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THE PLAY SCENE IN *HAMLET*

It is one of the oddities of Shakspeare-criticism that, in the mass of exegesis and philosophizing which has grown up about 'Hamlet,' one of the most conspicuous and important scenes in the whole piece should have received comparatively little attention.* The performance of the play within the play before the assembled court is of the highest dramatic significance. Beneath the thinnest disguise of lip-civility, the opposing wills of the villain and the hero meet in a struggle of uncommon tensity, the consequences of which are of the greatest moment for them both. The scene occupies a place about midway in the third act, a position in which Shakspeare frequently set climactic action. Its importance is enhanced by its pageantry; even on the Elizabethan stage it must have been given with some elaborateness, with rich costumes and courtly ceremonial, with torches carried by the guard, and with the music of drums, trumpets and hautboys. Shakspeare can hardly have failed to consider with some care the dramatic significance of the details of the action, as well as the total effect of the scene and its relation to the rest of the play.

The whole episode is, however, full of difficulties, and the more attentively it is studied the more perplexing these are likely to appear. Discussion has hitherto concerned chiefly the "dozen or sixteen lines" which Hamlet tells the First Player he intends to set down and insert in the play—a distinctly minor question. It is

*Since this study was placed in the hands of the editor of this journal, Mr. J. Dover Wilson has written two articles, to which those who are interested in this general subject may be referred. The first of these, entitled 'The Parallel Plots in Hamlet: a reply to Dr. W. W. Greg,' appeared in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XIII, pp. 129-156 (April, 1918). In this the play-scene is briefly discussed. A more extended exposition will be found in the *Athenæum* for July, August and September, 1918, under the title 'The Play-Scene in Hamlet Restored.'

I am in accord with Mr. Wilson as to the unsoundness of Dr. Greg's theories, but to the interpretation of the play-scene set forth in the articles just mentioned I cannot agree. A discussion of this would take more space than is at my disposal here. I have thought it best, therefore, to let my own article stand just as it was written. It will be all the clearer, I hope, because it was put together purely as a piece of exposition, and not with a view to demolishing another hypothesis.

of far greater importance to inquire the dramatic purpose of the dumb-show, the reason why the King and Queen betray no sign of guilt at this representation of the crime, why the King allows the play to continue so long, why the speech of the Poisoner, preceding the King's exit from the hall, seems, in its conventionality, so little likely to have produced his collapse, why the 'Murder of Gonzago,' or the 'Mouse-Trap,' as Hamlet calls it, reproduces so coincidentally the main facts of the murder as revealed by the Ghost, if only a dozen or sixteen lines have been inserted in it, and why the court does not suspect the King of the murder, after the play is over. Such questions as these, and others connected with them, must be settled by those who would be at their ease in their interpretation of the greatest of English tragedies. For the actor and the stage director they are of the highest importance. Moreover, a misunderstanding of these matters may lead to erroneous conceptions of other scenes, and perhaps of the entire play.¹

¹ This may be illustrated, I think, by an elaborate study by Mr. W. W. Greg, 'Hamlet's Hallucination,' in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XII, pp. 393-421 (Oct., 1917). In this paper, a new interpretation of the play-scene is made to support the hypothesis that the revelations of the Ghost on the battlements of Elsinore are only a projection of Hamlet's imagination. With this theory, which on other grounds appears absolutely untenable, I am not at present concerned. Nor is my object the refutation of Mr. Greg's explanation of the play-scene, which is as little likely to carry conviction as his views about the Ghost. But his work must be given some prominence, because, by subjecting this scene to a searching scrutiny, it defines certain problems which have been only vaguely realized hitherto. For the benefit of those who desire a condensed statement of his views at this point, I subjoin the following brief outline, with particular reference to the play-scene.

Mr. Greg believes that "the current interpretation of *Hamlet* presupposes an altogether unreasonable want of dramatic capacity in the author," and that "an alternative should be found" (p. 421); that Shakspeare must have written *Hamlet* for the closet as well as for the stage, providing a subtler explanation of the Ghost for the judicious than the objective reality which would be the conception of the general public; and that it is "impossible to regard the narrative of the Ghost as a genuine revelation, but that, on the contrary, it bears internal evidence of being but a figment of Hamlet's brain." He then queries whether Shakspeare did not intend the Ghost to be an hallucination throughout. (p. 419).

But if the King at the play *does* break down upon the talk of the poisoning, says Mr. Greg, how are we to reconcile this with the assumption that the Ghost is but a phantasm of Hamlet's imagination? How could Hamlet have known about the poison if the Ghost did not tell him? Mr. Greg's answer is that the

I

THE EVENTS PRECEDING THE PLAY-SCENE

It is necessary, in the first place, to get a clear idea of the situation up to the presentation of the play before the court in Act III. This situation is, in its larger outlines, familiar to everyone, but certain details must be particularly noted, while events of greater importance in other ways may, for the purposes of the present paper, be omitted.

The opening of the play shows us Hamlet profoundly shocked and bewildered by the sudden death of his father, and by the equally sudden marriage of his mother with his father's brother Claudius. This union was, according to the views of Shakspeare's day, incestuous. Moreover, in disregard of the natural rights of Hamlet to the throne, Claudius has succeeded in getting himself proclaimed king of Denmark.² The ghost of Hamlet's father appears on the

King did *not* murder his brother by pouring poison into his ears, hence he can endure the dumb-show unmoved, and he breaks up the play because he is "convinced—not that his guilt has been discovered, but that Hamlet is a dangerous madman" (p. 406). "The immediate object of the dumb-show is to prove to a critical audience that it is Hamlet's behavior and not the King's that breaks up the court, while at the same time leaving Hamlet himself free to believe in the success of his plot" (p. 420 note).

The dumb-show and the play following are like the revelations attributed to the Ghost, like them even in detail. Hamlet was familiar with this piece "long before he commanded the production of the play at court," and its outlines thus already present in his mind "supplied the details of the Ghost's story" in Act. I (p. 416). "This simple assumption at once removes the difficulty of the coincidence, and explains the one obscure point regarding the Ghost's narrative. Our chain of evidence is complete."

So, to put the matter in a nutshell, there was no Ghost, only an hallucination, and the Ghost's long narrative in Act. I is only Hamlet's conception of the murder, influenced subconsciously by his knowledge of the play of the 'Murder of Gonzago.'—This theory represents the *ne plus ultra* of the tendency, observable in a good deal of modern criticism, to make Shakspeare's ghosts purely subjective. It appears to me superfluous to attempt a refutation here, in view of Professor E. E. Stoll's discussion, 'The Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakspeare,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XV, (New Series) June, 1907, pp. 201-233. A series of references on the treatment of the supernatural will be found in Schelling's 'Elizabethan Drama,' Vol. II, p. 509.

² Various critics are still puzzled by this matter. Quiller-Couch (*Shakspeare's Workmanship*, N. Y., 1917, p. 151) quotes the King's speech from the throne in Act I, and continues, "what he (Claudius) does not explain, by the way—and what commentators conspire with him and with Shakspeare to over-

castle walls at night, and Hamlet, informed of this, keeps watch and encounters it. The narrative of the ghost of the elder Hamlet, stripped of all its rhetoric, reveals that, while sleeping in his garden, he was murdered by his brother, who poured poison in his ears (the detail is important), that the queen was guilty of illicit relations with Claudius before the murder, and that thus cut off in the blossoms of his sin, without the rites of the Church, the Ghost is forced to dwell in the horrors of Purgatory until the faults of earth have been purged away. While laying upon Hamlet the dreadful duty of vengeance, the Ghost expressly charges that the Queen is to be left to the reproaches of her own conscience.

The effect of these revelations upon Hamlet's delicate and highly nervous organism is overwhelming. He answers Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo, who, alarmed for his safety, seek him out, with "wild and whirling words"—partly through his own intense mental excitement, and partly through an instinctive desire to keep the

look—is the small difficulty that, Hamlet's father deceased, Hamlet should *ipso facto* have inherited the throne." Greg, *loc. cit.*, p. 396, suggests that Claudius reigns by right of some "matriarchal custom, or . . . by that of the strong man on the spot." The true answer seems to be that pointed out long ago by Steevens—that the throne of Denmark was elective, although with a presumption in favor of the heir by descent, and that the King succeeded in securing enough votes for election. Hamlet's remark (Act V, Sc. II, l. 65) that the king had "popp'd in" between the election and his own hopes is the best of testimony to this. It is worth noting that according to Saxo Grammaticus—the ultimate source of the Hamlet-story save vague references—the selection of the Danish kings took place according to this fashion. The theory put forward by C. M. Lewis (*The Genesis of Hamlet*, N.Y., 1907, p. 40) that the situation is best explained by Belleforest does not appear convincing. Belleforest informs us that the characters corresponding to Claudius and the elder Hamlet were governors of a province of Denmark; that Hamlet married the king's daughter, that Claudius slew him and wedded the princess his wife, and that on the death of the king her father Claudius thus became king of Denmark. So, says Lewis, "the elder Hamlet was never king of Denmark, and Claudius reigned only by right of his wife."—But Lewis admits that "in later parts of the novel it seems that Belleforest himself has forgotten the facts, for he speaks as if the elder Hamlet had been king, and Claudius had made himself his heir by the murder" (p. 41). There is scarcely a doubt that this was Shakspeare's—and inferentially Kyd's—understanding of the matter. In Shakspeare's play, the elder Hamlet is repeatedly called "king," the wager with the elder Fortinbras does not look like the act of a prince consort, and there is no intimation that the Queen is of more distinguished birth than her husbands. There is, of course, no evidence that Shakspeare was acquainted with Belleforest.

Ghost's revelations from their knowledge. In order that nothing may interfere with his revenge, Hamlet swears them on his sword-hilt to secrecy. Then an idea strikes him, and he acts upon it suddenly—why not feign madness as a cloak for vengeance? And once more he pledges the others not to betray him, should he think it wise “to put an antic disposition on.”

The scenes at the beginning of Act II show that Hamlet is pursuing this policy. Even before his entrance upon the stage, it appears from the remarks of the king and Polonius that his behavior is giving them the most serious concern. When Hamlet himself appears, he is alternately violent and rational, obviously taking a bitter joy in bewildering the duller wits about him, and sailing as close to the wind as he may without self-betrayal. As yet he has done little or nothing to further his revenge, beyond assuming the mask of madness; and the soliloquy at the end of Act II shows him assailed with doubts of the genuineness of the spectral revelations on the battlements—the Ghost may have been the Devil, assuming his father's likeness to ensnare him to murder, and so gain his soul.

With the introduction of the strolling players, a little earlier than this soliloquy, we have been prepared for a new development in the plot. Hamlet straightway calls for an exhibition of their professional skill, and chooses a speech relating the murder of a king and the grief of his queen. He is obviously very familiar with the art and the repertory of these actors. At the end of the tale of Priam and Hecuba, the actor is himself greatly moved by the pathos of the lines. “Look,” says Polonius, “whether he has not turned his colour and has tears in his eyes. Prithee, no more.” This gives Hamlet the hint of a scheme for testing his uncle's guilt, and again he acts promptly, detaining the First Player as the rest leave the stage, and inquiring if they can play the ‘Murder of Gonzago.’ “You could, for a need, study a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines, which I would set down and insert in't, could you not?” The First Player assents, and Hamlet, left alone, breaks out into the soliloquy just referred to—bitter reproaches at his own inactivity. At the end of the soliloquy he collects himself, and once more returns to his plan for producing the ‘Murder of Gonzago.’

I'll have these players
Play something like the murder of my father
Before mine uncle; I'll observe his looks;

The Play Scene in "Hamlet"

I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench
I know my course.

Meanwhile, the king's own mind is far from at ease; at the opening of Act III we are for the first time informed from his own lips of his burden of guilt. His efforts to learn the cause of Hamlet's madness have been unavailing; and he is filled with uneasiness, not knowing what turn this madness may take.

There's something in his soul
O'er which his melancholy sits on brood,
And I do doubt the hatch and the disclose
Will be some danger.

So Claudius determines, even before the play-scene, that Hamlet shall be sent to England. His fear of the possible developments of Hamlet's insanity should be constantly borne in mind during the scenes which follow.

How far Hamlet is from being really mad appears in his conversation with Horatio, the one friend at court whom he can trust. He has told Horatio of the revelations of the Ghost, and now informs him of his device to catch the conscience of the king.

There is a play tonight before the king;
One scene of it comes near the circumstance
Which I have told thee of my father's death.

So he urges Horatio to observe the king closely, to see "if his occulted guilt do not itself unkennel in one speech." If the King does not betray himself under this test, then Hamlet's convictions in regard to the murder are morbid and erroneous.³ The "one speech" may conceivably be one self-betraying utterance by Claudius; but, in view of the emphasis which Shakspeare lays on the speech inserted in the play, it seems more likely to be Hamlet's addition to the 'Murder of Gonzago.'

This brings us to the point where closer analysis must begin, and where the main questions of the present investigation must be considered.

³ "and my imaginations are as foul as Vulcan's stithy." Note that "imagination" had not in Shakspeare always its modern significance, and that it sometimes meant a wrong idea or conceit. Cf. Schmidt: 'Shakspeare Lexicon,' Vol. I, p. 571.

II

THE DUMB-SHOW

The scene in which the play is performed before the assembled court is of far greater tensity than any which have preceded, save the nocturnal revelations of the Ghost upon the battlements. Its effects have been carefully prepared, and it is itself most artfully constructed, so as to increase in interest steadily up to the very moment when the King stops the play. To this climax each stage in the action contributes its due and well-adjusted share. Our present purpose is to examine the dramatic development up to this climax, and to endeavor to gain a clearer understanding of the details, and thereby of the whole scene.

A bit of explanation seems desirable at the outset, in order to make clear the method to be followed here. When we ask the reason why Hamlet delayed the consummation of his revenge upon his uncle, there are really two answers. The first is that without this delay there would be no play. But, in the second place, it is the duty of the dramatist to provide a plausible reason within the play for this postponement of revenge. This Shakspeare does by making Hamlet temperamentally inclined to meditate, to procrastinate, to think too precisely "on the event." Similarly, when we try to explain why the King did not betray himself at the dumb-show, which afforded a lively representation of his guilt, the first reason is that this would have spoiled the whole scene. The climax does not belong at the beginning. But the further question arises: how has Shakspeare made the presentation of the dumb-show and the King's composure plausible? It is this second type of question which will engage our attention here—how Shakspeare has motivated the actions of his characters. Only rarely has he allowed dramatic effectiveness to outweigh the strict logic of a situation, and made his characters act otherwise than in the most natural and obvious way. Close study shows that the motivation of this scene has been very carefully arranged, and that it is consistent with other parts of the play, and with the play as a whole.

The significance of the dumb-show which opens the drama of the strolling players has not hitherto, I believe, been generally realized. Certainly one searches the critics in vain for a satisfactory explanation. To us this pantomime seems rather artificial and perhaps superfluous, on first thought. But it should be remembered

that dumb-shows giving a more or less definite foretaste of the action to come were common enough in Shakspeare's day, so that the use of one here in connection with the testing of the King's guilt would not have seemed so strange to the Globe Theatre audience as it does to us. As has several times been remarked, the dumb-show in 'Hamlet' is of a less usual type, in that it gives, not "an allegorical presentment," but a close representation of the spoken drama to follow. This departure from the usual order of such "shows" is not without significance. In any case, the pantomime must have been put there with a purpose, and we ought to try to divine Shakspeare's intention. I cordially agree with Greg, who has discussed it at some length, that it "was actually designed for its present position, and was intentionally made to anticipate the representation of the spoken play. And no theory of 'Hamlet' is tolerable that does not face this fact and offer a rational explanation of it." But while Greg thinks it was intended to prove to the spectators of 'Hamlet' that Claudius did not murder his brother by pouring poison into his ears, since he could behold a representation of this unmoved,⁴ I believe that the dumb-show was inserted to show the Globe Theater audience (not the Danish court audience) that Claudius knew, before the spoken play, that Hamlet was fully informed of the circumstances of the murder. This increases greatly, as we shall see, the dramatic effectiveness of the scene.

Hautboys play. The Dumb-Show enters.

Enter a King and a Queen, very lovingly: the Queen embracing him, and he her. She kneels, and makes show of protestation unto him. He takes her up, and declines his head upon her neck: lays him down upon a bank of flowers: she, seeing him asleep, leaves him. Anon comes in a fellow, takes off his crown, kisses it, and pours poison in the King's ears, and exit. The Queen returns; finds the King dead, and makes passionate action. The Poisoner, with some two or three Mutes, comes in again, seeming to lament with her. The dead body is carried away. The Poisoner wooes the Queen with gifts; she seems loath and unwilling awhile, but in the end accepts his love.

Exeunt.

Why do not the King and Queen take offence at all this? "Is it allowable to direct," as Halliwell, following earlier conjectures, suggested, "that the King and Queen should be whispering confidentially to each other during the dumb-show, and so escape a sight of

⁴ See the outline of Greg's theories above, p. 2, note, and his article, esp. p. 401.

it?" I do not think so. To suppose that the King and Queen do not see the pantomime is begging the whole question, in the lack of any evidence of their neglect. There is some plausibility, perhaps, in arguing that they might not pay much attention to a minor part of the performance, inferior in interest to the main entertainment, just as some opera-goers of today talk through the overture. But I do not think this argument sufficient. Why, then, if they witness the pantomime, do they not resent it?

Let us begin with the Queen. It is important to observe, at the outset, that she did not at this time know that her first husband had been murdered by his brother.⁵ That is first revealed to her by Hamlet later on, in the scene in her private apartments. So the marriage of the Player Queen to the murderer of the Player King could have, in Gertrude's mind, no resemblance to her own case. In the second place, it will be observed that the dumb-show gives no indication that the Poisoner was a relative of his victim. That is first brought out during the play proper by Hamlet's comment, "This is one Lucianus, nephew to the king." Consequently the Queen could not be affected by the spectacle of a lady marrying within the forbidden limits, for the dumb-show does not reveal this. The only thing that could offend her was the suggestion of the betrothal of a queen, hard upon the death of that queen's first husband. This was not pleasant; but it was a matter in which Gertrude and Claudius had decided to brave public opinion, and there is no adequate reason for the Queen to manifest any open resentment at this point.

The case is different with the King. The moment the dumb-show is over, he realizes that Hamlet knows the whole truth. The action of the dumb-show is too like the crime which he has himself committed to leave doubt upon that score. If there were any such doubt, the drift of Hamlet's apparently mad talk during the spoken

⁵ This point is too familiar to need restatement here. See the Furness 'Variorum Shakespeare,' Vol. II, p. 265. The Ghost ascribes the elder Hamlet's death only to Claudius; Claudius never treats the Queen as guilty with him of the murder; and she never gives any indication of having participated in it. Particularly strong, too, is the evidence of the lines in the First Quarto given to the Queen in the Closet-scene.

But as I haue a soule, I sweare by heauen,
I neuer knew of this most horride murder.

(Variorum, p. 72)

play following would dispel it. And Rosencrantz and Polonius have already mentioned Hamlet's joy at the arrival of the players, his command that they shall give a play, and his desire that the King and Queen shall witness it. Polonius has said; "He beseech'd me to entreat your majesties to hear and see the matter." Claudius would be a dreamy simpleton indeed if he did not realize that the facts of the murder have been discovered. He is far from being a stupid man, and, as the play gives abundant testimony, his apprehensions have reached a high pitch of nervous tension. Moreover, Shakspeare's audience, who, with Hamlet, have listened to the Ghost's revelations, know that the King is aware that Hamlet possesses his dreadful secret. But the Danish court, with the single exception of Horatio, who has been told of the Ghost's narrative, are ignorant of the guilt of Claudius, and there is no reason why the dumb-show should enlighten them, especially as the Poisoner is not shown to be related to the poisoned Player King.

What is Claudius to do? Is he to give the whole black business away by his demeanor? Not a bit of it; he is too clever and too resourceful a villain for that. He is not, as some critics would have us believe, set to go off like a mechanical toy as soon as the events of the murder are represented before him. Any view of Claudius which does not credit him with bravery, adroitness, subtlety, and a determination to play his evil game for all it is worth, and to the bitter end, is surely mistaken. Consider his courage in the scene where Laertes, with the rabble at his heels, utters open defiance; his adroitness in his first address to the court from the throne after his brother's death; the insistence which even the Ghost lays upon the "witchcraft of his wit," and the resolution with which he turns to new crimes in the latter part of the play, to secure his crown, his ambition, and his queen. To betray agitation, to stop the play upon the evidence of the dumb-show, will be to direct suspicion against himself—suspicion of the blackest sort. It will be far wiser for him to await further developments. Dumb-shows were frequently not much like the play they preceded in *action*; it is possible that the king, as Dowden suggests,⁶ takes comfort in the thought that the action of the play to follow will be less disturbing. In any case, his best line of conduct for the present is watchful waiting and dissembling.

⁶ *Tragedy of Hamlet*, 1899, p. 116, note.

There is every reason to suppose that Hamlet knew beforehand that the dumb-show was to form a part of the performance. He was familiar with the 'Murder of Gonzago' long before the players visited Elsinore; he was well acquainted with the plot, the scenes, and the names of the characters—so much so as to be able to act as a kind of Chorus during the performance of the play. And he knew the Italian source. That he should be ignorant of the dumb-show is unthinkable. Moreover, he had especially prepared the play for the evening's performance. Had it interfered with his plans, he would surely have sacrificed it.

Greg thinks that the dumb-show was probably a surprise to Hamlet,⁷ and that it must have interfered with his plans, because "the plot has been prematurely divulged, and the King has shown no symptoms of alarm." But *has* the plot been prematurely divulged? We cannot see into Hamlet's mind, and his remark about "miching mallecho" is too vague to give a hint. We do know that after observing the moving power of words in the player's speech about Hecuba, Hamlet placed his chief reliance upon the speech to be inserted in the play—a fact which he mentions several times. But it is perfectly possible that he considered that the dumb-show would also aid his plot, since this would give two shots at Claudius, the one sudden, the other a more slowly developed emotional attack. As Dowden suggests,⁸ "Hamlet would thus have a double opportunity of catching the conscience of the King." On the other hand, it is evident that the dumb-show, in failing to produce signs of guilt in the King, really hinders Hamlet's main plan, in that it puts the King on his guard, and renders him less likely to "blench" at what was to come. Furthermore, Hamlet's

⁷ His argument at this point is very much a piece of special pleading. "[Hamlet's] comment on the [dumb-]show affords no indication that it [the show] was part of his plan. 'What means this, my lord?' asks Ophelia. 'Marry,' returns Hamlet, 'this is miching mallecho; it means mischief.' The reply is intentionally cryptic; if anything it suggests that the show was a surprise."—Does it? I cannot see the slightest reason for such a conclusion. His remark certainly affords no indication that the show was a part of his plan, but why should it? Why should Hamlet divulge his game to Ophelia, whom he has found he cannot trust, and before the whole court? We cannot, in any case, draw safe conclusions from Hamlet's "mad" speeches. But Greg goes on to argue that "if the dumb-show was unexpected on Hamlet's part, it must have been singularly unwelcome," etc. (*loc. cit.*, p. 404).

⁸ *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

choice of the 'Murder of Gonzago,' so strikingly reproducing the actual circumstances of his father's murder, and apparently fixed up in such a way as to heighten that resemblance, is unwise, since it reveals to the King that Hamlet possesses his guilty secret. A piece in which the victim was murdered by having his throat cut or his brains dashed out would have been almost as good a test of Claudius' guilt, and would have left him uncertain of Hamlet's knowledge. But it would have been less effective dramatically, and less revealing to the audience, than to have the details of the actual murder reproduced. The real question here, then, is not what Hamlet intended, but what Shakspeare intended. In some cases Shakspeare makes his characters act unwisely or even absurdly (just as human beings sometimes do), for the sake of the effectiveness of the drama. For example, there is logically little defence for Lear's casting off Cordelia on so slight a cause, and turning for comfort to Goneril and Regan. His children could not have concealed their real characters from him so many years. But his action is what makes the play. So it is not profitable to argue that Hamlet chose to have the 'Mouse-Trap' resemble the murder of his father so closely because he believed that the effectiveness of this close resemblance in testing the guilt of the king would outweigh the danger in the King's knowing that his secret was discovered; it is not possible to reject the dumb-show as a test on the ground that it was unwise; we must inquire rather why Shakspeare chose to make Hamlet act thus, how it helps the effectiveness of the scene. We may call the presentation of the dumb-show illogical folly, if we choose—though a case may be made out for it, as we have seen—but we must remember that such folly often makes the stuff of tragedy. And it is obvious that the dumb-show, however we may regard it as strategy on Hamlet's part, serves to make the scene dramatically far more intense.

The dumb-show has revealed to the King that Hamlet knows the circumstances of his father's murder. Shakspeare's audience, who have heard the Ghost's communication, now see that the King has discovered Hamlet's knowledge of the crime. The audience also know that Hamlet is going to try to entrap the king by a speech in the play to follow. It is to be a contest of two wills, and the king is on his guard. If the dumb-show were looked upon by Hamlet as a test, it has failed. Will the king "blench" at

Hamlet's main test, or will he keep his countenance, and Hamlet thus be led to conclude that he is innocent, the Ghost a devil, and the revelations on the midnight terrace false? If the audience are made to feel that Claudius has a good chance thus to escape self-betrayal, the dramatic tension is much increased. It is not absolutely necessary that they should feel this, but, like many other subtleties in Shakspeare, this increases the total effect when it is realized. Stories in which things seem to be going against the hero until his final victory are always more exciting than those with a nicer balance of probabilities. The increasing suspense of this scene may be followed in Hamlet's own agitated action and words, culminating in his uncontrollable outburst at the end, when the King finally shows his guilt.

It thus becomes evident why the dumb-show involves a departure from the usual type, in providing a literal rather than a symbolical representation of the action of the play to follow. It is hard enough to keep an audience from being confused by a play within the play which they are witnessing, but if to that were added a symbolical reproduction of the inserted play, confusion would be worse confounded. On the other hand, if the inserted play and the dumb-show are similar in action, and this action is as similar as possible to the events of the murder which it is to expose, no misunderstanding can arise.

One thing must not be overlooked at this point. The Elizabethan audience were not as familiar with the plot of 'Hamlet' as we are today, if indeed most of them knew it at all. The story had been earlier dramatized by Kyd, and some of Shakspeare's auditors may have seen the older play, but Shakspeare can hardly have assumed such acquaintance with the plot. He wrote for people who were seeing an absorbing story developing before their eyes, and who were not sure what turn events would take next. They did not know that they were assisting at the birth of one of the world's greatest tragedies. We must criticize the structure of 'Hamlet,' then, like that of any other stage piece, and not allow modern familiarity with the plot to cloud the issue.

The dramatic action following the dumb-show must now be studied in some detail. But it will be well first to look at the spoken play, or portion of a play, which follows, and consider the nature of the alterations which Hamlet may be supposed to have

made in it—and whether he made any in the dumb-show. This investigation will, I think, provide comfort for those who are disturbed at the close resemblance of the play and the dumb-show to the facts of the murder.

III

THE SPOKEN PLAY

A high literary value cannot be assigned to the 'Murder of Gonzago,' but it appears to be a fair specimen of the drama of the 'Cambises' variety, which must have fallen upon the ears of Shakspeare's audience as stilted and artificial. There is of course a good reason for the employment of this type of drama just here—the same reason as in the First Player's elocutionary effort on Hecuba; Shakspeare "had to distinguish the style of the speech from that of his own dramatic dialogue."⁹ The 'Murder of Gonzago,' while not of a sort unknown to the audience of the Globe Theater, would have seemed old-fashioned on account of its conventionality, its monotonous rhymes, and its rather turgid rhetoric. All this, with the antiquated dumb-show, set sharply against the prose of the speeches of Hamlet, Ophelia, and the King, would have increased its illusion as a *stage-play*.

There has been a great deal of discussion about the lines inserted in the play by Hamlet. Did Shakspeare mean that the audience should identify these? I think not: he lays stress on this insertion (in Hamlet's conversation with the First Player, in his instructions to the players, and in his words to Horatio before the play), in order to make the close resemblance between the play and the murder more plausible, and to focus the interest of the audience upon the spoken play. If we must identify the insertion, it seems most likely that it is the speech of Lucianus the Poisoner, beginning "Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing," because of Hamlet's exultant words to Horatio after the play is over, when his test of the King's guilt has fully succeeded.

Ham. O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound.
Didst perceive?

Hor. Very well, my lord.

Ham. Upon the talk of the poisoning?

Hor. I did very well note him.

⁹ Bradley, 'Shakespearean Tragedy,' p. 413.

This fits well with Hamlet's request before the play that Horatio shall narrowly observe the King, and see if "his occulted guilt do not itself unkennel in one speech." But I do not believe that Shakspeare felt it necessary for his audience to identify the inserted speech, since this evidence comes *after* the play. No dramatic purpose would be served by such knowledge, as far as the play-scene itself is concerned. On the other hand, the interest is heightened if the audience is kept wondering which the fatal speech is to be, and watching, like Horatio, who has not been told which speech it is, for the king's self-betrayal.¹⁰

It is not a matter of consequence, and perhaps cannot be determined, whether Hamlet's preparations also involved alteration of the action. Shakspeare twice warns the audience through the mouth of Hamlet that the action of the play is to be strikingly like that of the murder. When Hamlet is elaborating his plan, some little time later than his first avowal of intention to make use of the 'Murder of Gonzago,' and insert a speech, he muses,

I'll have these players
Play something like the murder of my father.

And still later, in his words to Horatio,

There is a play tonight before the king;
One scene of it *comes near the circumstance*
Which I have told thee of my father's death.

So no strain is imposed upon the credulity of the audience, after all this preparation, to find the *action* of the play—and of the dumb-show—so like the murder. In point of fact, playgoers never *are* disturbed by it. And unless they are gimlet-eyed critics, they will not stop to inquire where the "dozen or sixteen lines" are, or whether Hamlet modified the action, inserting, let us say, the detail

¹⁰ Greg (p. 402, note) thinks it inadmissible to regard the Poisoner's speech as the insertion, "for that speech is clearly an integral part of the play, and does not particularly point at Claudius." I should like to know how Mr. Greg knows that the Poisoner's speech is an integral part of the play. Are we to believe that Hamlet's dozen or sixteen lines would have betrayed themselves by their style? As regards its not pointing particularly at Claudius, I am equally at a loss. It does everything but call him by name. For an explanation of the rather commonplace character of the lines, in contrast to the effect they produce, see below, p. 19.

Bradley, 'Shakespearean Tragedy,' p. 133, has no doubt that the Poisoner's speech is the inserted lines.

of the poison in the ears. They know that he was superintending the performance of the play, writing in a speech, and training the actors; that the play was of his own choice, and that one part of it was to be very like the murder of the elder Hamlet. That is enough, surely, for ordinary dramatic purposes. Shakspeare has, indeed, been somewhat more careful here than is his wont; he frequently asks his audience to swallow very large coincidences for the sake of dramatic effect.

In the present instance, the coincidences are not really so great, perhaps, as they seem. They may be summed up in a sentence: a king with an apparently devoted wife is murdered, while asleep in his garden, by a relative who pours poison in his ears, and wins the love of the queen, pressing his suit with gifts.¹¹ The murderer in the play is the nephew, not the brother of the victim. Stories of a man who makes love to a female relative or betrothed of a man he has killed are not uncommon, either in history or fiction. They are frequent in Elizabethan drama of the revenge type—the ‘Spanish Tragedy,’ ‘Hoffman,’ ‘Antonio’s Revenge.’ Shakspeare had already used the motive in ‘Richard III.’ The most striking correspondence is the pouring of the poison into the ears; and this detail may be imagined, if we choose, to have been inserted at Hamlet’s command, in view of what is said of his part in choosing the play, and in giving directions for its proper production, with additions to the dialog. But I do not believe that Shakspeare meant his audience to go so far as this.

Those who are disturbed by the coincidence of Hamlet’s finding a play which contained a scene so like that of his father’s murder will do well to ponder the resemblances of action in the ‘Spanish Tragedy’ between the main plot and the play within the play. In the main plot, Horatio is betrothed to Bel-Imperia; Balthazar desires her, and employs Lorenzo to kill Horatio. Balthazar then makes love to Bel-Imperia, who kills him and commits suicide. Supply in this outline Erasto for Horatio, Soliman for Balthazar, the bashaw for Lorenzo, and Perseda for Bel-Imperia, and the plot of the play within the play is stated. Moreover, Hieronimo discloses the action of this inserted play to the murderers who are to take part, Lorenzo and Balthazar, and who are destined to suffer

¹¹ This seems to me to include all the resemblances which seem so striking to Greg.

death through it. There may be influence of the Soliman and Perseda situation, which Kyd seems to have derived from Henry Wotton's 'Courtly Controversy of Cupid's Cautels,' upon the main plot of the 'Spanish Tragedy,'¹² but in criticising the dramatic action we are not at liberty to take this into account. We must look at the story as it presents itself to the audience, not at its literary antecedents. It is equally futile, in discussing the dramatic significance of 'Hamlet,' to point to historical analogs of the poison in the ears, however interesting these may be in themselves.¹³ The historical fact may have influenced Shakspeare—or Kyd in the earlier play—in the conception of the elder Hamlet's death, and at the same time have suggested the name Gonzago, but we must not make the mistake of criticising the dramatic structure on this basis.

The avowed object of Hamlet in staging the 'Mouse-Trap' is to "catch the conscience of the King." But he has a secondary purpose, which reveals itself very clearly as the piece proceeds. He is consumed with a desire to know the extent of his mother's guilt. Was she cognizant of the murder of her husband when she married Claudius? Is she perhaps equally guilty with him? This horrid suspicion is not quieted until the scene in her closet, when Hamlet directly taxes her with the murder.

A bloody deed! almost as bad, good mother,
As kill a king, and marry with his brother.

Her response satisfies him that the accusation is groundless, and he never repeats it. But all through the play-scene his mind is tortured with this suspicion, and the Queen's behavior serves on the whole to confirm it. When the Player Queen exclaims,

In second husband let me be accurst!
None wed the second but who kill'd the first—

Gertrude, though in no wise guilty of the murder of the elder Hamlet, as we have seen,¹⁴ cowers before the attack upon women who marry a second time, and Hamlet, watching her narrowly, and probably mistaking her agitation for deeper guilt, mutters "Worm-

¹² See Boas, 'Works of Thomas Kyd,' Oxford, 1901, pp. xxiii; lvi. The view of Boas seems more plausible than that of Sarrazin, that Kyd had written an earlier piece upon the Soliman and Perseda theme.

¹³ See Dowden's note, *loc. cit.*, p. 122: "In 1538, the Duke of Urbano, married to a Gonzaga, was murdered by Luigi Gonzaga, who dropped poison into his ear," etc.

¹⁴ See above, p. 9.

wood! Wormwood!" and finally breaks out into the open challenge "Madam, how like you this play?"—Gertrude, under the eyes of the court, can only gasp, in confusion, "The lady doth protest too much, methinks." It thus seems highly probable that the play-scene, which confirmed for Hamlet the truth of the Ghost's accusation of Claudius, led to false conclusions in regard to his mother's guilt.

Meanwhile, the King is watching his chance to save the situation, to stop the play if possible. But to break it off at this point would be dangerous. The Queen is painfully agitated; may not her distress be interpreted as guilt of the accusation in the play that "none wed the second but who kill'd the first?" Such a conclusion must be avoided at all costs. The gibes at women who marry a second time are offensive, but no revelation—all the court knows of the Queen's second marriage. To stop the play on this ground would be to admit that the marriage was offensive, a subject to be handled with gloves, a disgraceful thing. Hamlet's tactless insistence upon it can be forgiven a prince suffering from mental disease, just as his indecorous jests to Ophelia are forgiven. One cannot take offence at the disordered outpourings of a lunatic.

The danger, as the King well knows, is that the play, or Hamlet himself, will reveal the true facts of the murder, in such a way that the court will understand them. But if this does not happen, and he can keep his composure, it will be better for him not to stop the play. He prepares, however, to break the piece off, should it become necessary, by a technicality. Stage-plays performed before royalty should contain nothing irritating to exalted sensibilities. It is to be presumed that this play, given under the direction of the prince, and obviously very familiar to him, will have been thus scrutinized. If, however, in consequence of Hamlet's unsettled mind, or some oversight, this has not been done, the play can be stopped. The King can invoke this solution, then, if worst comes to worst. But a better line of defence is feigned surprise at the whispers that are going about the court. His query to Hamlet, then, "Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in't?" is really intended for the ears of the court, as much as to say, "I see no offence in this play as yet, but I observe that people are exchanging glances; are you sure that there is nothing inadmissible in the lines to come?"

Both the play itself and the comments of Hamlet now take a more incisive turn. First, "your majesty, and we that have free souls, it touches us not," then the revelation that the Poisoner who gains the love of the Queen is a relative of the dead man, then the actual enactment of the poisoning-scene. The King's agitation increases; it is of a twofold nature: fear of betrayal by Hamlet's comments, and the working of his own conscience at seeing his crime reënacted. Hamlet, for his part, reaches a pitch of almost uncontrollable nervous excitement. With a bombastic tag, "Come, the croaking raven doth bellow for revenge," taken at random from old play-material,¹⁵ he hurries on the climax, which may be expected to contain a speech in the grand style. The actual speech of the Poisoner is not very terrifying. But the king, who is not a man without imagination and conscience, as his soliloquy while at prayer proves, is not quite able to control himself. He has steeled himself through the dumb-show, but now, with the whisperings of the court about him, with his knowledge that Hamlet is fully acquainted with his guilt and the details of his crime, and with his suspense lest Hamlet shall betray him, he is not strong enough to endure the emotional strain of the action of the poisoning, reproducing before his eyes an act which is continually causing him the sharpest stings of conscience. It needs no very pointed language to strike him with horror; the revolting action of the crime, coupled with the murderer's damnable faces in the darkened hall, is enough. So, "upon the talk of the poisoning," as Hamlet later tells Horatio, and just at the moment that the murder is committed on the stage, he "blenches," and Hamlet, unable longer to contain himself, leaps up and cries out,

He poisons him i' the garden for's estate. His name's Gonzago; the story is extant, and writ in choice Italian; you shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife.

¹⁵ Cf. Dowden, note, p. 123, 'Tragedy of Hamlet,' quoting a communication by Simpson (*Academy*, Dec. 19, 1874) who "shows that Hamlet rolls into one two lines of *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third*." Greg objects that there is nothing in the action of the inserted play at this point which suggests revenge. But Hamlet's words concern the style of the speech, not its matter. His interpolations all through this scene, which are, of course, half made in his rôle of madman, and much affected by his intense excitement, should not be taken too literally.

Upon these last words, as Shakspeare has carefully indicated through Ophelia's exclamation,¹⁶ the King rises. "The moment for leaving has come; Hamlet's violence is such that his revelations are not to be risked further, and the ordeal of witnessing the representation of the crime has become unendurable. So, calling for lights, the King rushes from the hall.

It will be noted that while Hamlet's wildness through the play-scene partly leads to the king's self-betrayal, it also saves the king from exposure before the court. For it is perfectly clear that the noble spectators who attended the performance of the 'Murder of Gonzago' were not informed by it of the guilt of Claudius. That was not its intention,¹⁷ and there is no evidence later on that anyone had guessed the truth. The court were looking at the play, and not, like Hamlet and Horatio, scanning the king's visage.¹⁸ On the other hand, Hamlet's interpolated comments must have been heard by everyone, and the interruption of the play was sufficiently explained for the courtiers on this ground. His outburst at the very end was hardly of a sort to be tolerated. Guildenstern tells Hamlet that the King is "marvellous distempered . . . with choler"—exceedingly angry; the Queen has said that Hamlet's actions have bewildered and astonished her, and she confronts her son with the reproach that he has "much offended" Claudius; Polonius reminds her that Hamlet's pranks "have been too broad to bear with," and Claudius finds in the play-scene his final justification for sending Hamlet away.

The terms of our estate may not endure
Hazard so near us as doth hourly grow
Out of his lunacies.

¹⁶ And as Greg has well emphasized. His comments in connection with this scene are often most suggestive; though I believe his interpretation of it, in the broader outlines, to be wholly mistaken.

¹⁷ See Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 96.

¹⁸ The call for lights at the end may mean that the action is to be imagined as taking place in a darkened hall, with the play-stage illuminated. On the general subject of lighting in Elizabethan theatres, see W. J. Lawrence, 'The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies,' Second Series, Philadelphia, 1913, pp. I ff.

IV

CONCLUSION

To summarize briefly the results of the preceding pages is difficult; dramatic analysis calls rather for extended exposition than for condensation. But, in view of the vast amount of Shakspeare criticism which every year brings forth, it may be a convenience for many readers to have the main results of the present essay reduced to their lowest terms and categorically set forth.

In order to understand the play-scene, a careful review of the action preceding is necessary. The dumb-show is inserted with a definite dramatic purpose: to make clear to Shakspeare's audience that Claudius knew before the spoken play that Hamlet had learned the true facts of the murder. This puts the King on his guard and lessens the likelihood of his betraying himself, thus heightening the dramatic tension during the performance of the spoken play by making it seem likely that Hamlet's plot may fail after all. There is every reason to conclude that Hamlet knew that the dumb-show was to be performed; but if it was intended as a test of the King's guilt, it was a failure, and came near to wrecking Hamlet's plans. The dumb-show is of a less usual type in that it offers a literal rather than a symbolical representation of the action to follow in the spoken play. Shakspeare (or Kyd in the earlier 'Hamlet') made this arrangement in the interest of clearness and vividness; to have a symbolical pantomime of the play within the main play would have been too confusing. It is not admissible to suppose that Claudius and Gertrude did not pay attention to the dumb-show, and analysis of the situation shows why neither of them manifested discomposure upon witnessing it. The 'Murder of Gonzago' is intentionally archaic and artificial in type, because it was necessary to convey the illusion of a stage-play presented before the actors in the main stage-play. Shakspeare informs us that it was especially prepared by Hamlet for the occasion; Hamlet has commanded the performance of this particular piece, trained the actors, and urged the King and Queen to be present; twice Hamlet says that the action will be strikingly like that of the murder, and several times he alludes to a speech which is to be from his pen and inserted in the play. This removes the reproach of too great coincidence between the events of the murder and the 'Mouse-Trap,' and serves to concentrate attention upon the spoken play. The exact identi-

fiction of the "dozen or sixteen lines" inserted in the 'Murder of Gonzago' is impossible, and it does not appear that Shakspeare meant the audience to identify them. If the attempt must be made, the probabilities are in favor of the speech of Lucianus the Poisoner. The play is a test of the Queen's guilt as well as of the King's; Hamlet probably gathers false conclusions from her demeanor. The King does not stop the play, because to do so would be a tacit confession of guilt. His agitation lest the words of Hamlet, who is now in possession of his secret, or the words of the play itself, should reveal to the court the true facts of the murder, together with his horror at seeing his crime literally reenacted, cause him to "blench," whereupon Hamlet breaks in with words and action so violent that the King has adequate excuse for stopping the play and leaving the hall. The court does not suspect the guilt of Claudius, for they have not been occupied, like Hamlet and Horatio, in watching his face, but they have all heard the wild outbursts of Hamlet, which are accepted as sufficient reason for stopping the performance. The King's determination to get rid of Hamlet thus gains added justification; it appears hazardous to allow him to remain longer at the court.

The analysis offered in the preceding pages is entirely in keeping with what may be called the traditional view of the play, as expressed by the best critics of the present day. The lover of 'Hamlet' is not asked to accept a new and startling hypothesis which will totally change the significance of the piece; he is invited rather to consider Shakspeare's art in the management of detail. Surely the main lines of the action are simple and definite, and have been accepted as such by generations of playgoers. Shakspeare did not obscure the story so that it has been misunderstood for three hundred years. There is every indication, however, that he labored over 'Hamlet' more than was his wont, spending loving care on the nice adjustment of the smaller issues. We have endeavored to perceive his purpose in some of these subtler questions. Such minute study, surely, should not have the effect of blunting the poignancy of the tragedy or of diminishing its imaginative appeal. On the contrary, it should leave us with a new admiration for Shakspeare's technical accomplishment, and a more sane and discriminating enjoyment of his greatest masterpiece.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE

Columbia University.

PHILOSOPHIES OF STYLE

The need of a sound theory of literature and criticism is shown by numerous attempts in recent years to state principles which may be applied in the consideration of literature, particularly contemporary literature. These attempts have revealed striking differences and a tendency toward the formation of schools of thought, so that we may look for vigorous controversy for a long time to come. In this controversy the problem of style will be important, and it seems worth while to consider a few of its aspects, with some reference to the larger problem of which it is a part.

There are many philosophies of style—at least, many persons have different views of what style means—views perhaps not always to be dignified as philosophies. Three of these may be regarded as sufficiently inclusive to represent the main possibilities.

First, there is that striking and positive essay of Herbert Spencer's boldly entitled "The Philosophy of Style." It presents an obviously scientific theory which depends immediately upon its author's evolutionary philosophy. Literature is an instrument of communication, and upon effective communication any successful life of the race depends. Now effectiveness means, primarily, that the fund of human energy is not wasted, that the means of communication shall have no more than its share of this energy. Therefore, Spencer concludes that "economy of the recipient's attention . . . is . . . the secret of effect, alike in the choice and collocation of words, in the best arrangement of clauses in a sentence, in the proper order of its principal and subordinate propositions, in the judicious use of simile, metaphor, and other figures of speech, and even in the rhythmical sequence of syllables." Why is Saxon English more forcible than Latin English? Because of early association, since "a child's vocabulary is almost wholly Saxon," which means a very strong association of words and ideas for the adult. "But in what does a strong association between a word and an idea differ from a weak one? Simply in the greater ease and rapidity of the suggestive action. It can be in nothing else. Both of two words, if they be strictly synonymous, eventually call up the

same image." And in a similar fashion, sentence structure, figures of speech, and rhythm are explained. This theory is not of much significance for the present paper, and I shall not comment upon it at length. The reader, however, may keep it in mind as a thoroughly and typically *scientific* theory, as one that would naturally appeal to the scientific temper, and one that applies in a greater or less degree to most scientific writing.

The second theory of style I cannot refer so definitely to any one writer. It is of greater literary interest, for it is distinctly a theory of literary men and has a relation to literary history. I call it the *classical* theory because of its association with the classical writers of the eighteenth century as well as with later writers of classical tendencies. This theory makes style the dress of thought, and, like the theory of Spencer, it distinguishes sharply between form and content, between style and matter. It differs from the theory of Spencer in that adornment as well as usefulness (if that term may roughly correspond to economy) is a principle.

Pope's famous lines are as good a classical interpretation of style as any we may find:

True expression, like th' unchanging sun,
Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon,
It gilds all objects but it alters none.
Expression is the dress of thought, and still
Appears more decent, as more suitable.

At first glance one might suppose that Spencer himself would accept these lines, but the word *gilds* shows the gap between the two views, even though "it alters none" indicates a strong similarity. Pope is thinking of ornamentation. And Pope's view is the conventional one of the eighteenth century. To Dryden it seems that style—at times, at least—meant little more than a trick which conceals its own artfulness. In his preface to *Religio Laici*, after a discussion of the difference between the style suitable for instruction and that appropriate for passion, he remarks that "a man is to be cheated into passion, but reasoned into truth." More pertinent is a sentence in a letter to the Earl of Abingdon printed with *Eleonora*, which refers to the magnificence of words and the force of figures as adorning "the sublimity of thought."

The distinction is made just as clearly by the theorists who were not poets—Hugh Blair, George Campbell, and Lord Kames.¹ In his *Elements of Criticism*² Lord Kames remarks:

Language possesseth a beauty superior greatly in degree, of which we are eminently sensible when a thought is communicated with perspicuity and sprightliness. The beauty of language, arising from its power of expressing thought, is apt to be confounded with the beauty of the thought itself: the beauty of thought, transferred to the expression, makes it appear more beautiful. But these beauties, if we wish to think accurately, must be distinguished from each other. They are in reality so distinct that we sometimes are conscious of the highest pleasure language can afford, when the subject expressed is disagreeable: a thing that is loathsome, or a scene of horror to make one's hair stand on end, may be described so lively, as that the disagreeableness of the subject shall not even obscure the agreeableness of the description. . . . I shall only at present observe that this beauty is the beauty of means fitted to an end, that of communicating thought; and hence it evidently appears, that of several expressions all conveying the same thought, the most beautiful, in the sense now mentioned, is that which in the most perfect manner answers its end.

At first glance, again, these final words might seem to indicate a philosophy of style much like that of Spencer, but there is a subtle and important distinction. Kames says that the beauty of style of which he is speaking represents adaptation to an end, the communication of thought, and if we are to judge from the preceding sentences, the skillful presentation of insignificant or unpleasing matter may be in itself a great beauty. But if this is true, the beauty is not in useful service, it is in the gymnastics of the writer, and we have to recognize that style has its own ornamental beauty. Spencer is consistent. Kames perhaps has a better grasp of the facts of literature, but he is not consistent in giving style an independent value and yet insisting that this value is adaptation to communication. Perhaps a homely illustration will make the point clearer. Suppose a store has an automobile truck for delivering goods. It is particularly well adapted for the quick delivery of the goods which the firm handles, and no matter how insignificant the

¹ Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*; George Campbell, *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Book III, ch. I, Sect. iii.

² Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (Edinburgh, 1785), vol. II, pp. 4 f. The following from Chesterfield's *Letters* (edited by Bradshaw, vol. I, p. 276) is also pertinent: "Style is the dress of thoughts; and let them be ever so just, if your style is homely, coarse, and vulgar, they will appear to as much disadvantage, and be as ill received as your person, though ever so well proportioned, would if dressed in rags, dirt, and tatters."

goods which are delivered, there may be a sense of pleasure in the graceful and expeditious handling. So, Kames would say, is one pleased at the efficient communication of insignificant matter. But let us press the matter further. Suppose the delivery truck had been made expressly to deliver one particular load to you, and that load was something you did not want. In that case I am quite sure that the pleasure in the efficiency of the delivery would not be present. Now this is precisely true of style. The style of a particular piece of prose is the style of that prose and no other, and so it must be judged. If the unpleasant matter is disregarded because the style is agreeable, then Kames has failed to give what is the true explanation. Spencer would not accept Kames's explanation. There is no real economy if the matter communicated is not worth communicating.

It may occur to the reader that there is another aspect of the analogy. The delivery truck may please because it may indicate by the manner in which it carries worthless objects that it may be used for really important service, and the style of a worthless essay may seem worthy of a better content. There is a bit of truth in this, but a style which may serve as a carry-all for the various articles in a department store of ideas, images, and emotions is not the *style* that Kames or any one else is thinking about.

I have already indicated that Spencer's theory and the classical theory agree in distinguishing sharply between style and matter. The romanticists on the other hand, deny the distinction between matter and form which the classicists were so careful to assert. Wordsworth, Coleridge,³ and Carlyle made statements which show the newer attitude. Wordsworth, we are told, called style "the incarnation of thought,"⁴ a statement which, according to DeQuincey, was the weightiest thing he had ever heard about style. And among the wise sayings of Teufelsdröckh is this:⁵ "Language is called the Garment of Thought; however, it should rather be, Language is the Flesh-Garment, the Body, of Thought." But it was DeQuincey who crystallized the tendency into a clear theoretical expression in his essay on "Style." In discussing the tendency

³ See *Biographia Literaria*, ch. xviii.

⁴ See DeQuincey's *Works* (London, 1897), vol. X, pp. 229 f.

⁵ *Sartor Resartus*, Book I, ch. xi.

of his countrymen to underrate the accomplishment of style, he remarks:⁶

In no country upon earth, were it possible to carry such a maxim into practical effect, is it a more determinate tendency of the national mind to value the *matter* of a book, not only as paramount to the *manner*, but even as distinct from it, and as capable of a separate insulation. What first gave a shock to such a tendency, must have been the unwilling and mysterious sense that, in some cases, the matter and manner were so inextricably interwoven, as not to admit of this coarse bisection. The one was embedded, entangled, and inter-fused through the other in a way which bade defiance to such gross mechanical separations.

Far along in this same essay occurs a passage which takes us to the very heart of the matter. After speaking of a social condition in which restless enthusiasm is combined with excessive leisure and scarcity of books, DeQuincey continues:⁷

Men living permanently under such influences must of mere necessity resort to that order of intellectual pursuits which requires little aid *ab extra*; that order, in fact, which philosophically is called 'subjective,' as drawing much from our own proper selves or little (if anything) from extraneous objects. . . . Such pursuits are peculiarly favorable to the culture of style. In fact, they force that culture. A man who has absolute facts to communicate from some branch of study, external to himself, as physiology, suppose, or anatomy, or astronomy, is careless of style; or at least he may be so, because he is independent of style, for what he has to communicate neither readily admits, nor much needs, any graces in the mode of communication: the matter transcends and oppresses the manner. The matter tells without any manner at all. But he who has to treat a vague question, such as Cicero calls a *quaestio infinita*, when everything has to be finished⁸ out of his own peculiar feelings, or his own way of viewing things, (in contradistinction to a *quaestio finita*, where determinate data from without already furnish the main materials), soon finds that the manner of treating it not only transcends the matter, but very often and in a very great proportion, is the matter.

This statement from DeQuincey's famous essay, the reader will note, makes style a peculiarity of a particular class of literature, and in such literature he identifies manner with matter. It should be noted perhaps that more than once previously style had been discussed in terms not so different from those of DeQuincey.

⁶ *Works*, vol. X, pp. 137 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 226. ³⁸

⁸ Apparently this word should be "furnished" to correspond with the "furnish" in the same sentence, but all the editions I have been able to examine have "finished."

Buffon's saying, "Le style est l'homme même,"⁹ implies almost as much. Ben Jonson had anticipated this statement with his "The style is the image of the mind,"¹⁰ and perhaps both Jonson and Buffon had received a hint from Erasmus's "Qualis homo, talis oratio."¹¹ Truly interpreted, all these statements mean much what DeQuincey means. Yet none of these writers—not even DeQuincey—saw the possible implications of their statements.

It has already become evident, I suppose, that different views of style depend upon different views of what literature is. As already said, to Spencer literature is primarily *communication*, and as such an important factor in man's social life. It is communication, of course, not merely of facts but also of emotions which we associate with art. For the classicist, literature is *representation*. This means communication, of course, but the emphasis here is upon the relation between author and work, upon the truth and appropriateness of the representation of the author's conception, while in *communication* the emphasis is rather upon the relation between medium and reader. For the romanticist, literature is *creation*, the emphasis being ultimately upon the work itself as a fact—whether for the mind of the writer or of the reader. Inasmuch as *communication* does not apply to literature as an art primarily, and since its fundamental assumption of the separation of matter and form is also found in *representation*, our discussion may be limited to the romantic and the classical theories of literature.

For the classicist the *matter* of literature is a very definite thing which literature must represent as truly and beautifully as it can. Literature is, in Pope's words,

Nature to advantage drest,
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well exprest.¹²

The matter, if Pope says truly, is something often thought—the universal, in other words—and there is no meaning to *content* beyond this. The classicist posits a common world of thought, just

⁹ The *Discours sur le Style* was delivered in 1753.

¹⁰ *Discoveries, Oratio imago animi*.

¹¹ For classical anticipations, see Roberts, *Demetrius on Style*, p. 174 and note on page 250.

¹² *Essay on Criticism*, vv. 297 f. Pope is of course talking about "wit," but I do not think the substitution of "literature" is arbitrary. "With the neo-classicists [wit] was always regarded as of the essence of poetic art." Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 259.

as the scientist posits a common world of matter. This world of thought can be translated into language in a variety of ways. If the language is striking and brilliant, the result is literature.

For the romanticist, on the other hand, each individual has his own world of thought, and it is the business of the writer to translate this individual world into language. But the mere bringing together of the universal truths, or even of definite images associated with the universal facts of experience, is inadequate for this purpose. The writer, according to this view, has a task somewhat like that of the symbolist, that of expressing that for which no words exist. If we may say that the word which the writer uses creates a perfectly clear picture around which there is a region of shadows and mysteries where vague associations and emotions lurk, then it is the clear picture which the classicist uses, but it is the twilight zone which is dear to the romanticist. The reason is of course that the material of the romanticist is subjective. When the romanticist has written, the content is different with each change of word or phrase, each modification of rhythm caused by a rearrangement of the parts of a sentence. He cannot distinguish between style and thought. So far, however, the romantic theory seems to make literature representative as much as does the classical theory, the difference being merely in the material represented. The justification for the word "creation" is possible only if the *process of composition* is really creative.¹³ But this is implied in the theory that style is the incarnation of thought.

The problem may become clearer as stated in the language of recent criticism, which shows still a sympathy for different theories of style according as its tendencies are classical or romantic. The distinction is shown in an interesting way in the work of two recent Professors of Poetry in Oxford University. Courthope's critical opinions were derived largely from the classical sources which inspired the writers of the eighteenth century, and the attitude is very similar. In his lectures on "Poetical Conception" and "Poetical Expression"¹⁴ this attitude is made manifest again and again, as two short quotations will make clear.

¹³ The term "creative literature" is often used to distinguish poems, novels, dramas, etc., from critical writing. The distinction is valuable, but has no relation to our problem.

¹⁴ *Life in Poetry: Law in Taste*, pp. 37 ff.

We conclude, then, with Horace that the secret of life in poetry lies in the power to give individual form to universal ideas of nature adapted for expression in any of the recognized classes of metrical composition. . . .

What is required of the poet above all things is *right conception*—the *res lecta potenter* of Horace—a happy choice of subject matter which shall at once assimilate readily with the poet's genius, and shall, in Shakespeare's phrase, "show the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." The poet . . . must realize the nature of the subject matter which, in his generation, most needs expression, and know whether it requires to be expressed in the epic, dramatic, lyric, or satiric form. When the subject has been rightly conceived, then, as Horace says, it will instinctively clothe itself in the right form of expression, according to the laws of art.

Here we have, stated in the clearest terms, the classical separation of form and matter, in spite of the slight concession in the word "instinctively" of the last sentence.

It is impossible to do full justice to Courthope's position in these brief quotations from the two lectures, and the same statement may be made in regard to the quotation from Bradley which I am going to give. In his inaugural lecture on "Poetry for Poetry's Sake"¹⁵ the question of the relation of poetic form and poetic matter is analyzed very thoroughly from a romantic point of view. The following extract sums up his doctrine:

Pure poetry is not the decoration of a preconceived and clearly defined matter: it springs from the creative impulse of a vague imaginative mass pressing for development and definition. If a poet already knew exactly what he meant to say, why should he write the poem? The poem would in fact already be written. For only its completion can reveal, even to him, exactly what he wanted. When he began and while he was at work, he did not possess his meaning; it possessed him. It was not a fully formed soul asking for a body; it was an inchoate soul in the inchoate body of perhaps two or three vague ideas and a few scattered phrases. The growing of this body into its full stature and perfect shape was the same thing as the gradual self-definition of the meaning. And this is the reason why such poems strike us as creations, not manufactures, and have the magical effect which mere definition cannot produce. This is also the reason why, if we insist on asking the meaning of such a poem, we can only be answered, "It means itself."

How far this is from Courthope's conception of poetry as the union of the universal and external with the individual is plain.¹⁶ Indeed, if we are to believe Bradley, it would be impossible for the poet to follow Courthope's advice to choose a subject-matter of

¹⁵ *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 3 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Courthope, pp. 44 f.

universal interest, since he himself does not know, in advance, what his subject-matter is.

In spite of the fact that Bradley is here speaking of poetry and DeQuincey in the extracts already given is thinking primarily of prose, their remarks apply to both types, and consequently there is no confusion resulting from the use now of poetry and again of prose as the object of consideration. How certainly this is true will appear from the following sentences of a critic, Walter Raleigh, who also takes the romantic view of style:¹⁷

Matter and form are not so inseparable as the popular philosophy would have them; indeed, the very antithesis between them is a cardinal instance of how language reacts on thought, modifying and fixing a cloudy truth. The idea pursues form not only that it may be known to others, but that it may know itself, and the body in which it becomes incarnate is not to be distinguished from the informing soul. It is recorded of a famous Latin historian how he declared that he would have made Pompey win the battle of Pharsalia had the effective turn of the sentence required it. He may stand for the true type of the literary artist. The business of letters, howsoever simple to those who think truth-telling a gift of nature, is in reality two-fold, to find words for a meaning and to find a meaning for words.

It should be noted that the last sentence in the above passage does not state the truth precisely, since, as Bradley notes, the meaning is not really *there* until the words are there. With this slight correction, the two passages mean the same thing. The problem of prose style is one with that of poetic style.

So far, I have been trying to state what the main philosophies of style are and to indicate their relation to criticism. I have not tried to show that the classical or romantic, or even the Spencerian view of style is wrong, though I suppose it is evident that no one theory seems to explain all the facts. Now it may be worth while to see if it is possible to throw any light on the value of these theories. To do so, let us see what the distinction between literature as representation and literature as creation means when applied to criticism: that is, what kind of criticism is likely to result as one or the other theory is accepted. This pragmatic test is, of course, very important.¹⁸

¹⁷ W. Raleigh, *Style*, p. 62.

¹⁸ Perhaps a note should be added at this point in regard to the light that may be gained from studies in aesthetics in so far as they deal with the general problem of art. Without pretending to have made a thorough investigation of all the literature, I may say that aesthetic theory, in so far as it is based on

As a starting point I shall take the opposition, long ago pointed out,¹⁹ between the imitative theory of poetry advanced by Aristotle and the theory of creation assigned to Bacon. According to Aristotle, poetry is imitation—imitation of something outside the mind of the author—and it must meet the test of truth, not necessarily literal fidelity to the facts of the external world, but fidelity to the “universal” which constitutes a higher kind of reality. Bacon, on the other hand, regarded poetry as creation or fantasy, a use of the imagination in the construction, out of images furnished by the real world, of that which satisfies one’s desires as the real world cannot do. The distinction of definition thus stated would not be accepted by the advocates of classical and romantic theories today. Aristotle does not sufficiently provide for the element added by the author to satisfy the modern classicist, and Bacon divorces the world of imagination from the world of reality somewhat too crudely for the modern romanticist, who would deny that the world of art exists primarily to satisfy the desires thwarted in the world of reality.

And yet we are getting at an important implication which I wish to bring out. According to the theory of representation, literature is set over against life, and yet is most intimately related to it. Literature points out the real significance of life, it suggests

psychology, tends to emphasize art as representing purely the aesthetic life, and the aesthetic life, in turn, as distinct from the rest of life. Consequently, there has been a movement toward the identification of matter and form. Beginning with the subjective and individual, aesthetics carries through its explanation in subjective terms. See Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic*, pp. 441 ff.; Croce’s *Aesthetic* (Douglas Ainslee’s translation), pp. 26 f. The study of the origins of art on the other hand, seems to favor the distinction between matter and form. It finds that art is a social fact, that artistic activity, as Hirn and Grosse and others have shown, has sprung, almost universally, from practical activity, and that the art of civilized people has utilitarian ends. It does not see art as primarily a phenomenon in the life of an individual, the end of which is self-realization; rather, it sees art as a social phenomenon which has a social end. The picture, the poem, the temple of early peoples, and even of uncivilized tribes of our own time, were fundamentally useful, and even among the most highly civilized peoples they are not divorced from usefulness. Only music furnishes a possible exception. See Hirn, *Origins of Art*, p. 306; Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art*, p. 406.

¹⁹ David Masson, *Essays Biographical and Critical* (Cambridge, 1856), p. 411. See also Bacon’s *The Advancement of Learning*, Book II, iv. 2, and various passages in Aristotle’s *Poetics*.

the goal of life, it criticizes life, it "shows the very age and body of the time his form and pressure," it expresses life. In testing literature, consequently, the tests are almost exactly those which are applied to life. The work is a kind of index to the life of an author, or community, or century. An underlying philosophy of life is looked for, and to this philosophy of life are applied the tests which have been learned by contact with the real world, and in the end the work of art is judged good or bad accordingly. In the word of Aristotle, it must have "truth." By the theory of creation (in the modern, not the Baconian sense), literature is life, is one of the many embodiments of the will to live, and Bacon himself seems to have meant something of the sort. The author is not trying, fundamentally, to give expression to a particular way of looking at life; he is merely driven by an instinct toward the realization of his own nature. The writer starts with a need which may be satisfied only by artistic creation, and the process by which the need is satisfied is life, not a substitute for life, nor a representation of life, nor even an interpretation of life. In discussing the larger question of all art Lord Haldane, in *The Pathway to Reality (Stage the Second)*,²⁰ presents, in philosophical language, the theory of creation: "Beauty and the objective world of art constitute a real by themselves, a real complete in itself, an aspect of the world as it seems which is real, as every other aspect is real, because it is an aspect in which the mind presents itself to itself, is for itself, a phase which cannot be explained away or melted down because it is one among the ultimate forms of reality." The author, endeavoring later to make a division of his completed product into matter and form, sometimes says that he is merely a spectator of his own activity. But as a matter of fact he is no more and no less a spectator of the process than is one who talks a spectator or auditor of his speech process. Both the one and the other, to a very considerable extent, know what they meant to say only after they have said it.²¹ Consequently, since literature is merely a distinct phase of life, the tests which are to be applied to it must be unique—that is, they must be tests applicable to this particular form of life, and not tests borrowed from some other form or phase of life.

²⁰ P. 182.

²¹ Joubert's statement, "We only know just what we meant to say after we have said it," is quoted by Huey, *The Psychology of Reading*, p. 132.

So this opposition between two definitions of literature leads to another opposition—the opposition between objective and formal criticism on the one hand and subjective and personal criticism on the other. The one, of course, naturally applies the moral test, since the supreme test of conduct is moral. The questions asked are: Is the given work of art true? Does it give moral uplift? Does it give one a broader and more intimate outlook on life? Is the philosophy of life sane and wholesome? Is the line of conduct suggested one that will meet the test of use? The question “Is the work beautiful?” may also be asked, but the answer depends chiefly on the answers to the questions which precede.

The subjective and personal—that is, the impressionistic critic asks to what division of human life the work of literature belongs, and himself gives the answer that it is a work of art and appeals to the aesthetic side of man’s nature. Consequently, he says, the only appeal possible is to the aesthetic judgment. Not “Is the work true?” but “Does it produce the aesthetic thrill?”²² To quote again from Lord Haldane: “In the concrete fact of art, we can never value a poem merely for its cadence, or only for its meaning. It is an end in itself, and is to be valued for its own sake, and not for that of some end or standard beyond . . . Art can never be explained in terms of anything else, for that would mean that as a form of reality it was derivative only, and not self-subsisting.” If the critic who is working upon this assumption is a hedonist and

²² Perhaps I am simplifying too much in resolving the problem of the impressionistic and aesthetic critic into the one question. Professor Spingarn, whose recent book entitled *Creative Criticism* contains a radical statement of the aesthetic (and romantic) view, gives the following as the “questions that modern critics have been taught to ask when face to face with the work of a poet”: “What has the poet tried to do, and how has he fulfilled his intention? What is he striving to express, and how has he expressed it? What impression does his work make on me, and how can I best express that impression?” In order to answer these questions the critic must become one with the author—that is, must himself be a creator; otherwise he cannot know whether the author has succeeded or failed. So far as I can see the appeal is to the *feeling* of beauty for critic as well as for author. In any case Professor Spingarn rejects absolutely any judgment not aesthetic.

What this position means for style is shown by the following sentence: “But the theory of styles has no longer a real place in modern thought; we have learned that it is no less impossible to study style as separate from the work of art than to study the comic as separate from the work of the comic artist.” (*Creative Criticism*, p. 31).

nothing more, he is satisfied with the momentary pleasure. But he may withhold judgment in order to learn whether or not the thrill of the particular work criticized is a permanent possibility for himself or for others, and by the observation of signs may be able to form tentative judgments without the direct appeal to aesthetic feeling. Nevertheless, such judgments must yield in the end to the immediate judgment of aesthetic feeling.²³

To the ordinary person, no one view is likely to seem wholly true or wholly false. He does not wish to surrender either impressionistic or objective criticism. He believes there is truth and value in both romanticism and classicism. And he is likely to find truth also in each interpretation of literature.

Professor Woodberry, in his brilliant essay on "Aesthetic Criticism"²⁴ has shown that each person who approaches and appreciates a work of art is himself a creator, so that a *Paradise Lost* may mean one thing in the century in which it came into existence and another in the twentieth century, may mean one thing to one individual and something else to another individual in either the seventeenth or twentieth century. And yet most people will feel that *communication* is an important element in all literature. The poem or essay which is for the author alone is almost inconceivable. It is true that numberless poems and essays are never read by anyone except the writer, and that numberless poems and essays are not written with the expectation that anyone will ever see them. Yet an element in the psychology of composition is the feeling of

²³ Remy de Gourmont's very stimulating book, *Le Problème du Style*, insists on the aesthetic element in literature in contradistinction to the moral, "L'art est incompatible avec une préoccupation morale ou religieuse; la beauté ne porte ni à la piété, ni à la contrition, et la gloire de Dieu éclate principalement en des ouvrages de la mentalité la plus humble et de la rhétorique la plus médiocre." (p. 48). At another place the same writer remarks that one who feels the literary beauty of a sermon of Bossuet will not be touched religiously and one who weeps for the death of Ophelia does not have the aesthetic sense. Beside these statements should be placed the following: "C'est peut-être une erreur de vouloir distinguer la forme et la matière" (p. 152). The thinker who, like Lord Haldane and Gourmont, makes a sharp distinction between art and the rest of life naturally will find it difficult to distinguish matter from form. However, it should be added that for practical purposes Gourmont does make the distinction, insisting that style should be supported by vigorous thought.

Professor Spingarn says in reference to the new criticism: "We have done with all moral judgment of literature."

²⁴ *Two Phases of Criticism*, pp. 39 ff.

communion, of making others—perhaps imaginary persons—come in contact with the writer's personality, admire, and sympathize. As a psychological fact for the writer, there is present—almost always, I feel safe in saying—the reader, real or imaginary. No doubt this is not quite what Spencer meant by communication, but even when definite facts and opinions are to be communicated, there is also present, if there is *literature*, the emotional element suggested by the word *communion*. It is entirely true that literature is a *social fact*, and the presence of practical purposes—of bringing about reforms or giving information, as in Ruskin or Arnold or Parkman—does not make the work the less a work of art, or literature, at least not necessarily so.

But *representation*, with its emphasis upon truth and a noble subject-matter, also appeals to the average person as a fact of literature. The historian who tells the story of a nation, the novelist who reveals the underlying motives which determine the relations between men and women, the poet who expresses the ideals of an age or nation, if they are artists are representing or expressing. As I have previously stated, the emphasis is here on the relation between the work of art and the original. The representation must be true and the thing represented must be worthy. Can there be any question that there is at least a practical distinction between the content—the events of a nation's history, or the actions and feelings of men and women—and the form—the words with their proper arrangement, presenting plainly or with a flourish, the *matter*? What else do we mean when we speak of the *plain style* and the *ornate style*?

An extremely able discussion of the two aspects of literature, *expression* (which resembles what I have called *representation*)²⁵

²⁵ Expression, I suppose, implies a more specific reference to personal feelings than does representation. The word "representation" I have used in a popular rather than a technical sense; and I have somewhat avoided the term "expression" because of a possible confusion with the "expressionist theory" of aesthetics. When Pope used the word, he was thinking of language as a medium of communication. He thought that something definite existed prior to the "expression." But for modern aesthetics, "expression" is something else. Mr. E. F. Carritt, interpreting Croce's theory of beauty as expression (*The Theory of Beauty*, p. 186), says: "What is it that we express (or intuit) before we have expressed (or intuited) it? The simplest answer is that we cannot tell, it is only by expression (or intuition) that it becomes knowable." Expression (and therefore art) does not, according to Croce, imply communication at all.

and *communication* was made by Professor Fred N. Scott in an article entitled "The Most Fundamental Differentia of Poetry and Prose," which appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* as long ago as 1904. Art is there defined as "the means by which an individual expresses his thoughts, feelings, and experiences (that is, himself) and communicates them to his fellowmen." The impulse to express and the impulse to communicate are coincident, but, according to Professor Scott, the product is different as one or the other predominates. Naturally in poetry the impulse to expression predominates and in prose the impulse to communication. On this helpful distinction I would make two remarks: First, it distinguishes between different kinds of poetry and different kinds of prose as well as between poetry and prose. Secondly, as I have previously indicated, the impulse to communicate is an essential element in *expression*.

Now the prose in which the impulse to express predominates is of course that which has most of poetical quality—that is, it is the prose which is full of personal feeling and a permeating sense of beauty. And it is in such prose that style is of greatest importance, for as the impulse to communicate becomes less important (we are accepting, for the moment, as true the distinction between communication and expression), the style becomes more important. Yet style is supposed to refer particularly to the medium of *communication*. If communication and expression are clearly distinguishable, how can this fact be explained?

It is the impossibility of making sharp distinctions between expression and communication and between form and content in poetry and literary prose alike that justifies the *creative* theory. Perhaps the difficulty in distinctions can be brought home by a consideration of the relation of language and thought. Naturally, of course, we think of language in relation to form and of thought in relation to content. But the matter is not so simple. Raleigh,

"The aesthetic fact is altogether completed in the expressive elaboration of the impressions" (Croce's *Aesthetics*, translated by Douglas Ainslee, p. 82). I am not prepared to accept this interpretation of "expression" as equivalent to what I mean by "creation" largely because I believe that communication—at least as a feeling of sympathetic communion in the mind of the writer—is a real element in the "creation" of literature. In Professor Scott's use of the word "expression" communication is of course not implied, but I do not understand that he identifies the aesthetic fact with expression.

in the passage already cited, has called attention to the fact that language reacts on thought—a fact previously pointed out by DeQuincey in his essay on style. The reaction is certainly very real. Sometimes, indeed, the thought seems to derive from the language. John Drinkwater says that Swinburne wrote poetry “of unmistakable beauty and integrity, that . . . was created out of the life of language itself, words growing, as it were, into a dual being of vision and form.” From the point of view of the literary artist, words are material crying out for form. Poe tells us how “The Raven” developed from the word “nevermore,” the story being a “pretext” for its continuous use. Lafcadio Hearn writes that poems or sentences which he had composed during sleep containing words “which never existed in any language” were “really very fine.” If such poems or sentences had *meaning*, as of course they did for Hearn, then one cannot say that the words represent the meaning; they simply *are* the meaning. These are of course extreme cases. But it is not unusual for thought and language—that is, the ultimate and perfect language—to come into existence at the same time; and it is of course a commonplace that what seems to be a defect of language turns out to be a defect of thought as well. The thought is transformed as it becomes literature.

It is often said that the material of poetry and of some prose is emotion, for which language is made the vehicle of communication. But is it, in fact, the author's intention to transfer crude emotion, to stimulate in the mind of the reader the feeling which he himself has? The author feels oppressed by a sense of the worthlessness of existence, or the futility of striving, and he desires that we should know it; or he loves a pretty girl, and wants to arouse a corresponding feeling in the mind of the loved one. No doubt these desires are present in the mind of the writer; but in so far as he is an *artist* the ultimate feeling to be aroused is not love, or sorrow, or a sense of the futility of all things, but a delight in something beautiful, the aesthetic emotion. Wordsworth says that poetry takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity. Now this surely does not mean that the *idea* of emotion arises in consciousness, that one recollects that he had such and such an emotion. He must mean that the emotion itself reappears—reappears in tranquillity! Is there not a contradiction in terms? And what are we to think of the “madness” that seizes the poet? Is this

the "emotion recollected in tranquillity?" In a sense, perhaps, yes; but this emotion has been transformed under the influence of another emotion, that of the creator of the object of aesthetic interest.²⁶ If the emotion of love or hate or despair were uppermost, the tendency would be to quite another kind of action than writing. What I wish to say is, that the emotion becomes the material for an activity beyond itself, and the emotion which reappears in tranquillity—if the description is to be accepted—is in truth another emotion.

From the point of view of the *creative* theory, literature is a distinct phase of human activity, just as the other arts are, yet the material entering into this phase of life is precisely human life, thoughts, language, emotions, images, and so on—emotions being probably of greatest importance. Moreover, a fine aesthetic product can be built only from the finest materials—that is, from the most intense and noblest emotions, which are of course subject to criticism other than aesthetic. And yet it is not the emotion *as such* that we feel; it is the emotion transformed. Normal emotion tends toward appropriate action. When the idea of appropriate action is removed, the emotion is often directed toward aesthetic accomplishment. For this reason art depends upon contemplation. But as the emotion becomes an element in art it becomes something different in character.

This modification of the emotions is a difficult fact to explain, the difficulty being often mentioned in connection with tragedy. In great tragedy the emotions ostensibly aroused are the most painful; yet the final effect is a lofty pleasure, and, often, a very unalloyed pleasure. But the problem is precisely the same with the pleasurable emotions. They do not come to the reader as they are *in themselves*, or, if they do, the effect is not artistic—at least, not aesthetic. In fact, I think all will agree from experience that if the emotion *per se*, whether painful or pleasurable, is allowed to dominate the reader (as it may in reading fiction, for instance), the effect is not aesthetic.

It is a commonplace that the emotional element of great literature resides largely in the style. In making this statement one is ordinarily thinking of the reader, but it is equally true for the

²⁶ Wordsworth himself, in the passage to which I have referred, recognizes that the emotion is modified into something "kindred."

writer. The emotion was not something which existed beforehand; it comes into being in that process of creation in which style is so important. Style is mysterious, then, because it is life. An anonymous reviewer of one of Arthur Symons's books, writing in the *Athenaeum* in 1905, expressed this truth so eloquently that I cannot resist the temptation to quote:

In spite of all that has been written about style, it remains a mystery that defies exact analysis. When we have eliminated all the characteristics due to artifice, the verbal tricks and affectations, the conscious reiterations of phrase, there is still left an undiscovered element which eludes the coarser senses.

What is it? We might define it as personality overheard. For in the act of expression the mind unconsciously colors the vehicle of words, just as in the act of speaking the mind unconsciously colors the voice. How this coloring is transferred to the verbal rhythm we cannot tell, but we feel that it resides in the rhythm and not in the mechanical choice of words, or in the deliberate weaving of the pattern in the web of language. This secret rhythm cannot be taught. It cannot be analyzed. It is the product of a spiritual process. Behind the conscious brain sits a shaping force which makes the words move to a soundless measure, to a tune inaudible. If we could identify that central force in the citadel of egoism we could snare the very secret of life itself, for it is life, the same life that reveals itself in the dyes of sunset and moonrise, in the conscious grace of leaves and flowers, in the cry of the wind, in the grey rods of rain, and in all the shifting shows of the universe.²⁷

I have dwelt somewhat upon the theory of creation, and have incidentally offered some interpretation. If in doing so I have touched upon some subtle and difficult matters, I still hope that the average person to whom I have referred will agree that this theory is as important as either of the other theories of literature. That it is more important I do not claim. If this seems inconclusive, I am unable to avoid inconclusiveness.

Perhaps a review of our principal steps will help us to see whether we have been progressing or merely moving in a circle. We found three main theories of style: (1) Style is economy of communication; (2) style is the dress of thought; and (3) style and thought are inseparable. We found that each of these theories of style is based upon a theory of literature. The theory of economy regards literature as a practical means of communication of the ideas and feelings of the individual to others in the social group. It seems to apply primarily to the scientist who communicates the results of his experiments, or to any other writer who has a definitely

²⁷ *Athenaeum*, April 22, 1905, p. 487.

utilitarian purpose. The theory of representation regards literature as the expression in beautiful language of the images, thoughts, and emotions in the mind of the writer. It recognizes that the writer's mind has transformed the material from the external world which his senses have given him, but it sees a very sharp distinction between this material as it exists in the mind of the writer and the form which it is given when represented in language. The theory of creation emphasizes the transforming nature of the process of composition. There is no pre-existing *matter* of literature as distinguished from form or style. The matter comes into existence in the process and is present as much in what is called style as in what is called content. One can no more say that literature is pre-existing matter given form than one can say that life is pre-existing matter given form.

In criticism we found the theory of representation closely connected with the point of view of the classicist and the theory of creation similarly related to the point of view of the romanticist; and saw that if literature is representation, the tests to be applied are largely those applied to the matter of which it is composed—that is, objective and moral; while if literature is creation, the tests should be more or less peculiar to this form of life, and primarily aesthetic.

The average person to whom we appealed will be disinclined to reject either the theory of representation or the theory of creation. Nor will he feel that either theory can be made quite large enough to include the other. Even *communication* may be an element not swallowed up in the impulse to expression, though the impulse to expression not only exists with, but does really include, communication. And the theory of creation, if it implies that literature need not be subject to the moral tests of ordinary communicative speech, if it implies that there is no sense in which content is not distinguishable from form even in supreme literature, the personal experience from the literary product which makes it permanent for the writer and others, is utterly inadequate. But yet in literature, especially when it is supreme, there is more than copying, there is creation in the sense that life creates more life. The writer is an explorer in unknown regions who may after days of weary tramping over the monotonous plain find himself standing before a Niagara. The comparison is false, because in literature

the explorer creates his Niagara; but he does not know in advance that it will be Niagara—at least, he cannot know *what* Niagara.

But after all, in practical life many purposes are combined in a single act without conscious contradiction. In at least one art, architecture, we recognize that utilitarian and aesthetic purposes may be and indeed must be combined harmoniously.²⁸ May not something similar be true of literature? Certainly we often call that literature, and I think rightly, which has for its main purpose the communication of something, because with the communication is joined the sense of creating beauty. If the aesthetic end is secondary in this case, it seems at least probable that the secondary end would be utterly defeated if we tried to separate it from the primary one of communication. On the other hand, our adventurer in words who begins with mere creative impulse—as some writers apparently do—does not discover Niagara.

H. L. CREEK

University of Illinois

²⁸ More clearly than any other writer on aesthetics with whom I am acquainted, M. Guyau has shown the impossibility of separating the useful and the beautiful. See especially the second chapter of *Les Problemes de l'Esthétique Contemporaine*. As a rule for both art and poetry he gives the following (p. 81): "L'émotion produite par l'artiste sera d'autant plus vive que, au lieu de faire simplement appel à des images visuelles ou auditives indifférentes, il tâchera de réveiller en nous, d'une part les *sensations les plus profondes* de l'être, d'autre part les *sentiments les plus moraux* et les *idées les plus élevées* de l'esprit."

THE DATE, AUTHORS, AND CONTENTS OF
A HANDFULL OF PLEASANT DELIGHTS

The *Handefull of pleasant delites*, a miscellany of broadside ballads composed "by Clement Robinson and divers others," is extant in a single imperfect copy which was printed by Richard Jones at London in 1584.¹ The book possesses considerable interest because of Shakespeare's familiarity with it²; but since it contains nothing but ballads, most of which can be proved to have first appeared on broadsides, one is somewhat surprised to find how extravagantly critics have praised it. Usually, ballads are regarded as beneath contempt. Thomas Park thought the "Delights" far superior to the pieces in *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), "being written in general with a modernised tone of versification, which must render them more pleasing to modern readers. Some few indeed may aspire to be praised for higher merit than mere smoothness of verse: particularly . . . [No. 17, below, beginning "Ye louing wormes," etc.], which claims commendation for apposite metaphor, sarcastic sportiveness, ingenious illustration, and moral inference"! Mr. Crossley called the *Handfull* "one of the most prized of the poetical book gems of the Elizabethan period"; Mr. Crawford considers it "a work of considerable merit, containing some notable songs"³; and Sir Sidney Lee (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 249) speaks of it as a collection of "lyric poems." Few persons seem to have recognized that the poems are street ballads, pure and simple.

In 1566 the following entry was made in the Stationers' Registers⁴:

R, Jonnes Recevyd of Rychard Jonnes for his lycense for prynting of a boke intituled of *very pleasaunte Sonettes and storyes in myter* by clament Robynson [no sum stated]

¹ This is now in the British Museum; sign. B.vj is missing. The work was reprinted by T. Park (*Heliconia*, vol. II) in 1815; in facsimile by J. Crossley for the Spenser Society (the edition followed in this article) in 1871; and by Edward Arber in 1878.

² See Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 166, 169, 173-174, 181, 199, 269.

³ *Englands Parnassus* (Oxford, 1913) p. xix.

⁴ Arber's *Transcript*, I, 313. (Hereafter cited as *Trans.*)

It has been generally assumed that the extant edition of the *Handfull* is a re-issue, with additions, of the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*. This was suggested by Ritson.⁵ Collier, in his *Extracts from the Stationers' Registers*,⁶ thought that the identity of the two works was not altogether probable, but succeeded in showing that one or two of the ballads that appear in the *Handfull* were licensed for publication before the *Pleasant Sonnets*. More recently, most scholars interested in ballads have believed that the *Pleasant Sonnets* was a first edition of the *Handfull*,—among them, Hazlitt,⁷ Chappell,⁸ Sir Sidney Lee,⁹ Ebsworth, Arber, and Mr. Harold H. Child.¹⁰ Ebsworth found among the Bagford ballads a single leaf which he believed to belong to "an earlier edition" than the 1584 *Handfull*.¹¹ Arber did not feel sure that this leaf belonged to an earlier edition, but he attempted to name the *Handfull* ballads that could not have appeared in the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*.

Still more recently, however, Mr. Crawford, in his edition of *Englands Parnassus*,¹² has expressed this opinion of the matter: "Parts of the work [*i.e.*, the *Handfull*] must surely have been composed after *A Gorgious Gallery* [1578], for I notice that three poems in it are made up principally from two poems that appear in its predecessor, whole stanzas in each, and several of them coming together in the same order, being worded almost exactly alike. . . The theory that *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights* may be identical with 'A boke of very pleasaunte sonnettes and storyes in myter,' by Clement Robinson, licensed to R. Jhones in 1566, can hardly be entertained when one finds that it is in parts but a rehash of pieces in *A Gorgious Gallery*; but it is possible that Robinson gave a place in his anthology to poems that were previously printed in his book of sonnets and stories." Mr. Crawford gives no references, but he was referring to the three ballads numbered 4, 6, and 23 below,

⁵ *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 311.

⁶ See especially I, 144.

⁷ *Handbook to Early English Literature*, p. 515.

⁸ *Popular Music*, I, 91.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article "Clement Robinson."

¹⁰ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, 190.

¹¹ The leaf is reprinted in Ebsworth's *Bagford Ballads*, I, 41 f., and also in Arber's edition of the *Handfull* (hereafter cited as Arber), pp. xv-xvi.

¹² Page xix. Seccombe and Allen (*The Age of Shakespeare*, 1903, I, 56) positively declare that "in 1584 appeared *A Handfull of Pleasant Delights*, a collection of, up to that time, unpublished lyrics."

and to the ballads in the *Gorgious Gallery*¹³ called "The Louer exhortheth his Lady to bee constant, to the Tune of Attend thee go play thee," and "The Louer wounded with his Ladies beauty craueth mercy, to the Tune of where is the life that late I led." A mere glance at the two sets of ballads turns Mr. Crawford's statement like a boomerang against him, and shows indisputably that No. 4 had been published at least before 1578, the date of the *Gallery*; for it begins "Attend thee, go play thee," and this is the tune of one of the *Gallery* ballads. "The Louer exhortheth his Lady to bee constant," therefore, cannot possibly have been written before No. 4 was printed. Nos. 6 and 23, as the notes below will show, had almost certainly appeared before the *Pleasant Sonnets* was licensed in 1566.

There is every reason to believe that the *Handfull* was actually issued in 1566. The absence of a license-fee is not unprecedented,¹⁴ and the difference in title between the 1566 entry and the 1584 edition is of no importance. The *Gorgious Gallery* itself was registered under two other names before its present title was decided on;¹⁵ and it should be observed that the running title of both the *Handfull* and the single leaf discovered by Ebsworth is "Sonnets and Histories, to sundrie new Tunes," a title much more appropriate for the 1566 entry than for the *Handfull* itself. This single leaf beyond all doubt belonged to a different edition: it has the page signature D 2, and bears the last three stanzas of No. 22, all of No. 23, and the first twelve lines of No. 24, and thus corresponds exactly (save that it has one additional line) to sign. D 4 and *verso* of the *Handfull*. The edition to which it belonged, then, presumably had two signatures, or four pages, fewer than the *Handfull*; and as three or four of the ballads printed in the latter before sign. D 4 can beyond all question be proved to have been written after the year 1572, it seems probable that this leaf was part of an edition earlier than that of 1584, perhaps of the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*.¹⁶ The title-page of the *Handfull*, it is almost superfluous to

¹³ Collier's reprint, pp. 49, 51.

¹⁴ See the Stationers' *Registers* for the year 1588, when no license-fees are given for about half of the entries.

¹⁵ See *Trans.*, II, 313.

¹⁶ But there were many editions of the *Handfull* later than 1584. It was registered for publication on July 3, 1601; December 13, 1620; August 4, 1626;

add, in itself clearly shows that there had been an earlier issue. It announces that the book contains "sundrie *new* Sonets . . . *Newly* devised to the *newest* tunes . . . With *new additions* of certain Songs to *verie late* devised Notes, not commonly known, nor *used heretofore*."¹⁷ But this is false from beginning to end. Like the typical dishonest stationer whose "character" George Wither was later so vividly to portray, Jones provided this new title-page to delude customers into buying old wares. Most of the ballads had been printed before 1566, and the tunes were so old and are now so hard to trace that even William Chappell could include only four or five of them in his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.

Of Clement Robinson, whose name appears on the title-page of the *Handfull*, little is known, but it is perfectly obvious that he must have been at the height of his ballad-writing powers in 1566, when his name appeared in the *Registers* as the author of the *Pleasant Sonnets*. Hazlitt (*Handbook*, p. 515) thought that he was the C. R. whose initials are signed to a prose broadside on a "marueilous straunge Fische,"¹⁸ which was printed in 1569, and Collmann (*Ballads and Broadsides*, pp. 81-82) has plausibly suggested that he was the Robinson who in 1566 entered into a ballad-flyting with Thomas Churchyard; but, however that be, the very fact that Robinson's name adorned the title-page of the 1584 edition strengthens the presumption that the book was originally issued in 1566.

Arber¹⁹ named nine ballads that "were *not* in this First Edition" of 1566. They may be enumerated here, with his reasons for their in exclusion:

1. No. 25, because it was registered in 1566-67. This is wrong.
2. Nos. 27 and 32, because an answer to the ballad from which they derived their tune was registered in 1567-68. But this is not a valid reason for dating these ballads after 1566.
3. Nos. 13 and 21, because "The Story of ij faythful Lovers &c" was licensed by Richard Jones in 1568-69. This is wrong,

April 29, 1634; and April 4, 1655: Arber's *Trans.*, III, 187, IV, 44, 166, 318; Eyre's *Trans.*, I, 470.

¹⁷ The italics are mine.

¹⁸ Reprinted in Lilly's *79 Black-Letter Ballads*, p. 145.

¹⁹ Pages ix-x.

for the entry need not refer to No. 13 ("Pyramus and Thisbie"), and cannot refer to No. 21, which tells no story at all.

4. No. 29, because it was licensed in 1576. This is correct.

5. No. 7, because the tune comes from ballads licensed in 1580. This is correct.

6. No. 14, because its tune was taken from a ballad registered in 1582. This is correct.

7. No. 16, because the tune was derived from a ballad not registered until 1567-68. This is wrong.

From the following notes it will be seen that only three of the nine ballads listed by Arber appeared after 1566, while others which he failed to name are here pointed out. The notes may help to give a clearer idea of what the first edition could have contained, and some of them (as Nos. 2, 3, and 29, which produce new facts about Leonard Gibson and Thomas Richardson and help to establish the date of *Misogonus*) may perhaps be found of independent value. Points previously made by other investigators are fully acknowledged below.

1. "A Nosegaie alvvaies sweet, for Louers to send for Tokens, of loue, at Newyeres tide, or for fairings. . . ."

A book called "a nose gaye" was licensed by John King in 1557 (*Trans.*, I, 75), and Collier (*Extracts*, I, 3) thought that this might be our ballad. The identification is very doubtful. Arber's reference (p. vi) to "a newe yeres gefte," 1567 (*Trans.*, I, 336), is not apropos; but the ballad of "A Smellinge Nosegaye," which had been owned by Williamson and which was registered by Charlewood on January 15, 1581-2 (*Trans.* II, 406), is undoubtedly our ballad. No. 1, then, was very probably added to the 1584 edition. Thomas Evans, who reprints the "Nosegaie" and several other of the "Delights" in his *Old Ballads* (1810), thinks that Ophelia alludes to this ballad in her ramblings about rosemary, fennel, etc. (*Hamlet*, IV, v).

2. "L. Gibsons Tantara. . . . To the tune of, Down right Squire." (Signed) Finis. L. G.

This ballad was not registered. The tune (cf. No. 13, below), however, is old: a ballad "To the tune of The downeryght squyre" is preserved in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 48 (*Songs and Ballads*, ed. Thomas Wright, 1860, p. 191), which Wright

dates at *circa* 1559.²⁰ L. Gibson is without doubt the Leonard Gibson who signed his ballad, "A very proper Dittie, To the tune of Lightie Loue," with the full name. His *Tower of Trustinesse*, a work in prose and verse, is dated 1555 in Lilly's *Ballads*, p. xxx, and 1534 in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 228. Another work is dated 1582 in Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 219, and in Crawford's *Englands Parnassus*, p. xx. The "proper Dittie" was printed by Richard Jones (fl. 1564-1602) without date (Lilly, p. 113). If no more facts are forthcoming, it is not unreasonable to suppose that No. 2 was included in the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*, especially since a Leonard Gibson, almost certainly our balladist, was a student and chorister at New College, Oxford, in 1564-65 (cf. Clark's *Register of Oxford*, II, ii, 22; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, Early Series, II, 562). Perhaps his study at Oxford suggested the "Tantara," which, as Professor Kittredge has reminded me, was a phrase well known, because "At tuba horribili sonitu taratantara dixit," a sentence in a fragment of Ennius, was quoted by Priscian. For other uses of "Tantara," see McKerrow's *Nashe*, I, 118, II, 310, IV, 290; Lilly's *Ballads*, pp. 105, 292; *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 120; *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, 1579 (Shakespeare Society ed., pp. 59-61); Collier's *Extracts*, II, 81, 187-8 (*Trans.*, II, 348, 434).

3. "A proper new Song made by a Student in Cambridge, To the tune of I wish to see those happie daies." (Signed) Finis quod Thomas Richardson, sometime Student in Cambridge.

It is pleasant, and easy, to identify this Richardson who left Cambridge because 'love caught him from his books,' and who wrote this ballad of warning "because that he sufficiently hath tried the female kind"! In the ninth stanza he writes:

Here *Cambridge* now I bid farewell, / adue to Students all:
Aduē vnto the Colledges, / and vnto *Gunnill* Hall.

Thanks to this, he can unquestionably be identified with the Thomas Richardson, aged eighteen, who was admitted pensioner to Caius College on April 28, 1572 (*Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius*

²⁰ Many of the ballads in this MS. were licensed at Stationers' Hall during 1560-66, however. Various interesting facts about the manuscript, some of which have considerable bearing on the ballad of "Chevy Chase," which is preserved there in its oldest known form, will be pointed out in an article presently to appear in *Modern Language Notes*.

College, ed. John Venn, I, 69); and in all probability he was the "T. Richeson" whose name is signed to a ballad "To the toune of The raire & greatest gift,"²¹ preserved in B. M. MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. XXV (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache*, N. F., II, 362). His "proper new Song" was not licensed, and the tune is not mentioned by Chappell; but this ballad was not in the first edition of the *Handfull*.

4. "The scoffe of a Ladie, as pretie as may be, to a yong man that went a wooing."

This begins "Attend thee, go play thee, / Sweet loue I am busie;" and in the *Gorgeous Gallery*, 1578 (Collier's reprint, p. 49), there is a ballad written in imitation of it, "The Louer exhorteth his Lady to bee constant, to the Tune of *Attend thee go play thee.*" In the *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom*, 1579 (Shakespeare Society ed., p. 20), Wantonness sings a song "to the tune of 'Attend the goe playe the.'" It is only reasonable, then, to suppose that No. 4 was in the first edition of the *Handfull*. It is odd that Collier nowhere mentioned the appearance of the first five stanzas (with many verbal dissimilarities) of this ballad in his much quoted "MS. of the reign of James I" (cf. No. 15, below).

5. "An answer as pretie to the scof of his Lady, by the yongman that came a wooing." (Signed) Finis. Peter Picks.

This is in the same measure, and was probably written by the same person, as No. 4, which without doubt it immediately followed. Peter Picks is undoubtedly a pseudonym.

6. "Dame Beauties replie to the Louer late at libertie: and now complaineth himselfe to be her captiue, Intituled: Where is the life that late I led." (Signed) Finis. I. P.

This is a *reply* to a ballad which began,

Where is the life that late I led?
Where are those [happy days]?

(cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i, 143; 2 *Henry IV*, V, iii, 147; Anders, *Shakespeare's Books*, p. 181), and which was registered by Richard Jones, the publisher of the 1566 *Sonnets* and the 1584 *Handfull*, about March, 1566 (*Trans.*, I, 308), as "A newe ballet of one who

²¹ "The reare and grettyst gyfte of all" is the first line of a ballad on King Solomon (very probably that registered by Walker on March 4, 1559-60, *Trans.*, I, 127), which is preserved in MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Wright, p. 44).

myslykeng his lybertie soughte his owne bondage through his owne folly." No. 6 begins,

The life that erst thou ledst my friend,
was pleasant to thine eies:
But now the losse of libertie,
thou seemest to despise,

and evidently appeared shortly after the original "newe ballet." Both ballads were probably suggested by one beginning,

My frynd, the lyf I lead at all
By thes fewe wordes perceave youe shall,

which was registered (*Trans.*, I, 306) a few days before "A newe ballet" and which is preserved in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Wright, p. 38). It seems certain that No. 6 had appeared before the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets* was compiled, and that the ballad of "The Louer wounded with his Ladies beauty craueth mercy, to the Tune of *where is the life that late I led*," printed in the *Gorgious Gallery*, 1578 (Collier's reprint, p. 51), is an imitation of it, not *vice versa*. The tune of "Where is the life that late I led" was, as No. 23 below shows, exactly the same as "Appelles," an additional proof of the priority of the *Handfull* ballad over the *Gallery* one.

7. "A new Courtly Sonet, of the Lady Green sleeues. To the new tune of Greensleeues."

Chappell (*Popular Music*, I, 228) believed that the *tune* of Green Sleeves must belong to Henry VIII's reign; but the name occurs in the Stationers' *Registers* for the first time on September 3, 1580 (*Trans.*, II, 376), when Richard Jones licensed "A newe northen Dittye of ye Ladye greene sleues." Several other "Green Sleeves" ballads were licensed within a short space (*Trans.*, II, 378, 384, 388, 400). No. 7, then, as Arber suggested, must have been added to the 1584 edition of the *Handfull*.

8. "A proper sonet, wherin the Louer dolefully sheweth his grief.
. . . To the tune of, Row wel ye Marriners."

The tune is noted in *Popular Music*, I, 112. A ballad called "Roowe well ye marynors &c" was licensed by W. Peking in 1565-66, and was widely imitated and moralized in the months that followed (*Trans.*, I, 305, 340, 342, 355, 360, 362, 401). No. 8, it seems reasonable to assume, was written in 1565-66,

when the original ballad of "Row Well" was at the height of its popularity.

9. "The Historie of Diana and Acteon. To the Quarter Braules."

"A ballett intituled *the Cater bralles bothe Wytty and mery*" was licensed by Thomas Colwell in 1565-66 (Collier's *Extracts*, I, 120; *Trans.*, I, 298). No. 9, then, could have appeared in the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*. Various broadside versions of this ballad are extant: see *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 520. The first line, "Diana and her darlings deare," is quoted in Richard Brome's *Damoiselle*, V, i, and in his *Jovial Crew*, III (*Dramatic Works*, ed. Pearson, I, 455; III, 396).

10. A fragmentary ballad on the power of Venus.

This imitates Elderton's ballad, "The Pangs of Love" (reprinted in Collier's *Old Ballads*, Percy Society, I, 25, and elsewhere), with the "Lady, lady" refrain. Elderton's "Pangs" was registered in 1559 (*Trans.*, I, 96), and was perhaps the most widely imitated ballad written during the reign of Elizabeth. No. 10 was almost certainly written sometime in the period between 1559 and 1565, when innumerable other imitations and moralizations were pouring from the press.

11. "The Louer complaineth the losse of his Ladie, To Cicilia Pauin." (Signed) Finis. I. Tomson.

These lines in the opening stanzas of the ballad,

Heart, what makes thee thus to be,
in extreame heauinesse? . . .
Why would I cloake from her presence,
My loue and faithfull diligence? . . .
No, no, I wil shew my woe,
in this calamitie,

indicate that this was perhaps the ballad of "a harte Declarynge his heauenes wyshyng that yt were knowen," which Richard Jones licensed several months before the *Pleasant Sonnets* (*Trans.*, I, 297). It is hopeless to try to identify I. Tomson with any of the very many John Tomsons who were students at Oxford and Cambridge in 1565-84.

12. "The Louer compareth some subtile Suters to the Hunter. To the tune of the Painter."

No details about the tune are in *Popular Music*, I, 161; but, as Arber (p. viii) notes, A. Lacy licensed a ballad of "ye paynter

in his pryntyshod" in 1565-66, T. Colwell licensed a moralization in 1566-67, and W. Griffith licensed "a ballett intituled *the paynter moralized*" in 1568 (*Trans.*, I, 297, 331, 380). It may also be observed that in John Pikerings's *Horestes*, 1567 (Brand's *Quellen*, pp. 517-18), one of the stage directions is, "Enter the Vyce, synginge this song to ye tune of 'the Paynter.'" The Vice sings four stanzas in exactly the same measure as our ballad. That No. 12 was in the 1566 edition is highly probable.

13. "A new Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbie. To the, Downe right Squier." (Signed) Finis. I. Tomson.

For the tune, see No. 2, above; for the author, No. 11, above. "A boke intituled *Perymus and Thesbye*" was licensed by Griffith in July, 1563 (*Trans.*, I, 215), and a ballad would inevitably have followed the book, or pamphlet.

14. "A Sonet of a Louer. . . . To Calen o Custure me: sung at euerie lines end."

The ballad of "Callin o custure me" was "tolerated" to John Alde on March 10, 1581-2 (*Trans.*, II, 407); our "Sonet," then, as Arber (p. x) points out, cannot have been in the 1566 edition.²²

15. "A proper Sonet, Intituled, Maid, wil you marrie. To the Blacke Almaine."

As Arber (p. vi) noticed, Griffith licensed a ballad, "Mayde Will you mary moralized," in 1570 (*Trans.*, I, 437). Shortly afterward Stephen Peele's "Balade expressyng the fames," to be sung to "The Black Almaine,"²³ was licensed (*ibid.*, 439). Perhaps these entries indicate that our "Sonet" was not written before 1566, although moralizations often appeared when re-issues of ballads were made, many years after their original publication. Collier printed No. 15 (or rather three stanzas of it, all

²² For the tune, see the notes to Malone's *Shakspeare*, XVII, 424-6; and Anders, *Shakspeare's Books*, 169-170, 268.

²³ The tune is evidently old. In John Phillip's comedy of *Patient Grissell*, 1566, sign. E ii, the Marquis sings a ballad "to the tune of the latter Almain." An idea of the large number of "Almains" known to ballad-writers may be gained from Anthony Munday's *Banquet of Dainty Conceits*, 1588, where there are ballads to the tunes of the "Masker's Allemaigne, commonly called the Olde Allemaigne," the "Venetian Allemaigne," "Allemaigne Measure," "Scottish Allemaigne," and "Mounsieures Allemaigne." See also No. 31 below.

slightly changed) in his *Extracts* (II, 6-7), prefaced by the note, "The original ballad . . . has been preserved in a MS. belonging to the Editor, but we are not aware that it exists any where in print"²⁴

16. "The ioy of Virginitie: to, The Gods of loue."

This is a moralization of Elderton's "Gods of Love," which was published in 1562: this date can be established by the fact that William Birch's "The complaint of a sinner, vexed with paine. . . After W[illiam] E[lderton] moralized," was printed in 1562-63 (*Trans.*, I, 205; reprinted in Collmann's *Ballads and Broad-sides*, No. 7). Innumerable moralizations, answers, and imitations appeared during the next four or five years, and No. 16 is not improbably one of the ballads actually registered (*Trans.*, I, 272, 307, 355). Elderton's ballad was imitated in George Turberville's *Epitaphes*, 1565?, 1567, and in many plays printed *circa* 1566. It seems almost certain, then, that No. 16 had been printed before 1566.

²⁴ This remark is incredible; for in his first volume of *Extracts* Collier had exerted himself to identify the ballads published in the *Handfull* with ballads licensed before 1566, and he *must* have known that "Maid, Will You Marry?" was printed there. One might suspect that he made this statement to gain confidence in the authenticity of his MS. The MS. is described and a table of its contents given in the *Extracts*, II, vii-x, but naturally it has long been an object of suspicion (cf. Professor C. H. Firth's comment in the recently published *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, II, 537). Those who are interested in the matter and who wish to draw their own conclusions will find it profitable to compare the ballad of "All in a Garden Green" (cf. No. 18 below), printed in the *Extracts*, I, 196, with "A merrye new ballad, of a countrey wench and a clowne" printed in the *Shirburn Ballads*, p. 220; Collier's "Lady Jane's Lament" (*Extracts*, I, 72) with the *printed* ballad included in the Ballad Society's *Ballads from MSS.*, I, 427; Collier's "The Damned Soule in Hell" (*Extracts*, I, 117) with "The pittifull lamentation of a damned soule" (*Shirburn Ballads*, p. 260); Collier's "Kit hath Lost her Key" (*Extracts*, I, 55) with the ballad printed from Royal MSS. App. 58 by E. Flügel in *Anglia*, XII, 261; Collier's "Wine, Women, and Dice" (*Extracts*, II, 69, evidently written to fit the entries in the *Transcript*, I, 293, 296) with "A notable Instrucyon for all men to beware the abuses of dyce, wyne, & women," which is preserved in MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. XXV (ed. Boeddeker, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache*, N. F., II, 364); Collier's ballad of "Awake and Arise" (*Extracts*, I, 186, and notice especially his explanation there) with a copy (of whose existence he was unaware) preserved in MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Wright, p. 32). Quite a number of ballads in Collier's MS. fit exactly entries in the *Registers* and yet are not referred to in the *Extracts*. William Chappell, in his *Popular Music*,

17. "A warning for Wooers, that they be not ouer hastie. . . . To, Salisburie Plaine."

This ballad, beginning "Ye louing wormes come learne of me," R. W. Bond prints among the early poems of John Lyly (*Works*, III, 465). In marginal glosses he notes resemblances between the phrases and ideas in the ballad and in Lyly's *Euphues*, *Campaspe*, etc., and remarks (*ibid.*, 438), "Few, I believe, will be found to question the correctness of my attribution of . . . *A Warning for Wooers*" to Lyly. Nevertheless, as Collier (*Extracts*, I, 110) long ago pointed out, Richard Jones licensed No. 17 in July, 1565, as "a ballett intituled *ye lovyng Wormes comme learne of me*" (*Trans.* I, 293), at which time Lyly was a mere lad. Cf. also No. 20, below. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Memoranda on Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 70, says that the name of Shakespeare's comedy may have been suggested by lines in the ballad of "Ye loving worms."

18. "An excellent Song of an outcast Louer. To, All in a Garden green."

As Arber (p. viii) noticed, "a ballett intituled *All in a garden grene/betwene ij lovers*" was registered by Peking in 1565 (*Trans.*, I, 295). For comments on this ballad, see foot-note 24. It is hard to see how the septenaries of No. 18 could be sung to the tune of "All in a Garden Green," a ballad written in a peculiar stanza form; but that No. 18 had actually appeared before Jones licensed his *Pleasant Sonnets* is proved by the fact that its first two stanzas are copied verbatim in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Wright, p. 183; cf. foot-note 20 above).

19. "The complaint of a woman Louer, To the tune of, Raging loue."

"Raging Love" was a tune derived from Lord Surrey's "The louer comforteth himself with the worthinesse of his loue," a poem in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Arber, p. 14), and reprinted as a broadside in 1557, 1560-61, and 1561-62 (*Trans.*, I, 75, 154, 177). Perhaps

accepted this MS. without question, somewhat to the detriment of his otherwise invaluable work. The MS. also contains vulgar "jests" of Peele, Tarlton, and Elderton (for two stanzas about Elderton, see *Popular Music*, I, 107), and some light is perhaps thrown on their composition by the preface to Collier's *Few Odds and Ends, for Cheerful Friends* (25 copies, privately printed, 1870). A comparison of the ballads in that book with those in the MS. may also prove illuminating.

the tune indicates that No. 19 had been printed early enough for inclusion in the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*.

20. "A proper sonet, Intituled: I smile to see how you deuise. To anie pleasant tune."

I can find nothing that assists in dating No. 20. Bond, "with some doubts," attributes this ballad to Lyly (*Works*, III, 440, 468), but he is not convincing (cf. No. 17, above). For example, he also credits Lyly (*ibid.*, 463) with the authorship of a ballad "In lingeringe Loue mislikinge growes," which he prints from Rawlinson MS. Poet. 148; but there is, I observe, another copy of this ballad in MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. XXV (ed. Boeddeker, *loc. cit.*, II, 211), and the ballad itself was licensed for publication by William Griffith in 1564 (*Trans.*, I, 238).

21. "A Sonet of two faithfull Louers, exhorting one another to be constant. To the tune of Kypascie."

I can find nothing that assists in dating this ballad.

22. "A proper new Dity: Intituled. Fie vpon Loue and al his lawes. To the tune of lumber me."

No. 22 appears on the leaf, sign. D 2, which Ebsworth found; and therefore one may well believe that it was in the first edition.

23. "The Louer being wounded with his Ladis beutie, requireth mercy. To the tune of Appelles."

"The Louer wounded with his Ladies beauty craueth mercy, To the Tune of where is the life that late I led," a ballad in the *Gorgious Gallery*, 1578 (Collier's reprint, p. 51), borrows its title and a number of lines from No. 23. Although the priority of the *Handfull* ballad is hardly questionable, it may be further noted that this ballad imitates a poem by Wyatt (*Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 34) beginning, "The liuely sparkes, that issue from those eyes," while there is no such imitation in the *Gallery* ballad. Furthermore, a ballad "to ye tune of Appelles" was licensed by Colwell in 1565-66; and shortly afterwards, in the same year, Griffith licensed a ballad "to the tune of ye fyrst Appelles" (*Trans.*, I, 298, 312, noted by Arber, p. viii), either of which may have been No. 23. A song "to the tune of Appelles" is in Googe's *Epitaphes*, which was printed in 1562-63 (cf. Collier's *Extracts*, I, 120). The title of the *Gallery* ballad shows that the tune of "Appelles" was the same as "Where is the life that late I led," for the date of

which see No. 6, above. There can be no doubt that No. 23 had been printed before 1566.

24. "The lamentation of a woman being wrongfully defamed.
To the tune of Damon & Pithias."

Arber (p. viii) refers to "a ballett intituled *tow lamentable songes Pithias and Damon*," licensed by Lacy in 1565-66 (*Trans.*, I, 304). Our ballad imitates the measure of the song, "Damon my friend must die," sung by Pithias in the play of *Damon and Pithias* (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, IV, 43; preserved in MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. XXV, ed. Boeddeker, *loc. cit.* 210). This play seems to have been the work of Richard Edwards, and in that case was performed at Christmas, 1564. But "A Newe Ballade of a Louer . . . To the tune of Damon and Pithias" (Lilly's *Ballads*, p. 24), which was licensed in 1563 (*Trans.*, I, 204), was also written in this measure. In John Phillip's *Patient Grissell*, 1566, sign. C 4, "Here Grissell Singith a songe, to the tune of Damon & Pithias." No. 24 must have been in the 1566 *Pleasant Sonnets*.

25. "A proper Song, Intituled: Fain wold I haue a pretie thing to
gieve vnto my Ladie. To the tune of lustie Gallant."

In MS. Ashmole 48 (ed. Wright, p. 195) there is a ballad on Troilus and Cressida (registered in 1565-66, *Trans.*, I, 300), "To the tune of Fayne wold I fynd sum pretty thyng to geeve unto my lady," a tune unquestionably named from No. 25. Thomas Colwell licensed a moralization, entitled "A fayne wolde I have a godly thyng to shewe vnto my ladye," in 1566-67 (*Trans.*, I, 340; Arber, p. ix). No. 25 was beyond all doubt printed before the *Pleasant Sonnets* was registered.

26. "A proper wooing Song, intituled: Maide will ye loue me: ye
or no? To the tune of the Marchaunts Daughter went ouer
the fielde."

I can find nothing to assist in dating this ballad, though it may have been suggested by Wyatt's "To a ladie to answere directly with yea or nay" (*Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 41).

27. "The painefull plight of a Louer oppressed with the beautifull
looks of his Lady. To the tune of, I loued her ouer wel."

The fact (noted by Arber, p. ix) that in 1567-68 (*Trans.*, I, 362) Griffith licensed a ballad called "A ffayrewell to Alas I lover you over well &c," indicates that No. 27 was written *circa* 1566,

when the ballad from which it derives its tune was having some vogue. This tune is used also for No. 32.

28. "A faithfull vow of two constant Louers. To the new Rogero."

The tune of "Rogero" is in *Popular Music*, I, 93 ff., but nothing is there told of the "New Rogero." Elderton's "Lamentation of Follie," which is to be sung to the latter tune, seems to have been printed after February 15, 1584 (cf. Collmann's *Ballads and Broad-sides*, p. 118). No. 28 may have been added to the 1584 edition of the *Handfull*.

29. "A sorrowfull Sonet, made by M. George mannington, at Cambridge Castle. To the tune of Labandala Shot."

"A woefull ballade made by master George mannyngton an houre before he suffered at Cambridge castell 1576" was licensed, as was long ago pointed out, by Richard Jones on November 7, 1576 (*Trans.*, II, 304). This is the most famous ballad in the entire collection, primarily because Jonson burlesqued it in *Eastward Ho*. Many other scornful references to it by Elizabethan writers could be pointed out. Samuel Rowlands, in his *Melancholie Knight*, 1615 (*Works*, ed. Hunterian Club, II, No. xxiv, p. 37), refers to "Thou scuruie Ballat of *I wale in woe*"; and the first line is burlesqued in Rowley's *Match at Midnight*, V, i, where Randall sings, "Hur wail in woe, hur plunge in pain." No one, I believe, has noticed that in the old play of *Misogonus* (Brand's *Quellen*, p. 456) one of the characters sings a "songe to the tune of Labondolose Hoto," beginning,

O mighty Jove, some pittie take
 One me poore wretch for christis sake.
 Greif doth me gripe, payne doth me pinch,
 Willfull dispite my harte doth wrinch,

which not only borrows Mannington's tune but also unmistakably imitates his style and diction. This imitation is of the highest importance, for it makes conclusive the argument some time ago advanced by Professor Kittredge (*Jour. Germ. Phil.*, III, 339 ff.), that *Misogonus* was written, not in 1560 as Collier suggested, but *circa* 1578. Professor Kittredge holds that Laurence Johnson, B.A., 1573-4, M.A., 1577, of Cambridge, wrote *Misogonus*; and this indirect allusion to Mannington, who was hanged at Cambridge in 1576, undoubtedly favors his argument. R. W. Bond (*Early Plays from the Italian*, p. 171) thinks that *Misogonus* and its

songs were written about 1560, and that the play was revised to its present form about 1576, although the old songs were retained. But evidently the song quoted above does not favor his theory.

30. "A proper Sonet, of an vnkinde Damsell, to her faithful Louer. To, the nine Muses."

Attention should be called to the fact that this ballad is incorrectly named, for it is not supposed to be written by "an vnkinde Damsell," but is a complaint made by a man against a faithless mistress. Perhaps this is another instance of how the unscrupulous Mr. Richard Jones tried to deceive prospective buyers into believing that the *Handfull* was made up of *new* delights. The ballad is an imitation of Surrey's "The louer describes his restlesse state" (*Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 24). The former begins,

The offer that I view and see,
That pleasant face and faire beautie,
whereto my heart is bound:
The neer my Mistresse is to me,
My health is farthest off I see:
and fresher is my wound:
Like as the flame doth quench by fire,
or streams consume by raigne. . . .

Surrey's poem begins,

As oft as I behold and se
The soueraigne bewtie that me bound:
The nier my comfort is to me,
Alas the fresher is my wound.
As flame doth quenche by rage of fire,
And running stremes consume by raine. . . .

It seems probable that this ballad was in the 1566 edition.

31. "The Louer complaineth the absence of his Ladie, wisheth for death. To, the new Almaine."

I can find out nothing about this ballad. For other "Almains," see footnote 23 above.

32. "The Louer compareth him self to the painful Falconer. To the tune, I loued her ouer wel."

The tune indicates that this ballad was probably in the 1566 edition. Cf. No. 27, above.

To summarize: Nos. 3, 7, 14, and 29 were certainly not in the 1566 edition; perhaps Nos. 1 and 15 were not; and there is no evi-

dence to show whether or not Nos. 20, 21, 26, 28, and 31 were printed by 1566 or were added to the 1584 edition. When the *Pleasant Sonnets* was prepared for the press, it certainly contained many of the ballads later to be published in the 1584 *Handfull*; and that the *Sonnets* was actually printed in 1566 hardly admits of doubt.

HYDER E. ROLLINS.

Harvard University.

THE WASHER OF THE FORD

In an article in *Modern Language Notes* for June 1918,¹ Prof. G. G. King expresses "the gravest doubt" of the Gaelic origin of certain of the Fiona Macleod writings of William Sharp. Having met the Sin-Eater, the Dark Star, and a supernatural washer-woman in essays on the folk-lore of northwestern Spain, Prof. King suspects that it is such readings as these that William Sharp has Gaelicized and is passing off as Celtic. Prof. King even mentions Thomas Chatterton as a parallel case.

But Chatterton and Macpherson presented themselves as translators. They invited judgment on their works as genuine "antiques." William Sharp makes no such claim. He must be judged as an artist, not as an antiquarian. He does not assert that what he depicts is exclusively Celtic, or even typically so.² He explains that he has interpenetrated Gaelic tradition with his own sentiment and made it serve as a medium for the expression of his personal view of life. To one familiar with Celtic literature this is so obviously true as to need no comment. The Gaelic associations of the Fiona Macleod writings are so numerous that it would require an extensive study to point them out.³ Within the limits of the present article we can do so only to a limited extent. We have therefore chosen to examine the Gaelic tradition of the *Washer of the Ford* and to compare it with the figure in Fiona Macleod's legendary morality of that title.

¹ XXXIII, 354.

² Fiona Macleod, *The Sin Eater, The Washer of the Ford, etc.* New York, 1913, p. 8.

³ In an unpublished study by Mr. Mac E. Leach, University of Illinois, A.M. 1917, the following writings of Fiona Macleod are referred to definite written sources. (References are to pages in the *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Literature* by R. I. Best, published by the National Library of Ireland.) *The House of Usna*, based on *Longes mac nUsnig*, B 92; *The Immortal Hour*, based on *Tochmarc Etáine*, B. 84; *The Laughter of Peterkin*, based on *Aided Chlainne Lir*, B. 82, *Aided Chlainne Tuirenn*, B 82-3, *Longes mac nUsnig* B. 92. The following writings involve characters familiar in Celtic tradition: *The Sad Queen* (Scathach), cf. *Foglaím Chonculaind*, B 91; *The Laughter of Scathach the Queen*, cf. *ibid.*; *Harping of Cravetheen* (Cormac), cf. *Togail Bruidne Dá Choca*, B 98, 99. Mr. Leach's work is incomplete.

The Washer of the Ford appears in the *Destruction of Da Chocha's Hostel*, a tale composed, in its original form, before the tenth century. The story is of the unfortunate Cormac Conlingas, a hero with whose tragic fate, by the way, William Sharp was familiar.⁴ The omens follow one another thick and fast as Cormac presses on to his doom. When his army is about to cross the Ford of Athlone on the way to the battle,

they saw a red woman on the edge of the ford, washing her chariot and its cushions and its harness. When she lowered her hand, the bed of the river became red with gore and blood. But when she raised her hand over the river's edge, not a drop therein but was lifted on high; so that they went dry-foot over the bed of the river.

"Most horrible is what the woman does!" says Cormac. "Let one of you go and ask her what she is doing."

Then someone goes and asked her what she did. And then, standing on one foot, and with one eye closed, she chanted to them, saying:

"I wash the harness of a king who will perish," etc.

The messenger came to Cormac and told him the evil prophecy which the Badb had made for him.

"Apparently thy coming is cause of great evil," says Cormac.

Then Cormac goes to the edge of the ford to have speech with her, and asked her whose was the harness she was a-washing. And then he uttered this lay:

"O woman, what harness washest thou?" etc.

The Badb:

"Thine own harness, O Cormac,
And the harness of thy men of trust," etc.

"Evil are the omens thou askest for us," says Cormac. "Grimly thou chantest to us."⁵

In this account we have practically all the typical features of the Celtic superstition as they recur in less complete form in later writings. The Washer of the Ford is a "Badb," a Celtic war goddess whose office it is to warn the hero when his hour is come.⁶ She is a "red woman,"⁷ symbol of bloody death. She stands at the ford washing gore from a chariot and cushions and harness. The prince does not recognize that it is a phantom chariot, his own. Fascinated by horror he goes to her and asks her whose is

⁴ Cf. Fiona Macleod, *The Harping of Cravethen* in *The Sin-Eater, The House of Usna* in *Poems and Dramas*.

⁵ *Revue Celtique* XXI, 157.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 395, notes to §§ 15-17. Cf. also *Rev. Celt.* I, 32-55.

⁷ Cf. "the three reds" in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Chocha, Destruction of Da Chocha's Hostel*, *loc. cit.*

the gear she is washing. In the characteristic attitude of prophecy she foretells his doom.

In the *Great Defeat on the Plain of Muirthemne* the young warrior Cuchulainn on his way to the battle comes similarly upon a supernatural woman washing his gear at a ford. The details are slightly different. This woman is "slender and white of her body, yellow of her hair." The prophecy is not made by the woman herself, but is put into the mouth of the druid Cathbad who accompanies the hero.

"See'st thou not yonder sight? She is Badb's daughter that with woe and mourning washes thy gear, because she signifies thy fall and thy destruction by Meave's great hosting."⁸

But the hero will not desist from his enterprise.

"What though the fairy woman wash my spoils?" he replies. It is his consolation that she will wash the spoils of his enemies also.

In the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhagh, Triumphs of Torlough*, written about 1350 by Seán Mac Craith, hereditary historian of the O'Briens, the army of Donnchad O'Brien comes to the shore of a lake, and—

There they saw the monstrous and distorted form of a lone ancient hag, that stooped over the bright Lough shore. She was thatched with elf-locks, foxy grey and rough like heather, matted and like long sea-wrack, a bossy wrinkled, ulcerated brow, the hairs of her eyebrows like fish-hooks; bleared watery eyes peered with malignant fire between red inflamed lids; she had a great blue nose, flattened and wide, livid lips, and a stubbly beard. . . The hag was washing human limbs and heads with gory weapons and clothes, till all the lake was defiled with blood and brains and floating hair. Donnchad at last spoke:

"What is your name and race, and whose kin are those maltreated dead?"

"I am Bronach of Burren of the Tuatha Dé Danann. This slaughter-heap is of your army's heads. Your own is in the middle."⁹

The prophecy having been delivered, the strange figure rises and disappears.

In the same account Richard de Clare, the Norman leader, coming to the "running water of the fish-containing Fergus," meets a similar horrible beldame, "washing armour and rich robes till the red gore churned and splashed through her hands." DeClare calls an Irish ally to question her. She declares that the armour

⁸ E. Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga*, p. 47.

⁹ *Folk Lore* XXI, 188.

and garments she washes are of the Norman host; few of them will escape death.¹⁰

The Washer of the Ford also appears in traditional versions of the death of Ossian's son Oscar. Of these I have noted four from the Scottish Highlands.¹¹ The woman is mentioned as a "Badb." Oscar and his host meet her on their way to battle. They see it is the garments of Oscar she is washing, and the hue of blood is on the water. They are overcome with horror: one of them approaches and questions her:

"O Badbh, that wastest the garments,
Make us a prophecy in truth.
Shall a man of them fall by us,
Or shall all of us come to naught?"

The woman answers, prophesying. Oscar is wounded in the battle and meets his death, but according to the Badb's prophecy, nine hundred of his foes are likewise slain.

It is clear from the preceding examples that the Washer of the Ford is a figure connected with strife and battle, and that the garments which she washes are the gear of the doomed warriors who meet her. The prophecy implicit in her action is further expounded in a dialogue between her and the man who is to die.

The superstition survives in Celtic countries at the present time in a more or less corrupt form.¹² Oral tradition in County Clare still preserves the story of De Clare to which we have alluded, and, according to local belief, calamities are still foretold in a similar way.¹³ In Lewis, Uist, and other regions in the Scottish Highlands, the *bean nigheachain*, a tiny washerwoman with red webbed feet, frequents the fords after dark and in the early morn-

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* III 322-3fig, *Leabhar, na Feinne*, p. 182, p. 191; J. G. Campbell, *The Fiants*, p. 33.

¹² Cf. J. M. Mackinlay, *Folk Lore of Scottish Lochs*, Glasgow, 1893, page 166. J. G. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* III, 346 cites *Foyer Breton* I, 144 for the *Kannérez-noz*, night washerwomen, a troop of ghosts who appear on certain nights of November. They wash and dry and sew the shrouds of the dead who yet walk and talk. See also P. Sébillot, *Traditions de la haute Bretagne* I, 248 and A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort* I, 52, xlv, II, 214. Cf. Sir Samuel Ferguson, *Congall*,³ 1907, p. 67-70.

¹³ *Folk Lore* XXI, 180, 187-9.

ing, washing clothes of battle. By placing oneself between her and the stream one may obtain answers to questions.¹⁴

The *bean nigheachain*, *bean-nigh* (washer), *nigheag* (little washer), or *nigheag na h-ath* (little washer of the ford)¹⁵ is easily confused with the *caoineag* (weeping woman)¹⁶ and the *banshee*, since all forewarn of death. The Washer of the Ford is sometimes described as singing a dirge at her grisly task.

William Sharp has chosen just such a man to meet the Washer of the Ford as fits the Gaelic tradition. Torcall the Blind Harper is a lover of strife. "His song was . . . of the sword and the war-galley, of the red blood and the white breast, of Odin and Thor and Freya . . . of sudden death in battle, and of Valhalla." He stirs up strife, for the sheer love of strife, among the boatmen who are taking him to the mainland. He can say of himself, "Is it death I am fearing now, I who have washed my hands in blood, and had love, and known all that is given to man?" As we might expect, there is a sense of sin in William Sharp's legendary moralities which is not emphasized in the old versions, but to Torcall as to the older pagan heroes, the sequel of death is oblivion:

Each red soul was seized and thrown into the water of the ford, and when white as a sheep-bone on the hill, was taken in one hand by the Washer of the Ford and flung into the air, where no wind was and where sound was dead, and was then severed this way and that in four whirling blows of the sword from the four quarters of the world. Then it was that the Washer of the Ford trampled upon what fell to the ground, till under the feet of her was only a white sand, white as powder, light as the dust of the yellow flowers that grow in the grass.¹⁷

But blind Torcall has known love, and by that love, still in his heart, he is redeemed. When at last he comes himself bloodstained to the Ford he has sung of, there are two waiting for him beyond, the woman he had loved, and the child she had borne him. It is not the terrible figure of his song that he finds, but a gentle figure with long black hair, and the song that she sings is this:

"Glory to God on high, and to Mary, Mother of Jesus,
Here am I washing away the sins of the shriven,

¹⁴ *Folk Lore* IX, 91-2; XIV, 380, XXV, 87-88.

¹⁵ A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica* II, 226.

¹⁶ A. Carmichael, II, 240. Unlike *nigheag*, *caoineag* cannot be approached or questioned. She is seldom seen but often heard by hill, glen, lake, stream or waterfall. Cf. *Folk Lore* IX, 91-2; XXV, 84-91.

¹⁷ Fiona Macleod, *The Sin Eater*, etc., p. 169-170.

O Torcall of Lochlin, throw off the red sins that ye cherish,
And I will be giving you the washen shroud that they wear in Heaven."¹⁸

It is Mary Magdeline, symbol supreme of repentance. His eyes have been purged of their blindness; his heart is led by the sad song of the dead woman and the cry of her child. A prayer comes of his heart at the sound, and he weeps for pity. "Which is best, O Torcall," this Washer asks him, "the sword or peace?" The hard stubborn heart is softened at last, and he answers "Peace."

"Take your harp," Mary said, "and go unto the Ford. But lo, now I clothe you with a white shroud. And if you fear the drowning flood, follow the bells that were your tears; and if the dark affright you, follow the song of prayer that came out of your heart."¹⁹

In this second vision of Torcall's; the pagan figure has become a symbol of Christian promise. The writer has handled the legend with great freedom, but the lineaments of the Gaelic tradition are discernible. Throughout, the Washer of the Ford is peculiarly the Weird of men that love battle and strife; the garments that she washes are the gear of the doomed warriors who meet her; the prophecy implicit in her action is further expounded in a dialogue between her and the man who is to die.

The figure of the Sin-Eater is familiar in India and Turkistan,²⁰ and there are spirit-women that wash clothes in the moonlight on river banks in the folk-lore of many countries.²¹ William Sharp who was an omniverous reader, may have been acquainted with such beliefs from the essays which Prof. King cites and from many other sources as well as from Gaelic tradition. It would seem gratuitous to doubt, however, that he heard of the Washer of the Ford where he says he heard of her, in the highlands and islands of Scotland which know her still and which he surely knew. He heard of her no doubt only as the vague prophetess we have in-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

²⁰ J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,³ IX, *The Scapegoat*, p. 43-6.

²¹ For France, cf. Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*. See Index s.v. *lavan-dières de nuit*; *Folk Lore XI*, 426; G. Sand, *Legendes rustiques*, p. 30; Laisnel de la Salle, *Le Berry (Les littératures populaires XL)*, p. 140. For Korea, cf. *Folk Lore XI*, 332. "There are spirits too about rivers that take various shapes, commonly that of a woman washing clothes in the moonlight." These traditions do not retain, if they ever possessed, the distinctive features which we have enumerated of the Gaelic Washers of the Ford. For the figure of the Sin Eater, cf. G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, p. 84.

dicated, "a dim ancestral figure of awe haunting a shadowy stream in a shadowy land." Even among the most erudite of Celtic scholars the Badb is hardly more—a name in a few ancient texts or on a crumbling stone.²²⁻²³

GERTRUDE SCHOEPFERLE.

University of Illinois.

²² Hennessy, *Rev. Celt.* I, 32-57.

²³ After this article was in press I noted the following allusion to the Mórrígan (*i. e.* the Badb) in the eighth century *Reicne Fothaid Canainne* (*Fianaigecht* ed. K. Meyer, p. 16):

Horrible are the huge entrails which the Mórrígan washes.
 From the edge of a spear she came to us; 'tis she that egged us on.
 Many are the spoils she washes, terrible the hateful laughs he laughs.
 She has flung her mane over her back;—it is a stout heart that will
 not quail before her.

FURTHER INFLUENCES UPON IBSEN'S *PEER GYNT*III. HEIBERG'S *En Sjæl efter Døden*

Of an influence of J. L. Heiberg upon Ibsen there has hitherto been little recognition. In connection with *Peer Gynt* it has been noted that the influence of Goethe's *Faust* was not only a direct one, but had also passed through such an intermediate Faustiad as Heiberg's *En Sjæl efter Døden*.¹ The particular element which Ibsen's work has been seen to share with Heiberg's as distinguished from Goethe's is that the hero, who is treated satirically in both, is barred from hell as well as from heaven by the triviality of his sin, an idea which in itself Ibsen could have got from other sources or evolved independently, but which in Heiberg's work was already combined with Faustian material. I have further called attention to the troll-newspapers, which appear to have been suggested by the newspapers of hell in Heiberg's poem, and have inferred that the whole satire of Norway as the troll-kingdom was influenced by that of Denmark as hell.² Logeman includes this in his commentary together with a number of additional observations mostly unrecorded in his index:³ Mefistofeles explains that the entrance to hell is easy and unimpeded, but that there is no getting out again; Dovregubben says the same of his castle (pp. 120 f., 187). Saint Peter as the gate-keeper of heaven appears in both works, in *Peer Gynt* it is true only as conjured up by the imagination of the hero (p. 165). The soul expresses to St. Peter its preference for a trip to America, as Peer in the fourth act already has his American experience behind him; both authors represent America as a sort of materialists' paradise (p. 170). The separating of sheep from goats is referred to in both (pp. 181 f.). Peer's idea of having a bridge open behind him as a stimulus to bravery reminds one of Heiberg's souls in hell, whose only consolation consists in the hope of a possible escape (p. 187). Both Peer and the soul refer to "skimming the cream" of history (p. 235). As Begriffenfeldt insists that everyone is himself in the madhouse, so Mefistofeles in hell (p. 259),

¹ The two works were brought into connection by Georg Brandes as early as 1882 (see his *Samlede Skrifter*, III, 281).

² JOURN. ENGL. AND GERM. PHILOL., XIII, 241. 1914.

³ *A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt*. 1917.

To the bidding of death that he repeat the Lord's Prayer before he dies the actor declares himself unable without a prompter; Peer Gynt makes the same suggestion to the drowning cook, whose memory is similarly at fault, and there is a similar humorous allusion to his occupation in that his mind dwells upon the "give us to-day" part (p. 283). The Lean One of *Peer Gynt* has various points of similarity to the Mefistofeles of Heiberg, for example the power of miraculously rapid locomotion, as in fact to Mephistopheles in *Faust*, etc. (pp. 338 ff.); and finally the term "Bede-mandsstil" is used both by Mefistofeles and the Lean One (p. 344).

That Ibsen was acquainted with Heiberg's poem is not necessarily to be inferred from John Paulsen's statement,⁴ but remarkable words of praise of Heiberg contained in a newspaper article of Ibsen's from 1861⁵ would imply that their writer was familiar with all of Heiberg's works, or at any rate with so many as to justify absolute confidence in their author's literary ability.⁶

In the case of the two works one is struck no less by general points of resemblance than by particular parallels. Both are dramatic poems (in five acts, though of different length and scope), in varying metres, a number of Ibsen's verseforms being the same as Heiberg's, philosophical satirical in their direction, both idealistic, impatient of the trivialities of life in the authors' respective countries.⁷ Many allusions of a satirical nature are interspersed in both, as in Goethe's *Faust*. As to further particulars, the soul is required to present a testimonial of his qualifications for admission to heaven as Peer seeks one as a means of escape from the button-moulder. As a further test the soul is expected to take a trip to Palestine, to Egypt, through the desert, etc., which reminds one somewhat of Peer's wanderings in Ibsen's fourth act. In Elysium the soul in accordance with St. Peter's instructions looks forward to entertainment by dancing girls, as Peer is entertained by Anitra and her companions. The soul apologizes for not having studied (having no academic education) by explaining that he was brought up to a commercial career. So Peer, after confessing that he has not studied, explains to his international companions of the yacht-cruise the training secured

⁴ *Mine erindringer*, I, 180. 1900.

⁵ *Samlede værker*, X, 458; cf. also J. Paulsen, *Samliv med Ibsen*, 46 f. 1906.

⁶ Cf. also Koht & Elias, in H. Ibsen, *Efterladte skrifter*, I, LXII f. 1909.

⁷ Cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 223.

through his commercial experience. The soul had objected to following the course of Christ's experience; so Peer in his resolve to follow in travel the course of history decides to skip over Bible history. Both refer to Socrates and his fate.

Hell and the troll-kingdom have many similarities. In hell everything is self-sufficient and superficial; there is no depth, no relation to the past, only an eternal state of beginning. The idea underlying this characterization is not essentially unrelated to that contained in Dovregubben's riddle as to the difference between trolls and men: the troll's motto is self-sufficiency. Heiberg's humorous injection of the metre into the discussion ("*Anapæst*") reminds me, though the comparison may seem far fetched, of the Strange Passenger's assurance to Peer Gynt that one doesn't die in the middle of the fifth act.⁸ The "black upon white" of the printed matter of hell is effectively altered by Ibsen to the "red upon black" of the troll-newspapers. The societies of the learned in hell are matched by Ibsen's "club of learned" in the insane asylum. It is perhaps permissible to compare Mefistofeles' declaration that most poets are better than their works, but in the case of the greatest poets the relation is reversed, with Dovregubben's assurance that trolls are better than their reputation, which is the reverse of the case with men. The great man, Mefistofeles elucidates, is but a tool in the Master's hands; when he has accomplished the Master's purpose he is discarded (but not his work). With a certain degree of similarity the Button-moulder makes clear to Peer that the Master had intended him for a "gleaming button on the world vest," but as the casting had not turned out well he must be consigned to the junk-heap to be melted over again. Perhaps the riddle of the identity of the Strange Passenger is solved if one has understood the connection between his appearance to Peer and that of death to the actor in Heiberg's play.⁹ The latter identifies himself as a messenger in God's service and the Strange Passenger's revelations as to his identity lead Peer to suspect in him a "messenger of the light"; the Passenger uses expressions that savor of the stage. Both authors employ "*notabene*." That heat is associated with hell is traditional enough not to be wondered at,

⁸ Illustrations of this type of humor from Tieck and other authors will occur to the reader; cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 288.

⁹ Cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 282.

but Mefistofeles rather makes light of it and points out that board, lodging and the other philistine necessities are to be had there. The Lean One asks Peer, who desires admittance to hell, if he would like a warm room. In the chorus of mourners ("Efterlevende") at the beginning and end of Heiberg's poem there is somewhat of the expression, tone and metre of the funeral sermon overheard by Peer over the man whom he had earlier in life seen mutilate himself to escape military service.

As Ibsen spoke of Heiberg's literary productions as if he were familiar with them in their entirety it may not be superfluous to note points of contact with others of them. For this purpose I shall refer to the *Poetiske Skrifter* (in 11 volumes, 1862) and *Prosaiske Skrifter* (in 11 volumes, 1861-2), giving in each case the date of original publication of the article or work in question. Some of the points closely duplicate ones already recorded from *En Sjæl efter Døden*.

Poetiske Skrifter, I, 130 (1814). Talking in iambs is referred to.

I, 282 ff. (1814). The small trolls of the mountains are conjured up to guard the hero; they torment him grievously, but take to flight at the appearance of the young girl, Rosa. This is suggestive of Peer's troubles with the small trolls of Dovre and his rescue through the power of women. There is also allusion to selling one's soul to the devil.

II, 205 f. (1838). The metrical feet are personified and made to play a rôle.

VI, 84 (1826). "Gale-Frands." Peer speaks of himself (to Anitra) as a "Galfrands." The word is however common enough to be included in Falk & Torp's etymological dictionary.¹⁰

VIII, 45 (1819). Birds struggling yearly at the anniversary of Memnon's burial ("Gravfest"). Ibsen could have got this directly from Ovid.¹¹

VIII, 175 ff. (1842). Newspapers are discussed as in *En Sjæl efter Døden*.

IX, 356 (1817). The devil in clerical garb; so the Lean One in *Peer Gynt*.

X, 350 (1845). A squirrel throws down nut-shells on the persons gathering nuts as Peer thinks the monkeys are throwing down fruit on him, while the squirrel's threat of "something worse" he finds in his own case realized. In both places the offender is spoken of as "Knægt" and man as "lord of the beasts," "lord of creation."

Prosaiske Skrifter, II, 56 (1837). "A posse ad esse valet consequentia" is twisted by Peer to "Ab esse ad posse."¹²

¹⁰ *Etymologisk ordbog*, I, 212; *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 295; cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 228.

¹¹ Cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 243 ff.

¹² Cf. *Modern Philology*, XV, 631. 1918.

- II, 60 ff. (1837). On positive and negative—compare the Lean One's remarks on positive and negative of photograph.
- III, 154 f. (1827). "*Berlinsk eller malabarisk*"; in *Peer Gynt* Huhu speaks of the Malebar language as "*malebarisk*," while Peer recognizes in the language of Begriffenfeldt the Berlin dialect.
- IX, 8 f. (1843). The difference between the thorough and superficial dilettante: the latter skims off the cream (and throws away the milk).
- X, 213 (1834). "*qua Mening*"; 241. "*qua modsigende*"—compare Peer in Act V, "*qua grynt*." In this same article there is considerable about the "absolute," that is of Hegelianism. It can hardly be otherwise than that Ibsen in his Begriffenfeldt, who celebrates the death of "absolute reason," has definite reference to Hegelianism, which must have become accessible to him primarily through Heiberg. It is noteworthy that, though admiring Heiberg in many respects, Ibsen evidently did not share his enthusiasm for the Hegelian philosophy, or as much of it as he may have understood.¹³
- X, 271 (1834). "*paaholden Pen*"; such Hussejn fancies himself to be in the madhouse scene of *Peer Gynt*.¹⁴
- X, 462 (1830). "*Bedemandsstil*."

As to the whole significance of Ibsen's reaction to Heiberg's poem, there is a marked difference from the cases previously considered in that Ibsen here does not at all place himself in opposition to the work that has deeply occupied his mind. On the contrary he has made Heiberg's satirical method his own, this together with the Danish author's fine aesthetic sense and bold idealism having obviously made a powerful appeal.

A. LE ROY ANDREWS.

Cornell University.

¹³ Cf. the note of A. Aall, *H. Ibsen als Dichter und Denker*, 91. 1906.

¹⁴ Cf. Logeman, *Commentary*, 270 f.

A CONTEMPORARY CRITIQUE OF SCHILLERS *RÄUBER*

Among the countless German periodicals of the latter half of the eighteenth century there were quite a number which existed only for a brief period, and have since sunk into almost complete oblivion. To this class belongs a venture of the publisher Weygand in Leipzig, which bore the high-sounding title *Jahrbücher des Geschmacks und der Aufklärung*. Only six monthly numbers (Jan.–June, 1783) seem to have been published, making two quarterly volumes of 480 pages each, in large octavo. The contents are grouped under the following headings:

I. Auswahl guter Gedichte und prosaischer Aufsätze. II. Neueste Völker- und Länderkunde. III. Geschichte der neuesten Litteratur. IV. Neueste Staatenkunde. V. Künste, enthaltend 1) bildende Künste, 2) Musik, 3) Theater. VI. Manichfaltigkeiten.

In the preface the anonymous editor frankly states that it will be his aim to select for the *Jahrbücher* the best that is to be found in contemporary periodicals. This thinly-veiled piracy was detected by Wieland, who immediately exposed the design by reviewing the first number in the *Anzeiger des Teutschen Merkur* for March, 1783 (pp. xxxvii f.), the only reference to the *Jahrbücher* that has come to my notice:

Nicht leicht ist ein Abschreiber oder Nachdrucker in so schamloser Mine aufgetreten, als mit Titul und Vorrede dieses neue Journal, "welches andern Journalen, die ohne Unterschied und Wahl alles zusammenraffen, Einhalt thun, und einer (vorgeblichen) Unternehmung, die den guten periodischen Schriften viel geschadet haben würde, steuern soll." Das Mittel hierzu ist, ehe diese Unternehmer zugreifen, lieber selbst mit Plünderung guter Journale zuvorzukommen. Sonst pflegt eine so leicht erworbene Waare wenigstens wohlfeil zu seyn; aber hier steht sie theuern Preises als die meisten Originale selbst. So gewiss scheint sich der Verleger mit gutem Erfolge von Seiten des treuerhizigen Leservolks zu schmeicheln. *Lucri bonus odor ex re qualibet* (S. 29) lukt ihn an, sein Schiffelein mit günstigem Winde des prächtigen Titels auslaufen zu lassen, und den Lesern, wenn sie wollen, aus seiner Ladung ein Viertes Buch theuern Kaufs anzubieten, das sie in Drey andern schon besitzen. So viel ist gewiss, dass wenn auch das ganze Schiff unterginge, die gelehrte Welt damit an Urkunden des Geschmacks und der Aufklärung nichts verlihren würde, weil die

Duplicate und Triplicate vorlängst in sichern Häfen eingelaufen sind.

The contributors, for the most part presumably involuntary, include Blumauer, Bürger (*Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain; Der arme Dichter; Der Edelmann und der Bauer*), F. H. von Dalberg, O. H. von Gemmingen, Göcking, J. G. Jacobi, Langbein, Meissner, Justus Möser (*Schreiben an einen Freund über die deutsche Sprache; Ueber die National-Erziehung der alten Deutschen; Der Celibat der Geistlichkeit*), Pfeffer, Ramler, and F. L. Graf zu Stolberg.

Under the rubric THEATER there is (I, 465-72) a detailed critique of Schiller's *Räuber*, which is not found in Braun,¹ and has also escaped the Schiller Bibliographers:

UEBER DIE RÄUBER, EIN TRAUERSPIEL VON FRIEDRICH SCHILLER

Nicht, um den Lesern dieser Jahrbücher einen Begriff von diesem Schauspieler zu geben (denn dazu wäre es zu spät); sondern um unsere Meinung darüber zu sagen, zeigen wir dieses Stück hier an, weil es seit einiger Zeit auf allen Bühnen Deutschlands eingeführt worden ist. Unserer Meinung also nach hätte man sich die Mühe sparen können, es auf das Theater zu bringen, weil selbst dem Verfasser unmöglich ein Dienst damit geschehen seyn kann. Als Phantasie eines guten Kopfs mochte es hingehen, als Theaterstück ward es einem strengern Urtheil unterworfen.

Der Gesichtspunkt, aus welchem Shakespear von seinen deutschen Jüngern und affektirenden Bewunderern angesehen wird, ist ein Dunstkreis phantastischer Thorheit. Köpfe verstanden, fühlten und entwickelten das Grosse seiner Werke, und Magen krächzten es nach. Manche fanden es in den zügellosen Ausschweifungen seines Geistes, andere in der vermeinten Verachtung der natürlichsten Regeln, noch andere selbst in den Schwächen unsers grossen englischen Dichters, die kein Vernünftiger an ihm rügt, aber auch nicht vergöttert.

Es gab einmal eine Zeit—wem ist sie nicht noch gegenwärtig?—wo lauter Shakespear auftraten. Göthe schrieb ein Original sowohl an Werth als in Rücksicht auf Gegenstand und Behandlung, und fand Beyfall. Sogleich erfolgte eine ganze Ueberschwemmung von Schau- und Trauerspielen à la Shakespear. Pfeffer hat im Almanach von Voss und Gökingk 1782. die ergiebige Quelle davon angezeigt, und eine gewisse Geschichte im Biribinker ist seiner Urkunde nicht ungünstig. Die Fakta gleichen sich; nur dass in beiden Fällen die Tinkturen oder Essenzen an Gehalt verschieden

¹ Jul. W. Braun, *Schiller und Goethe im Urtheile ihrer Zeitgenossen*. Erste Abtheilung, Schiller. Leipzig, 1882.

waren, wie bei den Goldmachern. Aus der einen Essenz entstanden nur Trauerspiele, und aus der andern ein hübsches Mädchen.

Jene Quelle, dem Himmel sey Dank! versiegte wieder. Unser sonst eben nicht ungläubiges Publikum wollte die neuen Herren doch nicht recht für Shakespeare halten, ob sie schon sich ganz die Miene dazu gaben. Manche liessen sie zwar wegen der Trachten, die sie annahmen, eine Zeitlang dafür gelten, andre aber kannten diese gleich aus den Trödelbuden her, lachten heimlich drüber, wenn sie so einher stolzirten, und wunderten sich dabei, wie so stattliche Herren sich in einen dergleichen Aufzug verlieben können, da sie doch ihr vernichtes männliches Wesen in einem andern Gewande viel besser produziert haben würden.

Es war in der That Schade, dass die guten Köpfe darunter so straucheln konnten. Am ganzen Unglück war ein missverständener Begriff von Natur und Kraft Schuld. Erstere ward gar verkannt, und fand man ja in ihren Stücken etwas, das ihr glich, so war es meist eine Natur, die man Rohigkeit oder wol gar Ungezogenheit nennt, und die man frühzeitig aus dem Menschen wegzubilden sucht.

Sie betrachteten das Theater als einen Tummelplatz, auf dem alle die Geniesprünge am besten anzubringen wären, die im gemeinen Leben am meisten auffallen, und aller bürgerlichen Ordnung und der eingeführten Anständigkeit widersprechen. Manche glaubten einen grossen Fund gethan zu haben, wenn sie eine niedrige oder ekelhafte Naturscene aufgehascht hatten, vor welcher die Gesittetheit, ohne Ziererei, in allen Winkeln ihre Augen schliessen muss. Neben diesen Scenen sah man die Natur noch allenfalls im Treibhaus.

Um auch den Schein von allem unbilligen Urtheil von uns abzulehnen, gestehen wir eben so freimüthig, dass wir in einigen Stücken, einzelne vortreffliche Scenen fanden; aber desto mehr Unzufriedenheit konnte man sich gegen die übrigen erlauben, weil man sah, dass der Verfasser einer solchen Scene, bei mehrerer Strenge gegen seine Phantasie, ein besseres Ganze hätte schaffen können.

Es ist Zeit, dass wir endlich nach dieser Enleitung auf Herrn Schillers Räuber kommen. Trotz des Lärms, welches die Zeitungsposaunen von diesem Schauspiel gemacht haben, trotz der Beeiferung, es für alle Schaubühnen einzurichten, gestehen wir doch, dass es uns missfällt. Sollte der Herr Verfasser auf jenen öffentlichen Beifall stolz seyn, so erinnern wir ihn, dass sein Schauspiel diesen mit jeder lustigen Farce, die etwa ein Vorurtheil trift, oder sonst einen glücklichen Einfall erwischt, gemein hat. Wir verweisen ihn auf die Jahreslisten unserer² Bühnen. Uebrigens wundert es uns gar nicht, dass Schauspieler ein solches Stück auf die Bühne bringen. Sie bekommen so wenig neue (und neue will doch das liebe Publikum immer haben), welche starke und hervorstechende

² Text: unser.

Rollen enthalten, dass es ihnen wol zu verzeihen ist, wenn sie Stücke aufführen, die weder zur Vorstellung geschickt sind, noch dazu eingerichtet werden sollten.

Wenn wir sagen, dass uns das Stück missfällt, so sagen wir das vorzüglich in Rücksicht aufs Theater. Als Phantasie führt es Beweise, dass es seinem Verf. an Genie nicht mangle. Aber kein Werk eines Genies, auch keine bloss Phantasie, sollte Spuren von gefährlichen Scheinabsichten enthalten, am allerwenigsten ein Theaterstück. Das Unnatürliche bemerkt nicht jedes Auge; der grösste Theil hält sich an das Auffallende. Hohe Tugend eines vorsätzlichen Räubers und Mörders ist im Grunde wahrer Nonsens. Aber was für Geschöpfe vermag nicht die Einbildungskraft hervorzubringen. Der Verbrecher mit grossen und edlen Gesinnungen interessirt, und wenn er noch zwanzig Mal so sehr Verbrecher wäre. Jungen Leuten von Feuer und Rohigkeit erscheint er als Held; und wir zweifeln nicht, dass es einem Karl von Moor leicht fallen würde, in jedem Parterre für seine Kompagnie zu werben.

Mit dem grössten Scheine von Recht könnte man dem Herrn Schiller eine böse Absicht bei seinem Schauspiel Schuld geben, und die Einbildungskraft würde es schon über sich nehmen, diese Vermuthung glaubwürdig auszumalen. Welcher gutdenkende Mann würde sich aber verzeihen, seiner Einbildungskraft so viel Ausschweifung zuzugestehen, wenn ihr auch sein Beweis Ehre machen sollte. Wir sind vielmehr überzeugt, dass Herr Schiller bei Dichtung seiner Räuber gar keine Absicht gehabt, oder wenigstens nur die Absicht, die ihm bei der Lesung des Königs Lear eingefallen seyn mag, sich als ein zweiter Shakespear anzukündigen. Allen andern Absichten, auf die man sonst rathen möchte, widerstreitet Karl von Moor. Sonst könnte man glauben, der Verfasser habe einen pädagogischen Zweck dabei gehabt, oder er habe zeigen wollen, dass die grössten Bösewichter, welche die Menschheit dafür erklärt, von manchen an Bosheit und Abscheulichkeit übertroffen würden, die in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft ohne Brandmark umher schleichen dürfen.

Geht man das Stück Scene für Scene durch, so findet man bei allen guten und grossen Ideen, die das Stück enthalten mag, doch meistens Uebertreibung und Unnatürlichkeit. Den alten Vater und den alten Daniel ausgenommen, zwo Rollen, die überhaupt nichts bedeuten, sind die übrigen Personen lauter Kraftrollen. Am besten dargestellt ist wol Karls von Moor Charakter und seine Bande. Franzens Charakter kömmt uns vor wie die Skizze einer Figur, die, ohne alle Bestimmtheit in der Zeichnung mit Oelfarben hingeworfen ist, damit man daraus die Hauptwirkung derselben ersehen solle. Gleich in der ersten Scene erscheint Franz, zwar als ein Bösewicht, aber als ein Bösewicht, der keinen Dumkopf täuschen kann; und der alte einfältige Vater hat, wenn man das Weinerliche abrechnet, gar keinen Charakter. Franz von Moor

ist überhaupt kein Mensch, der einen Karl ausstechen und ihm sein Erbtheil vorenthalten kann. Von vornen herein gefällt uns das Stück am allerwenigsten. Auch Amalia gefällt uns nicht durchgängig, und nur vorzüglich in der Scene, wo sie Rosen auf das Lager ihres schlafenden Onkels streut. Sonderbar ist, dass sie sich auch nach des alten Moors Tode noch bei Franzen, den sie doch den Mörder ihres Geliebten nennt, gefallen lässt, und nicht gleich in ein Kloster entflieht, welches sie doch immer im Munde führt. Nach der Schilderung, die sie von Karl gemacht, erwartet man viel von ihm; man glaubt übrigens, Franz habe seinen Vater ganz getäuscht, und wie nun Karl zum ersten Mal auftritt, sieht man sich auf einmal betrogen. Karl ist in der That ein liederlicher Kerl, aber ein Kraftmann, der sich jedoch, nach Lesung des Briefs von seinem Bruder, wie ein Kind beträgt. Wenn man ihn dann in der Folge mit so vieler Anlage zu einem grossen Menschen kennen lernt, so wundert man sich um so mehr über die Wirkung, die seines Bruders Brief auf ihn macht, zumal wenn man von Amalien weiss, dass Karl seinen Bruder hinlänglich kennt, als dass er nicht Verdacht wider ihn schöpfen sollte. In der Scene, wo sich Karl den Eid von seiner Bande ablegen lässt, muss man sich wundern, dass man Spiegelberg nicht auch dazu nöthiget, dem es doch jeder ansehen kann, dass er mit der Wahl unzufrieden ist. Man glaubt aber, nach Spiegelbergs Aeusserung zu schliessen, dass wenigstens Absicht dabei sey, und dass durch Spiegelberg endlich der verurtheilte Knoten auf eine schlimme Art für sie werde aufgelöset werden, aber nein! daran scheint gar nicht gedacht worden zu seyn; und man sieht mehr wie einmal aus der ganzen Anlage, dass der Verf. keinen Plan hatte, und dass so eine Scene nach der andern, ohne Vorsatz, entstand. Der Kommissar unter einer solchen Bande, der ihnen so ganz allein vormoralisirt, macht auch einen Effekt, der ziemlich komisch ist, ohne es seyn zu sollen. Die Scene, wo endlich die Räuber in einer Gegend an der Donau wieder erscheinen, nachdem sie sich durch die böhmischen Reuter durchgeschlagen, ist eine der interessantesten. Schweizers Liebesseifer gegen Moor ist rührend; er ist keinesweges wider die Natur, aber er wirkt auf den unbesonnenen Zuschauer mehr als er wirken sollte. Kosinsky's Erscheinung und sein Bekenntniss macht anfangs stutzig; man fällt auf den Argwohn, dass, da Herrmanns Verkleidung so wohl gelungen, vielleicht—Amalia—sich entschlossen habe, ihren Karl aufzusuchen, zumal da es ganz den Anschein hat, als ob von Karls Amalia die Rede sey, und ganz denselben Eindruck auf Karl macht, als ob sie es wirklich wäre. Dass diese Muthmassung in Ansehung ihrer nicht ganz ohne Grund und Anlass entsteht, erweist sich aus dem letzten Akte, wo sie noch an Karl den Räuber und Mörder mit der ganzen Stärke der Liebe hängen kann. Was hätte sie nicht, als Kosinsky, von nun an dem ganzen Stück für eine gute befriedigende Entwicklung geben können, ohne dass

die Scenen zwischen Brüder und Vater dabei hätten aufgeopfert werden dürfen; im Gegentheil diese Entwicklung würde sie nur noch interessanter gemacht, und die Karakter Aller gerettet haben. Dann würde ein trefflicher Reflex auf die an der Donau vorgefallene Scene gefallen seyn. Freilich aber wäre Karl dann kein Räuber geblieben, und der Klubb hätte sich zerschlagen. Der Verf. scheint sich aber zu sehr in den Karakter seiner Räuber verliebt zu haben, als dass er diese Sinnesänderung, die sehr natürlich hätte zugehen können, geduldet hätte. Es mag ihm vielleicht oft Cartouche bei der Schöpfung seines Karls von Moor eingefallen seyn: nur war Cartouche ein ganz anderer Kerl, zwar von ungemein grossem Verstande, grosser Klugheit, grossem Witze, der wol auch bisweilen einen Anstrich von Edelmuth zeigte; der aber durch alle seine edle oder grossmüthige Handlungen, die seinem Witze schmeichelten, die Seinigen dadurch nur noch fester an sich kettete, und die Leute von sich reden machen wollte. Cartouche hatte wol einen grossen Räuberkarakter, mit dem man, als Räuber betrachtet, zufrieden seyn konnte. Aber Karl von Moor, der bisweilen zeigt, dass er grosser edler Mensch seyn könne, wenn er wolle, hat keinen Karakter zu einer Behandlung, die ohne widrigen Erfolg es wäre. Und kann blosser widriger Eindruck die Absicht eines Schauspieldichters seyn, so darf er ja nur auf dem Theater henken, köpfen, rädern und foltern lassen.

Wenn dem Verfasser also nicht blos darum zu thun gewesen wäre, eine Räuberbande zu schildern, so hätte er seinen tollen Kerlen, die der Vernunft einmal abgeschworen hatten, wol einen Anschlag beybringen können, bei welchem sie einen Schein von wilder Grösse behalten hätten. Er durfte sie nur sich über die Aufhebung des Faustrechts hinwegsetzen lassen. Hatten sie als Räuber vor Galgen und Rad keine Furcht, so konnten sie vor der Todesstrafe, die auf Befehdungen gesetzt war, noch weniger Furcht haben. Ihr Handwerk wurde zwar auch ein halbes Räuber- und Mörderhandwerk, aber mit einem Anstrich, den man sich aus der Zeit des Faustrechts gefallen lassen konnte.

Der letzte Akt ist schauderhaft, und könnte vortreflich ausgeführt seyn. Solch einen unseligen Auftritt hat wol kein Vater gehabt, so lange die Welt steht! In Rücksicht auf Moralität ist dieser Akt wol der gefährlichste; denn Karl Moor, der Mörder und Mordbrenner, erscheint darin nicht mehr und nicht minder, als ein von Gott ausersehenes Werkzeug, seinen verruchten Bruder zu strafen: gerade als wenn die Vorsehung Karl zu dem, was er war, bestimmt hätte, um endlich einmal das thun zu können, was er hier thut. Er, der sich bei einem Sonnenuntergang so nach seiner Tugend und nach seiner gehoftten Glückseligkeit zurücksehen konnte, setzt endlich nach ausgeübter Bestrafung seines Bruders, nach der Ermordung seiner Geliebten, die er nicht mehr besitzen konnte, und nach heldenmüthiger Ermahnung an einige

seiner Genossen, zu einem tugendhaften Leben zurückzukehren, seinen Lastern ein Ziel, eilt, sich freiwillig den Händen der Gerechtigkeit zu überliefern, aber dadurch noch einem armen Edelmann durch Erhaltung der Summe, die auf seinen Kopf gesetzt ist, nützlich zu werden. Seine Kameraden stehn wie Memmen da, und lassen die Sache ihren Gang gehen.—So endigt sich dieses Schauspiel zum Unwillen der Leser und Zuschauer, da sich doch die ganze Geschichte auf eine herrliche Art hätte entwickeln können.

The writer gives no clue to his identity. It is evident, however, that he must have been a literary critic of some standing, who considered it within his province to defend Shakespeare and to give wholesome advice not only to the young Schiller but to the *Stürmer und Dränger* in general. In the eyes of the latter he was doubtless a *Philister*.

With these premises, the most plausible name to suggest itself is that of J. J. Eschenburg, friend and collaborator of Lessing and Nicolai, since 1773 professor at the *Collegium Carolinum* in Brunswick. His translation of Shakespeare had been completed in 1782, whereas the first edition of his *Entwurf einer Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* appeared simultaneously with this critique. Ten years later, in his *Beispielsammlung zur Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* (VII, 643), Eschenburg gives a similar summary of his opinion of *Die Räuber*:

Als dramatischer Dichter lieferte er [Schiller] zuerst im J. 1781 das Schauspiel, die Räuber, dessen öftere Vorstellungen, und der ihnen jedesmal ertheilte Beifall, den indess immer mehr reifenden Geschmack des Verfassers nicht gegen die vielen Auswüchse und Uebertreibungen in dieser noch zu jugendlichen, obgleich immer talentvollen, Arbeit, nicht unempfindlich machen konnten.

Many of the productions of the *Geniezeit* had also been anonymously reviewed by Eschenburg in Nicolai's *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*,³ in a tone very similar to that of the present critique. In the case of the *Neuer Versuch* (XXXIV, 497 f.) Eschenburg even goes out of his way to make a violent attack on Goethe. The latter, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, as well as in his later corres-

³ Goedeke, under the authors in question, cites: Wagner, *Die Reue nach der That*; Lenz, *Lustspiele nach dem Plautus*; *Der neue Menoza*; *Die Soldaten*; Klinger, *Otto*; *Das leidende Weib*; *Simone Grisaldo*; *Sturm und Drang*. To these may be added the following: Wagner, *Der wohlthätige Unbekannte*, XXXII, 475; *Neuer Versuch über die Schauspielkunst*, XXXIV, 496; *Die Kindermörderin*, Anhang zu Bd. 25-36, II, 764; Lenz, *Anmerkungen übers*

pondence, mentions Eschenburg with respect, but in writing to Herder in 1771 (*Briefe*, II, 4) he calls Eschenburg *ein elender Kerl*. Schiller's opinion may be seen from his letter to W. Schlegel of March 11, 1796:⁴

. . . der Himmel lohne es Ihnen, dass Sie uns von dem traurigen Eschenburg befreyen wollen. Mit diesem sind Sie glimpflicher umgegangen als ers verdient, bey seiner lächerlichen Anmassung als Critiker und Aesthetiker verdient. Man sollte diese Erzphilister, die doch Menschen zu seyn sich einbilden, nicht so gut traktieren. Käme es auf sie und ihre Hohlköpfe an, sie würden alles genialische in Grundsboden zertreten und zerstören.

The literary relations of Eschenburg and Schiller therefore interpose no obstacle to the ascription to the former of the anonymous critique of *Die Räuber*. Additional evidence is found in the fact that Eschenburg already had business relations with Weygand the publisher of the *Jahrbücher*: the *Brittisches Museum für die Deutschen* (6 vols., 1777-1780) and the *Annalen der Brittischen Literatur* (1781) were edited by Eschenburg and published by Weygand. What is more probable, therefore, than that the latter should apply to a critic of Eschenburg's reputation for a contribution to his new enterprise?⁵

W. KURRELMAYER.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Theater, XXVII, 377. In addition, the *Allg. deu. Bibl.* contains reviews by Eschenburg of books such as *Schreiben des Herrn von Voltaire . . . über . . . Shakespear*, XXXVI, 137; Lavater, *Abraham und Isaak*, XXXVI, 141; *Der Schauspieler, Ein dogmatisches Werk für das Theater*, Anh. zu Bd. 13-24, I, 447; *Allgemeine Bibliothek für Schauspieler und Schauspielliebhaber*, XXX, 517; *Theater der Deutschen*, XXX, 522; *Taschenbuch für die Schaubühne*, XXVII, 436.

⁴ *Schillers Briefe*, hrsg. von F. Jonas, IV, 427.

⁵ It is a rather curious coincidence that just at the time when this appeared in the *Jahrbücher*, Weygand was negotiating with Schiller concerning the publication of his future works (cf. Jonas, I, 100).

SIMILE AND METAPHOR IN THE NOVELS OF ALFRED MEISSNER¹

The pictorial elements of Meissner's style are nowhere more evident than in his similes and metaphors, which are scattered throughout his novels in considerable profusion. It is worthy of note, however, that they disappear to a great extent from the novels written after 1870, for example in "Feindliche Pole" and "Auf und Nieder." Nor are they so numerous in earlier novels like "Neuer Adel," "Schwarzgelb" or "Babel," in which a social or political "tendenz" prevails, as in the pure romance, "Sansara," which shows not only the most, but, perhaps, the best figures in the novels. The author of "Ziska" and "Werinher" was preëminently a poet, and his figures are among the most artistic ingredients of his prose fiction.

In the choice and elaboration of his similes and metaphors Meissner's wide reading and knowledge, as well as his own sharp observation and sensitive imagination, came into active play. Let us examine them and make some attempt at classification. We will notice at the start that many of his figures, like the following, are taken from the simplest observation of everyday life:

"Sie glich dem Vogel, der, den Händen eines Knaben entronnen, an die überstandene Gefahr nicht lange denkt und gleich darauf wieder im Walde lustig von Ast zu Ast springt." "Die Kinder Roms" III, pp. 8, 9.

"Sein Genie muss heraus, wie der Gaul im Sonnenschein aus dem dunkeln Stall in das reine Tageslicht hinausstürmt und Alles über den Haufen rennt, was ihm unter die Augen kommt." *Ibid.*, I, p. 210.

"Verzeihen Sie, und lassen Sie die arme Mücke, die sich im blendenden Feuer Füße und Flügel verbrannte, fortkommen, wie sie kann." "Zwischen Fürst und Volk," p. 48.

"Die Leidenschaft . . . legte den sanften, weichen Grund ihres Gemüthes bloss, eines Gemüthes, das wie eine Wasserfläche den zartesten Lufthauch

¹ This investigation is an excerpt in revised form, taken from a chapter entitled 'style', which is part of a paper entitled: "A Study in the Technique of the Novels of Alfred Meissner." The edition used is "Gesammelte Schriften von Alfred Meissner," Leipzig 1872. Other novels not included in this edition are "Die Kinder Roms," Berlin 1870; "Feindliche Pole," Berlin 1878; "Auf und Nieder," Berlin 1880; "Norbert Norson," Zürich, 1883.

empfang und der Flügelschlag einer Libelle aus seiner Ruhe bringen konnte." "Sansara," II, p. 152.

"Glühende Macht der Sehnsucht hebt die geängstigte Seele wieder in die Lüfte auf zarten, gebrechlichen Flügeln, sie fährt wieder eine selige Weile durch ein verklärtes Universum—da kommt ein Windstoss, und sie stürzt wie ein Schmetterling im Sturme in das Erdenthal der Wirklichkeit herab." *Ibid.*, III, pp. 100, 101.

"Mit der Gier eines hungrigen Haifisches schnappte der Freiherr, der sich in seinen Hoffnungen heute abermals getäuscht glaubte, nach dem Briefe." *Ibid.*, IV, p. 34.

"Burda machte sich, wie ein losgekoppelter Fanghund, auf die Beine." "Schwarzgelb," II, p. 97.

A great many of Meissner's figures are drawn from the natural sciences, among others, physics, astronomy, meteorology, and geology. The last-named, in particular, furnishes him material for his figures, some of which are quite striking:

"Ich sehe daraus, welche Brandstoffe in mir aufgehäuft liegen, und sehe, dass sie aus weiter Ferne durch elektrischen Contact in Explosion zu versetzen sind." "Sansara," II, p. 169.

"Wie unter einem elektrischen Griff zuckte das Mädchen zusammen." *Ibid.*, I, p. 40.

"Es ist am Ende nichts, als die Gewohnheit meiner Seele, sich auf Flügeln in hoher Luft zu ergehen und frei in einem unermesslichen Raume ihre Kometenbahn zu beschreiben." *Ibid.*, I, p. 163.

"Wie man noch einen Stern am Himmel sehen kann, der seit lange zerborst und seine Trümmer in s Universum zerstreute, so sah Reinhold noch das Strahlenbild seiner Liebe. Frei, sogar ohne Sehnsucht nach Alexandra, weil von schöner Vergangenheit erfüllt, webte seine Seele im glänzenden, hinreisenden, entzückenden Traume fort und glaubte, der goldene Stern, den sie sah, stehe noch am Himmel fest!" "Zwischen Fürst und Volk," p. 84.

