkle. The comments on the *Romance of the Rose* may perhaps be a little misleading. It is not "certain that Chaucer translated this very part [B], inasmuch as he refers to it in *The Legend*." The lines in the *Legend* are

Thou hast translated the Romaunce of the Rose,

That is an heresyge ageyns my lawe,

And makest wyse folk fro me withdrawe. (329 ff.)

This does not refer specifically to Part B, and further, as Professor Kittredge pointed out, that part of the *Roman* to which the God of Love objects is not in the fragmentary extant version in Middle English. Dr. Goddard explains the situation most ingeniously. (pp. 127 ff.) Professor Saintsbury says that Chaucer "can hardly have written B," but it might be put much more dogmatically. No scholar maintains this nowadays, appar-

ently, with the possible exception of Professor Lounsbury, who seems never to have recanted. The statement that the *Parlement of Foules* has been "not unreasonably connected with the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia in 1382" is a queer way of putting a clear case. No one has questioned it since Koch's identification in 1877, except Professor Hales, whose argument that the poem is too poor for so late a date will carry little conviction to lovers of Chaucer. The term "rime royal" may be derived from its use in the *King's Quair*, but name and form are more probably of French origin,—as are *ballat royal* and *chant royal*. (p. 195.) There is a little fling at the methods of Professor Skeat, and the "Chaucer canon" (p. 187), although no names are mentioned. Where so much is felicitously expressed, it is disappointing to find stylistic incubi so much in evidence. The effort to write in a vigorous and original way results in unlovely and far-fetched words, "off-signs," "horseplayful," "co-opted," in unmeaning phrases like "temporal colour," and in occasional awkward sentences. As a student of prosody, Professor Saintsbury finds the *Tale of Gamelyn* most interesting, holding that "even for more Chaucer, of which we fortunately have so much already, we could not afford to have no *Gamelyn*, which is practically unique."

The chapter on the English Chaucerians, which follows, is from the pen of the same critic. A less enjoyable task, it has been performed with a good deal of felicity. The discussion of Lydgate is of necessity cautiously handled. The investigation of the Lydgate canon by Dr. MacCracken was not issued in time to be utilized in the body of the book. To judge of Professor Saintsbury's comments in the notes appended to the bibliography (p. 530), he hardly seems inclined to accept its conclusions,—“As it proceeds on the premiss that ‘Lydgate was always smooth,’ imposes arbitrary rime tests and disqualifies such positive testimony as that of Hawes to his master's work, it is evident that there must be room for considerable difference of opinion as to the probable correctness of this revision.” A briefer list of chief works is printed on p. 527. It is interesting to note that Dr. MacCracken deprives Lydgate of *London Lickpenny*, which has always made one feel that Lydgate did on one occasion deviate into sense. Professor Saintsbury is no admirer of the Monk of Bury, reflecting that hardly anything in his work is so good that we should be surprised at his having written the worst stuff credited to his pen. He shows a tendency, indeed, to accept Ritson's characterization of Lydgate as a "voluminous, prosaic, and drivelling monk." Reading Ocleve he finds less tedious, since Ocleve "has some idea how to tell a story." He sees no poetry in Benedict Burgh, and he credits George Ashby

with having written the "sayings of the philoshers," a singularly felicitous misprint. For some of the spurious Chauceriana he has kindly words, as for *The Second Merchant's Tale*, *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, *The Flower and the Leaf*, and *The Court of Love*. The exclusion of the last two from the Chaucer canon has undoubtedly blinded critics to their literary excellence, and it is pleasant to see justice done them here.

The editors have been fortunate in persuading Mr. Gregory Smith to take charge of Scottish literature. There is, perhaps, no scholar living who is more competent to speak with authority on this than he. One chapter, devoted to the Scottish language, contains, in small compass, the essence of Mr. Smith's introduction to his *Specimens of Middle Scots*, now out of print, and hard to obtain. Here once more he takes issue with Michel, who exaggerated absurdly the contribution of France to the Scottish vocabulary. Perhaps Mr. Smith may go a little too far in stressing the direct influence of Latin. The term "aureate style" has been used lavishly but rather vaguely by historians of this period, and one hardly finds it defined more exactly here. There is much need of specialized investigations in the vocabulary and style of Middle Scots.¹

It has already been said that the discussion of the earliest period is not the work of Mr. Smith. One's first feeling of regret is unjust, since the chapter is so well done. The Huchown puzzle is admirably summarized. Mr. Giles believes that in all probability "Huchown" is to be identified with "the good Sir Hew of Eglintoun," and thinks "of the Awle Ryalle" is "an appropriate enough description for a knight who served for a period as justiciar." (p. 135.) In Chapter XI, after a foreword pointing out how foreign the true Renaissance spirit was to Scotch poets of the fifteenth century, Mr. Smith discusses *The King's Quair*, which he defends against the ill-founded theories that make it the work of some other than James I, or a mosaic, composed by different men. He finds that Dunbar's poems "fall into two main divisions, the allegorical and the occasional." Since such a poem as *The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo* fits neither class, and such a one as *The Goldyn Targe* suits either equally, a more satisfactory separation might be "the artificial and the realistic." Schipper's classification by date of composition, determined through internal evidence, can of course, be only approximately correct. Mr. Smith finds Dunbar less indebted to Chaucer than King James and Henryson were, and perceives "in his wildest frolics an imaginative range which has