"Es war eine tiefe, starre, wortlose Trauer, unabsehbar wie eine Nacht am Pol, in die er hineinstarrte." "Sansara," II, p. 9.

"ein unauslöschlicher Enthusiasmus durchglühte meine Seele und liess sein strahlendes licht auf die ganze Welt fallen. Wie masslos muss er gewesen sein, wenn er noch in der Erinnerung durch ein Wolkenlager von Gewittern in mein Gemüth hereinbricht und aus unerreichbarer Ferne noch meine Seele erwärmt und beleuchtet!" *Ibid.*, II, p. 57.

"Ihre Schuld war das innere vulkanische Feuer, welches gar oft die marmerne Oberfläche ihres selbstbeherrschten Wesens in grössere und kleinere Erschütterungen versetzte; jetzt aber, da die Gefahr der Entdeckung vorhanden war, hatten sich diese verhältnissmässig geringen Schwingungen zu einem Erdbeben gesteigert, das Alles durchbrach und die äusseren Vormauern in Schutt und Geröll verwandelte." "Neuer Adel," II, p. 232.

"Ihn schien, als würde die schwere Felskruste, die die Zeit über alte, niedergekämpfte Erinnerungen aufgebaut, plötzlich wieder emporgehoben und drohe zu zerspringen." "Zwischen Fürst und Volk," p. 253.

“ueberall sah sein Blick die Goldader im formlosen Block.” *Ibid.*, p. 119.

“Starr und fest, wie der Boden, auf dem es steht, scheint das Volkstum. Dieser Boden aber, ein ganzer Continent, hat sich aus den Meeresfluthen niedergeschlagen, Gebirge haben ihn von innen durchbrochen, innere Gluthen ihn durchschmolzen, wechselnde Floren ihn bekleidet. So ist es auch im Reich des Geistes.” “Die Kinder Roms,” 1, p. 4.

“So viele Jahre liegen zwischen damals und jetzt, jedes zog einen neuen Ring um den Baum, und kein Auge liest jetzt mehr die einst in ihm eingegrabenen verschlungenen Namenszüge.” “Zwischen Fürst und Volk,” p. 255.

An exceptionally large proportion of Meissner's figures² have to do with the sea. This fondness for marine pictures is by no means confined to the novels, but is found also in his other writings, in his dramas, his poetry, and general essays. Such figures are frequently concerned with navigation:

“Die Schiffart ist lang und mühevoll, die Stürme drohen, und doch muss man das Ruder in der Hand behalten.” “Sansara,” III, p. 60.

“Wer so fest in der Siegeszuversicht war wie ich, und dahin kam, über sich selbst die Hände zu ringen, der kehrt das entmastete Schiff nicht um, er sprengt es in die Luft. Columbus wollte umkehren, wenn in drei Tagen kein Land zum Vorschein käme, ich stellte mir immer neue Fristen, nicht drei Tage nur, drei Jahre und abermals drei Jahre! Kein Land erscheint, kein Hoffungsstreif am Horizonte. Hinab, hinab!” *Ibid.*, III, p. 61.

“Könnte sich der Seemann den Wind schaffen, wie das Segel und den Anker, er hätte fürwahr nicht den furchtbar majestätischen Orkan erfunden und über den Ocean losgelassen. Aber auch da träte im Laufe der Zeiten einmal ein Capitain auf, der von den Windstillen und alltäglichen Brisen gelangweilt, sich nach einem Kampf mit den Elementen sehnte. . . .” *Ibid.*, I, p. 13.

“es geht mir wie dem Kahn, der dicht hinter dem grossen Mastschiff dessen Wasserspur durchkreuzen will.” “Sansara,” II, p. 169.

“ein edles Opfer . . . für welches das Schicksal zu freigebig gesorgt zu haben schien, als dass er es auf seinen schwankenden Kahn locken und allen Wellen und Wettern aussetzen sollte.” “Neuer Adel,” 1, p. 227.

²“Es ist psychologisch wichtig festzustellen, aus welcher Sphäre der Redende diese Analogievorstellungen (metaphorische Gebilde) entnimmt. So wird etwa der Soldat seine Vorstellungen mit Vorliebe auf das Gebiet des Kriegswesens, der Jäger auf das Gebiet der Jagd, der Schiffer auf das Gebiet des Seewesens hinüberschweifen lassen und dort seine Metaphern und Gleichnisse suchen. Ein erhabener Geist wie Schiller streut gerne die Vorstellungen von Himmel und Ewigkeit, vom Jenseits, vom Schicksal, von dem Leben der griechischen Götter usw. in seine Rede ein; die Jenseitsvorstellungen des christlichen Glaubens bestimmen die metaphorische Apperzeption Klopstocks; ein Realist wie Bismarck erinnert gerne an die Erscheinungen des täglichen Lebens, und als Freund des Landlebens verschmilzt er seine Gedanken mit manchem, was uns hier besonders entgegentritt. . . .” See E. Elster: “Prinzipien der Literaturwissenschaft,” Halle 1911, pp. 122, 123.

“Der heutige Staat ist wie das Meer, in welches die Menschen zur Zeit des Sturmes nur so viel Ladung hineinwerfen, als nöthig ist, damit es sie trage. Noch nie hat ein Schiffer seine Waare über Bord gestossen, um den tobenden Wogen sein Wohlwollen zu bezeigen, und wenn er gewusst hätte, dass sein Schiff dennoch sinken werde, so hätte er sich auch diese Mühe erspart.” “Schwarzgelb,” 1, p. 169.

“Alle Bedenken über den Schritt, den sie zum thun im Begriffe stand, waren in der Exaltation süßer, ungestüm hervorbrechender Hoffnungen untergegangen, und wie auch der Furchtsamste mitten im Sturme von dem lecken halb mit Wasser gefüllten Schiffe in das kleine schwankende Boot aufjubelnd springt, auf welches er vom festen Grunde aus um keinen Preis der Erde treten würde, so zeigte auch das liebende Mädchen Muth und Lust, in eine gefahrdrohende Situation hinauzuhüpfen und eine Fahrt zu beginnen, auf welcher sie zwar Alles wagte, doch aber zuch aus den Fluthen des M'ssgeschicks in den sichern Hafen gelangen konnte.” *Ibid.*, IV, p. 120.

Compare with these the fine figure from the poems:³

“Kaum dass ein leises Weh
Durchgleitet das Gemüth,
Wie durch die stumme See
Ein weisses Segel zieht.”

References to the waves and the noise of the waters are extremely common:

“Wie ein gedämpftes Murmeln steigender Wellen war der Ton der Massen vernehmbar.” “Zwischen Fürst und Volk,” p. 131.

“Horsky sah, wie ein Beben durch ihren Körper ging, nicht unähnlich den kleinen Wellen, die über das Wasser vor dem Sturme hinspielen.” “Neuer Adel,” II. p. 233.

“Stille ist Seligkeit. Geister flüstern, ungeheure Wasser dehnen sich aus, ziehen lautlos über uns hin.” “Babel,” I, p. 165.

“Ich habe so viel Kenntniss, um sofort das Gesetz ausfindig zu machen, auf welchem mein Recht wie ein Felsen im wogenden Meere fusst.” *Ibid.*, I, p. 227.

“kurz, ich bin eine Welle unter Millionen Wellen, die je nach den Bedingungen in's Meer mitrollt, am Gestade versickert oder in die Luft verdunstet.” “Sansara,” 11, p. 34

“Keine Reue hat bis heute seine Seele heimgesucht, ausser nur wie ein Wellchen, das der Abendwind über den Seespiegel hebt.” *Ibid.*, I, p. 15.

“Obwohl er (der imposante Rücken der ersten Bergreihe) von kleinen wilden Schluchten, kahlen und bewaldeten Felskegeln zerrissen ist, die wie

³ See “Abend am Meere,” p. 50, 18. Band der ges. Schriften. Cf. also the following metaphor from the verse-drama, “Das Weib des Urias” 17. Band, p. 114:

“Die in der Schuld sind, thun ihr Werk gemeinsam.
Denn Jene, die ein Schiff besteigen, sagen
Sich mitten auf dem Weg nicht Lebewohl.
Sie steigen ein mitsammen—und hinaus

erstarre Meereswogen bis an das Ende auf- und niederlaufen." *Ibid.*, III, p. 85.

"Dieser Aufbruch kam dem Bezirkshauptmann so unerwartet, dass er wie in den Wellen dieser kräftig vorgebrachten, affectvollen Worte fassungslos auf und nieder geschaukelt wurde." "Schwarzgelb," I, p. 101.

"Sein ewiger Seufzer: wenn dies Weib Dich lieben könnte! wuchs und wuchs, bis er oft wie ein Geschrei von hundert Stimmen der Brust zugleich ausgestossen, erscholl, bis alle Gefühle wie Hochwasser rauschten und die Welt vor seinen Sinnen verging." *Ibid.*, I, p. 199.

But aquatic pictures not pertaining to the sea are often met with in the novels:

"Da löste sich endlich eine klare, reizend schöne Melodie los; es war, als plätschere ein Wasserfall im Sonnenschein, in einer lachenden Wildniss, netze mit seinem sprühenden Schaum allerlei grüne transparente Ranken, falle melodisch aus einem Steinbecken in's andere." "Babel," II, p. 48.

"Aber der Zug der Geschichte geht nicht auf die Erhaltung der Vielheit, sondern auf den immer engeren Zusammenschluss der Völker in einheitliche Familien. Und mögen sich die Bäche noch so sehr sträuben, in den Strömen aufzugehen, es waltet ein Naturgesetz und sie sträuben sich vergebens." "Babel," II, p. 101.

"Aber wir haben schon gesagt, wie leicht man sich über junge Mädchen täuscht, wir haben ihr Herz, das heimlich die Wellen seiner Gefühle treibt, dem unterirdisch fliessenden Wildbach verglichen, von dem man nicht eher Kunde hat, als bis er zu Tage kommt." "Neuer Adel," I, p. 222.

"Ich begreife diesen Seelenprocess, da ich selbst in diesem Augenblicke vor jeder Leidenschaft zittere und ihr aus dem Wege gehe, als wäre sie nur der Strom des Verderbens und als wälze sie in ihrem reissenden Bette nur schlammige, vergiftende Fluthen, die kein Schiff tragen mögen, sondern jedes verschlingen, die keinen Schwimmer auf sich dulden, sondern ihn in ihre unheimliche Tiefe ziehen." "Sansara," II, p. 166.

"Nur von Zeit zu Zeit zuckten seine Hände und ein unverständliches Wort brach von seinen Lippen, wie eine Luftblase, die ein still und müde hinflüsternder Quell aufwirft." *Ibid.*, I, p. 257.

Meissner's fondness for aquatic images is doubtless no mere accident. Throughout his life he had the opportunity to become familiar with the different aspects of large bodies of water, both inland and pelagic. The inspiration, for example, of his tragedy, "Das Weib des Urias" came to him while on a voyage about the shores of Scotland.⁴ He was an ardent lover of the Alpine scenery, and whenever circumstances permitted he was to be found sojourning among the mountains and lakes of Austria, the Tyrol,

⁴"Geschichte meines Lebens," Wien und Teschen, 1884, 2. Band, pp. 264, 265.

Bavaria, or Switzerland. His declining years were passed on the shores of Lake Constance, which he also chose in part as a setting for his novel "Auf und Nieder." The beautiful pictures of the "Traunsee" in the first book of "Sansara" are the direct result of a summer's outing which, earlier in life, he spent at this lake with his quondam friend, Franz Hedrich. In the following paragraph, influenced perhaps by the kindred sentiment of Goethe's poem, "Der Fischer," Meissner has given a very pretty expression to the attraction that a fine expanse of water has on man:

"Eines Morgens sass Hostiwin nahe am See, auf den Rasen hingestreckt. Er hatte das Buch, in welchem er gelesen, neben sich gelegt und sah träumerisch ins Wasser. Der wassererfüllte Abgrund mit seiner räthselhaften Tiefe scheint eine eigentümliche Anziehung f. r jedes Auge zu haben. Diesmal aber war ihm, als er hineinblickte und hinräumte, wie wenn Sirenenengesänge aus den grünen Wellen hervortraten, dass er auf den Grund hinabsteige und die ewige sturmlose Ruhe mitgeniesse, die dort unten herrscht." "Sansara," IV, p. 178.

While Meissner received a medical training at the University of Prague and obtained his degree in medicine, and his father was also a physician, images which pertain to this science, are comparatively rare.⁵ Note the following:

"Der Seuche gleich, die aus Sibirien und von den Schlachtfeldern Polens daherkam, wandert epidemisch der Freiheitsrausch. Gegen diese Blutvergiftung helfen alle Aderlässe nicht, und was das Aergste ist, diese Corruption der Gesinnung heisst man jetzt ein Einsetzen für die höchsten Güter." "Zwischen F. rst und Volk," p. 122.

"Er ist bei ihr, mit ihr für immer vereinigt, und die ewig offene, ewig blutende Wunde, die kein irdischer Arzt zu stillen und zu verbinden vermocht, ist nun gestillt und verbunden—von einer Hand, die den Glücklichen grausam, den Unglücklichen und Lebensmüden hilfreich und sanft zu fassen pflegt—von der Hand des Todes." "Sansara," II, p. 212.

It is not so easy to classify the other sources from which our author derived his figures. Among others, music,⁶ the hunt, precious

⁵ Meissner received his degree in medicine from the University of Prague in 1846. His dissertation was entitled, "Die Helminthiasi." See "Geschichte meines Lebens," I, pp. 136-138.

⁶ While Meissner has a predilection for aquatic images, Gutzkow displays considerable fondness for those taken from the realm of music. In particular a great many examples of this kind have been noted in "Die Ritter vom Geiste" and "Der Zauberer von Rom." I venture to give a few of these from the first named of these novels, all culled within a few hundred pages of each other: "Der schmerzliche Accord, der durch unsere Erzählung Erzählung tönt, lautete;" Band III, p. 230, 6. Aufl., Berlin, 1878; "Man trennte sich mit

stones, classical antiquity, war and things martial, afford him material. Observe the following figures:

“Eine einzige Woche hatte genügt, um alle Saiten ihrer Seele, die seit Jahren, vom feuchtkalten Hauch der Enttäuschungen erschläft, herniederhingen, neu anzuspannen. Sie ertönten jetzt bald in süßbethörenden, im milden Säuseln ersterbenden, bald in sturmähnlich aufbrausenden Accorden.” “Sansara,” I, pp. 69, 70.

“Eine reizbare, weiche träumerische Stimmung, durch die Einsamkeit und das Versenken in die Vergangenheit herbeigeführt, ward allmählich der Grundton im Gemüthe des jungen Menschen.” “Zwischen Fürst und Volk,” p. 104.

“Ein Schlag hat nicht getroffen, ich liege auf dem Lager erstarrt, mit gefesselten Muskeln, wie der kühne, flinke Gebirgsjäger nach einem Sturze in die Tiefe.” “Sansara,” II, p. 108.

“Unfern hinter einem Baume lauschte Ismael, der Mohr. Er war lange um das Haus geschlichen und ihr nun auf Raubthiersohlen gefolgt.” *Ibid.*, I, p. 261.⁷

“Der See, wie ein unendlicher flüssiger Saphir.” “Zwischen Fürst und Volk,” p. 173.

“Der Himmel stand tiefblau, wie aus einem grossen Amethyst geschnitten, da, die Sonne blitzte senkrecht auf die unermessliche, in Schnee gehüllte Landschaft, und die Zinken der Gebirge blinkten, wie aus lauter Diamantem aufgethürmt, mit einer für das unbedeckte Auge verderblichen Helle.” “Sansara,” II, p. 69.

“Die Niederlande und Ungarn sind die Achillesferse des grossen österreichischen Staatencomplexes; an dieser muss der Kaiser angefasst werden.” “Die Kinder Roms,” II, p. 201.

“‘Sie brechen von der Strasse herein!’ riefen die Hofdamen und eilten wie ein Heer aufgeschreckter Tauben oder—wie die Töchter des Priamus, die einer unaufgelösten Dissonanz.” *Ibid.*, p. 288; “Da hatt, ich denn auch eine geistige Aufgabe zu lösen, durch unser Leben einen Mollton durchzuführen.” *Ibid.*, p. 290; “Es war ein Misston, den Louis und Siegbert sich gegenseitig bedeutsam ansehend, in der ganzen Dissonanz fühlten zu dem Accord, den Oleander’s Worte hervorgerufen hatten.” *Ibid.*, p. 309; “Es war alles um sie her wie voll Dissonanzen.” *Ibid.*, p. 312; “Aber nein, ich will diese Zeilen mit keinem Misston schliessen. Sie kommen aus dem Lande der Harmonien.” *Ibid.*, IV, p. 200; “Was löst die Dissonanzen in einen reinen Accord? Wer giesst wieder Wohl laut in diese feindlichen Herzen, . . .” *Ibid.*, p. 215; “Es ärgerte ihn, dass ihm selbst sein ganzes eigenes Wesen wie eine Resonanz von I und E erklang.” *Ibid.*, p. 240. This is the conclusion of a long metaphor pertaining to music.

⁷ Cf. “Ziska” 18. Band der ges. Schriften, p. 297:

“In seiner grossen lichten Feldherrnseele
Sieht er die Schlacht mit allen ihren Heeren
Die eh’ren Köcher ihres Zorns entleeren,
Und lauten Rufes giebt er die Befehle.”

der Anblick der im Palaste erscheinenden Griechen entsetzte, den zweiten Gang hinunter." "Zwischen Fürst und Volk," p. 290.*

"Ein Parlament hingegen schafft mächtige Strömungen und ist wie ein Kriegslager, in welchem der ungeberdige Freischärler zum Soldaten umgeschaffen wird." "Babel," II, p. 106.

"Dieses Zagen war aber auch ein Zaudern, wie es einen Feldherrn überkommt, der eine Schlacht liefern muss, der Entscheidung aber ausweicht, weil er weiss, dass der Misserfolg ein ganzes Reich zerstören werde." "Sansara," IV, p. 111

At this point a few other images, which either do not fall at all or only imperfectly in the above classification, may be given to show Meissner's ability in expressing himself in figurative language at once apt and unusual:

"Die Sonne . . . warf ihre goldenen Strahlen auf die grünen Wipfel des jenseitigen Ufers, während der Spiegel des Teiches eine dunkle Stahlfläche schien." "Schwarzgelb," I, p. 81.

"Er war wie ein wanderndes Räthsel, welches, je mehr man es betrachtete, desto lüsterner nach der Lösung machte." *Ibid.*, II, p. 68.

"Ueber den schneebedeckten Säntis zogen Nebelstreifen, die auf Momente in prächtigen Farben aufleuchteten, dann wieder erloschen und ihr graues Gespinnst dichter und dichter zogen." "Feindliche Pole," I, p. 155.

"Kein Freund, nicht der aufrichtigste und wohlwollendste, kann dich in der Höhe, wo deine Liebe im stolzen Fluge kreist, auf das Kommende vorbereiten. Es giebt keinen Fallschirm, den er mir anbieten könnte, um deinen Sturz zu mässigen, ja, gäbe es einen solchen, du nähmest ihn in deiner Verzweiflung nicht an." "Zwischen Fürst und Volk," p. 83.

"Wohlan! so will ich der lammfrohen Geduld ein Ende machen, unter die falschen Hirten, welche das Volk schlachten und scheeren, mit Schrecken hineinfahren, die Schafpelze, die sie umhaben, von ihren Leibern reissen und auch ihrem Wächterhundethum ein Ende machen." *Ibid.*, p. 349.

"Wie eine allzukurze Decke in eiskalter Nacht bald dies Glied, bald ein anderes frei lässt, dass sich der Müde ruhlos umherwirft und das Gefühl seiner

* Cf. "Werinher," *ibid.*, p. 373:

"Glückseliger Perseus, der in's Reich der Nacht
Vordrang, in's düstre Land, wo die Gorgonen
Die schrecklichen, die schlangenhaar'gen wohnen,
Dich hatte besser das Geschick bedacht!

Den Sohlen war ein Flügelpaar gegeben,
Sich in die reinen Lüfte zu erheben,
Der Brust ein Panzer und ein Schwert der Rechten,
Um mit der Unholdsbrut der Nacht zu fechten.

Ich hatte nichts. Was konnt' mein Ende sein?
Der Untergang!—O, trüg' ich ihn allein!"

Noth in seinen Traum mit hineinnimmt, so deckt auch das schwarze Tuchden Vergessens, der Schlaf, die Seele Reinholds nicht völlig; . . ." "Zwisc hes Fürst und Volk," p. 110.

"Wie ein mildes Abendlicht sich über eine rauhe, wilde Gegend mit Wald und Gebirge legt, so verklärte die Trauer Hostiwin's stürmische Natur und liess sie in Farbensehen von versöhnendster Wirkung." "Sansara," II, p. 75.

"Wie Phantasmagorien, von Geistern heraufgerufen, stieg hier, stieg dort, je mehr die Sonne verlosch und die Temperatur sank, ein Stückchen Nebel empor, flatterte wie ein wehendes Band, lag dort wie ein plötzlich aufgetauchter Teich, zog dort rasch wie ein hinaufgezogener Vorhang an den Wäldern empor. . . ." *Ibid.*, III, p. 98.

"Seine Befürchtungen waren ein Traum und seine Hoffnung entfaltete von Neuem die Flügel." *Ibid.*, IV, p. 72.

"Die Stimme war schön, sehr schön. Sie riss gleichsam die Wände des Zimmers nieder, um frei emporzusteigen mit klingenden Flügeln. Es war eine Phantasmagorie, die erst mit dem letzten Tone verging." *Ibid.*, II, p. 117.

Meissner's figures are at times spun out at considerable length, and several examples of this kind may be found among the metaphors and similes given above. A clearer case of it is the following metaphor from "Sansara":

"In diesem Zustande kam Hostiwin in dem Hospiz des St. Bernhard an, und fuhr fort die Eindrücke zu verarbeiten, die Vorstellungen zu ordnen, und den Stoff für immer zu bewältigen, mit einem Worte: er baute an dem grossen Mausoleum in seiner Seele weiter, wo entchwundene Liebe, verblichene Freuden, vergangenes Glück in steinernen Särgen ruhen, in Särgen, an welchen Schwermuth wacht und die nur die Erinnerung besucht. Niemand hat ein ganzes Leben zu Ende geführt, ohne in seinem Innern eine solche Begräbnisstätte zu haben, nur dass das edle Gemüth die Gräber pflegt und schmückt und der stumpfsinnige Barbar die Todten liegen lässt, wie sie fallen. . . ." II, pp. 32, 33.

Compare with this a long, carefully wrought simile from "Babel," pertaining to geology. The purpose of this and other similar figures in the novels, is not so much to give the auditor or reader a chance to rest or collect his thoughts as to provide the object which is compared with a truly illustrative and forceful commentary.⁹

"Ja, hochschätzbarer Herr, jeder Andere hätte die Bemerkungen machen können, die ich gemacht, nun aber ist es mit solchen Dingen wie auf den Gebieten der Naturforschung. Viele Leute gehen denselben Gebirgspfad. Steine liegen rechts und links und werden nur für Strassenschutt gehalten. Endlich kommt ein Mineralog, sein Auge fällt auf ein hervorstechendes Felsfragment, er kommt dazu, die Existenz eines Kohlenbeckens in der Nähe zu vermuthen. Ist des Mineralogens Aufmerksamkeit einmal so angeregt, so ist es ihm schon zu

⁹Cf. also "Sansara" II, p. 160; *ibid.*, I, p. 141; "Schwartzgelb" II, p. 229; IV, p. 156, 157; "Auf und Nieder," III, p. 205.

verzeihen, wenn er hier und dort zu schürften anfängt und Erkundigungen einzieht, die einer lästigen Einmischung gleichsehen." "Babel," II, p. 117.

Meissner's style is so rich in similes and metaphors that it is not surprizing to find a few, it might be said, a very few figures among them, which are either trite or somewhat strained, even verging on catachresis. Among others the following have been noted:

"Die Flamme, die sie damals durch ihre Coquetterie genährt und gefächelt, ohne sich jedoch davon entzünden zu lassen, loderte noch immer in Arthur's Brust." "Sshwarzgelb," III, p. 134.

"Somit war jeder Quell, aus welchem noch eine Kunde über Veronica fliesen konnte, allem Anschein nach für immer versiegt." "Babel," II, p. 110, 111.

"Was Frische des Gemüths betrifft, ist ihr Herz ein feuriger Stahl, wogegen Marie nur dem Kiesel gleicht, der auf dem Grund eines eisigen Bergwassers liegt." "Neuer Adel," I, p. 223.

"Er leugnete nicht selten Schmerzen, während sie aus der Tiefe des Gemüths emporbrannten, so lange, bis die Flammen über seinem Kopfe zusammenschlugen." "Sansara," IV, p. 141.

". . . das Lächeln, das bis dahin um ihren Mund gespielt hatte, begann langsam, unwillig und gezwungen unter die Marmordecke eines ihre Situation abprägendenden Ernstes zu entweichen." *Ibid.*, III, p. 221.

"Zwei blaue Augen schauen in die Welt hinaus, ohne zu wissen, dass sie im Frühlingsgarten der Erde die schönsten Sterne sind." "Norbert Norson," p. 81.

On rare occasions Meissner also errs in another respect, in the "Häufung von Bildern," the massing together of images, an error into which an imaginative mind may easily lapse. This is an entirely different thing from the extended metaphor or simile, in which varying aspects of the same image are presented, and which is a most effective form of comparison. Such a juxtaposition of tropes, beautiful though each may be, runs counter to the laws of harmony and confuses rather than illuminates the thought. Consider the following passage:

"Hostiwin's Kopf war schwer und müde; dieselbe Schwere und Müdigkeit wie gestern lag ihm in allen Gliedern. In demselben Zustande befand sich sein Gemüth. Alle Saiten waren herabgerissen oder schlaff geworden und gaben weder einen Ton noch einen Misston. Er war innerlich eine Stätte der Verheerung. Die umherliegenden Trümmer und Bruchstücke umspielte weder ein Sonnenblick noch ein Mondstrahl mit milderndem Glanze. Sonne und Mond zogen sich hinter dicke Nebel und gespenstige Gewitterwolken wie flüchtend zurück. Alle bisherigen Schmerzen Hostiwin's, wie tief und stechend

sie auch zuweilen erschienen, waren doch nur die freigebohrenen Kinder seiner Leidenschaft. Er hatte sie, wie der Zauberling, zu seinem eigenen Entsetzen hervorgezaubert, doch es hatte sich in dem eigenen Leben der Seele der Gegenzauber gefunden, den er wieder anwandte, der Spukgestalten Herr zu werden oder sie zu vernichten. Am gestrigen Tage aber war ein Weh über ihn gekommen, mit einem Schläge und mit einer Allgewalt, dass er, wie ein Vogel im Wüstensturme, hoch in den Lüften wehrlos mit gewaltsam asugebreiteten Flügeln aus der heitern, heimathlichen Weltgegend in eine andere, fremde, stürmische fortgerissen wurde. Es ist schrecklich, am Sarge der Mutter zu stehen oder den Theuersten der Freunde, sein zweites Ich, zur Erde zu bestatten; es ist aber geradezu zermalmend und vernichtend, sich seine Geliebte in das Sonnenhöhe der Leidenschaft von einem Geschick entreissen zu sehen, das nicht rückgängig gemacht werden kann, das man sogar herausgefordert und heraufbeschworen hat." "Sansara," I, pp. 211, 212.

But a classification of Meissner's similes and metaphors is not enough; this study would not be complete without some attempt at determining their aesthetic value, and Ernst Elster has shown us the standards here to be applied. They are to be sought: "in der Grösse der Entfernung von den eigentlichen zu der metaphorischen Vorstellung oder Vorstellungsreihe, und zweitens in der Weite des Weges, den die Phantasie des Redenden infolge der Anregung der metaphorischen Vorstellungen durchmisst."¹⁰ On the whole Meissner meets these requirements satisfactorily. Note for example the wide gap to be traversed by the imagination between the plain and the figurative statement in figures in which the concrete is compared with the abstract, or vice versa: "Er war wie ein wanderndes Räthsel, welches je mehr man es betrachtete, desto lüsterner nach der Lösung machte," or "Wie Phantasmagorien, von Geistern heraufgerufen, stieg hier, stieg dort, je mehr die Sonne verlosch und die Temperatur sank, ein Stückchen Nebel empor . . ." or "Ihre Schuld war das innere vulkanische Feuer . . ." Compare with these the beautiful figure in which abstract is matched with abstract: "Stille ist Seligkeit. Geister flüsteren, ungeheueres Wasser dehnen sich aus, ziehen lautlos über uns hin" or "Da erhellte plötzlich ein leuchtender Gedanke die Nacht ihrer Betäubung." What a splendid perspective is bared to the imagination by the figure of the "Felskegel," "die wie erstarrte Meereswogen bis an das Ende auf und niederlaufen." Involuntarily the gigantic process of cosmic evolution unfolds before the mind's eye.

¹⁰ Elster, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Or let us, in conclusion, regard the figures from the viewpoint of other aesthetic requirements, of uniqueness, contrast, graphicness, truth and variety. There is, for example, nothing trite nor worn in such a metaphor as: "Glühende Macht der Sehnsucht hebt die geängstigte Seele in die Lüfte auf zarten, gebrechlichen Flügeln, sie fährt wieder eine selige Weile durch ein verklärtes Universum—da kommt ein Windstoss, und sie stürzt wie ein Schmetterling im Sturme in das Erdenthal der Wirklichkeit herab." The truth of this figure is evident to all who have experienced the soul-uplifting, care-annihilating effects of a powerful passion. Through the reference to the butterfly the image also attains a considerable measure of "Anschaulichkeit." Or place beside this the remarkable simile: "Wie eine allzu kurze Decke in eiskalter Nacht bald dies Glied, bald ein anderes frei lässt, dass sich der Müde ruhmlos umherwirft und das Gefühl seiner Noth in seinen Traum mit hineinnimmt, so deckt auch das schwarze Tuch des Vergessens, der Schlaf, die Seele Reinholds nicht völlig; . . ." Here we have a comparison at once novel, true, and graphic, with an extremely sharp and forceful contrast between the "kurze Decke" and "das schwarze Tuch des Vergessens, der Schlaf," the former covering the body imperfectly, the latter the soul. Observe also the plasticity of such figures, as: "Der Himmel stand tiefblau, wie aus einem grossen Amethyst geschnitten, da . . .," or "Ueberall sah sein Blick die Goldader im formlosen Block." As for variety, one need only to glance at the specimens quoted above to note the wide range of our author's figures. In fact, deficient as are Meissner's novels in many respects, it will scarcely be denied that in his use of metaphors and similes he has achieved a considerable measure of success.

ARTHUR ROLLINS GRAVES.

University of Minnesota.

THE HEBREW WORDS IN GRYPHIUS'
HORRIBILICRIBRIFAX

Perhaps the most interesting scene, from the purely philological point of view, in Andreas Gryphius' "Scherzspiel," the "Horribilicribrifax," written between 1648 and 1650,¹ is that between Rabbi Isaschar and Frau Antonia, with which the third act is concluded. As is to be expected, the Jewish rabbi and money-lender, Isaschar, is made to speak a sort of Judaeo-German, of a higher order, to be sure, in which there is a smattering of no small number of terms either directly borrowed or adapted in a Germanized form from the Hebrew. The source of Gryphius' Hebrew knowledge is not far to seek; for during his schooling in Fraustadt,² he received the foundations for the vast classical erudition which he displays in his writings—erudition which included a familiarity not only with Latin and Greek, but also with Hebrew, Chaldaean, Polish, and Swedish. It is the purpose of this brief paper to explain each of the Hebrew terms or derivatives which occur in the scene in question, with conjectures as to a few obscure, hitherto unexplained, expressions. For the sake of convenience, the terms are here numbered successively.

1) Madda—מַדָּע—"knowledge" is a late Old Testament noun from the root "yada"—"to know" (יָדַע). It occurs in Second Chronicles 1, 12.

2) Missekenim ethbonan—מִסֵּקֵנִים אֶתְבֹּנֵן—"I am wiser than old men." This is a direct quotation from Psalms 119, 100.

3) Lo jaden velo jabinu. The second of these four words has been improperly edited (Tittmann, in his edition of the play for his "Dramatische Dichtungen von Andreas Gryphius," published as volume 4 of Goedeke and Tittmann's "Deutsche Dichter des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts," and which I had before me in the preparation of this paper, admits, in his notes to this scene, that some

¹ Palm, in his article on Gryphius in the "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," X 78, states that the play was at least planned in this period, and written either during these two years or shortly after 1650. For unknown reasons, the comedy was not published until 1663.

² In 1631, after the death of both of his parents, Gryphius had been sent by a paternal uncle to the school of his native city, Glogau, where he remained until a destructive conflagration forced him, along with many others, to flee for their lives. It was then that he went to Fraustadt, a city at that time part of Poland, where it is very likely that he came into contact with Polish Jews (Poland was the most important center of Jewry in the world during the sixteenth and seventh centuries.)

of these words are practically illegible in the manuscript). The word in question is "jadu," and the whole clause should read: "Lo jadu velo jabinu"—**לֹא יָדְעוּ וְלֹא יָבִינּוּ**—"they know not and they understand not." This is a direct quotation from Isaiah 44, 18.

4) Gedauscht. Tittmann, in his Gryphius-edition, remarks on this word that "die Bedeutung ist nicht zu errathen." This is certainly true of it in the form in which he presents it. Tittmann previously observes on the Hebrew words in this scene that many of them are incomprehensible because of misprints and that they had to be reconstructed into the proper orthography. In this case, Tittmann seems to have been unable to do this. It is just possible, too, that Gryphius may have slipped up in his use of Hebrew or, as may be the case here, of Judaeo-German. Two explanations of the word present themselves to me from the context. The Rabbi says: "It is not otherwise, as true as I am a Rabbi and have to-day 'gedauscht.'" Now, the late Hebrew term for "to deliver a sermon based on Biblical exegesis" is "darshan"—**דַּרְשָׁן**—from the classical Hebrew root "darash"—**דָּרַשׁ**—to inquire. This word has been taken over into Judaeo-German, where the past participle is "gedarshant." The objection to this explanation of Gryphius' word is that the Rabbi's sermons were usually delivered on the Sabbath, and the day on which our scene takes place could not have been a Sabbath, because the Rabbi is carrying on a commercial transaction. However, such sermons might also be delivered on Mondays and Thursdays, when portions of the Five Books of Moses are read in the synagogue. The second explanation is this: "To say one's daily prayers" is, in Judaeo-German, to "daven" (a word the origin of which is rather obscure), and the past participle would be "gedavent." Now, as every pious Jew says his prayers three times daily without fail, the context would seem to indicate that this is what is meant. The objection here is that "daven" is a word used by Polish and Russian, and not by German, Jews, but as Gryphius spent some time in a Polish city and had probably become somewhat familiar with the Polish Judaeo-German, this objection might not be a very valid one. In any event, the two explanations of the term "gedauscht" are offered; the choice is, for the present, left to the individual student.

5) Chafol—חבול—“pledge.” This word appears in Ezra 18, 12, and 33, 15. The transcription of this word shows the characteristic interchange of “v” and “f” so common among the Jews of Germany.

6) Chof—ח'ב—“debt.” This is a Talmudical word and does not occur in the Old Testament. The interchange of “f” and “v” is again noticeable.

7) Tof—ט'ב—“good.” This is a very common Hebrew word. Again we have “f” for “v”.

8) Col hefel hefalim. This is a slightly corrupt form of the passage in Ecclesiastes 1, 2, where we read: Havel havalim hacol havel—חבל הבלי הבלי—“Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” Note again, “f” for “v.”

7) Omer—אמר—“word,” utterance. This word is used only in poetical contexts, as in Job 22, 28, and is from the root amar (אמר)—“to say.”

8) Chach—ח'ח—“hook,” “ring,” and then “ornamental ring.” It is used by Gryphius to denote “necklace.” It occurs in Exodus 35, 23.

9) Nifo. This seems to be another corrupt form. It clearly means “word,” in the present context, and the closest approximation to this form is the word “niv”—ניב—“fruit,” used in Isaiah 57, 19, in the expression “the fruit of the lips” with the metaphorical force of “speech.” Indeed, modern Hebrew knows the word in this meaning.

10) Schilen, with the apparent meaning of “to lend,” may be explained, as the Judaeo-German form of the Hebrew verb “sha'al”—שאל—“to ask,” “to borrow.”

11) Heed ith. To this Tittmann notes: “ist mir unverständlich, vielleicht soll es heissen ‘scheërith’ (Hebrew שארית) ‘ein Uebriges,’ noch ueber den Werth.” This explanation of Tittmann, as he himself seems to have felt, is artificial and rather far-fetched. However, it may be as convenient as any other explanation that might be offered. It seems clear that we are again dealing with a misprint or with a linguistic license on the part of Gryphius. An explanation that occurs to me, as hinted from the context, is the Talmudical word “idith” (עירית), “the best”; the passage then, would mean: “Five silver pence, and that is the very best (I can do for you).” The word “idith” is current in Judaeo-

German, and Gryphius may have encountered it in his linguistic studies, without knowing how to transliterate it. However, this explanation may be as far-fetched as that of Tittman, and it is only ventured here as a suggestion.

12) Chacham—חכם—the Biblical term for “a wise man.”

13) Alah—אלה—the Biblical word for “oath.”

14) Lo echat—לא אהד—the Biblical words for “not one” (the context here seems to make it mean “not once”). The German Jewish peculiarity of interchanging “v” and “f” is matched here by a similar treatment of “d” and “t”.

15) Geachazt—a Judaeo-German past participle form of the Biblical Hebrew root “achaz” (אחז)—“to hold,” “to get possession of.”

16) Maschgeh—משגה—“deceiver,” “one who causes others to go astray,” as it appears in Proverbs 28, 10. This is the causative form of the root “shagah” (שגה), “to go astray.”

17) Heteln—a Judaeo-German form of the Biblical root “hatal”—התל—“to deceive.” An oblique form of this root occurs in First Kings 18, 27.

18) Neschech—נשך—“interest”—a regular Biblical word, found, among other passages, in Exodus 22, 24.

19) Schet—שד—“demon”—an unusual word occurring in Deuteronomy 32, 17. Here we have the same treatment of “d” and “t” as in 14 above.

20) Zahaf—זהב—“gold.” The ordinary Biblical term. Note, again, the use of “f” for “v” in the transliteration.

21) Thapsen—the Judaeo-German form of the Biblical root “thaphas”—תפס—“to lay hold of.”

22) Esur—אסור—“band,” “fetter.” The word is used by Gryphius to mean “prison,” although in the Old Testament, as in Jeremiah 37, 15, the equivalent for this is the compound term “beth ha-esur”—בת-האסור—“the house of the fetter.”

23) Kenaani—כנעני—“merchant,” as in Zechariah 14, 21; originally, however, the word had the simple meaning of “Canaanite.”

24) Megilha—a slight mistake in editing for “megilla”—מגילה—“scroll.” This is a late Hebrew word, occurring in Jeremiah 36, 28. The five Biblical books of Esther, Ruth, Ecclesiastes,

Lamentations, and the Song of Songs are called "Megilloth"—*מגילות*—"scrolls," and are read in the synagogue, each on its special occasion. Gryphius uses the word in the derived meaning of "books."

25) *Bacek*—here I am utterly at a loss for an explanation or a derivation. Tittmann very courageously, probably trusting entirely to the context, gives the meaning of the word as "dorthin," "yonder," but fails to give the slightest indication of how the word comes to this meaning. Of one thing we may be certain: there is no such word as "bacek" in Hebrew or Talmudical Aramaic. Furthermore, there is no such word, as far as I can ascertain (and I have consulted several whose knowledge of such matters is thorough) in any form of Judaeo-German. The word is plainly either a corruption of some Hebrew form or an invention of Gryphius.' If it is the former, several suggestions might be manufactured. The word "betoch"—*בְּתוֹךְ*—for example, comes to mind. But its meaning, "in the midst of," absolutely precludes its being applied here. The riddle, then, must apparently remain unsolved, unless we are willing to believe that Gryphius invented the word himself.

26) *Aggan*—*אגגן*—"bowl," "basin." The plural form of this word occurs in Exodus 24, 6.

27) *Keseph*—*כֶּסֶף*—"silver." The regular Old Testament word.

28) *Thaharn*—the Judaeo-German form of the Old Testament verb "thaher"—*טָהַר*—"to cleanse," a causative form derived from the adjective "tahor"—*טָהוֹר*—"clean," "pure."

Most of these words and expressions, as we can readily see, offer practically no difficulty, with the exception of an occasional slip which may be attributed either to incorrect editing on the part of Tittmann or to an error on that of Gryphius. The three doubtful expressions are still as doubtful as ever, although a little new light may have been shed upon them here. The whole scene between Rabbi Isaschar and Frau Antonia constitutes one of the many philological points of interest to be found in Gryphius' "Horribilicribrifax."

AARON SCHAFFER.

The Johns Hopkins University.

GOETHE'S "GRENZEN DER MENSCHHEIT"

Wohl bei keinem anderen Gedichte Goethes trennen sich die Erklärer so in zwei Lager wie bei den "Grenzen der Menschheit." Dieser Aufsatz bezweckt eine weitere Begründung einer von Franz Kern im Jahre 1878 gemachten Erklärung, jetzt leicht zugänglich in den "Kleinen Schriften," II, 80 ff. In Betracht kommen besonders die beiden letzten Strophen, Verse 29-42:

Was unterscheidet
 30 Götter von Menschen?
 Dass viele Wellen
 Vor jenen wandeln,
 Ein ewiger Strom:
 Uns hebt die Welle,
 35 Verschlingt die Welle,
 Und wir versinken.

Ein kleiner Ring
 Begrenzt unser Leben,
 Und viele Geschlechter
 40 Reihen sich dauernd
 An ihres Daseins
 Unendliche Kette.

Nun steht bekanntlich in Goethes Handschrift und in Herders Abschrift, in Gegensatz zu den Drucken, *sie* statt *sich* (V. 40.) B. Suphan trat im zweiten Bande des Goethe Jahrbuchs für diese Lesart ein; ihm sind bisher gefolgt Eduard von der Hellen in der Jubiläumsausgabe und Carl Alt in der neuen Bongschens Ausgabe.¹ Die Weimarer Ausgabe tritt für die Lesart *sich* ein mit folgender Begründung: "Das ursprüngliche *sie* erscheint änderungsbedürftig, weil es sich irrig auf die Götter des Verses so beziehen liesse. Die ganze letzte Strophe betrifft aber nur den Menschen, den Gegen-

¹ Wie ist das *sie* der beiden Handschriften zu erklären? Ich nehme an, wir haben es hier mit einem Schreibfehler Goethes zu tun, einen Schreibfehler, den Herder kopierte. Zu bedenken ist, dass wir nicht die erste Niederschrift besitzen, vielleicht nicht einmal die erste Reinschrift; beim Abschreiben ist das Einschleichen eines solchen Fehlers leicht erklärlich. Im nicht erhaltenen Druckmanuskript wurde dieser sodann getilgt. Schon an und für sich ist diese Konjekturen ebenso möglich wie die, dass *sich* als Druckfehler sich durch alle Drucke schleppete. Die Interpretation des ganzen Gedichtes aber drängt, wie wir sehen werden, auf meine Annahme hin.

stand des Gedichtes." Dem schliessen sich folgende Einzelerklärungen an: "*Dauernd* steht als Simplex für das zusammengesetzte fortdauernd; die unendliche Kette des Schlusses wird von den V. 37 bestimmten Ringen gebildet, *unendlich* die Dauer des gesamten Menschengeschlechtes, *ewig* V. 33 die der Götter." Mir ist nicht klar, wie *ewig* sich in dem Zusammenhang auf Götter beziehen soll: der ewige Strom ist der Strom des Lebens, der vor den Göttern wandelt, d.h. vor ihnen vorbeifliesst. Die Ausgabe von Karl Heinemann, die Lesart *sich* behaltend, schliesst sich in ihrer Erklärung Franz Kern an: "Das Leben des Einzelnen gleicht einem Ringe; ein Geschlecht folgt dem anderen, und so reiht sich unablässig, dauernd, ein Ring an dem anderen und hilft die unendliche Kette des Daseins bilden." Unendlich ist, wie Franz Kern ausführt, entweder als Hyperbel oder proleptisch aufzufassen.

Dieser Auffassung tritt besonders Eduard von der Hellen entgegen: "Der Zusammenhang fordert die Wiederherstellung des *sie*. Wenn die ganze letzte Strophe 'nur den Menschen, den Gegenstand des Gedichts' beträfe, so wäre der Sinn: 'Unser Leben ist begrenzt, und viele Geschlechter bilden, fortdauernd, eine unendliche Kette.' Dann aber würde in der letzten Strophe die Unterscheidung von Göttern und Menschen fehlen, in der das Gedicht gipfeln muss, ja anstatt eines Unterschiedes würde eine Gleichheit ausgesprochen in den Synonymen *ewig*, *dauernd*, und *unendlich*. Wollte man—was schon eher möglich wäre—*sich* lesen und dabei *ihres* auf Götter beziehen, so würde gesagt sein, dass viele Menschengeschlechter sich dauernd an die unendliche Kette des göttlichen Daseins anreiheten; dann aber wäre wiederum *dauernd* auf die Menschen bezüglich, und die Götter griffen in deren Schicksal nicht aktiv ein. Anders, wenn man das bestens bezeugte *sie* der Handschriften in sein Recht wieder einsetzt. Dann ist der Sinn: 'Unser individuelles Leben ist eng begrenzt, und nicht einmal die Geschlechter haben Bestand, sondern eine Vielheit von solchen, deren eines nach dem andern erlischt, reihen die Götter, die dauernden, an die unendliche Kette ihres ewigen Daseins.' Auch hierin bleibt freilich ein Mangel: die neuen Geschlechter entstehen ja nicht durch Urzeugung. Die äussersten Kraftproben der Logik aber darf man auf diese dithyrambischen Ergüsse überhaupt nicht anwenden. Der dionysische Rausch überwiegt in ihnen die apollinische Klarheit."

Ich bezweifle sehr, dass der Ausdruck dithyrambische Ergüsse, so sehr er auf auf Wanderers Sturmlied und noch auf die Harzreise im Winter passt, am Platze ist bei den späteren Hymnen Goethes, die sprachlich, rhythmisch und gedanklich von einer reifen Ruhe sind. Auch mutet mich die Konstruktion von *dauernd*, es als Adjektiv auf Götter zu beziehen, sehr gezwungen an; das Natürlichere ist jedenfalls es als Adverb aufzufassen. Gegen die ganze Erklärung sprechen der Rhythmus, die Melodie des Gedichtes, die Goethesche Naturanschauung und die Wahl des Bildes. Melodisch stört mich schon die Lesart *sie*, was ja subjektiv sein kann. Aber man versuche nur die Worte *jenen*, (32), *uns* (34), *unser* (38), *ihres* (41), durch Hochton oder sonst hervorzuheben, und die Folge ist eine logische Betonung, die den natürlichen melodischen Fluss der Verse durchbricht und zum Wesen der Lyrik überhaupt in Widerspruch steht. Noch unmöglicher wird diese Betonung, wenn man, bei der Lesart *sich, ihres* auf Götter beziehen will. Sodann möchte ich, mit der Weimarer Ausgabe, bezweifeln, dass das Gedicht in der Unterscheidung von Göttern und Menschen gipfeln muss, dass damit ästhetisch etwas gewonnen ist: das Thema ist Grenzen der Menschheit, und vom Menschen dürfte deshalb die Schlussstrophe füglich reden. Goethe lag die Anschauung von einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit von Göttern und Menschen durchaus nahe; der jugendliche Stürmer und Dränger hatte den Genius unter dem Bilde des Göttlichen gezeichnet und in dem Gedichte *Das Göttliche* (1783) zeichnet er das Göttliche unter dem Bilde des Edel-Menschlichen. Es dürfte in dieser Hinsicht nicht ohne Bedeutung sein, dass Goethe die beiden Gedichte, *Grenzen der Menschheit* und *Das Göttliche*, zusammenstellte. Ohne Belang ist Carl Alts Erklärung: "Vgl. zu dem Gegensatz zwischen Göttern und Menschen Tasso V. 1074 f," denn Tasso stellt hier Erdengötter (d.h. Fürsten) und *andere* Menschen einander gegenüber.

Was unterscheidet
Götter von Menschen?
Dass viele Wellen
Vor jenen wandeln,
Ein ewiger Strom.

Was also die Götter vor den Menschen voraus haben, ist die ewige Fortdauer ihres Daseins. Zu beachten ist die passive Rolle der Götter in diesem Bilde: sie sind Zuschauer, und die Menschengeschlechter werden nicht von aussen her aneinander gereiht, son-

dern das Bild deutet klar auf ein organisches Entfalten hin, wie es der pantheistischen Auffassung Goethes entspricht. Unser Gedicht entstand zwischen 1779 und 1781; aus dem letzten Jahre stammt Herders Abschrift. Am 29. Juli 1782 schrieb Goethe an Lavater die oft zitierten Worte: "Du hältst das Evangelium, wie es steht, für die göttlichste Wahrheit, mich würde eine vernehmliche Stimme vom Himmel nicht überzeugen, dass das Wasser brennt und das Feuer löscht, dass ein Weib ohne Mann gebiert, und dass ein Toter aufersteht, vielmehr halte ich dieses für Lästerei gegen den grossen Gott und seine Offenbarung in der Natur." Den von aussen gestaltenden Gott hatte schon *Prometheus* (1774) verlacht, und *Mahomets Gesang* (1772-73) und *Ganymed* (1774) hatten klar die pantheistische Gottheit verkündet, wie die späteren Verse:

Was wär' ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,
 Im Kreis das All am Finger laufen liesse!
 Ihm ziemt's, die Welt im Innern zu bewegen,
 Natur in sich, sich in Natur zu hegen,
 So dass, was in ihm lebt und webt und ist,
 Nie seine Kraft, nie seinen Geist vermisst. ca. 1812.

Goethe ist als Naturforscher Pantheist, und ist er als Dichter Polytheist, so sind ihm die Götter, was sie Lukrez waren, Wesen, die in seliger Abgeschlossenheit leben, "who haunt the lucid interspace of world and world," oder sie sind ihm, wie auch Lukrez, willkommene Symbole für Naturkräfte, Symbole, worunter sich manches denken lässt, die einen reichen Schatz überlieferter poetischer Anschauungen verkörpern. Sonst kannte Goethe nur einen Gott, die sich von innen heraus stets neu gebärende Natur. Konnte ihm so das Bild nahe liegen, dass die Götter die Geschlechter an einander reihen, wie ein Schmied die Ringe einer Kette? Wohl hat Goethe überlieferte mythologische Bilder gebraucht, auch diese wohl pantheistisch-naturwissenschaftlich umgedeutet, so z.B. im westöstlichen Divan, aber hat er je selber Bilder erschaffen, die seiner naturwissenschaftlichen Auffassung widersprechen? Ich habe die Gedichte daraufhin vergebens durchgesehen. Nun aber betrachte man die Bilder der beiden letzten Strophen. V. 33 vergleicht Goethe das Leben mit einem ewigen Strom; Geschlecht reiht sich an Geschlecht wie Welle an Welle. Die Wellen des ewigen Stromes und die Ringe der unendlichen Kette sind einander durchaus analog. Könnte man, da das erste Bild ein mechanisches

Eingreifen der Götter ausschliesst, dies bei dem zweiten annehmen? Dann aber stelle man sich das Dasein der Götter unter dem Bilde einer Kette vor: nur wenn im Götterdasein Generation auf Generation, folgt, hat das Bild, auf Götter bezogen, eine anschauliche Bedeutung. Kann das Goethes Absicht gewesen sein? Dadurch würde ja der *eine* alles bedingende Wesensunterschied zwischen Göttern und Menschen aufgehoben und damit jeder andere; dann wären die Götter endliche Wesen wie alle Geschöpfe. Gibt man diese Möglichkeit nicht zu, so ist das Bild eine blinde Metapher ohne jeden anschaulichen Wert, ein Vergehen gegen den Genius der Poesie, wie wir es gerade bei Goethes dichterisch-konkretem Schaffen am wenigsten vermuten dürfen. Anders aber ist es, wenn man, wie Franz Kern will, *Kette* und *ihres* beides auf Menschen bezieht; das Bild hat seinen vollen anschaulichen Wert, die grammatischen Konstruktionen ergeben sich ganz ungezwungen, und die apollinische Klarheit erhebt sich siegreich über den dionysischen Rausch.

FRIEDRICH BRUNS.

University of Wisconsin.

HEINE'S 'BUCH LE GRAND'

I

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Heine's 'Buch Le Grand' has been subjected to careful analysis in recent years by two well-known commentators of his works—Ernst Elster and Karl Hessel.¹ To both these critics we owe enlightenment on many points which, to the uninitiated, have made this work of Heine's a series of riddles, of mystifying innuendos, a mere rhapsodic hodge-podge of whims, moods and reflections. To Elster belongs the credit of having discovered in 'Le Grand' Heine's confession of his love for Therese Heine, the younger sister of his cousin Amalie, who used to be regarded as the sole object of his serious passion. Hessel has succeeded in proving that the lady so constantly addressed as 'Madam' in 'Le Grand' can not be dismissed as a fictitious personage; she is Friederike Robert, the beautiful friend and patroness of Heine during his Berlin days. In connection with this discovery Hessel has thrown light on many passages which could be read intelligently only on the basis of an intimate knowledge of the nature of his relations with that gifted lady.

Nevertheless, in interpreting the book as a whole, both these critics have erred, it seems to me, as a result of preconceived favorite theories. After discovering Heine's relations to Therese, Elster came to think of 'Le Grand' as a book seriously planned and written with the prime object of winning Therese's love and her family's approval of the match. In accordance with this idea he believed Therese to be concealed under that fictitious name Evelina, while he regarded the poet's rambling account as addressed to her mother—the most influential person in a family matter of this kind. Developing this idea, Elster had to be prepared to go so far as to view chapter 13—the essay on learning—as a serious attempt to convince his uncle's family of his scholarly attainments and to view chapter 14—that delightful dissertation on fools and their value to the poet as a capital investment—as a

¹ Essays by both are found in the 'Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte. Elster: 'Zu Heines Biographie,' vol. IV, 1891; Hessel: 'Heines Buch Le Grand,' vol. V, 1892.

demonstration of his ability to support a wife by his satirical pen.

A number of observations make this interpretation appear quite impossible. The wording of the dedication to Evelina bears evidence of respect and adoration, but not of passionate devotion. Therese's mother cannot be the 'Madam' addressed, as the tone of the poet's rhapsodizing was quite beyond the level of her education and intelligence. The chapter on learning is written in the same bantering spirit which marks the frequent allusions to this subject in Heine's letters. As to Heine's threat to blackmail the Hamburg fools of his acquaintance, he certainly realized that such a vocation would hardly have served to make him qualify as son-in-law to a local millionaire banker.

Hessel has pointed out the forced character of this interpretation so completely that I would be merely repeating his views by going into details.

However, Hessel does scarcely less violence to 'Das Buch Le Grand' in his own interpretation. There is nothing plausible in his theory that Heine told the story of his first love and ingeniously dedicated it to a fictitious Evelina in order to mystify the public and divert its attention from his uncle's family to the Rhineland. More important than this detail is the fact that Hessel follows the precedent of Elster in insisting that there must be a distinctly practical, non-poetical purpose at the basis of this rhapsody. He views 'Le Grand' as a systematically worked-out program in which Heine (1) develops the new guiding ideas on which he intends to build his future and (2) dismisses the ideas that have guided him in the past. Among his new ideas his worship of Napoleon's genius strikes the dominant chord. The ideas in the second category—those to be renounced—include, according to Hessel's view (1) moderation in his utterances for the censor's benefit (ch. 12); (2) the effort to acquire learning (ch. 13); (3) the cultivation of his satirical vein (ch. 14); (4) the desire for a fixed position (ch. 15); (5) the lingering hope of ultimately winning Therese (ch. 16-20). On almost all of these points Hessel arrives at conclusions diametrically opposed to those of Elster. These conclusions are forced upon Hessel because of his assumption that Heine was consciously working on the basis of Hegel's logical scheme of position, negation and synthesis. This assumption compels him to see in all seriousness in the conclusion to chapter 13, abounding with ridicule for systematic classification and promising a dissertation to

follow on (a) rational and (b) irrational ideas, the serious announcement of the book's Hegelian plan, whimsically thrust into the middle; and it compels him, since thesis and antithesis are expected to be followed by a synthesis, to seek the real point of Heine's humor in the very absence of that synthesis (!).

Apart from the fact that such a juxtaposition of old and new ideas is scarcely in the spirit of the Hegelian dialectic, nothing could be more unlike a poet of freedom such as Heine than to meticulously plan a work of freest fancy according to the rules of Hegelian logic. Certainly I myself would be the last to overlook the profound influence of Hegel on Heine; this paper, in fact, will have Heine's relation to Hegel as one of its chief topics; but I will attempt to show that Heine could very well embrace the crucial idea of the Hegelian philosophy of life for a time, while he could never for an instant have bound his fancy by the fetters of its systematic method.

The inadequacy of both Elster's and Hessel's interpretations, therefore, justify a new attempt to catch the spirit pervading Heine's 'Buch Le Grand.'

Neither Elster nor Hessel has stopped to throw out more than a cursory remark on chapter 15—Heine's philosophical discussion of "Die Narren" and "die Vernünftigen,"—as it has little bearing on their theories. Yet this chapter is perhaps the most puzzling of all, and it is absolutely essential for us to grasp its meaning if we would understand the state of mind which conceived so curious a literary freak as 'Das Buch Le Grand.'

The following pages will, therefore, analyze the ideas of this chapter in detail, after sketching the literary background which fathered that whimsical discussion. This completed, we shall attempt to develop the conception and meaning of 'Das Buch Le Grand' as a whole.

II

DIE NARREN UND DIE VERNÜNFTIGEN

From beginning to end Heine's writings abound in the use of the words 'Narr' and 'Narrheit.'² There is no other set of words

² These words are in almost all their uses the equivalents of the English 'Fool' and 'Folly.' They suggest in a variety of contexts ideas like stupid, silly, insane, crazy, whimsical, capricious, eccentric, fanciful, unbalanced. 'Vernunft,' 'vernünftig' and 'die Vernünftigen,' when used in contrast, can

which Heine found so full of suggestion, so capable of taking on the greatest variety of meanings, so satisfying as a means to express love, admiration, pity, indifference, hatred, contempt—the whole gamut of feelings—always mixed with a varying dose of ridicule. With particular fondness he applied the term 'Narr' to himself. His sense of the ridiculous was always lurking in the background when the introspective mood was upon him. Already in the second of his letters to his friend Christian Sethe he exclaims: " 'Werdet wie die Kindlein,' lange währte ich dies zu verstehen o ich närrischer Narr. Kindlein glauben" (Oct. 27, 1816).

Nothing could be further from the truth, however, than to suppose that Heine felt himself lowered in his own estimation whenever he chose to apply the epithet 'Narr' to himself. Usually there is a touch of raillery at his own foibles or of sentimental pity for himself implied in such an apostrophe. There are moments, too, when he regards himself as simply crazy. Frequently, however, the word 'Narr' is seasoned with a flavor of that vanity which always came to the fore in Heine when he became conscious of the chasm separating his life from that of the ordinary mortal. In such cases the epithet 'Narr' is an ironical expression of the stupid world's dull lack of understanding for what is exceptional. Often, of course, he identifies himself directly with the court fool of the middle ages, proud of his fool's cap and its effect on the public; but at the same time he feels this buffoonery to be a mere mask put on to hide the most intense suffering from the public gaze.

Heine's love for the word 'Narr' extends to the attributes 'närrisch' and 'Narrheit' as well. At times he means to stamp something as utterly ridiculous by applying these words. But just as often anything peculiar, original, eccentric, bizarre, or even tragic—anything defying the optimism of conventional logic—has the light of aesthetic interest flashed upon it by the epithets 'närrisch' or 'Narrheit' uttered with a peculiar intonation. This use of Heine's is most pregnant with meaning when we find an

mean things all the way from intelligent, clever, rational, reasonable, wise, sage, sane, to worldly-wise, opportunistic, unimaginative, wooden. As there is no one single word in English which could suggest all these shadings of meaning, I have refrained from translating them at all in the majority of cases, so as to preserve the humor resulting from the play on words.

intentional contrast to 'Vernunft' or 'vernünftig' expressed or implied.

Nothing shows so clearly as Heine's letters of May 26, 1825, to Christiani, and of July 1, 1825, to Moser, how Heine was struggling even at that time to compress two diametrically opposed philosophies of life into the terms 'Vernunft' and 'Narrheit.' As usual, Heine here grapples not with philosophy in the abstract but with a personality of symbolic significance. Put concretely, the issue is: Heine versus Goethe. In these letters 'Vernunft' and 'Vernünftigkeit' are used to designate Goethe's philosophy of life, as interpreted by Heine. Overshadowing all other qualities are Goethe's "sense of the practical" and "his art of enjoying life to the full." It is Goethe's success in every sense which Heine feels as 'vernünftig':—success in a worldly sense; success in avoiding the rocks of life; success in shaping his life into a veritably harmonious work of art; success in the attainment of objectivity, moderation, tranquillity, inward peace. It is this success Heine admires, but at the same time success in every sense of the term is felt by the pessimistic, unbalanced Romanticist as a taint. Success means the renunciation of Titanism.

Contrasting himself with Goethe, Heine feels the most outstanding trait of his own temperament to be his lack of balance, his love of being completely swept off his feet, his "enthusiasm for the idea," his "Schwärmerei"—qualities later all summed up in the word 'Narrheit,' which, tho absent here, is found over and over again a few years later, most pregnantly in his frequent identification of himself with Don Quixote.

What a vast fringe of associations the terms 'Narrheit' and 'Vernunft' possessed for Heine is strikingly instanced in the introductory sentences of 'Die Bäder von Lucca,' a later product of the same general period as 'Le Grand.' Mathilde, that feminine incarnation of wit, apostrophizing Heine as 'Wahnsinnigster der Sterblichen,' philosophizes as follows: "Narren und Dummköpfe gibt es genug, und man erzeigt ihnen oft die Ehre, sie für verrückt zu halten; aber die wahre Verrücktheit ist nichts anderes als Weisheit, die sich geärgert hat, dass sie alles weiss, alle Schändlichkeiten dieser Welt, und die deshalb den weisen Entschluss gefasst hat, verrückt zu werden" (III, 293).³

³ Elster's edition is quoted thruout this essay.

'Narrheit,' or 'Verrücktheit,' as Heine here calls it, is the philosophy of the pessimist who has rent the veil of illusion and beholds the cosmic tragedy. In Heine's scale of values 'Verrücktheit' transcends 'Weisheit.' Being a conscious renunciation of reason, it is superrational.

Heine was not the first to make this contrasting pair of terms the object of aesthetic play. He has, in this field, at least two noted precursors, and according to all evidences he was directly stimulated by them to the treatment of this problem. Tieck, and a little later, Hoffmann, cultivated this theme with all the subtlety and love of paradox which distinguished the early Romanticists.

Three of the plays on which Tieck's literary fame rests, 'Blau-bart' (1796), 'Der gestiefelte Kater' (1797) and 'Die verkehrte Welt' (1798) strike this theme almost in the manner of a Leit-motiv, recurring again and again with variations. Children of the revolt against the utilitarian philosophy of the day, these dramatic capriccios are passionate polemics against the rationalism of Leibniz-Wolff and his popular exponent Nicolai.⁴ In consequence we find Tieck using the word 'Verstand,' as the negative pole of 'Narrheit' almost thruout, whereas the philosophical developments of two intervening decades made the substitution of 'Vernunft' for 'Verstand' almost inevitable in Heine's case.

The two burlesque figures that animate the dialogue of 'Blau-bart' are a professional advisor and a professional fool—personifications of 'Verstand' and 'Narrheit.' As a matter of course the advisor utters nothing but the most banal platitudes, whereas the fool on several occasions escapes danger and saves his life, in fact, thanks to his fertile imagination. Both these characters are constantly chaffing and wrangling with each other over their respective merits. Thus, resenting a witty repartee on the part of the fool, the advisor remarks: "Deinen Witz magst Du selbst behalten, er ist so durchgescheuert, dass man die Fäden zählen kann." Claus, the fool, retorts: "So könnt Ihr immer noch Euren vernünftigen Rat damit flicken, denn ich glaube, dass Verstand kein besseres Unterfutter finden kann, als die Narrheit" (Phantasus, Berlin, 1828, part 1, p. 17).

⁴I assume thruout this paper a thoro acquaintance on the reader's part with the antirationalistic philosophy of German Romanticism.

Tieck, who here speaks thru the mouth of the fool, conceives of 'Verstand' and 'Narrheit' not as mutually exclusive but rather as complementary opposites. This becomes quite clear by a further reflection of the fool: "Jeder von uns beiden, einzeln genommen, ist nur ein schwaches Rohr, ein faules Holz, das nur glänzt, wenn kein anderer Schimmer in der Nähe ist; aber wenn unser Verstand zusammengetan wird, so entsteht daraus eine Komposition, eine Art von Prinzmetall, das ausserordentlich dauerhaft ist" (*ib.*, p. 35). Nevertheless, if both can't be had united, if a choice has to be made between them, Tieck chooses 'Narrheit.' "Sobald der Verstand bei der Torheit bettelt, erfolgt gewöhnlich ein gutes Almosen, denn die Torheit gibt, ohne die Münzsorten zu besehen; wer aber bei gescheuten Leuten Hülfe sucht, bekommt immer nur Scheidemünze" (*ib.*, p. 26).

Some of the other characters are also made to voice Tieck's biting satire against the pretensions of 'Verstand.' Simon, the philosopher, pondering on the nature of 'Verstand,' comes to the conclusion that reason is something of the nature of an onion's kernel! "Erhat gewiss, wie eine Zwiebel, eine Menge von Häuten; jede dieser Häute wird auch Verstand genannt, und der letzte inwendige Kern ist der eigentliche beste Verstand" (*ib.*, p. 46).

It is significant, too, that the advisor is a very optimistic person, while the clown is a pessimist by temperament. He is tempted to commit suicide after just having obtained Bluebeard's pardon by his ready wit. There is in his buffoonery a good admixture of Heine's "Weisheit, die sich geärgert hat."

Divested of its phantastic form, Tieck's message amounts to this: Reason (Verstand) is merely a critical faculty, a sort of censor making thoughts pass in review, and, like all censors, managing his job very clumsily. It is unproductive, uninventive and essentially hollow. Folly (Narrheit), on the other hand, stands for creative imagination—the Romanticist's divinity. It is the productive faculty, a cornucopia of ideas—foolish, indifferent, brilliant. It need not worry about the amount of chaff mixed in with the wheat because of its infinite resourcefulness. Only in their harmonious union critical reason and productive imagination constitute man in the full sense of the word.

"Der gestiefelte Kater" contains little to throw more light on our problem. The chief thing to interest us is the fact that a

court fool and a court scholar figure among the characters of the play, forming an exact parallelism to the clown and the advisor in 'Blaubart.' Both hold the same rank at court, eat off the same table and entertain the company by their jealousy of each other. One is involuntarily reminded of conditions as they existed at the court of Frederick William I of Prussia.

'Die verkehrte Welt' presents to us another clown of the same type who belongs to a count. Seeing the two together one is puzzled to decide whether the fool is part of the count's retinue or the count part of the fool's, according to Tieck's way of putting it. One of the count's remarks about fools is quite memorable: "Sie geraten nicht in jedem Jahre gleich gut, manchmal ist ein ordentlicher Misswachs—ich habe sie auf meinen Gütern als ein Landesprodukt ziehen wollen—aber sie sind nicht eingeschlagen—das Klima muss nicht taugen" (*ib.* 360). An almost literal repetition of these words occurs in 'Le Grand': "Der Herr hat mich gesegnet, die Narren sind dieses Jahr ganz besonders gut geraten" (III, 178.) This is certainly more than a chance coincidence. There can be no doubt as to Heine's familiarity with Tieck's writings in view of Heine's praise of 'Phantasia'—the collection of which these plays form a part—in his 'Romantic School.'

Nothing about 'Die verkehrte Welt' is quite so bizarre as the fact that the figures and involutions of the orchestra's whimsical music are rendered in words by Tieck, as part of the play. The nature of 'Verstand' is again the topic of this tonal philosophizing. "Ja der Verstand," the music says, "wenn er sich recht auf den Grund kommen will, wenn er sein eigenes Wesen bis ins Innerste erforscht, und sich selbst beobachtet und beobachtend vor sich liegen hat, sagt: 'darin ist kein Verstand.' Nicht wahr, es ist am bequemsten, das Denken ganz aufzugeben? das tun auch die meisten, ohne es zu wissen. Doch wer mit Vernunft die Vernunft verachtet, ist dadurch wieder vernünftig. Dass nur keiner sagt: darin ist kein Verstand" (*ib.* 373-4).

Tieck here breathes the rarified atmosphere of the heights on which the Romanticists felt most at home. He arrives here, after the manner of the fragmentists of the 'Athenaeum' at a reason to the second power, thru the dialectics of Folly—just as we shall see Heine doing later in 'Das Buch Le Grand.'

When we meet this same intellectual jugglery with the terms 'Narrheit' and 'Vernunft' in E.T.A. Hoffmann, we must be struck by this parallelism all the more forcibly in view of the striking temperamental resemblance between Hoffman and Heine; for both these men experienced that same dualism, that same oscillation between extremes described by them by the word 'Zerrissenheit.' When we find Hoffmann tormented by this dualism between his outer and his inner life to such an extent that he has to take recourse to "dissipation indulged in on principle,⁵ this seems like an anticipation of similar confessions in Heine's early letters. How much of a direct influence Hoffmann's creation, Johannes Kreisler—in many respects a portrait of his own self—exerted on Heine, I should hesitate to say; the analogy, however, is perfect between the author of 'Das Buch Le Grand' and the eccentric musician who passes from the sublime to the ridiculous at a leap and finds expression for the deepest pathos only in the most scurrilous humor.

Only on one occasion, so far as I have been able to find, did Hoffmann follow in the footsteps of Tieck in embodying a discussion of 'Verstand' and 'Narrheit' in a work of the creative imagination. But it is one of his most original characters, the tonsorial artist of 'Die Elixire des Teufels,' who speculates on this subject. This weird personality, Peter Schönfeld or Pietro Belcampo, is subject to two distinct states of consciousness, and, according to how the spirit moves him, he bubbles over with the prattle of a lunatic or utters Hoffmann's deepest reflections—all in the same tone of grotesque buffoonery. Hoffmann has in this way succeeded in avoiding the bald didactic tone which mars the aesthetic enjoyment of Tieck's plays. Medardus, the criminal-hero of 'Die Elixire,' is saved from death more than once by the fidelity of Schönfeld. When Medardus questions him on one occasion as to the reasons for his incomprehensible attachment, he replies: "Ich selbst bin die Narrheit, die ist überall hinter Dir her, um Deiner Vernunft beizustehen, und Du magst es nun einsehen oder nicht, in der Narrheit findest Du nur Dein Heil, denn Deine Vernunft ist ein höchst miserables Ding, und kann sich nicht aufrecht erhalten, sie taumelt hin und her wie ein gebrechliches Kind,

⁵ Ellinger: Hoffmann, 1894, p. 24.—Heine's comments on Hoffmann in his 'Briefe aus Berlin' show that he read Hoffmann during his formative period. As to Hoffmann's influence on Heine see Ellinger, p. 183 ff.

und muss mit der Narrheit in Kompagnie treten, die hilft ihr auf und weiss den richtigen Weg zu finden nach der Heimat . . . Die Narrheit erscheint auf Erden wie die wahre Geisterkönigin. Die Vernunft ist nur ein träger Statthalter, der sich nie darum kümmert, was ausser den Gränzen des Reichs vorgeht . . . Aber die Narrheit, die wahre Königin des Volks, zieht ein mit Pauken und Trompeten: hassa, hussa—hinter ihr der Jubel—Jubel—. Die Vasallen erheben sich von den Plätzen, wo sie die Vernunft einsperrte, und wollen nicht mehr stehen, sitzen und liegen wie der pedantische Hofmeister es will; der sieht die Nummern durch und spricht: Seht, die Narrheit hat mir meine besten Eleven entrückt—fortgerückt—verrückt—ja, sie sind verrückt worden. Das ist ein Wortspiel, Brüderlein Medardus—ein Wortspiel ist ein glühendes Eisen in der Hand der Narrheit, womit sie Gedanken krümmt” (Werke, vol. 8, Berlin 1872, p. 219-20).

The confusing wealth of imagery in which these reflections are clothed should not make us overlook their intense seriousness. Like Tieck, to whom Hoffman was indebted for the basic idea of the passage, Hoffmann conceives of ‘Vernunft’ as the purely critical principle of the human mind, and like Tieck he rebels against the tyrannical despotism of this censor. Resuming his tirade, Schönfeld-Hoffman expresses his contempt for critical reflection. He speaks of it as the accursed function of a damned toll-keeper, tax-collector, ‘Oberkontrollassistent,’ who has established his good-for-nothing office in the upper story and remarks on all goods, brought in to be shipped: “Export is forbidden.” As to Tieck, the word ‘Narrheit’ means to him the creative imagination which he views as the sole source of progress. His admirable remark about ‘Das Wortspiel’ as a red-hot curling-iron which in the hands of ‘Narrheit’ becomes the instrument of shaping thought shows his keen insight into the processes molding language and conditioning the evolution of thought.

But like Tieck and later Heine, Hoffman is also caught under the spell of a philosophy which fancies it finds the keenest realization of creative energy in the infinite reflection of the spirit upon itself. Hoffmann, too, has his dialectics of ‘Narrheit’ which is to raise him to a rationality on a higher plane. Thus Schönfeld-Hoffmann reflects: “Ich weiss recht gut, dass ich zuweilen ein aberwitziger Narr bin, aber die Luft im Tollhause, vernünftigen

Leuten verderblich, hat gut auf mich gewirkt. Ich fange an, über mich selbst zu rasonnieren, und das ist kein übles Zeichen! Existiere ich überhaupt nur durch mein eigenes Bewusstsein, so kommt es nur darauf an, dass dies Bewusstsein dem Bewusstsein die Hanswurstjacke ausziehe, und ich stehe da als ein solider Gentleman" (*ib.* p. 222).

Lastly we find that Hoffmann's philosophy of 'Narrheit,' like Tieck's, is pessimistic at the core. Schönfeld ends in utter insanity, and Prior Leonardus' simple comment on his end is this: "Des Peters Licht ist im Dampf der Narrheit verlöscht, in die sich in seinem Innern die Ironie des Lebens umgestaltet" (*ib.*, 300). Exactly the same words would have applied to Kreisler whom the tragic irony of life drove to buffoonery, to a pose of mock insanity sustained so long that finally the cord of contact with normal life snapped completely. This reads like an account of Hoffmann's own life—and Heine's too, incidentally—with the sole difference that neither Hoffmann nor Heine ever abandoned themselves to 'Narrheit' so completely as to lose sight of its complementary opposite, 'Vernunft.'

Summarizing Tieck's and Hoffmann's philosophizing on the theme treated, the following points stand out clearly in our analysis:

(1) Tieck and Hoffmann take an intense delight in dialectical play with the terms 'Vernunft' and 'Narrheit.'

(2) They feel an antagonism to 'Vernunft' and a temperamental preference for whatever they associate with 'Narrheit.'

(3) With both Tieck and Hoffmann the direct purpose of this dialectical play is a satirical attack on pre-Kantian rationalism.

(4) 'Narrheit' becomes to both a symbol for creative imagination and poetic vision of the highest order.

(5) In conjunction with poetical vision 'Narrheit' implies a profound pessimism—a 'Weltschmerz'—that has penetrated life to its depths.

Viewed in the light of this literary background, Heine's play with the antithesis 'Vernunft' and 'Narrheit' loses much of its strangeness. This theme is part of the literary heritage derived from early Romanticism. We shall find Heine treating it, accordingly, in true Romantic fashion, with important modifications, however—the result of his dual temperament and the philosophical developments of his day.

“Solange mein Herz voll Liebe und der Kopf meiner Nebenmenschen voll Narrheit ist, wird es mir nie an Stoff zum Schreiben fehlen. Und mein Herz wird immer lieben, solange es Frauen gibt. . . . Auf gleiche Weise wird auch die Narrheit meiner Nebenmenschen nie aussterben. Denn es gibt nur eine einzige Klugheit, und diese hat ihre bestimmte Grenzen; aber es gibt tausend unermessliche Narrheiten.” (III, 177).

These words, taken from chapter 14 of ‘Das Buch Le Grand,’ were indeed of programmatic significance for Heine’s literary future as well as his past. Chapter 14 is in many respects an outline of the way in which Heine actually employed his satirical gift in the years to follow. Here he simply sketches in the rough how he intends to turn the fools of all varieties into cash, and he gloats over the fact that there are a thousand different brands of Folly and thousands of interesting specimens illustrating each brand. In his ‘Reise von München nach Genua,’ a few years later, he actually begins to work out this program. That rich banker, Christian Gumpel, who had already received casual mention in the ‘Harzreise’ and in ‘Le Grand,’ is here formally introduced as a “peer of our kingdom of fools,” distinguished by his “mania for embracing all the follies of his day.” His simple bourgeois name Gumpel has been transformed into the sonorous and aristocratic Marchese Gumpelino; according to aristocratic custom he patronizes the most expensive prima donnas and dancers; he plunges with fervor into the now fashionable mysteries of Catholicism; he travels to Italy to admire pre-raphaelite art, and struggles with current poetry—all because these things form part of “culture.” Heine’s polemic against Platen is another case of his presenting an exhaustive description of a fool—“that exquisite fool,” as he calls him,—and it is prefaced by general reflections about “Das Narrentum” in Germany.

While all this is perfectly simple, and while Heine is having his fun in chapter 14 of ‘Le Grand’ with the type of the ‘nouveau riche,’ with degenerates and cheap scribblers, chapter 15 rises to a higher plane, insofar as Heine, after indicating his practical treatment of ‘Die Narren’ here treats us, as it were, to a theory of ‘Narrheit’ and a classification of its varieties. A rather tough nut to crack, tho; for this chapter is one of the most obscure in Heine’s writings. Very few of his readers in Germany, I dare say,

understood his meaning more than vaguely; and as to his French admirers, an intelligent gustation of it was out of question, a fact which accounts for his complete suppression of this chapter in his French version of 'Le Grand' in the thirties.

Heine's play with these categories 'Vernunft' and 'Narrheit' is so elusive, so subjectively colored, that the most diverse guesses are permissible. What is this 'Vernunft,' and who are 'die Vernünftigen,' concretely put? For it is evident that Heine, as always, is not talking in the abstract, but has a very specific class of persons in mind. Heine's own rôle of intermediary between the two hostile camps is particularly difficult to interpret. Why does he pass for a renegade—and justly so, according to his own admission? Why do his new associates hold him up to ridicule? What does he mean by his unrequited passion for 'die Vernunft'? And what is this "extraordinary 'Narrheit' of his own which soars above the stars"? Has the whole chapter any meaning at all, one is seriously tempted to ask, or is it impatiently to be dismissed with a quotation of Heine's own in a letter to Moser: "Genug des Unverstandes und der unverständlichen Reden über Verstand—ich wollte mir nur den Anschein geben, als dächte ich etwas dabei" (Apr. 23, 1826)? All these questions will have to be satisfactorily answered, if our interpretation is to stand scrutiny.

Before beginning his characterization of 'die Narren' and 'die Vernünftigen,' Heine explains the reason for the hatred with which the 'Narren' pursue the 'Vernünftigen'—a hatred that began with the creation of the world. The unequal distribution of "the fixed quantity of 'Vernunft' to be found in the world" is to blame for it. "Es sei himmelschreiend, wie oft ein einziger Mensch so viel Vernunft an sich gerissen habe, dass seine Mitbürger und das ganze Land rund um ihn her ganz obskur geworden" (III, 183). 'Vernunft' is here obviously synonymous with intelligence—brains—in contrast to 'Narrheit' as plain dullness or stupidity. Heine, whose "aristocratic radicalism" needs no proof, here alludes to the leveling tendency of the democratic spirit, which, pursued to its ultimate limits, would even eliminate all differences in intellectual capacity, for the sake of an ideal equality. Just at that time Börne had carried on his agitation against the exclusive character of the universities, culminating in his famous paradox: "Eine Universität macht das Land zehn Meilen in der Runde dumm." Some-

thing of this sort may have been in Heine's mind in writing the passage.

Only the great inert mass of common fools, however, voice their rage against 'die Vernünftigen' in such a way as to openly admit the fact that Nature has slighted them in her distribution of the fixed quantity of "wit and judgment."⁶ Besides these there are 'Narren' of a higher order who wage the war against the 'Vernünftigen' with a considerable show of ingenuity. These "chieftains of the great army," who have taken recourse to stratagems of war, are divided into two distinct camps. The one camp is composed of those who try to conceal their lack of 'Vernunft' by praising 'Vernunft' on every occasion as "die alleinseligmachende Quelle der Gedanken." At the same time these throw themselves with great zeal into the study of mathematics, logic, statistics, mechanical improvements etc. On Heine they make the impression of apes, trying to mimic the actions of men. Any one acquainted with the philosophical and literary movements which the last generation of the eighteenth century had witnessed, will have no difficulty in recognizing under this caricature the utilitarian rationalists of the Nicolai type whose conception of philosophy—the word taken in its broad meaning—was limited to the formal and mechanical sciences. A philosopher of this variety had already been introduced to us in the 'Harzreise.' No one can forget that delicious caricature, Saul Ascher, the writer of many volumes "in which reason constantly brags about its own excellence;" who, appearing after death as a ghost, still persists in logically deducing the impossibility of ghosts, and who ends every conversation with the profound remark: "Die Vernunft ist das höchste Prinzip." We are dealing here, obviously, with a polemic after the manner of Tieck and Hoffmann, but we can't help even now being struck with the fact that Heine's terminology is reversed, as compared with that of the early Romanticists. It is the Rationalists now who are labelled as 'Narren,' while the terms 'Vernunft' and 'vernünftig' are reserved to designate something superior in Heine's valuation.

The second coterie of fools of a higher order conduct their campaign against 'die Vernünftigen' along entirely different lines. These 'chieftains' are more candid and admit that their own allot-

⁶ This idea of a "fixed quantity of wit and judgment" was evidently borrowed from Sterne. Cf. Tristram Shandy, Bk. III, ch. 20, par. 8.

ment of 'Vernunft' has been very small, that possibly they were overlooked altogether in its distribution. They can't refrain, however, from protesting that 'Vernunft' is very "sour and at bottom of little value." They have invented all kinds of substitutes for 'Vernunft'—Feeling (*das Gemüt*), Faith, Inspiration. These newly discovered powers are said to be even more efficacious in certain emergencies than 'Vernunft' itself. Heine has thrown together in this category, as we recognize without difficulty, all sorts of emotionalists, pietists, mystics—Romanticists—men of the type of F. H. Jacobi, Friedrich Schlegel, Schelling and Fouqué; and included in this class, trailing on the heels of these leaders, are the thousands of satellites and sycophants who, for material and selfish reasons, find it opportune to profess a cult of emotion tinged with piety.

So the Romanticists, broadly speaking, are here satirized as the second class of 'Narren,' and Heine means to do anything but compliment them by applying the epithet in this connection. This need not surprise us, for, tho a Romanticist himself by temperament and literary tradition, a pupil of A. W. Schlegel, Heine had begun emancipating himself even in his student days from the religious cult and the reactionary political philosophy of the Romanticists.

The chapter we are analyzing is not the first instance of Heine's setting the champions of reason over against the champions of feeling, comparing their respective merits and covering them both with his ridicule. The 'Harzreise' and the 'Nordsee' as well present a similar classification. In these somewhat earlier passages the members of the second class of 'Narren' are referred to as 'Mystics,' and the 'isms' opposed to each other are Rationalism and Mysticism.⁷ Wherever Heine alludes to this contrast we can't help observing that he is in sympathy with the imaginative attitude of the Mystics but is impatient of their reverence for political and religious tradition; and that he relishes the revolutionizing criticism of the Rationalists against decaying institutions, while he abhors their worship of the practical and the useful.

We have identified the two classes of fools of a higher order with the obsolete Rationalists and the reactionary Romanticists. By the principle of elimination this brings us nearer to an identifica-

⁷ See vol. III, p. 39, and especially the variants *ib.* 515, 523 and 536.

tion of who is to be understood by 'die Vernünftigen,' even tho it does not afford us 'eo ipso' the solution of the problem. This much seems conclusively proved, however, as previously pointed out: Like the Rationalists and the Romanticists 'die Vernünftigen' must be some sort of party or coterie definitely associated with a contemporary movement. At the beginning of this chapter Heine refers, it is true, to the war between 'die Narren' and 'die Vernünftigen' as being as old as the creation of the world; hence there always have been wise men as well as fools; but Heine's later remarks about Rationalism and Romanticism apply so specifically to his own time that nothing less than an identification of 'die Vernünftigen' with a specific movement advanced by specific leaders will do.

Heine refers to 'die Vernünftigen' as his new associates. Apart from this one fact, however, he tells us precious little about them. Perhaps an apparently bantering remark about the general attitude of 'die Vernünftigen' in the great war of extermination will give us a clue: "Die Vernünftigen zeigen sich wie gewöhnlich als die ruhigsten, mässigsten und vernünftigsten." If my hypothesis is borne out by the facts, I shall show that this characterization applies in full to the Hegelian philosophical movement which was on the point of reaching its high watermark of power at the time when Heine wrote 'Das Buch Le Grand.' Let us examine this hypothesis in detail.

When Heine, in the spring of 1821, came to Berlin as a student of law, his literary connections soon gave him access to the salons of the Varnhagens, the Roberts and the Hohenhausens. His most intimate associates, however, were a group of young Jewish scholars who had set themselves the task of emancipating their race from the fetters of religious and social prejudice which arrested their free development. Most of them were at the same time devoted pupils of Hegel. Eduard Gans, Moser, Markus, Wohlwill and Lehmann belonged to this group. The one to whom Heine was most intimately attached was Moses Moser. Heine's correspondence with this friend, flourishing particularly between 1823 and 1827, allows us glimpses into the innermost sanctum of Heine's personality and reveals a serious striving for spiritual ennoblement, such as we do not meet again in Heine's career after Moser's influence had been superseded by that of less magnanimous friends.

In 1821 Heine attended a course of lectures by Hegel, but what he absorbed of the Hegelian philosophy he doubtless owed in much greater measure to the stimulating influence of Moser, both by personal contact and correspondence, rather than to the words of the master himself. Of course, what we know to have been true of the letters applied also in all probability to oral discussion: Heine had much more to learn from his friend in matters of philosophy than to contribute. Moser's letters, unfortunately, have not come down to us, but they must have been veritable philosophical dissertations, since we find Heine complaining to other friends of Moser's boring him with endless reflections (*mit ellenlangen Kontemplationen*), for Heine desired a letter to be above all things an expression of the writer's individuality (letter to Christiani, March 7, 1824). In writing to other friends Heine frankly confesses his debt to Moser in matters of philosophy. Thus he tells Wohlwill, April 7, 1823, that his essay on the historical Germanic law of the mediaeval era had been almost ready to go to press; "but the many ideas which I gleaned from the study of Asia, as well as the example of the method employed by Gans in his 'Law of Inheritance,' and above all philosophical suggestions on Moser's part caused me to consign the greater part of my book to the flames." During May of the same year he writes Moser that when he catches himself thinking a bright thought or suddenly finds even Hegelian ideas stirring in his brain, he can explain this only by a sympathetic rapport with Moser (exact date unknown). After writing an essay on Goethe in June for Varnhagen's disposition, he confesses to Moser that he will find a quarter of a dozen of his own ideas in these pages; and when that essay was later returned to him, because it was either too late or did not suit Varnhagen's purposes, he jokes about the incident as follows: "If the essay is really poor, your ideas, incorporated in it, are to blame. Really, my essays are always no good when they contain any sensible ideas" (*vernünftige Idee*) (August 23, 1823). Moser's philosophical discussions of the 'Idee'—that pregnant term of Hegel's—at times, however, got on Heine's nerves, and in mock despair he struggled against the determination of his friend to make a mere 'idea' of Heine himself. "For heaven's sake, don't say again that I'm a mere idea! I go mad at the thought. So far as I care, you can all become ideas, only leave me out of it" (June 18, 1823).

All of Heine's allusions to his learned friend's knowledge of the Hegelian philosophy are flavored with a touch of humor. One feels that Heine constantly had a vision of Moser as reading his immature remarks about Hegel with a tolerant smile. When Heine, about to enroll as a student in Göttingen for the second time, requests Moser to get him a certificate of lectures attended at Berlin, and mentions the names of the professors whose signatures are to be obtained, he adds three exclamation points after the name of Hegel, just as any student might do who regards it as something of a joke that he should be given credit for once having imbibed the utterances of some great academic celebrity whose discourse he had followed with average undergraduate intelligence (Dec. 1, 1823). On another occasion, on realizing that Moser's sensitiveness had been offended by one of his remarks, Heine exclaims: "For heaven's sake, a man who reads and understands Hegel and Valmiki in the original can't understand one of my ordinary short-cuts of speech. For God's sake, how must the rest of the people misunderstand me, when Moser, a pupil of Friedländer and contemporary of Gans . . . , my bosom friend, the philosophical part of myself . . . misunderstands me" (Jan. 9, 1824). Announcing to Moser his plan to take a vacation trip to Berlin, he complains of headaches which compel him to avoid all kinds of nervous excitement and adds: "I beg you in advance, don't let me hear a single Hegelian word at our meeting; take lessons of Auerbach (a Jewish Rationalist) so that you can tell me lots of stale and watery stuff (March 19, 1824).

I have purposely gone into all this detail to show how intensely Heine knew his Berlin friends, and especially Moser, to be engrossed with the study of Hegel's teachings. The above quotations also show Heine's double attitude of profound respect and trifling mockery toward this philosophy and its champions.

Granting now, in a tentative way, the identification of 'die Vernünftigen' with the Hegelians, the "new associates" Heine speaks of correspond to the circle of his Berlin friends. Then his confession, "ich selbst bin zwar keiner von den Vernünftigen, aber ich habe mich zu dieser Partei geschlagen," also corresponds to the facts, insofar as Heine, tho not a member of the Hegelian group himself, sympathized with their aims and their outlook upon life. Then we understand, too, that secret tittering of his associates who

don't take him seriously. We realize also why Heine should be execrated as a renegade by the fools, since Hegel had uttered an equally scathing condemnation of both Rationalists and Mystics. And Heine's character of renegade is all the more accentuated in view of the fact that even so late as in his 'Harzreise' he had ridiculed, in true Romantic style, "that scholastic pride with which we vaunt our attainments in the realm of logic, the pretty classification of all concepts as objective and subjective, and the pigeon-hole classification of heads, the last compartment of which contains absolutely nothing, namely the 'idea' " (III, 73).

But it requires a further review of Heine's mental development to appreciate the seriousness underlying the apparent flippancy with which he styles the Hegelians as 'die Vernünftigen' and confesses to his own unrequited passion for 'die Vernunft.'

With the second volume of the 'Reisebilder,' the 'Nordsee' and 'Le Grand,' Heine had consciously turned to political journalism. Already his 'Harzreise,' it is true, had abounded in satirical allusions to the Wars of Liberation (III, 23), to the trembling of cathedrals and chairs of coronation (36), to the league of German states (60), to the persecution of the 'demagogues' (68-9) and to the social caste system, resulting from the privileges of the nobility (69). Even then he had proclaimed himself "a knight of the Holy Ghost"; but his first attempt at serious political thinking we meet in the 'Nordsee.'

Heine's political hopes and strivings centered on a reconstruction of Europe on the basis of the principles of the French Revolution. A new era of liberty and equality, he confidently hoped, was to take the place of privilege and injustice sanctioned by tradition. Historical law was to be superseded by the 'law of nature,' the law of reason. Exactly this was the point of view of Eduard Gans,⁸ the Hegelian professor of Jurisprudence at Berlin who propounded these views in open hostility to Savigny, the leader of the historical school.

Since Heine was a student of law it may be assumed as a fact that in the circle of friends at Berlin, in which Gans was the intellectual leader and Moser played the rôle of mediator between Gans and Heine, the legal and political aspects of Hegelianism occupied

⁸ Heine's most complete characterization of the views and personality of Gans is to be found in his Confessions, VI, 119 ff.

a prominent part of the discussion. It is certain beyond a doubt that Heine got to know Hegel's Philosophy of Right from the liberal, later known as the Young-Hegelian point of view. Already at this time Heine adopted the liberal interpretation of Hegel's famous dictum: "What is rational is real: and what is real is rational," on which he later remarked that Hegel pointed out "this might also be worded: 'What is rational *must* be real' " (IV, 149).

What chiefly distinguished the doctrine of the Hegelian Gans from the theories of the leaders of the French Revolution was the manner in which he conceived the process of rationalization to take its course. Nothing could have been more foreign to the Hegelian point of view than the doctrine of the establishment of the empire of reason by means of violence and revolution. Only by a process of organic development, steady growth—evolution—can the inherent rationality of the universe, according to Hegel, manifest itself. Progress is impossible by the unmediated juxtaposition of two such antithetical concepts as the actual present, the product of historical necessity, and the abstractly rational. Only thru mediation, thru a gradual process of change, can the old develop into the new, the past into the future, the irrational into the rational. Such growth, however, requires calmness, patience and moderation.

This attitude is the keynote of the Hegelian philosophy of life. It is a faith in the power of reason, in the ultimate triumph of the 'idea.' The Hegelian needs no revolutions of any kind; all that is to him wasted energy. Since anything other than the victory of reason is unthinkable, since especially the life of human society is inconceivable except as a steady progression—a progression even thru error—why all this restlessness and impatience? What does time matter anyway in the evolution of cosmic harmony?

Surely Heine was justified, then, in styling the adherents of this philosophy as 'die Vernünftigen' par excellence!

All the more insistently, then, we are bound to ask, what could have given Heine, the arch-revolutionary by temperament, the right to number himself among the champions of steady growy and organic evolution? What could have justified him, just at the time he was writing 'Le Grand' in emphasizing so seriously his claim that he had gone over to the party of 'die Vernünftigen'?

In one word: His essay, 'die Nordsee.' This essay occupies a unique place among his 'Reisebilder.' Apart from details of minor consequence, the tone of the 'Nordsee' is serious and objective to a degree such as we would vainly seek in any other part of the 'Reisebilder.' Quite contrary to his usual custom, Heine here seems to have limited the sallies of his subjective temperament to a minimum, in favor of a calm, constructively critical view of things. All the subjects touched upon in this essay give evidence of a serious attempt on Heine's part to avoid the eccentric and the extreme, and to acquire a genuinely sober and dispassionate point of view by the unprejudiced examination of phenomena and the philosophical mediation of uncompromising opposites.

This striving for objectivity at once manifests itself as we read the opening paragraphs. Conditions he had observed at Norderney during the bathing season—the rapid undermining of the simple, primitive life of the islanders by the modernity of the guests—evoke in Heine reflections on the contrast between the 'Kultur' of the mediaeval and that of the modern era, between the mental solidarity, the "communal immediacy" of the middle ages, as he terms it, adopting the Hegelian phraseology, and the infinite differentiation, the spiritual isolation and 'Zerrissenheit' of the present day. This process of change which he sees being accomplished rapidly in a small compass on the island he finds typical of the transformation taking place with irresistible necessity thruout Europe. To be sure, being a modern himself, Heine can't help being in sympathy with the victorious principle; yet as soon as he catches himself indulging in a little too much Protestant zeal apropos of discussing the Catholic Church—that chief pillar of mental solidarity and mediaevalism—he checks himself with a superior smile and reverts to his pose of objectivity.—"Auf einem gewissen Standpunkte ist alles gleich gross und gleich klein" (III, 93).

Chiefly the same desire to count for more than a mere subjectivist must also have prompted Heine to devote such a prominent part of his essay to the praise of Goethe; for the sting left by Goethe's cool reception of Heine during the latter's visit to Weimar must still have been rankling in his breast. The keynote of his praise is Goethe's objectivity. We others see the world in a one-sided way, "while Goethe with his clear Greek eye sees everything,

the lights and the shadows, never colors things with his own mood and depicts the country and men in their true outlines and true colors with which God clothed them" (III, 99).

Similarly, in discussing the nobility and the petty princes, whose sovereignty had been reduced to a state of vassalage by the events of 1803, Heine speaks with a studied moderation of tone and viewpoint such as cannot fail to be surprising after the invectives of the 'Harzreise' against these "privileged vultures." How objective is a remark like the following, by way of contrast: "These people have suffered a great misfortune in recent times by being deprived of a sovereignty which they claim with the same right as the more powerful potentates, unless one is willing to grant that what cannot maintain itself by its own strength has no right to exist" (III, 110).

But most impressive is Heine's attempt to preserve at least the appearance of philosophic calm in approaching the topic which later was wont to make every fibre of his being tingle with unrestrained enthusiasm, in speaking of Napoleon, the shaper of the destinies of Europe. With the eye of a Hegelian he sees in Napoleon the mediator between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary principle, the synthesis of two extremes; and in this rôle of mediator Heine finds the proof of his greatness, "Darum handelte er beständig naturgemäss, einfach, gross, nie krampfhaft barsch, immer ruhig milde" (III, 114).

Accordingly it is simply consistent with the spirit of the whole essay, and scarcely an act of calculated treason, as has been claimed,⁹ when Heine proceeds a little later to pronounce the severest condemnation of Lord Byron as the incarnate principle of destruction, while he feels sympathetically drawn to Walter Scott, who pictures the institutions of a past or rapidly passing civilization in the romantic colors shed upon them by the light of the setting sun (III, 117).

There is no need of supposing that Heine adopted this tone of studied objectivity in the 'Nordsee' from purely disinterested motives. Very likely he speculated on the possibility of impressing the ruling powers by his political moderation; for the hope of receiving a political appointment was still lingering in the background of his mind. But that does not alter the fact that in the

⁹ Melchior: Heine's Verhältnis zu Lord Byron, Berlin, 1903, p. 15.

'Nordsee' he thinks like a true Hegelian, after the manner of Gans, Moser and Varnhagen. Viewed in the light of his later development, however, this pose bears the character of an isolated, consciously worked out experiment. Could this pose be sustained indefinitely? 'Das Buch Le Grand' follows right upon the heels of the 'Nordsee' with the answer.

The chapter on 'die Vernünftigen' and 'die Narren' is a half serious, half humorous commentary on this experiment—a commentary that only the author and possibly a few intimate friends could fully understand.

For who knew better than Heine himself that in his inmost being he possessed anything but the philosophical calm of mediation? Who was better aware than he of that impetuous temperament which swept him off his feet in ever repeated bursts of enthusiasm? He longed to "lash the fiery horses of Time to a faster gallop" (III, 137). He felt inspired by Plutarch's Lives, as he tells us, to throw the book away and "jump into a fast mail coach, so as to reach the summit of greatness in a hurry" (III, 405). The idea of his ever becoming another philosopher of watchful waiting was clearly preposterous.

Now we can fully understand the suppressed tittering of his new associates. We understand also his half serious, half mocking lamentations about his unrequited passion for 'Vernunft.' Heine knows that his new associates cannot and will not take him seriously, and he feels that they are right; that the calm, dispassionate attitude, with which they await the unfolding of Reason in human society is 'vernünftig,' while his own attitude of impatience, his longing for a spectacular revolution is 'närrisch.' Tho reason, the 'idea,' emancipation, is his chosen lady, he supports her cause very clumsily. Altho, as a free lance, he is devoted to her service, his sanguine enthusiasm thwarts the strategic plans of her authorized standard-bearers. So he feels the torment of realizing that even tho he loves reason passionately, he can only compromise her. His reflective self worships her, but his active self, even when trying to spite the fools, is always promoting one of a thousand possible follies.

However, not for a moment does Heine leave the reader under the impression that he is taking his unrequited passion for 'die Vernunft' too tragically. Why should he, since his own folly is

“of an extraordinary nature and rises magnificently above the common doings of men?” Why should he, when his folly “puts him on a level with the stars?” No mere philosopher is so highly placed. No merely rational man surveys the world from such a lofty altitude. In lamenting his lack of reason, Heine boasts of a folly that is superrational.

Could there be any need of interpreting this folly? Scarcely, if we remember Tieck's and Hoffmann's glorying in their 'Narrheit.' The folly Heine boasts of is his poetic vision which comprehends the whole universe in all its sublime as well as ridiculous aspects. While the philosopher is stationed at the center of the revolving cosmic sphere and contemplates the multitude of passing phenomena from a point of rest, Heine, the poet, the enthusiast, feels the throb of its rhythmic movement at the periphery, and rounds the whole cycle of life, is lifted to its sublimest heights and descends in turn to the lowest depths of animal being. An inexhaustible wealth of unique imaginative experience is open to him, such as is forever closed to the philosopher's merely logical comprehension of the typical and eternal. Thus, in Heine's dialectical play, Folly suddenly pauses to contemplate her own image and she beholds herself: a wisdom that passeth all understanding.

A brief review of Heine's fluctuating attitude toward Hegelianism in the years to follow will serve to confirm our interpretation.

In the fall of 1827 Heine went to Munich to assume the editorship of the 'Political Annals.' During this time he lost touch, more or less, with his Berlin friends and the Hegelian point of view. Impressionable as he was, he succumbed in Munich for a time to the influence of Wolfgang Menzel, the South German literary dictator. Menzel's book on German literature had just appeared. Heine reviewed this work, and it made an impression on his mind which lasted even after his attitude toward Menzel had become one of bitter hostility. In this work Menzel lavishes the highest praise on Schelling, the mystic, at the expense of Hegel, the logician, who drops to the rank of a mere pupil of Schelling.¹⁰ In his review Heine expresses himself as in full accord with the author's views on Schelling. This time, for a change, he comes to the rescue of 'Mysticism,' of exalted emotionalism—which he no longer associates with pietism. Christ and Luther he now regards

¹⁰ Menzel: *Die deutsche Literatur*, 2d. ed. 1836, vol. I, 280 ff., 314 ff.

as true mystics, "und Mystiker werden es sein, die uns wieder vom neueren Wortdienst erlösen und wieder eine Naturreligion begründen, eine Religion, wo wieder freudige Götter aus Wäldern und Steinen hervordachsen und auch die Menschen sich göttlich freuen" (VII, 251). Hegel is completely ignored in this connection. We don't meet his name again till 1829, when Heine discusses the relative merits of Hegel and Schelling with the philosophical lizard on the crest of the Apennines. There both Hegel and Schelling are taken as exponents of the same philosophy. In contrasting the methods of their philosophizing, however, Heine shows a marked preference for Schelling: "Diese (Schellings) Darstellungsart ist viel anmutiger, heiterer, pulsierend wärmer, alles darin lebt, statt dass die abstrakt hegelschen Chiffren uns so grau, so kalt und tot anstarren" (III, 381-2).

However, soon after Heine's return to North Germany, Menzel's influence begins to wane. In the summer of 1830 Heine is again convinced of the paramount superiority of Hegel. In his 'Helgoland Letters' he goes so far as to style him "the prophet of the occident" (VII, 46). But it was at Helgoland too that the first news of the July Revolution reached him. And this event, together with the English parliamentary reform bill, was to become the touch-stone for an authoritative interpretation of Hegel's dictum about the identity of the rational and the real. At any rate, Hegel himself was now forced to range himself unequivocally on the side of either the conservative or the liberal forces of his day.

Hegel came out openly and squarely in favor of the conservative elements. He had believed that the year 1815 marked the end of the epoch of revolution and that a period of uninterrupted peaceful development was to follow. All the greater was his disappointment when, with the outbreak of the revolution in Paris, all the institutions of Europe began to totter. On the English Reform Bill Hegel even wrote a memorial—the last article from his pen—in which he expressed his complete sympathy for Wellington, the Tory prime minister, and warned the English nation of the danger to which it would expose itself by entrusting the helm of state to theorists and doctrinaires instead of statesmen thoroly experienced in the routine of business.¹¹ Just two years earlier, in his 'Englische Fragmente' Heine had left no doubt about his own attitude toward

¹¹ Kuno Fischer: *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, vol. 8, II, 193-7.

England's internal problems. He had expressed his disparagement of English liberty and institutions on the ground that they were conditioned by historical events, instead of having resulted from theoretically liberal principles (III, 473, 483, 497, etc.).

It is true that Hegel's memorial was not published until 1831, but Heine must have been well informed on Hegel's attitude. How else could the bitter invectives against Hegel in 'Die Stadt Lucca' (1830) be explained, following, as they did, right upon the heels of his unqualified homage in the 'Helgoland Letters'?

This time Heine is thoroly sick of the contemplative philosophical attitude. His former attitude of admiration for 'die Ruhigen, Mässigen und Vernünftigen' has given way to angry scorn:

"Die kühlen und klugen Philosophen! Wie mitleidig lächeln sie herab auf die Selbstquälereien und Wahnsinnigkeiten eines armen Don Quichotte, und in all ihrer Schulweisheit merken sie nicht, dass jene Donquichotterie dennoch das Preisenswerteste des Lebens, ja das Leben selbst ist, und dass diese Donquichotterie die ganze Welt mit allem, was darauf philosophiert, musiziert, ackert und gähnt, zu kühnerem Schwunge beflügelt! Denn die grosse Volksmasse mitsamt den Philosophen ist, ohne es zu wissen, nichts anders als ein kolossaler Sancho Pansa, der, trotz all seiner nüchternen Prügelscheu und hausbackner Verständigkeit, dem wahnissnigen Ritter in allen seinen gefährlichen Abenteuern folgt, gelockt von der versprochenen Belohnung, mehr aber noch getrieben von der mystischen Gewalt, die der Enthusiasmus immer ausübt auf den grossen Haufen—wie wir es in allen politischen und religiösen Revolutionen und vielleicht täglich im kleinsten Ereignisse sehen können" (III, 422).

Now Heine cares little about exposing himself to the ridicule of his friends for his alleged folly. Now that he sees what the Hegelian attitude of objectivity and moderation concretely means in a time of crisis, he glories in that sanguine temperament of his own:

"In meiner Brust aber blüht noch jene flammende Liebe. . . . Diese Liebe ist die Begeisterung, die immer göttlicher Art, gleichviel ob sie törichte oder weise Handlungen verübt" (424).

He regards Hegel's attitude as typical of the older generation. He feels it to be dictated by selfish interests and petty fears, by a desire for tranquillity, peace at any price, regardless of the higher

interests of humanity. How scathingly he satirizes the conservatism of Hegel's old age, for instance, in the following passage:

"Dabei erzählen sie (die Alten) vielleicht, dass sie selbst in ihrer Jugend ebenfalls mit dem Kopf gegen die Wand gerennt seien, dass sie sich aber nachher mit der Wand wieder versöhnt hätten, denn die Wand sei das Absolute, das Gesetzte, das an und für sich Seiende, das, weil es ist, auch vernünftig ist, weshalb auch derjenige unvernünftig ist, welcher einen allerhöchst vernünftigen, unwidersprechbar seienden, festgesetzten Absolutismus nicht ertragen will. Ach! diese Verwerflichen, die uns in eine gelinde Knechtschaft hineinphilosophieren wollen, sind immer noch achtungswerter als jene Verworfenen, die bei der Verteidigung des Despotismus sich nicht einmal auf vernünftige Vernunftgründe einlassen, sondern ihn geschichtskundig als ein Gewohnheitsrecht verfechten, woran sich die Menschen im Laufe der Zeit allmählich gewöhnt hätten, und das also rechtsgültig und gesetzkräftig unumstösslich sei" (426).

At the same time we can't help observing that this condemnation of Hegel is relatively mild when compared with the indignant contempt meted out to the Historical School, the conservatives by tradition. It is Hegel the man of sixty whom he scores for his lack of courage, rather than the creator of an epoch-making philosophical system.

But Heine has now lost his confidence in 'die Vernünftigen.' He would rather be laughed at as an erratic Don Quixote than share the inactivity of those whom he had once regarded as the torch-bearers of reason. After all it is not those, whom he had once styled 'die Vernünftigen,' but himself, the knight of the sorrowful countenance, who has remained faithful to his chosen lady, Reason, emancipation, progress, even tho, like the knight de la Mancha, the archetype of folly, he has had to endure no end of hardships in her service. "Wollte ich sie verleugnen, aus eitel Furcht oder schnöder Gewinnsucht, so könnte ich behaglich leben in dieser seienden, vernünftigen Welt" (427). The words 'Vernunft' and 'vernünftig,' once used to designate the profoundest logical insight into the evolution of the rational, have now dropped in value until they represent merely a petty prudence, a cowardly compromise with existing conditions.

To be sure, after scarcely a year had elapsed, and he had seen his sanguine hopes come to nought, his wrath against Hegelianism

has almost subsided, tho he has not yet forgiven Hegel personally. In 1831 he outlined for the first time the parallelism between the development of the French revolutionary movement and that of German philosophy since Kant.¹² In this comparison Hegelianism is conceived as the final movement of the cycle, the synthesis of the preceding stages:

“Kant war unser Robespierre—nachher kam Fichte mit seinem Ich, der Napoleon der Philosophie—unter Schelling erhielt die Vergangenheit mit ihren traditionellen Interessen wieder Anerkenntnis, sogar Entschädigung, und in der neuen Restauration, in der Naturphilosophie, wirtschafteten die grauen Emigranten, die gegen die Herrschaft der Vernunft und der Idee beständig intrigiert, der Mystizismus, der Pietismus, der Jesuitismus, die Legitimität, die Romantik, die Deuschtümelei, die Gemütlichkeit—bis Hegel, der Orleans der Philosophie, ein neues Regiment begründete, oder vielmehr ordnete, ein eklektisches Regiment, worin er freilich selber wenig bedeutet, dem er aber an die Spitze gestellt ist, und worin er den alten Kantischen Jakobinern, den Fichtischen Bonapartisten, den Schellingschen Pairs und seinen eigenen Kreaturen eine feste, verfassungsmässige Stellung anweist” (VII, 281-2).

Here we see Heine returning once more, in the main, to the point of view of the chapter of ‘Le Grand’ which we have been analyzing. His enumeration of the various types of “gray emigrants” in the passage of 1831, affords the best commentary on the membership composing the second class of fools of a higher order.

It is unnecessary for our present problem to pursue Heine’s relation to Hegelianism any further. Suffice it to say that for many years Heine continues faithful to the views expressed in 1831. During the years when he was under the sway of Saint-Simonianism (1831-35) he tried to give weight to the Saint-Simonian doctrine of pantheism by claiming it as identical with the essence of Hegel’s thought, divested of its scholastic terminology. Hegel’s own figure, too, waxes to greater and greater proportions in Heine’s imagination. Just as in the case of Goethe and Napoleon, the temporal, the human-all-too-human elements of Hegel’s personality are gradually obliterated and there remains little but his name—

¹² The idea of this comparison Heine owed to Menzel, tho the latter, obviously, had given it a different turn. Cf. Menzel, I, 315.

a symbol of progressive thought of universal scope and unfathomable depth.

III

DAS BUCH LE GRAND—AN ARISTOPHANIC COMEDY

It now remains for us to analyze the structure of 'Das Buch Le Grand' as a whole; to discover the fundamental idea that guided the poet in its composition; to perceive its aesthetic unity, provided it has any.

A brief survey of the contents will help us in the pursuit of this task. The unprejudiced reader finds in the Book five distinct complexes of subject matter, corresponding to Heine's division by chapters as follows: I, 1-5; II, 5-7; III, 7-10; IV, 11-15; V, 16-20.

The first part presents in phantastic disguise a repetition of the old story of Heine's first love tragedy, his despair and his thoughts of suicide. At the critical moment a new star appears on his horizon—his cousin Therese—and he is granted a new lease of life. There follows a dithyrambic hymn on the joy of living, subsiding into an elegiac strain as the poet, gazing into the future, beholds an idealized vision of his own old age. Thereupon Heine discards the oriental stage setting and the reader is brought back to the real present.

The second portion dwells on Heine's childhood experiences. The mood of these chapters is a tranquil 'adagio.' The story flows along without interruption. All the passions and agonies of the first part as well as its mordant ironies lie dormant, until the sound of the drum suddenly wakens Heine from his reveries. In an instant he is braced for the great 'allegro con brio' of the third part.

The moment Heine's memories of Napoleon are awakened, all his pent-up feelings, his passions and his enthusiasms, discharge themselves in one mighty paean on Napoleon, the demi-god and the martyr.

In chapter 11 this sustained declamatory pathos suddenly snaps. Upon the heels of the sublime follows the ridiculous. General reflections at first; then typical examples of the ridiculous aspects of contemporary civilization: the clumsiness of censorship, the folly of pedantry, the wretchedness of a sordid rabble of rich and poor alike, devoid of ideals. Imperceptibly, in chapter 15, this satire is blended with a more serious strain, gradually unfolding

a whole philosophy of life, the seriousness of which, to spite the reader, is purposely veiled by apparent nonsense and buffoonery.

The last part of 'Le Grand' is a unit as distinct as the preceding ones. Its substance is almost intangible, for it is a weird sequence of lyrical and dramatic moods. The Veronika motif, twice before delicately sounded, returns again, and even now it vibrates with the faintness of a dream melody. The portrait of 'Madame' with her little dog and the poet at her feet transforms a mere name into a lovely picture. The poet's second love tragedy breaks in upon these idyllic reveries like a studied dissonance. The present melts into the past, and consciousness reels in that weird vision of the Hindostanese seraglio of three thousand years ago. Finally, all these emotions, wrought up to a pitch of screaming hysteria, spend themselves and give way to a mood of utter desolation, a sombre tranquillity of hopeless despair upon which the 'Berlin Letters,' immediately appended, break in with their flippant jests.

Let it be at once conceded that, in spite of a fascinating beauty of detail, a perfection of the technique of suggestion soon after developed to excess in 'Die Bäder von Lucca,' the book as a whole fails to create the impression of an aesthetic unity. There are no ties of association in the outer world between the diverse subjects treated in this small compass of some hundred pages. Yet a certain unity at once becomes apparent when we recall that 'Le Grand' is in substance an autobiography. In these pages Heine does not discuss persons or events: he relates experiences that stirred him to his depths. His childhood experiences, university life, his double love tragedy, the atmosphere of political oppression, the sordid commercialism of Hamburg, Napoleon, Hegel—all these were experiences that claimed a major share in the molding of Heine's personality.

The time when Heine wrote the 'Le Grand' was indeed the psychological moment for an autobiographical confession. Student life was just ended, and with it the possibility of longer depending on his uncle's at times indulgent, usually grudging and always humiliating charity. A very uncertain future was ahead of him. He had just bowed his head at the baptismal font with suppressed indignation, hoping thereby to remove the barrier blocking his chances of a political career; but, contrary to his expectation, this step did not improve his material outlook in the least. The time

was opportune, therefore, for Heine to pause and become reflectively conscious of his outlook on men and things, by means of reviewing his past from the cradle to manhood.

'Le Grand' is altogether autobiographical in substance, tho from chapter 8 to 15 the reader is barely aware of its autobiographical character. These chapters are devoid of narrative; they present to the reader not the history of Heine's enthusiasms, prejudices and antipathies, but these enthusiasms, prejudices and antipathies themselves. They say to the reader not: Here is what I have been, but: Here is what I am.

The difference in style and tone between the five portions of 'Le Grand,' however, contain in themselves convincing evidence to prove that the parts were not conceived and written in logical sequence according to a preconceived plan. It is more than probable that originally certain portions of 'Le Grand' were written on the spur of a momentary inspiration, before any conscious plan to present an autobiographical account of himself had taken plastic shape in Heine's mind. His letters dating from this period corroborate this assumption. During the year which saw the writing of the 'Nordsee' and 'Le Grand' Heine repeatedly expressed his intention of writing on all conceivable subjects commanding the vital interest of the time. Hegel, Sanscrit, Doctor Gans, Symbolism, the philosophy of history are enumerated in a letter to Moser as some of the topics to be worked up (Oct. 14, 1826). While it is true that in writing to Moser Heine had in mind particularly the 'Nordsee' letters of which eventually only a small portion materialized, we actually find these topics touched upon not in the completed 'Nordsee' but in 'Le Grand' (Hegel—ch. 15; Sanscrit—ch. 5; Doctor Gans—ch. 13; Symbolism—ch. 5 and 15—the interpretation of the Hindostanes epic 'Mahabharata' as a symbolic love letter, and of his own love lyrics as a disguised confession of his unrequited passion for 'Vernunft'). Under these circumstances it is likely that certain parts of 'Le Grand' were written as independent essays without reference to the autobiographical volume that Heine had in mind, and that they were later incorporated in this volume—with some modifications, of course—because they were in substance, tho not in form, part of his personal confession and for another reason which I will presently endeavor to show.

Heine's own statements permit no doubt about the fact that in 'Le Grand' he strove to write not merely an autobiography but to create an aesthetic whole. He felt confident of having succeeded, too. For in letters to his friends he repeatedly expresses his satisfaction over having achieved in 'Le Grand' a humor of the highest order. He looks upon his work as "ein Produkt des reinen, urbehaglichen Humors" (Moser, Oct. 14, 1826). We may best render his meaning by styling 'Le Grand' a comedy in narrative form.

Could anything be more strange than to hear this medley of tragedy, irony and satire, with its profoundly pessimistic conclusion, called a comedy, a product of free humor, of 'pure' humor, as he says in another letter—a humor leaving nothing to be desired? Certainly if this is humor, then no amount of straining the concept in its ordinary acceptance will help us to appreciate the humor of 'Le Grand.' But again we must turn to Heine's letters for the solution of the problem.

Heine's intention begins to become clear as we read his thoughts on the idea of Romantic Comedy as developed in his letter of Oct. 25, 1825, to Friederike Robert. His line of thought here runs somewhat as follows:

Romantic Comedy in the true sense of the term must be both comedy and tragedy. It must, above all things, express a philosophy of life, a 'Weltanschauung,' if it is to rise above the common level of French society-comedy. No philosophy, however, which is not fundamentally tragic can stir man's aesthetic sensibilities to the core. This great truth had dawned on Aristophanes, the greatest comedian of antiquity, who saw human life as a monstrous tragedy of insanity and who conceived a transvaluation of values so colossal in scope as to go utterly beyond anything attempted since. This philosophy of human life as a riot of insanity is so abysmal as to utterly defy serious expression. This, at least, is Heine's esoteric interpretation of Aristophanes' 'Birds' and, as we may add, it would have been fully endorsed by Tieck and Hoffmann. Where serious expression fails, irony must come to the rescue. Wherever the monstrous, the gruesome, the horrible surpasses the limits of serious aesthetic expression it must be relieved by ridicule. "Darum hat auch Shakespeare das Grässlichste im 'Lear' durch den Narren sagen lassen, darum hat auch Goethe zu dem furcht-

barsten Stoffe, zum 'Faust' die Puppenspielform gewählt, darum hat auch der noch grössere Poet (der Urpoet, sagt Friederike), nemlich unser Herrgott, allen Schreckensszenen dieses Lebens eine gute Dosis Spasshaftigkeit beigemischt."

Almost these identical words recur in chapter 11 of 'Le Grand,' and this same 'Weltanschauung' pervades 'Le Grand' from beginning to end.¹³ Tragedy is the prevailing mood of the introductory portion, dwelling on the lover's despair; and the gloom of a much more sombre tragedy hovers over the concluding portion. The relative tragedy of an individual experience has deepened into an absolutely tragic conception of life as such. The tragedy of love has grown into 'Weltschmerz.' But in both cases, when face to face with tragedy, the poet does not stop at its serious expression; on both occasions the intolerable tension is relieved by extravagant irony: In the first instance the poet, on the brink of suicide, quotes his own handy monologue from 'Almansor' instead of the over-worked 'To be or not to be' of Hamlet; in the second instance the trivial tra la la of the most popular song hit from 'Der Freischütz' breaks in upon his moody reveries. But whereas, at the beginning and at the end, the poet is engrossed with his own personality, the central portion of the Book deals with typical phenomena of tragic and comic, sublime and ridiculous import in the life of the human race. The sublimity and tragedy of human existence are symbolized by the meteoric career of Napoleon. Once again, when the pathos of utterance is strained to the breaking point, the tension suddenly snaps: the poet's voice, choked with emotion, breaks into peals of ringing laughter—"Nach dem Abgang der Helden kommen die Clowns und Graziosos mit ihren Schellenkappen und Pritschen." His paean on the sublimity of genius is followed by his mirthful raillery at censorship, pedantry and Folly.

Viewed from this Aristophanic perspective, the heterogeneous elements of 'Le Grand' range themselves into an aesthetic whole of symmetry and balance. We begin to perceive that there is method in this madness which makes the would-be suicide lover parody his agony; which ranges the clowns alongside the superman; and cuts short the dirge chanted at the grave of man's hopes by

¹³ Hessel has pointed out the identity between the thought expressed in the letter to Friederike and chapter 11 of 'Le Grand,' without, however, making a thoroughgoing application of these theories to either the substance or the form of 'Le Grand' as a whole.

snatches from a popular rag. Our interpretation has revealed 'Le Grand' to be intended as an Aristophanic comedy in form as well as in content.

Needless to say, I would not be misunderstood for a moment to imply that the chapters on the clowns (12-15) owed their existence to a mood in which Heine felt overwhelmed by a sense of the tragic. They are products of a mood of reckless, boisterous satire, goodhumored in part and in part malignant. Heine's sense of the tragic must not be taken so seriously as all that. We can be sure that he never felt more keenly that optimism accompanying a sense of power than when lashing his foolish and ridiculous contemporaries with his triumphant satire. Simply by an act of calculating reflection, in order to build up his comedy on the principles of his Aristophanic philosophy, did he insert those satirical chapters directly after the pathos of the Napoleonic tragedy.

Now it is easy to show why the reader cannot, without the aid of a commentary, elevate himself to a point where he can survey 'Le Grand' from the author's Aristophanic perspective. The reader expects, and has a right to expect a unity of subject matter more intimate than the general unity of all phenomena as parts of the same universe. He demands a sequence of connected images. He takes the images thrown on the screen of his inner eye at their face value, and his interest follows the individual persons, things and happenings which they represent. He cannot take them as mere symbols or types of the tragic or comic side of existence. Moods, feelings and emotions can quickly pass from one extreme to its opposite only when a connected series of images warrants such a transition, or when our feelings are played upon as such, without the aid of any concrete images at all, as in music. Heine's Aristophanic perspective fails because his angle of vision is taken from without instead of from within the comedy itself, because it is purely intellectual instead of aesthetic. The poet's intention misses its aim because there is too much method in this madness.

More than once I have felt tempted to talk entirely in terms of musical analogies. If we imagine 'Le Grand' translated into a symphonic poem—say, by Hoffmann's Johannes Kreisler—we find it easy to put ourselves into the Aristophanic spirit of the poet. With 'Le Grand' put into music, all the chaotic heterogeneity of the subject matter would be disposed of. From the first plaintive

vibrations of the strings we would feel the atmosphere of heavy melancholy brooding over the composition. In the sudden transition from nervous tortured melodies into eccentric runs, and in the abrupt breaking of magnificent climaxes into crazy dissonances and anarchic rhythms we would divine the artist's despair over the inability of his artistic medium to compass the infinite. Finally, could we imagine the composer conducting the first performance of his masterpiece, we would see him, arrived at the end, throw up his hands in frantic despair and, with sardonic humor gleaming in his eye, without a moment's pause, plunge headlong into the next number on the programme—a trivial light opera air which brings from the gallery thunders of applause.

HERMANN J. WEIGAND.

University of Michigan.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

SOME VERY PERTINENT REMARKS ON TOLLER'S
SUPPLEMENT TO BOSWORTH-TOLLER'S ANGLO-
SAXON DICTIONARY.

I have been following with a great deal of attention the work of revising and enlarging his edition of Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Prof. Northcote Toller is performing in the supplement to that work and has now carried as far as *Geolwe* in the two parts issued. In the course of my researches I have had an opportunity to examine somewhat closely these parts and I feel impelled to offer, in a spirit of helpfulness, the following remarks which are prompted by my deep interest in the subject.

If it is the aim of the reviser to make the Bosworth-Toller a storehouse of reliable information as to Old English word material actually preserved, I am very much afraid the present method of presentation, if persisted in, will not only deprive the Dictionary of a good deal of its usefulness and trustworthiness, but to some extent will prove to be harmful to the interests of Old English. In saying this I refer, in the first place, to the practice of reducing the quotations to a more or less uniform standard of accentuation and spelling not warranted by MS. evidence; in the second place, I refer to the pernicious habit of quoting vouchers for words booked from editions of texts either antiquated or downright unreliable, when more modern and critical editions are at hand for the purpose. For example, one is fairly amazed to meet in the Supplement with quotations from "Ps. Srt.," which is Prof. Toller's abbreviation for "An Anglo-Saxon Psalter (printed from MS. Cotton, Vespasian A. 1), edited by J. Stevenson, Surtees Society, Nos. 16, 19, 1843-1847." Now this is the Psalter, widely known as the Vespasian Psalter, ever since in 1885 H. Sweet incorporated it in his edition of *The Oldest English Texts*. On page 187 of this work Mr. Sweet says of Stevenson's text that it "abounds with such gross blunders" and deviates from the MS. in certain instances so deliberately as to make this edition "a disgrace to English scholarship." I do not know that a dissenting voice has been raised against such a sweeping condemnation. Certain it is that from 1885 on scholars have been careful to leave Stevenson's edition aside and quote from that of Sweet, and the Psalter is generally referred to as the Vespasian Psalter. Yet, the Supplement takes slight note of this general practice and continues quoting from Stevenson's unreliable text as the Dictionary did.¹ How unreliable this text is may be seen from the quotations in the Supplement sub *â-bîdan*

¹In the table of explanations prefixed to part I of the Supplement, I find sub "Additional Contractions" Ps. V. = The Vespasian Psalter, in O. E. Texts, edited by H. Sweet. It would seem, then, that Sweet's edition is occasionally quoted from. So far, however, I have not met with a single instance.

and *deōfol*. For the former we find as last instance from Ps. Srt. 26, 14, *Ābīd dryht* 'expecta Dominum, sustine Dominum.' For the latter, under section II b, *Alle godas ðioda diōful* 'omnes dii gentium daemonia' from Ps. Srt. 95, 5 is proffered. If we turn to Sweet's edition of the Vespasian Psalter, we learn that *dryht* is Stevenson's inaccuracy for the MS.'s *dryhten*, and *diōful* for the MS.'s *ðioful*. Further the Supplement helps to perpetuate regrettable blunders by quoting sub *ascirpan* from Ps. Srt. 63, 4 *ascearptun* instead of the correct *āscerptun* from Sweet.

I cannot, at present, show that perpetuation of blunders has resulted from the Supplement's persistence in quoting from the antiquated edition of Old English Vocabularies by Thomas Wright 1857 and 1873 rather than from the second edition by Richard Paul Wülcker, London 1884, but I can testify to the irritation a scholar is subjected to by the Supplement's practice which is utterly at variance with the practice followed by other scholars, notably by those of the New English Dictionary, who have found it expedient to use Wülcker's edition for the quotation of glosses, although even that edition does not come up to our present requirements of accuracy and fidelity to MS. evidence. And there are cases where the Supplement can just as little help quoting from Wright-Wülcker as the Dictionary could help in certain instances.¹ So, for example, sub *ganra* the Supplement has to turn to that edition for its additional quotation. It is credited there to "Wülck. Gloss. 284, 12." The uninitiated reader will have some difficulty in finding out what this abbreviation means. The designation Wright-Wülcker Voc. I 284, 12 would have been more exact and in keeping with the practice of other scholars.

For a good many words hitherto not recorded or for further illustrations of words recorded, the Supplement draws largely on the charters, as indeed is meet and proper, these documents being a mine of Old English word material altogether too long neglected by lexicographers, though J. Kemble's six volumes of his *Codex Diplomaticus* were published as early as 1839-1848. On this first publication of the charters the Dictionary no less than the Supplement bases its quotations, though there are occasional quotations from the *Cartularium Saxonicum* by Walter de Gray Birch, London 1883-1893 and from B. Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Aevi Saxonici*, London 1865 or John Earle's *Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, Oxford 1888. Now, though Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* is a monumental work in its way, "justly celebrated for the greatness of its conception and general effect," yet, as Mr. Birch points out, it is unfortunately marred by several offences against the present standard of literary work. In the first place, the texts themselves are in a large proportion of cases edited incorrectly, and that, in some instances, to a

¹ See sub *wēbwyrla*, *wīnbēam*, *wōlewistle*, *wraþu*, *wraþstudu*, *wrecan*.

serious extent. In the second place, a goodly number of charters published in the first three volumes lack what is for the student of Old English the most important part, the vernacular description of boundaries. In the appendix to the third and sixth volumes Kemble has tried to make up for the omission by printing as many of these parts as he could gather, but the number is still incomplete and every user of the *Codex Diplomaticus* should bear this in mind, if he wants to avoid confusion.¹ In the third place, only in certain instances Kemble abstains to meddle with the accents of the MS. As a rule, he has introduced accents wherever he thought they were necessary to indicate vowel length, and on the other hand he has, here and there, omitted those MS. accents he thought were wrong. As a consequence, his edition is fairly worthless for a study of MS. accents in the charters. Birch, in his strictures on Kemble's edition, lays no stress on this point, in fact, does not mention it. I consider it a very misleading feature of that edition in the same way as I consider the introduction of accents into the quotations of the Supplement a practice against which I cannot raise my voice loud enough.

Due stress is laid by Birch on the fact that Kemble's texts, when examined by the light of the originals, show wide differences in the employment of *ð* and *þ*, contrary to the archetypal MS. As a consequence, most, if not all of the Supplement's quotations from Kemble are vitiated by this inaccuracy. So, for example, what the Supplement exhibits sub *flit-gâra* from C.D. V 217, 15, 22 should read, according to Birch's *Cartularium* II 409, 6th line f.b. and *ibid.* II 410³ . . . on þone flit garan. of þam flit garan . . . on þonæ flit garan. For what the Supplement prints sub *east-stæþ* from C.D. V.216, 35 should read, according to B.C. I. 409²⁴ *of asenan east staðæ*. Observe the MS.'s accent over *o* of the first word and the parts of the compound kept separate. But not only with regard to the accents and the use of *ð* and *þ* is Kemble's edition and the Supplement following it inaccurate; there are other inaccuracies just as well. So the *cwalm-* of *cwalmstôwe* contained in the quotation from C.D. III 404, 27 is nothing but a blunder of Kemble for *cwealm-* which the Supplement gives as various reading, evidently, from Earle's Handbook, p. 290²⁹, while in fact it is just the MS.'s reading, according to B.C. II 284.

The quotation in the Supplement for *ælfisc* from C.D. III 61, 5 should be replaced by the following from B.C. III 561, 23 ff., which is from the original MS., *7 ic þa ge eacnode.*² *to þære arran sylene tyn þusende elfixa ælce geare þam munecum.* Sub *flæsc* and *forgenge* the same passage of a certain charter is quoted in the Supplement from two different editions, with the result that under the latter word the quotation taken from Thorpe's *Diplomatarium* comes nearest to the MS. text, while what is printed sub *flæsc* from

¹ Birch, as rule, points out the omissions, but occasionally fails to do so.

² Evidently by a misprint Birch has *acnode*; the MS. has plainly *eacnode*.

C.D. V 164, 32, is vitiated by Kemble's inaccuracies. Under both headings the passage should read as printed in Birch Cart. II 290, 3-4: *gyf hit on lencen ge byrige þ þa þonne þære flæscun ge weorð on fisce gestriene buton þ þis forgenge ste.* Observe the MS. accents whose presence is entirely obfuscated by the Supplement's practice of printing quotations. Observe also the peculiar form of the gen. pl. *flæscun*, not adverted to in the Supplement. It has its par in *munekan* and *clerican* attested to by the 10th century charter of Eadgar, B.C. III 381¹⁵=Thorpe p. 215⁷, of *þære munekan anwalde eft on clerican hand getyrnæð.* Thorpe, to mention this in passing by, marks the charter as spurious by the affixion of an asterisk; Birch, however, does not seem to doubt its genuineness. At any rate, he is silent on that point.

As to the last quotation in the Supplement for *efes*, *efesc* from C.D. V 184, 11, 13, it should be noted that the *æfisc*, *efisc* exhibited in brackets, evidently as variant readings of *æfise*, *efise*, from Birch's Cart. II 304, is actually the true reading of the MS., while *æfise*, *efise* is in this instance a mere inaccuracy of Kemble's print, or may be a deliberate deviation from the MS. It is worth while mentioning, too, that in the above quotation the Supplement omits *sceaftes* between *Innan* and *hangran*, without marking the place of omission. A similar omission is left unmarked in the quotation for *ædfynig* from C.D. V 194, 2 after *éastan* and after *pyte*. The whole passage ought to be correctly quoted from B.C. II 357, 7th l.f.b., thus: *be eastan bunteles pyte forð to þam caldan ad fini. of þam finie up to þam caldan ele beáme.* The last sentence of this passage is quoted sub *elebeám* from C.D. V 194, 3 with the result that the Supplement propagates Kemble's unwarranted *ðám* for the *þam* of the MS.

Notice also that the *blæð-*, exhibited in brackets after *blæðhorn* in the quotation from Thorpe p. 559, 29 sub *blæðhorn*, is not, as the uninitiated might suppose, a variant, but a mere blunder of Kemble's print C.D. III 362, 22. The MS. has clearly *blæd horn*, as Sanders' facsimile shows (Ordnance Survey Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS. part III, plate 38). In a quotation from C.D. III 61, 12 sub *begitan* the Supplement takes note in the brackets after *begytene* of a difference in the text as printed by Birch Cart. III 561, 29, in such a way as to give the uninitiated the impression that Birch's *betytene* must be the editor's or printer's mistake for *begytene*. As a matter of fact, however, it is the undoubted reading of the MS. and ought to have been characterized as such. I have taken the trouble to closely examine the facsimile (Ordn. Survey Facs. of Anglo-Saxon MSS., Part III, Plate 32) at that place and find Mr. Birch's print correct. The scribe evidently wrote a *t* for a *g*. And the establishment of such scribal errors in the MS. is of importance. Kemble's *begytene* is, of course, the proper emendation of it, but attention ought to have been drawn to the

fact of its being emendation. His substitution of δ for β in three instances is again unwarranted and ought not to have been followed in the Supplement. The passage should be exhibited thus from B.C. III 561, 29: *þa socna þe into þam mynstre nu synt betytene* (so MS. for *begytene*).

In the quotation from C.D. III 383, 11, which is found in the Supplement sub *edisc*, Ad illum agellum qui dicitur *Tatan edisc*, I wonder whether there has not been a mixing up of sources. Certain it is that the passage as exhibited is printed so by Birch Cart. III 383, 11, while Kemble has [qð] for *qui*, *dicit* for *dicitur* and *tatan* for *Tatan*. Without doubt, the passage quoted sub *foræðan* (?) and charged to C.D. II 245, 26 is in point of fact taken from Birch Cart. II 245, 26. It would seem that the similarity of abbreviation for the Codex Diplomaticus (C.D.) with that for Birch's Cartularium (B.C.D.) is responsible for the mistake. As the title of Birch's work hardly lends itself to the abbreviation chosen for its designation, we may fairly wonder why it was chosen; B.C. would be preferable.

For the sake of brevity the Supplement often indulges in the shortening of passages in consequence of which slight changes of the text are necessitated here and there. These changes are permissible if they are properly marked. I have noted the following instances where they are not properly marked: Sub *abbodleást* the desired brevity and the necessary accuracy would both have been served if the passage from B.C.D. (Birch's Cartularium) I 155, 37 were quoted thus: *þ nan lyre . . . acume on þa lare . . . [ne] my[nstr]es þing forwyrþan for abbudleaste* 'ut non detrimentum . . . disciplina incurrat vel res monasterii abbatis privatione deperant.' The bracketed letters indicate illegible places in the MS. Sub *ætstrengan* also a change has been indulged in without making the reader aware of it. Accuracy and brevity would both be served if the passage from Thorpe LL I 270, 21 = Birch Cart. III 383 were quoted thus: *Gif he [sc. se hlaford] þonne gelomlice his gafoles myngað and . . he [sc. geneat manna hwyrc] þonne aheardað and hit þencð to ætstrengenne*. Still worse is the change without warning in the quotation from C.D. V 153, 19-154, 1 sub *gâr-æcer*. Kemble's *ðan gâræceras* appears there changed to *ðâ gâræceras*. According to B.C. II 255 the MS. has clearly *þan g.*, but the variant *þa* is supplied by another MS. to which attention ought to have been drawn. Also the Supplement's *gâræcer[um]* for Kemble's *gâræcer* (*gar æcer* MS.) was anticipated by a MS. variant *æceron* which might have been mentioned. For K.'s *ðæt land* and *ðæt andlanges ðære fyrh* substitute the MS.'s *þ land* and *þ and langes þære fyrh*. Also sub *æcer-mælum* the quotation from C.D. VI 98, 5 might with profit be printed more correctly thus from B.C. III 562: *þæt þonne (sc. land) lið hid mælum and æcer mælum*. In the following quotation, charged sub *ærðfe* to

Thorpe's *Diplomatarium* p. 230, 16, I do not know whether the discrepancy from Th.'s print is due to arbitrary change of spelling or because the passage is actually taken from C.D. III 125, 13. At any rate, only Kemble prints the second sentence of the quotation the way it is exhibited in the Supplement, apart from his *ðæt* appearing there as *ðet*. Thorpe certainly has plainly: **7 þ werð areafe**. In the preceding sentence of the quotation note that the Supplement leaves out two words of the text without indicating the omission and otherwise unnecessarily shortens the sentence. I can see no reason why the full sentence as Thorpe prints it should not have been given: *forþan þe hi* (sc. mother and son) *drifon [i]serne stacan on Alsie Wulfstanes feder*. The omitted [i]serne is a very essential part for the proper understanding of the interesting passage nor has it been left out in the Dictionary sub *staca* where the same passage is quoted and commented upon. To the information conveyed there concerning this method of witchcraft reference ought to have been made and the reader ought to have been told that *iserne* printed sub *staca* should read [i]serne, the MS. having *serne*; *iserne* is Kemble's emendation which Thorpe failed to credit to its author. For *Ān wyduwe and hire sune* in the quotation sub *staca* substitute: *Hī [sc. an wyduwe and hire sune]*.

Of blunders committed in the Dictionary, but not rectified in the Supplement I have noticed the following instances: Sub *a-fýran* the Dictionary has this as first quotation: "*Afýred olfend* 'a dromedary, a kind of swift camel'; dromeda MS." No source of the quotation is indicated nor is there indeed any proper base for it. It is simply a mixture of two glosses, *Corpus Glossary* ed. Hessels, D 361, *Dromidus, afýred olbenda*, and *Ælfric's Vocabulary*, Wright-Wülcker I 119, 7 *Camelus uel dromeda. olfend*.³ Of this state of things the Supplement ought to have duly informed the reader. All it does, however, is to quote the *Corpus* gloss from Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, without any comment, sub *áfýran* and add in brackets the reading of the Erfurt, *afýrid*, without, however, telling the reader so. Nor is the reader put in possession of the fact that the *Corpus* gloss reappears again in the 11th century collection of glosses in MS. Cotton, Cleopatra A III, Wright-Wülcker I 385, 39, *Dromidus, ofýrit olfenda*.⁴ The omission of this gloss sub *áfýran* is all the more regrettable since it affords proof for the transition of long *a* to *o*.⁵ It ought to be entered under the letter O and preliminary attention should be drawn to *o-fýrid* here.—From the foregoing it is plain that the entry *áfýran* in the Supplement ought to have been preceded by the following correction: '*A-fýran*—MS. Dele and substitute *áfýran* etc.' Just so the wrong *a-bredan* of the Dictionary ought to be adverted to as *rectius legendum afbrēdan* and with its quotations referred to

³ Quoted in the Dictionary sub *olfend*.

⁴ Quoted in the Dictionary sub *olfend*.

⁵ As to that transition, compare *olfata* 'cocula,' Wright-Wülcker I 122, 35.

Ā-bregdan. The entry in the Supplement "*Āslæccan*. Add: *āslæcte* dissolverat Wrt. Voc. II 25, 58. *Āscæltte* 106, 56" does not take cognizance of the fact that the Dictionary exhibits *a-slæccan* and that its basis is just the one gloss from Codex Cotton, Cleopatra A III (Wright-Wülcker I 385, 30) which the Supplement quotes from Wrt. Voc. II 25, 58. It is refashioning of the Corpus Gloss (Hessels) D 336 which the Supplement quotes next from Wrt. Voc. II 105, 56, evidently supposing that *ascaeltte* (so, not *ascæltte* has the MS.) stands for *aslæctte*. For that, without doubt, it has been taken by the scribe of the Cleopatra collection. But it is by no means certain that he was right. *Ascaeltte* of the Corpus may represent *ascaelctte* and presuppose an Old English *ā-sælcan*, which was no longer known to the later scribe, but which may be connected with East Frisian *ver-schalcken*=*verzäpfen*, *verzähnen*.

A very serious blunder of the Dictionary not corrected in the Supplement is the entry on page 114, *bôc-scyld* 'a beechen shield,' for which the following quotation from Thorpe p. 561, 5 is brought forward: *Ic ge-an [MS. geann] Siferþe mînes bôcscyldes*. Here observe, in the first place, that the text quoted is again shortened without proper indication and the spelling unwarrantedly meddled with. The full sentence reads thus in Thorpe: *7 ic geann Siferðe þæs landes at Hocganclife 7 anes swurdes. 7 anes horses. 7 mines boc scyldes*. In a foot-note to the last word, *boc scyldes*, Thorpe asserts this to be the reading of the Cod. Wintoniensis, adding that "Manning (App. ad Lye) reads *boh-scyld*, from *boh*, humerus, i.e., a shield borne on the shoulder, scutum humerale." As a matter of fact, Manning's *boh-scyldes* is the reading not only of the Winchester MS., but also that of the Canterbury MS. For the charter of Athelstan Ætheling happens to be preserved to us in the two MSS. mentioned and that in the Canterbury MS. is, to my mind, a copy of that in the Winchester MS., though Sanders, the editor of both (Ordnance Survey Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS., part III, plate 38 and part I, plate 18) does not seem to be aware of it. I shall deal with the subject more fully in a special article. Here it suffice to say that *bohscyldes* is undoubtedly the reading of both MSS. and Thorpe's *boc scyldes* is mere repetition of Kemble's blunder (C.D. V 363, 14). While Manning-Kemble-Thorpe's print is based on the Winchester MS., Earle's print p. 224 represents the text of the Canterbury MS. which, as Sanders says, "differs slightly" from the Winchester text. But, as pointed out, *bohscyldes* is in both MSS. Consequently the Supplement ought to exhibit the following rectification of the Dictionary: *Bôc-scyld* . lege *bôhscyld*:— *7 ic geann* (so MS.) *Siferðe . . . mines bohscyldes* (Sanders, Ordnance Survey Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS., part III, 38 and part I, 38).

(To be continued)

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

Hartford, Conn., September 1918.

PAUL GERHARDT AS A HYMN WRITER AND HIS INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH HYMNODY. By Theodore Brown Hewitt. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1918.

The spirit of this monograph is most gratifying; from cover to cover the author shows a wholesome and genuine appreciation for the poet and his work. As the title indicates the monograph serves a double purpose: part one (26 pages) contains a succinct picture of Gerhardt's life and times, a brief sketch of the German hymn (in the bibliography Hoffmann von Fallersleben *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes vor Luther* should have been included) and a discussion of Gerhardt as a hymn writer; part two, after a short history of the English hymn with special reference to German influence, deals chiefly with the English versions of eighty-four of Gerhardt's hymns. Thus the title is rather misleading, as only eight pages deal with Gerhardt's influence on English hymnody to one hundred that deal with English versions of individual hymns. Aside from a reference to A. M. Toplady (page 31) influence seems pretty well limited to mere *stoffliche Übernahme*. The occurrence of the same motif can only establish dependence, but not, in itself, real influence, *Einfluss*, to quote Friedrich Gundolf. As that scholar aptly says: "*Man kann einen ganzen Autor plündern, ohne von ihm im geringsten beeinflusst zu sein*" (*Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, p. 181). Paul Gerhardt in England and America, this would be the better title, is the main subject of part two. The line of division between the two parts might have been more consistently drawn: the rôle that the Moravians played in introducing the German hymn into England and America clearly belongs to part two; the appreciative references to individual hymns might well have been woven into the text of part one. Excellent as it is, it would thus have served even better its mission of an introduction to Paul Gerhardt for the general reader. The nature of the explanatory notes and the narration of historical anecdotes that attest the power of individual hymns further this purpose admirably. The method of procedure in part two, of taking up each individual hymn and its various translations in succession, while it lends itself most readily to completeness, obscures the line of development and does not afford the means for a ready estimate of any one translator. This difficulty, however, is partly offset by an index of translators. The principle of the arrangement of the various translations cited is not clear to me: the most serviceable chronological arrangement has not been observed. I noted a few inconsistencies: on pp. 82 and 111 adaptations of earlier translations are cited as translations, the one on p. 111 is counted as such in the

index, the former not. In the index some distinction should have been made between complete and partial translation, especially when a translator has taken only one stanza and that hardly characteristic for the rest of the hymn.

The history of Paul Gerhardt in England and America naturally divides itself into two main periods, the first of which, about the middle of the eighteenth century, centers around Moravians. The translators were either Moravians or had come under Moravian influence (to the five names in the biographical appendix should be added that of L. E. Schlecht, mentioned on p. 111 as translator of *Wir singen dir, Emanuel*). Among the latter were the Wesleys; John Wesley gave free versions of three of Gerhardt's hymns. Although many of the Moravian translations are fairly literal and for the sake of the melody have preserved the original meter, they are on the whole what Goethe called *parodierend*. Great liberties are taken with the text and crass examples of bad taste are rather frequent. It is not without interest to note the favorite hymns of these early translators, for their literary predilections are strongly evident here. Thus we find four versions of *O Welt, sich hier dein Leben Am Stamm des Kreuzes schweben* with its moralizing undertone and two of *Ein Lämmlein geht Und trägt die Schuld*; the *Lämmlein-poesie* appealed to the Moravians. On the other hand they were content with only one and, at that, utterly hopeless version of *O Haupt voll Blut and Wunden*, the most powerful of all German passion hymns. Three renderings are mentioned of the more didactic *Befiehl du deine Wege*, but only one of the genuinely lyrical *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*. Stanza eight of the latter, however, made a strong appeal: Mr. Hewitt enumerates three different versions. It has something of the strain of the *Lämmlein-poesie*:

*Breit aus die Flügel beide,
O Jesu, meine Freude,
Und nimm dein Küchlein ein.*

The second period in the history of Gerhardt in the English world is by far the more important. Two things have helped to make it so: the increased interest in the German language and literature that arose in the early decades of the nineteenth century and a changed attitude in the English church to hymn and hymn singing, marked by the publication of Keble's *Christian Year* and Bishop Heber's *Hymns* (1827). Of the twenty-nine translators included in the biographical appendix twenty-four belong to this second period. In the body of book fifteen others are mentioned, each credited with one or two hymns. The most complete translation of Gerhardt's hymns is by Rev. John Kelly, published in 1867. His work, though not without merit, is marred by serious flaws: impossible rhymes, as throne—crown, truth—mouth; archaic forms in stanzas that ring modern, to achieve the necessary double rhymes; or even such monstrosities as sink us—bethink us. Mr.

Kelly's religious fervor seems to have outweighed his power of poetic expression. A far higher level is reached by Miss Catherine Winkworth, whose translations appeared from 1855 to 1869. Her work—Mr. Hewitt says—"is surely the foremost in rank and popularity." To my mind hers is the best rendering of *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*; she has fully preserved the peculiarly expressive meter of the original:

Now all the woods are sleeping
And night and stillness creeping
O'er city, man and beast.

Mr. Hewitt accords the palm to John Guthrie, D. D. "whose version on the whole would doubtless be considered the best literary production." (Guthrie's Hymns, original and translated were published in 1869.) The meter, however, is of entirely different import: compare Gerhardt's slow moving, almost drowsy

*Nun ruhen alle Wälder,
Vieh, Menschen, Städt und Felder,
Es schläft die ganze Welt,*

with Guthrie's rendering:

The woods are hushed; o'er town and plain,
O'er man and beast soft slumbers reign:
The world has gone to rest.

Certainly the eighteenth century heroic couplet rendered Homer's or even Vergil's hexameters as aptly as this does Gerhardt's slow rhythm. The plural slumbers, as unusual as inapt and inexpressive, reveals another weakness of Mr. Guthrie: its sole purpose is to make possible the rhyme plain—reign. Thus the glowing pole is resuscitated to get a rhyme with soul (in *Befiehl du deine Wege*) and for the sake of a rhyme with repose we descend to hose:

*Der Leib eilt nun zur Ruhe,
Legt ab das Kleid und Schuhe,
Now hastes the body to repose,
Throws off its garments, shoes and hose.*

Kleid and Schuhe readily admit of a symbolic use; with hose, however, symbolism assumes a comic aspect. Among the translators of highest merit the name of J. W. Alexander stands out; his rendering of *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, first published in 1830, approaches perfection and in part achieves it. It is worth while to compare his simple and effective rendering of the last line of the first stanza ("I joy to call Thee mine" for *Gegrüßet seist du mir*) with the other translations:

Accept a kiss from me (J. Gambold 1752; quite im-
possible, but truly Moravian).
Yet here I welcome (worship) Thee (Miss Winkworth).
All hail I bid to Thee (J. Kelly).
To Thee I lift my praise (S. M. Jackson 1916.)
I greet and worship Thee (Margarete Muensterberg 1916).

A list of the hymns that have appealed most to the more modern translators may be of general interest (the first number refers to the modern, the second to the eighteenth century versions):

<i>Befehl du deine Wege</i>	15	3
<i>Nun ruhen alle Wälder</i>	13	1+3 of stanza VIII
<i>Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud</i>	10	0
<i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>	9	1
<i>Wir singen dir, Emanuel</i>	9	1
<i>Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen</i>	8	2+1 of stanza VII
		V, as given by Mr. Hewitt, is a misprint.
<i>Ein Lämmlein geht</i>	8	2
<i>Die güldne Sonne</i>	7	0
<i>Wie soll ich dich empfangen</i>	7	1
<i>O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben</i>	6	4

A glance at the above list shows how little the more purely lyrical songs with their love of nature appealed to the Moravian taste:

*Nun ruhen all Wälder,
Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud,
Die güldne Sonne.*

We must not leave this second period of Paul Gerhardt in England and America without referring to the probability of an even greater development, which needs must come as the great body of Lutherans in this country gradually adopt the English language, a process that has become more marked in the Middle West during the last two decades.

Mr. Hewitt's biographic and bibliographic appendix could have been made more serviceable: the dates of birth or death or even the year of publication are frequently omitted; furthermore the names of sixteen translators appearing in the text are omitted. A few misprints should be corrected: no. 64 should be crossed out and 229 added to Beddome; to Kennedy should be added no. 155 and (probably) 150. In the index on p. 168 the number of translation of *O Jesu, schönstes Licht* should be changed from 2 to 4. The author's tabulations of alliteration, assonance, repetition, etc. are open to serious objection. Many of the alliterations are not alliterations in the stricter sense of the word, as *die vollkommene Freude, dein Geberde, dein Gesicht*. In assonance Mr. Hewitt does not distinguish between assonance and rhyme; as *Gut und Blut, schlecht und recht, Rat und Tat*. Furthermore a mere enumeration of these and kindred phenomena is of little value. Their proper place would have been in a chapter on the poet's technique, enlarging considerably the remarks on pp. 18 ff. There telling illustrations would have been far more valuable than complete tabulations, but as Professor Albert Köster once said: "*Das Schwerste beim Sammeln ist das Wegwerfen.*"

FRIEDRICH BRUNS.

University of Wisconsin.

THE EARLY LIFE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY, 1774-1803. By William Haller, Ph.D., Instructor in English in Columbia University, New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

It is not necessary to justify a study of the life of Southey. The curious thing is that no adequate attempt at a systematic analysis of his mind and his work has been made hitherto. There have been only the undigested masses of correspondence published by members of his family and the appreciative but sketchy account by Edward Dowden in the English Men of Letters Series. Interest in Southey in the past two generations has been flickering, with only here and there a devoted admirer to keep the flame alive or a dispassionate student to vindicate for a zealous man of letters the rank which in his own day he enjoyed among the greatest of his craft. It is in the spirit of one of the latter group that Dr. Haller approaches his subject. By a careful examination of Southey's early poetry in relation to the prevailing tendencies in politics and philosophy, and more particularly by emphasizing Southey's priority in bringing before readers of literature the peculiar ideas and style of the new school of poetry, he succeeds in explaining how and with what justice Southey came to be looked upon as the leading spirit of the new school and brings the historical importance of Southey into very striking relief.

In the preface Dr. Haller makes a modest statement of the scope of his undertaking. "My purpose," he says, "is merely to supply students with a faithful account of the most interesting and least known period in the life and work of an important English writer of a momentous time in history. This book covers, therefore, only the first twenty-nine years of Southey's career—his boyhood at school and university; his reactions to literary and political movements in his youth; his early associations with Coleridge, Lamb, Wordsworth, Humphry Davy, John Rickman, William Taylor of Norwich, and others; his share in a scheme for emigration to America for the purpose of establishing there a communistic society or 'pantisocracy'; his characteristics as a young man, poet, and man of letters, together with the rise of his peculiar literary and personal reputation in association with the group of men who came to be known as the 'lake school'; and in conclusion his settling down in what was to be his final home at Keswick." The new material for the purely biographic aspect of the study is evidently neither extensive nor important. But a painstaking correlation of all the available facts results in clarifying some of the interesting incidents in Southey's life. We obtain for the first time a complete and coherent narrative of the Pantisocratic scheme. We learn how the idea originated with Southey and caught fire in the mind of Coleridge, how it was fed by plausible land speculators from the new world, how it struggled valiantly to find a definite habitat first on the banks of the Susquehanna and then in the less remote but perhaps equally romantic regions of Wales, and how it finally

evaporated on contact with some cold realities. It was the calculating spirit of Southey that stripped the dream of one illusory feature after another. His sober and admirable thoughtfulness for his mother and for the wife he was about to take, as well as for other persons whose welfare was closely bound up with his own, had already extinguished his own impractical dreams. The recovery from Pantisocracy was the beginning of a general reaction, stimulated, as Dr. Haller suggests, in part by antagonism to Coleridge's philosophic madness. His desire for change in political institutions was considerably allayed by his first visit to Portugal, in 1796, though it is hard to understand why the discovery of a more wretched state of affairs in Portugal should reconcile one to evils deeply felt in England. It seems to show how little Southey's principles were the outcome of reasoning, how much the result of his fundamentally timid temperament. After losing his exalted hopes for mankind, Southey, like Wordsworth, turned to mystic adoration of inanimate nature.

To bring into relief the prominence of Southey's poetry, Dr. Haller points out that his contemporaries became aware of the emergence of a new school of poetry in the persons of a group of young men—Coleridge, Southey, Lamb, Charles Lloyd, Robert Lovel—who were associated by intimate personal ties, who frequently indulged in joint publication, and whose poetry was characterized by certain striking departures from the conventional. They were recognized by their enthusiasm for some of the new ideas that were disturbing Europe, by "the free and daring use of new forms, together with the turning to nature, to country scenes and country people, and the use of a greater range as well as greater simplicity of language." Southey had published more frequently and on a more ambitious scale than any of the other poets in this group. Before the date of *Lyrical Ballads* he was known as the author of a pretentious epic, "Joan of Arc," and his shorter poems had appeared in several other volumes. He had besides written a book of his travels in Portugal and was contributing to the *Morning Post* and the *Critical Review*. It was therefore natural that he should have been singled out as the representative of the New School when Canning needed a scapegoat for the *Anti-Jacobin*. On this eminence he was finally established by "Thalaba" and Jeffrey's memorable article on it in the first number of the *Edinburgh Review* associating Southey's poetical principles with those of Wordsworth. Dr. Haller's analysis of the elements which at this period were common to the poetry of Southey and Wordsworth justifies the attitude of contemporary critics in attaching to them a common denomination. Subsequently their paths diverged and they sought to disclaim any affinity, imputing the epithet of "lakers" to the accident of geographical neighborhood.

Dr. Haller enters into a very careful examination of all of Southey's poetry up to the publication of "Thalaba." He studies

the genesis of the ideas and the literary influences which determined the form of each composition, and the result is always illuminating. His judgments are mature and well-balanced, showing no disposition to exaggerate the intrinsic value of Southey's work. There are pages of admirable psychological analysis, though perhaps in discussing Southey's character the writer is inclined to show too great a deference to Southey's weaknesses. It seems as if it were laboring a point too strenuously to explain a certain blindness of Southey's to the rational and his terrified reactions to the vital and progressive forces of his time by reference to his sufferings from the visitations of death among those he loved. His experiences in this were not so unusual as to constitute a special plea.

Dr. Haller writes excellently and altogether he has produced a book which satisfies every reasonable demand that the student of literature can make upon it. We wish him success in his design to continue the study here begun and we shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the next portion of his work.

JACOB ZEITLIN.

University of Illinois.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHAUCER'S ENGLAND, edited by Dorothy Hughes, M.A., with a Preface by A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D. [University of London Intermediate Source-books of History, No. I.] Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Bombay, etc. 1918. Pp. xiv+302. \$2.50 net.

Since 1857, when the English government adopted a plan proposed by the Master of the Rolls for the publication of original materials for English history, and since the founding of the Early English Text Society (1863), and the Chaucer Society (1868), English students of history and literature have more and more become accustomed to go to the sources for their facts. And the volume before us is a source-book.

In the words of Mr. Pollard's Preface: "The immediate object of this volume, and of the series which it inaugurates, is of a practical character. It is to remove some of the difficulties which beset students, teachers, and examiners in connection with the original texts prescribed as part of the Intermediate course and examination in history in the University of London." The editor is no novice in dealing with sources, as her "Early Years of Edward III," published in 1915, well shows.

Obviously, a book made up to suit the needs of a specific course in one institution is compelled to move within somewhat narrow lines and cannot be regarded as representing the wholly untrammelled choice of the editor. But owing to the fact that Mr. Pollard writes the preface, the editor herself nowhere tells us precisely what she is aiming to do. The title suggests to the

average reader a volume largely given up to illustrations of the social life so brilliantly sketched by Chaucer himself; passages throwing light on the life of the gentleman farmer, the weaver, the miller, the physician, and the score of other characters that live in Chaucer's pages. Such a book would be of fascinating interest, and materials for it are not altogether lacking.

Singularly enough, however, notwithstanding the title, Chaucer's name does not appear in the index or elsewhere in the book except on the title-page and in the Preface. A partial justification for the title would appear to be that the facts here recorded are outstanding facts in the history of the century and that Chaucer's life actually spans the period covered by the book. But except at a few points the book does not directly illuminate Chaucer's work. Thus much should be said plainly, for it is to be feared that many readers will come to it with expectations bound to be disappointed.

We must emphasize, too, the fact that the book is really a text-book, not a book for the advanced investigator but one to initiate beginners into the significance and use of original sources. Evidently, the beginner, whatever his natural ability, is hardly prepared without some preliminary training to make intelligent use of primary sources. And I hasten to add that, considered from the point of view of the teacher of history, the book is an admirable one. It is thoroughly scholarly, the selections are typical, for the most part unhackneyed, and, with few exceptions, of interest to the general reader. A book of selections *can* be easily made by a free use of the scissors and the paste pot, but the making of a book of the quality of this one is no light recreation for an idle hour. Various critical notes (pp. 72, 87, 100, 121, 122, 129, etc.) indicate that the illustrations have not been hastily or uncritically selected. In many cases exact references indicate the volume and page from which the passage is taken. This excellent plan is, however, not uniformly followed. The beginner who wishes rapidly to verify a passage or to discover its relation to the context in the original will almost certainly be hampered by the lack of exact references on pp. 14, 15, 26, 27, 29, 34, 35, 46, 80, etc., etc.

Nearly half the 295 pages of text are given to the French War (pp. 1-142); about 35 pages to social history; about a score of pages to ecclesiastical affairs, and 93 pages to political and constitutional history. The selected passages are mainly drawn from Froissart, Adam of Murimuth, Thomas Walsingham, Robert of Avesbury, Henry of Knighton, the Rolls of Parliament, the *Fœdera*, and various contemporary letters. A good part of the sources are in Latin or French. The selections from these have been rendered into brisk and idiomatic English, in many cases by the editor. As a result the entire volume has a fresh flavor and is uniformly attractive.

Manifestly, a book containing less than three hundred pages of text in large print can present only a limited amount of historical detail and, as already remarked, can be of no special service to the advanced student who is plowing through the entire field. But on the other hand the book is in a high degree suggestive and stimulating to the beginner. The extracts dealing with the French War are skillfully selected so as to bring out the turning points in that great struggle and illustrate characteristic features of fourteenth century warfare. Peculiarly interesting is it to follow (pp. 70 ff.) the raids of the Black Prince in Gascony in 1355. The burning and pillaging of the towns, the laying waste of the country, the destruction of the bridges,—all this has an amazing resemblance to what has been going on in France and Belgium and elsewhere during the past four years, with the difference that much that was normal warfare five hundred years ago is now regarded as savagery.

One passage from Froissart (pp. 83, 84) telling of the ransom of prisoners after the battle of Poitiers throws some light on modern national traits:

“And the knights and squires who were prisoners found the Englishmen and Gascons right courteous; there were many that day let go only on their promise of faith and truth to return again between then and Christmas to Bordeaux with their ransoms. . . . They constrained them no otherwise but that they asked them on their honour how much they could pay, without burdening them too much and willingly believed them. For they said that they would set no knight’s or squire’s ransom so high but that he might pay at his ease and maintain his degree according to his estate, and ride about to advance his person and his honour. The custom of the Germans nor their courtesy is not such, for they have neither pity nor mercy upon any gentleman, but ransom them to the full extent of their means, and beyond, and put them in stocks and chains, and keep them in prison as straitly as they can, to extort greater ransom from them.”

Special attention may be directed also to the thrilling descriptions of the battles of Crecy (pp. 46 ff.) and Poitiers (pp. 80 ff.); to the text of the Treaty of Bretigny (pp. 89 ff.); to the Statute of Artificers and Servants, 25 Édw. III, Stat. 2 (pp. 155 ff.); to the passages relating to Wyclif (pp. 194 ff.). Possibly for students of history the amount of space devoted to the French War may not be excessive, yet most students of Chaucer will regret that social history gets rather scant measure. Some day we may hope to have a really adequate, first-hand presentation of the outstanding facts relating to the social life in Chaucer’s day. But, all in all, though not primarily a handbook for students of Chaucer, the book is a good one for any student who aims to understand the fourteenth century as a whole, and it is likely to lead those who use it intelligently to independent conclusions.

Errors are commendably few. Trifling misprints are found on pp. 8, 58, 285. Abbeville appears as Abbéville, pp. 44, 51, though never so written in French.

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD.

Wesleyan University.

SATIRE'S VIEW OF SENTIMENTALISM IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE THE THIRD

I

In England, the last third of the eighteenth century was an age encouraging to the satire which criticizes writers and their work. For it was a period when verse-satire, the most persistent of classical kinds and by nature conservatively censorious, was still vigorous and eager for combat, while creative writing, in the novel, poetry, and the drama, represented a rebellion from the old and a turning to the new. Wolcot, Tickell, Gifford, and Mathias, the principal writers of literary satire between Churchill and Byron, had the model and precedent of Pope for literary satire, but not his difficulties. Even Pope's enemies were, for the most part, in agreement with him on fundamental principles of writing; he had only Dulness to rebuke. These later satirists, on the other hand, though less inspired were more fortunate in their objects of attack, for they met much of mere Dulness, when old forms persisted without taste or talent, and also much of radical dissension from literary laws established. They had another advantage in the fact that the romantic spirit had not yet won a complete victory over thoughtful English readers; the satirists found a ready hearing for their mockery of the new glorification of individuality and emotion. Their time, because it was a time of revolutionary ideas in letters as in society, was favorable not only to political satire but to literary satire as well.¹ The

¹ Literary historians recognize the element of criticism in the satire of the late eighteenth century. Professor Oliver Elton in his *Survey of English Literature 1780-1830* (I, 37), declares the "literary views" of Mathias refreshing because they represent "an appeal from the false to the truer romanticism." Professor Courthope in his *History of English Poetry* (VI, 127), finds in Gifford's two most famous satires a "reaction against the dilettantism of the time." Professor Saintsbury devotes two pages of his *History of Criticism* (III, 286-288), to the satirists, Gifford, Mathias, Wolcot, and the poets of the *Anti-Jacobin*; their works he considers "among the lightest and best examples of the critical *soufflé*, well cheesed and peppered."

latter, indeed, increased in importance and developed in technique as the emotionalism which it combated grew stronger.

This literary satire, though in itself of little absolute worth, is of interest for its criticism of tendencies which merged in the English Romantic Movement. Chief among these was sentimentalism, a hardy perennial which thrived with especial vigor in Johnson's England. In the eighth and ninth decades of the century, satirists were particularly occupied with rebuking the dangerous affectations of Sensibility. But even then they did not fail to comment upon other phases, more distinctly romantic, of the revulsion from reason to emotion. Both the criticism of sentimentalism and that of romanticism in general afford glimpses of contemporary opinion, otherwise but scantily recorded, concerning not insignificant literary schools and tendencies, and therefore both are of interest to the student of the history of literature. As it happens, however, the purely literary criticism of distinctly romantic literature is not extensive, and, perhaps, not typical of the attitude of any considerable group of the reading public. There is a larger body of satirical criticism of sentimentalism, and one which, if we may judge by its widespread though ephemeral popularity, represented the opinion of many intelligent English readers.

II

In the period under discussion few satirical poems which might fairly be considered satires in criticism were concerned exclusively or even largely with distinctly romantic tendencies in literature. And in the general satires, most of the incidental attack upon romanticism, since they were directed from the point of view not of the regular critic but of the conservative censor of politics and morals, involved few judgments that are of interest as literary criticism. Yet these casual critical estimates, though few, are too suggestive to deserve to be ignored.

Of romanticism itself there is little enough in satire. A few of the satirists between Churchill and Byron, to be sure, expressed the moderate opinion that inspiration, not imitation, is the true source of poetry. Thomas Chatterton, for instance,

unhesitatingly declared the superiority of Inspiration over the Rules. Thus he wrote of a poor judge of poetry:

In Aristotle's scale the Muse he weighs,
And damps her little fire with copied lays!²

Likewise he announced the superiority of Inspiration over imitation of the Ancients:

Hail, Inspiration! whose mysterious wings
Are strangers to what rigid [Johnson] sings;
By him thy airy voyages are curbed,
Nor moping wisdom's by thy flight disturbed;
To ancient lore and musty precepts bound,
Thou art forbid the range of fairy ground.³

William Cowper, like Chatterton, denounced the evils of imitation. The great defect of the poetry of his day seemed to him to be its artificiality:

From him who rears a poem lank and long,
To him who strains his all into a song, . . .
Manner is all in all, whate'er is writ,
The substitute for genius, sense, and wit.

And Pope is to blame, who, "as harmony itself exact,"

Made poetry a mere mechanic art,
And every warbler has his tune by heart.⁴

But Cowper sees still some hope for English poetry. Some originality even now redeems the moderns from disgrace:

While servile trick and imitative knack
Confine the million in the beaten track,
Perhaps some courser who disdains the road,
Snuffs up the wind and flings himself abroad.⁵

² *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton* with an essay on the Rowley Poems by the Rev. Walter Skeat . . . and a Memoir by Edward Bell (London, 1901), I, 189; *Happiness*.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 146; *Kew Gardens*, first published in 1837.

⁴ *The Poetical Works of William Cowper* with notes and a memoir by John Bruce (London, 1896), I, 27, 30-31; *Table Talk*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 31.

George Crabbe also, in *The Village* (1783), voiced a spirit of rebellion against false literary conventions. His models were not the ancients, but unfortunate downtrodden moderns:

By such examples taught, I paint the Cot,
As Truth will paint it, and as bards will not.⁶

A fourth satirist who expressed the romantic opinion that since inspiration is the true fountainhead of poetry the poet need not imitate ancient models was James Woodhouse, a protégé of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu. Woodhouse, even more vividly than Chatterton, expresses the conviction that it is absurd to try to make poems by rule. This cordwainer poet, who commenced his literary career when the revival of interest in the country and the common people was just beginning, analyses thus the critical position of mid-eighteenth century classicism with regard to poetry:

None without Latin stilts could stalk sublime,
In bold blank Verse—or more elaborate Rhyme,
None chaunt choice strains but Horace' Art must prune
Confined, by modern scale, to time and tune;
Or clearly comprehend Rhyme's perfect scope
By keen Roscommon, or mellifluous Pope—
None gain Parnassus' heights, with Poet's gait,
But Virgil construe, and could well translate;
Or Pegasus with whip and rowels ride,
Except old Homer's Epics pois'd each side . . .⁷

⁶ *The Poetical Works of George Crabbe* (Oxford edition) ed. A. J. Carlyle and R. M. Carlyle (London, 1908), 35. Anstey in the appendix to *The Patriot* (1767) expresses Crabbe-like opinions of the artificiality of English literature in the Age of Johnson. In a passage which is reminiscent of some of the best irony in the *Citizen of the World*, a publisher invites the poet to dinner:

"I've some very good company dine here to-day;
There's a pastoral poet from *Leadenhall-street*,
And a liberty-writer just come from the *Fleet*;
With a clever young fellow, that's making an index,
Who, perhaps, may assist you to write an *Appendix*;
And a taylor, up three pairs of stairs in the *Mews*,
Who does the political jobs for the news,
And works now and then for the *critic reviews*."

I quote from *The Poetical Works of Christopher Anstey* . . . (London, 1808), 181-182.

⁷ *The Life and Poetical Works of James Woodhouse* (1735-1820) ed. Rev. R. I. Woodhouse (London, 1896), I, 69.

Although Woodhouse was at his best as a poet between 1760 and 1780, he did not write the autobiographical satirical narrative, *Crispinus Scriblerus*, in which the passage just quoted appears, until about 1800, and the work was published for the first time in 1896. Obviously, therefore, his bits of romantic rebellion, like Chatterton's criticism of Johnson in Kew Gardens, were quite without influence upon the reading public of his day. And though the isolated passages from Crabbe and Cowper concerning inspiration discredit imitation, they are not essentially contrary to the general tendencies of neo-classicism. On the whole, the evidence of romanticism in our satirists' remarks about poetry is but slight.⁸

Similarly, there is little that is anti-classical in satirical criticism of the drama. Few satirists arraigned the Unities, in spite of the fact that in England the Unities had long been freely disregarded.⁹ And those few were quite out of the current and regular course of English verse-satire. Chatterton, in his interesting but uninfluential attack on Dr. Johnson, thus mocked at the literary dictator's perfect tragedy:

Irene creeps so classical and dry,
None but a Greek philosopher can cry;
Through five long acts unlettered heroes sleep,
And critics by the square of learning weep.¹⁰

⁸ Of course Cowper was in some respects a romanticist, but in those respects he was no satirist. For example, it is not in satirical context that he asserts:

"No bard could please me but whose lyre was tuned
To Nature's praises."

—Cowper, II, 120.

⁹ An opinion more characteristic of the English satire of the period is that of the necessity of adhering to the rules. It is expressed again and again by Anthony Pasquin in *The Children of Thespis*. Apparently in all seriousness he urged dramatists to

"Preserve all the unities, true as they ought,
For they're full as essential to acting as thought;
And those rules by which Grace chain'd the Drama's decorum,
The play-wright and player should both have before 'em;
Nor e'er let a vulgar demeanour obtrude,
To debase your neat form, by a habit that's rude."

—Pasquin, II, 220. Cf. p. 223.

¹⁰ Chatterton, I, 146-147.

Another satirist surpassed Chatterton in the thoroughness of his rejection of the classical laws for dramatic composition. The author of *Shakespeare: an Epistle to D. Garrick, Esq.* glorifies Shakespeare and natural genius in the following lines:

When Shakespeare leads the Mind a Dance,
From France to England, hence to France,
Talk not to me of Time and Place;
I own I'm happy in the Chace.
Whether the Drama's here or there,
'Tis Nature, Shakespeare every where . . .

True Genius, like Armida's Wand,
Can raise the Spring from barren Land.
While all the Art of Imitation,
Is pilfering from the first Creation.¹¹

Incidentally demonstrating that the rules of dramatic composition which came to England from France were still adhered to by critics if not by dramatists, he proceeds to remark upon the absurdities of opinions opposed to his own:

Yet those who breathe the Classic Vein,
Enlisted in the mimic Train, . . .
Not run away with by their Wit,
Delighted with the Pomp of Rules,
The Specious Pedantry of Schools;
(Which Rules, like Crutches, ne'er became
Of any Use but to the Lame)
Pursue the Method set before 'em,
Talk much of Order and Decorum,
Of Probability of Fiction,
Of Manners, Ornament, and Diction,
And with a Jargon of hard Names,
(A Privilege which Dulness claims)
And merely us'd by way of Fence,
To keep out plain and common Sense,
Extol the Wit of ancient Days,
The simple Fabric of their Plays;

¹¹ *Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces*, 2d ed. (London, 1774), II, 344. I do not mean to say that rejection of the unities was unusual, but it represents a kindness of attitude toward romanticism that disappeared from satire as the romantic movement gained strength. The allusion to Tasso in this passage is indicative of another phase of romantic interest.

Then from the Fable, all so chaste,
 Trick'd up in antient-modern Taste, . . .
 While Chorus marks the servile Mode
 With fine Reflexion, in an Ode,
 Present you with a perfect Piece,
 Form'd on the Model of old Greece.¹²

And he boldly carries the war into the enemy's country when he explains the classical dramatists' need for Chorus and for explanatory "prologues of a mile":

"Doubtless the Antients want the Art
 To strike at once upon the Heart."

By way of contrast, he characterizes Shakespeare,

. . . the Bard, who at one View,
 Could look the whole Creation through,
 Who travers'd all the human Heart,
 Without recourse to *Grecian* Art.
 He scorn'd the Modes of Imitation,
 Of altering, pilfering, and translation,
 Nor painted Horror, Grief, or Rage,
 From Models of a former Age,
 The bright Original he took,
 And tore the Leaf from Nature's Book.¹³

Though a few satirists showed themselves not utterly hostile to romantic notions of critical theory, satire in general was antagonistic to the new tendencies. One aspect of the rise of romanticism which especially drew the fire of satirists was the revival of interest in the Middle Ages and in medieval literature. The pseudo-archaic style of Chatterton's Rowley afforded a happy vehicle for two amusing satires upon the believers in Rowley and upon antiquarians in general. One of these pieces, Mason's *Archaeological Epistle to Dean Milles* (1782),¹⁴ reviews the Rowleian controversy in good Rowleian

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 345.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 346.

¹⁴ Although the Dictionary of National Biography denies Mason the honor of having written this pleasant poem, it is almost certainly his. It has, to be sure, been pretty generally attributed to John Baynes, because he took the copy to the printer, "but he emphatically disclaimed the authorship." Testimony

verses.¹⁵ The other, Mathias' *Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades* (1782), an "interlude" in prose and various kinds of verse, makes use of a similar scheme of parody to deride the antiquaries. Though the most pretentious, these were by no means the only pieces of satirical mockery for the archaic diction which, largely through the influence of Spenser, the new medievalism introduced into English poetry. A classical example is Doctor Johnson's little poem in rebuke of Thomas Warton:

Wheresoe'er I turn my view,
All is strange, yet nothing new;
Endless labour all along,
Endless labour to be wrong;
Phrase that Time has flung away;
Uncouth words in disarray,
Trick'd in antique ruff and bonnet,
Ode, and elegy, and sonnet.¹⁶

A somewhat similar piece of criticism appears in the *New Probatinary Odes* (1790). It is an ode in Spenserian stanza,

contained in the letters of Horace Walpole, edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee (XI, 427; XII, 216-219, 229-231, 241, 246-247) seems to prove that Mason was the author. For a discussion of the question as it stood before the publication of the definitive edition of Walpole's Letters, see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., II, 150, 251-252, 270.

¹⁵ For example, here is a stanza in which the poet displays the literary superiority of Rowley over Geoffrey Chaucer:

"Tyrwytte, thoughe clergyonned in Geoffroie's leare,
Yette scalle yat leare stonde thee in drybblat stedde:
Geoffroie wythe Rowley how maiest thoue comphere?
Rowley hanne mottes, yat ne manne ever redde,
Ne couthe bewryenne inne anie syngle tyme,
Yet reynneythe echeone mole, in newe and swotie ryme."

I quote the passage as it appears in *The School for Satire* (London, 1801), p. 116; *An Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles, D.D.* . . . occupies pp. 103-123.

¹⁶ *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* . . . by Hesther Lynch Piozzi (London, 1786), 64. Concerning the fact that the object of the attack was a volume of T. Warton's poems, published in 1777, see *Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study* by Clarissa Rinaker (Urbana, 1916), 140, and Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, III, 158n. Of interest in this connection are Johnson's various burlesque bits in ballad metre, especially that in mockery of Bishop Percy's *Hermit of Warkworth*.

ascribed to James Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*. The personal attack is somewhat unpleasant, but the mocking rebuke is not without its humor. The opening stanza, in which the poet boasts of his victory in controversy with Hume, is as follows:

I, who erewhile in clam'rous fight o'erthrew
David, of infidelity the Dagon,
 Pommell'd his sceptic carcase black and blue,
 And trampled him as St. George did the dragon;
 Now, when the Laureat's mouth has got Death's gag on,
 Awake my gothic harp's harmonious frame,
 Ditties of duteous loyalty to gag on,
 And in the Laureat's list enrol my name;
 This, with the sack and gold, is all I dare to claim.¹⁷

Satirical objection to this particular manifestation of romanticism, the use of archaic language in poetry, persisted to the days of Byron. In 1807, Eaton Stannard Barrett, author of *All the Talents*, attacked Scott for being "ostentatious in simplicity." In a long note upon *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the satirist explains the fault which he finds in Scott's style. He admits that the poem has force in description and consistency in its characters. "But" says he, "here ends its merit. The plot is absurd, and the antique costume of the language is disgusting because it is unnatural." He condemns the language as a "Gothic and Corinthian mixture," but feels that even if it were a true antique "and not a modern coin artificially rusted over," it would still be absurd:

For, by the same rule, Gray's Bard should have spoken in the idiom of King Edward's time, and Norval should now tragedy it away in broad Scotch. If Mr. S. will condescend to write in the present purity of our language, tho' he may no longer decoy readers by what is novel, yet he may win them by what is natural. Philips' Pastorals and Chatterton's Rowley are reposing in the charnels of obscurity. Yet there was a time when they were just as much read and just as much admired as Mr. Scott's minstrel.¹⁸

After 1790, satire's criticism of romanticism in its more radical aspects, as distinguished from sentimentalism, was chiefly moral and political rather than literary. A few examples

¹⁷ *The Miscellaneous Works of A. M'Donald* . . . (London, 1791), 95.

¹⁸ *All the Talents: a satirical poem in three dialogues* . . . by Polypus (London, 1807), 92.

will serve to suggest its typical line of attack. Godwin and "Monk" Lewis were alike condemned by T. J. Mathias both in *The Pursuits of Literature* and in *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames* (1798). In the latter piece, the memory of Mary Wollstonecraft, Godwin's wife, was ungenerously maligned; her memoirs and posthumous works were described as "a convenient manual of speculative debauchery with the most select arguments for reducing it into practice."¹⁹ She was no better treated by the Reverend Richard Polwhele in his imitation of the *Pursuits*, *The Unsex'd Females* (1798), where she and her friends are branded as

A female band despising Nature's law!

and again as "female Quixotes of the new philosophy," and she herself is pilloried in these lines:

See Wollstonecraft, whom no decorum checks,
Arise, the intrepid champion of her sex;
O'er humbled man assert the sovereign claim,
And slight the timid blush of virgin fame.²⁰

M.G. Lewis was attacked by Mathias on the score of the lewdness in *Ambrosio; or The Monk*. At the hands of Lady Anne Hamilton, author of *The Epics of the Ton*, Lewis fared little better. She classed his book with *Peregrine Pickle* as light reading for women of fashion. On a similar charge of evil sensuousness, Tom Moore's poems are ranged beside Lewis' novel; the verses are inspired, the female satirist says, by the Muse who

. . . with young Teius sung of am'rous blisses,
With one eternal round of hugs and kisses.²¹

¹⁹ *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames. A satirical poem, with notes. Occasioned chiefly, but not wholly, by the residence of Henry Grattan . . . at Twickenham, in November, 1798.* 2d ed. (London, 1799,) 44-53.

²⁰ *The Unsex'd Females: a Poem, addressed to the author of The Pursuits of Literature.* (London, 1798), 13.

²¹ *The Epics of the Ton: or, The Glories of the Great World: a Poem in Two Books . . .* (London, 1807), 7.

Likewise Moore's black influence was portrayed by William Henry Ireland in his *Stultifera Navis*:

But in their boudoirs ladies now display
Nugae canorae of the present day,
 Or *Little* poems for the fleeting hour:
 Effusions which our modern belles adore,
 Who only languish as they read for *More*;
 Of dulcet trifles such the magic pow'r.²²

These specimens represent the moral quality of the typical satirical comment upon romantic literature in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth.

Even in these later years, however, not all of satire's criticism of the romantics was clearly aimed from the ethical point of view. One satirist, Thomas Dermody, whose own way of life was a glass house from which he might not with impunity hurl brickbats of criticism *ad personam*, declared the purely aesthetic purpose of his satire:

The poet's skill alone intent to scan,
 I ne'er dissect the morals of the man.
 'Tis mine to trace the beauties of his song:
 To other search domestic faults belong.²³

Other writers of verse-satire did not pretend to confine their attention so strictly to matters of artistic achievement in the literature which they discussed, but many found space in their verses for direct estimation of literary merits and defects.

Of the principal romantic poets of the day, Robert Southey was most vigorously satirized. Long before the appearance of Byron's first satire, Southey was a stock object of attack. Thus he is derided by Mathias in *The Pursuits of Literature*:

I cannot, will not, in a college gown,
 Vent my *first* nonsense on a patient town,
 Quit the dull Cam, and ponder in the park
 A six-weeks Epic, or a Joan of Arc.

²² *Stultifera Navis. The Modern Ship of Fools . . .* (London, 1807), 2. The authorship of this satire, which was published anonymously, is by no means certain. The punning comments refer, of course, to the "Poems by Little" published by Moore in 1801.

²³ *The Harp of Erin* (London, 1807), I, 113. The passage is from his *More Wonders! An Heroic Epistle to M. G. Lewis, Esq., M.P.* and is apropos of his discussion of "Peter Pindar" (Dr. John Wolcot).

The accompanying note is:

Robert Southy, author of many ingenious pieces of poetry of great promise, if the young gentleman would recollect what old Chaucer says of poetry,

“ 'Tis every dele

A rock of ice and not of steel.”

He gave the public a long quarto volume of epic verses, *Joan of Arc*, written, as he says in the preface, in *six weeks*. Had he meant to write well, he should have kept it at least six years.—I mention this, for I have been much pleased with many of the young gentleman's little copies of verses. I wish also that he would review *some of his principles*.²⁴

He was mocked deliberately by the poets of the *Anti-Jacobin*, who accused him of republicanism and sentimentality and were peculiarly disgusted with his attempts at writing English poetry in classical metres. His Sapphics and dactyls they made sufficiently ridiculous in the well known parodies of which the prime example is the cheerful tale of the Needy Knifegrinder. In another parody of *The Soldier's Wife*, the poet is thus apostrophized in his own lumbering metre:

Wearisome Sonneteer, feeble and querulous,
Painfully dragging out thy demo-cratic lays—
Moon-stricken Sonneteer, “ah! for thy heavy chance!”²⁵

The most talented of verse makers among the writers of the *Anti-Jacobin*, Canning, attacked the romantic poets in the one formal satire of the magazine, *New Morality*, but attacked them quite indiscriminately. In a mock-canticle of which one couplet is,

All creeping creatures, venomous and low,
Paine, Williams, Godwin, Holcroft, praise Lepaux!

he introduced these four lines:

And ye five other wandering bards, that move
In sweet accord of harmony and love,
Coleridge and Southey, Lloyd, and Lamb & Co.
Tune all your mystic harps to praise Lepaux!²⁶

²⁴ *The Pursuits of Literature*, 1st American ed. (Philadelphia, 1800), 294.

²⁵ Edmonds, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* . . . 3d ed. (London, 1890), 41. This parody was the work of Canning and Gifford.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 285, 284; *New Morality*, ll. 344-345, 334-337.

Less influential criticism of Southey, but hardly less interesting, is Dermody's satire in *More Wonders!* where, after accusing Lewis of plagiarizing at the expense of several poets, Dryden, Gray, Bishop Percy, Burns, and Southey, he declares:

no pen of mine
Had pour'd the stricture of one sober line,
If Southey only felt thy plundering rage,
If only Southey's ballads deck'd thy page:
Congenial Southey, who has made poor Joan,
As though in travail, through his volume groan,
And set so oft all necromancy loose,
Glorious competitor of Mother Goose.²⁷

Southey's name was definitely linked with that of Wordsworth by at least two satirists before 1809. In *The Epics of the Ton* (1807), Lady Anne Hamilton wrote these lines:

Then still might Southey sing his crazy Joan,
Or feign a Welshman o'er th' Atlantic flown,
Or tell of Thalaba the wondrous matter,
Or with clown Wordsworth chatter, chatter, chatter.

And she appended to this passage notes about the two unfortunates. Of Southey she said:

This man, the Blackmore of the age, if we look at the number of his Epics, might become the Dryden, if his fancy were chastened by judgment, and his taste cleansed from the maggots of the new school.

²⁷ *The Harp of Erin*, 118. Interesting in comparison is *The Old Hag in the Red Cloak* . . . (London, 1801) a rollicking ballad at the expense of Lewis; the tale is of how his literary ancestor Mother Goose visited him and took vengeance upon him for a minor slight by sending back to limbo all the ghosts and hobgoblins and horrible shapes which were his literary stock in trade.

"While as fast as away Matty's progeny flew,
Mother Goose summon'd up her original crew,
Who with loud peals of laughter and sallies of fun,
Quiz'd, pinch'd, and tormented her reprobate son."

Soon Lewis cried for mercy:

"As now you behold me in penitence sunk,
Take all my Romances, nay, take too my Monk;
But leave me, since thus I acknowledge my crime,
My epilogues, sonnets, and lady-like rhyme."

She grants some virtues to Wordsworth's best poems, also, and praises his effort "to bring back our poetry to the simplicity of nature." But there is more than a touch of irony²⁸ in her praise: "Everything is pure from the hand of untutored nature; no: do we discover a single thought or phrase that might not have been uttered by a promising child of six years old."²⁸

More thorough criticism of the romantic position, but no more severe, appears in Richard Mant's *Simpliciad* (1808). This poem is a straightforward but courteous rebuke for Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey on account of their departure in several respects from the conventions of English poetizing. The criticism is professedly based upon classical principles, or, as the author expresses the matter, "suggested by Horace's Art of Poetry, and improved by a Contemplation of the Works of the first Masters."²⁹ He regrets especially that the Lake poets are not content with the recognized English metres of Milton, Dryden, Thomson, Pope, and Cowper, but must

rummage Percy's Reliques:

In sapphics limp, or amble in dactyls,
Trip it in Ambrose Philips' trochaics:
In dithyrambics vault, or hobble in prosaics.³⁰

While the passages which have been mentioned are by no means all of satire's criticism of the English romantic movement, they show the characteristic quality of that criticism. In the period under consideration, advocacy of romantic ideas by writers of verse-satire was both uncommon and insignificant. Many satirists attacked romantic writers and their works, but attacked them rather from the point of view of conventional morals or conservative politics than from that of regular criticism. A few romantic poets, however, were rebuked in verse

²⁸ *The Epics of the Ton*, 10.

²⁹ A part of the title as quoted in *The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry, for 1808-1809* (London, 1812), 569. I have been unable to secure a copy of *The Simpliciad*. In contrast with these unfavorable criticisms are the compliments for Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Lloyd, and Lamb in a semi-satirical piece, *Poetic Sympathies*, published in *Poems, by George Dyer* (London, 1801), 256-302.

³⁰ Quoted by Wm. E. Axon in "News for Bibliophiles" in the *Nation* (New York), vol. 94, no. 2436, Mar. 7, 1912, p. 231.

satire for some of the literary abnormalities of their poetry. Southey was a frequent victim, and with him suffered at times both Coleridge and Wordsworth.

III

Satire's view of sentimentalism is less tenuous and of more historical value than satire's view of romanticism in its more typical aspects. Though the affectation of fine feeling was in the case of many an author not merely an accompaniment but a part of romanticism, yet it is possible to find, in the critical passages of English verse-satires between Churchill and Byron, a distinct body of rebuke for sentimentalism. Much of this comment is thoroughly ethical in nature, as in the case of Ireland's couplet concerning *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and French novels in general:

Nay, still the dear illusion to enhance,
Indecency is coupled with romance.³¹

But more of it is quite straightforward condemnation of emotional irregularities in literature, observation upon a not utterly insignificant body of writings to which few contemporary judgments have drawn the attention of scholars. Since the dividing line between sentimentalism and romanticism is at least as imaginary as the tropic of Capricorn, it becomes, perhaps, permissible to classify as sentimental whatever the satirists thought sentimental, as one might call a region temperate or torrid according to the quality of his sensations there. Macpherson is a case in point, a romantic whom satirists not of his political party ridiculed for his sentimentality. More distinct is the sentimentalism which satire perceived and derided in the plays of Kelly and Cumberland of 1770 and the romantic Kotzebue comedies of 1800, in the Bath-easton rhymes of 1775 and the Della Cruscan ditties of 1790. The moral Sensibility of the Bluestockings likewise roused something of mirth and more of wrath in the minds of several writers of verse-satire. And in all these phases, sentimentalism, because of its historical influence, was worth criticising. The following

³¹ *Stultifera Navis*, 3.

pages, therefore, will portray satire's view of Macpherson's Ossian, the sentimental drama, the rhymes of the Bath-easton rhymers and the Della Cruscans, and the Sensibility of the Bluestockings.

James Macpherson was a Scotch Tory, writing for the party in power in the days of the American War, but his Ossianic poems were a driven well bubbling and gurgling with sentiment. The earliest satirical comments concerning him treated of the outlandishness of his material and the doubtful antiquity of its dress. William Mason, who often flung jibes at Macpherson, remarked thus upon the creation of Fingal:

Mac, like a poet stout and good,
First plung'd, then pluck'd him from oblivion's flood,
And bad him bluster at his ease,
Among the fruitful Hebrides.³²

In one of the anonymous satires on the American Revolution, *A New Scheme to Raise a New Corps*, a ballad-writing humorist suggested that the loss of the Scotch Militia could be supplied by raising and equipping a brigade of orang-outangs:

And as their jabbering smacks of Erse,
Let them recite MAC OSSIAN'S verse,
To fire their souls to glory.³³

In *M'Fingal* (1776 and 1782), the popular American satirist Trumbull cast many a satirical glance at Macpherson. A little later, the author of a "probationary ode" for John Wilkes ridiculed Macpherson's

lofty epic roar,
Barren and rough as his own native shore.³⁴

These, however, were but casual bits. By far the most remarkable literary satire upon Macpherson was one of the original Probationary Odes. Though not comparable in violence to Lord Thurlow's ode, where six *d-mns* appear in five lines, this represents the literary satire of the Rolliad group at

³² *New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, II, 49-50; *Ode to Pinchbeck*, published first in 1776.

³³ *New Foundling Hospital*, II, 96.

³⁴ *Miscellaneous Works of A. M'Donald* (London, 1791), 88.

its best. The political content of the parody is only typical, though more wittily managed than in some of the others. The mockery of the Ossianic style is the happiest quality of the piece; and that mockery brings out so plainly the sentimental affectation of the Ossianic rhythms dear to young Werther that it seems justifiable to quote the entire ode:

DUAN

In the True Ossian Sublimity
 Does the wind touch thee, O Harp?
 Or is it some passing Ghost?
 Is it thy hand,
 Spirit of the departed *Scrutiny!*
 Bring me the Harp, pride of CHATHAM!
 Snow is on thy bosom,
 Maid of the modest eye!
 A song shall rise!
 Every soul shall depart at the sound!!!
 The wither'd thistle shall crown my head!!!
 I behold thee, O King!
 I behold thee sitting on mist!!!
 Thy form is like a watery cloud,
 Singing in the deep like an oyster!!!!
 Thy face is like the beams of the setting moon!
 Thy eyes are of two decaying flames!
 Thy nose is like the spear of ROLLO!!!
 Thy ears are like three bossy shields!!!
 Strangers shall rejoice at thy chin!
 The ghosts of dead Tories shall hear me
 In their airy hall!
 The wither'd thistle shall crown my head!
 Bring me the Harp,
 Son of CHATHAM!
 But thou, O King! give me the Laurel!³⁵

Sentimentalism in the drama was viewed with gradually increasing hostility by the English writers of verse-satire

³⁵ *The Rolliad, in two parts, Probationary Odes for the Laureatship; and Political Eclogues; with criticisms and illustrations.* Revised, corrected, and enlarged by the original authors. (London, 1797), 302. The Duan was the work of John Ellis. For information about the authorship of the various pieces in the Rolliad series, see Walpole's Letters, XIII, 342, and *Notes and Queries*, II, 114, 242, 373. Cf. also Sir Patrick Colquhoun, V. P., *The Rolliad and the Antijacobin*, on pages 229-264 of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom for 1883*.

between Churchill and Byron. Richard Cumberland and the minor authors of his school were treated with comparative mildness by the satirists between 1770 and 1780. In *The Theatres; a Poetical Dissection* (1772), Hugh Kelly, the author of *False Delicacy* (1768), is advertised as:

Vending in dialogue *sermonic* scenes,

and again thus:

Kelly between the sister muses steers,
Too grave for laughter and too light for tears.³⁶

Less known dramatists are almost as calmly chidden for their faults:

Hull has good feelings, and possesses sense,
Yet to an author's fame shews small pretense,
Much better must he write, who hopes to rise,
Than *Spanish Ladies*, or *Perplexities*;
To turn a period or to clink a rhyme,
With little wit, and less of the sublime,
May be call'd writing, yet is waste of time.³⁷

Percival Stockdale in *The Poet* (1773) was less moderate in his attack upon minor sentimental dramatists. Defending his eminent friend Doctor Johnson, he shouted:

Curse on the taste of this preposterous age,
Which dozes if IRENE tread the stage;
Yet gives applause to Hoole's unmeaning lines,
And seems to weep when his Mandane whines.³⁸

On the whole, however, sentimental dramatists and their plays were not rudely treated by the satirists of the seventies. In *The Theatres*, strangely enough, Oliver Goldsmith is given

³⁶ *The Theatres: a Poetical Dissection* by Sir Nicholas Nipclose, Bart. (London, 1772), 28-29. This piece has been attributed to Garrick, certainly not on internal evidence. Minor satires concerning the theatre were common. Such were Kelly's *Thespis* and the various replies to it, among them *The Kellyad* by Louis Stamma, *The Rescue: or Thespian Scourge*, and *Anti-Thespis*.

³⁷ *The Theatres*, 36. A few of the rebukes are less courteous. Bickerstaff is called a "scribbling jay." And

"Rough as a rope-maker, lol Reed comes forth."

³⁸ *The Poet. A Poem* (London, 1773), 15.

moderate praise for the very sentimentality which, in drama, he contended against:

Goldsmith, who teems with sentiments refin'd,
Speaks in his work a pregnant, lib'ral mind;
And shew'd, tho' we condemn his gen'ral plan,
Strong tints of life in his *Good Natur'd Man*;
Yet don't we wish to meet him on the stage,
'Twill spoil the foremost poet of our age.³⁹

Cumberland was the acknowledged leader among playwrights of the sentimental school. Richard Tickell, in his satire in criticism, *The Wreath of Fashion* (1778),⁴⁰ begins his survey by observing the unnatural morality of the new comedy:

First, for true grounds of Sentimental lore,
The scenes of modern comedy explore.

The typical plays he finds

Dramatic Homilies! devout and sage.

And for a representative dramatist he pitches upon Cumberland:

But chief, let Cumberland thy Muse direct,
High priest of all the Tragic-comic sect!
Mid darts and flames his Lover *coolly* waits,
Calm as a Hero, cas'd in *Hartley's plates*;
Till damp'd and chill'd by sentimental sighs,
Each stifled passion in a vapour dies.⁴¹

The author of *The Theatres* sarcastically hailed Cumberland as

The pride, the joy, the wonder of the age . . .

but a moment later so far forgot Horatian moderation as to declare that the doctor

Defies all grammar and no theme pursues.⁴²

³⁹ *The Theatres*, 34.

⁴⁰ *The School for Satire* (London, 1801) contains, pp. 143-159, *The Wreath of Fashion*, with the incidental note "Printed originally 1780," and the title page is missing from the separate copy which I have used. But the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* gives titles of four editions dated 1778 and none earlier. For characterization of Tickell see Sichel's *Sheridan* (Boston, 1909), I, 441-444.

⁴¹ *School*, 148.

⁴² *The Theatres*, 27.

Another satirist, an amateur at the art of ridicule and rebuke, ordered his muse to

Retail like Cumberland the holy writ,
And bid the ten commandments pass for wit.⁴³

And still another wrote a piece of "Friendly Advice to Dr. C-mb-rl-d" in ballad metre, urging him to leave literary work for his trade of tailoring. Two typical stanzas are as follows:

Phoebus, sworn foe to Midas' ears,
Will thine most rudely pull,
And when thy tragic strains he hears,
Cry—Thou'rt damnation dull.

Minerva thinks 'tis her own owl,
When thou attempt'st to soar;
That arch-wag, Hermes, d—ns his soul,
'He ne'er saw such a bore.'⁴⁴

All this is genial pleasantry, neither pointless nor witless. But the best of satirical criticisms of Cumberland was one of the earliest, Goldsmith's in *Retaliation*.

Dr. Goldsmith characterized his fellow-dramatist as a "sweetbread" and then bestowed upon him this critical epigraph:

Here Cumberland lies, having acted his parts,
The Terence of England, the mender of hearts;
A flattering painter, who made it his care
To draw men as they ought to be, not as they are.
His gallants are all faultless, his women divine,
And comedy wonders at being so fine;
Like a tragedy queen he has dizen'd her out,
Or rather like tragedy giving a rout.
His fools have their follies so lost in a crowd
Of virtues and feelings, that folly grows proud;
And coxcombs, alike in their failings alone,
Adopting his portraits, are pleas'd with their own.
Say, where has our poet this ~~n~~lady caught?
Or, wherefore his characters thus without fault?

⁴³ *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit* (London, 1784), I, 96; *Bath; Its Beauties and Amusements* by ". . . Ellis, Esq."

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 111.

Say, was it that vainly directing his view
 To find out men's virtues, and finding them few,
 Quite sick of pursuing each troublesome elf,
 He grew lazy at last, and drew from himself?⁴⁵

Thus Goldsmith gently insinuated his private opinion of the essential falsity of sentimental comedy. His satire shows no stern opposition to the absurd kind of drama that the public happened to want in those days, though he had in his own plays tried to restore the popularity of straightforward "laughing" comedy. Throughout the eighth decade of the century, indeed, sentimental plays and their makers were but mildly rebuked by the writers of verse-satire, though in 1779, the year in which that pitiless dramatic mockery of sentimentalism, *The Critic*, was presented, the drama of sensibility was at its triumphant zenith.⁴⁶

The sentimental drama flourished in the ninth decade of the eighteenth century as in the eighth, and satire continued to criticize it adversely, belaboring the sentimental dramatists with increasing vigor. The author of *The Temple of Folly*

⁴⁵ *The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith* . . . ed. Austin Dobson (London, 1905), 56-57. Cumberland seems to have taken this irony seriously, see Williams, *Richard Cumberland* (New Haven, 1917), 126-130.

⁴⁶ For an account of the sentimental drama in general, and of opposition to it on the part of Goldsmith, Foote, and Sheridan, see Bernbaum, E., *The Drama of Sensibility*. *The Theatres* gives a keen edge to its courteous satire upon sentimental comedy in this concluding passage of unstinted commendation for that burlesquer of all sentimentality, Samuel Foote:

"The muse at length, with painful censure tir'd,
 Meets with an author worthily admir'd,
 Rival'd in strength of character by few,
 Rich in a fund of humour ever new;
 Whose pregnant pencil takes from life each tint,
 Whose thoughts are stamp'd in brilliant Fancy's mint;
 Who never makes a vain, or feeble hit;
 Terse in his stile, and polish'd in his wit:
 Copious in subject, yet compact in scenes,
 Dull explanation never intervenes:
 Each line, each person, under just controul,
 Speaks to the heart, and beautifies the whole:
 Laughter attends—spleen flies the house of joy
 When *Genius Foote* and *nature* never cloy."

(1787) expressed a common opinion when he declared with regard to the British stage;

There Comedy, that once convuls'd the pit,
Embracing *Sentiment*, divorces *Wit*.⁴⁷

Cumberland was still the type and chief of the school, but lesser dramatists suffered by his side. In 1781, the author of *The Sauce-Pan* complacently asserted:

Sure I must rhyme, tho' all were full as flat,
As dancing C---d, or prancing P---.

And in a note he remarked: "The first author (besides a comfortable share of other capital performances) has written, in about a dozen years, more stage pieces, as you may call them, than Aeschylus, and Sophocles, and Euripides, and Aristophanes, and Menander, and Terence."⁴⁸ Peter Pindar, also, spoke belittlingly of Cumberland's plays.⁴⁹ Anthony Pasquin (John Williams) likewise, in the first part of *The Children of Thespis* (1786) glanced slightly at

the dry namby-pamby of ---Cumberland's pen.⁵⁰

At another place he wrote:

And Cumberland's pleas'd that his Muse, tho' in years,
Should annual conceive, tho' each brat's born in tears.⁵¹

Dibdin and O'Keefe, Hannah Cowley and Mrs. Inchbald, all were roundly rebuked by Pasquin. Indeed he had unqualified praise for nobody but Arthur Murphy.⁵² He regrets that

⁴⁷ *The Temple of Folly . . . by Theophilus Swift, Esq.* (London, 1787), 12. The satirist adds an interesting note concerning the meaning of the word sentiment. He declares that "*modern sentiment* is neither more nor less than 'an affected conception, affectedly expressed;' or, 'a display of fine words, to express the fine ideas of a literary coxcomb.' "

⁴⁸ XSMWPDRI BVNWLXY: or, *The Sauce-Pan* (London, 1781), 61.

⁴⁹ *The Works of Peter Pindar* (London, 1812), I, 195; *The Lousiad*, Canto I.

⁵⁰ *Poems by Anthony Pasquin*, 2d ed. (London, n.d.), II, 34. *The Children of Thespis* is a mine of not altogether reliable miscellaneous information concerning dramatists, players, and journalists in the London of its day. A note on page 255 contains "a correct list of the News Papers published in London."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 160.

⁵² *Poems by Anthony Pasquin*, II, 189.

"our Dibdins, O'Keefes, &c. are permitted to affright Common Sense from her propriety."⁵³ He despondently inquires:

Tho' Comedy's sinking, like stars from their spheres,
Can we see her declension and govern our tears?⁵⁴

And he proceeds to do his bit toward correcting popular taste by pointing out the defects of successful dramatists. Passages from his criticisms of two, a man and a woman, illustrate his abusive mode of attack. The first is an estimate of the worth of O'Keefe:

Like the Anthropophagi, in each varied season,
He fattens, he feeds, on the bowels of Reason;
In terrible ruin she bleeds 'neath his knife,
A prey to his *works*, and abridg'd of her life;
By *effect*, as they call it, by whim, and by pun,
Are our senses debauch'd, and, the drama undone;
Like the wondrous asbestos his toils we admire,
Whose labours surmount e'en the critical fire:
As the furnace the fossil-fraught drapery whitens,
So public contempt his capacity brightens:
But Harris' pence keep his follies in tune,
And Colman protects the unletter'd buffoon.⁵⁵

And here are parts, not the worst lines, from his sketch of the author of the *Simple Story*:

To mangle poor Decency's breathless remains;
To rob gentle Reason of all her domains;
To give the last blow to expiring Propriety;
To feed a base town with still baser variety—
See delicate Inchbald assume the foul quill;
And satirize Wisdom, by pleasing her will!
Tho' unskill'd in the true fabrication of tenses,
She tickles our weakness, and talks to the senses;
For Venus is tittering, and Priapus smiles,
As the Queen of Voluptuousness Nature beguiles . . .
Contemptuously treating the feminine duties,
Her breast lacks the cambric to cover its beauties . . .
With the pages of Sappho her cranium she dresses,

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, ciii.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 231.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 147.

While her smock goes unwash'd, and abandon'd her tresses.
Thus her mind, like clear amber, condens'd by stagnation,
Exhibits the dirt it imbibed in formation.⁵⁶

Another trenchant paragraph begins:

But Cowley and Inchbald, more mad than their neighbours,
With God and the Devil besprinkle their labours;
Sure the traits of the mind must be oddly directed,
When their bawdry destroys what their morals effected.⁵⁷

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, sentimentalism was flourishing in the drama as in other forms of literature. It even found praise at the hands of some satirists. For example, a journalistic piece called *The Children of Apollo* (1794) gave forceful expression to critical opinion which was, for the most part, based on sentimental principles. Its author praises Macklin in these terms:

Macklin, the father of the drama, hail!
Man of the World, 'tis thou that must prevail;
Thy piece contains true wit and satire too,
But wants variety to please a few;—
For tho' with reason ancient critics did
The common change of scenery forbid,
Yet now we find 'tis of the greatest need,
And few the pieces otherwise succeed;
There is a sameness if there be not some,
For no variety can be *at home*.⁵⁸

On grounds of Sensibility, he praises Mrs. Inchbald:

With humour, void of ev'ry vulgar cant,
With jokes, which the O'Keefian *tag-rag* want;
With sentiments, e'en Cumberland's beyond,
And characters of which the town are fond,
Her plays abound.⁵⁹

A more important bit of favorable criticism of sentimental drama is to be found in *The Pursuits of Literature*.[¶] Mathias

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 157.

⁵⁷ Pasquin, II, 160.

⁵⁸ *The Children of Apollo: a Poem containing an impartial Review of all the Dramatic Works of our Modern Authors and Authoresses . . .* (London, n.d.), 59.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

asserted of Cumberland: "In my opinion he has done *very great* service to the cause of morality and of literature."⁶⁰

But O'Keefe and the sentimental dramatists of whom, after the retirement of Cumberland, he was the leader, were not often treated kindly by the satirists. An interesting passage from the *Epistle in Rhyme to M. G. Lewis* shows the typical attitude:

Not so the monstrous brood that shock belief,
Palm'd on the town by Morton and O'Keefe,
Who, still with nature and good sense at strife,
Profanely stile their figures drawn from life,
Ev'n Boaden's ghost is surely full as good
As Holcroft's characters of flesh and blood,
To which, throughout the year, no day goes by
But gives in ev'ry lineament the lie.⁶¹

Another passage represents a more important element in satire's criticism of romantic sentimentalism on the British stage. In the good old days, says the satirist:

No *Stranger* charm'd the un-illumin'd pit
With French morality and German wit,
(Where they who deem the principle too light,
May bless a style that counteracts it quite.)⁶²

It is significant that though the "sensible" author of *The Children of Apollo* praised Mrs. Inchbald he objected to her translating plays from French and German, and though the author of the *Epistle to Lewis* could find merits in a play of "Monk" Lewis he could find none in a play of Kotzebue. Sentimentalism of domestic origin was a thing to ridicule gently, but sentimentalism imported from foreign parts and tainted with moral and political revolutionism, no satirist could tolerate. William Gifford, that staunch conservative, took occasion in *The Maeviad* (1795) to express his regret for the wretched state of dramatic poetry. It seemed to him that the taste vitiated by the lively nonsense of O'Keefe and company was destined to be

⁶⁰ *Pursuits of Literature*, 348-349.

⁶¹ *Epistle to Lewis*, 8. Cf. *The Grove. A Satire* (London, n.d.), 28, where Boaden is pleasantly derided in heavy irony. *The Grove* is attributed to "the author of the Pursuits of Literature" but is probably not the work of Mathias.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 9-10.

utterly brutified and destroyed by successive importations of the "heavy, lumbering, monotonous stupidity of Kotzebue and Schiller."⁶³ Thomas James Mathias, pedantic little author of *The Pursuits of Literature*, declared in the fourth dialogue of that work (1797):

No German nonsense sways my English heart,
Unus'd at ghosts and rattling bones to start.⁶⁴

In the following year he expressed his opinion somewhat more extensively in a semi-political satire, *The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Bank: of the Thames*. He especially disliked the plays translated from the German, not because they are foolishly sentimental but because they are of democratic tendency. These lines represent his position in the matter:

No Congress props our Drama's falling state;
The modern ultimatum is, 'Translate!'
Thence spout the morals of the German school . . .
No virtue shines but in the peasant's mien,
No vice, but in patrician robes, is seen,
Through four dull acts the Drama drags, and drawls,
The fifth is stagetrick, and the curtain falls.⁶⁵

The most powerful satirical attack upon the sentimental German drama was the *Anti-Jacobin's* justly celebrated burlesque, *The Rovers; or, The Double Arrangement*. According to an explanatory letter of its imaginary author, Mr. Higgins, "its moral is obvious and easy; and it is one frequently inculcated by the German dramas which I have had the good fortune to see; being no other than 'the reciprocal duties of one or more husbands to one or more wives, and to the children who may happen to arise out of this complicated and endearing connection.'" *The Rovers* is not only cleverly effective in exposing the absurdities of the plays which it imitates, but actually and spontaneously funny. The song of Rogero about "the U-niversity of Gottingen" is so often quoted that it would be useless to print

⁶³ *The Baviad and Maeviad*, 6th ed. (London, 1800), 65-66.

⁶⁴ *Pursuits of Literature*, 244. Mathias doubtless had in mind German ballads as well as German plays.

⁶⁵ *The Shade of Alexander Pope*, 57-64, one line on each page, the remaining space being occupied by explanatory notes.

it here. The Prologue is not so well known, however, and it is especially suitable for quotation because it shows its makers' classical point of view in criticism as well as their powers of spirited derision:

PROLOGUE

In Character.

Too long the triumphs of our early times,
 With civil discord and with regal crimes,
 Have stain'd these boards; while Shakespeare's pen has shown
 Thoughts, manners, men, to modern days unknown.
 Too long have Rome and Athens been the rage; [Applause.]
 And classic Buskins soil'd a British stage.

To-night our bard, who scorns pedantic rules,
 His plot has borrow'd from the German schools;
 The German schools—where no dull maxims bind
 The bold expansion of the electric mind.
 Fix'd to no period, circled by no space,
 He leaps the flaming bounds of time and place.
 Round the dark confines of the forest raves,
 With *gentle* Robbers stocks his gloomy caves;
 Tells how Prime Ministers are shocking things,
 And *reigning Dukes* as bad as tyrant Kings;
 How to *two* swains *one* nymph her vows may give
 And how *two* damsels with *one* lover live!
 Delicious scenes!—such scenes *our* bard displays,
 Which, crown'd with German, sue for British, praise. . . .
 Nor let succeeding generations say
 A British audience damn'd a German play!⁶⁶

In spite of such vigorous attacks as those of the *Anti-Jacobin* poets, German drama was very successful in England at the turn of the century. Probably the opinion of the conservative minority concerning the popularity of the German plays is represented in a rare *Satirical Epistle to the Poet Laureate* (1801). Its author, lacking the cleverness of the parodists, gives direct expression to his views. After some lines of praise for *Speed the Plow* and other moral pieces, he proceeds:

In vain do these reflect the giddy age,
 If German phrensy still usurp the stage.
 While British gold Germania's legions pays,
 She barter's jargon, sentiment, and plays:
 Not as, when vanquish'd, yet of arts the seat,

⁶⁶ Edmonds, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 206-208.

Greece taught proud Rome the reign of arts to greet;
 But dull, tho' furious, tasteless, wild, and rude
 As Gothic rage that Rome and arts subdued.⁶⁷

Dramatists who ventured to translate or adapt German plays were often subjected to satirical attack. Holcroft, whose liberal political principles brought him into general disrepute, was attacked in *The Pursuits of Literature*.⁶⁸ Lewis was rebuked in Dermody's *More Wonders!* for plagiarizing from the Germans, and from Englishmen too, in his terror play, *The Castle Spectre*:

In pity I forbear, as carrion prey,
 To taint my nostrils with your hideous play;
 Where incident and language, point and plot,
 And all but loathsome spectacle's forgot . . .
 Smit with the frenzy of a foreign race
 Who all their beauty in distortion place,
 Who couple contraries with equal ease
 As taylor's munch their cucumbers with peas,
 Was't not enough to filch their flimsy style,
 But thou must rob the worthies of our isle, . . .
 Those heirs of honour who, divinely brave,
 Fought as they sung . . .
 When charming poesy was all their own,
 And Germans, but for dulness, quite unknown?⁶⁹

Mrs. Inchbald, who a decade earlier had been satirized for the weaknesses of her own plays, was cleverly attacked in 1800 for the frailties of her translations from the German. In *The Wise Man of the East* (1800), a satirical tale which took the title from one of her adaptations from Kotzebue, Thomas Dutton criticized her work forcefully and with evident sincerity of purpose. He believed that he saw a great evil in the growing influence of German romantic drama, particularly that of Kotzebue, and he determined to criticize it in the way which seemed likely to be most effective. He explains his decision thus:

Aware, that elaborate criticism, unaccompanied with humour, and stript of the embellishments of verse, would, from being of too grave a nature to

⁶⁷ *A Satirical Epistle in verse addressed to the Poet Laureate on his Carmen Seculare* . . . (London 1801), 27.

⁶⁸ *Pursuits of Literature*, 296.

⁶⁹ *The Harp of Erin*, 116.

obtain a general perusal, not meet the magnitude and extent of the evil complained of, the Author of the present production has had recourse to the assistance of the comic and satiric Muse; and curvetting into the flowery regions of Fancy, has employed the machinery of the poetic world, to give a more pleasing and prepossessing introduction to his critical remarks.⁷⁰

The poem is an account of a dream which came to Mrs. Inchbald, who as she fell asleep had been thinking over her literary triumphs, and in particular the success of her two translations from Kotzebue, *Lover's Vows* and *The Wise Man of the East*. Zoroaster appears to her and, not without poking a little fun at the terror novels, rebukes her for the aid which she has given to the pernicious popularizing of German romantic drama in England. He pleads with her:

On foreign dulness scorn your wit to waste
Nor sanction with your pen a vicious taste.⁷¹

Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who was not entirely consistent in his attitude toward sentimentalism, was often a target for the shafts of verse-satire. In the very twelvemonth when, in *The Critic*, he attacked most effectively the vogue of sentimental comedy, his brother-in-law Richard Tickell thus rebuked him for being inveigled into the fashionable Bath-easton circle of sentimental poetasters:

Can'st thou to Fashion's tyranny submit,
Secure in native, independent wit?
Or yield to Sentiment's insipid rule,
By Taste, by Fancy, chac'd thro *Scandal's School*?⁷²

A reason for Sheridan's failure to adhere to the strictest artistic honesty is suggested by the author of *The Sauce-Pan* (1781), who declares that according to the dictates of "the idol Fashion,"

⁷⁰ *The Wise Man of the East; or, The Apparition of Zoroaster the son of Oromases, to the theatrical midwife of Leicester-Fields*. A satirical poem by Thomas Dutton, A.M. (London, 1800), iii-iv.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷² *The School for Satire*, 157.

Our very language takes a different lead,
 And playwrights drivell as she nods the head.
 Genius is only such by her regard,
 O'er *Shakespeare's* self *Badini* is a bard:
 And *Sheridan*—no more the child of praise,
 Lives but to die away at *operas*.⁷³

Sheridan's political affiliations in the eighties seem to have had something to do with his comparative lack of popularity as playwright and theatrical manager. Anthony Pasquin declared in 1787:

It mads me to see such superlative merit
 Metamorphosed by Pride to a petulant Ferret,
 Which Fox drags about with a sinister chain.⁷⁴

Pasquin suggests also that *The Critic*, though itself a great success, did its author more harm than good because it discredited the tragedy which he might otherwise have written:

Once Brinsley in sport aim'd a desperate blow,
 Which shatter'd her influence, and murder'd her woe;
 Tho' Fame clapp'd her wings when she saw him indite it,
 He has since curs'd the zeal which impell'd him to write it;
 For he now lives in want, tho' his genius forbid it,
 And the Muse shews her wound, and tells Richard—he did it.⁷⁵

Yet, in spite of a certain amount of political hostility,⁷⁶ Sheridan was long considered what Gifford called him in *The Maeviad*, the "soul of comedy."⁷⁷ In 1799, however, he committed what seemed to the satirists as to posterity something of an indiscretion; he produced his tragedy of *Pizarro*, a modified translation

⁷³ *The Sauce-Pan*, 92.

⁷⁴ Pasquin, II, 114. Cf. *The Triumphs of Temper*. (London, 1781), 84.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 224.

⁷⁶ Cf. for instance Mathias' *The Political Dramatist of the House of Commons in 1795* . . . (London 1796), and also *The Beauties of the Brinsleiad: or, A Sketch of the Opposition: a Poem*. No. I (London, 1785). The latter was a first part, apparently never followed by a second, of a Tory "Rolliad" with Sheridan for its hero. He is described (p. 9) as

"Skill'd to delight the public or distract
 With tickling fiction, and with tortur'd fact."

And his borrowing of plot from the *Rehearsal for The Critic* is explained by the fact that "for loyalty's sake" he would not wish it thought

"He was the chief contriver of a plot."

⁷⁷ *Baviad and Maeviad*, 113.

from Kotzebue. Concerning this melodrama, the author of the *Satirical Epistle to the Poet Laureate* said:

Depriv'd of pageants, chorus, flags, and fights,
O'er-prais'd Pizarro ne'er had liv'd nine nights.⁷⁸

Naturally enough, the satirist of London society devoted several pages to Sheridan; Lady Anne Hamilton, author of *The Epics of the Ton*, epitomizes his career as a dramatist thus:

To rival Shakspeare see his genius rise,
His taste excels, his wit with Shakspeare vies:
Yet see the pigmy monument he rears!—
Two plays for all the work of thirty years;
Save one burlesque to mock the Bavian throng,
One maudlin farce, mere vehicle of song,
At length, deserting genius, see him job
A German tragedy to please the mob;
Prop with smart crutch Anne Plumptre's hobbling stile
And of its blossoms the Gazette despoil.⁷⁹

Sentimentalism on the stage was, as we have seen, almost never praised by English verse-satirists between Churchill and Byron. The writers of domestic sentimental plays were vigorously rebuked, and translators from the German, even more harshly. Cumberland's plays and those of his followers were indeed heartily condemned. But the plays of Kotzebue as rendered by Mrs. Inchbald or even by so great a dramatist as Sheridan, were attacked by the satirists almost as eagerly as they were attended by playgoers.

IV

Since sentimental poets were even more numerous than sentimental dramatists in the revolutionary half of the eighteenth century, and since also a considerable number of the sentimental poets were criticized, not always unfavorably, in verse-satire, it becomes a problem of some delicacy to determine from what groups of material selection should be made for such a summarizing article as this. Indeed the principal difficulty in

⁷⁸ *A Satirical Epistle to the Poet Laureate*, 23. There is an interesting note of detailed criticism.

⁷⁹ *The Epics of the Ton*, 195-196. Anne Plumptre was another translator of Kotzebue.

undertaking to shadow forth the critical judgment of formal satire with regard to English literature in the days of the "romantic revolt" lies not in discovering an appreciable body of critical opinion but in selecting from a great mass of more or less casual comments the material which is fairly representative and which at the same time concerns authors and works not absolutely insignificant. Some of the best satire has to do with writers whose influence in the history of literature was quite negligible; for example, the poets of the *Anti-Jacobin* outdid themselves in their mockery of two didactic poets of the old school, Erasmus Darwin and Richard Payne Knight. Some scattered observations about writers of historical importance, far from being typical of the conservative group which satire commonly represents, were not even consistent with other opinions expressed by their own authors; such were, for instance, Mathias' bits of praise for Mrs. Radcliffe.⁸⁰ In the case of the sentimental poets, it is particularly difficult to discover whether this or that rhymester was important enough to make satirical criticism of him worth mentioning. On that account, satire's view of sentimentalism off the stage may, for the sake of comparative brevity, be considered under three heads: criticism of the Bath-easton coterie and their associates, criticism of the Della Cruscans and their associates, criticism of the Bluestockings.⁸¹ This classification makes it possible to

⁸⁰ Mathias, who was something of a romanticist himself in spite of his conventionality, praised *The Mysteries of Udolpho* "bred and nourished by the Florentine Muses in their sacred solitary caverns, amid the paler shrines of Gothic superstition, and in all the dreariness of enchantment." But he had a dislike for terror novels in general:

"Shall nought but ghosts and trinkets be display'd;
Since Walpole play'd the virtuoso's trade,
Bade sober truth revers'd for fiction pass,
And mus'd o'er Gothic toys through Gothic glass?"

—*The Pursuits of Literature*, 56-57, 336.

⁸¹ These categories exclude comment upon the "ladies' poet," Hayley, whose *Triumphs of Temper* (1781) went through many editions. He was attacked by Peter Pindar for his sentimentalism and the injustice of his critical work for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Peter's imitator, Matthew Bramble, made sweet mock of Hayley in a "New Probationary Ode." The Rev. Richard Polwhele smiled at him in *The Unsex'd Females* (1798). And Byron laughed at him in *English Bards*.

include the principal satirical estimates of the best known advocates of "sensibility" and to portray with some degree of clearness the typical judgments of verse-satire about Sensibility alone and Sensibility in alliance with revolutionary ideas. To the objection that the Bluestockings were not sentimental, the most convenient answer is that the satirists attacked them for being sentimental. Our interest is in satire's view of sentimentalism rather than in its view of any small group of writers.

The Bath-easton salon of Lady Miller, with its *bouts rimées* and its volumes of verses, was a thoroughly sentimental institution, charitable and quite moral. Instead of gambling or dancing all night, the nobility and gentry who were members of Mrs. Miller's coterie spent their evenings in making, reading, and discussing verses, abominably mechanical verses for the most part, with something of wit and more of refined sentiment.⁸² Of course the Bath-easton poetry was early derided by satirists. At first, when the poets' celebrity was still chiefly local, the attacks appeared only in the newspapers of Bath. It was against several such versified animadversions upon Lady Miller's circle that Christopher Anstey fought in his virulent verse-satire, *The Priest Dissected* (1774),⁸³ for the author of *The New Bath Guide* was the principal poet and the controversial champion of the group. His forceful but badly aimed sally, however, was quite insufficient to protect the coterie from further attacks. One moderately conspicuous piece of anti-Bath-easton mockery was *The Sentence of Momus on the Poetical Amusements at a Villa near Bath* (1775), to which an anonymous friend of Lady Miller replied with *Charity; or, Momus' Reward*

⁸² For further information concerning Lady Miller and her circle, see: *The Works of Christopher Anstey*, xlii, 227, etc.; Maier, *Christopher Anstey u. der "New Bath Guide"* (Munich, 1914); *Letters of Horace Walpole*, IX, 8-10, 134-135, X, 361; Tinker, C. B., *The Salon and English Letters* (New York, 1915), 117-122, etc.

⁸³ *The Priest Dissected; a Poem, addressed to the Rev. Mr. —, author of Regulus, Toby, Caesar, and other satirical pieces in the public papers.* (Bath, [1774].) William Mason in his *Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare* took occasion to ridicule this lampoon.

(Bath, 1775). Another light satire, *Bath. Its Amusements and Beauties*, involves this description of the versifying group:

But soft—behold new game appears in view—
 Observe that busy, fluttering, noisy crew!
 They're all Apollo's sons, from top to bottom—
 Tho' poor Apollo wonders where he got them!
 See how they hurry to that hallow'd shrine—
 That sacred seat of Sappho and the Nine!
 Bless us!—what toil, what cost has been bestow'd,
 To give that prospect—of the London road! . . .
 Within, a mystic vase with laurel crown'd—
 Hence, ye profane! 'tis consecrated ground!
 Here Sappho's hands the last sad rites dispense
 To mangl'd poetry, and murder'd sense;
 Here jests were heard 'at which e'en Juno smil'd,
 When crack'd by Jove magnificently mild,'
 Jests, so sublimely void of sense and thought,
 Poor simple mortals cannot find them out;
 Rhimes—like Scotch cousins—in such order plac'd
 The first scarce claims acquaintance with the last!⁸⁴

This is interesting, but by far the most important satire upon the Bath-easton coterie is Richard Tickell's *Wreath of Fashion* (1778).

Concerning this poem, Horace Walpole wrote a paragraph in a letter to William Mason on April 18, 1778.⁸⁵ It begins: "There is a pretty poem just published called *The Wreath of Fashion*: it is written by one Tickell, a son of Addison's friend." And after a sentence of biographical information and another of adverse criticism, it concludes: "*The Wreath* is a satire on sentimental poets, amongst whom, still more absurdly, he classes Charles Fox; but there is a great deal of wit *par cy par là*."

Though Tickell was a frequent sojourner at Bath and so of his own knowledge knew Lady Miller and her bards, he criticized them not for their own sake merely, but as typical of the contemporary taste for insufficiently motivated emotionality. In the prefatory advertisement, he remarks tolerantly upon

⁸⁴ *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit* (London, 1784), I, 94-95. The vase was an ancient one, supposedly once the property of Cicero, "having been dug up at his celebrated Tusculan Villa, near Rome"; see Anstey's *Works*, 227.

⁸⁵ *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Paget Toynbee, X, 222.

his "having lately studied with infinite attention, several fashionable productions in the *Sentimental stile*; in most of which, a misapplication, not a defect, of talents seems to have betrayed their Authors into some degree of false Taste."⁸⁶ He begins his poem by contrasting the spontaneity of good lyric poetry with the simpering affectation of the fashionable versifiers.

When first the Muse recorded Beauty's praise,
says he,

Sweet was the Poet's Song; undeck'd by art,
For love was Nature, and his theme the heart.⁸⁷

But he is of the opinion that the modern bard simply "sighs serenely for unfeeling praise." "This purer taste, this philosophic art," Tickell proceeds to analyze, showing that it falls far short of the excellence of classical simplicity. At one point he interrupts his survey to give an aspiring lyric poet ironical advice, telling him to strew his "temperate lays,"

With Moral raptures, and sententious praise,

and to choose as the object of his poetic devotion and the subject of his verses

No giddy Nymph, of youth and beauty vain,
But some fair Stoic, link'd in Hymen's chain . . .
Now, sick of vanity, with grandeur cloy'd,
She leans on Sentiment, to sooth the void;
Deep in Rousseau, her purer thoughts approve
The Metaphysics of Platonic Love.
Thine be the task, with quaint, fantastic phrase,
To variegate her unimpassion'd praise.
Poetic Compliments from Sonnets cull—
Harmonious quibbles, logically dull!⁸⁸

Tickell expresses a dislike for

Problems in verse, and sophistry in rhyme,⁸⁹

and a preference for natural poetry written in accordance with reasonable precepts. He grants that Cowley, Spenser, and

⁸⁶ *School for Satire*, 145.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

Petrarch distilled mimic sighs successfully into poetry, but he thinks the modish poet foolish to try to follow their example. In a speech attributed to Whitehead, the satirist ridicules several poets who in one way or another were associated with the Bath-easton verse-making, among them Jerningham, Luttrell, Carlisle, Garrick, and Anstey. The passage ends:

"Behold their nobler gift: be this preferr'd!"
He said; and proudly brandish'd the *Goat's beard*,
Then dropt it in the Vase: immers'd it falls
Mid Sonnets, Odes, Acrostics, Madrigals;
A motley heap of metaphoric sighs,
Laborious griefs, and studied extasies.⁹⁰

The sentimentalism which the Bath-easton coterie represented, it appears, was mildly criticized by satirists who saw its weakness and smiled.

A decade later a new group of sentimental poets suffered the jibes of satirists. Their sentimentality was only a little worse than that of the Bath-easton group, but the satirical criticism which they had to endure was considerably more violent than that of *The Wreath of Fashion*. An illustration is afforded by the case of Jerningham, who was mentioned by Tickell in his courteous satire and by William Gifford in *The Baviad*. Tickell wrote:

Ah me! if Poets *barter* for applause
How Jerningham will thrive on flimsy gauze!⁹¹

Gifford wrote:

See snivelling Jerningham at fifty weep
O'er love-lorn oxen and deserted sheep.⁹²

The difference in tone between the two couplets represents the difference between satire's attitude toward sentimentalism in 1770-1780, and satire's attitude toward sentimentalism, and revolutionary ideas which accompanied it, after 1790.

The transition from the sort of thing represented by Lady Miller's coterie at Bath-easton to that represented by the Della Crusicans was by way of the public prints. The sentimental

⁹⁰ *School for Satire*, 154.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁹² *Baviad*, 10. Cf. also *The Grove*, 56.

poets first wrote verses to be handed about among their special friends, but as their conceit grew they began to seek wider publicity through the columns of newspapers and magazines. Tickell describes their ambition as follows:

Others, resolv'd more ample fame to boast,
Plant their own laurels in the Morning Post;
Soft Evening dews refresh the tender green:
Pass but a month, it swells each Magazine;
'Till the luxuriant boughs so wildly shoot,
The Annual Register transplants the root.⁹³

The folly of amateur bards is similarly portrayed by George Crabbe in *The Newspaper* (1785). He shows how a lax apprentice becomes a rhymester by contributing verses for the Poets' Corners of newspapers and other periodicals:

A sudden couplet rushes on your mind;
Here you may nameless print your idle rhymes,
And read your first-born work a thousand times;
Th' infection spreads, your couplet grows apace,
Stanzas to Delia's dog or Celia's face:
You take a name; Philander's odes are seen,
Printed, and praised in every magazine:
Diarian sages greet their brother sage,
And your dark pages please th' enlighten'd age.—
Alas! what years you thus consume in vain,
Rul'd by this wretched bias of the brain.
Go! to your desks and counters all return;
Your sonnets scatter, your acrostics burn . . .
Of all the good that mortal men pursue,
The Muse has least to give, and gives to few.⁹⁴

The "Della Cruscans" were a group of poetasters of more literary experience than Crabbe's apprentice, but no more poetic inspiration. Their verses were published in various places, but principally in newspapers. The fact that the merits of their work are fairly estimated by their satirical critics makes a critical judgment on the part of the present writer superfluous. The remarkable thing about these makers of foolish rhymes is that they (or some of them) took themselves so seriously that they were taken seriously by no small part of the reading public.

⁹³ *School for Satire*, 156.

⁹⁴ *Works of Crabbe*, 48-49.

The leader of the group, Robert Merry, surnamed "Della Crusca" because he had been elected to membership in the Accademia della Crusca of Florence, seems to have been only half in earnest in writing the amorous nonsense which made up his contributions to *The Poetry of the World*.⁹⁵ And yet those verses found honest admirers. Even among the satirists, one, the author of *The Children of Apollo*, who considered Merry as a playwright as well as a poet, ventured to commend his sentimental rhymes:

As then your lays are to the soft inclin'd,
Oh! why attempt those of the comic kind?
As in the plaintive you're surpassing very,
Oh *Merry, Merry*, wherefore *art* thou Merry?⁹⁶

Della Cruscan sentimentalism was amusingly mocked in one of the "New Probationary Odes" which were collected by A. M'Donald ("Matthew Bramble") and published together in 1790. The typography of this good natured parody is, as the prefatory note explains, a part of the fun:

The candid reader will observe, that, according to the method adopted by this order of Poets, we have taken the liberty to print the passages of most *peculiar beauty* in a different type, that they may not be negligently overlooked.

The burlesque conceits display a rather happy wit. A pleasant passage runs:

What can escape thy rage, OH TIME?
THE ROSE, the garden's *princely prime*,
That round its sweets so freely throws,
And gives such transports to THE NOSE,

must die, for the Caterpillar kills it,

And fearless of THE MUSE'S SNUB,
Remorseless triumphs o'er the *martyr'd shrub*,⁹⁷

Thereafter, in a gush of sweet sentiment, the poet recommends Della Crusca for the post of Poet Laureat.

A somewhat similar arraignment of the Della Cruscan affectation was Southey's in *The Amatory Poems of Abel Shuffe-*

⁹⁵ A collection of Della Cruscan verse (London, 1788).

⁹⁶ *The Children of Apollo*, 27.

⁹⁷ *Works of A. M'Donald*, 80.

bottom, a series of eight parodies in the style of the poets of the *World*. A typical quatrain is:

Cease, ere my senses are to madness driven
 By the strong joy! Cease, Delia, lest my soul,
 Enrapt, already THINK ITSELF IN HEAVEN
 And burst the feeble Body's frail controul.⁹⁸

These minor pieces are not uninteresting, but the most important satirical criticism of the Della Cruscan was that of Gifford in *The Baviad* (1791)⁹⁹ and in *The Maeviad* (1795). The former poem, best known of all the satires of the time, is a free paraphrase of the first of Persius in three hundred and sixty-one heavily annotated lines. *The Maeviad*, fifty lines longer and even more thoroughly supplied with notes, in which the satirist quotes Della Cruscan poems by way of evidence in support of the strong assertions of his verses, is a loose imitation of Horace's tenth satire.¹⁰⁰ Their criticisms are in large measure affected by the satirist's ethical bias. Gifford was a classical believer in the doctrine that poetry has a double function, to please and to instruct. And he thought that instruction ought to be in the way of conventional morality. One main fault with the sentimental poetry was, in his opinion, that it had a certain free tendency away from the commonly accepted religious

⁹⁸ *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey* (London, 1866), 115.

⁹⁹ Date from Lowndes' *Bibliographers' Manual*.

¹⁰⁰ Though Gifford's satires were avowedly imitations of the ancients, the influence of his English predecessors was strong upon him. Even his titles, though they are derived from the names of dull poets of the age of Augustus, he may as well have taken from neo-classical as from ancient sources. In 1688 there appeared in London a pasquinade entitled: *To Poet Bavius; occasion'd by his Satyr he writ in his verses to the King, upon the Queens being delivered of a son*. Boileau mentions Bavius and Maevius; see *Boileau's Lutrin: a Mock-heroic Poem in six cantos*, tr. N. Rowe (London, 1708), 95. Bavius is referred to in the Third Book of *The Dunciad*, ll. 16, 38, and 315, and to him is devoted a long note of Scriblerus, with quotations from Vergil and John Dennis concerning him; see *The Dunciad Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus*. (London, 1729), 54. In 1730-1731, the *Grub-street Journal* was edited by two physicians under the names of Bavius and Maevius, "and which for some time enlivened the town with excellent design of ridiculing silly authors and stupid critics"; see *Curiosities of Literature* (New York, 1871), III, 257.

and ethical standards. Of "Perdita" Robinson, one of Merry's friends, he wrote,

See Robinson forget her state, and move
On crutches tow'rds the grave, to 'Light o' Love.'¹⁰¹

At another place he described indecently the "lascivious odes" of grandams.¹⁰² Most morally, he quoted with disgust a blasphemous passage from a poem which Merry addressed to Mrs. Robinson.¹⁰³

Nevertheless Gifford's satirical criticism was aesthetic as well as ethical. Upon this second line his two chief objects of attack were the unnatural, overdecorated diction and the unjustified emotionality of his enemies' "splay-foot madrigals." Thus he characterized the poetry of Della Crusca himself:

Abortive thoughts that right and wrong confound,
Truth sacrific'd to letters, sense to sound,
False glare, incongruous images, combine:
And noise, and nonsense, clatter through the line.¹⁰⁴

Later, in *The Maeviad*, he said the same thing in other words:

He taught us first the language to refine,
To crowd with beauties every sparkling line,
Old phrases with new meanings to dispense,
Amuse the fancy, and—confound the sense.¹⁰⁵

Especialy he deprecated the revival of old words, which he traced to its principal source, interest in the middle ages and particularly in English literature of the early Renaissance. He ascribed to the influence of this "Black Letter mania" the jargon of sentimental poetry,

This motley fustian, neither verse nor prose,
This old, new, language that defiles our page;
The refuse and the scum of every age.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ *Baviad*, 10. To this couplet Peter Pindar replied by remarks upon Gifford's hunched back.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 26-28.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

He lamented the good old days of classic simplicity, when everything was natural, even language:

Now all is changed! We fume and fret, poor elves;
 Less to display our subject, than ourselves;
 Whate'er we paint—a grot, a flow'r, a bird,
 Heavens! how we sweat, laboriously absurd!
 Words of gigantic bulk, and uncouth sound,
 In rattling triads the long sentence bound;
 While points with points, with periods periods jar,
 And the whole work seems one continued war!¹⁰⁷

This logomachy was bad enough; but in the Della Cruscan poetry there was even worse departure from the classic realms of Common Sense. More abhorrent to Gifford than meaningless rant was the mawkish, sentimental gush which he rebuked in such couplets as:

E'en Bertie burns of gods and chiefs to sing—
 Bertie who lately twitter'd to the string
 His namby-pamby madrigals of love,
 In the dark dingles of a glittering grove,
 Where airy lays, wove by the hand of morn,
 Were hung to dry upon a cobweb thorn!!!¹⁰⁸

Thus William Gifford in heavy heroic couplets and convincing notes condemned the sentimental nonsense which was then rife in the world of English letters. He wrote forcefully, if not with easy grace. Moreover, his attack seems to have had the practical effect of weakening the vogue for

Verse that like Maria's flows,
 No rubs to stagger, and no sense to pose;
 Which read, and read, you raise your eyes in doubt,
 And gravely wonder what it is about.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰⁸ *Baviad and Maeviad*, 30-31. Bertie Greathead wrote also a tragedy, *The Regent*, which Gifford demolished in five pages of *The Maeviad*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

Sentimentalism persisted, nevertheless, so that as late as 1801 a satirist could enumerate as follows the "myriad votaries of the lyric tribe":

Knights, sans-culottes, conveyancers, and Peers,
Merry's or Southey's album Sonnetteers,
Whose anapæstic anthologian verse
Rattles like lumber smuggled in a hearse.¹¹⁰

Indeed sentimentalism always persists. After Gifford's ruthless campaign, the Della Cruscans were effectively crushed. But sentimentalism in one of its more respectable phases was still in good repute. The Bluestockings were scarcely more important when they were patronized by Dr. Johnson than when Gifford wrote:

'Tis done. Her house the generous Piozzi lends,
And thither summons her blue-stocking friends;
The summons her blue-stocking friends obey,
Lur'd by the love of Poetry—and Tea.¹¹¹

The Bluestockings were practically never satirized as a group for defects of their literary theory or practice. So indistinct were they in the mind of Anthony Pasquin that, in his general fulmination against poor poetry he confused them with the Della Cruscans, conceiving, perhaps, that it would be all one a hundred years thence:

We have Greatheads, and Yearsleys, and Swards, and Mores,
Who rave with Cimmerian influence by scores;
A beotian husk, for such faculties fit,
Enfolds their ideas and cases their wit;
Who count their minc'd periods, as misers count pence,
And first think of harmony, then—think of sense;
Who have glean'd fertile *Byche* of all good he can yield,
As the poor of the hamlet strip Ceres' rich field;
Who coldly correct, have accomplish'd their ends,
By the dull visitation of classical friends;
Tho' no grain of rich ore gives true worth to the mine,
Tho' no feature of Genius illumines a line;
Who fine-draw the delicate theme from the head,

¹¹⁰ *Satirical Epistle to the Poet Laureate*, 37-38.

¹¹¹ *Baviad and Maeriad*, 17-18.

And toil at the texture, and rhyme themselves dead;
 But such phrase-haberdashers and epithet finders,
 Are not poets innate, but mere Poetry-grinders.¹¹²

But though the Bluestockings were not attacked collectively, several individuals were severely criticized by satirists.

Mrs. Montagu, perhaps the most distinguished woman among them, was thus characterized by her ungrateful protégé, James Woodhouse:

Then most alert seem'd one celebrious Dame,
 Vanessa was her neat, appropriate, Name;
 Which, with Scintilla—apt agnomen, join'd,
 Might mark her conduct, and depict her Mind—
 The one her pompous Spirit well displays,
 The other sparkling wit, and wish for praise,
 Supreme among the Fair, by common bruit,
 For love of Eulogy, and Pomp's pursuit.
 Esteem'd for taste, and products of her pen,
 With promptitude to mark ingenious Men,
 But brilliant writers met the most regards,
 And chief of them the chattering Race of Bards;
 For they could best bestow delightful dow'rs,
 By flatt'ring speech, or fam'd poetic pow'rs.
 Nor was her shining conduct clearly shown
 By courtly Bards' lov'd compliments alone;
 Rais'd high, in aftertimes, by various ranks,
 For queenly palace, and for curious pranks.¹¹³

He told how the guests at her dinners all praised their hostess, and he sketched many of her notable friends, among them Johnson, Hawkesworth, Shenstone, and Lyttleton [sic]. He described the stock of his bookstore in these illuminating lines:

Such Authors as the shelves, in front, might fill,
 Mid Walpole's well-rang'd troops on Strawberry-hill;
 Or mix among the heap'd chaotic crew,
 That fill'd the floors of Mrs. M----u!¹¹⁴

Three of the other blues frequently mentioned by satirists were: Miss Burney, Mrs. Piozzi (who indeed was a literary free lance allied as closely with the Della Crusicans as with the

¹¹² Pasquin, II, 250.

¹¹³ *Life and Poetical Works of James Woodhouse*, I, 67-68.

¹¹⁴ Woodhouse, II, 47.

Bluestockings), and Miss Hannah More. The satirical attacks upon Miss Burney were few and unimportant. The principal satire on Mrs. Piozzi concerned her qualifications for writing a biography of Samuel Johnson. But Miss More, partly because she was to a certain extent the controversial champion of the *Bas Bleu*,¹¹⁵ was the object of regular if somewhat rancorous criticism in verse-satire.

Satire's view of Fanny Burney is typically represented by passages from Pasquin's *Children of Thespis* and Matthew Bramble's *Odes to Actors*. Anthony Pasquin wrote:

For rancourous Authorlings sink to Reviewers,
As channels neglected become common sewers:
Hence Folly to high estimation is rais'd,
Hence Sternes were bespatter'd, and Burneys be-prais'd:
They lacerate Wit from their cowardly stations,
And grub for a weed, in—a bed of carnations.¹¹⁶

In a note ~~he~~ identified Miss Burney as "an attendant on the Queen, who has been highly lauded for writing silly novels, the subjects and characters of which are totally irreconcilable to nature on her principles." Bramble, for his part, discussing the fact that readers have affirmed that "Matthew Bramble" is a pen name of Hannah More, "Apollo's scrubbing housemaid," or of Miss Seward, declares:

As lief I'd have them call me Mrs. Smith,
Miss Burney, Marg'ret Nicholson, John Frith,
Or any other Genius they can name.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Her laudatory poem called *The Bas Bleu: or, Conversation* is one of the major sources of information concerning the blues, Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Boscawen, and their friends Walpole, Burke, and Pepys as they came together in the Bluestocking assemblies. Cf. also Letter X, "A Conversation," of Samuel Hoole's *Modern Manners; or, The Country Cousins* . . . (London, 1782). Some of Miss More's less known poems contain along with a very little of sarcasm much interesting if somewhat indiscriminate praise for contemporary authors. In *Sensibility: An Epistle to the Honourable Mrs. Boscawen*, for instance, she finds room for laudatory lines upon Lyttelton, Young, Mason, the Wartons, Walpole, Beattie, Bealby Porteus, Bishop of London, Johnson, Miss Carter, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Walsingham, Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Barbauld, Mackenzie the "man of feeling," Bishop Lowth, and David Garrick.

¹¹⁶ Pasquin, II, 23.

¹¹⁷ *Works of A. M'Donald*, 44.

Of Mrs. Piozzi, the most famous satire is Peter Pindar's *Bozzy and Piozzi*. Peter, however, was interested rather in ridiculing the triviality of the anecdotes which she recorded about Dr. Johnson than in deriding the sentimentality which led her to ally herself with the Della Cruscans. In his "town eclogue," he sets her to competing in alternate anecdotes with her rival biographer, James Boswell. For the material of his witty verses, Peter turned to Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, and he was sufficiently systematic in his researches to be able to give, in foot notes, definite references to the pages from which he borrowed. One of Madam Piozzi's stories is as follows:

For me, in Latin Doctor Johnson wrote
Two lines upon Sir Joseph Banks's Goat;
A goat that round the World so curious went;
A goat that now eats grass that grows in Kent.¹¹⁸

Miss Hannah More was Peter Pindar's favorite enemy; apparently he would rather mock at her literary pretensions than at the idiosyncracies of George the Third. Other satirists might praise her, as indeed some of them did. Mathias, who had a weakness for moral sentimentalism, declared in *The Pursuits of Literature* and *The Shade of Alexander Pope* his admiration for such authoresses as Hannah More, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, and even Mrs. Radcliffe. His imitator, the Rev. Mr. Polwhele, expressed a similar liking in his satire, *The Unsex'd Females*. In fact his poem is, as one might not expect from its title, in large part an appreciative survey of the literary achievement of the principal contemporary woman writers, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Miss Seward, Mrs. Radcliffe, and Miss Hannah More.¹¹⁹ Such praises no doubt contributed to the popularity of these sensible authoresses. But Peter Pindar was not to be deceived and not to be denied. He saw Hannah More and Bluestockings in general, as sentimentalists, and vulgarly wrote them down so.

¹¹⁸ *Works of Peter Pindar*, I, 370.

¹¹⁹ *Unsex'd Females*, 17, 32-36.

Of course Peter is not alone in his mockery of Hannah More. In the *Probationary Odes*, for instance, one of the prefatory "recommendatory testimonies," probably the work of Richard Tickell, is an amusing burlesque of her sentimental prose style; it is, in pretence, her epistolary account of an interview between Sir Joseph Mawbey and "Lactilla," the poetizing milk-woman of Bristol.¹²⁰ Peter's criticism, however, is most extensive and most thorough. For twenty years and more, he directed occasional shafts at the Bluestockings. In his earliest successful satire, *An Epistle to the Reviewers* (1778), he remarked;

'Tis merit only can command their praise;
Witness the volumes of Miss Hannah More:

The Search for Happiness, that beauteous Song
Which all of us would give our ears to own;
The Captive, *Percy*, that, like mustard strong,
Make our eyes weep, and understandings groan.

Hail, Bristol town! Boeotia now no more;
Since Garrick's Sappho sings, though rather slowly:
All hail Miss Hannah! worth at least a score,
Ay, twenty score, of Chatterton and Rowley.¹²¹

Here Peter was acidulously sarcastic concerning the affectation of the finer feelings, a phase of unclassical emotionalism with which he was entirely out of sympathy. Yet here he was not utterly discourteous and indecent, as in some of his later satires, and only a little less moderate in tone than the gentler satirists of the decade, Goldsmith and Tickell. Seven years later, in *The Lousiad* (1785), he mentioned along with Cumberland's plays, Miss Burney's novels, and Miss Seward's poems, the

"Sacred Dramas of Miss Hannah More,
Where all the Nine with little Moses snore."¹²²

Now that is by no means a complimentary couplet; on the other hand, it is certainly not insulting. In *Nil Admirari* and *Expos-*

¹²⁰ *Rolliad*, 265-266. "Lactilla" was the author of *Poems on Several Occasions by Anne Yearsley, a milkwoman of Bristol*, from which (3rd edition, London, 1785, p. 66), I take these specimen lines:

"I dearly love to hear the ceaseless sound,
When Noise and Nonsense are completely mix'd."

¹²¹ Peter Pindar, I, 7.

¹²² Peter Pindar, I, 195.

tulation (1799), however, Peter attacked the Bluestockings with mocking vituperation and pitiless irony. The following is a representative passage from *Expostulation*:

Yet let me say, be done fair Justice too.—
Some damn in toto my poor thoughts and style;
 The toothless gums of half the grave *Bas-bleu*
 Watering, and wondering how the World can smile.

Urganda, with more *beard* than female grace
 (If old Urganda has not learnt to *shave*),
 Makes, at my name, most horrible grimace;
 Screaming, 'I'd buy a *rope* to hang the knave.

My dearest, sweetest *panegyrist*, More,
 Pray, pray oblige me with your flippant pen:
 Lord! you have *so much* wit; yes, such a store!
 Pray, Hannah, *cut* us *up* this worst of men.

Oh, cut the fellow into mince-meat, pray!
 Whene'er I hear his name, I'm in a *stew*:
 He's worse than Johnson, ten times, let me say,
 Who gave himself such airs on the *Bas-Bleu*.¹²³

The other poem, *Nil Admirari*, was addressed to the Bishop of London, because Bishop Porteus had made "an hyperbolic eulogy on Miss Hannah More . . . in his late charge to the clergy." It is rather more coolly critical than *Expostulation*, and involves some cleverness of phrasing. A typical passage follows:

With sighs I tell thee of Miss Hannah More,
 A mighty genius in thy Charge display'd;
 Know, I have search'd the Damsel o'er and o'er,
 And only find Miss Hannah a good maid.

Oft by my touchstone have I tried the Lass,
 And see no shining mark of Gold appear;
 No, nor one beam of silver:—some small *brass*,
 And *lead* and glittering *mundic*, in thine ear.

A sorry Critic, thou in Prose and Metre,
 Or thou hadst judged her power a scanty Rill,
 Which, if thou wilt believe the word of Peter,
 Crawls at the bottom of th' Aonian hill.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 282.

Twice can't I read her labours, for my blood;
 So *simply* mawkish, so *sublimely* sad:
 I own Miss Hannah's Life is *very good*;
 But then, her Verse and Prose are *very bad*.

No Muse e'er touch'd Miss Hannah's lips with fire;
 No fountain hers of bright imagination:
 So little doth a *genuine* Muse inspire,
 That Genius will not own her a *relation*.¹²⁴

Thus pitilessly was Miss Hannah More satirized for her sentimentalism. But she had as little sympathy for other people's sentimentality as Peter Pindar had for hers. She appealed from the false to what seemed to her the true emotionalism in these words addressed to Sensibility:

She does not feel thy pow'r who boasts thy flame,
 And rounds her every period with thy name; . . .
 Who thinks *feign'd* sorrows all her tears deserve,
 And weeps o'er WERTER while her children starve.¹²⁵

V

From the evidence of the preceding pages it appears that sentimentalism, unlike romanticism in such characteristic aspects as contempt for the authority of neo-classical rules, and revival of interest in medieval literature and life, was the object of a large amount of critical comment in English verse-satire of the reign of George the Third. Concerning sentimentalism in the drama, the criticism of *The Theatres* (1772) and of Goldsmith's *Retaliation* (1773) was kindly mockery, that of Anthony Pasquin in *The Children of Thespis* (1786-1788) was vulgarly vigorous condemnation, and that of the poets of the *Anti-Jacobin* in *The Rovers* (1798) was intensely bitter irony. The plays criticized in the eighth and ninth decades of the century were conventionally moral domestic productions; those in the last decade were highly unconventional borrowings from foreign authors. In satirical comment upon sentimental lyric poetry there was a similar progression; the Bath-easton coterie were genially and gently derided by Tickell in *The Wreath of Fashion* (1778), but the Della Cruscanes were heartily damned by Gif-

¹²⁴ Peter Pindar, IV, 261.

¹²⁵ *Poems by Hannah More* (London, 1816), 180.

ford in *The Baviad* (1791) and *The Maeviad* (1795). The general ideal of Sensibility, as it was represented by the various activities of the Bluestockings, was early noticed by satirists, but it was not harshly criticized till the closing years of the century. Peter Pindar's criticisms illustrate the change of attitude; in 1778 he attacked Hannah More with pleasant irony; in 1799 he attacked her and all Bluestockings with virulent abuse but still with something of definitely critical point of view.

In the drama and in lyric poetry, then, the refinements of Sensibility were but moderately rebuked by satirists in the days of the American Revolution. During the following decade, the attitude of satire toward sentimentalism underwent a decided change. And the dawn of the French Revolution found English satirists violent in their hostility to the affected fine feelings at which, a few years earlier, they had been tolerantly amused. One reason for this change of tone is as much political and moral as literary. In a time of revolutionary notions in politics and religion as in letters, it was natural for satire to rally to the side of the established institutions and conventions. Many satirists evidently looked upon their rebuke of revolutionary ideas in literature as merely incidental to their rebuke of revolutionary ideas of any and every kind. The few writers of verse-satire who favored any phase of sentimentalism with any degree of consistency (Mathias or Polwhele, for example, in his praise of certain Bluestockings) were pleased by sentimentality only when it was most orthodox and conventional. This explanation of a part, certainly not all, of satire's hostility to sentimentalism, is supported by the view of Sensibility presented by Canning in the masterpiece of the *Anti-Jacobins*, *New Morality*:

Next comes a gentler Virtue.—Ah! beware
Lest the harsh verse her shrinking softness scare.
Visit her not too roughly;—the warm sigh
Breathes on her lips;—the tear-drop gems her eye.
Sweet SENSIBILITY, who dwells enshrined
In the fine foldings of the feeling mind;
With delicate *Mimosa's* sense endued,
Who shrinks instinctive from a hand too rude;
Or like the *Anagallis*, prescient flower,
Shuts her soft petals at the approaching shower.

Sweet child of sickly FANCY!—her of yore
 From her loved *France* ROUSSEAU to exile bore;
 And, while 'midst lakes and mountains wild he ran,
 Full of himself, and shunn'd the haunts of man,
 Taught her o'er each lone vale and Alpine steep
 To lisp the story of his wrongs, and weep;
 Taught her to cherish still in either eye,
 Of tender tears a plentiful supply,
 And pour them in the brooks that babbled by;
 Taught by nice scale to mete her feelings strong,
 False by degrees and exquisitely wrong;
 For the crush'd beetle, *first*,—the widow'd dove,
 And all the warbled sorrows of the grove;
Next for poor suff'ring *Guill*; and *last* of all,
 For parents, friends, a king and country's fall.¹²⁶

On the whole, English verse-satire demonstrated in the considerable body of critical estimate represented by the passages which have been quoted in the preceding pages an attitude of consistent condemnation for sentimentalism. Although some satirists, like many a reviewer, allowed religious and political considerations to warp their critical judgements, most were thoroughly logical in their regular conservatism. They rebuked alike affected contempt for conventional morality and affected sermonizing.

ROBERT C. WHITFORD.

University of Illinois.

¹²⁶ *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 275. For its advocates, Sensibility had a quite different significance. Miss More apostrophizes that quality of refined taste thus in her *Poems* (p. 186):

“O Sensibility! . . .

This is th' ethereal flame which lights and warms,
 In song enchants us, and in action charms.

'Tis this that makes the pensive strains of *Gray*
 Win to the open heart their easy way.”

BEOWULF NOTES

I

Site nū tō symle ond on sǣl meoto,
sige-hrēð secgum, swā þīn sefa hwette (489f.)

Of recent editors, Chambers prints *onsǣl*, in spite of the metrical difficulty^{1a} and difficulties of interpretation; Sedgefield resorts to radical emendations; Schücking prints

ond on sǣl weota
sige-hrēð secgum,

and translates (see glossary): "Bei günstiger gelegenheit (wenn die gelegenheit kommt), bestimme (verschaffe) siegruhm den leuten"; and Holthausen in his third and fourth editions prints

ond on sǣl meota
sigehrēð secgum,

and translates *sǣl* (see glossary to third edition) by "günstige gelegenheit, passende zeit"; in his second edition, however, Holthausen printed Klæber's emendation:

ond on sǣl meota
sigehrēð secga,

but with a difference of interpretation, for the glossary to Holthausen's second edition renders *sǣl* in line 489 by "günstige gelegenheit, passende zeit," whereas Klæber's rendering of the passage is: "Sit now down to the feast and joyfully think of victory as your heart may prompt you."^{1b} Of the readings

^{1a} The metrical difficulty involved in this reading is that it gives us an imperative alliterating in a second half-line containing a noun. In the 40 half-lines of *Beowulf* which are cited by Professor Bright (*Modern Language Notes*, XXXI, 218f.) as containing imperative forms bearing a metrical stress, there is none in which an imperative alliterates and a noun in the same half-line does not alliterate. Either the imperative and the noun both alliterate, or the noun alliterates and the imperative does not.

^{1b} JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, VI, 193.

given above, that of Holthausen's third and fourth editions is closest to the reading of the MS and at least as satisfactory in sense as any of the readings that depart farther from the MS. I believe, however, that a somewhat better interpretation of the transmitted text can be got by adopting the suggestion made years ago by Körner,² who cited as parallels to *on sǣl meoto*:

hicgeaþ on ellen (*Finnsburg* 12)

and

hycgan on ellen (*Exodus* 218).

To these we may add:

ic on ðē geare hycge (*Psalms* XC, 2),

Gōd ys on dryhten georne tō þenceanne (*Psalms* CXVII, 8),

wāt ic gearewe

þæt hēo on unriht ealle þōhtan (*Psalms* CXVIII, 118),

and

on lagu þence (*Gebete* IV, 97).³

Adopting Körner's interpretation of 489b and punctuating the passage as it is printed at the beginning of this note, we may translate it as follows: "Sit now at the feast and think of good fortune" (or "prosperity"), "victory-renown to men."⁴ No change of the MS reading is necessary, for if we retain the genitive plurals *yldo* in 70 (as Wülcker, Holder 1895, 1899, Wyatt, Trautmann, Holthausen 2, 3, 4, Schücking, Sedgfield, and Chambers do) and *mēdo* in 1178 (as Holthausen 2, 3, 4 and

² *Englische Studien*, II, 250 f.

³ Wülcker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, II, 222. All of the Old English poetical texts except *Beowulf* that are referred to or quoted in these notes are cited according to Wülcker's edition, but with the addition of marks of quantity. Prose texts are quoted as they are printed in the edition referred to.

⁴ Körner takes *sige-hrēð* as an appositive of *sǣl*, but his interpretation of the passage as a whole is not satisfactory, partly because of the difficulty he felt in dealing with *secgum* and partly because he took *swā* as meaning "so" rather than "as." After considering some other interpretations and rejecting them, he translates as follows: "doch nun lasse dich nieder zum schmause, und sei nur auf heiterkeit bedacht, auf den ruhm, der dir nebst deinen mannen aus diesem siege erwachsen wird, hierzu treibt dich wol auch dein inneres an oder, den conjunctiv in seiner ursprünglichen optativen bedeutung genommen, hierzu (nicht zum trübsinn) möge dich (auch) der trieb deines eigenen innern drängen" (p. 251). For the construction of *secgum* compare 936, 996, 1676.

Chambers do) we may also retain *meoto* in 489 as a scribal variation, not necessarily a slip of the pen, from the normal form in *-a*.⁵

II

ac hē lust wigeð (599b)

Recent editors have abandoned Kemble's emendation on *lust* and interpret *lust wigeð* as "lässt sich wol sein" (Trautmann), "fühlt sich wohl" (Schücking), "feels joy" (Sedgfield), "trägt lust, lässt sich wohl sein" (Holthausen 3), "feels pleasure" (Chambers).⁶ This interpretation is supported by numerous passages in which *wegan* is used with objects like *sorg*, *mod-cearu*, etc., in the sense of "feel, experience." But the verb is also used with other more or less abstract objects in the sense of "have, possess." We may cite, for example,

Sume him þæs hādes hlīsan willað
wegan on wordum & þā weorc ne dōð (*Guthlac* 31 f.);

tīr unbræcne
wēgan on gewitte wuldres þegnas (*Fates of the Apostles* 86 f.);

Mōd þrȳðe [ne] wæg,
fremu folces cwēn, firen ondrysne. (*Beowulf* 1931 f.);

Fela bið on foldan forðgesȳnra
geongra geofona, þā þā gæstberend
wegað on gewitte (*Der Menschen Gaben* 1 ff.).

Moreover, *lust* means not only "pleasure" and "desire" but also "object of one's desire," as in:

nænne mon ne lyst þæs þinges þe hine lyst ne þæs þe he deð, ac þæs þe he mid ðæm earnað; forðæmðe he wenð, gif he þonne lust begite & þæt þurhtio þæt he þonne getiohad hæfð, þæt he þonne hæbbe fulle gesælða,⁷

⁵ *mēdo* was cited in this connection by Körner.

⁶ The recent currency of this interpretation is due to Trautmann's note in *Bonner Beiträge*, II, 158, but the glossary to Grein's edition (1867) gives as the meaning of *lust wigeð* "trägt, hat lust, freude."

⁷ *King Alfred's Boethius*, ed. Sedgfield, 88, 15 ff. (I expand the contraction for *þæt* and disregard the editor's italics and brackets). This is a free translation of "Cuius uero causa quid expetitur, id maxime uidetur optari" (*Boetii Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque*, ed. Peiper, III, Prose X, p. 76).

and in *lust heara brohte him*, translating *desiderium eorum obtulit eis*.⁸ In view of the passages I have cited I would suggest that the meaning of *lust wigeð* in *Beowulf* 599 is "has (the object of) his desire, has his own way" rather than "feels pleasure." Both interpretations seem possible, but the former is more in accord with the context than the latter, for in 590-601a *Beowulf* is taunting Unferth with the helplessness of the Danes against the ravages of Grendel and with Grendel's knowledge of their helplessness.

III

þæt hē ne mehte on þām meðel-stede
wīg Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,
nē þā wēa-lāfe wīge forþringan,
þeodnes ðegne (1082ff.)

The accepted interpretation of *forþringan* in 1084 is "rescue," "defend," "entreissen," and the like. In the other places in which the word is known to occur it has quite a different meaning. In the Old English version of the Benedictine Rule the words "et in omnibus omnino locis etas non discernatur in ordine nec preiudicet" are translated by "on nanum stowum ne sy endebyrdnes be nanre ylde gefadod, ne seo ylde þa geogoðe ne forþringe."⁹ In this passage *forþringe* has some such meaning as "keep down" or "crowd out." The word also occurs in the *Ormulum*:

& himm þatt i cwartrerne liþ
Forrbundenn & forþrungenn,
Himm birrþ þe fillstnenn wiþþ þin fe
To lesenn himm off bandess¹⁰

In this passage *forþrungenn* has some such meaning as "oppressed." Interpreting the *Beowulf* passage in the light

⁸ *Vespasian Psalter*, 77:29 (Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 297).

⁹ Schröer, *Die angelsächsische Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel*, 115, 5 ff. I have quoted the Latin text from Schröer, *Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti*, 128, 3 ff. This example of *forþringan* is cited by Toller in his *Supplement to the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. He makes no reference, however, to the *Beowulf* passage. The example of the word that occurs in the Winteney version (23, 25) is a scribal error for *forþbringan*, as comparison with the version of the other MSS. shows.

¹⁰ *Ormulum*, ed. Holt, ll. 6168 ff. This is cited in Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

of the passages just quoted, I would suggest for *forbringan* some such meaning as "put down," and would translate the passage as follows: "so that he could not at all fight against Hengest on that battle-field, nor put down by battle that woe-remnant, "[i. e. Hengest's men]" [could not fight against] the chieftain's thane." For the intrusion of 1084 between 1083 and *þegne* in 1085 there are parallels in

ac ymb āne niht eft gefremede
morð-beala māre ond nō mearn fore,
fāhðe ond fyrene (135 ff.),

Ic þē þā fāhðe fēo lēanige,
eald-gestrēonum, swā ic ær dyde,
wundini golde (1380 ff.),

and

þæt wē him ðā gūð-getāwa gyldan woldon,
gif him þyslicu þearf gelumpe,
helmas ond heard sword (2636 ff.).

IV

sē for andrysum ealle beweotede
þegnes þearfe (1796f.)

According to the accepted interpretation, *andrysum* is the dative plural of a word meaning "etiquette," "courtesy," "attention due," "schicklichkeit," and the like, which is related to *gerisan* "befit," *gerisne* "fitting," etc. The possibility of the existence of this word cannot be denied, but the only evidence of its existence is *Beowulf* 1796.¹¹ On the other hand, *andrysnu* meaning "fear" is also used in the sense of "reverence," as in "Hie þa hæfdan miccle lufan & geleafan to þære circean, ond eac healico ondrysnu þa leode."¹² This sense of the word is also supported by passages in which the adjective *an-*

¹¹ Grein's *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter* (ed. Köhler) gives under *and-rysnu* "debita observantia" *Beowulf* 1796 and *Psalm* CXXII, 2:

þonne esne bið, þonne ondrysum
his hlāforde hēreð & cwēmeð.

The latter passage, however, furnishes no support for the meaning "debita observantia," for "with reverence, reverently" fits equally well.

¹² *Blickling Homilies*, 205, 7 ff., with change of punctuation adopted by Bosworth and Toller.

drysne is used in the sense of "worthy of reverence or respect," for example:

him wæs frēan engla
word ondrysne & his waldend lēof (*Genesis* 2860 f.);

Wæs he for his árfæstum dædum eallum his geferum leof & weorð & ondrysne (*Blickling Homilies*, 213, 11 f.);

Tu þing mæg se weorðscipe & se anwald gedon, gif he becymð to þæm dysgan; he mæg hine gedon weorðne & andrysne oðrum dysegum. Ac þonecan þe he ðone anwald forlæt, oððe se anweald hine, þonne ne bið he nauðer þam dysegan ne weorð ne andrysne.¹³

Now "reverence" fits the *Beowulf* passage at least as well as "etiquette." In the light of the evidence we have, therefore, it would seem best to give up the accepted interpretation of *for andrysnun* and return to that of Thorpe, who translates it "from reverence."¹⁴

V

[mæru] gemēting, monegum fira (200)

Instead of *mære*, which was introduced into the text by Grien in 1867, was adopted by Heyne in his second edition (1868), and has appeared in all subsequent editions that I have seen except Arnold's (1876),¹⁵ we should read *mæru*. The form of Grein's emendation was in accordance with the grammatical information of the time; even his *Kurzgefasste angelsächsische Grammatik*, published in 1880 after his death, says in regard to the *j*-stem adjectives: "Wo . . . der wurzelvocal keinen umlaut zulässt, unterscheidet sich die declination dieser adjectiva von der gewöhnlichen adjectivdeclination eben nur durch das *e* in den flexionslosen formen, d.h. im nom. sg. m. f. n. und im acc. sg. n."¹⁶

¹³ *Boethius*, ed. Sedgefield, 61, 2 ff. (editor's italics and brackets disregarded, and abbreviations for *þonne* and *þam* expanded).

¹⁴ This is also the translation given by Bosworth and Toller.

¹⁵ Namely, Ettmüller 1875, Heyne 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; Wülcker in *Bibliothek*; Harrison; Harrison and Sharp; Holder 1895, 1899; Wyatt 1, 2; Trautmann; Holthausen 1, 2, 3, 4; Sedgefield 1, 2; Pierquin; Chambers. Arnold reads [*uncer*].

¹⁶ P. 82.

VI

lȳtle hwīle

bon-gār būgeð (2030f.)

An exact parallel to *lȳtle hwīle* in the sense it must have in this passage—"only a little while"—is *lȳtel fæc* in 2240, already cited by Klaeber in connection with this passage.¹⁷ Another exact parallel is: "He onginð deoflice to wedanne dæges and nihtes, swa swa se deð, þe wāt, þæt he mot lȳtle hwīle rixjan."¹⁸

VII

onmunde ūsic mārða (2640a)

The accepted interpretation of *onmunan* in 2640a is "re-mind," "exhort," "(er)mahnen¹⁹, and the like; the translation of the half-line given in Bosworth and Toller's *Dictionary*, however, is "thought us fit for great deeds." That the latter interpretation is the correct one is shown beyond question by the other examples given there of the use of *onmunan*, such as:

Ælc ðara ðe sie under [ðæm] gioker hlafordscipes, he sceal his hlaford æghwylcre are & weorðscipes wierðne onmunan (*Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, 201, 22 f.).

þæt hīe god wolde
onmunan swā mycles ofer men ealle (*Andreas* 894 f.).

In his note on *Andreas* 895 Krapp quotes Beowulf 2640a and adds: "*onmunan*, 'to regard as worthy,' with accusative of person and genitive of thing. Cf. Shipley, p. 53." Shipley's translation of the half-line is similar to that of Bosworth and Toller.²⁰

¹⁷ *Englische Studien*, XLIV, 125.

¹⁸ Wulfstan, *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, ed. Napier, 199, 23 ff.

¹⁹ This interpretation is found in Heyne 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; Harrison and Sharp; Holder 1895, 1899; Wyatt 1, 2; Trautmann; Holthausen 1, 2, 3; Sedgefield 1, 2, Pierquin, Chambers.

²⁰ Köhler's new edition of Grein's *Sprachschatz* gives for *onmunan* in *Beowulf* 2640 "sich zu einem einer sache versehen? . . . (oder gedachte uns gelegenheit zu ruhmestaten zu geben?" Grein's edition of *Beowulf* (1867) gave "einen womit bedenken, einem etwas zudenken (ihm gelegenheit dazu geben?)."

VIII

syððan hīe gefricgeað frēan ūserne
 ealdor-lēasne, þone ðe ær gehēold
 wið hettendum hord ond rīce
 æfter hælēða hryre; hwate[s] Scildingas
 folc-rēd fremede oððe furður gēn
 eorl-scipe efnde (3002ff.)

Klaeber, after a thoro canvass of the various interpretations of line 3005, concludes: "Obviously, there is no getting around the fact that neither *Scyldingas* 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*?"²¹ Klaeber's emendation, tho spoken of with approval by Chambers, has not been adopted in any edition of *Beowulf*. I would suggest, as an alternative that demands only a very slight alteration of the transmitted text, the reading *hwates Scildingas*, and, punctuating the text as it is printed above, would translate: "he accomplished the relief of the brave Scilding [i. e. Hrothgar]" and still went on doing brave deeds."²² So interpreted lines 3005b, 3006a are structurally analagous to:

nō hē him þā sæcce ondrēd,
 nē him þæs wyrmes wīg for wiht dyde,
 eafod ond ellen, forðon hē ær fela,
 nearo nēðende, niða gedigde,
 hilde-hlemma, syððan hē Hrōðgāres,
 sigor-ēadig secg, sele fālsode,
 ond æt gūðe forgrāp Grendeles mægum
 lāðan cynnes (2347 ff.)

and

Nolde ic sword beran,
 wāpen tō wyrme, gif ic wiste hū
 wið ðām āglæcean elles meahte
 gylpe wiðgrīpan, swā ic gið wið Grendle dyde (2518 ff.),

²¹ JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, VIII, 259.

²² Toller's *Supplement* cites as other examples of *furðor gēn* in this sense *Juliana* 317 and *Phoenix* 236. The genitive singular in *as* occurs in *Beowulf* 63, 2453, and 2921.

that is, they constitute another of the backward allusions by means of which the poet ties together Beowulf's adventure against Grendel and his adventure against the dragon. For *ræd* used with a personal genitive in the sense of "benefit, advantage, help" we may compare:

noldan drēogan leng
heora selfra ræd, ac hīe of siblufan
godes āhwurfon (*Genesis* 23 ff.),²³

þēah þe ic scyppendum,
wuldorcyninge wāccor hýrde,
ricum dryhtne, þonne mīn ræd wære (*Gebete* IV, 15 ff.),

Nis þæt þonne nænig man þæt þurfe þone deopan grund þæs hatan leges & þæs heardan leges gesecean, buton þa þe heora sylfra ræd on ofergeotolnesse Godes beboda forlætað (*Blickling Homilies* 103, 14 ff.).

The use of the dative construction (except with *tō ræde*) is much less common; I know of only one example:

þæt is hēalīc ræd
monna gehwylcum (*Christ* 430 f.).²⁴

IX

næs hē gold-hwæte, gearwor hæfde
Āgendes ēst ær gescēawod (3074 f.)

This passage seems fairly entitled to the term *locus desperatus* which Bugge applied to it, for Trautmann, Holthausen, 1, 2, 4, Schücking, and Sedgfield all emend the text, each in his latest edition adopting a different emendation, and Chambers, who keeps the MS reading, acknowledges that neither Bugge's nor Cosijn's rendering of it gives very good sense. I wish to suggest consideration of the following interpretation of the MS reading: "He [Beowulf] was not gold-greedy, he had rather regarded

²³ Cf. *Genesis* 1936 f.:

drugon heora selfra
ēcne unræd.

²⁴ If we wish to emend on the basis of the dative construction we may read *hwate Scyldinge* instead of *hwates Scyldingas*.

the grace of the Lord.”²⁵ As examples of the use of (*ge*)*scēawian* in the sense of “regard, pay respect to, give heed to” I would call attention to the following:

Gif hwa sie abisegod mid hwelcum scyldum, ge ðonne ðe gæsðlice sindon gelærað ða sulcan mid monnðwærnesse gæste; gesceawiað eow selfe, ðylæs eow becume costung (*Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, 159, 9 ff.; cf. Gal. 6:1: si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos, qui spirituales estis, hujusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis: considerans te ipsum, ne et tu tenteris);

In bibodum ðinum mec ic beom bigongen & sceawiu wegias ðine (*Vespasian Psalter* 118:15, ed. Sweet in *Oldest English Texts*, p. 360, glossing: In mandatis tuis me exercebo et considerabo vias tuas);

On bebodum þinum me ic beom begongyn & ic gesceawige wegias þine (*Cambridge Psalter*, 118:15, ed. Wildhagen, glossing: In mandatis tuis me exercebor; et considerabo vias tuas);

brego engla beseah
on Ábeles gield ēagum sinum,
cyning eallwihta, Caines ne wolde
tiber scēawian (*Genesis* 976 ff.).²⁶

Min saul mycclaþ Drihten & min gast wynsumað on God minum Hælende; forðon he sceawode þa eaþmodnesse his þeowene (*Blickling Homilies*, 7, 2 ff. cf. Luke 1:48: quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae);

Quia respexit: forþon þu nu sceawa þines mæg(d)enes eaþmodnesse (*Blickling Homilies*, 159, 3 f.);

Be ðam cwæð se witega, “Se healica Drihten sceawað þa eadmodan, and þa modigan feorran oncnæwð.” (Aelfric, *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 128, 27 f.; cf. Ps. 137:6: Quoniam excelsus Dominus et humilia respicit, et alta a longe cognoscit);

²⁵ It is just possible that the passage may mean: “He was not gold-greedy, he had rather *sought* the grace of the Lord,” for *Genesis* 2593 furnishes some support for taking *scēawian* in the sense of “seek”:

ac him Loth gewāt
of byrig gangan & his bearn somed
wælstōwe fyrr wic scēawian,
oð þæt hie be hliðe hēare dūne
eorðscraef fundon.

It seems more likely, however, that in this passage *scēawian* means “provide” or “appoint.” For passages establishing these meanings see Bosworth and Toller, s.v. Pierquin keeps the MS. reading and translates: “Car il (Beowulf), n’avait pas été avide de l’ or, *mais* n’avait cherché dès l’abord, et constamment, qu’ à glorifier le Seigneur.” He does not discuss the passage.

²⁶ Cf. Gen. 4:4, 5: Et respexit Dominus ad Abel, et ad munera ejus. Ad Cain vero, et ad munera illius non respexit.

Sceáva þis folc (Exod. 33:13, ed. Grein, translating: respice populum gentem tuum hanc).

As parallels to *gold-hwæte* we may compare the following passages in which an adverb or case-form used adverbially appears where we might expect an adjective:

cwæð, þæt him wære weorce on mōde,
sorga sārōst, þæt his suhtriga
þēownȳd þolode (*Genesis* 2028 ff.);

þæt mē ys þus torne on mōde,
hāte on hreðre minum (*Judith* 93 f.);

wel is þām þe mōtun
on þā grimman tid gode lician (*Christ* 1080 f.);

Swā þām bið grorne on þām grimman dæge
dōmes þæs miclan (*Christ* 1205 f.);

wel bið þām þe mōt
æfter dēað-dæge Drihten sēcean (*Beowulf* 186 f.).

X

ēode eahta sum under inwit-hrōf;
hilde-rinc sum on handa bær
æled-lēoman, sē ðe on orde gēong (3123 ff.)

Sievers' emendation,²⁷ *hilderinca*, with omission of the stop at the end of 3123, tho accepted by Holder, Trautmann, Holt-hausen 1, 2, 3, 4, Schücking, 9, 10, Sedgfeld, and Chambers, is an unwarranted departure from the MS.²⁸ Sievers says: "*hilde-rinc sum on handa bær* ist gegen den sprachgebrauch; denn attributives *sum* steht vor seinem substantivum, nicht dahinter." In addition to the example cited by Cosijn²⁹ in his defence of the MS reading:

þær bið egsa sum
ældum geȳwed (*Riddles* 4, 33 f.),

²⁷ Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, IX, 144. The emendation to *hilderinca* was made earlier by Etmüller and printed in his *Engla and Seaxna Scōpas and Bōceras*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1850, but its recent currency is due to Sievers' note.

²⁸ Pierquin keeps the MS. reading but has no note on the passage.

²⁹ *Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 41.

I have noted the following cases in which attributive *sum* follows its noun:

þæt hý on ēalond sum ēagam wriþen (*Whale* 12);

On his heortan cwæð unhýdig sum (*Psalms* LII, 1);

sēo hī dēafe dēð, dytteð hyre ēaran,

þæt hēo nele gehýran heahgaldor sum (*Psalms* LVII, 4);

& eac heora scipu sume þurh oferweder wurdon tobrocene;³⁰

& þa burgware hie gefliemdon, & hira monig hund ofslogon, & hira scipu sumu genamon.³¹

Since these parallels show that *hilderinc sum* is not "gegen den sprachgebrauch," the reading of the MS should be restored.³²

SAMUEL MOORE.

University of Michigan.

³⁰ *Chronicle*, 794, Laud MS., ed. Plummer, p. 57.

³¹ *Chronicle*, 895, Parker MS., ed. Plummer, p. 88.

³² From the metrical point of view *hilderinc sum* cannot be condemned, for it is paralleled by *morþor-bed strēd* (*Beowulf* 2436b) and *geðmorgidd wrecen* (*Andreas* 1548a), which are rare examples of the type E2 (Sievers, *Beiträge*, X, 267, Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 239). Sievers, it is true, does not recognise 3124a as belonging to this type (*Beiträge*, X, 314), but regards *hilderinca* as the correct reading of the line. In his discussion of type E in the second half of the line, however, he cites 2436b and says: "Vers 2437 steht zwar für sich allein, ist aber an sich nicht auffällig. Er stellt die regelrechte umkehr des unertypus $\angle | \angle x \succ$ (DII) dar" (*Beiträge*, X, 267). Sievers supports his emendation of 3124 also on stylistic grounds ("auch stilistisch wäre der vers anstößig," *Beiträge*, IX, 144). But stylistic considerations are not a sufficient ground for discrediting a MS. reading which makes good sense and which is not in conflict with linguistic and metrical usage.

TWO NOTES ON JANE AUSTEN

A word in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, Vol. II, Ch. iv has been missed by the dictionaries and not elsewhere explained, I believe. It occurs in the following passage:

He thought her [Anne] 'less thin in her person, in her cheeks, her skin, her complexion, greatly improved—clearer, fresher. Had she been using anything in particular?'—'No, nothing.'—'Merely Gowland,' he supposed. . . . 'I should recommend Gowland, the constant use of Gowland during the spring months. . . . You see how it has carried away her [Mrs. Clay's] freckles.'

The printing of the word with a capital suggests a name for some medical preparation, and this proves to be the case. Dr. J. S. Billings, in his *National Medical Directory*, mentions Gowland's lotion as "a solution of mercurie chloride 1, ammonium chloride 1, in emulsion of bitter almonds 480 parts." Dr. H. Hager, in *Handbuch der pharmaceutischen Praxis*, calls it "Liquor cosmeticus Gowland" and "Gowland's liquor." He defines it as a "cosmeticum gegen Flecke, Blüthchen, Finnen, . . . mittelst Compressen aufzulegen." The Catalogue of the Surgeon General's Library at Washington refers to an article upon it as late as 1845, in the *Ann. Soc. méd. chir. de Bruges* VI, 138-44. This, called "Quelques expériences sur la composition de la liqueur de Gowland," shows that it was still used a generation after *Persuasion* was written.

Of the Gowland referred to I know nothing except that the name is English. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1800 refers to the marriage of an Anne Gowland, daughter of the late Thomas Gowland of Billeter street, London, and three years later to the marriage of an Eliza Gowland, only daughter of Thomas Gowland, Esq., in Baker street. The name is honorably borne today by Dr. William Gowland, Emeritus professor of metallurgy in the London School of Mines. None of these may have any connection with the man whose preparation, we gather, Jane Austen was mildly ridiculing.

This word *Gowland* of Jane Austen's novel has no immediate connection at least with *gowlan(d)*, *gowlon*, *gollan(d)*, Scotch *gowan*, one of several ranunculus plants as the crowfoot, marsh marigold, globe flower, or of others with yellow blossoms as the corn marigold, yellow daisy, and even the dandelion. See the somewhat different definitions in the dictionaries. I mention the latter because its etymology seems not to have been made out very clearly. In discussing it the *New Eng. Dict.* says, "Probably in some way related to *gold* sb. 2," that is to *gold* meaning 'marigold.' I suggest that the English word may be from the Scandinavian assimilated form *gullin(gollin)*, corresponding to English *golden*. The latter, in a plural *goldins*, is also used in the North of England, while the former is mainly Northern English. For the forms with *o* compare ME. *gul(1)*, *gol-* 'yellow' in *gulsoght(golsoght)* 'jaundice,' *gulness(golness)* 'paleness,' and *gull* 'corn marigold' of the Cumberland dialect. See Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, pp. 176, 212. The form *gowlan(d)* and Scotch *gowan* presumably represent an early lengthening of the stressed vowel.

A second word of Jane Austen, this time in *Northanger Abbey* Vol. II, ch. v, is also not recorded or explained. It is found in the following passage:

The fireplace, where she [the romantic heroine] had expected the ample width and ponderous carving of former times, was contracted to a Rumford, with slabs of plain, though handsome marble and ornaments over it of the prettiest china.

The *NED.* has the verb *Rumfordize*, based on the name of our colonial physicist, who almost rivaled Franklin in European reputation. The noun used by Jane Austen shows that the thing itself, the improved fireplace, as well as the process of improvement, took the name of the American-Bavarian count, and also perpetuates the earlier designation of Concord, N.H., from which he took his title. The *NED.* gives little idea of the actual improvement made by Count Rumford in English fireplaces of earlier times. Jane Austen's use of the noun indicates one part of the change, a reduction of the size of the opening into the room warmed. The sides were also slanted from

front to back of the fireplace, so that they reflected the heat into the room. But the most important change, as shown by Count Rumford's Essay "Of Chimney Fireplaces" in his *Essays, Political, Economical, and Philosophical* I, 303 (Boston, 1798), was the narrowing of the throat of the chimney as he called it, that is the opening between fireplace and chimney proper. This was done by building a false back in the very deep fireplaces of the time, thus bringing the fire forward and hence nearer those to be warmed. The false back was carried up above the fireplace some two-thirds of a foot, and according to Count Rumford's plans left the long narrow opening into the chimney only four inches from front to back. All the changes improved the draft, corrected smoking, and conserved a large percentage of heat. Franklin had still further conserved heat by his Franklin stove, virtually a sheet-iron fireplace set out somewhat into the room.

Count Rumford superintended the modifying of many fireplaces in the homes of wealthy people in England, as shown by his own references in his *Essays*, and by occasional allusions in other places. Thus Maria Josepha Holroyd, daughter of Lord Sheffield the friend of Gibbon and afterwards Lady Stanley, alludes to him in one of her sprightly letters:

Friday Count Rumford came, and has been turning all the Chimneys and Fireplaces in the House topsy turvy ever since, till this morning when he took his departure. Have you by any Chance seen his Essays which are lately published? I dare say you have not forgotten him as Sir Benjamin Thompson 13 years ago, and that you remember he was an uncommon Genius and very pleasant Man. . . . What raises him even more than his Talents in my mind is his really philanthropic benevolent motives, that urge him to attempt doing all the good he has done.¹

It is not strange, therefore, that Jane Austen, writing *Northanger Abbey* in 1798 when Rumford was at the height of his renown, should have made his practical improvement a means of satirizing her visionary heroine.

¹ *The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, p. 390. The letter was written from Sheffield Place, Sussex, June 10, 1796. The English edition of Count Rumford's *Essays* was published in that year, and in 1798 he presented before the Royal Society his notable "Enquiry Concerning the Source of Heat which is Excited by Friction."

One pathetic interest attaches to Count Rumford's alteration in the English fireplace. By reason of his narrowing the throat of the chimney a "chimney sweep" could not ascend to perform his necessary but extremely disagreeable office. It would seem that an ingenious mind like the Count's might have provided some less inhuman means of removing soot. But, alas, it was too early for humanitarian considerations to weigh. Count Rumford made careful provision for removing a part of the false back he devised, so that the poor "sweep" could be thrust up the chimney and dragged to the top as he performed his melancholy task.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PLACE-NAME KESWICK

The name *Keswick*, Cumberland county, England, has not, it seems to me, as yet been satisfactorily explained. In his volume on *The Lake Counties* Collingwood, commenting on the uncertainty of the origin of the name, compares with *Kelsick*.¹ But the earliest recorded form of the latter name contains no *w*, a fact which he also notes. It is extremely unlikely that the two names should have been identical before the date of the recorded forms. The name *Keswick* does not appear at all in Lindkvist's *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*.² As this work aims to give "The Scandinavian place-nomenclature which came into existence in Old and Middle English times east and north of Watling Street,"³ Lindkvist would seem not to regard either component part as of Scandinavian origin. Sedgefield in his *Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* derives the ending from ON. *vík*, adding with regard to the first part: "It is perhaps the same as in *Keisley*, Westmorland."⁴ Finally, Moorman, *The Place-Names of West Riding, Yorkshire*, derives the identical *Keswick* in Yorkshire from OE. *cese*, 'cheese', + OE. *wīc*, 'dwelling'.⁵

The derivation of the first part *Kes-* from OE. *cese* presents first of all a formal difficulty. Old English *cese*, Modern English 'cheese,' has in Cumberland and surrounding North Country dialects an initial *ch*-sound and a long vowel. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*⁶ gives only forms with *tʃ*, as *tʃeiz*, *tʃiz*, *tʃiez*, and *tʃiz*, the last for central Cumberland. It is, therefore, hardly likely that a non-palatalized *c* before *e* should have

¹ P. 154.

² Upsala, 1912.

³ *l.c.* Preface, p. I.

⁴ P. 69.

⁵ The name *Keswick* does not appear in Björkman's *Zur englischen Namenskunde*, 1912, pp. 6-11, where many names (mainly personal names) are dealt with.

⁶ P. 372.

established itself in the name of the city of *Keswick*, while dialect speech all around had the palatal \check{c} . The vocalic difficulty is not so serious, for in such position shortening of the vowel might possibly have taken place. However, if OE. *cese*+*wīc* were the origin, the modern form should in Cumberland regularly be *Cheeswick*, or *Cheeswick*. Assuming for the moment that the ending represents OE. *-wīc*, the use of this ending in the name of a place to designate it as the place where cheese was made and sold seems very unlikely. One might have compounded *cese* with *hus* or some such general word, but not with the word *wīc*, 'dwelling.'⁷ And the combination with ON. *vīk* is likewise hardly to be thought of. *Vīk* is a common enough place-name-ending in Norway, but such a name as Ostvik, as the name of a farmstead, nowhere occurs, and impresses a native at once as impossible. I must, therefore, reject Moorman's explanation of the syllable *kes-* in *Keswick*.

Sedgefield identifies the first part of the name with that of *Keisley* in Westmorland. The oldest form given of the latter is *Kifisclive*. This he derives from ON. *Kefsir*, a personal name, and ON. *klif*, 'a cliff.' In the modern form the ending has become confused with the Eng. word *leah*, 'pasture.'⁸ However, none of the oldest forms of *Keswick* show an *f*; the forms are: *Kesewyk*, 1288, *Kesewik*, 1290, *Keswyk*, 1292, and *Kesewik* (year not given). Also the loss of the weak *i* in *Kifisclive* left a consonant combination which was entirely contrary to the tendency in the dialect to reduce groups of three or four consonants; and *cl* being an inseparable and necessary part of the last element of the name *f* must fall out; cp. *Uldale* < *Ulfdale*. The next earliest form is *Kescliff*. However, in a supposed *Kifiswik* > *Kifswik* the combination *fsw* should have maintained itself at least as long as the date of the earliest occurrences of the name *Keswick*.

As to the second element, *-wick*, it may perfectly well be from either OE. *wīc* or ON. *vīk*. But in this case it seems

⁷ Other definitions in Bosworth-Toller are: abode, residence, lodging; group of houses, hamlet.

⁸ In regard to the first part of *Kifisclif* I would assume contamination of *Kefsir* and OE. *cefes*. In the later form—*Keisley*, then, there has evidently been confusion between *Kifis-* and the name-stem *Keis-* or *Kes-*.

clearly to be ON. *-vik*, for the following reasons: There are in Cumberland two other names that end in *-wick* in the modern form: *Renwick* and *Warwick*. There are three in the neighboring Westmorland: *Butterwick*, *Cunswick*, and *Sedgewick*. *Renwick*, older *Ravenwick*, is from ON. *Hrafnvik*: *Warwick*, older *Wardwyk*, is uncertain. *Sedgfield* derives from OE. *weardswic*; *Cunswick* (cp. *Cunswick Hall*) is from ON. *Konungsvik*. Cp. the Norwegian place-name *Kongsvik*; *Sedgewick*, older *Siggiswyk*, is from ON. *Siggisvik*; *Butterwick*, older *Buterwik* and *Buttherswic*, is to be derived from a Norse-English personal name *Buter* or *Botere*, which appears as *Buterus* in the *Doomsday Book*. And in other parts of Scandinavian England, i.e. the major part of the Danelaw, the ending *-wick* enters into a number of place-names, the first element of which is a personal name. Outside the region of Scandinavian settlements the ending *-wick* or *-wiche* < OE. *wic* is of infrequent occurrence. The corresponding ending *-vik*, was common in Denmark and Norway, especially in southwestern, western, and northern Norway; —in the volumes of O. Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne* dealing with these regions names in *-vik* occur on almost every page.

I regard the older recorded forms of *Keswick*, namely *Kesewik*, *Keswyk*, *Kesswik*, as reductions of *Kelswik*, a name which possibly remains in *Kelswick House* in Camerton, Cumberland County. This name may be directly from OSc. *Kæll*, *Kell*, a contraction of *Ketill* and occurring especially in compounds, a fact which tended to the use of *Kell*, in place of *Ketill*, also as a simple name. The substitution of the contract form of this name seems to have occurred especially frequently in the Scandinavian communities in England, so that the test of Danish origin which very early occurrences of the short form *Kell* afford, falls if the earliest recorded instances are from the 11th and the 12th centuries. Finally the contraction may of course have taken place in the place-name itself (i.e., *Kelswik* < *Ketelswik*). Of the reduction of the consonant group *ls* there are examples in other Northern English place-names, as *Ousby* < *Ulsby* < *Ulvesby*, *Ulsby*, = ON. *Ulfisby*. Other names of places with the same first element are: *Kettlesby*, variants, *Ketilby* and *Ketelsby*; *Kettleston* and *Cheteleston*; *Ketelwell* and *Chetel-*

uuelle,⁹ etc., all retaining the uncontracted form. It is likely, therefore, that the settler Keswick received its name from was known as *Kæll* or *Kell* and not *Ketill*. As second part of place-names the contract form of the name *Ketill* was of course very common in WSc. and was apparently about as frequent in England as the full form (*Þorketil*, *Þurcel*; *Ulfcetil*, *Ulfcil*, *Ulchil*, etc.). In personal names the short form *Kel-*, *Kæl-*, appears also as first component part in both W. and E. Scandinavian and in the corresponding names often on English soil, as *Chelloc* and *Chetelog* in East Anglia. However, a reduction of either the type *Ulfkelswik* or *Kelgrimswik* as likely sources of the name *Keswick* is doubtful, and indeed about impossible as far as the first is concerned on account of the strong stress on the first component part. The typical development in names of this type is illustrated by, e.g., OE. *Aldwinestun*, which through *Aldinston*, date 1254, and *aldeston*, 1296, at last becomes *Alston*, and the name *Kirk Levyngton*, 1284, which is now *Kirkclinton*. In cases of the second type—*Kelgrimswik*—the second element is almost always reduced, but only in a very few cases does it entirely disappear; thus e.g. in *Milton*, the first part of which is either OE. *mylen* or ON. *mylna* (-*ton* < OE. *tūn*, ON. *tūn*). But here we have an easily assimilated combination. A reduced *Kelgrimswik* would have resulted in something like *Kelgerswick* or *Kellimswick*. The name *Keswick*, therefore, seems to go back to *Kell* as its first element.

I do not believe that the form *Kell* furnishes any sure guide in this case as to the Danish or Norse nationality of the man so named. In the *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, IV, p. 298, Jon Stefansson assumes all English personal names in *-cetel*, *-ketel*, to be from ON. *-ketill*, while those *-cil* or *-kel* are Danish. In this he followed the view of Konrad Gislason. Björkman, however, rejected this in his *Nordischen Personennamen in England*, p. 192, note 1, but failed to offer any proof. The evidences to support his view he furnished later.¹⁰ In the one point that both agree about there can be no uncertainty, namely, that in names occurring in records older than the year 1000 the short form (*-cil*, etc.) is Danish. But I also believe that

⁹ Forms taken from Björkman's *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, l.c.

Danish names in *-ketil* must have been very rare among Danish settlers in England and when we meet with this ending in a record of 12th century Norse origin must be assumed in the absence of absolute proof to the contrary. Furthermore the extent to which contractions and reductions of Scandinavian names in England had taken place already early in the 11th century indicates that names with the short ending, *-cel*, etc., may very well be of either Norwegian or Danish. In the case of *Keswick*, Cumberland, the city is located in a very center of Norse settlement as shown by the character of the place-names around it. The settler the city was named after was then in all probability a Norseman. The original meaning of the name is 'Kells Corner,' or 'Kell's place at the bend of the river.'

GEORGE T. FLOM.

Dec. 31, 1918.

"SIR THOMAS MORE"

Some years ago I went through this play with a view to the determination of the question whether or not Shakspeare was concerned in the alterations made in it. I came to the conclusion (I was by no means the first to do so) that the only part of the play with which our master-dramatist might possibly have been concerned was the revised insurrection scene. That fragment I would unhesitatingly have accorded to him but for the fact that assignment to him would have implied an earlier date than one seemed to be warranted in assuming for the play as a whole; and assuredly the revision could not be earlier than the rest of the play. Since then two important facts have come to light: the body of the MS has been discovered to be in the handwriting of Anthony Mundy; and the revision of the insurrection scene has been declared by the greatest palæographic expert in the United Kingdom, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, to have been penned by Shakspeare. The condition of the MS is such that there can be no doubt whatever that the scribe is the actual author; so that, if Sir Edward Thompson's judgment be correct, "More" will in future have to be included in any set of Shakspeare's works aiming at completeness. I may say here that though I had at first been exceedingly sceptical as to the possibility of proof on the slight data available for the purpose and though I do not set myself up to be an expert in Sir Edward's special subject, it seems to me that he has completely proved his case.

Sir Edward Thompson's monograph on the subject led me to make a re-examination of the play; and I may say without further ado that the outcome of that examination was a confirmation, on purely literary grounds—verse-structure, habit of thought, use of words, and so on—of the view arrived at by him by a quite different route, and at the same time a confirmation of my own previous instinct—an instinct which I had not had the courage to follow. If that revision be indeed Shak-

sper's, the question of date remains a difficulty; but, before dealing with that, there are other important matters to be considered.

Dr. Greg, in his scholarly and thorough introduction to his edition of the play for the Malone Society, declared that, of the five handwritings to be seen in the alterations to the MS (exclusive of Tyllney's), one—the one he entitled "C"—was that of a scribe, not of an author. With that view I am in entire accord, for reasons that have nothing in common with those actuating Dr. Greg. He was judging by the character of the handwriting I am swayed by the fact that the work in this man's hand is identifiable, on the score of style, with that first of one and then of another of the writers of other portions of the play. This leaves us then apparently with one original author (Mundy) and four revisers. If that view be justified, we have here an extraordinary example of the way in which an Elizabethan drama was liable to be hacked by a whole army of revisers; but I shall endeavor to show reasons why that view is not likely to be the right one.

Prior to Dr. Greg's edition, of which I cannot speak in terms of too high praise, it had always been assumed that the numerous alterations in "*Sir Thomas More*" had been made in response to the demand by the Master of the Revels, Sir E. Tyllney, that a portion of the play should be omitted; but the play's latest editor advanced the view, which was, but should not have been, entirely novel, that the MS as we have it is as it was submitted to the Master of the Revels, and that the play was never acted. It may be considered a drawback to the adoption of that view that it implies that all the alterations were made before the play was submitted; but, for all that, it is an infinitely more satisfactory view than the one formerly invariably held, inasmuch as Shakspeare's alteration of the insurrection scene would never have been undertaken after Sir Edmund Tyllney's definite injunction to omit that scene, and because also it must have been recognised that his demands could not possibly be met without the entire ruin of the play. I therefore unhesitatingly agree with Dr. Greg on this point. It is true that in one place in the margin of the MS occurs the name of the actor who was to play the part

of a messenger; but that does not prove that the play was acted, but only that it was cast. The naming of that actor, by the way, was the primary cause of attention being directed to the possibility of Shakspeare's connection with the play; since he is known to have belonged to the company to which Shakspeare belonged, and since the manager of the company, if he required alterations to be made, would naturally call upon the company's poet to make them.

Since the original MS was found to be in the hand of Mundy, it seems to have been invariably assumed that he was the sole author of the play in its first form. The probabilities certainly seemed to point in that direction; but it puzzled me that one man's work should have been submitted to four men's revision, and that the sum total of the alterations made by these four revisers should be so insignificant in quantity. Thus, the contribution of Dr. Greg's "A" amounts to only 71 lines, that of Shakspeare to not much more than twice that, and that of Dr. Greg's "E" to only about half of A's. "B" provides one passage smaller than A's and several trifling insertions. "C's" contribution is the largest of all, and even his is not very much larger than Shakspeare's. He is the writer whom I agree with Dr. Greg in regarding as a mere scribe.

The joint circumstance that so many hands should have been employed on the work of revision and that every one of them should have done so very little struck me as a most singular phenomenon; and then, as the result of a close examination of the text, I made two discoveries that seemed to me to afford an explanation of the puzzling circumstance. First, I perceived or thought I perceived, for I have no desire to speak dogmatically, that there was no difference in style between most of the added passages and the scenes in which they were to be imbedded; and then I discovered, and this was really only a corollary of my first discovery, that three different styles were discernible in the original version of the play. There being, including Mundy, five authors at work on the alterations, I might perhaps have expected to find four, or even five, in the original draft; but, as a matter of fact, I found, as I have said, only three. The first, whose work extends right up to the end of III 2 (adopting the divisions of Professor Tucker Brooke

as given in his edition of the play in his excellent volume of "Shakespeare Apocrypha"), is somewhat old-fashioned; the second, who wrote IV 1 and the whole of V, is much jerkier and less regular, with a partiality for an anapæstic foot here and there; while the third, from whom we have the balance of IV, is the master of a much finer and more impressive verse than either of the others. (It may also be remarked that he uses "for to," as the others do not.) These three I take to be, in the order in which I have mentioned them, Mundy and Dr. Greg's "B" and "A." Of the identity of A with the author of the bulk of IV I feel fairly confident, but I am not quite so sure of the identity of the other author with B. Turning to the additions and alterations, A provided the part of IV 5 that is in his handwriting; Mundy wrote II 3; and B is to be credited with the additions to II 2, the insertion in II 4 (which I cannot understand editors stumbling over: it should surely read "Ay, and save us from the gallows, else a deals double"), the insertions in III 1, III 3, the alterations and addition to IV 1, and the revised version of a portion of V 4. Of the other two writers, whose touch is not discernible in the original draft, Shakspeare is responsible only for the revised version of II 4 that is in his hand; and the other, for all the added portions of III 2, whether in his hand or the hand of "C." Dr. Greg remarked that the hand of this writer bore some resemblance to that of Dekker; but even without the hint thus given I think I should hardly have failed to recognise in the author of this part of the play the most lovable of all our old dramatists. The prose is precisely that of part 2 of "The Honest Whore," and the characterisation of Faulkner is distinctly reminiscent of that of Orlando Frescobaldo. It is to be noted that his addition entirely changes the final attitude of Faulkner. Presumably the part of the scene in C's writing was copied from a **draft** by Dekker, who subsequently added to it.

Before I attempt to explain what really happened in regard to the play, let me consider the probabilities, for the benefit of those who think it is impossible to determine any questions of **authorship** on internal evidence. There are three possible positions for Mundy to have occupied: he may have had nothing to do with the authorship of the play, but merely have been employed to transcribe it—an unlikely supposition, in view

of the fact that he was a regular, recognised writer of plays; he may have been both sole author and transcriber (as is, having regard to blunders in transcription in V 3 and the final scene, exceedingly unlikely); or he may have been only part author, but for some reason or other (probably because more of the work came from his pen than from any other, and also because all the opening portion was his) have undertaken the entire work of transcription—was perhaps pushed into it by his lazier colleagues. This is the one possibility which seems to me to meet all the facts of the case. If one regard Mundy as merely a transcriber, we are thrown back on the internal evidence and a consideration of the probabilities for a determination of the question whether the play in its first form was the work of one man or of several. If one regard Mundy as sole author, one has to explain how he can have been guilty of one particularly ignorant blunder in transcription, and how it came about that the work of revision was performed by no fewer than four men. I therefore feel that all the probabilities are in favor of the supposition that he was one of three or four authors of the original version of the play.

Although I can detect the presence of only three authors in that first draft, I believe that four were concerned in it, though the work of the fourth, Dekker, exists only in his revised version of it. That his alterations were made at the same time as those of A and B seems to be indicated by the fact that some of his matter, as well as some of B's and some of Mundy's, has been copied out by C. It is unlikely that Dekker would have a hand in the revision at that stage if he were not one of the original authors.

The course of events I believe to have been somewhat as follows: Mundy, who was responsible for approximately half the play, copied out the whole of it, and then each of the other authors made certain alterations in his own work. In this revised form it was offered to the King's men, who set Shakspeare to rewrite the insurrection scene. Having thus been made acceptable to the King's company, it was presented to the Master of the Revels for his approval; and his verdict was such as to put the production of the play out of the question.

Besides the probabilities of the case already referred to, there are two circumstances telling strongly in favor of my

theory. One is, that the only interference in the Mundy portion of the play is of a trivial character, being made by B, apparently in the capacity of supervisor. His serious revision was confined to his own portion of the play. The other fact in favor of my view is that it deprives Mundy of the glorification of More for his adherence to the Romanist faith. That so bitter an anti-Romanist as Mundy should have written that portion of the play does not seem to me probable. I must, however, in fairness mention three circumstances that tell, if not against my view as a whole at least against my division of the work amongst the various authors. The first is, that there are two versions of a portion of the final scene, both in the handwriting of Mundy, though, according to me, the authorship is that of B. The second is, that the ejaculations are tolerably uniform, so that we find, on my division, Mundy, A, B, and Shakspeare all using "Fore God" or "Afore God" or "Before God," and Mundy, A, and B all using "A' God's name" or "In God's name." The third is, that the spirit of a passage in IV 5—"I have bethought me, and I'll now satisfy the King's good pleasure. . . . Oh, pardon me: I will subscribe to go unto the Tower"—is closely paralleled in IV 4 of "Oldcastle"—"I see my error; but yet understand me: I mean not error in the faith I hold." The resemblance between these two passages is not verbal: it is to be found in the mental attitude of the speakers; and, as Mundy is known to have been one of the authors of "Oldcastle," this may be thought to indicate Mundy's responsibility for both scenes; but they do not seem to me to be from the one hand. (I may add that I regard Mundy's share of "Oldcastle" as confined to IV 3, V 9, from Lee's entry, and the final scene.)

The question of date is important. The character of Shakspeare's work seems to call for an early date; but Dekker as a dramatic writer cannot with certainty be traced back beyond 1597-8, though he may possibly have been writing in 1595-6, when a "Fortunatus" was performed. I should say then that Dekker's presence is a sure sign that the play was not written before 1598, as he would hardly have been taken into partnership with Mundy and two other presumably established dramatists until he had proved his quality; and my conclusion on this score is amply borne out by my examination of the various

plays in which Mundy was concerned. (To speak more precisely, I established—to my own satisfaction—a date of 1598-9 from a study of Mundy's work before I noticed how it fitted in with the probabilities in regard to Dekker.) Mundy's other plays are "Two Italian Gentlemen" and "John a Kent," both of which he wrote alone, the two "Robin Hood" plays, in which his work has to be distinguished from that of Chettle, and "Oldcastle," in which he collaborated with Drayton, Hathwaye, and Wilson, of two of whom no other work is known to be extant. The resemblances between any two of the six plays in which Mundy was concerned are scarcely more marked than the differences, though in each case the external evidence leaves no doubt as to his presence (save "More," in regard to which the evidence as to handwriting is conclusive). To determine the order of the six plays, one must first determine the extent of Mundy's contribution to each. I have already stated to what extent I regard him as having participated in "More" and "Oldcastle." As for the "Robin Hood" plays, it does not seem difficult to separate his work from Chettle's. In the first, as it stands, Chettle provided the Induction, perhaps I 1, that portion of II 1 lying between Leicester's entry and Ely's (an insertion in a scene by Mundy), and IV 1 from the serving-man's entry, though here he has perhaps left a few lines of Mundy's original work. All the rest I believe to be Mundy's. In part 2, the whole of the Matilda story—that is to say, the whole of Acts II, III, IV, and V—may, with the doubtful exception of the final scene of IV, be credited to Chettle, whose is the "uncunning hand" of the Epilogue. He also wrote the Induction, perhaps I 1, I 2 from the carrying out of Warman's body to the King's entry, and in I 3 a couple of dozen speeches beginning with the King's inquiry as to Doncaster. This leaves Mundy only the beginning and ending of I 3, and the Interlude. A comparison of his work in the various plays leaves absolutely no doubt as to the priority of the Italian play, the order of the others being "John," "1 Robin," "2 Robin," "More," "Oldcastle." His style in the play here under discussion seems to me to approach much more closely to his style in "Oldcastle" than to that in any other. Fortunately we know the dates of both "2 Robin Hood" and "Oldcastle," the former having been written in 1597-8, and

the latter in 1599. If my view be correct then, "More" should date not earlier than 1598-9.

This view may perhaps be held to find some confirmation in the fact that the name of Mundy, previously one of the most active and constant of the writers for Henslowe, drops out of the famous diary for a period of 14 months from August 1598. If in the interval he was concerned in the writing of a play for the King's men, it is not perhaps without significance that when he returned to the Admiral's men it was as part-author of a drama, "Sir John Oldcastle," written in obvious rivalry of Shakspeare and to clear the memory of a man whom the great dramatist had most unjustly traduced. It is however to be noted that during this period, when Mundy is not known to have done anything for Henslowe, Dekker was kept pretty busy, though not too busy to have been able to take a hand in the writing of "More." It seems to me probable that the play was written for the Admiral's men, perhaps about the end of 1598, but that it did not appeal to the business instincts of Henslowe, and was thereupon offered to the King's men, and accepted by them, as altered by Shakspeare. So late a date may be held to be against Shakspeare's authorship, since the resemblance of the work is not to the Shakspeare of 1598-9, but to the younger Shakspeare whose hand is to be seen in the "Henry VI" plays. The difference may be accounted for by the fact that his work here is hurried and exceedingly careless. He would seem to have been working against his will and not to have had his heart in what he was doing. I am very much inclined to agree with Fleay that the writer of the insurrection scenes and the writer of the scenes leading up to it had in view the troubles of the year 1595. If so, we get an upward limit of date.

The difficulty in dealing with the authorship of "More" has been largely the result of there being so much material for the forming of a decision. It was quite natural that the question of authorship should be held to be bound up with the question of handwriting. From that fetter I have sought to free myself, with the result given above. As regards Shakspeare's participation, I make no undue claims for the value of my judgment in the matter: all I claim is that my finding affords at least some confirmation of Sir Edward Thompson's, reached, as it has been, by such totally different means.

The foregoing portion of this paper is practically a blending and re-writing of a letter which I wrote on the subject in November 1917 to Dr. Greg and a paper which I read at the initial meeting of the Melbourne Shakspeare Society for the year 1918. Of this paper I had sent an advance copy in January to Sir Edward Thompson. Those who have paid me the compliment of reading thus far will have perceived that I have put forward three important views. The first is that Sir Edward Thompson's verdict regarding Shakspeare's participation is borne out by the evidence of literary and dramatic style. The second, which was entirely novel, is that the play was not originally written by Mundy alone, but by several writers, each of whom altered his own portion of it. The third, which also had never been put forward before, though Dr. Greg had to some extent pointed the way, is that another of the dramatists concerned was Dekker. It is worthy of remark, and is a matter of considerable satisfaction to me that letters received from Sir Edward Thompson since the reading of my paper to the Melbourne Shakspeare Society have confirmed on quite other grounds both these original views of mine. He informs me that he compared the handwriting of Dr. Greg's "E" with a specimen of Dekker's handwriting in the British Museum, and found it to be "most certainly" the same, both as to general character and correspondence in details. "There can be no doubt," he says. No less pleasing is it to myself to have him on palæographical grounds suggesting, regarding the original authorship of the play, the very view that I have put forward for purely literary reasons. That is to say, Sir Edward Thompson and myself, working independently, came almost simultaneously to the conclusion that Mundy was only part-author of the first draft. Since then, Sir Edward has been good enough to send me an advance proof of an article he has written for the Bibliographical Society on "The Autograph Manuscripts of Anthony Mundy." As it will have been published before this paper appears in print, there can be no objection to my remarking that in this very important contribution to the subject he proves that (a) "More" and the Mundy play "John a Kent" were bound simultaneously in the vellum wrappers in which they have descended to us; (b) not earlier, perhaps later, than 1596 the two plays were stored away together; (c) the MS of

"More" is the later of the two; and (d) the date, December 1596, on the MS of "John a Kent" is not in the handwriting of the author and is not necessarily the date of the composition of the play. This great authority thinks that the period of time elapsing between the writing of the two plays may have been two or three years, and sees "no reason why the year 1592 or 1593 should not still be accepted as approximately the date of the MS" of "More," "John a Kent" thus being assigned "approximately to the year 1590." It is only in regard to this conclusion that I venture to differ from him.

It seems to me almost certain that the date on the "John a Kent" MS stands for one or other of three things—the date of its receipt from Mundy, the date of its purchase, or the date of its production. (Were it the date of composition, it would be in Mundy's own hand.) The purchase date is much more probable than either of the others; but it may not be the date of purchase by the company accepting it, but that of its sale to some individual to whom it was disposed of when it had become stale and was no longer required for acting purposes. As it and "More," however, are shown by Sir Edward Thompson to have been bound together and to have been thrown together "into the damp limbo where they were to lie forgotten," they are likely to have been disposed of at the same time, and, were that the case, "More" as well as "John a Kent" would in all probability have been dated. I believe then this date of December 1596 to be that of the purchase of "John a Kent" from its author Mundy by the company which was to perform it. If, as Sir Edward Thompson thinks, "More" was written in 1592 or 1593, and was stowed away, in company with "John a Kent," at some date subsequent to December 1596, we have to believe that the company kept it on hand for at least three or four years after the verdict of Sir Edmund Tyllney had put its production out of the question. That seems to me altogether unlikely. For these reasons therefore I take 1596 to be the year when "John a Kent" was written; and, accepting Sir Edward Thompson's judgment that a space of two or three years separated the writing of the two MSS, we are brought to 1598-9 as the date of "More," which, it is to be noted, is precisely the date I have set down for it on entirely different grounds.

E. H. C. OLIPHANT.

Melbourne, Australia.

GRÜNWALDS SONG, "GUT GESELL
UND DU MUST WANDERN"

A name in the history of German secular song which excited no little romantic enthusiasm in the editors of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* and in Uhland himself was that of Grünwald. The former reprinted (from Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein*) in their dedication to Goethe the story and the song of the merry, improvident musician, Grünenwald, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Uhland republished Grünenwald's poem in his collection of *Volkslieder* (No. 238) and called attention to several song texts of the 16th century in which apparently a conscious effort had been made to mention 'der grüne Wald.' Such songs Uhland regarded likewise as productions of the same Grünwald and wrote the following words of appreciation: "Aus dem grünen Wald stammt die alte, naturtreue Volksdichtung, der letzte Sänger dieser Weise geht in den grünen Wald wieder auf," and added later, "Man kann sich im grünen Wald verirren, aber Jörg Grünenwald ist ein Name, der seine Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen Liederwesens anzusprechen hat."¹

Long after Uhland, in the more accurate but prosier period of Volkslied investigation, three of the best scholars in this field, Arthur Kopp, Joh. Bolte and A. Götze, devoted careful attention to Grünwald, or rather to the Grünwalds, for others of the name became known and we are uncertain whether the extant Grünwald songs were by 'der gute schlemmer' of the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, by the Anabaptist shoemaker beheaded in 1530, by an instrumentalist mentioned in 1581, or possibly by some other Grünwald.

Kopp was the first to recognize that the first letters of the stanzas of several 16th century songs spell the name GRVNWALD or at least show plain traces of such an acrostic. One text of nine stanzas, however, caused him considerable trouble. It was evidently by Grünwald but the defective acrostic GRVLBASSA proved a very corrupt text.² In the rare *Lieder-*

¹ *Schriften* 3, 456 and 549.

² *Archiv f.d.St. der neueren Sprachen* 107, 10 ff.

[8]

Damit wil ich mich scheyden hin,
 ob ich gleich jetzund trauwrig bin,
 nach trübseliger zeit,
 kompt gern widerumb freuwd,
 wenn Gott der Herr lest scheinen
 sein liebe Sonne,
 in den grünen Wald,
 so kompt doch bald,
 widerumb freud darein.

[8]

So reuwt mich doch das Mägdelein,
 die weil es ist so zart vnnd fein,
 daß sie jhr junge tag,
 verzehren soll mit klag,
 mit einem alten Mann,
 da kein freud an ist,
 Nur sauwer sicht,
 vnd stätigs krieget,
 das Jar nur einmal lacht.

[9]

Also muß ich mich scheiden hin,
 Wann ich gleich jetzund trawrig bin,
 nach trübseliger zeit,
 kompt gerne wider freud,
 Wenn Gott der Herr leßt scheinen,
 sein lieben Sonnen schein,
 in grünen Waldt,
 als dann kompt baldt,
 widerumb freud vnd wonne.⁴

Kopp recognized that there was one stanza too many in version B but was mistaken in insisting that stanza 7 was an interpolation,⁵ it had merely changed place with 4, while the eighth stanza of B was the later addition, as also the last three lines of stanza 3. Following a suggestion of Roethe, Kopp also pointed out that stanza 5 of the original must have begun with W (Wie bin ich . . .) and that the first three lines of this stanza (version B) belonged at the end of the third stanza (after trutz). He saw too that the stanza beginning Lass fahren . . . might have stood next to the last and suggested as the first word of the eighth and last stanza of the original 'Drumb' instead of 'Also' of B to give the D required by the acrostic

⁴ Immediately after text B in the *Frankfurter Liederbüchlein 1580* occur the following lines:

Nichts liebers auff dieser Welt,
 Als schöne Frauwen vnd pars gelt.
 Eine fur eigen,
 Stäts on scheiden,
 Eine für all,
 Die mir mein Hertz erfreuwen soll.

⁵ *Archiv* 107, 13 (in note).

(our text A has 'Damit'). He would then have rescued almost the entire acrostic (GRV. WA. LD). Thus Kopp's painstaking attempt to restore version B stands out in sharp contrast to the superficial treatment of F. M. Böhme, who did not suspect Grünwald's authorship and who rejected five of the nine stanzas, assuming that they were "wahrscheinlich von einem Hofbediensteten (!)." ⁶

In spite of the complete acrostic, text A as given above is probably not in exactly the form Grünwald gave it. I should be the last to assert that he was incapable of composing verses as clumsy as some of these are. Many restorers of the "original" form of a poetical production of older days are altogether too ready to assume for that "original" faultless metrical form and rimes and the clearness and consistency of thought which one could expect from a modern author. Yet it would not be going too far to point out several readings for text A which might well have been in Grünwald's own version or versions. There will still remain passages in the poem which are awkward and obscure but which I do not feel justified in attempting to restore. An acrostic poem is not easy to compose and Grünwald's production is at least less grotesque than some contemporary ones, for example, a song, "Unmöglich ist es das man findt / ein Mensch als ich mir eine weiss / Herr bhüt wie ist mir dass ein Kindt / erst gadt mir auss der angstlich schweiss," etc., made light of by Fischart near the beginning of Ch. VI of the *Gargantua*. ⁷

The beginning of stanza 2 of A is obscure (version B seems better here, whether it represents Grünwald's own words or the idea of some later singer or editor); stanza 3, line 1 'nimmer' (=nicht mehr, cf. B) would seem to make better sense than 'jimmer'; st. 5, l. 4 does not seem plain; from B we get a hint that lines 7 and 8 of the first stanza might well have had rime instead of assonance—in fact Kopp⁸ and Bolte⁹ make the lines

⁶ *Liederhort*, No. 473.

⁷ With the acrostic "VRSVLA Blaurerin"; reprinted in *PBB Beiträge* 35, 431 ff., No. 52.

⁸ *Archiv* 107, 11.

⁹ *Vokslieberbuch f. Männerchor* ("Kaiserliederbuch"), Leipzig, Peters, 1906, Vol. 1, No. 213.

rime: "ich hoff jedoch, es wird sich noch"; and finally, the reading of B in the last line of the song, "widerumb freud vnd wonne," would rime perfectly with "sonne" of A.

Since the *Kölner Liederbüchlein* was evidently based upon the Frankfort collection, the difference in these two texts is striking. The compiler of the former song book no doubt recognized that the poem should have an acrostic and inserted here a version he knew from some other source.

Version A, coming to light as it does after B had been carefully studied by the best authority on 16th century song texts (Kopp), has all the greater interest. The two versions give us another good example of a *Kunstlied* which has been altered in tradition.

CHAS. A. WILLIAMS.

University of Illinois.

THE RHYTHMICAL LINE

Reasoning about art can be said to turn on two fundamental categories, the substance and the form of the artistic product I intend, in the present study, to deal with the basic principle of outward poetic form, the fundamental technical means of expression.

We must begin by asking: Is there any one principle of form which is absolutely essential in poetry. Gummere, in his *Handbook of Poetics*, quotes a recent writer to this effect: "Metre is the sole condition absolutely demanded by poetry." Simple observation of the fact that in primitive poetry the rhythmical line is all that we find on the side of art-form, must lead to the conclusion that the rhythmical line is the one essential element of poetic form. This is in itself a patent fact, requiring no further argument. But in this fact we have our problem, which is the interpretation of the ground of this fact in the nature and history of the human mind, or to show the psychological factors of which the rhythmical line is the expression and result. The problem is, therefore, essentially psychological, a fact of which the literature of poetics has been only imperfectly aware.— "Human beliefs and institutions, as well as all the products of art and modes of labor—in short all elements of human culture—even though subject to natural conditions of various sorts, are essentially mental processes or the expression of psychical activities. Hence no theory, relating to these phenomena, is acceptable that does violence to well-established psychological principles."¹

I shall take for the basis of my deductions the hexameter line of Homer, as typically representing primitive poetic form within the Aryan family of languages. The term primitive is here, as in all studies of primitive culture, to be taken relatively—"According as the phenomena are simpler in character, and require fewer antecedent conditions for their explanation, we

¹ E. L. Schaub, Introduction to Wundt's: *Elements of Folk Psychology*.

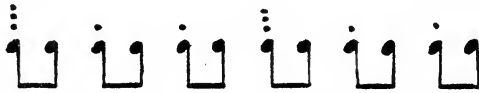
may be confident that we are really dealing with primitive conditions. Culture would be absolutely primitive if no antecedent mental development whatsoever could be presupposed. Such an absolute concept can never be realized in experience." (Wundt)²

In the epic line of Homer and of the Germanic epic, we have rhythmical series of six and four accents, six being the limit never exceeded in the typical long lines. Now, in accounting for these lines in terms of psychological interpretation, several factors must be reckoned with.

First of these, in importance, is the observation presented in Wundt's psychological experiments, that the capacity of the mind for holding ideas or sense percepts, clearly and distinctly, is pretty definitely limited. It is here a question of the range of immediate consciousness, the power of the mind to grasp a certain number of ideational elements or percepts together, as a whole, or a unit of ideation. The methods of experimentation and of direct introspection can be employed to equal advantage. Of experiments in sense perception it will suffice to quote the result of visual tests. "The number of clear ideas for the sense of sight amounts to four or five when they are simple and familiar. If they are complex the number varies from one to three, according to the degree of complexity." Specifically on the point of our present inquiry Wundt says "If we look at the metrical forms employed in music and poetry we find that the limit of three degrees is never exceeded. The absolute amount of accentuation may, of course, be very different in different cases. But in immediate perception these different degrees are always arranged in three principal classes which are alone of any real importance in metrical division as a basis of classification in metrical forms. As a matter of fact, however, music and poetry never push their use of this aid in the formation of easily comprehended ideational series to the extreme limit of conscious grouping. Each member in a rhythmical series must be referred to its predecessors, and for this to be done with pleasure and without effort, it is necessary that the grasp of

² The quotations from Wundt are taken from his *Physiologische Psychologie* and his *Elements of Folk Psychology*.

consciousness be not too heavily taxed. So that a time like the 6/4 is one of the most complex of the rhythms employed in music.



The psychological law, determining the rhythmical line, is here incisively presented. The rhythm of the hexameter corresponds to Wundt's observation, for it consists of two 3 accent parts. To the ear this is quite perceptible, while for the eye the division is not marked in the traditional way of printing the line. It would be more correct to indicate the break in the middle in some way, or else to write the two parts over each other. In this way the real character of the line would be more exactly expressed as a rhythmical couplet of two 3 stress parts. By uniting the two into one line a compound form with six stresses is reached which, as the 6/4 time in music is a maximum rarely exceeded. The rhythmical effect of the two in conjunction, is that of a rising and falling movement, yielding a form of a higher order. We see the same combination in the alliterative line of the early Germanic epic, with its caesura, and also in the metre of Nibelungen and Gudrun epics. Here, however, the unity of the two parts is mainly marked and supported by a later device, namely, rhyme. Arranging motives in couplets is the usual thing in the simple song forms of music. The motive recurs, i.e. the rhythmical movement is repeated, giving the effect of confirmation. Or there may be an inversion of the melodic movement, or a change of the harmonic basis. Such changes are made without endangering the recognition of the motive. However, a change of rhythm, or a shifting of the main accent make it unrecognizable. While poetry holds to a regular rhythmical movement, throughout one composition, music has gone far in the inner differentiation and variety of its rhythms. One might pause here to ask, why it is that poetry has not followed music further in this direction. Poetry being the art of the word, hence essentially conceptual, could manifestly not keep pace with music in rhythmic-melodic development, while music, depending on melody and rhythm solely as its means of

expression, could go to the very limit of rhythmic-melodic possibilities. But might not poetry have gone farther in differentiation of rhythm than it actually has done. To be sure, there is a strong tendency in this direction in the free rhythms of the ode, and one might surmise that it is largely the desire for greater internal variation and flexibility of rhythm, that underlies the experiments of the new movement of free verse, a striving toward more subtle and diversified rhythms, intimately corresponding to the changing courses of emotion.

Now, the rhythmical line of poetry is not only a rhythmic-melodic series of sound, for then it would be pure music, not poetry; but it a rhythmical group of words expressing ideas. Under this aspect, the law of the span of consciousness again comes into the foreground as the decisive factor. For now it becomes specifically a question of the capacity of the mind to grasp a series of ideational elements, of focalizing the attention on an ideational complex of a certain extent. As Wundt points out, music and poetry use the aid of rhythmical forms in the formation of easily comprehended ideational series. The poet has something to tell and wants to be readily understood. He therefore instinctively makes the sentence, expressing an idea or image coincide as nearly as possible with the rhythmical series of accents, the same law of mental focalization, and grasp or measure of comprehension governing the one as well as the other. At this point the psychology of direct introspection affords the easiest means of verification. Mental self-examination shows that a relatively short series of ideational units comes into immediate consciousness, then sinks below the limen of distinct consciousness as a new one takes its place. This process is going on continually in our consciousness. The attention is momentarily concentrated on one idea, and passes from one to the other with only so much contextual consciousness as is necessary to refer and relate one group to the preceding and following groups. To be sure, the highly trained and unusually gifted mind is capable of exerting itself to exercise more complex intellectual functions, e.g. in the comprehension of involved periods of difficult writing. But poetry, by its very nature, is not the form for difficult mental processes, and does not address itself exclusively, nor even mainly, to intellectuals. The dismal

failure of so much philosophical and otherwise difficult verse is chiefly due to the writer's failure to realize the fundamental requirement of poetic expression, which should always be simple, sensuous and passionate. At this point a brief reference to another factor, setting a superior limit upon the length of the line, should be inserted, viz., the exigencies of breathing. At the earlier period when poetry was always recited or sung, this circumstance was highly cooperative in punctuating the poet's recital, and in influencing the division in the direction of units of equal length.

However, it is not to be expected that the individual poetic thought or image, expressed in a sentence, should always coincide exactly with the accent group of regular rhythmical form. "In language, rhythmical expression is bound up with the meaning of words, and the context of thought expressed by the words. Thereby certain limits are set upon rhythmical movement." (Wundt). This means that the perfect coincidence of the rhythmical with the ideational series, assuming that it is desirable, is not always possible. In Wundt's opinion this coincidence is much more the rule in ancient than in modern poetry which leans toward the tempo and stress of ordinary speech. He also observes that displeasure is caused when the rhythmically arranged ideas exceed the range of comprehension, or when unexpected variations interrupt the rhythmical series, and finally when a certain rhythm by monotonous regularity wearies the attention.

In order to get a satisfactory practical solution of this aspect of our question, we must turn to the poetical compositions themselves, to see what the practice of the poets really is. Reading a fairly large amount of various poetry "ad hoc" made it certain to my judgment, that the agreement of the ideational series with the rhythmical group is decidedly the rule in poetry. The fidelity with which the language of poetry follows and reflects the process of ideation is in close harmony with the essential purpose of the poet's art, which is to present the emotional experience of life genuinely, simply and pleasingly. Thus, the formal principle of rhythmical and symmetrical

arrangement of poetical ideas appears under the form of psychological interpretation as an inner necessity of perfect expression.

Poetry, in its artistic features, is not limited to this principle of outer form, for there are other equally important requirements of poetic style;—picturesqueness, imaginativeness and ideality of expression and view, in all their various implications, and all that is called “inner form.” But poetry as form, as an art in the sense of tectonic structure and symmetrical order of presentation absolutely demands rhythmical and regular form. It is needless to say that when we have only the outer form without poetical content, there is no real poetry, only verse, “unpoetical verse.” But when poetical revolutionaries throw form aside, and “free verse” walks abroad on irregular feet and lines, we must be careful to distinguish between the freedom which has its source in artistic impotence, and the sincere efforts of vigorous innovators at widening and deepening the means of poetical expression. With free rhythms, well established as an entirely legitimate phenomenon, it must not be forgotten that they have hitherto always been restricted to certain occasions and moods. The Greeks used them only for choral, i.e., ceremonial purposes. Goethe did not return to them after the ferment of “storm and stress” had given way to mature artistic understanding. However, classical free verse is not entirely without certain restricting principles of form. Wundt says: “The variety of rhythmical forms is after all governed by certain general principles, and this is the strongest proof of the unchangeable character of the rhythmical sensations.”

The question of the origin of rhythm and its historico-genetic development has thus far not been touched upon. Our knowledge of the innermost nature of mind and its functions, as well as of the psychophysical processes, is not as yet sufficient to enable us to say, what consciousness, emotion, will, ideation, in themselves really are. Experience and reflection have led to a reasoned view of the manifestations and development of these phenomena; but every view concerning their

ultimate nature is still largely speculative.³ The *fact* of rhythm is contained in the fact of life as motion; the *sense* of rhythm is contained in the time-sense. The earliest rhythmic phenomenon of clearly artistic character is the dance, preserving the closest connection with the primitive age. Primitive people, under strong emotional excitement, jump, run, gesticulate. In this, and in the mimic play accompanying it, we may recognize the first motor expression of feeling. It becomes regular and rhythmical in the ceremonial group-dances. It must be assumed, also, that music and language, in their most primitive forms of noise-instruments and vocal articulation, appear from the beginning in conjunction with the dance. "Musical instruments, in the strict sense of the word, are almost unknown to primitive man. . . . The music of speech exalts and supplements the dance. . . . When all parts of the body are in motion, the articulatory organs also tend to participate. . . . The real musical accompaniment of the dance is furnished by the human voice in the dance-song." Especially the cult-song,

³ The following passage from W. Dilthey's famous essay '*Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters*' may throw light on this problem:

"Die Poetik muss insbesondere das rhythmische Gefühl in seinem Ursprung, vermöge dessen es im Lebensgefühl selber wurzelt, aufsuchen. Denn wie unser Körper aussen überall Symmetrie zeigt, so geht durch seine inneren Funktionen der Rhythmus. Der Herzschlag wie die Atmung verlaufen in Rhythmen, das Gehen in einer regelmässigen Pendelbewegung. In langsamerem, doch auch regelmässigen Wechsel folgen einander Wachen und Schlaf, Hunger und Mahlzeit. Die Arbeit wird durch den Rhythmus der Bewegung erleichtert. Gleichmässig fallende Tropfen, rhythmisch wiederkehrende Wellen, der eiförmige Takt, den die Wärterin dem Kinde hören lässt, wirken beschwichtigend auf die Gefühle und erregen Schlaf. Die Erklärung dieser umfassenden psychischen Bedeutung der Rhythmik ist ein noch ungelöstes Problem. Denn dass wir vermittelst des Rhythmus leichter das Ganze des Empfindungswechsels einheitlich auffassen, erklärt augenscheinlich nicht die elementare Gewalt des Rhythmus. Erwägt man das Verhältnis einer einfach auftretenden Empfindung zu dem Rhythmischen der Bewegungen, wie sie für Gesicht und Gehör den Reiz bilden, und betrachtet nun die Freude am Rhythmus als die Wiederkehr eines ähnlichen Verhältnisses in höherer Ordnung, da die Teile dieses rhythmischen Verlaufs Empfindungen sind, so bleibt das doch noch vorläufig eine unbeweisbare Hypothese. Gerade die Poetik hat hier die Aufgabe, zunächst empirisch die Tatsachen ihres weiten Gebietes, vom Lied, der Melodie und dem Tanz der Naturvölker bis zu der Gliederung des griechischen Chorliedes vergleichend zu bearbeiten." *Editor.*

in close reciprocal relations with the dance and music, can be taken as the earliest form of rhythmical poetical utterance. "At a more advanced stage of primitive culture we find, as the result of joint labor, the work-song whose melody and rhythm are determined by the labor—In the work-song it is the constantly recurring rhythm of the work that tends directly to the repetition of the rhythmic and melodic motives—The musical element of speech, at this stage, is the refrain. One might say, without qualification, that the poetic form of speech began with the refrain." It seems correct to say that the rhythmical form of poetry is not a self-generated phenomenon of language; it received its regular and rhythmical form from early close relation with music and the dance. Such views as these are not the result of speculative theorizing; they rest on the investigations of ethnology and folk-psychology. At the bottom of all the conscious rhythmical activities lies pleasure in rhythmical motion. "The earliest aesthetic stimuli are symmetry and rhythm."

PH. SEIBERTH.

Washington University.

CONCERNING THE FUNCTIONS OF OLD ENGLISH
 "GEWEORÐAN" AND THE ORIGIN OF
 GERMAN "GEWÄHREN LASSEN"

I. *weorðan* and *geweorðan*.

In the oldest stage of Germanic the verb *werþan*, being perfective in meaning, was incapable of adding to its stem the particle of perfectivation, *ga*, *gi*. In contrast with the Gothic, which has faithfully preserved this status, the Old English has gone very far in the analogical use of *geweorðan*, by the side of *weorðan*. A phrase like *wearð . . . onsæge* as used in *Beow.* 2482 f. is found expanded to *onsæge gewearþ* in a charter of the end of the tenth century (Crawford Collection ed. Napier and Stevenson, 19.8). Growing uncertainty is reflected in the different treatment of the same form in two manuscripts of Gregory's Dialogues, 22.8, MS.H: *wearð* (*þæs gingran eadmodnys þam abbode to lareowe*), MS.C: *gewearð*. Again, Ælfric's normal *wearð* in *ða wearð seo menigu swiðe ablicged*, Hom. I 314.6 appears as *iwearð* in the Early Middle English transcription in the Lambeth MS. (Morris, Old English Homilies I 89.31); in the same way *wearð*, Ælfr. Hom. I 318.1 (*þa wearð micel ege on Godes gelaðunge*) is changed to *iwearð*, Lambeth MS., *ib.* 93.7, *wearð*, *wurdon*, Ælfr. Hom. I 324.11 f. to *iwearð*, *iweorden*, Lambeth MS., *ib.* 97.36, 99.1. Even in *Beowulf*, *gewearð*, in *þa sio fæhð gewearð gewrecen wraðlice* 3061 occurs in place of the proper *wearð*.

The invasion has practically become absolute conquest in the past participle, which nearly always appears in the form *geworden*. Indeed, the instances of *worden* are so rare as to arrest our attention. Gen. 1694, 2236, Dan. 124, Par. Ps. 21.5, 21.11, 117.14, Met. Boeth. 19.29, Rush. Luke 2.1, Lind. Mat. Pref. 18.18, Wulfst. 279.30 are the only places of its occurrence recorded in dictionaries and glossaries.

The loose, apparently unmeaning use of this *ge-* is well illustrated by the fact that in poetry purely metrical reasons seem to

have determined the choice of form in a number of passages. This applies e.g., to Andr. 550^b: *hold gewurde*, 167^b: *þa sio stefn gewearð / gehered*, Crist 1182^b: *unrot gewearð*, Jul. 156^b: *min geweorþe*, Guðl. 64^b: *þæt us neah gewearð*, Met. Boeth. 11.39^b: *eft gewiorðan*, Par. Ps. 73.7.3^a: *þæt þinum naman gewearð*, 101.5.5^a: *gelice¹ gewearð*, 118.67.1^b: *hean gewurde*, etc.

Sweet, whose observations on Old English usage always deserve careful attention, says (*Ags. Dictionary*, p. 204): “*geweorþan* [is used] in all the meanings of *weorþan*, especially the first group [i.e., happen, be made, be fulfilled, etc.], very rarely as auxiliary.” A closer examination seems to show somewhat more definitely that certain general principles or tendencies were, after all, influential factors in regulating the distribution of the forms *weorðan* and *geweorðan*.

1. As an auxiliary verb with past participles, *weorðan* retains its unquestioned leadership. Types: *wearð / feascraft funden*, Beow.6; *Denum eallum wearð / . . . willa gelumpen*, *ib.* 823. The exceptions occurring in poetical texts are so few and inconclusive as to become negligible.² An instance wrongly cited by Grein under *geweorðan* is Beow. 1303 f.: *cearu was geniwod, / geworden in wicun*, since *geworden* should be considered coordinate with *geniwod*. Besides, of course, the form *geworden*, which may be referred theoretically either to *weorðan* or *geweorðan*, is to be left out of the discussion.³ Even in a late example like the following from Wulfstan: *of eorþan gewurdan ærest geworhte þa ðe we sylfe ealle of coman*, (and to *eorþan we scylan ealle geweorþan*), 5.12, it seems quite possible that *gewurdan* preserved in a measure its independence, *geworhte* being added to reinforce the meaning of the verb.

2. *weorðan*, in the main, holds its own in combination with predicative nouns and adjectives. Types: *þæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen*, El. 428; *ond þa cearwylmas colran wurðað*, Beow. 282.

¹ Obviously, *gelice* is an error for *gelic*.

² The most prominent case, Beow. 3061 has been quoted before. In Andr. 167, 804, Guðl. 64, Par. Ps. 73.7., 108.13 the exigencies of the meter furnish a sufficient excuse.—As an interesting translation may be mentioned *ða he wearð gedofen*, Mat. 14.30 (= cum coepisset mergi).

³ The peculiar use of *wæs geworden*, *wearð geworden*, in place of a preterite, cannot be taken up here.

Similarly, e.g., *Grendel wearð . . . ingenga min*, Beow. 1775; *he eac þæs tíða wearð*, Wulfst. 277.19; *sum mæden wearð lama*, Dial. Greg. 228.9; *þa biscopas . . . wurdon . . . fleme⁴*, *ib.* 241.3; *þa froxas wurdon deade*, Ælfr. Exod. 8.13; *wurdon hale*, Mat. 14.36; *ða wurdon hig ealle forhte*, Luke 4.36; etc.⁵

3. Still more pronounced is the predominance of *weorðan* in connection with prepositional phrases and, likewise, with adverbs of place. Types: *he on fylle wearð*, Beow. 1544; *wearþ he Heaþolafe to handbonan*, Beow. 460;—*hie sume inne wurdon*, OE. Chron. A.D. 867.