¹ Mr. T. M. Wade of Columbia University has in preparation a study of certain aspects of this development, particularly the "aureate termes."

no counterpart in the Southern poet." He assigns *King Hart* to Douglas, without any query or discussion, although the researches of Horneber and Gerken, which are not mentioned in the bibliography, contradict this. In the following chapter he properly emphasizes the importance of the Middle Scots anthologies, and gives a delightfully written summary of this minor verse. He thinks there is a possibility that James I wrote *Peebles to the Play* and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*. Indignation at the critical obtuseness which denies them to King James because they do not happen to resemble the *King's Quair* has, curiously enough, really strengthened the case for the royal authorship in recent years. But there is no direct evidence of any weight. At the end of the chapter vernacular Scots prose in the fifteenth century receives brief mention; it hardly deserves more than this.

Little comment is necessary on the section devoted to Gower. Mr. G. C. Macaulay was obviously the man best qualified to write it, and his summary has the sureness of touch which comes of profound acquaintance with the subject. The works of this poet present no problems comparable to those of the Piers Plowman group or the verse attributed to Lydgate. The treatment here is, then, chiefly descriptive and appreciative. One passage dealing with the relations of Chaucer and Gower may be questioned. Mr. Macaulay rightly dismisses (p. 156) the notion of "a bitter quarrel between the two poets." But he adds: "Chaucer's reference is, apparently, of a humorous character, the author of the not very decent tales of the miller, the reeve and the merchant taking advantage of his opportunity to reprove 'the moral Gower' for selecting improper subjects." There is no reason to suppose that Chaucer was referring to Gower at all; the passage in the Introduction to the Man of Law's Prologue (ll. 77 ff.) contains a slighting reference to the stories of Canacee and Apollonius of Tyre, which are told by Gower, but they were also related elsewhere, and the portion of the latter "that is so horrible a tale for to rede" is, as Dr. Root has noted, not found at all in the Gower version. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Macaulay is not blinded to the shortcomings of his author. He calls him "a man of talent only, not of genius." The *Mirour de l'Homme* is "not without some poetical merit." The plan of the *Confessio Amantis* is "not ill-conceived, but unfortunately, it is carried out without a due regard to proportion in its parts, and its unity is very seriously impaired by digressions which have nothing to do with the subject of the book. But no previous writer, either in English or in any other modern language, had verified so large and various a collection of stories, or had devised so ingenious and elaborate a scheme of combinations." Scant justice has, indeed, been done Gower in the past by critics,

who, like Lowell, have been repelled by his fatal monotony and pedestrian literary habits. Mr. Macaulay, while recognizing all this, gives him credit for what he deserves.

Mr. E. Gordon Duff has a chapter in which the main facts about the early work of the printing-press are brought together in a business-like way. Gerard Leeu, it may be noted, appears on p. 357 as "General" Leeu. There are two or three errors, too, in the Reverend T. R. Walker's treatment of Universities and Public Schools in the Middle Ages, although in the main it appears satisfactory. Wat Tyler's insurrection was in 1381, not 1318, (p. 393), and the quotations on pp. 398 and 413 are disfigured by misprints ("covertise" for "coveitise," and "the' olde Esculapius").

The volume closes with three chapters treating the lyric, the ballad, and the political and religious verse to the close of the fifteenth century. Professor Padelford's discussion of the transitional English song collections may well encourage students to specialized study in this delightful field. The Middle English lyric has hitherto received far less attention than it deserves, the metrical romances and the ballads having proved superior attractions to most scholars. Here the leading types of songs in the collections are described, with frequent illustrations. The time is probably not yet ripe for a treatment of the Middle English lyric as a whole; but when that time does come, it is to be hoped that the work may fall to a scholar as careful and as appreciative as Professor Padelford here shows himself to be. The ballad problems, while perhaps not yet settled, present more clearly defined issues. Readers of Professor Gummere's works will find little that is new in his summary here, but it is most convenient to have his well-known theories condensed in this confession of faith. The communal hypothesis is tersely and vigorously stated, and the different types of ballad and lines of development are briefly summarized. Professor Gummere calls no truce to the theories which explain the ballad as a later development, and, indeed, he has no reason to do so, since modern investigation tends more and more to discredit them. A very pretty debate might have been arranged with one of the most distinguished contributors to this volume, Mr. Gregory Smith, whose scepticism in regard to the "folk-theory" is well-known, had the plan of this series afforded space for flytings. Such arguments as Mr. Smith's set forth in *The Transition Period*, in Saintsbury's series, are vigorously attacked,—although no names are mentioned—with the conclusion that "one is compelled to dismiss absolutely the theory of minstrel authorship, and to regard ballads as both made and transmitted by the people." The characteristic absence of conscious artistry in the ballads is deftly

brought out at the end of the chapter. Such a contribution as this reveals, as scarcely anything else could, the manifold advantages of having each section of such a history as this executed by a specialist, rather than by an industrious person of some general literary equipment and fluency in writing.

Mr. Waller himself utters the valedictory to the Middle Ages in Chapter XVIII. It makes the impression of being somewhat repetitive; we are reintroduced to Anglo-Norman chronicles and histories, the political verse is treated briefly, and lyrics and carols, which Professor Padelford had discussed, are again brought up. The summary of the literary significance of the fifteenth century does not agree with that given earlier in the volume by Professor Saintsbury. The quotation of "the demesnes that here adjacent lie" (not quite accurately cited) as representing "the stately pleasure-houses of Chaucer and the Elizabethans" is less effective if one remembers the context of the original. Advantage has been taken of some extra space to insert in the bibliography to this closing chapter considerable miscellaneous information for which no place could elsewhere be found. These elaborate bibliographies are a most valuable feature of this series, affording a convenient and detailed summary of criticism up to date.

On reviewing these two volumes once more, one realizes, with gratitude to the editors for their difficult and wearisome task, that nowhere else is there such a complete and scholarly treatment of literature in England in the Middle Ages, and of the contributory facts which shaped and developed that literature.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE. .

Columbia University, March, 1909.

THE VALIANT WELSHMAN, by R. A. Gent. Nach dem Drucke von 1615 herausgegeben von Dr. Valentin Krieb. (*Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*, hrsg. von Breymann und Schick. Heft 23) Erlangen & Leipzig, 1902. Pp. lxxvii+88.

The Valiant Welshman is an interesting play; not because of intrinsic merit, but because it gives one the pleasure of recognition and identification. The faces of old friends are continually in evidence. Besides specific reminiscences of Shakespeare, Jonson, Kyd, and Spenser, the whole play is a conglomeration of conventional scenes and stage-business. The author must have written out of a familiarity of many years with the Elizabethan stage. Nothing seems original, but rather is it a *mélange* of all

that was popular on the stage of the time. Perhaps it was this reminiscential interest which led Dr. Krieb to devote over four pages to the 'Ästhetischer Wert' of a play which after all conforms to the characterization disapprovingly quoted by Dr. Krieb from E. Meyer, 'a wretched tragedy.' This section should have been omitted, and the rest of the sixty-five pages of introduction condensed. It is too diffuse. On the other hand the glossary of one page, and the notes of ten might well have been extended.

After a bibliography of four pages, and a brief account of the early editions and the present text, the introduction considers the language (principally the Welsh dialect of Morgan, beside that of Shakespeare's Sir Hugh Evans and Fluellen, and of Sir Owen in *Patient Grissell*) and the metre. Stories of Caradoc in romance and folk-lore are mentioned, and discussion is given of Mason's *Caractacus* and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca*, in which Caratach (*Caractacus*) is a leading character. The extent to which the story has entered into English literature is rather fully shown.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Tacitus are the chief sources of the historical part of the story. Some events of the play do not appear in either. Krieb does not consider the suggestion made by Schelling (*Eng. Chron. Play*, p. 189) that this play perhaps drew directly on original Welsh sources.¹ As 'Literarische Quellen' are assigned: for Caradoc's adventure with the monster, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* 3. 7; for the attempt of Marcus Gallicus on Voada, Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*; for the dumb show and the jesting inquest over Gloster's body, *Hamlet*; for the foolish Morion's love to the fairy queen, the fleecing of Dapper by similar means in Jonson's *Alchemist*; and for one or two minor details, *The Spanish Tragedy*. None of these but the *Lucrece* reference are anything more than reminiscences, and I doubt if there is even a reminiscence of Spenser. Some version of the long-standing association of Caradoc with a serpent is more likely to have suggested the episode. The Gallicus-Voada episode is like enough to Shakespeare's *Lucrece* to be a direct imitation, and certain verbal correspondences are adduced. Its relation to the versions of the story in Chancer, Lydgate, Painter, Heywood, and others should be considered.

The Valiant Welshman was printed in 1615, and because of the likeness of one scene to a scene in Jonson's *Alchemist*, Krieb thinks it must have been written not earlier than that play (1610). However this proves nothing, for Jonson is as likely to have taken the idea from *The Valiant Welshman* as *vice versa*. A more valid reason for not identifying it with the plays men-

¹ In Schelling's *Eliz. Drama*, 1908, he goes farther, saying "from sources clearly Celtic." (1.295.)

tioned by Henslowe in 1595 and 1598, and for dating its composition much later, is the reference in the address 'To the Ingenious Reader' to the number of chronicle plays already played, and its attempt to embody in one play every device used in plays of 1600-1610. Only a probability is established as to the date. Schelling (*op. cit.*, 179) thinks its structure and style point to the 'height of the Chronicle Drama,' i. e. not later than 1606. Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, Pt. II, p. 178) holds that all its allusions 'point to a date about 1610, and there is no trace of the survival of older work.'

Yet more insoluble than the date is the authorship. The claims of Robert Armin, the only name suggested, are decisively rejected, and with good reason.² About all that can be said is that the author had a thoro knowledge of the classics, and was intimately acquainted with the London stage for some years, and was of the rank of gentleman—unless, in the absence of any facts, we hazard the conjecture that 'Gent.' of the title-page refers to some one of the family of Gent. Sir Thomas Gent, who died 1593, studied at Cambridge, and had seven sons, of whom were Edward—perhaps the same as Edward Gent, Fellow of Corpus Christi 1597 and University Proctor 1605—and Roger, who would furnish the initial *R.* The family is an old one, which I believe still survives (cf. T. Wright, *Hist. & Topog. of Essex*). Doubtless it is wholly a coincidence that there is a play, *The Valiant Scot*, 1637, by 'J. W. Gent.'