Similarly, e.g., *to hroper . . . weorðan*, Crist 1196; *he wierð on fæstum slæpe*, Cur. Past. 194.12;⁶ *seo ylca cæster . . . wearð on bryne*, Dial. Greg. 47.23; *þy læs hi . . . on ofermettum weorðen*, Boeth. 133.24; *we of þisse weorulde weorðað*, Solil. 67.2; *þanne weorþaþ þæs mannes lif and saule of þam heape mines folces*, Wulfst. 218.12; *to hwon sculon wit weorðan nu?* Gen. B 815 (= OS. Gen. 24: *te hui sculun uuit uuerðan nu?*); *moste ane tide ute weorðan*, Gen. B 369; *gif eage of weorð*, Ædelb. Laws 43.

Applying this rule (as well as the first one stated) to a case of textual criticism, it will be seen that the emendation, originally proposed by Zupitza, in Elene 614: (*ond him hlaf ond stan*) *on gesihðe bu samod geweorðað* (MS.: *on gesihðe bu geweorðað*) is extremely improbable, and that the correct reading was obviously *on gesihðe bu geseted weorðað*.⁷

4. Certain exceptions to these rules suggest, as a possible explanation, the theory that *geweorðan* was felt to be more appropriate when the fact of a far-reaching, violent, or sudden change was to be emphasized.⁸ Also, the ideas of futurity and

⁴ Cf. German *flüchtig werden*.

⁵ Occasionally the meaning shades off into 'turn out,' 'prove': *ðæt hi beaduweorca beteran wurdon*, Brun. 48; *þæt his goddæda / swyðran weorðan þonne misdæda*, OE. Chron. A.D. 959 (D, E).

⁶ Cf. Ancr. Riwle 236.24: *his meister iweard* (Var.: *warð*) *aslepe*; *ib.* 27: *iwearð eft aslepe*.

⁷ Sievers (*Beitr.* X, 518) objected, on metrical grounds, to ten Brink's conjecture *gesette weorðað* or *geweorðað*. Certainly the second alternative is precluded by our first rule.—The corresponding passage of the 'Legends of the Holy Rood,' ed. Morris, p. 11, l. 13 ff. reads: . . . *and man him lecge toforan stanas and hlafas*.

⁸ Liebermann in his excellent glossary to the Ags. Laws gives 'anders werden' as one of the meanings of *geweorðan*.

potentiality seem to have been favorable to the employment of the fuller forms.

Thus we find, e.g., *þa hraðe æfter ðam wordum . . . næs an brehtmhwil to ðon, þæt se cniht beforan eallum þam broðrum gewearð from deofle on gefaren*, Dial. Greg. 242.28; (*hu ic) modor gewearð . . . Meotudes suna*, Crist 93, 210; *ic smeage ymbe þe, Drihten, for þam þu gewurde min helpend*, Rule of Chrodegang 26.17; *seo stow gewearþ swiþe mære ond giet to dæge is*, Oros. 120.20; *ond swa gewurdon . . . soðe martyras*, Dial. Greg. 232.2; *ond est semninga swige gewyrðeð*, El. 1274; *gif . . . wif hi . . . forlicge . . . , geweorðe heo to woruldsceame syððan hyre sylfre*, Cnut Laws II 53; *cweð þæt þas stanas to hlafe gewurdon*, Mat. 4.3; *sege þisum stane þæt he to hlafe gewurðe*, Luke 4.3; *se deofol . . . ætbryt þæt word of hyra heortan, þæt hig þurh þone geleafan hale ne gewurðað*, Luke 8.12 (=ne credentes salvi fiant); *in ðisse giberhtnad is fæder min þætte . . . ge giworðas mine ðegnas*, Rush. John 15.8 (WS.: *beon*);⁹ *ac gewurðe he swa swa gingra . . . beo he . . . Luke 22.26; ic eom . . . ylðra þonne . . . middangeard meahte geweorþan*, Rid. 41.42.

From certain other cases, such as *wenað we hwæper þes æðele wer ær ænigne lareow hæfde, se þe æfter þan þus manigra manna lareow gewearð?* Dial. Greg. 12.21; *þæt to frofre gewearð eallum eorðwarum*, Crist 722; *se to frofre gewearð foldbuendum*, Gr.-Wü. II 246.22; *swa hwa swa wille betwix eow mare geweorðan*, Rush. Mat. 20.26 (WS.: *beon*), we are furthermore justified, perhaps, in inferring that the *ge-* form was preferred when the reference was not to individual instances, but to an entire group, so as to approach a statement of a generic character.

5. This appears still more clearly in the well established use of *geweorðan* in the sense of 'come to pass,' 'happen,' when construed impersonally, either without subject or with the formal subject *þæt, hit*. The underlying principle may well be expressed in Paul's words (*Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, §306): "Die Partikel *ge-* . . . tritt ein, wo der Satz Ausdruck eines allgemeinen Gedankens, nicht einer bestimmten Tatsache ist." Thus, e.g., *gif þe æfre gewyrð, þæt . . . , Boeth. 105.24; gewearð, ðæt, Cur. Past. 111.25; gewearð, þætte . . . , Oros.*

⁹ For the encroaching on the domain of *weorðan* by the substantive verb, see P. Fijn van Draat, *Engl. St.* xxxi, 375 ff.

98.30, etc.; *næfre gewurþe*,¹⁰ *þæt . . .*, Par. Ps. 108.7; *ne sec ðu þurh hlytas hu ðe geweorðan scyle*, Apothegms 32; *hu wolde þæt geweorðan on woruldrice*, / *þæt . . .*, El. 456; *hit geweorðeþ, þæt*, Dial. Greg. 6.14; *eall forewat, hu hit geweorðan sceall ær ær hit geweorðe*, Boeth. 128.17.

Similarly, we find *geweorðan*, 'come into being,' 'arise,' employed in references to the creation of the world: *oð þæt þeos woruldgesceaft / þurh word gewearð wuldorcyninges*, Gen. 110, or to certain acts of the creation: *geweorðe leoht*, Ælfr. Gen. 1.3, *gewurðe fæstnes*, *ib.* 1.6.

Naturally, *geweorðan* was also regarded as a suitable means of accentuating the resultative function: 'be fulfilled.' Thus, *gewurþe þin willa*, Mat. 6.10, (however, Rush.: *weorðe*); so Gr.-Wü. II 233, 35, Ælfr. Hom. I 264.17, Wulfst. 125.10;¹¹ *gewyrðe þæt*, Iud. Dei (Liebermann, Ags. Laws) vii, 24.

6. On the other hand, *weorðan* 'happen,' 'arise,' is the standard form in statements of an individual character (or 'concrete clauses'¹²): *hream wearð in Heorote*, Beow. 1302; *wundor wearð on wege*, Rid. 69(68).3; *gif banes bite weorð*, Ædelb. Laws 35; *æfter þæm wearþ swa micel moncwealm on Rome*, Oros. 217.33; *þær wearþ micel gefeoht*, OE. Chron. A.D. 800; *þær nan hefelic gefeoht ne wearþ*, *ib.* 868; *þa wearð mycel hunger on þam rice*, Luke 15.14; etc.

At the same time, it is easy to see that the competition of *geweorðan* in this field would gather increasing strength, the more nearly a statement was considered to be of universal application. It is also to be recognized that a large number of 'exceptions' may be accounted for by the factors pointed out above as favorable to the use of the fuller forms. In this way, dependent clauses become especially susceptible to such disturbing influences.

To mention a few examples. *wurdon awende . . . to þam mæsten swicdome þe æfre mihte gewurðan*, OE. Chron. A.D. 1086; *ac swylce þing gewurðað for folces synna*, *ib.*; *þa undernam Godwine eorl swyðe, þæt on his eorldome sceolde swilc geweorðan*, OE. Chron. A.D. 1052 (E); *ic sceal . . . þara monegena gewinna*

¹⁰ Thus the punctuation of Grein and Assmann is to be corrected.

¹¹ Azenbite of Inwyt 262: *yworþe þi wil*.

¹² According to Paul's definition, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, §52.

geswigian þe on eastlondum gewurdon, Oros. 218.20; *hwæt he . . . wundra geworhte, ær þæt mæste gewurde*, Wulfst. 22.14; *forþan wa eow, þæt ge æfre gewurdon men*, *ib.* 297.24; *swiðost þara cyninga þe ær him gewurde*, OE. Chron. A.D. 959 (D, E); *on þam dagum beoð swylce gedrefednessa, swylce ne gewurdon of frymðe þære gesceafte . . . ne na ne gewurþað*, Mark 13.19; *biddað þæt eower fleam on wintra oððe on restedæge ne gewurpe*, Mat. 24.20 (Rush.: *werpe*); *fela cynna egesan geweorþað* (future), Wulfst. 86.14; *tacna gewurðað* (future), Ælfr. Hom. I 608.5 (*ib.* 19: *tacna beoð*); *hwylce tacna beoð þonne þas þing gewurðap?* Luke 21.7 (= cum fieri incipient); *ahese þine gārde and sleh on eorðan, þætte gnættas gewurðon ofer call Egipta land*, Ælfr. Exod. 8.16.

But when every possible allowance is made, evidences of increasing irregularity and fluctuation in the differentiation of the two forms are, indeed, apparent on every hand.¹³

No attention can be given in this rapid survey to the differences between individual texts (or groups of texts) or to the interesting question of the expression of the passive.

But mention is to be made of a remarkable variant of *geweorðan*, viz. *aworða* = 'fieri,' which occurs (mostly as past participle) in the Lindisfarne Gospels and Rushworth,² once also in Rushworth¹ (Mark 1.9). It was felt to be identical, and interchangeable, with *geweorðan*; cf. Mark 15.33, Rush.: *giwarð* (=facta) . . . *awordne werun* (=factae), Lind.: *awarð* . . . *awordne weron*; Lind. Mat. 13.21 *awærð* † *geworden* † *gewærð*, Luke 4.42 *a-* † *gewærð*, John 5.9 *awarð* † *geworden was*. Its Middle English continuation appears in *Lazamon* 25580: *to blisse hit awurðe* (in the later MS.: *teorne*)—the only instance recorded by Mätzner, Stratmann-Bradley, and in the New English Dictionary. Other examples, however, could probably be found; indeed one additional case is cited (from P. Plowm.

¹³ Just a few samples. a) Oros. 5.2: *hu þæt Mæcedonisce gewin gewearð*; OE. Chron. A.D. 592 (E): *mycel wæl gewearð on Brytene*; *ib.* A.D. 1089 (E): *swilce eac gewearð . . . mycel eorðstyrunge*;—b) Mat. 13.32, WS.: *hit wyrp treow*, Rush.: *gewyrð*; Mat. 26.5, WS.: *þe læs to mycel styrung wurde*, Lind.: *geworðe*, Rush.: *gewyrde*; Luke 1.20, WS.: *oð þone dæg þe ðas ðing gewurðap*, Rush.: *ðes wordes*; Luke 1.34, WS.: *hu gewyrð þis*, Lind., Rush.: *wordes*; Luke 2.1, WS.: *wæs geworden*, Lind.: *aworden*, Rush.: *worden*.

B 6.228) in the third division of this paper.¹⁴ This verb *aweorðan* is, of course, quite distinct in use from *aweorðan* 'perish,' 'be spoiled,' as found in *gyf þæt sealt awyrð*, Mat. 5.13, Lind.: *forworðes* (= quodsi sal evanuerit);¹⁵ cf. the causative *awyrðan*. But it is entirely reasonable to believe that merely two different lines of the semantic development of *ā-* (*uz-) are represented by the two identical compound verbs.

For the extensive use of Middle English *zewurðe(n)* (*iwurðe(n)*), by the side of *wurðe(n)*, Mätzner's Dictionary may be consulted.

In Old Low Franconian one example of *gewerthan* is preserved, Ps. 71.19: *gewerthe, gewerthe* = fiat, fiat.

In Middle Dutch *gewerden* (*geworden*, etc.) is quite common. See Verwijs-Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, Vol. II. To cite one characteristic specimen: (*Het lichaam*) *wert der wormen spise . . ., sich, daertoe saltu ghewaerden*, Tien Pl. 2466.¹⁶ According to Verdam, the verb is still retained in West Flemish: *gewerden, geweerden*.

In Old Saxon the line of division between *werðan* and *giwerðan* is much more clearly drawn than in Old English. The Heliand knows *giwerðan* only in the sense of 'happen,' 'come to pass,' 'befall' (nearly always in impersonal use).¹⁷ In one passage, l. 5814 (Cotton. MS.), Heyne, in defiance of the regular practice of the text, emends *wurðun* to *giwurðun*—:

¹⁴ It must be admitted that the ME. *aworthe* could be explained as a mere by-form of *iworthe* (cf. *aware* from OE. *gewær*) or, in fact, as the result of the well-known loose handling of prefixes. Cf., e.g., P. Plowm. 11.163 *yworthe*, Var. *worþe*; 1.201 *worthe*, Var. *yworþe*; 11.84 *aspare*, Var. *sþare*; 12.152 *appeir-ede*, Var. *yperede*; 12.63 *ywar*, Varr. *iwar, awar, war*. (Also Twelfth Century Homilies ed. Belfour, 52.10 *forðwitene* corrected to *forðawitene*, 116.32 *forðiwitene*; 104.20 *awæg awát*.)

¹⁵ The curious combination, Lind. Mat. 26.52: *forð aworðað* = peribunt (WS.: *forwurþað*, Rush.: *forweorþað*) could be interpreted as either = *forð geworðað* (so Toller) or = *aworðað* 'will perish' with adverb *forð* added for emphasis. Perhaps there was a crossing of two ideas in the glossator's mind, the form *aworðað* (= peribunt) calling up the other verb *aweorðan* = *geweorðan*.

¹⁶ Cf. Crist 624: *to þære ilcan [scil. eorðan] scealt eft geweorþan / wyrmmum aweallen*.

¹⁷ Even in this sense, *werðan* occurs, as: *werðe mi aftar thinun wordun* 286; *werða thin willeo oðar thesa werold alla, / so sama an erðo*, 1606.

all wurthun / thiū fri an forahton.¹⁸ (Cf. ll. 3713 f., 2924, 2243, etc.) In the minor OS. monuments only two cases of *giwerthan* are found.

The Middle Low German use of *gewerden* 'werden' is illustrated in Schiller-Lübben's Dictionary. Thus, e.g., *die sundach was die irste dach, die ie gewart*, *Sachsensp.* II, 66, 2.

In Old High German *giwerdan*, as a variant of *werdan*, is entirely unknown. Even the participle *giwortan* is surprisingly rare; it never occurs in Otfrid, twice in Isidor, but is the preferred form in Tatian.

In Middle High German *gewerden* is sometimes met with in Middle German sources and in Gotfried's *Tristan* (Paul, *Mittelhochd. Gram.*, 6th ed., §307, n.).

II. The impersonal use of *geweorðan*, 'convenire.'

The primitive sociative function of *ge-* (cf. Lat. *con-*) appears in full force in the interesting use of this verb, exactly as it does in the Gothic noun *gawairþi* (= εἰρήνη) and its derivatives *gagawairþjan*, *gagawairþnan*; cf. OE. *gecweðan* 'agree' (as in *Beow.* 535), Go. *gaqīþan*, *gaqīss* (= σύμφωνον); OE. *geseon* 'see each other' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* III, 263); Go. *gaqīman* (= συνέρχεσθαι, also impers. *gaqīmiþ*, = ἀνῆκεν); Go. *gabairan* (= παραβάλλειν, conferre).¹⁹

Its general meaning is 'be agreeable to,' 'please,' 'suit,' or rendered personally, 'agree'; cf. German *eins werden*, *übereinkommen*.²⁰ The agreement may consist merely in a 'con-

¹⁸ Sievers suggests the emendation *alla*.

¹⁹ Cf. compound nouns like OE. *geneat*, *gesið*, *gefera*, *geselda*, *geþofsta*, *gebedda*, *gehlytta* (consors), *gebeor* (conviva), *geleod* 'fellow countryman,' (also *gehwa*), or Go. *gasinþa* (συνέδημος), *gahlaiba* (συστρατιώτης, συμμαθητής), *gawaarstwa* (συνεργός), *galeika* (σβσσωμος), *gadaila* (συμμέτοχος, συγκοινωνός), *garazna* (γέλιων); OHG. *gibur(o)*, *gihlozo*, *gileibo*, *gimazzo*, *gisedalo*, *gisindo*; etc. See e.g., Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik* II, §§130, 154 f.; H.A.J. van Swaay, *Het prefix ga-, gi-, ge-, zijn geschiedenis, en zijn invloed op de "Actionsart,"* etc. (1901), pp. 33 ff. It may be noted that these formations answer in function to the later stratum of the *ef(e)n-* compounds like OE. *ef(e)n-hlytta* (consors), *-ðegn*, *-ðeow* (conservus), *-yrfeweard* (coheres), *-biscop* (coepiscopus); also *ef(e)n-ðwære* (concors), *-ece* (coeternus); *ef(e)n-cuman* (convenire), *-blissian* (congratulari), *-gefeon* (congaudere), *ðrowian* (compati), etc.; cf. also Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* I, 96: *eban-*.

²⁰ Note Ælfric's interesting, if inexact rendering of 'convenior' by (*ic eom samod cumen oððe*) *me gewearð* in his *Grammar*, 218.7 ff.—Unfortunately, OE. *lician* cannot with any degree of certainty be cited as a semantic analogue,

sensus of opinion' regarding some happening or circumstance (as in Beow. 1598), or—as is commonly the case in the examples under consideration—it may look toward some action to be taken, thus involving the idea of 'decide,' 'determine.' Again, the phrase may denote an agreement between or among a number of persons, or it may refer to a wholehearted decision by a single person: 'make up one's mind,' 'resolve,' 'determine,' cf. Middle High German *enein werden*,²¹ German *mit sich eins werden*.²² But the essential unity of meaning should never be lost sight of.

As to construction, this *geweorðan* is most frequently found with the accusative of the person,—sometimes in absolute use, once with an infinitive, and very often with the genitive of the thing or a *þæt*-clause, or with both; in a few cases prepositional phrases (with *ymb*, *wið*, *to*) have taken the place of the (earlier) genitival construction. The idea of 'mutual agreement' is occasionally emphasized by the addition of *betwih*, *betweonum* and personal pronouns. In a number of instances, mostly late ones, the dative of the person is met with; in several cases of this type the two parties to the agreement are specified and joined by the copulative *and*. Whether the use of this dative is in part due to the influence of (*ge*)*weorðan* 'happen,' is a question possibly to be answered in the affirmative.

Examples:²³

a) *geweorðan* used absolutely.

cf. Franck-van Wijk, *Etym. Woordenboek*, s.v. *lijken*. (The use of *lician* and *gelician* in the following two passages is decidedly instructive: *licade us efen-cuman*, Bede 276.13 (=placuit convenire nos); *eowrum Fæder gelicode eow rice syllan*, Luke 12.32 (=complacuit Patri vestro dare vobis regnum.)

²¹ E.g., *unz daz er aber einer vart / durch banekie eneine wart*, Gotfr. Tristan 409.

²² Cf., e.g., *mid hine gemyndgade*, Bede 346.2 (=rememorando secum).

²³ A number of the examples here presented may be found in Professor Hubbard's admirable paper, "Beowulf 1598, 1996, 2026; uses of the impersonal verb *geweorþan*," in this *Journal*, xvii, 119-124, by which, in fact, the present study was first suggested. (Several of the passages were referred to by J. L. Hall in a brief note, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* VI (1886), 32 f.) It was a happy idea of Professor Hubbard's to include analogous examples from other Germanic dialects. It will be shown, I hope, especially in the third division of this article, that this line of investigation can be still further extended.

þa ne meahte heo betweoh him geþwærigan ond geweorðan, Bede 272.31 (=qui cum invicem concordare non possent). This is, perhaps, a combination of a personal construction (*geþwærigan*) and an impersonal one (*geweorðan*); *meahte* might be considered either singular or plural, see *Anglia* xxv, 313. MS. B reads: *gewurþan ond geþwærigan*.

he deð swa swa hine silfne gewyrð, and he nænne rædboran næfð, Ælfric's Preface to Genesis 24.23. (Bright, in the glossary to his *Ags. Reader*: "according to his own decree.")

Ealle ðas ðing deð se Halga Gast, todælende æghwylcum be ðam ðe him gewyrð, Ælfr. Hom. I 322.29. So in the early ME. transcription in the Lambeth MS. (Morris, *Old English Homilies* I 97.22): *bi þan þet him iwurð*.

se halga gast hy todælþ . . . Godes halgum mannum be ðam þe him gewurð, Wulfst. 57.9.

heo hæfde þone sceatt, swa swa him gewearð, Ælfr. Lib. Iud. 16.21 (=data illi pecunia, quam promiserant).

heo ða dydon, swa heo þær gewearð, Wulfst. 226.27.

. . . *biscop ðæt lond gebycge, suæ hie ðonne geweorðe*, Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts (Charters)*, 442.20. (Thorpe in his edition, *Diplom. Angl.* 463, doubtfully conjectures *hit for hie*.)

ofsloh þær mycelne ende þæs folces ond nam him on orfe ond on mannum ond on æhtum swa him gewearð, OE. Chron. A.D. 1052(E); not "as it befell him" (Plummer), but 'as it suited him.' Cf. the expression occurring in the same annal: *namon him þær scipu ond gislas swa fela swa hi woldon*.

þæt eowrum þeawum ond minum ne mihte atgædere gewurðan, Dial. Greg. (MS.H) 105.20 (=quia vestris ac meis moribus minime conveniret). In MS.C the impersonal construction is given up: *þæt eowrum þeawum ond minum ne mihte an wise gewurðan* (MS.O: *geðwærigan*).

swa swa him ond þam cynge gewearð, OE. Chron. A.D. 1103.²⁴

forðan ðe ðam luste and geswencednyse naht eaðe on anum tīman ne gewyrð, Ælfr. Hom. II 92.20.

wyn þu nu ongean þone wuldres Cynīng, and gewurðe þe and hym, Harrowing of Hell, in Bright's *Ags. Reader* 133.22 (Bright's

²⁴ Perhaps Jud. 259: *hu ðone cumbolwigan / wið ða halgan mægð hæfde geworden* should be included. The case is, at any rate, sufficiently similar. (Cf. 'get on with.')

Glossary: "let it be between you"). Cf. Maldon 60: *us sceal ord and ecg ær geseman, / grimme guðþlega, ær we gafol sylton.*

b) *geweorðan* with infinitive.²⁵

(In consequence of the confusion of tongues, Gen. xi) *ne meakte hie geweorðan weall stænenne / up forð timbran,* Gen. 1691. (Note 1694 ff.: *wæs oðer[r]e æghwilec worden / mægburh fremde, siððan Metod tobræd / þurh his mihta sped monna spræce.*) Toller's rendering (*Ags. Dictionary*, s.v. *töhladan*), "they could not combine to carry on the building of the wall" is a great improvement upon that of Grein, "nicht werden mocht' es ihnen, etc."

c) With genitive of the thing.

þa hie nanre sibbe ne gewearð, Oros. 204.23.

swipe hrædlice þæs þe hie þæs geworden hæfde, OE. Chron. A.D. 918 (B,C,D); 'very soon after they had agreed thereon.'

. . . *þa senatores, þæt synd þeodwitan, þæt dæghwamlice smeodon . . . embe ealles folces þearfe and heora ræd cyðdon þam casere, and him gewearð anes,* Ælfr. Lib. Iud. Epilogus, Grein 263.26. Cf. German *eins werden*.²⁶

d) With a *þæt*-clause.

hie gewearð þæt hie wolden to Romanum friþes wilnian, Oros. 178.7 (= *petendam esse a Romanis pacem decreverunt*).²⁷

hie ealle gewearð him betweonum þæt hie wolden Romanum geswican, Oros. 234.13 (= *cum defectionem meditarentur*). Similarly, *ib.* 280.20.

²⁵ Cf. Gothic *wairþan* with dative and infinitive, as in *warþ . . . galeiþan imma,* Luke 6.6 (see Streitberg, §318; Sturtevant, *Mod. Lang Notes* xxxii, 141 ff.); also OE. *becuman* with infinitive (see Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 8).

²⁶ This *eins* is presumably to be explained as gen. sing. An unequivocal Middle Low German example dating from A.D. 1416 has been noticed in Lüb- ben's *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* etc., p. 172: *Item so is de gemeyne selscopp ens geworden, dat de vastelauendes schaffere up scolen sluten den kelre des myddages to teynen, etc.* Two instances are given in Schiller-Lüb- ben's Dictionary, s.v. *gewerden*, viz.: *des ne kunde die rad nicht ens werden,* Brem. G.Q. 89; *en konden sey des gheldes nicht eyns werden,* Seib. Urk. 540, 115. Some Middle Dutch examples may be found in Verwijs-Verdam's Dictionary, s.v. *gewerden*; e.g., *Of zijs nyet eens ghewerden en consten, zo zoudt de raet vander stat scheyden,* R.v. Utr. 1,198,42. (Dutch *eens worden*.)

²⁷ Cf., e.g., Blickl. Hom. 151.1: *þokton þæt hie woldan ofslean ða apostolas;* Boeth. 102.10: *ða ðohte he ðæt he wolde geseccan helle godu.*

þeh þe Romanie hæfde geworden hwene ær, þæt he on Asiam feran sceolde, Oros. 208.28.

(*þa gewearð þæt þridde gewinn Romana ond Cartaina*, = *tertium Punicum bellum exortum est*), *ond gewearð þa senatos him betweonum, gif hie mon þriddan sipe oferwunne, þæt mon ealle (Cartaina, C) towurpe*, Oros. 210.14 (= *cum senatus delendam Carthaginem censuisset*).

Ða gewearð usic, þæt we woldon swa / Drihten adrifan, Sat. 256.

þa gewearð þone weregan . . . þæt he costode cyning alwihta, Sat. 669.

Ða gewearð hine ðæt he gecierde inn to ðam scræfe ond wolde him ðær gan to feltune, Cur. Past. 197.14. Sweet's rendering "then it happened" is inadmissible.

Hu mæg þæm geweorðan . . . þæt he þone stan nime / wið hungres hleo, hlafes ne gime . . . ? El. 611; 'how is it possible that he should decide (choose) to take the stone?' Weymouth's (and Holt's) translation, "How can (shall) it be with him . . ." fails to do justice to the context. The dative *þæm* may well be attributed to analogy.

Hwi gewearð inc swa þæt gyt dorston fandian Godes? Ælfr. Hom. I 316.33 (= Act. V 9: *quid utinam convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini?*); cf. 316.22: *hi cwædon him betweonan, þæt hi woldon . . . , 23: namon ða to ræde, þæt . . .* So in the Lambeth MS. (Morris, Old English Homilies I 93.4): *hwi iwearð hinc²⁸ swa þet git dursten fondian Godes? Thorpe and Morris take the clause in the sense of "why have ye (two) so done . . . ?"*

e) With genitive of the thing, generally in the form of the (proleptic) *þæs*, and *þæt*-clause.

þa ðæs monige gewearð, / þæt hine seo brimwylf abroten hæfde, Beow. 1598; well explained by Hubbard: "many agreed in thinking . . ."

hafað þæs geworden wine Scyldinga / . . . ond þæt ræd talað, / þæt he mid ðy wife . . . sæcca gesette, Beow. 2026; 'the friend of the Scyldings has made up his mind as to that (decided on the policy) . . .'; *gesette* should be understood as optative of the present (not as the preterite). Shipley's version

²⁸ Strangely misprinted *hine* in the New English Dictionary

(*The Genitive Case in Ags. Poetry*, p. 43): "this had happened to the friend of the Scyldings" is certainly antiquated.

Hu gewearð þe þæs . . . , ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldest . . . ? Andr. 307. Rendered very acceptably by Sweet: "what made you think of . . . (determine to . . .)?" Krapp explains *geweorðan* as "occur, befall."

gif ðæs geweorpe gesipcundne mannan ofer þis gemot, þæt he unrihtþæmed genime ofer cyngæs bebod, *Wihtræd Laws* 5; 'if a man of the rank of a *gesið* takes it into his head . . . ' Liebermann, who operates with the meaning 'happen,' feels constrained to propose two emendations, viz. *ðæt* and *gesipcunde(?)*.

gewearð him and þam folce on Lindesige anes, þæt hi hine horsian woldan (D, E: *sceoldon*), OE. Chron. A.D. 1014(C).²⁹

f) With prepositions (*ymb, wið, to*).

sceolde unc Adame yfele gewurðan / ymb þæt heofonrice, þær ic ahte minra handa geweald, Gen. B 387; 'we two, I and Adam, would ill agree as to, i.e. fight about, the kingdom . . . ' ³⁰

þa gewearð þam hlaforde and þam hyrigmannum wið anum peninge,³¹ Supplement to Ælfric's Homilies (ed. Napier), Arch. cii, 31 = Thorpe's *Anal. Ags.* 73.29 (= Mat. xx 2: *conventionem autem factam cum operariis ex denario diurno*); *hu la, ne gewearð unc to anum peninge? ib.*, = *Anal. Ags.* 74.21 (= Mat. xx 13: *nonne ex denario convenisti mecum?*)

Middle English

(Cf. the OE. examples quoted above under d.)

þa ne mihte heom iwurðe, / wha þis lond scolde azen, / and to-wende mid alle / a muchelere wraððe, *Lazam.* 29427.—*Ofte heo*

²⁹ Cf. *Wurðan þa ealle swa anræde mid þam cyngre þæt hy woldan Godwines fyrde gesecan*, OE. Chron. A.D. 1052(D); *þa wæron ealle on annysse mid þam apostolum*, Ælfr. Hom. I 316.3.

³⁰ Cf. the expression of the corresponding active (causative) idea: *On þam dagum . . . wæron twegen cyningas ymb þæt rice winnende . . . þa sendon hie to Philippuse, ond bædon þæt he hie ymb þæt rice gesemde*.

³¹ Perhaps both *wið* and *to* should be credited here with the definite function of denoting the price, as in *hwī ne sealde heo þas sealfe wip þrim hundred penigon*, John 12.5; *hu ne becypað hig twegen spearwan to peninge?* Mat. 10.29. Cf. *Dial. Greg.* 63.25, Ms.C: *bebohte his hors to twelf mancussum*, MS.H: *gesealde his hors wið twelf mancosum*.—Luther's rendering of Mat. XX 2 is: *da er mit den Arbeitern eins ward um einen Groschen*.

eoden to ræde, / ofte heo heolden rune, / ær heom mihte iwurðen, / waht heo don wolde (Var.: *her hii mihte iworþe*), *ib.* 25331.

With a clear change of the impersonal to the personal construction: *zif þu þis nult iwurðen* (Madden: "agree to [do] this"; Stratmann-Bradley: "allow"), *þe wurs þeo scalt³² iwurðen*, *Lazam.* 8910; *zif ze wolden iwurðen / and don mine iwille, ib.* 19318. (Cf. the OE. examples under a. and c.)

Middle Dutch

See Verwijs-Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, Vol. II (where the following examples are listed). Cf. the OE. examples under c.

Des gewerde God, *Lanc.* III, 3966. (Verdam takes *God* as nominative.)

Si antwerdden hem [Pilatus] . . . wat gheet ons dit ane? wale ghewerds di, *L.v.J.*, c. 226; *ic ben sonder plecht van den bloede dis gherechts menschen; wale ghewerds u* (= vos videritis), *ib.* c. 228; Verdam: "dit is uwe zaak."

Heeft sijs verdient wel, dat gi hare sijt dus fel, wel gewerts hare ende u, *Mor.* 1413; Verdam: "dan moet gij dit onder elkander uitmaken." Cf. the last OE. example under a. and the first example under f.³³

A trace of this usage—with change to the personal construction—remains in the modern Dutch expression *niet met iemand kunnen geworden* ('get along with'). Cf. footnote 24.

Old Saxon

(Cf. the OE. examples under d.)

Thea gumon alle giwarð, / that sie ina gihoðin te heroston, / gikurin ina te kuninge, *Hel.* 2883. H.A.J. van Swaay's rendering is (*op. cit.*, p. 287): "in den zin krijgen."

Middle Low German

(Cf. the OE. examples under a.)

Personal construction:

so dan eyn raet tor tyd myt den sulbygen nycht konde gewerden, so sollen se veer van der gemeynheit unde veer van den ampten tho

³² No doubt *scæl* was intended.

³³ The construction with the dative (provided Verdam is right in calling the case dative rather than accusative) as well as the second meaning assigned by Verdam to *wel gewerde des di*, viz. "wel bekomme het u," "iets hebbe goede gevolgen voor u" bespeaks the influence of *gewerden* 'happen.'

sych bydden unde myt em gewerden, Seibertz, Westf. Urk. 435 (quoted from Schiller-Lübbers's Dictionary). Cf. the examples of *eens* (*eyns*) *gewerden*, footnote 26.

Note. The meaning 'agree,' hence 'get along (with),' 'manage' is well illustrated in modern dialectal usage (Ripuarian, near the Low Franconian border): *ich sal wat met ïch gewede*, 'ich werde wohl mit euch fertig werden.' (Aachen.)³⁴

Old High German

Otfrid furnishes several examples,³⁵ in which the basic idea of 'please,' 'seem good' has taken on the specific meanings of 'enjoy' and 'desire.' That this development has been assisted by association with *werd* (i.e., in the sense of 'dear'), is to be admitted as a possibility, but it is clearly wrong to assert a direct etymological connection of the verb with that adjective (so Schade, Wackernagel, and Braune in his *Lesebuch*).³⁶ The identity of this *giwerdan* with the impersonal OS. *giwerðan*, OE. *geweorðan* is further attested by Otfrid's use of *giwurt*, 'oblectatio,' which runs parallel to *wurt*, 'fatum,' OS. *wurd*, OE. *wyrd*, i.e. formations carrying out the meaning of *werdan*, etc.

Meaning 'enjoy' (cf. c.):

giwerdan mohta siu (sie) es tho, Otfrid II 8.9, IV 9.20; *so sie thes brotes giward*, III 6.44.

Meaning 'desire' (cf. d.):

ob inan giwurti, thaz er heil wurti, III 4.20.

III. *geweorðan lætan* and its cognates.

A special application of the genuinely idiomatic construction of *geweorðan* with accusative of the person and genitive of

³⁴ Wunderlich, in the Grimm *Wörterbuch* IV, 1.3, 4852.

³⁵ Cf. Hubbard, *l.c.*, 123.

³⁶ Also Erdmann, in his *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids* II, §123 yields to that etymology when he translates *giwirdit* by 'es erfüllt mich mit dem Gefühle des Wertes oder der Würde.'—On the other hand, there is no doubt about the relation between *werd* and OHG. *giwerdōn* (*giwerdēn*) 'sich herablassen etwas zu tun,' 'dignari,' 'gnädig gestatten,' MHG. *gewerden* (w.v.), M. Du. *gewerden* (w.v.), OS. *giwerðōn* (used impersonally, Hel. 2449, and personally, Hel. 4040: *giwerðot thinan willeon*), though in the second example from the Heliand we might suspect some contact with *giwerðan*, cf. the last two instances from Lajamon. Whether the first quotation under MLG. *gewerden* = 'geweren' (Schiller-Lübbers) should be included in this group, I am unable to ascertain.

the thing meets us in the phrase *geweorðan lætan*, well known from Beow. 1996 f.: (*þæt ðu . . .*) *lete Suð-Dene sylfe geweorðan / guðe wið Grendel*, 'that you should let the Danes themselves agree as to the fight . . .,' or '. . . decide about . . .,' and then—translating decision into action—'attend to [settle] the fighting.'³⁷ Strictly speaking, the accusative *Dene sylfe* should be considered to depend on *geweorðan*. If the emphasis was placed on the person (cf. *sylfe*, 'let them do it'), the meaning could easily shade off into 'leave it to them,' further—by the omission of the object which was originally expressed by the genitive—into 'do not interfere with them,' 'let them alone.' This development is so natural and has been carried out with such consistency that the failure to adopt the above explanation can be accounted for only by preconceived notions concerning certain modern phrasal combinations. Cosijn in his famous *Aanteekeningen op den Bēowulf*, p. 30 cites as a parallel, the Middle Dutch phrase *laten geverden* (*geworden*), in which *gewerden* (according to Verdam) denotes 'begaan,' 'te werk gaan,' and at the same time pronounces emphatically against Bugge's illuminating interpretation (*Beitr.* xii, 97). Cosijn is followed by Hubbard, who, in addition, brings forward interesting examples of the analogous combination in Middle English, Middle High German, and Middle Dutch.

However, neither Cosijn nor Hubbard commits himself very definitely on the construction of the Beowulfian passage. Should we translate (with Hubbard): 'that you let the Danes alone *in* their war against Grendel'? This looks like a makeshift, which is hardly in agreement with Old English usage. Or should we follow Shipley (*The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, p. 43, cf. also Hubbard): 'let the contest with Grendel be for the Danes'? In the light of the material presented in our second division it seems to me pretty clear that *guðe* is the normal genitive, and that Bugge's derivation of the expression

³⁷ *wið* is perhaps to be connected with (*Dene sylfe geweorðan*) *guðe*. It is quite possible, however, that *wið* (denoting association, dealing) is to be construed directly with *geweorðan* ('agree'); in that case, the last example under 'a.' and the first one under 'f.' (in our second division) could be referred to as partial parallels; cf. also footnote 24 and the M. Du. and Ger. examples with *met*, *mit*, below. Lines 424b-26a show a similarity of meaning, though not of construction.

in *Beowulf* from impersonal *geweorðeð* 'convenit' fits the case perfectly. Moreover, it is *a priori* more likely that the ancient Anglo-Saxon phrase should throw light on the idiom as known in the later periods than *vice versa*. The almost complete absence of the expression from Old English literature is possibly owing to a slightly colloquial flavor attaching to it.

The change of the old impersonal construction into a personal one was practically unavoidable. There can, indeed, be little doubt that in all the following examples the noun or pronoun was felt to depend directly on *lætan*, *leten*, *laten*, *lassen*. It is also easy to see that alterations of meaning were facilitated in case *lætan*, suggesting both 'allow,' 'grant'³⁸ and 'leave,'³⁹ gained prominence at the expense of the verb *geweorðan*, which gradually fell into disuse (in English), became isolated (in Dutch), or was merged with another stem (in German).

That an early obscuration of the phrase, both in form and meaning, actually took place, is indicated by a passage in the OE. Chron. (MS.E), A.D. 1090: *ferde on gean to France and let heom swa weorðan*, 'he let them manage it,' 'left them to their fate.' At the same time, it should be insisted that we cannot start from this type in tracing the development of the idiom. Verdam assumes a basic meaning: 'begaan,' 'te werk gaan,' 'beschikken,' apparently considered a semantic variety of the plain 'worden'—Cosijn postulates the connotation of 'ten einde toe,'—but the central idea of (*ge*)*weorðan* (as illustrated in our first division), that of 'change,' is conspicuously absent from the notions we would naturally associate with the infinitive part of the phrase. At any rate, an examination of our lists of examples fails to reveal any connection between groups I and III.

Now the examples of the idiom may be allowed to speak for themselves.

Middle English examples

a) The old construction theoretically continued, i.e., with the genitival object easily supplied (or understood) with reference to a preceding statement.

³⁸ Cf., e.g., (WS.) Mat. 3.15: *læt nu þus*, Ælfr. Hom. II 38.34: *læt nu þus and geðafa ðis* (=sine modo), A.V.: 'suffer it to be so now.'

³⁹ Cf. *an* (for)*lætan*.

Marthe haueð hire mester, leteð hire iwurðen ('let her attend [to it]'), and *sitte 3e mid Marie ston-stille ed Godes fet . . . Marthe mester is uorto ueden and schruden poure men, ase huse-lefdi*. [Note the following clause:] *Marie ne ouh nouw uorto entremeten hire þerof*, Ancr. Riwe 414.19.

Lauerd, beo þeu stille, let me al iwurpen, La3. 3343. Madden: "leave me to manage" [scil. it].

Loue hem and lakke hem nou3te, late God take þe veniaunce, / Theigh þei done yuel, late þow God yworthe (Varr.: *aworthe, worthe*, etc.), P. Plowm. B 6.227.

b) In place of a genitive, the preposition *wiþ* appears.

Bote we leteþ God i-worþe wiþ his owne priuete (Var.: *but as God wil soo mote it be*), Trevisa, Higden vi, 279; = *sed Deo sua decreta* [Var.: *secreta*] *committimus*.⁴⁰

c) By ellipsis, the combination is hardened into a set phrase: 'let alone,' 'let go,' etc.

God wol nat of hem wite, bote leteþ hem yworthe, P. Plowm. 11.163; = *dimisi eos secundum desideria cordis eorum*, Ps. lxxx, 13.

Lakke hem no3t, but lete hem worthe, P. Plowm. 3.49.

for nothyng he [the chylde] hit myght lerne,⁴¹ *for betyng, thretyng, ne fayrnesse, and therfor they letten hym ywurthe*, *Secreta Secretorum* (EETS., Extra Ser. 74) 217.4.

Soone hee leapes on-loft and lete hym worthe, / To fare as hym lyst faine in feelde or in towne, Alisaunder 1186 (Will. of Palerne ed. Skeat, p. 216).

3if eni wurðeð so wod . . . þæt he worpe his hond forð touward þe þurl cloð, swifðliche anonriht schutteð al þet þurl to and letteð hine iwurðen, Ancr. Riwe 96.8.

d) In place of a person (living being), a thing appears as object of *leten*. (Clearly a secondary usage.)

þe ualse demeres . . . zelleþ hare domes oþer ham leteþ yworthe, A3enb. 40.

This list could easily be extended.

⁴⁰ Quite possibly also P. Plowm. B 6.84: *late God yworth* (A text 7.75: *worþe*) *with al* belongs here.

⁴¹ Thus the punctuation is to be corrected.

*Middle Dutch*⁴²

a) Construction with genitive.

Dat wi Gode ghewerden laten ons selfs ende alre dinc, Ruusb. 2, 195; 'decide about,' 'dispose of.'

Wat seldi herden, vrouwe? Des laet mi gewerden, doet dat ic u heete nu, Lorr. II 1731. (Cf. *ib.* 1734: *Ic late u, broeder, gewerden altemale.*)

Lates mi ende hare gewerden, Rose 11115.⁴³

b) Construction with preposition *met*.

Ende laten der geestelicker iusticie daermede gewerden, Wiel. Instr. 165, 617.

Besides, *met* in connection with persons; cf. the Middle Low German (and the Dutch) example cited in the second division. Cases of this type could, indeed, be explained in conformity with the Old English examples under a.

laet my met haer ghewerden, ic zalse gaen met voeten terden, V Maagd. 52, 763.

laet mi metten neve mijn ghewerden, ic wils geweldech sijn, Yst. Bl. 1403.

c) Absolute use.

Ghi moet Christum minnen . . . ende hem in allen dinghen ghewerden laten, Ruusb. 5, 131.

si liet ghewerden den jonghen, Boerden III 111.

d) With a thing as the object.⁴⁴

Dit liet hi also gewerden doe, Flor. 3236.

Cresus liet al gewerden sire sotheit ende sire hoverden, Rose 6249.

The phrase is continued in the Dutch *iemand laten geworden*.⁴⁵

⁴² These examples are derived from Verwijs-Verdam's Dictionary. Cf. also Hubbard's paper. Verdam renders *laten gewerden* by 'laten begaan,' 'laten geworden,' 'laten betijen,' 'zijn gang laten gaan.'

⁴³ W. L. van Helten, *Tijdschrift voor nederl. Taal- en Letterkunde*, III, 113. The meaning of this *gewerden* is well brought out by van Helten's 'voor iets zorgen.'

⁴⁴ These cases are needlessly separated from the preceding ones in Verwijs-Verdam.

⁴⁵ In Sicherer-Akveld's Dictionary *laat hem geworden* is rendered by 'lass ihn gehen, machen.' The phrase has also been compared with the French *laisser faire*, cf. Wunderlich, *l.c.*, 4852.

Middle Low German, Middle High German, Early Modern German: *gewerden* (*geweren*) *laten* (*laszen*).⁴⁶

a) Approximate parallels of the old usage.

und lazent in geworden, Erlösung 6038 (Middle German), 'lassen ihn sehen, wie er [damit] zurecht kommt' rather than 'lassen ihn in Ruhe.'

Similarly *gewer(e)n laszen* is used:

. . . *ain herolt . . . ausrufent und meniklich still zu sein gebietunde, die kempfen nit zu irren . . . sonder sie mit einander vechten und gewern laszen*, Wilwolt von Schaumburg, p. 157.

b) Construction with preposition *mede*, *mit*.

ock sollen unde willen wy op alle de vrien . . . gensligen vertyen, unde dar unsen neven van Tekenneborch mede geworden laten, Münster'sche Beiträge etc. 4, 619 (dated 1489).

In exactly the same function *geweren laten*:

van den stifters is uns nicht van bewust, dar leyte wy eyn e. radt medde geweren, Monumenta Livoniae antiquae 4², 30 (Riga's ältere Geschichte, date 1546.)

In connection with persons: *lasse du mich mit dir geworden*, Spee, Guldenes Tugendbuch; *mit mir lasz euch geworden*, Spee, Trutznachtigall 9 (1649).

Possibly the quotation from Wilwolt von Schaumburg should also be placed here.

c) *gewerden lassen* used absolutely, 'let one alone,' 'let one have his own way.'

wil ich aufhören und dich geworden lassen, Spee, (Cölln, 1643).⁴⁷ Presumably Spee himself pronounced familiarly *gewern*.

[So in modern dialect (Aachen): *losz mich gewe'de*. Cf. the expression quoted before: *ich sal wat met ïch gewede*. Similarly in East Frisian: *lät mi gewären, lät dat gewären; lät hum d'r mit*

⁴⁶ These examples have been culled from Schiller-Lübbers's Middle Low German Dictionary, Benecke-Müller-Zarncke's Middle High German Dictionary, and the Grimm *Wörterbuch*, IV, 1. 3, cols. 4850 ff.

⁴⁷ An analogous use of *bewerden* is quoted in the MHG. Dictionary: *dō er diz alliz hatte getân, dō liez ern [den jungelich] bewerden*, Deutsche Predigten des 13. und 14. Jahrh., ed. H. Leyser. Likewise, the Middle Dutch knows *bewerden laten*, both in the absolute use and with the preposition *van* (*van Helten, l.c.*). This use seems to indicate the weakening of the *Sprachgefühl* in regard to the proper connections of *gewerden*.

gewären und d'r mit maken wat hē wil un kan. (J. ten Doornkaat Koolman's Dictionary.)]

A specific development of this function is seen in: *swie du sie niht geworden last*, Erlösung 4157,—'let her go,' i.e., 'dismiss her.'

d) With a thing as the object.

ich will mein weltliches leben gruntlich geworden lassen, Augsburger Übersetzung von Gregors Dialogen (dated 1473); *da liesz das ganz wasser seinen aigen graben geworden und flos ihm nach*, *ib.*⁴⁸

From the foregoing illustrations it seems sufficiently clear that the modern German *gewähren lassen*, 'let one do as one pleases,' 'let one have his own way,' 'let alone' is the lineal descendant of the old *gewerden lazen (laten)*, and that no other etymology is needed to explain it.⁴⁹ Wunderlich in his elaborate discussion of *gewähren lassen* (Grimm *Wörterbuch*, *l.c.*) justly refers to the dialectal confusion of *gewerden* and *gewer(e)n*,⁵⁰ but he still seems inclined (col. 4851) to explain the phrase, with Osthoff, directly from (*ge*)währen 'dauern,'—*gewähren lassen* "ruhen lassen," "dauern und wahren lassen," cf. Lat. *sinere*. Though the latter influence might conceivably have contributed to the fixing of the form *gewähren*,⁵¹ the real etymology is not affected thereby. It should also be clearly understood that Wunderlich's three examples of an 'occasional' combination of

⁴⁸ Cf. OE. Dial. Greg. 193.1: *forlatenum hire agnum streame eall seo ea was him fylgende, swa hæt heo eallunga þone gewunelican ryne anforlet*.

⁴⁹ Paul in the first edition of his *Wörterbuch* considered the origin of the idiom still obscure; in the second edition (1908) he calls its development from *gewerden lassen* "phonetically quite possible." The new Weigand (1909) offers no explanation.—As regards van Helten's attempt (*l.c.*) to connect the (Middle Dutch) phrase with the OS. *wardon*, it is sufficient to point to the evidence of the OE. and ME. examples.

⁵⁰ For the dropping (and analogical insertion) of *d* in Middle Low German see Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik*, §33. For a convenient summary of the forms of the verb 'werden,' *wern* in modern Low German dialects see Grimme, *Plattdesche Mundarten* (Sammlung Göschen, no. 461), §195.—A first-hand search, especially through Low German and Middle German texts, might perhaps result in establishing the lines of development more definitely.

⁵¹ The same might be conjectured with regard to *gewähren* 'grant,' and we might even ask the question whether the former similarity of construction (*einen eines dinges wern (gewähren)*) may not have aided in the process of fusion.

lassen and *gewähren* in the sense of 'wahr machen,' 'leisten,' and 'verbürgen' respectively are of a totally different character and only serve to confuse the issue.⁵² Obviously unsatisfactory, in fact impossible is Heyne's explanation of this *gewähren* from Middle High German *gewären* 'als wahr erweisen' (*Deutsches Wörterbuch* I, 1160 f.). There is no way of connecting that verb with our modern usage.

That *gewähren lassen* was not admitted by grammarians into the standard language until recent times, is to be gathered from Heynatz's *Antibarbarus* (of 1796-7, see Wunderlich), in which attention is called to the 'strange meaning' of the combination as current 'in some districts.' It is not found in Adelung.⁵³

FR. KLAEBER.

The University of Minnesota.

⁵² Verdam quite properly keeps the idiom *gewerden laten* entirely separate from the combination of *gewerden* ('feri') with *laten* (or *doen*), meaning 'scheppen.'

⁵³ It is of some historical interest to note that in J. Ch. A. Heyse's *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1833) this *gewähren* is called a palpable corruption of *gebaren*.

REMINISCENCES OF PLATO IN GOETHE'S FAUST

I

Among the enigmatic portions of the Second Part of Goethe's Faust few passages have given the interpreters greater troubles than the introductory soliloquy of Faust. These troubles have manifested themselves not so much in a variety of explanatory theories as in a certain vagueness concerning the real significance and meaning of the scene. To be sure some of the recent interpreters of the soliloquy speak of its wistful symbolism but they fail to explain unequivocally what the poet wished to convey by it and, what is of equal importance, how he came to employ this mode of representation. For it is from the poet's innermost bent of mind as revealed in the character and purpose of his artistic expressions that the interpretation must start.

A mere glance at Goethe's utterances, both poetic and scientific, during the second half of his life will disclose the eminent position which symbolism occupied in his thought, symbolism not only as a means of artistic representation but also as a key to the understanding of the secret of the world. In one of his scientific papers of the year 1823¹ he confesses: "Nach meiner Art zu forschen, zu wissen und zu geniessen darf ich mich nur an Symbole halten," adopting as a motto for his own scientific attempts Thomas Campanella's significant words: "Natura infinita est, sed qui symbola animadverterit omnia intelliget licet non omnino."²

In view of the importance which Goethe thus attaches to the symbol it is highly instructive to hear his explanation of the process of symbolization whose nature and function he tried to fathom by unceasing observation and reflection. "Das ist die wahre Symbolik," he tells us, "wo das Besondere das Allgemeine repräsentirt, nicht als Traum und Schatten, sondern als augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen."³ How the

¹ *Die Lepaden, Goethe's Werke XXXIII, 289 (Hempel).*

² *Werke, XXXIV, 93 (H).*

³ *Sprüche in Prosa No. 273 (H).*

single sensual phenomenon, the careful and exact observation of which constitutes Goethe's objective mode of thinking (gegenständliches Denken) can reveal to him its ideal significance (das Allgemeine), he describes in a letter to Schiller.⁴ "Symbolisch," he says, "sind eminente Fälle, die in einer charakteristischen Manigfaltigkeit als Repräsentanten von vielen anderen dastehen, eine gewisse Totalität in sich schliessen, eine gewisse Reihe fordern, Aehnliches und Fremdes in meinem Geiste aufregen und so, von aussen wie von innen, an eine gewisse Einheit und Allheit Anspruch machen." Again he touches upon the problem of the unity of the sensual and the ideal encompassed in the symbol in the following passage, indicating at the same time what distinguishes the symbol from the allegory: "Ein Symbol . . . ist die Sache, ohne die Sache zu sein, und doch die Sache, ein im geistigen Spiegel zusammengezogenes Bild und doch mit dem Gegenstande identisch. Wie weit steht nicht dagegen Allegorie zurück; sie ist vielleicht geistreich witzig, aber doch meist rhetorisch und conventionell und immer besser, je mehr sie sich demjenigen nähert was wir Symbol nennen. Man erlaube uns diesen Sprachgebrauch und jeder bilde sich den seinigen, nur mache er sich verständlich, da ohnehin das, worauf es ankommt, mit Worten gar nicht auszusprechen ist."⁵

It is evident from the preceding passages that the symbol as the instantaneous manifestation of the inscrutable (das Unerforschliche), the synthesis of the inner and the exterior in organic unity, is to Goethe a manifestation of the truth itself which, being godlike, does not appear immediately but is to be divined from its revealments.⁶ We are in a position to follow how Goethe, the great "visualist" who by nature was ever averse to mere "separating and reckoning,"⁷ arrived by the observation of the genesis of the symbol at his genetic method of scientific research which led him to a series of remarkable discoveries.

⁴ August 17, 1796.

⁵ *Werke* I, 49, 142 (Weimar edition).

⁶ *Sprüche in Prosa* No. 430. "Das Wahre ist gottähnlich; es erscheint nicht unmittelbar, wir müssen es aus seinen Manifestationen erraten."

⁷ "Trennen und Zählen lag nicht in meiner Natur."

It is, however, in the realm of art and literature and especially of poetry, the real homeland of the symbol, where the full significance of Goethe's symbolism comes to view. To him art and science, poetry and philosophy were not separate domains, but he believed in their ultimate union of which he himself was one of the foremost representatives. Speaking of the disfavor with which his early morphological studies were received, he says:⁸ "Nirgends wollte man zugeben, dass Wissenschaft und Poesie vereinbar seien. Man vergass, dass Wissenschaft sich aus Poesie entwickelt habe; man bedachte nicht, dass nach einem Umschwung von Zeiten beide sich wieder freundlich, zu beiderseitigem Vorteil, auf höherer Stelle gar wol wieder begegnen können." There is no question that the "higher place" where both activities of the human mind would meet as on common ground was, according to Goethe's opinion, *truth*. To dive as a scientist into the secrets of nature concealed in the visible phenomena, was to him identical with the maturest efforts of the artist and poet: "so ruht der *Stil* auf den tiefsten Grundfesten der Erkenntniss, auf dem *Wesen der Dinge*, insofern uns erlaubt ist, es in sichtbaren und greiflichen *Gestalten* zu erkennen."⁹ In both activities the poet makes use of the symbol as the means of presenting the insight gained into the essence of things. Or, in Schiller's words: "Selbst die erhabenste 'Philosophie des Lebens' würde ein solcher (Volks) Dichter in die einfachen Gefühle der Natur auflösen, die Resultate des mühsamsten Forschens der Einbildungskraft überliefern und die Geheimnisse des Denkers in leicht zu entziffernder Bildersprache dem Kindersinn zu erraten geben."¹⁰

Both Goethe and Schiller seem to be aware that symbolism, the synthesis of the subjective and the objective, the spiritual and the material in the poetic image, constitutes in the last analysis the rudimentary vital element of all poetry, as it lies at the root also of speech, mythology and metaphysics. Goethe's conception of the nature and function of the aesthetic symbol finds its best expression in one of his *Sprüche in Prosa*:¹¹

⁸ *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums. Werke*, XXXIII, 80. (H).

⁹ *Werke* XXIV, 527 (H).

¹⁰ *Ueber Bürgers Gedichte*.

¹¹ No. 743 (H).

"Die Symbolik verwandelt die Erscheinung in Idee, die Idee in ein Bild und so, dass die Idee im Bild immer unendlich wirksam und unerreichbar bleibt und, selbst in allen Sprachen ausgesprochen, doch unaussprechlich bliebe."

It is in the light of the preceding discussion that the interpreter must approach the symbolism of Faust's soliloquy in the opening scene of the Second Part, a symbolism less sublime and dramatic perhaps than that of the Prologue in Heaven, but of equally great significance for the development of the hero in the second half of the play. Taken in its outward literal meaning the soliloquy presents a description of a magnificent alpine scene in the early dawn of a summer morning and of the subsequent sunrise during which Faust, blinded by the light breaking forth from the recesses of the sky, turns aside to rest his eyes on the color spectacle of a rainbow, caused by the mist of a nearby waterfall.

Faust's words, however, are more than mere description. What constitutes their symbolism is revealed in his apostrophe to the rising sun which, at this moment of supreme ecstasy, becomes to him a symbol of the deity, the source of absolute truth which he desires to behold face to face. To comprehend the full significance of Faust's wish we should remember how Goethe, who speaks here through Faust, always venerated and almost deified and worshipped the sun, his "Godess" (Faust I, l. 1084). "Fragt man mich," he said to Eckermann a few days before his death, "ob es in meiner Natur sei die Sonne zu verehren, so sage ich: durchaus. Denn sie ist (wie Christus) eine Offenbarung des Höchsten, und zwar die mächtigste, die uns Erdenkindern wahrzunehmen vergönnt ist. *Ich anbeete in Ihr das Licht und die zeugende Kraft Gottes*, wodurch allein wir leben, weben und sind."¹² Another passage in which light is

¹² The idea that in the sunlight we have a manifestation of the deity we meet as early as the 13th century, as also in Luther. See *Das Passional, Eine Legendsammlung des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (ed. F. K. Köpke):
die goetheit, der sunnenschin,

and Luther 5, 417 (Jena 1557):

Darumb gibt allein die Sonn den nutz (des die Welt voll ist, und nicht bezalen kan) das alle Thier und Mensch sein Nahrung suchen kan, und dazu hitze und werm, das es lebendig bleibt, wechset, zunimpt und nicht vergehet. Summa: Es ist nicht auszuzelen, was Gott alle stund und augenblick durch die Sonn für woltat gibt.

identified with the "highest energy" elucidates still further his conception of the manifestation of the divine in this phenomenon. Speaking of the extreme satisfaction which Hegel's approval of his theory of colors had given him he says: "Und hierdurch war mir vollkommen vergönnt *das geheimeisvoll klare Licht, als die höchste Energie, ewig, einzig und unteilbar zu betrachten.*"¹³

What Goethe here is permitted to perceive is one of the "primal phenomena" (Urphänomene) as he calls certain physical and ethical phenomena, because "nothing lies above them that becomes visible, and beyond them the mind cannot penetrate." Instead of going into a detailed discussion of this important conception of Goethe's later years, a few pertinent passages from his writings and conversations may suffice to illuminate the significance which Goethe attached to the Urphänomen.

"Das Höchste wozu der Mensch gelangen kann," he said to Eckermann, "ist das Erstaunen; und wenn ihn das Urphänomen in Erstaunen setzt, so sei er zufrieden; ein Höheres kann es ihm nicht gewähren, und ein Weiteres soll er nicht dahinter suchen; hier ist die Grenze."¹⁴ Nevertheless, in another passage of Eckermann's Conversations,¹⁵ we are told that it is in reality the deity which is concealed behind them and which manifests itself in them. "Der Verstand reicht nur zur Natur hinauf, der Mensch muss fähig sein, sich zur höchsten *Vernunft* erheben zu können, um an die Gottheit zu rühren, die sich in Urphänomenen, physischen wie sittlichen, offenbart, *hinter denen sie sich hält und die von ihr ausgehen.*"

There is no question in my mind that Faust in the present scene finds himself face to face with the Urphänomen of eternal light and the lines 4702-4715 present in sublime poetic diction what Goethe, the scientist, expressed in the following words: "Wir sind aber schon weit genug gegen die Natur vorgedrungen, wenn wir zu den Urphänomenen gelangen, welche wir in ihrer unerforschlichen Herrlichkeit von Angesicht zu Angesicht anschauen und uns sodann wieder rückwärts in die Welt der

¹³ *Annalen, Werke XXVII, 234 (H).*

¹⁴ *Gespräche mit Goethe, Eckermann, Febr. 18, 1829.*

¹⁵ 13 Februar, 1829.

Erscheinungen wenden, wo das in seiner Einfachheit Unbegreifliche sich in tausend mannichfaltigen Erscheinungen bei aller Veränderlichkeit unveränderlich offenbart.¹⁶

Not only does Faust, overcome by the sight of the eternal light, turn to the world of phenomena back of him, he stands aghast (betroffen) as the sea of fire with joy and pain envelops him, thus reminding us of the description which Goethe in the Sprüche in Prosa gives of the effect of the primal phenomenon:¹⁷ "Das unmittelbare Gewahrwerden der Urphaenomene versetzt uns in eine Art von *Angst*, wir fühlen unsere Unzulänglichkeit; nur durch das ewige Spiel der Empirie belebt, erfreuen sie uns."

It is, however, not in these concomitant effects of the primal phenomenon of eternal light but in the fact that to Faust's mind it symbolizes absolute truth where lies the deepest significance of our scene. Faust's ultimate purpose of gazing into the original fountain of light is revealed in the line:

Des *Lebens* Fackel wollten wir entzünden.

To understand the meaning of these words a passage in Goethe's poem "Ilmenau" in which the poet, like Faust, compares his own highest efforts to the supreme feat of Prometheus:

Ich brachte reines Feuer vom Altar,
Was ich entzündet, ist nicht reine Flamme.

With the same Promethean spirit with which Faust, the truthseeker, once challenged the Earthspirit amidst flashing flames, he now dares to penetrate into the very source of light, there to come face to face with the bare, absolute truth, in the sight of which he hopes to find the consummation of life. Uncompromising in his quest, like the philosopher in Schiller's profound verses "Die Poesie des Lebens," who exclaims "*entblösst* muss ich die Wahrheit sehen," Faust meets with essentially the same result as the abstract thinker. While the latter, having divested life of its veil of rosecolored illusion (Schein), discovers that the world is nothing but a huge grave and is seized by inner petrification, Faust is blinded by the rays of the sun and with aching eyes turns away from the sea of flame. Not, however, in utter despair as after the rebuff of the Earthspirit, but in the spirit of resignation: from the portals of the

¹⁶ *Werke* XXXIII, 378 (H).

¹⁷ No. 789 (H).

Umher verbreitend duftig kühle Schauer!
 Der spiegelt ab das menschliche Bestreben,
 Ihm sinne nach und du begreifst genauer:
Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben.

If the profound meaning of the last line need further interpretation it is contained in Schiller's famous distich "Licht und Farbe":¹⁸

Wohne, du ewiglich Eines, dort bei dem ewiglich Einem,
 Farbe, du wechselnde, komm freundlich zum Menschen herab.

¹⁸ Since the conception of the aesthetic illusion (Schein) is of vital importance also in Schiller's philosophy of art and life, a significant passage from his discussion of this conception in his "*Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen*" (26. Brief) may be in place here:

"Es versteht sich von selbst, dass hier nur vom dem *aesthetischen Schein* die Rede ist, den man von der *Wirklichkeit* und Wahrheit unterscheidet, nicht von dem *logischen*, den man mit derselben verwechselt—den man folglich liebt, weil er Schein ist, und nicht weil man ihn für etwas Besseres hält. . . . Den Schein der ersten Art für etwas gelten lassen, kann der Wahrheit niemals Eintrag tun, weil man nie Gefahr läuft, ihn derselben unterzuschieben, was doch die einzige Art ist, wie der Wahrheit geschadet werden kann; ihn verachten, heisst alle schöne Kunst überhaupt verachten, deren Wesen der Schein ist. . . .

Die Natur selbst ist es, die den Menschen von der Realität zum Scheine emporhebt, indem sie ihn mit zwei Sinnen ausrüstete, *die ihn bloss durch den Schein zur Erkenntniss des Wirklichen führen*. In dem *Auge* und in dem *Ohr* ist die andringende Materie schon hinweg gewälzt von den Sinnen, und das Object entfernt sich von uns, das wir in den tierischen Sinnen unmittelbar berühren. Was wir durch das Auge *sehen*, ist von dem verschieden, was wir *empfinden*: denn der Verstand springt über das Licht hinaus zu den Gegenständen. Der Gegenstand des Takts (Gefühls) ist eine Gewalt, die wir *erleiden*, der Gegenstand des Auges und des Ohrs *ist eine Form, die wir erzeugen*. So lange der Mensch noch ein Wilder ist, genießt er bloss mit den Sinnen des Gefühls, denen die Sinne des Scheins in dieser Periode bloss dienen. Er erhebt sich gar nicht : um Sehen, oder er befriedigt sich doch nicht mit demselben. Sobald er anfängt, mit dem Auge zu geniessen, und das Sehen für ihn einen selbstständigen Wert erlangt, so ist er auch schon aesthetisch frei."

It is especially in art and poetry (die Kunst des Scheins) where "illusion" becomes the medium of conveying the highest attainable truth. "Die wahre Kunst," says Schiller in the preface to his "Braut von Messina," "kann sich nicht bloss mit dem Schein der Wahrheit begnügen: auf der Wahrheit selbst, auf dem festen und tiefen Grunde der Natur errichtet sie ihr *ideales* Gebäude. Die Natur selbst ist nur eine Idee des Geistes, die nie in die Sinne fällt. Unter der Decke der Erscheinungen liegt sie, aber sie selbst kommt niemals zur Erscheinung. Bloss der Kunst des Ideals (Scheins) ist es verliehen oder vielmehr aufgegeben diesen *Geist des Alls* zu ergreifen und in einer körperlichen Form zu binden . . . sie kann dadurch *wahrer sein als alle Wirklichkeit und realer als alle Erfahrung*."

That the reflected glory (Abglanz) in which alone we have life is, in the last analysis, the reflex of the deity, finds expression in a remarkable stanza of the "Vorspiel zur Eröffnung des Weimarischen Theaters" 1807:

So im Kleinen, ewig wie im Grossen
Wirkt Natur, wirkt Menscheng Geist, und beide
Sind *ein Abglanz jenes Urlichts droben,*
Das *unsichtbar* alle Welt erleuchtet.¹⁹

II

The student of Plato who has followed the preceding discussion may perhaps have noticed an inner agreement and spiritual relationship between the symbolism of Goethe's contemplation of the world and the fundamental principles of the thought of the Greek philosopher, even before I proceed to point them out in a specific and significant instance. Many as are the points of contact between the two master-minds it seems remarkable that a comprehensive study of their relationship has as yet not been made. Of all the biographers of Goethe it is only Houston Stewart Chamberlain who, in his masterly work, fully aware of the difference of character and of historical conditions which separates the two thinkers, has placed them side by side as the most powerful and influential intellectual forces which the world has witnessed.

Judging from two of the letters which Goethe wrote to Herder shortly after his return from Strassburg, we shall not go amiss by assuming that the impulse to a deeper study of Plato was given him by the man to whom he owed the great awakening of his genius and who was one of the first to recognize that Plato's "ideas" were not mere abstract notions but "schaffend und wirkend." Not until much later, however, during the period of his intense scientific studies, do we hear again that Plato's writings seriously engage Goethe's attention. In

¹⁹ It is a remarkable fact that a similar thought, resulting from similar experiences, occurs already in Heinrich Seuse, one of the German mystics of the 14th century: "Aber die gotes freund die meinend er, als sy söllend; und mügend sie der sunnen glanz nit ansechen, so gaffen sie doch an der sunnen widerglancz uff den hohen bergen." See Wilhelm Preger, *Die Briefe Heinrich Susos*, Leipzig 1867; p. 40.

February 1793 he writes to F. H. Jacobi, an enthusiastic admirer of the Greek philosopher: "Seit einigen Tagen habe ich gleichsam zum ersten Mal im Plato gelesen, und zwar das Gastmal, Phädrus und die Apologie. Wie wunderbar mir dieser fürtreffliche Mann vorkommt, möcht ich Dir erzählen." Again in November 1804, shortly before he concluded his "Theory of Colors" he writes to Windischmann, the physicist: "Die mir früher bekannte Uebersetzung des Timaeus habe ich mit ihren Zugaben wiederholt gelesen und mich dabei gleicher und ähnlicher Gesinnungen gefreut. Wie angenehm muss es mir sein, wenn dasjenige, was ich im einzelnen Schauen, im Ahnden und Hoffen lange für wahr gehalten, nun auch im allgemeinen An- und Ueberschauen gültig bleibt." In April 1805 Goethe began dictating his "Geschichte der Farbenlehre" in which the following unexcelled characterization of Plato occurs: "Plato verhält sich zu der Welt wie ein seliger Geist, dem es beliebt, einige Zeit auf ihr zu herbergen. Es ist ihm nicht sowol darum zu tun, sie kennen zu lernen, weil er sie schon voraussetzt, als ihr dasjenige, was er mitbringt und was ihr so not tut, freundlich mitzuteilen. Er dringt in die Tiefen, mehr um sie mit seinem Wesen auszufüllen, als um sie zu erforschen. Er bewegt sich nach der Höhe, mit Sehnsucht, seines Ursprungs wieder theilhaftig zu werden. Alles was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewiges Ganzes, Gutes, Wahres, Schönes, dessen Forderung er in jedem Busen aufzuregen strebt."

Nowhere has Plato expressed his yearning for the lofty regions whence he took his origin more strikingly than in the famous allegory of the Cave at the beginning of the seventh book of his "Republic." Again it seems quite probable that this allegory was vividly called to Goethe's attention for the first time through Herder,²⁰ the avowed enemy of all abstract knowledge, who refers to it with telling effect in his essay, "Ueber den Ursprung der Sprache," the very book which Goethe read "mit grossem Vergnügen und zu meiner besonderen

²⁰ That Herder was particularly fond of Plato's simile is shown by the frequent allusions which he makes to it in his writings. See *Herder's Lebensbild* I, 3, 2, 233; *Werke* (Suphon) V, 95, 388; VII 7; XX, 117. Cf. also A. G. Kaestner, *Vermischte Schriften* II, 113.

Kräftigung" in manuscript during his memorable intercourse with Herder at Strassburg.

As the analogy between the Faust scene under discussion and Plato's parable has not been pointed out before I shall, for the purpose of convenient comparison, quote the latter in the translation of A. D. Lindsay.²¹

"Then after this," I said, "liken our nature in its education and want of education to a condition which I may thus describe. Picture men in an underground cave-dwelling, with a long entrance reaching up towards the light along the whole width of the cave; in this they lie from their childhood, their legs and necks in chains, so that they stay where they are and look only in front of them, as the chain prevents them turning their heads round. Some way off, and higher up, a fire is burning behind them, and between the fire and the prisoners is a road on higher ground. Imagine a wall built along this road, like the screens which showmen have in front of the audience, over which they show the puppets."

"I have it," he said.

"Then picture also men carrying along this wall all kinds of articles which overtop it, statues of men and other creatures in stone and wood and other materials; naturally some of the carriers are speaking, others are silent."

"A strange image and strange prisoners," he said.

"They are like ourselves," I answered. "For in the first place, do you think that such men would have seen anything of themselves or of each other except the shadows thrown by the fire on the wall of the cave opposite to them?"

"How could they," he said, "if all their life they had been forced to keep their heads motionless?"

"What would they have seen of the things carried along the wall? Would it not be the same?"

"Surely."

"Then if they were able to talk with one another, do you think that they would suppose what they saw to be the real things?"

"Necessarily."

"Then what if there were in their prison an echo from the opposite wall? When any one of those passing by spoke, do you imagine that they could help thinking that the voice came from the shadow passing before them?"

"No, certainly not," he said.

"Then most assuredly," I said, "the only truth that such men would conceive would be the shadows of those manufactured articles?"

"That is quite inevitable," he said.

"Then consider," I said, "the manner of their release from their bonds and the cure of their folly, supposing that they attained their natural destiny in some such way as this. Let us suppose one of them released, and forced

²¹ *The Republic of Plato*. Translated into English by A. D. Lindsay. London, 1908.

suddenly to stand up and turn his head, and walk and look towards the light. Let us suppose also that all these actions gave him pain, and that he was too dazzled to see the objects whose shadows he had been watching before. What do you think he would say if he were told by some one that before he had been seeing foolish phantoms, while now he was nearer to being, and was turned to what in a higher degree is, and was looking more directly at it? And further, if each of the several figures passing by were pointed out to him, and he were asked to say what each was, do you not think that he would be perplexed, and would imagine that the things he had seen before were truer than those now pointed out to him?"

"Yes, much truer," he said.

"Then if he were forced to look at the light itself, would not his eyes ache, and would he not try to escape and turn back to things which he could look at and think that they were really more distinct than the things shown him?"

"Yes," he said.

"But," I said, "if some one were to drag him out up the steep and rugged ascent, and did not let go till he had been dragged up to the light of the sun, would not his forced journey be one of pain and annoyance; and when he came to the light, would not his eyes be so full of the glare that he would not be able to see a single one of the objects we now call true?"

"Certainly, not all at once," he said.

"Yes, I fancy that he would need time before he could see things in the world above. At first he would most easily see shadows, then the reflections in water of men and everything else, and, finally, the things themselves. After that he could look at the heavenly bodies and the sky itself by night, turning his eyes to the light of the stars and the moon more easily than to the sun or to the sun's light by day?"

"Surely."

"Then, last of all, I fancy he would be able to look at the sun and observe its nature, not its appearances in water or on alien material, but the very sun itself in its own place?"

"Inevitably," he said.

"And that done, he would then come to infer concerning it that it is the sun which produces the seasons and years, and controls everything in the sphere of the visible, and is in a manner the author of all those things which he and his fellow-prisoners used to see?"

"It is clear that this will be his next conclusion," he said.

"Well, then, if he is reminded of his original abode and its wisdom, and those who were then his fellow-prisoners, do you not think that he will pity them and count himself happy in the change?"

"Certainly."

"Now suppose that those prisoners had had among themselves a system of honours and commendations, that prizes were granted to the man who had the keenest eye for passing objects and the best memory for which usually came first, and which second, and which came together, and who could most cleverly conjecture from this what was likely to come in the future, do you think that our friend would think longingly of those prizes and envy the men whom the

prisoners honour and set in authority? Would he not rather feel what Homer describes, and wish extremely

‘To live on earth a swain,
Or serve a swain for hire,’

or suffer anything rather than be so the victim of seeming and live in their way?”

“Yes,” he said, “I certainly think that he would endure anything rather than that.”

“Then consider this point,” I said. “If this man were to descend again and take his seat in his old place, would not his eyes be full of darkness because he had just come out of the sunlight?”

“Most certainly,” he said.

“And suppose that he had again to take part with the prisoners there in the old contest of distinguishing between the shadows, while his sight was confused and before his eyes had got steady (and it might take them quite a considerable time to get used to the darkness), would not men laugh at him, and say that having gone up above he had come back with his sight ruined, so that it was not worth while even to try to go up? And do you not think that they would kill him who tried to release them and bear them up, if they could lay hands on him, and slay him?”

“Certainly,” he said.

“Now this simile, my dear Glaucon, must be applied in all its parts to what we said before; the sphere revealed to sight being likened to the prison dwelling, and the light of the fire therein to the power of the sun. If you will set the upward ascent and the seeing of things in the upper world with the upward journey of the soul to the intelligible sphere, you will have my surmise; and that is what you are anxious to have. Whether it be actually true, God knows. But this is how it appears to me. In the world of knowledge the Form of the good is perceived last and with difficulty, but when it is seen it must be inferred that it is the cause of all that is right and beautiful in all things, producing in the visible world light and the lord of light, and being itself lord in the intelligible world and the giver of truth and reason, and this Form of the good must be seen by whosoever would act wisely in public or in private.”

Similarities as well as dissimilarities between this parable and the Faust scene under discussion are obvious.

Considering the resemblances first, it does not seem improbable that the very thought of having Faust ascend the solitary alpine heights in search of regeneration, culminating in the vision of the eternal light, may have been suggested by the picture which Socrates, interrupting his profound disquisition upon the nature of the Good, draws of the man dragged up a steep, rugged ascent there to behold the light of the sun. Again in the sublime Platonic conception of the sun as a simile of the idea of the Good, the ultimate cause of the visible world and of our knowledge, Goethe may well have recognized the verifica-

tion of his long-cherished conviction that the absolute truth, symbolized in the sun is accessible to us only through the medium of its reflected radiance in the image, the Schein. Moreover, we may easily recognize a certain relationship between Goethe's primal phenomenon and the Platonic theory of ideas.²² Finally, there is an unmistakable parallelism in the fact that both, Faust and the truth-seeker in Plato's parable, are dazzled by the light and, with aching eyes, turn back, the latter "to the things which he can look at" and the former to hide himself in the "veil"²³ of childhood."

At this point, however, a marked difference in the subsequent attitude of the two becomes apparent, a difference which in the last analysis goes back to the diverse ways in which life and the world are viewed by Plato and Goethe.

There can be no question that there runs a strain of pessimism and ascetic renunciation through Plato's thought which reverberates in the doctrines of the mediaeval Church as well as in the ethical views of certain protestant denominations. This beautiful, sunny world, a place of bliss to the average Greek, appears in our parable as a deep, gloomy cave filled with prisoners whose necks and legs are in chains and who can see only the shadows thrown against the wall before them. If one of these prisoners by chance gains his freedom and after laborious efforts comes to see the real light and the real objects, he will pity his former fellow sufferers and refuse to go back to the world of shadows. In case he were forced, however, again to descend to the cave his eyes would be full of darkness and unable to distinguish between the shadows.

According to this view only the philosopher and the few whom he may rescue from the cave attain the enjoyment of light and truth, while the great multitude of men, a sort of *massa perditionis*, remain in the bonds of the perishable world of the senses. To be sure, Plato insists that the leadership of his Utopian state should be placed into the hands of the philosophers, but it is only by compulsion that they leave the imaginary

²² This relationship has been ably discussed in Elizabeth Rotten's instructive study *Goethe's Urphaenomen und die platonische Idee*, Giessen, 1913.

²³ It may be worthy of note that Plato in two passages of the *Republic* uses the figure of the "veil" (*παρακαλυπτειν*), IV, 439 E, VI, 503A, though not in the symbolic sense of Goethe.

islands of the blest on which they dwell in order to descend again to the prisoners and to share with them in toils and honors. This aloofness from the world which differs little from the claims of sanctity of certain religious sects has its ultimate basis in Plato's disdain of the senses. To rely on them for the knowledge of truth means to be deluded by them, for according to the *Phaedo*²⁴ "the eyes, and the ears and the other senses are full of deceit." Philosophy, therefore, urges the soul "to withdraw from them and to concentrate itself within itself, trusting nothing but itself and its own abstract thought of abstract existence."

We may interpret it as almost a rebuke of Plato's one-sided intellectualism when Goethe says in the "Sprüche in Prosa" (No. 557): "Die Sinne trügen nicht, aber das Urteil trägt," or when in the poem "Vermächtnis" he bequeaths to posterity the advice:

Den Sinnen hast du dann zu trauen,
Kein Falsches lassen sie dich schauen,
Wenn dein Verstand dich wach erhält.

Believing with Schiller that the way to the deity lies open to man through his senses, how could the poet, whose thought revolved around the central idea of "Life, the highest gift of God and Nature," have accepted a contemplation of the world which ultimately resulted in the stagnation and negation of life? Was it not Faust's painful experience of such inner stagnation which drove him to the outburst:

Mir ekelt lange vor allem Wissen!

What he seeks now in the presence of the eternal light is not philosophical knowledge in the sense of Plato's "ideas" but the vital flame of light on which he might kindle the torch of his own life. Thwarted in his design by the overpowering flame he resolutely turns his back to the sun, not to return to his previous state of captivity, like Plato's cave dweller, but to view with growing rapture the most beautiful of sense-illusions, the changeful, yet continuous, many-colored bow, and to discover that life is revealed only in the brilliant play of colors before him, the reflection of the one eternal light.

In one of the "Sprüche in Prosa" (No. 1003) Goethe has attempted to give an explanation of the secret of life whose

²⁴ *Phaedo* 83, A.

essential form of manifestation he saw in continuous motion. "Das Höchste," he says, "was wir von Gott und der Natur erhalten haben, ist das Leben, die rotirende Bewegung der Monas um sich selbst, die weder Rast noch Ruhe kennt. Der Trieb das Leben zu hegen und zu pflegen ist einem jeden unverwüstlich eingeboren, Die Eigentümlichkeit desselben jedoch bleibt uns und andern ein Geheimniss."

How intimately colors, motion and life are interwoven is exquisitely expressed in one of Goethe's early poems, "Die Freuden," a masterpiece of poetic symbolism:

Es flattert um die Quelle
 Die wechselnde Libelle,
 Mich freut sie lange schon;
 Bald dunkel und bald helle,
 Wie der Chamäleon,
 Bald rot, bald blau,
 Bald blau, bald grün;
 O dass ich in der Nähe
 Doch ihre Farben sähe!

Sie schwirrt und schwebet, rastet nie!
 Doch still, sie setzt sich an die Weiden.
 Da hab ich sie! Da hab ich sie!
 Und nun betracht' ich sie genau,
 Und seh' ein traurig dunkles Blau—

So geht es dir, "Zergliederer" deiner Freuden!

The beautiful play of colors of the dragon fly appears and remains only so long as the latter enjoys its life of free motion. To arrest this motion of life with clumsy hands means to destroy the colors, the beauty (Schein), coexistent with life, and what is left to the analyzer is nothing but a "sadly dark blue"—the lifeless "Ding an sich" after which abstract philosophy chases. In a remarkable passage of a letter written almost contemporaneously with this last poem, Goethe touches upon the same essential unity of life and beauty for which he uses the twilight as a symbol: "O, meine Freudinn," he writes, "das *Licht* ist die Wahrheit, doch die Sonne ist nicht die Wahrheit, von der doch das Licht quillt. Die Nacht ist Unwahrheit. Und was ist Schönheit? Sie ist nicht Licht und nicht Nacht, *Dämmerung*; eine Geburt von Wahrheit und Unwahrheit."

We can well understand that, many as were the points of contact and agreement between Goethe, the scientist and thinker, and Plato, he could not, as a poet, assent to the latter's abstract intellectualism, nor to his ethical ideal of pessimistic quietism. It is true that Plato's "ideas" are not mere abstract notions lacking activity and productiveness, yet they are, after all, like the "Mothers" to whom Faust descends, phantoms dwelling in the infinite, "life's pictures, restless, yet devoid of life." The conception of life which occupies the center of gravity in Goethe's inner world is, on the other hand, an ever active creative force, the direct manifestation of the divine, or as he has it in the wonderfully profound lines already quoted:

So im Kleinem, ewig wie im Grossen
Wirkt *Natur*, wirkt *Menschengeist* und beide
Sind ein *Abglanz* jenes *Urlichts* droben,
Das *unsichtbar* alle Welt erleuchtet.

It is from the experience of this sacred spirit of life and its infinite manifestations that Goethe drew his sublime message that man is chosen to be a creator who, in the human sphere, is to continue and to perfect God's creation, a message greater than which was not given to humanity either before or after Goethe.

Weltseele, komm, uns zu durchdringen!
Dann mit dem Weltgeist selbst zu ringen,
Wird unsrer Kräfte Hochberuf.
Teilnehmend führen gute Geister,
Gelinde leitend, höchste Meister,
Zu dem, der Alles schafft und schuf.

Und umzuschaffen das Geschaffne,
Damit sichs nicht zum Starren waffne,
Wirkt ewiges lebendiges Tun.
Und was nicht war, nun will es werden,
Zu reinen Sonnen, farbigen Erden,
In keinem Falle darf es ruhn.

Es soll sich regen, schaffend handeln,
Erst sich gestalten, dann verwandeln,
Nur scheinbar stets Momente still.
Das Ewige regt sich fort in Allen:
Denn Alles muss in Nichts zerfallen,
Wenn es im Sein beharren will.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

MATTHEW ARNOLD: HOW TO KNOW HIM. By Stuart P. Sherman. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1917. 8vo, pp. [x], 326. Portrait. Price, \$1.50, net.

ALFRED TENNYSON: HOW TO KNOW HIM. By Raymond Macdonald Alden. Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1917. 8vo, pp. [xvii], 376. Portrait. Price, \$1.50, net.

It is no easy task to write an introduction to the works of Matthew Arnold. He was a poet, a critic of literature, politics, and society, an expert in elementary education, something of a theologian, and a Biblical expounder. Thus the background of one who qualifies as a critical interpreter of his thought must be many-sided indeed.

Professor Sherman has written what we must on the whole regard as a good book. In many respects it assuredly measures up to a high standard of excellence. The author is not prevented by any lack of sympathy or understanding from intelligently approaching his subject; the arrangement of his material is good; and the proportions of his book are justifiable. On the critical side we shall later point out what seem to us one or two defects.¹

About one-fourth of the book is given to Arnold's poetry. More than any other poet of his time does Arnold reflect the temper of the day—the "main movement of mind . . . democratic, scientific, critical, realistic—directed, in short, toward the extension of the sway of reason over all things." Tennyson is further removed from the arena of the intellectual struggle; Browning reflects very little of it. But from Arnold's verse at least something of the main tendency of it could be reconstructed. The limitations of the time appear, perhaps, in the comparison of the two sonnets, "In Harmony with Nature: to a Preacher" and "Quiet Work," in which two apparently incompatible aspects of Nature are presented. With Tennyson, Arnold saw the "cruel" aspect of Nature (cf. "In Memoriam" lvi. 4, "The Passing of Arthur" 13-15); but he could not or did not reconcile this aspect with that of the quiet, orderly process of Nature, ever working toward something different and

¹ A few misprints have been noted: Page 143, l. 14, read "Hamelin." P. 197, l. 12, read "Licensed." P. 226, l. 6 f.b., read, presumably, "mediate." P. 255, l. 2, read "Pharisaical." P. 326, l. 1, read "Mrs. Humphry Ward."

generally better. The transitional character of his age is well brought out in the "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," in which he speaks of his soul as wandering, like that of an old Greek in a Northern land,

between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

At a later time of his life he passed into the newer world of a larger, saner, truer religious outlook; but his days of verse-writing were then over, and this change finds no reflection in any poetry from his pen.

If the age and the absorbing demands of Arnold's vocation prevented him from achieving the highest rank as a poet, the limitations of his native poetic powers are also evident. He was not a constructive poet. He could not write drama at all. He attempted no epic further than a retelling of the mere episode of Sohrab, which owes much of its beauty to its Homeric echoes, and the Balder, which Professor Sherman and others rightly condemn. Even the lyric he scarcely attempted on any large scale, perhaps aware of his lack of ability, perhaps warned by the example of Wordsworth's dreary pages which as editor he excluded from his volume of well-chosen selections from the poetry of the sage of Rydal. And even within his chosen field of the shorter lyric he sometimes exhibits a poor ear; e.g.,

The hands propping the sunk head
("The New Sirens"),
As if the sky was impious not to fall
("Empedocles"),
Who prop, thou ask'st, in these bad days, my mind?
("To a Friend"),
And yet, I swear, it angers me to see
How this fool passion gulls men potently
("Tristram and Iseult" iii).

Still, these are after all slight blemishes on a considerable body of good work—poetry which places Arnold easily in the class just below Tennyson and Browning and among the chief minor poets of the Victorian era.

But precious as is Arnold's poetry, it was obviously well that he turned from verse to criticism, literary and social. For the work of revealing England's shortcomings much needed to be done; and never was a man better qualified for the task. By temperament and by training Arnold was fitted for this work. He never lost his temper, and in his attacks on the beast of Philistine narrowness and ugliness he scored many hits. Of course it took time to make a lasting impression. He was cordially disliked by many of his contemporaries as a superficial dilettante. But gradually he came to be understood

and heeded; and in recent years his influence has somewhat increased.

Here may be taken up one or two minor points. It has been alleged, and with justice, that Arnold misrepresented the Hebrews and the Greeks when he spoke of the Hebrews as all for conduct and the Greeks as all for beauty.² It will not do to judge the Hebrew by the utterances of the prophets, any more than one would judge of the conduct of average America by the condemnatory remarks of Mr. Sunday. Likewise the Greeks are not necessarily to be adjudged as irreligious and as universally given to a worship of estheticism. If we were able to compare the rank and file of the Greeks with the rank and file of the Israelites, it may be doubted if we should find one people widely differing in moral principles from the other. For both, religion consisted primarily and chiefly in keeping Jahve or the gods appeased and good-natured. Neither connected religion with moral conduct in our sense of the term. It may be questioned whether in the fifth century B.C., say, the average Hebrew was much more moral than the average Greek—due allowance being made, of course, for the different standards and types of morality developed by the two peoples. If the prophets of Israel describe and plead for a high ideal of moral conduct, "no modern theology has taught higher and purer moral notions than those of Æschylus and his school, developed afterwards by Socrates and Plato, but first attained by the genius of Æschylus. Thus he censures high-handedness even in the gods (*Prometheus*), so laying the foundation for that great doctrine of immutable morality which is the basis of modern ethics. Again, he shows the indelible nature of sin, and how it recoils upon the third and fourth generation, thus anticipating one of the most marked features in Christian theology. Nay, even involuntary transgressions of the moral law are followed by dire consequences."³ The truth, is as Mr. Robertson has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt,⁴ that Arnold set up an imaginary Hebrew state which had no foundation in fact.

Again it is hard for an American to understand how Arnold, having espoused the theological position which he took, could remain in the Anglican Church. Even as a young man, as his poetry shows, he broke definitely and finally with the tradition-

² John M. Robertson develops this point at some length in his "Modern Humanists"; and the same conclusion was arrived at independently by Miss Lois E. Montgomery, a Cornell graduate student who is writing a paper on "Matthew Arnold and Religion."

³ John P. Mahaffy, "Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander," 4th ed., London, 1879, p. 154.

⁴ "Modern Humanists," p. 152.

al orthodox theology of the time, as did his friend Clough. Yet Clough found that he could not honestly remain an Anglican; whereas we find no hint that Arnold ever contemplated leaving the church of his fathers.

The explanation would seem to lie in three facts. First, Arnold was intensely attached to the Established Church, whose position as the *Via Media* never troubled him as it did Newman, and he clung to the belief that it could in some way be made the basis of a new and real church of all England, in which many phases of belief should be represented, and which should be a real society for the cultivation of goodness. Second, he had an utterly exaggerated notion of the benefits of an established church. It was highly desirable, for example, he thought, in America. It never occurred to him that there might be some benefit accruing from the free discussion of moot questions of religion and ecclesiastical polity among different denominations, or that the Dissenters had ever had any excuse for a separate existence. He serenely assumed that whatever treatment the Dissenters had received from the Establishment they doubtless deserved. And this leads us to the point, that Arnold never really understood the Dissenters, and especially that one of the Dissenting bodies to which his religious views in general would have brought him—the Unitarians. His ignorance of the Unitarian position, as shown in the passage in chapter x of "Literature and Dogma," is ludicrous. "The Unitarians are very loud," he says, "about the unreasonableness and unscripturalness of the common doctrine of the Atonement. But in the Socinian Catechism it stands written: 'It is necessary for salvation to know that God *is*; and to know that God *is*, is to be firmly persuaded that there exists in reality some One, who has supreme dominion over all things.' Presently afterwards it stands written, that among the testimonies to Christ are 'miracles very great and immense,' *miracula admodum magna et immensa*." He thus implies that the Unitarians accept the miracles, which he has rejected; yet the Unitarians had long before outgrown this belief.

It is probably due in large measure to Arnold's fearless if often illogical criticism of the Bible that the Anglican Church to-day contains so large a wing of liberal thinkers. For Arnold was a powerful leader of liberal thought within the Establishment.

And this brings us to another question—the adequacy of Arnold's basis of knowledge. Professor Sherman himself concedes (p. 313) that for his discussions of the date and authorship of various books of the Scriptures Arnold was "inadequately equipped"; and another recent writer⁵ has gone so far as to

⁵ *School and Society*, July 27, 1918, viii. 93.

call him a Sophist, on the ground that he taught without a sufficient basis of knowledge. In this charge it must be admitted that there is some justice. Perhaps the full implication that he was slipshod and careless about his knowledge and was bent rather on attaining certain personal ends than on making the truth prevail, can hardly be sustained. We may readily concede to him absolute honesty and sincerity. But the fact remains that he recklessly attacked the Pentateuchal discussions of Bishop Colenso, a man vastly better qualified than he to discuss the historical and antiquarian features of the Bible; and it is a safe guess that in writing about St. Paul he knew little more about the subject than any average well-read man. What he liked counted with him for a great deal. He was a poor logician, but he never seems to have learned of it. His argument for the Establishment tells heavily in favor of Rome; but the fact did not disturb him in the least. He demanded science from the men of science and religion from the men of religion; it never seems to have occurred to him to ask where he, neither a scientist nor a priest, came in, serenely branding all inconvenient passages in the Bible as "human perversions." There is in his books much that is true; but coming from Arnold, of whom we might have expected so much, these volumes are strangely unreliable.

His poetry and some of his critical essays on books and authors will live long; for the ordinary world the rest of his work is as dead as a medieval romance.

This, finally, raises a question about Professor Sherman's book. What is the function of such a work? Is it to be wholly uncritical and merely interpretative, or is it to inform us of how the world has judged the works in question? If it ought to be the latter, then the present book, in spite of its lucid summaries and its highly intelligent exposition, must be pronounced not quite satisfactory.⁶

Professor Alden has had an easier task than Professor Sherman had, since Tennyson was never anything but a poet. Alden's work is both expository and critical.⁷ He has succeeded, we think, in producing a guide to the study and appreciation of

⁶ Even with Professor Sherman's exposition one may sometimes venture to differ. He says, for example: "The 'divinity' of Christ is not in the least proved by prophecy or miracle; it is proved by the *experience* of those who have followed him and have done his will" (p. 300). Mr. Robertson came nearer the truth, we think, when he remarked ("Modern Humanists," p. 151): "The father [Thomas Arnold] believed in a personal God, in a personal Devil, in the divinity of Jesus, in miracles, and in a resurrection; the son believed in none of these things."

⁷ The following typographical and other errors have been noted: Page 4, line 6, for "a hundred pounds" read "twenty pounds"; the author has confused pounds and dollars. P. 4, l. 9 f.b., after "different," the word "from" must be

Tennyson which will not quickly be superseded. He considers the poet with reference to his native endowment and his environment both of time and of place. He maintains his critical poise throughout. We shall not venture to differ from him on the major points he lays down, but shall comment on two or three minor matters.

Of Tennyson's character the author says: "His only fault, one might say, was a rather exaggerated desire to be let alone; or, to put it negatively, an unwillingness to mingle, except through his writings, with the stream of contemporary life." Without desiring to call undue attention to Tennyson's faults, one may perhaps be permitted to view his extreme sensitiveness to criticism as a minor fault; possibly, also, he exaggerated the importance of the poet's contribution to the discussion of life.

He saw thro' life and death, thro' good and ill,
 He saw thro' his own soul.
 The marvel of the everlasting will,
 An open scroll,
 Before him lay.

All this is a comfortable doctrine for the poets themselves; and would it were true! But as a matter of fact, how many poets are there to whom we turn for guidance in matters of life and death and the soul? Probably there are some poets whom we ought to study more than we do; but it is for the beauty of their work rather than because of any divinely inspired message they have for us.

Still it was well that Tennyson had a lofty conception of the worth of poetry. No man ever more consistently cultivated the Muse throughout so long a lifetime. There have been more voluminous poets, perhaps; but scarcely one has left so large a body of highly excellent work. Tennyson's predecessor in the laureateship naturally recurs to our minds. It is customary to rank Wordsworth as the greatest British poet of the nineteenth century, and we shall not presume to insist that this opinion is wrong. Still, something might be said by a champion of the claims of Tennyson. As a philosopher he probably did not contribute as much to the world's thought as did Wordsworth; but as an artist in metre, he was, we think, far more accomplished and resourceful. If he perpetrated some inanities like "O Darling Room!" "The Skipping Rope," "The Ring-

inserted for good grammar. P. 9, l. 4 f.b., for "harm" read "arm"; in the next line, "his" should be italicized. P. 40, l. 9, the meaning is not clear: does Alden mean "an element which any who would know him must understand"? P. 102, l. 1 f.b., for "Their" read "The." P. 157, ll. 12, 18, 26, p. 184, l. 14, p. 374, l. 12 f.b., read "Ettarre." P. 210, l. 13, read "snoring." P. 299, l. 4, these are not three consecutive years, as Alden is well aware (cf. p. 320, l. 12); the statement, therefore, needs to be explained or modified.

let," the sonnet of 1832, "There are three things which fill my heart with sighs," and some passages like this,

My very heart faints and my whole soul grieves
At the moist rich smell of the rotting leaves,
("Song"),

still, on the whole he was a better critic of his work than was Wordsworth, as the considerable body of his discarded poems will testify; and of this the generally happy alterations in numerous lines of his retained poems furnish almost as good evidence. While he was a less subtle thinker than Browning, he was a far greater artist.

Concerning the allegorical features of the "Idylls" Alden has some sensible remarks. The interpretations of extremists like Condé B. Pallen⁸ show what can be done in reading hidden allegorical meanings into these poems. If Tennyson had in mind all the ideas Pallen credits him with, he must have been as subtle as a Schoolman. Still, the Idylls are undoubtedly far too allegorical to be successful in these times. The hopelessness of the effort is most evident in the case of King Arthur himself. As a character in the story the King is a stupendous failure. He is supposed, according to Tennyson's own designation, to represent the soul at war with sense, and ultimately obliged to yield. But he has no war with anybody; his conflicts with the heathen kings have already taken place and are not a part of the Idylls. He is blameless throughout. Alden tries to make him culpable, since after the vampire Vivien has corrupted the court, "even the king can not be called blameless now, since he apparently winks at the foulness by which he is surrounded." But this view is untenable, since Arthur's *only* fault is his faultlessness—

High, self-contained, and passionless,
("Guinevere" 403).

What Alden has to say about the pessimism of the Idylls deserves to be heartily endorsed. The Idylls furnish one more illustration of the great law that we

rise on stepping-stones
Of [our] dead selves to higher things;

that we "fall to rise." And this is directly implied in the last line,

And the new sun rose, bringing the new year.

The next effort will carry the race on a little farther in its mighty effort, a little nearer the goal—or would do this were it not for the fact that the next effort is toward a higher goal, as our successive ideals rise higher and higher.

⁸ "The Meaning of the Idylls of the King," New York, The American Book Company, 1904.

The book concludes with some illuminating and generally true remarks about the Victorian age. An age is known by what it produces. The Victorian age produced the most fruitful scientific thinking since Copernicus. Beginning with 1832, it took larger strides in political and social reform than any other age since 1642. It went farther in theological reconstruction than any other since Luther. Any poet who faithfully chronicles the spiritual feelings of such an age, in a form supremely beautiful in itself, will scarcely lack readers so long as mankind is interested in the history of its development. We shall recur again and again to Tennyson, the poetic interpreter of a great age.

CLARK S. NORTHUP.

Cornell University.

MOTIVES IN ENGLISH FICTION. By Robert Naylor Whiteford, Ph.D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. \$2.00.

A work which shall be at once a chronological history of English fiction from Malory to Dickens, and an analysis of "the motives that color the threads in the warp and woof of all our fiction," is what Mr. Whiteford proposes in his preface. As he has been impressed, he tells us, during a protracted reading of English fiction "by the wonderful variations of that originality that reveals itself as the unity of life," the whole force of his "exposition of the advance of the English novel has been thrown on the motives manifesting themselves in variations that lie back of all life." These prefatory statements are quoted, since otherwise by some readers the author's intention may be but vaguely discerned in the chapters that ensue.

In ten chapters English writers of fiction—not everyone, perhaps, will be willing to class as *novelists* Thomas Malory and Miss Mitford—are discussed in a chronological order which groups in Chapter V, among others such a motley company as Samuel Johnson, Henry Brooke, and Horace Walpole; in Chapter VI, Frances Burney, Robert Bage, Thomas Day, and Ann Radcliffe; while it forces into Chapter VII their respective coworkers and counterparts of a little later date: Maria Edgeworth, William Godwin, Mrs. Inchbald, and "Monk" Lewis. This adherence to chronology so strict as to obviate any logical grouping of novelists and their works is a fundamental weakness in the organization of the book.

The treatment of each novelist consists of a summary of the stories of some or all of his works, sometimes full, as in the case of the *Morte Darthur*, Congreve's *Incognita*, and Mrs. Charlotte Smith's *Old Manor House*; and at other times very brief, as in

the two unconvincing sentences devoted to Miss Austen's *Mansfield Park*, and the single paragraph commenting upon all of Mrs. Eliza Haywood's work; sometimes narrowly confined to one aspect, as in the discussion of Defoe's novels from the ethical point of view; and sometimes of really informative and critical interest, as in the review of Mrs. Radcliffe's works. These summaries are often accompanied by excerpts from the novels, and by brief comparisons to earlier and later novels presenting likenesses, often superficial, in situation or purpose. As an example of these enumerations which seem to stand for the study of persistent motive originally announced, the following may be quoted from the discussion of *Humphry Clinker*:

"We are at once fascinated with genial Mat who is a lineal descendant of Parson Adams, Uncle Toby, Dr. Primrose, and Henry Brooke's Mr. Fenton. Matthew Bramble passes on the legacy of a tender heart to Bulwer-Lytton's Captain Roland Caxton and Thackeray's Colonel Newcome; and in the study of Tabitha there is a link action between Mrs. Grizzle and Becky Sharp, whose lighter counterpart is Trollope's Lizzie Eustace in the *Eustace Diamonds* (1872). Even the dog Chowder barks his way to the pug in Susan E. Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818), to Dora's Jip in Dickens's *David Copperfield*, and to the only friend Bill Sykes had." (p. 114.)

The volume concludes with a good index, but without the bibliography which would have been of use to students less widely read in the minor fiction of the nineteenth century, or without access to such little known works of the latter part of the eighteenth as the anonymous *Adventures of Emmera, or the Fair American* (1767).

The work as a whole represents prolonged travel along the highways of purely English fiction of nearly five centuries, and some investigation of the bye-ways. It is to be regretted that in addition to his own extensive observations of this material Mr. Whiteford does not make use of recent intensive studies in the history of fiction and related types. For in addition to certain weaknesses of organization already suggested, the book suffers generally on the scientific side from the lack of a more historical point of view such as might, for example, relate Defoe's works to the stories of travel and to the criminal biographies and narratives abundantly popular in the seventeenth century; Richardson, to the rising sentimentalism, and to the interest in bourgeois domestic life apparent in drama, poetry, and periodical essay, as well as in the fiction of the early eighteenth; and the English fiction of those formative decades, to the mass of garbled translation of the fiction of France and Spain, widely read and imitated in England, and of undoubted influence upon the manner and matter of English fiction of the period.

As to the aesthetic, or philosophical criticism—or whatever one should term the author's endeavor to analyze the motives "manifesting themselves in variations that lie back of all life," the somewhat baffled reader must admit that he would find help in an initial chapter, defining the terms of the title and preface, (Does *motive* mean author's purpose, motivation of plot, or something else?), mapping out the author's chosen method, with some definition of his point of view, of his basis of analysis, of the categories he will use; and finally some conclusions enlightening one as to the net results of the critical aspect of the study.

Perhaps at points some readers would question the author's critical judgments, as, for instance, when, after imposing upon the flexibility of Malory's romantic compilation the formula of Greek tragedy, he declares: "A marvelous unity holds together the protasis, epitasis, katabasis, and catastrophe, of this dramatic epic-romance of the *Morte Darthur*"; when he fails to distinguish between the psychology and *motives* of Pamela, Hetty Sorrel, and Jane Eyre, as they face their respective lovers; or when he finds the key to the character of Parson Adams in "the caricature of the curacy of England" with no regard for the viewpoint of Cervantes' knight.

Certain minor inaccuracies, not surprising, perhaps, in so extensive a work, may be noted in passing. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*—if it is Greene's—according to Esdaile and Wolff was published first in 1592, the year of Greene's death, not in 1596 (Whiteford, pp. 24, 29). The discussion of Bunyan's allegory and its influence fails to take adequate account of the important allegories which preceded it, such as Mr. Wharey's study presents in a long line of influence continuing well into Bunyan's time. The statement that up to Defoe there had been in English fiction "much of the pathetic, but little of the humorous" seems strangely to ignore the amount of jest-book and rogue literature in circulation before him. Finally the divergence between the estimates of Thomas Holcroft which appear in the statements of Mr. Whiteford and in the dissertation of Miss Allene Gregory (*The French Revolution and the English Novel*, [G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915] pp. 49, 81) calls for some reinforcement of fact such as Mr. Whiteford, at least, makes no effort to give. Incidentally he fails to credit Holcroft with the fourth and last of his novels, *The Memoirs of Brian Perdue* (1804).

The most valuable contribution to the study of English fiction which Mr. Whiteford's volume makes is its rapid survey of the political novel of the nineteenth century. For some such systematic consideration of prevailing types and *motives* the discussion of earlier fiction suffers most, a discussion which

might connect Shebbeare's *Marriage Act* (1756), omitted, though *Lydia* (1755) is discussed, and the anonymous *Corporal Bates* (1756), with the satire of early Utopias and *voyages imaginaires*, and with the novels of political and social reform of the last quarter of the century. As a whole the volume savors too much of the subjective criticism popular a generation ago from which the study of modern English literature is just beginning to recover.

HELEN SARD HUGHES

The University of Montana.

THE THEORY OF ENVIRONMENT. By Armin Hajman Koller, Ph.D. The Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1918.

The influence of environment upon man has received most attention on the part of French authors and thinkers, and so Dr. Koller is perhaps justified in presenting by way of introduction a number of definitions, not of the term 'environment' but of the *Meanings of the Word Milieu*. He makes no comment on the different interpretations given to the term 'milieu' by various authorities, and, being interested only in the historical side of the problem, he does not attempt to define milieu or environment in language of his own. On the whole the various authorities cited show no great divergence in their conceptions. The inquisitive reader, however, is apt to raise a question here and there. The positivist Auguste Comte, for instance, defines milieu as *l'ensemble total des circonstances extérieures d'un genre quelconque nécessaires à l'existence de chaque organisme déterminé. Nécessaires!* The use of the term implies the presence, or at least the possibility of the presence, of the unnecessary. Does the latter not also constitute a part of the milieu? In many instances conditions that exert a detrimental influence upon the organism in question are really the most important part of its milieu. From what point of view may they be regarded as necessary? Or are they not to be regarded as a part of environment? We must either assume that all the actual conditions are necessary, and then the term is entirely superfluous, or that the unnecessary exists by the side of the necessary and forms, of course, also a part of environment. Very likely the exigencies of French syntax and style are mainly responsible for the use of the term *nécessaires* in Comte's definition.

Claude Bernard distinguishes between outer and inner milieu. Here we have either a new interpretation of the term or, more likely, an application of it from a twofold point of view. It is true *l'animal* is affected by the various fluctuations and changes in the state of its body, as well as by the external

conditions of its existence. This aggregate of individual organisms which constitute the body of the animal are the *milieu intérieur dans lequel vivent les éléments des tissus*. It forms the immediate milieu of the different cells; to regard it as the inner milieu of the collective organism, the animal, is indeed a departure, but one which does not make for clearness.

Finot's definition recommends itself by its brevity, clearness and inclusiveness. He states, milieu "includes the sum total of the conditions which accompany the conception and earthly existence of a being, and which end only with its death." It is possible, and it may have been Finot's intention, to include Bernard's *milieu intérieur* in his interpretation. But by doing so, one greatly obscures, if not entirely eliminates, the boundary between heredity and environment, for every trait or propensity inherited from the parents would at the moment of conception merely become an aspect of the *milieu intérieur*.

After discussing the meaning of the term, Koller gives a sketch of the history of the idea of milieu down to the nineteenth century. He finds that mesologic thinking begins with the ancient Hebrew prophets, refers then to Hippocrates and Aristotle and the views which the ancients in general held in regard to the influence of environment, and gives a more detailed exposition of the theories of Ibn Khaldūn, an Arabic statesman and sage of the second half of the fourteenth century. In Europe of the Middle Ages, the idea remained dormant, until the time of the Renaissance, which witnessed its resurrection. The reason for this is obvious. The ancient thinkers were fearless and inquisitive, and unhampered by any pre-conceived ideas or a fixed goal. Their observations were scattered and unsystematic, their inclination for philosophical speculation and their impatient desire for a harmonious conception of the universe often led them astray, but some of their deductions based on experience are very clear sighted, though naturally expressed in rudimentary form. Almost two hundred years before Aristotle, Empedocles maintained that the preservation, proficiency and development of all organisms were due to the fitness which they ultimately attained. In the language of the present age this simply means survival of the fittest. With the advent of Christianity a barrier was created for thought and simultaneously a fixed goal was set for which it had to strive. Only the heretics dared to arrive at conclusions which were at variance with the dogma. The importance of the inner life, the life of the soul, as then understood, overshadowed the concrete experiences of existence.

One fundamental idea of those ages was that the universe was governed by an absolutely free will, and that human beings

were relatively free agents. The laws of nature were almost unknown, their universal validity, the infrangible chain of cause and effect were inconceivable to those generations. When Jean Bodin ventured to proclaim that man was dependent on his environment, he took care to postulate the human reason as the absolute part of the mind, and as such not subject to surrounding influences. So it was but natural that he regarded education as the remedy for social ills, as though an environment tending to develop vicious propensities at the expense of the good would not leave its impress upon education. J. G. Kohl,¹ who wrote three centuries later, expresses similar views, though he admits that this seeming independence may be an illusion. Bodin, though a clear and deep thinker, could not entirely free himself from the influence of his times, and so we discover in *De la république*, and especially in his *Démonomanie* (Paris, 1581) a strong leaning to the belief of his age that Satan and his demons had power over the world, and that magic and astrology were true arts.

As the conception of the universe becomes more and more deterministic, the influence of environment upon man is perceived more clearly. Our own age is wholly deterministic as far as western civilization is concerned. The structures of all the natural sciences rests on the assumption that no law of nature is ever suspended, that there exists an unbroken and unbreakable chain of cause and effect. All sociologic and political thought proceeds likewise from these premises. As soon as we see a phenomenon or a series of phenomena which we consider detrimental, we start to seek for the cause or causes and try to remove them.

We may well ask ourselves whether we are not going too far in that direction, for at present man is almost regarded as a machine, and experts of various kind are busily at work to obtain for him the maximum of efficiency, which nine times out of ten means merely a maximum of material productiveness. *Cui bono?*—From a strictly deterministic point of view, all these efforts for and against are absolutely inevitable, without, however, really altering the determined course of events. Previous causes determine the marshalling of opposing forces, the time, the place and the form of the clash, as well as the outcome. The truly philosophical among the determinists

¹ We may mention here that Kohl in his work *Der Rhein* (Leipsic, 1851) pointed out what role the rivers always have played in the development of peoples and nations, referring for illustration not only to the principal rivers of the old world, but also to those of North and South America. He really suggests the theme which Metchnikoff dealt with in detail in *Les civilisations et les grands fleuves historique*, confining himself, however, to Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China.

have to admit that their conception of the universe and of life has after all only the value of an hypothesis, indispensable to the sciences, it is true, and daily leading to new advances, but an hypothesis nonetheless. By the side of the determined material world, they recognize something undetermined, which is able to modify the results produced by purely natural causes, that is to say, they postulate the freedom of the will, thereby keeping open to mankind the way to progress, however great the obstacles with which it may be beset. In regard to human society as a whole, it is safe to say that logical thinking is a rare vice. So most people are entirely unaware of any dilemma and optimistically proceed to extricate themselves from the mire by their own bootstraps, as it were. Their optimism, from what ever source it may issue, is a valuable asset in the struggle for higher ideals.

In the main part of his monograph Koller considers the advance made during the nineteenth century, taking the reader up to the present. He has here only dealt with authors on anthropogeography and certain aspects of history. In this field the theory of environment was first applied. The influences of geographical factors are still most potent, but in our age man has developed considerable efficiency in modifying the influences of geographical environment to suit his needs; other aspects of the theory of milieu have assumed equal or even greater importance in our minds. Koller is aware of the fact and has planned to continue the survey of the history of the theory of environment in the field of biology, jurisprudence, economics, anthropology, sociology, literature, and even physics. Since these discussions are "shortly to follow the present one," he will have to confine himself to a mere outline, as in the present case. Considered as an outline his study is a valuable guide for investigation and a good summary of the development in anthropo-geography up to date. The most important authors and phases have been briefly characterized, and what at first glance seems like an omission, as for instance the absence of the name of Charles Darwin, who by his theories did more than any one else to bring the concept 'environment' before the educated world over finds its explanation in Koller's plan. One thing stands out very clearly: the history of the theory of environment runs strictly parallel to the history of the human mind.

JOSEF WIEHR.

Smith College.

KARL GUTZKOW'S SHORT STORIES: A Study in the Technique of Narration by Daniel Frederick Pasmore, Professor of German, Southwestern College, 1918, 122 pages.

The reviewer approached this little book or dissertation with kindly interest, as his early experience in learning German was intimately associated with the name of Gutzkow. In fact "Zopf und Schwert" was the first German drama he read at school. Later as a teacher of the language he read it a number of times with his classes, and quite an interest sprang up for the book and its author. This drama of Gutzkow brings a king, a man of many foibles, quite near to our feeling and teaches us in spite of his glaring weaknesses to appreciate his inner worth and even to enjoy his character, full of faults but amply redeemed by its humanity. These are the fine qualities of realism that characterize Gutzkow's best dramas and novels and place him among the pioneer realists of the last century. Professor Pasmore avoids this more attractive part of Gutzkow's literary activity, feeling that it has already been sufficiently treated and turns our attention to Gutzkow's short-stories, which he deems worthy of more attention than they have as yet received.

In the first chapter the author takes up the theory of the short-story. He reviews the various definitions that have been presented and gives preference to Paul Heyse's formulation which may be briefly stated as a story with a single and central theme which is told artistically and objectively with psychological penetration. The writer is wont to say to his classes that the short-story is a moving picture of an individual struggling thru a crisis in his inner life. Of course, no short definition can give its full scope. If this be even in a general way the nature of the short-story it cannot possibly be a development of the last century as the author of the dissertation inclines to believe. There was never a time in the history of the race when the struggles of an individual thru a difficulty or thru a crisis in his life was not the most thrilling of all pictures that could be presented to the mind. The oldest forms of literature, such as the Bible, teem with short-stories. Altho they often appear as episodes in a larger picture, as in Wolfram's "Parzival," they also appear as independent works. The writer does not believe that any modern author has written a more typical short-story than Hartmann von Aue's "Der arme Heinrich." Of course, Professor Pasmore is fully aware of the existence of such claims as these, but he stoutly maintains that "as a conscious type of literary product the works of such writers as Keller, Storm, C. F. Meyer, and Heyse differ essentially from the collections extant prior to the year 1800." Here as so often elsewhere

too much stress has been put upon mere externalities. How queer the pictures of men and women of bygone ages look to us today and yet in spite of their strange costumes they were swayed by the same human feeling, as sway us today. Altho centuries separated Wolfram and Keller they are closer together in their essential characteristics than Keller and Heyse who are contemporaries.

In this interesting first chapter the author's characterization of Heyse as "this most exemplary writer of the *novelle* of recent years" attracted the reviewer's attention. It is quite possible that most readers will agree with Professor Pasmore, but to the reviewer Heyse is greatly inferior to Storm, Keller, and Meyer in power. It was also a surprise that Grillparzer was not mentioned in connection with these other authors. Altho Grillparzer has not written many short-stories "Der arme Spielmann" outweighs and, therefore, may outlive most of the short-stories of our time.

Professor Pasmore gives a brief outline of twenty-three of Gutzkow's short-stories written in the years 1834-70 in connection with an interesting discussion of them. This constitutes the largest part of the book. While he finds that Gutzkow has contributed little to the technique of the short-story he makes it plain that he here as elsewhere is a consistent realist and has made an important contribution to the modern movement to bring literature nearer to life. To the reviewer this is the most valuable result of this study.

In this dissertation our attention is repeatedly called to Gutzkow's contribution to the development of the theory and the technique of the "Nebeneinander" in his larger novels. It seems to the reviewer that two things have here been confused. Gutzkow's introduction of the "Hinterhaus" into literature alongside of the "Vorderhaus" made it seem as tho this "Nebeneinander" were something new. The element of the "Hinterhaus" is new, but the technique of the "Nebeneinander" is already as highly developed in Wolfram's "Parzival" as in any modern German novel. The real difference here between modern realists and the older realists like Wolfram is the great fondness in modern literature for the lower levels.

GEORGE O. CURME

Northwestern University.

GOETHE'S ESTIMATE OF THE GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS as revealed by his works, letters, diaries, and conversations, by William Jacob Keller, a thesis submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy, 1914 (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 786, Philology and Literature Series Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-191), Madison, Wisconsin, 1916.

This 1914 Wisconsin dissertation may be more exactly described as being a systematic presentation, not so much of Goethe's estimate of the Greek and Latin writers alone, but rather, in parts at least, of a detailed history or the minutiae of Goethe's study throughout his life principally of the Greek and to a lesser extent of the Latin writers, as recorded by Goethe himself.

It at once challenges comparison with two recent works on the subject, namely that of Primer (Paul Primer, *Goethes Verhältnis zum klassischen Altertum*, Progr., Frankfurt a. M., 1911, 45 pp.) and of the more pretentious Maass (Ernst Maass, *Goethe und die Antike*, Berlin, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1912. X+655 pp.).

Goethe's relation to classical antiquity has often been investigated before Primer, but these attempts prior to Primer's as a rule limited themselves to Goethe's *works* only. Primer was the first to use the complete Weimar edition of the Letters for this purpose. Upon this basis, Primer seeks to draw a picture of Goethe's extensive knowledge of classical antiquity and of the "powerful effect" it exercised upon Goethe. Primer thus sums up his results: die Briefe lehren, dass Goethe bis ins späte Alter bemüht gewesen ist, aus dem erfrischenden Quell der klassischen Literatur zu schöpfen und sich das seiner Natur Gemäße anzueignen. Bei keinem unserer Klassiker tritt so deutlich wie bei Goethe die charakteristische Eigenart hervor und zwar sein ganzes Leben lang, selbst eigne Erlebnisse und Empfindungen in antikem Gewande darzustellen. Primer does not exhaust the Letters; he points to the *Tagebücher*, Conversations, and other sources, which promise, upon further investigation, to yield results additional to his own. And so one might link up Dr. Keller's work directly with Primer's brochure.

One year after Primer's¹ pamphlet, Maass' bulky volume appeared. The chapter headings in this book reveal a lack of uniform grouping of the material. This divergent topical selection by Maass confuses the reader; the confusion is cleared up only if one finds the cleavage in his arrangement. Seven out of eighteen chapters have for their topic some part of Goethe's works, whereas eight other chapters bear the name of some Greek writers, two of which are mislabeled. The seven chapters are: I. Erste Dichtung; II. Götz; IV. Nausikaa; V. Klassische Walpurgisnacht; VI. Helena; IX. Mignon und Harfner; XII. Satyros. Of the mislabeled chapters, the seventh,

¹ Primer was not accessible to me and known to me only through A. Kraemer's article in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (XXXII. Jg., No. 41, October 14, 1911, pp. 2590-2593). According to Kraemer, the rendering of Goethe's *Iphigenie* into Greek and of his *Hermann und Dorothea* into Latin was very successful (Vortrefflich gelungen).

Tragiker, should be correctly designated as "Goethe's *Iphigenie* in its relation to Euripides' drama *Iphigenia in Tauris*," and the small eighth, *Komiker*, as "Goethe's *Vögel* as related to the *Birds* by Aristophanes." Belonging together, these nine chapters should have been put in succession as they form one group of topics. The other group is made up of the following six chapters: III. Homer; X. Pindar; XI. Platon; XIII. Andere Dichter; XIV. Prosaiker; XV. Römer. The placing of the chapters in these two groups lifts the confusion, indicates the contents better, and at the same time reveals the double point of view in Maass' arrangement.

Maass' first chapter refers to the very early tale, *Der neue Paris, Knabenmärchen*, related by Goethe in the second book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Goethes Werke, Weimar ed., I, 26:78-99). In *Satyros*, another youthful work is discussed. To the four page fragment *Nausikaa* (Goethes Werke, Weimar ed., I, 10:99-102), Maass devotes eighty large pages. *Mignon und Harfner* is called Goethe's 'Oedipodee' (a word coined by Maass, p. 374). *Götz* is related to Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and to the Paris-Helena-Oinone story particularly as told by Loen (for Loen, see Maass, p. 33 and Keller, p. 17). Nearly one-fifth of the book is given to the second and third acts of the second part of Faust.

In the second group, including its three main chapters (Plato, Pindar, Homer), discussion of larger coherent parts of Goethe's works as affected by classical writers, is replaced by a treatment seeking to uncover the fragmentary influence of Plato (here *Egmont* is brought in as under Plato's influence), etc., on Goethe, also by way of citations including those from Goethe's own utterances. Citations of the latter are not complete or systematic, a deficiency Dr. Keller undertakes to remedy.

To the ambition of writing a literary style, a good deal of lucidity is sacrificed by Maass; perhaps this accounts for the arbitrariness of a number of his theories set forth especially in the first third of the book, for his sharp polemic here against opponents' theories, for his being in these parts vainglorious and vaunting, for his disdain here of fact-gatherers and their collections, for his condescending animadversions here of Goethe scholars, for lecturing and reprimanding them in these parts.

Maass is carried away by his enthusiasm to read into Goethe's writings, wherever he can, allusions to Greek writers. He even has a chapter on 'Tassos Epos,' because the Italian poet was influenced by the ancients and he in turn influenced Goethe.

In addition to his excellent first-hand knowledge of the classical literatures, Maass' great merit lies in those of his

interpretations of the discussed works of Goethe as affected by classical antiquity that are justifiable; lack of space forbids us to essay here even a sketch of them.

As regards Goethe, Maass exaggerates considerably when he says (p. 603) that Goethe and the Italian poet Tasso "waren ganz einig in der inbrünstigen Liebe zu ihrer geistigen Heimat, die sie in der Antike sahen, ohne darum ihre Individualität zu opfern," if he means to convey that "Die Antike" was in any exclusive sense Goethe's "geistige Heimat." One is also inclined to take issue with him when he declares Goethe to be "der erste Hellenist des deutschen Volkes" (p. 646).

The predilection for classical antiquity that Goethe and Schiller had in common gradually led the two poets, hitherto separated, into the bonds of lasting friendship (p. 648).

Maass does not summarize his conclusions. The reviewer found but three statements resembling a summary, all of which express briefly Goethe's relation to classical antiquity. The first (p. 643 f.) is vague: Zu dämmern beginnt es aus trüber Beleuchtung schon in der Knabenzeit, wovon das Knabenmärchen, seine erste Dichtung, ein Zeugnis ablegen mag . . . Es hellt sich etwas in Leipzig auf. Das rechte Licht beginnt in Straszburg, und das währt durch die Frankfurter, Wetzlarer und Weimarer Zeit, bis in Italien die Sonne durch die letzten Wolken bricht in ihrem vollen Glanze, und die Wirkung bleibt, auch wo der Tag seines Lebens sich neigt und zu erlöschen beginnt. The second (p. 576) is picturesque: Die Antike war für Goethe der Traum seiner erwachenden Kindheit, das Morgenrot seiner Jugend, wo ihm ein ganzer Frühling aus der vollen Seele quoll, sie war der Sonnenschein seiner Manneskraft und zuletzt war sie ihm der holde Abendstern seines Lebens. The third (p. 648 f.) is more definite: Goethe hatte seine Persönlichkeit durch die Poesie und Kunst und zum Teil durch die Philosophie der Alten, die platonische, erst vollendet, um sofort ein tragender und schützender Geist dieser selben Antike zu werden. Maass leaves but rarely Latin and Greek citations untranslated.

As an antidote to Maass' excessive enthusiasm, one is reminded of Grillparzer's adverse opinion on Goethe's turning to classical antiquity; Goethe did that for pose only, and then as a result his poetic productions were stilted: "Seine (Goethe's) neuesten poetischen Hervorbringungen waren . . ., wenn er (Goethe) sich, der Haltung wegen, dem Antiken zuwendete, maniert" (*Franz Grillparzers Werke*, 2. Aufl. s.a., Stuttgart Leipzig, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, *Selbstbiographie*, 1855, p. 732).

In contrast to Maass' personal and subjective book of interpretations (Maass, by the way, is very fond of the word 'Erklärer') we have Keller's objective and systematic record

of Goethe's own utterances concerning his views and study of Greek and Latin letters. Keller's book was begun before but not finished till some years after Maass's appeared. The former neither supersedes, nor duplicates, but rather complements the latter. They have at least that much in common that each devotes only one chapter to Latin literature.

Dr. Keller set for himself the task, which, let it be said at the outset, he well succeeded in accomplishing, "to collect and present, in a manner convenient for reference and in an entirely objective way, all of Goethe's more important spoken and written utterances on these literatures." "What Goethe actually said about so important a part of the literature of the world as the Greek and Latin, seems . . . worthy of being collected and presented systematically; and that is the object of the following pages" (p. 5). The Greek writers from Homer to the days of Justinian (and also the Latin authors in the last, twelfth, chapter, pp. 149-184) and, in general, Goethe's utterances under each author, are chronologically arranged; the record for any author is thus kept together and offered in the order of the time of expression. Quotations are only occasionally repeated when the opinion has to do with more than one author.

Goethe studied the Greek language intermittently from boyhood to the age of forty, and probably even later, and attained to a degree of proficiency as shown especially by his translations from Greek authors. Nevertheless Dr. Keller thinks that there is no doubt that Goethe never regarded himself as really proficient in the Greek language. Goethe "always depended to a large extent on translations; in fact, as will be seen below, in many cases his whole occupation with a Greek writer is due to some translation" (p. 9). This is amply proven and abundantly substantiated by K. in the course of his book. In particular, recent translations and translations in the making served as incentives to Goethe to take up a Greek author. Goethe constantly encouraged translators in their work. We learn of the extent of Goethe's knowledge of Greek in 1811 from a letter he wrote to Wolf (September 28, 1811) who loaned him a copy of Kaltwasser's translation of Plutarch's *Moralia*: Wolf will scarcely see it again, "Denn was sollte sie (die Uebersetzung) Ihnen auch, da *das mir zugeschlossene Original* (italics mine) Ihnen frei und offen steht." Even as late as November 22, 1831, Goethe writes to Zelter: "Ich werde nicht von ihm (Euripides) ablassen diesen ganzen Winter. Wir haben Uebersetzungen genug die einer Anmaszung ins Original zu sehen gar löblich bei der Hand sind." It is different with Latin; there is no doubt of his proficiency in that language. Goethe says (*D.u.W.*, 6; Weimar ed., I, 27, 39), he read much in Latin with

great ease, "und durfte glauben die Autoren zu verstehen, weil mir am buchstäblichen Sinne nichts abging." It is of interest to modern language teachers that Goethe learned the Latin as he did the German, "nur aus dem Gebrauch, ohne Regel und ohne Begriff." And without grammar, "mir schien alles natürlich zuzugehen, ich behielt die Worte, ihre Bildungen und Umbildungen in Ohr und Sinn, und bediente mich der Sprache mit Leichtigkeit zum Schreiben und Schwätzen."

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were an almost inexhaustible source of interest and study to Goethe; he devoted an astonishing amount of time to them. From early boyhood to his very last years he was almost constantly in intimate touch with the Homeric poems; his interest was especially active from 1770 to 1775, during the Italian journey, from 1793 to 1798, and in 1820-1821. He never grows weary of expressing his admiration for Homer's naturalness. A great part of his attention is taken up by various translations of Homer: Clarke, Stolberg, Bodmer, Bürger, Zauper, Monti, Hülle, and principally Voss; he is also interested in the editions of Ernesti, Wetstein, Mai, and Wolf; in the works on Homer of Creuzer, Schaufelberger, Blackwell, and especially Wolf's *Prolegomena* and Schubarth's *Ideen über Homer und seine Zeit*. The *Achilleis*, *Nausikaa*, some translations, an epitome of the *Iliad*, are Goethe's own productions in this connection. He was deeply interested in the struggle over the Homeric question; at first he weakly resisted the new theory as propounded by Wolf, but accepted it half-heartedly in 1796 (pp. 45-47).

In Greek lyric poetry, Pindar seems the only one, and temporarily Anacreon whose ode to the cicada he translates in 1781, who has real attraction for Goethe. In 1772 he translates the fifth Olympian ode. In 1804, Goethe places Pindar, as a representative of plastic (classic) art, at the side of Homer, Sophocles, and Shakspeare. While Pindar never was a prominent factor in his life, yet Pindar continued to hold a high place in his estimation to the end. Goethe expressed some of his warmest praise of Pindar after his seventieth year. Sappho's poetry remained a closed book to Goethe. Keller offers a plausible explanation for this strange neglect (p. 51).

The great Attic tragedians: Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are the object of Goethe's profound admiration. In fact, to him, Greek tragedy means the works of these three poets. His own humility when measuring himself against them is shown in a letter to Zahn (Sept. 7, 1827): "Ich glaube auch etwas geleistet zu haben, aber gegen einen der grossen attischen Dichter, wie Aeschylos und Sophokles, bin ich doch gar nichts."

Goethe's interest in Aeschylus awakens early, but it does not continue steadily; not until the completion in 1816 of

Humboldt's translation, encouraged by Goethe since 1797, of the *Agamemnon*, does Goethe's enthusiasm break forth. Here, as in the case of Homer, a large part of his interest is connected with such works by his contemporaries as the translations of Tobler, Humboldt, Danzen, Voss, Stolberg, and the work of Hermann on the fragments of the *Niobe* and the *Philoctetes*.

Sophocles probably ranks next to Homer in Goethe's estimate of all the Greeks, the two representing to him the highest in Greek literature. In 1804 Goethe hears of a treatise written to prove that Sophocles was a Christian: "Das ist keineswegs zu verwundern, aber merkwürdig, dasz das ganze Christentum nicht einen Sophokles hervorgebracht." On several occasions he treats the literary art of Sophocles as the standard by which to judge others. The *Ajax* and *Electra* concern him little, the *Trachiniae* is not mentioned; due in large measure to Rochlitz's version (1808) of the *Antigone* and its production on the Weimar stage (1809), this play receives the most attention. He speaks of the "sublime holiness" of the *Oedipus Colonus*. Sophocles "represents the 'beautiful' style of Greek tragedy; his rhetorical ability is so great that it sometimes threatens to become a fault; his ability as a playwright impresses Goethe; his loftiness of soul appeals to him" (p. 84).

Goethe was acquainted with a large number of the plays of Euripides; his interest centers chiefly in the *Bacchae* which was his favorite, in the *Ion*, the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and the *Cyclops*. The *Helena* and the *Electra* are called "schlechte Stücke." The *Phaethon*, and somewhat the *Philoctetes*, as well as some of the lost plays of Aeschylus, were very tempting to Goethe as problems for restoration. Goethe's highest admiration of Euripides comes in the last years of his life. There is a personal element in his attitude toward this poet whom he defends against the philologists; these consider Euripides inferior to his predecessors merely because the harlequin Aristophanes "ihn gehudelt hat." He is particularly angered by A. W. Schlegel's saying that the Greek theater degenerated through Euripides. The latter's fault of conventionality, of being too rhetorical, is freely granted by Goethe, the blame for which is laid at the door of his age, and "Euripides' great achievement was just this, that he realized the need of his time and was able to satisfy it, thus gaining the great popularity which so impresses Goethe" (p. 93).

To Aristophanes Goethe pays much less attention than to the tragedians. Of the plays he was acquainted with the *Birds*, the *Clouds*, the *Knights*, the *Acharnians*, the *Frogs*, and the *Ecclesiazusae*, but this list may not be exhaustive. He was impressed by the boldness and cleverness of the comedian's jests; he does not remark anywhere upon the beauty of Aris-

tophanes' lyric passages. To the tragedians he looked up with humility; "toward Aristophanes his attitude is rather a good-natured patronage, much like that which Aristophanes himself feels for his characters" (p. 98).

Although Goethe ranks the Greek historians high, yet there is a striking lack of interest in their works. In Herodotus, the style and the story element attract him. Thucydides receives very little attention.

Goethe is attracted to Socrates' philosophy because it is practical rather than speculative. For a time, Socrates is the object of his genuine enthusiasm.

There are a number of references to Plato in Goethe's early period when, however, his concern with Plato's writings, especially the *Phaedo* and the *Apology*, is due to his interest in Socrates rather than in Plato himself. At this time Goethe does not express any real appreciation of Plato's greatness: "Die Fülle des Plato fruchtete bei mir nicht im mindesten." He did not really know Plato up to 1793. Even then he was but gradually won over, so that we can say that he was a mature man when he came to know Plato. His deep admiration dates from about the beginning of the century when he comes to feel the greatness of Plato. In 1808 he says: "In der Kultur der Wissenschaften haben die Bibel, Aristoteles und Plato hauptsächlich gewirkt, und auf diese drei Fundamente kommt man immer wieder zurück." The work done on the *Farbenlehre* brings to him a full appreciation of Plato, and the expression of his profoundest admiration is found here. In *Ueberliefertes* he continues to develop the idea of the importance of the Bible, Aristotle, and Plato in the world's culture: "Soll . . . für uns ein Faden aus der alten Welt in die neue herüberreichen, so müssen wir dreier Hauptmassen gedenken, welche die grösste, entschiedenste, ja oft ausschliessende Wirkung hervorgebracht haben, der Bibel, der Werke Platos und Aristoteles." Plato's appeal to Goethe was almost entirely scientific, not literary. Goethe's utterances deal with the *Symposium*, *Phaedrus* (these two are merely mentioned), *Apology*, *Phaedo*, *Ion*, and *Timaeus* (pp. 105-111).

Goethe finds Aristotle a difficult author to handle and comes really to know him (as was the case with Plato) only after Goethe has become a mature man. In one of the two passages above cited, Aristotle is mentioned in the second place, in the other in the third place, as being one of the three great foundations of modern culture (the Bible in the first and Plato in the third and second place respectively). If Plato is the man of "Geist" and "Gemüt," Aristotle is the man of "Forscherblick" and "Methode," Goethe especially admires in Aristotle his holding to facts, his insistence on experience, and his power of

observation. Outside of the *Farbenlehre*, Goethe's interest in Aristotle centers mainly in the *Poetics*, particularly in the problem of the "catharsis," which Goethe explains in a way advantageous to his own literary work (p. 118).

In 1814 in a letter to the publisher Uwarow, Goethe remarks in favor of the late Greek literature which in his opinion is altogether too much neglected for the great classic period. Notwithstanding his regret over this neglect, coming to the literature of the decadence we find a great decrease of Goethe's interest, and only here and there is he drawn to an author as Theocritus or to some work as *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, although he does give much time to Pausanias and the Philostrati, owing to his interest in painting.

Plutarch, however, stands out markedly from the rest, probably receiving more attention than any other Greek prose writer except Plato and Aristotle. Dr. K. noted in the diary alone ninety-eight entries indicating the reading of Plutarch, "showing an amount of time devoted to Plutarch that is hardly paralleled in the case of any Greek author except Homer." Plutarch was "easily one of Goethe's favorites" whom he read, not with any critical intent, but for pure enjoyment, and "Plutarch stands almost alone in this respect" (p. 131, 135).

Some of the most extravagant terms of praise uttered by Goethe on all Greek literature are lavished upon the pastoral romance *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus. He reads it for the first time in 1807 in Amyot's translation; in 1814 he calls it a masterpiece: "ein Meisterstück poetischer Entfaltung eines gegebenen reichhaltigen Gegenstandes." In 1831 he says he has often read it and marveled at it; reason, art, and taste find their highest expression in it. The memory of it makes him eager to read it again. He advises to read it once every year: "Man tut wohl, es alle Jahre einmal zu lesen, um immer wieder daran zu lernen und den Eindruck seiner grossen Schönheit aufs neue zu empfinden" (pp. 142-144).

Goethe's admiration for Latin literature when compared with that for the Greek, is, on the whole, very moderate. Virgil must yield to Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. The Bible, Virgil, and Horace, serve him as chief sources of mottoes for every occasion. His interest in Ovid is long-lived; beginning in his boyhood it continues through his whole life. He gets to know the *Metamorphoses* as a young boy when he studies industriously the first books especially. As a boy his head was full of the characters of the *Metamorphoses*; he was in the habit of learning by heart the opening lines of larger works, such as the Bible, the *Aeneid*, and the *Metamorphoses*. He is fond of the *Metamorphoses*, and reads it at various times, especially in his old age (p. 173). For a period of about eight years (1806-1813)

he has an almost constant interest in Tacitus, "an unusual thing in the case of the Latin authors" (p. 180). To Napoleon's suggestion (in the interview at Erfurt on October 2, 1808) that he describe the great contemporary events, Goethe replies that that would require the skill of a poet of classical antiquity: "la plume de quelque écrivain de l'antiquité" (p. 100).

In the Chronological Table (pp. 185-187), Keller enumerates, from 1770 year by year, the Greek and Latin writers Goethe was specially interested in at any given year to the end of his life. This Table reveals that the only years with a blank record are: 1783, and the first three years of the French revolution: 1789, 1790, and 1791.

Of the seventy-nine treatises on the subject noted in Goedeke's *Grundriss*³ (IV, 2, pp. 380-384), nineteen are listed in the bibliography (pp. 188-189) and eleven others added. In the latter the number of pages is left out of each reference. Five of these are also given by Maass (Vorwort, VII). To these should now be added the titles in the latest volume of the *Grundriss* (IV, 4, pp. 35-36).

The Index of Greek and Latin Authors (pp. 190-191) contains one hundred seventy one entries.

At the end of the third division (Philosophy) of chapter eleven, after Plotinus and Proclus (pp. 146-148), the reviewer misses Iamblichus, a Neoplatonic mystic of the fourth century. This Syrian philosopher in Alexandria is nowhere mentioned by Dr. Keller. Now, ten years ago, Professor Julius Goebel in his article on "Goethes Quelle für die Erdgeistszene" (JEGPHIL, Vol. VIII, 1909, pp. 1-17) has clearly shown the debt Goethe owes to Iamblichus. Professor Goebel proves in detail what suggestions from Iamblichus were utilized by Goethe in preparing to conjure up and in the appearance of the earth-spirit. Iamblichus' book *De Mysteriis* had been excellently edited by Thomas Gale who also included in his edition a Latin rendering of it. Goethe knew of Gale's edition of the *De Mysteriis* from numerous references to it in Joh. Albert Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria* (1713), a book that Goethe studied in Straszburg, and probably in Frankfort already, as is proved by two entries in the *Ephemerides* where Goethe recorded his studies during the year 1770 (See *Goethes Werke*, Weimar ed., I, 37:83 and 90 f.). These facts are also brought out by Professor Goebel in the above mentioned article.

The word "Geography" in the subtitle "A" of chapter XI (p. 130) is scarcely justified and should have been omitted as nothing is said of geography.

Chapter IX, little over one page, hardly merits the designation "chapter."

In matters of form, Dr. K. overlooked two minor blemishes that lend even to a book meant for reference an appearance of laxity or carelessness of style. One is the frequent use of "cf." in the body of the text; such is found on pages 10 (bis), 11, 13, 15, 29, 36, 43, 67, 79, 95, 100, 104, 123, 130, 132, 162, 168. These should have been relegated into the footnotes or put in parenthesis if retained in the text. Abbreviations in the text like "bk." for book and those of the names of the months also occur often. The other is the employment of references to section, volume, and page by figures as an integral part of the text, without, and instead of, mentioning the title of the work referred to or whatever fact is suitable in a given instance; for example, "IV, 28, 272" (p. 47), "in II, 4, 74 is found" (p. 59), "According to III, 9, 330" and the like on pages 67, 89 (bis), 111 (bis), 122, 117, 129, 147, 154 (bis), 155, 157, 162, 175, 178, 183 (ter); those numbers should have gone down into the footnotes.

There are no misprints to speak of. "Gluht" on page 53 should read "Gluth," "1876" on the next page should be "1776," "Jan" on page 160 is meant for "January." On several pages, the footnote numbers are blurred near the bottom of the page. On page 144, in the last footnote, "137" is an error for "143," and on page 6, twelfth line from the bottom, "chapter" is an error for "part of a chapter," as the opening pages (64-70) of the fifth chapter are here alluded to.

In some of the German citations, the reproduction of Goethe's orthography is inconsistent; e.g., Goethe writes "Gedächtnisz" (p. 158), "Astronomikon" (p. 173); why not modernize the spelling in all quotations entirely?

A final statement or chapter where all the results gained would at least be summarized is wanting. Some might be inclined to censure Keller for a lack of a general historical background and for an assumption in his readers of a fresh knowledge of Greek and Latin literature; there are traces of his possessing the requisite knowledge and ability to write such background and to supply the missing account on the Greek and Latin side. But the reviewer believes that an author has the right to set himself limits he deems proper and then be judged fairly on the performance of his self-appointed task. Dr. Keller has acquitted himself creditably in this very industrious piece of work; he collected his facts with great diligence which he presents, without any attempt at a literary style, in a well-ordered arrangement; he adheres strictly and closely to his facts and spins no theories whatever. His assiduity is the more laudable if we remember that in the Weimar edition of Goethe's works, the one he used, index volumes were available to him only for Sections II (*Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften*)

and IV (*Briefe*) but not for Sections I (*Werke*, 53 volumes) and III (*Tagebücher*, 13 volumes). Since, at least the first index volume for Section I (Vol. 54: A to L, 1916) appeared, and probably also the other remaining two (i.e., the second for Section I and one for Section III).

The reviewer suggests, first, that some sort of a historical survey of German translations from Greek and Latin literature in the eighteenth century would materially aid in comprehending the phase of Goethe's activity under discussion, second, that it would be desirable to superimpose a critical examination of the utterances presented.

Dr. Keller's work will prove indispensable to the future writer of the final comprehensive account of Goethe's relation to classical antiquity, an account which is still outstanding.

ARMIN H. KOLLER

University of Illinois.

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MARTIN BUCER ON EDUCATION

The importance of Martin Bucer among the theologians and statesmen of the Reformation is generally recognized, but his services to the cause of education, though indicated by his biographers, are not generally known, as is shown by the failure of all the encyclopedias of education I have consulted, in French, German, and English, to devote an article to him. His importance as an educator is, I believe, such that this neglect is not justified.

In the first place, Bucer, like many of the Reformers, gave much of his time to teaching. Soon after his arrival in Strassburg, the center of the activity of his life, he began to expound the Gospel of John to the citizens, and the Epistle to Timothy, in Latin, to the learned.¹ Ere long he was chosen by the pastors to expound the Gospel in public. As a result, the teaching of the Old Testament, and then of other subjects, was undertaken by various men. Bucer continued to teach the New Testament and the Psalms for many years, and also undertook the *Paraphrases Apodicticae* of Themistius, which he gave up to John Sturm in 1537.² These and similar courses carried on by Bucer, Capito, and their associates, chiefly under the auspices of the Foundation of St. Thomas, almost constituted a university. After his flight to England, in 1549, Bucer became Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge. Here he made a powerful impression as a teacher, even though greatly hindered by ill health, for we have the testimonies of Sir John Cheeke, who taught 'Cambridge and King Edward Greek,' Walter Haddon, Matthew Parker, and a pupil of Bucer's, Nicholas Carr. A recent writer says: 'No professor certainly ever taught at Cambridge for so brief a period, and yet left behind him so deep an impression as did Martin Bucer of his services, virtues, and attainments.'³

¹ Johann W. Baum, *Capito und Butzer*, Elberfeld, 1860, p. 208.

² *Ib.*, p. 242. Charles Schmidt, *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm*, Strassburg, 1855, p. 33.

³ J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge, 1535-1625*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 123.

As a result of natural ability and long practice, Bucer seems to have taught without the appearance of strain either for himself or his pupils, since he is praised for his facility.⁴ Joined with this was remarkable power of making his discourses perspicuous.⁵ In praising this quality his English panegyrists agree with John Sturm, who remarked upon the skill in dialectic which enabled him to impress his hearers,⁶ and said of his writings:

In his volumes, which he wrote very many, there is the plain impression to be discerned of many great virtues, of diligence, of charity, of truth, of acuteness, of judgment, of learning. Wherein he hath a certain proper kind of writing, whereby he doth not only teach the reader, but affects him with the sweetness of his sentences, and with the manner of his arguing, which is so teaching and so logical, that it may be perceived how learnedly he separates probable reasons from necessary, how forcibly he confirms what he has to prove, how subtly he refutes, not with sharpness, but with truth.⁷

Bucer was able to make difficult subjects clear and simple, and to present matter adapted to the audience before him. In England he is said to have held the attention of the less as well as of the more educated,⁸ but according to John Sturm this was not true of his public discourses in Germany, because he proceeded by demonstration rather than by the use of examples.⁹ He perhaps had profited from a conversation with Luther at Wittenberg. Luther, after hearing Bucer preach, declared that he was himself the better preacher, because when he ascended the pulpit he looked upon his audience, and then preached that they might understand him, while Bucer's sermon was intelligible only to the learned.¹⁰ Bucer's personal appearance was in his favor, for the gaze of his eye and the form of his brow were in harmony with his learning, and his voice was strong and musical, and fitted to his matter and to the sounding

⁴ *Martini Bucer Scripta Anglicana*, Basil, 1577, p. 886.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 877.

⁶ Alfred Erichson, *Martin Butzer*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 45.

⁷ *Scripta Anglicana*, on an unnumbered page preceding the table of contents, trans. John Milton in *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, in his *Works*, Pickering ed., vol. 4, p. 289.

⁸ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 886.

⁹ *Ib.*, Letter to Walsingham following the *Epistola Dedicatoria*.

¹⁰ *Die Handschriftliche Geschichte Ratzeberger's über Luther und seine Zeit*, ed. Neudecker, Jena, 1850, p. 87.

words he employed.¹¹ Yet he was entirely without pretence, and demeaned himself humbly, wishing not to win praise, but to help his pupils, for his sole desire was that they might profit.¹² Even in controversy he seemed to wish not to win the victory, but to instruct his opponent in the truth.¹³ His zeal in behalf of his pupils led him to take every opportunity for teaching. When he first arrived at Cambridge and was unable because of ill health to speak in public, he taught informally at his house, and raised great expectations, which were fully satisfied by his first public lecture.¹⁴ His devotion caused him not to shrink from administering censure and rebuke, and by his fidelity in these he was helpful to many. His learning alone would have made him respected, and have enabled him to teach, as he did, with authority, yet his greatest strength was the complete confidence of all in the purity of his character, and in his utter devotion to the truth. His exhortations to study were supported by his own unflagging activity. His incessant labors are often remarked upon by his English admirers; his zeal seems even to have gone to excess, for in sickness his time was not empty, but he was ever writing something, or reading, or meditating, or instructing others.¹⁵ Indeed, his own example was his chief instrument in inspiring all around him to holy lives, and diligence in the pursuit of learning. His entire character was such as could properly be imitated, for he furnished an example of the purest morals, of innocence, authority, diligence, frugality, modesty, continence, and indeed of all virtue.¹⁶ It is easy to understand, then, when we are told that he obtained a great and good influence over his pupils, for his character seems to have been that of the ideal teacher as set forth by Sturm.¹⁷

It is of value if, in addition to knowing the devotion to learning and to teaching, and the other qualities of a great teacher, such as every teacher should strive to possess for himself, we can

¹¹ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 869.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 885.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 887.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 869.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 868.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 879.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, p. 886.

also know something of the details of the method he employed in instruction. Like many of the Reformers, Bucer held the belief that the Bible could not be satisfactorily interpreted by studying texts in isolation, but that all the passages bearing on any subject should be brought together; this method he follows in his commentary on the Gospels, which seems to have been a result of his public lectures, and it was the method of his teaching, for he was accustomed to compare various passages, and weigh them with critical judgment, something which his skill in the original languages enabled him easily to do. This suggests that he did not bring before his pupils an apparently finished piece of dogma, but allowed the Scriptures to interpret themselves, as it were, by the comparative method, and went through in the class-room the processes of analysis and criticism, thus stimulating and encouraging his hearers to do the like for themselves, as he believed they ought to do.¹⁸ This procedure was not wholly planned in advance, but had the life of spontaneity, for Bucer, continuing his comparison, brought up from memory pertinent passages from the Fathers and so considered them as to discover which of their opinions in matters of faith, and which of their judgments about the Scriptures were in agreement. He concluded his lectures with Psalms harmonious in subject with the matter he had dealt with. But though able to bring forth stores of learning in such profusion that one of his admirers, thinking of the meaning of his Latin name, called him the horn of plenty of Cambridge, his teaching was orderly.¹⁹ This was true not only of his individual lectures, but of his courses as wholes. He regretted that the ministers at Strassburg followed no system in selecting parts of the Bible for exposition, and suggested that they go through the entire New Testament, comparing its various parts with each other.²⁰

Turning from Bucer's practice to his theory of teaching, we read as follows:

God gives also teachers, on whom the gift of the Holy Spirit confers ability to teach from the Scriptures and the other signs and judgments of God, and to

¹⁸ Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

¹⁹ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 886.

²⁰ Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

instruct the men of God, that from day to day they may profit more in all the knowledge of God. . . . The administration of the Word should consist in reading and recitation of the Holy Scriptures, and the interpretation and explication of them, and in exhortations taken from them, and in repetition and catechism, which is carried on by the mutual questions and answers of the catechist and the catechumen. There shall also be holy convocations, and discussions of difficult problems of our religion. According to this manifold dispensation of saving instruction, the duties of religious teachers are multiplied. For whatever pertains to the most excellent method of teaching must be applied with the greatest zeal in the administration of instruction unto salvation, since it is a matter of teaching the science which, as it is the most divine of all, is also the most difficult—that of living like God when you are a man. Now those who diligently teach arts contained in certain books, for example those who set out to teach mathematics from Euclid, first of all will read the book in question in their lectures; then will explain single words not commonly known, of which each art has its own, both nouns and verbs. Then, if the argument and proof happen to be rather concise, they will explain by analysis, and illustrate particulars by many examples, and from general precepts will bring out particular ones. This is proper teaching. Yet indeed the faithful teacher is not content with this instruction in knowledge, however faithful it may be; he returns to what he has taught and examines it, and often puts himself at the disposal of his students, that they may be able to ask from him a fuller explanation of anything about which they are in doubt. In addition he assigns the things he has taught to be examined in public disputations, that no doubt at all may remain. Besides this, he applies himself often to exhortations to make proper progress in the knowledge which has been set forth, and to dissuasions from those things by which pupils can be impeded, and to general admonitions, reproofs, and censures. Finally, such a teacher observes with diligence how each of his pupils progresses, and if he observes that any of them ceases from learning, he privately corrects him, and admonishes him of his duty. If he observes one who proceeds lazily in learning, he immediately summons him, praises him, and inflames him more and more to follow after knowledge. All these seven methods of teaching Christ our Lord himself employed with diligence. In the synagogue at Nazareth he read and interpreted the Sixty-first Chapter of Isaiah (Luke 4); on the Mount he explained the laws of God (Matthew 5); and he frequently taught, encouraged, censured, and rebuked from the word of God; he also answered all those, good and bad, who asked questions, and in turn interrogated them (Matthew 22); he repeatedly catechized his disciples, and was himself catechized (Luke 2).²¹

Bucer, for whom theory and practice were never far separated, himself carried out, as we gather from the accounts of his English admirers and pupils, the seven parts of teaching—reading, interpreting, answering questions, exhorting, catechiz-

²¹ *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 562–3.

ing, debating, and privately admonishing²²—which he advises. He evidently felt that students needed personal attention from their teachers, demanded much activity from the pupils themselves, and was far from content with public lectures alone, wishing to be sure that students had not merely learned what was said, but had really understood it, and were able—in the disputations or debates—to make use of it. He furnishes an inspiring example of a man devoted to the subject he taught, and yet aware that the end of teaching was to develop the living minds under his care. With his zeal, his learning, and his mastery of method, he must indeed have been, as his pupil Nicholas arr says, ‘a master by whom it was profitable to be taught.’²³

Bucer was not only himself a university teacher of unusual power and understanding of his art, but he took an active part in the foundation of schools for children—a work for which his ability as an organizer²⁴ well fitted him. In 1524, soon after he went to Strassburg, he was one of the leaders among the Reformed clergy who, with the Reformers’ usual perception of the value of generally diffused education, petitioned the magistrates to establish elementary free schools for the people.²⁵ This proposal was well received, especially by the magistrate Jacob Sturm, who was for many years a powerful friend of education. Such schools were soon organized, though the magistrates did not establish any until 1528.²⁶ The chief subjects taught were the reading and writing of German, and the catechism. In 1525 Bucer and Capito proposed that there be a committee of three or four magistrates and two clergymen to open and take charge of elementary schools, and also Latin schools. The money for their support was to come from the revenues of the religious orders, now modified by the Reformation; Bucer believed that these revenues should be used for the aid and education of the poor, and not for the ordinary expenses of the town.²⁷ Latin schools were organized in 1625 and follow-

²² *Ib.*, p. 567.

²³ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 870.

²⁴ Baum, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 536.

²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 308. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁶ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁷ Baum, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 f.

ing years. Bucer's concern about them led him in 1626 to enquire from Zwingli about the plan of instruction in Zürich with the hope of learning something that would be of service in Strassburg. He says in the letter that the Wittenbergers did not approve of the methods used at Strassburg in the preparation of boys for the ministry, because Greek and Hebrew were begun early, and given precedence over Latin.²⁸ However, this plan was not unapproved by Bucer. Writing to Beatus Rhenanus, he declares the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew more profitable than that of Latin, which is valuable because it is widely used and a necessary tool of knowledge, rather than because of the intrinsic value of the language and its literature. Yet he is far from discouraging the study of Latin, when not pursued to the exclusion of the other tongues. On the contrary, he greatly desires the town council to take in hand the reformation of the Latin schools at Strassburg.²⁹ About this time the magistracy consulted Melanchthon about the plan of the school at Nürnberg.³⁰ Other schools were from time to time established in Strassburg, and education seemed to flourish. Nevertheless, lack of organization greatly reduced its effectiveness; hence in 1534 the magistrates set to work to improve the system. An important feature of the plan, adopted in 1536, was that all the Latin schools of the city should be united in one.³¹ Bucer was much concerned in this movement.³² Moreover, it was to him and Jacob Sturm that Louis Carinus and Erasmus, bishop of Strassburg, recommended a suitable man to carry out the work of reorganization, and it was Bucer who invited to Strassburg and received into his house the man who made its schools famous—John Sturm.³³ Bucer's interest in education continued throughout his career in Strassburg,³⁴ and when in England he looked back on his life there, the schools were among the things he longed for.³⁵

²⁸ *Ib.* p. 344.

²⁹ *Ib.*, p. 341.

³⁰ *Ib.*, pp. 337, 370.

³¹ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³² Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

³³ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 32.

³⁴ Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

³⁵ *Ib.*, p. 558.

Dr. Sailer, a physician of Augsburg, in 1539, soon after the founding of the Gymnasium with Sturm at its head, wrote to the Landgrave of Hesse: 'If Bucer in his whole life had done no other good deed than the founding of the school of Strassburg, his work would be noble and blessed, for schools like them I have never seen before in my life.'³⁶ This perhaps represents public opinion, but we have better testimony on Bucer's service, for John Sturm himself calls him the 'chief originator and founder of our gymnasium.'³⁷

The summons of Sturm by Bucer was not the first contact of the two men. In 1528 Sturm visited Strassburg and attended Bucer's lectures on the Psalms. A few years later he read the writings of Bucer and was confirmed by them in his preference for the Reformed doctrines. The two had some communication by letter in the years following. When Sturm came to Strassburg he lived for a time at Bucer's house, and meetings to discuss educational affairs were held there. The two were much in sympathy in all the important objects of their lives. A single disagreement, soon put aside, but emphasizes their usual harmony.³⁸ Though Sturm was a man of independent character, and the two doubtless exerted mutual influence, one would suppose Bucer, because of his age—for he was about sixteen years the older—and position, to have given more than he received. At least, Sturm was called to Strassburg because he was able to carry out the general ideas Bucer had in mind, and he built on foundations which Bucer had assisted to lay; in particular he came to execute the plan for the union of the schools which had already been formed. There is no doubt that Sturm had the benefit of his friend's advice and the encouragement of his approval. It seems, then, that without detracting from the fame of John Sturm, we may properly give Bucer a place in the history of education as one of the most important of the men whose efforts produced the illustrious schools of Strassburg.

Bucer's labors in the cause of education, like the other parts of his activity, were not confined to Strassburg. In 1543 he,

³⁶ Erichson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³⁷ *Ib.*, and Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

³⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

with Melanchthon, Pistorius, Hedio, and Sarcerius, composed Regulations for Church Government for the city of Cologne. As might be expected from such men, these Regulations include directions for schools.³⁹ They declare that every town ought to have its Latin school, properly supported, and provided with devoted, learned, and pious teachers. These institutions are chiefly for instruction in Latin, and thoroughness in the teaching of grammar is repeatedly urged. In the fourth and highest class, the curriculum includes also Dialectic, with a work by Sturm as a possible textbook, and Greek. Throughout the course much attention is given to religious instruction, and to music. A moderate amount of composition in Latin, for the older boys in verse, is required, and all the pupils are often to be asked to repeat and explain what they have learned.

In addition to this elementary school, an advanced school, primarily for theological and Biblical training, but far from confined to it, is described. Of the seven professors whose duties are given in some detail, two are concerned with theology and the Bible, including Hebrew. The other five are not directly engaged in religious teaching, their provinces being Dialectic and Greek, Rhetoric, Grammar, Mathematics and Physics (including Astronomy and Cosmography), and Law. The students are to present for examination their compositions, and disputations are to be held at monthly intervals, in which the teachers and selected pupils are to take part. Provision is made for the support of poor students.

It is natural to suppose that Melanchthon, the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, bore the chief part in the preparation of this plan,⁴⁰ but Bucer, after his share in the organization of the schools at Strassburg, must have been listened to with great respect. Certainly the scheme contains ideas such as appear in Bucer's own writings, and must have been heartily approved of by him.

Bucer did not compose any work wholly on education, yet, holding the opinion of its importance common to the Reformers, as he manifested by his zeal in its cause at Strassburg, he

³⁹ Printed by Vormbaum, in *Evangelische Schulordnungen*, Gütersloh, 1860; pp. 403 ff.

⁴⁰ It somewhat resembles Melanchthon's *Kursächsische Schulordnung* of 1528 (Vormbaum, p. 1).

naturally alluded to the subject in some of his writings besides those already quoted. His ideas are representative of his age and intellectual environment, and worthy of observation in themselves.

He was greatly concerned for the proper training of the clergy, knowing that without suitable teachers the masses could not attain the enlightened religious condition that Protestantism demanded. Careful instruction of the people was in his eyes one of the chief duties of a faithful minister.⁴¹ Hence the schooling of young men suited to the ministry was to be carefully looked after. He thought this one of the functions of a religious foundation, as he indicates in his plan for the reformation of the chapter of St. Thomas at Strassburg:

Since the care of souls is the greatest and most difficult of arts, and one which, unless the Spirit cares for the necessity of the Church by a miracle of grace, cannot be learned without daily instruction and practice, the Sacred Fathers not illiberally received adolescents and youths into the colleges of the canons, that even from boyhood, before, by the contamination of the world, their spirits were corrupted with evil opinions, they should be instructed for the sacred ministry, and become accustomed to flee the snares of the world, and to bear discipline. . . . Therefore it is proper that in a college constituted in this way there should be a place for adolescents and youths, who in one place, under their peculiar ruler and regulator, should be trained in clerical discipline.⁴²

And in *De Regno Christi* Bucer calls for a most strict reform of the English universities, which were not, he believed, doing their duty in the production of religious teachers.⁴³ In addition, he would have the king open other schools for the preparation of Christian ministers, where the poor as well as the rich might fit themselves for the service of Christ and the Church.⁴⁴

As might be inferred from his desire to provide suitable religious teachers, Bucer would have every facility given them for exercising their function. The very first of the fourteen laws which, in *De Regno Christi*, he urges on King Edward VI, is entitled 'De Cathechizandis et Deo Educandis Liberis.' The duty of giving their children religious teaching, and bring-

⁴¹ See Bucer's *De Vera Animarum Cura, Veroque Officio Pastoris Ecclesiastici*, *passim*.

⁴² *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 194. Cf. p. 198.

⁴³ *Ib.*, p. 61.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, p. 166.

ing them to church to be catechized, is placed upon parents, and is declared of the highest importance, for, if the foundations are not solidly laid, the building up of the religious life can hardly proceed. This emphasis on the early teaching of the doctrines of the Church was life-long with Bucer. The catechism was taught in the schools for the people founded in Strassburg in his day, and in letters written to his children from England he exhorts them to learn their catechism.⁴⁵ It was especially necessary that he should recommend religious instruction to King Edward, for he had observed with sorrow that there was in England no proper training in Christian doctrine.⁴⁶

But though no man was more concerned than Bucer for religious education, he was also a firm supporter of secular education, notwithstanding that his turn of mind was religious rather than humanistic. In fact, he took some pains to refute the arguments of those who, as fanatics have done in all ages, objected to profane learning. He pointed out that of the logical arts grammar assisted one to speak, dialectic aided one to gain an understanding of other arts, and to see, to teach, and to defend the truth, and rhetoric helped one in persuasion. Moral philosophy assisted in knowing and controlling one's own affections and morals, and in administering properly both household and public matters. Natural philosophy, by setting forth the wonders of the world, made to shine out the omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness of God. And Bucer proceeds to give examples from Scripture of the study and knowledge of philosophy, and to point out that schools had been founded by pious princes. Then declaring that in the course of time the schools had fallen into error and lost the pure teaching of Christian doctrine, of the learned tongues, and of all good arts, he continues:

Nevertheless, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, having pitied our errors and our ruin, in this our own recent time has again showed himself in these very schools, which, not without many very bitter contentions, have brought back and little by little established the study of the tongues which are necessary to solid erudition, and of worthy disciplines.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ E.g., Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, p. 550.

⁴⁷ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 585.

Secular studies, pursued under learned and pious men, are necessary not only to candidates for the ministry, but to others, and in fact the educational function of the Church does not end when it gives proper religious instruction to the masses, and trains for the ministry those called to it. The movement for general education at Strassburg was, we have seen, the work of Bucer and his associates in the Reformation. He interpreted the educational function of the Church in the broadest sense, and believed that the religious foundations were bound to provide advanced instruction for all who could profit by it. His plan for the reformation of the chapter of Saint Thomas provided for a number of teachers, one of whom was to teach the logical arts, and another Greek. And besides providing for the support and training of poor boys who were candidates for the ministry, the college ought also to educate for other functions as large a number of poor boys as it is able to support. They may become lawyers, physicians, or public officials, or undertake any other duty for which their training may fit them. In aiding a young man to obtain an education, the chapter would consider its own resources and the financial means of the candidate, but above all his probable ability to serve the state.⁴⁸

But, as his work at Strassburg shows, Bucer was not interested in higher education only, or in the education of the few, nor was he satisfied with giving such opportunity for advanced training as would be provided by a limited number of scholarships. The interests of the state, of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, required something more than that. Hence, Bucer presented to King Edward an inclusive plan for education in the interests of individual and public welfare.

The eighth law recommended in *De Regno Christi* is entitled 'Lex Octava, de Educatione Iuventutis Civili, et Profligando Ocio.' Parts of it are as follows:

Although the Lord has promised that to those who love him and observe his commandments he will show himself favorable for a thousand generations—that is, give them so long a succession of sons, grandsons, and later descendants, formed according to his model in virtue and piety—and that to those seeking first his kingdom, and justice, other things which they may ask will be given most liberally, nevertheless, he demands that not merely every individual, but also the state and the nation should educate, discipline, and instruct their

⁴⁸ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 198.

children for him with the greatest care, and should assign each of them to those arts and functions to which the Lord himself has made each one best fitted, and that the state should employ each as a healthy and useful member of its body, and a portion profitable to the whole, and that no one, like a drone, should lazily feed on the labors of others. For this is the edict of divine law: He who does not labor shall not eat. Hence, just as any one who lives a slothful life ought to be excluded from the communion of the Church, so a Christian state ought not to suffer any one who does not give himself to some work or business which is worthy and useful to the state. For men are obviously unable to do nothing. Hence Satan entangles in wicked and hurtful desires and actions those who are occupied with no upright and salutary cares and activities. For when men so wickedly and basely put off the image and nature of God—who is ever working and procuring good things for his creatures—in which they have been made and established, that they have no care how they may show themselves honest citizens, of service to their neighbors and to the whole country, they give over and betray themselves to Satan as captives to his lusts, that he may use them as instruments for the injury of men. These are the ones by whom snares are spread for chastity and force used against it, pernicious pleasures are devised and intolerable luxury in the use of food, drink, and of other things relating to the use or ornament of the body introduced. Laws and the public regulation of morals are overthrown, and shaken; reverence and obedience, which are the due of princes, magistrates, and men distinguished for prudence and authority, are overturned; thefts, murders and robberies increase, and seditions are planned.

And I hear from very many good and religious men that in this realm too many perish from sloth, for not merely the nobles, but the bishops and prelates also, support very large crowds of idle men, whose sloth the others imitate so far as they are able, and this is the reason why those in charge of the services of the churches, and of the care of students, are so slow in teaching, and so few. For that reason builders are few, and there is so small a number of master-builders among them; agriculture is worse, and the wages of working men and working women so increased, and day by day increasing. And when so many from among a small number of men give themselves to sloth, it follows that very many abstain from holy wedlock, and the procreation of children; by which not only is the number of citizens diminished, but those who are concerned with no worthy business and lead a celibate life not for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, but because of their own sluggishness, cause great danger to chastity and bring in disease. Hence these are sins because of which the wrath of God comes, even on peoples who do not know Christ. How much less impunity, then, would God give to peoples glorying in his kingdom! The welfare of so many believing men calls loudly upon Your Majesty, against this disease of the state, sluggish and harmful idleness, for a remedial law and a strict enforcement of it, by which this root of so many evils may be torn up, and from childhood all may be trained for and devoted to industry that is holy and useful to the state, and to the desire of all beneficial works.

The first section of this law to be set up ought to be this: that in every village, town, and county, certain men, in proportion to the number of the

people, should be selected, distinguished for the greatest piety, wisdom, and prudence, who should have charge in the state of the education of children, adolescents, and young people, and who should bring about that each of the citizens should give over his children to learn certain arts, and each child to the arts for which he seemed to these overseers of the youth particularly designed by God, and truly suited. For a man begets his children more for the Lord Christ, the Church, and the state than for himself, as Plato knew. And since we know that all men, in however humble a place and poor a condition they may be born, are formed in the image of God, are sons of the blood of God, and when redeemed are restored to the same image, most certainly the pastors of the people of God must take care, since the Lord wishes them to use their ministry to this end, that every one of those committed to their government should be studiously formed again and led back to this image, with pious instruction to the knowledge of salvation, and faithful incitement to all virtue.

Since the faithful reading of the Sacred Scripture (which, as the Holy Gregory piously wrote, is the epistle of God to his whole creation) contributes more than anything else to this restitution of the image of God, the second section of the law to restrain profligate and impious sloth, and to restore pious industry, should decree that all the children of Christians, boys and girls, should be as zealously as possible instructed in letters. For the ancient sacred Fathers wished there to be a school in every church, in which all the children consecrated to Christ the Lord by holy baptism should be taught letters and the catechism of our religion. It is necessary, as has before been said, that such schools should be reëstablished among us in many places, if we wish Christ fully to reign among us. Then it must be brought about that the children of all shall be sent to these schools, there to learn letters and the catechism of our faith, and as soon as they are old enough to do it. By this the children of the poorer citizens may learn, in their tender youth, reading and writing and the rudiments of our religion, before they can be hindered by other labors. But yet pious citizens, whose wealth is insufficient to have their children instructed in letters and all good arts, ought to be aided by the churches.

When the children have learned letters, and the catechism of our religion, it must be seen to by the *paedonomi* (overseers of the education of youth) that certain should be selected from among the children, who were born with abilities suited to attaining a more complete education, and it must be brought about that children of this sort should be more liberally taught in letters, tongues, and good arts, and thus better fitted for fuller service to the Church and the state; and either they may be left in the schools where they are, or sent to others with a fuller curriculum at the expense of their parents, if the Lord has given them sufficient wealth; if he has not, at the expense of the Church. For why should it be thought a heavy expense to prepare those who shall minister to you eternal life, as well as cause great benefits in the present life? Neither by law are parents able to refuse to give their children to the Church for instruction of this kind, or to refuse to sustain and nourish the children's studies by their gifts. For, as has been said, they did not beget their children for themselves, but in truth for Christ the Lord, for his Church, and for the state, and gave them over and consecrated them to be regenerated in baptism. And so, whatever the

service to the Church and state for which the Lord may signify that his children should be prepared and moulded, who, that was unwilling to give up Christ the Lord and all his benefits, would think it a grievous thing to give over his children for education, and to aid them with the greatest zeal? For no one can desire a more honorable and blessed condition of life for his children than that which our Maker and Saviour Christ designed for each one.