Just why the glossary exists is hard to say. It should have been either incorporated in the notes or else made a full register of all words needing definition. No line of demarcation between notes and glossary seems to have been drawn. 'Battalions,' 1. 1. 71=battles, a use not recorded by N. E. D., is not mentioned in either. Again we do not need to be told that 'sacke=sack, erstürmen.' 'Aboue all cry,' 2. 1. 42 (glossary) is not 'gewiss (?),' but means ('beyond the telling.') Notes 2. 1. 41-2, 'such a many lights in their heeles, and lungs in their hands' refers to the light dancing shoes of the maskers (as 'shee shittle-cocks' of l. 39 suggests light-footed dancers) and the harps in their hands, a punning reference to lights in the sense of lungs also being intended. Dr. Krieb is less happy in explanation of slang, jokes, and word-plays of this sort than in other things. A full and rigorously constructed glossary would be valuable, as would the inclusion of more explanatory matter in the notes. The index records only matters explained in notes and glossary. It should cover the introduction, and if the glossary were adequate, not index that. As it is, the glossary is but a sort of extract from

² Schelling, perhaps inadvertently, repeats, without giving any grounds, the old ascription to Armin (*Eliz. Dram.* 1.295).

or appendage to the notes, and so needs to be indexed with the notes. Convenience would have been served by the insertion of act and scene numbers at the tops of the pages. An attempt also should have been made to establish the places where the action occurs. Dr. Kreh refers to, but does not explicitly correct, an erroneous statement of Ward (*Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 1. 436): "The only play by Armin which has been preserved, viz., the "Chronicle History" of *The Valiant Welshman*." The *Two Maids of More-clack* (i. e., Mortlake), 1609, is undisputedly by Armin.

Reprints of this sort, however, must stand or fall largely by the accuracy of their texts. This I have not had an opportunity of testing by comparison with the edition of 1615, or that of 1663. The edition of 1663 differs from that of 1615 only in corruption of text, and therefore the text follows 1615 with all peculiarities of spelling and punctuation, except for the correction of obvious misprints. In the few cases where 1615 and 1663 differ in sense the editor has exercised his judgment, and given us the rejected reading in the footnotes. Variants of 1663 are further noted to illustrate the condition of that text. Dr. Kreh's corrections of the text are judicious. They are largely restorations of the metre. He does not consider the possibility of variants between copies of the same edition.

So far as I can see, the text is carefully and intelligently treated, and gives a faithful copy of 1615, barring errors in transcription, which I have no means of detecting. On the whole the edition seems intelligently done, and worthy of credit.

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CHAUCER, A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MANUAL. By Eleanor Prescott Hammond, Ph. D. Pp. X+579. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1908.

Of the three prime desiderata for the further advancement of Chaucerian scholarship the first, a critical text with full apparatus, is still discouragingly remote; the second, a concordance to Chaucer, is well under way (although one could wish that the critical text had been established first); the third, a working bibliography, is now happily in our hands. And among the books in the field that are avowedly tools, few more important contributions than Dr. Hammond's have been made.

It may be well to note at once that Miss Hammond's book is called explicitly a *Bibliographical Manual*—not a *Bibliography*;

and the fact that the work is avowedly what it is, justifies a breadth and freedom of treatment that might otherwise, and often to our loss, have been excluded. It is perhaps open to question whether the working plan might not have been slightly narrowed on one side and somewhat broadened on another. Some of the excursions, for example, constitute in reality fresh and independent contributions (sometimes, as will be noted later, of unusual value) toward the solution of important problems. Yet they are not, strictly speaking, bibliographical at all, and their publication elsewhere might have brought them more immediately the notice which they deserve. Occurring, as they do, where one expects to find only bibliographical data, the fact that they offer new material is not unlikely to be overlooked. On the other hand, a slight broadening of scope in one respect might have been wise. The exclusion of annotation of the Chaucerian text, of allusions to Chaucer, of the lighter "literary" essays, and of third-hand biographies (see p. vii) is clearly warranted. But the list of special passages treated because of their recognized historical position as Chaucer-cruces might have been profitably extended by the inclusion of a larger number of compact bibliographies like those on Eclompasteyre (p. 364), shippes hoppesteres (p. 273), Saint Loy, French of Stratford atte Bowe, nun-chaplain (p. 286), Fortune (p. 370), etc.—especially in the case of passages which have been the subject of discussions scattered through periodical literature. Thus, bibliographical notes on "the eight years' sickness," the Dry Sea and the Carrenare,¹ the problems connected with the stanzas from Petrarch, Boethius and the *Teseide* in the *Troilus*, the identification of Alceste with Queen Anne (to indicate a few of the possibilities) would have been welcome additions, and seem to come clearly within the scope of a *Bibliographical Manual*. But a limit has to be set somewhere, and it would be captious to make too much of what has been left outside.

The two fundamental questions, however, in the case of a bibliography, are these: Are its collections, within the limits imposed, complete? Are its materials so arranged as to be quickly and easily available? And it is with the answer to these two questions that this review is chiefly concerned.

It would be hard to speak too highly of the wealth of material which Miss Hammond's *Manual* offers. The present reviewer has had no opportunity to verify the descriptions of the MSS. and of the early printed editions. Taking them as they stand, they constitute perhaps the most important single feature of the

¹ Two articles which deal with this crux are noted (p. 365), but there is no bibliography.

book. For nowhere else is brought together information regarding the MSS. which approaches Miss Hammond's in completeness, and much of it is accessible nowhere short of the MSS. themselves. Sixty-two pages (pp. 163-201, 325-349) are devoted wholly to descriptions (chiefly at first-hand, and admirably full and detailed) of the MSS. In the case of the MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales* particular attention has been paid to recording, for each MS., the order of the tales, and the condition of the links—information whose value needs no comment. Whenever a MS. has been printed, whether as a whole or in part, the fact is noted, and full bibliographical references are given. Moreover, under each separate work of Chaucer (including the so-called "Fragments" of the *Canterbury Tales*) is given a full statement of its MS. relations, together with a bibliography of whatever has been written on its text. Never before has it been possible for students of Chaucer, without access to the great English libraries, to do certain sorts of work which this volume puts within reach; and in doing what she has done in this respect Miss Hammond has performed a notable service.

Scarcely less important is the treatment accorded the early editions—witness the seventeen pages (pp. 114-130) devoted to editions of the Works from Pynson to Urry alone, and the six pages (pp. 205-11) assigned to Tyrwhitt. And one is grateful also for the documents that are reprinted. Chief among these are the invaluable reprints (pp. 1-35) of the texts of the early lives of Chaucer (hitherto not easily accessible) by Leland, Bale and Pits, and of the Life prefixed to the Speght Chaucer of 1598. Mention should also be made of the prints (pp. 58-65) of Lydgate's and Bale's lists of Chaucer's works, and the parallel survey of the lists of Thynne, Leland and Bale.

Attention should be called, moreover, to the great practical value of the paragraphs which accompany most of the titles cited (as, for example, on pp. 36-42), and include, together with a brief statement of the contents of the work in question, Miss Hammond's own critical comment on it, and, where possible, a list of reviews or other articles dealing with it. The critical remarks are almost invariably judicious, and always suggestive; and the lists of reviews (throughout the book) make accessible a peculiarly difficult sort of material to follow up. In general, the mass of references brought together is amazing; one feels that something of Chaucer's own plenty is there. And the tests to which the volume has been subjected, here and there, indicate that comparatively little material has been overlooked.

That there should be occasional omissions is inevitable, as it is also natural that certain subjects should be treated more fully than others. Perhaps the least satisfactory section is that on

“The Chronology of the Accepted Works,” which occupies but two and a half pages (pp. 70-72). It makes no reference to some of the most important treatments of the subject, and it is not even furnished with cross-references to chronological discussions elsewhere in the volume. There is no adequate consideration, under the *Legend of Good Women*, of the problems connected with the individual legends, as distinct from the Prologue—an oversight which involves a number of somewhat important omissions.¹ In the summary of the French sources (pp. 76-80), oddly enough, no mention is made of Guillaume de Lorris. Under *Roman de la Rose* (p. 79) we are referred to Jean de Meun alone; and Guillaume is not mentioned under *Romaunt of the Rose* (pp. 450-54). Nor does his name appear in the index. Occasionally (but not often) a reference of the first importance is omitted, as in the case of the bibliography of the *Envoy to Scogan* (p. 393), where no mention is made of Professor Kittredge’s article on Henry Scogan (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, I, 109-117).² A few other omissions are noted below.³

¹ It may be noted in passing that the Wife of Bath’s Prologue and Tale are also treated together, with considerable resulting confusion. The plan adopted in the case of the Man of Law’s Head Link and Tale would have simplified matters both here and in the handling of the *L. G. W.* and its Prologue.

² This article is referred to, it should be said, under *Court of Love* (p. 418); but it belongs under *Envoy to Scogan* too. In any case, there should be cross-references from *Envoy to Scogan* (p. 393) to *Court of Love* (p. 418)—since not only Kittredge’s but also Brandl’s and Lange’s articles have to do with Henry Scogan; to *Scogan unto the Lords*, etc. (p. 455); and to *Gentillesse* (p. 371).

³ P. 48: to Minor Notes on Thomas Chaucer, add *Ath.*, 1900, I, 116, 146; 1901, II, 455; pp. 54-55: to the references on the non-riming of close and open or long and short vowels, add Tatlock, *Devel. and Chronol.*, p. 9; pp. 94-8: on Lollius, add Hamilton, *Chaucer’s Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne*, pp. 1-50 (the discussion in Young, *Origin and Devel. of the Story of T. and C.*, pp. 189-195, appeared too late for Miss Hammond’s use); p. 101: on Physiologus, add Kenneth McKenzie, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xx, 380-433; p. 102: on Statius, add Hinekey, *Notes on Chaucer*, pp. 96-7; p. 273: to the reference to Ker’s *Epic and Romance* add his *Essays on Mediæval Lit.*, pp. 87-91; p. 288: on *Sir Thopas* as an imitation of the Romances, add Caroline Strong, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiii, 73-77, 102-106 (probably too late for insertion by Miss Hammond); p. 358: on Anelida and Arcite, add Ker, *Essays in Mediæval Lit.*, p. 83; p. 382, line 5: add Koch’s review, *Eng. Stud.* 37, 232-40; p. 381-82: under The Two Prologues add Skeat, *L. G. W. Done into Modern English*, (1907), pp. xiii-xiv (where it may be noted that Professor

On the larger structural side, the book is thoroughly well designed. The ground plan follows broad lines. The material is arranged under seven heads: I, the Life of Chaucer; II, The Works of Chaucer; III, The Canterbury Tales; IV, Works other than the Canterbury Tales; V, Verse and Prose Printed with the Works of Chaucer; VI, Linguistics and Versification; VII, Bibliographical. What this practically amounts to, ignoring for the moment the Bibliographical section, is a three-fold division—The Life, The Works (including the Apocrypha), The Language and Versification—with roughly three-fourths of the volume of 579 pages apportioned to the four central sections dealing with the works. This lays the stress where it properly belongs, and the main divisions thus imposed are simple and adequate.