Further, those of the children who have been taught reading, writing, and the catechism of our faith, and even those who have been for some time applied to the pursuit of liberal arts, and appear not to have been made by the Lord for obtaining further literary training, are to be assigned to other arts, each one to that for which his ability seems most suitable and apt.⁴⁹

In the next chapter, Bucer proceeds to point out some of the occupations to which children might be assigned: wool-working, agriculture, linen-weaving, mining, working in metals, and the manufacture of paper. There is, however, no suggestion that children are to be taught any of these in school. The method of imparting the first is that artificers are to be brought from whence it will be possible ('unde licebit'), and to these are to be committed youths fit for the work. Agriculture is to be improved by distributing through the country skillful men, who may teach by example. We may assume, though Bucer does not expressly state it, that these men would instruct youths in agriculture. Having discussed these various kinds of work, he continues:

Therefore if in this manner each of the citizens were devoted to some particular branch of the arts, or of philosophy, or skilled labor, and those were thrust out into manual labor or into mean functions who could not be of good service to the state as ministers of religion, or in literary and philosophical matters, or in governing or defending the state, then—impious sloth, the fecund root of all vices, being entirely cut out from the people—there would result immense good to the state, with the best training and molding of morals to all virtue.⁵⁰

He concludes by expressing his hope that the nobles would prepare themselves to take an important part in this reformation.

In the next chapter he deals with abuses in the conduct of mercantile affairs, and declares that only those should be permitted to enter trade who had been approved by the pædonomi as pious, loving the general good rather than their private gain, desirous of sobriety and temperance, and vigilant and industrious.

⁴⁹ *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 134–6.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, p. 138.

After making more plain some of his ideas on the regulation of labor, Bucer deals with recreations. He approves of music, and even allows dancing when properly regulated, especially when accompanied by song in praise of God. Next he discusses tragedy and comedy. These he values for their moral effect, writing:

The natures, morals, and emotions of holy men should be represented with the most intelligent imitation, to renew in the people all piety and virtue. . . . The men to whom is given the charge of this should have unusual understanding of these poems, and be tried in their constant zeal for the kingdom of Christ. . . . They should take care that nothing light or merely theatrical should be admitted to representation, but all pure things should be represented, and with grave, yet pleasing action, proper to the blameless. And not so much the affairs themselves, and the actions, emotions, and disturbing passions of men are to be represented, as their morals and natural dispositions, and these should be so shown as to excite in the spectators zealous imitation, but as to those things which are wickedly undertaken and accomplished, the spectators should be confirmed in their detestation of them, and made more diligent in their avoidance of them.

If these cautions are observed, there will surely be furnished to the youth much matter for recreation which will also be of service in nourishing them in virtue and in stimulating them to it, especially since zeal and desire may be stimulated for comedies and tragedies of this sort in the vernacular as well as in Latin and Greek. There are now in existence comedies and tragedies of this kind to which no objection can be made; the learned of this world may desire in comedies the acumen, wit, and elegance of style which they admire in the fables of Aristophanes, Terence, and Plautus, and in tragedies they may desire the gravity, subtlety, and elegance of language of Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca; nevertheless, those who are learned in the kingdom of God, and desire to teach the wisdom of God, do not feel that the poems of men of our own faith lack heavenly learning, and emotions, manners, language, and events worthy of children of God. Yet it is to be desired that those to whom God gives the ability to excel in literary things should prefer to use their ability to his glory, rather than to retard the pious zeal of others by untimely censures, and that they should encourage the presentation of tragedies and comedies such as excellently exhibit knowledge of eternal life, even if they do not well exhibit the art of poetry, rather than the presentation of those by which the cultivation of taste and language may be somewhat aided, but the spirit and morals are defiled with impious, base, and scurrilous alteration.⁵¹

Bucer next deals with gymnastics:

Those sports of the gymnastic art should be offered to the youth, which are especially helpful in preserving the strength of the body, and making its movements harmonious, and which make the young men fit and ready for military

⁵¹ *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 142-5.

service, and the skillful use of arms. Therefore youths should exercise themselves in running, leaping, wrestling, the management of horses and all the use of weapons, with which they should fight at long range and hand to hand; in the drawing up of battle-arranges, and the placing of camps. To these the nobles may add the sport of hunting. These exercises which are connected with military training ought so to be taught, and so seriously to be carried on as to approach as closely as possible to the actual operations of war, as Plato also laid down. By this, the youth may be able to learn military science and practice at home among their own countrymen, under pious and good laws and magistrates, and there should be no need to send them into military service abroad, which (even when the wars carried on in this age are just) is so given over to evils, and loosed from all discipline which is required from Christian soldiers, that into this service those who hope from God a fortunate campaign and victory cannot send their young men.

In these sports, then, as in those of a higher order, men ought always to be in charge who are both unusually accomplished in the sports, and who in all things are truly wise and very desirous of all piety and virtue, so as to be respected for their grave authority, by which, when they desire, they may be able to bend and modify all the sports of the youth to the desire and practice of virtue, which with Christians is the one end of all sports.⁵²

This ends the section on the 'civil education of youth, the banishing of idleness, and the introduction and developing of worthy arts and occupations.'

As Bucer indicates by frequent references to Plato, this is the plan of the *Republic* adapted by a Reformer of the sixteenth century to the England of his day. The similarities are too obvious to need remark. Bucer's plan for bringing the Kingdom of Christ to earth, like that of Plato for his ideal state, is Utopian, yet a man who wished Englishmen to attend to the manufacture of cloth and to metal-working was not a seer of false dreams. One of the striking differences between Bucer's plan and that of Plato is that Bucer's was designed from the beginning for all the people, as equally the redeemed of Christ. Plato, indeed, does not absolutely close his ruling classes to the common people, but the gulf is much greater than with the Christian, who, though he does not suggest the abolition of the hereditary aristocracy,⁵³ makes preparation for the highest functions free to all, of every rank, who show themselves able to serve the public. Thus, as the Reformers characteristically did, he shows himself a genuine champion of universal freedom.

⁵² *Ib.*, pp. 145-6.

⁵³ Yet he makes their part in public affairs depend on their qualifications for it; *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 139.

In using the Platonic model, he makes education an important matter in the administration of the state. Indeed, he outdoes Plato, for the Greek gave attention to educating rulers and guardians, but the modern believes in universal education, and bases his provision for the conduct of all the business of the country on selections made in the schools. Nor is it merely imitation of Plato that leads Bucer to involve problems of education with those of the Church and the nation. He saw clearly that both were dependent on the character of the men who composed them, and that unless men one by one were properly trained for their positions in Church and state, neither would bear much resemblance to the ideal state which is the Kingdom of Christ on earth. This partly explains also Bucer's concern with marriage and divorce, which is treated in *De Regno Christi* at almost as great length as all the other thirteen heads taken together. Bucer knew the importance of the family in the state, writing more than once in the following strain:

How much it concerns the honor and safety of the commonwealth that marriages, according to the will of Christ, be made, maintained, and not without just cause dissolved, who understands not? For unless that first and holiest society of man and woman be purely constituted, that household discipline may be upheld by them according to God's law, how can we expect a race of good men? Let Your Majesty therefore know that this is your duty, and in the first place, to reassume to yourself the just ordering of matrimony, and by firm laws to establish and defend the religion of this first and divine society among men, as all wise lawgivers of old and Christian emperors have carefully done.⁵⁴

Bucer fully appreciated that proper training of the young was essential to the prosperity of the Church and the state, and should be made one of the chief concerns of spiritual and temporal statesmen and rulers.

We naturally expect to find in Bucer's writings on education reminiscences of the Strassburg schools which he so powerfully influenced, and similarities to the theory and practice of John Sturm—indications of the mutual influence of the two men. First, some connection appears in Bucer's practice as a teacher. It has been observed that one of his virtues was his ability to present to his pupils what they were prepared to grasp. Simi-

⁵⁴ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 86, trans. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

larly, Sturm insisted that the teachers in his school should know what was covered in the classes below their own, that they might not endeavor to teach that for which pupils had not been prepared by previous instruction. Bucer laid on the teacher the duty of observing the talents of his pupils and assigned to the *paedonomi* the duty of choosing for a child the calling to which he was suited by nature. Sturm wrote as follows: 'It is the duty of an industrious teacher and master to see to what art the nature of each pupil may be suited.'⁵⁵ Also, like Bucer, he would have removed from the schools boys unfit for learning.⁵⁶ The elementary schools of Bucer's plan are, it is evident, like the elementary schools established at Strassburg early in his career there, for the teaching of reading and writing and the doctrines of the Church. His great emphasis not only on religious teaching for its own sake, but on the permeation by it of the whole system of instruction, even to gymnastics, is like what we are familiar with in Sturm's ideal of eloquent and learned piety as the end of instruction. Bucer's high estimate of education as the basis of the civic structure is found in writings composed by Sturm after the death of Bucer. He declared that 'the best and most splendid armories of states are the schools of philosophers.'⁵⁷ He puts religion as the most important part of philosophy, and then inquires: 'What is so necessary, after the cultivation of religion, as the house, the family home, and the paternal seat of each man?' The proper care of these is called economy, and that part relating to the management of things out-of-doors is agriculture. This high place for agriculture reminds us of Bucer's interest in it. Sturm's pupils were not, so far as we know, instructed in farming farther than by the reading of Cato and Varro,⁵⁸ but the school at Strassburg did not completely represent the ideal preparation for life, but chiefly its literary side. After agriculture Sturm puts ethics, law, politics, medicine, and the art of war. The emphasis on these, and

⁵⁵ Sturm, *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis*, caput 5 (in Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen*, Gütersloh, 1860, p. 657). A complete edition of the works of Sturm is a desideratum.

⁵⁶ *Leges Scholae Lauinganae* (Vormbaum, p. 743).

⁵⁷ *Ib.*, p. 726.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 732.

especially on the last, again suggests Bucer. Next comes architecture. Sturm wrote that it is 'suave et ingenuum' to make plans of buildings, gardens, and villas.⁵⁹ In both his theory and practice he included those natural sciences whose value Bucer championed, and put as great emphasis as did Bucer on the logical sciences. Sturm also made use of acting, having his pupils present the comedies of Terence and Plautus. Here he is somewhat in conflict with his friend, who, as we have seen, preferred worse poetry with what he thought better moral teaching, and was willing to have plays presented in the vernacular, while Sturm was desirous that plays be given partly because of the practice they gave in the use of Latin. But here Sturm is thinking of boys especially chosen for their bent to scholarship, while Bucer is thinking of the whole body of youth, and even of all the people. Like Bucer, Sturm desired to be assured that the pupils remembered and could make use of what they had learned, and recommended public disputations by them.⁶⁰ In the high place they give to music, the two men are at one, and they also agree in recommending gymnastics and military training.⁶¹ Sturm also wished education to be free to the deserving poor.⁶² The desire of Bucer that the nobility should take an important place in the reform of the state is echoed by Sturm, who wrote *De Educatione Principis*. It seems that the two are more in agreement than might be supposed from the usual accounts of the gymnasium at Strassburg as a place where nothing except formal Latin instruction was valued, and hence that Sturm was a man of more inclusive vision than is sometimes supposed.

It is also possible that Bucer influenced the educational theories of John Milton, who translated into English and published in 1644 a considerable portion of *De Regno Christi* under the title of *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*. This is generally known as the second of Milton's tracts on divorce. It includes, with omissions and condensa-

⁵⁹ *Classical Epistles*, book 3, no. 2 (Vormbaum, p. 708).

⁶⁰ *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis*, chaps. 18, 37 (Vormbaum, pp. 664, 676). *Classical Epistles*, book 3, no. 2 (Vormbaum, p. 707).

⁶¹ *Classical Epistles*, book 3, no. 2 (Vormbaum, p. 708).

⁶² *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis*, chap. 7 (Vormbaum, p. 658).

tion, Chapters 15-47 of the Second Book of Bucer's work; this part immediately precedes the section on education, which naturally follows a discussion of the family. Milton used the work as printed in the volume of Bucer's writings called *Scripta Anglicana*, and hence had before him most of Bucer's other remarks on education to which I have alluded. The poet expressed the highest admiration for the Reformer's writings on divorce, and for his whole character. Now at the very time when Milton was engaged on his translation of Bucer, he was probably also composing his tractate *Of Education*, for the tractate appeared in June, 1644, and *The Judgment of Martin Bucer* in the following month. It is, then, not impossible that some of the similarities between Milton and Bucer are the result of direct influence.

Milton was as fully convinced as was Bucer of the importance of education in the state; he declared that nothing had greater power than the education of the young to imbue the minds of men with virtue, the source of true and inward liberty, and to secure the proper direction and long endurance of the state.⁶³ And such sentiments so often appear in his writings that he evidently fully accepted Bucer's similar opinions as he translated them. Like his predecessor, he took a serious view of the importance of education in fitting men for life, as appears in his well-known words:

I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.⁶⁴

This would have been acceptable to Bucer, with his Platonic belief that children should be trained to serve the general good, and to Sturm, who began his enquiry into the end of education by asking what knowledge is necessary to man as an individual and as a member of society.⁶⁵ Milton also believed in making education religious. He was, indeed, much less of a believer in the catechism than was Bucer, but his plan includes constant instruction in the Scriptures and in Christian doctrine.

⁶³ *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, Milton's *Works*, Pickering ed., vol. 6, p. 291.

⁶⁴ *Of Education*.

⁶⁵ *Scholae Lauinganae* (Vormbaum, p. 726).

He was also interested in the training of Christian ministers, and believed, like Bucer, that the most necessary qualifications of the minister were character, and devotion to his sacred office, and not mere learning. Indeed, in spite of his opinion of the high value of liberal, classical education, he did not hesitate to say that men might become acceptable religious teachers without training at a University.⁶⁶ Bucer was in his day not satisfied with the work of the Universities in providing ministers, but wished their reform,⁶⁷ and suggested that additional schools should be opened for the training of men who could minister to the Church.⁶⁸ Milton's tractate *Of Education* presents no plan for the general education of the entire country, yet in his later writings he does suggest such a thing, with the good of the nation in mind:

They should have here also schools and academies at their own choice wherein their children may be bred up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civility, yea, religion, through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numb and neglected, would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenuous at home, more potent, more honorable abroad.⁶⁹

Apparently these schools were freely to be opened to the poor. At least, there were to be schools for the training of poor children who might become religious teachers, where they could learn languages and arts 'freely at the public cost.'⁷⁰ And indeed if Milton agreed with Bucer that every man should study the Scriptures for himself, and that the education of the people was of the utmost importance to the state, he could not but agree with him that education should be accessible to the poor as well as to the rich. In order that poor boys who applied themselves to learning might be sure of maintenance, Milton advised that while at school they learn trades. This, and more especially the suggestion, in the passage just quoted, that education would make the nation more industrious, reminds us

⁶⁶ *Considerations . . . to Remove Hirelings*, Milton's *Works*, vol. 5, p. 383.

⁶⁷ *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 61.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, p. 168.

⁶⁹ *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, Milton's *Works*, Vol. 5, p. 450.

⁷⁰ *Considerations . . . to Remove Hirelings*, Milton's *Works*, Vol. 5, p. 370.

of Bucer's desire to do away with sloth by the teaching of trades. It is in harmony with Milton's advice in *Of Education*, for he wishes the boys of whom he writes to be instructed in all the useful professions and trades. Like Bucer, he dwells especially on agriculture. The pupils of Milton should understand farming because they are to be men of power and influence in the state, and able to improve the conditions of tillage in the land, just as Bucer hoped a properly educated nobility would do it. Milton's desire that his pupils should know something of agriculture, and especially of architecture, reminds us of what we have seen of Sturm's theory and practice. The poet was also at one with Bucer and Sturm in his approval of gymnastics and military training, both theoretical and applied. Sturm wished his pupils 'to go out from the city, to see fields and gardens, to dig herbs, to ask their names, to taste them, and to dissect them, for it is doubtful whether this sort of play has more pleasure or use in it.'⁷¹ Milton wished his pupils to travel on horseback, to see the riches of nature, 'and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth.' On these excursions they might also be 'learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbors and ports for trade.' We may remember that Milton would also have practical men, such as gardeners and apothecaries, assist in the instruction of his pupils. Like Bucer, and for similar reasons, he believed in the study of the natural sciences, writing that 'our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature.' And in *Paradise Lost* Raphael speaks to Adam thus:

Heaven

Is as the book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.⁷²

Milton is also at one with Sturm and Bucer in giving an important place to music. Also like them, he would make use of

⁷¹ *Classical Epistles*, Book 3, No. 2 (Vormbaum, p. 708).

⁷² *Paradise Lost* 8, 66-9.

dramatic representations. He would not have used the mystery plays, which, because of their moral value, Bucer preferred, at least for the populace, to plays of greater poetical worth, but would give his select youths, then approaching the end of their course, 'choice histories, heroic poems, and Attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations . . . which if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles.' We observe that he does not advise the Latin comedies of which Sturm's pupils gave representations. Milton, like Bucer, was less concerned than was Sturm about learning the Latin tongue as an end in itself; he thought more of the higher ends of study of the drama and of oratory. It appears, then, that his ideas on education have in them much of the spirit that animated Bucer. Indeed Bucer, with his power to influence his pupils, and his devotion to religion and learning, might have appeared to Milton the teacher who, 'chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain [his pupils] to an incredible diligence and courage.'

There seem to be no further definite suggestions on Bucer's influence as an educator. However, because of the renown and influence of the man on the continent and in England, and his life-long efforts for education, it must have been considerable. Many other men besides Sturm obtained from him inspiration and council for their efforts, or learned from his lips the necessity of universal enlightenment in a well governed state. His writings also had their influence. There were at least four editions of *De Regno Christi*, two in Latin, one (or two) in German, and one in French;⁷³ hence it reached a considerable circle of readers. It appears to have been taken seriously in high places in England before it was printed, for the *Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses*, issued in 1551 in the name of King Edward VI, shows traces of its influence.⁷⁴ We may also

⁷³ Baum, *op. cit.*, p. 610. Milton translated into English only the parts on divorce. I deal with his translation in a paper entitled, *Milton on the Position of Woman*, soon to appear in the *Modern Language Review*.

⁷⁴ A. Edward Harvey, *Martin Bucer in England*, Marburg, 1906, p. 80.

remember that the reign of Edward was marked by interest in education. The Reformers were generally believers in education; hence the sympathies which led Englishmen to invite Bucer to a high position in their land had also prepared them to listen to his ideas on the training of youth.

Altogether, though Bucer is not to be ranked with the greatest educators of his day, he deserves a high and honorable place among those who have clearly seen the importance of education to the individual and the state, and have both taught well themselves, and wisely labored and spoken and written in the cause of discipline and enlightenment.

ALLAN H. GILBERT

Rice Institute.

THE FURNESS VARIORUM

As everyone knows, the lamented death of Dr. Furness, Sr., brought out a widespread expression of the hope that, since a single editorship of all the plays was no longer possible, a committee of competent scholars might now be appointed to publish the remaining volumes in the "New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare" as rapidly as possible, inasmuch as the need for them is great and the present rate of production hopelessly slow. Mr. Furness, Jr., however, elected to take up and carry on his father's work single-handed, and no one was in a position to challenge his decision. It is the purpose of the present article to prove, on the basis of a careful examination of the Variorum *Julius Cæsar*, that there are reasonable grounds for setting aside the decision of Mr. Furness and entrusting the series forthwith to some suitably chosen corps of editors.

It happens that the present writer reviewed (for the purposes of a general periodical's public) the Variorum edition of *Julius Cæsar*, by Mr. Furness, Jr., when it first came out, and that he then made certain unfavorable criticisms, which are still valid, calling for a systematic rearrangement of the method of presentation and for the insertion of a detailed table of contents. For instance, the Preface at present gives a brief critique of the text, a discussion of the sources and probable date of composition, some comment on certain characters in the play and its later history, and some general aesthetic criticism; but the ten-page commentary on the *Dramatis Personæ* and the four-page footnote on the title and opening stage-directions cover much the same ground, and then the Appendix exhausts each of these fields separately. So the material is handled in three distinct treatments, all having many points in common but each containing some points which the others lack: and the Index does not save the situation, for *the Preface is not indexed*. A change in the editorial management would afford a favorable opportunity for introducing necessary reforms here in the matter of orderly and convenient presentation. Far more important, however, than this general impression that a change in the publishing policy would prove beneficial, is the mass of detailed

evidence accumulated by the present writer in the course of a closer examination of the volume occasioned by his editing *Julius Cæsar* for the *Yale Shakespeare*¹ and collating Mr. W. A. White's six post-Restoration quarto editions for a further article that he now has in hand. This evidence of Mr. Furness' unfitness for his task may be considered under six headings: errors in the use of the English language, errors in judgment, errors in fact, bibliographical errors, typographical errors, and errors in collation. And these charges really seem to need demonstration somewhat *in extenso*, for Mr. S. A. Tannenbaum, whose excellent review in *The Dial* for July 16, 1913, exposed so many of Mr. Furness' inaccuracies, still accorded the volume much more praise than blame and actually gave it a clean bill of health in this concluding verdict: "On the whole, the volume before us is one of the best editions of this play that has² ever been published, and a worthy fellow to its predecessors in the 'Furness Variorum Shakespeare.'" The following array of evidence should show how far Mr. Furness falls short of deserving this commendation for the way in which he has performed his task.

I. ERRORS IN THE USE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The Preface exhibits numerous deplorable solecisms and infelicities. For instance, a long and ill-balanced sentence on the second page concludes with this anacoluthon: "and it was not until Halliwell in 1865 pointed out a passage in Weever's *Mirror of Martyrs*, published in 1601, wherein there is a reference to the speeches of Brutus and Mark Antony on the death of Cæsar, and, though Weever does not mention Shakespeare's play, his use of the word 'ambitious' as that of Brutus, and his saying how Mark Antony by his eloquence showed Cæsar's virtues, point pretty clearly to the fact that he had before him the memory of a very striking scene." Ten lines below, this awkward sentence appears: "It is, I think, well-nigh impossible to assign the date within limits closer than these two years,

¹ *The Yale Shakespeare*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

² None of Mr. Tannenbaum's findings against Mr. Furness will be reprinted in the present article; the reader is therefore referred to *The Dial*, vol. LV, no. 650, for important corroborative evidence in this case.

1599 to 1601, and, therefore, accept that period as its time of composition"—where the early parenthetical "I" is suddenly called upon to do duty as subject of the last clause. On the next page, various sins against the principles of punctuation, symmetry, and mere intelligibility are committed in this fragment of a sentence: "this for two reasons, first, Skeat's text is that of the edition of 1603, and it is at times interesting to note the slight verbal changes between the two editions; secondly, for convenience of reference; the chapter divisions as in Skeat's work are entirely absent in the earlier edition." On page x this crudity occurs: "Shakespeare's tragedy was the first of all his works to be translated into German, and through which he became first known in Germany" (read: "and was the one through which he first became"). Faulty sentences also disfigure the rest of the volume—such as the 'comma-sentence': "Capell's objection is, I think, apposite, he says: 'This refinement upon a thought,' etc." (205); clause punctuated as sentence (225); 'comma-sentence' (242); clumsily ambiguous phrasing (281, line 17); general amorphousness and incoherence, third sentence in second paragraph, and third in third paragraph (463). Violations of idiom in the use of prepositions are common; while at times Mr. Furness apparently even misquotes his authorities in order to be ungrammatical—as on page 253, "The abandonment of his principles *form* part of his tragic failure"; and page 297, "That of 1603 is the *worse* printed of the three early editions." Similarly, on page 25, Grant White's statement that "the poet was *led*" into a mistake is transmuted by Mr. Furness into "*lead*." In view of these deplorable lapses in mere elementary literacy, one feels more than the usual distaste for the affectation and would-be elegance of "Be it understood," "Whether it were that in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* who shall say?," "Within the last twenty-five years the text of Shakespeare is become so settled," etc., etc. One closing illustration of the peril involved in too complacently assuming a virtue when one has it not may be instructive: on pages 276, 277, in the footnotes on V, v, 85, 86, 87, Mr. Furness prints *The Baron's Wars*, five times over, thus misrepresenting three different authorities (Steevens, Malone, and White: who all, of course, modernize the title correctly as *The Barons' Wars*) and contributing one original misuse (in his

own bracketed comment); and he adds a final slip, in "ed. Gifford')." for "ed. Gifford)." Here, then, it is peculiarly repugnant to us to find Mr. Furness essaying, quite unnecessarily, to criticize Malone's English in part of this very passage—thus: "An edition of his poems was published in 1602, but it did not contain *The Baron's Wars*" [thus Mr. Furness—not Malone] "in any form. They [Qu. *it?*] first appeared with that name in the edition of 1608." Now, really, this was pretty small game for Mr. Furness, in any case; further, his own lapses, in general and in this very context, do not justify him in assuming the attitude of a purist; and finally, after all, Malone's plural pronoun is perfectly defensible from the standpoints of grammar and established usage, while logically it is even commendable since it avoids ambiguity, for Mr. Furness' "it" might well refer, like the "it" in the preceding sentence, to "An edition"—or momentarily confuse the reader into supposing so.

II. ERRORS IN JUDGMENT

The careful user of this volume soon loses confidence in Mr. Furness' editorial and critical judgment. Mr. Furness seems to accept unquestioningly the validity of the MS readings from Collier's annotated folio, and the authority of Steevens' mysterious "old black letter" volumes (cf. pp. 467, 103, and 186). He tells us magisterially (p. 225) that Desdemona's glorious dying "lie," to shield Othello, is "to a certain extent, pardonable"! In the second paragraph of the Preface he admits the existence of differing versions of Shakespeare's text before 1623, and then on page 140 naïvely argues that because a certain passage appears in a certain form in the 1623 Folio it *therefore* could never have appeared in any other form in an earlier version; and he immediately follows up this naïveté by the further curiously simple-minded demonstration that Wright's direct reference to Drummond's famous mot actually refers to that very mot by Drummond! The very first sentences of the Preface, in fact, are ominously undiscerning: "The earliest text . . . that of the First Folio . . . is markedly free from corruptions," we are told—so free, indeed, that "we may almost say that in but one or two instances would an earlier Quarto text be required to render any doubtful readings

more sure." But aside from the nine "Emendations Adopted in the Text of the Cambridge Edition," given on page 281 (a typically inaccurate and incomplete list, incidentally), there are of course many other much-mooted cruces, such as "He should not humour me" (p. 55), "Who glaz'd upon me (p. 59), "The Genius, and the mortall instruments" (p. 81), "For if thou path" (p. 85), "if not the Face of men" (p. 90), and so on at similarly brief intervals throughout, as well as the larger problems raised by Brutus' soliloquy (p. 73), the two reports of Portia's death in the quarrel scene (Act IV, Scene iii), the conflicting statements of Brutus about suicide (Act V, Scene i), and the peculiar omission of the names of the speakers of certain lines on pages 199 and 268. Leo, in "Shakespeare-Notes," gives more space to conjectural emendations in the text of *Julius Cæsar* than to those in eleven others of the twenty plays considered; and Leo's work is listed in Mr. Furness' bibliography. So after a careful consideration of these facts, the student will probably dissent from Mr. Furness' undiscerning repetition of the traditional verdict on the purity of the text and will rather prefer to accept Professor C. F. T. Brooke's more judicious appraisal ("Shakespeare's Principal Plays," Century Co., N. Y., 1914, p. 443): "The first printed version of *Julius Cæsar* is that found in the 1623 Folio, which is the only basis for the modern editions. In such cases it is usual for editors to remark that the text is particularly free from error, since there are comparatively few Folio readings which cannot be given some sensible interpretation when no conflicting version exists. Only when there are several divergent texts is it possible to guess how far the Folio misrepresents the poet's manuscript."

Sometimes difficulties are ignored which so elaborate an edition should remove by adequate interpretation; e.g., "and leave you so" (p. 215), "They could be content To visit other places, and come down" (pp. 239, 240), "And may'st be honour'd, being Cato's Sonne" (p. 268), etc. Again, why is not the modern location given for every scene, instead of only part of the time (cf. III, iii, e.g.)? And why are we not told what the symbols "Cam.+" (p. 8, et pas.) and "Glo.+" (pp. 69, 179, 206, etc.) signify? And why should not the correction, "Calpurnia" for "Calphurnia," be made once for all in the

Textual Note on page 8, instead of being repeated on pages 24, 44, and (with a new list of editions) 113, but omitted on pages 119, 122, and 123? Finally, it seems very poor judgment to tell us so little about the text itself: i.e., about the "Collier," "Quincy," and "Southern" MS. emendations; about Singer's "neat and accurate MS. transcript of the play, made in the reign of Charles II" (p. 86); and about Jaggard's provocative early MS. version (cf. "Shakespeare Bibliography," Wm. Jaggard, Stratford-on-Avon, 1911, p. 319).

III. ERRORS IN FACT

Misstatements or inaccuracies in the mere marshalling of elementary facts are not infrequent. For example, it is not true that the *Dramatis Personæ* were "First given imperfectly by Rowe," as asserted on page one: the list was given ("imperfectly," too!) in all six quarto editions, which antedated Rowe's first by from 25 to 18 years. It is not true that "distracted" is no longer used (p. 218). It cannot be true that "Skeat's text is that of the edition of 1603" (p. vii), if "Skeat . . . adopted the text of 1612" (p. 297). Similarly, when we read (p. 69) that the Cambridge editors printed "In favour's," and (p. 281) that they printed "in favor's," we cannot accept both statements as true. Another kind of misstatement figures in the announcement of the importance of Cicero's letters as apparently Mr. Furness' own discovery (p. viii), when credit should have been given to Boas, "Shakespeare and his Predecessors," 1896, p. 465 N. Finally, as an illustration of several different varieties of inaccuracy, consider this single sentence (p. 438): "Among the fifteen old plays enumerated by Downes, the prompter, as forming the repertoire of the King's Company at the Theatre Royal between 1660 and 1830, *Julius Cæsar*, with one or two other of Shakespeare's plays, is mentioned." In the first place, of course, Downes's record runs to 1706 only, not to 1830; in the second place, according to Downes "the King's Company at the Theatre Royal" was not established until 1682, while the reference to *Julius Cæsar* places the play in the repertory of "his Majesty's Company of Comedians in Drury Lane," headed by Killigrew and acting between 1660 and 1682; and in the third place, "the fifteen old plays" (including *Cæsar*, *Othello*, and *Henry IV*) which com-

prised "their Principal Old Stock Plays" are accorded more than bare "enumeration" by Downes, for their casts are given at some length: it is a subsidiary list of twenty-one plays that baldly "mentions" the titles alone (including *Titus* and *Merry Wives*, but not *Cæsar*).

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

There are serious errors of omission in this volume, from the bibliographical standpoint. The failure to mention Jaggard's "Bibliography," Anders' useful compendium "Shakespeare's Books," and the Furnivall-Munro "Allusion Book" is extraordinary, but the failure to mention Binz's article in *Anglia*, 1899, establishing a performance of *Cæsar* in 1599, is simply inexcusable. Despite the quotation from Genest, on page 238, there is no indication anywhere that Mr. Furness recognized a quarto edition earlier than 1691; there were however, five quarto editions before 1691, one of them definitely dated 1684 (cf. the Pollard-Bartlett "Census"). And why should Downes be omitted?

There are also errors of commission. Mr. Furness has difficulties with his French accents. "Auglia" and "Macaulley" are careless slips. Why not retain the spellings preferred by the various authors in their titles? Bradley wrote "Shakespearean;" not "Shakespearian"; Hazlitt wrote "Shakespear's" not "Shakespeare's"; Leo wrote "Shakespeare-Notes," with a hyphen. Genest's record stops at 1830, not 1832. And where so many excellent works are necessarily excluded through lack of space, why should H. W. Mabie's popular *réchauffé* be mentioned?

One serious error in judgment is the failure to give the date of the *first edition* of the works listed. Mr. Furness professes in his "Plan of the Work, Etc." (p. 465) to give variorum Notes "at times as illustrations of the History of Shakespearian criticism": surely a very obvious way to illustrate this history is to tell a student when the various works in a selected bibliography of the most important authorities first appeared. We don't so much mind being a few years out in the cases of Baynes, Bradley, Craik, Hunter, Moulton, and others, but we do object to such darkening of counsel as dates Coleridge's "Notes and

Lectures" 1874, Cary's "Dante" *New York*, 1852, Minto's "Characteristics" *Boston*, 1901, and Froude's "Cæsar," *New York*, *n.d.*!

V. TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS

Some slips that might be considered merely typographical have been listed under the preceding headings, and some of those classified below under our sixth heading might well be included here; Mr. Tannenbaum, too, has pointed out many others, in the *Dial*; but there still remain plenty of specimens of Mr. Furness' amazing carelessness in this particular.

In the text: I, iii, 103, "Not" should be "Nor." II, ii, 93, "shall" should be "will." III, i, 321, "Oqtavius" should be "Octavius." IV, ii, 8, "He greets we well" should be "He greets me well."

In the textual notes: On I, i, 70: "Cam.+", should be "Cam.+." On I, i, 71: "Cam.+", should be "Cam.+", On II, i, 85: the first F 4 should be F 2. On II, i, 231: the reference belongs to line 230. On II, i, 341: "who' there that" should read "who's there that." On III, i, 319, 320: the reference belongs to lines 318, 319. On IV, iii, 62: the reference belongs to line 63. On IV, iii, 155, 159: "Lucillius" should read "Lucilius." On V, iv, 10: a line is missing, giving the list of editors who assign this speech to Lucilius.

In the footnotes: On I, ii, 71: for "l. 72" read "l. 73." On II, i, 219: for "De Quincy" read "De Quincey." On III, i: 'capitol' lacks the closing quotation-mark. On IV, i, 53, 54: for II, ii, 228, read III, i, 228. On IV, iii, 28: for "Capells" read "Capell's." On IV, iii, 161: for "illusion" read "allusion"!

In the Appendix: the accentuation of "Mézierès," page 388, differs radically from that adopted in the Bibliography, page 471. Page 467, line 16: "all subsequent" might better be printed in italics. Page 472, line 39: the period after *Text* should be deleted. Pages 476, line 6, and 477, line 6, second columns: for "De Quincy" read "De Quincey." Page 477, last line in first column: for "intensitively" read "intensively." Page 479, line 15, first column: for "Indiretion" read "Indirection." Page 480, line 6, first column: for "*Miribilia*" read "*Mirabilia*." Page 481, fourteenth line from bottom of first

column: for "Rhewny" read "Rhewmy." Page 482, line 4, first column: insert comma after "*stock*."

VI. ERRORS IN COLLATION

It is a pity that Mr. Furness tamely followed his predecessors in practically ignoring the six post-Restoration quartos, for had he collated them he might have enriched his edition with many interesting new readings as well as by recording the earliest appearances of many readings at present credited to eighteenth century editors as original emendations; and he might likewise have avoided several errors. On page 122, e.g., in the footnote on II, ii, 114, he wrongly asserts that "the reading of all the Quartos is *proceedings*," whereas in the copies that I have examined³ the First and Sixth Quartos, dated 1684 and 1691 respectively, agree with the four Folios in eliminating the final "s." Again, on page 85, in the textual note and footnote on II, i, 95, he follows the Cambridge Editors and R. G. White in asserting that the Quarto of 1691 reads *hath*, whereas in the copies that I have examined⁴ it is only the Fourth Quarto, undated, that reads *hath*, while the Sixth Quarto, of 1691, agrees with the First, Second, Third, and Fifth Quartos, and the four Folios, in reading *path*. Now the Pollard-Bartlett "Census" credits Mr. Furness with the ownership of a 1691 Quarto, and it is entirely possible that his copy—like those cited by the Cambridge Editors and R. G. White—actually contains this variant reading; but surely it is also possible that the Cambridge Editors and R. G. White consulted

³ On this point I have consulted, through the courtesy of various owners or librarians, three copies of Q 1 (Mr. W. A. White's, Mr. M. J. Perry's, and the Boston Public Library's), four copies of Q 2 (Mr. W. A. White's, Mr. H. E. Huntington's, the Elizabethan Club's, and the Boston Public Library's [this last copy Miss H. C. Bartlett apparently rejects as a facsimile reproduction, not a genuine original; one hesitates to disagree with so formidable a bibliographer, but one would like to consider the evidence before accepting the verdict]), three copies of Q 3 (Mr. W. A. White's, Mr. H. E. Huntington's, and the Yale University Library's), three copies of Q 4 (Mr. W. A. White's, the Boston Public Library's, and the New York Public Library's), one copy of Q 5 (Mr. W. A. White's: only two others have been identified), and four copies of Q 6 (Mr. W. A. White's, Mr. M. J. Perry's, the Boston Athenæum's, and the Boston Public Library's).

⁴ On this point, in addition to the copies listed in Note 3, I have also been enabled, through the courtesy of his Secretary, Miss Morris, to consult Mr. D. P. Kingsley's copies of Q 4 and Q 6.

an undated Fourth Quarto and then, in the prevailing mood of scornful contempt for post-Restoration Quartos, simply designated it for convenience by the date of the only dated Quarto known to them, that of 1691, without troubling themselves to establish bibliographical distinctions, while Mr. Furness merely accepted their authority blindly without bothering to verify the reference.⁵ The only other passage in which Quarto authority is cited (page 175) is free from error—as far as it goes: but, as stated above, a thorough collation of all the Quartos would have improved the reference materially. “Which (pardon me)” is indeed the reading of the 1691 Quarto (Q 6) for III, ii, 141; but it is also the reading of the [undated] Q 5, which appeared between four and seven years earlier, while the four other Quartos all agree with the Folios in printing “(Which pardon me).”

His collation also disappoints us in its lack of uniformity. He doesn't always record variant punctuation where it really affects the sense (e.g., in the complicated passage on pages 63, 64), or variant stage directions which are similarly determinative (e.g., on pages 110, 220, and 270: while on page 278 he faithfully records the trivial omission of “omnes” after “Exeunt”!). Again, he lets the Folio reading in line I, ii, 182 stand unamended, without textual or critical comment, though practically no editor has printed the line in that form since 1728. Sometimes he records an orthographical or typographical curiosity in the Folios (such as “Feaher F 2,” p. 37, or “Waies F 3,” p. 154), and sometimes omits others that are quite as interesting (such as “Fooliry” F 2, I, ii, 256; “surely” F 2, F 3, I, iii, 23; “murder” F 3, F 4, II, ii, 6; “Entrals” F 3, “Entrails” F 4, II, ii, 47; etc.); of course, some of these and other similar peculiarities may appear only in the Elizabethan Club copies of the Folios, not in Mr. Furness', but it seems very unlikely that they all do.

Perhaps the most unpardonable sin, however, in a variorum edition such as Mr. Furness was attempting, remains now for our final point against him. The foremost purpose stated under

⁵ White was the first to record this Quarto reading, in his “Shakespeare's Scholar,” 1854, but in a curious form that raises a further presumption of inaccuracy on his part.

the "Plan of the Work," page 465, is this: "In this Edition the attempt is made to give, in the shape of Textual Notes, on the same page with the Text, all the Various Readings of *Julius Cæsar*, from the Second Folio down to the latest critical Edition of the play." Obviously, a variorum edition's distinguishing claim to usefulness and scholarly merit depends upon the accuracy of this elaborate textual apparatus: but, unless all my criteria for checking him up are at fault, it is just here that Mr. Furness is most frequently unreliable, and yet it is just here that he receives Mr. Tannenbaum's particular commendation, unhappily enough. It is well to recall the admirable moderation of the Cambridge Editors (VII, 252) in recording the vagaries of one of their predecessors: "In none of these cases does our copy of Rowe correspond with his statements." Similarly, in the following cases I can only record the divergences between Mr. Furness' statements and the readings of the Elizabethan Club Folios and Yale University Library copies of Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, etc., leaving it to the reader to decide whether, in the light of all the various inaccuracies detailed above, these following discrepancies are to be explained away as unique typographical peculiarities in the Yale or Furness copies, or not rather, at least for the most part, to be accounted for as regrettable peculiarities in Mr. Furness' method of collation.

I, ii, 318, 333: Rowe i has "Mettel" (unrecorded). I, iii, 48, 49: One line Rowe et seq. (unrecorded). II, i, 200: Staunton's query is not "purgers called," which would ruin the metre (and metrical improvement is the sole point of his suggestion!), but "purgers call'd." II, i, 231 [should be 230, as noted above]: "flatterers: Pope et cet." is quite wrong, for this punctuation does not appear in Pope, Theobald, Warburton—or, in fact, in anyone but Hanmer and Capell, before the Variorum of 1778. II, iv, 49: "O Brutus, Brutus Pope, +, Cap. Ktly." should read, "O Brutus! Brutus! Pope, +, [—Var. '73]. O Brutus, Brutus, Cap. Ktly." III, i, 38: "you're" for "you are," Rowe i (unrecorded). III, i, 84: "Cim. Rowe, +" should read "Cim. Rowe ii, +," for Rowe i has "Cin." III, i, 143: "[Kneeling. Pope," should be credited to "Rowe, +," and should refer to line 144. III, i, 156: "Through" appears in Pope i only,

“Thorough” having been restored in Pope ii. III, i, 250: “you Antony” holds true through Pope i only, and some indication should have been given by Mr. Furness that Theobald’s emended punctuation was suggested in his “Shakespeare Restored” and appeared first in Pope ii; a similar failure or inability to record the niceties of collation occurs twenty lines earlier, where Mr. Furness simply ignores the problem (which the Cambridge Editors solve) of distinguishing between *italic* “Lethe” in F 4 and Roman “Lethe” in F 2, F 3. III, ii, 9: This whole note refers to line 13, Mr. Furness having been carelessly misled by the fact that both lines end with “rendred”; moreover the collation must be completely changed so as to read, “Exit . . . Plebeians. Rowe i, + (Exeunt . . . Rowe ii, Pope).”—for Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, and Var. ’73 all read “Exit” not “Exeunt.” III, ii, 13: Rowe ii prints “rendered,” not “rendred.” III, ii, 21: this note should be almost exactly reversed, for apparently F 2, F 3, F 4, and Rowe stand alone in printing “to them” while everyone else follows F 1 in printing “to him.” III, ii, 76: “he” is omitted only in Rowe i, not in Rowe ii. III, ii, 285: “mov’d” should be credited to Rowe, not Pope; and it is *not* universally adopted, since it does not appear in the Cambridge or Globe editions. III, iii, s.d.: Theobald and Var. ’73 do *not* call this Scene VII, as asserted by Mr. Furness; on the contrary Theobald follows Rowe and the Folios in continuing the Scene without interruption, while Var. ’73 follows Capell in calling it Scene III. IV, i, 42: “imitations,” should be credited to Rowe ii, since the period remains unaltered in Rowe i. IV, ii, s.d.: why Mr. Furness should arbitrarily select Var. ’73 to receive credit for the reading “meeting” instead of “meete” is a mystery, for this reading appears in *all* preceding editions except Capell’s (i.e., in those of Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, and Johnson). IV, iii, 59: Rowe i reads “Noblemen” (unrecorded). IV, iii, 95: the collation “a Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.” should read “a Rowe ii, +,” inasmuch as “his” appears in Rowe i and “a” in Johnson and Var. ’73. IV, iii, 139: Pope and Hanmer follow Rowe ii, though in a footnote, in reading “Lucius.” IV, iii, 140, 143, 144: the editions listed read “Luc.” here, without exception, and there is no ground whatsoever for committing the editors to “Lucil.”

IV, iii, 155: this s.d. appears first in Pope, not in Rowe; Rowe's entirely different arrangement has already been recorded by Mr. Furness in the textual note on IV, iii, 139. IV, iii, 184: "Brutus's" appears in Rowe i and Theob. i, only; it is "Brutus" in Rowe ii and "Brutus'" in Theob. ii. IV, iii, 264: why not supply the modern s.d. here, introduced by Hanmer, Capell, and Var. '73,—"[Exit Lucius.]"? IV, iii, 316: "let me see Pope." should read "let me see, Pope." IV, iii, 332, 333: "vanishest, Ill spirit"; should have been credited to Pope and Hanmer as well as to Rowe. V, i, s.d.: "The Fields of Philippi, with the two Camps." should be credited not to Rowe alone, but to the whole group indicated by "Rowe, +," except that Var. '73 omits the prepositional phrase. V, i, 118-121: this passage is strangely collated; in the first place, "Pope, +," put a semi-colon, not a period, after "himself," and it is mere caprice to single out "Coll. Hal. Wh. i" as apparently the only modern editors who differ from the Folio punctuation when as a matter of fact *all* but two or three differ from it—and neither are they the only three who put a period after "himself"; in the second place, the sense of the whole passage depends chiefly on the punctuation after "how,"—yet Mr. Furness does not record this point at all and so implies (what is wildly untrue) that every editor retains the Folio colon unchanged; and in the third place, it is thoroughly misleading to group together that long list of editions as if they all agreed in their pointing of the passage, when the Folios and Rowe really begin the sentence in a different place, while others vary the body of the passage, and yet others end it with a semi-colon, colon, or dash. V, ii, 8: it is difficult to understand the quality of mind—and conscience—responsible for the note on this line; we are assured that *Rowe and all subsequent editions* print a closing s.d. here, "Exeunt, Alarums." when as a matter of fact that s.d. appears in *none* of them; the sole ground for Mr. Furness' astonishing statement seems to be the fact that in Rowe ii, only, on the line below the s.d. "[Exeunt." appears the catchword "Alarums.," referring to the s.d. at the top of the next page, beginning what is now called Scene III; this coincidence does not occur in Rowe i or in any other edition that I have turned to, while furthermore there is a period, not a comma, after "Exeunt," even in Rowe ii, and most editions read "Alarum" or "Alarm," not

“Alarums.” V, iii, 55: there is no reason for not recording the necessary s.d., “[Exit,” supplied by Rowe and retained by everyone since. V, iii, 71: Rowe i reads “Son,” Rowe ii “Sun.” V, iii, 75: both Rowe’s editions anticipate Pope in reading “Melancholy’s.” V, iii, 118: Rowe reads “Funerals” in both editions, and should be so recorded. V, v, 25: Rowe, Pope, and Hanmer, only, follow F 3, F 4 in reading “Philippi-fields”; Theob. i reads “Philippi fields,” and Theob. ii, Warb., Johnson, and Var. ’73 read “Philippi’ fields”—so there is neither rhyme nor reason in crediting this last reading to Capell.

When it is remembered that these specimens of error are not even all that I have found, and presumably very far from all that anyone would find who should systematically verify every one of Mr. Furness’ statements (as I had no occasion to do), it will be seen that there is offered here a fine opportunity for unselfish service to the cause of American scholarship: let some disinterested student or committee “audit” my account (or simply test Mr. Furness’ forthcoming volume, “King John,” in the same way), employing yet another set of Folios, Quartos, and critical editions; and then, if these charges of error are substantiated, let action be taken forthwith to rescue this monumental Variorum series from the hands of its present editor. It is not contemplated, naturally, that any legal or forcible action shall be attempted in these premises, even were any possible, but it is hoped that sufficient moral pressure may be brought to bear upon Mr. Furness to persuade him to relinquish the undertaking voluntarily and to entrust the decision as to the future of the Series to the Modern Language Association of America, preferably, or to some other suitable body.

LAWRENCE MASON

Yale University.

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER BARCLAY

To students of literature the name of Alexander Barclay is linked with his *Ship of Fools*—a translation, or rather a derivation, from the *Narrenschiff* of Sebastian Brant. Brant's poem had such universal appeal that it was translated into several languages, and was popular throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. Barclay was fortunate in his original, and his rendition came at an opportune time. But the reputation of Barclay does not rest upon the *Ship of Fools* alone. He was industrious in literary work and the list of his writings includes many books. Among them are the *Introductory to Write and Pronounce Frenche*, a translation of Sallust, the *Myrrour of Good Manners*, and the five *Eclogues*. Besides the foregoing, he is the author of many works that have not survived. Such a writer must have had considerable fame in his own day. That he was known at court is shown by the fact that he was considered a suitable poet to devise "Histoires and Convenient Raisons" for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. John Bale, a contemporary, in spite of a bitter personal prejudice, speaks of him as "poeta ac rhetor insignis." If he were so well known as all this would imply, it seems curious that the facts of his life should be so uncertain. The date and place of his birth are unknown, his nationality is a matter of dispute, and the surviving details of his career are few. His biographers have collected the scattered facts of his life, drawn conclusions from them, and deduced others on the theory that in his works Barclay reproduces his own experience. Such to a certain extent, is the character of the most elaborate discussion that has yet appeared—the sketch prefixed by Jamieson to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*.¹ Koelbing in the latest criticism of Barclay, the section devoted to him in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*,² follows rather closely the work of his predecessor. But further light is thrown upon Barclay's career by the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*³ which was pub-

¹ T.H. Jamieson, Ed. *The Ship of Fools*. Translated by Alexander Barclay. 1, 1-85.

² Arthur Koelbing, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, 3.4.63.

³ *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Ed. Brewer and Gardiner, London, 1862-1910.

The work quoted above is a valuable and interesting source of information. In recent years Bale's veracity has been questioned, but through the publication of his autograph notebook in 1902⁶ we are able to see his *modus operandi*.⁷ What Bale did was to gather information from various sources and combine this material into one publication. In his lists of books he distinguishes those he had seen by reproducing the first line of each, as shown by the list presented, and in the case of works so noted there is no duplication. This is not true of the notebook, however, where there is repetition both in title and first line. In other words, he makes corrections by striking out the duplicates; otherwise they remain, as a reference to the lists will show.

From the notebook we learn that there are four sources for his account of Barclay. These are the lists received from "Nicolaus Brigan et alii," "ex officina Roberti Toye,"⁸ "ex museo Joannis Alen," and "ex hospitis domo Dubline." In the first of these we have this statement prefixed to the list: "Alexander Barkeley, Scotus, Benedicti Monachus in Anglia primum, postea Franciscanus, scripsit," etc. Heading another list is, "Alexander Barclay, Anglus, doctor et poeta, scripsit," etc. Since these statements are given on the authority of different sources it is easy to see how contradictions may appear. Thus in the lists cited he is claimed by one to be a Scot and by another an Englishman. It is evident, then, that any inference drawn from one source in the notebook may be incorrect; and that Bale's final summary itself may not be entirely reliable.⁹

With these facts in mind, Bale's account may be discussed together with the work of later writers. There is no need to review the discussion concerning Barclay's nationality. The dispute goes back to Bale's time, and Jamieson has given fully the arguments of both sides.¹⁰ His decision is that Barclay was

⁶ *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 19.

⁷ Cf. Berdan, *Alexander Barclay, Poet and Preacher*, *Modern Language Review*, 8, 296.

⁸ A London Printer and Bookseller, 1542-60.

⁹ An instance of this in the question of the authorship of *The Castell of Labor* is given by Berdan, *op. cit.*, 296.

¹⁰ *Op. Cit.*, XXV-XXXI.

a Scot, an opinion that seems to have the weight of evidence. The main testimony is that of Wm. Bullein,¹¹ a contemporary of Barclay and a native of the Isle of Ely where for a time Barclay lived and wrote. Bullein says of Barclay that he was "borne beyonde the cold river of Twede." Another argument is that in the *Ship of Fools* there is an acrostic passage in eulogy of James IV of Scotland. Moreover, throughout the works of Barclay there is a large number of Scottish words. Jamieson lists several examples from the *Ship of Fools*, while in other works many dialectic peculiarities occur that are undoubtedly of northern origin. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that Barclay was a Scot.

Jamieson's conjecture that Barclay in his early days lived at Croyden seems plausible because of his frequent mention of that town throughout the Eclogues, and the fact that he was buried in the church there. At what university he studied it is impossible to say. He is claimed for Cambridge because of a single mention of the place in the Eclogues; and for Oxford on the ground that he received his first preferment from Thomas Cornish, the Suffragan Bishop of Tyne, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, who was earlier a Provost of Oriel College. It is also impossible to say whether he traveled and studied abroad. Certain passages in his works would indicate such travels, if we are to believe that Barclay puts his own experience into the mouths of his characters, and his apparent knowledge of foreign languages might lead to the same inference. But there is no direct evidence. At any rate he entered the church and became chaplain at the College of Saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Here he wrote his first work, *The Ship of Fools*, as is stated in the preface, in the year 1508.¹²

After leaving Devonshire, Barclay is next heard of, says Jamieson, "in monastic orders, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, in the famous monastery of Ely." This brings up the question whether Barclay was a Benedictine or a Franciscan, or as Jamieson says, following the statements of preceding writers, at different times both. The statement of

¹¹ *A Dialogue Both Pleasaunt and Pietiful . . . against the Fever Pestilence.* Cf. Jamieson, *op. cit.*, XXII.

¹² Cf. Jamieson, *op. cit.*, CXVI.

Mackenzie,¹³ for which no authority is given, that "he entered into the Order of St. Benedict, and the Rules of that Society not pleasing him, he changed his Habit, and entered into the Order of St. Francis," and other statements equally unsupported, may be disregarded. The only indication that Barclay was at any time of the order of St. Benedict is that he speaks of himself in the title of his version of the *Myrroure of Good Manners*¹⁴ as "Monke of Ely"; that in the letter of Sir Nicholas Vaux to Wolsey¹⁵ concerning the arrangements for the Field of the Cloth of Gold he is called "the Blacke Monke and Poete"; and Barclay's own reference in the prologue to the Eclogues to his "habite blacke." In one of Bale's lists, quoted earlier,¹⁶ Barclay is spoken of as first a Benedictine and later a Franciscan. But that Bale himself did not consider this statement of value is shown by his remark that the matter is "nulli certus."

In the last analysis, then, the question of Barclay's having been a member of the order of St. Benedict depends upon the fact that he is called by himself and others a monk, that he speaks of his black habit, and that he was at one time located at Ely where there was a Benedictine monastery. The term monk, however, was, and still is, so loosely used that it may have been applied to a friar, and in that capacity he may have been at Ely without being a member of the monastery there. Moreover, he may well have been one of the so-called "Black Franciscans."¹⁷ There is no question of his having been a Franciscan since his contemporary Bullein¹⁸ speaks specifically of "the five knots upon his girdle after Francis tricks." This testimony of Bullein is significant in another way. Perhaps the best argument that Barclay was a Benedictine is his connection with Ely Monastery. But it is at this place that he was known by Bullein, who tells us that he was a Franciscan. Although it was possible for a monk to become a friar, and no one can say for certain that Barclay did not, the probability

¹³ *Lives and Characters of Eminent Scots Writers*, 287.

¹⁴ Cf. Jamieson, *op. cit.*, CV.

¹⁵ *Letters and Papers*, 3.1., 737.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁷ For much of this information I am indebted to Father Aldrich, of the Dominican Fathers of New Haven, Conn.

¹⁸ Jamieson, *op. cit.*, XXIII.

is against what would be considered going from a higher to a lower spiritual state. In view of these facts, and of Bale's doubt upon this point, it seems reasonable to assume that Barclay was never a Benedictine, but that some time after he left the chaplaincy of St. Mary Ottery he entered the order of St. Francis.


Barclay's biographers are silent upon the interval between 1520, the year of the letter from Vaux to Wolsey, and 1546, when he became Vicar of Much Badew in Essex. During this period, which covers Wolsey's height of power and later fall, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the separation of the Church of England and the Church of Rome, Barclay's own career must have undergone many changes in his transition from a Franciscan Friar to a position in the English Church.

Light is thrown upon this period of Barclay's life by the *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, already mentioned. In a letter from Herman Rinck to Wolsey, dated at Cologne, Oct. 4, 1528,¹⁹ the writer acknowledges the receipt of letters delivered to him by John West, an Observant, concerning the arrest of certain heretics. Among other things he offers to go to the Emperor to obtain the renewal of privileges for English merchantmen, "as there was a clause for the prevention of English rebels or heretics taking refuge in the empire," etc. He adds that "William Roy, William Tyntaell, Jerome Barlo, Alexander Barckley, and their adherents, and George Constans and others ought to be delivered up." This would indicate that Barclay's criticism of certain abuses of the Church and Clergy, which had appeared in his earlier works, had ripened into something stronger until he was compelled to flee to the continent.

That Barclay returned, or was brought back, to England is shown by a letter from John West to Wolsey, dated 1529.²⁰ The letter "asks that he may speak with him secretly before he sees Brother Alysander Barkley, who has called Wolsey a tyrant and other opprobrious and blasphemous words."²¹

¹⁹ *Letters and Papers*, 4. 4810.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4. 3. 5462.

²¹ Father Aldrich (mentioned previously) suggests that there is here additional evidence that Barclay was a Franciscan in the fact that John West, an Observant, speaks of him as "Brother." 

Barclay had already made a veiled attack on Wolsey in the *Eclogues*²² written many years before, where in his tribute to Bishop Alcock he tells of the harm done by "butchers dogges wood," a term that must refer to Wolsey.

The next reference to Barclay appears in a letter of Robert Ward to Cromwell, Oct. 9, 1538.²³ "In Barking Parish Suffolk," says Ward, "where Mr. Richard Redman is parson the word of God is not preached unless a stranger comes by chance, and those that have come have not set forth the king's title nor defaced the usurped power of the Bp. of Rome; no, not Alex. Barkley who preached in Wytson Holidays. Spoke to him of his negligence after the sermon before the Parson and Mr. Walter Watlond, one of the Justices."

Three days later in a letter to Cromwell²⁴ William Dynham tells of a visit to the Priory of St. Germaine in Cornwall where he "sat at supper with the prior, accompanied by Alex. Barclay, who the day before preached in honor of the Blessed Virgin." Here Barclay is spoken of as "a frere in a somewhat honester weed." Dynham describes the conversation in which Barclay is quoted as saying "I would to God that at the least the laws of God might have as much authority as the Laws of the Realm," and that he thought men were "too busy pulling down images without special commandment of the Prince." Dynham takes exception to these remarks, and in the heat of the argument finally tells Barclay that his "cankered heart is disclosed," and calls him a "false knave and a dissembling frere." Some one, perhaps one of the writers quoted above, has also written to Latimer about the same matter. Latimer sends word to Cromwell²⁵ that he has been informed "that Frere Bartlow does much hurt in Cornwale and in Daynshire, both with open preaching and private communication."

The final reference in this connection is given by Foxe.²⁶ "Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who wearing still his Friar's cowl after the suppression of the religious houses, Cromwell, coming through Paul's Churchyard and

²² *Eclogue* 1. 349.

²³ *Letters and Papers*, 13. 2. 571.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13. 2. 596.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. 2. 709, dated 28 Oct. 1538.

²⁶ *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend's Ed.), 5. 396.

espying him in Rheines's shop, 'Yea,' said he, 'Will not that cowl of yours be left off yet? And, if I hear by one o'clock that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately for example of all others.' And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after." This incident probably took place shortly before the writing of the letters quoted above since Dynham speaks of him as "a Frere in a somewhat honester weed."

From the foregoing documents we are able to gain a general idea of Barclay's activities during the period left blank by his biographers. In the Roman Church he had been a reactionary. He wished the Church to be remodeled and reformed, but from within. This led him to attack Wolsey with the result that he was compelled to flee to the continent. The next year he is brought back and charged with these attacks. But it must not be inferred from this that Barclay had become a Protestant. As he attacked Wolsey, so he apparently attacks Cromwell. It must be remembered that the Reformation in England was political as well as religious. Barclay accepted the political, but not the religious reformation. The result is that we find him a few years later preaching in Cornwall and Devonshire. He had put off his cowl, had outwardly conformed, but is attacked by the extreme party as too conservative. He has not "defaced the usurped power of the Bp. of Rome," and thinks that men are "too busy pulling down images." Latimer himself takes up the matter and writes about it to Cromwell. These things account for the animosity of Bale, and his attacks upon Barclay's character. Bale belonged to the party of Latimer and Cromwell, and to him Barclay was a wolf in sheep's clothing. But Barclay was not within the reach of his enemies, and received preferment in the English Church. He became Vicar of Much Badew in Essex on Feb. 7, 1546, and of St. Mathew at Wokey in Somerset on March 30, of the same year. On April 30, 1552 he was presented with the rectory of All Hallows, Lombard Street,²⁷ but a few weeks later he died, as Newcourt's record shows, and was buried at Croyden.²⁸ The

²⁷ Newcourt, *Reportorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (under respective parishes named).

²⁸ Lysons, *The Environs of London* (under Croyden).

Croyden Parish Register reads, "June 10, 1552. Alexander Barkley sepult," thus corroborating the statement of Bale.

These, then, are the scanty facts in the life of Alexander Barclay. It is possible that the speculations and deductions from Barclay's works made by Jamieson and other writers referred to previously may be true in part at least. But this outline, bare as it is, may clear up some matters hitherto unsettled; and it shows Barclay more clearly than ever as a typical representative of the transition period between Humanism and Scholasticism.

JOHN RICHIE SCHULTZ

Allegheny College.

ANOTHER LUCY

Between *Lucy Gray* ("Comp. 1799—Pub. 1800") and Christopher Anstey's moralizing ballad called *The Farmer's Daughter* (Bath, 1795),¹ there are several points of similarity. Concerning the origin of *Lucy Gray*, Wordsworth said, in the Fenwick note: "It was founded on a circumstance told me by my sister, of a little girl, who not far from Halifax in Yorkshire, was bewildered in a snow storm." But it is not impossible that Dorothy had read Anstey's poem and, perhaps unconsciously, borrowed some details of her story from it.² The brief preface to *The Farmer's Daughter* begins with these words: "This little piece is founded upon a circumstance which really happened in the course of the late very severe winter, in which many persons were frozen to death; amongst whom was the unfortunate young Woman who is the subject of the following lines." The first quatrain of the forty-five which make up the rambling narrative is as follows:

Keen was the blast, and bleak the morn,
 When Lucy took her way,
 To seek the wretch, whose perjurd vows,
 Had led her youth astray.

Another typical stanza runs:

Such were the days that Lucy knew,
 Such harmless nights as these
 Calm'd ev'ry scene, made labour light,
 And ev'ry object please.

Wide as are the differences, the reader must see a superficial similarity between these lines and Wordsworth's:

No mate, no comrade Lucy knew;
 She dwelt on a wide moor,
 —The sweetest thing that ever grew
 Beside a human door!

¹ Reprinted in *The Poetical Works of the late Christopher Anstey, Esq.*, with some account of the life and writings of the author by his son, John Anstey, Esq. (London, 1808), pp. 338-348.

² Several entries in the Grasmere journal for the period from May 14 to December 21, 1800, testify to her fondness for reading ballads. See *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth* (London, 1904), vol. I, pp. 32, 35, 36.

Others of Anstey's quatrains remotely resemble quatrains of Wordsworth. For instance, compare these two specimens:

'To-night will be a stormy night—
You to the town must go;
And take a lantern, Child, to light
Your mother through the snow.'

Mean time her eager anxious way
From morning's dawning light,
Poor Lucy held, till length'ning shades
Announc'd th'approaching night.

The resemblance between the two poems is clear enough to make it seem entirely possible that, if Wordsworth did not borrow the name of Lucy from Christopher Anstey, at least both poets derived it from a common source.

Though in their inner meaning the "Lucy poems"³ are quite unlike either of the ballads which we have been discussing, the reader is bound to connect by a natural association of ideas the Lucy who "dwelt on a wide moor," "not far from Halifax in Yorkshire," and the other who

dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove

(also in Yorkshire). Nor is it difficult to believe that both these heroines are in some wise related to Anstey's Lucy, especially as there is a distinct similarity of thought between one stanza of *The Farmer's Daughter* and two famous lines of *She dwelt among the untrodden ways*. The older poet characterized his subject thus:

³ The five related poems written in Germany in 1799 were: *Strange fits of passion have I known*; *She dwelt among the untrodden ways*; *I travelled among unknown men*; *Three years she grew in sun and shower*; and *A slumber did my my spirit seal*. This paper leaves out of account all other supposed "Lucy poems." Professor Harper would add to the canon: *Louisa, after accompanying her on a mountain excursion*; *To a young lady, who had been reproached for taking long walks in the country*; and, a poem in which the name of Lucy appears, *Among all lovely things my love had been*. Of the three the first and second were probably written in 1801 and the third surely in April of 1802. Professor Herford, in *The Age of Wordsworth*, suggests that the sonnet *Surprised by Joy*, which according to the generally accepted dating was "composed later than June, 1812," and "published 1815," is yet another song of mourning for Lucy.

As spotless as the blooming flower,
Which long unheeded grew,
She little reck'd her beauty's power,
Or e'er its dangers knew.

And this blossom has surely something in common with:

A violet by a mossy stone
Half hidden from the eye!

ROBERT C. WHITFORD

Knox College.

ABLAUT AND SENTENCE-ACCENT

In the *JEGPh*, vol. XVI, pp. 173 ff., I tried to show that the ablaut stages *e*, *o*, and *ə* or—represent three different degrees of stress, depending upon whether the syllable in question occupied the focus of attention or was more or less removed toward the margin. I should like to offer here a bit of additional evidence in support of that theory namely, that these three degrees of ablaut correspond exactly to the three degrees of stress which are distinguishable in the accent of an ordinary prose sentence in modern English.

A sentence is a judgment, a predicating of some fact about a subject, a focussing of the attention upon some element of a total concept. The concept, which is always more or less complex, arises first as a whole in the mind; and from this whole we single out a certain element, on which we center the attention. In the sentence, FATHER IS A LAWYER, the word FATHER stands for the original total concept, and LAWYER represents the single element which is drawn from it into the focus of attention. This thought-process is a movement from a general basis to a specific goal, the creating of tension in which the subject and predicate are set off against each other; but the tension is greater at the goal than at the starting point, that is, LAWYER is more strongly stressed than FATHER (see Lipps, *Ästhetik*, I, 325). The reverse of this may also occur. If the concept is concerned with LAWYERS, and we wish to call attention to the fact that FATHER is one possible element in that concept, then we say, FATHER IS A LAWYER, stressing the former more strongly than the latter. This merely means that we have a different general concept as a basis. Again, either the subject or the predicate, or both, may be qualified as to time, place, manner, degree, etc., in which case the qualifying word receives the chief stress (unless it is merely an inseparable part of the qualified word), e.g., FATHER IS A GREAT LAWYER. Thus we distinguish either two or three degrees of stress above the so-called unaccented elements of a sentence: for example, FATHER IS A LAWYER, and FATHER IS A GREAT LAWYER (cf. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. 1, 2. Teil, 391-392). Or, let us take a sentence containing a verb. THE MAN SEES; THE MAN SEES REPEATEDLY; THE

THE MĀN SEÈS REPÉATEDLY. Now in these three sentences the stress on the vb. *sees* corresponds exactly to the three degrees of ablaut, *e*, *o*, *a*, or —. Pre-Germanic pres. ind. *sēkwe*, pft. *sēsókwe*, pft. pl. *sēsəkwmē* (= *sēhwum*). In the first two cases, the verb represents *that which is predicated about a subject*, and either occupies alone the focus of attention, in which case it is most strongly stressed, or is slightly removed from the focus toward the margin of attention, in which case it is somewhat less strongly stressed. In the third example, *the verb represents the original general concept*, the context or background of the idea, the basis, from which one or two elements are singled out and presented to the attention; here the verb has the weakest stress, and in the I E ablaut reaches the *a* or—stage. The perf. ptc. *səkwonós*, *datós*, and the aorist, e.g. Greek *ἔλιπον*, are similar to the pft. pl., i.e., the verb with its reduced vowel stage represents the original concept, and not a fact predicated about a subject; the attention is centered on the *person or thing affected by the act*, or the *past time* at which the act was performed, and the act itself is taken for granted, is the element that makes up the general context of the whole concept.

It looks, then, very much as though the IE ablaut arose from the perfectly natural sentence accent, and that this accent did not differ essentially from that of modern English.

C. M. LOTSFEICH

University of Cincinnati.

NOTES ON KLUGE'S AND WEIGAND'S
ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

I

1. ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF MODERN ENGLISH *Awl*

On *Ahle*. 'an ein Heft befestigter stählerner Stachel zum Vorstechen bei Lederarbeit' the 5th edition of *Weigand* has this to say: "Aus mhd. *âle*, ahd. *âla* f.; dazu ndl. *aal*, ags. *æl* f. (daneben *âwel*, engl. *awl*), an. alr. m. 'Ahle.' Eine Weiterbildung zeigt ahd. *alansa* (daher schweiz.-schwäb. *Alse*), vgl. frz. *alêne* aus *alesne* und ndl. *els* f. 'Ahle.' Verglichen wird aind. *ġrā* f. 'Pfriem, Ahle,' lit. *ila*, preuss. *yla*, lett. *ilens* 'Ahle.' In this account several statements need correction. In the first place, as the NED very properly points out, the length of vowel in the Old Germanic languages is by no means established. Old High German *alansa*, *alunsa*¹ speaks for OHG. *ala*, MHG. *ale*. As to Old English, the corresponding word has undoubtedly the vowel short and its gender is just as undoubtedly masculine, as Napier has emphasized. Nowhere is there any basis for the assumption of feminine gender and the forms recorded are *æl*, *eal*, *al*. The latter resulted in *an alle* (1382, Wyclif Exodus XXI. 6); the edition of 1388 has *a nal*, *an al*. This spelling varied later with *awl* (1607, Topsell, Four-footed Beasts 144), *awl*, (1727, Swift, Gulliver II VI.145) and has now become the established spelling, so as to distinguish it from the adjective *all* with which it perfectly coincides in pronunciation. The spelling *awl* has given rise to misconnecting the word with OE. *âwel*, *âwul* with which it has nothing whatever to do as I have pointed out in *Anglia* some years ago, and I am happy to say the noted linguist, Prof. Evald Lidén of Göteborg fully agrees with me. In the first place, OE. *âwel* is never used to interpret Latin *subula*; it glosses either *fuscinula* or *harpago* or *tridens* or *ungula* or *uncus*. In the second place, OE. *âwel* could never have resulted in modern *awl*. Ernest Zupitza, in his *Germanische Gutturale* page 63, realized that and therefore assumed the *a* of OE. *âwel* as being short. But his assumption is shown to be wrong by the fact that the OE. word appears, in accordance with a well-known phonetic law, as *owel* in early Middle English,

¹ Cp. NED. sub *alsene* and *elsin*.

whence the *oules* of Chaucer in the Sompner's Tale 22, *With fleischhok or oules To ben yclawed*. The NED brings this quotation forwards as proof in the word history of *awl*, but it has as little place there as the Ælfric gloss 316 *fascinula awul* or the quotation from the Legend of St. Katherine 2206 *Tuhen hire tittes up of hire breoste. wið eawles of irne* or the quotation from Owl and Nightingale 80, *Thi bile is . . . scharp and hoked, Right so an owel that is crooked*. These quotations belong under *owl* which is wrongly designated as an obsolete spelling of *awl*; it is the legitimate development of OE. *áwel*, *áwul*, which is just as wrongly designated as "variant" of OE. *al*, *al* "not accounted for." It is an altogether different word. It is radically connected with Latin *vellere* whose root, according to Walde, is *uel-s* and its meaning is that of 'evulsor,' *á*-being OE. prefix whose function is about the same as that of Latin *ex*. Its OHG. congener I find in *ar-uuel-z-an* 'evellere, eruere,' with which I think *uualza* 'pedica' is closely connected. If so, the radical idea of the word is ('foot) catcher.' What connection there is between OHG. *aruuelzan* 'evellere' and *aruuelzan* 'evolvere,' that is a question I expect to deal with at some later time. In the mean while I insist that OE. *áwel*, *áwul*, *áwol* has no standing in an etymological discussion of modern English *awl*, which is the legitimate phonetical development of OE. *al*, *al* 'subula'; the development is on a par with that of *al*, *eal* 'omnis' to modern *all* and *smal* 'gracilis' to modern *small*. When E. Zupitza l.l. tried to make out the *a* of OE. *áwel* must have been short, he overlooked the controverting fact that in a MS. of Ælfric's Grammar preserved in the Worcester Cathedral Library, designated W by Julius Zupitza, and assigned by him to the 12th century, the *fascinula awel* of the original reads *fascinula owel* and, significantly, is followed by *uncinus hoc*; the gloss is printed in Wright-Wücker 548.²⁰ If Zupitza Junior's assumption were true, the *a* of the original would have appeared as *a* also here. That it appeared as *o* is plain indication of the length of the vowel. For the scribe of this MS. almost invariably has changed the long *a*'s of his original to *o*, a clear proof that at the time he wrote the transition of long OE. *a* to Middle English *o* had already started. This phonetical change of OE. *áwel* to ME. *owel* is further testified to by a vocabulary of the 15th century, preserved in the Trinity College

Library of Cambridge. According to WW. 576,¹⁶ it explains Latin-Greek *creagra* by "*anglice an owel.*" This coincides with the explanation given in a metrical vocabulary of the 15th century, preserved in MS. Harl. 1002: according to WW. 626,⁷ over *creagra* is written *nowle* which, of course, is—*an owle*. From this evidence it is safe to conclude that the initial vowel of OE. *āwel* was undoubtedly long. Had it survived, it would be now represented by *oul* or *oule* or *owle*, never by *awl*.

II

OE. *Scinn* 'SKIN' = EARLY MOD. ENGLISH *Shin*.

In the 7th edition and, if I am correctly informed, also in the 8th edition of his etymological dictionary Kluge has this to say on *schinden*, MHG. *schinden*, OHG. *scintan*. 'to skin, peel, maltreat': *Denominativ zu einem verlorenen ahd. N. *SCIND 'Fell, Haut,' das nach anord. SKINN (s. Schinnen) N. 'Haut, Fell, Pelz, Leder' für das Ahd. vorausgesetzt werden darf. Engl. SKIN aus spätags. SCINN. ist nord. Lehnwort des 10. Jarhhs. (angels. scī müsste im Engl. SHI werden). Germ. SCINȚA aus vorgerm. SCÉNTO- wird verglichen mit bret. SCANT 'Fischschuppe' von Loth, Rev. Celt. XIV 194.*" Here I miss in the first place the reference to the masculine *Schund* 'trash' which later on is mentioned as '*junge Bildung zu schinden, eigtl. wohl 'Unflat der Kotgruben.'*' In the second place, the statement ought to have been made in this connection that *schinden* has partially passed over into the strong conjugation as witnessed by the past participle *geschunden* which has its par in the p. p. *skun* of vulgar English speech. As to late OE. *scinn* being a loan from ON. *skin*, it is true enough that the *scynn* occurring in the OE. Chronicles² has been taken over from the Norse. Also *berascin* once met with in Bishop Leofric's Charter of 1050–1073 (*Earle, Landcharters, etc., p. 250 = Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicum, p. 429*²⁷) may come from that source. And from it, no doubt, has sprung modern English *skin*. But that there also was a native OE. *scinn* which resulted in early modern English *shin*

² Bosworth-Toller having failed to book the word, it will be worth while to transcribe here the whole passage from Earle's edition 1865, p. 212, ad annum 1075 (MS.D): *Hwæt þa se cyngc Malcolm. and his sweostor Margareta. geafon hī myccla geofa. and manega garsama. and eallon his mannan on scynnman mid þelle betogen. and on merðerne þylecon. and grāscynnene. and hearma scynnene, and on þallon. and on gyldenān faton and on seolfrenan.*

and was gradually superseded by the Norse intruder, is a fact I drew Prof. Brights' attention to some three years ago and submit now to the general public: In the collection of glosses preserved in MS Cleopatra A III (Brit. Mus.) there occurs, according to Wright-Wülcker I. 427, 27, *imens. cinn* = hymen *scinn* (Servius Verg. Aen. IV. 99), with which compare the gloss in Cod. Voss. lat. fol. 24 lf. 87 recto 347 *ymen membranum* (Leyden University Library). From this native *scinn* sprang early modern English *schyn*, *shyne* which is spelt in the French fashion *chyn* in the English glosses on the Norman French of Walter de Biblesworth treatise in Wright Voc. I. 149¹⁵: *Homme et femme unt* ^{hyd. the} *chyn* _{la peel}. That already in the first quarter of the 14th century³ the native *shyn* had a competitor in the Norse *skyn*, *skine* is proved by the reading *skine* for *chyn* in the Chambridge MS. The same competition is witnessed to in the 15th century by what we read in the Catholicon Anglicum p. 177a as English explanation of Latin *nembris* = *nebris*: *an Hart-skyn* (MS A: *a Hartshyne*). The native word is used in a 15th century rendering of Latin *matrix*, WW. 752³.

Hec munda } a *schyn* that a *schyld*
 Hec matrix } is *conseyvd in*,

while the Catholicon Anglicum, p. 342a, prefers for the same purpose the Norse loan-word:

skyn *y^t y^e chylde is lapped in y^e moder wame*, himen, matrix. Also the modern *skinner* appears still in his native garb as *shinnere* in a vocabulary of c1425, preserved in the Brit. Museum MS Reg. 17, C. XVII, fol. 21, according to WW. 650³⁶, *Hic pelliparius A^e schynnere*. In Middle English I have, so far, not been able to find a trace of the native OE. *scinn*, unless the *shindle* of Ancr. R. 186 is connected with it. The NED s.v. states that its origin and precise meaning is unknown. I here give the whole passage: *Nis þet child fulitowen þet schreped^ð agean. & bit upon þe zerde* (MS Cleopatra CVI Cotton). For *schreped^ð* MS Titus DXVIII Cott. offers the variant *schindled* which I suggest would go back to an OE. derivative from *scinn* 'cutis,' **scin(d)lian* 'decorticare.'

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

Daytona Beach, Fla., March 1919.

³ Provided the NED's date, c1325, for W. de Biblesworth's treatise is correct.

ZUR A-BRECHUNG IM NORD- UND WESTGERMANISCHEN—DAS VERHALTEN DES STARKEN VERBS ZU DER NOMINALEN FLEXION

EINLEITUNG

Es muss in erster Linie betont werden, dass beim Subst., ebenso wie beim Verbum, die altindogerm. Scheidung $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ überhaupt nicht in Betracht kommt, sondern nur die gemeinsam nord.- und westgerm. Scheidung $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ (ebenso $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$), und zweitens, dass man die Vokalverhältnisse in geschichtlicher Zeit vom Standpunkte der gemeinsam nord.- und westgerm. Sprache aus betrachten muss, welche dem Altn. und dem Westgerm. zu grunde liegt.

In geschichtlicher Zeit beruht die Vokalregelung auf dem geschichtlichen Lautstand, der sich von dem vorgeschichtlichen vorzugsweise darin unterscheidet, dass die geschwächten Vokale der Endsilben häufig ein anderes Lautverhältnis zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokal veranlasst haben (so z. B. $*\delta > \text{ǣ}$), und dass die ursprünglichen Endungen der betreffenden Flexionen in noch grösserer Ausdehnung als in der Grundsprache durch die Endungen anderer Flexionen ersetzt werden konnten.

Wenn also in historischer Zeit unter ähnlichen Lautumständen die Regelung von $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ mit der Regelung von $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ nicht ganz übereinstimmt, muss man nicht nur die Verhältnisse in der gemeinsamen Grundsprache, sondern auch die nachträglichen Analogie- und Lautneigungen der einzelnen Sprachen mit in Betracht ziehen.

Daher werde ich in der folgenden Untersuchung die Regelung der Stammvokale $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ und $\text{ǣ}/\text{ǣ}$ in geschichtlicher Zeit vom Standpunkte des gemeinsam urnord.- urwestgerm. Lautstandes aus betrachten. Die rekonstruierten Verhältnisse der Grundsprache dienen als Grundlage für die tatsächlich vorliegenden Sprachen, deren jede ihre Lauteigenheit besitzt.

Da im Gegensatz zum Gotischen die lautliche Regelung des Stammvokals im Nord.- und Westgerm. auf der Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen (ausser vor *Nasal*+*Kons.*) beruhte, so darf man voraussetzen, dass die lautgerechte Regelung der betreffenden Vokale in der gemeinsamen nord.- und westgerm. Grundsprache die folgende gewesen sei: ǣ , ǣ ,

nur wenn in der Endsilbe ein *ǣ*, *ǣ*, oder *ǣ* stand, dagegen *ǣ*, *ǣ*, nur wenn in der Endsilbe ein *a*, *ǣ*, oder *ǣ* stand. Wenn zu dieser Zeit der Systemszwang entweder zu Gunsten des ungebrochenen *ǣ*, *ǣ*, oder zu Gunsten des gebrochenen *ǣ*, *ǣ* nicht in allen Kasus durchgeführt worden war, wie dies häufig in geschichtlicher Zeit der Fall ist, so wird doch wohl nur eine Tendenz, die Scheidung *ǣ/ǣ* und *ǣ/ǣ* auszugleichen, die *normale* gewesen sein; nur in diesem Sinne ist eine 'regellose' Ausgleichung in vorgeschichtlicher, ebenso wie in der geschichtlichen Zeit, zu verstehen.

Weiter darf man wohl annehmen, dass vor der Zeit ihres Wegfalles die alten Vokale (*a*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*, *i*, *u*, usw.) der Flexionssilbe keine Wirkung auf den Stammvokal ausgeübt hatten.¹ Die altgerm. Vokale (*ǣ*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*) der Stammsilbe bleiben dann in solchen Fällen noch immer lautgerecht bestehen, so z. B. gemeingerm. **wulf-s* (aus vorgerm., bezw. 'protogerm.' **wulf-a-s*-) Nom. sg. = got. *wulfs*, nord-germ. *ulfr*, westgerm. **wulf* (alts.-angs. *wulf*). Durch Analogiewirkung aber nach denjenigen Kasus, wo der Vokal (*a*, *ǣ*) der Flexionssilbe noch beibehalten ist (so z. B. gemeingerm. **wulf-ǣ-s* Nom. plur. = got. *wulfǣs*, nordgerm. *ulfar* (lautgerecht aber **olfar*), westgerm. **wolfos* = ahd. *wolfa*), gewinnt gewöhnlich im Nord- und Westgerm. der *gebrochene* Stammvokal im Paradigma die Oberhand.

Wenn nun eine solche 'regellose' Ausgleichung der betreffenden Stammvokale auch schon im Urnord- und Urwestgerm. tatsächlich begonnen hatte, so würde man erwarten, dass schon in der Grundsprache wegen des Überwiegens des *i* und des *u* der Flexionssilben bei den *u*-, *i*- Stämmen (bezw. älteren *Kons*- und *es/os*- Stämmen, die in die *u*-, *i*- Stämme schon übergetreten waren) die Ausgleichung hier zu Gunsten des *ungebrochenen* Vokals (*ǣ*, *ǣ*), dagegen bei den *a(n)*-, *ǣ(n)*- Stämmen (wegen des Überwiegens des *a* und des *ǣ* der Flexionssilben) zu Gunsten des *gebrochenen* Vokals (*ǣ*, *ǣ*) geschehen sollte.

Von diesem Standpunkte aus werde ich die verschiedenen Kategorien für die geschichtliche Zeit aufstellen, d.h. die *urgerm.*

¹ Vgl. Collitz, "Early Germanic Vocalism," *M. L. Ns.*, June, 1918, S. 332, gegen Holtzmann, *Altđ. Grammatik*, I, 2, S. 13.

Stammvokale (A) bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen, und (B) bei den *a(n)-*, *ô(n)-* Stämmen. Die urgerm. Vokale sind —

a) 1, *ɪ*, 2, *ē* vor *h* und *r*.

b) 1, *ü*, 2, *ö* vor *h* und *r*.

Kategorie 2(d.h. *ē* und *ö*) vertritt die altgerm. konsonantische Brechung des gemeinerm. *ɪ* und *ü* vor unmittelbar folgendem *h* oder *r*, gerade wie im Gotischen. Altgerm. *ē* und *ö* sind also, ebenso wie altgerm. *ɪ* und *ü*, nicht mit den urnord.-urwestgerm. *ē*, *ö* und *ɪ*, *ü* zu verwechseln, welche erst später durch die Wirkung der Vokale der Endsilben entstanden waren.

Wir haben demnach die folgenden Kategorien im Nord- und Westgerm. zu betrachten;—A, a, 1. A, a, 2. A, b, 1. A, b, 2. und B, a, 1. B, a, 2. B, b, 1. B, b, 2.

A=*u-*, *i-* Stämme.

B=*a(n)-*, *ô(n)-* Stämme.

a=*ɪ/ē*; 1=*ɪ*, 2=*ē* vor *h* und *r*.

b=*ü/ö*; 1=*ü*, 2=*ö* vor *h* und *r*.

DIE REGELUNG DER STAMMVOKALE IM SUBSTANTIVUM.

A

a) Die Regelung von urnord.-urwestgerm. *ɪ/ē* bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen in geschichtlicher Zeit.

1. Altgerm. *ɪ* bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen.

(A, a, 1). Im Nordgerm.²

Altgerm. *ɪ* steht hier gewöhnlich vor einfachem Konsonanten, gerade wie im Prät. plur. und Part. prät. der starken Verben der 1. Ablautsreihe, und ebenso wie im Verbum bleibt es gewöhnlich *eintönig* geregelt, wie z. B. *fridr*, *kvistr*, *kvidr*, *limr*, *lidr*, *litr*, *sidr*, *sigr*, *skridr*, *smidr*, *stigr*, *vinr*, usw. Einige von diesen Subst. der *u-*, *i-* Flexion haben schon entweder zum Teil (wie z. B. *skridr*, *smidr*, *stigr*) oder in allen Kasus (wie z. B. *sigr* aus **sig-i-R*=got. *sigis*, altindogerm. *es/os*—Stamm) die Endungen der *a-* Flexion angenommen, bewahren aber noch immer den alten ungebrochenen Wurzelvokal (*ɪ*).

(A, a, 1). Im Westgerm. (altgerm. *ɪ* bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen).

Ebenso steht im Westgerm. altgerm. *ɪ* gewöhnlich vor einfachem Konsonanten und wird, ebenso wie im starken Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe, am häufigsten *eintönig* geregelt, wie

² Die altisländischen Formen dienen als Norm für das Nordgerm.

z. B. ahd.³ *fridu*, *lid-u*, *quiti*, *sigu*, *situ*, *skrit*, *skilt*, *smid*, *snit*, *wini*, *witu*, usw.; nur *mito:met(o)* zeigt Schwanken zwischen *ɪ* und *ě*.

Im Altfries.- Alts.- Angs. hingegen erscheint neben *ɪ* häufig ein *ě*, so z. B. alts. *freðu* (*Ps. Codex*) neben *fridu*, *skeld* (*Oxf. Gl.*) neben *skild* und ang. *freoðu* neben *fri(o)ðu*. Dieses *ě* ist wohl auf die obliquen Kasus zurückzuführen, wo ursprünglich ein *ô* der Endsilbe vorlag, so z. B. Gen. sg. **skeldô*s, **frethô*s (= got. *skildaus*, *friþaus*) und Dat. sg. **skeldô*, **frethô* (= got. *skildau*, *friþau*). Im alts. Psalmenkommentar liegt sogar die Form *fridu* nur im *Nom. sg.*, die Form *freðu* hingegen nur im *Dat. sg.* vor; also ursprünglich *Nom. sg. *frithu-s*, *Dat. sg. *freth-au* > **freth-ô*.

Ebenso begegnet in ahd. Eigennamen *Frid-* neben *Fred-*, namentlich z. B. in dem Namen des altfränkischen Chronisten *Frethegar* (vgl. Förstemann, *Ahd. Namenbuch*, I², S. 526 ff.). Hier aber spielen zum Teil romanische⁴ Lauteigenheiten hinein, aber sie berühren sich mit fränkischen Eigentümlichkeiten, wie diese z. B. im alts. Psalmenkommentar vorliegen.

Hiermit ist auch das altn. *venþa* (neben *vinþa*) Gen. plur. zu *vinþr* (*u*-Stamm) 'Wende' zu vergleichen, da die Form *venþa* überhaupt nicht nordischen Ursprungs ist, sondern aus dem Mittelndd. stammt (vgl. Collitz, *Segimer*, S. 282 f.).

2. *Altgerm. ě* (vor *h* und *r*) = got. *ai* bei den *u-, i-* Stämmen. (A, a, 2). *Im Nordgerm.*

Die wenigen Beispiele für altgerm. *ě* bei der *u-, i-* Flexion zeigen gewöhnlich eintöniges *ě*, wie z. B. *verðr* (= got. *waírdus*, alts. *werð*, *a*-Stamm). Nur im *Dat. sg.* erscheint bunte Regel-

³ Als ältester Dialekt des Westgerm. steht gewöhnlich das Ahd. den ursprünglichen Verhältnissen zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen am nächsten. Daher werde ich die westgerm. Lautverhältnisse in erster Linie vom Standpunkte des Ahd. aus betrachten, denn das alts.- altfries.-angs. Sprachgebiet zeigt viele erst nachträglich hinzugekommene Lauteigenheiten.

⁴ Die romanische Lautgebung in ähnlichen Fällen (d.h. in ursprünglich offener Silbe mit kurzem Vokal) zeigt *ě* an Stelle von lateinischem *ɪ* (vgl. Professor Collitz, "Segimer oder: Germanische Namen in keltischem Gewande," *J. E. G. Ph.* VI, Jan. 1907, S. 284 ff.). Dieses *ě* in *Frethegar* kann also recht wohl auf *ɪ* zurückgehen.

Dass im Ahd. einmal auch Formen mit *fred-* bestanden haben, machen die in den alten (lateinisch abgefassten) Volksrechten häufig begegnenden Formen *freda*, *fredus*, usw. wahrscheinlich. Belege bei Graff III, 788 f.

ung, d.h. *verði:virði*. Letztere Form mit *i*-Umlaut begegnet aber viel seltener (vgl. Noreen,³ §155, §385, Anm. 1). Die Verbindung *r*+*Kons.* scheint die Wirkung eines *ǣ* oder eines *ǫ* der Endung gehemmt zu haben, so dass der altgerm. Vokal *ǣ* gegen den Endungsvokal unempfindlich geblieben ist (got. *wairdus*=lautgerecht urnord. **verður*>altisl. *verðr*), gerade wie altgerm. *ǣ* vor *Nasal*+*Kons.* (z. B. *binda* Inf.=got. *bindan* gegenüber *eta* Inf.=got. *itan*). Daneben lag auch natürlich (wenn auch einer ganz anderen Wurzel angehörig) das Beispiel vom Subst. *verð* 'Wert' (*a*-Stamm), Adj. *verðr* und Verbum *verða*, ebenso wie *brestr* (*i*-Flexion) statt **bristr* als Analogiebildung nach dem entsprechenden Verbum *bresta* anzusehen ist.

Ganz anders aber verhält es sich bei altgerm. *ǣ* in Wörtern wie *firar*, *fyrþar*, *virþar*,⁵ usw. der *ja*-Flexion. Hier war das altgerm. *ǣ* wegen des *i* der Endsilbe schon durchweg in allen Kasus zu *ǣ* umgelautet worden, welches dann als unveränderter Stammvokal diente.

(A, a, 2). *Im Westgerm.* (altgerm. *ǣ* bei den *u*-, *i*-Stämmen).

Die wenigen Beispiele zeigen; im Ahd. bunte Regelung, wie z. B. *fihu:fehu* (=got. *faihu*), im Alts. gewöhnlich eintöniges *ǣ*, wie z. B. *fehu* (nur C, *fihu*), *heru* (=got. *hairus*), und im Angs. durchaus eintöniges *ǣ*, wie z. B. *feohu*, *heoru*.

Bei der Regelung von westgerm. *ǣ/ǣ* handelt es sich in der Mehrzahl der Fälle um kurze Stammsilbe, gerade wie bei der 1. Ablautsreihe der starken Verben. Man könnte demnach fragen, weshalb z. B. das westgerm. *ǣ/ǣ* in ahd. *fihu:fehu* nicht, sowie in fast allen übrigen Wörtern der *u*-Flexion im Ahd. (z. B. *fridu*, *sigu*, *situ*, *witu*), als eintöniges *ǣ* erscheint.

Der Umstand, dass in westgerm. **fihu* die lautgerechte Regelung sich z. B. bei Otfrid⁶ geltend machte (im Gegensatz zu dem eintönigen *ǣ* z. B. in ahd. *situ*), lässt sich dadurch erklären,

⁵ Diese Wörter gehen schwerlich auf urnord. **firiðōR*, **firhwipðōR*, **wiriðōR* zurück, wie dies Noreen (§74, 5a, §154, 1) annimmt, sondern eher auf urnord. **firiðR*, **firhwipðR*, **wiriðōR* aus urgerm. **ferjōs*, **ferhwjōs*, **werþjos*; sie gehörten also ursprünglich der *ja*-Flexion an. Dem altn. *firar* steht das westgerm. **firhjør* zur Seite, nach Ausweis z. B. des ahd. *firaħim* (*Wessobr. Gebet*), *firaħo* (*Hildebr. Lied*) und des alts. *firiho* mit sekundärem Vokal von schwankender Klangfarbe (*ǣ:ǣ:ǣ*) zwischen *r* und *h*.

⁶ Über die lautliche Regelung von *ǣ/ǣ* in ahd. *fihu:fehu* vgl. Professor Collitz, *Segimer*, S. 286 f.

dass das \ddot{e} der Stammsilbe aus den alten Genitiv-Dativformen (* $f\ddot{e}h\hat{o}(s)$): $f\ddot{e}h\hat{o}$ = got. *faihaus* : *faihau*) stammt, und dass die Analogie von Wörtern wie *fridu*, *situ*, usw. nicht gewirkt hat. Man muss dabei berücksichtigen, dass das \check{r} der 1. Ablautsreihe nie vor einfachem h (d.h. altgerm. h) gestanden hat. Der Gen. sg. ist im Ahd. nur als *fehēs*, und der Dat. sg. nur als *fehe* belegt; im Nom.-Akk. sg. überwiegt *fihu* (vgl. mhd. *vihe* : *vihes* daneben auch *vehe* (*vech*, *vê*):*vehes*, usw.). Der Nom.-Akk. sg. *fihu* ist vielleicht eine speziell ahd. Form, denn die übrigen westgerm. Sprachen weisen anscheinend auf *fehu*. Spuren des alten Wechsels finden sich auch in alts. *fehu* : *fihu* (C).

Der Umstand, dass im Alts.-Angs. eintöniges \ddot{e} vor altem h und vor r ohne nebenliegende Form mit \check{r} auftritt (wie z. B. alts. *heru*, ang. *heoru*, *feohu*) im Gegensatz zu dem häufigen Schwanken zwischen \check{r} und \ddot{e} vor sonstigem einfachem Konsonanten (vgl. z. B. alts. *fridu* : *freðu*, ang. *fri(o)ðu* : *freoðu*), lässt sich wohl durch den Einfluss des unmittelbar nachfolgenden h und r erklären. Die Verwandtschaft des h und des r mit einem \ddot{e} zeigt sich schon im ältesten Germ. (d.h. im Got., vgl. *faihu*, *haiirus*), und als gemeingerm. Lautverhältnis kann sie auch später im Ingaevonischen die Tendenz begünstigt haben, altgerm. \ddot{e} auch vor einem u oder einem i der Endung beizubehalten (vgl. altn. *verðr* = got. *wairdus*, A, a, 2), zumal sich im Ingaevonischen häufig ein neues \ddot{e} mit einem u oder einem i der Endsilbe vertrug (vgl. alts. *freðu*, ang. *freoðu*, usw.).

Man darf also den Schluss ziehen, dass die Ausgleichung des \check{r}/\ddot{e} bei der u -Flexion im Urwestgerm., ebenso wie im Urnordischen (vg. *verðr*, A, a, 2), nicht nur auf der Wirkung der Endsilben, sondern auch auf der Wirkung des gleich folgenden h (alt) und r beruhte, was mit den Verbalverhältnissen in Einklang steht, indem beim Verbum, ebenso wie beim Subst. der u -, i -Flexion, \check{r}/\ddot{e} nur dann als eintöniges \check{r} geregelt war, wenn das \check{r}/\ddot{e} nicht vor h oder vor r zu stehen kam, nämlich bei der 1. Ablautsreihe; vgl. z. B. ahd. *bizzum:gi-bizzan*, *fridu:frides* gegenüber *-skehan* Inf.-Part. prät. der 5. Ablautsreihe, *-skihu*, *-skihis*, *-skihit*, Präs. ind. sg., *fihu* (*feho*):*fehēs*.

b) Die Regelung von *urnord.*—*urwestgerm.* \ddot{u}/\ddot{o} bei den u -, i -Stämmen in geschichtlicher Zeit.

Hier findet man unter ähnlichen Lautverhältnissen altgerm. \ddot{u} viel häufiger als altgerm. \check{r} , und altgerm. \ddot{o} viel häufiger als

altgerm. \ddot{e} bunt geregelt, also im grossen ganzen \ddot{u}/δ viel häufiger als \ddot{i}/ϵ . Infolge der *a*-Brechung von \ddot{u} zeigt sich auch im Nordgerm. die Neigung, altgerm. \ddot{u} als eintöniges δ zu regeln; altgerm. \ddot{i} hingegen ist, sowohl im Westgerm. wie im Nordgerm., viel seltener zu Gunsten des gebrochenen Vokals (ϵ) ausgeglichen worden (vgl. A, a, 1).

1) Altgerm. \ddot{u} bei den *u*-, *i*-, Stämmen.

(A, b, 1) Im Nordgerm.

Bei der *u*-Flexion ist das \ddot{u} in dem einzig begehenden Beispiel bunt geregelt, d.h. *sun(r):sonar*, usw. mit gegenseitigem Ausgleich in allen Kasus; vgl. hiermit z. B. *fridr:fridar*, *limr:limar* mit eintönigem \ddot{i} .

Ebenso kann auch bei der *i*-Flexion Schwanken zwischen \ddot{u} und δ eintreten, wie z. B. *bulr:bolr*, *hugr:hogr*, *munr:monr* (vgl. die Inf. *muna:mona*=got. *munan*), *hlutr* gegenüber *korn:kostr* (=got. *kustus*), usw.

(A, b, 1) Im Westgerm. (altgerm. \ddot{u} bei den *u*-, *i*-Stämmen).

Wo die betreffende Kategorie nicht schon völlig in die *a*-Flexion übergetreten war, ist fast ohne Ausnahme altgerm. \ddot{u} eintönig geregelt, z. B.

ahd. *hugu*, *-kumi*, *sun(u)*

alts. *hugi*, *kumi*, *sunu*

angs. *ge-hygd*, *cyme*, *sunu*.

Im Gegensatz zum Altn. ist im Westgerm. eintöniges *u* umso mehr zu erwarten, als nicht nur, wie im Altn., der ganze Plur. schon in die *i*-Flexion (Ahd.-Alts.) übergetreten war, sondern auch die alten Endungen der *u*-Flexion im Gen. sg. (=got. *aus*) und im Dat. sg. (=got. *au*) schon längst (ausser bei den kurzsilbigen Stämmen im Angs.) durch die Endungen der *i*-, *ja*- oder *a*-Flexion ersetzt werden konnten, wie z. B.

Ahd.		Alts.		Angs.	
Sg.	Plur.	Sg.	Plur.	Sg.	Plur.
N. <i>sun(u)</i>	<i>sunī</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunī</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunā</i>
G. <i>sunēs</i>	<i>sunio</i>	<i>sunō-IES</i>	<i>sunio</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>sunā</i>
D. <i>sunē</i>	<i>sunim</i>	<i>sunō-IE</i>	<i>suniu</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>sunum</i>
A. <i>sun(u)</i>	<i>sunī</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunī</i>	<i>sunu</i>	<i>sunā</i>

Das einzige Beispiel für stammhaftes \ddot{u} bei den kurzsilbigen Stämmen im Angs. (nämlich *sunu*) beweist ebenso wenig für die ursprüngliche Regelung des \ddot{u} in urwestgerm. **sunu*- wie dies das ahd.-alts. *sunu* beweist, indem im Alts.-Angs. ein-facher Nasal die *a*-Brechung gewöhnlich hemmt.

Die Regelung des stammhaften \ddot{u} in westgerm. **sunu-* steht also derselben in altn. *sun(r)* nicht parallel, weil 1) im Altn. einfacher Nasal die *a-* Brechung in **sun-u* nicht hemmte,⁷ und weil 2) im Altn. die alte Endung der *u-* Flexion im Gen. sg. nicht durch die Endung anderer Flexionen ersetzt werden konnte (vgl. *son-ar* : *sun-ar*). Weiter war diese alte Endung des Gen. sg. auch schon in die *i-* Flexion (weniger häufig auch in die *a-* Flexion) übergetreten (vgl. *sun(r)* : *sonar* der *u-* Flexion mit *hugr* : *hogar* der *i-* Flexion), was zur Bewahrung der alten *a-* Brechung des \ddot{u} bei der *u-* Flexion noch weiter beitrug.

Nur das Nordgerm. bewahrt noch die ursprünglich gemeinsam nord.- und westgerm. *a-* Brechung des altgerm. \ddot{u} im Gen. sg. der *u-* Flexion. Es fragt sich also, weshalb im Nordgerm. die *a-* Brechung von altgerm. \ddot{y} nicht, sowie die *a-* Brechung von altgerm. \ddot{u} , im Gen. sg. unter ähnlichen Lautumständen bewahrt ist, so z. B. *limr* : **lemar* (statt *limar*), gerade wie *sunr* : *sonar*. Die bunte Regelung des Westgerm., wie z. B. in ahd. *fihu* : *fehu*, geht ja auf die *a-* Brechung im Gen.-Dat. sg. der älteren Zeit zurück, und damit stimmt ja das Beispiel von altn. *sun(r)* : *sonar* überein. Man würde demnach erwarten, dass urgerm. *i* bei der Kategorie *limr* : *limar* gleichfalls bunt geregelt sein sollte. Diese Verhältnisse im Subst. stehen in auffälligem Einklang mit den Verhältnissen im starken Verbum, denn hier ist bei der 1. Ablautsreihe urgerm. \ddot{y} immer *eintönig* geregelt; ein \ddot{e} : *a* gegen ein \ddot{y} : *u* kommt im Altn. sogar weder beim Verbum⁸ noch beim Subst. vor. Altgerm. \ddot{u} (= indogerm. \ddot{u}) vor einfachem Konsonanten lag dagegen beim starken Verbum der 2. Ablautsreihe ganz regelrecht *gebrochen* vor (vgl. *bođinn* gegenüber *bitinn*), und demnach ist im Subst. der *u-* Flexion mit kurzer Stammsilbe die Ausgleichung des stamm-

⁷ Sonst aber wird besonders beim Verbum die *a-* Brechung häufig durch einfachen Nasal gehemmt, vgl. z. B. das Part. prät. des starken Verbs *numinn* neben *nominn* (ältere und seltene Form im Altisl.), auch die schwachen Verben auf *-ain* (= got. *-an* in *hab-AN*), wie z. B. *una* (got. *wunan*): *luma* gegenüber *glotta*: *horfa*, usw. Diese Tendenz macht sich vielleicht auch bei den schwachen Subst. erkennbar, vgl. z. B. *gumi*, *rūni*, *kuna* (neben *kona*), usw.; vgl. B, b, 1.

⁸ Das \ddot{e} im Part. prät. *beđinn* zu *biđa* 'warten' der 1. Ablautsreihe ist sicherlich der Analogiewirkung des \ddot{e} im Part. prät. *beđinn* zu *biđja* 'bitten' der 5. Ablautsreihe zuzuschreiben (vgl. A. Kock, *Beitr.* XXIII, 498, H. Collitz, *Segimer*, S. 297, Anm. 1).

haften *ǔ* nicht durch den entsprechenden Verbalablaut zu Gunsten des *ungebrochenen* Vokals beeinflusst worden, wie dies bei stammhaftem *ǝ* in kurzer Silbe der Fall sein konnte.

2. Altgerm *ǝ* (vor *h* und *r*) = got. *au* bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen.

(A, b, 2). Im Nordgerm.

Die Belege beschränken sich auf die *i-* Flexion; sie zeigen gewöhnlich eintöniges *ǔ*, doch liegt auch häufiges Schwanken zwischen *ǔ* und *ǝ* vor, wie z. B. *burr* : *borr* (= got. *baúr*), *borg* (= got. *baúrgs*), *sorg* (= got. *saúrgs*) neben *burðr* (= got. *ga—baúrþs*), *skurðr*, *urt* (= got. *waúrts*), usw. Altgerm. *ǝ* hingegen ist bei der *u-* Flexion gewöhnlich eintönig geregelt (vgl. *verðr* = got. *waírdus*, A, a, 2).

(A, b, 2). Im Westgerm. (altgerm. *ǝ* bei den *u-*, *i-* Stämmen).

Hier ist wegen der vorherrschenden Endungen der *i-* (bezw. *ja/jô-*) Flexion altgerm. *ǝ*, gerade wie altgerm. *ǔ*, als eintöniges *ǔ* geregelt, wie z. B.

ahd. *burg*, *durft*, *gi-burt*, *kuri*, *turi*

alts. *burg*, *ðurft*, *gi-burd*, *kuri*, *duru*

angs. *burg*, *ge-byrd*, *cyre*, *duru*, usw.

Im Alts. liegt auch *doru* (P M C—*dorun* C) vor, aber das *ǝ* ist hier vielleicht der Vermischung mit dem *o* in *dor* n. *a-* Stamm (= ahd. *tor*) zuzuschreiben. Die Frage ist aber für das Alts. schwer zu entscheiden, zumal der *Cottonianus* mehrfach im Widerspruch mit den übrigen Handschriften steht.

Bei dem kurzsilbigen Stamm *duru* im Angs., wo die alten Endungen der *u-* Flexion in allen Kasus noch bewahrt sind (*duru* : *dura* : *dura* : *duru*, usw.), ist natürlich das eintönige *ǔ* der Stammsilbe nicht dem Einflusse der *i-* Flexion zuzuschreiben. Zum Teil erklärt sich das *u* aus der komplizierten Geschichte des Wortes (ursprünglich der *u-* Flexion aus dem alten Dual) und zum Teil aus der Gewohnheit der ang. Lexikographen, die *-o-* Formen auf *dor-*, dagegen die *-u-* Formen auf *duru-* zu beziehen. Sonst aber wechselt im Angs. *ǔ* oft mit *ǝ* besonders vor *r* (vgl. z. B. *spura* : *spora*, *spurnan* : *spornan* Inf.).

Im Gegensatz zu dem eintönigen *ǔ* (bezw. *y* mit *i-* Umlaut) des Westgerm. lässt sich bei der *i-* Flexion im Altn. das Schwanken zwischen *ǔ* und *ǝ* wenigstens zum Teile aus dem Umstande erklären, dass im Altn. die alte Endung der *u-* Flexion im Gen. sg. (d.h. *-ar*=got. *-aus*) schon in die *i-* Flexion übergetreten war. Dies war im Westgerm. nicht der Fall.

B

a) Die Regelung von *urnord.*—*urwestgerm.* *i/ě* bei den *a(n)-, ô(n)-* Stämmen in geschichtlicher Zeit.

Hier ist der *a-* Umlaut wegen der Endsilbe des Stammes (d.h. wegen der Wirkung des *a* und des **ô* der Endsilbe) schon in *urnord.- urwestgerm.* Zeit in allen Kasus vorauszusetzen, und es liegt auf der Hand, dass auch in geschichtlicher Zeit der Wurzelvokal zu Gunsten des *ungebrochenen* *ě* ausgeglichen sein sollte. Das ist auch tatsächlich meist da der Fall, wo nachträglich entstandene Vokalverhältnisse⁹ die ursprüngliche (d.h. *urnord.- urwestgerm.*) Regelung nicht gestört haben.

1) *Altgerm.* *ī* bei den *a(n)-, ô(n)-* Stämmen.

(B, a, 1). *Im Nordgerm.*

Die Belege zeigen 1) eintöniges *ě*, 2) eintöniges *ī* und 3) Schwanken zwischen *ī* und *ě*.

1) Eintöniges *ě* bei der *a-* Flexion, wie z. B. *melr, refr, skref*,¹⁰ *vegr* (= got. *wigs*), *vepr*,¹⁰ usw., ausser wo das Subst. aus der *u-, i-* Flexion übergetreten war, wie z. B. *skriðr, smiðr, stigr* (vgl. A, a, 1).

2) Eintöniges *ī* überall bei den *ô(n)-* Stämmen, wie z. B. *bīpa, igba, ipn, iprar* Plur., *lifr* (= ahd. *lebara*), *rim, svīpa, skriþa, slīta, vigr, vīka*, usw.

Das eintönige *ī* bei den *ô(n)-* Stämmen lässt sich durch Analogie erklären: entweder nach dem *ī* in dem entsprechenden Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe (z. B. *skriþa, slīta* nach *skriþum: skriþinn, slitum: slitinn*, usw.), oder nach denjenigen Kasus im Paradigma, wo infolge der Wirkung des neuen *ū* (aus älterem **ô* oder aus älterem **ū*¹¹) der Endsilbe ein *ī* der Stammsilbe lautgerecht vorlag.¹²

⁹ Vgl. z. B. den Übergang des **ô* der Endsilbe in *ū*, welches dann ein *ī* der Stammsilbe lautgerecht hält.

¹⁰ Im Dat. sg. aber liegt auch eine seltene Form mit stamhaftem *ī* vor, so z. B. *skriþi* neben *skreþi* und *vīþri* neben *veþri* (vgl. Noreen³, §154, 1, §155). Diese Form mit *ī* der Stammsilbe ist aber als nachträgliche Analogiebildung (wohl nach dem Dat. sg. der *i-* Flexion) anzusehen und entspricht demnach nicht der ursprünglichen Regelung im Nordgerm.

¹¹ Vgl. H. Collitz über den Formenwandel bei der *ô-* Flexion im Nord- und Westgerm., "Das schwache Präteritum," *Hesperia* I, S. 233–235, 1912.

¹² Auch Kock ("Der A- Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *Beitr.* XXIII, S. 551 f.) ist der Meinung, das *ī* z. B. in *vīka* sg. sei aus den obliquen Kasus des

3) Bunte Regelung hingegen liegt nur bei den *an*-Stämmen und zwar nur bei denjenigen vor, deren Stammsilbe auf einfachen Konsonanten ausging (wie z. B. *stigi* (*stegi*) : *stega*, *sigi* (*segi*) : *sega*, *sili* (*seli*) : *sela*).

Da altn. *ǝ*, *ē* (aus urgerm. **a*) in Endsilben keinen *a*-Umlaut bewirkt hat,¹³ so ist stammhaftes *ǝ* bei den *an*-Stämmen als Analogiebildung entweder nach dem *ǝ* in dem entsprechenden Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe (z. B. *stigi* Nom. sg. nach *stigum*: *stiginn*) oder nach dem *ǝ* in einem derselben Wurzel angehörigen Subst. der *u*-, *i*- Flexion anzusehen (vgl. z. B. *stigr* 'Steig,' das im Dat. sg. mit *stigi* 'Leiter' gleichlautend ist). Ebenso lässt sich das eintönige *ǝ* in *svidi* : *svida*, *viti* : *vita*, *vitki* : *vitka* (ahd. *wizzo*, *wizzago*) als Analogiebildung nach dem *ǝ* in dem entsprechenden Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe *svidum* : *svidinn*, *vitum* : *vita*, usw. erklären. Demnach folgten auch andere Subst. der *an*- Flexion, deren Stammsilbe auf einfachen Konsonanten ausging, dem Beispiel der Verbalabstrakta, wenn auch neben jenen kein naheliegendes Subst. mit stammhaftem *ǝ* vorhanden war, so z. B. *sigi* : *sega*, *sili* : *sela* nach dem Beispiel von *stigi* : *stega*.

(B, a, 1). *Im Westgerm.* (altgerm. *ǝ* bei den *a(n)*-, *ō(n)*-Stämmen).

Sg. und aus dem Plur. analogisch übertragen; er leugnet jedoch, dass ein **ō* der Endsilbe schon in urnord. Zeit *a*-Umlaut hervorgerufen habe.

"Bei einer flexion von **wikō* obl. casus **wikō(n)* pl. nom. acc. **wikōn(n)* etc. hätte der *a*-umlaut in allen casus durchgeführt werden müssen, wenn *ō* *a*-umlaut bewirkt hätte. Wenn aber *a*-umlaut nur von *ē* bewirkt wurde, so ist alles in ordnung. Erst nachdem **wikō*:*wikōn(n)* zu *wika*:*wiku* geworden, sollte der *a*-umlaut in *wika* eintreten; nom. sg. *wika* hat aber *i* von den obl. casus des sg. und vom pl. bekommen."

Gegen Kocks Annahme aber, dass urnord. **ō* keinen *a*-Umlaut bewirkt hätte, sträuben sich die Tatsachen im Westgerm., denn ahd. *wēhha* neben alts. *wika* lässt sich kaum als jüngere Entwicklung erklären. Es lässt sich nichts gegen die Annahme einwenden, dass ahd. *wēhha* lautgesetzlich aus urwestgerm. **wekō* entwickelt ist. Neben diesem **wekō* müsste aber doch auch **wikō* bestanden haben, wie das alts. *wika* und das ang. *wicu* lehren.

¹³ Dass altn. *i* (*ē*) aus urgerm. **a* in Endsilben Umlaut bewirkt hat, wird durch den Mangel des *i*-Umlautes von *a* in solchen Fällen wiederlegt. Es steht doch niemals z. B. **hēni* (vgl. ahd.-Isidor-*henin* Gen.-Dat. sg.) neben *hani*, wie *stigi* neben *stegi*, und deshalb darf man das *ǝ* in *stigi* nicht als lautgerecht ansehen. Nur wenn Palatallaut (d.h. *g* oder *k*) dem *a* unmittelbar nachfolgt, liegt Umlaut vor, vgl. z. B. *degi* Dat. sg. zu *dagr* Nom. sg., *dreki*, *fleki* neben *hani*, *skādi*, usw.; aber dieser Umlaut vor Palatal ist offenbar viel jünger als der gemeinsam nord.-westgerm. *i*-Umlaut (vgl. Noreen,³ §70).

Hier ist altgerm. *ǣ* gewöhnlich als eintöniges *ē* geregelt, so z. B.

a(n)- Flexion

ahd. *fel, steg, wec, gebo, sprehho*

alts. *fel, swek, weg,- geþo, seþo*

angs. *fel, ge-set, weg, sefa, wela, usw.*

ô(n)- Flexion

ahd. *beta, geba, quena*

alts. *beda, geþa, quena*

angs. *help, giefu,¹⁴ cwene*

Da aber, wo eintöniges *ǣ* vorliegt, handelt es sich im Westgerm., ebenso wie im Nordgerm., in erster Linie um Analogiebildung, d.h. entweder 1) innerhalb des Paradigmas nach denjenigen Kasus, wo das *ǣ* lautgerecht vorliegt (vgl. z. B. ahd. *ziga* Nom. sg. nach *zigân* der obliquen Kasus) oder 2) ausserhalb des Paradigmas nach dem *ǣ* in dem entsprechenden starken Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe (vgl. z. B. ahd. *snita* nach *snitum: gi-snitân*, oder *wizzago: wizzo* nach *wizzan*) oder vielleicht auch nach einem naheliegenden Subst. der *u-*, *i-* Flexion mit eintönigem *ǣ* (vgl. z. B. ahd. *snita* nach *snit*).

Diese Kategorien fließen selbstverständlich öfters in einander über, so z. B. ahd. *snita* sowohl nach *snitum: gi-snitân* wie nach dem Verbalabstraktum *snit*. Das Beispiel von Verbalabstrakta mit kurzer Stammsilbe, wie z. B. *snit*, kann vielleicht den Umstand erklären, weshalb z. B. *ziga* nicht zu **zega*, wie **quina* (= got. *qinô*) zu *quena*, geworden ist.

Weiter trugen wohl im Westgerm. die Nebenformen mit *-j-* oder *-j-* Suffix zur Bewahrung des *ǣ* bei, so z. B. ahd. *snitta* (urwestgerm. **snidjô*) neben *snita*.

Die Verbalnomina mit einem *ǣ* der Stammsilbe (vgl. z. B. ahd. *smid, skrit, snit*) gehörten in der Mehrzahl der Fälle, wo der Plur. belegt ist, wenigstens im Ahd. der *i-* Flexion an (vgl. Braune, *Ahd. Grammatik*,⁴ §216, Anm. 2) und man wird demnach berechtigt, wenn man annimmt, dass dies schon im Urwestgerm. der Fall war. Das altgerm. *ǣ* ist bei solchen Subst. ganz lautgerecht und bleibt öfters bewahrt, auch wenn das betreffende

¹⁴ Über das *ie* in *giefu*, Akk. *giefe* (aus **geþu*, Akk. **geþe*) vgl. Sievers, *Ag. Gram.*,³ §75, 3. Bei den *ôn-* Stämmen freilich begegnet im Angs. häufig die Tendenz, altgerm. *ǣ* zu bewahren, vgl. z. B. *clide, clife, pise*, usw.

Subst., gerade wie im Altn., in die *a*- Flexion übergetreten war, wie z. B. got. *fribus*, *lipus* = ang. *frid*, *lid* der *a*- Flexion, ebenso ang. *lim* der *a*- Flexion = altn. *limr* der *u*- Flexion; altn. *skriðr*, *smiðr*, *stigr* der *u*- Flexion sind ja auch teilweise in die *a*- Flexion übergetreten.

Nach dem Beispiel von Verbalnomina, wie z. B. ahd. *skrit*, *snit*, usw., wo das *ɪ* der Stammsilbe lautgerecht bewahrt ist, lässt sich das eintönige *ɪ* in Subst. der *a*- Flexion erklären, wie z. B. in *blik*, *spil*, und auf Grund der kurzen Stammsilbe folgten wohl auch andere Subst. der *a*- Flexion derselben Weise, so wie z. B. *slik*, *skif*, *spiz*, *zil*, usw., wenn diese auch keine Verbalidee ausdrückten.

Ebenso darf man das eintönige *ɪ* bei den *ð(n)*- Stämmen mit kurzer Stammsilbe dem Einflusse nicht nur der obliquen Kasus, sondern auch der Verbalabstrakta zuschreiben, wie z. B. *wisa*, *ziga* nach *biba*, *bita* (Otfrid, nach dem Inf. *bitten*), *slita*, *snita*, usw.

Nach *slito* Mask. (*an*-Stamm) zu *slitan* Inf. gehen wohl schwache Mask. wie *rito* 'Fieber' und *riso* 'Riese' (vgl. altn. *risi*), obwohl das *ɪ* in *riso* sich ebenso gut aus dem nebenstehenden *risi* der *i*- Flexion erklären lässt.

Was von der Bewahrung des altgerm. *ɪ* in Subst. der *a(n)*-, *ð(n)*- Flexion vom Ahd. gilt, darf man *mutatis mutandis* auch für das Westgerm. im allgemeinen annehmen. Einleuchtend ist jedenfalls der Umstand, dass im Westgerm., da wo man annehmen darf, das *ɪ* sei direkt aus dem starken Verbum der 1. Ablautsreihe entlehnt, niemals Schwanken zwischen *ɪ* und *ē* eintritt, vgl. z. B. ahd. *wizzago*, *wizzôð*, *wizzo*, alts. *wissod* (adj.), ang. *wita* (nach westgerm. **wit-an*), ang. *wiga* (nach *wigan*), ahd. *ga-scrib* (nach *scriban*), ang. *ge-writ* (nach *writan*), usw.

Die Verbalnomina, welche als Ausgangspunkt für die Analogiewirkung des *ɪ* dienten, gehörten fast sämtlich zu der 1. Ablautsreihe der starken Verben, ebenso wie im Altn., und demnach trat der alte Wechsel zwischen *ɪ* und *ē* bei solchen Subst. nicht ein, während bei den übrigen Subst., die nicht Verbalnomina waren, ein Gefühl der Unsicherheit mit Rücksicht auf den Stammvokal *ɪ* oder *ē* sich geltend machte (vgl. z. B. ahd. *skif* : *skef*), zumal einige von diesen Subst. durch Analogiewirkung ihr lautgerechtes *ē* schon völlig aufgegeben

hatten (vgl. z. B. ahd. *slik*, *spiz*, *zil*). Das Gefühl, dass vor einfachem Konsonanten altgerm. *ɪ* gegen ein *a* (bezw. **ø*) der Endsilbe stehen dürfe, wurde wohl weiter durch das Beispiel der denominativen Verben auf *-ōn* verstärkt, die das stammhafte *ɪ* des Subst. analogisch beibehielten, so z. B. ahd. *bibōn* nach *biba*, *gafridōn* nach *fridu*, *smidōn* nach *smid*, usw.. ebenso alts. *bībon*, *frīdon*, usw.

Aus dem oben Dargelegten darf man schliessen, dass im Westgerm. altgerm. *ɪ* bei den *a(n)*-, *ø(n)*- Stämmen normalerweise als eintöniges *ɛ* geregelt ist, und dass das Beibehalten des *ɪ* in erster Linie durch die Analogiewirkung nach Verbalnomina mit kurzer Stammsilbe bedingt sei. Daher wird wohl der ältere lautgerechte Wechsel zwischen *ɪ* und *ɛ*, der noch immer bei einigen Subst. vorlag (vgl. z. B. ahd. *skif* : *skef*) wenigstens zum Teile auf dieser Analogiewirkung beruhen. Diesen Umstand aber übersieht anscheinend Paul¹⁵ in seiner Erklärung für die Erhaltung des *ɪ* bei den *a(n)*-, *ø(n)*- Stämmen in Westgerm.

Hinsichtlich des Schwankens zwischen *ɪ* und *ɛ* bei den *a*- Stämmen geht das Westgerm. dem Nordgerm. parallel, indem altes *ɪ* normalerweise als eintöniges *ɛ* geregelt ist (vgl. z. B. got. *wigs* = westgerm. **weg*, nordgerm. *vegr*), und indem die Bewahrung des alten *ɪ* vorzugsweise bei Verbalnomina begegnet, welche zu der 1. Ablautsreihe gehören (vgl. z. B. westgerm. (ahd.) *ga-scrib* zu *scriban*, nordgerm. *stigr* zu *stīga*, usw., vgl. auch das Adj. ahd.-alts. *bittar*, ang. *bitter*, altn. *bitr*, zu **bītan*

¹⁵ H. Paul, "Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus," *Beitr.* VI, S. 84: "Die Erhaltung des *ɪ*, wo man *ɛ* erwarten sollte, lässt sich mehrfach durch Ausgleichung eines älteren wechself erklären"; und weiter (S. 83): "Bei den männlichen und neutralen *a*- Stämmen hatte der nom. acc. sg. wahrscheinlich einmal *ɪ*, und ist erst nach den übrigen casus *ɛ* eingedrungen. Daraus erklärt sich auch das Schwanken zwischen *i* und *e* in *scif*, *scef*, *scirm-scerm*."

Der ältere lautgerechte Vokal *ɪ* in ahd. *skif* Nom.-Akk. (vgl. ang.-alts. *scip*, altn. *skip*, = got. *skip*) hätte sich aber wohl nicht ohne die Einwirkung des *ɪ* in Verbalnomina mit kurzer Stammsilbe (sowie z. B. *snit*, *blik*, *spil*, usw.) bewahrt (für *scirm:scerm* vgl. Fussn. 17). Dasselbe gilt auch von dem *ɪ* in den schwachen Feminina mit kurzer Stammsilbe, welches wegen des in der Flexion erscheinenden *u* auch lautgerecht vorliegen kann; also z. B. *wisa*, *ziga* nach dem Muster von Verbalnomina wie *biba*, *riga*, *snita*, sowohl wie nach den obliquen Kasus *wisūn*, *zīgān*, usw. Denn wie ist sonst das eintönige *ɛ* bei den *ōn*- Stämmen im Westgerm. zu erklären (vgl. z. B. ahd.-alts. *quena*, ang. *cwene*, = got. *qinō*)?

'beissen'). Bewahrung des *i* durch Analogiewirkung kann also bei den *a*- Stämmen im Nord.- und Westgerm. von den Verbalnomina mit kurzer Stammsilbe ihren Ausgangspunkt genommen haben. Fälle dieser Art zeigen eine bis ins Einzelne gehende Übereinstimmung zwischen Nord.- und Westgerm. Mit dieser Tatsache wird man bei dem Versuche, die ursprüngliche Grundlage für die in den einzelnen Sprachen vorliegenden Formen herzustellen, rechnen müssen. Pauls isolierende Behandlungsweise z. B. verkennt die Einheitlichkeit des Nord.- und Westgerm., indem er die Vokalregelung im Westgerm. zu erklären unternimmt, ohne das Nordgerm. mit heranzuziehen.

Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen Nord.- und Westgerm. deuten zwar auf ehemalige gemeinsame *a*- Brechung des altgerm. *ǣ* zu *ē*, aber sie schliessen dabei die Möglichkeit nicht aus, dass sich zuweilen ein *ǣ* der Stammsilbe mit einem *a* (bezw. **ō*) der Endsilbe vertrug (vgl. z. B. got. *fisks*¹⁶ *a*- Stamm = altn. *fiskr*, westgerm. *fisc* *a*- Stamm). Man darf also die Frage aufwerfen, ob etwa die *a*- Brechung von *ǣ* im Nord.- und Westgerm. nicht in derselben Ausdehnung wie der *a*- Umlaut von *ū* durchgeführt worden ist (vgl. auch Kock, "Der *A*- Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *Beitr.* XXIII, S. 545).

2) Altgerm. *ǣ* (vor *h* und *r*) = got. *ai* bei den *a(n)*-, *ō(n)*- Stämmen.

(B, a, 2). Hier wird sowohl im Nordgerm. wie im Westgerm. altgerm. *ǣ* fast ausnahmslos als eintöniges *ē* geregelt, wie z. B. altn. *hverr*, *kvern*, *ver* (= ahd. *werid*), *verk*, *verr* (= got. *wair*)
 ahd.¹⁷ *berg*, *erda*, *fehla*, *herza*, *swert*, *wer*, *werk*
 alts. *berg*, *erða*, *fehla*, *herta*, *swerd*, *wer*, *werk*
 augs. *beorh*, *eorðe*, *fehete*, *heorte*, *sweord*, *wer*, *weorc*, usw.

¹⁶ Dieses Wort gehört in allen germanischen Sprachen der *a*-Flexion an (d.h. **fisk-a*-) und daher kann ich nicht einsehen, wie die altindogerm. *i*- Flexion (vgl. lat. *piscis*) den Mangel der *a*- Brechung erklären soll, wie dies Holtzmann (*Altđ. Grammatik*, I, 1, S. 235, I, 2, S. 13) annimmt. Das *ǣ* in germ. **fisk-a* steht dem *ǣ* z. B. in ahd. *lirnen* (neben *lernēn*) - vgl. ahd. *list* = got. *lists* - zur Seite. Weiter muss man bei **fisk*, wie bei **wulf*, nicht nur mit dem stammhaften *-a*-, sondern auch mit den urgerm. Formen sg. Nom. **fisk-s*, Akk. **fisk* rechnen; in dem nord.- und westgerm. Plur. **fisk-ōs* stammt das *ǣ* wohl aus dem Sg. Dem altn. *fiskr* ohne Nebenform mit *a*-Umlaut (**feskr*) steht das altn. *ulfr* ohne Nebenform (**olfr*) ganz parallel.

¹⁷ Ahd. *scirm* neben *scerm* kann sich durch Anlehnung an *scirmeo* (d.h. *scirmjo* *ja*-Stamm) erklären.

Wo dem betreffenden Subst. ein entsprechendes starkes Verbum zur Seite liegt, gehört das Verbum nicht zu der 1. Ablautsreihe, sondern entweder zu der 3. oder der 4. oder der 5. Ablautsreihe, wo die *a*- Brechung sich regelrecht geltend machte, vgl. z. B. ahd. *berg*, *feh̄ta* mit resp. *bergan*, *feh̄tan* der 3. Ablautsreihe, wo das *ǣ* der Stammsilbe ganz lautgerecht vorliegt. Die lautliche Regelung von altgerm. *ǣ* wird also im Gegensatz zu der Regelung von altgerm. *ǫ* bei den *a(n)*-, *ǫ(n)*- Stämmen (vgl. oben B, a, 1) nicht von ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung abgelenkt durch Angleichung 1) an die starken Verben der 1. Ablautsreihe (vgl. z. B. ahd. *wizzo* nach *wizzan*) oder 2) an die Verbalnomina, welche zu der 1. Ablautsreihe gehören (vgl. z. B. ahd. *sp̄il* nach *skrit*, *snit*, usw. zu *skridan*, *snidan*).

b) *Die Regelung von urnord.—urwestgerm. ü/ø bei den a(n)-^a ð(n)- Stämmen in geschichtlicher Zeit.*

Hier ist im Urwestgerm. wegen des *a* und des *ǫ* des Stammes der gebrochene Vokal (*ø*) der Stammsilbe in allen Kasus vorauszusetzen, ebenso wie der gebrochene Vokal (*ǣ*) eines stammhaften *ǫ/ǣ*; im grossen ganzen aber zeigt sich in historischer Zeit Schwanken zwischen *ü* und *ø* viel häufiger als zwischen *ǫ* und *ǣ*.

1. *Altgerm. ü bei den a(n)-, ð(n)- Stämmen.*

(B, b, 1). *Im Nordgerm.*

Im Altn. scheint keine so starke Tendenz zu herrschen, altgerm. *ü* wie altgerm. *ǫ* (vgl. oben B, a, 1) zu Gunsten des gebrochenen Vokals auszugleichen. Zwar liegt in der Mehrzahl der Fälle gebrochenes *ø* vor, aber Schwanken zwischen *ü* und *ø* tritt doch öfters ein, vgl. z. B. die *a*- Stämme: *bukkr:bokkr*, *bulstr:bolstr*, *fugl:fogl*, *gull:goll*, *stufn:stofn*, *ulfr* mit eintönigem *ü* gegenüber *motr* mit eintönigem *ø*; die Nebenformen mit altgerm. *ü* liegen in den älteren Handschriften häufiger vor.

Dass altgerm. *ǫ* hier gegen ein *a* (bezw. **ǫ*) der Endsilbe bewahrt ist, erklärt sich nicht nur aus denjenigen Kasus, wo das stammhafte *a* (**ǫ*) geschwunden war (vgl. über *fiskr*, Fussn. 16), sondern auch aus dem Umstand, dass der *u*- Laut Labialen und Gutturalen nahe steht. Daher findet man im Altn. (ebenso wie im Westgerm., namentlich im Ingaevonischen) bei freier Wahl zwischen *ü* und *ø* altgerm. *ü* vorzugsweise in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft von Labial- oder Gutturallauten (*b*, *f*, *g*, *k*,

l, *w, usw.), vgl. also z. B. *bukkr*, *gull*, *fugl*, *ulfr* (urnord. *wulf-R = *wulaf*R Istaby) und das Adj. *fullr* (=got. *fulls*) gegenüber *snotr* (=got. *snutrs*), *holtr* (=got. *hulps*).

Das Schwanken zwischen *ū* und *ø* bei den *a*-Stämmen wurde weiter dadurch begünstigt, dass auf Grund der gleichen Endungen Subst. der älteren *u*-, *i*-Flexion mit dem ursprünglichen, ungebrochenen *ū* der Stammsilbe in die *a*-Flexion übertreten konnten. Daher konnten umgekehrt diejenigen Subst., welche ursprünglich der *a*-Flexion angehörten, mit den Endungen der *i*-Flexion erscheinen, auch wo die Endungen der beiden Flexionen verschieden waren, vgl. z. B. *vegr* Nom. sg. aber *veg-ar:veg-ir* Nom. plur., *gub:gob* Nom. sg. und im Plur. *gub-ar:gub-ir* neben *gob-ar:gob-ir*. Wie das Ost- und Westgerm. lehrt, gehörten diese Subst. ursprünglich der *a*-Flexion an (vgl. got. *wigs*, *gub*, ahd. *wec*, got).

Im Gegensatz zu diesem Schwanken zwischen *ū* und *ø* bei den *a*-Stämmen ist altgerm. *ǐ* im Altn. fast immer als eintöniges *ě* (vgl. B, a, 1) geregelt, vgl. z. B. *melr*, *refr*, *vegr*, usw. Die Frage liegt nahe: weshalb zeigt altgerm. *ū* so häufig Schwanken zwischen gebrochenem und ungebrochenem Vokal? Man würde doch erwarten, dass in gleicher Lage altgerm. *ǐ* und *ū* auf gleiche Weise geregelt sein sollten. Der Parallelismus zwischen z. B. *vegr* und *gob* zeigt deutlich, dass das Schwanken zwischen *ū* und *ø* in *gub:gob* nicht ausschliessend durch den Einfluss der *i*-Endungen zu erklären ist. Nur so viel darf man behaupten, dass die Bewahrung des altgerm. *ū* durch den Einfluss eines unmittelbar vorhergehenden Labial- oder Gutturallautes begünstigt wurde, denn sonst liegen die Verhältnisse bei stammhaftem *ū* und *ǐ* ganz gleich. Sobald bei den *a*-Stämmen Schwanken zwischen *ū* und *ø* eintrat, erstreckte sich durch Analogiewirkung diese Neigung auch auf andere Subst. der *a*-Flexion, welche die Endungen der *i*-Flexion nicht angenommen hatten, wozu ein unmittelbar nahestehender Labial- oder Gutturallaut beitragen konnte, z. B. *rub:rob*, *stufn:stofn*, *trug:trog*, usw. Ich kann mich daher nicht mit Kock einverstanden erklären, wenn er das Schwanken zwischen *ū* und *ø* bei den *a*-Stämmen im Altn. lediglich der Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen zuschreiben will, indem "in urnord. Zeit nur *ǣ* (nicht aber *ø*) den *a*-Umlaut

bewirkt habe" ("Der A- Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *Beitr.* XXIII, S. 520 ff.).

Bei den *an*- Stämmen (deren ganzer Plur. schon in die *a*- Flexion übergetreten war) liegt im Altisl. gewöhnlich eintöniges *ø* vor, wie man es erwartet, vgl. z. B. *bogi, floti, losti, stolpi*, usw. Eintöniges *ü* begegnet aber ebenfalls namentlich da, 1) wo das betreffende Subst. durch Analogiewirkung das *ü* aus einer andern Flexion übertragen hat, so z. B. *bugi* (nach *bugr*), *busti* (nach *bust*), *dupti* (nach *dupt*), *hugi* (nach *hugr*), *hluti* (nach *hlutr*), usw., oder 2) in der Stellung unmittelbar vor einfachem Nasal und unmittelbar vor oder nach Labiallauten, so z. B. *gumi, runi, spuni, bulki, bulsi, kuldi, kussi, skuggi*¹⁸ (= got. *skuggwa*), usw.

Da ein 'neues' *ɿ, ø* (aus älterem **a*) in Endsilben keine Wirkung auf den Stammvokal (*ü*) ausübte¹⁹ (vgl. Fussn. 13), so lässt sich bei den *an*- Stämmen das Schwanken zwischen *ü* und *ø* schwerlich durch Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokal erklären.

Die *ön*- Stämme hingegen zeigen fast immer eintöniges *ü*, (in Einklang mit dem eintönigen *ɿ* in *igða, vika*, usw.); z. B. *gufa, hulda, þula*. Man beachte aber, dass in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft von einfachem Nasal oder von Labiallauten das *ü* (auch innerhalb des Paradigmas) mit *ø* schwanken darf, vgl. z. B. *kuna* (aus **kvena* = got. *qinð*) : *kona, stufa* : *stofa*, usw. Auch bei den *ö*- Stämmen zeigt sich ähnliches Schwanken vor Labiallauten, vgl. z. B. *dul* gegenüber *fold, mold*, usw., obwohl letztere im Plur. als *i*- Stämme flektieren.

(B, b, 1). *Im Westgerm.* (altgerm. *ü* bei den *a(n)*-, *ö(n)*- Stämmen).

Im Westgerm. liegt, ebenso wie im Nordgerm., die Tendenz vor, altgerm. *ü* bei den *a(n)*- Stämmen²⁰ als eintöniges *ø* zu regeln, vgl. z. B. die *a*- Stämme: ahd. *got*, alts.-angs. *god* (= got.

¹⁸ Auch Kock erklärt (*ibid.*, S. 517) das *ü* vor urnord. **ggw* (wie z. B. in *skuggi* aus **skuggwa*) als lautgerecht, indem labialisiertes *gg* die *a*- Brechung des *ü* gehemmt habe; vgl. ebenso die Part. prät. *hnugginn, tugginn, brugginn*, usw. zu *hnóggva, tyggva, bryggva*.

¹⁹ Bei stammhaftem *ü* geht dies vor allen Dingen daraus hervor, dass nicht einmal umgelautete Formen, wie z. B. **gymi, *flóti*, usw. neben *gumi, floti*, erscheinen (vgl. Kock, *ibid.*, S. 579).

²⁰ Belege für die *ö(n)*- Stämme mit stammhaftem *ü* sind im Westgerm. so selten, dass ich keine besondere Kategorie dafür aufgestellt habe.

gub), und die *an*-Stämme: ahd. *boto*, *scolo*, alts. *bodo*, *scolo*, ang. *boda*, *scota*, und die Adj. ahd.-alts. *snottar*, ang. *snottor* (= got. *snutrs*).

Im Alts.-Angs. aber sieht man dieselbe Tendenz wie im Altn., altes *ǫ* gegen ein *a* (bezw. **ō*) der Endung zu bewahren, namentlich in der Stellung unmittelbar vor einfachem Nasal und unmittelbar vor oder nach Labial- und Gutturallauten; wie z. B. in alts. *ful*, *fugal*, *gumo*, *wulf*, ang. *full*, *fugol*, *guma*, *wulf*, gegenüber dem *ō* in ahd. *fol*, *fogal*, *gomo*, *wolf*, usw. Diese Tendenz greift weiter auch auf das hochdeutsche Sprachgebiet über, wie z. B. in *fugal* (Tatian), *fruma*, *sumar*, *ubar* Präp. neben dem regelrechten *fogal*, *gomo*, *obar* (Tatian), usw., vgl. ebenso im Angs. *bucca* gegen *cofa*; *lufu*, *wucu* gegen *đrotu*, *hosu*.

Hinsichtlich des Einflusses umgebender Konsonanten ist aber im Westgerm. nur der Einfluss von einfachem Nasal sicher, denn einem *ǫ* vor einfachem Nasal (gegen ein *a* der Endung) steht das alts.-altfries.-angs. *ɪ* vor einfachem Nasal zur Seite, wie z. B. in *nima(n)*. Sonst darf man die Bewahrung des altgerm. *ǫ* vielleicht nur der konservativen Neigung des Alts.-Altfr.-Angs. (den *a*-Umlaut eintreten zu lassen) zuschreiben, die sich bei beiden Vokalen (*ǫ* und *ɪ*) erkennbar macht.

Der Wechsel zwischen *ǫ* und *ō* wurde weiter im Westgerm. nicht nur durch konsonantischen Einfluss, sondern auch durch die Einwirkung des in der Flexion häufig erscheinenden *ǫ* begünstigt, wie dieses besonders bei den fem. *ō(n)*- und den mask. *a*-Stämmen vorliegt, vgl. z. B. alts. *folda* : *fulda*, *froma* : *frumu*, *hosk* : *husk(u)*, *kos* : *kus(su)*.

Weiter kann stammhaftes *ǫ* sich aus dem alten ungebrochenen *ǫ* der *i*-Flexion bei Wörtern erklären, die in die *a*-Flexion übergetreten waren, vgl. z. B. neben alts. *kos* : *kussu* (Instr. sg.) auch ursprüngliches *kus* = ahd. *kus* : *kos*. Ursprüngliches **kus* war wohl ein Verbalabstraktum der *i*-Flexion (zu **keosan*, vgl. ahd. *guz*, *scuz*, *zug* zu *giosan*, *sciozzan*, *ziohan*), wie das ang. *cys(s)* mit *i*-Umlaut des *ǫ* neben *cos(s)* lehrt.

Nach Ausweis des Ahd. wird wohl schon im Urwestgerm. die Tendenz bestanden haben, altgerm. *ǫ* bei den *a(n)*-Stämmen als eintöniges *ō* auszugleichen. Das Schwanken zwischen *ǫ* und *ō* in geschichtlicher Zeit lässt sich zum Teil als Dialekteinheit

erklären, welche durch Analogiewirkung noch weiter befördert wurde. Auch bei den $\delta(n)$ -Stämmen hatte sich im Alts.-Angs. infolge des *u* der Endung der alte lautgerechte Wechsel zwischen \ddot{u} und δ noch häufig erhalten.

2) *Altgerm.* δ (vor *h* und *r*) = *got.* *aú* bei den $a(n)$ -, $\delta(n)$ -Stämmen.

(B, b, 2) *Im Nordgerm.*

Hier ist altgerm. δ , gerade wie altgerm. \ddot{u} , gewöhnlich als eintöniges δ geregelt, doch findet sich daneben \ddot{u} oder Schwanken zwischen \ddot{u} und δ , z. B. *horn* (=got. *haúrnn*), *korn* (=got. *kaúrnn*), *ormr* (=got. *waúrms*), *orð* (=got. *waúrd*), *torg*, *þorþ* (=got. *þaúrþ*) neben *þurs*, *kurfr*, *kurr*, *lurkr*, usw. und *uxi* neben *oxi* (=got. *aúhsa*).

Einige Subst. der *a*-Flexion gehörten früher zu der *i*-Flexion, was das Schwanken zwischen \ddot{u} und δ zum Teile erklären kann.

Obwohl urgerm. δ bei den *a*-Stämmen Austausch mit \ddot{u} zeigt, ist doch altgerm. \ddot{e} unter anscheinend ganz gleichen Lautverhältnissen gewöhnlich nur als entöniges \ddot{e} geregelt, vgl. z. B. *hverr*, *kvern*, usw. (B, a, 2).

(B, b, 2). *Im Westgerm.* (altgerm. δ bei den $a(n)$ -, $\delta(n)$ -Stämmen).

Ebenso wie altgerm. \ddot{e} ist in Westgerm. altgerm. δ bei den $a(n)$ -, $\delta(n)$ -Stämmen gewöhnlich eintönig geregelt. Diesen Lautstand zeigt am reinsten das Ahd., wo ein Austausch zwischen \ddot{u} und δ selten vorkommt; Alts.-Angs. dagegen zeigen häufiges Schwanken, wohl vorwiegend durch Berührung mit der \ddot{y} - (bezw. *ja/jð*-) Flexion. Wir haben also z. B.

ahd. *dorf*, *korn*, *sorga*, *spora*, *tor*, *wort*

alts. *ðorþ*, *korn*, *sorga*, *sporn*, *dor*, *word*

angs. *ðorþ*, *corn*, *sorg*, *spora*, *dor*, *word*;

daneben aber auch alts. *furma* : *forma* 'Erste,' *druht* : *droht* (nach Ausweis des angs. *dryht* wohl ursprünglich ein *i*-Stamm, vgl. got. *draúht-i-witop*), alts. *turf* (nach Ausweis des angs. *turf* = Kons. Stamm aus der *i*-Flexion übergetreten), und angs. *spura* : *spora*. Vereinzelt Schwanken im Ahd.²¹ lässt sich wohl gleichfalls durch Vermischung mit der *i*-Flexion erklären.

²¹ Vgl. Pietsch, "Der oberfränkische Lautstand im 9. Jahrhundert," Zts. f. dph. VII, S. 296-368.

Bei den Plur. auf *-ir* tritt zuweilen lautgerechtes \ddot{u} auf, so z. B. *loh*:*lochir*

Weiter kann im Alts.-Angs. auch die häufige Metathese des *r* zu dem Schwanken zwischen *ǣ* und *ø* beigetragen haben, indem infolge der Methathese einfacher Nasal dem Stammvokal häufig nachfolgt, der dann regelrecht als *ǣ* erscheint, während er vor *r*+*Kons.* regelrecht als *ø* erscheint, vgl. z. B. ang. *forma* 'Erste,' *fruma* 'Vorteil.'

SCHLUSSBETRACHTUNG

In der obigen Untersuchung sind nur diejenigen Subst. ausgewählt, welche als Typen für die aufgestellten Kategorien gelten dürfen. Aus dem Wirrwarr des Ganzen stellt sich als klar heraus, dass die lautliche Regelung in geschichtlicher Zeit in erster Linie auf Analogiewirkung beruht. Wenn auch die Analogiewirkung nicht in jedem einzelnen Fall zweifellos festgestellt ist (in feste Regeln kann man ja die Analogiegesetze überhaupt nicht bringen), so wird sich doch nicht leugnen lassen, dass im Nord- und Westgerm. die verschiedene Regelung von altgerm. *ǣ* und altgerm. *ǣ̄* in Nominalstämmen bei gleichen oder ähnlichen Lautverhältnissen der Analogiewirkung zur Last fällt, vorausgesetzt, dass die *a*-Brechung von *ǣ* der *a*-Brechung von *ǣ̄* parallel ist.²² Natürlich muss man auch den Umstand in Betracht ziehen, dass bei freier Wahl zwischen einerseits *ǣ* und *ø* und andererseits *ǣ̄* und *ǣ̄̄* unmittelbar naheliegende Konsonanten den Parallelismus stören können; daher tritt z. B. vor einfachem Nasal oder in der Nachbarschaft von Guttural- und Labiallauten altgerm. *ǣ̄* vielfach in weiterem Umfange als altgerm. *ǣ* auf.

aber Notker *lucher*, Gl. 2, 241 *lwhir*, neben *abgotir* auch Dat. plur. *abgotirun*, Gl. 1, 433.

²² Kock hält ("Der *A*-Umlaut in den altnord. Sprachen," *Beitr.* XXIII, S. 546 f.), dass im Altn. die *a*-Brechung von *ǣ* nur in kurzen (nicht aber in langen) Silben mit fortis eingetreten sei; er erklärt aber das Schwanken *ǣ/ø* bei den *a*-Stämmen gegenüber dem eintönigen *ǣ̄* in erster Linie durch die *Ausgleichung zwischen Stamm- und Endungsvokalen*, indem nur *ǣ̄*, nicht aber *ø̄*, den *a*-Umlaut bewirkt haben soll. Wenn nach Kocks Auffassung (S. 521 ff.) die Flexion z. B. von urgerm. **bukk-a-* im Urnord. gelautet hatte

a-Flexion

Sg.	Plur.
N. <i>*bokkAR</i>	<i>*bukkøR</i>
G. <i>*bokkAR</i>	<i>*bukkø</i>
D. <i>*bukke</i>	<i>*bukk^(u)om</i>
A. <i>*bokkA</i>	<i>*bokkann</i>

Um die Formen der nord.- und westgerm. Ursprache zu gewinnen, muss man sich vor allem an diejenigen Fälle halten, wo die Analogiewirkung anscheinend nicht auf jüngerer Entwicklung beruht, d. h. auf einer Entwicklung, welche erst nach der Zeit der Trennung des Nordgerm. vom Westgerm. erfolgte.

Die ursprüngliche *a*- Brechung im Gen. sg. der alten *u*- Flexion ist *nur im Altn.* bewahrt (z. B. *sun(r) : sonar* = got. *sunus : sunaus*). Sie griff auch weiter in die *i*- Flexion über (*hugr : hogar* = ahd. *hugu*). Bei der *u*-, *i*- Flexion im Altn. findet man aber, dass altgerm. *ǣ* und altgerm. *ū* unter ähnlichen Lautumständen (d.h. vor einfachem Konsonanten) auf verschiedene Weise geregelt sind, insofern das *ǣ* immer *eintönig*, das *ū* hingegen häufig *bunt* geregelt ist (vgl. z. B. got. *lipus : lipaus* = altn. *liðr : liðar*, ahd. *wini* = altn. *vinr : vinar*, got. *sunus : sunaus* = altn. *sun(r) : sonar*, ahd. *hugu* = altn. *hugr : hogar*).

Ebenso wie im Altn. ist auch im Westgerm. die ursprünglich lautgerechte Regelung eines stamhaftem *ǣ* vor einfachem Konsonanten bei der alten *u*- Flexion gewöhnlich zu Gunsten des ungebrochenen Vokals ausgeglichen, wie z. B. ahd. *fridu : frides*, alts. *fridu : friðo-ies*, angs. *fri(o)ðu*, usw. Aus diesen erst spät ausgeglichenen Formen im Westgerm. ist man aber ebenso wenig berechtigt, wie aus den neuen altn. Formen, den Schluss zu ziehen, dass diese Regelung der in der Grundsprache ausschliesslich herrschenden entspreche. Dagegen spricht namentlich im Alts.-Angs. das Auftreten eines *ǣ* da, wo man, sowie sonst im Ahd. und im Altn., ein *ǣ* erwarten würde, wie z. B. in alts. *skeld* (*Oxf. Gl.*), *freðu* (*Ps. Comm.*), angs. *freoðu*, ahd. *meto* neben *mito*, usw. Dieses *ǣ* ist wohl aus den

und demnach in geschichtlicher Zeit *bukkr* neben *bokkr* entstanden war, so sieht man nicht recht ein, weshalb z. B. ein **vigr* neben *vęgr* oder ein **milr* neben *męlr* nicht auf demselben Wege entstanden war, indem diese beiden Subst. kurze Stammsilbe mit fortis haben. Ich verstehe die altn. Doppelformen *bukkr : bokkr* so, dass die ursprüngliche Regelung des stamhaftem *ū/ǣ* erst spät ausgeglichen wurde, wobei die Form mit stamhaftem *ū* durch den unmittelbar vorhergehenden Labial begünstigt wurde, aber namentlich da, wo kein *a* der Endung folgte, wie z. B. im Nom. sg. *bukkr*. Das *ū* ist hier wohl lautgerecht (=altgerm. *ū*) und nicht, wie Kock meint, ein analogisches *ū* aus den übrigen Kasus übertragen, wo ursprünglich ein **ǣ* oder ein **ǫ* oder ein **ū* der Endung folgte, denn es lässt sich überhaupt nicht feststellen, dass der *a*-Umlaut gleichen Alters mit dem geschwundenen **a* der Endsilbe ist.

obliquen Kasus, wo die *a*-Brechung lautgerecht vorlag, in den Nom. sg. eingedrungen und somit in allen Kasus durchgeführt, gerade wie z. B. das *ë* in ahd. *feho* neben *fihu* oder wie das *ö* in altn. *son(r)* neben *sun(r)*. Wenn das Ahd. und das Alts. (des *Heliand*) das *ü* z. B. in **sunu-s* durchführen konnte, so dass keine Spur des *ö* übrig ist, so konnte hier auch wohl die Formen **skeld-* und **freth-* ausgemerzt werden. Dass dem Westgerm. die Formen mit *a*-Umlaut des *ü* zu *ö* fehlen, während sie im Nordgerm. noch immer bestehen, erklärt sich hinreichend aus dem Zerfall der alten *u*-Flexion im Westgerm. (namentlich aus dem Verlust der alten Gen.-Dativformen²³ auf-*ö*), insofern es damit nahe lag, den Vokal der Nominativform durchzuführen.

Man darf also annehmen, dass schon in der gemeinsam nord.- und westgerm. Epoche die Formen der ursprünglichen *u*-Flexion mit *a*-Umlaut (z. B. **sonö*, **frethö* Gen.-Dat. sg.) an die übrigen Kasus ohne *a*-Umlaut angeglichen waren, woraus später in den einzelnen Sprachen zuweilen auch Doppelformen entstanden sind. Ebenso werden z. B. im Ahd. die alten Formen mit *i*-Umlaut in der schwachen Deklination (z. B. *nemin*, *henin*, *hirzin* Gen.-Dat. sg.) im Laufe der Zeit durch die Formen ohne *i*-Umlaut (^(e)*namin*, ^(e)*hanin*, ^(e)*herzin*) ersetzt; der Unterschied ist nur, dass die Ausmerzung des Gen. sg. **fredö* in viel frühere Zeit fällt. Bei **sonö* aber liegt die Sache eigenartig, insofern im Angs.-Altfries.-Alts. der Nasal die Erhaltung des *ü* begünstigte (wie z. B. in *gumö*^(a)); nur im Ahd. würde man **sonö* erwarten.

In der obigen Untersuchung habe ich den Vokalismus der Subst. unter dem Gesichtspunkte ähnlicher Kategorien betrachtet, wie man sie bei den Ablautsreihen unterscheidet. Aus dieser Betrachtung ergibt sich deutlich, dass die Entwicklung im Subst. unabhängig vom Verbum vor sich gegangen ist, wenn auch auf beiden Gebieten sich hier und da eine parallele Entwicklung zeigt. Die Entwicklung ist ja in beiden Fällen parallel, insofern bei Vokalen, die einander ähnlich sind, die Minorität der Ablautsformen immer Gefahr läuft, der Majorität zu unterliegen. Die Sache wird da besonders auffällig,

²³ Der Gen. *fridö* aber ist im ältesten Ahd. (*Ben. regel*, *Alem. Hymnen*, *Isidor*) noch erhalten; vgl. Graff III, 790.

wo Umlauts- (bezw. 'Brechungs'-) vokale durch nahestehende nicht umgelautete Vokale verdrängt werden (vgl. ahd. *bi-liban* Part. prät. der 1. Ablautsreihe, *fridô* Gen. sg.—A, 1, a), da hier der Anschein entsteht, als habe niemals Umlaut (bezw. 'Brechung') stattgefunden. In beiden Fällen aber folgen Subst. und Verbum ihrer eigenen Regel. Dass sich das *ï* in *fridô* nicht aus dem Grunde erklären lässt, weil die 1. Ablautsreihe kein *ë* kennt, erhellt aus der Tatsache, dass sonst trotz der 1. Ablautsreihe *ë* an Stelle von *ï* häufig eingetreten ist, vgl. z. B. ahd. *lebên* statt **libên*, *lernên* neben *lirnên*. Weiter besteht zwischen **frithu-* und der 1. Ablautsreihe kein erkennbarer Zusammenhang, denn ein Verbum **friþan* gibt es nicht und an *frijôn*, das ja schliesslich zu grunde liegt, hat bei **frithu-* wohl niemand mehr gedacht. Wir dürfen also Einwirkung von dem Vokalismus des Verbs auf die Vokalregelung im Subst. nur da annehmen, wo diese durch den Einfluss eines entsprechenden starken Verbs von ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung abgelenkt worden ist, wie z. B. ahd. *wizzo* durch *wizzan*, ang. *wiga* durch *wigan*, *wïgon*: *wïgen*; ahd. *bita*, *hîlfa*, *giba* statt des regelrechten *beta*, *helfa*, *geba*, usw. (vgl. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*⁴, §30, Anm. 1).

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT.

Kansas University.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GERMAN CARNIVAL COMEDY

I. INTRODUCTORY

The secular drama of medieval Germany, it is now generally agreed, is of independent origin. The view that it developed out of the fun-making scenes in the religious plays, where they were in reality foreign matter and could, therefore, be easily detached and acted separately, has been discarded by modern historians of the drama. The *Fastnachtsspiel* or Carnival play, the form in which the secular drama appears in Germany towards the close of the Middle Ages, is but the natural outgrowth of the Carnival customs themselves.¹ The drama, among all peoples, originated in the magical rites of heathen worship.² It can scarcely be doubted that the ceremonies of the old heathen religion were essentially dramatic.³ Neither can the fact be questioned that Greek comedy sprang up and took shape in connection with Dionysiac ritual.⁴ We may rightly assume, therefore, that the practices of the Germanic cult also had some embryonic dramatic tendencies. As a matter of fact, the Germanic peoples, in the usages of their religion, had a better opportunity for spontaneous acting than the Greeks in their Dionysia.⁵ Love of the drama, indeed, seems always to have been

¹ Cf. R. R. Prutz, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des deutschen Theaters* (1847), pp. 18sq; Wilh. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* i. (1893) 409; Th. Hampe, "Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg von der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts bis 1806," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* xii. (1897) 94; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (1903) i. 182. The older view is represented among others by A. Vilmar, *Geschichte d. deutschen National-Literatur*²⁸ (1905), p. 234; E. Hauens, *Das deutsche Fastnachtsspiel im XV. Jahrhundert*, *Progr. d. Realgymnasiums zu Baden bei Wien* (1874), p. 12; V. Michels, *Studien über die ältesten deutschen Fastnachtsspiele*, *Quellen u. Forschungen z. Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte d. germ. Völker*, Bd. LXXVII (1896), p. 48; G. G. Smith, *The Transition Period* (1900), p. 317; O. Weltzien, *Das niederdeutsche Drama. Sein Werden in Dichtung u. Vorstellung*, *Beiträge z. Geschichte d. nnd. Dichtung*, Bd. 3 (1913), p. 20.

² Cf. J. G. Frazer. *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*.³ Vols. I-XI (1911-1914) ii. 142sq., v. 4, vii. 187sq., ix. 373sq.

³ Cf. K. Pearson, *The Chances of Death and Other Studies in Evolution* (1897) ii. 281.

⁴ Cf. F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy* (1914), p. 3.

⁵ Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 280.

characteristic of the Germanic races. The reason, however, why their religious practices did not develop like the Dionysiac rites is not due to an inherent fault, but to an external cause. The Church hampered the dramatic evolution of the Germanic folk-customs by its intervention with a more complicated drama based on its own ritual and imported from the East.⁶

But while there is general agreement in regard to the pagan descent of the Carnival comedy, there is great diversity of opinion concerning the particular ceremonies in which it might have originated. It will be the object of this essay to inquire into the ritual origins of the Carnival comedy. A discussion of the origin and nature of the Carnival must naturally precede our inquiry.

II. THE ORIGIN OF CARNIVAL

The Carnival, be it understood, is, notwithstanding its present connection with a Christian observance, of pagan origin. In its original form it was a heathen agricultural festival, and, like all feasts and festivals in the pastoral and agricultural days of the Irano-European peoples, was originally connected with a change in Nature. However, it had no relation to the winter solstice, as is generally assumed. The Germano-Keltic tribes had no solstitial festival, for they knew nothing of solstices.⁷ In its origin the Carnival was a ploughing and sowing festival,⁸ and formed a part of the public cult of the fertilization spirit. The Church did not institute it, but adopted it from the heathen ritual and changed it into a Christian observance as was done with many other indigenous festivals surviving in all essentials beneath a new faith which was but skin deep.⁹ Room was found all the more readily for this festival in the scheme of the Church, for it offered the converts an opportunity to recompense themselves for the forty days of abstinence, which were ahead of them. Moreover, the connection between Carnival and Lent may also go back to pre-Christian days. Lent, perhaps, may

⁶ Cf. J. S. Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages* (1907), p. 307.

⁷ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 228.

⁸ Cf. J. H. Sepp, *Die Religion der alten Deutschen und ihr Fortbestand in Volkssagen und Festbräuchen bis zur Gegenwart* (1890), p. 55; Frazer, *op. cit.*, x. 347; Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 114; Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. 308.

have been derived from an old pagan period of abstinence intended to promote the growth of the seed,¹⁰ and the Church converted this pagan custom, too, into a Christian solemnity now so rigidly observed as commemorative of the fast of Jesus in the wilderness. The English Lent as the equivalent of the German *Lenz* is a synonym of spring.

The English name for Carnival, it may be argued, points to a Christian origin of this festival. Shrovetide as an appellation for the period in which it was customary to shrive, to confess, as a preparation for the forty days' fast, is, of course, an ecclesiastical term. This argument may be supported, indeed, by the fact that in the German language this festival is known as *Fastnacht*, which at first sight cannot mean anything else but the eve of the fast, in accordance with the Teutonic practice of commencing the day with the evening. In some Rhine districts the term *Fastelovend* is locally used, *Ovend* being a vernacular form of *Abend* (evening). However, the fact of the matter is that the word *Fastnacht* is a popular corruption of *Fassnacht* (*vasnacht*), as this festival still is colloquially called. Perfectly correct, however, is the form *Fasenacht* (MHG. *vasenacht*)¹¹, by which the Carnival season was universally known in Germany up to quite recent times. The verb of the first component of this word is not taken from *fasten*—to fast—but from *fasen* (dialectical *faseln*), to talk nonsense, to have great fun. *Fasenacht* would thus denote an evening of feasting and fooling.¹² The popular interpretation of *Fassnacht* in medieval times seems to have been the evening of carousing, of diligent application to the *Fass* (cask). Hans Sachs symbolizes *Fassnacht* as a kind of beast of the Apocalypse. He describes the symbolical figure of the licentious festival as a "*grosses Tier, dess Bauch ist wie ein füdrig Fass, und es hat ein weiten Schlund.*"

¹⁰ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 347sqq.

¹¹ The form *Fasching*, which is still currently common especially in Bavaria and Austria, is derived from MHG. *vaschanc*, a variant of *vasenacht*.

¹² Cf. Wilh. Wackernagel, *Geschichte d. deutsch. Literatur* (1848), p. 314n1; *Kleinere Schriften* ii. (1873) 107. The old derivation of *Fastnacht* from *fasten* is found in Adelung, *Wörterb.* ii. 56 and Grimm, *Dt. Wörterb.* iii. 1353sqg. G. Schmeller, *Bayr. Wörterb.* (Fromann ed. 1872), pp. 763sqg., points to the form *vasnacht* as found in old documents. [See, however, H. Hirt in Weigand's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*⁵ under *Fastnacht*. Ed.]

The name Carnival now prevailing in the regions which were for a longer time under Roman domination, *viz.*, Italy, France, and the Rhenish provinces of Germany, has likewise been interpreted as indicative of the Christian origin of the festival. It has been generally derived from the Latin *carnem levare* (Ital. *carne levare*), the putting away or removal of flesh as food, or, what is still more *Carnevalesque*, from the Italian *carna vale*, *i.e.*, flesh, farewell! However, the correct derivation of the word Carnival is from the Latin *carrus navalis* (Ital. *carnevale* or *carnovale*, French, Spanish and Portuguese *carneval* or *carnavel*), the ship-cart, which formed the centre of the festal processions in many parts of Europe and Western Asia.¹³

III. THE SHIP-PROCESSION

The central fact of this festival, as of all agricultural festivals, was the presence, in the village, of the deity in the form of a ship. This observance originated in the natural or magical stage of belief and was based upon the notion of what Frazer calls "sympathetic magic."¹⁴ The ship was led in solemn procession about the fields and around the boundaries of the village in order to spread the influence of its benign presence over the whole community.¹⁵ This custom was not limited to certain maritime districts, nor was it a result of the fact that the goddess of fertility in the course of history also took over the charge of sea-faring, as Chambers believes.¹⁶ A ship was dedicated annually to Isis, the Egyptian goddess of

¹³ Hermann Müller, *Das nordische Griechentum und die urgeschichtl. Bedeutung des nordwestl. Europas* (1844), pp. 334, 338; L. Lersch, "Isis und ihr Schiff," *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* ix. (1846) 116; W. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schriften* ii. 109; K. Simrock; *Handbuch d. deutschen Mythologie*⁶ (1878), p. 370; Karl Meyer, "Fastnachtspiel u. Fastnachtsscherz im 15. u. 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift f. allg. Geschichte, Kultur, Literatur u. Kunstgeschichte* iii. (1886) 162; Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Hermann Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. 3. Die Sintfluthsagen* (1899), p. 120; C. Rademacher, "Carnival," (Hastings') *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* iii. (1910) 225. The old derivation of Carnival is found in Diez, *Etym. Wörterb. d. roman. Sprachen*⁶ (1887), p. 362.

¹⁴ The view of primitive religion taken in this essay is largely that of Frazer. Having little independent knowledge of the subject, the writer welcomes the high authority of this anthropologist.

¹⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 118.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 121.

femininity and fertility, long before she was crowned *Regina Phari* and was surnamed *Pelagia* in Alexandria; Athena was presented with a ship by the men of Athens, although she was not the patroness of their sea-power, but their earth-goddess.¹⁷ The ship has no relation to water whatsoever. The view held by Mannhardt that the ship-procession was a rain-charm¹⁸ can no longer be seriously entertained.

The ship was the symbol of femininity in creation among all the primitive races.¹⁹ However, although it was first sacred to the fertility goddess only, it later became the emblem of the fertility god as well. The ship of Ea was after awhile extended to all the great gods of Babylonia. The ship of Isis in the course of time accomodated all other gods of Egypt, and these gods, according to Porphyry²⁰ were also represented in boats. The ship notably became the vehicle of the sun gods in analogy to the "lunar boat" of the moon goddesses, as the crescent was called by the ancients. Ra, the sun-god of the Egyptians, was represented as sailing across the heavens in a ship.²¹ The planetary gods of Greece were always represented in boats. Helios sails in a golden boat as much as he races in a four-horse chariot.

The ark or the cup was a modified form of the ship.²² The ark of Jahveh was originally a ship, the ship of Ea. The Israelites adopted it from the Assyrians, who in turn took it from the Babylonians. If the religion of Israel was related to the solar monotheism of Egypt,²³ the ark of Jahveh may have been modelled after the ship of Ra. The appellation "Ark of the Covenant" is a later substitution for the earlier name of the "Ark of Jahveh." That the ark was virtually

¹⁷ Cf. H. Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁸ Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Wald = u. Feldkulte d. Germanen* i. (1875) 593; Frazer, *op. cit.*, i. 251n3.

¹⁹ Cf. G. W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* (1870) ii. 127; C. Howard, *Sex Worship: An exposition of the Phallic Origin of Religion*^s (1910), pp. 141sq.; O. A. Wall, *Sex and Sex Worship (Phallic Worship)* (1919), pp. 257, 464.

²⁰ *de antro Mympharum.*, p. 234, ed. Micyllus.

²¹ Cf. H. Usener, *op cit.*, p. 130.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 115; Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

²³ Cf. P. Haupt, "Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews," *Open Court* xxxii (1918), p. 759.

identified with Jahveh and not with the tablets of the law is proven by several passages in the Bible.²⁴ The flood story also points to the ship as the symbol of the god.

The Carnival can be traced back historically to the cult of Isis. This goddess figured prominently among the Egyptian and other Oriental deities, which were brought to Greece.

At first the Greeks were fain to recognize in her their earth-goddess Demeter, but soon they also came to see in her the sea-goddess and dedicated to her, also, a ship on the annual reopening of navigation. The ship-procession, as has already been noted,²⁵ was not altogether a foreign importation to Greece. It was observed in Athens long before Isis was known in the Greek lands.²⁶ A ship formed an essential part of the Dionysiac cult. A representation of the epiphany of Dionysus in a ship was seen by Loeschcke on a black-figured amphora of Greek provenience from the end of the seventh century at Corneto.²⁷ A *carrus navalis* undoubtedly formed the central feature of the Dionysian festal procession in Athens. An Attic vase of the sixth century now at Bologna represents the god Dionysus in a ship set on wheels and drawn by Silenes.²⁸

From Greece the worship of Isis penetrated to Rome and Italy. We do not know when the Egyptian goddess arrived there, but we learn that during the closing years of the Roman period, a festival called *Navigium Isidis* in honor of the Egyptian Isis was held on March 5, in which a ship-car (*carrus navalis*) dedicated to the goddess was led in solemn procession.²⁹ The fact that the Carnival of modern Italy and the *Navigium Isidis* of ancient Rome occur at about the same time confirms

²⁴ Cf. I. Sam. vi. 3 and II. Sam. vi. 14. On the question whether or no Jhvh was present in or on the ark see Karl Budde, "War die Lade Jahwes ein leerer Thron?" *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1906, pp. 489sqq.

²⁵ *Supra*, p. 406.

²⁶ The Athenians, who are believed to have been colonists from Egypt, may have brought the cult with them from that country.

²⁷ Cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁸ See illustration *ibid.*, p. 118 and in Dümmler, *Skenische Vasenbilder*, *Rhein. Museum f. Philologie* xliii. (1888) 355.

²⁹ Cf. L. Lersch, "Isis u. ihr Schiff," *Jahrbücher d. Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* ix. 100; K. Simrock, "Nachtrag z. d. Schiff der Isis," *ibid.*, x. 80; J. W. Wolf, "Die Dea Nehalennia," *ibid.*, xii. 21sqq.; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Engl. tr. by Stallysbrass i. (1882) 258.

our view that they are identical. But it must be admitted that the Carnival also shows a remarkable resemblance to the Saturnalia,³⁰ the similarity of which to the folk-festivals of Western Europe is in fact greater than would appear at first. A naval procession was probably also observed in ancient Rome during the Saturnalia prior to the arrival of the goddess Isis. Saturnus, the Assyrian god Baal or Bel, is said to have come up the Tiber into the region of Rome to visit Janus in a ship.³¹ The name Saturnus, moreover, seems to point to a ploughing and sewing festival,³² although how such a festival came to be held in mid-winter (December 17) must be a matter of conjecture.³³ Popular usage, however, extended this festival by degrees until it finally fell in the ploughing season. The Carnival amusements in Venice reach back to December 26. The connection of the Roman Saturnalia with the Kelto-Germanic ploughing feast, if such a connection did exist, must have been of great importance for the dramatic evolution of its ritual. Traces of the Saturnalia may be seen in our celebration of Christmas. The modern Italian Carnival may also show some features of the celebration of the resurrection of Attis on March 25, which took the form of a Carnival at Rome and probably elsewhere.³⁴ This day is now celebrated as the Feast of Anunciation.