The arrangement under these larger heads is also, for the most part, both clear and logical. Section I follows the obvious division of its subject into The Legend and The Appeal to Fact—with various appendices; Section II is concerned with the Canon, the Chronology, the Sources (classified as English, French, Italian, Latin and Anglo-Latin), and with Editions of the Collected Works. In the Sections (III-V) dealing with the works by groups, the MSS. containing the group are first listed and described; then the editions; then modernizations, imitations and translations; and finally each individual work in the group is given its own separate bibliography, under the subheads: MSS., Prints and Editions; Modernizations and Translations; Source, Analogues, etc.; Date; Authenticity (where disputed); Notes. Under these heads the references are, as a rule, carefully digested—notable examples being the treatment of the Knight's Tale (pp. 270-74); the Man of Law's Tale (pp. 277-83); the Clerk's Tale (pp. 303-09); the "Retractation" (pp. 320-322); and the Romaunt of the Rose (pp. 450-54). Without going further, it is sufficient to say that the working plan of the book, once clearly in mind, is such as greatly to facilitate its use, especially for those who are already reasonably familiar with the field.

The last remark implies, however, a qualification: and, considering the very unusual value of Miss Hammond's work and the possibility (it may be hoped) of its reaching a second edition, it seems worth while to speak of one point with some particularity. For in such a work as this the *index* has a peculiarly organic part to play. In the nature of the case it often happens that a given subject has to be treated in a more or less piecemeal

Skate adopts in his modernization of the Prologue the A-version as "in fact, the revised version and the one that was intended to be final," and states that "in accordance with this result, it [the A-version] is the one here selected for reproduction"; pp. 398-9: on Sources of *Troilus*, add Cook, *Archiv*, 119. 40-54.

fashion under a number of different heads, and it is one of the chief functions of the index to assemble these *dissecta membra*. The *Teseide*, for example, must be considered under at least six headings: *Boccaccio*, *Anelida and Arcite*, *Parlement of Foules*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, *Legend of Ariadne*, and *Knight's Tale*. One turns to *Teseide* in the index, and finds a reference to Boccaccio, p. 80. But there the sole cross-reference is to the *Knight's Tale*, and it is only when one is already aware of Chaucer's other uses of the *Teseide* material that one has any clue to the remaining references. And even so (it must be added in this case) one discovers no mention under the *Troilus* of the extremely important group of stanzas from the *Teseide* at the close of Bk. V, and the *Legend of Ariadne* is not referred to at all. Again, Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione* is twice referred to in the text (pp. 376, 389) as among the possible sources of the *Hous of Fame* and the *Parl. of Foules*; but it does not appear at all in the index, and no mention is made of it under Boccaccio (pp. 80-81). Nor does one find under *Filostrato*, either in the index or under Boccaccio (p. 80), any reference to the use of the *Filostrato* in the Prologue to the *Legend*. Rajna's note on the *Corbaccio* is mentioned on p. 299; but the *Corbaccio* is referred to neither in the index nor under Boccaccio. And the reference in the index to "translations from Boccaccio" is misleading. That is to say, the trained student, who already knows where to look for references to Boccaccio's influence on Chaucer will usually (not quite always) find them. But the index might have saved even the expert a good deal of time, while to the tyro it offers practically no help at all. In somewhat similar fashion the references in the index under Machault, Froissart, Deschamps, Jean de Meun, Gower, Scogan, etc., fail to coördinate (for the cross-references from the pages to which the index refers are not complete) the valuable material distributed, necessarily, through the book. To take another case: the *Manual* contains a number of important references to Chaucer's revision of his work. In the index, under the heading "Revision of work" only a single reference (p. 243) is given—namely, to the probable revision of the Monk's end-link. One has to be already aware that questions of revision come up (for example) in connection with the *Knight's Tale*, the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Clerk's Tale*, the Prologue to the *Legend*, the *Troilus*, in order to find, on pp. 272, 282, 303, 307, 316, 381-83, 395, etc., the references which make it possible to summarize opinions on Chaucer's revision of his work. The references are there;¹ but the index does not indicate

¹ Root's (*Jour. Eng. and Gc. Philol.*, V, 189-93) review suggesting a revision of the *Parl. of Foules* is noted (p. 387), without indication of its contents. Bilderbeck's theory of a revision of the first six *Legends* (*Chaucer's L. G. W.*, pp. 34-42) seems, however, to be nowhere mentioned.

the fact, and the cross references in the text only partially supply the lack. Again, one finds in the index no reference to the Italian journeys. It is only when one recalls that discussion of this subject has usually attached itself to the question of Chaucer's possible meeting with Petrarch, and turns in the index to Petrarch, that one finds (pp. 305-07) a discussion of the first journey. The second is referred to on p. 71, and probably elsewhere. In a word, the index fails adequately to supplement the admirably conceived working-plan of the book. The latter marks off the field clearly by vertical lines (if one may put it so); it should have been the chief affair of the index (for even the frequent cross-references in the text are not sufficient) to make the equally necessary division along horizontal lines. As it is, one does not always find it easy to get across country.²