The festival in the form it had acquired in Greece and Rome was carried across the Alps by the Romans, and became merged with a Kelto-Germanic festival of a similar character, though developed in a different way.³⁵ This theory will account for the fact that while in the Rhineland, as in Gaul, the Carnival has distinctly Roman features, the native Carnival customs are retained in their ancient character in other parts of Ger-

³⁰ Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 312, is of the opinion that the Saturnalia of ancient Rome and the Carnival of modern Italy are identical. For the connection of the Carnival, the Saturnalia and the Purim, the Jewish form of a Persian spring festival, and the Babylonian Sacaea cf. Frazer's article on Purim in the *Encycl. Biblica* iii. (1902) 3980sq. and P. Haupt's monograph *Purim* in the *Beiträge z. Assyr. u. semit. Sprachwissenschaft* vi. (1908); No. 2, pp. 25sq.

³¹ Cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

³² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 347.

³³ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 237.

³⁴ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. 272sq.

³⁵ Cf. Rademacher, "Carnival," (Hastings') *Encycl. of Rel. & Eth.* iii. 228b.

many.³⁶ The ancestors of the Germans possessed these forms of folk-ritual previous to their contact with the Romans. Moreover, there seems to have been a uniformity of religious practices "not only among the Teutonic and Keltic tribes, who inhabited western and northwestern Europe and the British Islands, but also amongst all the Aryan-speaking peoples."³⁷ The ship-procession was also a part of the Germanic worship and a long established custom among all the German tribes. The ship was the symbol of a number of Teutonic goddesses.³⁸ Tacitus records that the *Suevi* dedicated, in the first century of our era, a ship to their goddess, whom he identifies as Isis.³⁹ The name is, of course, his *interpretatio Romana* of a Germanic goddess, probably Nehellenia. He calls her Isis as he calls Wootan Mercury and Thor Mars.⁴⁰ This goddess of fruition appears to have been worshipped by a ship-procession in the Netherlands and Germany.⁴¹ Her name is probably derived from Semit. *nohal, nihal*, to flow or to float, just as is that of St. Nicholas, who is the patron of the mariners. Among the Batavians and Frisians this goddess appears to have been possessed with many attributes of Isis, among which is also the ship.⁴² She is also called *Pelagia*, and often supports her left foot or both feet on the keel of a ship.⁴³ Aix-la-Chapelle probably was the chief centre of her worship. Her old picture is still preserved in the minster of that town.⁴⁴

The ship-procession was probably also a part of the worship of Nerthus.⁴⁵ Tacitus⁴⁶ also speaks of the procession in a "*vehiculum*" of the image of Nerthus, the Earth-Mother,

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 100.

³⁸ Cf. Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 390. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, i. 559n2, rejects this view; cf. also Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁹ *Germania*, 9.

⁴⁰ Cf. S. Reinach, "Mythologie et Religion des Germains," *Annales du Musée Guinet. Conférences au Musée Guinet. Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation* xxxi. (1909) 58.

⁴¹ Cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, pp. 126sq.

⁴² Cf. L. Lersch, *op. cit.*, ix. 115.

⁴³ Cf. J. W. Wolf, *op. cit.*, xii.22.

⁴⁴ Cf. Simrock, *op. cit.*, pp. 369sq.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Germania*, 40.

amongst the Ingaevonic tribes, who lived about the mouth of the river Elbe and who beyond doubt are the progenitors of the so-called Anglo-Saxon race. This *vehiculum* of Nerthus, who, as will be shown forthwith, probably is identical with the goddess Tacitus found worshipped by the *Suevi* in a ship-procession, was a ship-cart, a *terrae navis*, as was the ship of Isis, which travelled on land and water,⁴⁷ and also the *skidbladnir*, the ship of Freyr, which sailed in the air and on the water. The theory that the *vehiculum* of Nerthus was a ship-cart finds further support in the fact that the procession set out from her sacred grove in an island of the ocean.⁴⁸ The procession of Nerthus is doubtless identical with the possession of Freyr,⁴⁹ whose life-size statue was drawn about the country in a ship-waggon when the winter was at an end.⁵⁰ In this procession the god was attended by a beautiful girl called his wife, Freya,⁵¹ while in the Nerthus procession recorded by Tacitus, the goddess, present in her ship,⁵² probably was accompanied by her husband in the form of an image. There is no doubt that Nerthus is the same as Freya, the Teutonic wood-goddess.⁵³ As Freya she is the female counterpart of Freyr, as Nerthus, of Freyr's northern double, Njördr. Nerthus-Freya, moreover, is identical with Wanne Thekla, who also comes and goes in her ship.⁵⁴ She may perhaps also be the same as Nehellenia.⁵⁵ In popular legend and lore Freya is known in Lower Germany as Holda (Hulda), *Frau Holl* (Holle), and in the Upper German regions, in Swabia, in Alsace, in Switzerland, in Bavaria, and in Austria as Hertha, Bertha or Perchta.⁵⁶ The Germanic Freya

⁴⁷ Cf. Simrock, *op. cit.*, pp. 369sq.; Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁴⁸ Cf. Rademacher, "Carnival," (Hastings') *Encycl. of Rel. & Eth.* iii. 226a.

⁴⁹ Cf. K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* iv. 468sq.

⁵⁰ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 107.

⁵¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 143.

⁵² Cf. J. Bing, "Gotteswagen," *Manus. Zeitschrift f. Vorgeschichte* vi. (1914) 281.

⁵³ Cf. K. Müllenhoff, *loc. cit.*; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 144n1; S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi. 61.

⁵⁴ Cf. J. W. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. xii. 30.

⁵⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 108sq.

⁵⁶ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 272.

⁵⁷ Freya has also been identified with Venus. *Freitag* (more correctly *Freytag* or *Freyatag*) is equivalent to *Vendredi* (*Veneris dies*). We also have the *Venusberg* in Germanic mythology; cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, xxxi. 53.

is, furthermore, a variant of the Roman Venus,⁵⁷ the Greek Aphrodite, the Phrygian Cybele, the Ishtar-Astarte-Ashtoreth of the ancient Phoenicians, and of Mylitta of the Assyrians and Babylonians. In medieval German witch-lore this goddess is known as Diana. In popular belief she is succeeded by the Virgin Mary, to whom she has also bequeathed her ship. A number of images of the Holy Virgin on ships are found in Belgium.⁵⁸

But the Virgin Mary did not find it an easy task to replace the heathen goddess in the hearts of the old Germans. A few centuries of Christianity did not suffice to make them forget their beloved *Bona Dea*. They continued to worship her down to the twelfth century according to Rudolfus, a monk from the Abbey of St. Trond, in his account of a Carnival festival in the district of Jülich, in Lower Germany.⁵⁹ We learn from his detailed report that about the year 1133, in a forest near Inda (in Ripuaria), a ship was built, set upon wheels, and drawn by men, who were yoked to it, about the country, first to Aix-la-Chappelle, then to Maestricht, where mast and sail were added, and up the river to Tongres, Looz, and so on, everywhere with crowds of people assembling and escorting it. Wherever it halted, there were joyful shouts, songs of triumph and dancing round the ship kept up till far into the night. The approach of the ship was made known in advance to the towns; the people opened the gates and went out to meet it. J. Grimm rightly identifies this ship travelling about the country, welcomed by streaming multitudes and honored with festive song and dance, as the car of the goddess whom Tacitus took to be Isis. "How could this *pauper rusticus*, he asks, "in the wood of Inden have lighted on the thought of building a ship, had there not been floating in his mind recollections of former processions, perhaps of some of his neighboring districts?"

Ship-processions at the beginning of spring were continued in various parts of Germany to the end of the Middle Ages.⁶⁰ The custom of drawing a plough, the central instrument of the opening labor, as an emblem of the agricultural spirit, in the

⁵⁸ Cf. J. W. Wolf, *op. cit.*, xii. 30, 32.

⁵⁹ *Rudolfi Chronicon ablatiae sti. Trudonis lib. XI.*, quoted at length in Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 259-62, from which the summary here presented is taken.

⁶⁰ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 257; W. Golther, *Handbuch d. germ. Mythologie* (1895), p. 463; Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 121.

furrows of the fields and in the streets of the village,⁶¹ seems, however, to have been more wide-spread among the ancient Germans, and has survived down to the present day in some German villages on Shrove Tuesday, oftener on Plough Monday.⁶² It is also still observed by the Thracian peasants.⁶³ In some districts of Germany, furthermore, a ship was drawn in addition to the plough.⁶⁴ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Greek word for ship *ἡλοιου* signifies a plough in German.⁶⁵ In Ulm on the Danube a ship-procession took place annually down to 1530 when an order by the city council put a stop to it.⁶⁶ The custom, however, was later revived, and is still observed in that town and in many other towns and villages in Germany. In Ulm, in case of snow, the ship is placed on a sleigh.⁶⁷ A ship-cart was drawn in the Nuremberg procession of maskers ("*Schembartlauf*") from 1475 on,⁶⁸ and the analogous *Perchtenlauf* in the Alpine districts very probably also contained a ship in honor of the goddess Berchta. A curious type of a ship-procession was observed in Oldenburg down to recent times on Whitsunday. Small ships were placed the preceding evening on a waggon, which was drawn the next day through the streets of the town.⁶⁹

The ship-cart, in Keltic and Teutonic countries as well as in Greece and Rome, was not always a vacant throne. It contained, as a rule, an image or some other emblem of divinity.⁷⁰ When its original symbolism was forgotten, the ship represented the most proper place in which a god could dwell in the midst of his people. We have seen that Dionysus paraded in his ship through the streets of Athens.⁷¹ The ship-car in the Nuremberg

⁶¹ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 118.

⁶² Cf. J. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 263sq.; Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, i. 553sqq.

⁶³ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, vi. 99.

⁶⁴ Cf. Grimm, *loc. cit.*; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 370; W. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, 559.

⁶⁵ Cf. Sepp, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁶⁶ Cf. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, 1. 559.

⁶⁷ Cf. E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten u. Bräuche aus Schwaben* (1852), p. 374, No. 6.

⁶⁸ Cf. Wackernagel, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 108.

⁶⁹ Cf. L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg* (1887), ii. 47, No. 316.

⁷⁰ Cf. (Hastings') *Encycl. of Rel. & Eth.* iii. 226a.

⁷¹ *Supra*, p. 407.

Schembartlauf never was unoccupied. The goddess Perchta very probably was visibly represented in her ship⁷², which, as we surmised, formed a part of the analogous *Perchtenlauf*.

The fertility god on his progress through the streets and market-places of the town did not even stop short at the portals of the Church. There is a record in the sixteenth century of an instance of the combination of the Carnival ship-procession with the Church ass-procession on Palm Sunday. Thomas Naogeorgus relates that the image of the fertility god was placed on a wooden ass, which had been mounted on a platform with wheels, and drawn into the church on Palm Sunday in procession, the priests going before.⁷³

The reforming ecclesiastics violently declaimed against this Carnival custom. They referred to the ship as *malignorum spirituum execrabile domicilium* (the accursed habitation of evil spirits), and declared that *maligni spiritus* (evil spirits) travelled in it.⁷⁴ Small wonder that the ship-cart in the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf* was called *Hölle* and that it was burned together with its occupants at the end of the procession.

IV. THE MYTHICAL DRAMA

The Carnival customs of Europe also contained a sort of mythical drama, which was composed of a number of rites of the kind which Frazer has termed "mimetic magic."⁷⁵ This class of charms is based on the principle of similarity, which holds that a thing can be influenced through what is similar to it. It presupposes the belief that "between the imitative rite and the natural event it is intended to cause there is the bond of sympathetic *mimesis*, consisting in the actual likeness of the act ritually performed to the desired event."⁷⁶ As the fluctuations of growth and decay, of reproduction and dissolution were

⁷² Cf. V. Waschnitius, *Percht. Holda und verwandte Gestalten. Ein Beitrag z. d. Religionsgeschichte. Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil-hist. Klasse. Bd. 174, Abh. 2.* (1913), p. 162.

⁷³ Cf. T. Kirchmeyer, Engl. transl. by Barnaby Googe, *Reprint of the Popish Kingdome* (1570).

⁷⁴ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 262; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

⁷⁵ Sympathetic magic is the basis of the savage religious drama; cf. also L. Havemeyer, *The Drama of Savage Peoples* (1916), p. 243.

⁷⁶ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

explained by the marriage, the death, and the resurrection of the gods, these mythical events were enacted in order to bring about the corresponding processes in nature.⁷⁷ Primitive man performed in his spring ritual, as a means of insuring the fertility of the crops beneath the rain, which he regarded as the marriage of heaven and earth, the annual marriage of Heaven-god and Earth-goddess, of Uranus and Gea in Greece and of Coelus and Terra in Italy. Aeschylus and Shelley alike speak of the marriage of the heaven and the earth. A ceremony of a similar nature is the marriage of the sun and the moon, and of the spirits of vegetation conceived as male and female, as gods and goddesses, which was enacted in the European spring ritual in order to bring about the impregnation of nature.⁷⁸ The marriages of the ancient deities of vegetation, Adonis or Tammuz with Aphrodite or Ishtar, Zeus with Leto, Jupiter with Apia, Saturn with Ops, and Freyr with Freya, had for their object the fertility of field, fold, and family.⁷⁹

Modern survivals of these customs may be seen in the mock marriages of leaf-clad mummers in Western Europe.⁸⁰ We have the May-pairs, King and Queen, Lord and Lady of the May, representatives of the spirits of vegetation, united in a nominal troth.⁸¹ Often the marriage, though not directly represented, is implied by naming only the human representative of the spirit, the bride, and dressing her in wedding attire.⁸² The mock marriages of modern times answer in form and meaning to the magical marriages, the sacred unions of the gods and goddesses, of ancient days.⁸³ There is, however, this difference, as Frazer points out, that in those days the ceremonies had not yet dwindled into mere shows and pageants, but were still religious or magical rites in which the actors consciously supported the high parts of gods and goddesses.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. 4.

⁷⁸ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 422; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 120sq., 171, vii. 187sq.

⁷⁹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 137, 143sq., iv. 71, 83, 91, v. 224, ix. 386.

⁸⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, ii. 276; Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 237, v. 251.

⁸¹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 315sq; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 79, 84.

⁸² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 95.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ii. 92sq., 97, 136sq., iv. 237, v. 251.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 120sq.

The most important part of the spring ritual, however, was the death and resurrection of the fertility god. It was performed as a kind of passion-play in all parts of Europe as well as in certain parts of Asia. The death and resurrection of Adonis, Attis, and Osiris were annually performed in their rites in Western Asia and in Greek lands.⁸⁵ The passion and resurrection of Dionysus were performed at several of his rites and perhaps also at the Anthesteria.⁸⁶ The modern Thracian Carnival drama still represents the marriage, death and resurrection of Dionysus.⁸⁷ The myth of Balder, who was slain like Dionysus and Orpheus, was perhaps also performed in his rites.⁸⁸ Analogous practices are found in India, Australia, and Mexico.

This idea of the dying and reviving god, by which primitive man explained the decay and growth of vegetation, has been kept smouldering beneath the ashes of the centuries. It underlies many rural spring customs of modern Europe and is still expressed in a number of varieties of dramatic symbolism.⁸⁹ The mock-killing of the leaf-clad mummer, the representative of the old spirit whose powers have failed in the decay of winter, as a necessary step to his revival or resurrection or re-birth in a younger and fresher form, is still a prominent feature of our folk-festivals. It has survived in certain parts of Germany and Austria as a Shrovetide and Whitsuntide custom.⁹⁰ Often the leaf-clad person, who as the representative of the old spirit of vegetation is about to be executed, is known as the king. There is also, as has been noted, a king and queen of May. The royal title implies that the spirit incorporated in vegetation is a ruler.⁹¹ It may, however, with great likelihood, be traced back to the influence of the Saturnalia, at which a mock king after a reign of thirty days was sacrificed to Cronos. This custom has perhaps played a part in the mock crowning of Jesus by the Roman soldiers before his crucifixion.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 224sq., vi. 85sq., ix. 398.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 302n4, vii. 12sq., 32.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vi. 99sq., vii. 26sq., viii. 331sq.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, x. 105.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 212, 252, 263sq., vi. 128.

⁹⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 410sq., 524; Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 206sq., 210, xi. 25sq.

⁹¹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 314sq.; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 84sq.

The pretence of beheading or burning the human representative of the vegetation spirit is probably a substitute of an old custom of killing him in earnest.⁹² This practice originated, or at least existed, in the hunting or pastoral stages of society, and survived in the agricultural stage.⁹³

In a number of instances the leaf-clad mummer after being killed is brought back to life by a doctor.⁹⁴

A variant of the ceremony of the death and resurrection of the fertility spirit is the twin custom of Carrying out or Driving out of Death and Bringing in of Summer. The view that in these spring customs Death meant originally the dying or dead vegetation of winter has the high support of Mannhardt. However, when the original meaning of these ceremonies was lost, the good but old god of vegetation, who had to be slain in order that he might rise again in renewed youth and vigor, was transformed into an evil spirit of Death, on whom were laid all the evils that had befallen the people during the past year, as was also the custom of the Jews in their treatment of their biblical scapegoat. The custom of carrying out the dead vegetation widened out in this manner into banning or banishing death in general from the village or district.

The ceremony of banishing, burying, or burning of Death is found in various parts of Teutonic Germany, but especially in districts such as Thuringia, Bohemia, Silesia where the population is wholly or mainly Slavonic.⁹⁵ The date of the observance is not uniformly fixed. The ceremony takes place on March 1,⁹⁶ on the first Sunday,⁹⁷ the third Sunday,⁹⁸ the fourth Sunday (Mid-Lent)⁹⁹ the fifth Sunday in Lent,¹⁰⁰ the first Sunday after Easter,¹⁰¹ and on Ascension Day.¹⁰²

⁹² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 214sqq.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, iv. 221, ix. 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 208, 212sq. 233.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 233-240, 249sqq., 264sq., x. 119sq.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 235.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 116, 118sq.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 238.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 73sq., iv. 233-36, 240sqq., 247. Mid-Lent is, therefore, called in Germany *Todsonntag*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, iv. 221, 234sq., 239.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, iv. 221.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, iv. 222n1.

The custom is also known as the expulsion of Winter in Germany and other parts of Europe.¹⁰³

When performed on Shrove Tuesday or Ash Wednesday,¹⁰⁴ the ceremony of the expulsion of Death or Winter was pretty generally known as the Burial of the Carnival (Shrove Tuesday) in Germany as well as in France, Spain and other countries of Europe.¹⁰⁵ But the names of Death, Winter and Carnival seem to cover an ancient tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation.¹⁰⁶

The personification of Death, Winter or Carnival was effected by means of a leaf-clad actor called straw-man (Wild Man) or by an effigy. The leaf-clad mummer is often called Shrovetide Bear¹⁰⁷ or Carnival Fool.¹⁰⁸ When the original meaning of the ceremony was lost and the effigy was supposed to embody and to be responsible for all the excesses committed during the Carnival,¹⁰⁹ its execution was transferred to Ash Wednesday, and the ceremony was known as the burning of the Carnival Fool.¹¹⁰ In analogy to Carnival, Lent, then, also obtained personification.¹¹¹

The effigy of Death is also known as Old Woman,¹¹² and that of Winter as Mrs. Winter or Ugly Woman,¹¹³ or Winter's Grandmother, *i.e.*, Old Woman or Witch.¹¹⁴

In its simplest form the effigy of Death, Winter or Carnival was carried or carted out of the village,¹¹⁵ or thrown over the boundary of the next village.¹¹⁶ But it was also thrown into the water, beheaded, hanged, burned, not uncommonly, in the

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, iv. 247, 260., ix. 404sq., x. 120.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 209, 221, 226, 228sq., x. 120.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 208-9, 222, 224-33.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 252sq., xi. 21sq.; Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 186.

¹⁰⁷ *Cf.* Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 230.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 231sq.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 232.

¹¹⁰ We shall see later that the true Carnival Fool is not the representative of the dead vegetation spirit; *cf. infra*, p. 438.

¹¹¹ *Cf.* Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 227, 230, 244sq.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, iv. 237, 240, 243, x. 116, 120.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, iv. 242sq.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 116.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 73sq., iv. 233, 252sq.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, iv. 237.

Lenten fires, or buried, often under straw or dung.¹¹⁷ These ceremonies of burning, burying, or drowning the spirit of vegetation may have been in themselves fertility charms. The burning may have been intended to secure, by means of mimetic magic, a supply of sunshine for the crops,¹¹⁸ but it may also have been carried out for purificatory purposes.¹¹⁹ The effigy of the fertility god was perhaps buried as a guarantee of resurrection. The fact that it was very commonly buried under straw or dung would point to its fertilizing power on the new vernal life.¹²⁰ The drowning of the effigy of the spirit of vegetation may in a like manner have had for its purpose the securing, by means of mimetic magic, of a supply of rain to make the fields and meadows green in the summer.¹²¹ Images of Adonis were also thrown into the sea or into springs.¹²² The ship as a symbol of the fertility spirit was in early times led at the end of the procession to a nearby river, stream, or sea, and surrendered to the water, a fact which led Mannhardt to believe that the ship-procession was a rain-charm.¹²³ The water-journey of the goddess Nerthus was, in the opinion of Chambers, a rain charm,¹²⁴ but according to our conjecture it was rather a wedding-trip.¹²⁵ We may perhaps look at the sea-voyage of the god or goddess as the ship-burial of the dead spirit of vegetation.¹²⁶ Balder's body was sent in a ship out into the sea.¹²⁷ In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* a ship is figured carrying the souls to the other world. Ship-burials were also common among the ancient Germans. They seem in most places to have been a prerogative of kings and princes and heroes of great fame.¹²⁸

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 73sq., 93, iv. 209, 220sq., 223sq., 227-232, 234, x. 106, 119sq., xi. 23.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xi. 43.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 93, xi. 24.

¹²⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 410sqq.; Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 249sqq.

¹²¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 75.

¹²² *Ibid.*, v. 225, 227n3, 236.

¹²³ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 593; cf. also Frazer, *op. cit.*, i. 251n5.

¹²⁴ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 122; see also Reinach, *op. cit.*, xxxi. 59.

¹²⁵ *Supra*, p. 410.

¹²⁶ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 393.

¹²⁷ Cf. Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

¹²⁸ Cf. F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins* (1892), p. 325. Some tribes in Guinea throw their dead into the sea, so as to get rid of the ghosts.

The water trip is regarded by K. Th. Preuss¹²⁹ as a journey to the underworld and was intended to symbolize the swallowing up of the young sun by Mother Earth.

When the dead fertility god was later misconceived to be an evil spirit, the belief may have gained ground that the ship carried the evil spirits out upon the unfruitful ocean.¹³⁰ Evils are expelled on rafts or in a ship in modern folk-survivals and in savage customs.¹³¹

As a result of this misinterpretation of Death we have as a part of the annual Carnival ceremonies an expulsion of demons and witches, death and disease, plague and pain, fire and famine.¹³² This custom was commonly observed among the heathen of Europe,¹³³ and was not unknown among the ancient Germans.¹³⁴ The demons at their expulsion were either embodied in effigies,¹³⁵ or spersonified by men,¹³⁶ while witches were always burned in effigy. Torches were used in the expulsion of demons and witches.¹³⁷ A variant of this ceremony is the custom of burning of effigies in bon-fires. The giants of wicker-work burned in bon-fires at Carnival and other popular festivals¹³⁸ are believed by Mannhardt to have been originally representatives of vegetation spirits and later degraded into demons.¹³⁹ The great season for fire-festivals in Europe is the summer solstice, Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day.¹⁴⁰ Midsummer fires are found all over Europe and especially in German lands.¹⁴¹ The custom of burning effigies in Midsummer fires is still observed in some parts of Europe.¹⁴² The Yule log, the Mid-

¹²⁹ "Der dämonische Ursprung d. griechischen Dramas," *Neue Jahrbücher f. klass. Altertum, Geschichte u. deutsche Literatur u.f. Pädagogik* xvii. (1906) 172.

¹³⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 393.

¹³¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 199sqq.

¹³² *Ibid.*, ix. 250.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, ix. 155.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 157-66, 214-5.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 172sq.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 170-3, 213sqq., 235.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, ix. 156sqq., 163, 165sq.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, xi. 35, 40.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, xi. 21, 33, 41-4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 160.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 172sqq.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, x. 195.

winter counterpart of the summer fires, is also common in Germany.¹⁴³ We also meet with Christmas bon-fires¹⁴⁴ and Lenten fires¹⁴⁵ in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.

The expulsion of witches is a common custom in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.¹⁴⁶ The Banning or Burning of Witches took place generally on Walpurgis Night,¹⁴⁷ May day,¹⁴⁸ at Midsummer,¹⁴⁹ but also on the first Sunday in Lent,¹⁵⁰ which would prove that the custom originally formed a part of the Carnival observances. We have already seen¹⁵¹ that the effigy of Death or Winter was sometimes called Old Woman or Witch. The effigies of witches were burned, as a rule, in bon-fires.¹⁵² The ceremony of bon-fires is, therefore, sometimes called "burning the witches."¹⁵³ The Beltane fires in Austria and Saxony were lighted for the purpose of burning the witches.¹⁵⁴

A Christian version of this ceremony is the banning or burning of Judas Iscariot, which naturally takes place at Easter.¹⁵⁵ In a certain part of Silesia it is observed on Wednesday before Good Friday.¹⁵⁶ Judas is burned in Easter-fires in Bavaria, Upper Franken and Bohemia.¹⁵⁷ In England the Jack-o'-Lent effigy is taken to represent Judas.¹⁵⁸ The Easter-fire ceremony is, therefore, sometimes called "burning Judas." This is also the origin of a bon-fire ceremony called "burning the Easter Man," at Abensberg in Bavaria.¹⁵⁹ The custom is known

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, x. 247-9.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 265sq.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 106sq.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ix. 157-66.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ix. 162, x. 159sq., 170sq.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 54.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 170sq.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 116.

¹⁵¹ *Supra*, p. 417.

¹⁵² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, x. 107, 116sq., 342, xi. 43.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, x. 159.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, x. 158.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, x. 127sq., 131, 177sq. A Jewish parallel is the burning of Haman at Purim. This custom is traced as far back as the fifth century; cf. H. Malter, "Purim", *Jewish Encycl.*, x. (1905) 278a.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, x. 146n3.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, x. 121sq. 143, 148.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 230.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, x. 144.

in Essen curiously enough as "burying (or burning) of Bacchus." An effigy of Martin Luther was burned at Midsummer in certain Catholic parts of Germany down to the year 1807 or 1808.¹⁶⁰ The identification of the effigy with Luther was, as Frazer rightly observes,¹⁶¹ modern, for we may assume that the burning of an effigy in the Midsummer bon-fires is far older than the time of Luther.

The ceremony of "Carrying out Death" is generally followed by a ceremony of "Bringing in Summer."¹⁶² If Hunger and Death are driven out, Wealth and Life must be brought in to take their places. "Bringing the Summer" was a procession with a tree or branch or with a leaf-clad mummer as symbolical of the spirit of vegetation returning or reviving in spring.¹⁶³ Sometimes the resurrection of the "dead Carnival" is also enacted as a symbolical expression of the revival of vernal life in spring. These ceremonies are still observed in Germany¹⁶⁴ and in other countries.¹⁶⁵

The contrast between the dormant state of the powers of vegetation in winter and their awakening in spring also took the form of a dramatic contest. In this ceremony the two contending parties are no longer felt to be only two successive representatives of the same principle, but represent two opposing principles. They are not considered as the new and old fertility spirits, but as the god of light and life struggling against his antagonist, the demon of darkness and death. The battle is usually fought not between individuals, but between groups. It is not a single but a collective combat. The representatives of summer and winter each have their train of followers. The *Antichoria* in the Greek comedy, which may be traced back to this battle between Summer and Winter, consisted of two opposed companies with different characters or masks.¹⁶⁶ Faded survivals of this combat may be seen in the rural custom

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, x. 167, 172, xi. 23.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, x. 167.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, iv. 233.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, ii. 74, iv. 252sqq.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 233, 237sqq., 246sqq.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 249sqq.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

of pelting the effigy representing Winter and its company with sticks and stones,¹⁶⁷ and in the more refined battles of flowers or *confetti*, which always figure in the modern Carnival.¹⁶⁸

Such a dramatic contest between Summer and Winter or between the new and old fertility spirit is still a fairly widespread custom among the European peasants. It is quite common in the German lands, especially on both sides of the Middle Rhine.¹⁶⁹ It also formed a part of the *Schembartlauf* in Nuremberg. The custom is usually observed as a part of the Carnival ceremonies on Shrove Tuesday,¹⁷⁰ but also at the spring equinox,¹⁷¹ on May Day,¹⁷² and at Whitsuntide.¹⁷³ There were also held at Carnival more or less serious battles as a means of promoting the fertility of the crops.¹⁷⁴ The tug-of-war, for instance, is still practised among many primitive peoples as a fertility charm.¹⁷⁵ We still have a Shrovetide tug-of-war in England.¹⁷⁶ A related custom is the ceremony with whips and brooms on Senseless Thursday, the last Thursday in Carnival, in the Tyrol.¹⁷⁷ The broom is considered an excellent protection against witches and evil spirits.¹⁷⁸ The marchers in the Carnival procession in Cologne brush those in front of them with brooms in order to rid them of ghosts.¹⁷⁹ Whipping on Shrove Tuesday was a similar means of purification.¹⁸⁰ This

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 247.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 122, 112. In Italy the Jewish children used to range themselves in rows, and pelt one another with nuts; cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, x. 278a.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, ii. 765; Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 254-8; Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 187. Ludwig Uhland, *Schriften z. Geschichte d. deutschen Dichtung und Sage* iii. (1866) 17-51, has given a very poetical description of this dramatic contest. See also Rudolf Hildebrand, *Materialien Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Volkslieds* (1900), pp. 92sqq.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 257.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, iv. 254.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, iv. 257.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 548sqq.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 174, 182; Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 150.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 248.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, ix. 5, x. 210.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Rademacher, "Carnival," (Hastings') *Encycl. of Rel. & Eth.*, iii. 227b.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 292; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 260. Or is the whip (*flagellum*) a symbol of the god of human fecundity? Cf. T. Inman,

custom is still observed in England on Shrove Tuesday.¹⁸¹ The flagellation of the priest on Palm Sunday recorded from the sixteenth century by Naogeorgus¹⁸² was a survival of this ancient folk-rite, which together with the contests between the representatives of Summer and Winter is chiefly responsible for the countless blows given and received in the German Carnival farces.

The ritual combat between the two champions sometimes became in modern survivals a dialogue in verse, as is still found in some parts of Bavaria.¹⁸³ The custom in this form gave rise to the rich literature of debates which the Middle Ages produced in Europe. The poetical tournaments, such as the *tenso* of the *Provence* and the *Sängerkrieg* in Germany may likewise be attributed to the influence of this practice.

The contest between the representatives of Summer and Winter may also take the form of a trial, in which a judge pronounces the sentence of death over the champion of Winter. The custom in this form accounts for the court-proceeding as a part of the ceremony of beheading the straw-man in Germany and France,¹⁸⁴ and for the presence of a judge and (somewhat less commonly) of an executioner in a number of mummers' plays in Germany and England.¹⁸⁵ The prevalence of the court-trial in the Carnival plays may also be traced back to this custom.

In the ritual battle between the good and the evil spirit the good spirit is not always the victor. In a great number of instances he is, indeed, slain by his antagonist, is laid in the ground or sent out upon the waters with great lamentations, descends into Hades, and on the third day rises again to a new life. Often he also brings back either his mother or bride, in which

*Ancient pagan and modern Christian Symbolism*² (1875), pp. 61sq. In some parts of Europe the females among the animals, and the women of the household were whipped with birch switches on Halloween eve to insure good health, easy childbirth and healthy offspring; cf. Wall. *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 130, 569. Halloween is a survival of the Feast of the Lupercalia, which was celebrated in February.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 157.

¹⁸² *Supra*, 41n73.

¹⁸³ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 255n.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 209sq., 226sq., 232.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. 219, 120, 210.

case a marriage follows his resurrection. We have the descent of Mylitta into the underworld in search of her dead husband Tammuz, of Ishtar into the realm of darkness and death in quest of her lover Adonis,¹⁸⁶ of Demeter, in the Eleusinian mysteries, to the realm of Pluto to visit her daughter Persephone (Proserpina), of Orpheus, in the Orphic rites, to win back his wife Eurydice from Hades, and of Dionysus to lead his mother Semele out of Acheron.¹⁸⁷ This motive is employed in Attic comedy when Aeschylus is fetched up from the abode of the shades by the god of tragedy.

The resurrection of the god is usually followed by his ascension to heaven. We know of the ascension of Tammuz to heaven¹⁸⁸ and of Dionysus with his mother into Olympus.¹⁸⁹

V. THE CARNIVAL COMEDY

The ship-procession, although it was, as we have seen, the most prominent and the most permanent feature of the Carnival, could not have issued in drama. The Carnival-waggon could at best but form the stage for the play, and this, in fact, was the case in a number of towns in the Netherlands and Germany,¹⁹⁰ though not in Nuremberg, which was the real home of the Carnival play. As the ship-cart in the *Schembartlauf* was, as a rule, burned at the end of the procession together with its occupants, it would necessarily follow that it contained stuffed figures, but no living persons. The old objection of the Kelto-Germanic peoples to the representation of agricultural gods by human beings¹⁹¹ seems to have continued longer in Nuremberg than in other German towns. It even extended to those figures of the ritual drama, such as the fool and the doctor,¹⁹² which, as will be shown later,¹⁹³ were but the lower demons of vegetation.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 8sq.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vii. 15.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 225.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 302n4, vii. 12sqg., 32.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Fr. Vogt, "Mittelhochdeutsche Literatur", (H. Paul's) *Grundriss d. germ. Philologie*² ii. 337sq.; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 425sq.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 259.

¹⁹² Cf. F. Panzer, *Beitrag z. deutschen Mythologie* (1848-55) ii. 249sq.

¹⁹³ *Infra*, p. 429.

Neither can we find in the ritual drama, which we have attempted to reconstruct out of a thousand and one fragments gathered from Germanic custom and tradition, the roots of the Carnival play. Mr. Cornford's attempt to lead back the old Attic comedy through the folk-play to the ritual procedure, which he reconstructed with great ingenuity, has in the opinion of the writer, not been very successful. The old Attic comedy, like the medieval German farce, does not show in its plot a similarity to the ritual sufficient to warrant any such assumption. The ritual in itself had but few histrionic possibilities. The parts of the medieval religious drama which were based on the Church liturgy also proved incapable of dramatic evolution. Between the ritual and the drama, as we understand it, there yawns a mighty chasm. We can have drama only when a wholly new content has been given to the ritual. This fact applies with special force to comedy. The ritual plot, above all, can not be used for the comical drama. The marriage, which forms the canonical ending of all our comedies, may, as Cornford suggests,¹⁹⁴ be a survival of the ritual union of sexes, but the central episode of the ritual drama, the death and resurrection of the fertility god, would in comedy, as Cornford admits,¹⁹⁵ be either too serious or too silly. The motive of rejuvenation is only burlesqued in the Carnival plays.¹⁹⁶ The marriage, though forming the ending of Aristophanic comedy, is totally lacking in the Carnival plays of Germany, perhaps owing to the fact that, because of the late arrival of spring in Northern Europe, the magical marriage did not seem to form a part there of the Carnival customs. A few Carnival plays, however, have a wedding as a background (Nos. 7, 41, 86, 115, 130, and XVIII).¹⁹⁷

The ritual drama never passed into the literary stage, but sank to the plane of a degenerate folk-play, of the kind that we still find in Northern Greece, England and Germany. These mummers' shows are just what we would expect of a ritual

¹⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁶ *Infra*, p. 445.

¹⁹⁷ The Arabic numerals refer to the edition of *Fastnachtsspiele* by Adalbert von Keller (1853 & 1858). The Roman numerals designate the plays from Sterzinger which were edited by Zingerle (1886).

drama after its religious content has been emptied out of it. They always keep the same plot and the same unvarying characters from year to year, having taken over the dramatic incidents of the ritual with the minimum of literary intervention. They may have been turned in some instances into puppet plays in so far as the living actors were degraded into mechanical figures. In the *Kasperlespiel* and the English Punch and Judy show, the hero, who triumphs over the Devil and Death, may, indeed, originally have been a representative of the vegetation spirit. We have seen that stuffed figures stood from the very first for the vegetation powers in the Nuremberg *Schembertlauf*.

But these rustic folk-plays never assumed a literary form. They never merged with the main current of dramatic evolution. They have lingered on down to the present day wholly independent of the literary drama. While they, indeed, share the plot with the Carnival ritual, they show no links whatever with the Carnival play.

The view expressed by J. G. Robertson,¹⁹⁸ that the drama in all literatures may ultimately be led back to the conflict of Spring and Winter must not be understood in the sense that the conflict of wills, which is the very centre and soul of all drama, is to be traced back to the ritual combat between the powers of good and evil. The root of the drama we will find neither in this nor in any other incident in the ritual.

The dance, and especially the armed dance, has been more commonly considered as the source of the drama.¹⁹⁹ We know from analogy with existing savages that the dance formed an essential part of all the agricultural festivals of Europe.²⁰⁰ Early Greek vases show certain masked dances presumably intended to promote the growth of the crops. The ship-procession in Nuremberg and probably elsewhere was accompanied by masked dances.²⁰¹ Processional and round dances

¹⁹⁸ *A History of German Literature* (1902), p. 181; cf. also Grimm, *op. cit.*, ii. 784.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 409; Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 280; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 384.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 160sq. The Jews also adopted this practice as an act of worship; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14, 16, 17, 21.

²⁰¹ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, i. 264; Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

are still or were down to recent times quite common on Shrove Tuesday in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.²⁰² A chief variant is the so-called hemp or flax dance on Shrove Tuesday in Germany.²⁰³ That dancing tends to become mimetic did not escape the attention of Aristotle.²⁰⁴ The dance has been called the cradle of the drama.²⁰⁵ From this point of view the drama is but a differentiated form of the dance.²⁰⁶ Pearson ventures to assert that originally the comedy was a *winileod*, a choral dance at a sex or fertility festival.²⁰⁷ The origin of the drama in India was in religious dances of a fertility cult,²⁰⁸ and the mime in *Magna Graecia* and Lower Italy also arose out of the mimic dance. The drama of savage peoples is for the most part danced.²⁰⁹ The dances of the Mexicans at their religious festivals remained for a long time the basis of all their dramatic acts.²¹⁰ The fertility ritual was everywhere performed in pantomimic dances.²¹¹ We may, therefore, safely assume that the dance has been a great factor in the development of the drama among the Germanic peoples. This fact will account for the prevalence of the dance in the Carnival plays. Quite a number of them close with an invitation to dance and a call for music (Nos. 6, 51, 59, 67, 89, 111). The word dance occurs even in the titles of a few plays (Nos. 14, 67, 89, XIV). The dance seems to have formed such an essential part of the Carnival plays that even Hans Sachs provided for it in two of his earlier pieces (Nos. 2, 9). This fact leads Creizenach²¹² to the conclusion that the Carnival plays were for the most part but little more

²⁰² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 238sqq. The round dances typified the circular rotations of the heavenly bodies; cf. H. O'Brien, *The Round Towers of Ireland* (1898), pp. 110, 517.

²⁰³ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, i. 138sq., viii. 326.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.* i. 188.

²⁰⁵ On the union of dance and drama among the savage peoples see also Havemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Schroeder, *Mysterium u. Mimus im Rigveda* (1908), pp. 13sqq.

²⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, ii. 136.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 384sq.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Havemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²¹⁰ Cf. K. Th. Preuss, "Phallische Fruchtbarkeitsdämonen als Träger des altmexikan. Dramas," *Archiv f. Anthropologie* xxix. (1904) 169sq.

²¹¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix, 375sqq.

²¹² *Op. cit.*, i. 409sq.

than processions of figures, each of whom explained in couplets his dance costume after having been introduced to the audience by their leader.

Of the dances, which have left their traces in the Carnival plays, the sword-dance is the most important. Like the Pyrrhic dance of the Greeks, the Germanic armed dance was fundamentally mimic in character.²¹³ We know that the sword-dance was quite popular with the Germanic warrior tribes. Tacitus describes it as the one form of *spectaculum* to be seen at the gatherings of the Germans with which he was conversant. The dancers, he tells us, were young men who leapt with much agility amongst meancing spearpoints and sword-blades.²¹⁴ This dance was fairly common at Shrovetide and other folk-festivals throughout the German lands. The earliest medieval notice of it as a popular *ludus* is at Nuremberg in 1350, when the *Schembartlauf* maskers first received permission to perform it.

The morris-dance, a variant of the sword-dance,²¹⁵ was also quite common among the Germans.²¹⁶ The term occurs in the titles of two Carnival plays (Nos. 14, XIV), and is mentioned in Nos. 99 and 31. The dispute between K. Müllenhoff²¹⁷ and Chambers²¹⁸ as to whether the sword-dance, including the morris-dance, was originally a fertility rite or a war charm is unimportant, since the fertility gods were also war-gods, as may be seen from an analogy with old Mexican beliefs.²¹⁹ We shall now understand why the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf* maskers carried in the right hand a wintergreen as a symbol of fertility, and in the left a spear as a symbol of victory in war.²²⁰

The symbolical meaning of the swords was later lost, and the dancers were supposed to use them in their fight against the evil spirits of unfruitfulness.²²¹ The morris-dancers replaced the

²¹³ Cf. Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Wackernagel, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 103.

²¹⁴ *Germania*, 24.

²¹⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 199.

²¹⁶ Cf. Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 411; Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 198.

²¹⁷ "Ueber den Schwerttanz." In: *Festgaben für Homeyer* (1871).

²¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, i. 203; cf. also Sepp., *op. cit.*, p. 96; Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²¹⁹ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.* xxix. 145, 153.

²²⁰ Cf. Michels, *op. cit.*, pp. 99sq.

²²¹ Cf., Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 251.

swords with hoops²²² in the sixteenth century in some parts of Germany. In a similar way the bells which were attached to the caps of the morris-dancers were supposed to be a potent means to expel demons²²³ and to awaken the good spirits of vegetation from their winter sleep,²²⁴ whereas, as will be shown later, the swords, the bells, and the black faces, all constituted the characteristic demonic outfit of the performers of the dances as magical rites for the vernal reanimation of nature.

The sword-dancers performed in pantomime the fertility ritual. A few reminiscences of their former rôle as characters in the ritual drama are still clinging to them. Among the names for the sword-dancers in some parts of Germany we find *Grünwald* or *Wilder Waldmann*, which stamp them as representatives of the old vegetation spirits. A great number of the sword-dances in Germany also have the doctor and the fool,²²⁵ two of the stock figures in the ritual drama. In three or four of the sword-dances in Germany a dramatic feature of the mock death and resurrection actually precedes or follows the regular figures of the dances.²²⁶ Similar instances of sword-dances containing a scene of the mimic death and resurrection are on record in ancient Thrace²²⁷ and modern England.²²⁸ In a Bohemian sword-dance the fool has his female counterpart in a *Mehlweib*.²²⁹ This character is the Germanic Mother Corn (Old Bessy in England).²³⁰ Her name points to a function in the ritual drama, which we will understand by analogy with the summer ceremonies of the American Indians, at which sacred meal is sprinkled by an old woman on the dancers.²³¹

²²² Cf. Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 85; J. J. Ammann, "Nachträge z. Schwerttanz," *Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Altert.* xxxiv. (1890) 202sq.

²²³ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 117, 118, 246sq.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 247, 250sq.

²²⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 192.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

²²⁷ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

²²⁸ Cf. Chambers, *loc. cit.*

²²⁹ Cf. F. A. Mayer, "Ein deutsches Schwerttanzspiel aus Ungarn," *Zeitschrift f. Völkerpsychologie* xix. (1889), 417.

²³⁰ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.* i. 325.

²³¹ Cf. J. W. Fewkes, "A Few Summer Ceremonies at the Tusayan Pueblos," *A Journal of Amer. Ethnology & Archaeology* ii. (1892) 49.

But while the facts which have been presented furnish sufficient proof that the sword-dances were closely connected with the ritual, a connection between them and the Carnival plays by no means follows if we have succeeded in proving that the ritual drama and the Carnival play are not identical in origin. Creizenach and Chambers seem to think that having once shown a connection between the sword-dance and the ritual drama the origin of the Carnival play in the sword-dance naturally follows. What we are warranted in assuming is that the sword-dance is related to the rustic mummery with which, owing to their common origin, it shares a number of features and figures. But we fail to see any common elements in the sword-dances and the Carnival plays. The fact that sword-dances were sometimes executed at the close of these plays need not necessarily presuppose an inner connection between them. Dances were, for instance, inserted into Shakespearean plays even when they were not properly in keeping with the action. It is hard to imagine the process by which a literary drama could evolve out of a sword-dance. A sword-dance is not in itself, a drama, for drama is only reached when imitation or representation extends to action. We have, furthermore, no evidence that the sword-dance ever took on comic elements and attempted the portrayal of contemporary life, which is the very essence of the Carnival plays. Together with the ritual drama, for which it appears to have served as a kind of frame-work, the sword-dance, having lost its religious meaning, was perpetuated as a popular game or show, but has never influenced the literary drama.

For the origin of the Carnival play as of the drama in general we must look not so much to any of the magical rites, but rather more to the actors who performed them. We know from early Greek vases that the dancers were masked. As a matter of fact, masks were worn at all the ceremonies intended to promote the growth of the crops.²³² The masks formed the most essential element of the fertility worship and have survived down to the present day in our Carnival amusements. But it need hardly be said that our ancestors did not put them on for the reason we now do at our mask balls in order to conceal our identity while

²³² Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 236, 240, 242sq., 247, 248, 251.

we behave in a way that might have unpleasant consequences if we were recognized. Neither did they deck themselves in their costumes of leaves and flowers, of hides and horned heads for the beneficial influence of the indwelling divinity, as Chambers conjectures.²³³ There can be no doubt that the masqueraders meant to impersonate the powers of fertility in nature. We are well familiar with these field and forest spirits from the classic works of Mannhardt.²³⁴ The tree-worship of the ancient Germans is now well established beyond any possibility of doubt.²³⁵ As a matter of fact, it is well attested for all the great European families of the Aryan stock.²³⁶ Palm Sunday is a relic of ancient tree-worship. The palm was deified by the ancients. Among the trees worshipped in Egypt the palm ranked highest.²³⁷ The fertility spirits were not discarded by primitive man when he conceived the idea of a god. The notion of a god, as Chambers well remarks,²³⁸ is much the old notion of an anthropomorphic elemental spirit, widened, extended, and further removed from sense. "The god does not annul the more bounded and the more concrete personifications of natural forces. They survive in popular credence as his servants and ministers."²³⁹ The masked men and women who performed the ritual were but acting the rôles of these ministering spirits of vegetation. They were performing the acts which they had learned from these demons. There must have been a time not so far back in their memories when the god or genius of the rite appeared with his demons among them in order to perform the magical acts necessary for the generation of life in spring.²⁴⁰ When the superhuman actors had ceased to appear, their devotees assumed their masks and their rôles in order to continue the religious practices which they considered wholly indispensable for the renewal and prosperity of vegetation. We do not know at what period in the history of the

²³³ *Op. cit.*, i. 166.

²³⁴ *Roggenwolf u. Roggenhund* (1865); *Die Korndämonen* (1868); *Wald = u. Feldkulte der Germanen*, Bd. I (1875), Bd. II (1877); *Mythol. Forschungen* (1884).

²³⁵ *Cf. Frazer, op. cit.*, ii. 8sq.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 9.

²³⁷ *Cf. Cultus arborum; a descriptive account of tree-worship* (1890), pp. 21, 60.

²³⁸ *Op. cit.*, i. 104sq.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Cf. Preuss, Archiv f. Anthropol.* xxix. 175; *Neue Jahrbücher*, xvii. 161.

human mind the demons were transformed into men. But there can be no doubt that the human performers of the ritual were the successors of the demonic agents of nature. We must bear in mind that it was not the pleasure of imitation, but the religious or rather, the magical purpose which made them act the part of the demons. Worship was in its origin by no means a matter of praise and prayer. Primitive man was wholly concerned with his nutritive needs and had but one object with his rites and ceremonies, namely, to influence the course of nature to supply his material wants. When his god no longer appeared with his (god's) agents on earth for the purpose of carrying out the process of the resurrection of nature, considering him no longer worthy of this boon, he (primitive man), perforce, had to undertake the work himself.

When the original meaning of the masks was lost, they were understood to be a necessary outfit at the expulsion of demons.²⁴¹ Primitive man, then, hoped that by assuming a mask he would not be recognized by the demons and might perhaps even be taken as one of them. But it must be said to the credit of our ancestors that in their eagerness to resemble them they often overshot the mark and wore masks fit to terrify the most ferocious of the demons. The mysterious force which resides in the mask, moreover, was believed to pass into the wearer, to turn him into a mighty demon, and to endow him with the power of banning demons or earning their favor.²⁴²

There is not the slightest doubt that the masked men delegated to perform the ritual acts were regarded by the rest of the community as the demons whom they represented.²⁴³ To the primitive mind the actor is, for the time being, the god or demon whom he indicates. The following story from medieval Leipzig will be of interest in the light of our present discussion. It is recorded that when, in 1499, a girl had stabbed during Carnival a masked young man to death because he had teased her, she defended herself in court by declaring that she had not killed a human being, but a demonic creature.²⁴⁴ The

²⁴¹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 111, 127, 145sq., 213, 251.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, ix. 382.

²⁴³ Cf. H. Usener, "Heilige Handlung," *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* vii. (1904) 284.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Flögel = Bauer, *Geschichte d. Grotesk-Komischen* (1914), ii. 219.

demonic nature of the masks was, indeed, plainly evident to their wearers as well as to the rigorists among the churchmen, who passionately inveighed against them. A statute of the ninth century forbids any presbyter to wear masks of demons, for "all this is devilish." Other records of the same century speak of the monks mumming as wolves, foxes, or bears, and of "other diabolical masquerades."²⁴⁵ It has already been stated that the Carnival-waggon was called by its clerical opponents *malignorum spirituum execrabile domicilium* (the accursed habitation of evil spirits).²⁴⁶ Henricus Lubertus (Lubbert), a Protestant clergyman, who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, could find no better title for his diatribe against the whole Carnival season than *Der Fastnachtsteufel* (The Shrovetide Devil.) The Low German name for the procession of maskers is *Schwodüvel*, i.e. running about in a diabolical mask.

Processions of maskers of this type were common in all parts of Germany in the Middle Ages.²⁴⁷ The best known of these medieval German processions is the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf*, which existed from about the middle of the fourteenth century down to the time of Hans Sachs.²⁴⁸ *Schembart* means a bearded mask (MHG. *scheme* is mask). By popular etymology the word was later changed to *Schönbart*. A parallel custom is the *Perchtenlauf* in the Alpine regions of Germany, which, at first, probably was held at the Carnival season, but later transferred in some parts of the Tyrol to Perchta's Day, which is Twelfth Night, or Epiphany Day.²⁴⁹ *Schembartlaufen* and *Perchtenlaufen* would point to the custom of running and leaping for the purpose

²⁴⁵ Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 282.

²⁴⁶ *Supra*, p. 413.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 120, viii. 325, ix. 250.

²⁴⁸ On this procession see *Kleine Geschichte des Nürnberger Schembartlaufens* (1761); *Nürnbergisches Schönbart-Buch und Gesellen-Stechen* (1785), Flögel-Bauer, *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen* (1914) ii. 236sq. & *Nat.-Zg.* 27.1.1889.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 242, 245sq. On the *Perchtenlauf* see Andree-Eysn, "Die Perchten im Salzburgerischen," *Archiv f. Anthropologie* xxxi. (1905) and Flögel-Bauer, *op. cit.*, ii. 249sq. The writer's view in regard to the demonic aspect of the Carnival maskers is shared, at least as far as the Perchta-racers are concerned, by Waschnitius, *op. cit.*, p. 160. This monograph did not fall into the writer's hands until after the completion of his manuscript.

of procuring good crops.²⁵⁰ The maskers often carried lighted torches as a sun-charm as they raced through fields, gardens, orchards, and streets.²⁵¹ The Perchta-masquers, as was already noted,²⁵² carried brooms and whips. Among them was a figure called "tailor," who carried a pair of huge stretching-shears. A counterpart of this article is found among the Hopi of Arizona, whose god appears at their summer festivals with a long pair of wooden stretching-shears. J. W. Fewkes believes that the shears represent the lighting-flash hurled by the god.²⁵³

As human representatives of the vernal spirits of vegetation, the maskers were dressed in leaves and blossoms, branches and flowers.²⁵⁴ These leaf-clad mummers, the so-called *Wilde Männer und wilde Weiber*, were standing figures in the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf*.²⁵⁵ To wear green on St. Patrick's day is a survival of this custom. The flowers and fruits on the spring hats of the women of today are also relics of this ancient practice.

In the Carnival processions of Central Europe were also seen men and women with heads of animals.²⁵⁶ There are clear traces of a stage in which the demons of vegetation were regarded among the ancients as animals.²⁵⁷ A Christian parallel is to depict Christ in the form of a lamb (*Agnus Dei*). The Greek stories of the transformation of gods into beasts point to a ritual custom in which the actors representing the gods were masked as animals.²⁵⁸ There were beast choruses in Attic comedy. Men and women with heads of animals were seen in the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf*.²⁵⁹ In the modern survivals of the ancient spring customs the leaf-clad mummers curiously enough

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ix. 238sqq.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, x. 107sq., 110sqq., 113sqq., 179, 339sq.

²⁵² *Supra*, p. 422.

²⁵³ *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1903, p. 90. Quoted by Rademacher in (Hasting's) *Encycl.* iii. 228b.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 74sqq., iv. 206sqq., 230, xi. 26, viii. 325sqq.; Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 315sqq.

²⁵⁵ Cf. *Kleine Geschichte des Nürnberger Schembartlaufens*, p. 10.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, viii. 325sqq.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, viii. 1sqq.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, iv. 71, 83, viii. 339.

²⁵⁹ Cf. *Kleine Geschichte, etc.*, *loc. cit.*

bear animal names. We hear of a Carnival (Shrovetide) Bear,²⁶⁰ Wolf,²⁶¹ and Goat.²⁶² The day preceding Shrove Tuesday is called in the Rhineland *Hirsmonntag* (Stag Monday), as the speaker is masked as a *Hirsch* (stag).

The Perchta-racers wore bells,²⁶³ a fact which strengthens our argument that they were representatives of vegetation demons. Bells are also worn by the human representatives of the vegetation spirits in Mexico.²⁶⁴ Their white garments were meant to suggest their incorporeal forms. Garments of this color were also worn by the impersonators of the Roman *larvae*.

Demons of the most varied figure played a significant part in the medieval processions of maskers. Among them there must also have been a masque of Death, which gave rise to the medieval pageant known as *dance macabre* (*Totentanz* in German).²⁶⁵ There were masks of devils in the Nuremberg *Schembarlauf*²⁶⁶ and in the Salzburg *Perchtenlauf*.²⁶⁷ The Ulm maskers painted their faces black,²⁶⁸ and a black face was a feature in the medieval representation of devils. The devil already had appeared as an Ethiopian in the days of the Church fathers. The black face may also be seen in the modern survivals of the ancient agricultural customs in Central Europe. Either the leaf-clad representative of the vegetation spirit or one of his companions is black.²⁶⁹ A Moorish king with a sooty face,²⁷⁰ a Charcoal Man,²⁷¹ or a devil dressed in black and holding a chain in his hands,²⁷² is one of the figures among

²⁶⁰ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 230, viii. 325sqq.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, viii. 327.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, ix. 242, 243, 244.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 278, 280, 284.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Tunison, *op. cit.*, pp. 17sq. Cf. also Fehse, *Ursor. d. Totentänze* (1908).

²⁶⁶ Cf. Panzer, *op. cit.*, ii. 249.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 244sq.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Jäger, *Ulms Verfassungs-, -bürgerl. u. kommerz. Leben im Mittelalter* (1831) p. 525.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 162, 314, 321sq., 336, 342sq., 349, 351sq., 367, 411, 426sq., 442sqq.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 208.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, xi. 26n2.

²⁷² Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 328; Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 83, iv. 231; Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 374, No. 5.

the Whitsuntide mummers in Germany. The leaf-clad mummer in England, Jack-in-the-Green, is a chimney-sweep.²⁷³ In the Carnival folk-plays of Northern Greece²⁷⁴ and in the St. George mummers' plays of England²⁷⁵ the antagonist is sometimes represented with a blackened face.

The conjectural reason which Chambers²⁷⁶ gives for the black face as a survival of the primitive custom of smearing the face with the beneficent ashes of the holy festival-fire is too phantastic to be taken seriously. Ashes, moreover, do not entirely blacken the face. It is perhaps more reasonable to assume in the light of our discussion that the black face was typical of a certain type of demons. As only a part of the maskers at the fertility ceremonies had black faces, we must assume that not all demons of vegetation were black. It is, therefore, necessary to postulate different classes of demons with different functions in the train of the heathen god just as there are different kinds of angels at the court of Jahveh. The 'Sooty Ones,' we may in all likelihood assume, were the phallic demons. The black color may perhaps signify the night, out of which they have emerged,²⁷⁷ or stamp them as dark and mysterious powers on whom human procreation depended. Reference has already been made to the black figures on an amphora, which represents the epiphany of Phales or Dionysus in a ship.²⁷⁸ The two actors who perform an obscene pantomime in the modern Thracian Carnival play, which is a survival of the ancient Dionysiac rites, have blackened faces.²⁷⁹ The bearer of the phallus among the *phallphori*, the human successors to the phallic demons in the Dionysia, was, as we learn from Semos' book *On Paeans*, "smeared with soot."²⁸⁰ His companions, who, notwithstanding their name, did not have the phallus, were not black-faced. When we turn to Kelto-Germanic customs we observe that blackened faces

²⁷³ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ii. 82sq.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 153.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 211sqq.

²⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, i. 199.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Preuss, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xvii. 179.

²⁷⁸ *Supra*, p. 407.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, vii. 27.

²⁸⁰ Quoted after Athenaeus xiv. 621Dsqq. by Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

were known in the sword-dance as well as in the morris-dance.²⁸¹ The latter name is derived from the Spanish *morisco*, a Moor. The dancers were thought to represent Moors because their faces were blackened.²⁸² The phallic demons may be traced back to the Vedic age.²⁸³ There were phallic demons also among the German vegetation spirits.²⁸⁴ The god Freyr of the ancient Norsemen and Germans was worshipped under the form of a phallus.²⁸⁵ His consort Freya was also represented with this symbol.²⁸⁶

The phallic demons were regarded as clowns owing to the fact that their function as participants in the ritual was somewhat comical. Their obscene pantomimic acts could not help but strike the on-lookers as funny. They supplied the comic element in the mythical drama. Few morris-dancers are complete without one or more comical figures. The *Faschingsnarr* ("Carnival-Fool") was also a prominent figure in the medieval procession of maskers.²⁸⁷ Neither is he missing in the Carnival procession of the modern German cities. He is so essential a Carnival figure that the last day of Carnival is named after him in some parts of Germany. Shrove Tuesday is still known in the Rhineland as *Narrenfest* or *Narrenkirchweih*. The fool is a stock figure in the English and German mummers' plays.²⁸⁸ There is also a crop of fools in the German Carnival comedies (Nos. 13, 14, 17, 20, 32, 38, 44, 110, 116, 119, 132). Michels²⁸⁹ is inclined to consider the fool in the Carnival comedies of the close of the Middle Ages to have been substituted by fifteenth century rationalism (?) for a more primitive devil. The prominence given to the devil in the Carnival plays of the suc-

²⁸¹ Cf. Chambers, *loc. cit.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²⁸⁴ Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Korndämonen*, p. 25; *W.u.F.K.*, i. 416, 417, 469, 551; *Myth. Forsch.*, pp. 142, 143sq.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Grimm., *op. cit.*, i. 212, iv. 1354; cf. also H. W. Westropp & C. S. Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship. Influence of the Phallic Idea on the Religions of Antiquity* (1874), p. 28.

²⁸⁶ Cf. J. A. Dulare, *Die Zeugung in Glauben, Sitten u. Bräuchen der Völker*, Germ. tr. by F. S. Krauss & K. Reiskel (1909), p. 90.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 242sq.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 83, iv. 231sq., viii. 330.

²⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101sq.

ceeding centuries evidently would be attributed by him to a Protestant reaction. As a matter of fact, the fool and the devil originally were identical in person and may be traced back to the demonic clown of the ancient heathen days. P. Paris correctly derives the French *arlequin* (German *Harlekin*) from the Low German *hellekin* (Little Devil).²⁹⁰ The fool may now appear to be a supernumerary person among the morris-dancers. But just as the *Mehlweib*, who also is one of their number, originally had, as we have seen,²⁹¹ a magical act to perform, so the fool also played an important part in the ritual drama. His act, though somewhat comical, was for this reason not any the less sacred than the other acts, as may be seen from its analogy to the sacred customs of the Zuñians. Our argument that the clownish demon had the phallus will be supported by the analogy to the comic figures in the Turkish play of shades (*Karagöz*) and in the Javanese puppet-play (*Semar*).²⁹² His sooty appearance has in time been shared by one or the other of the ritual performers. When the dead vegetation spirit later came to be looked upon as a sort of scape-goat and was laden with all the follies committed during the Carnival season, the name of Carnival Fool was transferred to him²⁹³ and he, too, was smeared with soot. The black appearance of the antagonist in the modern survivals is chiefly due to Christian influence, as is very evident from the chain, which he holds at times in his hands.

It was the phallic demon, the clown among the fertility agents, who became the actor. How many of his characteristics have gone over to the actor cannot be stated with any precision. It is certain, however, that voracity and obscenity go back to the phallic demon.²⁹⁴ Greek comedy according to Aristotle took its rise in the *Phallika* (*Poet.* iv. 12). The phantastic costume of the actor in Greek comedy corresponds entirely to the phallic type of demons,²⁹⁵ as they appear on the Corinthian vases in *Thiasos*.²⁹⁶ He originally appeared in no other form but as

²⁹⁰ Quoted *ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Supra*, p. 429.

²⁹² Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 176n2.

²⁹³ *Supra*, p. 417.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix, 178.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 174.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Preuss, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xvii. 161.

demon.²⁹⁷ His origin as phallic vegetation-demon may, therefore, be taken as proven.²⁹⁸ The actor in the Satyr-play, the primitive form of the Greek tragedy, may in a similar way be shown to be a demon. The theory in regard to the demonic origin of the Greek drama gains further weight by the analogies which Preuss has drawn with the fertility ceremonies of the Mexican and American Indians. The same origin may, therefore, with great probability be assumed also for the German drama.

This theory does not contradict the view that the source of the drama is in the dance. The origin of all drama may, indeed, lie in the mimic dance, but the dance belongs to the nature of the demons, and had a phallic significance in Greece as well in the Orient²⁹⁹. The mimic dance is, as a matter of fact, a special feature of the demons.³⁰⁰ It is characteristic for both groups of demons in Greece, the Curetes in Crete and the Corybants in Phrygia.³⁰¹ The dancers on the early Greek vases, as has been repeatedly pointed out,³⁰² were beast-clad figures, which means that they were theriomorphic demons. The Kelto-Germanic sword-dancers show their demonic origin by their black faces no less than by their swords and bells. The medieval missionaries and monks, who branded the dance as "devilish," as "the fiendish delight of hell," were not far from the truth after all.

The acts of the demons were, as has already been pointed out, originally sacred rites intended for the regeneration of nature. But very soon episodes were added which had no connection with the magical ceremonies. It is wholly in accord with the nature of these clownish demons that they, having acted their part in the ritual drama, should wish to have a little fun with the on-lookers and try their mimic arts on them.³⁰³ They were soon, indeed, asked to imitate certain individuals in the throng,³⁰⁴ and they did what was asked of them with great

²⁹⁷ Cf., Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 178.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 174sq.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 174sq.

³⁰¹ Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 19sq.

³⁰² *Supra*, pp. 426, 430.

³⁰³ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 177.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

pleasure and with all sorts of additions to the great delight of the spectators. They gladly exhibited their mimic talent, for they were in a happy mood and in the very swing of it, as it were. We learn from Semos that the *phallophori* after having sung the phallic songs ran forward and ridiculed persons in the audience.³⁰⁵ Among the Zúñi there is more or less fun-making throughout all their sacred dances.³⁰⁶ We shall not wonder at the fun-making acts in connection with the sacred fertility rites when we bear in mind that fun was not excluded even from the Church service, and that comic scenes taken from real life alternated in the ecclesiastical drama with episodes drawn from the life and passion of Christ. Furthermore, just as some of these comic scenes were separated in the course of time and performed independently from the Church plays, so some of the farcical acts broke loose from the ritual dramas, and served as entertainments for our ancestors in their homes and banquet halls. It is very evident, therefore, that all drama is of demonic origin. We must now admit that the Church Fathers were indeed right when they declared that all dramatic arts come from the devil (Pseudo-Cyprian, *Spect.* 4; Tatian, *Orat. ad Graec.* 22).

The Carnival comedy is, as we have seen, of country origin. Peasants were its first actors. When the Carnival festival, however, was adopted by the towns, the burghers replaced the peasants as Carnival players. It was in their hands that the drama could develop as an art. Among the country people the comic pieces would have remained to the present day mere shows and games just as has been the case with the ritual parts. The actors soon broke with the tradition and laid aside the phallus and the black mask. The phallus was dropped in the West earlier than in the East. Reich has, however, brought to evidence the fact that the mime retained the phallus for many centuries of our common era.³⁰⁷ The long hair of the actors is a modern survival of their original demonic appearance. The demons in the Dionysiac rites preserved their hair in honor

³⁰⁵ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁰⁶ Cf. J. W. Fewkes, "A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zúñi Pueblos," *Journal of Am. Ethn. & Arch.*, i. 22; cf. also vol. ii. for similar ceremonies among the Tusayan Pueblos.

³⁰⁷ Cf. H. Reich. *Der Mimus. Ein literarisch-entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch* (1903), pp. 17sq., 258, 502 sq.

of their god, the unshorn or *abrocomus* Dionysus.³⁰⁸ In this fashion the actors were imitated by painters and poets is so far as they were attached to the stage.³⁰⁹

A point which must be raised at this stage of our discussion is the share which the women had in the origin of the Carnival plays. Everything seems to point to the fact that the Carnival originally was in the hands of women. The *carrus navalis*, after which it has been named, was the sacred symbol of the earth-goddess. The festival originally fell within the *Weibermonat* (the women's month), as the month of February is called in Germany, for the reason that *im Februar jühren die Frauen das Regiment*" (in the month of February the women rule).³¹⁰ The last day of Carnival—Shrove Tuesday—is still known in certain parts of Germany as *Weiberfastnacht* (Women's Shrovetide) or *Altweiberfastnacht* (Old Women's Shrovetide). In certain districts of Germany there still exists a dance at Carnival called *ein Tanz der Weiberzunft* (a dance of the woman's guild.) The reason for the prominence of women in the Carnival ceremonies is not hard to find. We have seen that the earliest ceremonial observances of this sort were connected with agricultural life, and we know from analogy with existing savages that European agriculture in its early stages was an affair of the women.³¹¹ The men, who hunted, worshipped the heavens, whence came the light, but the women, who tilled the soil, carried on earth-worship. The men's divinity took on a male form, and the women's a female form. The heaven-father had his counterpart in the earth-mother. The goddess of the fertility of the earth, moreover, was also the goddess of the fertility of women.³¹² The first servants of the goddess of fertility were priestesses, or, at a later date, men dressed as women.³¹³ The procession of men wearing women's clothes, with brooms and fire-works, on *Fastnacht* at Erlingen³¹⁴ points to that earlier stage when the priests had to perform

³⁰⁸ Cf. Tunison, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 158.

³¹¹ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 106.

³¹² *Ibid.*, i. 169.

³¹³ Cf. Pearson, *loc. cit.*

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 30.

their mystic functions in woman's garb. Men also dressed as women in the Dionysiac rites.³¹⁵ The witch is a degraded form of the old priestess of fertility, and the Witches' Sabbath, which was not altogether an imaginary affair, but really had a foundation in fact,³¹⁶ is but a secret survival of the ancient fertility rites.³¹⁷ The Bacchanalia, the Roman festivals of Bacchus (Dionysus) were at first celebrated by women only. A ceremony similar to our May-pole is still celebrated in Ceylon by women only. In Styria and Carinthia it was the custom down to recent times for women and girls to draw a plough through the fields in the spring.³¹⁸ The custom of hitching young unmarried women to the plough at Carnival exists down to the present day in some parts of Germany.³¹⁹ Women were often yoked to the sacred ship, which was led in procession at the Carnival festival. They often rode in the ship apparently as human representatives of the fertility demonesses. In a record of the Lübeck Carnival procession of 1458 we read that there were sixteen women and eight men in the ship-cart which accidentally turned over. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century a custom prevailed at Rome that at Carnival women rode in waggons which were shaped like ships.³²⁰ We learn from the account of the rigoristic monk Rudolfus³²¹ that women with hair dishevelled and with a shirt for their only garment danced "in devilish fashion" around the ship wherever it halted on

³¹⁵ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 258.

³¹⁶ Cf. Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

³¹⁷ Cf. Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 83. Satan was but the successor to the ancient phallic gods, whom we can recognize in all the disguises which he has assumed at the secret meetings on the Blocksberg. The vows which the ancients addressed to their gods the medieval men and women addressed to Satan; cf. S. Brown, II, *Sex Worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races* (1916), p. 87. It is, however, probable, that the orgies connected with the sex or fertility festivals of the ancient Scandinavians and Germans were due to Roman influences; cf. Dulare, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 367. In all likelihood the phallic element was directly introduced into Northern Europe by the Phoenicians, who carried on commerce with the tribes of Scandinavia; cf. *ibid.*, p. 90. The Scandinavians owe their god Thor to the Phoenicians.

³¹⁸ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 553sq.; Grimm, *op. cit.*, i.263sq.; Rademacher, (Hastings') *Encycl.*, iii. 228.

³¹⁹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 556; Flöger=Bauer, *op. cit.*, ii. 218sq.

³²⁰ Cf. Usener, *Religionsgeschll. Untersuch.* iii. 119sq.

³²¹ *Supra*, p. 411.

its way from Aix-la-Chappelle to Holland. Women also danced in the Brussels *Ommeganck* around the ship-cart "*seminudae, alias simplice tantum clamide circumtande,*" and the dances lasted, we are told, "*usque ad noctis medium.*"³²² In a Leipzig Mid-Lent (originally Carnival) custom which lasted down to the eighteenth century, the public women played a part which makes them appear as representatives of the vegetation demonesses. They carried about the streets a puppet fitted with a phallus, which they showed to young married women to make them fruitful.³²³ Women appear in this quality in the Mexican summer ceremonies when they dance and indulge in obscene acts with soldiers.³²⁴ As the god of fertility was also the god of war, soldiers as well as harlots were regarded as demons. We know at least of one instance in Germany in which soldiers appear in a mummers' procession,³²⁵ and that is in Pilsen. In Rome there was the *mimad* as well as the *mime*, and as a matter of fact she was looked upon as the same as the Greek *hetaera* or the Roman *delicta*. They were all demonesses of a low order. The Germanic Mother Corn was called *die grosse Hure*. It follows from the facts adduced that there were female counterparts of the phallic demons,³²⁶ who in their human form evolved into *mimads*. We may, therefore, well assume that women had at first a share in the Carnival plays. In the medieval performances of which we have record, however, women's parts were played by men for the reason that it was considered—and in certain parts of the world still is considered—improper for a woman to act a part in public.

The elements of vulgarity and obscenity, of nastiness and lasciviousness, which are found in abundance in the Carnival plays must be explained by their phallic origin. Harsh, indeed,

³²² Cf., J. W. Wolf, *op. cit.*, xii. 38.

³²³ Grimm's view (*op. cit.*, ii. 769 n. 1) that it was an effigy of Death is erroneous, as may be seen from parallel customs in the Orient. The women of Egypt carried about at their village festivals, according to Herodotus (Rawlinson's translation, ii. 48; cf. also Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 48) puppets of a cubit in height, fitted with a phallus of nearly the same length, worked by means of strings.

³²⁴ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 169.

³²⁵ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, iv. 210.

³²⁶ Cf. Preuss, *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxix. 179sq.

have been the moral as well as the aesthetical judgments of the literary historians in regard to this *enfant terrible* of German literature. Says Gervinus: *Unanständigkeit ist die Seele des Fastnachtsspiels*. ("Indecency is the soul of the Shrovetide play.") Stronger is the condemnation uttered by Goedecke: *Jeder Sprecher ein Schwein, jeder Spruch eine Roheit, jeder Witz eine Unfläterei*. ("Every speaker is a pig, every speech is a vulgarity, every joke is an obscenity"). It must be admitted that unchaste scenes were represented in these comedies with an astonishing realism. The modern reader of these plays finds it hardly credible that pieces so frankly indecent could have been performed in public and patronized by assembled families, including both sons and daughters. The players often carried their immorality so far that the city authorities frequently had to impose a fine for immoral or improper words or acts. The only explanation that can be offered is the well-known fact that tradition dies hard. How much decent people will stand when objectionable features have the sanction of tradition may be seen from an analogy with the ceremonies of the so-called backward races of today. Fewkes tells us that the obscene puns and jokes of the mud-heads, the demonic clowns, who appear at the summer ceremonies of the Zuñi Pueblos, "are so disgusting that it seems impossible to believe that any of the more prominent of the Zuñians would take this part in the dances. No attempt is made or thought of among the on-lookers, which at the close of the afternoon includes all the population clothed in their best attire, to repress the obscenity and vulgarity of the clowns."³²⁷ It would, indeed, be a great injustice to our ancestors to take the Carnival plays as a criterion of their sex morality. The Carnival player was not bound by the morals of his day. He owed his freedom to his origin from the phallic demon. A recent German writer, judging from the Carnival amusements in the great cities of modern Germany, deeply laments seeing "how far removed we Germans are from the seriousness attributed to us."³²⁸ The fact of the matter is that the Germans are not a light-hearted race. The jesting and buffoonery so common at the Carnival are not innate in the Germanic peoples.

³²⁷ *Journal of Am. Ethn. & Arch.*, i. 23n2.

³²⁸ H. S. Rehm, *Deutsche Volksfeste u. Volkssitten* (1908), pp. 21sq.

They show all the characteristics of demonic acts. They are the bequests of the phallic demons to their successors in the fertility cult.

The Carnival plays, having originated in the buffoonery of the phallic demons, are mainly occupied with the familiar facts of human life. Their subject-matter deals chiefly with the follies and vices of the men and women present or comical events of the day. The most popular acts were domestic quarrels and conjugal fights. The physician in the midst of sick peasants, the peasant-wedding, the comic discussions, the market-scenes and court-proceedings are frequent themes. In a later stage of its development the Carnival plays were also used for satirical, controversial, and didactical purposes. The herald or the principal actor, as a rule, pointed out at the end of the performance the lesson which the spectators were to take home with them. This pious interpretation of the Carnival play is due to the influence of the Church drama. The playwrights, later, also drew for their material upon heroic legend (Breton, German and Trojan), beast-fables (in Lübeck), popular story (German and Italian), and even upon biblical history. A few plays deal with the lives and legends of the saints. But whatever the subject-matter may be, it is always expressed in the crude realism of contemporary life.

But although the Carnival plays did not evolve out of the ritual dramas, they naturally borrowed themes and types from them. The clownish demons in their cheerful mood, it would seem, mimicked not only the on-lookers, but also the sacred acts and their performers. We have seen that the motive of death and resurrection could not be used as a comical plot. However, executions of the type which we still find as an episode in the sword-dances of modern Germany occur in the play of Dietrich of Bern (No. 62) and in the play of the magician (No. IX). In *Tanawäschel* (No. 54) the execution is more of the nature of the expulsion of evil. The magical act of rejuvenation is burlesqued in the comical attempts by the quack doctor to turn old women into young girls, a motive very common in the Swiss plays. In the lost Lübeck play of the three knights, who won a young maiden from the world of the dead, and in *Jutta* (No. 111), who was redeemed from hell upon the intercession of the Virgin Mary, we have a dramatization of the motive of the descent into

Hades. The Sterzing play of *May and Autumn* (No. XVI) is based on the contest of Summer and Winter. It is related to the Dutch *Abel speel van dem winter ende van dem somer*.³²⁹ To this ritual act may be traced, as has been noted,³³⁰ the plays which are but dramatized debates or disputations (Nos. 1 and 106). Related to this type are the pieces which have the form of a legal trial (e.g., Nos. 29, 40, 42, 51, 52, 61, 73, 87, 110, 112, 130) or of question and answer (e.g., Nos. 27, 63). The free-for-all fights, which often occur in the Carnival farces, may perhaps also be traced back to the ritual battles.

A number of Carnival customs also have left their traces in the Carnival plays. The drawing of a plough furnishes a motive for play No. 30. The race for a bride is employed in the competition by representatives of all trades and professions for the hand of a maiden (Nos. 70, XVIII). The basic theme of the Neidhart plays (Nos. 21, 53, XXVI) is a May game, and the lost Lübeck play of the youth, who kissed a maiden, probably was a dramatization of a spring custom, in which the sleeping bride, symbolical of the dormant earth, was kissed back to life and love by her bridegroom,³³¹ a motive which also underlies the stories of Sleeping Beauty, Cinderella, and Little Red Riding Hood.

First among the types of the ritual drama to be ridiculed was the doctor, whose function was to restore the slain to life. He is the oldest comical figure in the German drama,³³² and may be traced back to the Vedic age.³³³ The *Arzt* or *Salbenkrämer* of the German Carnival comedies (Nos. 6, 48, 82; 85, 98, 101, 120, IV, VI, XIX, XXI, XXIV) is kinsman of the *Dottore* of Italian comedy, of Dr. Caius in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and of the *Médecin malgré lui*. The priest shared with the doctor the fate of the medicine-man, a part of whose functions, notably the *hocus-pocus*, he had taken over. As a comical figure he belongs to the types of a later period, but he, too, is already to be found in the Indian and Greek mime.³³⁴ The

³²⁹ Text in *Horae Belgicae*, ed. by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, vi. (1838) 125sqq.

³³⁰ *Supra*, p. 423.

³³¹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 435.

³³² Cf. K. Weinhold, "Ueber das Komische im altdeutschen Schauspiel," (Gosche's) *Jahrbuch f. Literatur-Geschichte* i. (1865) 27.

³³³ Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 370; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 448sqq.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 462.

priest had, indeed, more than his share of the Carnival sarcasm. The learned pedant is also a subject for ridicule at the Carnival season. He is made a laughing stock in the plays of *Solomon and Markolf* (No. 60), of *The Emperor and the Abbot* (No. 22), and of *Aristole* (Nos. 128, VII).

The Old Woman is as ruthlessly caricatured in the German Carnival farce as she was in the Attic comedy.³³⁵ She still figures as a mummer in the Carnival folk-survivals,³³⁶ where she represents the Germanic Mother Corn (Old Bessy in England).³³⁷ In the Thracian festival play she is the rustic prototype of Demeter.³³⁸ We have already seen that in some folk-ceremonies she stands for the old and infirm vegetation spirit.³³⁹

The fact that the peasant, first and foremost, is the object of derision and contempt while the burgher is seldom held up to ridicule does not necessarily contradict our theory of the countryside origin of the Carnival play. Everything, in fact, points to a rustic origin of the German Carnival play as of the old Attic comedy.³⁴⁰ Since the peasant was the first successor to the phallic demon, he would naturally try his mimic arts first on his rustic friends and neighbors, the men and women who lived next door to him and whose foibles he well knew. But while the primitive peasant of earlier centuries carried on but a good-natured jesting with his co-devotees, the play became in the hands of the medieval burgher a vehicle of pitiless contempt for the weak and simple-minded countryman. This wholly un-Christian attitude towards the peasant is characteristic of medieval literature.

The bourgeois satire, so lavished upon the helpless peasant, shows itself very rarely against the knights. In a few plays, however, they are represented as cowards and degenerates. On the whole, the knight of the medieval farce is the counterpart of the *miles gloriosus* of the ancient mime.

³³⁵ Cf. W. Süß, *De personarum antiquae comoediae atticae usu atque origina* (1905), pp. 121sqq.

³³⁶ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, viii. 332sqq.

³³⁷ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 325.

³³⁸ Cf. Frazer, *loc. cit.*

³³⁹ *Supra*, p. 417; cf. also Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

The fool in the Carnival plays is, as we have seen, the demonic clown in origin. The head garnished with ears, which he wears in the Nuremberg Carnival, is a heritage of the cap adorned with bells, which jingled at every step, on the heads of the performers of the morris-dance, in whose company he appeared at the fertility festivals.

The *Einschreier* in the Carnival plays of the earliest extant type is identical with the *Vorsänger* or Leader in the sword-dances.³⁴¹

The fool's twin-brother, the devil, also has an important part in the Carnival plays. He has, however, been introduced into these pieces from the Church drama after he had imparted many of his qualities as the clownish demon of pagan days to the stern Satan from Judea (Nos. 21, 53, 56, 57, 111, 125, 126).

The fool in the Carnival plays was, moreover, influenced in his rôle by the Fool-Ass rites, which in time became merged with the Carnival customs. For the Carnival has also fallen heir to the repertoire of the Feast of Fools or Asses³⁴² and the Feast of Boys. These revels were first held by the inferior clergy or boy-choristers respectively in the medieval cathedrals and collegiate churches, but when the stricter clerics succeeded in suppressing them within the walls of the church, they passed from the churches into the streets and then from the vicars and choir-boys to the burghers. In their hands the amusements were transferred in the course of time from the New Year's festival to feasts which happened to fall at more congenial seasons of the year. In this way, the Roman Feast of Kalends, out of which the Feasts of Fools and Boys arose, was merged in the Germanic Carnival. We find choir-boys mentioned as Carnival players about the year 1500. The Feast of Fools occurs in Germany sporadically, although the term "Fools" was not used.³⁴³ The Feast of Boys appears to have been more popular among the Germans.³⁴⁴ It is also known as the Boy Bishop, since the *dominus festi* was almost universally a "bishop."

³⁴¹ Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

³⁴² The ass, an early and widespread, though not an invariable, feature, gave to the Feast of Fools one of its popular names.

³⁴³ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 318-21.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 350-2.

In Germany he was sometimes called *Schul-Bischof*, or derisively *Apfeln-Bischof*.

Ludi were played at both these feasts.³⁴⁵ The French *sottie* was a farce played by the *sots*, the ribald folk, who for a long time continued on the secular stage the traditions of the Fool-Ass rites.³⁴⁶ The *Sotternien*, the Dutch equivalents of the German *Fastnachtsspiele*, may be traced as far back as the fourteenth century. The solemnities of the Church continued to be burlesqued in these productions even in their burghal form; and while these farces originally satirized the canons and the burghers they later in their burghal form, turned their satire chiefly against the peasants; and the canons, too, fared no better in the hands of the burghers than in those of their inferior brethren. The Carnival inherited from the Fool-Ass rites the inversion of the social status and the idea of the universal dominion of folly, which had prevailed at the Kalends, Saturnalia and kindred Roman festivals.³⁴⁷ To the diffusion of the *sotties* throughout Europe may be attributed the abundance of fool-literature at the close of the Middle Ages and the succeeding century. The union of the Carnival—*carrus navalis*—and the Feast of Fools is best symbolized in the *Narrenschiff* ("Ship of Fools"), which was a standing feature of the Carnival customs in many medieval German towns, and which gave the title to a satirical work by Sebastian Brandt (1494).³⁴⁸

The fool of the German Carnival play also coalesced with the old *stupidus* or *parasitus* of the Roman mime, who was of similar origin. The *Fastnachtsspiel* would thus serve as a connecting link between the ancient and the modern drama. That some dramatic tradition was handed down from the *mimi* of the Empire to the *mimi* of the Middle Ages, is, in the opinion of Chambers, exceedingly likely, although not capable of demonstration.³⁴⁹ "The renaissance of farce in the fifteenth

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 295.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, i. 380sq; Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France* (1886), p. 61; G. G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, ix. 308, 337, 339, 350, 407.

³⁴⁸ New edition by Zarncke (1854) and by F. Bobertag (1889). Engl. translation by Alex. Barclay (London, 1874).

³⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, ii. 202; cf. also *ibid.*, i. 83.

century was but the coming to light again of an earth-bourne of dramatic tradition that had worked its way beneath the ground ever since the theatres of the Empire fell."³⁵⁰ The fall of the theatres by no means implied the complete extinction of the *mimi*. They had outlived tragedy and comedy, they also outlived the stage. "Driven from their theatres, they still had a vogue, not only at banquets, but at popular merry-makings or whenever in street or country they could gather together the remnant of their old audiences."³⁵¹ To Teutonic manners these private performances seem to have commended themselves far more than the theatres.³⁵² The Roman *mimi* were in fact absorbed into that vast body of nomad entertainers—*ioculatores, histriones, scenici, homines vagi*, on whom so much of the gaiety of the Middle Ages depended.³⁵³ What may be broadly designated as medieval minstrelsy was a coalition of the Roman *mimus* and the Germanic *scôp*. There undoubtedly were elements of drama in minstrelsy.³⁵⁴ The French *farce*, the Spanish *entremesa*, and the English comical interlude arose out of the minstrel tradition.³⁵⁵ The best actor of the French farce was known as *maistre mymin*.

The burlesque of Christian service, which we find now and then in the Carnival plays, is, as has been noted,³⁵⁶ a legacy to the Carnival players from the ribald clerics. "Familiarity breeds contempt, and it was almost an obvious sport on the part of the vicars and choir-boys to burlesque the sacred and tedious ceremonies with which they were only too painfully familiar."³⁵⁷ But the parody of Christian rites may also be attributed to the traditions of the Roman mime, with whom it was a favorite act. The comical treatment of Christ and St. Peter, which we find in the medieval drama, may also be put to his credit. Throughout paganism he had ridiculed the

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 85sq.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, i. 24.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, i. 25.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 77sqq.; Fr. Vogt in Paul's *Grundriss*², pp. 336sqq.; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 390sqq.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, ii. 380.

³⁵⁶ *Supra*, p. 449.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 325, ii. 380.

ancient gods and, without meaning any special offense thereby, he gave the same treatment to the god, who had been imported from Syria.

It cannot be denied that there is a great similarity between the Carnival play and the ancient mime. The *risus mimicus* may distinctly be heard at the Carnival. The essence of the Roman mime as of the Carnival play was keen observation and audacious portrayal of contemporary life, but both later extended their scope to mythological themes.³⁵⁸ As in the ancient mime so in the Carnival play of the earlier type the characters have no personal names, (e.g. Nos. 16, 18, 25, 33, 35, 36, 64, 65, 74, 86, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100). The imitation of classes and professions was already customary among the mimes of ancient Rome.³⁵⁹ The peasant was the laughing-stock of the mime of all peoples.³⁶⁰ The practice of ridiculing monks on the stage was a favorite pastime with all mimes.³⁶¹ The *miles gloriosus*, the ancient prototype of the medieval knight, is present in the mime of India, Greece and Italy.³⁶² An especially favorite object for ridicule in the ancient mime was the Jew,³⁶³ and he is not overlooked in the medieval farce, either. The old woman in the Carnival plays is the *cata carissa*, and the inn-keeper (No. 56) the *copo compilatus* of the Roman mime. Marital infidelity, which forms such a prominent motive in the medieval pieces, is also prominent in the ancient mimes,³⁶⁴ as is also the realistic-burlesque conception of woman, which we find to be such a marked feature of the Carnival plays. These are all *artes mimicae*, as Petron calls them.

The similarities between the ancient mime and the medieval Carnival comedy may be explained by the fact that the medieval entertainers, the inheritors of the ancient mimes, as has been shown,³⁶⁵ very probably took a prominent part in the Carnival festivities and contributed to the humor of the season. How

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 4.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 383.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Reich, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 835.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 858n.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 835.

³⁶⁵ *Supra*, pp. 449sqq.

could these *homines vagantes* (clerics without a parish) be missing where a little fun was wanted? However, it is very difficult to trace the participation of professional entertainers in the performances of medieval plays.³⁶⁶ The similarities between the ancient mime and the medieval farce at Carnival may rather be due to their similar origin in the magical rites of the fertility worship, although some amount of foreign influence coming on top of an independent growth in the Germanic Carnival customs need not be altogether denied.

In addition to the alien professional *spectacula* the religious plays were not without influence on the Carnival comedies, although it is very difficult to state with any degree of precision on which side the debt was greater. The interrelations between mystery and mime in the Middle Ages as a fruitful field of investigation have been suggested by Reich in his monumental work on the ancient mime.³⁶⁷ It certainly cannot be possible that the two types of medieval drama should have existed side by side without influencing each other at all. With the lack of early texts of Carnival plays the question of priority must for the present remain unanswered. It is probable that the secular pieces in their literary form were posterior to the sacred plays. They may even have been modelled after them. But, then, the Church plays indirectly owed their origin to the heathen dramatic ceremonies from which the Carnival plays have sprung. For it was with the hope of withdrawing Christians from the pagan *ludi* that the Church permitted a sort of Christian drama. Furthermore, that part in the ecclesiastical ritual which ultimately took shape as drama shows a most striking similarity to an incident in the heathen ritual. The *Antichoria*—the half choruses performing antiphonally at the Easter service, in which the roots of the Church drama are found—may, indeed, have been adopted from the heathen spring ritual where, in their original function, they represented two opposing groups in the contest of Summer and Winter. The allegorical lawsuit of Satan *versus* Christ, the *altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, and the conflict of Virtue and Vice may also be traced back to this heathen rite. The death and resurrection

³⁶⁶ Cf. Weinhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 31sq. See also A. Glock, *Zs. f. vgl. Lit-Gesch.* xvi (1906).

³⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, ii. 859n.

motive is common, as has been noted,³⁶⁸ to the Carnival ritual drama and the Easter play. The *Marienklagen*—lamentations of the Maries over the death of the Saviour—find their parallel in the wailings of the women over the death of the old fertility god in the heathen ritual.³⁶⁹ The dance of Mary Magdalene with a Roman officer in the *Alsfeld Passion Play* forms a parallel to the dance of the harlots with the soldiers at spring festivals, as may still be seen in Mexico.³⁷⁰ The dances of the angels and devils in the religious plays are but Christian adaptations of the dances of demons, which were, as we have seen,³⁷¹ striking features of the Germanic folk-festivals. The dance of the Virgin Mary with the angels in the *Alsfeld Passion Play* has its parallel in the dance of Lilith with the devils in the play of *Jutta*, and both go back to the dance of the old woman at the village festivals. The cock on a pillar, which warns Peter of his denial of his master in the *Donaueschingen Passion Play* is of heathen origin.³⁷² We meet this fowl again in the titles of two Carnival plays (Nos. 67, 89). The *Hahnentanz* was a dance performed by the peasants at their fire-festivals round a cock placed on a pillar,³⁷³ and was not named after the prize which consisted of this fowl, as Creizenach surmises.³⁷⁴

The processional type of the religious drama, which was connected with the *Corpus Christi* observance, must be attributed to the influence of the Carnival ship-procession. The satire upon social conditions in the pious plays probably came from the profane pieces. The comic types in the Carnival comedies appear also in the Church plays.³⁷⁵ The quack doctor, his wife and the rascally man-servant, the old woman, whom even

³⁶⁸ *Supra*, pp. 413sqq.

³⁶⁹ Cf. Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, ii. 287. "The women wept for Tammuz" (Ez. viii. 15 14).

³⁷⁰ *Supra*, p. 443.

³⁷¹ *Supra*, p. 439; cf. also Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 327sq.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, ii. 321n.

³⁷³ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 558; Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Mannhardt, *W.u.F.K.*, i. 174; Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 338. See the illustration of a cock on a phallic pillar, from a vase given as a prize at the ancient Olympian games, in Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 437. The pole or pillar was sacred as an emblem of virility; cf. Gen. xxviii. 18-22, xxxv. 14; Is. xix. 19; see also Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The May-pole is an ancient phallic symbol; cf. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 47sq.; Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 408. The cock, on account of his exceptional salacity, was considered by the ancients as a sacred animal; cf. Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

the devil would not admit into hell, or the ale-wife in the English mysteries, whom Christ would not harrow out of hell, the churlish peasants, the vainglorious knights, the comical Jews, and the immoral priests are common to both types of play. The devil in the mystery-plays owes many of this characteristics to the blackened demon, who had from ancient times been a favorite character at the folk-festivals.³⁷⁶

With the introduction of the vernacular into the Church plays the path was paved for the popular or, what may be more truly called, the comic element of the contemporary secular pieces. In this way the Church play came to have a great deal of the character of the Carnival comedy. Their similarity became, indeed, so great towards the close of the Middle Ages that they imperceptibly merged into each other. On the one hand, some of the comic scenes of the pious plays came to be separated and became independent farces. On the other hand, a Carnival comedy may very likely have served as an interlude in a religious production to add variety to the long-drawn representation of sacred subjects. The result is that it is not so easy to draw a line of demarcation between the sacred and the secular plays of the Middle Ages. An obvious link between the two types of drama is to be found in such plays as *Theophilus* and *Jutta*, which are brought technically within the scope of the miracle plays by the introduction of the Virgin or some other saint in the action.

It would appear from the facts we have adduced that the Church drama owes after all more to the folk-play than the historians of the drama would fain admit, and that consequently the folk-play has contributed somewhat more than "the tiniest rill to the mighty stream" of modern drama, as Chambers expresses it.³⁷⁷

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

Johns Hopkins University.

³⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, i. 411.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Haueis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, ii. 91.

³⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, i. 182. On this question the reader may consult J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, ii. 784, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen* 1838 St. 56 S. 552sq. [= *Kleinere Schriften*, v. (1871) 281]; G. Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*. I. *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (1880), p. 10; K. Pearson, *op. cit.*, ii. 281; Creizenach, *op. cit.*, i. 390n2; K. Gusinde, *Neidhart mit dem Veilchen*, *Germ. Abhandlungen*, Heft XVII (1899), p. 33.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

EUROPEAN THEORIES OF THE DRAMA: AN ANTHOLOGY OF DRAMATIC THEORY AND CRITICISM FROM ARISTOTLE TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Barrett H. Clark. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Co., 1918.

The editor of this collection has had the courage to undertake what must often have occurred to students of the history of criticism as an attractive and much needed task, yet one whose magnitude and complexity might well deter the cautious. And he has been, it may be said at once, surprisingly successful. No editor could possibly know all portions of the field equally well, or could hope to satisfy those whose special interests have led them to value by their own standards particular groups of writings on dramatic theory; but Mr. Clark has evidently secured expert bibliographical advice to supplement his own usually sound judgment and his immediate familiarity with certain divisions of the material, with the result that, while no one will find in the book everything he would wish for, no one will refuse to call it not merely useful but positively indispensable. It runs, as the title promises, from Aristotle to William Archer, and includes—sometimes superficially, sometimes with considerable thoroughness—the criticism of Greece, Rome, Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England. Besides the critical extracts which form the bulk of the material, the editor supplies brief summaries of the history of dramatic criticism in each of the periods and countries represented, and bibliographies not only of criticism but of the drama and the general history of literature for the same periods.

The selections include, first of all, the obvious necessities—the pertinent chapters from Aristotle's *Poetics*, Sidney's *Apology*, Corneille's *Discours*, Lessing's *Dramaturgie*, Coleridge's *Lectures*, and the like; then representatives of the more doubtful field of minor criticism, including work of historic rather than intrinsic importance, such as the early Renaissance critics, Rymer, Diderot, and Goldoni. Mr. Clark is scrupulous in indicating the sources of his texts, omissions, etc., and it would appear that for the most part the choice of both text and the portions to be reproduced has been soundly made. In several instances, such as the selections from Donatus, Daniello, Minturno, Ogier, Chapelain, Corneille, Diderot, and Dumas, translations have been made expressly for this volume, and for the first time. It is unfortunate, on the other hand, that for certain other authors the editor depended on more or less obsolete translations, such as the Bohn versions of Aristotle, Lessing, and Schlegel (in general, he appears to have felt somewhat helpless in the field of German as compared with French

literature), and it is extraordinary that he should have chosen to take his texts of Dryden, Addison, Coleridge, and Hazlitt from the "Everyman's Library," when standard critical texts of these authors are so readily accessible. Fortunately, these are just the authors for which the trained reader will not need his book.

The choice of critical specimens in the minor field is almost a matter *de gustibus*: but in general, as I have intimated, it seems to be as acceptable as could be hoped for. A few omissions might be agreed upon as regrettable. The general plan of the volume making no provision for criticism in the Scandinavian or Slavic literatures, one misses what would otherwise have certainly demanded a place; for example, significant extracts from the letters of Ibsen and from both letters and other writings of Tolstoy, Strindberg's exceedingly significant Preface to *Miss Julia*, and Sologub's discussion of "The Theatre of One Will." Again, if we are to have such comparatively trifling material as the fragment of Donatus and the passage from Sebilet, it should seem that we ought to have something from Heinsius' influential work on tragedy (which Mr. Clark duly notices in his general survey). For the 17th century we should have a specimen from Rapin, who furnishes some individually interesting passages, and whose influence on Dryden makes him of special significance to English readers. If Rymer is represented for his "View of Tragedy," John Dennis might well have a page or so for his. One would like to see the solemnity of Addison and Johnson relieved by Fielding's Preface to *Tom Thumb the Great*, with its suggestive burlesque of conventional dramatic criticism; and it is a pity to include Johnson without the best general passages from the Preface to Shakespeare. To Lamb's brief account of Restoration comedy should certainly be added a part of his remarkable essay on the Tragedies of Shakespeare, with its profound—if paradoxical—analysis of the relation of drama as read to drama on the stage. Of Shakespeare criticism one cannot insist on any full representation, since that would be a subject for a book by itself; yet if Coleridge is to be allowed place for specific interpretations of *The Tempest* and *Othello*, there should also be room for a selection from A. C. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, the finest work in its field since Coleridge's day. Mr. Clark found no Italian criticism since Goldoni which demanded representation, but he would have done well to include a passage from (or, more certainly, to mention) Mazzini's interesting essay on "Fatality as an Element of Dramatic Art." Another page would have allowed room for the significant portion of Schiller's Preface to *The Bride of Messina*, with its important account of the function of the tragic chorus. Finally, and perhaps most important, the omission of any selection from Hebbel's epochal prefaces

and critical reflections is difficult to understand. But it is a tribute to the prevailing thoroughness and catholicity of the editor's work that so few writings as these suggest themselves in so vast a field.

The brief summaries of the history of dramatic criticism in the various periods are well condensed, and, so far as I have been able to test them, reasonably accurate and well proportioned. What one misses is any attempt to bring out clearly the significance of an era or of an individual critic for the development of the great critical principles which stand out from the subject, or—what might be still more useful—to guide the reader to their various sources. Suppose, for instance, that the book provided some index or table, if nothing more, which would enable one to trace out the theory of Probability or Verisimilitude, the doctrine of the Unities, the definitions of comedy and tragedy, the question of poetic justice, of realism, of dramatic conflict, and other such *cruces* of criticism; its value would be enhanced, for the serious student, perhaps tenfold. Mr. Clark might well have devoted to some such end the space devoted, rather questionably, to biographies of the authors quoted; for it is surely of little use, for the purpose in hand, to give the familiar facts in the life of Dante, of Cervantes, or Molière, or more recondite details such as that Jean de la Taille “took cold after the battle of Coutras.” But if the editorial work is destitute of critical philosophy, the book is rich in materials that tempt the philosophic critic to interpret and analyze for himself.

My suggestion of a possible index rerum, as distinguished from an index of names, brings to mind the fact that the actual index to the collection—of authors and titles—is the worst made feature of the volume, being one of the familiar examples of such work of the kind as may be done by a printer's clerk or anyone else who can read and write. For Aristotle there are 106 page entries, for Shakespeare 79, all without any indication of the topic or relationship involved, and without distinction between passing allusion and relevant discussion. Nor does the index, for the most part, cover the extensive bibliographical lists (though in a few cases it seems to have been stretched to do so)—a field where it might be particularly serviceable. If a second edition of the book should appear, a new index should certainly be made.

A few matters of detail may be noted. On page 41, under “Dramatic Criticism of the Middle Ages,” some mention of the remarks on tragedy by Boethius and Notker may be looked for; these are to be found in Cloetta's well known work which Mr. Clark cites on p. 43, under Donatus, but not under the general subject of medieval criticism. Chase's *English Heroic Play*, cited on p. 101, should be transferred to the section on drama of the Restoration. In like manner, Miss Wylie's *Studies in the*

Evolution of Criticism, cited on p. 102, does not concern the Elizabethan period, but belongs under the age of Dryden and that of Coleridge. On p. 115 the name of Maréschal should be included among the early protestants against rigid rules of form (see Lancaster's article in my bibliographical notes below), rather than in connection with the early formalists. In this same section Mr. Clark omits the early *Académie de l'Art Poétique* of Deimier (1610), A. de Bourbon's *Traité de la Comédie et des Spectacles selon la tradition de l'église* (1667; sometimes called a model for Jeremy Collier's *Short View*), de Norville's translation of *La Poétique d'Aristote* (1671, the earliest in French), and Dacier's decidedly interesting translation and commentary, *La Poétique d'Aristote, traduite en françois avec des remarques* (1692). On p. 172 the mere mention of the name of Hurd as a rhetorical theorist should be supplemented by a reference to his extensive commentary on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace. On p. 271 it would be well to mention La Motte's most original contribution to dramatic criticism—his pioneer argument in favor of the use of prose for the drama (in his Preface to *Oedipe* and elsewhere). In the same section there should perhaps be found a place for de Gaullier's *Règles de Poétique, tirées d'Aristote, d'Horace, de Despreaux*, etc. (1728). On p. 313 or 314 one expects some reference to the vogue of *Schicksalstragödie* in Germany, and the attacks upon it by Count Platen. On p. 416 there is a mistranslation from Maeterlinck (perhaps only a printer's error): at the close of the selection he is made to say that he is awaiting a new "poet," instead of a new *force*, to supplant the power of death. (At this point the reader might well be referred to Maeterlinck's later writings, especially *Wisdom and Destiny*, in which he records his partial success in finding the new power.) On p. 420 one looks for some mention of the progress of recent Shakespeare criticism, especially such epochal works as John Corbin's *The Elizabethan Hamlet* (1895), Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1904), Thorndike's *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare* (1901), and the recent articles of E. E. Stoll (opening with his paper on "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," *Modern Philology*, 1910).

The bibliographical lists for the aid of students who wish to pursue the subject with some thoroughness are, on the whole, remarkably good, the only conspicuous deficiency being in reference to periodicals, which are covered only by an occasional title, as by accident; this applies not only to the more learned journals, but to such as the *Drama Magazine* and *Poet Lore*, which contain a considerable amount of pertinent material. But the bibliography is good enough to be taken as a basis for serious work, and hence deserves to be supplemented for the convenience of those who may use the book; to that end I

append the following additional items, without any thought that either Mr. Clark or the reviewer should aspire to completeness.

Under Aristotle (p. 5):

H. Gartelmann: *Dramatische Kritik des Aristotelischen Systems* (1892).

F. Knoke: *Begriff der Tragödie nach Aristoteles* (1906).

G. R. Noyes: "Aristotle and Modern Tragedy," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 13:6 (1898).

C. V. Boyer: *The Villain as Hero* (London, 1914).

Lane Cooper: "The Fifth Form of 'Discovery' in the *Poetics*," *Classical Philology*, 13:251 (1918).

Under Elizabethan Drama (p. 102):

A. W. Ward: *History of Dramatic Literature* (London, 2d ed., 1899).

A. H. Thorndike: "The Relations of *Hamlet* to Contemporary Revenge Plays," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 17:125 (1902).

Under Sidney (p. 103):

Ewald Flügel, edition of the *Defence of Poesie* (Halle, 1889).

G. E. Woodberry, edition of the *Defence* (Boston, 1908).

M. W. Wallace: *Life of Sidney* (Cambridge, 1915).

Under Jonson (p. 108):

W. D. Briggs, edition of *Sejanus* (Boston, 1911). [Important introduction on Jonson's dramatic theory.]

On French criticism in the 17th century (p. 116):

H. C. Lancaster: "A Neglected Passage on the Three Unities of the French Classic Drama," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 23:307 (1908).

R. M. Alden: "The Doctrine of Verisimilitude in French and English Criticism of the 17th Century," *Matzke Memorial Volume* (Stanford University, 1911).

On Chapelain (p. 125):

C. Searles: *Catalogue de tous les livres de feu M. Chapelain* (Stanford University, 1912).

On Corneille (p. 138):

C. Searles: "Corneille and the Italian Doctrinaires," *Mod. Philology*, 13:169 (1915).

On English drama and criticism of the Restoration and 18th century (p. 173):

A. W. Ward (as above under Elizabethan drama).

A. W. Ward, edition of Lillo's *London Merchant* and *Fatal Curiosity* (Boston, 1906). [Important introduction on bourgeois and fate tragedy.]

T. R. Lounsbury: *Shakspeare as a Dramatic Artist* (N. Y., 1901).

G. B. Dutton: "Theory and Practice in English Tragedy, 1650-1700," *Eng. Stud.*, 49:190 (1916).

C. G. Child: "The Rise of the Heroic Play," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 19:166 (1904).

J. W. Tupper: "The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 20:584 (1905).

F. and J. W. Tupper: *Representative English Dramas from Dryden to Sheridan* (N. Y., 1914).

R. M. Alden (as above under French criticism).

R. M. Alden: "The Decline of Poetic Justice," *Atlantic Mo.*, 105:260 (1910).

On Dryden (p. 176):

G. R. Noyes: *Selected Dramas of John Dryden* (Chicago, 1910). [Important introduction on Dryden's dramatic theory.]

On Rymer (p. 205):

T. R. Lounsbury (as above under English drama and criticism).

G. B. Dutton: "The French Aristotelian Formalists and Thomas Rymer," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 29:152 (1914).

On Addison (p. 227):

W. B. Worsfold: *The Principles of Criticism* (London, 1902).

On German drama (p. 254):

H. Hettner: *Literaturgeschichte des 18n Jahrhunderts* (Braunschweig, 1881).

On 18th century French literature (p. 272):

H. Hettner (as above).

On modern German drama and criticism (p. 315):

J. Minor: *Die Schicksalstragödie in ihren Hauptvertretern* (Frankfurt, 1883).

J. Krumm: *Die Tragödie Hebbels* (*Hebbel-Forschungen*, III, 1908).

G. Pollak: *Grillparzer and the Austrian Drama* (N. Y., 1907).

O. E. Lessing: *Grillparzer und das Neue Drama* (München, 1905).

L. H. Allen: *Three Plays by Frederic Hebbel* (Everyman's Library, 1914).

On Schiller (p. 317):

E. Kühnemann: *Schiller*; trans. K. Royce (Boston, 1912).

W. Deike: *Schillers Ansichten über die tragische Kunst* (Helmstedt, 1891).

U. Gaede: *Schiller und Nietzsche als Verkünder der tragischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1908).

G. Buyers: "The Influence of Schiller's Drama upon English Literature, 1780-1830," *Eng. Stud.*, 48:349 (1915).

On Goethe (p. 325):

J. Dünster: "Goethes Ansicht über das Wesen der Tragödie," *Goethe Jahrbuch*, 3:132 (1882).

On Freytag (p. 354):

E. Woodbridge: *The Drama, its Laws and Technique* (Boston, 1898). [Based on Freytag.]

On 19th century English drama (p. 421):

S. C. Chew: *The Dramas of Lord Byron* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1915).

A. Pudbres: "Byron the Admirer and Imitator of Alfieri," *Eng. Stud.*, 33:40 (1903).

E. E. Hale: *Dramatists of Today* (N. Y., 1905).

On Coleridge (p. 423):

J. Shawcross, edition of *Biographia Literaria* and *Æsthetical Essays* (Oxford, 1907).

On Hazlitt (p. 441):

A. Birrell: *William Hazlitt* (London, 1902).

J. Zeitlin: *Hazlitt on English Literature* (N. Y., 1913).

Finally, I note a few errata; in general the proof-reader and printer have done their work well.

Pp. 3, 4 (under Christ and Welcker). Read *griechischen* for *grieschischen*.

P. 27 (under Schanz). Read *Literatur* for *Literature*.

P. 42 (under Wessner). Read: *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti*.

P. 54, note. Read "Lander" for "Leander."

P. 60, line 39. Read *comici* for *comics*.

P. 99, note. 4. Read *Sophonisba* for *Sophonisba*.

P. 100. The reference "9" has no corresponding note.

P. 101, last line. Read "Thorndike" for "Thorndyke."

P. 102, last line. Read "G. Gregory Smith" for "F. Gregory Smith."

P. 172, col. 2, line 31. Read "eighteenth century" for "seventeenth century."

P. 204, col. 1, line 10 from end. Read *Fædera* for *Fædora*.

P. 315, line 17. Read "Boyesen" for "Boyesser."

RAYMOND MACDONALD ALDEN.

Leland Stanford Jr. University.

CURRENTS AND EDDIES IN THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC GENERATION. By Frederick E. Pierce. New Haven: Yale University Press. 342 pages. \$3.00.

Professor Pierce's book is itself an interesting illustration of that group activity in literature which is its special subject. In devoting himself to the romantic generation he has fallen in with what is almost old enough to be called a Yale tradition. His contribution has been modified by the increasingly critical temper of the *Zeitgeist*, and perhaps by incalculable personal factors. The relation of his work to that of Professor Beers and to the supplementary study of Professor Phelps is partly suggested by the title but not wholly disclosed.

The primary effort of previous Yale cartographers was to demonstrate the existence of a definable literary stream, rising at certain points in the eighteenth century, gathering force and volume, and pouring a more or less homogeneous flood of tendency into the nineteenth century. Professor Pierce does not go so far as entirely to deny the presence of a central current, but he approaches its alleged channel with analytic rather than synthetic purpose, presents a series of detailed studies rather than a coherent birds'-eye view, till in the end one's preconception of a kind of literary Father-of-Waters is resolved into a highly diversified landscape watered by an intricate system of lakes and streams of which the connections are not always discernible. Perhaps, Professor Pierce intimates, where the connections are not discernible they do not exist.

One may study the so-called romantic generation, as he observes, from at least four different points of view. First, one may study it with reference to the personality of the individual poets, as Arthur Symons has done. Second, one may study it with reference to the pervading spirit of the age, as those have done who see everything as leading up to or away from the French Revolution. Third, one may study it with special reference to the literary traditions followed by the poets, as Professor Beers has done. Working from any one of these points of view, the student is in a fair way to reach the conclusion that there is such a thing as a romantic as distinguished from a classical personality, a romantic as distinguished from a classical *Zeitgeist*, and a romantic as distinguished from a classical tradition in English literature; and that, in the main, the personalities which give to the period its special character are marked by striking resemblances in their temperaments, ideas, and traditional fealties.

One may, however, study the period with special reference to the geographical position, the racial traits, and the general social complexion of the group with which the individual poet is affiliated. This is Professor Pierce's approach, and it leads inevitably to a sense of the heterogeneity of the phenomena—a result refreshing to the investigator and disturbing to anyone disposed to rest indolently among facile generalizations. The tract that he surveys extends from the French Revolution to the advent of Tennyson. He begins with a useful distinction between the movement of popular taste and the movement of creative genius. Then with notable emphasis upon "environmental" conditions he distinguishes The Eddy Around Bristol, The Scotch Group and the Antiquarian Movement, Poets and Authors of the Lakes, The Popular Supremacy of Scott, The London Society Poets and the Popular Supremacy of Byron, The Scotch Era of Prose, The Eddy Around Leigh Hunt, The Elizabethan Current and *The London Magazine*,

The Expatriated Poets and the Italian Movement. He adds another chapter on Forty Years of Satire, Parody, and Burlesque; and closes his account with a cautiously destructive discussion of the terms Romanticism, Classicism, and Realism; and some prognostications regarding the future of authors of the "romantic generation."

The purely critical element in his treatment of the leading writers is somewhat incidental and not particularly significant. As is becoming in a professor of literature, his sympathies are temperate, his taste eclectic and generally healthy, his judgments academically orthodox, without avowed thesis, and without marked severity except towards Wertherism. By way of illustration, he approves of Scott both as novelist and as poet, considers Keats potentially the greatest poet of his day, thinks Shelley's philosophy a fog and his moral code a mirage, holds Byron a destructive force with no valid claim on admiration but his energy—and then just as one is about to pronounce him a mild anti-romantic, he inconsequentially ventures the suggestion that "in the age of the submarine and iron order the mysticism of Blake may prove a rock of refuge in a weary land." This is not the only remarkable thing that he says of Blake. He says also: "Certain temperamental likenesses can also be traced between Blake and Shelley, *in whom no common external force appears to have acted.*"

With the fundamental critical questions raised by the revolution of ideas in his period, it is not clear that Professor Pierce has grappled very resolutely. Indeed he does not seem entirely certain that there was a revolution. He insists that Byron, most popular of the Romanticists, clung to Pope and the Augustans—ignoring the fact that till Byron in practice deserted Pope and the Augustans he produced nothing Byronic, nothing saturated in his own temperament and in the intellectual and emotional ferment of his age. "The main reaction," Professor Pierce declares, belittling the notion of a conscious and theoretic "revolt" against "classical" principles—"the main reaction was against the senile old age of literary traditions which in the days of Dryden had been young and vigorous."

This explanation is captivatingly simple, and there is a great deal to be said for it, which Professor Pierce says very well indeed, reenforcing his argument with the results of wide reading in many neglected authors once known to popular fame. But it is too simple. It lures one on to the still more captivating simplification of all types of poetry into two: the good and the bad, or the living and the dead. And this is the legitimate inference to be drawn from Professor Pierce's last words on the romantic generation: "The common intellectual element of the age," he declares, "lay in its all-pervading curiosity, not in the direction along which that curiosity

worked nor in the literary *credos* with which it might be connected. . . . Emotionally the common bond was in general fulness of emotion rather than in the fact that this emotional richness was always of the same kind."

The demonstration of a dominant literary movement between 1789 and 1830, a movement of ascertainable intellectual direction and definable emotional quality, does not depend upon our ability to prove that every notable writer of the period was at the centre of it. It depends rather upon our rising to a point from which the work of the period as a whole can be compared with what went before and after in England and with the work of other periods of intellectual curiosity and emotional fulness in other lands. From this point of view, to which, in his preoccupation with group influences and local environments, Professor Pierce allows us to repair but seldom, cross-currents, back-currents, and eddies dwindle into incidents in the course of the general, enthusiastic, revolutionary movement—a movement foredoomed to failure—towards a reconciliation of human with natural law.

S. P. SHERMAN.

University of Illinois.

THE TRAGEDY OF TRAGEDIES. By Henry Fielding:
 Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by James T.
 Hillhouse, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press,
 1918. 8 vo. \$3.00.

Fielding's dramatic burlesque upon scholarly editing has profited by the competent editorial scholarship of Mr. James T. Hillhouse in a volume recently issued from the Yale University Press. The composition and stage history of the play Mr. Hillhouse traces in initial chapters, discussing the shorter version of 1730, *Tom Thumb*, and the elaborate version of 1731, *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, with its mock critical preface and annotations. In appendices he treats of the interpolation, *The Battle of the Poets*, a new act inserted late in 1730, a satire on Cibber sometimes attributed to Thomas Cooke;¹ and of the musical adaptations of the play. He adds to our knowledge of Eliza Haywood of romancing memory in the account of her version, *The Opera of Operas* (1731), to which John Frederick Lampe furnished the music; and brings the play close to our own day in the description of Kane O'Hara's *Tom Thumb*, A

¹ Prof. W. C. Cross says this is "probably by Cooke," and considers it a work of some merit. (*Hist. of Henry Fielding* (New Haven, 1918) I, 956. Mr. Hillhouse declares that there is "no direct evidence" in support of Cooke's authorship, and finds the work "coarse" and "spiteful," and indicative of "very little ability to write pointed and effective satire." (*Trag. of Trag.*, pp. 188-89.)

Burletta (1780), produced as late as 1855 by the Harvard Hasty Pudding Club with Phillips Brooks as Glumdalca.

The introduction likewise includes an analysis of Fielding's burlesque of the heroic play through his treatment of character, situation, and diction, which is reinforced in the notes by an abundance of parallel passages culled from tragedies of the species. Fielding's satire on the critics Dennis, Theobald, Bentley, *et al.*, because of their attempts to enforce a mechanical conformity to the rules and traditions of the Ancients, is pointed out, but perhaps is not sufficiently related to similar ridicule of pedantry and false taste running through Fielding's later work, or to the vogue of such satire at the time.

The text of the play reprints the version of 1730, the first edition of *Tom Thumb*, with the preface, prologue, epilogue, and two bailiff scenes of the second edition inserted in their proper places; and presents a literal reprint of the first edition of 1731 of the *Tragedy of Tragedies*, collated with the later impression of 1731 and with the third, fourth, and fifth editions.

The chief models Fielding observed in this burlesque Mr. Hillhouse says are *The Rehearsal*, *The Dunciad*, and an anonymous pamphlet of the year 1711, *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*—a satire on Addison's criticism in the *Spectator* of the ballad of *Chevy Chase*. The authorship of this pamphlet, generally attributed to Dr. William Wagstaffe (1685-1725), has been the subject of considerable controversy. About the question Mr. Hillhouse experiences no unwholesome curiosity, but simply remarks in a note that "It has, however, been conjectured that the *Comment* came from the pen of Swift" (p. 7 n.). That fuller light may be thrown upon the grounds of this conjecture seems not impossible, light, moreover, which might serve to show new likenesses between Fielding and Swift.

For example: the name "Wagstaff" was used by Swift not only in the pseudonym "Simon Wagstaff" in *Polite Conversation* (1738), (which has been more than once pointed out,) but also in the contribution attributed to Swift² in No. 1 of the *Harrison Tatler* (1711), in a letter to Isaac Bickerstaff signed "Your . . . affectionate kinsman, Humphry Wagstaff." The name "Wagstaff," moreover, was also used in the year 1710 in connection with the *Tatler* in Oldisworth's satire, *Annotations on the "Tatler," written in French by Monsieur Bour-elle and translated into English by Walter Wagstaff*. And again in the same year it was used in a pamphlet entitled *Bickerstaff's Almanac . . . for the year 1710 . . . By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.*, which contains a testimonial of the death of Mr. Partridge, signed "Jeremy Wagstaff," and dated from Staff Hall in Staffordshire, September 3, 1709.³ This work also has been attri-

² Swift, *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, (London, 1902) IX, 44.

buted to Swift.⁴ Such uses of the name "Wagstaff" as a *nom de plume* appropriate to a satiric author, one used perhaps three times by Swift himself, might easily suggest a literary hoax consisting of the use, or misuse, of a real person of that name—after he was safely dead—as a peg on which to hang unclaimed and unsavory satires of greater men.

The *Memoir*, generally accepted as authentic, which was prefixed to the supposedly posthumous volume of Dr. William Wagstaffe's *Miscellaneous Works* (1725) Mr. James Crossley has attributed to Arbuthnot.⁵ Others have attributed to Arbuthnot and Swift certain other of the pamphlets in the volume as well as the *Comment on Tom Thumb*.⁶ The suggestion would seem to be that the Scriblerus Club was responsible for the hoax, if such it was.

Another point which might be of interest both in connection with this controversy, and also with the subject of Fielding's models, is the possibility that he used not the octavo pamphlet of 1711, the *Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*, but a folio volume which appeared apparently in 1729, the year before the first version of Fielding's play, entitled: *Thomas Redivivus: or, a compleat History of the Life and marvellous Actions of Tom Thumb. In three Tomes. Interspersed with that ingenious Comment of the late Dr. Wagstaff: and Annotations by Several Hands. To which is prefix'd historical and critical Remarks on the Life and Writings of the Author. London, 1729. folio*.⁷ This work is noted in Lowndes' *Manual*, in Adams, *Dictionary of English Literature*, and in the following passage by Ritson, dealing with the *History of Tom Thumb*: "Mr. Hearne was probably led to fix upon this monarch [King Edgar] by some ridiculous lines added, about his own time, to introduce a spurious second and third part. See the common editions of Aldermary church-yard, etc. or that entitled 'Thomas Redivivus . . . [The same as above.] . . . 1729. Folio.' Dr. Wagstaff's comment was written to ridicule that of Mr. Addison in the *Spectator*, upon the ballad of Chevy-Chace, and is inserted in his Works."⁸ The title does not appear in the catalogue of the British Museum, nor in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*; nor have I been able to find any further description of the nature and contents of the work.

³ Aitken, *Life of Sir Richard Steele*, (London, 1889) I, 300 n.

⁴ *Vid.* Bibliography to the chapter on Swift by Aitken in the *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IX, p. 510.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., Vol. II, p. 132.

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., Vol. I, 381-84; Vol. II, 253-54.

⁷ Lowndes, *The Bibliographers' Manual of English Literature*, (Lond., 1865) V, 2681.

⁸ Ritson, *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, (London, 1791), p. 98. See contemporary notice in *Monthly Chronicle, For the Year MDCCXXIX*, II (Feb., 1729), 46.

This volume, however, issued in the year when Fielding, returned from Leyden, was in London at work on his play, contributes a hitherto unmentioned item to the "Wagstaffe" controversy, and perhaps also to the problem of Fielding's source. At least it suggests certain pertinent questions: What was the nature of the material added in this folio to the twenty-four octavo pages of the "Wagstaffe" pamphlet, and who wrote it? Was *Thomas Redivivus* a complete burlesque of the original *History*, somewhat in the manner of Ned Ward's *Hudibras Redivivus*: or was it a reprint of the *History* with a "spurious second and third part" newly added along with certain mock-critical apparatus? Does Ritson's comment mean that these additions, late in time, were so much in keeping with the original as to impose upon Thomas Hearne (died 1735)? Who was the author of the "spurious" parts? And who were the "Several Hands" responsible for the Annotations? May members of the Scriblerus Club have been responsible, Swift, perhaps, among others? And who was dealt with in the prefixed "historical and critical Remarks on the Life and Writings of the Author": Was this the original "Wagstaffe" memoir, or a new burlesque on writings of that nature? My present bibliographical environment makes any attempt to answer these questions impossible to me; but cannot others more fortunately situated do better? I can only suggest that this bulky work appearing in the very year when, according to Professor Cross, Fielding was making the acquaintance of literary London, would seem more likely to have attracted the playwright's attention than the pamphlet of 1711. Some hint as to the authorship might even have reached him and stirred his interest.

HELEN SARD HUGHES.

The University of Iowa.

THE DRAMATIC RECORDS OF SIR HENRY HERBERT.

By Joseph Quincy Adams. Cornell Studies in English. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1917.

Professor Joseph Quincy Adams, in *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, has done serviceable work in a field which cries for organization. The documents illustrating the history of the English drama and theatre number many thousands; they are being added to yearly; and they lie scattered through the writings of half a hundred scholars. To assemble and arrange them in one great corpus, with indices, would be a formidable undertaking, but one fraught with relief to the laboring scholar. For even a partial ordering of these materials one breathes a prayer of gratitude.

The present compilation is evidently and avowedly inspired by Professor Feuillerat's editions of the Revels Accounts for Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Most unfortunately the chain of these records is broken just at the point where we would prize it most—during the fruitful first two decades of the 17th century—whence have come down to us only a few precious fragments. But with the entry of Henry Herbert into the mastership of the Revels in July, 1623, the continuity of records resumes. As every one knows, the Office Book of Herbert, like that of Sir George Buc, has disappeared; yet luckily not before it was known and studied by two faithful scholars, Edmund Malone and George Chalmers, and through their liberal citations preserved to the world. These quotations, covering the period 1622-1642, give an invaluable framework on which to build the dramatic history of those years.

Professor Adams has undertaken to gather from printed sources all evidences relating to the theatrical activities of Herbert. Thus he has not only reassembled the Office Book, but he has printed a half-dozen miscellaneous documents relating to Herbert and the Revels Office prior to 1642, and above forty documents relating to similar activities between 1660 and his death in 1673. The sources of these materials are chiefly comprised in Malone's *History of the Stage*, Chalmers' *Apology and Supplementary Apology*, Halliwell-Phillipps' *Collection of Ancient Documents Respecting the Office of the Revels*, and Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities*.

The collection is divided into three parts: *The Office Book 1622-1642*; *Miscellaneous Documents, 1622-1642*; and *Miscellaneous Documents, 1642-1673*. The entries of the first section are conveniently classified under such headings as *Censorship of Plays*, *Licenses of Plays*, *Licenses for the Press*, *Licenses of Playhouses and Companies*, *Plays and Masques at Court*. There are copious footnotes dealing with identities of plays, first performances, authorship, actors, and theatres, wherein the voice of Frederic Gard Fleay, not undisputed, is nevertheless dominant. The second section of miscellaneous documents between 1622 and 1642 contains unimportant business data aside from two lists of plays acted at Court by the King's Company, 1636-1639. The third section of miscellaneous documents between 1660 and 1673 presents vividly the story of Herbert's fight to gain back his office and his licensing authority, his partial success, his lawsuits with Davenant and Killigrew, and his compounding with Killigrew. It includes also documents relating more directly to the history of the drama, like the list of plays acted by the King's Company between 1660 and 1662. This section makes an invaluable beginning for the study of the Restoration stage and drama of the transitional period.

It remains to note the thorough-going index of sixteen pages, and our survey is complete. Professor Adams in this case, as always with him, has done a conscientious, workmanlike job. Within its scope it is complete. To the historians of the censorship and the theatre it is equally welcome. One could wish, however, that he had extended back to include the desultory scraps of Revels Accounts that lie between the present compilation and Feuillerat's, so as to complete the orderly edition of the Accounts. And we must not forget that Professor Adams has only reprinted documents which have been printed before. The Restoration period remains a storehouse of unpublished evidences which has been scarcely tapped. I remember that in 1912 Dr. Watson Nicholson, who was working with me in the Public Records Office, London, told me that he was collecting quantities of such materials in the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Too busy then to verify his statements, I have been looking ever since for the appearance of these buried jewels—in vain.

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND.

University of Illinois.

THE REALISTIC PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTERS IN NATIVE AMERICAN PLAYS PRIOR TO EIGHTEEN SEVENTY. By Perley Isaac Reed, Ph.D. *The Ohio State University Bulletin*, Vol. XXII, Number 26. Columbus, May, 1918. Pp. 168.

A new treatise on the older American drama is always of interest to those who desire to see the literature of this country investigated in all its branches. The number of such treatises has shown an encouraging increase during the last few years. It must be admitted that the material with which they deal makes, with a few exceptions, a scholarly rather than an artistic appeal, for our earlier plays as a whole have even less claim to permanence than those of the last four or five decades. Nevertheless the older dramatists are worthy of close attention because their work reflects the taste of their time and often throws some light on the social and political conditions of a past epoch.

Dr. Reed's study is based on the latter consideration; in his own words, it was undertaken "with the object of determining to what extent, in what manner, and with what fidelity these playwrights have drawn their characters from distinctive American life, just as it actually was, during the different historical periods prior to 1870." Starting his investigation with the middle of the eighteenth century, when play writing really began in the colonies, Dr. Reed proceeds to the year of

Bronson Howard's first stage success, which inaugurated a more specifically American era in native drama. He has examined the available plays of this period, some six hundred and fifty in all, and he finds that about thirty per cent. reflect American life more or less realistically. The most frequently depicted types of character are the Indian, the frontiersman, the Yankee, the man of affairs, the workingman, the high society fop or lady, and above all the politician.

Among these, concludes Dr. Reed, "I should feel safe in saying that there are abundant examples of native realism which present many of the essentials of their originals, but that there are very few which reproduce distinctive types of American people with an exact and complete verisimilitude." Indeed one might ask whether such thoroughly representative characters are not extremely rare in the drama of any nation. In this regard the novel has undoubtedly surpassed the play—witness, for instance, in this country Howells's *Rise of Silas Lapham* and James's *American*.

In his conclusion the author further declares that of the best plays written during his period, "scarcely one has any realistic significance—a fact that proves how completely American realism was divorced from dignified American drama." Since 1870, it may be observed, this condition has been somewhat remedied by the work of Howard, Fitch, Moody, and Thomas.

A final observation of importance is that of the plays containing native realism, fully two-thirds deal with American history or political affairs, which "proves that the highest concern of the American republic until after the Civil War—the business of building a nation—finds almost ample expression in native dramatic writing."

Dr. Reed has produced a monograph of genuine interest and value to the student of American literature. His investigation of the dramatic material has been painstaking and thorough, his conclusions are sound, his bibliographies are useful, and his sketches of the development of play writing, which precede each section, are very illuminating. And yet these sections might well contain something more than a catalogue of the various realistic types found in the plays with a description of the better examples of each. A careful analysis of some of the types as they actually existed, the Yankee for one, would be more convincing than such vague statements as: "In spite of exaggeration, however, there is much that seems to suggest the real." Also why not some discussion of the progress our playwrights made in depicting real characters, with some indication of those who were most successful? And why not an index?

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

Columbia University.

SYNTAXEN I TROMSÖ BYMAAL. EN KORT OVERSIGT AV RAGNVALD IVERSEN. KRISTIANIA, 1918. Pp. 102. *Følgeskrift til Maal og Minne.*

We have before had a study of the dialect of Christiania by Amund B. Larsen in 1907, and one of Bergen by Amund B. Larsen and Gerhard Stoltz in 1911-12. In the present study we now have one also for Tromsø, which, however, differs in its scope from the earlier ones. That on the dialect of the capital deals exclusively with the phonology and the forms; and that on Bergenese Norwegian also emphasizes these, to which is added here considerable material on the vocabulary, and eight pages of notes on syntactical matters. As the title of the work before us shows, it is an account of the syntax of the dialect in question. The work is, therefore, doubly welcome. In the first place, there has been very little published before in the way of investigations of North Norwegian speech; in the second place, there has been practically nothing done in the field of syntax of the dialects of any part of Norway—and indeed hardly anything for Scandinavian dialects in general. Mr. Iversen's account is brief to be sure, and often quite sketchy, but it is in every way a valuable one, and we are very grateful to the author and the publisher for its appearance.

In his preface the author informs us that he was born and reared in Tromsø, and that he spoke Tromsø dialect in pure form until he was grown up. It is, therefore, the work of one who has intimate knowledge of the matter he is dealing with, and it has clearly been a work of pleasure. "Slik som dialekten her er gjengit, slik klang den i mine guttedager deroppe i den livlige og vakre lille nordlandsbyen, slik lød den i smau og smott, paa bryggene og i bordstuene, fra Moljen til Magretebakken, fra sør paa Stranda til nord i Bogta." Naturally in so small a town (about 6,000 people now), dialectal speech is purer and more uniform than in larger cities. It stands closer to the rural speech of the country around, it is more intimately a part of the dialectal unit of the region, than e.g., that of Bergen. But this is true here only within certain limits; the author shows how both *Riksmaal* and Bergen Norwegian have often influenced it (Bergen possibly in several instances not so attributed by the author). And it presents many interesting features, wherein it differs both from other city dialects and rural speech in general. We have, as yet, no investigation of the dialect of Trondhjem. I hope that some Christiania University student from Trondhjem will soon undertake this task. Mr. Iversen nowhere mentions Trondhjem as having had any influence upon the syntax of Tromsø Norwegian. Has not the larger city of the North set some linguistic fashions among the people of the much smaller Tromsø? In his presentation the author aims

to show what modes of expression are current, the unmixed dialect; he shows the differences that often exist between the two strata of society, between the older and the younger generation, between those who wish to be thought to speak *dannet* (cultured) and those who pay no attention to that, things that belong especially to the speech of children, present tendencies, etc. As to the efforts at "finer" speech he finds that mostly among the women; the men he finds "have a more robust linguistic conscience."

The syntax of the cases is first dealt with, pp. 7-16. As in Nw.¹ dialects in general, there is no distinction between the subjective and the objective, except in certain pronouns; in the 3 pl. one says, e.g., *dæm* 'they,' whether it is subject or object, in this respect then as in ENw. Among some speakers, especially women, *de* is used in both cases; this would seem to be a clear case of Bergen influence. On the other hand the nom. *æ* is used after "*det æ*," as *det æ bare æ*, 'it is only I'; one cannot, as in ENw. dialects and in cultured Nw. say: 'det er mig,' 'it is me,' French 'c'est moi.' In this respect then Tr. agrees with WNw. (note, however, Bergen departs from WNw. here). Under the dative the author shows how vastly the use of prepositions has been extended, even beyond the condition in the dialects in general. This is due in considerable measure to the almost complete disappearance of the ethical dative, the *dativus commodi*, etc., and the considerable development of the use of prepositions with verbs. The genitive case remains practically only in fixed combinations; as in the dialects and as extensively in Riksmåal it has been replaced by prepositions—*på*, *i*, *te*, especially, and with persons (possessive sense) by the pronouns *sin* and *hannes*. The use of *sin* is so common that it may be attached even to another possessive pronoun, thus (*min sin*). Whether this is to be regarded as an influence of Bergen dialect I am not sure; possibly not.

In regard to the Article, pp. 16-21, it is first noted that the suffixed article has about the same scope as it has in Nw. in general. One peculiarity may be noted: its use in the plural form with patronymic signification. This is a striking development and a very interesting one. If one wishes to say 'Those children of Mr. Flod's' one says *De dærre Flodan*. In Norwegian dialects in general the definite pl. of a family name has reference to the family as a whole, parents and children (or several of them), just as in English. One can, however, not in Tr., use the sg. def. form for one of the children; here one says: *han Flodguten* and *ho Flodveikja*. Presumably *Floden* would be used of the man himself, though this is not made clear. But we find

¹ I shall use certain well-established abbreviations (E Nw. = East Norwegian, etc.). Tromsø town dialect (*Tromsø bymål*) I shorten to Tr.

that among children *Floden* would be used for a boy from Flod, the young son of Flod. Hence we may assume that, as here among children, the def. *Floden* is used for a boy from Flod, so among older equals, i.e., in the dialect of the community at large, *Floden* would refer to the older Flod. Or is this use not found at all? For an answer we turn to the construction: personal pronoun+family name; here we find that *ho Floda* is equivalent to 'the wife of Flod.' In this form, then, the family name is to serve as namer for the wife by giving the name the feminine ending *-a*. Possibly Flod himself, then, would be spoken of as *han Flod*, perhaps neither *han Floden* or *Floden*. The examples do not make this clear. But as the definite ending is a designator of what is familiar, well-known to speaker and listener, and as the pre-positive pronoun is a somewhat stronger designator of familiarity, (perhaps also often with pejorative signification), it would seem that such a construction as *han Flod* would be about impossible.

Under Adjectives, pp. 21-30 a case of incongruence may be noted. One says *lefsa æ godt* (*lefsa*=plural) in place of *lefsa æ goæ*, 'flat-breads are good.' Perfectly common is, of course, such incongruence in cases like the example: *det e en annan ting og som æ syns æ så rart*; and it is in just such cases (in the relative clause) that the neuter form of the adjective steps in, whatever the gender of the antecedent of the relative pronoun be. But already in the case of a plural antecedent the neuter form of the adjective establishes itself only slowly in the relative clause. In the construction quoted, however, the use of the neuter adj. has gone far beyond this: the pl. noun is followed by neuter pred. adj. The intermediate steps are, of course (in Riksmåal form): *lefses, det er noget som er godt > lefses, det er godt*, finally *lefses er godt*.

Under Attribution the discussion in the second paragraph of p. 25 is too sketchy to be clear. The author says: "Som vanlig i norsk folkemaal foretrækkes ofte en relativ sætning for attributiv konstruktion; saaledes regelmæssig naar adjektivet faar et tillæg foran sig." If this is the case Tr. dialect has gone much farther than Nw. dialects in general, but possibly the statement generalizes more than it was intended to. The author cites the sentence: *en skikk som e almindelig hær i byen*, as a case where the rel. constr. is necessary, for: 'en her i byen almindelig skik.' But this order, i.e., pre-position of the limiting adverbial phrase, is of-course quite foreign to Norwegian speech everywhere, it is regularly converted into a relative clause. Does the author mean that any modifier of the adj., also an emphatic adverb (*meget, svært*, etc.), necessitates the relative construction?

The use of Pronouns, pp. 30-46, is discussed somewhat fully and excellently illustrated with examples. I note first that the

2 pers. pl. form *dokker* is used in polite address to one as well as to more than one—just as in Bergen. *Han* and *ho* are used as substitutory pronouns for animals and things as well as in reference to persons. “i overensstemmelse med det naturlige eller det grammatiske kjønn.” That means: in agreement with either the natural or the grammatical gender; or does it mean: in agreement with the natural gender, or (if natural gender is not present) with the grammatical gender, (as in words for things and concepts). Possibly the latter, for one says (must say?) *han* about *ei slaaskjæmpa* as well as about *oxen*, *båten*, *varmen*, etc. That this is the meaning is seen in the later sentence which points out, that “Tr. tar her bestemt avstand fra målføre som kan bruke det grammatiske kjønn i strid med det naturlige.” The extensive use of *han* in the dialect is well illustrated in the prevailing preference of *han som* for *den som* (*han so si det*, *han lyg*).

The account of the use of the subjective-reflexive pronoun is one of the most interesting and important parts of the study. There has here evidently been a conflict in progress for a long time between the levelling of two forms under one against the demands of clearness, which latter tended to maintain both. Now one, now the other, has been in the ascendancy. And it is not a little surprizing that as recently as the close of the XIXth century the personal pronoun was displacing the old reflexive. Then we learn, further, that a reaction set in, and at the present time the reflexive seems definitely victorious. I hope elsewhere to be able to go into this question more fully than I could now, in connection with dialectal usage elsewhere, and shall therefore confine myself here to the above mention of the condition in the Tr. dialect. The indefinite *det* is much more restricted in Tr. than in either literary Nw. or the dialects. In the first place, it is not used in reference to natural phenomena or the weather; there the pronoun *han* is used, exactly as in WNu. dialects, and in considerable measure elsewhere I am inclined to think. In the second place, many impersonal verbs and impersonal uses of verbs have been replaced by personal constructions, as *æ klør so i haue* (but *det feile han ingenting*). The tendency is in this direction in Nw. dialects in general but possibly Tr. has gone rather farther than most.

In connection with the Verbs, pp. 46–69, it is to be noted that the auxiliary of the perfect is always *ha*, not only in, e.g., *har kommet før seint*, but also with *bli*, as *ho har blidd*. The omission of the auxiliary, as in many Nw. dialects and as in Swedish, is not evidenced; the pure future tense always requires the auxiliary *komme til at*. Finally as to the passive. With regard to the compound passive it should be noted as an especially interesting matter that, while the auxiliary *bli* is the

prevailing construction, the auxiliary *være* is quite commonly used in the imperfect except with durative verbs. That is *være* is not only used in the quasi-passive, but also in actual passive sense: *det huset va bygd same året som utstillingen va*. As Iversen says, it is interesting to find this old construction in living force to-day in the midst of a town dialect. However, Tromsø evidently stands much nearer the dialects than it does to the speech of the cities; and I am inclined to think that the above quoted construction will be found in many WNw. and NNw. dialects today, and even more generally than in Tr. at the present time, for the author notes the fact that it is now heard for the most part only among older speakers.

As to the scope of the compound and the suffixal passive Tr. has gone far, perhaps farther than most dialects, in the direction of substituting entirely the analytical form for the inflected one; this is to be expected in a dialect region where the analytic tendency has been so strong as in Tromsø. The author shows the scope that the *st*-passive still has—it is used practically only immediately following the modal auxiliaries. And here again the interesting phenomenon is met with, that verbs which in ON are found with the suffixal passive have either gone over to the class of compound passives, or can no longer be used in the passive at all (page 51). That is, there has in modern Tr. been a growing tendency to avoid the *st*-passive. There has also been a growing tendency to avoid the use of the passive entirely; wherever possible one uses an active construction; otherwise one uses the compound construction. But even the compound or analytic passive is avoided—wherever possible, the active construction is employed. I shall point out that in varying degree both these tendencies have been in operation in all Nw. dialects of course, and, I venture to say, in an especial degree in WNw. dialects. An investigation of the whole subject of the passive in Norwegian dialects would bring interesting results, but for such an investigation existing dialect material is of course quite inadequate. Finally one more point may be mentioned: the use of *at* before the infinitive is omitted only after *ville*, *skulle*, *kunne*, *maatte* and *faa*. In the closing chapters the author deals with sentence structure, word-order, ellipsis, pleonasm, and anacoluthon.

As regards printing, paper, and format the volume is uniform with *Maal og Minne's* issues; it is printed on excellent paper and in the neat type of this journal, producing a page that is "inviting" to the reader. The investigation itself was awarded the Royal Gold Medal and printed by the Nansen Fund Committee.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

Urbana, May 24, 1919.

IL CODICE VERCELLESE CON OMELIE E POESIE IN LINGUA ANGLOSASSONE per concessione del Ven. Capitolo Metropolitano di Vercelli la prima volta interamente riprodotto in fotopia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana con introduzione del Prof. Dott. Massimiliano Foerster dell' Università di Lipsia. Roma, Danesi (Via dei Bagni). 1913. 4to. Pp. LXX +136(272).

DER VERCELLI-CODEX CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift von Max Förster. Studien zur englischen Philologie, Heft L, Lorenz Morsbach gewidmet, pp. 20-179. Halle a.S., Max Niemeyer. 1913.

Almost exactly ninety years after its 'discovery' by Dr. Blume, the entire Vercelli Codex CXVII has been reproduced in this magnificent phototype volume with the distinguished name of Max Förster attached to it. The six poems contained in the manuscript had been edited a number of times—some of them proving, indeed, especial favorites in college and university classes—and even a facsimile text of them had been provided by Wülker in 1894 (*Codex Vercellensis, die angelsächsische Handschrift zu Vercelli in getreuer Nachbildung*). But, strange to say, the twenty-three prose homilies were allowed all those years to remain in hiding, save for the incidental printing of two short pieces (*Anglia* V, 464 f., and Gonsler's *Guthlac*, pp. 117 ff.) and the helpful lexical gleanings embodied in Napier's well-known *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (1906). Now the entire manuscript has been placed at the disposal of students, and although very likely only few individuals may find it practicable to procure a copy of their own, no public library appealing to scholars will be able to dispense with this exceedingly important publication.

The photographic reproduction is a thoroughly faithful one. It was deemed necessary, indeed, to reduce the size of the page by one-third—only two pages being given in full size—but otherwise scrupulous care has been taken to furnish as far as might be a real duplicate of the original. No attempt has been made (as was done in the Wülker publication) to improve the appearance of certain places by retouching and thus to make the facsimile look clearer than the manuscript itself. We thus have an almost perfect picture of the venerable, though by no means ornamental codex, exhibiting the clear and remarkably accurate handwriting of a single scribe who was at work on it some time "in the latter half, or about the close, of the tenth century."

Professor Förster's own work appears in the *Introduction*,—on the whole an Italian translation of the German text included in the Morsbach *Festschrift*. It consists practically of

two main parts, viz. a general introduction, or a discussion of the manuscript as a whole, and a special introduction, or a description of the different texts composing it. Two further parts are added in the German version, viz. a critical edition of five homilies (pp. 87-148) and a list of supplementary lexical notes (pp. 149-179).

Of this Introduction it is impossible to speak too highly. Every page of it shows the hand of the trained expert and sagacious philologist, who weighs impartially every fact capable of throwing light on a problem and who proceeds to his conclusions in a manner which is likely to convince and certain to instruct.¹

Of the five sections of the general introduction, the one on the provenance and history of the manuscript naturally commands our especial interest. How did this Anglo-Saxon manuscript come to reach Vercelli? Various answers have been supplied by previous investigators. Förster examines the different hypotheses which have been proposed, or might be proposed, and in particular takes issue with the famous 'Guala theory,' ingeniously developed by Cook, which may be found conveniently stated in Krapp's edition of *Andreas* (pp. X-XIV) and very briefly summarized in Cook's edition of *The Dream of the Rood* (pp. V f.). That the so-called Vercelli codex should have been taken from England to Italy by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England from 1216 to 1218, or should have found its way to Vercelli in consequence of the cultural relations established by him between the two countries, is indeed admitted as a possibility. But, while doing full justice to the arguments in favor of this widely accepted theory, Förster brings forward a number of more or less serious objections. Thus, the style of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli which was founded by Guala, has been shown by the French archeologist C. Enlart to point not to England, but directly to the North of France. Again, there is no evidence to indicate that the volume ever belonged to the church of St. Andrew; it is preserved in the cathedral library of Vercelli and, in all probability, formed part of it at least as early as 1602. Moreover, Cardinal Guala was a man exclusively interested in French scholarship and culture, who filled the monastery of St. Andrew with French Augustinians and who cannot be supposed to have had the slightest understanding of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In fact, even native Englishmen of his time were sorely deficient in that respect, and it is pretty safe to say that the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth

¹ It is to be regretted that the Italian printing office did not take the trouble to provide the Anglo-Saxon characters β and δ ; *th* and *dh* are poor substitutes in a learned treatise on an Anglo-Saxon manuscript.

century is the most unlikely one to which the passing of the manuscript from England to Italy could be ascribed. The negative part of Förster's argumentation is followed by a constructive essay, which aims to supply the missing link in the chain of evidence connecting the southern with the northern country. It is definitely established (by a notice entered in an almost contemporaneous handwriting) that a tenth century manuscript (Codex no. CLXXXI) of the cathedral library of Vercelli had been formerly in the possession of abbot Erkanbald of Fulda, who at one time (between 997 and 1011) loaned it to bishop Henry I of Würzburg. From either Würzburg or Fulda the volume could easily be transferred to Vercelli, since the intercourse between Germany and Upper Italy was exceedingly close in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is known, e.g., that abbot Erkanbald in 989 accompanied emperor Otto III to Italy, and that in 1002 bishop Leo of Vercelli appeared in a Bavarian town (perhaps Regensburg) before emperor Henry II. Considering, on the other hand, that both Fulda and Würzburg were flourishing centers of the Irish-Anglo-Saxon mission, that Fulda, in Traube's words, was altogether British in its culture, and that ancient English manuscripts were brought to those German monasteries, it is easy to see that our Vercelli codex could very well have passed from England to Italy by way of either of those places. For the details of this whole discussion the reader is referred to Förster's own presentation, which is a model of philological method.

Regarding the diversity of linguistic forms found in the manuscript—West Saxon, with an admixture of Anglian and some Kentish forms—the editor offers a noteworthy, though merely tentative explanation. He observes that the same sort of mixture occurs in the copies of Wulfstan's homilies made by Wulfgeat, namely the Oxford MSS Junius 121, Hatton 113, and Hatton 114. Since in the latter instance the author and the scribe belonged to the same locality, i.e. Worcester, it stands to reason that the dialectal mixture of the homilies cannot be owing to their transcription from one dialect into another, but represents the normal orthography used in the Worcester *scriptoria*, though not necessarily the language actually current in that district. Thus it seems entirely possible, to say the least, that the *codex Vercellensis* was also written in Worcester, which, in the latter half of the tenth century, enjoyed an unusual reputation for literary and educational activity. Of course, the question of the original dialect or dialects of the texts contained in the codex is not affected by these considerations.

Turning to the description of the individual texts, the twenty-three homilies and six poems, we note that Förster has provided an admirable, concise introduction to each piece, including a statement of its contents, parallel versions, sources,

and bibliographical data. Naturally the remarks on the poetical texts are of the briefest, but nevertheless of great interest, setting forth, as they do, Förster's own views on doubtful and debated matters. The future author of a new, up-to-date *Grundriss* will find this part a distinctly valuable source of information.

Of the two sections added in the German version, i.e. a critical edition of the second, sixth, ninth, fifteenth, and twenty-second homilies, and a group of lexical gleanings augmented by items drawn from other sources, suffice it to say that they fully meet the most rigid requirements of scholarship. We venture to hope that the former is merely a preliminary instalment, and that it will be possible for Professor Förster before long to give us the complete and authoritative edition we have been waiting for.

In conclusion, just a few minor details will be briefly touched. In the description of the Last Judgment, Hom. II, fol. 10^b, 1.5 f. (Edition, p. 90), mention is made of *hellwarena dream*, so in the parallel text, Hom. XXI, fol. 115^b, 1.8 (*ib.*, 1.10: *þara manna dream*). The genuineness of this *dream* is very questionable. The correct reading is presumably preserved in the corresponding Wulfstan text, 186.7: *helwara hream*, Var. *ream* (which should by no means be altered to *dream*); 186.9: *þæra manna man*. Cf., e.g., Crist 594: *swa mid Dryhten dream swa mid deoflum hream*, and see *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxvi, 141-3. The double alliteration of the second half-line in this metrical passage will hardly be considered a serious obstacle.—In Hom. IX, fol. 61^a, 1.20 (Edition, p. 101), I would place a comma before *ac* instead of a period: *þæs egesfullican dæges tocyme, on ðam we sculon Gode riht agifan for ealles ures lifes dædum . . . forðan þe we nu magon behydan and behelian ura dæda, ac hie bioð þonne opena and unwrigena*. The desirability of this change was recently brought home to me when I saw this passage quoted as an example of the adversative function of *forðan*: "in spite of the fact that we conceal the evil deeds in this life" (Marjorie Daunt, *Mod. Lang. Review* xiii, 477). To me this rather looks like a characteristic case of paratactic construction: 'since we can now [indeed] conceal them, but they will be revealed on doomsday.'—The unique *geonsið* 'departure,' Hom. XXI, fol. 112^b, 1.12: *æfter hyra geon siðe* is rendered still more interesting by the fact that *on* has been inserted (above the line) between *geon* and *siðe*. Evidently the scribe vacillated between *geon-* and *heonon-siðe*.—On p. 171 Förster cites, from Bede 310.10, the noun *ontimbernes* (however, in MS T: *intimbernes(se)*, C: *intimbrenes(se)*), 'Erbauung,' 'Belehrung,' which puts us in mind of the well-known metaphorical use of (*ge*)*timbran* = *aedificare*, *instruere*, 'edify,' German 'erbauen,' as found, e.g., in Bede 140.13, *Chrodegang*

58.6, 127.9. As regards this particular formation, *in-timbernes*, I suspect that it is merely an ultra-literal rendering of the Latin *in-structio* (IV, c. 17), neither better nor worse than *on-ben* = *in-precatio*, Bede 104.3 (II, c.2). Cf. *intimbran* = *instruere*, Bede 478.10, *ontimbran* = *instituire*, *ib.* 458.20 (MS B: *intimbrigenne*), etc. On the other hand, *on-*, *an(d)-timber* 'material' seems a *bona fide* Old English form, repeatedly found as translation of *materia*: thus, e.g., Wright-Wülcker, *Vocab.* I, 447.4, Chrodegang 76.34. Also *untimber* of the Vercelli codex, fol. 73^b, l.22 is very justly corrected by Förster to *an(d)timber*. As to *ontimbernesse*, fol. 81^b, l.14, answering to *materia* (Förster, p. 119), its redundant suffix was perhaps thoughtlessly added by the scribe on account of the immediately preceding *genihtsumnesse*.—May not *ðrahlic*, instanced (p. 175) from MS. Vesp. D. xiv, fol. 76^b, be credited with the meaning of 'full of hardship,' 'distressing'? It fits the context admirably: *swyðe mycele ungedwærnyse and ðrahlice witen*. Cf. *Mod. Phil.* III, 254, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxi, 428.—A rare compound, which so far seems to have been known from Napier's *Old English Glosses* only, is met with on fol. 113^b, l.25: *hu he ðone deofol on helle mid his wæg-gesiðum ofprihte*; cf. *OE. Gl.* 861 and 2.18: *satellites* = *weggesipan*.

FR. KLAEBER.

The University of Minnesota.

THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE. A Preliminary Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. By H. L. Mencken, New York. Alfred A. Knopf MCMXIX, pp. VIII, 374.

With keen interest the reviewer took this book into his hands and with keen and sustained interest he read it thru from beginning to end. Tho it turned out quite different from what he expected and hoped he acknowledges gladly his indebtedness for its rich contents and the message that it brings. The difference in the point of view of the author and that of the present reviewer is so great that the task of reviewing is difficult, but there is such a strong bond of sympathy between author and reviewer established by their common love of their native American English and their common desire to see it recognized and cherished that there will be little danger that the reviewer will be intentionally unjust and severe in his criticism.

The author is and has been since early manhood an editor of newspapers, magazines and books and a book critic, and has a large acquaintance with the current literature and speech of England and America. He has read what he could find on American English and has collected many observations of his own.

He has also read considerable good philological literature on the general development of English and has done some independent investigation. On the basis of these studies he comes to the conclusion that the differences in speech between the English in England and America are so great that it is permissible to speak of an American language. The reviewer, on the other hand, has been a technical student of the growth and development of English, German, and other Germanic languages for more than thirty-five years and hence is accustomed to look at linguistic phenomena from quite a different point of view from that of a literary man. To him language is made up of definite fixed types of expression that vary very much in different tongues. To him the materials submitted in this book do not in general possess distinctive types and hence do not indicate that there is such a thing as an American language. Very many of these words were coined in this country, but the die came from England. It is truly marvelous that in a country so large as the United States different languages did not arise. The explanation lies in the peculiar circumstances that mark the colonial period. At the time the English colonists came to this country English had in general become fixed in its character. The early American period was a paper age. From the very beginning books were at hand and books and periodicals became ever more common. Altho the colonists were scattered over a wide territory the printed form of English kept ever before the American people the old English types of expression. The low stage of culture of the aborigines made impossible any serious shattering of these old English types. To the reviewer these things are so self-evident that he does not feel called to undertake here a formal refutation of the principal claim of the book. But there are a number of other claims that are worthy of attention.

On several occasions the author inveighs eloquently against the poor teaching of English grammar in our schools. According to the author's view the present bad state of grammar instruction results from the fact that the teacher teaches English while the pupil understands only American. "The effects of this are two-fold. On the one hand he (the pupil) conceives an antipathy to a subject so lacking in intelligibility and utility. As one teacher puts it, 'pupils tire of it; often they see nothing in it, because there *is* nothing in it.' And on the other hand, the school-boy goes entirely without sympathetic guidance in the living language that he actually speaks, in and out of the classroom, and that he will probably speak all the rest of his life." The last sentence is so sad that it ought to touch the heart of every teacher in the land and move every school-board to take immediate action to remedy this great evil. There can be no doubt that this sad state of things exists. The cause,

however, is quite different from that claimed by the author. Of the vast throng who teach English in this country few are thoroly acquainted with the growth and development of the language. Few have enthusiastically dedicated their life to its study. Few really know how hungry American boys and girls are after a deeper knowledge of their native tongue. A teacher whose soul has been stirred by a close insight into the growth and development of English can in a moment as if by magic convert a listless class into keen attention by telling it even a little bit of the rich life of the language. Even rules can stir up interest in a class if they are presented as a part of the life of the pupils' daily speech. In this great country there is not a single periodical exclusively devoted to the scientific study of English that is supported and maintained by public subscription, such as *Anglia* and *Englische Studien* in Germany. Our teachers of English are not interested in English and hence they don't know much about it and can't interest American boys and girls in it. Indeed, it is sad! It is cheering, however, to know that the English language is not on this account going down. It will continue to go on growing and developing, for it is connected with all we do and think, intimately connected with the life of a great people, and will grow as it grows. Its growth will not be much impeded by the poor instruction in our schools, but on the other hand the American people will be deprived of a great boon that might become theirs. A good teaching of English would bring a closer insight into its nature and thus increase our power and enjoyment in using it.

Among other good points that the author makes is his repeated reference to the lack of interest in American English on the part of American scholars. It is only too true, but the evil is hard to remedy. We need several live periodicals exclusively devoted to the study of English backed by large bodies of contributors interested in various phases of the English of America and England and her colonies. Just now we have a poor prospect of getting such periodicals or such investigators. For the present we shall in general have to send our contributions to our American periodicals of larger scope or send them to the periodicals of Germany that deal exclusively with English. It does not seem desirable to limit the scope of such periodicals to American English alone. The study of American English must always be kept in close touch with other forms of English, or we are liable to run into error.

The author discusses at length differences in pronunciation and orthography. Of course it is perfectly clear that natural forces are at work bringing about new developments of sounds. To a timid thinker it often seems sure that the parts of the great English-speaking territory will ultimately drift apart and become independent. On the other hand, there is the

powerful counter-influence of the uniform orthography which tends to keep the parts together. There are at present earnest reformers at work to simplify the orthography and some progress has been made. Unfortunately, however, the reformers in America and England do not agree and at the present moment it even seems that they will drift apart. This would be disastrous. It seems to the reviewer that the common sense of the great English-speaking family will ultimately bring the different members together. The cause is so important that a final separation is unthinkable. After a long struggle the German-speaking states have become one in orthography and this will be the final result of the present orthographic struggle on English-speaking territory.

The reviewer hails the appearance of this book with joy. He hopes that it will be followed by many others and that the author himself will be able to carry out the desire expressed in the Preface p. VIII to investigate further the grammar of American vulgar speech which he discusses in the present work in chap. VI. He is not a professional philologist as can be seen in several slips in his historical explanations, as for instance on p. 179, where in speaking of the influence of the masses in the making of speech he says: "Thus it was, too, that . . . we got rid of *whom* after *man* in *the man I saw*." The terse form here without *whom* is the original form of the relative clause, not something that has been rendered terse by the omission of *whom*. The author, however, does not claim to be a philologist and is as modest as a man can be. He has a genuine interest in his native language and with the joy of an enthusiast has presented to the public useful materials in a pleasing and entertaining style.

GEORGE O. CURME.

Northwestern University.

LEARNED SOCIETIES AND ENGLISH LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. By Harrison Ross Steeves, Ph.D., Instructor in English in Columbia University. New York, Columbia University Press, 1913.

Organization for efficiency—a strange sounding motto for scholarship and literary activity, yet that seems to be the final conclusion of the monograph after a review of the facts of origin and growth of learned societies in England and America and their relation to literary scholarship. The book was written as a dissertation for the doctorate in the Department of English, Columbia University, and published in the Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature. It presents

the history of English learned societies of letters with a consideration of the quantity and quality of their contribution to criticism and literary history and states the conclusion that "the greater part of the scholarly accomplishments in the field of literature during the last century was due to the activities of the learned societies," since, after a long and varied process of cut and try, "co-operation in these societies has given definition to method and conscience in scholarly pursuits" (p. xiii).

In conformity with the modern trend toward compilation and specialization, the author spreads before us such a mass of information, so well arranged and so logically presented, that we cannot escape his conclusion, nor can we doubt the Columbia imprimatur, assuring us that the volume is a worthy contribution to knowledge. During the progress of the work the plan was changed from the presentation of a bibliography with a brief introduction to the use of the introduction alone as sufficient to satisfy the special requirement. We regret that the plan could not be further changed to include some discussion of the relationship of the various men to the life of their times. However, supplied as the volume is with a bibliography of all publications mentioned in the text and with an excellent index of proper names, societies, and literary works, it should prove of substantial value as a reference work in connection with histories of literature.

The very brief Introduction is a summary of conclusions. Chapter I is a definition of the field, in general that of philological criticism and research. This does not include, however, "what is generally known as the 'academy,' the purpose of which is to establish canons of literary taste, and to facilitate and correct the growth of the vernacular" (p. 2), nor groups of literary men which might be termed authors' clubs, like the Areopagus founded 1579 or Tennyson's Apostles, but deals only with the learned society of letters. The object of such societies, in whole or in part, is "to preserve literary monuments, to use them for the illumination of the national background, to cultivate historical knowledge, to concentrate it by discussion, to diffuse it through publication" (p. 4). In spite of this clear definition and restriction, however, Dr. Steeves might have brought out more clearly the fact that we are not to hear exclusively of this one type of organization. The major part of his work, Chapters V through VII, keeps, of course, to this distinction. For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, he chronicles attempts toward the establishment of an "academy" as well, for in the early societies purposes were confused, were not always clearly set forth, were perhaps not even understood by all of the members. The fact should have been emphasized, moreover, that we can determine nothing

whatever regarding the type or aim of an organization from its use of the word academy or society, since there has apparently been no careful English usage to support the French idea of academy as given above.

A real "academy" has never existed in England. "Even the actual incorporation of the British Academy in 1902, after suggestion and pressure from the Council of the Royal Society, though it aimed in part to represent philological scholarship in England at the meetings of the International Association of Academies, could do no more in this direction than to revive the acknowledgment that there never has been, and probably never can be, an authoritative academy of English language and letters" (p. 3). Efforts to found such an academy extend over a century of critical scholarship from Bolton to Swift. The uniform failure of these many efforts our author attributes in brief to a "lack of responsible native enthusiasm in such movements," of which the following statement may be taken as his explanation: "It is probably correct to say, in a general way, that the greater intellectual democracy of the English could not submit to such tyranny of trained taste; but more real reason for the failure of the academy idea in England is probably to be found in the intellectual conditions which determined the particular nature of scholarly comity throughout this century, and which gave birth to the Royal Society itself.

The Royal Society is as truly a coefficient of English intellectual interest in this period as the Academie Française is for France. Although at the first glance these two societies may seem to voice the same scholarly aims, no intellectual incentives could be more radically divergent than those which gave life to the two. The Academy owed its existence, under a nearly absolute political tyranny, to a demand for authority in matters of taste, the Royal Society responded to the growing outcry against everything savoring of scholastic authority, and stood as the expressed champion of the experimental philosophy of Bacon" (p. 41-2).

As an explanation this seems not to go far enough, even granting the lack of space for real historical background due to the plan of the book. The English, given an outlet for their critical and creative energy, as they were, in the founding of new political institutions and in the development of individual freedom and responsibility—activities which the Italian and Frenchman of the period could not possibly share—were exhibiting a decidedly responsible enthusiasm for the establishment of canons of correctness in free political institutions. A deeper reason for the popular trend seems to the reviewer, however, to underlie the whole matter, a reason dealing not only with the experimental philosophy of Bacon but even

related to the word *enthusiasm* itself. But first a word about Chapters II and III before we take up this point.

Chapter II deals with what is undoubtedly the most ancient of all English learned societies, the Assembly of the Antiquaries, founded by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1572. Although there is "no positive evidence of the existence of literary interest in this society," there is "no evidence which denies the possibility of such interests" (p. 7), and Dr. Steeves makes out an excellent case for his contention from inferences to be drawn from the known activities of the members of the society. To note only a few out of many: Archbishop Parker, "a mighty collector of books," extended vitally necessary aid to the scholarly labors of his friends who collected and published Mss.; Sir Robert Cotton, a still mightier collector, formed the remarkable library which for two centuries has been in the possession of the English nation and which made him practically indispensable to historians and literary students, the library which is probably even today the most notable collection of original materials for national and literary history collected by a single individual; John Stowe was an annalist and one of the first publishers of Chaucer; Francis Thynne was for his day a really great Chaucer scholar; and William Camden, who found time amidst incessant and varied activities to compile an Anglo-Saxon dictionary.

Chapter III, on the seventeenth century, gives a record of projects, usually unsuccessful in point of duration, eminently successful as laboratory practice. Instead of the projected Academy Royal of King James, 1616, which might have become the predecessor in time and type of the Academie Française of 1635 and a sister society to the Fruchbringende Gesellschaft of 1617, there finally developed the Royal Society, 1660, which is an institution devoted to experimental science. Thus, through many plans and even actual organizations of every aim, for purposes pedagogic, political, scientific, theological, literary, or mainly social, the continuous tradition of society activities in England was assured.

Let us now return to our consideration of the reasons for the Royal Society and the general lack of interest in purely literary societies.

The impulse toward the founding of literary societies and academies as well as the models for them spread over Europe from Italy. Indefinite as the immediate purposes of the Italian academies may seem to be, there is little question that the "smouldering embers of the great Neoplatonic ideas were here fanned to flames."¹ The ideal of these societies was in fact not

¹ C. F. E. Spurgeon: Chapter on Law in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IX.

only the increase of knowledge of the Greek literature and language, but also the spread of a belief in the oneness of the entire universe, the oneness of all mankind with the universe, which was as truly an art of living as it was a system of thought and based upon the teachings of Christ and of Plotinus.² The church feared a dangerous rival in these teachings of humanity; members of the academies were branded as heretics, academies were suppressed. Secretly as they had to be fostered, however, the ideas did not die. As humanism spread over Europe, organizations were formed with dual aims; for one, an avowed purpose of a popular and progressive nature; for the other, the secret cult. Membership in these organizations were not always acknowledged; lists did not always contain the names of all members; and it seems fair to suppose that lists may have been purposely misleading. We can quote the amazingly democratic 'firstly' and 'secondly' of the avowed purpose of one of the self-styled language societies; its secret purpose comes out only in the guarded utterances of private correspondence.³

Thus the terrible fate that attended Giordano Bruno gains more significance. This Italian Neoplatonist paid a visit to England in 1583, a fact of capital importance in the history of English Neoplatonism. But whatever his influence upon members of the Assembly of Antiquaries may have been, it is interesting for us to recall that Dr. Steeves notes (as I have shown above) the fact of decided uncertainty regarding the purposes of that society and makes a claim for its probable literary aims. No doubt he is perfectly justified. But may not this society have had several aims? Dr. Steeves mentions also, moreover, a

²Ludwig Keller: *Die geistigen Grundlagen der Freimaurerei und das öffentliche Leben*. Jena, 1911; also *Comenius and die Akademien der Naturphilosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft IV (1895).

³Firstly, All members of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, irrespective of rank or religion, must be honorable, intelligent and wise, virtuous and courteous, useful and entertaining, affable, and moderate in all things; when they meet they must be amiable, cheerful, and friendly, and just as it is strictly forbidden at the meetings for one member to take in bad part an offensive word from another, so must they on the other hand be firmly pledged to refrain from all unseemly remarks and vulgar jests.

Secondly, The first duty of the members must be, above all things, to preserve and cultivate most carefully, in speech, writing, and poetry, our beloved mother-tongue in its true form and proper meaning, without a mixture of foreign patch-words, also as far as possible, especially within the Society, to insure that this principle be in no way infringed but rather obediently complied with. Quoted p. xv by Gilbert Waterhouse: *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, 1914.

This avowed purpose is certainly apposite among a people of whom was said: "Wenn man eines neusüchtigen Deutschlings Herz öffnen und sehen sollte, würde man augenscheinlich befinden, dass fünf Achtel desselben französisch, ein Achtel spanisch, eins italienisch und kaum eins deutsch daran gefunden werden." Moscherosch: *Gesichte Philanders von Sittenwall*, 1642.

certain suspicion which rested upon its members, and so strongly that at one time when they talked of reorganization, it was announced that they would not concern themselves with matters of state or religion (p. 28). Also striking discrepancies in the ms. lists of members are discussed. Here Dr. Steeves makes the suggestion that, if the longer list, including some of the most distinguished names of the period, is not vulnerable, "the society is vastly more significant from every aspect . . . than merely a gathering of quiet scholars" (p. 34). We wish that Dr. Steeves had been able to go much more deeply into the significance of this first recognized English society.

In the seventeenth century the spread of Neoplatonic thought in England was very marked, on the side of traditional learning, in the universities. The Cambridge (Neo)Platonists, for example, studied Plotinus and Proclus, doubtless Porphyry, Origen and St. Augustine also, and as we know, the mystics Dionysius the Arcopagite, Thomas à Kempis, and the beautiful little anonymous mystical treatise *Theologia Germanica*.

This, however, represents only one side of Neoplatonism. The belief in the oneness of the universe, the starting point of the mystics, was the starting point as well for another type of mind. This one-piece universe must have laws; what are they? Men like Paracelsus, van Helmont, Francis Bacon, Robert Boyle, Isaac Newton, tried to find the answer. In the seventeenth century there was organization to this end. Samuel Hartlib, Evelyn, Cowley, Wren, Sir William Petty, Boyle and Bishop Wilkins are men whom Dr. Steeves mentions in connection with the Royal Society and similar projects. With them were closely associated also John Dury and Theodor Haak, the latter of whom had a large share in the establishment of the Philosophical Society, the Oxford parent branch of the Royal Society. These two, with Hartlib, were friends of Comenius, and all four were men of known Neoplatonic interests and sympathies. Thus the working out of the Neoplatonic belief gave added impulse, if not the real impulse, to the rise of the natural sciences.

One other characteristic of the seventeenth century life claims our attention at this point. The period has been described as a welter of sects. There was an amazing wealth of religious life outside of the established church, characterized by a rejection of all church rites and observances which, having ceased to be understood, had become lifeless. This had resulted partly from an ever increasing belief, pouring into England from the new sects on the continent, strengthened by students of Neoplatonic and mystical writings and by those who were taking up alchemy or astrology, a belief, namely, in the "Inner Light," in that principle inborn within all men through which they can know God, and all things as well. It is a mystical

doctrine of Plotinus, that had reached its climax in this form, after a strange progress down the ages, carried by reformers and those cast out and despised by orthodox religion. In this century of upheavals religion passed into its enthusiastic stage. By its opponents the name *enthusiasm* was applied to it and *enthusiast* became a term of opprobrium.

Thus three separate yet interacting movements appear, all on a basis of mysticism or a belief in the oneness of the universe. The enthusiasts were widely and wildly interested in mystical writers and alchemy, reflecting in a popular form the interest of the two types of learned men discussed above. The century teemed with enthusiasm, but not for an institution that might limit in any way individual self-expression or development; it was so desirous of knowing the laws of the world at hand that it had no impulse to study that world's literary past.

Toward the close of this chapter Dr. Steeves notes (p. 58), as a confirmation of the firm establishment of the society idea, the "Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge." This is evidently a confusing of the two early religious societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded by Thomas Bray in 1698 to provide the clergy with libraries, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the first protestant missionary society, a division separated off from the first society in 1701. Dr. Steeves' authority, publishing in 1704, was perhaps too near the events to be sure of the facts.

The eighteenth century (Chapter IV) saw the real beginnings of an impetus toward co-operative work on literary records on the part of historical scholarship from the incentive supplied in the person of the devoted and disinterested scholar Franz Junius, whose learning and personality had concentrated about himself much of the activity in Anglo-Saxon studies in the middle years of the seventeenth century. This activity expressed itself in various attempts at organization from 1707 onward. Finally the Society of Antiquaries was chartered in 1751 with *Archaeologia* as its publication. Smaller societies of limited membership and local interests fostered the gradual growth of a general appreciation of old literature and were also the outcome of such appreciation.

More noteworthy for this period, however, is the spread of a new literary taste. This was particularly marked in "the decade following 1760, partly through the rapid weakening of the classical tradition, but more particularly through the publication of three collections of ostensibly ancient poetry, Macpherson's *Ossian* in 1760, Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765, and Chatterton's *Rowley Poems* from 1764 to 1770" (p. 96). The popularity of these collections Dr. Steeves explains on the score that they were not really actual monuments of antiquity but poetical remain—and even fabrications—gener-

ously and systematically refined to suit the prevailing taste. The reviewer finds that again a hardly sufficient presentation of the facts, unless a very great deal is to be read into the phrase "partly though the rapid weakening of classical tradition." The new taste is indeed a "significant mark of the romantic reaction" (p. 95) but it does not stand as the first of its series. The salient fact is that much of what goes under the name of Romanticism is neither more nor less than Neoplatonism: That Neoplatonic ideas had been at work for some time in England we have seen. The seventeenth century had its mysticism not only among poets and statesmen and scientists but in general among the many mystically-minded men and women whom that turbulent period produced. The reflection in literature of the prevalent thinking and feeling was a reaction against the intellectual view of poetry, a turning toward the heart rather than the head as a measurer of beauty and life, toward the imagination rather than the intellect as the source of art. This we find already expressed in Thompson and Young. Even Milton's theme, the original state of mankind, directly anticipates the later interest of Addison and the early romantics in primitive peoples and their songs and in the old English ballads. It is an amusing touch that, for the purposes of this volume, the romantic movement has to end with the wave of book collecting enthusiasm, at its height in the early years of the nineteenth century, which was one of the indirect results of the interest in things medieval.

Chapter V, on nineteenth century book clubs and general publishing societies and Chapter VI, on philological text societies, take up half of the text space of the book and represent a very careful compilation and historical account of the co-operating scholarship of the last century, a veritable mine of information treating a few at least of the important figures in such fashion as to cause them to stand out (unless propinquity, as measured by centuries, leads the reviewer into grave error) with some of the warmth of personality lacking to the earlier chapters. An adequate review of these excellent chapters, including also chapter VII, would partake too much of the nature of extended lists to find a place in this brief review. Dr. Steeves is of the opinion that "scarcely a noted scholar of the nineteenth century can wholly separate his success from that of the societies with which he has been connected." That gives a clue to the usefulness of this volume, fortunately of thoroughly late-nineteenth century make-up in regard to that greatest of all lacks of earlier publications, a good index.

The seventh and last chapter deals with American societies and clubs, but very briefly because the history and bibliography of American societies (except the purely philosophical) was

already available.⁴ Dr. Steeves' conclusion finds "the place of learned societies in the tradition of American literary scholarship relatively unimportant. The Modern Language Association only has produced work comparable in volume and significance to the productions of English learned societies. The book clubs, however, have played and are likely to continue to play, an important part in the furtherance of literary culture; in fact they compare favorably with their great predecessors in England and Scotland. Altogether, America's part in this special movement is very creditable," (p. 217).

MARGARET LEWIS BAILEY.

Smith College.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN GERMAN LITERATURE. By Edwin Hermann Zeydel, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. Pp. ix, 143.

The title of the present monograph is too comprehensive, if not, indeed, misleading, although the author attempts to justify it by remarking in the Preface: "Originally the study was to be entitled *Literary Satire at the Expense of the Holy Roman Empire*, but in the course of the work it was found advisable to adopt the present broader, more euphonious title." At the beginning of the study proper (p. 20), the aim to emphasize the satirical literature on the subject is stated again. Certainly a very wholesome restriction considering that, in spite of it, the material to be studied is still over-abundant, for the period to be covered is of course identical with the duration of the Empire discussed, extending over a thousand years from A.D. 800 onward.

The author has divided his subject-matter into five chapters: The Period Prior to 1500 (pp. 20-33); The Sixteenth Century (pp. 34-59); The Century of the Thirty Years' War (pp. 60-76); The Eighteenth Century Before the Classical Period (pp. 77-87); and Goethe and His Contemporaries (pp. 88-120). To these he has prefixed an introductory chapter, entitled "Some Historical Data" (pp. 1-19). The rest of the book is made up of "English Renderings of the Latin and Old German Citations" (pp. 121-131) and the Bibliography (pp. 132-143). An index is

⁴ A. Growoll: *American Book Clubs, their Beginnings and History, and a Bibliography of their Publications.* New York, 1897.

R. R. Bowker: *Publications of Societies; a Provisional List of the Publications of American Scientific, Literary and other Societies . . .* New York, 1899.

A.P.C. Griffin: *Bibliography of American Historical Societies . . .* 2nd. Ed., [Vol. II of *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905*]. Washington, 1907.

(J. D. Thompson, Editor.) *Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions: America.* Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1908.

lacking, nor does the Table of Contents contain any other references but those just given; at least a list of the authors discussed would have been welcome.

Glancing over the subheadings in the book and leaving aside the introductory chapter, we find that about half a hundred poets and publicists have been considered; in addition to these there are some fifteen sections dealing with folksong, pamphlets, periodicals, etc. The method used is easily understood: a definition of satire is given (p. 20), and with this for a lodestar the field is traversed. Wherever it stops, we stop. A name is introduced—first in the headline, then in the text—a few remarks are made about the political views of its bearer in general, and then follow synopses, quotations, and excerpts, as many as the author saw fit to include. Nothing startling is said, nor anything particularly new, nor on the whole anything wrong—just enough to identify the subject, pointing out to the reader facts with which he is perfectly familiar, which, however, he might as well turn over in his mind for the occasion. To illustrate. We read on p. 97 the following:

Bürger

“Bürger, too, forswears politics: In his verses *Entsagung der Politik* (1793), DNL, 78, p. 424”, and [!] in a dramatic poem, *Der Bauer* (1775), gives vent to his wrath against the ruthless, selfish princes, who ride roughshod over the rights of others. “Do you claim power from God?” he lets the peasant exclaim to his lord. “God brings blessings, while you rob. You are not connected with the Deity, tyrant!” In fact, throughout his works Bürger reveals strong democratic leanings. In their correspondence he as well as Göckingk show their hate for the arbitrary rule and the political mismanagement of the princes. Furthermore, Bürger was an enthusiastic friend of the French Revolution. His free-mason speech, delivered in 1790, gives a concise summary of his political ideals.”

This specimen has been selected because it is short and therefore lends itself easily to quotation. It may not show the author at his best. But reference to poets who are accorded more space does not improve the matter. Turning to Schiller, for instance, who is given three pages and ten lines, we find that over two pages are taken up simply by excerpts from *Tell* and *Wallenstein*. Among other things we learn here (p. 102 f.) that “the well-known tirade of the Capucinian [!] monk in the latter part [!] of *Wallensteins Lager*” is partly based on a book of Abraham a Santa Clara, “as was pointed out by Boxberger . . . as early as 1872, and as the correspondence of Schiller and Goethe in October, 1798, shows.” Let it be whispered here that in the universities of the Middle-West this startling infor-

mation is communicated even to students in undergraduate courses. The rest of "Schiller" consists of references to *Der Graf von Habsburg* and the *Thirty Years' War*, and some quotations from the *Centenary Poem*. Or take "Wieland": two pages and two lines, but a whole page is devoted to determining the amount of political and similar satire in *Die Abderiten*. This for a specimen (p. 93): "The wheels of justice turned just as slowly at Abdera, it seems, as they did in Wetzlar, for Wieland compares their movement with the course of a snail," etc. It is plain, then, that the author has read the work, that he has marked all the passages that seem to have a bearing on his subject, and that he is kind enough to communicate them to us in print. No harm is done, certainly not. But what possible profit can accrue to us from a two-page treatment of Goethe's *Götz* of the character of the following (p. 110): "In Act 4, in the *Rathaus* scene, *Götz* again shows love for the Emperor, and in Act 5 (*Hauptmanns Zelt*) he laments the fact that the gypsy robbers are the only ones who protect the Emperor's subjects," etc., etc. A number of references to *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and a few other writings follow, not including *Reinecke Fuchs*. More ambitious is only the treatment of *Faust*, where an attempt is made to prove an influence of Hans Sachs upon—the song of Frosch in *Auerbachs Keller*. From this it is concluded that "satirical treatment of the Empire, then, is one of the several interests which Goethe carried over from Part I to Part II." If these intentions, the author continues, came after all to naught, it is due to the fact that when Goethe at last set to work on *Faust II*, the Holy Roman Empire was gone, so that he had to substitute, in an imperial frame, as it were, a picture of Germany in 1820–30. The conclusions seem quite acceptable whatever we may think of the premises. Unfortunately, however, this type of discussion has no influence upon the rest of the study, for as soon as *Faust* is finished the enumerations begin again.

In fairness to the author it may be said that his treatment of the subject is not quite so trite in the earlier parts of the book, yet our impression as a whole will hardly be altered by this fact. On p. 88 we read in regard to the time of Goethe that "latter-day students of the period have frequently . . . pointed out isolated cases of satirical comment. A connected study of the subject, however, has never been undertaken." Query, is the study before us intended to supply the want? For what the book lacks, and the chapter on Goethe and his contemporaries more than any other, is exactly this: connection. The author defends his method in the Preface, claiming that his monograph belongs to that "extensive" type of literary criticism in which "one cannot, within reasonable scope, achieve any great degree

of completeness in the presentation of pertinent matter," while it must be left to the "intensive" literary criticism to deal "in minute detail with some single phase of a given writer or group of writers." Very well, but that compels nobody to treat us to quotations from the classics. As a matter of fact, the book is a *syllabus*, although, unfortunately, it does not say so, and when we remember that it covers one thousand years of literary history—what else could it be? Taken and treated as a syllabus, then, it is only fair to state that the little volume might be turned to good use, for example by the author himself, furnishing the groundwork for some serious study of the subject: as to the causes of political satire, which may be discovered in the conditions of the time, in the writer, in literary fashion, etc.; its relation to the rise and decline of the satirical spirit as such; its scope; its direction, both from a pragmatic and a historic standpoint; to what extent it was representative of public opinion; its effect on public opinion; its influence on other writers and, incidentally, on the writer himself (its *function* in his own life); its influence on literary production in general; its relation to, and its parallels in, the graphic arts, etc. etc. That a doctor's thesis cannot be expected to do justice to all these aspects of the problem unless the period to be studied be relatively brief, is patent to everybody; but to believe that by mere "extensiveness," one can replace the solidity of results of "intensive" study is scholarly superstition.

Nothing has been said as yet regarding the introductory chapter, "Some Historical Data." Based chiefly on Bryce, Giesebrecht, and Lamprecht (see p. 2), especially Bryce, it is characterized by its title. Regarding the history of the Holy Roman Empire some observations are given, intended to acquaint the reader with the subject-matter of the satirical literature to be discussed. The peculiar workings of the medieval mind, in political and other respects, is not understood although the author recognizes the problem. Had he included St. Augustin's *Civitas Dei* in the course of his studies he might have made some more valuable suggestions. On the whole, however, the chapter may be said to serve its purpose. It is a clever piece of literary journalism, evidently composed much later than the bulk of the work, and in a different spirit.

The Bibliography may hardly be called either critical or comprehensive. Nevertheless, it comprises an amount of reading-matter any *doctorandus* may be proud of having covered. We regret that in the General Section the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* has apparently been overlooked; in many matters it would have been more practical in a study as the author had planned it than the everlasting *Vogt-Koch* given on p. 133. We are surprised to see that not a single work on German

constitutional history has been studied; to mention only a few, Andreas Heusler's *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* or even Hubrich's little volume in *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, Deutsches Verfassungsrecht in geschichtlicher Entwicklung*, would have done good services. No monograph on the history of journalism in Germany has been consulted. Nor do we find any mention made of Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Politische Gedichte aus der deutschen Vorzeit* (1843), or of its companion volume by Marggraff. Scheible's *Kloster*, the thirteenth volume of which (*Die fliegenden Blätter des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*) would certainly have yielded rich material, is likewise missing. Finally we look in vain for Rob. Prutz, *Die politische Poesie der Deutschen*, first published in the *Literarhistorisches Taschenbuch* for 1843, a fine piece of work, both in style and erudition.

H. W. NORDMEYER.

LaSalle, III.



A HEBREW-GERMAN (JUDEO-GERMAN)
PARAPHRASE OF THE BOOK ESTHER
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The text published here for the first time is preserved on fol. 400r to 417v of a single MS. in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, having the press mark Opp. 19 (Neubauer, no. 170). Fol. 1 to 400 contain a literal translation of the Pentateuch with intercalated exegetic remarks which are headed by the word *peshat*=meaning. While the translation of the Pentateuch is written in two columns to a page, our text is not divided into columns. Each line is marked off by a dot, and the stanzas by a break. The stanzas must have originally consisted of four long lines or two rhyming couplets,¹ evidently an imitation of the Nibelungen strophe. There are, it is true, four stanzas of twelve lines each (1, 13, 77, 105), ten of eight lines each (25, 45, 76, 89-104, 117, 351-362), four of six lines each (257, 1149, 1511-1522), and one of two lines (855), but these are exceptions and are no doubt due to the copyist. That the MS. does not present the text in its original form becomes evident from such spellings as the following:—*herzen: smerzen* 23, *schon: kronen* 39, *began: gën* 61, *kummen: gefrümnen* 223, *künt: stunt* 263, *diesen: wesen* 303, *taeten: verräten* 311, *urkünde: sund* 345, *brëngen: gelingen* 351, *erlosen: boesen* 405, *erloest: tröst* 515, 1185, *finden: schinden* 641, *huoben: gruoben* 917, *innen: finden* 511, *verzaget: magt* 1193, *samnt, samet (=sament, sant): genant* 575: *gemaut* 374: *haut* 956: *laut* 1515.

The first part of our MS. was finished on the ninth of adar, 5304=February, 1544 by the scribe Joseph, son of Jacob of Wetzlar, and is dedicated to his wife Juteln, daughter of Naph-tali Levi, “*zu Wetzlar is sie gesessen mench zît, aber zu Frankfurt sie ach untr wîln leit.*” The second part, the Book Esther, was finished on Friday, the 28th of Adar I of the same year as the first part by Isaac, “*der schriber*” (cf. v. 1512, 1519). The

¹The rhymes are in the proportion of 1 feminine to 10 masculine rhymes. The strong preponderance of masculine over feminine rhymes is very characteristic of MHG. poems of a later period. Cf. Kochendörfer, *ZfdA.* xxxv, 291.

beginning of the Paraphrase is missing, verse 1 is the paraphrase of Esther i. 6b. Evidently our MS. consisted originally of 18 double sheets, as the last page of the MS. which is not paginated, bears the figure 18, whilst the part preserved only consists of 34 leaves, or 17 double sheets.

Had the MS. been complete we would most probably have read in the introduction or on the title-page, as we do read in similar compositions of the kind, that the poem was intended to be sung to the tune of the "Shemuel-buch," i.e., of the Nibelungenstrophe, the biblical book Samuel being the first to have been paraphrased in Hebrew-German stanzas of the Nibelungen Lied.²

The orthography is of the most ancient kind and therefore very confusing to the unexperienced reader. The confusion is quite natural—if one considers that the Hebrew alphabet consists only of consonants, and that the language knows no diphthongs or "umlaute," and yet all these sounds are to be rendered by means of such an alphabet. It is therefore in the rendering of the German vowels by Hebrew characters that we find the great perplexity.

Alef (א) generally renders (1) both German *a* and *o*, as דאז = das, לאז = Los, etc.; occasionally the same letter represents (2) *e* both after consonants and more often after vowels, as אורקונדא = urkunde, ויאל = fiel (but always וייל = vil) אויאאר = iuer, פויאט = müet. It is also used as (3) littera ornans (a) always before words beginning with a vowel sound, except before ע = *e*, the latter having the value of a consonant, thus איך = ich, אוים = um, אופיש = opez, אובר = uber, איז = is, and איר = êr(*e*), but ער = *er*; (b) medially in הויאט = hiut; (c) at the end of a word mostly after a vowel, as בייא = bi, זייא = si, דיא = die, זייא = sie, זויא = sô. In the three latter words the alef is often omitted, and rarely after consonants, as in לייפא = lip, ווייפא = wîp. ורויא = frou(*e*) might perhaps also belong to this class. Thus alef has a fourfold value.

The second letter requiring explanation is the waw (ו). It is first of all a consonant = *f, v*, then it denotes the following vowel sounds: (1) *o* in אופיש = opez, obez, הוב, הוף = hof, נוך = noch; (2) *ô* in גרזש = grôz, און = ôn (*ân*); (3) *u* in אובר = uber,

² Cf. L. Landau, *Arthurian Legends*, p. xxvi.

כּוּן = *vun*, כּוּר = *zur*, and exceptionally (4) *uo*, as טוּן = *tuon*. This latter sound is, however, generally represented by וי.

װ represents, as we shall see, the greatest variety of sounds, and it is, therefore, not surprising if Michael Adam, in his instructions "wie men teutsch leien³ un' schriben sol," printed at the end of the Hebrew-German Yosippon, Zurich 1546 says after his rather lengthy exposé: "darum wo einr fint ein waw un' ein jod bei inandr, so muss ers nach seinem vr stand leien,"⁴ i.e., these two letters, when they stand together, represent such great a variety of sounds that they defy any rules as to their pronunciation, but the reading of which must be left to the ingenuity of the reader. The sounds which waw and yod render in our MS. are:—(1) *u* (including the umlaut *iu*), as אויף = *af*, הווי = *häs*, אויש = *az*, דוויכט = *däht* or *diuht*, בוויזים = *büsem*, זוילן = *siulen*; (2) *uo* in שויל = *schuol*, גוויט = *guot*, פוויט = *tuot*, מוויט = *muot*; (2) *ü* in פינגינען = *begünnen*, בוינה = *fünf*, זוינשט אוים = *üm süsnt*; (4) *o* in אויפער = *opfer*; (5) *ö* in שוין = *schön*, ערלוויט = *erlöst*. The latter word could, of course, be read *erloest*, but the rhymes with *tröst* (515, 1185) show the proper reading to be *erlöst*. (6) *ö* in זויבן = *söben*, זויבנציק = *söbenzik*, טויכטר = *töhter*; (7) *æ* in שוין = *schoen*, ורויליך = *froelich*, פווי = *boes*; (8) *ou*(*we*) in ורוי = *frou*(*we*); (9) *iu*(*we*) in אויאר = *iuer*, לויטן = *liuten*, רויאן = *riu*(*we*)*n*, הויאט = *hiut*; (10) *üe* in מוויאן = *müewen*, גוויט = *güet*(*e*), גימוויאט = *gemüet*, בוויש = *füess*(*e*).

(1) *i* in אין = *in*, איז = *is*, ביז = *bis*, צינש = *zins*; (2) *e* in היפן = *heben*, שאפין = *schaben*, and always in the pref. *ge-* and *be-*, (3) *ie* in נימנט = *niemant*; (4) *ê* in אי = *ê*.

(1) *i* in בייא = *bi*, זייא = *si*, דרייא = *dri*, פרדייז = *paradis*, איין = *in*; (2) *ei* in איין = *ein*, ביינ = *bein*; (3) *öu*, *eu* in ורייד = *fröud*(*e*), הייבט = *heubt*.

The only vowel sign that leaves little doubt as to its sound value is the 'ayin (ע), which represents either the short *e-*

³ *Leien* or *leinen*, is a word of very frequent occurrence in Hebrew-German, and means 'to read.' The word, probably related with Latin *legere*, is still used in our days by English Jews in the form of *leunen* as terminus technicus for reciting publicly the Holy Scriptures.

⁴ It is certainly erroneous to think as does F. Perles (in *PBB.* 1018, p. 308, no. 102) that yod (י) invariably represents the *i*-sound. ישילטן is, therefore to be read *schelten* and not *schillen*.

sound, as ער = *er*, ווער = *wer*, הער = *her*, זעכשטן = *sechsten*, נעם = *gem (gegen dem)*, זעלב = *selb*; or *æ*—always rhyming with *e*—as ברעכט = *braecht*.

The value of this letter can, however, be modified. It is then accompanied by a segol (') or zere (.) and has the value of *ê*, as גישע = *geschê*, ער = *êr(e)*, עלינדן = *êlenden*, and, strangely enough, always ורדערבן = *verderben*.

It is quite a characteristic feature of the orthography of our MS. to use rather extensively the diacritic signs. They are not only used, as in similar MSS., with pure Hebrew words in order to mark them as such and thus to avoid confusion, but also with German words, while a number of other words are as a rule devoid of their root-vowels.⁵ The zere, which is very frequently used, as well as segol we have already mentioned. The other diacritic sign is the *kibbuz* (ם̣). It is the modification sign and modifies *u(e)* into *ü(e)* and *o* into *ö*, as in קױניקייט = *künikeit*, אונדן = *ünden*, גױזירנט = *gezürnt*, מױאן = *müen*, גױט = *güet(e)*, זױבן = *söbn*, גױטליך = *göttlich*, etc. In words like בויען = *buochen*, לאדן = *laden*, גלגין = *galgen*, האָ = *hâ*, 924, 1004, the diacritic signs do not affect the reading at all, and are merely of an ornamental character.

The most remarkable of all these signs is the *sheva* (:). Like in Hebrew both kinds of the half-vowel with approximately the same functions are used; the 'silent sheva,' indicating that no vowel intervenes between the consonant under which it stands and the following letter, such as גראַ = *gras*, וואַל = *wol*, פּלאַט = *plat, blat*, טראַם = *tram*, לויען = *loesen*, טױטן = *toeten*, גױטט = *getoetet*, הױט, הױט = *hüet* and the 'sounding sheva,' representing a very short *e*, in יױה = *jihe*, 394, 422.

The use of the consonants does not require much explanation. The following remarks will suffice to characterise the orthography of our MS. in this respect. Gemination is, like in Hebrew, never indicated in Hebrew-German, although it exists in reality, as proved by rhymes. *d* in *und* is always dropped and replaced by an apostrophe, as אונ' = *un'*. The *f*-sound is represented generally by ב, as בון = *von*, בויען = *fünf*, בור = *fur, vur*, בורישט = *fürst*, בויען = *füess*, ביבאלהן = *befolhen*,

⁵ מן = *men, man*, האַט = *hat, het*, האַטן = *hatten*, נימנט = *niment*, וואַס = *was*, דאָס = *das, des*, אַסטן = *fasten*, האַלץ = *hals*, טראַם = *trüm*.

גיבאנגן = gefangen, אובן = ofen, הוב = hof, בריב = brief. Initially, however, ב alternates with ו, as ואר = vor, ור = ver-, ושמין = fasten; medially פ is always written before t, as בופט = füßt, גיפט = gift, and at the end of a word after a consonant, הוילף = hülf, בויןף = fünf.

For the *s*-sound there are three different signs: (1) *zayin* (ז), which mostly represents the soft sound and is, therefore always used at the beginning of a word, as זי = sie, זעלב = selb, זויבנטן = söbntn, זעכשטן = sechsten, אונזר = unser, ערלויזן = erloesn, וועזין = wesen, גרוז = gras, בווי = boes, but פיו and פיש = biz, and לאז = Los, and מוויזן = müezen; (2) *Seen* (ש), used medially before *t* and at the end, as זעכשטן = sechsten, זוינשט = sünst, ושמן = fasten, אופיש = opez, obez, גרוש = grôz, איך מוש = ich muoz, שמואלש = Samuels, מוויש = Moses; (3) the *Samech* (ם) occurs only once in the foreign word סמיט = samît or semît.

The dialect of our text is obviously Middle German, as amply proved by the following linguistic peculiarities: *e* becomes *ê* when it stands near *l* or *r*, such as *êlenden* 593, and always in *verdêrben*. This fact is proved by the rhyme *her(re): sêre* 827. Before *l*, *e* becomes *a*. Thus can be explained the rhyme *stalle: schelle* 1115. The following rhymes also point to the same dialect:

e: i, gehengen: singen 1329, *her(re): mir* 1373, *hêr: mir* 1453, *brennen: gelingen* 351, *henken: getrinken* 1127;

æ: e, wære: êre 63; *herre* 1309;

æ: i, wær(e): mir 1009;

i: î, nit: zît 25, 71, 699, 795, 1001; *mich: rîch* 1237; *bin: sîn* 877;

iu: u, friunden: gunden 883;

anc: ant, bezwanc: lant 769;

h assimilates medially in *niht, nit: zît* (see *i: î*). Intervocalic *h* disappears in *slagen: Haman* 1259. The same happens before *t*, as *gemaht: stat* 1033, *gedaht: rat* 1355, and at the end of a word in *hð: dð* 923; *gegan* 1003.

(*e*)*n* disappears finally in *ende: senden* 145, 215, *schiere: zieren* 149,⁶ *tage: sagen* 1135, *finde: schinden* 641, *knehte: gefehten* 563, *genuoge: truogen* 1403, *unwerde: erden* 591, *stunde: gefunden* 687, *hiute: liuten* 927.

⁶ If our text has *enden, schieren*, etc., this is no doubt due to the copyist, as remarked above.

t disappears finally in *du muots: guots* 605. Comp. also *mag(et)* 241.

Furthermore the ending in *-en* of the first pers. sing. pres., as *ich haben* 1281, *erkennen* 244, *enkennen* 1387, *meinen* 1048, 1057, *sagen* 1462, *sehn* 891, *getrinken* 1128; metathesis of *r* in *verbreg* 178, 180 and *dornstag* 199, 387, spellings like *her* both for the pronoun (976) and the prefix (768, 1441), and the demonstrative *desen* (: *wesen*) 301 prove unmistakably the dialect to be Middle German.

To fix more precisely the dialect within the mentioned territory we shall have to consider the following peculiarities of the MS.: Rhymes like *zît : riet* 1275; *hie : ergê* 1149; *brot : gluot* 509, *antpot : muot* 737, *gebot : guot* 1133, *tuon : gon (gân)* 1477: *schôn* 555; *strâchen : buochen* 1171, *âf : geschuof* 1143; *geschoben : ofen* 1223; *p* instead of *b* in *poten* 146, 179, 611, 691 (*boten* 181, 735), *antpot* 737, *ich pit* 408, *er pat* 411, 419, *pitet* 1123, *paten* 585, *pet* 631, *das pad* 501, *porten* 1029, *plat* 1469. All these rimes and spellings point to Hesse as the author's home. As to his rime-technic see the appended Rime-Index.

The author's name is given (1512) as "Isaac the scribe." Who that Isaac was is difficult to say with any degree of certainty. Possibly it was Isaac ben Eliezer of Worms, an ethical writer who flourished at Worms from 1460 to 1480, and who wrote in Hebrew-German an ethical and ascetic treatise under the title of *Sepher ha-Gan* (Cracow, about 1580).⁷ Not only do the linguistic peculiarities of our MS. agree with what we know of the medieval dialect of Worms, but also the age of the language. For although our MS. is dated 1544 (see verse 1521), yet that date can only refer to the actual writing down of the MS. and not to the original work, which both by its composition and vocabulary points to a higher age, at least the fifteenth century (See our Index of words).

The sources of the Paraphrase are the various midrashic works to the Book of Esther, which are so numerous that no other biblical book can compare with it in this respect. He mostly used the talmudic treatise, *Megillah*,⁸ *Esther Rabba*,⁹

⁷ J. A. Benjacob, *Bibliographie der gesammten hebr. Literatur*, Wilna 1880, p. 98. M. Steinschneider, *Cal. Bodl.*, col. 1107.

⁸ Comp. v. 78 ff., 202, 260, 1195 ff., 1251.

⁹ So v. 921-933, 1149 ff., 1166 ff., 1194 f.

Midrash Abba Gorion,¹⁰ the *Midrash Megillah*, published by Dr. M. Gaster in the Kohut memorial Volume (1897, pp. 167-177),¹¹ and Targum I.¹² The bulk of his material, however, is taken from the Aramaic paraphrase to Esther called "Second Targum" (*Targum Sheni*), which is, as P. Cassel (*Zweites Targum*, p. iv) rightly described it, not merely an anecdote but in all its naïveté an apologetic and polemical review. On this source our author drew with great freedom. He was not only well versed in rabbinic writings but must also have been acquainted with Christian literature, as is especially seen by the epithet *spiegel aller frauen* given to Queen Vasti (57) and that of *gottes sun* given to Mordecai (1303), epithets generally used for Maria and Jesus respectively.

The aim and object of our poem was evidently to supply matter for amusement and entertainment on the fifteenth of Adar, called Purim or Feast of Lots,¹³ in commemoration of the deliverance of the Persian Jews from the plot of Haman to exterminate them, as recorded in the Book of Esther. Such entertainments by means of performances of dramas or poems the subjects of which were taken from historical parts of the Bible has been a well-established custom¹⁴ from the early Middle Ages right down to the nineteenth century, and is still in vogue in eastern Europe.

In forefront of the biblical books used for that purpose stands the Book of Esther, and naturally so. Does not this biblical book show a remarkably literary longevity among the biblical subjects dramatised by non-Jews during the 16th century? The reason of its popularity is quite simple. The attraction of the subject lies in its contents, which is briefly as follows: After the deposition of Vasti Esther, cousin and nursing daughter of the exiled Jew Mordecai, is chosen as wife of the Persian king Ahasverus. Being queen she succeeds by her address and pity in frustrating the insidious machinations

¹⁰ v. 381, 1353.

¹¹ v. 197, 200 are literally taken from that Midrash, which in its turn is based on Targum I to Esther ii. 9, as also are 261-306.

¹² Comp., for instance, 260, 1194.

¹³ So called from the Lots which were superstitiously cast by Haman to find a propitious day for the massacre of the Jews, see 356 ff.

¹⁴ See L. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

of the inveterate foe of the Jews Haman, the Amalekite, chief minister of the king, who had laid a plot for the massacre of the whole Jewish nation. The machinations are turned upon the unprincipled contriver himself, who is destroyed with all his family, and Mordecai, by virtue of an old and neglected service, promoted to his place. The pronounced contrasts conveyed by the story made the subject exceedingly attractive for dramatisation. The raising of the low appears at the same time as reward of the good, and the fall of the haughty as punishment of the wicked. Esther and Vasti, Mordecai and Haman form sharp contrasts. There are in addition other points that attract the imagination of the poet, as, for instance, the unexpected in the dénouement. The contrast between the pious Jews and the heathenish Persians, too, could be utilised. The narrative of the royal feasts and the use of the almost legendary numbers awakened the fantasy: Ahasverus reigns over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces, the king's feast lasts a hundred and eighty days; the number seven occurs very frequently. Therein we find the reason for the innumerable poetical works that this book has brought into being, so that James de Rothschild in his bibliography (Paris 1891) enumerates no less than ninety-two dramas dealing with Esther composed in Germanic and Romanic languages alone, although he has by no means exhausted the subject. For we miss in his work, among others the reference to Goethe's 'Jahrmachtsfest zu Plundersweilern' and Grillparzer's fragment 'Esther.' The treatment and adaptation of this subject by Jews must have naturally been—in proportion—no less frequent.¹⁵ Among these works those written in Hebrew-German must have been considerable, and the performance of some of them was attended with great success. We are told by Schudt who reprinted two such dramas, if they really deserve this name, in his 'Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten' (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1714, ii. pp. 202-226; iii. 226-327) that one of the plays excited such great interest that two soldiers were required to keep back the crowd (ii. p. 314). The same play was, moreover, performed in Minsk as late as 1858.¹⁶ It is of interest to find a new play of

¹⁵ See M. Steinschneider, *Purim und Parodie*, in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLVII, 84 ff.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 88.

the kind, published by Jacob Koref at Breslau, in the year 1862, under the title of 'Haman, der grosse Judenfresser.'

Some of the more ancient Hebrew-German versions have been preserved to the present day. Besides the version published here, two more manuscripts are known to exist, one at the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek and one at the Munich Library, besides a fragment in possession of Dr. M. Gaster. Of the extremely rare prints we possess two that deserve to be especially mentioned: The one is entitled תרגום של חמש מגילות, "The Targum or Aramaic version of the 'Five Megilloth.'"¹⁷ The translation or rather adaptation—for we are told on the title-page that besides the Targum many midrashic sources have been used—is composed 'nach dem nigun(=ton) vun dem Schemuelbuch'¹⁸ and 'gemacht un' getiutscht durch Rabbi Koppelman¹⁹ vun Brisk Dekou (Breisgau). The work, which, for convenience sake, we shall mark in the following as B, was completed at Metz in the year 1584. The other is also based on the Targum Sheni to Esther and is written in stanzas of fourteen lines each (aabccbdedefgg) under the title of תרגום שני על מגילת אסתר, "Second Targum to Megillath Esther "(Prag, 17th century)=P).

These two poems, B and P, although going back to one and the same source, must be considered as independent, unconnected productions and the works of two separate authors. For not only do they differ in their contents, but are composed in two distinct dialects, as we hope to show on another occasion, and in different metrical forms. As to their relation to our version (=O), we shall have first to compare its contents with B. Thus the contents of vv. 356 to 610 with the corresponding

¹⁷ The "Five Megilloth" or "Rolls" are the books of Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Originally only the Esther Roll was called "Megillah," but subsequently when the other four books were received into the liturgy the word was applied to them too. The word "Megillah" by itself without naming the book always means the book Esther. Cf. 964a, 1516, a, 1517.

¹⁸ See above, p. 2.

¹⁹ It is the same Jacob Koppelman who translated the 107 'Fox Fables' of Berechia ben Natronai ha-Nakdon (Grimm, *Tierfabeln bei den Meistersängern*, pp. 3 ff., 9 f.) into Hebrew-German riming couplets (Breisgau 1588).

portion of B (479-1026), a passage the contents of which seems to agree very much in both versions, runs as follows:

O

Haman, being about to fix the time for the massacre of the Jews, casts lots to ascertain the most auspicious time for that purpose. He first tries to select the week day. Each day, however, proves to be under some influence favourable to the Jews. Then he attempts to fix the month; but Nisan proves favourable to the Jews because of their wonderous liberation from Egyptian bondage that had taken place in that month; Iyyar, because the manna began to fall; Sivan, because of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai; Tammuz and Ab, because of the calamities that had overtaken the people of Israel during those months; Ellul, because of the tithing of cattle; Tishri, because of the festivals; Marcheshvan, because of the flood that began in that month; Kislev, because of the Feast of the Maccabees; Tebeth had already caused enough affliction; Shebat, because the Patriarch Jacob received his blessing; Adar finds no excuse.

B

H., being about to fix the time for the massacre of the Jews, casts lots to ascertain the most auspicious time for that purpose.

He

attempts to fix the month; but Nisan proves favourable to the Jews because of their wonderous liberation from Egyptian bondage that had taken place in that month; Iyyar, because the manna began to fall; Sivan, because of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai;

Arrived at Adar he thinks in that month there is no luck for Israel, the zodiacal sign of the month being Pisces (he will swallow them as fish swallow one another), and Moses having died in Adar. But he overlooked the fact that Israel's great leader was also born in that month.

He then begins his denunciations:

The Jews do not observe the king's commands, despise his religion and people, avoid taxations,

The Jews do not observe the king's commands,

by finding every day and every hour of the day another excuse; they refuse to collaborate with others or to intermarry with them or even with the king;

they do not drink out of the cup that we use; they waste the greater part of their time with festivals, prayers and study of the Law, and at these occasions they curse king and country.

they do not eat our food, and when we touch a cup of wine they do not drink it any more, and when we celebrate our festivals they follow their daily occupations.

After having enumerated all the festivals they celebrate a voice from heaven calls out: 'One festival thou hast omitted to mention, that is the day when thou wilt be hanged.'

Haman continues his denunciations: during the existence of the Jewish kingdom there lived king David who killed our friends. Then there was Nebukadnezzar who gave them great trouble. Now they want to wreak their vengeance upon the princess of the present generation. It is not proper to tolerate them. *They are, as the Bible reports, full of ingratitude. Pharaoh, for instance, who saved them from famine had to suffer for it, similar is the lot of everybody who assists them.* They are so haughty that although being in misery, they say, 'we are good, happy, and of noble descent.' In their business transactions they manage to exact exorbitant prices, and when they are offered goods, they want them for nothing. They consider themselves princes and noblemen, but in fact they are beggars.

Haman offers 10,000 talents of silver for the destruction of the Jews.

It is not proper to tolerate them. *Ahasverus reports 'you have never heard of any one who could hurt them, for God never forsakes them. Pharaoh, Sisrah, Sanherib none could prevail against them.*

Ahasverus does not yield in spite of Haman's insistence. Haman offers 10,000 talents of silver for the destruction of the Jews.

The comparison of the two versions as given here would seem to convey that they both must have used the same source, only that B abbreviated considerably the contents of the source on which both are based. This is, however, not the case. There are, of course, many and great similarities in both versions, as is natural of poems being mainly based on the same

work. But the differences are no less apparent. In the second part of the portion just compared they differ entirely, but even in the first part we notice some differences. Thus in O Haman examines every day of the week and every one of the months of the year and finds reasons why they are with the exception of the last month unsuitable for the fulfilment of his design. Arrived at Adar he does not find any advantage in that month, he merely does not see any objection in selecting it. In B, however, the days of the week are left entirely out of consideration, and only the first three months are being considered and found unsuitable for the same reasons as in O. For the suitability of Adar B gives special reasons. Furthermore B is not at all shortened, just the reverse is the case. B describes the same incidents in about 550 lines for which O uses only 250 lines. At some points the contents in B seem to be compressed and at others dilated as compared with O. There is good reason for this difference. O followed the *Targum Sheni*, while B is the version of the *Midrash Rabba* to the Book Esther. For although B bears the title of 'Targum,' it uses midrashic works also, as is distinctly pointed out on its title page.

The relation of P to the other two versions is best conveyed by the literal rendering of the portion corresponding to the two versions we have just discussed, and which runs as follows:

Haman der ruft zu seine kindr:
 "bringt mir goraloth (Los) büchr ein her
 un' lasst mich goral (Los) werfn.
 ich weiss, die seinen gar klug,
 alle schalkeit kennen sie genug
 un' lasst mich mit sie scherfen."
 in chodesch (Monat) Nissan hub er an,
 der wolt im nit beglückn.
 rosch chodesch (Monat) Ijjar er zu suchn began,
 der wendet im den ruckn.
 nu das goral (Los) liess er fallen
 auf die chodoschim (Monate) alle,
 keinr welt im zu sagn,
 da begund er zu klagn.

Aso tet er bis rosch chodesch Adar.
 der nach fallet er sich in die har
 un' hub an zu schreien,
 er sprach: "was sol ich nu beginnen?
 wenn es der Mordechai jud wert innen,

der wert mich erst geheien.
 au die grosse sorgn,
 au die grosse leidn,
 die mazaloth (Glückssterne) habn sich vr borgn,
 was is nu al mein fröudn!"
 nu sein elztr sun sprach widr:
 "nu, vatr, setz dich ein nidr,
 zu was sol dir das gewein,
 habn mir doch noch rosch chodesch Adar ein!

Drum schweig stil un' hab dich wol,
 ich wil vr suchen noch ein mal,
 an Adar wil ich an hebn."
 das buch er widr zu sich nam,
 mazal dagim (Glücksstern 'Fische') im ankegn kam.
 er sprach: "du kumst mir eben.
 sag mir was du habn wilt
 odr was du tust begern.
 al dein willn wert dir wern der füllt,
 un' niemanz kan dirs wern."
 nu Haman fröut sich ser,
 es warn im gute maer.
 er wolt nit lengr sten
 in dunket, er dorft nit mên.

Haman der liess die brief an tragn,
 man sol die judn alle der schlag, n,
 die weibr un' die kindn.
 die sach sol man jo nit vr schlafn,
 an irn lebn sol man sie strafn,
 wo man sie wert gefidn.
 dreizehn tag in Adar sol der handel gar geschehn.
 die sach sol man wol vr nemen
 un' sol sie nit vr sehn.
 nu die wort die warn geblibn,
 die brief die warn geschribn,
 die botn liefn drat
 behend vun stat zu stat.

Haman dr trat gar frölich arein,
 es war dr gangen der willn sein.

It but requires a percursorial perusal of these lines to see how vastly P differs from the other two versions. Its style, composition, and contents make it clear beyond doubt that P is quite unconnected with the other versions.

No less certain is it that B is the work of a different author than O. The language of the latter is, apart from some techni-

cal words belonging either to the calendar or the liturgy, remarkably free from any admixture of Hebrew words or expressions,²⁰ and the style is that of the Middle High German anecdotal epic of the Spielleute. The references to his source (22, 1354), the frequent asseveration of the truthfulness of his reports (532, 542), even when he reports biblical events (359, 518, 560, 1270, 1462) the calling for attention by the expression of *wolt ir horen* (615)—all these are characteristics of the Spielmann. B, however, shows remarkable differences both in language and style, as the following excerpt, taken at random, will prove:

Denn David hat binebua (in vision) *gesehn,*
das vun Simeï wert kummen Mordechai un' Esther un' durch in ein gross nes
 (miracle) *wert gesehn,*
drum liess in David, weil er kinder hat, bleiben leben,
un' do er nu auf hört kinder zu haben, liess im (!) Salomo um brengen, denn
sein vater David hat im es zewua (last will) *getan*
gar eben.

Drum stet im pasuk (Bible Esth. ii. 5) *'ish yehudi,' das meint*
Mordechai is vun shevet (tribe) *Juda her,*
un' stet och 'ish jemini,' das meint vun shevet Benjamin is er,
aber man tut den tiruz (reply) *aso geben:*
das shevet (tribe) *Juda krigt sich mit shevet Benjamin gar eben*

etc.

Here the language is mixed with Hebrew words and expressions, the author caring very little about the language or meter, all he wants is to supply a religious-ethical book, not, as P, material for entertainment but for edification. That is why his composition is written in the style of the preacher and not in that of the minstrel or singer.

It is true we find in B also very frequently the expression *es is war*, but this expression is not intended to emphasize the truthfulness of the statements made or of incidents told, but it invariably serves as an expletive expression to make the rime.

My heartfelt thanks are due to the authorities of the Bodleian Library for the special facilities they have so kindly granted me whilst working there.

L. LANDAU.

London, March, 1919.

²⁰ Even the Hebrew word for 'unleavened bread' *mazzah*, which we would expect in writings of that kind, is not used here, but is rendered by the MHG. *derpkwoche* (519).

- (400a) Die schonen bett warn gross un' nit klein
 un' die siuln smarkel un' edel gestein,
 un' mittn in dem plan da stund ein grossr stein,
 der hundrt kerzn übr schein.
 5 Ahasveros beging herschaft vil
 un' er hat ouch vil menchr hant seitr spil.
 die kopf warn recht wol getan.
 wenn sie ûs den getrunken der wart gehalten un' hin getan
 un' der kam nit widr,
 10 einen noch bessr setzt man da nidr.
 man gab guotn win nach ieklichm willn un' nach ieklichs
 gedanken,
 un' die da warn krank, niemand sie zu trinkn bezwank.

- Da warn liut vun Paras dar kummen,
 die schenkn hatt irn sittn wol vr nummen,
 15 ds da ieklichr trank fünf un' vierzik viertl mass,
 was im übr bleibt, in sînen busem man es im goss.
 man gab in zu trinkn ûs guotn gefassn,
 ds taet den judn wê, sie begunnen es hassn,
 ds die gross unfar solt geschehn,
 20 sie mocht n da nit essn un' mocht n es nit sehn.
 denn ds vil gefess was ûs dem tempel kummen,
 as mir in der schrift habn vr nummen.
 ds hattn die judn grossn smerzen
 un' vun leid taet in wê ds herzen.

- (400b) Da seitr boeswicht r dem kunik an der zit:
 "iuer judn wolln hie essn nit,
 darum ds man trinkt ûs irn gefassn al gemein."
 da sprach der kunik: "man sol in tuon ir gemach alein,"
 un' ein wirtschaft maht Vasti, die kunigin,
 30 sie gab in zu trinkn vil guotn win.
 sie staltn gross wirtschaft, sie tribn michl schal,
 sie wist in al ir êr in ds kunigs sal.

- An dem sôbntn tag, da der kunik frôlich was,
 un' bi sôbn un' sôbnzik künik sass,
 35 die kunig un' die heren hubn an einen vil grossn strit,
 um ire hus frauen der krieg ward er hoben sit.

8. *wenn sie* probably for *wer*.
 13. Paras, Persia.
 15. Targum Sheni reads ארבעין וחמשה, i.e., four or five, for which the German poet seems to have read ארבעין וחמש, forty-five.
 22. *schrift* here as well as in 1354 does not mean Holy Scriptures but the rabbinical writings. The passage referred to here is found in Talmud Meg. 11b and in the various Midrashim.

Der ein sprach: "dñ hûs frou ist gegn mñr gar ein
 wiht,
 sie moht mñnem wib ds wassr gereichn niht."
 der ein sprach: "dñ, die is swarz, mñ is schon,
 40 man solt sie vor alln frouen kronen."

Da sprach der kunik Ahasveros: "ich hon ein
 schoenes wip,
 sie is ein künigin un' (401a) hot einen schonen lip;
 sie hot noch den prîs vor allen frouen.
 ich wil nach ir sendn ir solt sie beschouen."

45 Er sant nach ir söbn fürstn, die warn na:
 Mehuman, Biztha un' Harbona,
 Bigtha un' Abagthax, Charkas un' Zethar
 die sant der kunik dar,
 ds sie brehtn Vasti die kunigin,
 50 un' ds sie ds nit liessn sîn,
 un' sie solt kummen in einem sîdn hemd jo,
 ds sie beschouhtn (!) mench hern un' fürstn do.

Die botn kamen zu der kunigin hûs,
 sie sprachn: "liebe frou, tuot iuer kleidr ûs
 55 un' setzt ûf die güldn kron
 un' nemt in iuer hant einen güldn kopf schon
 un' gêt vor den künig, spieg l allr frouen,
 ds die hern iuer schonheit beschouen,
 ds die hern sehn an diesr frist,
 60 ds nirgnt in diesm lant iuern glîchn ist."

Die künigin Vasti fast zörnen began:
 "nun gêt un' sagt dem künig ich anwil nit dr gen
 un' mich besehn die herren, un' ob ich aso waer,
 so het ich gar vr lorn mñ wîblich êr.

401b)
 65 mich tünkt wie in trign die alben
 odr es is vun wîns halbn,
 ds er solche torheit hot in sînen muot genummen.
 nun gêt un' saget dem konik, ich wil nit dr kummen."

Die botn al siebn die kortn widr,
 70 reht gezühtiglichn knietn sie vor dem konig da nidr.
 sie sprachn zu dem konig Ahasveros an der zît:
 "die künigin Vasti anwil kummen nit."
 da sant der konig Ahasveros aber sîn botn dar,
 er sprach: "kert hin widr un' sagt also ir,
 75 ob sie zu disr zît briht mñ gebot,
 so muoss sie kiesn den pittrn tot."

Die botn widr kertn an der stunt.
 da was der kunigin gewachsn ein zügel as einem hunt.
 ds kam vun den sundn, ds sie pflag,
 80 ds die Jüdens muostn spinnen am Sabbath, sie sie zwang.
 die botn hatn gebetn die kunigin aso vil,
 ds sie dr kaem, sie sprach: "ich anwil,
 mîn vatr was ein kunig, eins kunigs sun,
 die gross schand wil ich numer getuon."
 85 da sprach die ein frau, die was vun Paras,
 die der künigin Vasti vil nahnt bî sass.
 sie sprach: "behalt (402a) iuer êr, ir vil reins wîp,
 ê iuch die schand geschiht, ir solt ê vr lirn iuern lîp."

Da kortn die botn widr also,
 90 sie sprachn: "liebr herr, sie wil nit her gon."
 da ward er vun zorn rot,
 er sprach: "sie muoss kiesn den tot."
 da sprach Wasti, die künigin vil gemeit:
 "gesehn die fürstn mîn schonheit,
 95 sie nemen dem kunig sîn lîp,
 da wartn, ds ich würd ir eins wîp."

Da frogt der kunik sîn rot geben,
 ob man der kunigin solt lossn ds leben
 odr er ir solt lossn den lîp
 100 un' kiesn ein andr frau, ein vil schones wîp,
 da frogt der kunig sîn rot geber da.
 die warn genant Sethar, Admatha,
 un' Karsena un' Tharsis, Meres, Marsena,
 Memuchan, die warn dem kunig al wegen na.

105 Der kunig zu den rot geber sprach:
 "was man solt tuon dem man, der sîn gebot zu brach
 un' dem kunik vr seit ûf der stat
 ein klein bet, die ich sie bat?"
 da sprach der jungst untr in allen, er was genant Memu-
 chan,

110 ds was der weis Daniel, der vil weis man.
 er hat ein richs wîp, sie was vil gemeit,
 (402b) die hat in gar vr niht, ds was im leit.
 mit der selbn bosheit sie irn man bezwang,
 ds er muost heidensch sprechn ân sînen dank.
 115 er gedocht: "ich wil machn, ds man tuot Vasti die fri,
 ds sich mîn ubel wîb ouch kestigt dr bî."

78 ff. *Meg.* 12b.

85. Paras, Persia.

- Er sprach: "sie hot nit widr iuch allein mistuon
die fürstn al samt sîn schand hon;
wen so die frouen ds unbilich horn sagen,
120 so werdn sie irn manen niht mer vr tragen
un' werdn al widr spenig sîn.
ds hot alls gemaht Vasti die konigîn."
er sprach: "liebr herr, ob iuch dunkt guot,
ds man der kunigin den pittrn tot an tuot,
- 125 Un' ds ir kunigrich einr andrn gebn wert,
ir leben ist gar vr un werd.
wen den die andrn frauen horn was der kunik hat getan,
so werdn sie denn al ir manen erst vor augn han.
- sie hêbn numr gêgn irn manen kein strît.
130 ds wert dîn lob gemert un' gebreitet wît."
die rêd dûht den kunik un' die herren wol geton,
da tet der kunik as im riet Memuchan.
- (403a) Der kunig sant boten uber al ûs,
ds ein ieklichr man wær herr in sînem hûs
135 un' durch Memuchanas willen schreib man och daran,
ds ein ieklich frau spræch as ir man.
- Da die kunigin starb un' vr lor irn lîp,
da began den kunik riuen sîn vil schones wîp.
er sprach: "mich riuet nit Vasti misstat,
140 mich müet, ds ir mir gebt den böesn rat;
- Ds ich hon vr dêrbt mîn vil schones wîp,
ds muoss mir geltn iuer aller lîp."
da liess er sie totn die rat geber gemein,
ds ir keinr uber bleib denn Memuchan alein.
- 145 Da die kunigin starb un' nam ein endn,
der kunig Ahasveros began potn ûs zu sendn
vil fer un' wît in al sîn lant,
wenn man ein schon magt fand ds man sie bræht zu
hant.
- Gên Susan in die stat, in Hêgaj hûs vil schiern,
150 zwalf mand solt sie sich badn un' ziern.
die rêd dûht den kunig un' die fürstn guot,
da sucht man schone meit nach der fürstn muot.
- Nun was ein jud gesessen in der stat Susan,
der hiess Mordechai, ein vil guotr man,
155 sîn vatr hiess Jaïr, Simeïs suon,
den wolt David vun dem lîb hon getan.

- (403b) Da der kunig David uf dem land lief,
 Simeï der boes im zorniklich nach rief,
 er sprach: "was gëstu hie David, du vil boesr man?"
 160 da wolt in Abisaï tot geslagen hon.

Da sprach der kunig zu David: "tuo im nit den tot,
 vun im sol kummen ein kint, ds hilft den judn ûs not."
 vun dem selbn Simeï kam Mordechai, sïns sons son.
 da Simeï nun ward alt, da totet in kunig Salmon.

- 165 Der selb Mordechai, da man Jerusalem vr stort
 Nebukad Nêzzar in vun dannen fûrt.
 er fûrt in mit Jechonja, der da was kunig uber Juda.
 da kam er gen Susan un' bleib al da.

Er dr zog ein schone magt mit im menchn tag,
 sie was sïns onkels tohtr, wie wol er ir pflag,
 sie was kiusch, schoen un' zart
 un' was die schonst, die ê geborn ward.

- 175 Da ir vatr un' muttr starb, da was sie gar klein,
 sie hat niemand wenn Mordechai alein.
 da er hort, ds der kunig gebot,
 er was vor grossm leid nahent tot.

- 180 Da die herren die schonen meit suhtn uber al,
 da vr breg (!) Mordechai Esther sundr schal.
 da die selben potn kamen in ds lant,
 da ging Mordechai un' vr breg sie zu hant.

- (404a) Da sie in Susan botn santn,
 die fûrstn da al glfch Esther wol dr kantn.
 sie sprach: "mir haben ùm sùnst geton gross erbeit,
 nun haben mir vr gessn Esther, die schon meit.

- 185 Sie ist die schonst meit, die ê ward geborn."
 sie kontn sie nit findn, ds taet in zorn.
 sie seïtn es dem kunig, der kunig da gebot,
 wer ein meit behielt, ds man im taet den tot.

- 190 Da Mordechai hort sagen die boes maer,
 im was leit, gross wardn sïn swaer.
 er fûrt sie uf der stat Esther bï der hant,
 die fûrstn fûrtn sie in Hêgais hûs zu hant.

Da die schon Esther zu hof ward genummen,
 sie gefiel dem kunig bass denn al, die da warn dr
 kummen.

- 195 er gebot, ir wol zu pflegen, der her kunigin,
söbn schon junk frauen sant ir der kunik hin.

Die ein nant sie suntag, die andr mentag,
die drit junk frau nant sie dienstag,
die vierd mit woch, die fünft durnstag
200 die sechst fríttag, die söbnd samstag.

Ds tet sie durch die sach, ds sie nit vr gess sich,
wenn sie feiern solt, ds was doch wondrlich.
Esther die trank ouch nit des kunigs wfn;
was man ir sant, ds gab sie alls vr bass hin.

- (404b) Sie hielt irn ordn un' ir ê zu reht,
sie sagt niemant, wer da waer ir gesleht;
wenn ir onkel Mordechai irs vr bot.
ê sie es het geseit, sie het ê gelitn den tot.

Er gedoht, leiht hr nach wert sie der kunik vr
210 so wurd er sie vr dêrbn un' al genossn.
al tag ging Mordechai beschauen
in Hêgais hûs, darin warn die frauen,
stossn,

Darum ds er wost, wie sie sich gehet,
odr wie sie maht odr was sie tet.
215 un' da zwalf mand namen ein endn,
da man nach ieklichr frauen solt sendn,

Was sie selbert gertn ds gab man in hr ûs
vun Hêges hûs zu des kunigs hûs.
eine des obents kam, des morges (!) ging sie hin dan
zu Seasgaz herberg, irn namen schreib man an.

Sie kert nit widr, es waer denn also,
ds der kunig ir begert, nach ir sant man do.
da der tag gezelt ward, ds Esther solt kummen,
sie begert niht zu heischn, ds ir moht gefrûmmen,

225 Wen nüert was Hêgai selbert duht guot,
was im wol gefiel un' ar loutrt den muot.
der êdel fürst Hêgai kleidt sie wol,
as man ein her kunigin vur reht kleidn sol.

197. Taken from *Midrash Megillah* published by Dr. M. Gaster (in *Semitic Studies*, in memory of Alexander Kohut. Berlin 1897) p. 175.
202. i.e., to know when to celebrate sabbath. This is according to *Meg.* 13a.

(405a)

230 Vil zühtiglichn Esther vor den kunig ging
an dem söbntn jar, as er die kron antpfing.
dem kunik gefiel bass die junk frau wol geton
wenn al die frauen, die er vor odr nach ê gewan.

Er setzt sie ûf den kunig stuol, der im stund nahnd
bi,

235 er setzt ir ûf ein güldn kron fri,
die Vasti stetigs ûf getruog,
er maht ir ein wirtschaft, die was herlich genuog.

240 Er samelt al sîn herren zu der hochzît sîn,
er gab in silbr un' golt üm willen Esther, die kunigin.
da die bestn fürstn nü al kamen dar,
da sprach Ahasveros: "fraue, nü nemt war

Un' wis mir, fraue, die mag (!) dîn,
die wil ich machn rîch, sie müssn mîn nestn sîn."
sie sprach: "ich was vil klein, da ich vun mînr muttr
schied,
ds ich mînr genossn keinr dr kennen nit."

245 Da gab der kunig vil guot hin,
wenn er wost, ds ir gesleht was untr in;
da hiess der kunig aber sameln die meid ubr al,
ds sie kaemen in des kunigs sal,

250 Darum ds er Esther dran breht,
ds sie nennet al ir gesleht.
da die meid kamen, nach den der kunig sant,
die kunigin Esther denoht nit bekant

(405b) Welches ir volk waer, wenn irs Mordechai vr bot.
ê sie es het geseit, ê het sie gelitn den tot.
255 in den zîtn Mordechai in des kunigs tor sass.
zwên schenken die warn dem kunig gehass,

260 Sie woltn im ver gift habn gegeben,
Bigthan un' Theres woltn im hon genummen sîn leben.
sie reten ein sprach, die niemand kund,
wenn Mordechai söbnzik sprachn wol vr stund.

260. According to the Rabbis, Bilshan (*Ezra* ii. 2; *Neh.* vii. 7) is not a proper name, but a surname to the preceding name, Mordecai. The latter was given this epithet because of his linguistic attainments, Bilshan meaning 'man of language.' He spoke seventy languages, corresponding to the number of nations according to the Rabbis. (*Men.* 65a, *Meg.* 13a, *Targum ad loc.*)

er kunt wol sübnzig sprachn un' sie al wol sprach,
ds was der schenken un gemacht.

Da seit er es der Esther ûf der selbign stund.
sie sprach: "nun sich, kunig, ds tuot dir Mordechai
künt (!)."

265 der kunig sprach: "ich wil sehn, ob es war ist."
er hiess im zu trinkn geben ûf der selbign frist.

Die schenken warn boes, sie namen ein slangen,
die hatn sie an den becher untn gehangen,
darûf zagen sie den vil guotn wîn,
270 sie truogn in hüpschlich vor den kunig hin in.

Der kunig goss den wîn ûs al zu hant
untn an dem bodem er den vr gift kleben fand.
die zwên schenken wordn da gefangen
un' an einen galgen gehangen.

(406a)

275 Ir keinr lebndik bleib.
diese obntiuer in des künigs buoch man sie schreib.
da diese rêd gar ward getan,
der kunig Ahasveros der ar hoht Haman.

280 Er satzt im einen stuel hoch un' herlich,
er maht in geweltig uber al sîn kunig rich.
kurzlich vor diesr zît hat der kunig vr sant
Mordechai un' Haman in der heidn lant.

Nun wisst, ds sie ûf dem wildn mer zwalf wochn
müsstn farn,
da müsstn sie sich an kost gar wol bewarn.
285 Mordechai was kluog, sinnig un' wis.
da er uf ds mer kam, da spart er sîn spîs.

279-306. The story as related here is taken again from *Midr. Megillah* (see note to 197) p. 174 f., where it is related in the following manner: Mordec'ai being on the road with Haman, the latter gets hungry and says to the former, "in the name of the great and glorious God give me some bread!" Mordec'ai grants the request and supplies him with bread. On the following day Haman looks for bread everywhere, but again he finds it nowhere except with his fellow-traveller. He approaches him with the following words, "Give me some bread to keep me alive." Mordec'ai replies, "I would then expose myself to starvation." Thereupon Haman offers his body for sale, and Mordec'ai consents to buy his hands for a loaf. Haman offers half his body for two loaves. The transaction is made, and on Haman's leg the title-deed is engraved wherein is stated that he remains Mordec'ai's slave.

A somewhat similar version of the story is told in *Yalkut* §1056.

Er gedoht: "ob uns ein wetter uber gat,
 ds mir spîs gebriht, wie ward mînr rat
 290 Haman was ein lecker un' ein grossr frass,
 er ass un' trank fast, die wîl ih in sînem schrîn was.

Nun seht wie ein on gewind da begünd ûf zu stên,
 ds sie ûf dem mer ein jar fûrn odr mên.
 da Haman ds sîn ûf geass un' in der hunger bezwang,
 er was noht hungers tot, unmehtig un' krank.

295 Er sprach: "herr Mordechai, teil mit mir die
 spîs dîn.
 wiltu silbr odr, golt, ds sol dîn eigen sîn."
 da sprach Mordechai: "was solt mir dîn golt so rot?
 tousnt mark nem ich nit vur ein stûck brot.

(406b) Was solt mir dîn golt, so ich laeg tot
 300 hestu dîn spîs gespart, so waer dir ds kein not."
 er sprach: "herr Mordechai, teil mit mir dîn spîs die
 dîsn.
 dîn eigen wil ich hiut un' umer wesen.

Was ich umer mer arweb, ds sol dîn eigen wesen,
 beid lib un' guot, ds ich nüert mag genesn."
 305 da sprach Mordechai: "ds selb sol sîn geton."
 er schreib es mit einem messer an sînen stirn schon.

Haman der was Mordechais eigner kneht,
 er hat in zu kneht gekouft redlich un' reht.
 da die beid widr kamen un' Haman ar hoht ward,
 310 Mordechai, der guot man, hielt sich gegn im gar hart.

Er wolt im nit nîgen as die andrn teten,
 darum wolt er in vr dêrbn un' vr rotn.
 al des kunigs gesind hieltn in gar wert,
 sie nîgn im bis ûf die erd.

315 Sie ertn in gar ser, wen es der kunig gebot,
 Mordechai der ert in nit, des kam er schier in not.
 da sprachn des kûnigs kneht zu Mordechai do:
 "sag an, guotr man, wie tuostu aso?

Vun wannen kumt dir die gross kûnikeit,
 320 ds du nit nîgst Haman, dem fûrstn gemeit?
 waenstu (bidr) bessr zu sîn wenn al die herren,
 die in doch al müssn ern?"

294. noht = nâhe.

321. *bidr* seems to be crossed out.

- (407a) Da sprach der kün Mordechai zu des künigs knecht:
 "un' ob ich im neig, so taet ich unreht;
 325 ich sol dem nîgn, der mir vr leih't wassr un' brot
 un' der mir dick hilft ûs grossr not."

Da entwrtn im die knecht an der zît:
 "ach fint ir geschribn, ds iuer vatr Jakob neigt
 gêgn Haman vatr, der was Esau genant,
 330 also soltu tuon gêgn Haman zu hant."

Da entwrt der guot Mordechai den knehtn also
 reht:
 "ich bin da her kummen vun Benjamin gesleht;
 sint unsr vatr Benjamin mich gewan,
 sint neigt er nie wib noch man.

- 335 Ds selbig ich Haman nit zu eren tuon wil."
 da im des künigs knecht seith aso vil,
 sie gingen un' seith es dem boesn Haman,
 ds sie woltn sehn, ob sîn krig vor sich wolt gan.

Sie seith zu Haman: "herr, da sitzt ein jud vor
 dem tor,
 340 er gibt ûm dich nit ein hor."
 da sach der boes Haman, ds im Mordechai nit neig,
 er ging heim, gar still er sweig.

Haman ging vor Mordechai hin.
 ds sprach Mordechai: "dîn guot is mîn,
 345 du bist mîn eigen knecht; ds sich an dîn ur künde,
 ds du dich ubr hêbst, ds hastu gross sund."

- (407b) Da sach Haman, ds im Mordechai nit neig,
 vun zorn ward er rot, ê doch er still sweig;
 im vr smoht zu totn Mordechai alein,
 350 wenn er wolt vr dêrbn die judn al gemein.

Da gedoht er, wie im moht gelingn,
 ds er sînen willn moht volln brêngn,
 den er ûf die judn hat gedoht.
 gelobt sîstu, gott, es ward doch nit volln broht!
 355 sîn gedanken warn so reht gross,
 es ward vun Haman geworfn ds los.

Da huob der boes Haman an
 dem erstn mond, der da heisst nissan,

328. *Gen.* xxxiii. 3.

332. *Esth.* II. 5.

- es ist war, was ich iuch sag.
 360 also warf er ds los vun mond zu mond vun tag zu tag.
 ds wert aso lang, ds nam er war
 bis an den zwalfetn (!) mand, der heisst adar.
- In den gezitn troumt Mordechai ein troum swerlich,
 er wosst nit un' bat gott vun himlrich,
 365 ds er in durich (!) sîn güet gewert
 un' im den troum zu guot kert.
- Da ds los gefiel zum erstn ûf den suntag,
 da sprach er: "ich ds nit ar lidn mag.
 ja, hostu beschaffn, so werd
 370 an mir loup un' gras, himl un' erd.
- (408a) Nun hostu gesprochn, got, durich dîn guot,
 ds die judn soln sîn in dînr huot.
 liebr herr, ds sîstu gemant
 un' behuot die judn al samant."
- 375 Der mondg sprach ach vur die judn sîn wort,
 ds Haman nit sîn boes solt werdn gehort,
 ds er gedeht ûf die judisch heit zu leit:
 "liebr herr, die wassr, du an mir host gescheit."
- Der dienstag hub ûf sprach:
 380 "liebr herr, du hast beschaffn an mir guot gemach,
 boum un' gras un' ach ds prdis
 denn die an dich gloubn un' dir sagen pris."
- Der mitwoch sprach ach den judn ir wort vil guot:
 "liebr herr, tuo vun in dînen zorn muot!
 385 hostu an mir beschaffn suon (!) un' mand, die schonen
 liht,
 was soltn sie, waer die judischheit niht?"
- Der dornstag (!) bat ach got iniklich.
 er sprach: "liebr herr im himl rich,
 ach! hostu an mir geschaffn an mir (!) engel un' vogel
 al glich,
 390 du wolst an mir behuotn dîn volk loblich."

369 f. *Gen.* i. 1.

372. *Jer.* xxxi. 35 ff.

378. *Gen.* i. 7.

381. *Ib.* v. I. 12; *Abba Gorion* p. 24, note 71.

385. *Gen.* i. 16.

389. According to Targum Sheni the leviathan was created on the fifth day, and according to the Midrash the demons were created on that day.

(408b) Der fritag sprach ouch den judn ir wort vil wol.
er sprach: "liebr herr, du bist al barmikeit vol,
ouch hostu an mir beschaffn tier un' vie,
du wolst sie behuotn, ds is bilich, die warheit ich
jihe."

395 Der sabbath sprach ach der judn wort vil reht:
"liebr herr, ach sîn sie dîn kindr un' dîn kneht,
ob sie vr gingn, wer solt denn an mir riue han?
liebr herr, ker dînen boesn zorn ûf den boesn Haman!"

400 Da kam ouch nissan da her un' sprach:
"ei liebr herr, an mir krigtn die judn losung un' gemacht,
ich wil vur die judischheit sprechn, as ich vun reht sol:
an mir geschach in wol un' allr fröudn vol."

405 Ijar sprach: "liebr herr, hilf in ûs irer not,
ds bit ich dich, du gabst an mir ds himls brot,
du wolst sie selbrt ûs irn notn ar losn
un' ker dîn zorn ûf Haman un' sîn kind die boesn."

(409a) Sivan sprach: "ds leit gesche noch numr mê,
ds pit ich, du gabst an mir die heilig ê,
soltn sie also jermerlichn (!) vr liesn ds leben,
410 was solt in denn die Thora gegeben?"

Tammuz pat ouch mit wortn,
ds er sie behielt vor alln forhtn:
"wen in is ubel an mir geschehn,
den jamr muos ich numr mên gesehn."

415 Ab sprach: "ich bin es vatr genant,
nun ward in jamr un' leit vil bekant.
liebr herr, du bist vatr al der weltn,
nun loss sie keinr hant ding nit antgeltn."

420 Ellul pat och zu der stundn do:
"liebr herr, behut dîn volk, ds sie nit an mir werd'n un
fro.
sie geben an mir den zêhndn vun irm vie,
du wolst sie behuotn der warheit ich jehe."

408. *Ex.* xix.

413. *Jer.* xxxix. 2.

415. 'Ab' is the Hebrew for 'father.'

416. *Jer.* lii. 12, 13.

421. *Mishnah R.H.* i. 1.

Tischri mit einem slüssel sloss ûf die sloss:
 "ach feiern sie an mir rosch ha-schana, jom kippur un'
 sukkos,

425 ds soltu sie geniessn lan
 un' behuot sie vur dem boesn Haman."

Marheschvan sprach ach sîn wort vil wol da:
 "liebr herr, mach dîn volk an mir nit un fro.
 ach kam an mir ds wassrs fluot
 430 nun behuot sie, liebr herr, du bist heilik un' guot."

(409b) Kislev sprach: "an mir geschach den judn numer
 leit,
 loss sie geniessn, ds die menora ward an mir bereit
 un' ds ouphr (!) ward gebroht
 un' an mir ward zu guot gedoht."

435 Tebeth sprach: "ich bit dich, liebr herr, as ich fur
 reht sol,
 ds du dîn volk an mir trostest wol.
 an mir ist ein wêinig guots geschehn,
 ds müssn sie numer mên gesehn."

Schebat ach sîn wol vil wol sprach:
 440 "liebr herr, loss sie geniessn Jakob, dem an mir wol
 geschach;
 er antphing an mir vun sînem vatr den segen,
 an mir wolstu der kindr wol phlegen."

Adar kunt nit findn an keinr hant wort:
 "wen ich bit dich, liebr herr, ds an mir nit gesche der
 mort.
 445 da Haman ds los hat gefangen,
 gelobt sistu, got, da ward er doch zu lêzt ar hangen."

Da ging der boes Haman zu dem kunig an der stunt,
 vun den judn sagen er da begund.
 er sprach: "es ist ein volk zu spreitet in iuerm lant,
 450 ir habt ir nix denn schand.

424. New Year, Day of Atonement, Feast of Booths. *Lev.* xxiii. 24-34.

429. After *fluot* there is on the margin written by the same hand: *ds was ds mabbul* (flood). *Gen.* vii. 11.

432. menora, candlestick, on which candles are lit on eight evenings, beginning with the 25th of Kislev, in commemoration of the victories of the Maccabees over Antiochus Epiphanes. Cf. *I Macc.* iv. 59.

437. *ii Kings* xxv. 1; *Jer.* lii. 4; *Ez.* xxiv. 1.

442. Source unknown. According to Ex. Rabba Jacob received his father's blessing in Nissan.

Sie haltn nit des kunigs gebot,
 sie haltn unsrn gloubn vur ein kinds spot;
 sie haltn unsrn gloubn vur ein kinds spil,
 sie haltn nit unsr ê, ds hot mich gemüet vil.

(410a)

455 Sie vr spotn uns, wo sie uns sehn gan,
 sie hassen uns, as mir ein mort hettn getan,
 ach hon sie al zît vil unvur, oberkeit
 un' stolz genuot, ds is mir leit.

460 Un' wenn mir den güldn phenig soln in nemen,
 so loufn sie heim un' lossn uns gezemen
 un' mir dr gon her, ds solt ir mir gloubn.
 sie zenen un' flenen uns mit irn ougn.

465 Un' ob der kunig zu wib wolt nemen
 irer töhtr eine, ds tetn sie sich schemen.
 sie waentn, sie hettn ir êr gar vr lorn,
 ds tuot mir hiut un' umer mer zorn.

470 Un' ob ein kunig trüнк mit in win,
 sie nemen den becher un' swenktн in vil fn,
 fiel ein flieg drin,
 sie hüebn sie hrûs un' trüнкn den win.

Un' ob sie der kunig bit zu wirken mit andrn liutn,
 so sprechn sie al glich: 'mir firn, hiutn,
 un' ob mir aber koufn woln iht,
 so sprechn sie al glichn: 'mir feiern niht.'

475 Un' also mit listn sie uns den tag vr trïbn,
 ds mir dick on gelt blïbn,
 ob mir heischn ds gelt an der erstn zît vun tagen,
 so sprechn sie al: 'wir müssn keriath schema sagen.'

480 An der andrn zît so sprechn sie: 'wir müssn got
 betn an,'
 an der dritn zît sprechn sie: 'wir müssn essn gan';
 wenn sie denn gessn, so lobn sie denn aber got
 un' iuern gloubn hon sie vur ein spot.

(410b) Un' wenn mir kummen an der vierdn zît, sie sprechn
 aber al glich:
 'wir soln aber got lobn vun dem hohn himl rich,

478. Reciting or reading of "Shema" is part of the Jewish liturgy. The name is derived from the first word of that chapter (*Deut.* iv. 4).

485 der uns vr leih't wassr un' brot
un' der uns dick hilf't ûs not.'

An der fûftn zît, so gën sie ûs,
an der sechstn gê (!) sie widr zu hûs,
an der söbntn kummen ir wîbr zu gan,
490 sie sprechn: 'bereit iuch schier, wenn mir soln * essn
gan.'

Also vr trîbn sie uns die zît vun dem tag.
herr, ir solt mir gloubn, ds ich iuch sag:
in der werlt hot mir (!) irer keinen frummen,
wo sie hin gën odr kummen.

495 Un' an dem samstag woln sie al feiern un' ruo hon,
sie sprechn: 'ach ist hiuet der tag, da got ruot an.'
sie gën in die schuol un' lesen in den buochn,
den kunig un' sîn volk sie ser fluochn.

500 Un' ir wîber lign vun irn manen alein
un' dr nach machn sie uns ds wassr unrein,
un' wenn sie denn zu dem kaltn pad gat,
ir unreinikeit sie denn da innen lat.

505 Un' ir kindr sie mit einem scher messr besnidn,
es is wundr, ds es der kunig mag gelidn.
sie hon in der welt kein frumkeit,
wer hot mên horn sagen solche schalkeit?

(411a) Sie machn ein hochzît, die is ostrn genant,
so essn sie nit ar hobn brot al zu hant
un' vr brênen al ir ar hobn brot
510 un' vr werfn es in ein gluot.

Sie sprechn: 'al ds brot, ds da is hie innen,
ds ich nit hon vr brant un' ds ich nit kan findn,
ds sî vr teilt un' muoss untr gan,
aso muoss der kunig sîn un' al sîn man,

515 Un' der got, der uns ûs den Jiptn (!) hot er loest,
der send uns vun diesm kunig un' geb uns guotn trost.'
un' ir hochzît wert achttag
sie steln gross wirtschaft, vr war ich iuch ds sag,

520 Ds sie al essn die dereb kuochn,
den kunig un' die sînen sie ser vluochn

490.* On the margin "lernen."

un' dr nach zu irn phingstn machn sie wirtschaft gross,
sie fluochn un' scheltn den kunig Ahasveros.

Un' der fürstn wirtschaft ist in gar unmaer,
den kunig un' al sîn herrn scheltn sie ser.
525 so sie irn gesank singen, ire kindr kummen al dar,
sie werfn ûf die nüssn (!), die andrn lesen sie ûf gar.

sie sprechn also: 'as mir die nüss lesen vun der erdn,
also muossn unsr find vun uns gelesen werd'n,
ds mir kummen in unsr lant as der ê,
530 an diesm tag gab uns got die heilig ê.'

(411b) Dr nach so kumt ein zît, die heisst niues jar.
sie steln gross wirtschaft, ds sag ich iuch vr war,
sie singn den tag un' lesen vil ser
un' der fürstn wirtschaft is in gar unmaer.

535 Sie lesen in den buochn ein lange stunt,
dr nach so blasn sie un' setzen ds horn an den munt,
sie sprechn: 'got wol unsr zu guot gedenken
un' unsr feind sol er vr senken!'

540 Un' wenn es denn kumt an den niundn tag,
so steln sie gross wirtschaft, vr war ich iuch ds sagen
mag;
un' wenn es denn kumt an dem zêhndn tag, so fastn sie
un' stên al gemein,
wîb, man, gross un' klein.

Sie sprechn: 'got wil uns unsr sund vr geben,
un' ds mir unsr find leit müssn geleben;
545 unsr find wol er vr dêrbn in kurzr stunt
un' wol unsr sund werfn in ds meres grunt!'

Sie stên den ganzn tag un' suochn in den buochn,
den kunig un' sîn herrn sie ser fluochn:
'unsr got, vir tîl unsr sund hiuet,
550 aso muoss er tuon dem kunig un' al sîn liut!'

526. Targum Sheni has 'apples' and not 'nuts.' There is no trace left of the custom to throw fruit in the Synagogue on the Feast of Weeks. But it is customary in some eastern countries to fling fruit (nuts, almonds, and raisins) at the bridegroom on the Sabbath before his wedding or at the "bridegroom of Genesis" and the "bridegroom of the Law" on the "Day of Rejoicing of the Law (*Simhath Torah*)" when they are called up in the synagogue to the reading of the Law.

536. *Lev.* xxiii. 24; *Num.* xxix. 1.

An dem füzêhndn tag so machn sie ein hoch zît,
die heisst die löuber zît.
in unsrn gertn tun sie uns gross schadn,
pris ephel un' palmen beginnen sie zu tragen.

555
(412a) Sie tragen sie in die schuol un' singn fast schoen,
sie springm al ùm un' ùm as die kleinen ziklich tun,
sie swindeln al ùmtüm, sie magen wol toben,
ich weiss nit was sie singn, ds solt ir mir gloubn.

560 Un' ê ubr söbn tag so hon sie ein feier tag,
ist geheissn sabbath, fur war ich iuch ds sag.
also vr trîbn sie uns ds jar hin,
herr kunik, ir hat vun in keinen gewin.

Irer ist wêinig un' magen noch gestritn noch gefehtn,
sie waenen, sie sîn herren, sie sîn vil unmaer mên wedr
die (knehtn.
565 sie kunen wol wîn trîkn un' wol essn,
sie sint gar vr messn."

Da kam ein stim vum himl hr hidr zu hant:
"du host al ire heilige tag vil recht genant,
570 nun hostu einen ê vr gessn, den sie werdn haben,
des tages, ds du werst arhangen un' in die erd begraben."

Da sie ir kunikrîch hatn in der zît,
da hatn sie ein kunig, der was geheissn kunig David.
wen ds er vun unsrn genossn zweien den lîb nam,
den dritn er bezwang, ds er zu sînen genadn kam.

575 Also kam ein kunig, der was Nebukhad Nezzar
genant,
der sie vun irm gemach vr stort al samant.
sölich kundikeit, die sie da hatn, die woln sie hie noch
began
un' woln die fürstn gar vur niht hon.

(412b) Herr kunig, wolt ir mich sie vr dêrbn lan?
580 kein guots mag man an in began,
wen wer in wol tuot, dem geschicht wê,
also findet man es bescheidlich in der altn ê:

552. *Lev.* xxiii. 34—43.

573. *ii Sam.* viii. 2.

As Pharo geschach, da er sie vun dem hunger dr nêrt
 un' mênchn phenig üm irn wiln vr zert,
 585 darum ds sie patn, ds ward geendet
 un' dr nach ward er fast geschendet.

Es kam mênchn (!) slak ûf Pharo un' sîn her
 un' dr nach dr trenkt sie got in dem wildn mer, -
 also geschiht den, der in wol tuot;
 590 sie sint der welt kein guot.

Sie sint die bostn liut, die ê kamen ûf erdn,
 sie sind gar vil un werdñ;
 sie sint in dem êlêndn gewesn lang un' sint,
 sie sprechn: 'mir sîn guot liut un' guotr liut kind.'

595 Sie geben irn kouf tiuer un' eben,
 Un' was mir hon, ds woln sie habn gegeben;
 sie waenen, sie sîn fürstn un' edel man,
 sie sîn die aremstn liut, die man findn kan.

Zêhn tousnt gewiht silbrs wil ich iuch geben,
 600 ds ir dem volk heisst nemen ds leben
 un' sent ûs brief uber al ds lant
 as wit as iuer kunigrich is bekant."

(413a) Da nam der kunig sîn fingrln vun sîn hant,
 er gab es dem boesn Haman al zu hant.
 605 er sprach: "hab dîn güldn, ich beger nit dîns guots,
 un' tuo mit dem volk was du muotst."

Des kunigs schrifbr kamen al dar zu hant
 in dem erstn mond, der da is nissan genant.
 sie schribn in die brief was Haman gebot,
 610 ds man dem volk solt tuon den tot.

Die potn wardn ûs gesant
 den fürstn un' den herren al zu hant,
 die brief wordn vr sigilt mit des kunigs fingrlin,
 vun des kunigs halben die botn liefn hin.

615 Wolt ir horn, was in den briefn geschribn was,
 ir herren al gemein? "der kunig gebiet iuch ds:
 ir solt vr dêrbn die judn al gemein
 beid man un' wîp, gross un' klein."

583. *Gen.* xli. 55 ff.587. *Ex.* xiv. 28.

Un' Mordechai wost wol, was da was geschehn,
620 sibn un' sibnzik schribr hat er gesehn;
sie schribn vur dem tor, was sie Haman bat,
ieklich vun sinem land, ieklichr vun sinr stat.

An den briefn stund geschribn also:
625 "ds gebiet iuch der kunig, ds ir solt sîn fro,
mîn fürstn, mîn grafen, mîn dienst man,
den ich al mîn lant befolhn (!) han.

(413b) Her zu uns ist kummen ein bidr man,
er is geheissn der edel Haman;
630 sîn vatr hiess Agag, er is iuch alln wol bekant,
er is uns kummen zu hülff in ds lant.

Er bat mich üm ein pet, die is vil klein,
ds ich in liess vr dêrbn die judn al gemein;
er hot üm sie gegeben golds vil,
ds ich sie al vr dêrbn wil.

635 Nun lost den kulen wîn in iuerm lip giessn,
un' wer ein armbboust (!) hot, der sol sie schiessn;
wer ein swert hat, der sol sie houen
kind, man un' frouen.

Un wenn ds geschih't, so sol man nemen ir guot gar
640 in dem andrn jar, drî zêhn tag in adar,
un' wo man bî unsrn genossn einen juden findn (!),
den sol man also lebndik schindn.'

Un' da der guot Mordechai die brief an gesach,
er schrei vil jemrlich ser, sîn kleidr er zu brach;
645 er welgert sich in der eschen, er tet an einen sac,
er gab sinem herzen menchn hartn slac.

Un' da die judn sahn Mordechai, irn heubt man,
sie begundn da al glîchn zu im zu gan;
erd er ûf sinem heubt hat,
650 Mordechai, der guot man, der stund ûf an der stat.

(414a) Er sprach: "lieb'n (!) liut, die da her kummen sint,
ir sît al genant des heilign gots kint.
Ahasveros un' Haman hon brief ûs gesant,
ds man die judn vr dêrbn sol uber al ds lant.

655 Nun hon mir kein profêtn, der uns helf bitn,
noch keinen kunig, der fur uns tuot strîtn;
mir hon kein lant, da mir in kunnen gefliehn,
noch kein stat, da mir mûgen in ziehn.

660 Al ds lant sîn brief ûs gesnt hin dan(!),
 mir sîn as die schaf, die keinen hirtn hon;
 mir sîn as die ündn, die an dem schif gan,
 mir sîn as die weisn, die vatr noch muttr hon."

Sie zu anandr schrien an der selbign stundn:
 "es ward ein buoch in einem sac gefundn."
 665 da fundn sie innen geschribn: "ach got durich dîn guot,
 du wolst uns helfn ûs al unsr not!"

Da sprach der guot Mordechai: "vr nemt mich,
 kindr al glîch.
 da got wolt vr storm die stat Nineve vil rîch,
 er sant dem kunig ein profêt, der im seit,
 670 wie got widr sie gezürnt het.

Un' da die maer vur den kunig kam,
 er sass vun sînem stuol, die kron er vun sînem heubt
 nam;
 er hiess sîn volk fasten, man, wîb un' kint,
 gross, klein un' al ds gesind,

675
 (414b) Da vr gab in got
 allir mistot.
 also vr stortn sie mit fastn gotts zorn,
 also soln mir ach tun, odr mir sîn gar vr lorn."

Mordechai ging mit sînem sac vur ds kunigs tor.
 680 er turst mit sînem boesn sac nit gên hin vor,
 wenn er hat ds reht wol vr nummen,
 ds niemant turst mit einem sac vur bass kummen.

Wo ein jud sach einen heidn, zu im er sprach:
 "hilf mir, ds ich hab gemacht;
 685 ds ich umer hr (!) werb, ds sol iuer wesen,
 un' helft uns, ds mir mûgn genesen."

Da sprach der heid zu dem judn zu der stunt:
 "du weisst wol, bî wem ein jud wert gefund (!),
 der het sîn lip vr lorn."
 690 der jud ging heim trouerig un' mit zorn.

Wo in ds lant die potn kamen
 un' die judn die boesn maer vr namen,

vil lützel ir keinr trank odr ass
un' erd ir bet was.

695 Der kunigin junk frouen sagen Mordechai an.
mit sînem boesn sac sie kamen un' seitr es der kunigin
hin dan.

sie ar schrac vil ser un' fiel in unmeht (!),
sie sprach: "wer hot im ds gross leit gemaht?"

(415a) Sie sant im guot kleidr an der zît,
700 ds er sie an tet, er wolt ir nit.
die her kunigin ds gesach,
sie rief einen fürstn, der was geheissn Hethach.

Sie gebot im, ds er ging besehn,
was doch Mordechai waer geschehn;
705 da ging Hethach, der her,
er fragt Mordechai, was im geschehn waer.

Er nant im ds gelt, ds Haman bot,
ds er in an tet den tot;
er wîst in die brief, die man hat ûs gesant,
710 ds man die judn al totn solt, as wit alle lant.

Er bat in, ds er ir sagt, ds sie ds tet
un' den kunig vur ir volk bet,
un' ds sie gedeht an die gross not,
sie weiss selbrt nit, wie naht ir is der tot.

715 Der fürst widr ging un' Esther saget.
wie ser sie da vr zaget.
sie hiess den fürstn gan,
ds er Mordechai widr saget also:

"Es wissn wol al, die mit mir sint stetiglîch,
720 es sî wîb odr man, arem odr rîch,
der vur den kunig gêt in den gartn stan,
der muoss den lîb vr lorn hon.

Wenn on (!) ob es der kunig begert,
un' ds er reicht im die güldn gert.
725 un' ich hon got gebetn drîssig tag an,
ds mich der kunig nit bet zu im zu gan.

(415b) Wenn du mir gesagt host allr ding,
welche judn tohtr geren (!) ging
un' mit willn schlieff bî einem heidn,
730 die muoss zu êwik vun irm man sîn geis (ch) n (!).

730. *geischn* is no doubt a slip of the pen for *gescheiden*.

Darum hon ich drëssig tag gebetn got,
 ds es mir wer (waer ?) kein not."
 da ging Hethach zu Mordechai widr,
 ds gesach Haman, er sluog in tot nidr.

735 Wen ds die kunigin noch mên botn sant dar,
 sie seit im wol ir rêd gar.
 der kunigin Esther Mordechai widr antpot:
 "du darfst nit gedenken an dînen hohen muot:"

740 'Ich bin ein her kunigin, was mag mir ds geschaden?'
 wie herrlich du bist, du darfst wol guotn (!) gaden.
 Vasti die was ein kunigin, ein vil schoenes wîp,
 zu lêtzt vr lor sie doch irn lîp.

745 Vun dîns vatr halbn is geschehn ds leit,
 vun Sauls halbn leidn mir die arbeit;
 wen het er getan Samuels hanabi gebot,
 so het er uns nit gebroht in sulch not

750 Da er in hiess strîtn an der zît,
 ds er het mit Agog einen strît,
 un' ds er solt totn beid man, frou un' kind,
 gross un' klein, schaf un' ach rind,

(416a) Da forht er sich vil sêr, ds gebot er zu brach,
 er broht in lebndik un' ds vich ach;
 er liess in leben die naht bis an den tag
 un' die selb naht bî einem wîb er lag.

755 Ds wîb ward tragen, ds sie gewan.
 ds is der selbig boeswiht Haman,
 da Israel kamen vun Jiptn lant in der zît,
 Haman eltr vatr mit inen huob an einen strît.

760 Wenn ds in Mose mit gebet bezwang,
 ds im am selbn mol ubel gelang,
 da stunt Mose un' bat got,
 der uns vil dick hilft ûs grossr not,

745. hannabi, the prophet.

746. *st* in *strîten* seems crossed out.

747. i *Sam.* xv. 3.

754-756. Source unknown.

757. *Ex.* xvii. 8.

Un' der uns mench zeichn hot geton,
 der muoss uns ar loesn vun dem boesn Haman,
 765 un' hot er mên sterk denn kunig Pharo,
 der mit al sînem her ward gar un fro?

Got sant ûf in sîn slac un' ûf sîn hêr
 un' dr nach hr(!) trênk't er sie in dem tiefn mer;
 un' hot er mên sterk denn Og un' Sihon, die Mose
 770 un' er vr dêrbt sie un' al ir lant? bezwang

Un' hot er mên sterk denn die ein un' drîssig kunig,
 die Josua vr treib,
 ds irer keinr nie lebndik bleib?
 un' hot er mên sterk wenn Sisera, der stark man,
 der uns mit sînem volk vr dêrbt hon?

775
 (416b) Sîn her vr lorn al den lip,
 ds leben nam im ein bidr wip.
 darum pitet got, ds er uns wil phlegen.
 der uns seltn hot gelassn untr wegen,

Er wert uns helfn ûs unsrn notn
 780 un' den bosen Haman wert er totn.
 un' hot er denn mên sterk wenn Sanneherab(!) un' sîn
 hêr,
 die da al ar slug ein êngel vil ser?

Un' is er denn sterkr wenn kunig Emori,
 der sîn volk samelt vun Kasri?
 785 zwischn zwên bergn samelt er volk genuok
 un' got vun dem himel die bereg(!) zu samen sluog.

Er wost, ds mir gingn durch die bereg an dem ortn,
 da wolt der kunig vun Emori uns al habn getoetn,
 da half uns got ûs vil grossr not,
 790 die untr dem bereg warn, die blibn al gar tot.

Darum bitet got, ds er uns wil phlegen;
 der uns seltn hot gelassn untr wegen,
 ds er den boes Haman slagt tot,
 so wert gevollend unsr not.

766. *Ib.* xiv. 28.

769. *Num.* xxi. 23-35.

773. *Judges* iv. 13-23.

783. *Num.* xxi. 21.

784. Kasri = Gazri or Gezer. Cf. *Jos.* xii. 12.

771. *Jos.* xii. 7-24.

782. *ii Kings* xix. 35, *Is.* xxxvii. 38.

- 795 Un' ob du unsr vr gisst an der zît,
got vun dem himl der vr gisst unsr nit
der uns dick hilft werlîch.
wer weiss, ob du bist zu der zît an dem kunik rîch."
- (417a) Da antpot im die kunigin vil rein:
800 "gang un' samel zu Susan die judn al gemein =
un' fastet dri tag zu got,
der uns dick hilft ûs not."
- Mordechai der samelt die judn zu Susan,
vun in alln sant er ûs zwalf hundrt man,
805 ieklichr hat ein horn in sinem münd,
sie hûrntn al glîch un' bliesn al samnet.
- Zwalf hundrt schofaroith hatn sie in irn armen.
sie sprachn: "liebr herr, nun lass dich es dr barmen
diese grosse leid, ds mir vr kouft sîn.
810 loes uns durch dîn güet un' um dîn goetlich êr dîn."
- Sie fatn(!) dri tag un' naht al gemein,
beid wîb un' man, gross un' klein.
an dem dritn tag die kunigin Esther began uf stan,
vil unmehtig sie tet guot kleidr an.
- 815 Sie s(e)tzt uf ein kron, sie kleidet sich vil wol
mit phelren un' samet, as ein kunigin zu reht tun sol;
sie s(e)tzt uf ein kron, die was güldîn,
sie tet an zwên schuo, die warn antprîsn.
- Sie kniet uf die erd, sie bat den heilign got,
820 sie sprach: "liebr trehtîn, hilf uns ûs diesr not!
ich gan nit zu dem kunig durich mîn schonheit,
wenn der judn not is mir leit.
- (417b) Liebr herr, du wolst sie behüetn
un' wolst in helfn ûs irn notn!
825 un' ob unsr vor farn hon gëgn dir mistan,
was mügen mir armen liut da an schuolt(!) gehan?"
- Esther die künigin weint vil sêr,
sie bat mit ganzem herzen unsrn liebñ her.
sie sprach: "ich wil gën vur den kunig Ahasveros,
830 ich wil bitn fur mîn volk." ir sorgn warn vil gross.
795. Between *un'* and *ob* there is on the margin the following gloss: *ds seit er zu Helhach ds er aso solt zu Esther sagen.*
807. Schofaroith, trumpets.

“Herr got, gedenk an Abraham, den vil guotn man,
 der durich dīnen wiln sīnen sun wolt getoet hon
 un’ sīnem liebn sun sīn hend un’ sīn füess band,
 er wolt in hon getoetet al zu hant.

835 Den ds es im got mit einem êngel vr bot,
 liebr herr, gedenk an unsr not
 un’ unsr klag vr nim zu hant,
 du wolst uns dr loesn vun diesem bant!

840 Un’ hilf uns durich dīn willn un’ durch dīn torah,
 un’ ds uns unsr ding muoss zu guot ar gan,
 un’ durich witwên un’ durich weisn
 un’ durich al die, die dīnen willn ê habn geton, wolstu
 uns hr losn.”

845 Vun dannen ging die kunigin hin dan
 in den innerstn gartn stan,
 un’ unsr liebr herr ir herz wol ar kant,
 dri êngel er hr nidr sant

(418a) Zu der kunigin, die da stund vur des kunigs tor.
 der ein êngel broht sie gar züchtiglich vor,
 der andr maht sie as as(!) ein rosn rot,
 850 der drit maht, ds ir der kunig die gûldn gert bot.

Un’ der kunig ûf sīnem stuol sass
 un’ mench fûrst bī im was.
 sie hatn frôud vil un’ genuonk(!),
 sie hatn al ds, ds ir herz ê gewnk.

855 Da der kunig sie gesach, er sprach: “Esther, du vil
 hêr kûnigtn,
 bis an halp mīn kunigrīch soltu gewert sīn.”

860 Da sprach Esther mit guotm sitn:
 “her, her kunig, ein kleins wil ich iuch bitn,
 ds ir un’ Haman kumt zu gan
 zu der wirtschaft, die ich iuch bereit han.”

Da begunden die fûrstn zu nīdn Haman,
 ds die kunigin in ladn began.
 sie luod in nit ûm sīns guotn,
 wenn vil bitr was ûf in ir muotn.

831. Gen. xxii. 7-12.

839. torah, Law.

- 865 Der kunig sant behend zu Haman un' in hiess,
 ds er bald kaem un' nit anliess.
 da kam Haman un' der kunig gemeit
 zu der wirtschaft, die Esther hat bereit,
- (418b) Das sie da ussn un' trunkn guotn win.
 870 da sprach der kunig Ahasveros zu Esther, der kunign:
 "nun sag an, was du muotest, kunigin herlich,
 ds solt alls gewert sin bis an halp mîn kunikrich."
- Da sprach Esther, die kunigin: "ds wil ich iuch
 sagen,
 ob ir wolt tun mîn bit un' ich iuch wol behagen,
 875 so gewert mich einr bet: her, ich beger,
 ds ir un' Haman kumt widr her.
- Morgen wil ich iuch sagen, vun wannen ich kummen
 bin,
 un' was ir mich bitet, ds solt ir gewert sin."
 an der selbn stundn schied vun dannen Haman,
 880 da muost er vur des kunigs tor hin gan.
- Da sach er, ds im Mordechai nit aneig,
 er ging zorniklichn heim, ie doch er still sweig.
 vun zorn ward er rot. er sant nach sinen friundn,
 die er wol wol (!) wost, ds sie im guots gündn.
- 885 Er arzelt in al sîn herschaft un' al sîn maht,
 der kunig het in zu einem êdel fürstn gemaht,
 "ach luod niemant zu irer wirtschaft Esther
 wenn mich allein un' den edeln (!) kunig her
- (419a) Un' morgen sol ich aber dr gan.
 890 ds treht mich nit mîn wan,
 so ich sehn (!) Mordechai an."
 er sprach zu Seres un' zu al sîn man:
- "Nun ratet, wo mit mir in hr slagen.
 er is der juden einr, der got gedient hot vur langen tagen,
 895 den got vun himl hot mench zeichn getan,
 darum müssn mir sin darûf han.
- Un' wenn mir in mit einem swert woltn totn,
 sîn got hilft im ûs sinen notn,
 als er Moses half, ds er ant ran,
 900 da in Pharo mit einem swert wolt getotet hon.

Ob mir in woltn vr steinen an der zît
 —Goliat, der stark man, den he warf mit einem stein
 der klein David—
 un' ob mir in werfen in ds schif (!) mer,
 sîn got hilft im, as er tet Israel her.

905 Pharo toetet er wîb un' man.
 es waer im nit aso ar gan,
 er hat einen turlichn rot ar korn,
 ds er die knaben hr trênkt, die da wordn geborn.

910 Er un'sîn rot gebr warn un vr sonnen,
 ds sie nit gedohtn, ds ir töhtr andr judn gewonnen.
 an den rot gedoht ich an
 Un' hon heissn totn beid wîb un' man.

(419b) Un' ob mir den Mordechai werfen in einen ofn heiss,
 im würd vun danen geholfn, got weiss.
 915 er hilft im vun danen, wen ers bedarf,
 als er tet Hananja, Mischael, Azarja, die man in einen
 heissn ofn warf.

Mir können in nit ar toetn in einr lêwen gruobn,
 sîn got hilft im as tet Daniel, den man widr gesunt hr
 ûssr huobn;
 mir kunnen in der werlt so gross nit ar dênkn,
 920 wen ds mir einen galgen machn un' in dran henken.

Also solchê zeichn hot in got nie getan."
 die rêd duht guot den vil bosn Haman.
 er maht einen galgen stark ho,
 Haman mass sich an den galgen do.

925 Haman was also lang die lang naht,
 er sprach: "waer diesr galgen nüert volln broht,
 so wil ich machn ein wirtschaft hiutn
 mînen friundn un' mînen zimr liutn,

930 Ds sie die wirtschaft lang gedenken.
 morgen frû wil ich Mordechai dran henken."
 Haman kindr üm den galgen sprungen,
 Haman un' Zeres wie frolich sie da sungen!

(420a) Haman mass sich an den galgen widr.
 da kam ein stim vun dem himl hr nidr:

902. I Sam. xvii. 49.
 916. Dan. iii. 1-30.

904. Ex. xiv. 21-29; I. 16.
 921-33. Midr. Esther v. 3.

- 935 "du host den galgen gemessen wol,
er is dir gebüet als er vun reht sol."

Die zimir liut mahtn den galgen, da seit Haman ein
maer
sinen friundn, wie im sîn helek, sîn herz waer gar swaer;
ds im bî sinen tagen nie so swaer wart,
940 ds war im zu letzt ein swaere fart.

Un' die selbig naht Mordechai waht,
wenn er niht geslafn maht;
wenn die judn sassn vur im die lang naht,
wenn sie sprachn: "diese unselikeit hostu uns gemaht.

- 945 Wen hestu gelassn dînen hohn muot
un' hestu zu Haman gesprochn wedr ubel noch guot
un' hestu gêgn im ûf gestanden,
so waern mir nit in also grossn banden."

- 950 Mordechai, der guot man, der entwort in da,
er sprach: "liebn liut, wie rêdet ir also?
wenn het ich gêgn im genign, ds waer ein gross unbild,
wenn vornen an sînem kleit is gemaht ein bild.

(420b) Wenn wo ein bild ist gemaht an einem kleit,
het ich im genigen, ds waer mir leit."

- 955 wer einem bild nîgt, der vr lirt zu hant
den lib un' ach die sêl, ds wisst ir wol al samet.

- 960 Un' die selb naht Haman ach waht
ûm des galgen willn, den er im selbrt hat gemaht;
damit hat er die naht ûm gangen,
er wost nit, ds er selbrt solt dran hangen.

Un' die selbig naht waht ach Esther, die frou gemeit,
ûm ds sie dem kunig die wirtschafft hat bereit,
da wolt sie Ahasveros laden
un' Haman zu sînem schaden.

da is die megilla halp.

- 965 Un' die selbig naht waht ach der kunig Ahasveros.
er moht nit geslafn, sîn sorgen warn so gross.
er sprach zu sînen friundn, die zu im warn kummen:
"was ich nehtn ass un' drank, ds kam mir nit zu frum-
men.

938. The word *helek* is obscure. Perhaps it is Hebrew and means 'share, lot.'

952. *bild* means here, as it often does in Luther's writings 'idol.'

964a. On 'megillah' see p. 9, note 1.

- 970 Liht ist gross gebreht in dem himl
 odr sunst is in geschribn an mînem in gesigel,
 odr der fürstn ein ich gelobt hon
 etlich gelübtniss (!), ds ich nit gehalten hon.
- (421a) Odr Esther un' Haman die vr ratn mich;
 denn sie leidet niemant denn Haman un' mich."
 975 die seleb naht ward ein êngel vun dem himl gesant,
 ein êngel, her(!) was Michael genant,
- Un' sass vur des kunigs bet un' maht,
 ds er moht geslafn niht,
 bis im der kunig ds buoch liess besehn,
 980 da innen stund, was im was geschehn.
- Ach was darin gezeichnet(!) menchr man,
 der dem kunig êr h(a)t geton,
 un' ach gêgn dem kunig der êngel setzt sich,
 er sass gegn im einem menschn glich.
- 985 Er sprach: "Haman wil iuch an tuon den tot.
 morgen frü wil er hengen, der iuch half ûs not,
 un' wolt ir gevreischen, ds ich war hon,
 so sprecht, was sol ich dem an tun, dem ich ern wol gan?
- 990 So wert ir wol horn zu hant,
 ds er wert heischn iur kron un' iuer gewant."
 des kunigs schrîbr was Haman sun,
 er muost zu allr zîtn des künigs gebot tun.
- Wo er vun Mordechai guots sach, ds vr tîlt er zu
 hant.
 995 der engel Michael schreib es widr mit sînr heilign hant;
 doch muost er ds buoch lesen wie ers geschribn fant.
 in dem was geschribn: "ein jud was Mordechai genant,
- (421b) Der dem kunig half ûs not,
 da Bigethan un' Theres woltn im hon getan den tot."
 da fragt der kunig sîn kneht maer (mer?),
 1000 ob Mordechai kein êr darum geschehn waer,
- "Darum ds er mich hot dr loest an der zît."
 da sprachn des kunigs kneht: "im geschach darum
 nit."
 da zu hant kam Haman des morgens frü gegant,
 den kunig wolt er bitn, ds er Mordechai solt hengen an
 den galgen ho.

1005 Der kunig sprach: "wer is da?" sie seitn: "es is
Haman."
da sprach der kunig: "heiss in vur mich gan."
da kam Haman vur den kunig stan,
er sprach: "was sol ich tun dem man, dem ich eren
gan?"

1010 Da gedaht Haman: wer der waer,
dem der kunig günd besser êr denn mir?
er sprach zu dem kunig: "ds reht wil ich iuch sagen:
des kunigs kron sol man her vur tragen

1015 Un' des kunigs vil guot gewant,
da mit sol man kleidn einen fürstn êdel un' wol bekant.
der fürst sol nemen die kleidr an der frist
un' sol kleidn den man, dem der kunig holt ist

1020 Un' im ûf setzen die kron un' leidn(!) ds phert
un' sol ruofn uber al die stat: 'solchr ern ist er wert
un' wo er stêt un' wo er gat
der man, der den kunig geert hat!'"

(422a) Da sprach der kunig mit wortn:
"nun gên(!) in mîn kemnat, da hon ich behaltn
mîn gewant aso guot,
as nie kein man gesehn hot;

1025 Da henkt an mînem ric ein vil guot s(a)mit,
ds so guot niu is sint her Adam zît,
un' nim dabi ein phellr guldin
mit gutem(!) gestein, smerkel un' rubîn,

1030 Der ist gewirkt mit vil schonen portn,
güldn schellen hengen an den ortn,
un' nim die kron, die ist vun Mukria,
die mir ward gesant vun der stat Karja,

1035 Un' ein halfter, die is mit gold wol gemaht,
die man mir sant vun Kus der vil guot stat,
un' nim zwei kleit, die gehorn zu dem rich,
daran ist gewirkt smerkel meinstrlich,

1031. 'Mukria' is probably a corruption for 'Mukdunja' which is the Aramaic for Macedonia. Targum I Esth. viii. 15 also mentions the gold of that country.

1032. Karja is not the name of a town but the Aramaic word for town or settlement.

Un' gê in den stall un' nim al zu hant
 mîn vil guotes ros, ds ist springs genant.
 darûf ich des erstn tages, da ich ds kunigrich gewan,—
 reit

1040 un' mîn kron un' mîn kleidr tu Mordechai an

Un' lass nit, als du hast gesprochn,
 odr es wert an dir gerochn."

Haman dem kunig antwortn began:
 "hie innen ist mench jud zu Susan,

(422b)

1045 Die al Mordechai heissn un' einen namen han.
 wie sol ich wissn zu wêlchm ich sol gan?"
 da sprach der kunig Ahasveros zu Haman sit:
 "ich meinen der vur mînem tor sitzt zu allr zît."

1050 Haman doht die rêd nit guot;
 vur grossm leid vr wechselt sich im sîn bluot,
 vun furcht un' vun leid er sîn bein zu samen sluog;
 er sprach: "liebr herr, es sîn judn genuok."

1055 Da sprach der kunig mit zorn:
 "ich sag dir, du bist vr lorn."
 da sprach Haman: "ir habt menich tor,
 do sitzn beid judn un' heidn vor."

1060 Da sprach der kunig: "ich meinen ds tor, da man
 gêt in un' ûs
 vun mînem hûs in der kunigin hûs."
 da sprach Haman zu dem kunig sit:
 "er is mîn find gewesn mench zît."

Zêhn zentr silbr wil ich iuch geben,
 ds er diese êr numr muoss geleben."
 da sprach der kunig zu Haman zu der stunt:
 "du muost im dr zu geben zêhn tousnt phunt.

(423a)

1065 Ich wil in machn geweltig, ds soltu sehn,
 un' diese êr muoss im geschehn."
 da antwort Haman dem kunig da:
 "mînr kindr zêhn heiss ich vur in gan,

1038. 'springs' is probably the germanized Aramaic word 'shifregaz,' the name given in Targ. Shenî to Ahasveros' horse, the meaning of which is probably 'racer.'

- Die in al kleidn un' leitn ds phert.
 1070 solchr ern ist er nit wert."
 da antwort im der kunig vil geswind:
 "du muost im dienen mit al dînem gesind;
- Ir muost al nach sînem rat gan,
 un' dies êr die muoss im werd'n getan."
 1075 da antwort Haman dem kunig zu hant:
 "mach in geweltig uber ezlich lant
- Un' mach in geweltig, ds muoss ich sehn,
 ds im alein dies êr numr muoss geschehn."
 1080 da sprach der kunig: "ds selb muoss sîn,
 ich wil in gweltig machn uber al ds lant mîn,
- Un' al die liut, die untr mîn'r gewalt sint,
 die muossn im untr tenig sîn un' al dîn gesind un' kint,"
 da antwort der kunig dem boesn Haman:
 "sîn herschaft un' sîn êr sol ubr al ar gan,
- 1085 Ds man vun im sol sprechn uber al ds lant,
 ds du ser werst geschant?"
 da sprach der kunig zu Haman an der stat:
 "der man, der mir den lib behaltn hot,
- (423b) Sîn wirtschafft un' sîn êr muoss uber al ar gan
 1090 un' diese êr muoss im werd'n getan."
 da sprach aber der boes Haman:
 "die brief, die du uber al ds lant gesendet han,
- Das man vr dêrb genzlich Mordechai hêr,
 wie sol im geschehn umr mê dies êr?"
 1095 da entwort der kunig wol getan:
 "die brief, die ich uber al ds lant gesent han.
- Die wil ich widr bietn un' wil sie widr wendn,
 un' diese êr muostu im endn."
 1100 da bat Haman un' bat al, ds er moht gesagen,
 ds moht im nit gehelfn noch vr tragen.
- Er muost tun üm sîns libs not
 bald, ds im der kunig gebot.
 da sprach der kunig: "bald gên hin dan
 un' tuo Mordechai diese êr an

1105 Un' las nit as tiur as üm ein har
un' tuo Mordechai an diese êr gar!"
da Haman h (a) t der rêd vil un' gnuog,
ds ims der kunig nit vr truog,

In des kunigs kemnat ging er do
1110 un selik, trouurig un' un fro;
sîn ougn in sînem houbt im uber gingn,
sîn kleidr zu rissn un' uber sîn füess hingn.

(424a) Wie ser er sich roufet un' gesluog,
die kron un' die kleidr er uf sînem hals truog
1115 un' ds schon ros broht er ûs dem stal,
da hingn an dem sattel hundrt güldn schel.

Ds ros un' ds geret broht er her vur bass,
er broht es, da Mordechai sass.
Haman sprach: "stand uf an der stund,
1120 dîn sac is genemr widr mîn zêhn tousnt phunt,

Die ich dem kunig wolt geben an der zît;
die helfn mich nit, wil ir got so liep sît,
un' wenn ir vun herzen pitet iuern got,
er hort iuer klag un' hilft iuch ûs not.

1125 Nun stand ûf un' tuo an die kleidr, sie sîn so
schon,
un' sitzt ûf ds ros, ds dirs got umer lon."
da want Mordechai, er wolt in henken.
"bid ein wênig, bis ich ein wênig wassr getrinkn (!),

Ein lüzel wassr un' ein wênig brot,
1130 dr nach henk mich un' tuo mir an den tot."
da sprach Haman: "stand ûf zu hant
un' setz ûf diese kron un' tuo an ds gewant

(224b) Un' setz dich ûf ds ross, ds is so guot,
wenn ich muoss behend tun ds kunigs gebot."
1135 da begund Mordechai im sagen:
"nun hon ich doch gefast dri tagen.

Ds hot mich gekrengt (!), ds ich krank bin on mass
wie solt ich denn ritn ds kunigs ross?"
da ging Haman zu der kunigin gemeit.
1140 sie sant im spîs, die hat sie im wol bereit.

Er gab im zu essn un' zu trinkn wol,
as man einem fürstn phlegen sol,

do der guot Mordechai sîn fruoen geschuof.
da sprach der boes Haman: "nun setz dich ûf

- 1145 Dieses guots ross un' tuo an ds gewant
un' diès kron, die dir der kunig hot gesant."
da sprach Mordechai: "ich bin ungestalt,
sweissig un' ruossig un' kalt.

- 1150 Sol ich diese schone kleidr an ziehn hie,
so muoss ich mich vor weschn wie es mir argê."
da ging Haman selbrt in die bad stuob,
selbrt zog er ds wassr, selbrt hitzt'er die stuob;
denn die kunigin h (a) t vr botn, ob Haman dr kaem,
ds man kein gelt odr lon vun im næm.

- 1155
(425a) Da die bad stuob schoen bereit wart,
er reib in vil schoen, er schor im den bart.
da siufzt Haman gar ser, wen es in vr dross.
da sprach Mordechai: "nun wurstu doch mîn scherer
zu Parios

- 1160 Fünf zêhn jar oder mê,
warum tuot dir ds schern aso wê?"
er tet im an die kleidr, er setzt im ûf die kron:
"nun sêtz dich ûf ds ross, ds dir got lon."

- 1165 Da er die schoenen kleidr hat an getan,
da sant im die kunigin siebn un' zwenzik tousnt man,
die al warn ûs dr wêlt un' truogn guot gewant,
un' ieklichr truog ein güldn koph in sîn'r hant.

- Da sprach Mordechai: "wie sol ich ûf ds ross kum-
men?
mir hot ds fastn mîn kraft gar genummen."
Haman kniet nidr ûf der stat,
1170 wie grimiklichn Mordechai ûf in trat!

Da sprach Haman: "nun stêt doch geschribn in
iuern buochn:
'du solt dich nit fröuen wenn dîn fröunt tuot struochn,'"
da sprach Mordechai: "fint un' fint sîn untr tan
gêgn dîns tots fint soltu fröud han."

1143. This line is unintelligible.

1149-1158. *Midr. Esther*. Parios, according to *Midr. Abba Gorion* and *Esther*, Kirianos, is the name of Haman's supposed domicile, where he also acted as barber. *Meg.* 16a gives the name Karzum.

1166-70. *Midr. Esther*.

1171-1174. *Meg.* 16a.

1175 Da Mordechai, der helt, begund da zu ritn,
die stolzn jungling stundn im zu beidn sitn.
sie riefn al glîch: "solchr ern ist er wert,
wer des kunigs êr un' nütz gert!"

(425b) Da die judn sahn ritn Mordechai, der (!) rich,
1180 sie liefn im al nach un' riefn al glîch:
"solchr ern ist er wert,
der des kunigs im himl huld zu alln zîtn gert!"

Da Esther, die kunigin, Mordechai sach an,
in irm herzen gross fröud sie gewan.
1185 sie lobt got, den guotn, der sie hat dr loest
un' Mordechai hat geben rat, hûlf un' trost.

Da diese rêd sich aso vr endet
un' der boes Haman gar was geschendet,
da kert Mordechai widr zu des kunigs tor,
1190 da phlag er al wegen sitzn vor.

Haman der kert zu sinem hûs do,
trûterig un' un selg un' un fro.
im zu ging sîn herz, er was gar vr zaget,
des selben tages starb im ein schonê magt:

1195 Da sie sach Haman vor Mordechai gan,
sie want, der ûf dem ross saess, ds waer Haman,
un' Mordechai waer, der ds phert leit,
sie warf uf sîn hœubt ein hafn mit unsûbrkeit.

(426a)
Da anwist Haman nit, wie im was geschehn,
1200 er begund uber sich zu sehn.
da die tohtr irn vatr an sach,
vor leid fiel sie hr ab, den hals sie zu brach.

Menich hant werk hat Haman mit sinen schandn,
er hat in der zît vil arlei untr handn:
1205 ein ruofr, ein schilt kneht,
im was mislungen, ds was bilich un' reht.

Er klaget sinen friundn, wie im des tages geschach
un' Zereth, sinem wîb, seit ds un gemach.
sie sprachen al glîch: "ist er judn geslecht,
1210 Mordechai, dîn fînt, es kumt dir nit reht.

1172. *Prov.* xxiv. 17.
1182. gert, gern.

1194. I *Targum & Midr. Esther.*
1195-1202. *Meg.* 16a.

Mir hortn sagen mer, es ist aber lank:
da Nebukad Nezzar Jerusalem bezwank,
da füert er dri judn gën Bablonia,
die warn geheissn Hananja, Mischael un' Azarja.

1215 Da macht Nebukad Nezzar ein bild vun golt rot,
wer dem bild nit nîgt, der muost leidn den tot.
die fürst(!) al taeten des kunigs gebot,
un(!) die dri judn hatn es irn spot.

(426b) Da sprach der kunig: 'ir sît tot, got weiss.'
1220 er warf sie in einnen ofn heiss.
da sach ir got vun dem himl ir herz gar ver,
er sant in vun dem himl einen êngel her.

Der êngel küelt den heissn ofn,
ds in niht geschach, die drin warn geschoben.
1225 da zoch man die dri ûs dem ofn gesunt,
da half in ir schöpfr an der selbigen stunt.

Da vun tuot Mordechai nit un glîchn.
mir sagen dir, du muost im antwîchn."
die wîl sie im begundn aso vur zu sagen
1230 un' ê sie im sîn hœubt reht hatn gezwagen,

Nun seht, wie des kunigs botn kamen zu hant.
sie sprachn: "kuom vil drot, die kunigin hat nach dir
gesant."
da kam der boes Haman zu der frouen gemeit
zu der wirtschaft, die sie im hat bereit.

1235 Da sprach der kunig Ahasveros: "frou, sag den
willn dîn,
ds bistu gewert bis halp ds kunig rîch mîn."
da sprach die êdel kunigin rîch:
"ob du keine liebr hast mên mîch(!),

(427a) So hilf mir, ds ich mînen lîb nit vr lier
1240 un' ach mîn volk ds beschirm mir,
wenn mir sîn vr kouft, ich un' al mîn her,
zu vr dêrbn sie hiut un' umr mer.

Waern mir vr kouft zu knehtn, ds het ich wol vr
tult,
wenn uns der boes Haman hot vr unschuldt."
1245 da sprach der kunig: "sag, frou wol getan,
wer ist der un' wo ist er, der ds selb hot getan?"

Der ds selv wolt habn geton vr swig mir sîn niht."
 sie sprach: "ds ist Haman, der selbig boeswiht."
 Haman forht sinen zorn un' flog hin ûs.
 1250 der kunig ging mit grossm zorn ûs dem win hûs,

Vor zorn ein andr farb er gewan,
 er ging bald in sînen worz gartn ston.
 da sant got vun dem himl sint
 vier êngel, die warn gestalt glich as Hamans kind.

1255 Sie hiebn ab die boum, die mit worzen warn wol
 beladen,
 un' tetn dem kunig vil grossn schadn.
 da der kunig Ahasveros gesach aber dr sidr,
 ds sie die guotn boum hiewn nidr,

(427b)

Er sprach: "wer heisst iuch die boum dr nidr sla-
 gen?"

1260 sie seint: "ds hot uns geheissn unsr vatr Haman."
 die wil stund Haman un' bat Esther die kunigin,
 ds sie den kunig baet ûm ds leben sîn;

Wenn er wol vr stund ds,
 ds sie im warn toetlichn gehass.
 1265 da kam der kunig zu dem win hûs widr,
 da sant got ein êngel hr nidr.

Da Haman fast trûrlichn vur der kunigin stund,
 der êngel stiess in ûf die kunigin zu der selbign stunt.
 da in der êngel stiess, ds er ûf der kunigin lag,
 1270 vor zorn ward der kunig rot, fur war ich iuch ds sag.

Er sprach: "du rehtr boeswicht, nun mach dich
 hin ûs!
 wiltu die kunigin lestrn bî mir in mînem hûs?"
 da sprach der fûrstn einr, der hiess Harbana,
 der rêdet ds bôest, ds er moht ach ûf Haman da.

1275 Er was Hamans gesêl gewesn mench zît,
 ds Haman den galgen macht; den selbign rot er riet.
 da er gesach, ds es im ubel begund zu gan,
 da wolt er kein gesellschaft mên mit im hon.

1251-1252. *Meg.* 16a. Similar I *Targum* vii. 7. The Talmud speaks of angels without giving any number, but the Targum gives the number ten corresponding to the number of Haman's sons.

(428a) Er sprach: "herr kunig, ich wil dir sagen,
1280 der selb boeswicht Haman wolt dich hon dr slagen,
wiltu mir nit geloubn, ds ich dir war geseit habn,
so sich den galgen, den er hot hoch dr habn

Dem êdeln guotn Mordechai, dînem dienst man,
den(!) wolt er habn gehangen dran.
1285 er hot sich beratn mit al den friundn sîn,
er wolt al die vr dêrbn, die dir al zît genedig sîn.

Darum ds dich Mordechai vur dem tot behüt hot,
darum wolt er im habn geton den tot.
ach wolt er dich selbrt dr slagen hon
1290 un' wolt ds rich un' die kron antphangen hon."

Da sprach der kunig: "ds wil ich im in trenken."
er sprach zu Mordechai: "du solt in selbrt dran hen-
ken."

da ging Mordechai da zu der stund
an die stat, da er Haman fand.

1295 Er sprach: "Haman, du host mir leids vil geton,
nun wol, herr, du solst an dînen galgen gan."
da entwort Haman mit vil zaemlichn sitn:
"ei, liebr Mordechai, einer bet wil ich dich bitn:

(428b) Sint dich got vun himl vur mir hot behüet,
1300 ds du mich nit hengst glich as man einem diep tuot,
nun weisstu wol, ds ich gross êr gehabt hon,
die fürstn vun dem land warn mir untr ton."

Er sprach: "ich forht mich ser, Mordechai, gots sun,
as ich dir wolt habn geton aso werstu mir tun.
1305 schon mir mînr ern un' henk mich niht,
so aht ich nit, wie mir sunst geschiht.

Un' ar zeig mir nit al dîn kraft
un' bewîs mir nit Agags fintschaft.
du solst mir nit tun, as ob ich dîn tot flint waer
1310 un' solt kein fintschaft zu mir hon, liebr her.

Slag mir ab mîn höubt odr vr stein mich mit stein
odr rît mir anzwî mîn gliedr un' mîn gebein,
iuch ist mench mol hin vor zeichn geschehn.
ds ir gingt durch ds mer, is mir eben, as het ichs gesehn.

- 1315 Ich forht mich so ser, ds mir mîn herz zu gat,
mich geriuet, ds ich ê ûf iuch riet ein boesn rat.
ich bit dich, her, durch alle lieb,
ds du mich nit hengst, as man tuot einem diep.
- (429a) Slag mir ab ds höubt mit des kunigs swert,
1320 da mit man ant höubt hot menchn fürstn wert."
da bat er in vil un' genuog,
vil lüzel es in gêgn Mordechai vr truog.
- Vil jemerlichn er sich mit den hendn fing.
da er nun durch sînen warz gartn ging,
1325 Mordechai sprach: "vr nemt mich, ir boum wol geton,
die ich ê in diesm gartn gepflanzt hon.
- Nun seht, welchr hoch genuok ist,
daran sol Haman hengen an diesr frist."
der teitl bam sprach: "er mag an mir nit gehengen,
1330 den die judn uber mînen palem gar fîn singen."
- Der ethrog bam sprach: "ich mag in an mir nit
geldn
man muoss mîn (opes?) gem sukkoth snîdn."
der öl bam sprach: "ich wolt in gern an mir han,
denn ds ich im der ern nit gan, man muoss mîn öl in
dem beth hamikdasch han."
- 1335 Der widn bam sprach: "ich loss in an mich (!)
hengn niht,
wenn er ist gar ein grossr boeswiht,
wenn die judn nemen widn zu dem lulab in die hant."
die selb entwort gab der hadas bam ouch zu hant.
- (429b) Da sprach der stok, der da wîn treit:
1340 "ich waer reht gern an diesr zît bereit,
ds an mînem zwîg Haman henken möht,
wenn ich bin im zu kürz, ds ich im nit antöht (ant-
viht?).

1329. *teitel* is still used in Yiddish for *date*.

1330. *Lev.* xxiii. 40; *Neh.* viii. 15.

1331 ff. The ethrog-tree is a tree of the orange and lemon family, the biblical 'ggodly tree.' Its fruit, the ethrog is used* together with the willows of of the brook, the branches of palm-trees, the latter called in rabbinic language 'lulab' (1337), and the boughs of thick trees, Hebrew 'hadas' (1338) as the four species enumerated in *Lev.* xxiii. 40.

*On the Feast of Booths or Sukkoth.

1334. *Ex.* xxvii. 20.**

** beth ha-mikdash, Temple.

Der figen bam sprach: "im muoss ubel gelingen,
 man muoss min opes zu korban bringen."
 1345 da die bam al ir urtel funden,
 un' im die guotn bam der eren nit gunden,

Ds er wurd dar hengen an einem boum guot,
 wenn in got vun himl vur eren wol hat behuot,
 da sprach der tannen boum: "ich rat iuch einen guotn
 rat:
 1350 henges in an den galgen, den er selbrt gemacht hot."

Da hing man Haman un' sin zêhn kint,
 un' des kunigs zorn was gestillt sint.
 un' der selb galgen was vun Noah arken kummen,
 as mir es in der schrift habn vr nummen.

1355 Da kert got uf sin hœubt sin ubel rot,
 den er uf die judn hat gedoht.
 da gab der kunig Ahasveros Esther der kunigin
 Hamans schoen hûs un' al ds guot sin.

(430a) Da ging Mordechai vur den kunig zu der selbign
 stunt,
 1360 wen im Esther hat geseit, wie nahnt er ir zu stund.
 da zoch der kunig ein fingrlin vun sinr hant
 un' gab es Mordechai, dem judn, zu hant.

Er antphing in guotlich da er was kummen dar,
 un' al Hamans guot ds gab er im gar.
 1365 Esther, die kunigin vil schon,
 die fiel dem kunig zu fues mit irer gûldn kron

Un' bat in, ds er botn schickt in die lant,
 ds Hamans brief wûrdn widr want,
 un' ds nit volln kaem sin boesr rat,
 1370 den er uf die armen judn geratn hat.

Die gûldn rat bot ir der kunig rich,
 zu hant stund uf Esther, die kunigin, minklich.
 sie sprach: "ob du es gerst, vil êdelr kunig her,
 un' hostu andrst lieb zu mir,

1344. korban=offering, i.e., the fig is one of the seven fruit species (*Deut.* viii. 8) that had to be offered as first fruits. *Ex.* xiii. 19.

1353. *Midr. Abba Gorion*, p. 37 says, Haman's son Parshandatha who was hegumen of Kardunia (Aramaic of Ararat, *Gen.* viii. 4) brought the gallows from Noah's ark. Cf. also *Midr. Panim Aherim*, ii, p. 72, *Midr. Esther* v. 3-10, *Yalkut* §1056 end.

- 1375 So vr wend die brief, die Haman hat gesant,
ds man die judn vr dêrb in al dînem lant.
wie solt ich ds herz hon odr moht es gesehn,
ds mînem volk solch mort solt geschehn?"
- (430b) Da der kunig die rêd hat vr nummen,
1380 er sprach: "dies erbeit is vun dînen schûldn(!) kummen,
da ich nach dînem geslecht begund zu fragen,
da wolstu mir es nit sagen.
- Da ich sprach: 'sag mir die genossn dîn,
ich wil vun in machn kunig un' kunigîn,
1385 ich wil sie geweltig machn ubr al ds lant,
da solstu mir sie hon tun bekant,'
- Da sprachstu: 'ich an kennen nit die genossn mîn,
da ich vun ir schid (!), da was ich ein kleins kindlîn.'
nun du host geseit, vun wem du bist kummen,
1390 so hon ich iuerm fînt den lîp genummen.
- Nun schrib selbrt brief un' send sie hin,
ich wil sie vr sigeln mit mînem fingrîn,
un' was da is gesigelt mit mînem in sigelîn,
ds muoss geschehn un' mag nit andrs gesîn."
- 1395 An dem drittn mand, der da is sivan genant,
nach des kunigs schrîber ward zu hant gesant.
sie schribn in die brief, was in Mordechai gebot
den fûrstn un' den grafn, ds sie in hûlfn ûs not.
- (431a) Un' die selbn brief sant man ûs
1400 den herrn vun Hodu bis Kûs;
die brief wordn ûs gesant.
die botn ûf den rossen, die da trûmpel trarjos sîn
genent,
- . Die kemlen un' pherd genuogn
un' die stolzn helfant die brief truogn.
1405 an dem drî zêhndn tag in dem mand adar
bereitn sich die judn zu strîtn al gar,
- Ds sie sich rechen an den, die in sîn gehass,
mit forhtn un' mit angst ward gebotn ds.
da die botschaft was volln kummen,
1410 un' die judn hatn ds vr nummen,
1400. Hodu, India; Kus, Ethiopia.
1402. Hodu bis Kus, Indien bis Persien.

In der stat Susan tribn sie fröudn vil,
 harphen un' phifn un' menchr hant spil,
 un' Mordechai, der guot, was vil gemeit gar fin,
 sin gewant was gewirkt mit guotm edel gstein,

1415 Un' uber al ds lant, wo die boten hin kamen
 un' die judn die bot schaft hatn vr nummen,
 sie steltn gross wirtschaft, sie tribn fröud genuogn,
 ir find forhtn sich vil sern un' was in nit im sinnen (!).

(431b) In dem zwalftn mand, der da adar is genant
 1420 die judn al glichn sameltn sich zu hant;
 sie ar sluogn ir find da,
 die fürstn vun dem lant die hülfn in dr zu ja.

Dei judn die gewannen gross êr,
 die fürstn vun dem lant die forhtn Mordechai ser
 1425 un' uber al ds lant was forht genuk,
 wenn Mordechai vur alln fürstn den prîs truog.

Un' die judn tribn grossn schal,
 wenn ir soreg was gefallen uber al.
 in half got ûs irer not
 1430 un' sie sluog (!) al ir find zu tot.

Die judn blibn in der stat Susan,
 sie hr sluogn irer find fünf hundrt man
 un' ach hingen sie zêhn Haman kint
 un' begertn nit zu nemen schaf noch rint:

1435 Der ein hiess Parsandatha, der andr Dalphun,
 der dritt Aspatha, Poratha der war der vierd sun,
 Adalja, Aridatha, Parmastha, Arisai, Aridai, Wajesatha
 der zêhnd hiess,
 ds man irer keinen lebndic liess.

Da der kunig Ahasveros den schal vr nam
 1440 un' ach die maer vur den kunig kam,
 ds die judn hattn hr slagen in der stat Susan
 irer find fünf hundrt man,

(432a) Da sprach der kunig zu Esther, der kunigîn:
 "sag, frou, was du muotest, ds soltu gewert sin.
 1445 nun hon die judn arslagen zu Susan fünf hundrt man,
 was mügen sie denn in andrn landn habn geton!"

1415-1418. Corrupt, as the rhymes show. 1416 was no doubt originally
ver-nâmen instead of *hatn v.n.*

- Da sprach die êdel frou: "vil liebr her mîn,
ein kleine bet wil ich niu ach gewert sîn,
ds die juden morgen die loub ach soln hon,
1450 zu rechen an irn findn, die in leit hon geton."
- Da sprach der kunig: "die bet, die du host gegert,
Esther, vil liebe kunigin mîn, die soltu sîn gewert;
sie soln die loub hon vun mir."
da besameltn sich die judn ein gross her.
- 1455 Uoch an dem vierzêhndn tag in adar
da sameltn sich die judn aber dar.
es was aso beschert, ds ir find muosstn bückn;
wo sie sie sahn, sie begunden in nach zu rückn.
- 1460 Die judn ar sluogn in der stat Susan
aber irer find dri hundrt man;
in andrn landn wordn die heidn ar slagen
fünf un' söbnzik tounsnt man, vr war ich iuch ds sagen.
- (432b) Die judn woltn irer find guot nit nemen,
ds man nit solt sprechn, sie hetn es des guots halbn
tuon remen.
- 1465 an dem dri zêhndn tag in adar
die judn rachn sich an irn findn gar.
- Sie begünnen gross wirtschaft un' steltn fröud vil,
un' al ir sores vun irm herzen viel.
diese geschicniss schreib Mordechai in ein plat
1470 un' sant die brief in ein ieklich stat.
- Er gebot in zu tun an dem tag gross hochzit:
—ds hon mir geton bis an hiut—
man sol des tages fröud hon un' vol (!) trinkn schon
un' wol essn got zu ern un' zu lon.
- 1475 Ds solt ir nit vr gessn die wil ir hat ds leben:
alr lei gobn sol ieklichr sinem geseln sendn un' dem ar-
men fur sîn purim geben.
da antphingn die judn ûf sich, ds sie ds woltn ton,
darum wert purim numr mên ab gon.
- 1480 Da antphingn sie ûf sich un' ir gesleht,
ds soln die judn umr mên tun gar reht,
wen Haman einen boesn rot gedoht,
da macht got, ds es an im ward groht.
- (433a) Ûf sîn höubt ward sîn eigerat (!) ar gangen,
ds er un' al sîn kindr wordn gehangen.

1485 ds gorol, ds er warf, ds was sîn un gewin,
darum heisst diesr tag purim.

Da Esther seit, wie nah(e)t mir Mordechai was,
des geschach im un' andrn judn as dr bass.
diese rêd vun diese brief habn sie gesprochn:
1490 "wie mir wordn ar loest un' an unsrn findn gerochn,

Darum soln mir diesn tag fastn un' ftern
vun mand zu mand, vun jar zu jarn;
darum sol ein ieklich jud tun purim sîn reht
un' frolich sîn mit sînem gesleht.

1495 Un' in ieklichm lant un' in ieklichr stat
soln sie sich fröuen un' essn un' trinkn gar sat."
Esther, die kunigin, die beschied diesn brief un' in
selbrt ûs schreib,
mit Mordechai rat es nit untr wegen bleib.

Sie antphing die judn, ds sie warn fro
1500 un' steln gross wirtschaft un' taeten also.
da s(e)tzt der kunig Ahasveros zins uber al ds lant,
wen guots vil was im gangen ûs der hant.

(433b) Die sterk, die er beging, un' die tugent, die an im
was,
die ist noch geschribn zu Madai un' zu Paras.
1505 wen Mordechai hat fröud genuok,
wen er den prîs vun vur alln fürstn truog.

Er geschuof der judischheit vil guot gemacht,
wen er geren ir fröud un' ir genad sach.
der uns ds liet hot vollen broht,
1510 als er es vun der schrift hot ar doht,

Er ist menich man wol bekant,
Eisek der schrîbr ist er genant.
der den judn gab ds himls brot,
der muoss uns helfn ûs al unsr not
1515 un' muoss uns zu trost kummen ubr al ds lant,
nun spreht amen al samnt.

1485 f. goral, lot. Because of the casting of lots the day is called 'purim,'
which means 'lots.'

1486. *purim* means 'lots.'

1487. *mir* is no doubt a mistake for *ir*.

1504. Madai, Media; Paras, Persia.

Selik die Megila.

Die megilla hot ein end,
got uns maschiach bald send.
1520 am fritag, eht un' zwenzik tag in dem erstn adar,
den es is eben gewesn ds jar ibbur,
im jar da mir zêln dri hundrt un' vier,
got jithbarech helf uns ûs dem galuth bald un' schier.
Amen

1516a. selik, end of.

1518. mashiach, Messiah.

1520. ibbur, leap-year. The Jewish calendar has thirteen months in such a year; the twelfth is then called the First Adar and the thirteenth the Second Adar.

1521. i.e., (5)304 of the era of Creation=1544 of the Christian era.

1522. yithbarech, blessed be He. Galuth, exile.

THE GLOSSES TO SPENSER'S "SHEPHEARDES CALENDER"

During the later sixteenth century, the vocabulary of modern literary English was in the making; the contributors to Tottel's *Miscellany*, the Euphuists, the University wits, and, second only to Shakespeare, Edmund Spenser, were paramount, determining forces. Spenser's diction has been an influence upon English poetry from the two Fletchers down through Keats and William Morris. It has, moreover, been the subject of comment for over two hundred years, and of scholarly debate for several generations.¹ Dryden, for instance, imputed its unwonted character to the influence of "our northern dialect." Pope disapproved the poet's imitating the Doric of Theocritus by "old English and country phrases." *Cibber's Lives* objected to the obsolete expressions; Whitehead's *Charge to the Poets* referred to "each quaint old word that scarce Eliza knew"; Warton's *Observations* gave a whole section to the diction of the *Faerie Queene*; and Dr. Johnson raised his voice against the crabbed archaisms, especially in the November Eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender*.

Indeed, *The Shepheardes Calender* has become the centre of the discussion in modern scholarship, partly because it seems to be the immediate source of the archaisms of the *Faerie Queene*, and partly because it presents the problem in a particularly acute form. The glosses of "E. K.", moreover, lend a considerable interest as at once illuminating and beclouding the problem. At least two significant opinions have been put forth as to the nature and origin of this body of vocabulary. Grosart, in his edition of Spenser's *Works*, ascribes it to Lancastrian dialect, bases his statement upon a list of alleged Lancastrianisms, and proceeds to build upon it a proof that Spenser's wooing of Rosalind, "the widowes daughter of the glenne," took place in north-east Lancashire.² Grosart has been very widely accepted, apparently without verification; but at least two

¹ The general influence has been traced in Cory's *Critics of Edmund Spenser*, Univ. of Cal. Publ. II, No. 2. The examples cited are taken from pp. 130 et seq., pp. 152 et seq. etc.

² Spenser's *Works*, Grosart ed., I, 408 et seq.

recent scholars have utterly rejected his theory. Long shows that many of Grosart's "Lancastrian" words occur in dialects outside of Lancashire, and that many more Spenser probably took from Middle English or Middle Scots.³ Long demolishes Grosart's argument; but he does not seem convincing in his effort to substitute Cambridge for Lancashire. Higginson accepts and elaborates both the destructive and the constructive arguments of Long.⁴ Neither of these scholars seems to have studied the language of the poem either independently or completely. Long simply refuted the essentially Lancastrian character of the words beginning with A and B in Grosart's list; and Higginson added little of consequence. The field, therefore seems clear for a fresh study of the sources of Spenser's diction.

Such a study, moreover, is of value, not only as determining possible literary or dialectical elements in the vocabulary of Spenser and of the poets that have followed him, but also as throwing light on another vexed question of Spenserian scholarship: who was the actual author of the glosses? They are apparently by "E. K.", initials usually identified, plausibly enough, with one Edward Kirke, a Londoner who was a student at Cambridge with Spenser. Uhlemann followed by Sommer and Rhys,⁵ set forth the theory, however, that Spenser himself composed the glosses, and Uhlemann explained the errors in them as due to lapse of memory. Fletcher suggests a compromise theory that Spenser revised a part of E. K.'s work;⁶ and Higginson thinks that, if so, the revision must have been very cursory and incomplete;⁷ but many of the examples which he points out as errors in glossing, are sufficiently defensible to cast doubt on his results; and one has no reason to know that his investigation was either complete or thorough.

³ *Anglia*, XXXI, 86 et seq.

⁴ *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender* by J. J. Higginson, Col. Univ. dissert., N. Y., 1912, pp. 289 et seq. G. C. Moore Smith, in reviewing Higginson (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, 394) questions Spenser's Cambridge residence at this period. He thinks that Spenser was probably in the North of England—but not necessarily in Lancashire. His comment seems judicious.

⁵ For a fuller history of this discussion, see Higginson, pp. 165 et seq.

⁶ *M. L. N.*, 330 et seq.

⁷ Higginson, pp. 173 et seq.

The subject, therefore, gives double promise of bearing fruit. It remains to set the problem squarely before us, to survey the data in detail, and to draw whatever conclusions seem just. Herford, to be sure, has examined the phonology and grammar of various archaic forms, and shows them of M. E. descent, but widely scattered in dialect.⁸ His discussion of the vocabulary, however, antedates most of the volumes of *The New English Dictionary* and of the *English Dialect Dictionary*, and so is based upon no very certain criterion. His work, moreover, is far from complete.

The words of *The Shepheardes Calender* can be divided upon a fairly logical basis. The presence of the glosses give obvious proof that many of the expressions were uncommon or unknown to Spenser's contemporaries. There are, however, a numbers of words quite as strange to us, or quite as curiously contorted, which the glosses do not contain. These, we may infer, were in literary or at least colloquial use in Elizabethan English, and would belong to that general subject rather than to the particular matter of Spenser's individual diction.⁹ Rather is the present study interested in the words that Spenser himself either rescued from obsolescence or disuse, or borrowed from an English dialect or a foreign language, or coined outright by his own *imprimatur*. Beside actual definitions of words, the glosses contain notes, often gratuitous, on allusions in the text, on the interpretation of tropes, on biographical or pseudo-biographical matters related to the author or to the characters in the eclogues. This material has already received fairly extensive (if not always judicious) comment; and it is no direct concern of the present study. The glosses then, purely as lexicographical phenomena, are the field of this investigation.

The first problem is to trace as definitely as possible the sources of the words defined in the glosses, in the sense as there defined. Many of Spenser's words are of obvious Middle English origin; and it is generally agreed that Spenser read Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and other early writers: it seems

⁸ C. H. Herford, *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender*, London, 1897, p. liii et seq.

⁹ *N.E.D.*, the *Concordance* to Shakespeare, and other works of the sort make it quite possible to separate these two classes from one another—in so far as the Elizabethans themselves drew any such distinction.

wise, therefore, to begin by testing all the words in the sense given in the glosses for a probable Middle English origin.¹⁰ The following belong to this class: *Accloieth (II),¹¹ *accoied (II),¹² alegg (III), als (VII), *assotte (III),¹³ attempted to (IV), *avail (I), aye (II), beere (XI), *belt (II), beth (VII), bevie (IV), bidde her (IX), brace (IX), breeme (II & XII), buxome (IX), carven (IX), a caytive courage (X), chaplet (VIII), comete (XII), conteck (V & IX), corbe (II), couthe (I), deffly (IV), deigne (XII), *dell (III), dempt (VIII), *doome (VIII), eare (XII), elde (II), embellish (II & IV), *emprise (IX), enaunter (II, V & IX), enchased (VIII), *encheason (V & IX), engrained (II), *ever among (XII), ethe (IX), flouret (II & XI), *foeman (II), fon (II), forestall (V), *forlorne (IV), *for thy (III), galage (II & IX), gang (III & IX), *glee (II, V & XII), *gryge (VIII), guerdon (XI), han (V),¹⁴ herie (II & XI), kene (II), *kenne (IV & IX), *laye (IV), *leefe (IX), lorn (IX), lere (V), ligger (V), lowted (VII), lythe (II), make (IV & VI), measured (IX), medled (IV & V), *meriment (IV), *mirke (IX), *miswent (VIII), neighbour towne (I),¹⁵ nis (VI), nought seemeth (V), nould, (II), overwent (III),¹⁶ peregall (VIII), *peeres (VI & XII)

¹⁰ *N.E.D.* was used to make the test; for the few letters that are not yet published, Stratmann's *Dictionary*, Skeat's glossary to Chaucer, his glossary to *Piers Plowman*, Macaulay's to Gower etc. were called into use. Of course, Spenser's spellings are sometimes at variance with the Middle English forms; but this has been ignored except in so far as it seemed to involve a difference of pronunciation. The Roman numerals refer to the gloss in which the word occurs. Comparison of text and gloss has shown that in almost every case the gloss was probably correct. Exceptions will be noted.

¹¹ Sometimes, as in this case, I have not been able to find the word in the exact sense indicated by "E. K."; but, if the difference seems accountable on tropical grounds, I have let the matter go. Rhyme-words are noted with an asterisk.

¹² I do not find the first meaning, "plucked down."

¹³ "E. K." commonly defines a participle by an infinitive.

¹⁴ Sometimes the form or inflection of a word suggests a particular dialect. The -ie of herie, for instance, Spenser must have picked up from some writer of Southern or more especially Kentish dialect, where the old termination remained from Old English weak verbs of the second class. Han, on the other hand, suggests Midland.

¹⁵ Seemingly this was, or at least came, into fairly common use in Elizabethan literature. See Herford, lx.

¹⁶ See Overwend.

pent (X),¹⁷ queint (X), *queme (V), rafte (VIII), *recks (VII), *sere (I), sicker (II), sibbe (V), *soote (IV), *sourse (V & XI), souvenance (V & XI),¹⁸ sterne strife (II), *surquedrie (II), *swaine (III), *swinke (V & VII), *syte (VI), sythe (I), thilke (V), tottie (II), tressed locks (IV), *trode (IX), *uncouthe (IX). unnethes (I), *virelaies (XI), wast of (XI), welked (XI), whilome (VIII & X), wisards (VII), *wroken (III), *yblent (IV), *yfere (IV), *of yore (VII).

The words in the foregoing list seem to have been correctly glossed; for E. K.'s meanings, in the first place, jibe with the text, and, in the second place, the words appear with the same meaning in a body of literature from which Spenser could easily have culled them. The rather large number that were used for the rhyme, suggests that the young poet used his archaism to help him over the technical difficulties of English verse, and goes to support the theory that the poem was, as much as anything, an exercise in versification. The foregoing includes the words that Spenser probably drew from the Middle English. The following words are somewhat uncommon in Middle English; and, as they all exist in modern dialects, Spenser is at least as likely to have taken them from the dialects of his own day. Few of them are localized in a single country, such as Lancashire; but the vast majority of them are current in the northern part of England, and most of those are limited to the northern part.¹⁹ Words that are not localized in the north will be specially noted. Behight (IV),²⁰ *belive (IX), bestadde (VIII),²¹ *borrowe (V), *carke (XI), chaffred (IX),

¹⁷ Spelled "pend" in the text. E. K.'s spellings often differ from those in the text; but the differences do not seem in any way significant.

¹⁸ *N.E.D.* suggests that "here as often," Caxton seems to be the source of Spenser's meaning. Spenser, however, could have gotten the word from Chaucer. See Skeat's glossary.

¹⁹ The only guide for Elizabethan dialects is Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*. Of course, it pretends to cover only the nineteenth century; but dialects are conservative as the persistence of M.E. forms in them attest; and it is fairly safe to suppose that a modern dialect form existed in Spenser's time, especially if either we know it existed in M.E., or we can find no other source for Spenser's use of it.

²⁰ Listed in *N.E.D.* as an "improper use by archaists of the 16th and 17th centuries." *D.D.* gives it as n. Yorks. Spenser seems, then, to have taken it almost certainly from dialect.

²¹ It appears in Derby and Kent as well as Scots. and Yorks.

*cragge (II & IX), *dight (IV), ecked (IX), *fayne (V), fay-tours (V), gars (IV), glitterand (VII), *greete (IV & VIII),²² hale (VII), *heame (XI),²³ hent (II), *herse (XI), inly (IX),²⁴ kirke (V),²⁵ *latched (III), *levin (VII),²⁶ *lorde (VII), melling (VII), *meynt (VII & XI), mister (IX), narre (VII), *nye (V),²⁷ *poynte of worthy wite (VI), *quell (III),²⁸ sam (V), *shene (XI), sike mister men (VII), sneb (II),²⁹ *steven (IX), stounds (V), *stoure (I),²⁹ *tene (XI),³⁰ tydes (X),³¹ wae (IX), warke (V), weetelesse (VII), welkin (III & IX), wightly (IX), wite the witelesse (VIII), wonne (II & IX), wracke (II),³² wyten (V), yode (V).

All of the words listed up to this point undoubtedly existed in Middle English; and assuredly the old authors were for Spenser a very mine of verbal curiosities. Of the words that remain—unless they were either miss-glossed by E. K. or overlooked by N. E. D.—none can have had a Middle English origin. Of these, two or three seem to have come either from Middle Scots literature³³ or else Scots or North English dialects of Spenser's own day: May (XI) is a fairly certain example. Warre (IX) and welter (VII) may also occur in Middle English: it will be difficult to ascertain until either N. E. D. publishes the volume on W or until someone compiles a M. E. dictionary more dependable than Stratmann.

²² The sense in the gloss does not fit the text very well. *N.E.D.*, as usual, accepts the gloss; and, as I have been able to find no literary or dialectical meaning that fits the text better, I give it at least provisional acceptance.

²³ Characteristically Yorks., E. K. calls it "Northerly"; this suggests that he did not use "Northerly" in general to refer to Cambridge, as Long would have us suppose.

²⁴ The meaning in the gloss fits the text only fairly well.

²⁵ *D.D.* lists it in Derby, Lincoln and Devon as well as the North.

²⁶ Characteristically Scotch dialect.

²⁷ Midland as well as Northern.

²⁸ Widely diffused over England.

²⁹ Seemingly inaccurate glossing that may be due simply to carelessness.

³⁰ Midland as well as Northern.

³¹ Widely diffused. The sense of "seasons" is probably merely tropical in any case.

³² Listed in Scot. Oxf. Brks. Dor. and Dev.

³³ Jamieson's *Dictionary* and more especially the glossaries in Gregory Smith's *Specimens*, and in the standard editions of Douglas, Barbour and Dunbar, have served as tests.

Spenser, however, was by no means the only archaist of the period; and it is not surprising that, in his borrowings, he hit upon a number of the pseudo-archaisms and coinages of his fellow-craftsmen. The following words do not appear in M. E., but were used by sixteenth century authors previous to the publication of the *Calender* in 1579. Some of them seem to have had a Romance origin, and some may have been dialectic; but Spenser probably took them from their immediate source. *Adawed (II), *ascaunce (III),³⁴ *borrell (VII), chamfred (II), entrailed (VIII), *grosse (IX), reliven not (XI), surly (VII), venteth (II). Significantly enough, half of these are used for rhyme-words. The Elizabethans had good reason to realize the difficulties of English rhyme as compared with the Italian which they were so commonly imitating.

Perhaps under the influence of the Classical and Romance authors whom he was closely following in his eclogues, Spenser seems to have been responsible for several new loan-words from French, Latin, and Italian, or at least, loan-words in new meanings. *Overture (VII) is from the French; N. E. D. suggests that *stank (IX) is from the Italian, and that *cruメンal (IX), *tinct (XI) and *dismount (V) are from Classical or Vulgar Latin. Again, it is interesting to note that the rhyme seems to have forced Spenser to the use of these words. The case of "tinct" is fairly clear: Spenser was bound at once by the difficult rhyme of "extinct" and by his almost literal translation of the passage from Marot.³⁵ The unwonted word is not necessarily borrowed from or even suggested by the earlier poet; but the closeness of his imitations must at times have put Spenser hard to it for rhyme and meter.

The lists of words already given that might come from dialect on the one hand, or Middle English or Middle Scots on the other, suggests the possibility of a considerable dialectical influence. Of course, most of the dialect-words of Spenser's

³⁴ As Skeat's gloss shows, Chaucer regularly used this word to mean, *as if*, but the 1598 Chaucer, edited by Speght, gives *aside* also. This sense must have been gleaned either from a misinterpretation of Chaucer or from some pseudo-Chaucerian poems in the volume. Of course, Spenser could not have used this edition; and none of the earlier ones were glossed; but he may have mis-read the passage, just as Speght did in the 1598 ed.

³⁵ See Reissert in *Anglia*, IX, 213.

day occurred in the same locality in the Middle English period. There seems to have been, however, a considerable number of new words or variants of old words that Spenser introduced into the language; and, as they exist in modern dialects, in the form and meaning which he used, it is a fairly safe assumption that they have come down to us in the dialect from his day, and that the dialect is the source from which he took them. The following words, I have been unable to find in literary use before 1579; they all appear in dialects; and the larger number are definitely localized in Yorkshire or at least the North of England. Busket (V),³⁶ cosset (XI),³⁷ dapper (X), in derring do (X),³⁸ frowye (VII), gate (V),³⁹ ligge so layde (X), ronts (II), *spell (III),⁴⁰ sperre the gate (V),⁴¹ *state (IX), *weanell waste (IX),⁴² *wimble (III).

This list of unquestionable dialect words, contains only two East Anglian expressions, *cosset* and *weanell waste*; and the latter of these is used by Spenser very curiously. E. K. glosses the phrase as "a weaned youngling"; but *wennell* in itself means a *weaned calf*; and *waste* or *waster*, a *thin calf*: the combination therefore can hardly be said to fit either sense or syntax very well. If Spenser were composing his dialect eclogues at Cambridge, as Long and Higginson suggest, he would probably, in the first place, have used a much larger proportion of East Anglian, rather than so many Northern words; and, in the second place, what he did use, would probably have been more accurate.⁴³ Long's argument, moreover, that he could have

³⁶ *N.E.D.* gives only Spenser's use, and suggests an origin either in Fr. *bosquet*, or a compound of *busk* (var. of *bush*) + *-et* (demin.); but *E.D.D.* gives the exact sense and spelling in Yorks. dialect.

³⁷ East Anglian and Southern dialect.

³⁸ *Derring* is in good ME. use. *N.E.D.* suggests that *do* arose from an erroneous resolution of *ado*; *E.D.D.*, however, gives a Northern and Midland dialect *do*, in Spenser's sense.

³⁹ Occurs in Scots (See Jamieson), and is the phonological variant of *goat* that one would expect in any Northern dialect.

⁴⁰ Appears as "verse" in ME.; as "charm" in Yorks. dialect.

⁴¹ Midland as well as Northern.

⁴² Spenser seems to have mistaken the East Anglian noun *wennel* for the participial adjective *weaned*. *Waste* is also East Anglian.

⁴³ This suggests the parallel situation in the dialect-problem connected with the ascription of *Gammar Gurtons Needle* to Stevenson. See *Camb. Hist.*, VI, 296-7 and bibliog.

picked up the Northern forms among students in the University, is not quite convincing: Spenser could of course, have caught the phonological turn of their accent; but whether he would have learned such homely and country phrases, in an environment where neither he nor the Northerners would have had much occasion to use them, is a matter of question. At least, it is certain that almost all the words that he surely took from dialect, and most of those that he may have taken, are fairly well localized in one or more of the Northern shires.

There are a few words from various sources, curiously shifted from their normal form or meaning. Sometimes the change seems to be only tropical in nature; and the note in the gloss seems rather the explanation of a metaphor than the definition of a new meaning of the word. Her peeced pineons (X), orphans (V), a thrilling throb (V), well-thewed (II), with cakes (XI), wounds (II), probably belong to this class, which were excluded from discussion at beginning of the present study. Spenser's use of archaisms to help his rhyme has already been suggested; and there is an interesting group that seems to have been shifted in sound or in sense, apparently for the sake of rhyming. *Astart (XI) seems to be a variant of Middle English *astart*, to rhyme with *expert*.⁴⁴ *Bent (IX) has no apparent dialectical or archaic origin; it is probably either elliptical for *obedient*, or tropical, as in the phrase, *bent to one's will*. *Be-tight (XI) seems to be a variant past participle for Middle English *betide*: in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (39), he uses the regular weak form *betided*.⁴⁵ *Bynempt (XI), is, in like fashion, a coined past tense of Middle English *bename* to rhyme with *contempt*; and the sense also seems somewhat forced. *Bynempte (VII) is the same form used in a rather more accurate sense, but rhyming rather badly with *ypent*. *Clincke (V) seems to come from the Lancastrian *click* with a gratuitous N either by analogy with the *clink* of Northern dialect, or

⁴⁴ Some editions of the gloss give it as *astart*. See the variants listed in Grosart's notes, II, 269, line 99.

⁴⁵ Chaucer uses a preterit singular *betit* and a past participle *betid*, both marked short by Stratmann. To make his rhyme with *light* and *height*, Spenser had to unvoice the D of the past participle—or perhaps he confused it with the preterit—and lengthen the I. These reasons seem to account for his strange spelling.

merely for the sake of rhyme. *Dreriment (XI) was probably coined by analogy with *merriment* to rhyme with it. *Forewente (VII) is a rather complex case: as a past participle form, it cannot be correctly adduced from *go* or (*be-*) *forego*; and, if one takes it from the Middle English *forewend*, it should mean *incline* or *dispose* rather than *go before*. Spenser, for his rhyme, seems to have formed a new *forewend* by re-composition with the Middle English verb, *wende*, to *turn* or *go*. *Gryde (II & VIII) is given by Herford and N. E. D. as a Spenserian metathesis of *gird*, in spite of the fact that E. K. refers the form, quite correctly, to Lydgate.⁴⁶ The intransitive sense, however, seems to be Spenserian. *Lorrell (VII) is apparently a coined variant of *losell*, a Northern word which E. K. uses to define it in the gloss. *Men of the lay (V), for *laymen*, is curious. *Lay* is probably from Middle English *lay* meaning *law* and so *belief*, *faith*. But clerks as well as laymen are Christians; and so the gloss seems to be based on an inaccuracy; or perhaps Spenser, driven by a refractory rhyme, fell back upon this tag, about the sense of which he was not quite certain. *Newell (V) looks like a French loan; but it is more probably either a variant of the East Anglian *newelty* or the survival of a rare Middle English form, *newell*, listed in N. E. D. as occurring once before Spenser, in some songs and carols of the late fifteenth century. *Overhaile (I) to *draw over*, may very well be a variant of *overhaul* for the sake of rhyme. *An Ivie todde (III) is very puzzling. Herford gives no especial reason for listing it as dialectal. Skeat's gloss to Chaucer suggests that *yvie* may be used for ground ivy; and, under *tat*, E. D. D. lists a possible variant *tot* meaning "a matted mass." I am inclined to think that Spenser used this Northern form, voicing the T into a D for the sake of his rhyme. There are beside these rhyme-words, at least two probable variants for meter. But if (VIII) commonly means *unless* in Middle English; but the difficult stichomythia of the passage apparently forced Spenser to use it in the dubious sense of *not unless*, which E. K. puts into the gloss. *Gree (VII) is probably an aphetic form of *degree*, although E. D. D. suggests with some plausibility that it either may come from the French *gré*, or be a variant of a Scotch dialect word. At times, Spenser

⁴⁶ Lydgate's *Chron. Troy*, II, XIV.

may not have been certain what the right form actually was; but the number of cases inclines one to the opinion that he willfully varied sense, syntax, or pronunciation when the occasion suited. Rhyme must commonly have been the cause: about a hundred of the words under consideration in this paper are used at least once in rhyme. The twelve eclogues must have been difficult experiments for the young poet; and Spenser was no purist.

The fact that Spenser was no purist is given particular point by a list of anomalous cases in which, through ignorance or caprice or for some technical reason not evident to the reader, he seems either to have coined a word or changed very considerably one that already existed. Some of these coinages seem to have a dialect source, and may have existed in Spenser's day in the very form in which he used them; but, if they be coinages, they are most of them of little credit to the inventor, for only three or four have found a permanent place in the language. *Haske (XI), "a wicker fish-basket," may be related to *hassock*, as N. E. D. suggests; but I think it is more likely either a dialect word now obsolete or a coinage of Spenser's for rhyme. Beastlihead (V) will perhaps pass as the poetical brother of *beastliness* and *beasthood*. Bellibone (IV) may be either a variant of *bonibel* or a corruption of the French *belle bonne* or *belle et bonne*; in any case, it is not very happy. *Forehaile (IX), I have not been able to find in N. E. D. or E. D. D. If *overhaile*⁴⁷ is a corruption of *overhaul*, this may be a corruption of a lost dialect form of *forehaul*. E. K. glosses it as *draw or distress*; and the former meaning suggests *haul*; but *distress* seems to be the sense that serves best in the text. Haydeguies (VI), glossed by E. K. as a "country danse or round," is probably an old dialect word. The original of the passage, which seems to be from Virgil, does not throw any light on the problem.⁴⁸ Hereby there (IX) for *here and there*, seems to have no reason for existence except Spenser's sheer delight in the pseudo-antique. Hidder and shidder (IX), Herford assigns to Northern dialect: I have not found either form in E. D. D., and am inclined to think that Spenser simply added the dialectical

⁴⁷ N.E.D. gives *hale* as the regular ME. spelling of *haul*; and Douglas uses *ourhaill*, to cover, in *King Hart*, Gregory Smith's *Specimens*, 52, l. 16.

⁴⁸ See Reissert in *Anglia*, IX, 215 n.

-er plural to *he* and *she* in order to form collective nouns. *To holden chatt (VII) is a clear enough expression which Spenser seems to have coined for the sake of his rhyme. *Jouisaunce (XI) is a convenient invention, probably to escape the difficult feminine rhyme of *joyance*. Kidst (XII) may come from either a Middle English *kith* or a dialectical *kythe*; but both of these are properly used only in an intransitive or in a causative sense. Lambkins (XII) is one of the few coinages that has justified itself; it is an obvious case of a noun plus the diminutive *-kin*. *Overgrast (IX) is an obvious enough coinage, partly, one may suppose, for the sake of rhyme. Shole (V) meaning a large number, especially of fish, is a word common enough in English since 1579, but seemingly never used before that date. N. E. D. suggests an origin in Frisian, Dutch or Flemish, where the word appeared as *sköl*, *school* etc. The active communication in Elizabeth's reign between the Low Countries and England brought in numerous nautical terms of which this was doubtless one.⁴⁹ Underfonge (VI), meaning to undermine or deceive may be related to Middle English *underfon* to *seize* or *receive*; but the meanings do not synchronize, and the *ge* must be accounted for by some analogy. It appears in *Havelok*, line 115, as *perceive*; the sense may have been extended to *deceive*; or, what is more probable, Spenser, led on by a false etymology, may have mis-read his Middle English. Speght's Chaucer (1598) glosses *underfongen* as *take in hand*. Speght, then, understood at least one sense of the word correctly, but Spenser probably did not. Vetchie (IX) is a variant, perhaps a diminutive, of Middle English *vetch*. E. D. D. does not give the form; but it may have existed in some obsolete dialectical expression. In the foregoing list of words, the glossing seems to be correct; and we must suppose either that the words were more common than the records would have us suppose, or that E. K. was rather lucky in guessing the sense from the context, or that Spenser had a considerable hand in the glossing. The last supposition

⁴⁹ See Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, 792; and Skeat's *Princ. of Etymology*, I, 485. This word (*shole*) does not appear in Baret's *Alvearie*, 1573. So far as I have been able to test, E. K. does not seem to have used the contemporary word-glosses of the day; for the purpose of most of them is to give the equivalent for *common* words in other languages. N.E.D. is not a safe criterion for uses in these glosses as Wiener points out, *M.L.N.*, XI, 176.

would seem the most plausible, were it not for E. K.'s seeming errors; and these are no less widely distributed than the list of lucky guesses just rehearsed.

Several possible errors of E. K. have already been noted but the following seem the chief cases. The matter, however, is very difficult to determine; for we have only the text and the not-always-certain test of etymology to guide us; and, even if an error is made, it is often hard to tell whether Spenser might not have made it through ignorance or carelessness himself. *Aequipage (X) may according to both text and etymology, mean *retinue, style, attire, or military accoutrements*; but it can hardly mean, as E. K. glosses it, *order*. *Chevisaunce (V) is glossed with various and confused meanings;⁵⁰ and E. K. does not seem to know which one applies in the present instance; or perhaps he is simply indulging in another gratuitous note. Cremosin Coronet (IV) is not explained at all by the gloss. Cremosin is a Middle English form of *crimson*; and E. K.'S comment, "He deviseth her crown to be of the finest and most delicate flowers," either mis-defines "crimosin," or else refers to the lines of the poem which follow the two words quoted in the gloss. In the former case, it is clearly mis-glossing; in the latter, it is merely tautological. *Frenne (IV) is defined as *stranger* in the gloss, probably correctly; but E. K.'s remark that it was first used poetically and then used for *foreign*, is of dubious meaning and accuracy. Spenser, in fact, probably got it from the North English dialect *fren*; or it may possibly be, as N. E. D. suggests, a corruption of Middle English *fremd* or *frend*. On the other hand, Spenser might not have remembered where he picked up the word; and he certainly made errors of etymology quite as bad as this in his *Present State of Ireland*. Again the case is not certain. *Glen (IV), however, as N. E. D. notes, is unquestionably a mistake of the gloss: the sense "a country hamlet" is possible enough in the text; but this is the only case of the word in this sense recorded in literature or dialect. But Spenser is as liable to have made it himself, as E. K.; and I am inclined to suppose it, whoever the responsibility, a careless mistake or possibly an intentional error

⁵⁰ N.E.D. discusses the confusion of *chevisaunce* with *chevance, chivalry, chevauchee, etc.*

designed to cover the somewhat too definitely Northern suggestion of *glen*. Inly (V) is glossed by E. K., *entirely*; and, when it occurs in the September gloss, he refers to it, "inwardly, aforesaid." *Inwardly* is unquestionably the meaning of the word and unquestionably the meaning of the September, and possibly that of the May, text. The sense given in the May gloss, moreover, seems to be unique in literature. It seems, then, that in the May gloss, E. K. misunderstood Spenser's text, and put down an impossible meaning for *inly*. But on the other hand, why should he have put down a wrong meaning for a simple word so obviously used? The mistake looks rather like an error of sheer carelessness; and carelessness might be due as probably to Spenser as to E. K. *Miscreaunce (V) may be wrong. *Disbelief* and the *dispair* arising from it, are possible enough meanings in Middle English; but the text seems rather to call for the general modern sense of any *evil action*, a sense which was coming in at the time. Spenser, himself, however, might have made such an error, either from running over the text hurriedly or from putting down the meaning of the word without consulting the text: we must take care not to attribute to our Elizabethan ancestors the scientific exactitude which is supposed to be characteristic of our own age. Pousse (VIII) is defined as *pease*; and it usually had that meaning in Middle English; but the meaning fits the text very poorly. The North-English dialect senses of *dirt* or *weeds* seems much better; but again the mistake may have been one of sheer carelessness on Spenser's part. Prevely or *perte* (IX), E. K. defines as *openly*, and adds a reference to Chaucer. The definition should, and obviously does, refer only to the last of the three words cited. The error is rather apparent than real. *Unkempt (XI), however, is a *locus desperatus*. E. K. suggests a Latin origin, which is quite plausible in view of the Latin *incomptus*. The Northern dialect *unkempt*, however, is a more probable source. Even if there is an error, on the other hand, Spenser, we know, was quite careless enough in his etymologies to have been guilty of it himself; and consequently, this is another of the words that seems to give an equivocal answer. *Yblent (IV) is perhaps the most exasperating of them all. E. K. notes after it in the gloss: "Y is a poetical addition, blent, blinded." An examination of Spenser's use of the

y-prefix in *The Sheperdes Calender*, reveals the interesting fact that his twenty uses of it are all correct.⁵¹ On the other hand, however, this does not preclude the possibility that Spenser, writing of the old perfective prefix, in the rôle of poet rather than scholar, might not have noted it merely as "a poetical addition"—even though he knew quite well what its grammatical significance was. *Blent* seems to be a phonetic variant of Middle English *blynt* for the purposes of rhyme.

The foregoing lists are intended to include all of the words which E. K. defines or etymologizes in his twelve glosses. It remains to discuss the bearing of the compilation upon several problems of Spenserian scholarship. Perhaps most fundamental of these is the question as to how great a part Spenser had in the making of the gloss. The list of words taken from Middle English is extensive; and many of them are distinctly unusual:⁵² *accloieith*, *accoied*, *assote*, *breeme*, *contek*, *corbe*, and *crag*s, to cite cases only from the first three letters of the alphabet. Of course the context would often help E. K. in his definitions; but one cannot imagine such a multitude of good guesses based on no previous knowledge of the word. Elizabethan annotators had no Stratmann's *Dictionary*—incomplete as it is—nor any convenient glosses to Chaucer or Gower. Of course, some of the words may have lingered in Elizabethan speech; but the necessity of glossing shows that they must have been uncommon. If one imagines the youthful Spenser reading his Middle English poets and noting—mentally if not actually on paper—interesting and attractive words for future reference, one can understand how the author of the eclogues acquired such a

⁵¹ Spenser's knowledge of ME. grammar was not by any means vague. Y-, as the descendant of the OE. ge-, should be prefixed only to a past participle or to a verb that had it in OE. Nineteen of Spenser's uses fall into the former case; *y pent* (I), *ytorne* (IV), *y clad* (V), *ygoe* (V), *y tost* (VI), *y take* (VI), *y clad* (VII), *y girt* (VII) *y pent* (VII), *apaide* (VIII), *y wrought* (VIII), *y crowned* (VIII), *y clad* (X), *ygoe* (X), *y stabled* (XI), *ygo* (XI), *ygoe* (XI), *y clad* (XI), and *y bent* (XII). The other use is of the second sort; *yshend* as an infinitive from M. E. *geshend*. (See *N.E.D.*, *shend*). His use of *ywis* (V) also, seems to be correct. In short, Spenser must have known what ge- signified; errors of this sort in *The Faerie Queene*, probably arise not so much from ignorance as from intentional neglect.

⁵² At any rate, they do not appear in either Emerson's *Reader* or Skeat's *Havelok*.

collection of *recherché* antiques; but the knowledge that a glossator must have had to follow in his recondite footsteps, must indeed have been enormous. If the critics are right, as they probably are, in associating E. K. with Edward Kirke, but shortly out of college in 1579, and in supposing that the glosses were composed in the space of a few months, then E. K.'s ability to gloss so many words correctly, seems indeed surprising. Not only this, but also he knows with some accuracy whether a term is from Lydgate or Chaucer or Gower; and in one case, he actually traces two lines of the text quite correctly to a Chaucerian original.⁵³ A knowledge of the loan-words from French, Italian and Latin, E. K. might easily have had without Spenser's help; but the knowledge of dialect, especially of words that (at least in the nineteenth century) were localized in small districts, is again a significant matter; and even more significant are the words that Spenser shifted in form or meaning, or coined outright! That E. K., unaided, either knew or guessed correctly in the vast majority of these cases, surely passes belief. Of the ten possible examples of mis-glossing, all but two or three are quite uncertain; and the rest seem to be careless blunders, attributable quite as probably to Spenser as to E. K. In short, the evidence of the lexicography points to a very large share of Spenserian authorship of the glosses. E. K. may have added remarks of his own without Spenser's oversight; but, I think, undoubtedly, Spenser inspired, if not actually wrote, most of the entries.