In the Reference List, again, Miss Hammond has come so near doing an absolutely invaluable piece of work that one is constrained to lament—just because it is so good—that she should have let slip the opportunity of making it definitive. A Reference List which should be at the same time a complete *bibliography by authors*—so that one could turn to such names as Brandl, Child, Cook, Flügel, Furnivall, Kaluza, Kittredge, Koch, Kölbing, Koepfel, Manly, Mather, McCormick, Petersen, Pollard, Skeat, tenBrink, Zupitza (without naming more), and find at once under each a full and accurate list of that particular writer's contributions to Chaucerian scholarship—such a bibliography would have great practical value. But from the brief list just given one looks in vain in the Reference List for the names of Child, Cook, Kaluza, Kölbing, Manly, Mather, McCormick, Petersen and Zupitza. Professor Child, to be sure, has a place under "Students of Chaucer" (p. 521), and the rest are included (not always adequately) in the index. But they, and others as well, certainly come under the head of "names of . . . writers frequently cited in the foregoing pages," (p. 542), and they belong in the Reference List. Even under the names which do appear the data given are often incomplete. From the list (which one might assume, from the wording, to be complete) of Professor Kittredge's Chaucerian articles are omitted, for example, the important discussion of the authorship of the Romaunt

² In this general connection it may be added that articles are frequently cited without their titles. Considerations of space have doubtless had much to do with this; but in the case of important discussions too much seems to be lost. If one were looking for the use of the *Roman de la Rose* in the Wife of Bath's Prologue (p. 299), to take one instance, there is nothing to indicate that Professor Mead's article is on that subject.

of the Rose (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, I, 1-65), and the paper on Henry Scogan (*id.*, 109-117)—neither of which appears in the index; under tenBrink one fails to find, among other things, the *Studien* and the famous article in *Eng. Stud.* XVII, 1ff; and in general there is lack not only of completeness but of uniformity in the treatment accorded the work of different scholars.

It may seem to be ungracious to devote so much space to strictures on an Index and a Reference List, when the material indexed is so complete and admirable. But it is precisely because the work *is*, in other respects, so admirable, that one feels bound to ask how such results may best be made available. Miss Hammond's *Manual* is really a pioneer in its field; it is sure to serve as a standard for similar collections; and the problems of arrangement which are involved can best be threshed out by frank discussion of means and ends.

On the side of its make-up, the volume is a stately one. The type is clear, and printer's errors seem to be few.¹ One regrets that the eye is not aided in distinguishing the many references from the text by the use of the conventional italics for the titles of books and periodicals. But that is a relatively minor matter.

This notice would be incomplete if it did not again, and more emphatically, call attention to the value of two, especially, of the excursuses already referred to. The article "On the Relative Dates of the Canterbury Tales" (pp. 241-64) is stimulating and suggestive to an uncommon degree. Adequate discussion of even a few of the many questions which it raises is impossible in a review which has already exceeded its limits. But some of the

¹ A list of the errata that have been noticed follows. P. 46, 1. 30: for "the second year of Edward III" read "the second year of Henry IV;" p. 83, 1. 16 from foot: for 1191 read 1091; p. 118, 1. 16: for *Eng. Stud.* 22. 271 ff. read 22. 276; p. 313, 1. 15 from foot; for "Froissart's Cléomadés" read "Froissart and the Cléomadés;" p. 352, 11. 6-7: the article in *Anglia* 8: Anz. 1 ff. is really a review by Koch of von Düring's translation; p. 362, 1. 7 from foot: for p. 236 read col. 326; p. 368, 1. 4: for 15. 417 read 15. 415; p. 370, last line: for 15 read 151; p. 373, 1. 14 from foot: for p. 361 read col. 326; p. 373, 1. 5: the reference to 7 Anz. 203 should be under Willert, not Koch (it is given correctly at 1. 31 of the same page); p. 383, 1. 7 under Notes: the article on Agaton in *Mod. Lang. Quart.* 1:5 (1897) is by Hales and not by Toynebee (the same error should be corrected on p. 84, under Agaton, and on p. 96, last line); p. 541, 1. 6: the Ch. Society's ghost-name Karl Jung (for Young) appears also in the index, p. 569 (Dr. Young's name is correctly given on pp. 104, 399, etc.); pp. 275-6, 293: references under Date are omitted for the Miller's, Reeve's, and Nun's Priest's Tales; p. 356: a reference is wanting after Transl. (1. 20).

most interesting suggestions that have yet been made regarding the evolution of the *Canterbury Tales* are found in the pages just referred to. Miss Hammond's discussion (pp. 481-91) of Chaucer's verse, too,—especially the paragraphs (pp. 486 ff.) which emphasize the influence of Dante and Boccaccio on Chaucer's characteristic line—is of unusual value.

The ungrudging expenditure of time and pains—*il lungo studio e il grande amore*—which has gone to the making of this volume has placed students of Chaucer under a debt of gratitude which it is no common pleasure to acknowledge.

Washington University.

JOHN L. LOWES.

NOTES.

The Journal has been asked to print the following communication:

Der Stadtrat der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien hat den Beschluss gefasst, das Andenken des grössten österreichischen Dichters, Franz Grillparzers, durch die Veranstaltung einer würdigen kritischen Ausgabe seiner sämtlichen Werke zu ehren, und hat den Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Deutschen Universität in Prag, Dr. August Sauer, den bewährten Kenner von Grillparzers Leben und Werken, mit der Herstellung dieser Ausgabe betraut, die im Verlage der Buch- und Kunsthandlung Gerlach & Wiedling in Wien in 25 Bänden erscheinen wird. Sie soll neben allen abgeschlossenen dichterischen und prosaischen Arbeiten auch die Entwürfe und Fragmente, die Studien und Tagebücher, die Briefe von dem Dichter und an ihn, endlich die von ihm verfassten Aktenstücke in umfassender Weise vereinigen.

Zur Vervollständigung des in der Wiener Stadtbibliothek bereits aufgesammelten bedeutenden Handschriftenschatzes wendet sich der Unterzeichnete hiemit an alle Besitzer von Handschriften Grillparzers, insbesondere an alle Bibliotheken, Archive, Theater, Vereine, Verlagsbuchhandlungen, Autographensammlungen, etc., mit der ergebenden Bitte, dem Herausgeber alles zerstreute einschlägige Material gütigst zugänglich zu machen. In Betracht kommt alles, was sich von Grillparzers Hand erhalten hat, unter anderen die vielen Stammbuchblätter, Sprüche, Epigramme, Widmungseremplare seiner Dramen oder seiner Porträte in Privatbesitz; ferner Druckemplare seiner Werke, in welche er Verbesserungen eingetragen hat, Bücher oder Manuskripte, welche er mit Bemerkungen versehen hat; auch scheinbar wertlose Aufzeichnungen, selbst wenn sich ihr Inhalt zur Veröffentlichung nicht eignen sollte, können unter Umständen in grösserem Zusammenhang Bedeutung gewinnen; ferner alte Abschriften, die auf Grillparzers Originale zurückgehen, ältere Theatermanuskripte seiner Dramen, handschriftliche Sammlungen seiner Gedichte und Epigramme, Briefe an ihn oder über ihn und seine Werke, Dokumente über sein Leben, Dekrete, Kontrakte, etc.; auch seltene Drucke, besonders Einzeldrucke seiner Gedichte. Endlich werden auch blosser Hinweise auf erhaltene Handschriften oder versteckte Drucke erbeten.

Die Zusendung von Handschriften wird an die Direktion der Wiener Stadtbibliothek (Wien I, Rathaus) erbeten, wo für feuersichere Aufbewahrung und pünktliche Rücksendung sowie für Vergütung der Kosten Sorge getragen wird. Sollte sich die Versendung der Originale als unmöglich erweisen, so werden möglichst genaue (am besten photographische) Kopien erbeten.

Jede Förderung der Ausgabe wird in dieser dankbar verzeichnet werden.

DR. KARL LUEGER,

Bürgermeister der k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien.

NOTES.

The MILTON MEMORIAL LECTURES, read before the Royal Society of Literature (London: Frowde, 1909; New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch) were designed "to make the master himself, his genius and his writings, more thoroughly known and appreciated by the general public." Most of the chapters are too casual for the occasion. The "Note on Milton's Shorter Poems" by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, however, is hearty and sensible, and the same, except for Professor Saintsbury's vexatious style, may be said for the chapters upon "Milton and the Grand Style" and "Paradise Regained." The longest chapter in the book, and by far the worst, is Dr. Rosedale's discussion of "Milton: His Religion and Polemics, Ecclesiastical as well as Theological." It contains so much bad English, bad Latin, bad chronology, and bad reasoning as to cause regret that "this society to whom the Crown has committed the important task of watching over the cultivation of literature" (page 111) should have chosen to be thus represented upon such an occasion as the tercentenary of the birth of John Milton.

C. N. G.

NOTEWORTHY BOOKS

Alden's Introduction to Poetry.

By RAYMOND M. ALDEN, Associate Professor in Leland Stanford Junior University. xvi+371 pp. 12mo. \$1.25.

Johnson: Selections.

Edited by C. G. OSGOOD, Preceptor in Princeton University. (*English Readings*.) lx+479 pp. 16mo. 90 cts.

Witkowski's German Drama of the 19th Century.

By DR. GEORG WITKOWSKI, Professor in the University of Leipzig. *Authorized Translation from the second German Edition* by L. E. HORNING, Professor of Teutonic Philology in Victoria College, Toronto. viii+226 pp. 12mo. \$1.00.

IMPORTANT TEXTS

Grillparzer: Die Ahnfrau.

Edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary by F. W. J. HEUSER, Tutor in Columbia University, and G. H. DANTON, Acting Assistant Professor in Leland Stanford Jr. University. lix+257 pp. 16mo. 80 cts.

Grillparzer: König Ottokar.

Edited with introduction and notes by C. E. EGGERT, Assistant Professor in the University of Michigan. (*In press.*)

Goethe: Faust. Erster Teil

Edited with introduction and notes by JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor in the University of Illinois. lxi+384 pp. 16mo. \$1.12.

Hebbel: Herodes und Mariamne.

Edited with introduction and notes by EDWARD STOCKTON MEYER, Professor in Western Reserve University. xxxviii+192 pp. 16mo. 70 cts.

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