The problem of dialect has already been answered by inference. Unquestionably, there are a considerable number of words drawn from this source, most of them characteristically Northern. The paucity of East Anglian elements and the inaccuracy of their use suggests that Spenser was not writing anywhere in the vicinity of Cambridge; and the lack of Kentish expressions makes the Kentish localization of the eclogues a little incongruous to the student of linguistics. Spenser,

⁵³ Lines 39-40 of the *February Eclogue* are taken, as the gloss suggests, from Chaucer. They appear in *The House of Fame*, lines 1225-6. Sometimes, however, the gloss misdirects the reader as to source: October, line 100, for example is not from Mantuan. See Mustard's edition of Mantuan, Baltimore, 1911, p. 50. But it is much easier to imagine Spenser's making the slips than E. K.'s knowing the sources.

apparently, was picking up dialect from any source that came to hand; and, significantly enough, the origin of almost all of it, is the North of England.⁵⁴ The modern distribution of these Northern dialect-words, as it appears in Wright's *Dictionary*, is a little puzzling. Those that are found in Midland or in Scotch dialects, as well as in the North, are a matter of some difficulty; but there are a considerable number that seem to be localized in one county or section of the North. If these were all the same section, the matter would be easy; but they are rather scattered. *Behight*, and *busket*, for instance, seem to be Yorks.; *borrowe*, North Yorks.; *greete* and *heame*, Yorks.; and *hent* and *inly*, the same; *levin* seems to be characteristically Scotch dialect; *meynt* is from Cumberland; *mister*, from West Yorkshire; *sam* and *sneb* from York and Lancaster; *welkin*, Cumberland and Lancaster; and *wracke* comes down to us to-day, used only in Scotland and the South. These results, although they show the dialect to have been largely Northern, do not support Grosart in being at all characteristically Lancastrian. If one dare draw any inference, it would seem that Yorkshire were the region where Spenser courted the fair Rosalind. If Cambridge University were the source of this diction, why did Spenser take it only from his Northern associates; and, above all, why did he slight East Anglia which lay right at hand, and Kent, where a large part of his poem is supposed to be located? In short, Spenser was probably in the North at the time of writing; and whether Rosalind actually lived in a Yorkshire glen, or was a figment of the poet's own fertile imagination—as were the heroines of so many sonnet-sequences of the day—the fact of Spenser's Northern English, and the fact that E. K. knew it for "North-erly" and so mentions it in the glosses, are, I think fairly indisputable.

One or two further points are worth bringing out in connection with this investigation. Spenser's knowledge of Middle English seems to have been considerably wider and more accurate than many scholars, I think, have allowed. His

⁵⁴ On the other hand, it must be admitted that the archaists of the period had rather a predilection for Northern dialect, and considered it especially poetical.

variations seem to be due, not so much to ignorance, as to malice aforethought; and, in the *Faerie Queene*, where the errors seem more numerous, the development of Spenser's art at the expense of his archaistic bent, would largely account for them. He had a large and, on the whole, accurate Middle English vocabulary. He seems to have had some understanding of Chaucerian grammar, but probably little grasp of Middle English phonology and none of Middle English dialect distinctions. Spenser's knowledge of Middle English, however, is a subject unto itself; and the present study cannot pretend to any positive statement except on the rather narrow basis of the words glossed by E. K.

Spenser treats the sources of his diction, as he treats the sources of his ideas and images, unhampered by too precise a regard for the original. He shifts at will, sense, syntax and pronunciation, sometimes for his rhyme or meter, sometimes, apparently, from caprice or forgetfulness. The unfortunate result has often been that he has neither left a lucid text nor introduced a new word into the language. The gloss, moreover, is sometimes quite as much a problem as a help. Of course, one cannot apply to it the scientific standards of to-day; but it certainly seems to have been carelessly or hurriedly put together. Perhaps the publisher demanded it at the last minute because he feared the poems would not be understood without it.⁵⁵ Perhaps Spenser considered it a piece of wearisome drudgery, slighted it accordingly, and finally turned it over to E. K. for completion. Such errors as the definition of *glen* as *hamlet*, even in the most obtuse editor, could result only from carelessness or haste—and E. K. was probably not obtuse.

As the introduction to this study pointed out, Spenser's influence upon the English vocabulary is of primary importance. His was a very different sort of thing from Lyly's far-fetched Latinization, or the colloquial diction of Greene and Dekker, realistic, powerful, but not especially elegant. At its best, Spenser's vocabulary is native without being common, and elevated without being stilted: in short, the ideal poetic diction;

⁵⁵ The fact that, independently, it would seem, of any publisher, *Dreams* was provided with a gloss makes this hypothesis dubious. See postscript to letter to Harvey, April, 1580.

and, as one of the chief makers of English poetic diction, Spenser has become famous for his "pure wells of English undefiled." Some of his words passed in his own day into current speech—perhaps they would have done so even without his use—but the larger number of those that have found their way into the speech at all, have come in through the poetry of Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites and their fellows; and the glosses to *The Shepherdes Calender* must be considered as a key, perhaps not to Spenser's early biography, but at least to the well-spring of nineteenth century poetic diction—must be considered the instrument which rescued many quaint and suggestive phrases from Middle English and from dialect, and gave them a local habitation and a name in modern literary English.

JOHN W. DRAPER.

Harvard University.

NOTES ON THE NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY

One of the most important sources which the *NED* draws upon for exemplification of its word material is the treatise of WALTER DE BIBLESWORTH published as No. 10 in Thomas Wright's first volume of *Vocabularies*, Liverpool 1857. It occupies pages 142-174 and is dated by Wright as belonging to the close of the 13th century. For all that the *NED* dates its quotations from this document occasionally either *anterior 1300* or *circa 1300* or *13..* or *1325*. The dating *a 1300* I find sub *ankle*, *†alsene*, *apple* (of the eye), *balk* sb II, *bat* sb¹, *baldcoot*, *backbone*, *basket*, *barbican* (!!!), *†belag*, *belt* sb², *clicket*.

The dating *c 1300* I have noticed only sub *measlings* sb. pl. The dating *13..* sub *ash* sb¹ and *rung* sb 1 and 5. The dating *1325* sub *cleft*, *clift* sb 2a and *shinbone*. The majority of quotations, however, exhibit the date *c 1325*. We may well ask, in the first place, why was Wright's dating not accepted? In the second place, if there was good reason for deviating from Wright's dating, why was the date *c 1325* not strictly adhered to? Thirdly, how could it happen that sub *barbican* the quotation dated *a 1300* is attributed to W. de Biblesworth, when it is actually from John de Garlande? The wavering between five different datings is puzzling enough; still more puzzling is the wavering between no less than three different ways of stating the author's name of the treatise. In three instances I find the name given as *W[alter] de Bibbysw[orth]*. So sub *grice*¹, *gristle* sb 2, *loune* v. *W. de Biblesworth* he is called sub *awn*⁴, *alder* sb¹, *ankle*, *apple* 7, *†alsene*, *backbone*, *bolting*, *breast-clout*, *brawn*, *calf*², *clicket*, *cricket* sb¹, *dalk*², *dough-rib*, *dwarf*, *†easle*, *elder* sb¹, *flax-boll*, *gossamer*, *†gound*, *goundy*, *goave* v., *gowpen*, *handwrist*, *hatchel* v., *hemp-seed*, *haw-tree*, *harts-tongue*, *†hayhove*, *hollin*, *house-wife*, *hurcheon*. In the majority of quotations, however, which I have examined, about 70, the name is persistently given as *W. de Bibbesworth*, occasionally written all in capitals, BIBBESWORTH, and it is noteworthy that this occurs from "G" on down to the latest numbers of the *NED* issued. See sub *green* a., *†greenhead*, *lea-land*, *knell* sb β., *kidney*, *kiln*, *maythen*, *mewt*, *measle* sb, *measlings*, *midred*, *mouldwarþ*, *ouzel*, *over-lip*, *pin* sb¹, *plum-tree*, *potsherd*, *pease-rise*, *pease-straw*, *pock* sb 2a, *pick* v. II 3 IIIb, *quince*, *sheldrake*,

shide sb., *shin-bone*, *sleet* v., *slidding* ppl. a., *slidderly*, *sloe-thorn*, *shock* sb¹, *share* sb², *shode*, *slaver* sb¹, *slaver* v., *slavering* *shoulder-bone*, *shoulder-blade*, *shadow*, *snipe* sb, *snivel* v., *smear* sb 6, *smeardock*, *smear-wort*, *sour-dock*, *+solwy* a., *shield-board* 1., *spiced*, *spindle*, *spire* v.¹, *stalk* sb¹, *starling*, *stark* v., *teal*, *thaw* v., *titmouse*, *tipping* sb.¹, *thill*¹, *thill-horse*, *thwittle* sb, *thunwong*, *tongue* 14, *top* sb², *trough* sb, *tun* sb.

From the persistency with which in these instances the name is given as Walter de *Bibbesworth* it would seem fair to infer that the scholars who at present constitute the board of editors of the *NED* are in possession of information superior to that of Thomas Wright who, on the authority of MS. Arundel No. 220 (Brit. Mus.) and MS. Sloane No. 809, stated the author's name was Walter de *Biblesworth*. It is fairly possible that Wright misread the name in both MSS. which according to him is exhibited in MS. Arundel as *Sire Gauter de Bibelesworthe*, in MS. Sloane as *monsire Gauter de Biblesworde*. If this is not the correct reading, we should be told so at the earliest opportunity. In the meanwhile I think it not amiss to republish from Wright's work the text of the introduction to the treatise. It is of great interest not only because it gives the name of the author, but tells us also who inspired him to write and what the purpose of his writing is. So far as I can see, what he actually offers falls short of his intentions: he is too much concerned about teaching the meaning of words of similar spelling to do much real teaching the young such knowledge of the elements as he professes.

(INTRODUCTION MS. ARUNDEL NO. 220)

Le treytyz ke moun sire *Gauter de Bibelesworthe* fist à ma dame Dyonisie de Mouchensy pur aprise de langwage, ço est à saver, du primer temps ke homme nestra, ouweke trestut le langgage pur saver nurture en sa juventé; pur trestut le Fraunceys de sa neyssaunce, et de membres du corps, ouweke kauntke il apent dedans et deores; pus to le Fraunceys com il en court en age de husbonderie, cum pur arer, rebiner, waretter, semer, sarcher, syer, faucher, carier, batre, moudre, pestrer, breser, bracer, haute feste arayer; pus tot le Fraunsoys kaunt à espleyt de chas, cum de venerie, pescherie en viver ou en

estang, checune en sa nature, pus tot le Fraunçoys des bestes et des oyseus, checune assemble par sa naturele aprise; pus tot le Fraunsoys de boys, prée, pasture, vergeyer, gardyn, curtilage, ouveke tot le Fraunsoys de flures et des frus ke il i sount. E tut issi troveret-vus tot le ordre en parler e respoudre ke checun gentyshomme covent saver; dount touzdis troverez-vus primes le Fraunsoys et pus le Engleys suaunt; e ke les enfauns pussunt saver les propretez des choses ke veyunt et kaunt dewunt dire moun et ma, soun et sa, le et la, moy et jo.

(At the end of the treatise in MS. Sloane):

Ici finist la Doctrine monsire GAUTER DE BYBLESWORDE.

OE. **myllan*; modern (obs.) English *mulle*.

The first edition of Hall's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* contains on page 332a the following: "*úþámýldan* vv. to come to light, appear, HGL. 463." In the second edition this is changed to "*úþámýlan?* to come to light, appear; HGL. 463 (v. OEG 4784)." While Hall thus recognizes the existence of an Old English double compound *úþ-á-mýlan*, the Supplement to B.-T. is not even ready to believe in the simple compound. For on page 36b sub *á-mýlþ* the reader is referred to *á-líman*, and sub *á-líman* we find the following: "I. to come forth brilliantly:—*Uþ ályman* emersisse (the passage is: *Illaesa venustate virgines e thermis emersisse leguntur* Ald. 68, 9). Hpt. Gl. 516, 52. (In An. Ox. 4784 the form is *álymdan*. In two other glosses *emergere* is rendered by *ámýlan* (?*á-lyman*):—*Uþ ámylde* emergeret (Si Homerus ab inferis emergeret Ald. 33, 30), An. Ox. 2427. *Uþ ámylþ* emergat, Wrt. Voc. II. 143, 27). II. To bring forth, shew forth:—*Dægrima rýnas uþ álymþ* aurora cursus provehit.v. *líman*." That is to say, although the Supplement adds another instance¹ to the already brought forward one by Hall for his *úþ-á-mýlan*, it does not consider the authenticity of the word sufficiently established to give it a recognized place in the dictionary. I think Hall is to be recommended for his different attitude; for the idea cannot be entertained that mere scribal error is at the root of glossing *emergeret* by *uþ amyilde* and *emergat* by *uþ amylyþ*. That there is an actual basis for such glossing is quite evident; the only doubt to be solved is whether

¹ It is from the Harl, MS 3376, printed in WW. 227 44–45 thus: *Emergat, i. exsurgit, eleuat, exit, uenit, uþ amylyþ*.

Hall has correctly inferred *úpámylan* from the evidence produced. If he had taken into consideration the following passage cited in the *Catholicon Anglicum*² from Trevisa's translation (a° 1387) of Ranulphus Higden's *Polychronicon* I. 63 14-15, he would have seen that *úpámyllan* is the word to be posited. For "laterum saxa (sc. of Caspii montes) liquentibus inter se salis venis exundant humorem affluentem. Qui constrictus vi caloris velut in æstivam glaciem corporatur" is rendered thus: *In þe sides of þe hulles of Caspii salt veynes mullep and woseth aute humors and moysture i-dried and i-clung by hete of þe sonne.* This passage seems to have escaped also the attention of the scholars editing the *NED*, since no verb *mull(e)* 'to burst forth' is booked, as far as I am aware.

OE. *éit* = modern English *ait*

The *NED* quotes sub *ait*¹ from C.D.IV. 211 the following passage: *on máden and on eyten, on waterin and on weren.* This is from Kemble's print of a late copy of a charter preserved in MS. Cott. Faust. A. III folio 104. A facsimile of the original dated a° 1051-66 may be found in the Ordnance Survey Office Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, edited by M. Basevi Sanders, Southampton 1882, part 2, Westminster MSS. No. 10. The passage of which the above quotation is a part reads in full thus: **7** *icc ánn þ³ Sce Peter 7 þa gebroðra on westmynstre habban to heora bileofan þ cōlif⁴ stana mid þam lande⁵ stæninga haga wið innon lundone. 7 fif 7 þrittig hida sokne þær tð. mid eallū þām berwican þe icc⁴ habbe for minre sawle aledednyse in to þære halgan stowwe gegyfan. 7 ælcc⁶ þære þinga þe þær tð mid rihte ge byrað ðn cyrcan 7 on mylnan on wuda 7 on feldan. on læse 7 on hæðe. on mædū 7 on éitū. on wæterū 7 on werū. 7 on eallū þingū swa full 7 swa forð swa hy on ealdū timan in to stana sokne geléd wæron. oððe me selfan fyrrest on handa stodan.*

² I regret being unable at present to say exactly where, my notes not being explicit on that point and no copy of the work being accessible to me here at Daytona Beach. Possibly it is under *wose*.

³ Sander's transcript *þe* (!).

⁴ Sander's transcript omits the accent.

⁵ Sander's transcript *landa*.

⁶ Sanders' transcript *alce*. As Birch in his cartularium has been occasionally misled into accepting some of Sanders' readings, I wish to draw especial attention to his discrepancies from the MSS.

From this passage of the original charter it is clear that we can safely assume the existence of an OE. *éit* (*éget égit*) by the side of the more usual *ígað, ígoð ígð* 'ait.' OE. *éit* 'ait' is recorded neither in the supplement to B.-T. nor in the second edition of Hall's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, nor has the Supplement to Bosworth-Toller availed itself of the opportunity to draw upon the original charter for its first quotation for *berewic* which it instances from the later copy printed in Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus IV. 211. Observe also that the Supplement omits four words after *habbe* without indicating the omission by dots.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

Daytona Beach, Florida, February 1919.

P.S. While I was waiting for the page proof of this article, the long delayed volumes of *Anglia* and *Beiblatt* (1916-1919) came to hand. I see by them that of my contributions sent to the Editor some have not been so fortunate as to reach the editor, others have. Among these I notice articles on such subjects as the probability of assuming a native origin for OE. *scinn* (dealt with in the July number of this Journal)* and the trustworthiness of statements in the NEC with regard to Walter de Bibbesworth, which statements I have examined in the light of additional proof submitted in the above NOTES on the NED. Objections to my view on OE. *scinn* have been raised by E. Bjorkman in *Beiblatt* of 1917, 314-15. My strictures of the reliability of the NED are referred to by W. Fischer in *Beiblatt* of March 1919, 63 in a way calculated to cause a wrong impression. Therefore I wish to state, I yield to none in the gratitude and admiration due to the stupendous work accomplished in the magnificent volumes of the NED. At the same time I believe it is the duty of the conscientious examiner to point out obvious shortcomings. What I have brought forward is only a sample of what I am prepared to show. As to Bjorkman's objections, I expect, in a special article, to deal more fairly with them as he has dealt with my material. I regret to learn from Professor Liden that he has fallen a victim to the terrible scourge of influenza.

O. B. S.

*On page 376, line 7, from the bottom of this number read *skinn* instead of *skin*.

POPE'S BLANK VERSE EPIC

I have often been impressed by the fact that Owen Ruffhead in his biography of Alexander Pope (1769) paid so much attention to Pope's plan for an epic poem to be entitled *Brutus* and written in blank verse. Having before him Pope's autograph notes for the entire poem, Ruffhead deciphered them as best he was able and gave the public for the first time a fairly complete synopsis of the projected work. The difficulty of making such a synopsis must have been very great, for the notes are miserably arranged, with two or three parallel columns on the same page, the second column being in some cases an explanation of the first and in others a mere continuation; but Ruffhead succeeded in making out of the material before him a coherent plan which, I have no doubt, is fairly true to Pope's intention. As a sample of his accuracy in copying and expanding, I may quote a few of the most legible sentences in Pope's MS exactly as they stand, and then give Ruffhead's elaboration of them:—

This he may tell his Council to encourage 'em to proceed. Yet y^v continue afraid pleading ye example of Hercules for going no farther, ye Presumption of going beyond a God. He answers he was but a mortal like them, & if their Virtue were superior to his, they w^d be as much Gods as he Ye way is open to Heaven by Virtue. Lastly he resolves etc [in another part of the page the sentence is taken up thus:] he resolves to go in a single ship, & reject all Cowards.

This has such an effect, that the whole council being dismayed, are unwilling to pass the straits, and venture into the great ocean; pleading the example of Hercules for not advancing farther, and urging the presumption of going beyond a god. To which Brutus, rising with emotion, answers, that Hercules was but a mortal like them; and that if their virtue was superior to his, they would have the same claim to divinity: for that the path of virtue was the only way that lay open to Heaven.

At length he resolves to go in a single ship, and to reject all such dastards as dared not accompany him.

It is surprising to me that Ruffhead should make his outline with such care and at the same time pay so little attention to the fact that Pope's epic was to be in blank verse. After devoting some eleven pages of his biography to the outline as he elaborated it from Pope's notes, he remarks: "Our author had actually begun this poem, and a part of the manuscript in *blank verse* now lies before me, but various accidents concurred to prevent his making any further progress in it." Interesting

as it may be to know that Pope had completed the plan for an epic poem whose hero was Brutus, the great-grandson of Æneas, and that he had read in detail and revised the stories of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it would have been far more interesting if Ruffhead had given us, instead, the part of the MS in blank verse which, he said, lay before him as he wrote.

What Ruffhead has told us about the design of *Brutus* is confirmed in part by the conversation which Pope had with his friend Joseph Spence.

"The idea that I have had for an epic poem of late turns wholly on civil and ecclesiastical government. The hero is a prince who establishes an empire. That prince is our Brutus from Troy; and the scene of the establishment, England. The plan of government is much like our old original plan; supposed so much earlier: and the religion, introduced by him, is the belief of one God, and the doctrines of morality. Brutus is supposed to have travelled into Egypt; and there to have learnt the unity of the Deity, and the other purer doctrines afterwards kept up in the mysteries. Though there is none of it writ as yet, what I look upon as more than half the work is already done; for 'tis all exactly planned."

Spence: "It would take you up ten years?"

Pope: "Oh much less, I should think, as the matter is already quite digested and prepared."

Since Ruffhead's biography of Pope appeared in 1769 and Spence's *Anecdotes* were printed in 1820 (they had circulated in MS ever since Spence's death in 1768), it seems a pity that the whole matter has been so sadly neglected by most of Pope's editors and biographers. I have looked in vain through so many editions of Pope's complete works—so called—without finding the blank verse lines from *Brutus*, that I am inclined to hazard the sweeping statement that they have never been printed.

The neglect of the epic by biographers has been almost as startling as by editors. Two or three brief sentences, showing only a knowledge of Pope's conversation with Spence, is usually the limit of the comment; for instance, Robert Carruthers (1853) remarks rather fantastically, I think,

Among the other plans of Pope was an epic poem, to be entitled 'Brutus,' the hero of which was to attempt the great ocean in search of a new country, and, encounter, like Æneas, long perils both by sea and land. There seems to be no part of this epic written. It was a mere vision, like the poet's grand architectural designs, and was equally unattainable by his resources.

Similarly in the great standard ten-volume edition by Croker, Elwin, and Courthope I find only this brief reference:—

At this period [about the year 1740] he seems also to have been meditating an epic on the legendary subject of the Trojan Brutus¹ and two moral Odes on the Evils of Arbitrary Power and the Vanity of Ambition, by the non-execution of which nothing has certainly been lost to English poetry.

¹ The design of this poem is described in Spence's 'Anecdotes,' p. 288.

An exception should perhaps be made of the Rev. Alexander Dyce, who apparently recognized the importance of Ruffhead's find, and quoted the plan of the epic, almost verbatim from Ruffhead, in the numerous editions of Pope to which he wrote the *Memoir*. But even in Dyce's work one is struck by the fact that he apparently made no attempt to get Pope's autograph notes and the fragment of the poem in blank verse.

It occurred very forcibly to me that if Ruffhead's statement was true, and if Pope in the latter part of his life had definitely decided to abandon the heroic couplet in what he designed as his most pretentious original poem, a startling revision would have to be made of nearly every discussion ever written on Pope's use of the heroic couplet. For instance, W. E. Mead's volume, *The Versification of Pope*, (a Leipzig dissertation) makes no mention of blank verse, and compels the inference that the author was unaware of Pope's actually having begun his experiment with this form. The discovery of these lines of blank verse would not, of course, overturn either the generally accepted idea that Pope handled the "rocking-horse couplet" better than any of his contemporaries, or the theory that this couplet is too limiting and rigid a form for the expression of varied moods and powerful emotion. But it would throw new light on the fallacious idea that Pope was unable to discern the greater freedom offered by blank verse.

The whole matter seemed to me of enough importance to justify a most careful search for the notes in Pope's hand, which Ruffhead had used a hundred and fifty years ago. They turned up, with the mysterious fragment in blank verse, in the British Museum, where they have been lying neglected for fifty years! The entire group of Egerton MSS 1946-60 are original letters and papers of Pope, William Warburton, and others, comprising fifteen volumes, which were used by Ruff-

“DEVOTEMENT” OR “DENOTEMENT”?

A QUARTO QUANDARY AND QUITTANCE

Professor H. C. Hart, on page 115 in his (undated) edition of “Othello,” published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, (Act II, Scene 3, line 328), sums up our quandary thus: “There has been confusion in the collation here. F 1, Q 1 read ‘deuotement.’ The editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare (reading ‘denotement’ in text) collate ‘deuotement’ Q 1, F 1, Q 2, whereas Q 2 reads ‘denotement’ (followed by Theobald).¹ Again, *New Eng. Dict.* gives F 1 ‘devotement,’ and both Quartos (wrongly) ‘denotement,’ while at the latter word the reference is overlooked in its proper place.² Furness, again, collates *deuotement* Q 1, 2; the British Museum Q 2 has distinctly ‘denotement.’”

The reading is unquestionably “deuotement” in the copies of Q 1 and Q 2 which I have been permitted to examine, by the courtesy of the owners or the librarians, in the collections of the Elizabethan Club of Yale University, the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, Mr. William A. White of Brooklyn, and Mr. Henry E. Huntington of New York: i.e., five copies of Q 1 and six of Q 2, for Mr. Huntington has two copies of Q 2 (the Locker-Church and the Devonshire). I have examined further three other copies of Q 2, in the collections of Dr. James B. Clemens of New York, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan of New York, and the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, in Providence, respectively. Mr. George Watson Cole also kindly let me ascertain that the reading is “devotement” in Mr. Huntington’s six later quartos (1655, 1681, 1687, 1695, 1705, and 1710).

Whence then arises this “confusion in the collation”? One possible source of error is the too trusting use of reprints or fac-similes for originals. The Steevens reprint, 1766, gives “u”

¹ Theobald specifically states that all the copies seen by him read “u.”

² In order to restrict our problem to a quarto quandary only, we may pass over Professor Hart’s tacit suppression of the *New Eng. Dict.*’s ascription of the reading “denotement” to F 2, as well as of the Cambridge editor’s ascription of the reading “devotement” to F 2. In the Methuen fac-simile, the Yale University Library original, and the Elizabethan Club original, the reading of F 2 is “devotement.”

for Q 1, and, by implication, for Q 2 also. The Ashbee fac-simile, 1864, gives “u” for Q 1. The Praetorius-Griggs-Furnivall fac-simile, 1885, (the “Othello” quartos being photographic reproductions of the British Museum copies) gives “u” for Q 1 and “n” for Q 2. The Bankside Shakespeare, 1890, reprinting Q 1 and F 1 on opposite pages, gives “u” for both. The Schroer fac-simile, Heidelberg, 1909, agrees exactly with the Praetorius-Griggs-Furnivall for both quartos.

But we shall more probably find our true quittance in the unassailable pronouncements of modern bibliographical science, as found in the work of such leaders as Mr. Pollard and Mr. McKerrow in England, e.g., and Miss H. C. Bartlett in this country. The occurrence of an occasional variant reading, then, such as “denotement,” proves—not faulty collation, necessarily, or a new “edition” or “issue”—but merely one of several possible occurrences incidental to the processes of Elizabethan printing:³ either (1) alteration while the sheets were passing through the press—in which case the proof-reader must have changed “n” to “u” here, after only a few copies had been printed from his particular “forme” (or “u” to “n” after many copies had been printed); or (2), more probably, a common mechanical accident, wherein the ink-ball must have drawn a single type out of the “forme” and the printer have then replaced it by the wrong letter, or in this case perhaps simply replaced it upsidedown. See “Notes on Bibliographical Evidence,” etc., by R. B. McKerrow, *Trans. Bibliog. Soc.* XII, 282-9.

Now, of course, bibliographers will at once object that nothing but the physical confrontation of these nine copies and two fac-similes of Q 2 (or, of photographs or photostats of them), with the consequent opportunity to study all the minute varia-

³ To too hasty or casual inspection, the reading in Mr. Morgan’s copy might possibly be taken for an “n,” owing to the narrowness of the aperture at the top and the faintness of the cross-stroke at the bottom; but the use of a magnifying glass makes the “u” absolutely unmistakable, as Miss Belle Green kindly showed me. Still, this quasi-transitional form suggests the theoretical possibility that a further degree of freakishness in the mere inking of the type might accidentally transmute a genuine “u” into an apparent “n”; and if the British Museum quarto proves to be the only one reading “n,” this hypothetical explanation of the peculiarity becomes fairly tenable.

tions in the whole page and the whole sheet concerned, can actually determine which of the possibilities here suggested is the true quittance for our quandary, or whether we must seek further for another explanation—such as the occurrence of a “cancel.” To bibliographers, then, we may leave the problem, —but not without profit to ourselves, even though the little investigation has produced no definite solution: for my purpose has been to convince myself and to remind other chiefly literary students that textual criticism can afford to generalize and dogmatize on the basis of a single copy of a Renaissance printed book very little more securely than on the basis of a single Mediaeval manuscript.

LAWRENCE MASON.

Yale University.

THE 'FURROW' IN KEATS' *ODE TO AUTUMN*

In the second stanza of his *Ode to Autumn* Keats represents Autumn as a sleeping reaper:

Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
Drows'd with the fume of poppies, while thy hook
Spares the next swath and all its twinéd flowers.

One who looks closely at this attractive picture is likely to be puzzled by the word 'furrow', and to ask how there can be furrows in a field where grain is being cut. The furrows of ploughing must have been effaced by the harrowing that precedes sowing, so that a ripened crop and furrows can hardly exist at the same time. Moreover, how can Autumn sleep 'on' a furrow? A furrow is the ditch made by a plow, and may be slept *in* but not *on*.

Can some other interpretation for 'furrow' be found? The poetry of Keats furnishes no other instance of the noun, but 'furrow'd' occurs three times in *Endymion* (3.223,448,961), and 'furrowing' in *Otho the Great* (4.2.83). In the first passage the word plainly has its usual meaning:

His snow-white brows
Went arching up, and like two magic ploughs
Furrow'd deep wrinkles in his forehead large.

The others are similar, though less definite.

Turning to the *New English Dictionary*, one finds that *furrow* is in poetry 'used *loosely* for arable land, a piece of ploughed land, the cornfields.' In the following examples, three of them given by the *Dictionary*, this meaning appears. Shakespeare writes:

You sun-burn'd sicklemen, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry.¹

Because of the juxtaposition of the words 'sicklemen' and 'furrow', one feels as though Keats might be echoing this very

¹ *Tempest* 4. 1. 134-5.

passage. The dramatist also brings together 'furrow-weeds' and a grown crop:

Cordelia. Alack! 'tis he: . . .
Crown'd with rank fumiter and furrow-weeds, . . .
Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow
In our sustaining corn. A century send forth;
Search every acre in the high-grown field.²

An example of peculiar interest to a student of Keats is from Chapman's *Iliad*:

There grew by this a field of corn, high, ripe, where reapers wrought,
And let thick handfuls fall to earth, for which some other brought
Bands, and made sheaves. Three binders stood, and took the handfuls
reap'd
From boys that gather'd quickly up, and by them armfuls heap'd.
Amongst these at a furrow's end, the king stood pleased at heart.³

One of the examples given by the *Dictionary of furrow* as meaning *cornfield* is from Milton:

The labour'd ox
In his loose traces from the furrow came.⁴

But it seems as though this may also be taken in the primary sense of 'a narrow trench in the earth made by a plow'; Miss Lockwood so interprets it in her *Lexicon to Milton*. Another loose poetical use of the word occurs in Pope:

He [the patriarch] from the wond'ring furrow called the food.⁵

In 1735 William Somerville wrote, in describing a hunt:

See how they thread
The Brakes, and up yon Furrow drive along.⁶

Somerville is writing of Autumn, and makes the word 'furrow' mean a cultivated field. After the time of Keats, Tennyson wrote:

The lamb rejoiceth in the year,
And raceth freely with his fere,

²*King Lear* 4. 4. 1-7.

³*Iliad* 18.550-7. The word which Chapman renders 'furrow' also has the meaning of *swath*. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Leslie N. Broughton, one of the editors of the Concordance to Keats.

⁴*Comus* 291-2.

⁵*Essay on Man* 3.219.

⁶*Chase* 2.130.

And answers to his mother's calls
From the flower'd furrow.⁷

He seems to mean not arable land, but pasture. Lastly, a book dealing with the agricultural laborer, by Christopher Holdenby, published in 1913, is called *Folk of the Furrow*.

In the preceding examples, as in Keats, 'furrow' is singular. There is also a group of passages in which the word is used in the plural, and furrows are associated with grain or stubble. Ariosto describes how a fire, burning the dry stubble, 'score per gli solchi,'⁸ and in telling of a flood represents it as destroying

E i grassi solchi e le biade feconde.⁹

These and their context are rendered by Hoole as follows:

In the open fields, or sunny meads,
The brittle stubble and the spiky reeds
Resist but little, when the wary hind
Kindles the flame, to which the northern wind
Gives double force, till wide around it preys
And all the furrows crackle in the blaze.

When the king of floods, with deepening roar,
In sudden deluge bursts his sounding shore;
Wide o'er the field his rushing tide is borne,
The furrows drowns and sweeps the ripen'd corn.

Spenser, whom Keats often imitated, copies Ariosto as follows:

As he that strives to stop a suddein flood,
And in strong banckes his violence enclose,
Forceth it swell above his wonted mood,
And largely overflow the fruitfull plaine,
That all the countrey seemes to be a Maine,
And the rich furrowes flote, all quite fordonne:
The woefull husbandman doth lowd complaine,
To see his whole yeares labour lost so soone,
For which to God he made so many an idle boone.¹⁰

⁷ *Supposed Confessions of a Second-Rate Sensitive Mind* 158-60. It seems as though this might properly be given in *N.E.D.*

⁸ *Orlando Furioso* 14.48.6

⁹ *Ib.*, 40.31.4. The use of the word in Hoole and Ariosto was brought to my notice by my pupil Miss Clara Crane. Sir Sidney Colvin states that Keats as studying Ariosto about the time when he composed *To Autumn* (*John Keats*, New York, 1917, p. 370).

¹⁰ *Faerie Queene* 3.7.34.

Perhaps the ultimate source for the figurative use of the word *furrow* in modern poets is Virgil, who so employs *sulcus* as to suggest the meaning of *cultivated fields*. In one instance he associates ripened seed and furrows:

Grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
Infelix Ioldium et steriles nascuntur avenae.¹¹

Another example somewhat suggests Keats' picture:

Nec requies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus,
Aut fetu pecorum, aut Cerealis mergite culmi,
Proventuque oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat.¹²

Here we have a reference to granaries, and, both in the lines quoted and in their context, something of personification of the seasons. However, it should be remembered that Roman methods of agriculture were such that Virgil's words when written probably appeared less figurative than they do to a modern reader.¹³

There is, then, no lack of precedent for making Keats' 'furrow' a grainfield. Moreover, the interpretation finds support in the variants recorded in the Oxford edition of Keats by Mr. H. Buxton Forman. The reading of the Holograph is as follows:

Or sound asleep in a half reaped field
Dozed with red poppies while thy reaping hook
Spares for some slumbrous minutes the next swath.

But still the preposition gives trouble. Keats uses 'in' with 'field'; if he had intended 'furrow' to mean *field* would he have changed the preposition to 'on' ('on a half-reaped furrow')?

¹¹ *Ecl.* 5. 36-7.

¹² *Georg.* 2. 516-18. Perhaps the following is of the same nature:

et sulcis frumenti quaereret herbam (*Georg.* 1.134).

Conington, however, comments on the line: "Sulcis" seems to mean not *in* but *by* furrows. "Might get corn by ploughing." If his interpretation is correct, ripened corn and furrows are not associated here; but is it impossible that 'sulcis' is used here, as in the passages quoted above, to mean cultivated fields? Virgil also uses the word, with a meaning perhaps not purely literal, in the singular:

Quis . . . tacitum . . . relinquit . . .

te sulco, Serrane, serentem (*Aen.* 6.841-4)?

For plural forms see *Georg.* 1. 216, 223.

¹³ Adam Dickson, *The Husbandry of the Ancients*, chaps. 21-4.

The copy in the British Museum supplies a variant for the two lines immediately following the one especially in question:

Dozéd with a fume of poppies, while thy hook
Spare the next sheath and all its honied flowers.

'Sheath' is evidently a mistake for *sheaf*. This reading has no necessary effect on the preceding line; yet, if it had stood, 'furrow' could have been thought a mistake for *swath*; but, in the time of Keats, grain, when cut with the hook, was not left lying in the swath. And while it may be possible to sleep *on* a swath, in the sense of a line or ridge of cut grain, the word 'half-reaped' shows that the substituted *swath* must mean the path cleared by the reaper in one course along the field. This, again, would be slept *in* and not *on*.¹⁴ In addition, one sleeping in a half-reaped swath would spare the remainder of that swath rather than the next one. 'Swath' in the finished version more probably means the breadth of grain cut by a single stroke of the reaping-hook. But the word is better fitted to describe the long sweep of a scythe. However, one style of reaping-hook, the scythe-hook, somewhat used in the time of Keats, did make a true swath about two feet wide. In using the sickle-hook, the common style of reaping instrument, the reaper seized stalks of grain in his left hand, cut them off, and laid them on the ground on the band to be used in binding them, until he had enough for a sheaf. He then either bound it himself, or left it for the bandster, who followed him.¹⁵

The poem depends in part, at least, on actual observation. Keats tells of its composition in a letter dated September 22, 1819:

I never liked stubble-fields so much as now—aye, better than the chilly green of the Spring. Somehow, a stubble field looks warm, in the same way that some pictures look warm. This struck me so much in my Sunday's walk that I composed upon it.¹⁶

¹⁴ It perhaps should be mentioned that there is a slight possibility of some confusion with the *ridge*, or space between two dead-furrows (inter-furrows) left in the field for the sake of drainage. This ridge is often mentioned in writers on agriculture. The dead-furrows, of course, remain until after harvest.

¹⁵ J. C. Loudon, *Encyclopedia of Agriculture*, London, 1883 (preface dated 1831) p. 515. I have never seen grain cut with anything simpler than a cradle.

¹⁶ *The Works of John Keats*, ed. H. Buxton Forman, London, 1883, Vol. 3, p. 329.

Yet this particular observation was made on Sunday, when work probably would not be going on, and, apparently, the grain had already been removed from the stubble-field. Even though 'Keats had known the country from boyhood,'¹⁷ there seems to be little reason to suppose that he became especially familiar with agriculture. The difficulties of this particular passage lead one to suspect that the poet's search for agricultural terms was a groping one, and that he chose among those that came to hand without a perfectly clear understanding of them.

If the lines be in truth as difficult as they appear to me, the passage may be taken to illustrate both the weakness and the strength of Keats. He is likely not to show that full mastery of the meaning of words that marks the greatest poets, and his vocabulary seems sometimes insufficient to furnish him with the word proper for both thought and meter. Yet he is here perhaps revealing his powers of appreciation and assimilation by adapting a word from a suitable passage in Shakespeare, though one hesitates to say that he has fully assimilated what he took, or bettered it in the borrowing. Nevertheless, the sound of the line is effective. It was a stroke of genius in the management of rhythm, if not in the management of ideas, to substitute the verse as it now stands for the reading of the Holograph. And though the indistinct outlines of the passage do not permit us to think it a work of the highest and best disciplined genius, the picture is beautiful in spite of its inaccurate drawing.

ALLAN H. GILBERT.

*The Rice Institute,
Houston, Texas.*

¹⁷ *The Poems of John Keats*, with an Introduction by E. de Sélincourt, New York, 1905, p. lxiii.

THE SECRET OF CHAUCER'S PARDONER

Apparent inconsistencies in Chaucer's portrayal of the Pardoner have, up to this time, received no adequate explanation. Offering contemporary historical evidence, J. J. Jusserand arrives at the conclusion that in the presentation of this character "there is not the slightest exaggeration in Chaucer, that he knew well the Pardoners of his time, and described them exactly as they were, and that he did not add a word, not justified by what he saw, in order to win our laughter or to enliven his description."¹ Professor Tupper, in his theory of Chaucer's architectonic use of the Seven Deadly Sins *motif* in the composition of the *Canterbury Tales*, asserts in one place² that "the rascal is formally illustrating" the Sins of Gluttony and Avarice, in another,³ that he is "exemplifying only the vices of the tavern," and in still another,⁴ that he must be considered "a typical glutton or tavern-reveler." And Professor Kittredge, in his attempt to harmonize certain conflicting elements in both character and story, seeks a pleasant but unconvincing solution of the problem in the supposition that this "one lost soul among the Canterbury Pilgrims," acting for the most part from the basest of motives, suffers for a single moment from a "paroxysm of agonized sincerity."⁵ Still, in spite of these investigations, I cannot help feeling that the Pardoner's character in its relation to his personal appearance, his impudent confession, and his unreasonable anger against the Host need further treatment.

Critics have heretofore given too little attention, I think, to the possible significance of those supposedly accidental items of

¹ Chaucer's Pardoner and the Pope's Pardoners, J. J. Jusserand, *Essays on Chaucer*, 2nd Ser. No. 2, p. 423. Cf. also the same author's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 210.

² Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins, F. Tupper, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. 29, p. 115.

³ The Pardoner's Tavern, F. Tupper, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, Vol. 13, p. 558. This theory was exploded by J. L. Lowes, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. 30, pp. 260 ff.

⁴ *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, Vol. 13, p. 565.

⁵ Cf. *Chaucer and his Poetry*, G. L. Kittredge, pp. 212 ff., and a fuller discussion by the same author in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 72, pp. 830 ff.

personal appearance which Chaucer is so fond of introducing, apparently at random, in the presentation of his characters. The Prioress, to be sure, with her blue eyes, her soft, red mouth, and broad forehead, is said to represent the conventional medieval type of feminine beauty;⁶ Chaucer's pronouncement that the joined eyebrows of Creseyde constitutes a blemish is the result of an inherited literary taste;⁷ the Wife of Bath is "gat-tothed" because she is accustomed to travel much;⁸ and the Summoner's "fyr-reed cherubynnes face" indicates the too frequent indulgence in strong wines and ales.⁹ These are beginnings of investigations in the right direction. But to our modern minds the Pardoner's physical peculiarities are not vitally related to his immoral character; they may seem, after we have become acquainted with him, entirely appropriate and perhaps rather humorous, but not essential. He has long, straight hair as yellow as wax, which hangs thinly spread over his shoulders, each hair to itself; his eyes are wide open and glaring like those of a hare; his voice is high-pitched and as "thin" as that of a goat; he is entirely without any indication of a beard; and, if we may judge from the description which he gives of himself in the act of delivering one of his powerful sermons, his neck is long and thin:

Than peyne I me to strecche forth the nekke,
And est and west upon the peple I bekke,
As doth a dowve sitting on a berne.¹⁰

What do these physical characteristics signify to the medieval mind? It is not by chance that Chaucer, the artist, hits upon these particular items rather than upon others; nor does he by chance invest the Pardoner with them rather than the Reeve or the Summoner. Here, as usual, Chaucer knows what he is about. His selection of both form and feature given to all his characters is directly influenced, I believe, by that univer-

⁶ Cf. *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty*, W. C. Curry, Jr., pp. 3, 51, 66, 42, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48; J. Fürst, *Philologus*, Vol. LXI, p. 387; G. L. Hamilton, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XX, p. 80; G. P. Krapp, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XIX, p. 235.

⁸ Cf. Skeat's *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. V, p. 48.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 56

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, C. T., C. 395.

sally popular, "scientific" class of literature known as the Physiognomies.¹¹ For Chaucer and for every educated man of his time this physiognomical lore made it possible to judge with accuracy the character of a man from a study of his features. According to certain well-known principles they might interpret every line of the face, every form and color of the eyes, and any tone of the voice. What, then, could be more natural than that Chaucer should go to the Physiognomies for suggestions as to the physical characteristics most appropriate for the men and women whom he wishes to present?

With this idea in mind, let us proceed to examine what the Physiognomies have to say regarding the Pardoner's features in their relation to his character. Antonius Polemon Laodicensis,¹² the most famous of the ancient physiognomists and the founder of most of the "science" which appears in later authors, says of glaring eyes: *Oculi sursum stantes, fatuitatis . . . simulac gulositatis et libidinis, ebrietatisque.*¹³ An early anonymous writer, whose work is based on that of Polemon, informs us that the signs of an impudent man are these: *oculis patentibus, lucidis, palpebris plurimum reseratis, . . . contra intuens, altius erigens . . . vocis acutae. huiusmodi impudens, injuriosus homo est.*¹⁴ The Middle English *Secreta Secretorum*, which was certainly known to Chaucer,¹⁵ also agrees that "The tokenys to know shamles men: Ryst opyn eighyn and glysinge . . .",¹⁶ and adds the significant remark that "tho that haue the voyce hei, smale and swete and plesaunt, bene neshe,

¹¹ I am at present making a ~~thoro~~ study of the influence of the Physiognomies on medieval taste in the matter of personal beauty and ugliness. All of Chaucer's characters will come under this discussion.

¹² He was the famous rhetorician and historian who flourished under Trajan and Hadrian and who died about 144 A.D. For a full discussion of his life and influence, cf. R. Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomici*, Vol. I, pp. LXXIV ff.

¹³ Polemonis Physiognomon, in *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, ed. I. G. F. Franzius, 1780, p. 209.

¹⁴ Anonymi de Physiognomoniam liber Latinus, *Scrip. physiog.* Foerster, Vol. II, p. 121. The editor collates fifteen codices of this version. Cf. Vol. I, pp. CXLVI ff.

¹⁵ The Canon's Yeoman mentions it among certain other books of wisdom, *Can. Tales*, G. 1447.

¹⁶ *Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. Steele, EETS. E.S., 74, p. 223/18. The editor knows forty other MSS. in the British Museum.

and haue lytill of manhode, and i-likenyd to women."¹⁷ Here, exactly as in Chaucer, we find that the high, thin voice and glaring eyes are directly associated with shameless impudence, gluttony, and reveling. Long, stringy yellow hair, like the thin voice, indicates impotence and lack of manhood: *Capilli molles et ultra modum tenues rubei et rari penuriam sanguinis, eneruam, sine virtute ac femininum animum et quanto rariores fuerint, tanto magis subdolum*.¹⁸ Of the long, slim neck Goclenio says: *Collum longum & gracile, garrulos, superbos, & malorum morum*;¹⁹ and concerning the complete absence of beard he affirms: *Virum natura imberbem mulierosis moribus dolosis praeditum, & quandoque impotentem in Venere dicito. Subinde tamen singulare ac rarum ingenium prodit. Exempla sunt in promptu*.²⁰ The Pardoner is an example. That he is an abandoned rascal delighting in hypocrisy and possessed of a colossal impudence, no one can doubt after hearing his shameless confession and witnessing his attempt to hypnotize the Host; that he is a glutton and a typical tavern reveler is revealed by the fact that he calls for cakes and ale before he can properly relate a "moral tale;" that he is a man of no mean ingenuity and of considerable cleverness is proclaimed by the amount of his yearly income from the practice of chicanery and fraud; and that his lack of beard and his goat-like voice indicate impotence, or at least effeminacy, Chaucer plainly affirms,

A voys he hadde as smal as hath a goot;
No berd hadde he, ne never sholde have,
As smothe it was as it were late y-shave;
I trowe he were a gelding or a mare.²¹

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 231/8.

¹⁸ *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 22. Rudolpho Goclenio agrees in substance (*Physiognomica et Chiromantica Specialia*, Hamburgi, 1661, p. 35), and adds regarding the color: *Valde vero flavi et albicantes rudelatam, magnitatem et rusticitatem notant*, p. 37. He states further: *Sed valdi ruffi insipientiam, iracundiam et insidias; imprudentiam et animi malignitatem indicant*, etc., p. 38.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84. (But for a contrary opinion cf. Admantius, in *Scrip. physiog. vet.*, Franzius, pp. 259, 391).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²¹ Skeat, C. T., A. 688 ff. In most editions of Chaucer the first line of this quotation is followed by a period as tho it were an isolated fragment of information incidentally introduced. Cf. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*; Liddell, *Chaucer*;

Chaucer himself indicates in this passage the secret of the Pardoner; he is most unfortunate in his birth. He carries upon his body and has stamped upon his mind and character the marks of what is well known to the medieval physiognomists as a *eunuchus ex nativitate*. The Sophist Admantius (*ca.* the middle of the fourth century)²² devotes one whole section to eunuchs of this type: Qui ex naturae vitio sunt eunuchi; mala signa habent ceu prae aliis hominibus, vt plurimum enim sunt crudeles, insidiosi, malefici, tamen alii magis prae aliis.²³ The Greek version of Polemon gives a like account, but draws a sharp distinction between the *eunuchus ex nativitate* and the *eunuchus qui castratus est*. He says: Eunuchis pravae procreationis, eadem sunt signa, quae aliis competunt hominibus; ac vt plurimum sunt eiusdem mentis, insidiosi, malefici. Alii vero et aliorum dolorum sunt operarii. Qui vero in honore constitutus est eunuchus in uno differt, simul enim conatu audaci instigatur, et plus ingenuae naturae habet, et tanquam non robustus in eodem permanet.²⁴ Rasis, an eminent Arabian physician of the tenth century,²⁵ adds a few details concerning physical appearance: Eunuchus malorum est morum. est enim stultus et cupidus et praesumptuosus. Qui autem castratus non fuit, sed sine testiculis natus vel parvissimos habens eunuchus apparet, cui videlicet barba nunquam nascitur,²⁶ deterior est.²⁷ The anonymous author mentioned above, discussing the

Carpenter, *Prologue* etc. Reference to the Physiognomies, however, shows that it bears a logical relation to the last line just as does the information concerning the beard.

²² *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, Vol. I, CIIff.

²³ Admantii Sophistae Physiognomonicon (Gr.) trans. by Franzius, *Scrip. physiog. vet.*, p. 376. An additional Greek version may be found in *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, Vol. I, pp. 294 ff.

²⁴ Polemonis Physiognomonicon (Gr.), trans. Franzius, *Scrip. physiog. vet.*, p. 308.

²⁵ Razi (Mohammed Abou-Bekr Ibn-Zacaria), born at Rey (Ragès), and died 923. Cf. *Biographie Universelle*, Michaud.

²⁶ Baptista Porta, referring to Polemon, has this to say in addition regarding men without beard: Imberbis viri mulieribus & spadonis similes existunt. Ait Polemon, spadones naturali nequitia pessimis esse moribus, ingenio immites, dolosos, facinorosos, aliisque sceleribus se immiscentes. *De Humana Physiognomia*, Hanoviae, 1593, p. 261.

²⁷ Rasis Physiognomoniae versio Latina a Gerardo Cremonensi facta, *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, Vol. II, p. 178.

significance of wide-open, glaring eyes, says further: *Oculi late patententes micantes leniter intendentes tanquam concinnati ad suavitatem et gratiam . . . congruunt . . . a Polemone quidem auctore referuntur, qui eunuchum sui temporis fuisse hunc hominem descripsit . . . huic cetera corporis indicia huiusmodi assignat; tensam frontem . . . cervicem tenuem . . . vocis femineam, verba muliebria. . . hunc dicit impatientia libidinum quae passus est, praeterea maledicum, temerarium, sed et maleficiis studentem, nam et letiferum venenum dicebatur clanculo venditare.*²⁸ From these quotations it appears that the physical marks of a *eunuchus ex nativitate* are, like those of the Pardoner, wide-open glittering eyes, a long neck, a high-pitched voice, and a beardless chin. The mind which accompanies this physical misfortune is, like that of the Pardoner, full of deceit, arrogant, sensual and lustful, dissolute, avaricious, and studious of all kinds of depravity.

Explanations of such physical phenomena are not lacking. Bartholomew Anglicus, speaking of the hair, remarks: "Also gelded men are not balde, & that is for chaungynge of theyr complexyon, & for maystery of colde, & closith & stoppth ye poores of skyne of ye heed & holdyth togideres ye fumosite yt it maye not passe & be wasted. But in wymen & in gelded men other heer fallyth & faylyth."²⁹ He is also perfectly familiar with the reason for the "acute" voice: "Males haue stronger synewes & stringes than chylidren, & vngelded haue stronger than gelded. And for febylnes & synewes ye voys of theum yt ben gelded is lyke ye voys of females."³⁰ Nor is he at a loss for an explanation of the growth of beard. "And therefore," he continues, "the berde is nedefull helpynge for chekes and token of vertu & strengthe of kendely heet. And herfore a man hath

²⁸ Anonymi de physiognomonia liber Latinus, *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, Vol. II, p. 58.

²⁹ *Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, trans. Trevisa, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1495, Lib. V, Cap. LXVI. Cf. also a like account in Porta, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 372.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, De Voce, Lib. V, Cap. XXIII, Cap. XLIX. Compare Porta's fuller explanation, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Porta's work is illuminating. He seems to have made a complete digest of opinion upon all points physiognomical from Aristotle down to his own time. He is a typical example of the medieval "scholar," reproducing with accuracy what Polemon, Admantius, and Rasis have said, but never adding anything of his own.

a berde & not a woman; for a man is kyndly more hote than a woman. And therefore in a man ye smoke that is matere of heer encreasyth more than in a woman. And for kynde suffiseth not to waste that smoke, he puttith and dryueth it out by two places, in the heed and in the berde. And therefore somtyme wymen hote and moyste of complexyon haue berdes. And in lyke wyse men of colde and drye complexyon haue lytyll berdes, and therefore in men yt ben gelded growe noo berdes. For they haue loste the hote membre that sholde brede the hote humour & smoke the matere of heer."³¹ Surely Bartholomew knows his Physiognomy! And whatever may be said as to Chaucer's knowledge of physiognomy, certain it is that he is perfectly at home in the medical science of his time. His Pardoner is scientifically correct.

Most of the authors cited above, it will be observed, give Polemon as the authority upon the subject of eunuchs. It may be well, therefore, to present here in full the original sketch from which later writers evidently drew their material. Polemon pretends to be describing a celebrated eunuch of his own time, whose name, he affirms, he does not know. One anonymous author remarks, however, that "intelligitur autem de Favorino eum dicere."³² That being the case, this may be Favorinus of Arles—a contemporary and political opponent of Polemon—whose infirmity is ridiculed in Lucian's *Eunuchus* and whose life is touched upon by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*.³³ The whole passage³⁴ as it appears in the Arabic and Latin version of Polemon is as follows:

Ubi oculus apertus est habetque coruscationem qualem marmor habet, acie acuta, parum pudicitiae indicat. Haec autem est natura quae in oculis virorum exstat qui ceteris viris similes non sunt, ut eunuchus qui tamen non castratus est, sed sine testiculis natus. Nescio autem an huius generis virum invenerim praeter unum . . . Libidinosus et dissolutus supra omnem modum erat; nam oculi eius e pessimorum hominum genere, nimirum illi descriptioni similes erant . . . Praeditus erat inflata fronte. . . . cervix longa tenuis . . . Clamor eius mulieris clamor aequiparabat . . . Magnam sui ipsius

³¹ *Op. cit.*, De Barba, Lib. V, Cap. XV.

³² *Scrip. physiog.* Foerster, Vol. II, p. 58.

³³ Cf. *Biographie Universelle*, Michaud. Favorinus was still alive in the year 155 A.D., *Scrip. physiog.*, Vol. I, LXXX ff.

³⁴ Polemonis de physiognomonia liber Arabice et Latine, ed G. Hoffmann in *Scrip. physiog.*, Foerster, Vol. I, pp. 160-4.

curam habebat crines (alendo) abundantes et corpori infricando medicamenta, denique quamvis rem (colendo) quae libidinis et coitus desiderium excitat. Vox eius mulierum voci similis fuit . . . Forma tali praeditus ioco utebatur ludibriosus et quidquid animo volvebat facere solebat. Linguam Graecam et eius loquelam edoctus hac maxime uti solebat . . . Urbes et fora circumibat homines congregans ut malum ostenderet et iniquitatem quaereret. Insuper incantator astutissimus erat et praestigias profitebatur, hominibus praedicans se vivos et mortuos; qua re homines adeo inducebat ut multae mulierum et virorum turbae eum adirent. Viris autem persuadebat se posse feminas cogere ut ad eos venirent nec minus ut viri ad feminas; quae dum ex occulto proloquebatur confirmabat. Summus in male faciendo doctor erat, letiferorum venenorum species colligebat. Ac totius eius ingenii summa in aliqua harum rerum posita erat . . . Ubi igitur oculos initio huius disputationis a me descriptos videris, eorum possessorem eunuchorum similem reperis.

Analysis of this particular passage reveals a marked similarity in the characters, modes of thought, and bodily characteristics of Favorinus and Chaucer's Pardoner. Indeed the parallelism is so close that it may well seem as if Chaucer must have had this particular account, or perhaps one of the widespread anonymous versions of it, before him as he wrote. The eyes of Favorinus are wide-open and shining or glittering like marble, his neck is long and thin, his voice like that of a woman, and he takes great pride in his abundantly long hair to which, as to his whole body, he makes frequent applications of ointments; the eyes of the Pardoner are glaring like those of a hare, he stretches forth his thin neck like a dove on a barn, and he is so inordinately proud of his long, perfectly straight hair—probably greased to make it hand smooth—that he prefers simply a cap to the regular hood of his profession.³⁵ Favorinus is, moreover, sensual, lustful, and dissolute above all measure; the Pardoner is lecherous—at least in thought and imagination—and a typical tavern reveler.³⁶ The former speaks Greek in his public harangues; the latter “saffrons” his “predicacious” with Latin in order to stir men to devotion.³⁷ Both rascals possess a remarkable knowledge of mob-psychology: crowds of men and women throng the forums and public places where Favorinus pursues his nefarious practices; thousands of innocent people flock to hear the Pardoner's sermons and to behold his marvelous relics of saints. The Sophist is a most astute

³⁵ Cf. C. T., A. 675.

³⁶ C. T., C. 452.

³⁷ C. T., C. 345 ff.

magician who, professing to have received his power from the occult world, proclaims an uncanny knowledge of, and control over the mysteries of life and death; a self-announced sorcerer who, with evil mind and polluted imagination, affirms his ability to force women to men even as men now seek women. The Pardoner is a shameless and impudent fraud who, bringing his pardons and bulls all hot from the supreme spiritual authority at Rome, claims to exercise power of life and death over the human soul; a colossal cynic who, cursed with a concupiscent mind and armed with false relics, offers to men a certain cure for jealousy—even tho their wives are strumpets—and to women an easy absolution from the horrible sin of infidelity to their husbands.³⁸ Both spit out venom under the hue of honesty or holiness;³⁹ both alike, urged on by an inordinate avarice and cupidity, reap a golden harvest from their practices of villainy and fraud.⁴⁰ Their minds not less than their bodies belong to the same type; their actions spring from like impulses; their purposes are formed and executed in a similar manner. Only their fields of activity are different.⁴¹ To Chaucer belongs great honor for having combined in the person and the tale of his Pardoner a complete psychological study of the medieval *eunuchus ex nativitate* and a mordant satire on the abuses practiced in the church of his day.⁴²

Considered in the light of the material presented in this investigation, certain problems which seem to have baffled the critics become straightway clear. After the Doctor has completed his pathetic account of Virginia, it will be remembered, the tender-hearted Host is so overcome with pity for the maid that he must have a drink or must listen to a merry tale to ease his pain of heart. He demands "som mirthe or japes" from the Pardoner, who appears quite willing to accommodate him.

³⁸ C. T., C. 365, 380.

³⁹ C. T., C. 420 ff.

⁴⁰ C. T., C. 388 ff., 445 ff.

⁴¹ My theory, therefore, in no way vitiates the sound conclusions drawn by Jusserand in his article cited above.

⁴² For a discussion of Chaucer's probable purpose in this satire, cf. *The Pardoner's Prologue and Tale*, a critical edition, J. Koch, p. XXX.

Instantly, and unexpectedly, a protest comes from the people of high rank:

Nay! lat him telle us of no ribaudye;
Tel us som moral thing, that we may lere
Som wit, and thanne wol we gladly here.⁴³

Why should the "gentils" suppose that when the Host calls for a "merry tale", the Pardoner will relate a filthy or obscene story? Professor Kittredge is of the opinion that "what the Host wants is a ribald story," and that the gentlefolk are justified, by their association with the noble "ecclesiaste" who is on his vacation, in expecting it.⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, however, neither a "merry tale" nor a "jape" is necessarily synonymous with a ribald story in Chaucer. Sir Thopas is a "tale of mirthe,"⁴⁵ the extravaganza of Chantecleer and Pertelote is called a "mery tale,"⁴⁶ and the Host's little pleasantry regarding Chaucer's shapely figure is a "jape."⁴⁷ Nor is there any positive evidence which would indicate that the Pilgrims of high rank have had during the journey any close association whatever with the Pardoner. He has remained completely in the background up to this time. But now when he comes forward with alacrity at the call of the Host and speaks of seeking inspiration for his story in a near-by tavern, the gentlefolk, who are doubtless well acquainted with the current physiognomical lore,⁴⁸ recognize the type immediately. They instantly translate his physical peculiarities into terms of character. What only could be expected from a *eunuchus ex nativitate*? "Nay!" they cry, "let him tell us no ribald story."

The Pardoner's character having been given, however, Professor Kittredge's exposition⁴⁹ of the dramatic fitness of his cynical confession and excellent tale is admirable. But that the reprobate, near the end of his sermon, is so overcome by the power of his own eloquence that he is betrayed into a moment of sincerity, is unbelievable. "The Pardoner," says Professor

⁴³ C. T., C. 324 ff.

⁴⁴ *Chaucer and his Poetry*, pp. 212, 211; *Atlantic*, Vol. 72, pp. 831 ff.

⁴⁵ C. T., B. 1896.

⁴⁶ C. T., B. 4639.

⁴⁷ C. T., B. 1890.

⁴⁸ Cf. Steele's Introduction to *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, EETS. E. S. 66.

⁴⁹ *Atlantic*, Vol. 72, pp. 830 ff; *Ch. and his Poetry*, pp. 214 ff.

Kittredge, "has not always been an assassin of souls. He is a renegade, perhaps, from some holy order. Once he preached for Christ's sake; and now, under the spell of the wonderful story he has told and of recollections that stir within him, he suffers a very paroxysm of agonized sincerity."⁵⁰ But it can last for only a moment. Regaining his wonted impudence after the unexpected "emotional crisis," he offers his pardons and relics for sale to the Pilgrims themselves, suggesting that the Host be the first to come forward. Harry Baily, not understanding the rascal's "moral convulsion," answers with a "rough jocularity" which precipitates the furious anger of the rebuffed Pardoner. It is a beautiful theory. We should like to believe that even this "lost soul" may be touched by the beautiful and the tragic.

But unfortunately, knowing his secret as we now do, we are forced to a different interpretation of his concluding remark,

. . . and, lo, sirs, thus I preche.

And Jesu Crist, that is our soules leche,
So graunte yow his pardon to receyve,
For that is best; I wol yow nat deceyve.⁵¹

We see in this only a preparation for his proposed master-stroke of deception. He has already revealed with amazing frankness the fraud which he is accustomed to practice upon his hearers; he has illustrated with eloquence and dramatic power the manner in which results are obtained in his profession. He is evidently proud of his skill. To hypnotize the Pilgrims into buying worthless relics after he has declared his own perfidy, would constitute the crowning success of his career. Turning suddenly to them he says, in effect: "Lo, sirs, this is the way I preach to *ignorant* people. But *you* are my friends; may God grant that *you* may receive the pardon of Jesus Christ; I would never deceive *you*! Come, now, and kiss this relic." But he reckons without his Host! That he should be taken for a fool somewhat angers the estimable inn-keeper, who replies in his momentary heat with a direct reference to the Pardoner's infirmity,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 217; *Atlantic*, Vol. 72, p. 833.

⁵¹ C. T., C. 915.

I wolde I hadde thy coillons in myn hond
In stede of relikes or of seintuarie.

It is no wonder that the Pardoner begins to redden at this unmannerly probing of his secret and that he should be speechless with rage when the Host continues with withering sarcasm and scorn,

Lat cutte hem of, I wol thee helpe hem carie.⁵²

When we remember that the Pardoner is physically unfortunate, "natus sine testiculis vel parvissimos habens," this rude speech of the Host seems to be something more than "rough jocularity." As the Flemings say, "Sooth pley, quaad pley." And to make matters worse the whole company laughs! The good-natured Host, however, soon realizes his mistake, declares he will not "play" with an angry men, and at the request of the Knight consents to make peace with a kiss. The incident is closed.

That the Pardoner is extremely sensitive upon the matter of his weakness is evidenced by his pathetic attempts to conceal it. He goes about singing in concert with the Summoner a gay little song "Come hider, love, to me,"⁵³ and boasts with brazen affrontery that he will drink good wine "And have a joly wenche in every toun."⁵⁴ He sings and brags like a real man; but one suspects that most of his *affaires d'amour* result in chagrin and disappointment like that in which he engages with Kitt the Tapster in the *Tale of Beryn*,⁵⁵ and that many of his potations of wine and ale are taken to arouse an atrophied desire. He is almost as pitiable a figure as the aged January, who sits up late on the first night of his marriage with May, drinking strong wines hot with spices "t'encresen his corage."⁵⁶ Being feeble in body—tho not necessarily entirely impotent—, he permits his polluted imagination to revel in thoughts of lust and fleshly

⁵² C. T., C. 951 ff.

⁵³ C. T., A. 672.

⁵⁴ C. T., C. 453.

⁵⁵ *The Tale of Beryn*, ed. Furnivall and Stone, EETS. E. S. 105. It is significant, I think, that in the Prologue to this pseudo-Chaucerian story the Pardoner appears in his true colors. Recognizing his weakness, the Tapster upon seeing him for the first time determines to make him her dupe. He is perfectly harmless, and she knows it. She leads him on, permits him to come into compromising positions with her, but finally hands him over to shameful treatment at the hands of her paramour. That he is a eunuch and therefore a fit butt for an ale-house joke, gives point to her treatment.

⁵⁶ C. T., E. 1807 ff.

delights. The physical stamina of the Wife of Bath has his unbounded admiration. Her eloquent sermon against virginity and in favor of the proper use of God-given powers of body for the promotion of carnal pleasure,⁵⁷ meets with his enthusiastic approval. He even interrupts her steady flow of language to applaud:

'Now dame', quod he, 'by god and by seint John,
Ye been a noble prechour in this cas!'⁵⁸

There is one part of her discourse, however, which strikes him with panic. Being naturally of a passionate disposition, she affirms that her husband will always be her slave and thrall. He shall pay his debts, sanctioned by the Apostle, both morning and evening. As long as she shall be his wife, he must have tribulation of the flesh and must make his body subject in love to her desire.⁵⁹ This is too much for the Pardoner. If this is the proper relation between husband and wife, he has just escaped being plunged into a most horrible situation;

I was about to wedde a wyf; alas!
What sholde I bye it on my flesh so dere?
Yet hadde I lever wedde no wyf to-yere!⁶⁰

At this unexpected interruption the Pilgrims do not even smile. Perhaps they remember his former anger and are content to let him play his little farce in peace. At any rate, this is the Pardoner's last boast. In it may be plainly seen his painful consciousness of physical incompleteness and perhaps a bit of wistful sadness because of his misfortune.⁶¹

If this interpretation of the Pardoner's character is true—and I can see no valid reason to the contrary—he is to be pitied rather than censured. Born a eunuch and in consequence provided by nature with a warped mind and soul, he is compelled to follow the lead of his unholy impulses into debauchery, vice, and crime. Being an outcast from human society, he satisfies

⁵⁷ C. T., D. 95-150.

⁵⁸ C. T., D. 164.

⁵⁹ C.T., D. 150-160.

⁶⁰ C.T., D. 166 ff.

⁶¹ For a different interpretation of this interruption cf. Ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, trans. Wm. C. Robinson, Vol. II, p. 161.

his depraved desires by preying upon it. His character is consistent thruout both with itself and with nature. And Chaucer, the artist and man of deep human sympathy, has shown by the infinite care with which he has developed the Pardoner's character that he is able to appreciate, without judging too harshly, the point of view of even a *eunuchus ex nativitate*.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY

Vanderbilt University.

THE FAMILY IN BJØRNSON'S TALES

I

INTRODUCTION

Bjørnson's Early Attitude Toward Woman's Rights

Among the great social problems which confronted the rising generation in Bjørnson's youth, the most important perhaps was the question of woman's rights. Social democracy, based upon the recognition of human rights, necessarily involves the moral and social equality of the sexes. It is not surprising, therefore, that during the 50's and 60's the question of woman's rights became one of the vital themes in Norwegian literature. The emancipation of woman was clearly recognized as a prime requisite for the regeneration of the whole social order, to which Wergeland, Ibsen and Bjørnson had devoted themselves. The social health of a nation is founded primarily upon the family and in the family it is woman who is the chief moral factor.

It seems, therefore, paradoxical that when Camilla Collett introduced this momentous problem into Norwegian literature by the publication of her epoch-making novel, *Amtmandens Døtre* (1855), Bjørnson's criticism¹ of her work seemed to be unduly severe. As a matter of fact, Bjørnson never opposed the cause which Fru Collett had espoused, altho at first he did assume an openly hostile attitude towards her lack of constructive propaganda² and the depressing atmosphere of her novels. Bjørnson's own definition³ of the poet's mission in life, illustrated so beautifully in the parable "Æn om vi klædde

¹ According to Camilla Collett, Bjørnson referred to her novel as "an ugly book" (*en styg bog*). This statement, however, Bjørnson denied in his review of 1880 in *Morgenbladet* (cf. Footnote 10).

² Cf., for instance, his series of articles directed against Fru Collett under the title of *Kristiania og Studenterne* (1855); cf. Christen Collin, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson* II, 109 f.

³ "Digteren kaster straalere med sin personlighed, giver solglade ord, hjælper til at lægge livet tilrette; at kunne sige ord til rette tid, som flammer;—det er at være digter."

fjællet?" (in the introduction to *Arne*), is sufficient to explain a seemingly incongruous attitude towards Fru Collett who was satisfied with a purely negative exposition of the truth. It was not in the slightest degree the *cause* which Fru Collett represented but solely the *manner* in which she represented it, and her lack of constructive propaganda to which Bjørnson was opposed.⁴

Even in 1854, before the appearance of *Amtmandens Døtre*, Bjørnson had expressed his dislike of the morbid and depressing atmosphere characteristic of Welhaven's school⁵ and had openly allied himself with Wergeland⁶ whose successor he felt himself to be; a more wholesome and natural poetry was necessary for a true interpretation of life. In tone and feeling Fru Collett's *Amtmandens Døtre* was, as it were, a sequel to Welhaven's *Norges Dæmring* and as such was in Bjørnson's eyes more or less a literary perversion. The injustice of this view, however, he later acknowledged⁷ when maturity had restored the equipoise of his judgment.

In Bjørnson's earlier attitude towards Fru Collett we recognize, furthermore, the pedagog and moralist⁸ as well as the poet. His educational and moral propaganda were as essential to his literary career as was the devotion to purely artistic ideals and went hand in hand with his efforts as politician and statesman to regenerate the social organization of the Norwegian nation.

⁴ Cf. Lilly Heber, "Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og Camilla Collett," *Bjørnsonstudier*, pp. 285-317, Kristiania, 1911.

⁵ Cf. *Morgenbladet* (1854): "Welhavens evige Lamenteren over Verdens og Tidernes Pinagtighed," etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*: "Det tusindstemmige, glade ja, som Wergelands bjergfriske, glade Sange modtog, maatte dog overbevise om, at sygelig Sentimentalitet ikke har hjemme her."

⁷ Cf. his article, "Den moderne norske literatur," in *Kringsjaa* the year after Fru Collett's death (1895): "Hun har skrevet fortællinger, der hun med ildfuldt øie og veltalende appel, sætter fingeren paa et sygt punkt; virkningen har været velgjørende."

⁸ *Ibid.*: "Den norske literatur kjender i sine verker, at den vil tage sin del, den største del av det fælles ansvar, at en bog, der ikke rydder eller ligger saaledes, at den derved øger vor evne, gjør os modigere paa livsførelsens svære kunst, og derved letter livet for os, er en slet bog, hvor stor ogsaa dens tekniske kunst er."

By her attacks upon the inherited traditions with regard to woman's status in society Camilla Collett had paved the way for a revolution of ideas which Bjørnson naturally and readily followed. The deep impression which *Amtmandens Døtre* left upon Bjørnson's mind may be judged from the fact that only two years after the appearance of this work he himself took up the traditional theme of "the unhappily married woman" in *Mellem Slagene* (1857) and the next year in *Halte Hulda* (1858). In *Halte Hulda*, furthermore, the same suffering is analyzed in dramatic form as that which the unfortunate heroine in Fru Collett's novel endures; that depression, which in *Amtmandens Døtre* was chronic, in Bjørnson's *Halte Hulda* finds its solution in a violent tragic explosion, as it were. That he was perhaps conscious of a tone in *Halte Hulda* out of keeping with his literary ideals is evident from the fact that he made a studied effort to counteract the depressing influence of Hulda's tragic love by introducing the bright and happy relations of Thordis to Gunnar. Bjørnson was evidently struggling to free himself from the depressing atmosphere of the Old Norse sagas. His first great effort in this direction was the composition of *De Nygifte* (published in 1865), which he had already outlined as early as the year 1855 (cf. Christen Collin, II, 16).

Furthermore, much that Bjørnson expressed in his attacks upon woman's inherited status in society, both in his dramas (cf. *Leonarda* 1879, *En Hanske* 1883) and in his prose tales (cf. *Magnhild* 1877, *Støv* 1882), undoubtedly had its inspiration (in part at least) in Fru Collett's⁹ courageous and indefatigable labor in behalf of her sex. Yet Bjørnson never openly acknowledged any personal indebtedness to Fru Collett, and when *Amtmandens Døtre* appeared he misunderstood, according to his own testimony,¹⁰ the social importance of this epoch-making novel.

⁹ Cf. Lilly Heber, "Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og Camilla Collett," *Bjørnsonstudier*, p. 316, Kra. 1911.

¹⁰ Cf. *Morgenbladet*, 1880, in reply to Fru Collett's accusation that he had criticized her unfavorably out of a spirit of literary enmity: "Jeg skjønner rigtignok ikke nu, hvad jeg kan have fundet stygt i denne Bog for mer end tyve Aar siden; sandsynligvis har jeg sagt "uhyggelig"; men ogsaa dette Udtryk vilde jeg nu neppe have brugt. Sagen var, at dengang "Amtmandens Døtre" kom ud, skjønnede ikke jeg, hvad her begyndte eller dettes Ret."

II

FAMILY LIFE IN BJØRNSON'S TALES

The chief purpose of this article is to present a psychological analysis of Norwegian family life, as represented in Bjørnson's prose tales,¹¹ with especial reference to woman's social status.

Bjørnson based his whole system of ethics upon a spirit of love for humanity. This love for humanity, his naiveté of thought and simplicity of language made him the ideal exponent of popular ideals.

In his prose tales Bjørnson revealed the heart of the Norwegian nation. Even tho his Romantic ideals lent to the description of rural life and to the delineation of the peasant's character a decidedly idyllic tinge, nevertheless, the Norwegian people found therein the substance of its national life; the distinctively *national* was given an idealized form of expression. Bjørnson's idealization of the peasant's character (particularly that of the mother and the child¹²) was made all the more convincing by reason of the author's sensitive and sympathetic insight into human nature.

a) *The Social Problems Involved in Family Life*

The social problems involved in family life, as based upon Bjørnson's prose tales, may be briefly summarized as follows.

For the proper education of the child, an open and sympathetic relation between parent and child is absolutely imperative. Tomas Rendalen in *Det Flager i Byen og på Havnen* (1884), for instance, expressly states¹³ that no educational theories can possibly prove successful, unless based upon this fundamental principle. This relation of love and confidence

¹¹ Bjørnson's dramas are likewise fundamentally psychological studies; cf. Chr. Collin, II, 18, who characterises, for instance, *Mellem Slagene* as "et lidet psykologisk mesterverk."

¹² Bjørnson idealized, for instance, the child in human nature in his poem *Barnet i Vor Sjæl*:

Den største mann på jorden
må pleje barnet i sit bryst,
og lytte, selv i torden,
til hvad det hvisker tyst."

¹³ "Al opdragelse som i dette æmne skal utrette noget, sætter som uomgængelig betingelse: *full fortrolighed mellem barn og forældre*. I alle fall mellem barn og mor."

should, above all, be preserved between *mother* and *child*, since the mother's moral influence is more vital for the child's welfare than is the father's.

But such an ideal relation between mother and child is often disturbed by conditions over which neither has control. The chief factor in this regard is perhaps the established tradition as to the father's supreme authority in the family. The mother is thus deprived of a controlling hand in the education and destiny of her child. "Are you his *mother?*," says Josephine in *På Guds Veje* (1889), when she attempts to assume the authority over her child. "I am his *father*. The *Bible* and the *law* make the father *the owner of the child*," answers her husband, who thus overrules all arguments, however reasonable or vital for the child's welfare, under the authority of religious and social convention.

Altho the mother constitutes the chief moral factor in the the child's life, she is, nevertheless, deprived of an equal responsibility over the child. "Do you believe that both parents should have an equal responsibility in the child's welfare," the mother in *Støv* (1882) is asked. "I most certainly do," she replies, "men have in this regard done exactly as they please, just as in everything else."

This injustice, which social and religious convention has inflicted upon the mother, undermines the moral health of the whole family and has a far reaching effect upon the future generation.

The most serious effect is perhaps noticeable in the character of the son. With the loss of the mother's moral authority the son is often prone to assume towards his mother the same presumptuous attitude as does his father (cf. e.g. Torbjørn in *Synnøve Solbakken*). At a very early age the boy learns that woman is to be treated as man's social inferior and those primitive ideals of physical superiority, as exemplified in the father and which naturally appeal to the boy's imagination, often serve to outweigh the higher moral influence and devotion of the mother (cf. e.g. Rafael, before his father's death, in *Absalon's Hår*). The boy's moral valuations are thus often perverted before he reaches an age of independent judgment. The mother's influence begins to prevail only after the boy's

chivalrous instincts are aroused, which lead him to take sides with his mother against an authority of brute force.

Somewhat different, however, is the effect of the father's presumptuous authority upon the daughter. If woman is regarded as the social inferior to man, the daughter's sense of individual independence is crushed from the outset, and even when the traditional view of woman's social inferiority is abandoned, the daughter inherits from woman's former state of moral slavery an attitude of suspicion towards the unselfish motives of the male sex in general. The effect of this attitude upon the daughter is not clearly traceable in Bjørnson's tales, but it plays a very important part in the psychology of Fru Collett's novels. This was, in fact, the immediate cause of the tragedy in *Amtmandens Døtre*, for Sophie's lack of faith in a noble character can be directly traced to her inborn suspicion that her lover's intentions were nothing more than masculine insolence founded upon the conventional right of man's supremacy over woman.

The remedy for such injustice in the home involves first of all an assumption of equal rights and a single standard of morals for both man and woman. The lamentable results of a double standard of morals and of the father's lack of moral responsibility for the child's welfare may be seen in the moral degeneration of the father's character. Hereditary disease of both body and soul can in all Bjørnson's tales be traced directly to the father's wayward life. The woman, therefore, has a new and most formidable foe to combat in the hereditary instincts of her child. In the great struggle against this social disease Bjørnson's main thesis consists of a new system of moral education (formulated in *Det Flager*), which consists in openly acquainting the youth with all the facts pertaining to sex and to hereditary disease.

b) *Bjørnson's Family Types*

The traditional and the 'modern' ideals as regards woman's social status are represented in Bjørnson's prose tales by two more or less sharply defined types of family. First, there is the peasant type (cf. *Synnøve Solbakken*, 1857, *Arne*, 1858, *En Glad Gut*, 1859-60) and secondly the more progressive and modern type of patrician character (cf. *Magnhild*, 1877, *Støv* 1882, *En*

Dag, 1893), such as Fru Collett usually depicted. This latter type often shares, as in Fru Collett's novels, the more enlightened ideals of the day and has come more or less into contact with the cultural elements of city life (*bymennesker*), as portrayed, for instance, in *Mors Hænder* (1892) or in *Absalon's Hår* (1894). In *Fiskerjænten* (1867-68) both types of family are represented (cf. Petra's family in the little fishing town with Signe's family or the more extreme case of Ødegård's family), and upon the social and cultural ideals of these two types the dramatic conflict is based.

The general attitude of the individual members of the family towards one another varies according to the traditional or to the more enlightened social ideals which the family holds. In the peasant family, for instance, the mother yields to traditional authority and is thus forced to find her way out of her difficulties by means of natural sagacity and common sense, while in the more progressive and cultural type of family she seeks to overrule her oppressor with those weapons with which the enlightened ideals of a new era have furnished her. But in either case¹⁴ the fundamental principle involved is a sympathetic understanding and unselfish love between the individual members of the family, and especially between mother and child. Bjørnson's sympathy for the father under the unfortunate conditions of social tradition is very little in evidence.¹⁵

c) *The Child and the Father*

Inherited tradition has made the father an administer of force and as such the child naturally fears him. By reason of the child's extremely sensitive nature a more or less artificial barrier is created between the two. The child cannot feel his father to be his true friend and the more delicate and sensitive the child is, the more does it seek the love and protection that the mother affords. Thus, for instance, Bjørnson says of little Trond (*Trond*, 1856): "With his father he didn't talk very much and was indeed somewhat afraid of him; for when his

¹⁴ These two types of family, so plainly discerned in Bjørnson's tales, shall, however, in the following analysis not be sharply differentiated from each other since it is not desirable to force the psychological aspects of the individual characters into sharply defined categories of this nature.

¹⁵ A notable exception to this, however, is the father in *Støv*.

father was present, Trond had to keep quiet." Trond naturally feels his father's presence as an impersonation of authority and an intrusion upon the freedom of youth. Furthermore, this sort of 'truant officer' fear is aggravated by the consciousness that his father is not in sympathy with his interests. Under the existing conditions of family tradition Trond's instinct is perfectly correct. But far different is his feeling for his mother, who sees the child's heart, lives in the child's world and devotes her life to the child's happiness. When the boy gets his first treasure, a new violin, he imagines his mother as the *e*-string—"the tender sweet chord"—, but his father as the *d*-string—"the low, deep sounding chord"—, "which he never played on very much either."

This fine, sensitive chord vibrating in harmony with the child's soul, is beautifully illustrated, for instance, in *En Glad Gut*. When Marit's grandfather brings to Øyvind's family his message of ill-will, whereby the boy's whole future happiness hangs, as it were, by a thread, Bjørnson says: "His mother, who from the kitchen-door had heard everything, gazed with grief upon Øyvind and almost burst into tears; but she didn't want to make it harder for him by saying even a single word." This delicacy of feeling in the simple peasant woman is exactly the quality of little Trond's *e*-string.

The child's naturally wilful disposition Bjørnson depicts most skilfully in *En Livsgåde* (1869). When little Agnes, for instance, tries to teach her baby brother the Lord's Prayer, the little fellow repeats each verse very dutifully until he reaches the command: "Thy kingdom come, *Thy will be done*," whereupon he suddenly turns against his perceptress with a determined "No, no, I won't."

This naturally wilful and stubborn nature in the child the father seeks to overrule by force, while the mother tries to bend the child's will by moral suasion and a sympathetic understanding of the child's nature. The mother, therefore, meets the difficulty with far greater intelligence than does the father, and with far less disastrous effects upon the child's character.

The disastrous effects of this attitude upon the part of the father (altho the mother is also partly to blame) Bjørnson well illustrates in his tragic story *Støv*. The father has been reading Spencer's "Essays on Education" and seeks to apply Spencer's

ethical principles mechanically and without an understanding of the child's nature. In spite of the father's scientific theories his severity results only in inspiring his children with a morbid and unhappy fear of him. He threatens them with corporal punishment for an offense which was necessarily a result of ignorance. Knowing full well what their father's threat means, the children run away from home and are lost in a snow storm which overtakes them. The children are happily found again unharmed, but the mother dies of a broken heart and the father's happiness is forever destroyed.

Whatever mistakes the mother may have made regarding the education of her children, she understood at least that undue severity was a fatal course to pursue. That she did not, however, consider her husband *personally* to blame for his undue severity towards the children is evident from her statement: "O, he is just like most men in this regard, they amuse themselves with the children at times, and at times *strike* them too, when anything happens to displease them."

Bjørnson's social propoganda is here clearly in evidence; this tragedy was due primarily not to the individual character of the father but to the inherited traditions as to the father's ownership of the children and his consequent lack of intelligent attitude towards the child's moral perception and sensitive temperament.

So too in *Synnøve Solbakken*, on account of the father's severity and application of physical force, the relations between Torbjørn and his father are severely strained. Torbjørn's nature, however, is far different from that of Trond or of the children in *Støv*. Torbjørn represents the rugged, self-reliant peasant lad, whose will is bound to clash with his father's. His father's methods are, to be sure, unduly severe and even brutal, but this physical brutality was characteristic of the Norwegian peasant, and, furthermore, not at all alien to Torbjørn's own nature (cf. e.g. his unpardonable brutality towards his faithful horse). In order to tame his son's refractory spirit the father naturally employs the traditional method of enforcing authority. But this traditional ideal Bjørnson seeks to bring into direct conflict with the spirit of enlightenment and with the Christian ideals of a new social era. This spirit is shared by Torbjørn's mother who clearly understands

that a policy of brutal force leads to estrangement; but her protests are overruled by the father's high-handed authority. Even Synnøve's mother, who is anything but well disposed towards Torbjørn and his suit (she regards him as a sort of young ruffian), does not approve of his father's harsh methods. "He's too severe with the boy," she says. But it is also to be remembered that she shares the ideals of the pietistic sect of the *Haugianere*. It is above all in Ingrid, Torbjørn's sister, that we find the typically feminine attitude towards parental authority. Like her mother she sympathizes with Torbjørn but at the same time she understands clearly that it is Torbjørn's natural stubbornness and sense of independence which is the chief cause of the alienation between him and his father. Since she is not educated beyond the ideal that her father can be wrong, she yields to established authority and therefore tries to remedy the situation by correcting Torbjørn's faults. In other words, she seeks her way out of the difficulty by the common sense method characteristic of Bjørnson's feminine ideal in the peasant family, viz., by making the best out of a bad situation.

The following conversation between Ingrid and Torbjørn well illustrates the essential difference between the feminine and masculine attitude of the child towards parental authority.

"You are too independent; you know father doesn't like that."

"No, I am not too independent; father tried to hold back my arms."

"Yes, especially whenever you tried to strike somebody."

"Well, have people a right to say and do things to you, just as they please?"

"No, but you might put yourself out a little; father did that himself and nevertheless he has always been a respected man."

To recognize parental authority is not equivalent to forfeiting one's self-respect, but this typically *feminine* view of the remedy is, however, not to Torbjørn's liking and it is not until the boy's will has been broken by the catastrophe which befell him at the hands of the treacherous Knut Nordhaug that he accepts her solution.

d) *The Son and the Mother*

Such innate stubbornness and self-reliant individualism is perhaps the most difficult trait in the boy's character with which the parents have to contend. Even the mother sometimes fails to understand this, and consequently a catastrophe cannot be avoided, however sound or progressive her theories as to moral education may otherwise be, or however unselfish the love which she may bestow upon her son.

Such is the tragedy most skilfully portrayed in *Absalon's Hår*. The boy Rafael has inherited the sensual and rebellious nature of the Kurt family; "han var oprørets søn." At first he rebels against his father because of the latter's brutality towards his mother. "It became the boy's secret religion," says Bjørnson, "to oppose him (his father) and to help his mother, for she was the one who suffered." After his father's death he rebels in turn against his mother (Kirsten Ravn), who endeavors to realize her ideal in the boy by giving him all the advantages of an education and culture which his father had denied him. But by putting her son into a social and pedagogical straitjacket she arouses in him that slumbering spirit of rebellion which had previously asserted itself against his father; her methods thus result in just the opposite of that which she desires. She quite correctly attributes his sensual and rebellious nature to his inheritance from his father (the degenerate Kurt blood), but she never for a moment suspects that by her arbitrary methods she herself is to blame for the manifestation of the Kurt character in her son.

In *Absalon's Hår* the 'modern' mother appears in a most unfavorable light, because she has failed to recognize the fundamental instincts of human nature in her son and has consequently allowed her modern theories of culture to overshadow the necessary principle of intelligent co-operation. Both Ingrid and Arne's mother, altho limited by the peasant ideals of family life, take due cognizance of these fundamental principles and, therefore, even tho intellectually inferior, these women are in this regard far more intelligent than Kirsten Ravn. The latter has unwittingly fallen into the same error as that upon which the inherited traditions of parental authority were founded and to which she herself is violently opposed,

viz., the principle of *enforced* authority. Naturally she suffers a reaction from the bondage under which she was held by her arrogant husband and, therefore, after his death she in turn seeks to exert full authority over her son. But in her arbitrary and dictatorial methods she adopts the same weapons as did her husband, except that instead of applying physical force she makes her son's happiness contingent upon her own will. Her modern theories of education are thus applied in exactly the same way as the traditional parental authority, and she thereby prevents Rafael from understanding the purpose of her actions and the inspiring force of a mother's love which animates her; exactly as was the case, for instance, between Torbjørn and his father.

So too Arne is, like Rafael, "oprørets søn." His whole life is centered upon the desire to escape from the narrow hum-drum life of a Norwegian village and he too has inherited certain weaknesses of character from his father. But his mother, simple peasant woman that she is with no 'modern' ideals of moral or cultural education, is far more successful than Kirsten Ravn in reforming her son. Her tact and fine sympathy for Arne's failings break the boy's spirit of rebellion and keep alive in the boy's heart the fundamental instinct of love which in Rafael's case is marred by a misunderstanding of his mother's attitude of authority.

Yet we see in Arne's mother a peasant provincialism directing the course of mother-love. She takes advantage of her boy's secret love affairs in order to make his escape from her impossible. Kirsten Ravn, on the other hand, magnanimously renounces her son's love when he severs his connections with her. Her mistakes are due to an artificial standard of life and not, as in the case of Arne's mother, to a desire to further her own happiness. Her methods fail, but not on that account does she, like the self-centered peasant woman, have recourse to deceit or subterfuge. In spite of her false code of moral education, Kirsten Ravn's steadfast devotion to the higher ideal of renunciation finally results in Rafael's redemption, while Arne's soul never realizes its intense longing to expand and grow, but is forced back again into those narrow limitations which his mother's self-centered love had set for him, howbeit not without a certain degree of spiritual recompense.

The first essential to the child's moral training is, as Bjørnson said in *Det Flager* (cf. above p. 610), a relation of absolute confidence between mother and child. Here again Kirsten Ravn makes a fatal mistake in not telling her son the whole story of his father's life. The boy, therefore, is ignorant of the fact that his father's financial downfall was due primarily to the inherited trait of stubbornness and insolence in the Kurt family; his father would not tolerate his wife as an equal or accept her as a partner in his enterprises.

His father had discovered traces of cement deposit on their estate and upon the basis of his discovery engaged in an enterprise for mining the cement, which resulted in complete financial ruin. Now, when Rafael discovers the same deposits he naturally seeks to convert them into wealth, just as his father did, but here his mother interposes and to prevent a recurrence of the disaster she is forced to tell her son this incident in his father's life, which she had heretofore concealed. Instead of understanding her attitude as that of a well intentioned desire to prevent a repetition of his father's failure, Rafael interprets his mother's former secrecy as a sign of her lack of confidence in his abilities. As in the case of Oswald in Ibsen's *Gengangere*, suppressed inherited traits of character come to the surface. A misunderstanding of his mother's motives leads him to rebel against her authority and arouses within him the fatal suspicion that his father's wilfulness was due not so much to inherited tendencies as to his mother's attitude of distrust. By comparing his own case with his father's, he concludes that *his father was right in overruling his mother*. Thus Kirsten Ravn, by her mistaken policy of suppression, again brings about just the opposite result from that which she had desired. Her son's suspicions, fostered by her dictatorial methods, now grow into a conviction and an open break ensues.¹⁶

¹⁶ Of all Bjørnson's stories *Absalon's Hår* best illustrates the failure of the 'modern' cultural ideal thru a lack of practical wisdom. An analogous situation arises in Ibsen's *Vildanden*, where the ideal of truth fails of realization because it is applied under unfavorable conditions. In either case practical wisdom would have saved the situation; whether the truth should be divulged or not depends upon circumstances. The tragedy of *Vildanden*, however, Bjørnson avoids by endowing Rafael's mother with an ideal devotion which finally triumphs over all her own mistakes and redeems her son's character.

The reason for a lack of confidence between mother and son is often due primarily to an habitual taciturnity, especially characteristic of the peasant. This taciturnity is often further enhanced by the fact that the relations of husband to wife render a free and open discussion upon any subject whatsoever impossible. The husband's mean spirit, his brutality and his tyrannical usurpation of human rights (as in the case of the John Kurt, Harald Kås or Nils Skrædder) force upon his wife a silence which becomes habitual and therefore almost impossible for her to break. Thus, thru her silence the mother neglects her prime duty of establishing a relation of confidence with her son. Her attitude of silence, furthermore, reacts upon the son who in turn finds it well-nigh impossible to open his heart to his mother and therefore he continues his own way with disastrous results.

Such is the case, for instance, with Arne whose first misstep might have been avoided if he had kept his mother in strict confidence. Only this first great catastrophe opens his heart to her and restores a normal relation of confidence between the two. Bjørnson's sympathy, however, is chiefly on the side of the mother, inasmuch as she cannot be held responsible for an attitude towards her son which has grown out of unavoidable circumstances. Social convention, which sanctions the supreme authority of the father and thus gives full rein to degenerate instincts, is the fundamental cause of this unhappy relation between mother and son. The following passage from *Arne* well illustrates the point in question.

"You won't ever tell me anything," and she began to weep again. "You never tell me anything either," said Arne gently. "But you are most to blame, Arne; I've got into such a habit of keeping silent, ever since I lived with your father, that you ought to have helped me along a little."

However much the ideal relations of mother to child may be disturbed or whatever the causes for this may be, Bjørnson never depicts an unnatural mother. No principle in life is so vital to her as the love for her child and, therefore, no theory as to human rights or duty towards self (as in the case of Ibsen's Nora) can separate her from her child, whose happiness is identical with her own. In order to promote her child's happiness and retain its love, she is willing to endure injustice

and even brutality at the hands of a degenerate husband. In other words, Bjørnson's mother stands the supreme test of humanity in order to realize the grand ideal of her life, viz., motherhood. For instance, at Nils Skrædder's death Arne's mother says: "Arne, you must remember it is for *your* sake that I have borne all this." Even Kirsten Ravn, with her refined instincts and sensitive pride, endured for the sake of her son Rafael the most outrageous insults that could be inflicted upon a decent woman. It is inconceivable how she could have endured such tyranny, had she not been willing to sacrifice even her self-respect in order to retain her influence over her son. With Ibsen's Nora, self-respect is the prime consideration, but with Kirsten Ravn it is her son's future welfare, not her own, which is at stake; all else is sacrificed to this end. This is the purely womanly type of mother, who possesses those traits of character peculiar to the Romantic ideal of womanhood, which Ibsen so often depicts (such as Inga in *Kongsemnerne*, Solveig in *Peer Gynt*, etc.).

Tomasine Rendalen, on the other hand, represents an approach to the more masculine ideal of womanhood, which enables the wife to cope with her husband on much more equal terms. Like Ibsen's Nora she rebels against an authority which is crushing out her life, but unlike Nora she does not solve the difficulty by avoiding the situation or by renouncing her duties as a mother, but takes up arms against her oppressor. The old order of things, which Nora leaves behind her, is destroyed by the supremacy of a new ideal of womanhood. Nora becomes morally emancipated but, a victim of the old social order, she lacks the efficiency and mental equipment to force a victory over her husband without at the same time forfeiting a mother's most precious heritage, viz., her children. The 'modern' ideal of womanhood, on the other hand, oversteps the narrow, conventional limits of woman's education and activities which resulted in Nora's inefficiency, and equips the woman to meet the situation which confronts her. Tomasine Rendalen takes up a course of physical and mental training which enables her to become both the physical and intellectual master of her degenerate husband. But Bjørnson's ideal of the 'modern' woman in Tomasine Rendalen is not marred by a caricature of masculine traits, such as Ibsen portrays, for

instance, in the character of Lona Hessel; there is no assumed air of democratic vulgarity nor a display of masculine prerogatives. Her strong hand guides her son's future destiny, and his ultimate victory over himself is directly due not only to his mother's new system of social education but also to the fact that she first triumphed over her degenerate husband. Thus, both mother and son are saved, while with Ibsen's Nora the children are left to their own fate in order to save the individual integrity of the mother's character.

Magnhild too represents this modern type of woman, but Magnhild has no children and since the full and free development of her own individuality is not restricted by the consideration for the future destiny of her offspring, Bjørnson here resorts to the traditional course of desertion as the only solution possible under the circumstances, thus avoiding the ethical dilemma into which Ibsen leads us.

It is, of course, natural that Bjørnson should have idealized the mother's character, in order to bring out into sharper relief the injustice of her position in family life. So far as the father is concerned, however, it can hardly be assumed that Bjørnson has exaggerated the state of things in actual life. Nils Skrædder, Harald Kås and the elder Kurt are, like Oswald's father in Ibsen's play, by no means rare examples of moral degeneracy due to the pernicious influence of strong drink and to the conventional double standard of morality. On the other hand, it is evident that in the delineation of the wife's character Bjørnson has infused a great deal of that Romantic idealism which pervades the whole atmosphere of his stories. In none of his tales, for instance, does the wife, thru contact with a coarse and brutal husband, herself become brutalized or forfeit even the least part of her natural sympathy or her fineness of feeling.

When Rafael, for instance, finally comes to a spiritual awakening, he realizes that he had gone astray because he had not followed the finer instincts of his nature; the Kurt blood had won the victory. Bjørnson depicts with great skill the gradual degeneration which took place in Rafael's character in direct contrast with that ideal moral refinement which his mother in her own case had always kept intact.

Mutual suffering at the hands of a cruel father exalts the mother's character and creates a bond of sympathy between

mother and son. "There are only two of us now, and we have suffered so much together," says Arne's mother. The mother also realizes that her son cannot be held responsible for inherited weaknesses; thus the boy's love for his mother is enhanced by her humane charity. Arne's mother, for instance, does not upbraid her son for getting drunk like his father, but is all the more tender to him on this account. And however despotic Rafael's mother is in the exertion of her authority, she is, nevertheless, exceedingly charitable and perhaps far too lenient with him as regards his moral waywardness, which she knows is largely due to an inherited weakness. There is much of Bjørnson's own love of humanity reflected in the character of these women.

The mother in Bjørnson's tales struggles for the possession of her child, not for the purpose of asserting her authority over her husband (as in the case of Ibsen's *Fru Gunhild* in *John Gabriel Borkman*) nor from motives of jealousy (as in the case of Allmers' wife in *Lille Eyolf*), but in order that her child may escape from a life of moral depravity and misery which otherwise must be its lot. Woman's sense of devotion is never thus divided (as with Ibsen) between husband and child, so long as the husband by his arrogance and depravity has not rightly forfeited her love (as in the case of Nils Skrædder or of Harald Kås). For instance, in *Mors Hænder* (1892) the mother preserves marital and parental devotion undivided, inasmuch as her husband, even tho morally weak, had never proved himself untrue to her or unworthy of her love. Indeed, it is chiefly weakness in human nature which appeals to woman's love both for her child and for her husband. Thus, the mother in *Mors Hænder* says: "We women do not love that which is noble (*højtbårent*) simply because it is noble. No, the object of our love must also be weak and must in someway stand in need of our help. We must see a mission. We women must love in order to believe."

Bjørnson here has struck the same chord of ideal devotion in woman's character as does Ibsen, who, however, does not always succeed, as Bjørnson does, in reconciling the mother's conduct with this primitive instinct. For instance, when Helmer (*Et Dukkehjem*, Act III) confronts his wife with the argument (which to the masculine mind is irrefutable) that "no one for

for love's sake sacrifices his *honor*." Nora replies: "Hundreds of thousands of *women* have done so"; yet she deliberately refuses to sacrifice 'self' for the sake of her children who are the mother's first and supreme object of love.

In Bjørnson's stories there are no such moral incongruities as are represented in Ibsen's dramas. An interesting example of this may be afforded by the following parallel from *Mors Hænder* and *Et Dukkehjem*.

When in *Mors Hænder* the daughter, who shares the aristocratic ideal that manual labor is degrading, feels disgraced because of her mother's coarse and unladylike hands, her mother replies: "If you have lived in a society where it is a shame for a lady to have such hands, then that is a *bad society*."

In Ibsen's *Dukkehjem* exactly the same conflict arises between the individual sense of righteousness and established convention, but convention as represented by the civil law and founded upon generally agreed principles of morality (which is not the case in *Mors Hænder* where convention represents a purely aristocratic code).

Et Dukkehjem

Act I.

Krogstad. The laws take no account of motives.

Nora. Then they must be very *bad laws*.

Thus Bjørnson again avoids the ethical dilemma into which Ibsen's dramatic instinct and his doctrine of non-compromise lead us.

e) *Character of the Mother*

Common sense is a virtue which nearly¹⁷ all Bjørnson's mothers possess, even if they are temporarily led astray. A conspicuous example of this is Gunlaug in *Fiskerjænten*.

Altho Gunlaug did everything within her power to prevent the lure of a larger life from taking her daughter away from her, nevertheless, so soon as she found this to be impossible, she did not, like Dr. Stockman in Ibsen's *En Folkefiende*, fight out the battle against overwhelming odds but secretly aided her daughter to escape from her. Her admirable coolness

¹⁷ Kirsten Ravn and the mother in *Sløv* may in some respects be an exception to this rule.

and equipoise in the face of the outrageous insults that an excited mob heaps¹⁸ upon her wins the victory; a proof of her natural sagacity. This wisdom, so often displayed by Bjørnson's women characters, is in direct contrast to "the muddle-headed bungler" who in Ibsen's plays often carries "the banner of the ideal," such as Dr. Stockman or Gregers Werle.

The sanity of Bjørnson's characters and the sanity of the life in general which he depicts is one of the most refreshing elements that have ever entered into Norwegian literature. Practical wisdom is, in fact, the basic principle of Bjørnson's ethical propaganda; the measure of anything is the good that it works (cf. *På Guds Veje*, 1889). Neither the "ideal demand" (*det ideale Krav*) nor the principle of "all or nothing" can be realized in human life and therefore they find no place in Bjørnson's philosophy.

Furthermore, an ideal, if not attained, never in Bjørnson's tales results in a tragedy. His constructive spirit here again builds up a spiritual edifice in which the broken ideal may furnish a most important structural element. Women more often than men grasp the ethical value of disappointments. Rafael's father broke down when his financial enterprise failed; but Bjørnson's women characters by reason of their failures often rise to greater heights. This is beautifully illustrated in *En Dag*.

Carried away by that sentimental idealism which the aesthetic emotions often engender in women, the mother forsakes her husband and children for a worthless reprobate, whom she, however, believes to be the ideal man. Happily, however, she discovers her error in time and returns unscathed to the bosom of her family. Her disillusion, moreover, completely restores her true valuations of life and thus her error serves its proper ends instead of so embittering her life as to result finally in a tragedy. This story serves to illustrate the constructive spirit of Bjørnson's doctrine of evil. Man's nature is not essentially wicked, but a divine essence slowly working its way up from a primitive state towards perfection;¹⁹ therefore, sin is only a

¹⁸ Cf. Dr. Stockman's conduct under exactly the same conditions.

¹⁹ Cf. the expression of this doctrine in *Lysset* (1895):

Fra saa lavt til saadan tinde,
hvad maa vi ei vid're vinne?

temporary evil which may be rectified by experience and training. The most potent factor in life to this end is the faculty of perceiving the real value of disappointments and of adjusting life to circumstances. Thus in *En Dag* the voice of conscience readjusts the mother's spirit to new conditions: "It said that her dreams bound together two summers, that which was and that which slowly had begun to awaken within her."

This new summer, the summer of future happiness based upon the experiences of the past, is the "Third Kingdom" for which Bjørnson strove. This "Third Kingdom" is not founded upon a blending of abstract philosophical truths, as in Ibsen's *Kejser og Galilæer*, but upon the simple principle of constructive compromise between good and evil, i.e., of making evil serve the good.

In Bjørnson's tales it is most often woman who has the clearest conception of moral valuations and is the most sensitive to ethical ideals. In *Brudeslätten* (1872), for instance, it is Mildred's mother who first perceives the moral injustice which inherited clan prejudice has inflicted upon the Haugen family. Before the final reconciliation it had never occurred to either parent in the Tingvold family that "the Haugen family ought not to have suffered for their misfortunes, for they were entirely innocent." The attitude of Mildred's father towards his daughter's marriage to Hans Haugen is that of a wise submission to the inevitable. Her mother, on the other hand, experiences a moral redemption which borders upon religious ecstasy. The new spirit of reconciliation is for her an angel of deliverance from that moral slavery of family prejudice which had held her soul in bondage. The destruction of this false deal results in her atonement not only for the wrong she had done the Haugen family but also for that which she had done her own daughter, since by yielding to this family prejudice she had deprived her innocent daughter of the sacred privilege of living out her own life.

f) Conclusion

Bjørnson's tales reveal the great struggle for development which woman has undergone under those restrictions which the social order has laid upon her. In depicting family life, it was, therefore, natural that he should sympathize with the

wife and mother and endow her with those ideal qualities necessary to make the injustice of her position unequivocal. As the nation, so the family cannot be divided into independent moral factors, therefore it is not enough for woman simply to vindicate her rights as an individual (as Nora did), for she belongs not only to herself but also to her family and most of all to her children, who represent the future generation. In this interdependent relation of human individuals in the family man has long owed woman the debt of justice, equality and charity. The new ideal is based upon long accepted theories in the abstract and is, therefore, new only in its application. The simple, homely virtues of domestic life constitute the only basis upon which this new ideal can be realized. If these fundamental requirements are not met (as in the case of Ibsen's Nora), then the ideal of woman's individual development receives a shock which retards its general acceptance by conservative society, inasmuch as such a course inevitably runs counter to all fundamental notions of morality.

The charm of Bjørnson's writings lies in this fundamental simplicity of his thought and in the sanity of his vision. Ibsen and the whole Modern School of Realists have too often devoted their art to depicting the eccentric and abnormal. The trend of Realism has always been towards a mere negation of the older order of society and this emphasis upon the negative side of life has resulted in a perversion of the essential aim of the Realist. The modern School of Naturalists has thus contributed little towards the uplifting of humanity, inasmuch as the ideal is overshadowed by the desire to depict life as it is. Ibsen himself, by failing to adjust the ideal to a healthy environment, tended in the same direction and therefore his essential purpose is often misconstrued, especially by his followers in Germany. Bjørnson, on the other hand, sought to vindicate his ideal by adjusting it to man's *better nature*, and upon man's *better nature* alone can either art or the social order ever be redeemed.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

Kansas University.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

ROUSSEAU and ROMANTICISM, by Irving Babbitt.
Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1919.
Pp. 426. Price \$3.50.

Professor Babbitt's new book shares the merits of its predecessors. It is a surprisingly honest confession of faith; it displays the results of a highly respectable reading knowledge; and it is so delightfully archaic in its remoteness from our modern world. Only such readers of the book as have some acquaintance with medieval works like *Malleus Maleficarum* or Bodin's *Demonomania* are in the position to appreciate the exquisite fragrance of antiquity this specimen eruditionis scholasticae exhales. The reviewer is indeed in doubt as to whether Mr. Babbitt in this case is the actual author of an original work or merely the editor of an hitherto unknown companion volume to *Malleus Maleficarum*. There were, according to the best authorities, witches of the male species as well as witches of the female species. We may therefore assume that for ecclesia militans a *Malleus Maleficorum* must have been a weapon no less indispensable than the joint product of the two formidable Dominican friars proved to be. Remembering how cleverly the humanists of Viri Obscuri fame concealed their identity: is it too fantastic a hypothesis for the reviewer to propose that Mr. Babbitt's name and the title of his book are cryptograms for an anonymous medieval author of the *Malleus Maleficorum* recently discovered? It was in Salem, Mass. where the last American autodafés on record took place. Why should the diligent search of an archeologist of a neighboring town have remained unrewarded?

Be that as it may. For the reader's convenience the reviewer drops his hypothesis and proceeds to offer a few suggestions for a potential revised edition of this *New Malleus Maleficorum*. An esthetic pleasure in antiquarianism does not excuse the reviewer from scrutinizing the scientific aspects of so interesting a case of pseudonymity. First of all a word with regard to the title. Rousseau, it must be understood, does not mean the Rousseau of the *Social Contract* who became the father of the American and French revolutions, of the Declaration of Independence, and consequently of our modern conceptions of humanity, liberty, and democracy. Mr. Babbitt seems to have very little sympathy with the democratic movements of our time. Rousseau to him means exclusively that oscillating compound of sincerity, cynicism, sadic flagellantism, and sentimentality which we both abhor and admire in the *Confessions*.

Rousseau means the archetype of an emotionalism uncontrolled by reason and unchecked by "decorum". It is in this sense that Rousseauism is placed in juxtaposition with Romanticism. And Romanticism in turn does not mean the reaction against the shallowness of the materialistic phase of rationalism and against the sterility of pseudo-classicism. Nor does Mr. Babbitt include the positive and permanent achievements of romanticism in philosophy, religion, science, literature, and art. What he understands by romanticism is only the negation of conventional decorum, the eccentric vagaries and the fatalistic pessimism of certain individual phenomena within the whole of the romantic movement, not romanticism itself. It is the purpose of the book thus misnamed to arraign the maleficent twins Rousseauism-Romanticism, or rather their caricature, before the tribunal of a "positive and critical humanism." For such is the baptismal name of the author's personal faith and code of decorum. He does not pretend to apply the methods of impartial and objective scholarship. He frankly starts from the conviction of his own infallibility, measuring persons and things by his own arbitrary standard. He excludes any fact, argument, or witness that might possibly mitigate the death sentence decided upon before the trial has opened. He is the lawmaker, the judge, the state's attorney, the jury, the sheriff, and the hangman, all in one. A partial list of victims shows the extent and the intensity of the prosecution: Baudelaire, Bergson, Berlioz, Blake, Boehme, Browning, Byron, Carlyle, Chateaubriand, Coleridge, Constant, John Dewey, Emerson, Fichte, Flaubert, Gautier, Goethe (in part), Hawthorne, Hoffmann, Hölderlin, Victor Hugo, Ibsen, Kant, Kleist, Lamartine, Leconte de Lisle, Maeterlinck, George Moore, Musset, Nietzsche, Novalis, Plotinus, Poe, Jean Paul, Ruskin, George Sand, Schelling, Shaftesbury, Friedrich Schlegel, A. W. Schlegel, Schopenhauer, Shelley, Madame de Staël, Stendhal, Synge, Tagore, Tolstoy, Richard Wagner, Whitman, Wordsworth, Zola. Born in different countries, climes, and ages, these ill-fated objects inquisitionis babbitticae have all been found guilty of the same offense: they have failed to conform to the inquisitor's orthodox creed called a positive and critical humanism.

It would be a mistake to associate Mr. Babbitt's brand of humanism with men like Erasmus or Reuchlin. As in the case of the other two isms, Mr. Babbitt has chosen to give the old word *humanism* which to most of us has become the cherished symbol of enlightenment and spiritual freedom, an entirely new and contrary meaning. When he says "humanism" he means in reality Salemite puritanism, i.e. that sterile pseudo-religion whose god is not our Christian God of Love but an idol of fear and negation, the demon of the Torquemadas and Hoch-

stratens. Mr. Babbitt's humanism is calvinistic fanaticism with Christianity left out. No wonder that the *New Malleus* contrives to transform a galaxy of illustrious stars into a sombre morgue filled with corpses maimed and defiled beyond recognition.

Considering the internationality of the victims, the *Malleus* belongs to a group of abortive contributions to Comparative Literature—abortive, because the magnitude of the material outgrows the capacity of the respective author's mind. Mr. Babbitt's wholesale condemnation of French, English, and American celebrities will no doubt meet with competent criticism elsewhere. The present reviewer has therefore limited his judgment to the general tendencies of the book and to the discussion of a few points in a field somewhat familiar to him.

The way in which Mr. Babbitt applies his theory of the inner check to literary criticism may be illustrated by the following case. On page 181 Goethe's *Faust* is quoted as a warning example of the fearful consequences to the man who lacks the inner check. "Faust after all is only consistent when having identified the spirit that says no, which is the true voice of conscience, with the devil, he proceeds to dedicate himself to vertigo (dem Taumel weih' ich mich)." An amazing interpretation indeed! Not only does Mr. Babbitt fail to read the lines following the passage quoted, but he ascribes to Goethe a knowledge of Mr. Babbitt's pet phrase "inner check," and argues accordingly: Babbitt's inner check = the true voice of conscience; Goethe's inner check = the devil; ergo: Goethe's god = the devil. The reviewer suggests that Mr. B. read the passage beginning line 1335—"Ein Teil von jener Kraft," etc. to line 1358 with Julius Goebel's commentary.

On p.170 Mr. B. finds fault with Faust for not turning from the Erdgeist "to the spirit that is revelant to man, a spirit that sets bounds to every inordinate craving, including the inordinate craving for knowledge (libido sciendi)"; "Faust gives himself to the devil in what was, in the time of the youthful Goethe, the newest fashion: he becomes a Rousseauist. . . and so definition yields to indiscriminate feeling ('Gefühl ist alles')." On p. 287 the subject is continued. "Faust breaks down the scruples of Marguerite by proclaiming the supremacy of feeling." After quoting lines 3426 to 3456. . . "Herz! Liebe! Gott! Ich habe keinen Namen dafür! Gefühl ist alles. . ." Mr. B. remarks: "The upshot of this enthusiasm that overflows all boundaries and spurns definition as mere smoke that veils its heavenly glow is the seduction of a poor peasant girl. Such is the romantic contrast between the ideal and the real." That is to say: our author picks out certain passages from the context in support of his theory of the inner check. He disregards arbitrarily the fact that in the Erdgeist scene (as indeed throughout the whole

drama) Faust is in a state of turmoil, transition, and development. Similarly Faust's confession of faith to Gretchen is not an indiscriminate and therefore, from Mr. Babbitt's point of view, immoral emotionalism but a sincere expression of the very best there is in him. It is not because Faust fails to rationalize his beautiful and deeply religious conception of God that he ruins Gretchen, but because the purity of that conception is subsequently troubled by his erotic passion and because the intrigues of Mephistopheles frustrate Faust's intention of saving Gretchen from disgrace. "Gefühl ist alles," in its proper connection means the unsophisticated voice of the heart, the mystic contemplation and intuition of the divine, the truly religious experience of the unity of God, nature and man, an experience which no reasoning and no defining of boundaries will ever be able to give. There was no Rousseau necessary to generate such a "Gefühl" in Goethe. Does Mr. Babbitt really not know what the mystics from Eckhart to Fräulein von Klettenberg, what Spinoza, Klopstock, and Herder (*Gott*) meant to Goethe in his evolution of religious concepts? Again Goebel's Faust commentary might have given him all the information he needed for the purposes of his disquisitions on Goethe. However, important as the history of mystic and of monistic thought is for an understanding of the romantic movement in general and of its German phase in particular, Mr. B. contents himself with brilliant superficialities.

Pp.330 f. he offers another specimen of his interpretive sagacity. The work Faust is doing at the end of his life is only of an "utilitarian" character ("happiness of material efficiency" he calls it). "This is the solution of the problem of happiness that Goethe offers at the end of the second Faust, and we may affirm without hesitation that it is a sham solution." How unfortunate for the reputation of our author that he did not hesitate! We can hardly imagine a more complete ignorance of so monumental a work as Goethe's *Faust* is in spite of all aspersions from the direction of the inner check. Not to mention the parallel of *Wanderjahre* with its significant subtitle *Die Entsagenden*: did Mr. B. really fail to grasp the symbolism of it all? Did he really fail to read the poem to the end?

Did he not even get as far as to the words "Und hat an ihm die Liebe gar von Oben teilgenommen, begegnet ihm die sel'ge Schar mit herzlichem Willkommen"? No, love has no part in the religion of the inner check, and our humanist has evidently never responded to St. Paul's enjoinder that charity rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. A critic so utterly loveless cannot feel the power of love in others, and love is after all the key to understanding. The reviewer is not cruel enough to expose by more literal quotations Mr. Babbitt's peculiar Goethe philology and therefore merely refers to pp.

360 ff. It is, of course a trifle for Mr. B. to ascribe to Goethe "the very classical definition of genius:" "Du nur, Genius, mehrst in der Natur die Natur." We find it in Schiller's *Votivtafeln*, No. 38.

While Goethe is at least granted some extenuating circumstances in that he, "at his best shows an ethical realism worthy of Dr. Johnson"(!), Kant's doom is complete. Since, as our author would have it, Kant failed to associate genius in art and literature with a strict discipline of the imagination to a "purpose," "the central impotence of the whole Kantian system" is conclusively proven (p. 42). Mr. Babbitt does not know what Kant meant by "Zweckmässigkeit ohne Zweck." He does not know of the difference between an esthetic purpose and an ethical purpose. He attributes to the most rigorous of all moralists a lack of moral purpose.¹ Mr. Babbitt never heard of the categorical imperative. He never read the words: "Handle so, dass die Maxime deines Willens jederzeit zugleich als Prinzip einer allgemeinen Gesetzgebung gelten könne." If known to Mr. B. this one sentence could have filled the hollow shell of his negative inner check with the sadly missing core of wholesome substance. Instead, the inquisitorial method of arbitrary selection of evidence has once more turned a fact into its very opposite. Let the Christian reader's wondering eyes gaze again on the decree of Salem: "The central impotence of the whole Kantian system." For was it not a Moralist far greater than the sage of Königsberg, whose ethical principles reappeared in the philosophical terminology of Kant? (cf. *Math.* 7, 12). Does the advocate of the inner check dare declare His system impotent too?

The relations of the storm and stress movement to romanticism are complex and have not as yet received an adequate treatment. It is to be hoped, however, that this urgent demand will be met by Rudolf Unger in his forthcoming new work on romanticism. No other scholar, indeed, may be relied upon with greater confidence to do justice to so difficult a subject than the author of *Hamann und die Aufklärung*, a work of truly classical perfection. Mr. B., unfamiliar with that as with so much other essential material, lightly assumes an identity between the two movements regardless of historical facts. It is not given to him to see things in the perspective proportions of historical evolution. Thus his chapters: Romantic Genius, Imagination, Morality (The Ideal; The Real), Love, Irony, Romanticism and Nature, Melancholy, The Present Outlook, are so many unfermented concoctions of half-truths and errors with the same, insipid, flavor of the inner check. Nowhere has there been made an effort to get at the facts in their historical con-

¹ The moralist Ibsen fares equally badly, cf. p. 330.

nection. Rousseau once branded the evil genius of the human race, the blood-hounds of Mr. Babbitt's savage Aristotelianism chase up and down, right and left, on the highways and byways of the world's history, anywhere within the unmeasured area of time and space between Adam and Bergson, to trail Rosseauite heretics and to devour whomsoever chance throws into their gaping jaws. Rousseau, thus runs the mathematical argument, is not only one of the many leaders but *the* leader of the storm and stress, and since Rousseau is likewise *the* leader of the romantic movement, it follows that both movements are the same thing. On pp. 97 ff., in a feeble and haphazard way, attention is called to certain modifications "Herder (whose influence on German romanticism is very great)" gave to the primitivism of Rousseau. Now instead of dropping this important subject, as Mr. B. does, after a few desultory remarks on minor details, a true scholar would have found it an inevitable task to determine just what Herder meant: first for storm and stress, second for romanticism. Even without making a special study of the subject Mr. B. might have learnt from Haym's *Herder*, that Herder as early as 1769 had turned from Rousseau's to Montesquieu's conception of organized civilization; and Unger might have shown him the way to Hamann and through him to mysticism and pietism and Socrates which all, in successive stages and with many gradual changes became vital factors first in the *Genieperiode* and then again in the romantic movement. Mr. B. could then not have failed to observe that besides Rousseau there were very many other forces at work in the battle against the barrenness of rationalism; and that after the interregnum of extreme classicism, when the romanticists continued the struggle, the movement became too universal in its ramifications, too intense in its quest for new foundations of modern life, to be arbitrarily reduced to a scholastic, if convenient little formula like Rousseauism. But our author is bent upon words regardless of meaning. Because the romanticists discuss the problem of genius, *Genieperiode* and romanticism are identical. It is the same *circulus vitiosus* as in the use of the name of Rousseau.

If it is too exacting a demand that Mr. B. read Unger's chapter "Der Geniegedanke" (*Hamann*, pp. 275 ff.), the reviewer suggests a rapid glance at Walzel's booklet *Deutsche Romantik* where, on pp. 32 f. and pp. 53 f., the evolution of the romantic conception of genius from storm and stress through Fichte and Friedrich Schlegel to Schelling is briefly outlined.

In the same booklet Mr. B. might have found a great deal more enlightenment with regard to romantic irony than he is himself able to give in his chapter on the same subject. Compare also Carl Enders, *Friedrich Schlegel*, p. 358. Starting his argumentation against this cardinal sin of the romanticists

with a misunderstood quotation from Friedrich Schlegel, he remarks *passim* that "the romanticist inclines to measure his own distinction by his remoteness from any possible centre" and concludes that eccentricity, i. e. the loss of the soul's terra firma is the secret of romantic irony, paradox, and striving for endlessness. "Can anyone maintain seriously that there is aught in common between the striving for endlessness of the German romanticists and the supreme and perfect Centre that Dante glimpses at the end of the Divine Comedy and in the presence of which he becomes dumb?" (p. 259). Professor Walzel indeed maintains this seriously on the ground of irrefutable testimony which our inquisitor prefers to ignore; cf. Walzel, l. c., p. 19 f., especially: . . . "uns dem Göttlichen zu nähern, eine sehnsuchtsvolle Liebe zum Göttlichen, eine religiöse Liebe zum Unendlichen, wie Schleiermacher sie vertritt" . . . If Mr. B. translates the German word "Das Unendliche" by a mathematical endlessness, he misses entirely its religious symbolism. Instead of weighing the actual facts as found in Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schlegel, Novalis, Schelling, etc. Mr. B. takes erratic excursions to Nietzsche and Freud. "According to the Freudians the personality that has become incapable of any conscious aim is not left entirely rudderless. The guidance that it is unable to give itself is supplied to it by some "wish" usually obscene, from the subconscious realm of dreams." Now, what has Professor Freud's theory of the unconscious (why did Mr. B. not mention Jung and Keller as antidotes?) to do with Schlegel's theory of irony or with Novalis's symbolical dreams and Märchen? Is it worthy of a scholar to sling the mud of obscenity, even by way of indirections, on such earnest seekers for truth as Novalis and Friedrich Schlegel? In the same spirit of hostility the insanity of Hölderlin and Lenau is utilized as bearing witness against the centrifugal power of romantic philosophy. As to the problem of a centre Mr. B. should have known—there is no excuse for not knowing facts which ought to be familiar to any graduate student in the literary departments of Harvard University—that caprice, paradox, and irony in Schlegel's sense are unthinkable without a centre. Irony is the faculty of the mind to travel at will from the centre to the periphery and back again. How does Mr. B. imagine a periphery without a centre to look? Let Mr. B. read with some care certain "fragments" by Schlegel, e. g. *Ideen*, 155: "Ich habe einige Ideen ausgesprochen, die aufs Centrum deuten, ich habe die Morgenröte begrüsst nach meiner Ansicht, aus meinem Standpunkt. Wer den Weg kennt, tue desgleichen nach seiner Ansicht, aus seinem Standpunkt."

Again in his chapter on Romantic Love our inquisitor revels in pharisaic condemnation. "This lack of definite object appears just as clearly in the German symbol of romantic love—

the blue flower. The blue flower resolves itself at last, it will be remembered, into a fair feminine face—a face that cannot, however, be overtaken. . . . The object is thus elusive because . . . it is not, properly speaking, an object at all but only a dalliance of the imagination with its own dreams. Cats, says Riarol, do not caress us, they caress themselves upon us.” The question is, if the author of such glittering witticisms wishes to be taken at all seriously. The reviewer ventures at least to say that Mr. Babbitt’s knowledge of *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* does not extend beyond the title page. It seems impossible and yet it is true that this chapter on romantic love was written without a single reference to *Lucinde* and Schleiermacher’s *Vertraute Briefe*. Nor is Schleiermacher ever mentioned anywhere else in the book; probably for the reason that no stratagem or subterfuge could have twisted his conception of “Unendlichkeit” into a mathematical absurdity. It is strange that one of the greatest sinners in striving for “endlessness,” Giordano Bruno, escaped our inquisitor’s vigilance. To be sure, Giordano Bruno was bodily burned at the stake, and his executioner’s successor may therefore have considered the martyr’s soul saved.

The reviewer would have to copy this whole *Malleus Maleficorum*, if he wished to point out the full extent of distortions and misinterpretation to which Mr. Babbitt allowed his prejudices to carry him. Granted the sincerity of his convictions and intentions, the final result of his diligent, if whimsical reading, is nothing but a confusion of issues, a negation of the vital forces in life and literature, for the sake of that utterly barren, scholastic Aristotelianism which four hundred years ago Luther so passionately battled against. Its revival in America, in the writings of Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, and their disciples, if successful, would result in the destruction of the scientific spirit and moral freedom which are the foundations of a civilization worth living for. Fortunately the stars in the heavens may complacently listen to the howling of even the most bloodthirsty of terrestrial bloodhounds. No prosecution will reach them. No envy will blot out their lustre.

Professor Babbitt’s *Rousseau and Romanticism* is one of the most disheartening products of narrow-minded philistinism, pedantic scholasticism, and pharisaic puritanism in literature the reviewer has ever come across.

O. E. LESSING.

University of Illinois.

THE ENGLISH ODE TO 1660: an essay in Literary History,
by Robert-Shafer. Princeton University Press, 1918.

The ode is the most difficult of all lyric types to analyze or to pursue through the course of the history of poetry. It cannot be defined with accuracy, because the term has been used by poets themselves with such varied implications; and no one knows, when the word is met with, whether it is employed primarily with reference to metrical form or more internal qualities. These difficulties have been fully perceived by Dr. Shafer, and it is greatly to his credit that he has been able to expound the history of the subject with decent attention to the ambiguity of his topic but without resulting confusion of mind. For the purposes of a dissertation one might have advised him to confine himself either to the metrical or the literary aspect of the ode; yet it is probable that, the more one knew of the subject, the more certain one would be that the two aspects are not practicably separable. Dr. Shafer makes his own attempt at definition, saying that we must require of an ode that it be "a lyrical poem, serious in tone and stately in its structure; that it be cast in the form of an address; that it be rapid in style, treating its subject with 'brevity and variety'; and that its unity be emotional in character." There is of course opportunity for question here, especially concerning the omission of any statement concerning the tendency toward flexible or varied metrical form; on the other hand it may be said that since this is only a *tendency*, it cannot be made a differentia for purposes of definition.

The historical aspect of the subject is admirably handled. Dr. Shafer first brings together the principal accepted facts concerning the ode in the classical languages; then gives an account of the use of the term in English before 1600; then considers the knowledge and imitation of Pindar in the Renaissance; and in the succeeding chapters analyzes in detail the work of odists from Drayton to Cowley. He pauses to explore, conscientiously but not pedantically, any incidental matter which appears to need clearing up, and gives evidence either of unusual judgment or of particularly sound guidance (probably both) in his use of the minor or ancillary bibliography of his subject. His literary sense and sense of humor, too commonly dispensed with in dissertations, would also seem to be keen;—but I wish that the latter had kept him from a prevalently ponderous use of the editorial or scholastic "we."

The chief value of this monograph, apart from its fitness to satisfy the curiosity which many of us must have felt respecting the early history of the ode in the Renaissance, is in laying a basis for the understanding of the later ode—say from Dryden to Shelley, not to go further. It stops, therefore, reasonably

enough, with Cowley, whose influence did so much to determine the development of the form; though it might be wished that the story had been carried on to Congreve and the beginning of the reaction in favor of regularity. Of special significance are the matters of the source and the poetic values of Cowley's irregular rhythmic form, and it may be well to say a word in detail regarding each of these subjects. Dr. Shafer has given no little attention to the antecedents of the *vers libres* of the English Pindarists, and includes, to this end, a compendious and much-needed sketch of the earlier history of free lyric rhythms; in particular, he gives interesting evidence for the influence of Crashaw on Cowley in this respect. He further brings evidence against the statement of Mr. Gosse (which has been followed by a number of later writers, including the present reviewer) that Cowley had misunderstood the structure of the odes of Pindar.¹ On the other hand he probably exaggerates the relative importance of the earlier English experiments in irregular verse; for most of them do not bear a very close resemblance to Cowley's, and his arrangement of such verses in strophes which bear a certain superficial resemblance to Pindar's, taken together with his adaptation of them to the formal ode, suggests that he believed himself to be obtaining a rough equivalent in effect both to eye and ear.²

As to the esthetic effects of Cowley's irregular cadences, Dr. Shafer has almost nothing to say; and this is unfortunate, when one considers that they must have made a strong impression on writers of the next generation, and indirectly affected ode rhythms down to our own time. Take for example the combination *asas*, or, as it might be called, the 5+3 cadence: we find it in Cowley's ode on "The Resurrection,"

Then shall the scattered atoms crowding come
Back to their ancient home,—

in Dryden's Killigrew Ode,—

Hear then a mortal Muse thy praise rehearse
In no ignoble verse,—

¹ This is primarily a question of Cowley's Greek scholarship and of the character of the editions accessible to him, matters to which Mr. Gosse might have been presumed to have given due consideration, but apparently he did not. Dr. Shafer's other reason, based on Cowley's remarks in his Preface regarding the "regular feet and measures" of his original, is, I think, quite apart from the question; that is, it has nothing to do with "the choral divisions of the Greek triad." No one has ever supposed that Cowley did not know that Pindar's "feet and measures" were quite different from his own.

² Dr. Shafer need not, therefore, have laughed (by means of an exclamation point) at Saintsbury's mention of Pindar and the Greek choruses as *among* Cowley's "patterns."

and (to make a long leap) in Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality",—

Trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home.

(I do not, of course, mean to imply that Cowley invented the cadence;—we have it, for example, in Spenser's "Epithalamion":

Go to the bower of my beloved love,
My truest turtle-dove;—

but that his odes are a good place to study it with reference to its influence on later odists.) Clearly the question of the lyric values of such devices as this, and also of various rime arrangements, is one of considerable importance for the history of the subject;—a more important question, for all practical purposes, than the difference between the regular and irregular type of Pindaric, since this latter difference is scarcely perceptible by the ear. Perhaps at a later time Dr. Shafer will pursue this aspect of his theme, and carry the matter at least as far as Gray, or even to Shelley, as he could evidently do with happy results.

Finally, it may be noted that the monograph is not only better written but better printed than most dissertations. The mechanics of copy and proof have been handled in a genuinely workmanlike fashion, and the Bibliography is a model, both editorially and typographically, for unpretentious lists of its kind. I have noted for the most part only such trifling errata as are self-correcting. In the last clause on page 113 the printer seems to have made the writer to say ("in consonance with Horace's pastoral vignette") the opposite of what he means.

RAYMOND M. ALDEN.

Leland Stanford Jr. University.

PATIENCE, A WEST MIDLAND POEM OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, edited by Hartley Bateson, B. A. Second Edition, recast and partly rewritten. Manchester, At the University Press. Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. xlviii—77.

Mr. Bateson's second edition, it may be said at once, is a considerable improvement on the first. It gives evidence that he is glad to learn and is willing to consider the suggestions of others. The book as a whole is reduced from 149 to 125 pages. From the Introduction has been excluded the *Hypothetical Sketch of the Poet*, and two short *Appendices*. New and fuller foot-notes improve it in other respects. Most of the misprints

in this part have been corrected, but on p. xxiii *rich* still appears for *rial* (*Cleanness* 1082) and *forpinke₃* for *forpynke₃* (*Cleanness* 285). The short passages from *Piers Plowman* on pp. xxv-vi still contain a number of misprints, as compared with the texts in Skeat's edition of the poem. On p. xix line 117 of *Cleanness* (not 124 as in footnote) is misquoted thus:

& ay a segge so(b)e(r)ly semed by her wede₃.

Only *b* should have been inserted at Morris's suggestion. I mention it partly to show Bateson's need of more exactness in scholarship, partly to propose a new reading of the line (see an article in *Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXIV, 494):

& ay a[s] segge[s] soerly (that is serly) etc.

Lede₃ of the preceding line requires a plural, as does the sense, and the extra *s*'s may be assumed as having been lost in the following *s* sounds.

The text has been revised to correspond with the Morris revised text of 1869, as I suggested in my review of the first edition (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXVIII, 171), except that *quoth* still appears for *quod* in lines 85, 205, 347, 493, and *destine* (49) is printed without the MS. accent. Bateson has adopted certain emendations of Gollancz's edition, as *3e* for *he* (122), first proposed by Zupitza, *Raguel* for *Ragnet* (188), *haled* for *hale* (219), *on to* for *un to* (240), *sayde* for *say* (313), *bonkes* for *bonk* (343) but has rightly rejected *tyme* for *tyne* (59), and *lauce* for *lance* (250, 489). Gollancz's *on to* for *un to* in 240 seems to me needless, since *hym un to* may be 'unto him' and the following *be* an infinitive 'to be,' thus making excellent sense. An infinitive without *to* is not infrequent in the poem, or a second *to* may have been omitted in copying. With Gollancz's reading *Raguel* (188) I dealt in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXI, 1, an article which Bateson does not appear to have seen, and in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XIV, 154 Gollancz has withdrawn his *bonkes* for *bonk* in 343. In my article last cited I tried to show that there is no sufficient reason for Gollancz's quatrain arrangement, an innovation Bateson does not venture upon, although he partly accepts it in the Notes and indicates an omission after 513 in order to make the lines of the poem a multiple of four.

Bateson has bracketed and italicized the first *er* of *recoverer* (278) where Morris and Gollancz print only italics as representing an abbreviation. He should have bracketed the *3* of *3e* (122) and the first *n* of *non* (348). He adopts Ekwall's *hater* in 189, and the metrical emendations by Luick of *doted(e)* in 196 and *sluchched(e)* in 341, while he has himself made *loke* into *loke(n)* in 350 without great necessity. He has also accepted from the late Professor G. C. Macaulay what seems to me an impossible compound *pe-devel-haf* in 460. My pro-

posal (*Mod. Lang. Notes* XXVIII, 171) to assume *haf* as subjunctive, translating the line 'That of no diet that day the devil would he have cared,' that is because of his happiness, makes excellent sense and has been accepted by Gollancz in his edition.

The Notes have been greatly improved. Owing to his missing my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXI, 1, he has added a suggestion on line 185 which I had already withdrawn. The Bibliography should correct, under E. Ekwall, *Englische Studien* xl to xlv, and add reference to Ekwall's review of the first edition in *Anglia Beiblatt* xxiv, p. 133. The review by S. B. Liljegren, *Englische Studien*, xlix, p. 142 should be noted. Under my name should be added after *Modern Language Notes* the volume and page (xxix, p. 85), the additional entry "More Notes on 'Patience'", *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxi, p. 1, and that of the long review of the first edition, of which Bateson has made considerable use, *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxviii, p. 171. There should also be added C. T. Onions, *Englische Studien* xlvii, p. 316. Mr. MacCracken's name (p. 38) is misspelled.

The Glossary, while much improved, has still too many errors. Under *Abyde*, *abyde* 70 is misprinted; *Blosche*, see *Blusch* should be entered; *Bulk* means 'heap, cargo, hold' and should be referred to ON. *bülki*, not MDu. *bulcke* as does Gollancz also; *Busy* is sb. 'haste' in 157; *Bylyve*, see *Bilyve* should be entered for 224; under *Can*, *cunnen* 513 should be *cunen*; *Dewoyde* means 'put away' rather than 'take away'; *Drye* should be adj. as sb.; *Dynge* should read *Dyngne*; *Fol* 283 and *Fole* 121 are the same word, the adj. 'foolish,' the first the singular the second the plural form; *For-bi* should be separately glossed; *Forworzt* means 'worn out, exhausted,' not merely 'weary'; *Godly* means 'goodly, rightly'; *Goud* (*Gowd*) should have reference to *Gode* as well as *God*; *Grame* should have the added meaning 'harm, trouble;' under *Haspe* read OE. *hæpsian* for *hæspian*: *Hapel* should have the added meaning 'nobility' for 228; *Lyztloker* should be marked adj. and have the meaning 'easier, more profitable' not 'sooner'; *On-slepe*, hyphenated in the text, should be entered in glossary, or better the hyphen omitted in the text; *Rakel* not *Rakle*; *Rode* (270), glossed 'road' by Gollancz also, is surely the same word as *Rode* 'cross' in 96 but with the equally appropriate meaning 'rood (rod)' a measure; *Rome* (52) is I believe 'Rome' the place, and *to ryde oþer to renne to Rome* merely implies any long journey; *Ryzt* as sb. should have the added meaning 'justice'; under *Slepe* sb. OE. *onslæp* should be on *slæpe*; *Soghe* 67 and 391 are the same verb, I am inclined to think, OE. *swōgan* 'make a sound, roar,' and at least should not be separated by the entry *Sozt*; *Sor* (*Sore*) sb. should precede *Sore* adv.; *Stape* (122) is glossed adv. 'extremely,' impossible with *fole* a sb. in the same place, but *stape-fole* 'very foolish' is quite possible as a transla-

tion of Lat. *stulti*; *pikke* adv. should be glossed 'frequently' of course; and the ON. form is *pykkr*; *Unsounde* 58 and 527 are the same word, the sb. meaning 'evil, misfortune,' in spite of Gollancz's separation into adj. and sb. here followed by Bateson; *Wayte* should have the added meanings 'watch, look after'; *Wrache* 'vengeance' is from OE. *wræc*, not *wracu*, also cited by Gollancz; *Wroþly* should be *Wroþely*; *Wyȝe* is from OE. *wiga*, not *wiga*.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Western Reserve University.

THE FATAL DOWRY. By Philip Massinger and Nathaniel Field. Edited from the Original Quarto, with Introduction and Notes. By Charles Lacy Lockert, Jr. Lancaster, Pa. 1918. 8vo, pp. 167.

In this edition, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at Princeton University, Mr. Lockert has made a welcome contribution to the study of Massinger and Field. The well-planned Introduction seems to cover all that needs to be said, and the text supplies for the first time an exact reprint of the original quarto. It is to be hoped that other graduate students of Princeton, or elsewhere, will in the near future issue similar editions of the remaining plays of Massinger, who has too long been neglected by modern investigators.

In his discussion of the date of *The Fatal Dowry*, Mr. Lockert makes it reasonably clear that the play was written within the four-year period 1616-1619, and he expresses the opinion that it was composed at some time in the later rather than the earlier half of that period. The backward date, 1616, he bases on the statement that Nathaniel Field joined the King's Men in that year. I am not aware of any evidence on which this statement could rest, and am inclined to doubt its accuracy. All that we positively know about Field's joining the King's Men is that his name appears in the licence for that company, March 27, 1619, and in the livery list, May 19, 1619. He was still connected with Rossetter's company in the early part of 1617—his *Amends for Ladies* was produced by that troupe at Porter's Hall theatre in January, 1617. Shortly after that date, however, he seems to have joined the King's Men (I need not cite the evidence here); and it may be that at once he began collaborating with Massinger on *The Fatal Dowry*. A strong probability that the play was composed in the year 1617 is to be found in a bit of internal evidence overlooked by Mr. Lockert. In Act

III, Scene 1, Novall, when urged to send a challenge to Romont, exclaims:

What vse is there of valor now a dayes?
'Tis sure, or to be kill'd, or to be hang'd.

This seems to be a clear allusion to the efforts made by King James at this time to put a stop to dueling. Popular interest in the subject was excited by Chief Justice Hobart's famous decision on dueling, which was approved by King James on December 31, 1616; and this popular interest was at once reflected in the drama, for example in Middleton's *The Fair Quarrel*, the title of which, as Professor Sampson has shown, is to be explained by a passage in Hobart's decision.¹ *The Fair Quarrel*, we know, was composed in 1617 (after March 13), and possibly *The Fatal Dowry* was written before the end of the year, while the subject was still fresh in the mind of the public.

As to the source of the play, Mr. Lockert states that none is known for the main plot; a Spanish source has been suspected, but has not yet been discovered. The attempt to distribute the several portions of the play between the two collaborators by means of "aesthetic considerations, parallel passages, and metrical tests," is valuable in that it strikingly confirms the earlier conclusions of Boyle and Fleay, and moreover, reconciles their points of difference. The discussion of the stage history of the play, and its subsequent influence on dramatic literature is perhaps the most interesting section of the Introduction; indeed it would be difficult to find an Elizabethan play that has enjoyed in the form of "adaptations and derivatives" such a long and important career, both in England and on the Continent. With the section labeled "Critical Estimate," as well as with the last section on the stage history of the play, one complaint may be made: the style at times tends to become painfully rhetorical. The reader quickly grows weary of the strained emphasis, and begins to flinch at the numerous strong adjectives, superlative statements, italicized words, and exclamation points. Occasionally, too, the sentences are marred by noisy diction or confused phraseology: "This is all the more rampant in that it is suddenly called back into activity after its period of obscurity;" "remains insufficiently motivated and sheerly inexplicable"; "a ponderous monotony of fancy;" "A harmonious twin-birth with his pride, at once proceeding from it, bound up with it, and on occasion over-weighing its scruples."

For his text Mr. Lockert attempts to give a faithful reprint of the first, and only, quarto, printed by John Norton in 1632. This original edition, it is obvious, was set up from the prompt-

¹ See Martin W. Sampson, *Thomas Middleton*, in *Masterpieces of the English Drama* series, pp. 25-26.

book of the company. The desirability of reproducing such a quarto with the utmost care as to spelling, punctuation, and even line-divisions, has been recently emphasized by the researches of Simpson, Pollard, Greg, and Dover Wilson. In only one respect has the editor departed from his original: he has amended "the metrical alignment," although, he adds, "this, of course, may require the substitution of a capital for a small letter, as when a mid-line word of the Quarto becomes in the re-alignment the first word of the verse." One may question the wisdom of such a revision of the original text in an edition designed solely for the use of scholars; the present reviewer believes that it would have been better for Mr. Lockert to have reproduced the text exactly, and to have indicated in footnotes his proposed metrical rearrangement. But since the necessity for making such changes occurs rarely, and the original reading is duly recorded at the foot of the page, this objection need not be urged.

A more serious complaint may be made that the editor has not informed us what particular copy of the Quarto he has made the basis of his text, and, further, has made no effort to collate this particular copy with other copies. Surely scholars should have learned by this time that different copies of the same edition often present significant variations, due not only to accidents in the printing, but also to the custom among early printers of correcting a book while the sheets were passing through the press. An editor, therefore, cannot be regarded as having done his work properly until he has collated several copies of a basic text. The desirability of collating another copy of the first quarto of *The Fatal Dowry* might have been suggested to Mr. Lockert by several passages in his reprint; for example, III. i. 116, where he gives "thee" in brackets, following the modern editions, but adds in a footnote: "The word in the Quarto is illegible,—possibly *ye*;" or V. iii. 201, where he prints "injuries," adding that the colon in the Quarto is "blurred to appear like a broken s"; or III. i. 184, where the copy he is reproducing has "thy" and all other editors print "this." Something like finality on all such doubtful points, as well as on the text as a whole, might have been secured by a collation of several copies of the 1632 quarto; as it is, that necessary labor remains yet to be done.

How meticulously correct the reproduction of the text may be I have no means of discovering, since I have no access to a copy of the first edition. But a few apparent errors, caught in a hasty reading of the play, give rise to some apprehension on this score: I. ii. 60, *Speaks* seems to be the editor's misprint for *Speak*; II. ii. 280, *offer*, for *offer*; III. i. 449, *vemon*, for *venom*; IV. iv. 156, *here*, for *her*. If these blunders appear in the original text we should expect the editor, according to his custom, to

call attention to them in the footnotes and record the correction of them in later editions.

Mr. Lockert has "inserted into the text, inclosed in brackets, the division into scenes as made by Gifford," and he has made this the basis of his line-numbering. But this scheme, unfortunately, breaks down at one point: at line 122 of the second scene of the fifth act, the Quarto marks a new scene; Gifford rightly omits this obviously incorrect scene-division, but Mr. Lockert accepts it, and accordingly begins here a new line-numbering. This confusion serves further to illustrate the desirability of reproducing, in a scholarly reprint of this nature, the original quarto without any attempt at editorial manipulation.

The Notes are conservative and scholarly throughout. Numerous passages, however, which clearly demand elucidation have not been commented on. Perhaps Mr. Lockert was unable to explain all the puzzles in the play—we could hardly expect that; but it would have been desirable for him to call attention to unsolved passages. In my reading of the text I have jotted down a few additional notes, with a possible correction or two, which I give below for what they may be worth.

I. ii. 234. An emendation is absolutely required. Mr. Lockert approves Coxeter's change of *Lords* to *cords*. But the context (see especially line 215 "load me with those yrons") shows that *irons*, not *cords*, is the needed word.

II. i. 93. *Would they not so?* This has been emended by all editors to either *Would they so?* or *Would they? Not so.* As the editor observes, "the Quarto reading is to be preferred to either of the modern emendations." Yet it does not fit the context. I would suggest *Would they but so?*

II. ii. 99. *Gally-foyst*. Mr. Lockert writes: "A galley-foist was a state barge, especially that of the Lord Mayor of London. This, however, can hardly be the meaning of the word here, used as it is with *Bullion*, which were trunk hose, puffed at the upper part in several folds." Possibly the word is an error for Galley-hose; see Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. Furnivall, p. 56.

II. ii. 183. *This Cammell*; cf. line 205, *Dromodary*. These were terms of opprobrium: cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. ii. 270-71; *Every Man in His Humour*, III. i.; *The Turk*, line 245.

III. i. 62-63.

Continue idle: this choise Lord will finde
So fit imployment for you.

The word *So* was probably written in the manuscript *Sō*, with a dash over the letter *o*, indicating the abbreviation *Some*.

III. i. 499-501:

Woman,
How strong art thou, how easily beguil'd?
How thou dost racke vs by the very hornes?

As the context clearly shows, *beguil'd* is an error for *beguil'st*.

IV. i. 75. *Queene of Europe*. Cf. *The Merry Devil of Edmon-ton* (ed. Hazlitt-Dodsley, vol. x, p. 245), "the Duke of Europe;" *The Dutch Courtezan*, IV. i 88, "the Empress of Europe."

IV. iv. 162-64.

I in your cause, put on a Scarlet robe
Of red died cruelty, but in returne,
You haue aduanc'd for me no flag of mercy.

The allusion, very common in the Elizabethan drama, is to the famous scarlet dress of Tamburlaine, and his "gentle flags of amity."

V. i. 69. *Goe to the basket and repent*. The meaning is "Go to the prison for debtors and repent." The prisoners begged alms of the passing public by means of baskets set outside or lowered "through the grates."

V. i. 102. *The pantofle*. The allusion is not, as Mr. Lockert suggests, to the shoemaker's profession, but to the pages who attended young noblemen. The pantofle (i.e. slipper) was as well recognised as the symbol of the pages as the club was of the apprentices; see Nash's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (ed. McKerrow, vol. ii; p. 207, ll. 31-34; p. 209, ll. 25-26); *The Unnatural Combat*, III. i; *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, I. i. In *The Turk*, Pantofle is the name of the page.

V. i. 66. *Furies*. This was a slang name for constables, hence its use here.

V. i. 105-06. *With ones additions more you know of*. Read, of course, *one addition*; probably a new codpiece.

Mr. Lockert has failed to call attention to the numerous echoes of Shakespeare in the play. I may point out a few of these; a careful search would doubtless reveal others.

In III. i. 184 ff. Beaumelle deliberately attempts to make Romont angry:

ROMONT. By my hand—
BEAUMELLE. And sword.
I will make vp your oath, twill want weight else.
You are angry with me, and poore I laugh at it.

And when he stamps angrily she exclaims:

One stampe more would do well.

This is obviously an imitation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. iii, in which the Egyptian Queen seeks to make Antony angry:

ANTONY. You'll heat my blood; no more.

CLEOPATRA. You can do better yet; but this is meetly.

ANTONY. Now by my sword—

CLEOPATRA. And target. Still he mends.

II. ii. 15-16. "Well, go thy ways, goodly wisdom, whom no body regards." This, of course, is ultimately based on the Book of Proverbs, but it may be that the author is echoing the humor of Falstaff and Hal in *I Henry IV*, I. ii.

The chief influence of Shakespeare, however, is to be observed in the jealousy scenes. These are throughout reminiscent of *Othello* (compare especially III. i. 377-477 with *Othello* III. iii), and although *Othello* had not yet been printed, there are in a few cases verbal echoes. When the husband is first told of his wife's infidelity, he exclaims, III. i. 437:

There is no dramme of manhood to suspect
On such thin ayrie circumstance as this;
Meer complement, and courtship.

Compare *Othello*, III. iii. 176-192. Again, *The Fatal Dowry*, III. i. 467-68,

Ere lue to haue mens marginall fingers point
At Charaloys,

may be a reminiscence of *Othello's* striking image, IV. ii. 52-54,

but alas! to make me
The fixed figure for the time of scorn
To point his slow and moving finger at.

And *Othello's* lines, V. ii. 65-66,

And mak'st me call what I intend to do
A murder, which I thought a sacrifice,

find a clear echo in *The Fatal Dowry*, V. ii. 5-6:

This braue reuenge, which they would haue cal'd murther,
A noble Iustice.

After the Notes is printed a Glossary. This separation of the explanation of words from the explanation of passages may be justified in an extensive collection of plays where much repetition can thus be avoided, but is hardly justified in the case of a single play (in this particular Glossary not more than a dozen words, and these so common that they might well have been omitted, are noted as having occurred oftener than once). The

disadvantage of a glossary is that the reader, when he comes upon a passage that he does not understand, turns first to the Notes for help, or at least is uncertain where he should look for aid. Furthermore, the editor is quite as often at a loss where to put the information he wishes to impart. For example, on pages 154-55 of his Notes, Mr. Lockert prints: "cause—affair, business;" "Calenture—a disease incident to sailors within the tropics"; "a flaxe—the flax wick of a lamp or candle"; "a lace—a trimming of lace"; "pickadille—the expansive collar fashionable in the early part of the seventeenth century"; "Ephimerides—a table showing the positions of a heavenly body for a series of successive days"; etc. This is exactly the sort of material that the editor professes to place in the Glossary.

The excellent Bibliography, with which the volume closes, seems to include everything of real importance. On the whole, we have here a scholarly edition of one of Massinger's best plays, which should be welcomed to the library of every Elizabethan scholar.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS.

Cornell University.

THE ANCIENT CROSS SHAFTS AT BEWCASTLE AND RUTHWELL. Enlarged from the Rede Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge on 20 May 1916. By the Right Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. With Three Photogravures and Twenty-three Illustrations. Cambridge University Press, 1916. G. P. Putnam's Sons, American representatives. X+92 pages. Price \$2.25.

Browne's handsome quarto volume of 89 pages of discussion is mainly controversial, upholding his former views of an early date of the two crosses. His attack is directed mainly against *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, issued in 1912 by Prof. Albert S. Cook, though the author is not acquainted with or ignores important articles by the same writer. For according to the admission of Browne, the Rede Lecture was hastily prepared without sufficient opportunity to examine the literature that had appeared during the last 25 years, a fact which is apparent on many pages. Thus the apology with which the author re-enters the arena is not superfluous.

As in a previous work, Dr. Browne in the volume before us argues that the occurrence of the names of several persons well known in the second half of the 7th century and the mention of the first year of a king on the Bewcastle Cross indicate the year 670 as the date of the shaft. On account of similarities the Ruthwell Cross is linked with the Bewcastle, though placed somewhat later. The earlier and finer half of *The Dream of the*

Rood, portions of which appear on the Ruthwell Cross, he ascribes to Caedmon, an opinion not shared by modern scholarship. The 'Caedmon made me' of Stephens' phantasy he also deciphers from the partly obliterated runes. The two crosses are regarded by him "as a great outburst in early time of a new style, due to some remarkable combination of new influences and new individualities, with new opportunities and new knowledge" (p. 26), while "the whole tone and air of the great shafts cry out against" any late attribution (p. 7)

To anyone who has compared the interpretations of the doubtful runes by different men, it is apparent that the divergence of views is so great as to preclude any definite inference except that of hopelessness in arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. This impression is strengthened by the admissions of Dr. Browne, who in spite of occasional firmness shows a peculiar wavering. He himself has changed his interpretation of doubtful runes during the last 25 years. And a statement like this on page 71: "But while I abide by my reading *Kedmon*, I am willing to acquiesce in a verdict by real experts in favour of some other spelling of our sacred poet's name on the Cross," is a fatal admission. The trouble is that according to Vietor and other able observers the 'Caedmon made me' seems to be non-existent.

The author's total ignorance of the progress made by philology during the last 25 years, crops out in many places. He refers to the Anglo-Saxon speech of the district of the crosses as *super grammaticam*, twentieth century precision being one thing, and seventh century roughness being another thing. Philological considerations are brushed aside with the statement: "But enough has been said already about these confident assertions based on the assumption that philological accuracy was achieved by the designers or sculptors of these ancient monuments (p. 77)." He is "assured on high authority" regarding some linguistic phenomena, but never seems to have looked into them. However, it certainly will not do to ignore scientific data such as the loss of final *n* in verbs etc., which have an important bearing on the question of the date of the two crosses. With such a method we should compare Professor Cook's scholarly procedure, whatever one may think of his hypothesis that the crosses were erected in the 12th century under the patronage of David of Scotland. The fact is that sufficient data for a positive assertion are lacking, and the whole question admits of no final solution at the present time, though the most careful investigators favor a late date.

Browne's general method is faulty, illustrated for instance by his reply to Prof. Cook's assertion that the crucifixion "is rarely figured in sculpture in the 10th century and does not become at all common till the 13th": "It would be idle to

dwell upon that argument; Ruthwell and Bewcastle attract us because they are uniquely uncommon (p. 29)." Other statements showing the same attitude could be cited.

The manner of presentation leaves much to be desired. Abrupt and obscure statements are not seldom found. Besides, much extraneous matter is inserted, the lecture abounding in digressions and rambling talk. For instance, on page 21 he observes: "If space permitted, I should have liked to quote a charmingly poetic account which Aldhelm gives of the musical services in one of the other new basilicas." At times he refrains from inserting the mentioned irrelevant matter, but time and again he yields to the temptation, as on page 64: "It may be mentioned as a quaint coincidence, though with no bearing upon our present subject. . . ." One may overlook the vain remarks which obtrude in not a few places, while personal and facetious observations enliven the discussion. So on page 12, in referring to the columns at Sandbach, he speaks of the two crosses on an old platform, with short carved posts at the corners: "As the platform is some 4 ft. high, the total height is sufficient to make it not an agreeable task to hang on to the top in a storm of driving sleet, examing with eye and finger the sadly perished details, as I had to do, tied on with rope." Here also belongs the footnote on the same page about the manner by which gypsies indicate to their friends the direction in which they have gone, as also on page 76 the mention of the author's attempt to torment a poultry-loving mother by singing Scottish rimes.

It is the candid opinion of the reviewer that a book like Browne's adds little or nothing to one solution of a difficult problem. Prof. Cook's volume with its citation of the chief literature is also clearly much more serviceable as an introduction to the subject. According to the author's own admission, the book may be set down as showing the human competence of making mistakes; as, to quote his words, "I offer myself as a palmary example of that competence, and this present essay as an ideal opportunity for its display (p. 25)."

ALBERT KEISER.

Beloit, Wis.

KAMPF UND KRIEG im deutschen Drama von Gottsched bis Kleist. Zur Form- und Sachgeschichte der dramatischen Dichtung von Dr. Max Scherrer. Rascher & Cie, Verlag, Zürich, 1919.

In this work students of the drama who are interested in having their literary conceptions more precisely defined will find a wellnigh indispensable guide. Its title suggests that it stands in relation to the events of the past five years. And some connection is indeed noticeable here and there, though it is not an essential consideration in discussing the book. As the author tells us, the work was conceived in 1913, and in its present form grew out of a Munich dissertation (1917), which comprised the introduction and the first three of the fourteen chapters. These three chapters merely laid a firm foundation for the development of the subject.

The words *Kampf Und Krieg* are to be taken in their literal sense. What the author offers us is a study from one consistent point of view of the development of the classic form of German tragedy from Gottsched to Kleist, or, strictly speaking, from Klopstock to Schiller, as these two men really indicate the beginning and the end respectively of the evolutionary process. The particular phase of this evolution that the author chooses for his consideration, is the method of representing scenes of war and combat on the stage. In limiting his problem so strictly, he expressly denies any narrow interest, but rather hopes to show us a type, more or less inclusive, of the entire dramatic growth during its most significant period. He sums up his result in the general statement (p.391), that the classical tragedy in Germany gradually made from two opposing ideals (French and Shakespearian), from the conflict between reason and imagination, a unique synthesis in a new form. This may sound familiar enough, but it none the less stands here as the fully justified outcome of a new and striking line of research. We must admit that the author made an instructive choice of his point of approach, when we consider that his course leads him to such outstanding examples as *Götz, Wallenstein*, and *Der Prinz von Homburg*. The chief advantage of such an intensive study, if it is carried through soundly as in the present instance, is its searching test of accepted generalities on every hand, their modification in some cases, their unexpected confirmation from a fresh point of view in others. The present treatise furnishes us each of these advantages in turn. It is somewhat surprising, for example, to find Klopstock presented as a figure that counts in the evolution of dramatic form. Yet a plain case seems to be made out for him in this respect. We see how a man of original mind instinctively seizes the right means for the expression of his intentions, even in an unaccustomed

field, outdistancing his more conventional if more disciplined rivals. The writers of the *Sturm und Drang* are also assigned a surer place in the constructive process of evolution toward the completed form of Schiller. In general it may be said that as the discussion advances our whole conception of a distinctly new technical form becomes better defined from without and better organized from within.

Two questions are considered throughout the work: first, the technical problem of presenting scenes of combat, whether duels or more complicated forms, on the stage, and the different methods used to solve this problem; second, the personal relation of the various writers to war as such. The chief importance of the book lies perhaps in its thorough analysis of the technical problem of form. For the sake of brevity and simplicity we may confine the review to this phase of the subject, and now proceed to indicate the bare outlines of the author's discussion. It is possible to manage the scene of battle purely by report. This method was adopted by Gottsched in his imitation of the French classical form, and all violence was theoretically excluded from the stage. The stage itself was a room separated from the world outside, a room in which the spectator may see the spiritual and emotional reflex of events beyond his vision. In this method the technique of the *messenger* was highly developed, though the master and his disciples never attained any of the poetical brilliance displayed by the French tragedies in such scenes. Interesting side-lights are thrown at this point also upon the irrepressible tendency of the "regulars" to introduce by the back door what they kept out of the front—the sensation of violence and bloodshed gradually crept in. Strictly used, the report excludes the battle, and hence solves the problem simply if not always satisfactorily. The opposite pole is Shakespeare's intense, abbreviated scenes of actual combat on the stage. This method really does not need any reflex of the battle because it shows the battle itself. From now on, as the course of events proved, the entire problem of form in Germany was, how to preserve the practical convenience and the inner value of the one method without sacrificing the actuality and vividness of the other.

Elias Schlegel stands out in this discussion as the first to show conclusively that the old pseudo-classic form was inadequate for a new content. He did this by attempting to apply that form to a theme preëminently warlike in nature—the *Hermannsschlacht*. Inasmuch as the customary intrigues of love could not be made here the center of interest, the inherent variance between form and content became doubly evident. The decisive innovation in the direction of a new technical procedure was made by Klopstock in his drama on the same theme, probably under the influence of Aeschylus' *Seven against*

Thebes. This innovation consisted in what the author terms *Teichoskopie*, a word adopted from Greek to indicate the observation and reflection of the battle outside by those on the stage—the lookout from the city walls. Having once entered the German drama, this principle was never lost sight of again, and it was destined to undergo at last in the hands of Schiller and Kleist the highest artistic refinement. Thus a means was acquired both of expanding the narrow confines of the stage and also of modifying the rationalistic spiritual reflex by the aid of imaginative elements. As we should expect, Klopstock was not the man to develop this new form, which remained without influence on his later works.

Klopstock thus, in the dramatic as well as in the lyric field, stands in the forefront of the *Sturm und Drang*. With these writers he shared a more personal relation to war than those who preceded them. This intensity of personal interest largely explains his true instinct in discovering an effective expression. The same interest, highly emphasized, led the *Sturm und Drang* writers, with Goethe in advance and under the general hypnotism of Shakespeare, to attempt and attain a far greater degree of vividness and intensity in their representation of the battle-scene. Unfortunately, however, their efforts led them beyond all the bounds of dramatic economy, so that much of what was gained in a literary way was of little advantage to the drama as such. Their great discoveries were *locality*, *atmosphere* on the one hand, and *action* on the other, two elements lacking in the pseudo-classical form. Klopstock's *Hermannsschlacht* had introduced the first of these elements, while both abounded in *Götz von Berlichingen*. The *teichoskopie* form is also used in *Götz*, in the famous Selbitz-scene, which continues the tradition of both Shakespeare and Klopstock. It is interesting to find, moreover, that this reflex technique, which is really a mark of a restrained and rounded form of art, is more characteristic of the older *Gottfried* than of the later *Götz*. The later version reveals Shakespearean influence more clearly in the direct presentation of the battle on the stage. As we see further on in *Wallenstein*, the *teichoskopie* form contains possibilities that enable the dramatist to dispense almost entirely with direct presentation on the stage. But the *Sturm und Drang* writers were not disposed to exercise any such artistic restraint. They were bent on a profusion of means and effects, not on careful calculation and economy. So we find them employing now *Teichoskopie* and now direct action at will. All the while, however, the artistic possibilities of the reflex method were being explored. In this respect Klinger especially is noted as a virtuoso. He also carried the realization of the warlike *mood* to a high point, chiefly in night-scenes, in imitation of Shakespeare. In general it is emphasized that Shakespearean motives, apart from considera-

tions of form, dominate the whole development of warlike plays in Germany.

The problem now was to win the new and freer elements of imagination for practical dramatic purposes. In a detailed analysis the author shows the attack on this problem, by professional writers for the stage as well as by men of more poetical ability, like Klinger and Maler Müller. In Törrings *Kaspar der Thorringer* a true feeling for both elements is discovered, while the same writer's *Agnes Bernauer* united the chivalrous drama definitely with the stage. Or, as the author puts it, the conflict between the unlimited subject and the limited artistic means had begun in earnest. It is particularly interesting to see how the lesser writers responded to the new demands, often revising former plays in accordance with the more modern spirit. We receive the definite impression of a collective effort groping toward the pure form. While the great steps forward were taken by men of true genius, the total effect of the host of lesser men, working on this or that phase of the problem of presentation, is seen to have been considerable, when the whole field is surveyed. Here the author's work is decidedly important as bearing on the general question of the evolution of a particular artistic form. In this case certainly it resembles the evolution of industrial inventions. A powerful impulse is given in the fruitful direction, and then a host of co-laborers work incessantly to the logical end.

From the appearance of *Götz* into the eighties a type of work was being evolved to the advantage of the stage, if not to the advantage of literature as such. Schiller now entered the course of evolution as the man who was able to do full justice to the demands of both the stage and poetry. Surprisingly enough, in the question of the technical handling of the battle-scene, *The Robbers* is seen to be remarkably restrained. Schiller never loses sight of the dramatic end in view, and this firstling of his, stormy as it may be in other respects, really marks in this respect the turn toward the final classical form. *Fiesco* appears from the standpoint of this discussion also as a decided retrogression when compared with the earlier play. In neither of these works, however, did Schiller use the *teichoskopie* form, which he later brought to perfection. Klinger's *Konradin* (1784) marked a further advance, in general and over against his earlier practice, in the adaptation of the pitched battle to the requirements of the stage. He was the first to do this in a practical way. His chief method was *Teichoskopie*, which now in his hands no longer served merely for vivid description of events beyond the stage, as in Klopstock's *Hermannsschlacht* and in *Götz*, but was employed in a well articulated dramatic connection. Not the event, but its dramatic reflex became the main thing. This definite advance toward the classic form

Klinger also preserved in his later prose works. It is especially interesting to note how in the two versions of his *Aristodemos* (1787, 1794), he really completed the cycle back to a strict, pre-Klopstockian form of narrative, yet in spite of this form retained a large measure of the atmosphere and illusion of the battle, which were so completely lacking in the older writers. The same cycle that we see here in Klinger's case is exactly paralleled by Goethe, from *Götz* to *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*, in a higher sphere of art. One of the chief characteristics of *Götz*, an intense joy in the objective world, has given place in these plays to the drama of spiritual conflict, practically in pure French form. However, even in *Iphigenie* the connection between the stage and the battle progressing outside is not entirely lost sight of. So in *Tasso* the duel scene is strictly classic in the best sense of the word. But that this form was no longer considered as a binding canon, except in so far as it might best suit a particular theme, is clearly shown in Goethe's treatment of the Valentin scene in *Faust I* and in the fourth act of *Faust II*.

In the 10th Chapter the author discusses generally the theatrical exploitation of the scenes of battle. In the lavish shows of Schikaneder the spectacle was developed to its fullest extent, while Kotzebue attained the greatest influence on the legitimate stage. Kotzebue showed equal skill in all the technical forms, whether the *teichoskopie* or the looser types. The extreme contrast between the original joy of the poet introducing battle-episode for its own sake, and the mere exploitation of such effects for the stage, is plainly noticeable in the comparison of the original *Götz* with its theatrical version. If sensationalism was thus one of the pitfalls past which the course of sound evolution had to lead, another was the undramatic looseness of Romanticism. Here again, in the works of Tieck, we find a turning away from the stage, a reveling in mood, a renewed confusion between genuine dramatic values (especially *teichoskopie*) with formless emotion, a confusion similar, with some variations, to that found in the early years of the Sturm und Drang. From the historical point of view Tieck represents a decided retrogression, notwithstanding his clever satire and his occasional display of true technical insight.

But the foundation had been firmly laid, and in Schiller the man was present who was able to raise the completed structure. He accomplished this in two different plays, *Wallenstein* and the *Jungfrau*. The former, on a strictly classical basis, furnished a satisfactory solution of the problem of form, while the latter, in one act at least, offered a true synthesis of the two elements that had been striving apart for so long. In *Wallenstein* the poet practically forsakes the method of direct presentation. He relies in the first place, and chiefly, upon the old accepted, classical technique of the messenger, which he uses, however,

with unparalleled skill and undreamed of climactic effect. In the second place he uses *Teichoskopie* with finished art for the few scenes of violent action which he permits to occur in sight of those on the stage. But it is everywhere evident that the long period of fruitful experiment has intervened between the older classical form and the new. The highly developed technique for the vivid presentation of the action as reflex has given the dramatist a new power, entirely changing the emotional values of his work. With the action, even outside the stage, reduced to its minimum, we do not for a moment fail of the *illusion* of warlike surroundings and a momentous decision. The *Lager* also is found to be strictly classic in spirit, and all the desired effects are obtained by the power of the *language*, not by direct presentation. Compared as a whole with *Wallenstein* from this particular point of view, the *Jungfrau*, while not a destruction of the classic form, represents a considerable expansion of it to admit Shakesporean elements. This is true of the middle scenes, which show the actual conflict on the stage. The *Jungfrau* is a good example of the freedom of technique in the German classical drama, for it makes use of all the various forms at will: the report, direct presentation, and *Teichoskopie*. The author shows in a detailed analysis that the middle scenes really represent only a compromise between the Shakesporean and the classical ideals, while the last act attains the true synthesis of the two. It does this by means of what is termed *die symbolische Parteiung*: that is, the battle outside between the French and the English armies is represented symbolically on the stage in the scene between Johanna and Isabeau. This scene is not only *teichoskopie*, it not only serves to show us what is happening on the outside, but it is at the same time a symbol of that outside action. The author is therefore justified in describing it as a true synthesis of the opposing ideals of presentation, because it shows the spectator the battle both directly and indirectly at one and the same instant. The same freedom of technique that Schiller showed in this work he kept later in *Tell* and *Demetrius*. (See especially pp. 323-324).

The general evolution of the technical means as such reached in Schiller the high mark in German drama. Kleist proves his genius in his sure use of all the technical methods acquired during the evolutionary process. Indeed in the *Familie Schrockenstein* he discovers independently of Schiller, the same noteworthy use of the symbolical *Teichoskopie*. But the individual plays show rather a brilliant adaptation of the necessary form than any essential modification in a new direction. It is perhaps natural therefore that much of the discussion here turns on the question of Kleist's relation to war as such. He stands in the sharpest contrast to Schiller, who found a moral justification for war in keeping with his humanitarian philosophy. Kleist

has an attitude which the author hesitatingly characterizes as "modern." For him war was an elemental manifestation of human nature, a demonic impulse, *jenseits von Gut und Böse*, whether in its origin or its execution.

But it is not the purpose of the reviewer to go into this part of the discussion. Attention is again called to the fact that these remarks have been confined to the formal elements of the problem, and that thus an aspect of the work only a little less interesting is not touched upon here. Also, apart from that general question, the author makes the best use of his particular point of view to throw fresh light upon various situations and characters, upon technical procedure, or, going deeper yet, upon the final quality of the poetic talent itself.

In a brief closing chapter Goethe's allegorical treatment of the battle is discussed, including the grandiose *Teichoskopie* of the fourth act of *Faust II*. An instructive appendix, employing three details, the weapon, the wound, and the horse, furnishes a sort of cross-section of the whole evolutionary process, with abundant documentary evidence. A good index closes the volume.

T. M. CAMPBELL.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College.





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